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# THE CONFEDERACY OF PIRATES IN EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SOUTHWEST IRELAND

Trade, Plunder and Settlement: a historical and archaeological study

By

CONNIE ELEANOR KELLEHER

A THESIS PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN

Thesis supervisor: Professor Jane Ohlmeyer

Submitted to the University of Dublin, Trinity College

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## *Declaration*

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**Author:** Connie Eleanor Kelleher

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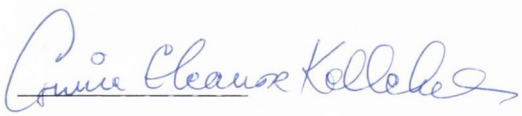

Connie Kelleher

5 February 2013

## *Summary*

This study of piracy in the early part of the seventeenth century in southwest Ireland combined the disciplines of history, archaeology and cartography. Contemporary documentary and printed sources combined with secondary sources were researched to inform on the places frequented by the pirates, the goods plundered and traded, the facilities available to them and the ships they sailed and lost. Cartographic sources, not least a rediscovered Dutch 'anti-pirate' chart from 1612, were also assessed to inform on the landscape from that time in which they functioned. This information in turn was used to trace potential archaeological remains on the ground, for both the pirates and those who aided and abetted with them.

Other sources too were utilised including geographic and taxonomic details pertaining to the part of the coast being looked at and this was supported by local knowledge that frequently clarified historical accounts, confirmed the use of known sites within the landscape and led to the locating of new ones.

The archaeological survey consisted of terrestrial, foreshore and underwater survey. It followed the trail of the pirates within the known southwestern landscape, focusing on the main harbours of Baltimore, Leamcon and Crookhaven. It looked at this landscape from the seaward, from the pirate's perspective and followed their movements on the ground and on the sea by using the information from the historical and cartographic sources. This approach lent itself well to reinterpreting areas within the coastal landscape, with a suggested reassessment offered of the landing place of the Algerine pirates who raided the town of Baltimore in 1631, and with new archaeological evidence presented to support this argument.

Recorded sites mentioned in the historical accounts associated with contemporary government officials known for colluding with the pirates were assessed, including castles and fortified houses, estate features and industrial sites. New sites were identified during the course of the survey, a number of which can be directly tied in with associates of the pirates, and these include maritime facilities like quays, docks and mooring stones. Others were recorded that were not alone used for clandestine activity but are new categories of sites within the archaeological record. Specifically rock-cut steps with associated light niches and rock-cut platforms. Places documented for their use by the pirates for cleaning and repairing their ships were looked at and a number of careening sites identified. Shipwreck sites too are included

that date to the period under study and are located within the general area where pirate ships are recorded as being lost. The potential for these wrecks to be associated directly with the pirates of the time is discussed.

A problem identified as a result of this study is the difficulty in positively identifying 'pirate archaeology'. This is particularly so within a plantation landscape where many of the pirates were pardoned and settled. To positively date a site to the period of the pirates is similarly difficult, particularly in the absence of archaeological excavation, but equally so is distinguishing between settler archaeology and that of pirate archaeology, where at times both were one and the same.

The methodology used for the study is presented as the best mechanism for advancing our understanding of the pirates within their given landscape and for future studies of these individuals and their activities. The historical sources and cartographic material used provided critical data that informed the archaeological survey. In turn the results of that provided a tangible link via sites identified to past illicit activity and places where the pirates operated.

The study presents definitive findings in the form of archaeological sites and newly-interpreted historical accounts but also puts forward more questions. This creates the challenge necessary for further study in this regard and which will continue to expand our knowledge of this fascinating aspect of our past maritime heritage.

## *Acknowledgements*

There are many, many people who deserve thanks for helping me with this study, some of whom I could not have done it without their help and guidance. First and foremost I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Professor Jane Ohlmeyer for her patience, keen knowledge of the period under study, attention to detail and guiding hand throughout my doctoral studies at Trinity College. Without her advice and support, both professionally and personally, it would not have been completed. A huge debt of gratitude is owing to Senior Archaeologist for Underwater Archaeology in the National Monuments Service, Fionnbarr Moore, who allowed me the time away from my every day work to complete my thesis and whose constant interest, support and advice, both as a boss and as a friend has inspired me to keep going and given me help when I most needed it. I cannot thank him enough. I would like to thank Trinity College Dublin and the Department of History for accepting this as a worthwhile study and giving me the opportunity to write about pirates and realise my passion. Similarly, my sincere gratitude has to go to my own Department (of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht) for fully funding my thesis over the years, it goes without saying that I could not have done it without that financial support.

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For the beautiful copy of the 1612 document I am extremely grateful to Göttingen University Library and for granting me permission to reproduce copies for future publication. I am thankful for the help of Stuart Band, Archivist of the Devonshire Collection in Chatsworth House, Derbyshire and to Wendy Hawke, Senior Archivist with the Guildhall Library Manuscripts Section, for their help with research on the map of Baltimore and the last will and testament of Thomas Crooke.

A number of professional colleagues greatly assisted me with sources, references and general discussion on various aspects of this study. Professor Audrey Horning of Queen's University, Belfast, both a colleague and a friend, went beyond the bounds of duty to provide access to relevant theses and has been a great source of inspiration to me in my studies over the years. Dr. Wendy Duivenvoorde of Flinders University, Adelaide in Western Australia willingly shared her knowledge of Dutch ships from the period and was always on hand to discuss details. Prof. C.R. Pennell provided information and images on Mamora and the North African pirate bases, as well as pointing me in the direction of key sources that I would have otherwise missed.

I owe an enormous amount of appreciation to the people of West Cork who were always willing to share thoughts, memories and insights into sites, places and events. In particular I would like to thank Dr. Brian Marten and his family of Ringaroige Island; Bernie and Pat McCarthy of Dún na Séad Castle, Baltimore; Nigel Towes of Sherkin Island; Mr. Patrick McCarthy of Goleen; Donal O'Callaghan of Beakeen, Leamcon; Mr. Sweetnam and his daughter of Cove House; Mr. and Mrs O'Donovan of Leamcon; Rabbi Julia Neuberger and her husband Anthony of Leamcon House; Gail Gaghan of Leamcon; Thomas and Jane Somerville of Drishane House, Castletownsend; archaeologist Lee Snodgrass of Ballydehob for her local insights and Robert and Laura Travers of Timoleague Castle for their interest and entertaining gatherings.

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Connie Kelleher
February 2013.

## *Dedication*

To Rob

my pirate captain

for his patience, tolerance, support and belief

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## *Conventions*

Unless indicated otherwise, dates relating to primary sources consulted are entered according to how they present on the documents. Where primary sources are referred to from secondary source material, the date given is as used in the secondary source. The start of the year is taken as beginning 1 January.

## *Glossary*

**Algerine:** Contemporary word used to denote a native inhabitant, including pirates, from Algeria, with Algiers being the main seat of the Barbary pirates during the late sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries. The modern term would be 'Algerian', but the contemporary word is used within this study.

**Alliance:** A close association of groups or people, formed to advance common interests or causes; a connection between parties or individuals to cooperate for specific purposes; a merging of efforts for the advancement of a common cause.

**Barbary:** Generally refers to the part of the coast now known as North Africa, including Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya.

**Benefit of clergy:** An exemption in English law from trial or punishment of death in the civil courts, which the laws imposed on the commission of certain crimes, on the culprit demanding it, during the Medieval and later periods

**Bower:** Main anchor (formerly called a sheet anchor) on a ship and normally carried at the bow of a vessel.

**Buckler:** The round lid used as part of the pressing mechanism for extracting **train oil** from fish; placed at the top of the barrels, the press beams slowly moved the buckler downwards inside the barrel to depress the fish inside, with the oil being drained out of the bottom and then collected.

**Bulged:** a nautical term, to founder or to sink, to fill with water and sink.

**Bullion:** Gold or silver, in quantity, usually uncoined; precious metals valued by weight.

**Cable**: An anchor rope.

**Carbuncle**: a precious stone, usually almandine that has a deep scarlet colour and appears to glow when held up to the light.

**Careen:** To clean the bottom/outer hull of a vessel by means of turning it on its side or listing it to one side or the other.

**Carrack:** Type of ship, generally dating to the fifteenth century, variations lasted into sixteenth century; developed in Western Europe by Portuguese and later by the Spanish; also referred to as a *nau*; three or four masted.

**Coastal access points:** term is being applied generically to refer to various types of sites, generally rock-cut, that have been identified during the course of this study and

that allow access to or from the coastal edge to the sea; examples include rock-cut steps, rock-cut platforms, rock-cut slipways.

**Confederacy:** an alliance or an association of individuals into a loose community; a league or alliance formed for an unlawful purpose.

**Confederate:** a member of a confederacy; one who assists in a plot; an accomplice; someone united in a league, alliance, conspiracy or confederacy.

**Corsair:** a pirate or privateer usually associated with the Barbary States or southern coast of the Mediterranean active during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

**East Indies:** Generally taken to represent South and Southeast Asia and the area now comprising the islands of Indonesia and the Philippines.

**Entrepôt**: from French 'entreposer' – to put in; a port where merchandise can be imported and exported without paying import duties and thus provided scope for greater profits.

**Entrenchment:** a defensive mound of earth placed around a particular location to afford protection during military bombardment.

**Follower:** See seine fishing.

**Fowling piece:** earliest smooth-bore hand gun that was filled with lead shot; appeared in Europe in sixteenth century but in seventeenth century the barrels were made longer and could be up to 6 feet long; used generally for game hunting – hence the name.

**Frigate:** a swift sailing, fully rigged warship, built for speed and manoeuvrability; it mounted a selection of guns and usually had one or two decks. Designs changed over the centuries, with different deck numbers and rigging configurations.

**Golden Age of Piracy:** A general term used for the piracy of the early eighteenth century, generally 1716-1726 and focused on the Caribbean, West Indies and African coast.

**Grosgrain**: A tightly woven fabric that is sturdy and strong.

**Hewer:** See Seine fishing.

**Holland cloth**: Plain-woven, unbleached or dull-finish linen, imported at that time from Europe but primarily from the Netherlands.

**Interloper:** A ship that followed established trade routes without sanction from and in direct contravention of a State's or merchant shipping company's monopoly rights on trade to specific places.

**Kedge:** Secondary, smaller anchor on a ship, usually stored aft and could be deployed quickly if needed.

**Letters of marque:** a government or state commission/licence authorising an individual (a privately owned ship) to attack and capture enemy ships and bring them before the admiralty court. These were usually issued during times of peace to allow shipowners, merchants or travellers to recoup losses.

**Ordnance:** Refers to cannon or large guns, including those carried on board a ship.

**Pancheon**: A large, shallow utilitarian dish usually made of earthenware.

**Perforst:** From the French 'par force', meaning 'by force' and more frequently used in regard to the Royal Navy when 'perforce men' were engaged to walk the boards of the dockyards and press-gang individuals to serve on board their ships.

**Plunder:** To rob goods, generally through attack and usually used in the context of pirates.

**Pinnace:** A small to medium vessel, can refer to either a fully-rigged ship or a small tender vessel to larger ships.

**Post-medieval**: Archaeological term referring to the period after the medieval period; beginning about the year 1534 and the Tudor period under Henry VIII.

**Privateer:** A person or ship privately owned or hired, operating under commission/letter of marque from a government or state to attack and capture enemy shipping. Generally operating during wartime. An official/licensed pirate, with the term coming into main use in the seventeenth century.

**Prize:** Term used in admiralty law to refer to vessels, goods or equipment captured at sea either by an official privateer (under a letter of marque) or by pirates. The admiralty held a prize court, which oversaw the equitable distribution of goods captured, with the admiralty taking a percentage of the overall value of the goods.

**Reales**: Also written 'reals' and known as pieces of eight or Spanish dollars, it is a silver coin in use since 1497; could be cut into eight pieces and used as international currency.

**Rutter:** from the French 'routier', originally from the Portuguese 'roteiro', a route or road, it is an early name for a book of sailing directions and was usually illustrated with views of ports and coastline seen from seaward.

**Sea-rover**: From the old Dutch word *Zeeroover*, referring to robbers at sea or pirates.

**Seine fishing**: Method of fishing that uses a drag net; either deployed from the land (fixed engine seining) and anchored across a watercourse or deployed from two boats

(open seining), one boat deploying the net and the other hauling (known as the hewer and follower). The net encircles the fish and is then hauled in.

**Shipworm:** Generic term that refers to marine infestation of ship timbers. Not worms, but refers to saltwater molluscs that infest wood; were a constant problem for wooden sailing ships as they would bore into the hull timbers. Most common are teredo (tunnel) navalis (naval) or bivalve molluscs

**Sloop:** Medium to small sailing ship with a single mast and rigged fore-and-aft; there were various types of sloops, including sloops of war, river sloops, Bermuda sloops or cutters.

**Spice Islands**: Small group of islands to the northeast of Indonesia between Celebes and New Guinea called such, as they were the largest producers of mace, nutmeg, cloves and pepper.

***Teredo navalis***: see Shipworm

**Train oil**: See **Buckler.**

**Uisce beatha:** Irish word generally used for alcohol (equivalent in Latin is aqua vita); modern term refers to whiskey but in seventeenth century would have referred to any distilled alcoholic drink.

**West Indies:** Generally refers to the Greater Antilles and Lesser Antilles (the latter formed part of the Caribbean islands of Barbados, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands at the time of the pirate confederacy and were the base for much of the eighteenth-century piracy in its heyday).

## *Abbreviations*[2]

| | |
|---|---|
| APC | Acts of the Privy Council |
| ASI | Archaeological Survey of Ireland |
| BL | British Library, London |
| *Cal. Carew MSS* | *Calendar of Carew Manuscript, Lambeth Palace Library, London* |
| *Cal. Salisbury MSS* | *Calendar of the manuscripts of the most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, 1612-1668* |
| *Cal. S.P. Col.* | *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies 1720-1721* |
| *Cal. S.P. Dom. Jas. I* | *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James I, 1603-1640* |
| *Cal. S.P. Ire.* | *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1558-1782* |
| *Cal. S.P. Ven.* | *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1603-1623* |
| *Cal. S.P. Eliz. I Add* | *Calendar of State Papers, Elizabeth I, 1566-1579* |
| *Cal. S.P. Wm. III* | *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: William III, 1697* |
| *Carte MSS* | *Carte Manuscript, Bodleian Library, Oxford* |
| *Cottonian MSS* | *Cottonian Manuscript, British Museum* |
| DAHG | Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht |
| EEBO | Early English Books Online |
| *Harlaein MSS* | *Harlaein Manuscript, British Library* |
| *Hardwick MSS* | *Hardwick Manuscript, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire* |
| HCA | High Court of Admiralty Papers, T.N.A. London |
| HMC | Historical Manuscripts Commission |
| *Lansd. MSS* | *Lansdowne Manuscript, British Museum* |
| MSS | Manuscript |
| NLI | National Library of Ireland |
| RAC | Royal African Company Papers, T.N.A. London |
| RMP | Record of Monuments and Places |
| SP | State Papers, T.N.A. London |
| T.N.A. | The National Archives, Kew Gardens, London |
| UAU | Underwater Archaeology Unit, DAHG |
| WWM | Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, Sheffield Library Archives |

[2] Please see bibliography for full title details.

## *Introduction*

> The archaeology of a historic site is meaningless without history; and the history of such a site is impoverished without archaeology.[3]

In the opening decades of the seventeenth century pirates, made up primarily of Englishmen, dominated the coastal region of West Cork. The activity occurred under the umbrella of a plantation policy in Munster that was being played out among politicians and government officials, Old English élites, new English aristocrats, entrepreneurs, merchant venturers and ordinary settlers. Most were looking to enhance their standing and their wealth, extend their landholdings and find new homes.[4] The majority of the pirates relocated from the south coast of England to the southwestern harbours of Ireland following James VI and I's outlawing of privateering, and many would have viewed this move as an extension to their homeland rather than a colonial migration.[5] Most were familiar with the area as accomplished mariners and as the vast majority of the pirate alliance comprised ex-privateers or privateer crews from the time of Elizabeth I, their migration to the southern coast of Ireland may have been viewed by the crown as the continuation of the civilizing efforts in the new phase of the Munster plantation. The Atlantic pirate alliance, however, was much more than that. Many of these English mariners would have previously served aboard the ships of those 'glorified state pirates', like Sir Francis Drake or Sir Walter Raleigh, Elizabeth's celebrated privateers.[6] The

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[3] Ian Jack, 'Historical Archaeology and the Historian', *Australasian Historical Archaeology*, 11 (1993), pp 130-138.
[4] J. Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven and London, 2012), pp 101-125.
[5] M. MacCarthy-Morrough, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland 1583-1641* (Oxford, 1986), pp 171-190.
[6] B. Fuchs, 'Spanish Lessons: Spenser and the Irish Moriscos', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1700,* 42, no. 1(2002), p. 45.

individuals who emerged as pirates during the study period, therefore, perhaps can best be viewed as acting agents within the wider framework of the emerging modern British state. This could therefore be considered a form of 'piratical imperialism', within the context of the Munster plantation itself.[7] It served to augment the policy of plantation while exploiting local maritime infrastructure, enhancing economic links across the Atlantic and building trade networks that navigated both legitimate and illegitimate frontiers. It is perhaps this element to the pirates' transplantation that may explain such leniency shown to them by central government, why they integrated so easily with official settlers and local governing officers and why many chose to settle, and were allowed to settle, when pardons were issued by the crown.[8]

**Confederacy or alliance of pirates?**

The terms 'confederacy' and 'alliance' are used interchangeably throughout this thesis when referring to the pirates of the early seventeenth century. Both are considered correct as a defined term for the amalgamation of individuals who made up the Atlantic pirate force. Contemporary writers referred to individuals active at that time as 'confederates', and certainly it will be shown that the pirates acted as a unified force when plying the waters of the North Atlantic and when doing business along the coastal regions of Munster.[9] This ability to come together and act as one when required shows allegiance to leadership, understanding of and agreement in objectives and a willingness to work as a group for a common goal – ultimately an economic one, but also as a mechanism to ensure safety in numbers and power to succeed in the

[7] Personal communication, Dr. John Appleby.

[8] Sir Richard Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609, SP 63/227, f. 91v (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347580473).

[9] Mayor and aldermen of Bristol to Sir Daniel Dun, judge of the high court of admiralty, 20 September 1610, HCA 13/226, f. 137r; see figure 2 in chapter 1 where pirate Thomas Coward and his 'confederates' are discussed; see also chapters 2 and 5 for discussions on the methodologies employed for plunder by Atlantic pirates.

task at hand. The Atlantic pirates therefore can be looked upon as both a confederacy and an alliance, but what will become clear is that those involved also saw themselves as individuals within a necessary coalition of men, many of whom were as much victims of circumstance as they were maritime marauders of their day.

**Piracy. Privateering and Smuggling Defined**

Historically, piracy is any act of robbery at sea, with a pirate thus defined as anyone who commits piracy.[10] In reality, however, there were grey areas that have served over time to confuse these definitions, and piracy therefore needs to be defined within the context of what was taking place economically, politically and socially at any given time.

Clear definitions are given by both N.A.M. Rodger and Robert Ritchie for the types of plunder that took place on the seas and it is worth considering these here as they provide clarity to the process.[11] Privateering has become synonymous with Elizabeth I's private sea captains, but it is interesting to note that the term itself was only coined in the mid-to-late seventeenth century as a legal expression for privately owned ships that held a state's commission to attack a common enemy. In sixteenth-century England there were only two ways a privately owned ship could capture another vessel: either by the issuing of a proclamation that had strict reference to ships of a named enemy or by the means of 'letters of reprisals'. The latter mechanism allowed those who had been robbed at sea the opportunity to commission ships to seek out those who had targeted them and look to having their property or the value of that property recompensed. This was only after they had failed to obtain

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[10] *Collins English Dictionary* (3rd ed. Glasgow, 1991), p. 1185.

[11] N.A.M. Rodger, '*The Safeguard of the Sea – A Naval History of Great Britain Vol.1 AD 660-1649* (London, 1997), pp 199-200; Robert C. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War Against the Pirates* (New York, 2006), pp 17-26.

justice through the courts from the offending nation. The Admiralty court then authorised letters of reprisals (also known as 'letters of marque') to recoup the losses.[12]

Richie refers to three specific types of piracy that was prevalent throughout the seventeenth century. 'Officially Sanctioned Piracy', where a particular government chose to ignore what was essentially outright piracy. He defines this not as sanctioned privateering, but rather acts of plunder that went unpunished because it suited the political and economic purposes of the state in question. Examples would be the frequent attacks on the Spanish treasure fleets coming from the New World by other nations, including the English, Dutch and French. 'Commercial Piracy' is that invested in or facilitated by legitimate merchants, traders, government officials or indeed by communities who exist outside direct government control and who traded with pirates 'as a major economic exercise'. Interestingly, Richie makes the point that at the time, emerging states, such as that of Britain in the early modern period was unable to control or police the old trade routes and as such merchants as emerging economic powers, could not afford to be alienated from these developing mercantile empires. They were thus forced to ally themselves in whatever means they could to ensure they were forefront in this commercial expansion. Government officers, many who were involved in merchant ventures, ignored the law, and the merchant class similarly followed, resulting in piracy becoming a commercial enterprise tapped into by all involved, those on the land and those on the high seas.[13] This scenario, as it will

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[12] Rodger, ibid. p. 199.

[13] Richie, ibid. pp 11-18; W.J.H. Taylor, 'Investigation of the evolving relationship of pirate, buccaneer and privateer between the English state, and the ways in which they contributed to laying the foundations of the British empire in the Caribbean during the period 1650-1725'(BA Thesis, University of Wales, Newport, 2010), pp 7-10.

be seen below, would certainly fit well with some of the government officials and merchant traders located along the southern coast of Munster during the study period.

A final type of piracy defined by Richie is that of 'deep-sea marauders'. This he equates with either organized plundering on the high seas or anarchistic marauding. Some pirates could be involved in both but Richie interprets organized piracy as denoted by those who attached themselves to a specific port or base, while anarchistic pirates tended to sail without a base as a focal point, sometimes spending years at a time at sea. Richie's study suggests that each type of piracy as defined by him can be chronologically traced, and while there is some overlap between types, he places officially sanctioned piracy as prevalent from the period 1570-1670.[14] It is contended in this study, however, that the Atlantic pirates operating along the southern coast of Ireland for the early seventeenth century have elements of all defined types of piracy, bar perhaps anarchistic marauding.

The Atlantic pirate alliance certainly falls within the term of officially sanctioned in that their actions frequently, though inadvertently, advanced the causes of English commercial policy and Britain as an emerging nation state. It was in the respective government's interest to ignore or act with leniency toward those involved. As Fuch's pointed out, 'while the pirates [in Ireland] staged the absence of trade, their English suppliers even mimed empire, in some cases relocating to Ireland to trade with the pirates under the pretense of settlement or official work'.[15] The arrival of several of the key admiralty officials in to Munster at the same time as the arrival en masse of the pirates themselves, predominantly in the years 1606 and 1607, perhaps best illustrates this.

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[14] Ibid. p. 19.

[15] B. Fuchs, 'Faithless Empires: Pirates, Renegadoes, and the English Nation', *English Literary History,* 67, no. 1 (2000), pp 45-49; Lord Deputy to the Lords of the Council, 31 October 1612, in R.D. Edwards, 'Letter-Book of Sir Arthur Chichester 1612-1614', *Analecta Hibernica,* no 8 (March, 1938), pp 61-63.

The confederacy can equally be considered commercial piracy as it will be shown that merchants and officials, directly involved in local trade, official government business and overseas merchant ventures, were closely associated with the pirates, at times being intrinsically linked to specific plunder and trade networks.[16] Characters like William Hull, who became the link between local markets and the pirates, who controlled the import and export of goods in the remote harbours of Munster, who was involved in local industry and who operated as the deputy vice-admiral for the area, is a prime example here.[17] Of the third type of piracy defined, that of deep-sea organised marauders, the Atlantic pirate alliance again fits within this definition. It was tightly coordinated and controlled, with a hierarchy of command supported by steadfast crews. Equally it was attached to several strategically located pirate ports and harbour, not least those of Baltimore, Leamcon and Crookhaven in West Cork, thus ensuring the success and strength of the confederacy as a marauding organized force within the Atlantic.

One further element is intrinsically part of the pirates' activities in Munster - that of smuggling. It will be shown that the pirates' operation was very much an amphibious one, with the use of bases enabling individual pirates to live locally, whether transitorally or permanently but also with a reliance on local abettors to facilitate the landing or lading of goods or men. This, by its nature therefore crosses the divide between piracy and smuggling. What will emerge from this study is that the landscape within which the pirates operated hold cultural clues to this element of the pirates' operations – sites that may be directly associated with the pirates and smugglers of the day. Smuggling was an age-old problem, not least around Britain

[16] See chapter 5 for example, where illegal trade networks were in place in the pirate bases in Munster and where local officials, pirates and their families cooperated in the distribution of contraband.
[17] Chapter 4 discusses Hull in detail.

and Ireland from the sixteenth century onwards.[18] For the current study, difficulty arises in determining and separating both operations – piracy and smuggling, as contemporary references to aiders and abettors would have included those involved in smuggling (both native and newcomer) as well as government officials in Munster. Similarly, though archaeology is revealing that sites exist within the Munster landscape that would have facilitated smuggling in remote places, the overt landing of pirate goods and victualling of pirate ships in places like Leamcon harbour, means that the definition of smuggling - being the import or export of goods without paying lawful customs or excise duties, is difficult to determine. Again, William Hull in Leamcon facilitate a network of trade, both legal and illicit, that directly involved the pirates landing goods and with individuals waiting on shore to collect them as they arrived.[19] Certainly a system existed whereby the admiralty received payment or 'bribes' that allowed pirates to operate,[20] but as Evans has shown in his study of smuggling in Bristol, such well-organised activity became an important business for local merchants. He identified that the incentive to engage in smuggling depended on two things: the level of demand for a product and the relative cost of legal as opposed to illegal commerce.[21] Chapter 5 will show that the Atlantic pirates and their cohorts onshore ensured that smuggling went hand in hand with piracy and both practices formed part of a thriving commercial business in illicit goods.

Piracy in Ireland at the time therefore was part of a process wherein the acts of an allied group of marauders, supported by land based smugglers, merchants and

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[18] Evan T. Jones, 'Illicit business: accounting for smuggling in mid-sixteenth-century Bristol', *Economic History Review*, 54, no. 1 (2001), pp 17-38.

[19] Chapters 4, 5 and 6 deal with specific events and those involved in such transactions; see for instance: The Names of those who bought Goods of the Pirate Campane at Lymecon, in the West of Ireland, [?] 1625, *Cal S.P. Ireland, 1603-1625* (State Papers Online, Gale Calendar no. MC4347701417).

[20] Richie, ibid. p. 12.

[21] Evans, ibid. p. 19.

government officials, served to augment the central policy of government for economic and political expansion as a state and as an emerging maritime empire.

**The confederacy in Munster**

A vibrant underground economy supported an operation that focused on black marketeering of goods brought ashore by the pirates at harbours like Baltimore, Leamcon and Crookhaven and in turn the pirates were supplied and revictualled with local industrial and agricultural produce, at inflated prices. The harbours and their hinterlands had emerging English settlements overseen by well-connected government representatives, chief among them were undertaker Thomas Crooke and Deputy-Vice Admiral William Hull, who controlled and benefitted from their dealings in pirate goods. Other admiralty officials were similarly deeply ingrained in collusion with the pirates not least among them brothers Humphrey and Richard Jobson and Captain Henry Skipwith.

The secret to the success of the pirates as an alliance included their acceptance of certain characters to lead them, like that of Richard Bishop, who was voted leader of the confederacy from about 1609, being from then referred to as 'admiral' Richard Bishop. The term denotes the highest rank as a naval commander and perhaps was an attempt to attribute a more legitimate or respectable status to the leader of the pirates and thus facilitated negotiations on pardons and his subsequent legitimate settlement on William Hull's estate following his own pardoning in 1611. It will be seen with Bishop and other of his colleagues, that this may reflect a relatively short career for many as active pirates - Bishop for example, seems to have been an operative pirate for approximately four years, two of those specific to Atlantic waters. This in fact, would be the average career of pirates generally, with between eighteen months and

four years being the general length of time for most of the later pirates of the Caribbean, such as Edward 'Blackbeard' Teach and Bartholomew 'Black Bart' Roberts, tho have been active before they were either killed, executed or reprieved.[22]

Individuals like Bishop seem to have had the maritime expertise and necessary connections to ensure they were able to operate without fear of capture, who lived locally, but more importantly who carried on the business of piracy and when the time was right negotiated pardons on their own and colleagues' behalf.[23] Bishop could perhaps correctly be called the pirates' broker as he successfully bridged the gap between legitimate and illegitimate, middleman to the middlemen. His close ties with William Hull at Leamcon attest to this.

On a global scale, piracy formed part of an international ring of maritime predation, with bases strategically located within Atlantic waters stretching from Northwest Africa, Newfoundland and Ireland, where the pirates were welcomed and intermingled with fellow predators and legitimate merchants. Maritime nations were travelling farther, in bigger ships that in turn were returning home full of rich cargoes from newly-established colonies or lands where the natural resources were being exploited, many of which carried the wealth of their nations in their holds. Cargoes, comprising goods, settlers and adventurers, left the home shores of European countries like Holland, England, France and Spain to supply the needs of emerging colonies in the New World, the Indies and South America. These ships were the life-blood for colonial settlements and were funded by venture capitalists that relied on a safe arrival and quick turnaround in homeward goods to ensure profits to drive trade and settlement, supply and demand. The plunder of these heavily armed merchant

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[22] M. Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge, 1987), pp 254-287; Rediker provides an excellent overview of life at sea, and the general duration of pirate careers, primarily for the early part of the eighteenth century.

[23] These points are discussed in chapters 2, 5 and 6.

ships while opportunistic on the whole, was strategic and targeted and underlined the success of the pirate confederacy.

The depredations of these allied bands of North Atlantic pirates had clear political and socio-economic impacts, not least directly on those ships that were captured and the nations who lost their vessels and cargoes, but a greater repercussion was to result from their influence on North African corsairs. The arrival into Atlantic waters of ships belonging to Moorish and Turkish pirates, from the second decade of the seventeenth century, marked a turning point in pirate predation. The change came on the coat tails of pardons issued to the main confederacy leaders, while others chose to serve out their time under the protection of foreign powers. The government took steps to amend legislation to tackle the pirate problem in home waters and nations like Spain captured key pirate harbours like Mamora that forced the centre of pirate power there to move elsewhere. Piracy continued but under the command of Muslim converts who looked now to human captives as the cargo of choice. Piracy continued to target ships on the high seas but extended its tactics to include terrestrial attacks on coastal communities. Predation on the high seas took on a heightened and more frightening aspect that was to become a far greater menace to trade, shipping and human survival than any previous piratical impact in the North Atlantic.

**The study of piracy within the landscape of the southwest**

The archaeological study of post-medieval piracy cannot be done without historical investigation being part of that research and indeed, as is the case with this study, history and archaeology are equal partners in the research approach taken. This in essence is historical archaeology, and the topic of piracy is one that presents as both

an ideal study but also a challenge.[24] The suitability of piracy as a study for a historical archaeologist is that documentation exists for the pirates and their activity, though the vast majority of the accounts are written from a legalistic or administrative perspective. The challenge comes in the form of lack of written records by the pirates themselves. Much of the accounts that remain come from examinations perhaps taken under duress, those with hidden agendas or indeed were not even the voice of the suspected pirate but that of the scribe taking the deposition, and thus skewed. Lacking are records for family, domestic life and everyday living experiences of the individuals involved. Similarly, identifying the cultural remains on the ground is where the real difficulty lies.

While historical archaeology is an established term within the overall discipline of archaeology, the study undertaken here is equally offered as one that could put forward the concept of archaeological history. The premis being that the known or potential existence of cultural remains may inform on the written history and become part of the documented account of a given study. Such cultural evidence may take the form of archaeological reports or cartographic evidence, for example. In this way history and archaeology cohabit to the ultimate benefit of the study at hand.

For the present work on the pirates in southwest Ireland it is fortunate that a number of key historical sources are available for the period in question, as discussed below. For the material cultural remains for the piracy, the situation is very different. The paucity of such evidence has been identified internationally from other archaeological studies of piracy, with little or no literature on the cultural remains

[24] The Society for Historical Archaeology defines 'Historical Archaeology' as the 'study of the material remains of past societies that have also left behind some other form of historical evidence'; http://www.sha.org/about/historical_archaeology.cfm;

until very recent times.[25] No formal archaeological study has been done at all for piracy in Ireland and this study is thus the first to look to the material cultural remains for a specific pirate group within a particular period. It will be shown that, for a study such as this, the integration of the disciplines of history and archaeology is critical and presents the optimum opportunity to assess the nature and extent of piracy within a given maritime landscape for a defined period in our past.

The primary study area in County Cork stretches from the harbours of Castlehaven in the east to Crookhaven in the extreme west. Within this stretch of coastline, which covers a distance of approximately thirty nautical miles, are located the harbours of Baltimore, Schull and Leamcon and the multitude of islands within Roaringwater Bay that include Sherkin, Cape Clear and Long Island (map image 1). Some areas that lie outside this immediate study zone are included as the archaeological sites identified in those areas add valuable information to the study at hand. These areas include sites at Kinsale, Dunworley Bay to the west of Kinsale and a site located at the entrance to Waterford harbour.[26]

The methodology for the archaeological survey comprised rapid fieldwork along the coastal fringe within the known areas frequented by the pirates and their cohorts. The fieldwork was informed by the historical and cartographic sources but in turn, the documentary information was 'truthed' by way of archaeological fieldwork on the ground. Local sources also included engaging with local people. For a study such as this, where the concept of looking for the archaeology of what was overall ephemeral activity in the past, it is imperative that the locals living in the area are consulted as part of the research. Folkloric information that may appear fanciful, in

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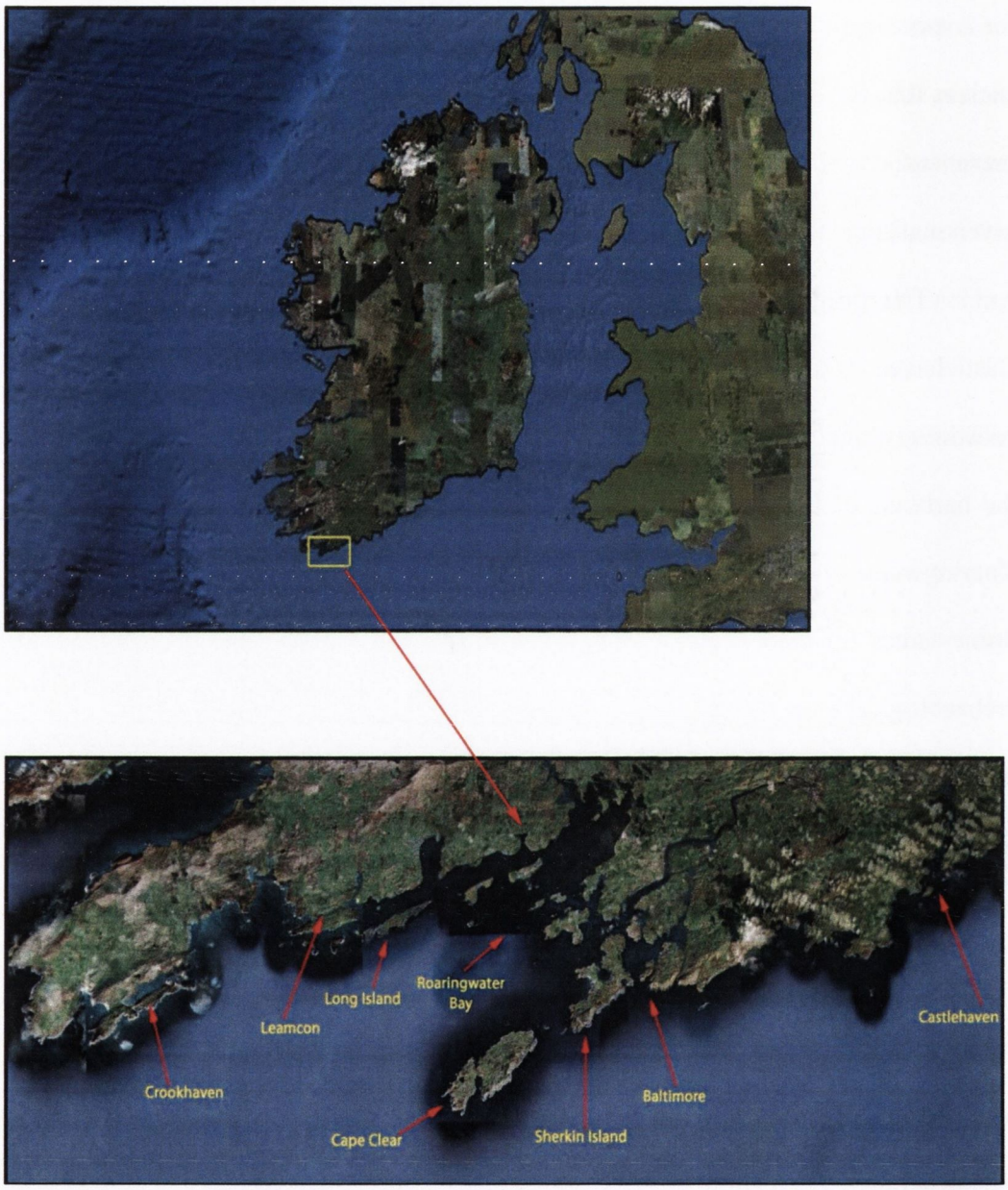
[25] R. K. Skowronek and C.R. Ewen, *X Marks the Spot: The Archaeology of Piracy* (Gainesville, Florida, 2006), p. 4.

[26] Please see Appendix 6 for a location map for these sites and a listing of all sites recorded.

part due to the nature of the topic of piracy, can in fact be supported by evidence on the ground.




(map image 1) Google aerial map of Ireland with southwest coastal area indicated and close up of study area with main harbours highlighted.

Local landmarks, placenames, townland identification or changes that have occurred within a given landscape over time and that are known by local people, can be the key to verifying information. Among tall tales of distant events, fragments of

truths can emerge that will provide clarity to the archaeological evidence on the ground and the written word. Knowing the names of fields or passageways, such as that of 'boathouse field' or 'the long dock' in Leamcon, which do not appear on any map but retain previously unrecorded cultural remains on the foreshore below where pirate middleman William Hull lived and the pirates settled, is an example.[27] By not interviewing the resident population and in particular its senior members for such a landscape study is to omit a key resource.

The assimilation of all results from the physical survey and documentary research is contained within this study and presents evidence for new material cultural remains from that period but a fresh look at the pirates and their activity within the coastal landscape and the ports and harbours that they used as bases.

**Archaeological sources**

The 2001 study 'Towards an Archaeology of Piracy' by Elizabeth Thomas is interesting in that it is one of the first studies of piracy to be carried out in Ireland or the UK that looks to identifying it as an archaeological concept, and asks some important questions about how we approach the idea of 'pirate archaeology'.[28] Thomas addresses some of the main aspects to piracy, for example social interaction, patterns of piracy, organization within the pirate ranks and legitimate corruption and facilitation. These are suggested as representing the key characteristics of piracy, including referring to the piracy prevalent along the southwest coast of Munster during the study period. It is argued that all these characteristics should be identifiable within the archaeological record, either in architectural or agricultural evidence or by

[27] These sites and individuals are discussed in detail in following chapters.
[28] E. Thomas, 'Towards an Archaeology of Piracy' (unpublished MA thesis, Queens' University, Belfast, 2001); I would like to thank Professor Audrey Horning, Queen's University Belfast, for facilitating access to this source.

way of tracing population expansion within a given area as a direct result of the economic growth through trade with pirates. While in theory this should be possible, in practice Thomas' lack of archaeological study on the ground and the difficulty thereto attached to actual identification of evidence leads to her conclusions being, to some extent, unsupported. While studies like that of Thomas' are to be welcomed, it highlights the need to 'archaeologically-truth' the proposed 'concept of pirate archaeology' if such a hypothesis is to become a reality; even with such investigation, definitive archaeological evidence may still remain frustratingly inconclusive.

Perhaps the first primary publication of its kind to address directly cultural remains and piracy is that of *X Marks the Spot: The Archaeology of Piracy*.[29] Containing over a dozen contributions by scholars from varied backgrounds ranging from historians to maritime archaeologists, it looks specifically at the cultural evidence for piracy, principally in the Americas, Caribbean and Indian Ocean regions. The study combines historical research with the physical evidence from well-known sites such as that of Port Royal in Jamaica, the infamous seat of late-seventeenth century piracy in the Caribbean. It was submerged and destroyed by an earthquake in 1692 and was once known as 'the wickedest city on earth'.[30] While the work at Port Royal has produced evidence for buildings and wrecks, with the remains of one vessel washed up onto the actual coastal buildings during the earthquake-tsunami event, little specific cultural data for individual pirates has been discovered. Archaeological results have informed on the everyday lives of the inhabitants, but whether settler, pirate, prostitute or preacher, the physical proof for individuals remains elusive.[31]

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[29] Skowronek and Ewen, ibid.

[30] Dr. D. Hamilton, The Port Royal Project; http://nautarch.tamu.edu/portroyal/

[31] Donny Hamilton, 'Pirates and Merchants: Port Royal, Jamaica', in R. Skowronek, and C. Ewen, *X Marks the Spot – The Archaeology of Piracy* (Florida, 2006), p.17.

Specific shipwreck sites are also explored in the book. Only a handful of pirate shipwrecks, or more appropriately, remains of ships associated with pirates, have been investigated to date and of these just two have been positively identified as ships belonging to known pirates. The *Whydah Galley*, flagship of pirate Richard Bellamy, lost in the year 1717 off Cape Cod is one and the other is Christopher Condent's *Fiery Dragon,* lost off Madagascar in 1721.[32] With a known pirate crew, evidence from shipwrecks can inform of life on board, plunder on the high seas and how the ship itself was finally wrecked, but again, discerning between the lives of everyday mariners from that of being pirates can be equally as challenging. Indeed, the history of ships and shipwreck archaeology - if a known wreck associated with piracy can be found - may be an obvious ingredient to any pirate study. Understanding the types of ships in use at the time will provide a better understanding of how the pirates operated, including looking to the range of vessels used by them, vessels targeted for plunder and the calibre of ships that sought to engage with the pirates when seeking to suppress and capture them.[33]

Archaeological sources for ships and wrecks in Ireland for the period are scarce and scattered. Generic publications that provide introductory insight or point the way to potential further information are available. In particular the data contained in the *Shipwreck Inventory of Ireland* provides a list of nine shipwrecks for the

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http://nautarch.tamu.edu/portroyal/index.htm; the website for the Port Royal Project is an excellent resource, with interactive elements that allow for a view into the archaeological work at Port Royal, including excavation of individual buildings.

[32] John De Bry, 'Christopher Condent's *Fiery Dragon*: Investigating an Early Eighteenth-Century Pirate Shipwreck off the Coast of Madagascar', in Russell K. Skowronek and Charles, R. Ewen (eds.), *X Marks the Spot*, pp 100-130; Christopher E. Hamilton, 'The Pirate Ship *Whydah*', in ibid. pp 131-159; Barry Clifford, *The Pirate Prince: Discovering the Priceless Treasures of the Sunken Ship Whydah* (New York, 1993); Clifford, *Expedition Whydah* (New York, 1999); much controversy has surrounded the discovery, investigation and subsequent handling of the artefacts from the wreck of the *Whydah*, as the majority of the work on the site was carried out by commercial salvors and not underwater archaeologists, with the focus being commercial gain through the sale of the heritage or exhibitions via private museums.

[33] See chapter 2 for a discussion on vessel typology.

general area of the southwest that are historically recorded as having been associated with or affected by pirate activity. These include the loss of a Spanish ship in 1582 that was captured by pirates and brought to Baltimore; the loss of several of pirate Patrick Myagh's ships when attacked by the Dutch in Crookhaven in 1614; the loss of pirate Captain Sammes ship in Berehaven in the first decade of the seventeenth century and the wrecking of one of pirates John or Robert Nutt's ships in Dunworley Bay in the year 1631.[34] The information contained in the inventory files, however, draws mainly on secondary sources and is thus limited in its scope but is being updated regularly to include new entries, either from historical sources or archaeological discoveries.

Colin Breen's and Wesley Forsythe's *Boats and Shipwrecks of Ireland* again provides a very general and short overview of the types of ships in use for the early seventeenth-century period, including the loss of the ship called *Pearl* in 1613 near Dursey Island, West Cork, and the establishment by the English East India Company in 1612 of an iron works, with docks and shipbuilding capability at Dundaniel, in County Cork, within the grounds of the castle there (plate 1).[35] The site is deserving of detailed archaeological investigation, including underwater survey, with little archaeological study done on it to date[36] but it is clear from its history that entrepreneur Richard Boyle and his Catholic nemesis, Walter Coppinger, were

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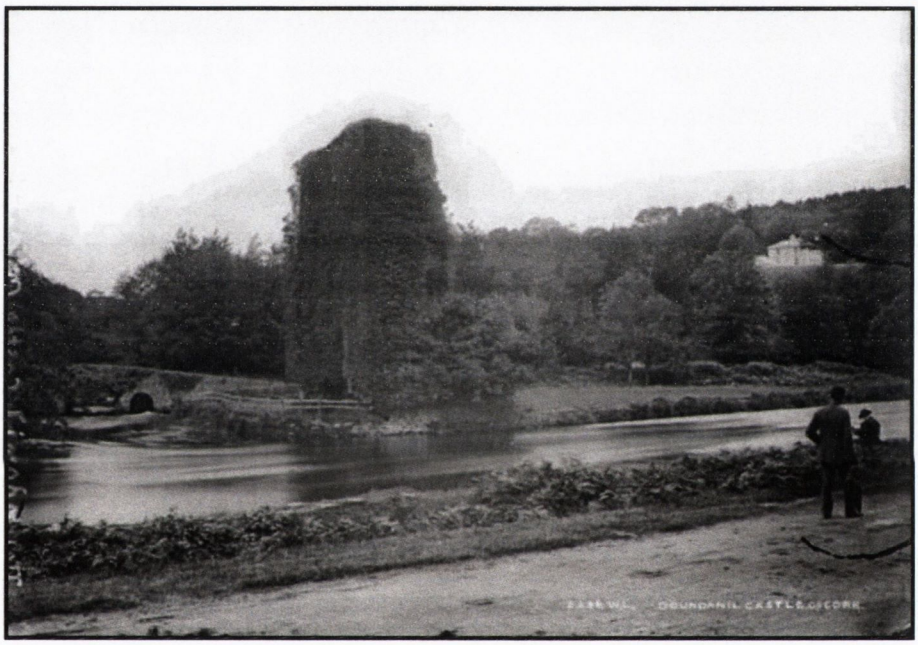
[34] *Shipwreck Inventory of Ireland* Archive Data for County Cork (Unpublished data, Underwater Archaeology Unit, Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht); the Dunworley Bay wreck is discussed in Appendix 5, with a list of the nine other wrecks recorded given in Appendix 6; C. Kelleher, The Dunworley Bay Shipwreck: 17th-century evidence for piracy and slavery in Ireland? (Society for Historical Archaeology/Advisory Council on Underwater Archaeology Conference Proceedings, 2011), pp 138-145.

[35] C. Breen and W. Forsyth, 'The Early Modern Period, c.1600-1920', *Boats and Shipwrecks of Ireland* (Dublin, 2004), pp 109-117.

[36] An MPhil is currently being undertaken by Mr. Joe Nunan in University College Cork on the archaeology of Kinalmeaky during the plantation period and is including the East India settlement at Dundaniel. This is primarily terrestrial focused, however, and an underwater archaeological survey of the river immediate to the site awaits being done.

complicit in attempting to thwart the progress of the Company's commercial endeavours there.[37]

Deputy Vice-Admiral Henry Skipwith lived close by in Carraiganassig castle near Innishannon and pirate William Baugh, who actively courted Skipwith and his wife in the hope of marrying their daughter, when pardoned in 1613 also spent time in Innishannon.[38]



(plate 1) Ruins of Dundaniel Castle, Co. Cork[39]

Looking to the historical sources for ships at that time, Oppenheim's narratives on the Royal Navy under Stuart rule, R.G. Marsden's discussion on the English ships in use during the period and more recent publications like that of N.A.M. Rodger provide a wealth of discussion on the administration and operations

[37] Letter to the Lordes Justrice of the realme of Irelaunde, April 17, 1616, *Acts of the Privy Council 1615-1616*, pp 490-491; E. McCracken, 'Ironworks in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Ireland', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Third Series, 20 (1957), p. 127-128.

[38] John Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland: A Profile of Sir William Hull', *Studia Hibernica 25* (1989-90), p. 77; 'The Affairs of Pirates; the surrender and submission of Captain William Baugh at Kinsale, 1611-1612', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 91 (1986), pp. 68-84; I am grateful to Dr. Colin Breen of University of Ulster at Coleraine for clarifying Carriganassig castle as Skipwith's place of residence.

[39] Dundaniel Castle, Cork County, 1880-1914, Glass negatives (National Library of Ireland Photographic Archive: L-CAB-02536); http://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/L_CAB_02536/Home

of, but also, the decline in the Royal Navy during the period and on shipping in general.[40]

The West Cork volume of the *Archaeological Inventory of Ireland* provides a succinct description of archaeological sites, including many that are located within the study area and were associated with the pirates at the time. Sites like the castles of Leamcon, Oldcourt and Dún na Séad, whose English occupants had direct dealings with the pirate captains and within which the pirates themselves were entertained, provide the tangible cultural link to that activity by association.[41] Studies that address the ruling Gaelic lordships, conflict and change in the rural landscape and how the socio-political environment altered to suit the new territorial expansionist régime have lent themselves to a better understanding of individuals within this landscape and why activities such as piracy were so successful. Breen's and Kelleher's respective studies of the O'Sullivan-Beara and O'Driscoll lordships highlight how these ruling clans frequently engaged in acts of piracy on each other and on foreign ships along their coastlines, and how maritime predation at sea was part of the everyday life of those living in these remote areas, as a mechanism to control trade, shipping and maintain economic advantages within their own territorial waters. The use of ships, control of the coastline and the wealth that was to be had from such activity is discussed, with many of the archaeological sites surveyed being intricately interwoven later on with the pirate confederacy in the southwest.[42]

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[40] Michael Oppenheim, *A history of the administration of the Royal Navy and of merchant shipping in relation to the navy from 1509 to 1660* (London, 1988), p 202; 'The Royal Navy under James I', *The English Historical Review*, 7, no. 27 (July 1892), pp 471-496; R.G. Marsden, 'English ships in the Reign of James I, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, new series, 19 (1905), pp 309-342; N.A.M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Seas: A Naval History of Britain 660-1649* (London, 1979), pp 327-410.

[41] D. Power, (ed.), *Archaeological Inventory of County Cork, Volume 1: West Cork* (Dublin, 1992), p. 320, 329, 332.

[42] C. Breen, *An Archaeology of Southwest Ireland, 1570-1670* (Dublin, 2007), pp 167-185; C. Kelleher, 'The Maritime Archaeological Landscape of Baltimore, Co. Cork' (Masters thesis, University College, Cork, 1998), pp 116-151; 'The Gaelic O'Driscoll Lords of Baltimore, Co. Cork:

**Local archaeological journalistic sources**

Sources, like that of the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* and the *Mizen Journal*, have proven to be a mine of information on archaeological sites in West Cork over the years. Contributions like that of Henry Barnby's account of the sack of Baltimore in 1631 by the Algerine pirates or Rev. J. Coombes note on Richard Boyle's forewarning of the event, are useful in content in their own right but their intrinsic value serves in pointing to other sources that inform on a study such as this one.[43] An example being Coombes' notes on the possible location in Trinity College Dublin of a map of Baltimore, a similar copy of which may be the map that forms part of the Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford papers in Sheffield Library Archives (map image 4).[44] Some of these sources are also open to challenge and reinterpretation based on results from this study.

For example, potential archaeological evidence is suggesting the traditionally proposed landing place for the Algerine Turks in 1631 as being the Cove area in Baltimore is incorrect and the pirates more than likely landed in another location.[45] While some of the information in the *Mizen Journal* can include mythological and folkloric tales, much of the archaeological work contained is sound. Indeed the paper by John Hawke on Canty's Cove's in West Cork remains the only proper research

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Settlement, Economy and Conflict in a 'Maritime' Cultural Landscape', in L. Doran and J. Lyttleton (eds.) *Gaelic Ireland: Lordship in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp 130-159; H. Kelleher, 'The Archaeology of Fish Palaces in West Cork' (MA thesis, University College Cork, 1995); P. Kerrigan, *Castles and Fortifications in Ireland, 1485-1945* (Cork, 1995), pp 17-56.

[43] Accounts such as Barnby's can also contain inaccuracies, which has been challenged by historical research and archaeological survey undertaken for this study; please see Appendix 5.

[44] Henry Barnby, 'The Sack of Baltimore', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 74 (1969), pp 101-129; Rev. J. Coombes, 'The Sack of Baltimore, a forewarning', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 63, no. 198, note (1956), pp 60-61; Map of Baltimore, WWM. Str. P 20/(b)/100 Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments Strafford Folio Map (Sheffield Library Archives, UK).

[45] Again, please see Appendix 5 for a full discussion on this.

carried out to date on the site and is thus a highly valuable addition to our knowledge of the area, to the pirate known as Canty and to this present study.[46]

**General archaeological and key historical sources**

While publications like Skowronek's and Ewen's book on pirate archaeology contains important information about the archaeological work that has been done on pirate studies internationally, there is indeed a hiatus in such archaeological work here in Ireland. Other archaeological resources are available, however, which look to the wider cultural landscape of the time and into which the pirates of the southwest arrived. These include looking at elements within such a landscape of resettlement that was integral to the social order of the day. The work on plantation archaeology, as presented in James Lyttleton's and Colin Rynne's recent book *Plantation Ireland,* contains several papers relevant to this study.[47] In particular Breen's paper on famine events in Munster at the close of the sixteenth century and resultant displacement of the rural population is interesting. The premise to his paper is that it is difficult to identify such famine events in the archaeological record and this has resonance when trying to pinpoint pirate activity in a similar record. His suggested approach to using informed historical contexts for investigations of particular sites would again apply aptly to the archaeological study of piracy.[48] Horning's paper too, though dealing primarily with the archaeological evidence for alehouses in Ulster and colonial

[46] John Hawke, 'Canty's Cove – Legend and History', *The Mizen Journal*, 5: Selections from *The Mizen Journal* 1993-2004 (Original paper published in the journal in 1992; Reprint Skibbereen, 2004), pp 292-302; this site is discussed in detail in chapter 2.

[47] J. Lyttleton and C. Rynne, *Plantation Ireland: Settlement and Material Culture 1550-1700* (Dublin, 2009).

[48] C. Breen, 'Famine and displacement in plantation-period Munster', in Lyttleton and Rynne, ibid, pp 132-139.

Jamestown, Virginia provides a vivid view into the centrality of alehouses and alcohol to the economic and social workings taking place during those changing times.[49]

New drinking behaviour came in with the arriving English settlers, with alehouses and taverns becoming popular within plantation settlements. No doubt these were well tested by the English pirates haunting the coasts there at that time, with an account of Captain Richard Robinson and his crew drunk on the streets of Baltimore in a 'most riotious manner'.[50] Other industries also evolved in line with the piracy and alcohol trade, and as will be seen in chapter 5, growth in illegal alehouses and taverns went hand in hand with growth in prostitution.[51] More recently publications specifically addressing the social, political and economic aspects of piracy have emerged. C. R. Pennell's *Bandits at Sea* and C. Jowitt's *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650,* both contain diverse, multi-disciplinary essays that look at aspects of piracy not previously addressed with such clarity, including discussing the social side of piracy, how piracy affected market forces, homosexuality and piracy, gender and piracy and the politics of execution.[52] Though looking at piracy from a global perspective and from all periods, John Appleby's contributions in both of these books and the publications themselves certainly assist in formulating a more holistic and meaningful view of the pirates and their activities in the southwest during the early seventeenth century.[53]

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[49] A. Horning, ''The root of all vice and bestiality': exploring the cultural role of alehouses in the Ulster Plantation', in Lyttleton and Rynne, ibid., pp 113-131.
[50] C. Senior, *A Nation of Pirates: English Piracy in its Heyday* (London, 1976), p. 38.
[51] M. Curtis Clayton, (ed.), *The Council Book for the Province of Munster, c. 1599-1649* (IMC, Dublin, 2008), p. 70.
[52] C.R. Pennell, (ed.), *Bandit's at Sea: A Pirate Reader* (New York, 2001); C. Jowitt, (ed.), *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650* (New York, 2007).
[53] Appleby, 'Women and Piracy in Ireland', in C.R. Pennell (ed.), *Bandit's at Sea: A Pirate Reader*, pp 283-298; 'The Problem of Piracy in Ireland, 1550-1630', in C. Jowitt (ed.) *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*, pp 41-55.

The publications of Clive Senior and John Appleby have addressed at length the history of piracy in the southwest of Ireland during the period of this study and Appleby in particular would perhaps be the foremost authority on the piracy for that time in Ireland. Clive Senior first published his book *A Nation of Pirates* in 1976 looking at English piracy in its heyday. Stemming from his 1972 thesis on the same subject, it was the first study to thoroughly research primary sources for English piracy during the seventeenth century, including its impact in Ireland. His book and doctoral thesis remain key literary sources for piracy from that period.[54]

Appleby's work is extensive. His publications on the pirates in Ireland have served to emphasise, again for the first time, the importance of this aspect of Ireland's maritime history and place it in its proper historical context. He has successfully tackled the nature and extent of the piracy on a multitude of levels and has published on key individuals, including pirates like William Baugh and admiralty officials like William Hull. His overview of the High Court of Admiralty papers as source material for Ireland is supported by his edited calendared publication on the HCA documents in the National Archives in London relating to Ireland, and these include a high volume of entries on piracy. He was among the first to address the important role of women and piracy in Ireland and has also published informative accounts on related maritime events of privateering and the naval defence of the Irish coast that primarily targeted piracy. His most recent publication on Tudor piracy adds another contextual layer to our understanding of piracy at the time and cumulatively his publications provide indepth accounts for piracy in English and Irish waters but within a globalised

[54] Clive Senior, *A Nation of Pirates: English Piracy in its Heyday* (London, Vancouver and New York, 1976); 'An Investigation of the Activities and Importance of English Pirates 1603-40' (PhD Thesis, Bristol University, 1972).

maritime context, for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[55] Certainly his work was a key inspiration to this study and his keen insights into how the pirates operated, including detailing the main places frequented by them, have assisted with the archaeological survey of the main pirate bases in the southwest.

Virginia Lunsford's excellent publication *Piracy and Privateering in the Golden Age Netherlands* provides a comprehensive overview of the intensity and complicity of Dutch piracy in the seventeenth century and the approaches taken by the Dutch authorities to curb and eradicate it. Of interest to this study, apart from the obvious comparative contemporary parallels, is that she explains the background to certain individuals, both admiralty commanders and pirates who were also to impact on the southern coast of Munster. In particular the exploits of Captain Moy Lambert and pirate Captain Claus Campane are discussed. Lunsford's work provides clarity to why these characters were active in the waters around Ireland at the time and helps in understanding some of the key events, including why the attack by Moy Lambert on Crookhaven in 1614, happened.[56]

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[55] John C. Appleby, 'An Irish Letter of Marque', *Irish Sword,* 15, no. 61 (1983), pp 218-221;'A nursery of pirates: the English pirate community in Ireland in the early seventeenth century', *International Journal of Maritime History,* II, no. 1 (June 1990), pp 1-27; 'Settlers and Pirates in Early Seventeenth Ireland: A Profile of Sir William Hull', *Studia Hibernica,* 25 (1990), pp 76-104; 'The 'Affairs of Pirates': the surrender and submission of Captain William Baugh at Kinsale, 1611-1612', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society,* 91 (1986), pp 68-84; 'Merchants and Mariners, Pirates and Privateers: an introductory survey of the records of the High Court of Admiralty as a source for regional maritime history, *c.* 1500-1800' in M. McCaughan and J. Appleby (eds.), *The Irish Sea: Aspects of Maritime History* (Belfast, 1989), pp 47-58; 'Women and Piracy in Ireland: from Gráinne O'Malley to Anne Bonny' in M. MacCurtain and M. O'Dowd (eds.), *Women in Early Modern Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1991), pp 55-68; 'The Defence of Ireland: A Naval Journal of 1627', *Analecta Hibernica,* 37 (1998), pp 237-248; (ed.), *A Calendar of Material relating to Ireland from the High Court of Admiralty - Examinations 1563-1641* (IMC, Dublin, 1992); 'Women and Piracy in Ireland: From Gráinne O'Malley to Anne Bonny' in C.R. Pennell (ed.), *Bandits at Sea* (New York, 2001), pp 283-298; 'The Problem with Piracy in Ireland, 1570-1630 in C. Jowitt (ed.) *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650* (New York, 2007), pp 41-55; 'Pirates and Communities: Scenes from Elizabethan England and Wales', in J.C. Appleby & P. Dalton (eds.), *Outlaws in Medieval and Early Modern England,* 5 (UK, 2009), pp 149-177; *Under the Bloody Flag: Pirates of the Tudor Age* (Stroud, 2009); John C. Appleby, and Mary O'Dowd, The Irish Admiralty: its organization and Development, *c.* 1570-1640', *Irish Historical Studies,* 24, no. 96 (May 1985), pp 299-326.

[56] Virginia Lunsford, *Piracy and Privateering in the Golden Age Netherlands* (New York, 2005).

**Secondary sources**

There are a number of secondary books, thesis and articles that either examine directly or address generally piracy along the southwest coast of Ireland during the early seventeenth century. Philip Gosse' book *The History of Piracy*, first published in 1932, was perhaps the first publication that endeavoured to address the factual history of piracy without all the embellishments of the romance and intrigue of the pirates and their adventures.[57] Similarly Patrick Pringle's 1953 publication *Jolly Roger: The Story of the Golden Age of Piracy*, provides an historical accounting of the main period in pirate activity for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[58] Both publications discuss many of the famous pirates of the time, from Barbarossa in the sixteenth century, the Jacobean pirates of the early seventeenth century which are of interest to this study - right through to nineteenth-century piracy in America and the Colonies. Pringle makes a good point, while discussing English pirate John Ward, that men like him were often branded traitors and renegades for acts of piracy but, in fact they had been encouraged during times of war and when gainfully employed as mariners, to plunder merchant shipping.[59] This point could well be repeated for many of the other pirates active in Atlantic waters during the study period. Many of the primary historical sources for each period are looked at within both publications, but Gosse's referencing tends to be weak within the text and it is difficult to determine where certain information has come from.

C. E. Hughes looked at piracy around the Welsh coast during the Tudor period, though most of the early Stuart period is also included.[60] It is mainly the later piracy in Ireland that is discussed, particularly the raid on Baltimore in 1631, but

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[57] Philip Gosse, *The History of Piracy* (New Mexico, 1990 edition).
[58] P. Pringle, *Jolly Roger: The Story of the Great Age of Piracy* (New York, 1953).
[59] Pringle, ibid. p. 43.
[60] C.E. Hughes, 'Wales and Piracy, A Study in Tudor Administration 1500-1640' (Masters Thesis, University of Swansea, 1937), pp 208-209.

Hughes' work provides good background material on the pirate activity that was taking place in the coastal waters of England, Ireland and Wales immediately prior to the early seventeenth century, before operations moved to the Irish coast. Ronald Moore's thesis provides a compelling discussion on the methods undertaken by the English administration at the time to suppress piracy in Ireland and debates the reasons why the English government was unable to defeat this activity by itself.[61] Of more interest is the chapter on 'The Operation of the Jacobean Pirates: Practices and Attitudes'. Moore uses first-hand evidence for the characters of the men involved in piracy, including those like William Baugh in Ireland and teases out how they operated and functioned successfully. It includes an important debate on the human side and tactics of these men.[62] Senior drew on Moore's thesis but looked to researching the primary sources used within it rather than using the study itself as a main source. Indeed Senior correctly noted that Moore did not deal adequately with the foreign pirate bases and thus missed the importance of events that took place in those locations, like the fall of Mamora in 1614, and the contribution they played in the decline of piracy at home.[63]

MacCarthy-Murrogh's definitive publication on the English settlement of Munster includes the presence of the pirates in the area, and critically places this activity within the wider context of the Munster plantation.[64] While providing information on the political and economic state of the region for the period, he tackles piracy in the area in the context of its being a business and part of the demographic makeup of the landscape, including the collusion of admiralty and government

[61] R.O. Moore, 'Some Aspects of the Origin and Nature of English Piracy, 1603-1625' (PhD Thesis, University of Virginia, 1960), pp 56-79, 98- 107. Moore allots a full section to piracy in Ireland, pp. 181-212.
[62] Moore, 'Some Aspects', pp 108-136.
[63] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. iii.
[64] M. MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland 1583-1641* (Oxford, 1986), pp 154, 215-222.

officials with the pirates. His discussion on the industries in the area that were driving the settlement of English planters in west Munster, namely the pilchard and ironworking industries provides the opportunity to reinterpret existing and perhaps discover new archaeological evidence for these industries, including site types like the fish palaces that have left traces along the coast, as at Baltimore and on Sherkin Island; but also other more ephemeral sites, like fish cellars that leave little or no evidence on the ground.[65] It was within these localised industries that many of the pirates may have obtained legitimate work when not operating on the high seas as predators and which adds to the difficulty of tracing their specific cultural footprint on the ground as pirates.

So too, Treadwell's handling of *Buckingham in Ireland 1616-1628* presents an informed discussion on the effects, corruption and administrative upheavals that one man can have on the political affairs of a region and the degree to which corruption was inherent in political society in Ireland at that time. His discussion on the alehouse patents is useful when considering how central these establishments were to pirates and local settlements. He also addresses the Irish admiralty and discusses the depleted nature of the royal navy and Buckingham's attempts to rebuild it to tackle the problem of piracy.[66]

Timely to this study is Jane Ohlmeyer's book *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century*.[67] The book itself is a major contribution to our understanding of the peerage in Ireland but critical to this thesis, it includes key characters like Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork, Sir Thomas Roper, second viscount Baltinglass and Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond. While providing an

[65] New site types are discussed throughout the thesis but in particular see chapters 2 and 6; Appendix 6 presents a site listing and short catalogue.
[66] V. Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland 1616-1628: A Study in Anglo-Irish Politics* (Dublin, 1998), pp 81-91, 97-102.
[67] J. Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English,* ibid.

overview of the rise of individuals like these it importantly helps to understand the mechanisms within which such players operated. Whether entrepreneurs like Boyle, connected figures like Roper or Gaelic-speaking lords like Thomond who bridged the divide between old Ireland and the new ascendency, it is the interplay between such characters - their official worlds as it were - plus that of the pirates and their operations where the context of wealth, economy and settlement is best understood.

In order to understand the state of the Munster region within which piracy flourished for the period, the chapters by R.A. Butlin, Aidan Clarke and by Clarke and R. Dudley Edwards in *A New History of Ireland* provide extensive information on the development of the area within its wider global context.[68] More broad-based publications on the wider Atlantic and the international economical perspective of maritime affairs, including privateering during the latter-part of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries is provided in the publications by K.R. Andrews. In particular *Elizabethan Privateering* looks at length on this activity prior to its being outlawed by James VI and I and highlights well the thin line that existed between the two activities.[69] *Trade Plunder and Settlement* delves into key players, including the 'Merchant Adventurers', English and Dutch East Indies Companies and the pirates who plied the open seas in search of the cargoes carried in the great ships of these competing nations.[70] Andrews' discussion of the international expansion of maritime empires serves to illustrate why piracy was integral to this global expansion in trade and travel and clearly illustrates that the period of piracy in Ireland under

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[68] R.A. Butlin, 'Land and People, *c.* 1600', pp 142-167; A. Clarke, 'The Irish Economy, 1600-60', pp 168-185; A. Clarke and R. Dudley Edwards, ' Pacification, plantation, and the catholic question, 1603-23', pp 187-232, in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds) *A New History of Ireland III, Modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976, 2003 reprint).

[69] K.R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (Cambridge, 1964).

[70] K.R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime enterprise and the genesis of the British Empire 1480-1630* (New York, 1984), pp 27-28, 98-99, 184-186.

study here should be viewed in the context of being part of a global continuum of maritime plunder through time.

Jason Acosta's study 'Piracy's Influence in the Atlantic World' further highlights this fact when he discusses the centrality of piracy to the colonial economies of the expanding Atlantic empires and how such commercial growth and opportunity correspondingly facilitated the intensification of underground activity.[71] Drawing on Nicholas Canny's work, Acosta discusses how lines of communications were established as a result of the expanding mercantile empires, with such transatlantic connections impacting how business was done and who did it.[72] Canny's analysis of the difficulties involved in the social issues of control within English-attempted colonial settlement is insightful and relevant to the present study in that the piracy in the southwest took place outside the remit of the official plantation and thus out of reach of central administrative inspection. His discussions on the type of individual who settled in Munster, from those of poorer backgrounds to landed gentlemen, lends itself to further deliberations on the ease by which the majority appeared to have facilitated and became involved with the pirate activity in the area in the formative years of the 1600s.[73] This has parallels in later colonial settlements where piracy prevailed, including the well-known pirate establishments at Port Royal and in the Caribbean in the early part of the eighteenth century.[74]

A select number of associated sources are available that either address aspects of piracy in Ireland in general or look at specific events or individuals. These include

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[71] J. Acosta, 'Piracy's Influence in the Atlantic World' (Masters Thesis, University of Florida, 2005).
[72] Ibid., pp 8, 77-101.
[73] N. Canny, 'The permissive frontier: the problem of social control in English settlement in Ireland and Virginia 1550-1650 in K.R. Andrews (ed.) *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America 1480-1650* (Detroit, 1979), pp 17-44.
[74] D. Starkey, 'Pirates and Markets', in C.R. Pennell (ed.), *Bandits at Sea* (New York, 2001), pp 107-124; Donny L. Hamilton, 'Pirates and Merchants: Port Royal, Jamaica', in Russell K. Skowronek and Charles R. Ewen (eds.), *X Marks the Spot*, ibid., pp 13-30.

works by John de Courcy-Ireland, including his seminal publication on the maritime history of Ireland that remains a key reference for this aspect of Irish history, and includes a section on piracy.[75] Similarly his insights into the Algerine raid on Baltimore is interesting in that it is written from the Algerine perspective, influenced no doubt by De Courcy-Ireland's having spent numerous years studying Algerine maritime history and lecturing to the cadets in the nautical college in Algiers.[76]

Anne Chambers' book on Grace O'Malley is supported by legitimate historical research, presents a picture of the 'pirate queen' and early piracy in Ireland in an accessible and informative way, albeit told as an unfolding human story.[77] Des Ekin's book looks specifically at the raid on Baltimore in 1631 and is the first major piece of work on the event. It is well researched and presents new theoretical debate on the events leading up to the attack and the fate of the captives thereafter.[78] At times it succumbs to overly dramatic narrative that reads more like a romantic novel than a historic account, and this lends itself to ill-informed pronouncements. Comparing Roaringwater Bay in the time of the pirates to that of Hell's Angels at a holiday camp or Leamcon and Baltimore being as wild as Port Royal and Tortuga, are cases in point.[79] Its readability when dealing with the raid on Baltimore in 1631 successfully provides a vivid picture of what happened there at the time, though details of the events are subject to artistic licence and draw heavily on Barnby's account of the raid.[80]

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[75] John de Courcy-Ireland, *Ireland and the Irish in maritime history* (Dublin, 1986); 'The Algerine Raid on Baltimore', *The Irish Sword*, 10, notes (1970-71), p. 69.
[76] Personal communication from Dr. de Courcy-Ireland, 4 March, 1998.
[77] Anne Chambers, *Granuaile: The Life and Times of Grace O'Malley* (Dublin, 1998).
[78] Des Ekin, *The Stolen Village: Baltimore and the Barbary Pirates* (Dublin, 2006); this is discussed in more detail in chapter 9.
[79] Ekin, ibid. p. 89.
[80] Henry Barnby, 'The Sack of Baltimore', ibid. pp 101-129.

Bernie McCarthy's recent publications on the history of the castle of Dún na Séad, which stems from her own thesis on the site, along with her shorter book on piracy in Baltimore are a welcome addition to the topic.[81] Both have a solid foundation in the historical sources and the work provides a comprehensive history of the castle, including its development by Thomas Crooke during the plantation period and that of the confederacy of pirates. The *Pirates of Baltimore* comprises three chapters from McCarthy's book on Dún na Séad and concentrates on the O'Driscolls as local pirates during the sixteenth century, the arrival of Thomas Crooke and his development of Baltimore as a plantation settlement and the later 1631 attack on Baltimore. The latter is given an updated retelling based on the available contemporary documents, local knowledge of the area and recent archaeological discoveries. It is thus a valuable new literary addition to the account of the raid on Baltimore.[82]

**Primary sources: contemporary documents**

It is fortunate that contemporary historical documents exist to inform on the pirates in the southwest. These sources can be broken down into two broad categories: material specifically relating to the piratical activity in southwest Ireland for the early part of the seventeenth century and general archival and printed material from this period that make reference to the particular activity, whilst also dealing with wider political or administrative issues.

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[81] Bernie McCarthy, *Dun na Séad: the history of Baltimore castle* (Skibbereen, 2012); *Pirates of Baltimore: From the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century* (Skibbereen, 2012); Maria Bernadette Donovan, 'Dún na Séad: the history of Baltimore castle' (MA thesis, University College Cork, 2008); I am very grateful to Bernie McCarthy for providing me with chapter copies of her thesis for my research and advanced copies of her book; it should be noted that Ms. Donovan and Ms McCarthy are one and the same person.

[82] Neither publications deal in any depth with the confederacy of pirates, though some of the main characters like Thomas Crooke and William Hull are discussed.

A number of important contemporary sources survive that are vital to this study. The papers forming part of the High Court of Admiralty records held in the National Archives in London are perhaps the most critical.[83] Established sometime within the period from 1340 to 1360, and continuing until 1995, the High Court of Admiralty was set up to address maritime issues, in particular piracy, plundered goods, salvage, prizes taken as part of privateering ventures and issues of rightful ownership. The High Court of Admiralty came into existence from the beginning of the fifteenth century, with admirals' courts in place before that but these local courts proved to be unpopular and inefficient, often being held in remote places where irregularities were common.[84] A large volume of material exists within the High Court of Admiralty documents relating to Ireland and within these specific to issues of piracy.[85] These sources have been utilised by scholars within the wider context of the contemporary history of Munster at the time.[86]

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[83] While a large selection of relevant HCA documents were consulted for this study that deal directly with the piracy in Ireland, this was not exhaustive; both Senior and Appleby have previously carried out intensive and thorough research on a vast number of these. The focus of research into the HCA sources consulted for this thesis was predicated on whether they revealed any insight into the actual confederacy and its organization from a cultural heritage perspective, if references were made to potential material culture, including coastal locations, settlement areas, port or harbour facilities or ship types and losses – essentially if they could provide clues into potential archaeological sites on the ground and underwater; many of the sources used by both Clive Senior and John Appleby in their study of piracy in Munster at the time were also revisited for this study, though this too was not exhaustive.

[84] R. G. Marsden (ed.) provides a detailed account of the development, workings and history of the High Court of Admiralty in *Documents relating to law and custom of the sea* (2 vols, Navy Records Society, London, 1915). Included within Volume I, which covers the period AD 1205-1648, are numerous entries relating to piracy in Ireland for the period; for a more broader understanding of admiralty Jurisdiction see also by Marsden, 'Prize Law', *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation,* new series, 15, no. 2 (1915), pp 90-94; 'Early Prize Jurisdiction and Prize Law in England' Part I, *English Historical Review*, 24, no 96 (October, 1909), pp 675-697; 'Early Prize Jurisdiction and Prize Law in England' Part II, *English Historical Review*, 25, no 98 (April, 1910), pp 243-263; 'Prize Jurisdiction and Prize Law in England' Part III, *English Historical Review*, 26, no 101 (January, 1911), pp 34-56.

[85] Appleby, (ed.), *A Calendar of Material relating to Ireland;* Dr Elaine Murphy has recently published the next volume in this series, which bridges the gap between piracy and the re-emergence of privateering and covering the important Irish Rebellion period, *A Calendar of Material relating to Ireland from the High Court of Admiralty Examinations 1641-1660* (Dublin, 2011); see also Appleby, 'Merchants and Mariners, Pirates and Privateers' in M. McCaughan and J. Appleby (eds.), *The Irish Sea*, ibid. pp 47-58.

[86] See, for example, MacCarthy-Morrough, *The Munster Plantation*, pp 215-222.

In order to address directly the escalating problem of piracy around Ireland, a separate Irish Court of Admiralty was established for Ireland in the 1570s.[87] Though these courts remained subject to the admiralty in London rather than the admiralty court in Dublin having the autonomy to issue commissions and decrees, their main function was dealing with problems of piracy, captured prizes and pirate goods and the sale and disposal of those goods.[88] Though admirals of Ireland had been appointed during the late-medieval period, these appear to have been token positions rather than having any direct input into affairs in Ireland. By the end of the sixteenth century the office of admiral of Ireland seems to have been abolished, with a system of provincial vice-admirals put in place in keeping with the established English model.[89]

Within the High Court of Admiralty papers, several collections hold key information relating to this study. HCA 1 contains the records generated by *Oyer and Terminer* sessions held at the admiralty court from 1534 to 1834 for criminal offences of a maritime nature. HCA 1/1-25 contain papers on warrants for executions and pardons and HCA 1/33-59 comprise relevant examinations books. One entry dating to 1610 relates how the pirates in Schull in County Cork under the leadership of Richard Bishop, waited eagerly to see the outcome of an offer of a pardon to a pirate colleague, William Thompson, before considering accepting their own. The deposition of Deputy Vice-Admiral Richard Jobson recounted that Bishop felt if Thompson were to be given a pardon, he being 'the greateste offender amongste

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[87] Appleby and O'Dowd, 'The Irish Admiralty: its Organization and Development', pp 299-326; Kevin Costello, The court of admiralty in Ireland, 1580-1877 (Ph.D thesis, University College Dublin, 2005), pp 1-17, 23-26 and *The Court of Admiralty of Ireland, 1575-1893* (Dublin, 2011).

[88] Appleby and O'Dowd, 'Irish Admiralty', p. 301.

[89] Appleby and O'Dowd, 'Irish Admiralty', pp 307-308; D.E.C. Yale, 'A Historical Note on the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty in Ireland', *The Irish Jurist*, III new series (Dublin, 1968), p. 148; for a full history and overview of the vice-admirals of the coasts of Britain and Ireland refer to R.G. Marsden, 'The Vice-Admirals of the Coast', *The English Historical Review*, 22, no. 87 (July, 1907), pp 468-477 and Marsden, 'The Vice-Admirals of the Coast', *The English Historical Review*, 23, no. 92 (October, 1908), pp 736-757, with pages 753-755 listing the relevant vice-admirals for Ireland.

them', then the rest of them should be successful in obtaining a pardon and in being allowed to settle legitimately in the area.[90]

HCA 13 depositions are one of the most important of the High Court of Admiralty collections as they contain some of the most vivid examinations on piratical activity.[91] They comprise personal accounts of individuals either accused or as witnesses, with 'answers' and counter-arguments given by those making the accusations. The papers cover the years 1536 to 1826, and of these the most relevant papers are HCA 13/36-43, 97, 98 for the years 1602-1621. HCA 13/224-271 form part of a series of examinations covering the years 1564 to 1678 and within these HCA 13/226 and 227, though mostly undated, importantly contain the examinations of some twenty pirates taken at Youghal in February 1610. HCA 13/226 have provided some of the most exciting information on the pirates operating in Ireland, along with information on ship types and sizes, crews, possible locations for settlement, cargoes carried and goods plundered. The detailed description of the 1614 attack on the pirates and town of Crookhaven by the Dutch is contained within these examinations.[92] HCA 13/44-49 cover the years 1621-1632 and are indicative of the continuation of piracy in the Munster area, albeit in a changed format. John Appleby in his published calendar has comprehensively consulted HCA 13 up to the year 1632 and has transcribed all material within these records that make reference to Ireland.[93] As highlighted by Appleby, the depositions provide information on an immense range of cases, from disputes over freight to slander, fraud and, of course, piracy. Most were taken down verbatim and are thus of huge historical value in that they provide vivid,

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[90] Examination of Richard Jobson, 21 April 1610 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47, ff. 103-109v); this is an extensive examination, covering 12 pages.
[91] Appleby, 'Merchants and Mariners', p. 48.
[92] Examination of Edward Davenant of Whiddy Island, County Cork, 1 October 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/226, f. 338), this is a large scroll that has been damaged by fire; the attack is discussed in detail in chapter 6.
[93] Appleby, (ed.), *A Calendar of Material*, pp 97-220, 284-308.

first hand accounts of events often by participants themselves. But this is equally applied a cautionary note in that witnesses may be giving evidence months or years after an event and thus may be confused or inaccurate, and in criminal cases, such confusion may well have been deliberate. In cases of piracy, therefore, such inaccuracies, delibrate mistakes and misrepresentations have to be borne in mind when considering the accounts.[94]

The second critically important historical source for piracy at the time is a treatise written by a former pirate, Captain Henry Mainwaring, who was a contemporary of those active around the southern coast of Ireland and is a first-hand account of his experiences. Mainwaring wrote his 'Discourse' in 1616-17 as an appreciation to King James VI and I for being pardoned for piracy and perhaps as a mechanism to ingratiate himself with the crown.[95] Mainwaring was an exceedingly successful pirate, who seemed to have had an 'honour code' in that he refused to target English ships, attacking only those who were the traditional enemies of the crown, essentially the Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch. This, his unusual background in that he came from a well-established family[96] and the fact that he was such an able captain and navigator, more easily facilitated the decision taken by the king in 1616 to issue him with a full pardon and, later, a knighthood.[97] Mainwaring wrote his

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[94] Appleby, 'Merchants and Mariners', pp 49-50.

[95] 'Discourse' in Four fragments concerning proceedings against pirates, [?] 1616 (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII f. 329-344r; State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4318895326); H. Mainwaring, 'Discourse on Pirates' 1616-1617, in G.E. Mainwaring and W.G. Perrin, *Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring* II (London, 1922), pp 9-49.

[96] Discussed in more detail in chapter 2.

[97] Mainwaring and Perrin, *Life and Works*, I, p. x; Mainwaring was not alone in being reprieved and then elevated to an official position. Captain John Mason of Kings' Lynn at one point was employed as an officer of the Crown, collecting fishing assizes in the Hebrides about the year 1610. By 1615 he was at the Isle of Mull and engaged as a pirate hunter by Hector MacLean of Duart, with the hope that the king would look favourably on him but instead he carried out acts of piracy and plundered ships in Norwegian waters. He then returned to Scotland, but was captured and sent to Edinburgh for trial; he received a reprieve after a protracted court case and was elevated to the position of first governor of Newfoundland; Steve Murdoch, *Terror of the Seas? Scottish Maritime Warfare 1513-1713* (Leiden and Boston, 2010), pp 132-133.

'Discourse' primarily to inform on how to tackle and suppress the pirate problem. Several copies of the manuscript exist, with the best being the one housed among the Royal Manuscripts in the British Library and is introduced with the line: *Of the beginnings, practices and suppression of pirates.*[98]

The value of the *'Discourse'* to this study lies in the information it contains on why the pirates were attracted to Ireland, the suitability of the landscape, with its remote harbours and rugged coastline that lent itself to clandestine activity but which also facilitated the careening and repair of vessels when needed. The willing participation of the local populace, the value of goods traded, the lack of naval patrols in the area, the loophole in the legislation that allowed piracy to exist more or less overtly and the complicity of local officials in dealing with the pirates.[99] Information on the extent of piracy in Ireland and the types of vessels used is given and though primarily discussing the movements of the pirates around North Africa and the Mediterranean, the seasonal nature of the pirate activity around Ireland is detailed, as is the logistical operation of the pirates and how they escaped capture.[100] It is unfortunate that Mainwaring does not provide particulars of specific places utilised in Ireland, as details could have critically supported archaeological fieldwork when looking for possible locations of settlement, infrastructure or wreck remains in those areas.

Serving to fill this gap, to some degree, is the 'Letter-Book of Sir Arthur Chichester' 1612-1614 that forms part of the Clarke Collection in Trinity College, Dublin. Though a possible late-seventeenth or early-eighteenth century copy of the original letter-book, now lost, this document comprises a series of out-going letters by

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[98] BL *Bibl. Regia*, 17A, xlvii; a full list of the remaining copies are given in Mainwaring and Perrin, *Life and Works* – Discourse, II, 3-8.
[99] These attributes are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.
[100] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', pp 14-17, 20-24, 25-40, 48; Chapters 1 and 2 specifically address these issues.

Chichester to various government officials written during his tenure as Lord Deputy of Ireland between 1605 and 1616.[101] The letter-book primarily contains letters dealing with administrative and political issues, it also includes letters relating to the piratical activity around the coast of Ireland. Various missives from Chichester identifying potential areas for speculation and settlement as part of the revised plantation of Munster included one in relation to the plantation of 'Carberie', the general area of West Cork governed by the MacCarthy Reagh overlordship, but primarily associated with the traditional territories of the Gaelic O'Driscoll lordship.[102] The letters make reference to the importance of the havens there – 'the Country is very large and of great importance, for the scite [site?] and Havens not inferior to any other in those far Western parts; many of the Inhabitants are supposed to be badly affected and their Titles weak'.[103]

Chichester goes on to state that he would 'allow of the course intended, for the settling of it, and bringing in Brittish Vndertakers and Tenants to inhabit the rest of it, vpon the Sea Coasts'.[104] This in itself is interesting, as by the time the letter was written in 1612, individuals like Thomas Crooke had established a successful settlement in Baltimore and William Hull had done likewise in Crookhaven and Leamcon. Indeed Richard Boyle was firmly confirmed across the region at that stage, including in Bandon and Youghal, as part of the official plantation of Munster.[105] Chichester must therefore be referring to other remote areas along the sea coast of the southwest to plant and populate, perhaps smaller bays and havens within Roaringwater Bay, Kilcoe, Rosbrin, Schull, Toormore or indeed the islands. Areas essentially frequented by the pirates and their settled families. One wonders if

[101] Edwards, 'Letter-Book of Sir Arthur Chichester 1612-1614', pp 6-7, 12-13, 19-177.
[102] Kelleher, 'The Gaelic O'Driscoll Lords of Baltimore, Co. Cork', pp 130-159.
[103] Lord Deputy to Sir James Sempil, Dublin, 1 May, 1612, Edwards, 'Letter-Book', p. 20.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Boyle, Crooke and Hull are discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

Chichester and other government officials, having identified the economic value of these areas, were ultimately seeking to capitalise and control the lucrative trade that had grown around the presence of the pirates there – the officially sanctioned piracy as defined earlier by Robert Richie perhaps?[106] Chichester's letter to Lord High Admiral, the earl of Nottingham, later in the same year lends support to his knowledge of pirate movements when he states 'my good Lord I have received Advertisement, out of Munster, that Easton the Pirate is come to the Island of Valentia with twenty six Sail of Ships.'[107]

Margaret Curtis Clayton's recently edited *Council Book for the Province of Munster c. 1599-1649* presents the transcription of the *Harleian MSS* 697, which essentially is a register detailing the administrative workings of the council to oversee the re-plantation of Munster.[108] The manuscript primarily covers the years between 1601 and 1624 and, along with providing critical information into the workings of the Munster administration at the time, the residual activities of native rulers and their followers, insights into the social set up of towns and villages in Munster are included. Similar to Treadwell's work, Curtis Clayton's excellent transcription and publication of *Harleian MSS 697* contains numerous entries that deal with alcohol and address the vital role of alehouses and taverns to the everyday lives of locals and settlers alike. More importantly it contains direct correspondence on the pirates and their movements in the area. Moryson, when lord vice-president and acting chief officer of the Council at the time, in 1610 writes that the pirates frequenting Munster were continually being relieved by the locals living in Baltimore, Sherkin Island and

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[106] Richie, ibid. p. 19.
[107] The Lord Deputy to the Lord Admiral, 25 September 1612, Edwards, 'Letter-Book', pp 46-47.
[108] M. Curtis Clayton, (ed.), *Council Book for the Province of Munster c. 1599-1649* (IMC, Dublin, 2008).

various other parts, and were provided with refuge in the taverns and alehouses in the area.[109]

Contemporary letters written by individuals who were either directly involved with, had vested interests in or looked to the suppressing of Munster piracy, can be found within the compilations of the *Historic Manuscripts Commission,* including relevant reports by the Commission and papers relating to individual collections, all of which contain information on pirates in Ireland. Independent collections like the Lansdowne papers[110] and Carew manuscripts also contain material dealing directly with piracy in Munster. With Carew, for example, it is possible to track attempts to curb and suppress piracy in the region over time.[111]

State papers, a large selection of which are now accessible online, contain firsthand accounts of official interaction between government representatives and pirates or of responses by pirates to accusations or trials. In particular SP/63 relate to Ireland, and can be more readily accessed in published calendared format. These again provide references to sources on the topic and, though in many instances referrals to piracy in Ireland is made within the context of wider issues, some entries provide a sense of heightened necessity when seeking to deal with the scourge of piracy.[112] Robert Bell's letter to Salisbury in 1611 is an interesting example as he

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[109] Ibid. p. 70.

[110] 'Names of pirates of the companies of the Captains Ward and Hull, 15 November 1604', f. 263 (*Lansd. MSS* 142, British Library); R.W. Hoyle (ed.), *Heard before the King: register of petitions to James I, 1603-1616,* 38 and 39 (*Lansd. MSS* 266; List and Index Society), these have been recently published by the Society in two parts.

[111] An example here are calendars of private papers that can inform on relevant sources within collections: 'Lord Deputy to Lord Admiral, Letter relating to a pirate named Bishop and other particular occurrents, with remarks concerning certain pirats infesting Munster, 4 June 1610', and 'Proceedings issued concerning the Treaty for reducing the pirates of Munster, 14 Dec. 1610', *Cal. Carew MSS preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth*, IV (Oxford 1873, reprint 1974), p. 55, 64.

[112] *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, in particular for periods covering 1603-1606; 1606-1608, 1608-1610 and 1611-1614 (C.W. Russell and J.P. Prendergast (eds), London, 1872, 1874, 1877 and 1880 resp.) and *Cal. S.P. Domestic: James I, 1603-1610* (M.A. Everett Green (ed), T. N.A. London, 1857) and *1611-1618* (M.A. Everett Green (ed), Institute of Historical Research, London, 1858) contain vast information on piracy in Ireland for the period. *Cal. S. P. Venetian*, covering the periods 1607-1610 and 1610-1613 (H.

emphasises the pains being taken to detect pirates in Ireland but hints that the local officials were facilitating them, and that they [the pirates] are 'so numerous that a merchant ship can hardly escape'.[113] Other state papers consulted include SP/14 the English domestic series under James I, which again contain numerous entries relating to the pirates in Ireland at that time. A significant quantity of the English, Irish and foreign State Papers along with individual private papers have been scanned and are now available online. Providing ready access at a touch to these important resources, they can now also be searched more easily for information on individuals, places and events, with extracts downloadable for illustrative purposes and future reference.[114]

The simple but vital remains of fire-damaged pages detailing Richard Bishop's petition for a pardon, complete with his signature and that of his pirate colleague's William Wollmer (transcribed as 'Wollman'), preserves contemporary written evidence on the individual mentalities of the pirates themselves (figure 1.).[115] But they go further than this. When viewed, the reader is immediately transported back in time to when Bishop was legitimately seeking to escape the life of a pirate and become a respectable, settled family man in the wilds of West Cork. While the perception of a pirate has been romanticized over the centuries, the charred remains of documents like these ensure that piratical characters are humanized, that their place in history is contextualized and that the true nature of their actions is taken into consideration.

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F. Brown (ed), 1904 and 1905 resp.) contain several relevant entries, in particular for pirates John Ward and Peter Easton.

[113] Robt. Bell to Salisbury, 1 August 1611 and Humph. Curson to Robt. Bell and merchants of London, 1 August 1611, *Cal. S.P. Dom. James I, 65, 1611-1618* (London, 1858), pp 65-72.

[114] http://go.galegroup.com.elib.tcd.ie/mss/start.do?p=SPOL&u=tcd&authCount=1; these were accessed via Trinity College Library website.

[115] A petition of Rich. Bishop and Wil. Wollman, in behalf of themselves and others living in piracy, no date (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII, f. 170; Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library deposited in the British Museum, 1744-1827, Joseph Planta, ed. London: Record Commission, 1802); http://go.galegroup.com/mss/i.do?id=GALE|MC4318895276&v=2.1&u=tcd&it=r&p=SPOL&sw&viewtype=Calendar



(figure 1.) One of two charred pages of Richard Bishop's and William Wollmer's petition for a pardon, now forming part of the *Cottonian MSS* in the British Library.

**Contemporary literary sources**

Contemporary printed sources, though not specifically addressing piracy in Irish waters, can also contain useful information on individual pirates, informing on who they were and what they got up to when at sea but who would also have spent some of their time in Irish waters. Many of these form part of the genre of popular literary culture for the time, with fanciful depictions and romantic descriptions, but they can also be useful as sources on how pirates were thought of then.[116] Barker's and Nixon's similar accounts of the pirates Ward and Danseker, for example, and the anonymously

[116] See the publications by C. Jowitt, *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder,* and *The Culture of Piracy, 1580-1630: English Literature and Seaborne Crime* (London, 2010) where she discusses these literary sources in detail.

published *The Lives, Apprehensions, Arraignments and Executions of the 19 late Pyrates* detail exploits and subsequent demises, providing both direct and indirect views of the men themselves which are useful when attempting to construct their activities, personalities and dealings with others when active in Ireland.[117]

The pirate John Ward's link to those in the southwest stems from his connection with Richard Bishop, with a number of entries in the contemporary state papers of Venice detailing their working relationship before Bishop left to focus his attentions on the North Atlantic. One recounts that at 'El Arisch he [Ward] fell in with two English captains, one called Bishop, the other Michael. Michael went home to England, and left the larger of his crew with Ward, including his lieutenant, Anthony Johnson. Bishop abandoned his own ship, which was rotten, and joined Ward, and these two, Bishop and Johnson, have been his constant companions in drinking and plundering'.[118] Both had begun their maritime careers as sailors in Elizabeth I's navy and graduated into privateering once peace with Spain was brokered. Following the outlawing of privateering by the king after 1604, Bishop served as vice-admiral to Ward in his early days when pirating in the Mediterranean. While Ward visited the coastal waters of Ireland, he established his own base in Tunis in warmer Mediterranean waters with Bishop, who eventually left and became admiral of the pirates in the North Atlantic.[119] The two pirates crossed paths on occasion, as a dispatch from the Venetian ambassador in England in 1609 suggested that Ward

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[117] A. Barker, *A True and Certaine report of the Beginning, Proceedings Overthrowes and now present Estate of Captaine Ward and Danseker, the two late famous Pirates: from their first setting foorth to the present time* (STC/725.15, London, 1609); A. Nixon, *Newes from the Sea of two notorious Pyrats Ward the Englishman and Danseker the Dutchman. With a true relation of all or the most piracies by them committed unto the sixt of Aprill 1609* (Th/74:E.462[29], London, 1609); Anon, *The Liues, Apprehensions, Arraignments and Executions of the 19 late Pyrates, Captains Harris, Jennings, Longcastle, Downes, Haulsey and their companies* (STC/1875:25, London, 1609); accessed: Early English Books Online, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie

[118] The English Ambassador to the Cabinet, 23 June, 1608, Cal. S.P. Ven., entry 268.

[119] G. Bak, *Barbary Pirate: The Life and Crimes of John Ward, the Most Infamous Privateer of his Time* (Stroud, 2006); Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 72, 79, 378.

would have been received favourably in Ireland, with Antonio Correr recounting that 'Ward has fourteen ships, and is on the point of going to Ireland where he will find both friends and shelter.'[120]

Other literary publications from the period, though relating to international events, also deal with the demise of the main pirate activity and lend themselves to analysis of such decline within the geographic confines of Ireland. William Squire's *Newes from Mamora,* a translation (though a synopsis) of an original Spanish document, relates events of the taking by the Spanish fleet of the pirate stronghold of Mamora in 1614.[121] This is an interesting account of what may have been a mitigating event in the decline in Atlantic piracy by ensuring that one of the main safe pirate bases and free ports was then no longer open to them.[122] Mamora had acted as an êntrepot where the pirates traded openly within a ready market. It provided safe anchorage where ships could safely be careened and revictualled and where the pirates themselves could over-winter in the warmer, sunnier North African climes.[123]

Strategically it was close to the Spanish coast and sea routes of the Spanish treasure ships and critically, was the only port in North Africa at that time that was not under the control of the Moors or the Spanish.[124] This was a symbiotic relationship between European (primarily English) mariners and North African traders, rulers and

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[120] Marc' Antonio Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, Venice, 12 November 1609, *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, 11: 1607-1610* (1904), pp. 376-391;
http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=96965&strquery=Ward

[121] W. Squire, *Newes from Mamora or Summary Relation sent to the King of Spaine of the good success of a voyage, which it hath pleased God to giue in taking, and surprising, of Mamora, a Port in Barbary. By the Armado and Hoast Royall, of the Ocean sea, whereof ws Captaine Generall Don Luis Faxardo:assisted with three Galleis of Portinfall, vnder the command of the Conde de Elda, and fiue Gallies of Spaine, vnder the Duke of Fermandina* (STC/851.14, London, 1614).

[122] Mainwaring and Perrin, *Life and Works*, I, pp 23-24, provides a full account of the taking of Mamora by the Spanish in 1614.

[123] C.R. Pennell, *Morocco – From Empire to Independence (*Oxford, 2009), pp 93-95;
http://www.scribd.com/doc/36921163/Morocco-From-Empire-to-Independence-C-R-Pennell; I am grateful to Professor Pennell for his insights, for providing me with information on Mamora and North African corsairs for that time and for pointing me in the direction of key sources.

[124] C. Senior, *A Nation of Pirates* (London, 1976), p. 76.

naval commanders. On the one hand, the now outlawed mariners (following James VI and I proclamations against privateering) sought safe harbours to over-winter, sell goods and repair and revictual ships; on the other, the North Africans seized the opportunity to enhance their knowledge of seamanship, shipbuilding and navigation in order to adapt and streamline their own emerging fleets for more expansive plundering.

North African rulers were more than willing to accommodate English pirates to avail of this knowledge as well as the economic rewards from their plundered goods. This is best illustrated by a 1611 deposition of English sailors recounting that some '40 sayle [ships], and 2000 men, all English' operated out of 'Mamora in Barbarie'.[125] Though Mainwaring and his English comrades thereafter moved operations south to Salé and Rabat,[126] the fall of Mamora coincided with two other critical occurrences - the change in the laws pertaining to piracy in Ireland and the attack by the Dutch on Crookhaven. These events corresponded with the initiative by James VI and I to negotiate pardons with the main pirate leaders in Munster, and cumulatively it heralded the beginnings of the decline of the pirate confederacy in the southwest.[127]

**Contemporary printed sources**

Accounts within other published material also contain important information, not alone on the pirates and their activity, but also on marine matters and coastal geography around Ireland for the study period. *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson* include an excellent account specific to piracy in Ireland. He described the

[125] Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999), pp 57-58.
[126] Pennell, ibid. p. 94.
[127] Chapter 6 discusses this decline, including methods to suppress, the background to pardons and submissions and points to some possible archaeological sites associated with these events.

coastal resources, including commenting on the harbours and havens.[128] Monson's career was chequered. As a former privateer, he acquired his naval expertise at an early age. He served as both vice-admiral and flag-captain for the earl of Cumberland during the 1590s, but ended up in a Portuguese prison for some time following his capture during a failed privateering attempt on a Dutch ship. Following his release in 1592 he resumed his privateering career but was dogged with ill-health. He entered royal service in 1596 under Essex and saw action at Cadiz, after which he was knighted for his involvement.

He sailed under Sir Richard Leveson in 1602 against Spain and again, Elizabeth I recognised his 'gallant actions' and he was given his own command in 1603. In 1604 he was appointed Admiral of the Narrow Seas and it is in this capacity that he found his way into northern Atlantic waters, tasked with commanding and patrolling the seas around England, Scotland and Ireland.[129] His command to suppress pirates did not come until much later in 1614, when he sailed to Ireland, having realized the sheer intensity of piratical activity that existed there and going so far as to impersonate a well-known pirate, in this case Henry Mainwaring, in order to gain access to the local clan chief, Michael Cormack, in Blacksod Bay in County Mayo.[130]

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[128] M. Oppenheim, *Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson*, III (London, 1912), pp 56-74; *Naval Tracts* IV (London, 1913), pp 166-171.

[129] 'Monson, Sir William (1568?-1643)', *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.innopac.ucc.ie/view/article/19385.

[130] Oppenheim, *Naval Tracts*, III, 'Piracy in Ireland', pp 59-63; Historical sources for the Cormack (Cormick) line are scarce but this may refer to the family that originally came from Munster and who purchased land in the barony of Erris and around Belmullet in the early seventeenth century. One of their main strongholds was their castle at Inver, near Broadhaven Bay, where a Michael Cormack lived at that time; The Westport Estate Papers contain several documents relating to conveyancy and arbitration issues between 'Michael Cormick' and Sir Theobald Bourke for the years 1617, 1619 and 1620 and Cormick is referred to as 'of Inver', Westport Estate Papers 1540-1993, Collection List No, 78, National Library of Ireland; The Strafford inquisition of County Mayo, R.I.A. ms. 24 E 15, William O'Sullivan, ed. (Dublin, 1958) provides an overview of estates and land holdings from 1625 in Mayo; see also National University of Ireland, Galway, Landed Estate Database: Cormack/Cormick: http://landedestates.nuigalway.ie:8080/LandedEstates/jsp/estate-show.jsp?id=263

Building upon the picture of what piracy of the time was like is assisted by contemporary perspectives like that of *The General Histories of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Iles* by Captain John Smith. Written in 1629, it provides a short but vivid account of the state of piracy in the early part of the seventeenth century – piracy that was directly linked to colonial ventures overseas - but also including the pirates who were active along the coast of Munster.[131] While his early years were taken up with adventure, combat and even serving time as a Turkish slave, it is for his colonial efforts in the New World, particularly as one of the primary developers of the new colonies at Jamestown and Yorktown, that John Smith is best remembered, and of course his encounter with Pocahontas, daughter of the Powhatan Chief of the Chesapeake Indians. He wrote several accounts of his travels and sea-adventures, but his chapter entitled *The bad life, qualities and conditions of Pyrats; and how they taught the Turks and Moores to become men of warre,* is of interest here. Though brief and written in 1629-30, it is more a reflective consideration of the poor state and ill-fate of pirates in general in an attempt to dissuade men from taking up piracy. Critically, it lists the main pirate players who frequented the coasts of England and Ireland, with emphasis on where their bases in North Africa were located.[132] Mention is made of the Englishman Ward and Dutchman Danseker, credited with being among the first pirates to make their bases in African waters, and interestingly Richard Bishop is also included. A full list of the main pirate captains that served under Bishop is provided by Smith, and specifically he mentions that

[131] John Smith, *The General Histories of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Iles, divided into sixe books, 1629,* Book VI, Chapter 27 (London, 1819), pp 279-282; John Smith (1580-1531), *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.innopac.ucc.ie/view/article/25835.
[132] Smith, ibid., p. 280.

'Gennings [Jennings], Harris, Tompson, and divers others, were taken in Ireland, a coast they much frequent, and died at Wapping'.[133]

**Cartographic sources**

Perhaps one of the most important sources for this thesis is that of a sea chart or sailing map that dates to 1612 and, along with two other charts and a map of Ireland, is contained within a document printed in Old Dutch entitled *Beschrijvinghe van de Zeecusten ende Haenen van Yerlandt*, translated *Description of the Seacoasts and Ports of Ireland.* Until its discovery in 1924 in the University Library of Göttingen in Germany, its existence appears to have remained unknown. The chart forms part of a 'rutter' published by the Dutch East India Company's hydrographer Hessel Gerritszoon, with English cartographer John Hunt, assisted by Dutch mapmaker Dirck Gerritsz, actually compiling the document and maps.[134]

What is of immense importance and value to this study is that the charts attached to this 'leeskaart' or sailing directions were commissioned by the Dutch States-General to inform their men-of-war, who were being sent to England, Scotland and Ireland at that time, to purge the seas of pirates.[135] In a sense, the charts can be referred to as anti-pirate charts, and the document itself states clearly that they are John Hunt's charts of the pirate havens (map image 2).[136]

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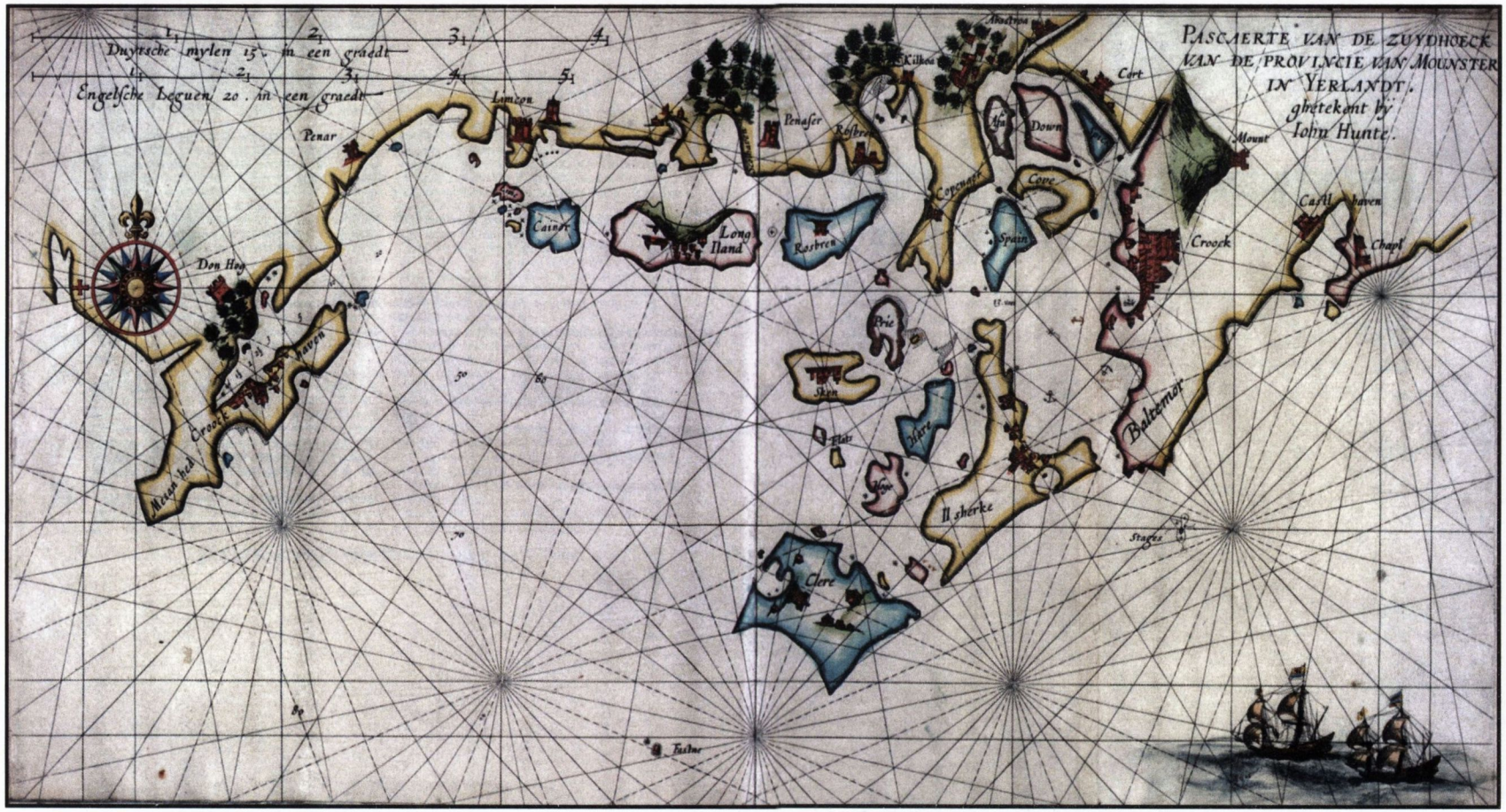
[133] Smith, ibid, pp 279-281.

[134] See Appendix 4 for translation of relevant section of the document for the southwest; the chart is referred to in this study as the John Hunt 1612 chart.

[135] John Hunt chart 1612, ibid; W. Voorbeijtel Cannenburg, 'An unknown "pilot" by Hessel Gerritsz, dating from 1612', *Imago Mundi* I (1935), pp 49-51; Johannes Keuning, 'Hessel Gerritsz', *Imago Mundi*, 6 (1949), p. 53.

[136] Pages 5 and 19 of document; I am grateful to Dr. Edda Frankot for translating the document from the Old Dutch into English.




(map image 2) 1612 John Hunt/Hessel Gerritszoon chart of the southwest coast showing the main pirate harbours

No doubt the Dutch took the opportunity to map the main harbours on the east, southeast and southwest coasts of Ireland for their own, wider interests to inform trade and shipping routes, but certainly the chart of the southwest coast focused firmly on the pirate activity there. The chart was clearly drawn by someone with a knowledge of the coastal features in the area as the main pirate bases are indicated, such as Leamcon castle, Crookhaven, Long Island and Schull; in Baltimore, along with the local topography and islands, the castle is shown but attributed to Thomas Crooke. To have a chart that is not only detailed in its representation of the coastline but was drawn specifically because of the pirate activity around the coast of West Munster at that time is fortuitous indeed.[137]

Seventeenth-century printed sources that contain information on the political, economic and geographic state of the country as well as the topographical nature of the landscape like that in certain ports and harbours, are also useful. *Pacata Hibernia* by Thomas Stafford, though primarily dealing with the Elizabethan wars in Ireland and published in 1633, provides information on the state of Ireland in the emerging years of the 1600s and marries the social, economic and political state of the country with the natural and topographical nature of its coastline.[138] It includes some interesting contemporary maps and illustrations of the main towns and harbours, which indicate the types of ships and infrastructure, including fortifications, customs houses and quays located around the coast for that time and which are an essential aid to looking for evidence for these features on the ground, similar to the 1612 John Hunt chart previously discussed, see for example map images 23 and 24 in chapter 3.

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[137] The document and chart and its use in this study is discussed in more detail in chapters 2 and 6.
[138] Thomas Stafford, *Pacata Hibernia or a History of the wars in Ireland during the reign of Queen Elizabeth 1602* (London, 1633),Vol. II, p. 136, 141, 191.

The map of the siege of Dunboy, another example, can be used as a guide to archaeological remains along the coast there, indicating the location of known sites like the castle itself, gun emplacements, battery places and landing stages. This again is indicative of the potential for artefactual and wreck material to remain within the waters around the castle from the time of the siege and earlier.[139] Continuing on the theme of the natural landscape, Gerard Boate's *Ireland's Naturall History,* though written in the middle of the seventeenth century, contains a list with general details of the bays, harbours, landscape features, safe anchorages, seabed morphology and key landing areas from around the coast of Ireland.[140] Sections 10 and 11 in particular describe the harbours of Baltimore, Schull, Crookhaven and Bantry. Boate, a physician and natural historian, undertook his study with the aim of encouraging English settlers to come to Ireland in the mid-seventeenth century, and the information it contains can be used as a guide to determining the nature of the coastline for the early to mid-seventeenth century period in the southwest, which in turn can be compared with contemporary cartographic material as a baseline to archaeological survey on the ground.

Though not contemporary, Smith's *History of the Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork* draws on several key contemporary sources for his study, which involved looking at the natural, civil, ecclesiastical, historical and

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[139] Elaine Murphy, War at Sea in Ireland 1641-53 (PhD Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2007,) utilised the maps of Kinsale as an integral part of her study, p. 17; I am grateful to Dr. Murphy for supplying me with the relevant information on this; Breen, *The Gaelic Lordship of the O'Sullivan Beare*, pp 73-86; Breen's study includes looking at the castles, settlement evidence and coastal infrastructure associated with the maritime resources in the area and he has argued that such sites are not located in isolation but are strategically placed with a firm focus on the sea. Further to this, Breen also successfully used map sources to trace known and previously unknown cultural remains on the ground, pp 24, 132-134, 162-170, 212-214.

[140] G. Boate, Ireland's naturall History being a true and ample description of its situation, greatness, shape, and nature, of its hills, woods, heaths, bogs... (London, 1657); http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2740.

topographical descriptions of the county.[141] It contains a vast array of information and, at times, provides details akin to a 'pilot' or coastal instructions for the coastline around Cork that is again, useful information to have when undertaking fieldwork in the area. As with the 1612 John Hunt chart and associated sailing directions, other rutters exist from the reign of James VI and I that are also of informative value to the study. One is contained in the Carew State Papers compiled by 'Grandger, an expert master' who describes the entire coast of Ireland, beginning at Cape Clear, detailing that between Clear Island and Mizen Head is 'a haven called Crook Haven, N.W. of Fastney [Fastnet]'. Grandger works his way around the coastline, from west to east to finish back at Baltimore, where we are told 'Castlehaven and Baltimore lie S.W. and N.E. 5 leagues, a haven betwixt called Marlocke Haven [Barlogue Creek in Lough Hyne], suitable for small shipping with the tide'.[142] This seems to be more or less a direct copy of John Hunt's and Hessel Gerritzsoon's rutter, and it may be that Granger had acquired a copy of it, reproducing it with minor changes.

Another early 'map' of interest is of Baltimore, dating to the turn of the seventeenth century and housed in the Archivo de Simancas in Spain (map image 3).[143] Unlike the previous map discussed, this map is very basic, drawn almost like a sketch and showing the harbour of Baltimore, Sherkin Island and the immediate coastline. It possibly dates to just before the battle of Kinsale and, as the writing on the map is in Spanish, may have been drawn to facilitate the Spanish landings there,

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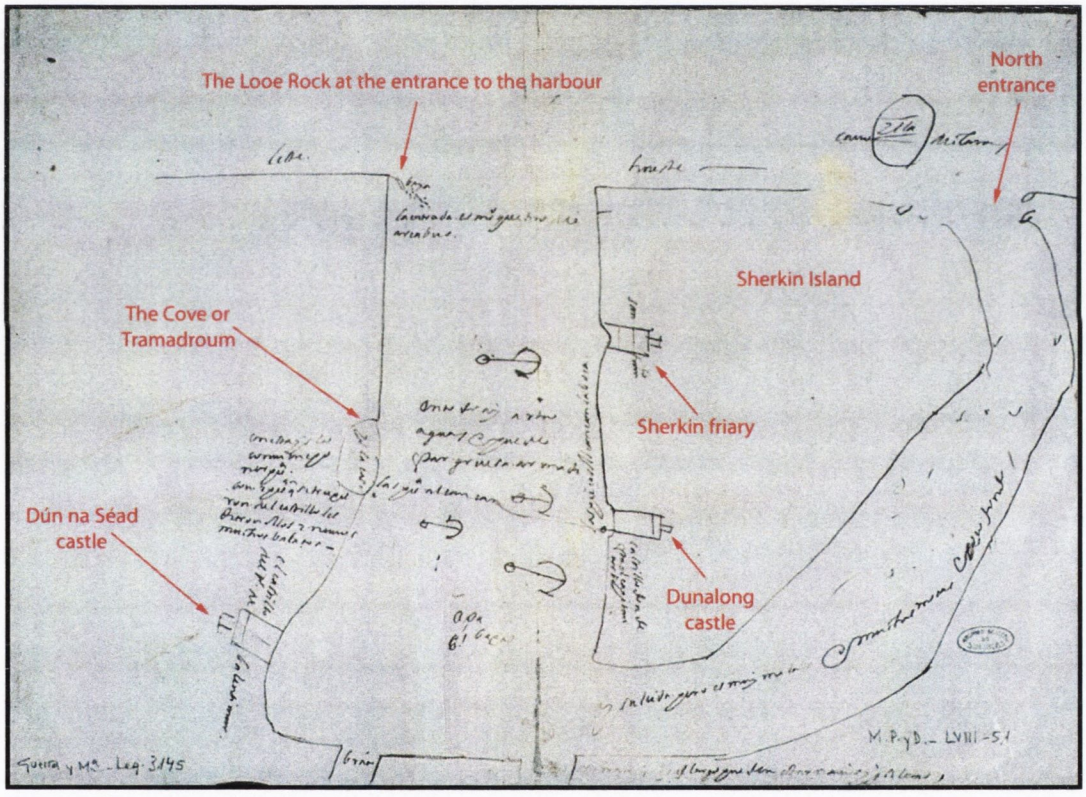
[141] Charles Smith, *History of the Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork*, 2 vols. (Cork, 1815); Volume I contains Books I and II. Book I deals with the ancient names, ecclesiastical foundations and topographic nature of the county. In Book II, chapters IV and V describe the baronies of Carbery, Beara and Bantry, including providing a general history of Baltimore and a description of the piratical activity in that area. Volume II contains Books III- V; Book III contains the civil history of Cork with chapter IV covering the reign of James VI and I. Book IV contains the natural history, within which chapter IV details the harbours, creeks, bays, roads, islands etc. of the coast of Cork and chapter V discussed the fish and fishing industry.

[142] *Cal. S.P. Carew, 1603-24*, pp 435-9.

[143] Simancus MPyD58/051:Guerra y Ma Leg. 3145 (Archivo de Samancas, Spain); I am very grateful to Dr. Annaleigh Margey for drawing my attention to this source and providing me with a copy of the map.

suggesting that it predates the Dutch commissioned 1612 map by Hunt.[144] Supporting the prospect that it was to inform on a possible Spanish landing, the main anchorage within the harbour is the obvious feature on the map, with four anchors indicative of the mooring place. Further, it indicates though in a very simplistic way, structures in place in Baltimore. On Sherkin Island the Fransciscan Friary and Dunalong castle is sketched and the main castle of Dún na Séad is opposite, the latter pre-dating the fortified house built by Thomas Crooke after 1607.



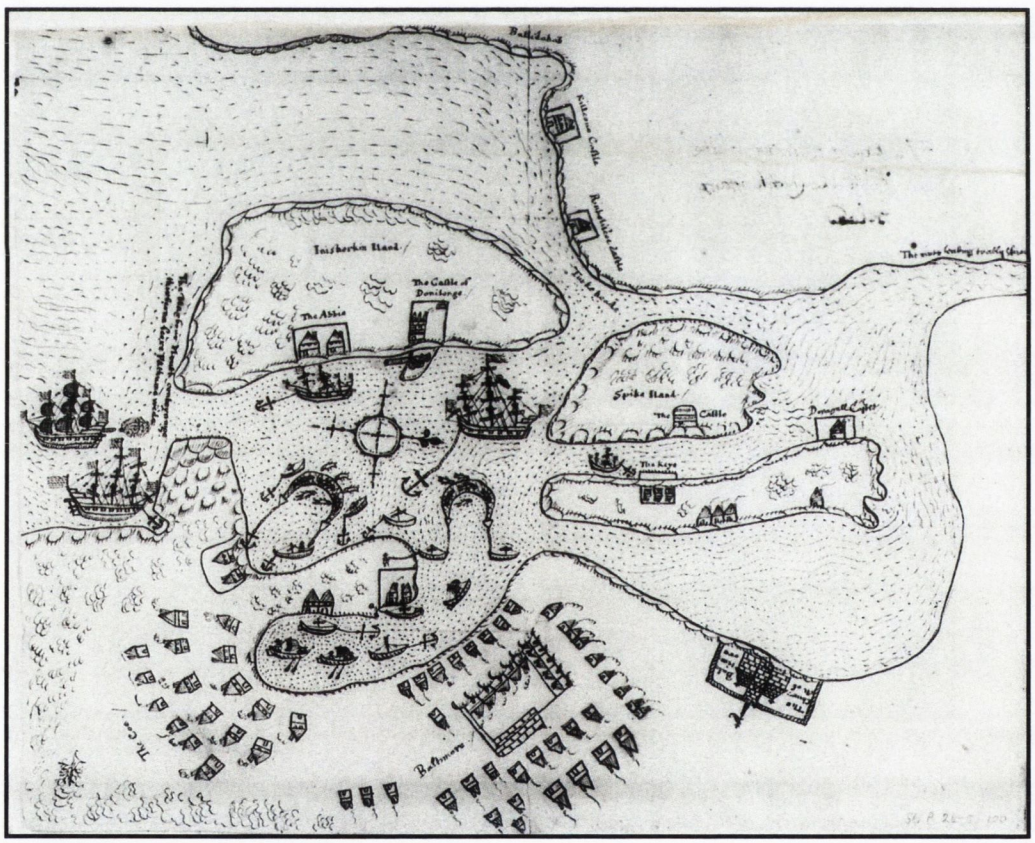

(map image 3) Map of Baltimore in the archives of Simancas with details highlighted.

Of topographical interest, the rock at the entrance to the harbour is drawn, and a possible small harbour between the entrance and Dún na Séad, perhaps indicating the Cove or Tramadroum. While the map is not detailed enough to be of specific use to

[144] Personal communication from Dr. Margey.

this study, from an archaeological perspective it highlights not alone the strategic nature of Baltimore harbour and its maritime facilities but confirms the presence of sites within the area at that point, prior to change under the Munster plantation where many such sites were either abandoned or rebuilt.

The importance of Baltimore is further supported by a third map, now part of the papers of Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford, 1593-1641, and housed in the Sheffield Library Archives in England.[145] The map, referred to as the Strafford Folio Map or map of Baltimore, is again of Baltimore Harbour but on this occasion a detailed, working maritime harbour is illustrated (map image 4.).[146]




(map image 4) Early seventeenth-century map of Baltimore in the Strafford Papers, Sheffield Archives.[147]

[145] Map of Baltimore, WWM. Str. P 20/(b)/100 (Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments Strafford Folio Map, Sheffield Library Archives, UK).
[146] E. J. Priestly, 'An Early 17th-century Map of Baltimore', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 89 (1984), pp 55-57; C. Kelleher, 'In a Harbour Long Ago', in J. Fenwick (ed.) *Lost and Found: Discovering Ireland's Past* (Wicklow, 2003), pp 273-286.
[147] Map of Baltimore, ibid.

It is on parchment within the collection, and has obvious inaccuracies, both of the topographical and geographical features represented but what is shown is of such quality that it allows for a clear image of the harbour to be formed and, critically, to be traced on the ground.[148] Ships and boats of various sizes and shapes are shown, as are the main anchorages within the harbour, fortifications are indicated around the bay and two distinct settlement areas are drawn, one at 'the Coe' (the Cove) and the other centred around the main castle of Dún na Séad. Fishing activity is obvious, as are the religious sites of Sherkin Friary and Tullagh Church and it is clear that Baltimore, at the time of the drafting of the map, was economically and socially vibrant.[149]

The Dartmouth Collection held in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, preserves some of the most colourful and detailed maps and charts of the study area. The *c.* 1595 map of 'The Province of Movnster' is among the most beautiful, showing ships of varying types, landscape features and even sea monsters (map image 5).[150] The impetus for the drafting of some of these maps followed the failure of the Gaelic rebellion, with cartographers and plantation surveyors like Francis Jobson commissioned to record areas of Munster with a view to encouraging settlement by the English. Many of the maps date to the latter period of the sixteenth century and vividly show the coastal areas of Munster, with particular emphasis on resources and access. Some of these are visual works of art, showing ships in full sail with flags of Saint George's Cross flying, while other vessels are shown within the harbours and bays utilizing the access points to the coast.

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[148] Kelleher, 'In a Harbour', pp 283-284; C. Kelleher, The Maritime Archaeological Landscape of Baltimore, County Cork (MA Thesis, University College Cork, 1998).

[149] Chapters 2 and 6 discuss this map in more detail and its relevance to this study.

[150] Map of Munster, c. 1595 by Francis Jobson, P/49 (27: Dartmouth Collection (National Maritime Museum, Greenwich); http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/541706.html; please refer to the bibliography for the full references to the relevant maps.




(map image 5) Map of Munster dating to *c.* 1595, probably by Francis Jobson.[151]

## Objectives

This study seeks to combine historical and cartographic information available on the alliance of pirates in southwest Munster in the early seventeenth century with an archaeological investigation of the landscape in which they operated. It is intended to use the historical sources to assist with the locating of sites and places of interest and to evaluate these areas in regard to their geographical and maritime nature. The suitability of the landscape to piratical operations will be studied, but this assessment is not confined to looking at evidence just for the pirates, it also includes looking for maritime infrastructure associated with individuals involved with the pirates and who,

[151] Ibid.

by their collusion, allowed the pirates and their business of illicit trade to operate so successfully. Supported by the historical accounts including the cartographic sources, associated sites or potential locations for sites related to pirate activity, including execution places and shipwrecking events, form part of the study.

**Thesis structure**

Chapter 1 provides a background to the formation of the confederacy of pirates, introducing some of the main leaders of that alliance. It outlines why the pirates moved from the southern coast of England to the southwest coast of Ireland and the political and economic motivations that led to the migration. The integral nature of the arrival of the pirates with ongoing settlement under the Munster plantation is discussed and material cultural evidence is introduced. Chapter 2 looks at the logistical needs of the pirates, importantly the necessity for a pirate base that was conducive to this seasonal activity and includes looking at the other main pirate bases in North Africa and Newfoundland. The pirate chain of command is discussed in regard to functionality and the physical attributes of the southwestern coastal region are presented in regard to its historical geography, including detailing safe harbours, deep anchorages, landing places, islands and coastal access points.

The concept of a pirate landscape is introduced and is supported by archaeological evidence identified within the area, and is associated with key figures involved in the trade with the pirates. Chapters 3 and 4 give a detailed overview of admiralty jurisdiction in Ireland, and in particular its regional setup in Munster and the chief characters involved. It provides the background to the lack of legislation in Ireland to tackle piracy and how this was one of the enticements to the pirates to relocate their base of operations to Munster. Importantly it reveals the level of

corruption among government officials that was to become such a feature of the socio-economic coastal landscape and how this collusion allowed the pirates to trade openly within the area for so long. As a continuation to this narrative, chapter 5 develops further the business of piracy and its impact on the local economy but within a wider, global maritime theatre of trade, plunder and entrepreneural connections. Piratical commerce forms part of the narrative and it is shown that ancillary industries like prostitution and alehouse keeping developed as a consequence. It is argued that these trades supplied a successful grey market and archaeological evidence for maritime infrastructure that allowed pirate ships and goods to be landed and exchanged to sustain this economy is presented.

Chapter 6 narrates on the eventual demise of the confederacy, through a combination of suppression, submission, relocation and executions. Historical sources hold information on who took pardons, what happened to the key pirates in the confederacy and how many of them settled in Munster thereafter. Tracing the material cultural evidence for them on the ground is shown to be difficult through lack of source material on where they lived combined with the emigration of others to places like North Africa and the Mediterranean. Suggested locations for associated sites like hanging and burial places are offered and the 1612 Dutch chart is used in respect to the attack on the pirate stronghold of Crookhaven in 1614 and with potential archaeological evidence identified in Crookhaven for piracy.

Chapter 7 looks at how piracy continued after the main pirate players had disbanded but with government officials still maintaining a role in trading with pirates visiting the southwest coast. Insight into the extent of this trade is presented in the form of specific cargoes from ships and the distribution networks still in place to market such goods. The arrival of ships carrying Barbary corsairs represented the

changed nature of this emerging post-confederacy piracy and the Algerine raid on Baltimore in 1631 is reassessed in Appendix 5 with regard to the possible landing place of the pirates. Archaeological evidence identified in Baltimore is used to support the argument. Possible connections with the remains of two shipwreck sites recently discovered are also discussed.[152] Chapter 8 concludes with an overview of the methodology employed to carry out this study of piracy in the southwest of Ireland. While archaeology needed to look to history to act as a guide to locating potential material cultural evidence on the ground, it is shown that history can be confirmed by the positive identification of archaeological remains within the main areas used by the pirates and their associates.

**The limitations of the study**

Detailed historical research had already been done on the confederacy of pirates in the southwest by a number of authors, in particular John Appleby and Clive Senior.[153] It is not the intention of this study to repeat that scholarly work. Rather it is to use such available information in tandem with contemporary documentary accounts as a foundation that can be built upon. The historical research undertaken for this study on the pirates therefore is not exhaustive. It is readily acknowledged that perhaps as much again could be researched and equally admitted that new and exciting historical information is more than likely awaiting discovery on the pirates of the confederacy in the southwest of Ireland for the study period. Senior for example in his work refers to two collections of papers in the High Court of Admiralty documents: 'HCA 30/858, bundle E, 1612-20' that dealt with the distribution of booty among the pirates following their acceptance of pardons and bundle HCA 13/97, 1607-1609 on criminal

[152] See Chapter 7 and Appendix 5 respectively.
[153] Please see bibliography for a full listing of the relevant sources by these authors.

cases. Unfortunately both were in conservation and could not be consulted for this thesis.[154]

The study is very much a local study, concentrating on a specific section of the Munster coastline and with an emphasis on certain areas and individuals. Observations on the activities of the pirates and their associates outside the confines of that area have not been fully considered from either a historical or archaeological perspective. There may therefore be archaeological sites relating to the pirates in other areas that have not been identified and that may inform more fully on movements, methods and motivations. Similarly socio-economic impacts by the pirates may be replicated in other places the evidence for which is contained in historical sources that similarly await discovery and which may revise our understanding of some of the individuals involved with piracy at that time in Munster and the operations of the pirate confederacy.

An example here is Henry Mainwaring's obvious familiarity with and acceptance in the Broadhaven Bay area (Blacksod) of County Mayo.[155] In 1613 pirate Mathew Gunter was also in Broadhaven seeking a pardon and in 1626 Dutch pirate Claus Campane was recorded as being in Broadhaven with two other ships to trim and victual.[156] This certainly points to a location where pirates, some of the same pirates active in Munster, operated over a number of years and with perhaps similar infrastructure and trading networks in place elsewhere as in West Cork. The Mayo landscape, though quite different from that in Munster, would still have proven attractive with remoteness, seclusion and multitudes of small bays and harbours a

[154] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 317.
[155] Oppenheim, *Naval Tracts*, III, 'Piracy in Ireland', pp 59-63; Mainwaring, 'Discourse' in Four fragments concerning proceedings against pirates, no date, 1616 (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII f. 339r; State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4318895326); Mainwaring, 'Discourse', pp 16-17.
[156] Oppenheim, *Naval Tracts*, III, 'Piracy in Ireland', pp 59-63; Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 397; The Lord Deputy to the Duke of Buckingham, 13 March 1626, SP 63/242 f. 184r (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC434788267).

feature and, as can be denoted by the contemporary accounts, ready markets were in place that supported a business in pirated goods. There is scope for a study of the piracy there and perhaps one that includes the connections between the confederacy in Munster and that in Mayo.

It will become clear from the archaeological results of this study that new sites within a proposed pirate landscape have been identified. It will also be seen that there is difficulty in dating and connecting these sites with particular pirates or pirate events. Similar complexity in associating sites with clandestine activity has been seen with results of studies elsewhere.[157] A rapid archaeological survey was undertaken of the main pirate harbours along the southwest coast of West Cork, but more intensive survey and investigation is needed to record in detail the sites that have come to light and to actively look for more within the given landscape. What will also become clear from the study presented here is that there is no guarantee that the cultural remains of particular pirates will be distinguishable from those of plantation settlers or indeed native Irish within such a remote landscape.

Pirates and piracy is a fascinating subject on a multitude of levels. The individuals that are the focus of this study existed at a time of social, economic and political change and may well have influenced many of the changes that took place at that time. From a marine perspective, they were certainly integral to the developing local and global market forces that marked the expansion and growth of maritime empires and for a specific period of time, they and their associates dominated the southwest coast of Munster and ruled the waters in which they operated.

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[157] Donny Hamilton, 'Pirates and Merchants: Port Royal, Jamaica', in Skowronek and Ewen, *X Marks the Spot*, p.17; http://nautarch.tamu.edu/portroyal/index.htm; Heather Hatch, 'Material Culture and Maritime Identity: Identifying Maritime Subcultures Through Artifacts', in B. Ford (ed.), *The Archaeology of Maritime Landscapes,* When the Land Meets the Sea 2 (2011), pp 217-231.

> [ ] although these things happen more often in England than Ireland, by reason there is plenty of Ports and Shipping, as also more abundance of Seamen, yet in proportion Ireland doth much exceed it, for it may be well called the Nursery and Storehouse of Pirates.[158]

Though accounts as to numbers of pirates operating along the coast of Ireland in the early seventeenth century vary, most, if not all of them, indicated that such numbers were high. Realistically, it is only possible to estimate the total numbers involved in such activity and looking for the cultural evidence on the ground for any of these individuals and their activity is where the true challenge lies.[159] In the year 1609 admiral of the pirates in Ireland, Richard Bishop, allegedly commanded eleven ships and over a thousand men, while his Vice-Admiral Peter Easton was recorded as entering Villafranca, then part of the Duchy of Savoy in the Mediterranean, with a fleet comprising nine hundred men.[160] In the same year, Chichester, writing to Salisbury, solemnized that 'they are grown to a height of strength and pride that he doubts his endeavours will hardly prevail without the assistance of some of His Majesty's good ships'.[161] What can be said with some certainty, and as identified by Richard Moryson, then acting lord president in Munster,[162] is that the pirates were of such numbers that they were able to operate openly, without fear of prosecution and in such a way that ensured, either willingly or through coercion, that natives and local government officials alike facilitated them.[163] To operate successfully the pirates

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[158] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', in Mainwaring and Perrin, *Life and Works* II, pp 15-16.

[159] Clive Senior identified the problem when attempting to calculate actual numbers for his study of English piracy, 'An Investigation', p. 362.

[160] Sir Richard Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1611*, p. 277; Senior, ibid.

[161] Sir Arthur Chichester to Salisbury, 17 August 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1611*, p. 273.

[162] Moryson was made acting president by Henry Danvers in 1607, following the death of Sir Henry Brouncker, but this was only temporary; he resumed his official role as vice-president of Munster from 1609 onwards.

[163] Sir Richard Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609, ibid.

required organization and a command system that, while allowing for individual independence, equality and manoeuvrability, also comprised structure, order and loyalty. The confederacy of pirates in the southwest had just that – a hierarchy of command and leadership that was formal, yet fair, officious yet democratic. This chain of command within the ranks of the pirate crews, coupled with the eagerness of those on land to accommodate them, was fundamental to the success of the pirate alliance. What sealed this success was the close connection that some of the leading pirates had with the government undertakers and admiralty officers living and working in Munster at the time.

This chapter will look at the overall make up of the pirate command that Senior called the Confederation of Deep-sea Pirates, and will introduce some of the more prominent individuals involved, who appear most frequently in the contemporary sources.[164] It will provide an overview as it were, of the pirates and their operations and will discuss in general terms how and what led to the establishment of what was to become one of the most successful force of sea robbers in Ireland's history.

**Seeking the people behind the tales**

From Senior's investigation of English piracy, it is possible to identify some seventy or so individuals active in Ireland during the early seventeenth century, either directly and with a firm focus on using Ireland as a base or indirectly and calling to bases in Ireland when required but with their pirating activity being focused elsewhere, such as in the Mediterranean, Newfoundland and infrequently in other parts of Ireland.[165] This number reflects only those individuals that can be discerned as being in Ireland,

[164] Senior, 1976, pp 48-77.
[165] Senior, ' An Investigation', see pp. 374-443 for biographical details of pirates including those who frequented Irish waters; see Appendix 1 for an inventorised listing of the pirates.

including commanders and crew for the general period from 1603-1625, and it is thus not exhaustive. Similarly, numbers of ships associated with captains are traceable, but again, a complete record is not possible as ships frequently changed hands or their names went unrecorded at the time. Neither can it take into account those who spent part of the year working legitimately as fishermen, labourers, shoemakers or other now 'invisible' professions in the local areas and who dipped into piracy when the need arose – essentially having an amphibious pirate lifestyle. The overall actual number of pirates operating in southwest Ireland in the early part of the seventeenth century therefore can only be guessed at. Again, some indications of numbers and operating techniques can be obtained from the HCA examinations, State Papers and Mainwaring's 'Discourse'.[166]

The HCA accounts vary from those who claimed to have been taken hostage and were 'pressed' into service on board (the term 'perforce' being the common term in use for this) or to those who were actual pirates and had subsequently agreed to a pardon.[167] While allowance must be made when reading these sources in that many almost certainly claimed to have been taken prisoner in an attempt to evade trial, some individuals were actually telling the truth. In 1614, for example, ex-pirate Admiral Richard Bishop stated that he had taken a member of his crew prisoner because he recognised his value as a surgeon.[168] Similarly, John West claimed that he had been serving on a merchant ship that was foundering off Mogador on the Moroccan coast; he sought safety on the ship belonging to Captain Tibault Suxbridge in the bay at that time, along with Peter Easton and his ships. The pirate captain and

[166] HCA 13 in general and HCA 13/226 in particular; HCA/227 also provides important information on piracy along the coast of Munster, several involving William Hull, but these essentially post-date the main period of the confederacy; Mainwaring, 'Discourse on Piracy', pp 9-52.
[167] From the French 'par force', meaning 'by force'.
[168] Deposition of Richard Bushoppe of Scull in Ireland, gent. 20 August 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/98, f. 213v).

his ship set sail, finally reaching Baltimore in West Cork, whereupon Deputy Vice-Admiral Richard Jobson sought information on the crew. Suxbridge would not release West because he could speak French, and was therefore of value to him.[169]

Once again, individual talents were identified as being of benefit to the pirate operations and such men, whether voluntarily or by force, served onboard as part of the pirate crews. These first hand sources can therefore provide an insight into the actual crew themselves and how they functioned on board the pirate ships.[170] Exact numbers are further compounded by the fact that many of the pirates did not live onboard ship or on the high seas full time. Many in West Cork were either part-time pirates, who took to the ships when the pirating season came around or economic opportunity dictated (they identified vessels travelling along the southwest coast that could be plundered) but in the meantime they were terrestrially based and would thus have been seen as settlers rather than sailors or mariners.[171] The examination of John Lee, taken at the same time as that of John West, explained that he legitimately came to Ireland as part of a fishing voyage. On hearing that a friend of his was on a ship in Baltimore he went there and boarded the ship, which was Captain Suxbridge's vessel, to meet with his friend John Pearce but was prevented from leaving again as the pirate captain was looking for crew.[172]

Before the confederacy organised itself under its key piratical leaders, the pirates operated primarily on an individual basis but co-operated when the need arose, in what appears to have been very much autonomous ventures within a small, but

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[169] Examination of Jo. West, 5 May, 1610 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/226, f. 99r-100v); Appleby, ibid, p. 298.

[170] The depositions in HCA 13/226 contain a number of accounts relating to pirate Captain Tibault Suxbridge (often referred to as 'Saxbridge') taking individuals prisoner to serve onboard as part of his pirate crews; members of the individual crew are examined and provide insight into the activities of the pirate captains, albeit with hidden agendas dominating the testimonies; see also Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, pp 284-299.

[171] Mainwaring provides information on the seasonality of the pirate course, see 'Discourse', Ch. IV, pp 32-40.

[172] Examination of John Lee, 5 May 1610 (T.N.A. Examination, HCA 12/266 f 99v-100).

loosely associated assembly. This seems to have continued until Richard Bishop became their overall commander in 1609 and organised them into a distinct alliance, albeit for a relatively short period only.[173] At this point the names of individual pirates who came to sail the waters of the North Atlantic begin to appear on a regular basis in the contemporary sources. Those like Richard Bishop, Peter Easton, Thomas Francke, John Jennings, James Harris, William Harvey, Gilbert Roope, Tibalt Suxbridge, William Baugh, Robert Stephenson and Robert Walsingham stand out.[174]

In 1606 Chichester noted that a pirate named Captain Connello had arrived into Wexford in a barque with seven or eight others, whereupon they were duly captured.[175] Chichester was concerned that the pirates would receive benefit of clergy and escape conviction by this means.[176] He wrote that Connello, his master and one other are 'notable offenders of that kind' and provided a list of some of their plunderings.[177] This included robbing ships in and around the harbours of southern England but Connello, a mariner of Devon, used his influence with the Lord High Admiral, Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, and was acquitted.[178] It seems that Connello hoped to utilise this influence again when Chichester sent him and his pirate colleagues to England for trial following their capture in Wexford, but he [Chichester] warns against this occurrence, adding that Connello and his team 'conclude that the law [in Ireland] can do them no hurt'. The lord deputy, in his correspondences, suggested that change was needed in the law in Ireland as a means to preventing the

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[173] A general period of 1608-1614 would be the main active period for the confederacy, with Bishop leading this alliance from about 1609 to 1612.
[174] See Appendix 1.
[175] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Earl of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 2 January 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1603-1606*, p. 383; Senior, 'An Investigation, p. 385, notes that Connello and his crew were captured in the year 1605, which may be correct as the date of Chichester's letter was January 2; this would make Senior's date correct in that the new year would have commenced in March.
[176] An exemption in English law from trial or punishment of death in the civil courts; this is discussed in more detail in chapter 6.
[177] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Earl of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 2 January 1606, ibid. pp 382-383.
[178] Ibid.

pirates from exerting their influence on officials, as they had previously done in England.[179] The hiatus in the legislation in Ireland allowed the pirates more freedom to operate and provided a mechanism for officials to turn a blind eye when it suited their purposes. Where trade in contraband was concerned, therefore, this legal loophole facilitated the growth in the underground market in illegal goods that existed in places like West Cork and inadvertently supported ongoing commerce with the pirates.

Thomas Coward was also active in the area from about 1604 onwards and his influence with admiralty officials both in England and in Ireland serves to highlight the difficulty in dealing with the pirate problem under James VI and I during the early part of his reign. Coward was imprisoned in 1604 in Bristol, charged with piracy against French and Bristol merchants, but no charges were subsequently brought and he was released. In 1606 he was acting as a privateer under letters of marque from the Dutch and it is only in 1607 that he is first mentioned as a captain of his own ship.[180] Referred to as a Bristol mariner, Coward had a long and successful pirate career that straddled the period just prior to and during the confederacy proper in southwest Ireland.[181]

In 1607 he was operating off the Munster coast and was successfully captured in Youghal in that year through the efforts of Sir Richard Boyle and Humphrey Jobson, the vice-admiral. They engaged the services of a Bristol man named Hampton, who manned a small barque in the harbour. Hidden below deck were eighty men and they surprised Coward and overpowered him, his crew (of which his

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[179] Chichester to the Earl of Devonshire, ibid, p. 383; see Chapters 2 and 3 for full discussion on the legal situation for that time in Ireland.

[180] Senior, ibid. pp 385-385.

[181] The mayor and alderman of Bristol to Sir Daniel Dun, judge of the high court of admiralty, 20 September 1610 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA13/226, f.137r); Deputy Chichester to the Privy Council, 16 July 1607, SP 63/222, f. 21v-22r (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript Number MC4347480293); Senior, 'An Investigation', pp 385-386.

lieutenant and three of his men were killed) and his ship, a Flemish barque of 60 tons and well equipped with ordnance and supplies. Coward's ship was handed over to the vice-admiral for use in the king's navy and the ordnance was sent to Sir Oliver St. John, then acting as Master of the Ordnance for the lord high admiral. Coward and his men were sent to prison to await trial.[182]

During his sojourn in prison in Ireland, he found favour with the earl of Thomond, who wrote that his experience as an able seaman and an excellent pilot should instead be utilised.[183] The Lords of the Privy Council in London, when enquiring in March of 1608 as to the whereabouts of Coward and his fellow crew, despairingly learned that, not only had he been released but Thomond had engaged his services as a mariner. This action by the earl was not an isolated one. Thomond was later engaged in dealing with other pirates, including John Jennings and his capture in Limerick in 1609.[184] Replying at the end of March, Chichester explained that the Chief Baron, when he arrived at the court in Cork, could not find a good reason to hold Coward and his crew.[185] Shortly thereafter, however, he received directions from the Privy Council in England to have Coward transported to England. Coward was sent to London in the *Lion's Whelp*, under Sir William St. John, but was, once again, acquitted and released.[186]

As a free man, Coward joined Peter Easton's crew for nine months, who gave him command of the ship *John*. Easton emerged as one of the most powerful and

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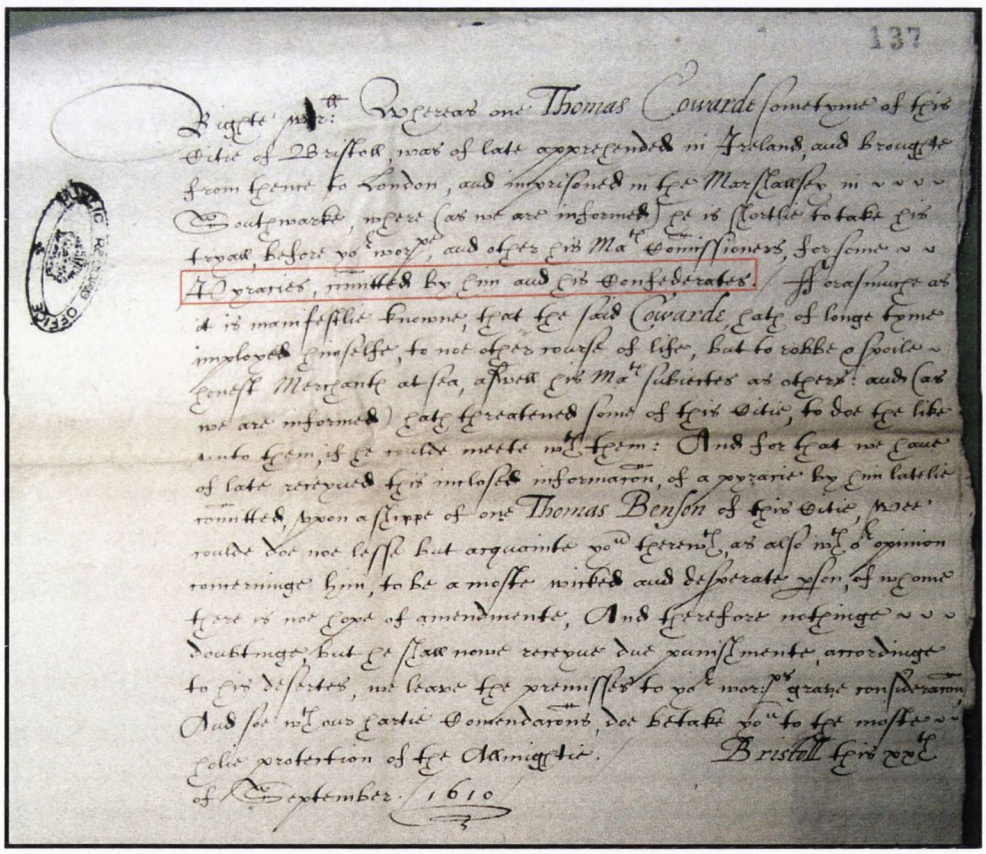
[182] Deputy Chichester to the Privy Council, 16 July 1607, ibid.
[183] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council, 30 March 1608, SP 63/223, f. 137r-138v (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript number MC4347480622); Senior, ibid., p. 386.
[184] Earl of Thomond to Sir Thomas Smyth, 10 March 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610,* p. 162; Examination of John Jennings, pirate, before the court of admiralty, no date (*Cottonian MSS*: Otho E/VIII f 360-364, British Library, State Papers Online), this document is badly damaged by fire but probably dates to 1609 or 1610.
[185] From Lord Chiefe Barron [Winch] concerning Coward and his companions, 2 April 1608, SP 63/223, f/ 150r (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript number MC4347480628).
[186] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council, 11 April 1608, SP 63/223, f. 184v (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript number MC4347480646).

successful pirate admirals of the confederacy and later as leader of his own pirate alliance following the retirement of Richard Bishop as admiral of the alliance. In 1609 Coward, in a 140-ton Dutch prize, worked under the command of William Harvey. A prominent pirate captain who operated in the Atlantic, he was recorded as building a house on William Hull's estate in Leamcon.[187] Coward, at this point, seems to have been part of the emerging confederacy, with a letter from the mayor and aldermen of Bristol referring to the 'piracies committed by him and his confederates' (figure 2).[188]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Right wrt: Whereas one Thomas Cowarde sometyme of this Citie of Bristoll, was of late apprehended in Ireland, and brought from thence to London, and imprisoned in the Marshallsey in Southwarke, where (as we are informed) he is shortlie to take his tryall, before yor worpe, and other his Mate Commissioners, for some Pyracies, committed by him and his Confederates. Forasmuche as it is manifestlie knowne, that the said Cowarde, hath of longe tyme imployed himselfe, to noe other course of life, but to robbe & spoile honest Merchants at sea, aswell his Mate subiectes as others: and (as we are informed) hath threatened some of this Citie, to doe the like unto them, if he coulde meete wth them: And for that we have of late receyued this inclosed informacon, of a pyracie by him lateli committed, upon a shippe of one Thomas Benson of this Citie, we coulde doe noe lesse but acquainte you therewth, as also wth our opinion concerninge him, to be a moste wicked and desperate person, of whome there is noe hope of amendmente, And therefore nothinge doubtinge, but he shall nowe receyue due punishmente, accordinge to his desertes, we leave the premisses to yor worps grave consideracon, And soe wth our hartie Commendacons, doe betake you to the moste holie protection of the Almightie. Bristoll this xxth of September 1610

(figure 2) A letter, dated 20 September 1610, regarding the apprehension of Coward in Ireland and his transport to London, where he was held in Marshalsea prison, Southwark. Area in red specifically mentions Coward and his 'confederates'.[189]

[187] Senior, ibid. p. 400.
[188] Mayor and aldermen of Bristol to Sir Daniel Dun, judge of the high court of admiralty, 20 September 1610, HCA 13/226, f. 137r.
[189] Ibid.

One ship in particular, the *Grace Bona Venture* of Bristol, was the focus of Coward's and Easton's attention and helped themselves to the cargo onboard. Easton brought the ship to Berehaven from Bristol, where he plundered packets of wool and linen, damask to make sails, the cable for the bower anchor and other rope, as well as the master, the bos'un, the carpenter and two boys and leaving on board just two mariners and the purser. Easton then released the ship but Coward intercepted it rounding Mizen Head, and helped himself to the 'shipp's boate, two musketts and six pikes, one buckett and a ca[ ]e (chain?).[190] Both pirates were thus operating within the same area and within the same confraternity, but they also operated independently of each other, with Coward taking the pickings left over from Easton's work. It was this juxtaposition between independence and inter-dependence that was the cornerstone to the success of the confederacy in the southwest. It afforded the individual the freedom for opportune plunder but equally ensured safety in numbers when support and defence were required, but within a framework of what was a deeply speculative enterprise.

Men like Thomas Coward seem to have been active at a very early period, progressing from times of war and legitimate maritime activity and, while successfully continuing to operate as an individual, also made the transition to being part of a pirate alliance that acted in unison as a powerful pirate force. This was perhaps best seen when in 1608 Captain Williamson in the king's ship *Tramontane*, was attempting to open fire on pirate Captain Suxbridge in Baltimore harbour. Within moments 'Captaine Jennings and Captaine Bishoppe with theire shippes came downe to the saied Williamson, and anchored the one of his bowe and the other to his quarter

[190] Before the Mayor and aldermen of Bristol, 8 June 1610 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/226, f. 222r).

within pistol shott, And the said Willimson beeinge then as it seemed not fitt to fighte with them putt for a flagg of Truce [ ]'.[191]

**The motivation behind the alliance**

There are a number of critical reasons why piracy became so prevalent in this particular part of Ireland during this period. Certainly the growth in maritime trade and shipping, advances in shipbuilding allied with the continued commercial growth in merchant voyaging and colonial endeavours which opened up new prospective opportunities, provided choices for pirates with regard to where they operated and who they targeted. The final expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in 1609 corresponded to the advent of the main period of activity of the Atlantic pirates and their relocation to the ports of North Africa ensured that there were like-minded individuals now acting as merchants, port traders and general port workers, who allied themselves with the pirates' targeting of Spanish ships. As has been discussed in the introductory chapter, the growth in pirate fleets similarly formed part of the process that was seeing the emergence of the British state and expanding English maritime empire attempting to dominate the Atlantic trading routes. Local English officials in Munster served two masters at this time, they carried out their official functions as admiralty officers or government undertakers but equally endorsed the opportunities to advance not alone their own economic standing by trading with the pirates, but worked within a regime that allowed such trade to exist 'unofficially'.[192]

Following the death of Queen Elizabeth I, James Stuart succeeded to the throne of England in 1603. The ending of the Anglo-Spanish War in 1604 signified a

[191] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 257; the primary account for this comes from T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/97, f. 202, 19 December 1608, but the collection of papers was in conservation and could not be consulted directly.
[192] Richie, ibid. p. 12, 19-20.

period that 'marked the watershed between the Tudor and Stuart dynasties; between war and peace'.[193] Much has been written about Elizabeth's 'Sea Dogs' and her 'privateers', such as Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh, who generally, though not always, operated under the umbrella of 'letters of marque', plundering the oceans against enemy shipping and often sailing a very thin line between privateering and outright piracy.[194] As defined earlier, privateers were primarily private ships acting under commissions issued by respective governments to target enemy shipping.[195]

It is equally historically documented that piracy was prevalent around Britain during that period and before, with the pirates often making landfall in Ireland.[196] Piracy at that time tended to focus its activity on foreign shipping in places such as the Mediterranean and the Continent, with proclamations being issued in an attempt to suppress the activity.[197] Piracy was thus an integral part of maritime life within the Northern Atlantic fringe for millennia. Indeed, as Senior again highlights, by the turn of the century, conditions were ripe for an increase in piratical activity, with the English being best able to exploit the situation due to their long involvement in privateering activity during the war with Spain and their equal involvement in international maritime trade and exploration.[198]

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[193] Senior, *A Nation of Pirates*, p. 7.

[194] See for example K.R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering* (Cambridge, 1964); N. Williams, *The Sea Dogs: Privateers, Plunder and Piracy in the Elizabethan Age* (New York, 1975); Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag: Pirates of the Tudor Age* (Stroud, 2009).

[195] See Glossery, plus Chapter 1: Introduction, page ??, chapter 1 where this term is discussed in light of its origin and usage; see also Rodger, *Safeguard of the Seas*, pp 199-200.

[196] D. Mathew, 'Cornish and Welsh Pirates in the Reign of Elizabeth', in *The English Historical Review,* 39, no 155 (July 1924), pp 337-348; C. L'Estrange Ewen, 'Organised Piracy around England in the Sixteenth Century', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 35, no 1 (1949), pp 29-42; Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*, I, pp 344-352; Steve Murdoch, 'Peacetime and Piracy, 1560-1618', in *The Terror of the Seas? Scottish Maritime Warfare 1513-1713* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), pp.111-152.

[197] R. Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations 1485-1714*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1910), in particular Vol. 2, Part 1 which deals with Scotland and Ireland in general but not much content on piracy itself from the study period; Steele, '*A Proclamation against the maintenaunce of Pirates*' 3rd August 1569, no. 641 (copy in Bodleian Library, STC 2nd Ed. /8017/455:82); Hurd, 'Some aspects'; L. de Lisle, *After Elizabeth: The Death of Elizabeth and the coming of King James* (New York, 2005), p. 94.

[198] Senior, *Nation of Pirates*, p.7.

Under James VI and I large numbers of men, previously legitimately employed as seamen, sailors and soldiers in Elizabeth's albeit dwindling navy, or as commercial privateers, now found themselves unemployed under this new era of peace. With only the sea as a previous means for gainful employment, increasing numbers of men were now attracted to piracy and foreign privateering ventures as an assured source of income and, in many cases, as the only way of life known to them. An indication as to the sheer numbers involved in the maritime community in England can be found for the year 1582, when a total of 16,306 masters, mariners, sailors and fishermen were engaged in maritime activity for that year.[199] This highlights the potential numbers looking for work around the ports and harbours of England, with many willing to go to sea at any cost once it provided them with some hope of a living. It is estimated that as many as 50,000 men, having substantially increased due to two decades of war, were by 1603 treading the boards in ports and harbours looking for any opportunity for work that would come their way.[200]

**When the law assisted piracy**

What distinguishes piracy in the preceding century from that of the later piracy being studied here is that under the new king both privateering and piracy were essentially classed as the same activity and outlawed. The king uncompromisingly viewed piracy as being any act of robbery or violence undertaken by anyone at sea, around the coast, along creeks or in rivers that fell under admiralty jurisdiction. This applied equally to the waters around Ireland when, following the establishment of a separate admiralty court for Ireland in the 1570s, the principal interest of the Court was dealing with pirates and their captured prizes and this was even more intensive after 1603, with the

[199] Oppenheim, *Naval Tracts*, III, pp. 188-192.
[200] Senior, ibid., p. 9.

establishment of the provincial court of admiralty of Munster in the first decade of the seventeenth century, attesting to the heightened activity there.[201]

James VI and I took a two-pronged approach to tackling piracy, as part of government policy, with direct action through sending out ships to intercept pirate vessels (though his neglect of the navy, as well as collusion between the pirates and serving officials, meant that this proved ineffective) and through negotiation and acquiescence, whereby he approved the issuing of pardons to those pirates who agreed to submit. This too was government policy, as it was customary to issue general pardons to criminals at the end of a parliament. In the year 1610 a general pardon was issued through which many of the pirates in Ireland benefitted.[202] Pirates like Richard Bishop and his colleagues may at that point, have seized the opportunity to look for a pardon when parliament drew to a close in that year, though most did not receive their pardons until after 1612. The final impetus for the taking of pardons may have been the elevation of small towns and villages, primarily in the plantation areas of Ulster and Munster, to borough status in the year 1613. Both Baltimore and Bandon were made royal boroughs in that year. The principal reason for this was to achieve a protestant majority in the Irish parliament, ensuring two individuals from each new borough could attend parliament and could therefore vote through the nine pieces of suggested legislation.[203] One of the laws being put forward was that of the

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[201] Appleby and O'Dowd, ' Irish Admiralty', pp 299-301; Costello, 'Court of Admiralty', p. 23; *The Court of Admiralty,* p 15-17; see Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion on the High Court of Admiralty and official administration in Ireland.

[202] Steve Murdoch, *The Terror of the Seas*, ibid., p. 129.

[203] A. Clarke, 'Pacification, plantation, and the catholic question, 1603-23', in T.X. Moody, F.X. Martin a F. J. Byrne (eds.), *New History of Ireland,* iii: *Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976, 2003 repri pp 210-219; T.W. Moody, 'The Irish Parliament under Elizabeth and James I: A General Surve *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguisti Literature*, 45 (1939/1940), pp 41-81; V. Treadwell, 'House of Lords in the Irish Parliament 1613-161 *English Historical Review*, 80, no. 314 (January 1965), pp 92-107.

Law to Suppress Piracy.[204] While the ultimate political aim of elevating such places to royal borough status was to achieve the majority in parliament, it also ensured greater control of these smaller but strategically placed market towns and harbours by making their local government officials directly answerable to parliament and thus under greater scrutiny from central government than hitherto was the case in remote areas like West Cork.

Another approach sanctioned by the crown, more out of exasperation fuelled by international pressure than through political goodwill, was the commission issued to the States-General in Holland in 1612 that allowed the Dutch to send a fleet of their own into English territorial waters with an agreement to intercept members of the pirate confederacy and to take prisoners. The latter measure, culminating in the 1614 brutal attack on Crookhaven by a Dutch fleet, went well beyond the bounds of the commission and resulted in the killing of pirates and local English settlers alike.[205]

While each method had its own resultant diplomatic, political and economic impact, it was primarily through negotiations, submissions and the issuing of pardons that the confederacy itself was eventually disbanded and dispersed.[206] This was not founded on central government political intent, however, rather through a combination of pressure from changes in global economic markets – the Dutch in 1612 had forged official trade agreements with the Ottomans in the Levant, for example, and thus needed to eradicate the pirate problem to allow them open access to

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[204] 1612, Heads or titles of the Acts concerning the Common Weal, no. 7: An Act against pirates, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, p. 250; Sir John Davys to the Earl of Somerset, 31 October 1614, passing of the Act against pirates, *ibid.* p. 516; Piracy Act 1613: 11, 12, and 13 Jas, 1, c. 2, (Irish Statute Book);

[205] Details of the granting of this commission and of the attack are discussed in chapter 6.

[206] While this study is concerned with James VI's and I's dealings with the problem posed by the Atlantic pirates in southwest Ireland and also by association Newfoundland and Northwest Africa, piracy continued albeit in a different form, and the king continued his actions against such piracy from 1616 onwards; see Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government 1616-1642,* pp 8-20; see Appendix 5 for an overview of change but continuity in pirate activity in the later period.

the waters between Ireland and the Mediterranean.[207] Changes in the make up of pirate crews from 1614 onwards, where the North African corsairs began to dominate, may have been another element in making Ireland's pirate scourge, at that point, untenable.[208]

Almost directly upon assuming power, the king issued proclamations revoking all letters of marque, decreeing from that time on that any activity previously undertaken as a privateering venture would now be classed as an act of piracy.[209] The immediate effect of this action was seen in 1603, just three days after the official ending of privateering, when the mayor of Plymouth wrote to the English privy council describing the situation there at that time. He stated:

> there do daily resort heither such a great number of sailors, mariners and other masterless men, that heretofore have been at sea in men of war, and being now restrained from that course do still remain here and pester our town which is already overcharged with many poor people. And some of them do daily commit such intolerable outrages as they steal and take away boats in the night out of the harbour and rob both English and French.[210]

Government action was taken a step further in 1605, when a proclamation outlawed any English citizen found in the employ of foreign shipping and who was acting under a letter of marque from a foreign ruler.[211] This in effect meant that, where previously English sailors and seamen had an option of serving aboard foreign privateers if no such opportunities presented themselves nearer home, now this too had been banned. Whereas a certain number of sailors and men of the sea were

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[207] Mehmet Bulut, 'The role of the Ottomans and Dutch in the commercial integration between the Levant and Atlantic in the seventeenth century', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 45, 2 (2002), p. 197, 201; see also Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement,* pp 87-100 and Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*, pp 347-352..

[208] See for instance Hebb, ibid.; Barbour, 'Privateers and Pirates of the West Indies', *The American Historical Review,* 16, no. 3 (1911), pp 593-566; Senning, 'Piracy, Politics and Plunder under James 1: the Voyage of the *Pearl* and its Aftermath, 1611-1615', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 46, no. 3 (Summer, 1983), pp 187-222; Murdoch, *The Terror of the Seas?,* pp. 134-156.

[209] R. Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations 1485-1714*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1910).

[210] Senior, *Nation of Pirates*, p.10.

[211] R. Steele, *Proclamations*, 8 July 1605, no. 1014.

always attracted to unlawful activity, it is open to debate as to whether such high volumes would have turned to piracy if the king's obdurate approach had not been so immediate.[212] Indeed the king's intolerance for any such activity appeared determined and became more targeted as time passed, with proclamations being issued that increased penalties against piracy and focused on the pirates, their activity and those aiding and abetting them. James' dislike of piracy and his motivations against them seemed to have been predicated on both a personal as well as a political aversion. While in theory, this tough approach was perceived as a mechanism for addressing the pirate problem, in practice it had little to no real effect on the practice of piracy in Atlantic waters.

As highlighted by Hebb, the king seems to have viewed piracy as an act not alone against State but against God, and with James wishing to be seen in the role of peacemaker, his intention was to ensure that all his subjects, on land and at sea, were safe in their travels. This hatred was enhanced by international pressure, with foreign ambassadors complaining of predations at sea by marauding English ships and claiming collusion with admiralty officers at the highest level of government. The Venetian Ambassador, Giovanni Scaramelli, for example in 1603, complained to the king that Lord High Admiral, Nottingham was in direct cahoots with the English pirates that were preying on his merchant ships, with Scaramelli proclaiming that 'it was the Admiral himself who had a part of the plunder in his hands, and what is more, he admitted it'.[213]

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[212] W. Frank Craven, ' The Earl of Warwick, a Speculator in Piracy', *The Hispanic American Historical Review,* 10, no. 4 (Nov. 1930), pp 457-460; Senior, *A Nation of Pirates*, p. 9.

[213] Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate, 5 October 1603, *Cal. S.P. Ven. 1603-1607*, p. 100; Hebb, ibid. pp 8-9; This is part of a protracted complaint by Scaramelli and the Venetian government over the taking of several of their ships, including two large merchantmen, the *Balbiana* and the *Geopandita*; Scaramelli's complaints of piracy against their nation dated back to the reign of Elizabeth I and continued into James' time, see Alberto Tenenti, *Piracy and the Decline of Venice, 1580-1615* (London, 1967), for a full account of Venetian economic losses through pirate attacks;

The king issued a proclamation in 1604 with the particular purpose of the 'search and apprehension of certaine pirats' and which named specific individuals. These included 'William Hull[214] Captaine of a Ship called the *Talbot* of Topisham in our Countie of Deuon, And Philip Ward Captaine of a Ship called the *Thomasine* of Dartmouth in the said Countie, Christopher Newman, Edward Follet, and Henry Burt, with diuers others their Complices and Associats, seruing as Mariners or Souldiers in the said Ships, respectiuely stand indicted'.[215] Some of these named individuals, it will become clear, may well have been admiralty officials while others were active pirates. All used the southwest of Ireland as the location for their northern operations as it not only had suitable harbours to facilitate their needs, but the newly established settlements under the plantation programme opened up fresh economic opportunities and ready markets for the pirates' goods.[216]

James VI and I too was equally as concerned with acts of piracy within the coastal waters of Scotland and that which emanated out of places like Lough Foyle in Ulster, and he sought from the outset of assuming the two crowns, to stamp out this activity, which was both politically embarrassing and economically distruptive. Through a combination of stationing his own ships within Scottish waters and utilizing local ships (which can only be construed as privateering), along with negotiating pardons, he sought to eradicate piracy in his Scottish realm.[217] The stationing of the king's ships in the Northern Seas, however, ensured that they were

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http://books.google.ie/books?id=hAtpBrOdQIIC&pg=PA106&lpg=PA106&dq=Venice-+piracy;

[214] See Chapter 4 for discussion on William Hull. This is the same William Hull who was later based in Leamcon in Schull, County Cork when he was acting deputy vice-admiral for Munster from 1608; Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates', pp 76-104; A.E.J. Went, 'Sir William Hull's Losses in 1641', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 63, no. 198 (1947), p. 56.

[215] *By the King a proclamation for the search and apprehension of certaine pirats* Anno Dom 1604 (Society of Antiquaries, STC 2nd Ed./ 8363/1875:25, London).

[216] See Chapters 3 and 4 for details on English government and admiralty officials and Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion on the key pirate figures and their bases.

[217] Murdoch, *The Terror of the Seas*, pp 127-142.

reduced in force if not frequently absent around the southern coast of Ireland for that time.

**Plantations and pirates**

During this period too, the political and economic landscape of Ireland had changed. With the fall of the Gaelic order following the crushing of the Desmond rebellion in the 1580s and the subsequent defeat of the Spanish at the battle of Kinsale in 1601, remote areas like that of the southwest of Ireland, which hitherto had been held by the Gaelic-Irish as peripheries of native control, were now open to targeted settlement and exploitation of resources, though essentially outside the 'official' plantation remit.[218] The plantation of Munster, which began in the 1580s, was focused on forfeited lands. Though the actual movement of people into Ireland was slow during Elizabeth's reign, much of the mapping of confiscated territory took place during this time, with a variety of inquisitions being carried out. One example, dating to 1586, returned with the title of *The Plot from England for the planting and peopling of Munster*.[219] It was during James' administration, however, that the plantation of Munster began in earnest, and though not to the same degree or intent as that undertaken in Ulster, it progressed steadily with the 1611 commission survey indicating its extent at that time.[220]

Strategic areas began to attract more attention and coastal locations like 'Carberie' in County Cork became the focus for speculation, including noting its

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[218] See MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, pp 221-222 and Appleby, 'The Problem of Piracy in Ireland', p. 43 and 'Settlers and Pirates, p. 104.

[219] W.H. Hardinge, 'On manuscript mapped townland surveys in Ireland of a public character, from their introduction to 23 October 1641', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, VIII, 1861-1864, pp 39-55.

[220] M. MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation*, ibid. pp 144-148; J. O'Donovan in his *Miscellany of the Celtic Society* (Dublin, 1849) deals specifically with James' Inquisition of 1609 for the southwest of Ireland and provides valuable insight into the holdings of the Gaelic-Irish in the area, with a detailed discussion on the wealth of the O'Driscoll lords, in particular see pp 99-105.

importance in regard to its havens.[221] The ports and harbours in particular were identified for their opportunities to control trade and shipping. It was further recorded that the native Irish still remaining there were in such a weakened state that the king could successfully lay claim to such territories through persuading the Irish to lease their lands to prospective undertakers and settlers along the 'Sea Coasts'.[222] This was not a new approach as native Gaelic lords had handed their lands over to the crown from the time of Elizabeth, to be returned to them under the policy of surrender and regrant. The O'Driscolls of West Carbery in County Cork, for instance, are documented as having done so, some from a very early stage of the Desmond Rebellions. Sir Peter Carew's letter of 1568 stated that 'Fynnye O'Driscol [Florence O'Driscoll, chief of the clan] and others, whose ancestors never came to any Deputy, are come in, of their own accord'.[223] A letter sent from Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam to Lord Burghley in 1573 noted that Fineen O'Driscoll sought to retain control of his territory by complying with the new dispensation. As a consequence, Fineen agreed to take his lands by letters patent, swear fealty to the crown of England and accepted a knighthood.[224] Such lords as the O'Driscolls frequently partook in acts of piracy as they possessed large fleets of ships and acting, at times, as hired maritime mercenaries who carried out sea raids along the southern coastline of Ireland.[225]

Though Appleby rightly suggests that such raiding was generally unrefined, opportunistic and undertaken as a means of supplementing the local economy, records would imply that the wealth that was accrued by these maritime lords and the means

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[221] Edwards, 'letter-book of Sir Arthur Chichester', p. 20.
[222] Ibid. pp 20-21.
[223] Peter Carew to the Privy Council, 2 November 1568, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1509-73,* p. 392.
[224] Ibid. p. 523.
[225] C. Kelleher, 'The Gaelic O'Driscoll Lords of Baltimore, Co. Cork: Settlement, Economy and Conflict in a 'Maritime' Cultural Landscape', in: *Gaelic Ireland: Lordship in medieval and early modern Ireland*, L. Doran and J. Lyttleton (eds.) (Dublin, 2007), pp 144-145; see also P. Naessens, 'Gaelic lords of the sea: the coastal tower houses of south Connemara', in *Gaelic Ireland: Lordship in medieval and early modern Ireland*, ibid. pp.217-235.

by which they enforced control on others using their waters was at the very least semi-formalised, with specific methods employed to maximize returns.[226] The expansion of piracy in the southwest region closely paralleled the targeted plantation of those remote areas by English officials and Appleby has identified that the growth in organised piracy within a 'colonial context' was intermingled with both official and unofficial settlement into remote regions of Munster where, as he correctly states, 'the forces of law and order were seriously compromised by local conditions'. He concludes that the expansion of English piracy into Ireland may be viewed as a formative stage in the development of transatlantic piracy and plunder thereafter.[227] This is a very important point, particularly when considering that it was English pirates – the same English pirates who are the primary focus of this study – who helped to expand the knowledge base of the Moors and Algerian Turks in the construction of bigger and better ships, only for these Barbary corsairs in turn to become the pirate scourge of northwest Europe during the second quarter of the seventeenth century.[228]

Another key mitigating factor in the targeted expansion of piracy in Ireland at the time was the existence of a legal loophole, a situation whereby anyone accused of piracy in Ireland could not be tried in the country but would have to be either sent over to England to stand trial or a special commission be sent to Ireland to hear the charges, after which, if found guilty, the accused would still have to be transported to

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[226] Appleby, 'Women and Piracy', p. 285; Kelleher, 'Gaelic O'Driscolls', pp 142-144, 158; Breen, *The Gaelic Lordship*, pp 107-121.

[227] Appleby, 'The Problem of Piracy', p. 43.

[228] See for example: G.N. Clark, 'The Barbary Corsairs in the Seventeenth Century', *Cambridge Historical Journal,* 8, no. 1 (1944), pp 22-35; Theresa Denise Murray, 'From Baltimore to Barbary: the 1631 Sack of Baltimore', *History Ireland*, 14, Ireland and Africa (Jul.-Aug. 2006), p 14-18; Nabil Matar, 'The Barbary Corsairs, Charles I and the Civil War, *Seventeenth Century*, 16, no. 2 (2001), pp 239-258 and *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689* (Florida, 2005); Chapter 7 briefly discusses this change in the nature and extent of piracy from the second decade of the seventeenth century..

England to be executed.[229] The problem caused by this ambiguity was aired in the correspondence of Chichester to the earl of Devonshire when he pointed out that the pirates in Munster, who apparently well understood the law, were of the opinion that the law could not hurt them and so flagrantly pirated merchants and their ships in the area. This is reiterated by Chichester in 1610, when he again requests that the law be changed to allow for 'the adjudging and execution of pirates'.[230] The legislation was finally changed in 1613 with the enactment of the Piracy Act, which brought admiralty legislation in Ireland into line with that in England, though it still allowed for dual jurisdiction where pirates could be either tried and executed in Ireland or transported to England and prosecuted there.[231] The impact of this change in the legislation coincided with the general issuing of pardons and the fall of Mamora to the Spanish. It was thus an added deterrent to pirates operating in the waters around the southwest coast. The amended legislation also now allowed government officials in Ireland the legal scope to deal with piracy on home ground; it was not, however, a reason in itself for the demise in Atlantic-based piracy.[232]

**The receiving landscape**[233]

It is evident that many of the native Gaelic lords, and in particular those with maritime capabilities, like the O'Driscolls of Baltimore, actively worked with the English authorities to curb piracy in their area, with Fineen O' Driscoll's 'good

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[229] Costello, 'The Court of Admiralty', p. 78 and *The Court of Admiralty*, pp 41-42; Senior, ' An Investigation', p. 114; Appleby and O'Dowd, 'The Irish Admiralty', p. 301, 305; see Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of this legislative loophole, its effects and subsequent legal reform.

[230] Chichester to Devonshire, 2 January 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1603-1606*, p. 382; Chichester to Salisbury, 27 June 1610, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 473.

[231] Piracy Act 1613, (11, 12 and 13 Jas I, c. 2, 1613-1615); http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/isbc/pui1613.html; Costello, 'The Court of Admiralty', p. 81.

[232] Chapter 6 discusses the background to the submission and demise of the Atlantic pirates for the study period; see also Rodgers, *Safeguard of the Seas*, pp 349-350.

[233] See chapter 2 where the geographical suitability and the historical geography of the southwest coast for piracy is discussed.

actions against pirates' being noted in the year 1583.[234] An entry in the High Court of Admiralty examinations for the previous year recorded that Fineen O'Driscoll 'lord of that soil' recovered the goods from a Spanish ship that had been taken by English pirates in Falmouth. The pirates brought the ship into Baltimore Harbour and Fineen kept the goods until commissioners of the admiralty collected them.[235] That being said, lords like the O'Driscolls and their western neighbours, the O'Sullivan-Beare maritime lords, played both sides and at times, openly facilitated and dealt with pirates who arrived on their shores, with dues being paid to the lords by all ships using their harbours[236] and availing of the opportunity to acquire wine and other exotic goods.[237] A deposition, taken just six days later than the previous one of Morris Wise of Waterford, detailed the taking by the O'Driscolls of a 15-ton fishing bark in Baltimore who then sold it to the pirates in the harbour.[238] Indeed Mathew states that 'Fineen of the Ships' O'Driscoll had an 'open roadstead in Roaringwater Bay' where pirates were unequivocally welcomed.[239]

Of all the harbours along the southwest coast, during the latter part of the sixteenth and first two decades of the seventeenth centuries, Baltimore appears from the documentary accounts to have been among the most commonly used by pirates. Indeed, in 1608 this was noted by Chichester when he wrote to the lords of the English Privy Council and stated that:

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[234] Sir Warham Sentleger to Walsyngham, 15 August 1583; SP 63/104 f. 44 (State Papers Online; ibid.); *Cal. S. P. Ire., 1574-1585,* pp 369-73.
[235] Deposition of Nicholas Dennys of Bristol, 23 March 1582 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/24, ff. 203-203v); J. Appleby, (ed.), *A Calendar of Material*, p. 47.
[236] J. O'Donovan, *Miscellany*, pp 99-104.
[237] Francis Chamberlain, captain, Thos, Compton, bailiff, John Aster, dean of Guernsey and three other Commissioners for piracies to the Queen, 20 December, 1566, at Guernsey, SP 15/13 f.90 (State Papers Online, Gale Document No. MC4303700049); *Cal. S. P. Dom. Eliz. I, Addenda, 1566-1579*, p. 23; Mathew, 'Cornish and Welsh Pirates', p. 341, 344.
[238] Deposition of Morrys Wise of Waterford, 29 March 1582 (T.N.A. Examinations, 1579-83, HCA 13/24, ff. 204-5); J. Appleby, (ed.), *A Calendar of Material relating to Ireland*, p. 48.
[239] Mathew, 'Cornish and Welsh Pirates', p. 341, 344.

> [ ] though all of them [the harbours in Munster] be very commodious and safe for pirates to come unto, yet Baltimore is most frequented by them.[240]

No doubt it was the willingness of the local populace, not least among them the Lord O'Driscoll, that encouraged the use of Baltimore. More importantly from a knowledge point of view, it is suggested that it was the maritime capability of lords like the O'Driscolls that was an even greater enticement for the pirates to frequent Baltimore over other harbours like Kinsale or Cork, the main ports used by the king's ships in the south. The fact that there had been local fleets of ships using the harbour meant that some form of infrastructure was probably in place, whether formal or improvised, to accommodate such vessels – slipways, landing places, careening and repair facilities and men that had the knowledge and ability to carry out this work. This would, no doubt have been well known throughout the maritime community at the time. In 1602 it was noted that in front of Dunalong castle on Sherkin Island, there is 'a deep pool about half a league over, where infinite numbers of ships may ride [ ] and a good place to careen ships'.[241] The use of harbours like Baltimore therefore has to be seen in light of its geo-political landscape, where environment, topography and local ruling polity inevitably allowed illicit activity to continue as it always had, as part of the everyday life of the area, from the earliest of times. Piratical pursuits were thus it seems, standard; it was only the pirates themselves who changed over time.

The importance of Baltimore was identified from a much earlier period in regards to provisions for ships. In the year 1550, an instruction was given to Sir Anthony St Leger from the crown to seek out the best harbours for timber to build ships, with particular attention to be paid to Carrickfergus, Strangford and

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[240] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council, 30 March 1608, SP 63/223, f. 137r-138v.
[241] Stafford, *Pacata Hibernia,* 1602, p. 216, 584

Baltimore.[242] Again in the year 1582 an entry from the High Court of Admiralty lists a Spanish vessel coming into Baltimore in need of new masts and general repair.[243] In 1585 the great woodland in Munster is mentioned with a good store of timber being available in Youghal for shipbuilding, where local shipwrights and mariners were also available and two ruined abbeys there were to be used as storehouses for the timber.[244] Harbours like Baltimore may therefore have had requisite localized or indeed improvised vessel repair and maintenance facilities, but with larger ports like Kinsale and Youghal having more commercially organised setups for the building and repair of ships themselves. Indeed from contemporary seventeenth-century cartographic sources, evidence for such facilities can be seen, in the form of graving docks and quays and which are closely associated with fortified sites, as in this case with Old Fort (Castlepark and later James Fort), which would have controlled and protected the use of such facilities (map image 6).[245]

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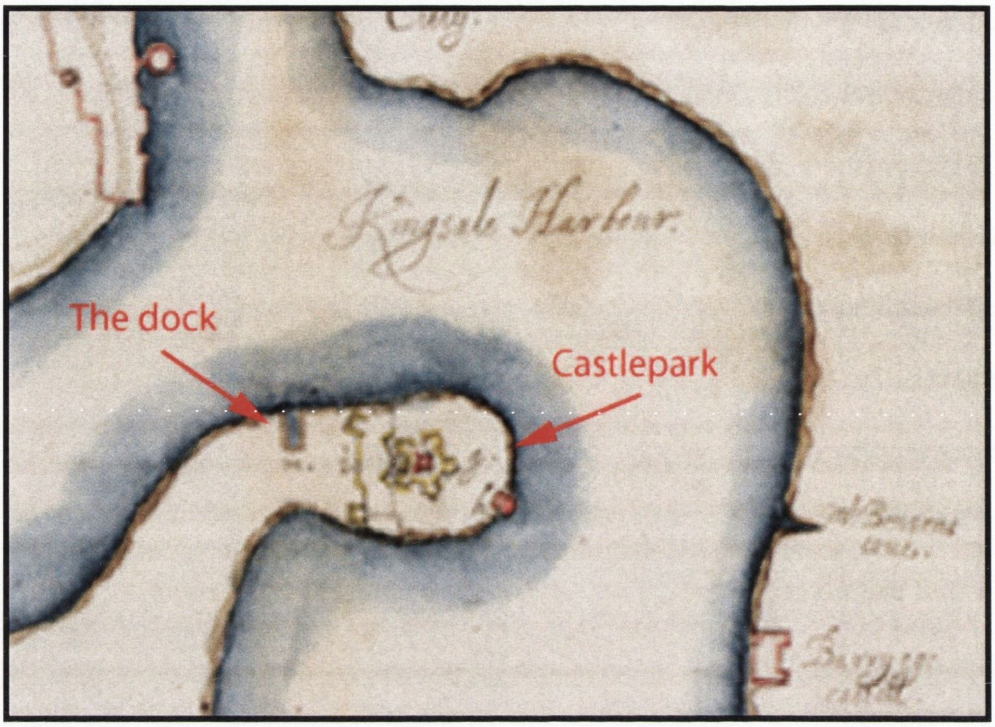
[242] *Cal. Carew MSS 1515-74*, p. 436.
[243] Appleby, (ed.), *A Calendar of Material relating to Ireland,* p. 47.
[244] *Cal. Carew MSS 1575-88*, p. 214.
[245] Detail from chart of Kinsale Harbour by John Mansell showing the 'dock' in Castlepark, adjacent to Old Fort (Castlepark), *c.* 1649 (P/49(16), Dartmouth Collection, National Maritime Collection, Greenwich); an earlier chart of Kinsale housed in the same collection and dating to 1601 shows no such facilities in the area near Old Fort (Anonymous, P/49(17), Dartmouth Collection, National Maritime Collection, Greenwich); suggesting such facilities like the dock were built after 1601, though its lack of representation on the earlier chart may only be due to the basic nature of the chart itself, the agenda behind drawing the map or the observational skills of the cartographer; http://collections.nmm.ac.uk/collections/objects/541697.html




(map image 6) Detail from 1649 chart of Kinsale Harbour showing Old Fort, with the Dock indicated to the west of the main fortification.[246]

While these sites are now gone, reclaimed and built upon over the centuries, placename evidence can provide a clue to the former location of these features in the landscape. Standing on the place where the dock would have been located in Castlepark today, is a local alehouse – a pub conspicuously called The Dock (plate 2). Reclamation and modern day development has now completely obliterated the earlier dock, highlighting the importance that contemporary cartographic material can make to archaeology and history in informing on sites now lost. The more localized facilities in the smaller harbours like Baltimore, and to the west in Croagh (pronounced 'Crewe') and Crookhaven, combined with willing local helpers and the remoteness of the harbours themselves, meant locations like Baltimore were ideal

[246] I am grateful to Dr. Elaine Murphy for drawing to my attention this map and the dock as indicated.

bases for the pirates.[247] Other harbours along the southern coast, including Waterford, Youghal, Cork, Kinsale and Bantry also experienced their share of pirate activity. This was more in the way of intermittent trade, primarily due to the fact that English naval ships used the larger harbours as bases of their own and these harbours were thus better protected.




(plate 2) Image of the Dock Pub, now standing on the general area where the old dock was located.

Physical links to this period are the upstanding remains that dot the coastal harbours of southwest Munster like those of the O'Driscoll, O'Mahony and O'Sullivan-Beara castles and towerhouses dominating the southwestern coast of Cork. These stone structures stand testament to these ruling lordships, as places for

[247] See Chapter 2 for a more in-depth discussion on the pirate bases in the southwest and the historical-geographical attributions that explains their attractiveness and ensured their success.

military, maritime, administrative and, in some cases, recreational usage.[248] Two examples of such fortified sites are located in Baltimore harbour - those of Dún na Séad castle, the primary seat of the chief of the O'Driscolls and across the harbour, the previously mentioned towerhouse of Dunalong on Sherkin Island (plate 3). Both fortified sites controlled the main anchorage in the harbour. Similar functions have been noted for fortifications in Bantry, where a number of O'Sullivan-Beare castles were sited to control the anchorages there. The strategic location of Dunboy castle at the entrance to Castletownbere and the outer reaches of Bantry Harbour, the tower house on Whiddy Island, both on excellent vantage points to control shipping and fishing activity, are obvious examples.[249]

Dunalong would have acted as a command post, with both a military and maritime function, particularly when handed over by Donough O'Driscoll to the Spanish as a garrison in 1601, and which was later taken over by the English following the defeat of the Spanish and Gaelic-Irish at the battle of Kinsale (figure 3). As its name suggests, Dunalong or 'Fort of the Ships', may have had a multi-functional role over a long period with a firm focus throughout this time on the sea but one that also, no doubt, facilitated the pirates when opportunity presented itself.[250]

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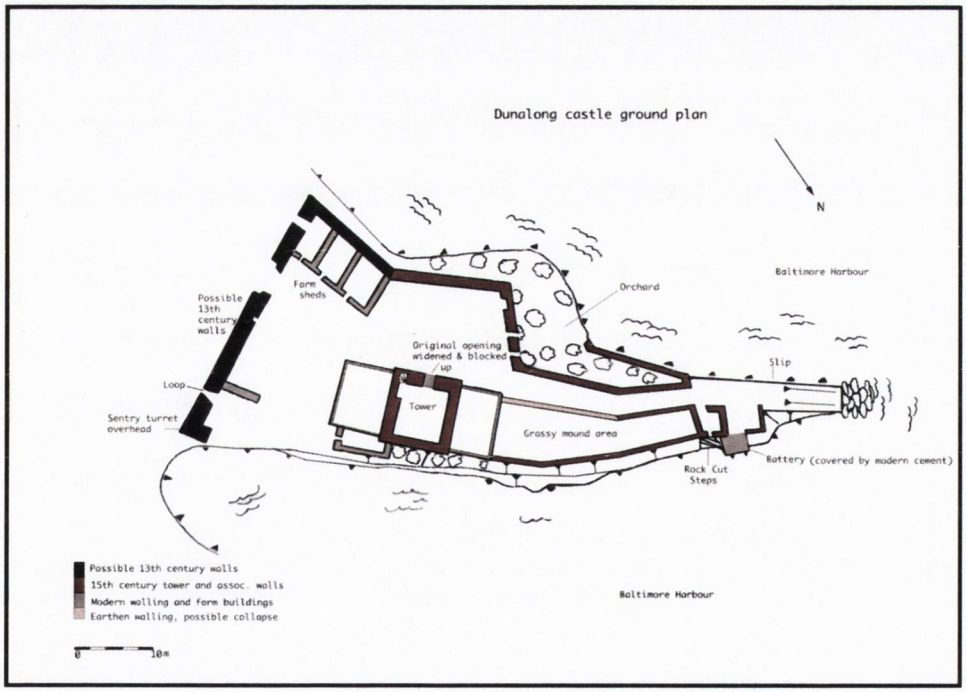
[248] Kelleher, 'The Gaelic O'Driscoll Lords', pp 150-158.
[249] Breen, *The Gaelic Lordship*, pp 116-17.
[250] Kelleher, 'In a Harbour Long Ago', p. 277.



(plate 3) Dunalong castle from the southeast, overlooking the main anchorage in Baltimore harbour and with the main settlement across the water.




(figure 3) Ground plan of Dunalong castle showing details of the towerhouse and enclosing walls, with suggested dates of construction.[251]

[251] Plan adapted by author from Thomas J. Westroppe, 'Fortified Headlands and Castles of South Coast of Munster' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 32c (1914), pp 80-124, Plate XI.

The extant remains today of Dún na Séad castle, situated on a height over-looking the harbour, are of a later fortified house built by Thomas Crooke on the site of the earlier O'Driscoll castle. Crooke was a protestant settler granted the lands around Baltimore following the fall of the Gaelic order and who was elected to the Irish Parliament in 1613 (plate 4).[252] Crooke was involved with the pirates in the area at the time, being under scrutiny on a number of occasions for his tolerance and accommodation of and outright dealings with the pirates. Called to England to answer charges,[253] he was subsequently exonerated in 1608 and returned to Baltimore where he worked as a government official for the plantation of Munster and, having successfully settled a large community of English migrants in Baltimore, it was more beneficial to the government's plantation policy that Crooke remained in his post there.[254] This appears to be indeed the case as the letter written by the Bishop of Cork to the lords of the privy council in England on Crooke's behalf refers to the good work done in the area by Crooke and the Bishop 'entreats his return, lest his absence be the ruin of his good work begun in those parts, which is the thing his adversaries aim at'.[255]

Contemporary archaeological remains like the castle of Dún na Séad, while not directly providing tangible links to the English piratical community, can provide visible upstanding evidence for their associates both local and official and by

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[252] J. Coleman, 'The old castles of south-west Cork', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 30 (1925), p. 27; Moody, 'The Irish Parliament under Elizabeth and James I, p. 78; Bernie McCarthy, 'Dun na Séad: the history of Baltimore castle' (Skibbereen, 2012); Crooke is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

[253] Examination of Nicholas Poole of St. Albans in the county of Hartford, aged 43, 23 January 1606 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/46/310r-311v); Lords of Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 8 March 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1606-1608*, p. 433-434; Senior, 'An Investigation'. p. 117.

[254] A coppie of a letter from the Lo. Bishopp of Cork to the Lords of the Councell in England, August 1608, SP 63/225, f. 222r (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347758162); A coppie of a letter from the Lords of Councell here, to the Lo: Danby [Danvers] the Lo: President of Mounster whereby it appeareth that he was [came] out of Ireland to answere complaints here, SP 63/225, f. 223r (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347580164).

[255] A coppie of a letter from the Lo. Bishopp of Cork to the Lords of the Councell in England, ibid.

extension with the activity itself. When called to England to answer the charge of collusion, Crooke claimed that rather than assisting them, they broke into his 'house' and robbed him of his goods, with the house in question more than likely being Dún na Séad.[256] Such monuments also bridge the transformation between the former ruling Gaelic order and the subsequent incursion of English plantation settlers into Munster. Though recently renovated into a private residence, the existing two storey rectangular structure, with high gables, is attached to an enclosing defensive bawn wall on its eastern extent.[257]

Aerial photographic survey has suggested that the bawn was far more extensive at an earlier period, with similarly constructed uncoarsed sandstone walling extending eastwards, though at a lower level to the existing bawn area.[258] The archaeological remains of Dún na Séad retains several domestic as well as defensive features along with the bawn wall itself, including a bartizan at its southwest corner (one of possibly two, the other may have been on the north-east corner wall), a gun-loop in the eastern bawn wall and a wall walk on the west wall. The latter provides visual evidence of its military function over time, progressing from the uses of arrows to guns in the post-medieval period.[259]

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[256] Examination of Nicholas Poole of St. Albans in the county of Hartford; this examinations mentions Dún na Séad several times in relation to Crooke and his house.

[257] E. Cotter, 'Dún na Séad Castle: an early-17th century house in Baltimore, Co. Cork', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 115 (2010), pp 31-54; 'An Archaeological Study of Dún na Séad Castle, Baltimore, Co. Cork' (unpublished survey report, Cork, 1997), p. 5; I am grateful to Mr. Cotter for providing copies of his archaeological reports; we cannot be completely certain if Dún na Séad acted as Crooke's main residence or if it were used purely for administrative purposes, with he and his family living close by in a private house.

[258] Kelleher, 'Maritime Archaeological Landscape', p. 108.

[259] E. Cotter, 'An Archaeological Study', p. 11.



(plate 4) Dún na Séad castle, Baltimore as it is today, restored and now a private residence. It was once the main seat of the Gaelic O'Driscoll clan and later administrative centre for Thomas Crooke from 1607 onwards.

Internally, Dún na Séad displays the remains of three fireplaces at first floor level, two in its east wall and one in its north gable end. The north wall also retains a bread oven to the right of the fireplace that clearly identifies the location of the kitchen area and one can ponder if Crooke's servants baked bread while he entertained Richard Bishop and his pirate crew in front of a roaring fire?

Within this space too the open-roofed main hall is located and the first floor entrance at the south end of the residence may have led into a private parlour of the occupier, with the bedchamber overhead.[260] These features reveal the domestic use of the castle, where officials like Crooke possibly lived but most certainly entertained and administered the land, the sea and those using them.[261]

[260] Ibid. p. 12
[261] Lords of Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 8 March 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1606-1608*, p. 434.

**Hunting the cultural evidence**

In 1622 a commission was established, under the orders of Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond and then lord president, to record the nature and extent of the settlement in Munster at that time. County sheriffs were ordered to visit undertakers in their jurisdictions and compile lists of 'all the names of ffreeholders and Coppie holders vppon anie Vndertakers land and alsoe to informe yourself of the names and Dwelling of all such others both natiues and English as are principall ffreeholders [ ] and to inquire and make a liste of all the leases within euerie seuerall Barrony within that Countie'. Unfortunately, while some general details seem to have been taken, including in the area around Bandon in West Cork, no returns or lists have survived.[262]

The significance of such information to a study like this one could have been immense as it may have provided written evidence, including names and details, for pardoned and settled pirates in the Munster area, with perhaps accompanying maps could also have illustrated pirate settlements. Such a list could well have included details on Richard Bishop who, following the capture of his ship in 1611 in Ireland, was pardoned by the king and settled near 'Schull', where he built a house there 'in the English style'.[263] While this term may partly refer to Bishop's actual house, this was a generic reference to the English architectural features of 'colonial' houses or structures representative of their 'English' origins, being built at that time. This could include the structure being a two-storey, combined timber-framed either brick or

[262] By the Lord President of Mounster, 14 April 1620, *Harl. MS 697, f 104r*, Curtis Clayton, (ed.), *The Council Book of Munster*, p. 215); MacCarthy-Morrough, 'Munster Plantation, 1583-1641', p. 188; R. Dunlop and Geo. O'Brien, 'An Unpublished Survey of the Plantation of Munster in 1622', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 14, no. 2 (1924), pp 128-146.

[263] Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates', p. 77; The name Schull was used openly at the time to reflect the area that stretches from modern day Schull village westward as far as Leamcon. It is the author's contention that the area referred to where Bishop lived lay between Leamcon and Croagh Harbour. The fact that he built on Hull's estate is confirmed with reference to his house being in Leamcon: see Examination of Richard Millington, 21 August 1613 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42, f. 214v).

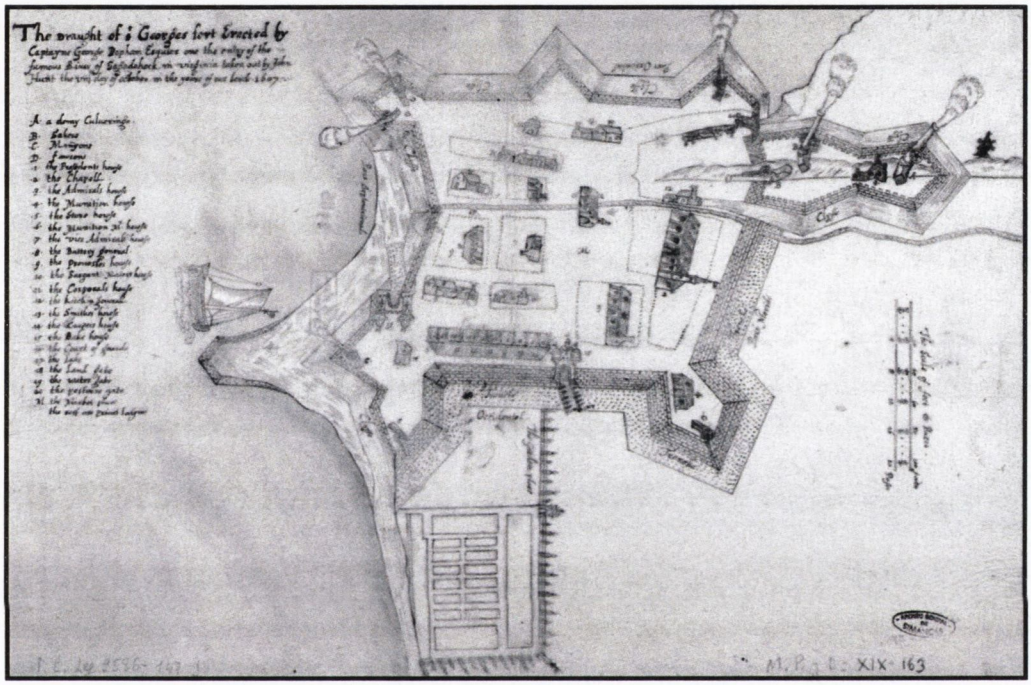
stone-built dwelling with a chimney and slated roof. This was to distinguish them from the native Irish vernacular cottages of mud walls, thatched roofs, no chimney and generally a single storey structure. It was a direct effort to distinguish the 'civilised' colonists from the 'uncivilised' natives and indicative of Bishop continuing his lifestyle within a settlement that was predominantly English in nature.

Contemporary representations of such buildings can be seen from maps of the period. One in particular, and which has particular resonance to this study, is a picture map drawn by the same cartographer John Hunt. It is of Fort St. George and represents the first attempt by English colonists to settle in the New World. The location was Maine, New England and it was to be a sister colony to Jamestown in Virginia (map image 7). The map of the Popham colony, named after Sir George Popham who led the venture, was drawn on site by one of the colonists – the said John Hunt.[264] Though the colony was unsuccessful and the picture map was aspirational rather than actual, the representation of the buildings as well as the perceived settlement layout is significant. Its value to this study is that it can be used for comparative evidence, in particular when correlating depictions of structures that may mirror those in West Cork. This is given great credence as the same cartographer, who frequented the coast of Ireland shortly afterwards and who had direct links to the pirate problem in the southwest, illustrated both maps.

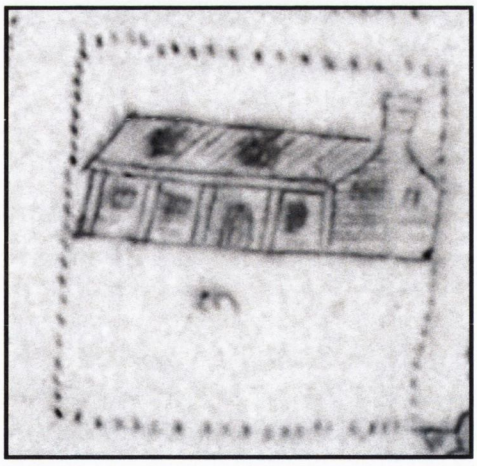
A variety of settler houses of differing sizes are drawn, with most shown as gabled, with stone chimney and slate roofs. An attendant hand-written legend attributes numbers to each one and states specifically what they are. Most are military and range from the 'president's house', to the 'admiral's house' and others include the house of the smith, cooper and provost, while utilitarian buildings like the munitions

[264] Jeffrey Brain, 'The John Hunt Map of the First English Colony in New England', *Northeast Historical Archaeology*, 31, issue 1, article 6 (2011), p. 69-74; I am grateful for information supplied to me by Dr. Brain on the Popham Colony map and on our discussions on John Hunt.

store and bakery are also illustrated. The variety of structures shown on the Popham colony map clearly have corresponding attributes including gables, chimneys, slate roofs and appear to be timber built, similar to those that would have been built by settlers of plantation period Munster.




(map image 7) John Hunt's map of Fort St. George in New England.[265]



(map image 8) Detail of the admiral's house with its attendant enclosed plot, from John Hunt's Popham Colony map.

[265] Map of Fort St. George in New England, drawn by John Hunt in 1607 (Archivo General de Simancas, MPD, 19, 163); Brain, ibid. p. 69.

It may be wishful but perhaps not beyond the bounds of possibility to suggest that in his capacity as admiral of the pirates, the house built by Bishop at Leamcon may have looked something like that of the admiral's house drawn just a few years earlier by John Hunt. It has its own specific enclosed plot, adhering to the policy of enclosure and building in timber or stone (map image 8).[266] It looks to have four bays with possible columns or four framed sections and the windows at the gable end denote a one-and-a-half storey build. A significant chimney is also illustrated at the gable. Though not overtly large, it is of sufficient size to suggest position and command respect. Only targeted archaeological excavation, however, if indeed the location of Bishop's house could be posited, may provide some evidence of what this dwelling was actually like.

Bishop's continued application of his English background and lifestyle would have been in keeping with the established policy for settling in Munster at that point following a directive by Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork for all building leases and under which William Hull's land would have come. This directive included the insistance on timber-built roofs covered in slate, a chimney (to specifically distinguish the building from that of the common native) and stone walls (though on occasion and when availability allowed, red brick was also incorporated in the build).[267] This was in keeping with established policy, as discussed by Ohlmeyer, when plantation in Munster became 'an instrument of royal policy and private enterprise'. What had been envisaged was the recreation of 'the world of south-east England on the confiscated

[266] J. Ohlmeyer, 'A Laboratory for Empire? Early Modern Ireland and English Imperialism', in K. Kenny, (ed.), *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2004), pp 45-46.

[267] MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'The English Presence in Early Seventeenth Century Munster', in Ciaran Brady and Raymond Gillespie, (ed.s), *Native and Newcomers* (Dublin, 1986), pp 171-190, in particular 182-185; Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Civilizinge of those rude Parts: Colonisation within Britain and Ireland, 1580s-1640s', in *The Origins of the British Empire* (Oxford, 1998), pp 124-146.

Munster estates of the earl of Desmond'.[268] From the perspective of the pirates, who had predominantly transplanted from the southwestern coast of England, in particular the harbours and ports of Devon and Cornwall, to Munster, it may have been seen as an extension to their general base of operations all along the southwestern Atlantic fringe of England and Ireland. They would thus have brought with them English ways and ideas into a developing colonial setting.

There is evidence that some native Irish, within a plantation setting, adopted or perhaps altered their own local structures to incorporate elements such as chimneys into their build, as seen for example in Thomas Raven's 1622 map of the Mercers' Company settlement in Movanagher as part of the plantation of Ulster.[269] Similar references to chimney houses are found for Munster.[270] Bishop perhaps moved to West Cork as part of the transplantation associated with an extension of the English territorial homeland, but which suited the pardoned pirates' purposes as it was equally outside official scrutiny. Thus, while norms may have been followed, so too semi-autonomous rule prevailed.[271]

The type of structure built by Bishop is open to speculation. He may have built a fortified house or a structure that was in someway prominent that suited his then status as a retired admiral. The rebuilding and refurbishment that Thomas Crooke undertook at Dún na Séad castle in Baltimore following his arrival there is documented, and he probably used stone from the O'Driscoll towerhouse for his own

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[268] Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English* (New Haven and London, 2012), pp 100-101.

[269] Thomas Raven, 'A Plot of the lands of the worshipful company of Mercers' at Movanagher, 1622, from 'A True survey of the present estate of the County of Londonderry' (Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MS 634, Oxford).

[270] MacCarthy-Morrogh, ibid, p. 184.

[271] See Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (Oxford, 2001), pp 150-154; MacCarthy-Morrogh, ibid., pp 171-190, MacCarthy-Morrogh makes the point that Munster differed from other colonial ventures in that settlers who came were not arriving into an unconquered region but one that had been previously influenced by and contained elements of English style and demography well before the arrival of official plantation personnel, see p. 190.

fortified rebuild.[272] William Hull's house in Leamcon would have followed the architectural features of the new plantation-style house as introduced during the process of New English settlement.[273] Hull's house is reported as being a 'small castle erected by Sir William Hull, in 1622'.[274]

The contrary is suggested by its depiction on the 1612 chart by John Hunt, with two structures shown, with one no doubt representing Hull's fortified house and the other the towerhouse on Castlepoint at Leamcon still extant today (see plate 38). What is illustrated suggests that Hull's place was substantial, its being readily visible from the seaward. On a rise and immediately north of Black Castle (locally this is now referred to as Leamcon castle) on Castle Point, Hull's house is shown built on a mound or rocky outcrop, overlooking the harbour; it appears narrow but with two storeys, a large entrance with rounded arch, beside which to the immediate left is shown a possible casement window with four divisions of probable stone mullions. Two large, first floor rectangular windows with central mullions are also depicted, in typical Jacobean architectural style. The roof is steep and with a central spire or possible projecting gable, though when viewed up close it could equally be a small turret extending from within the roof space to a third storey attic room (map image 9).[275]

It is possible too that the house is being viewed from the side, and the spire feature represents either a chimney or indeed a gable and it is interesting to note that

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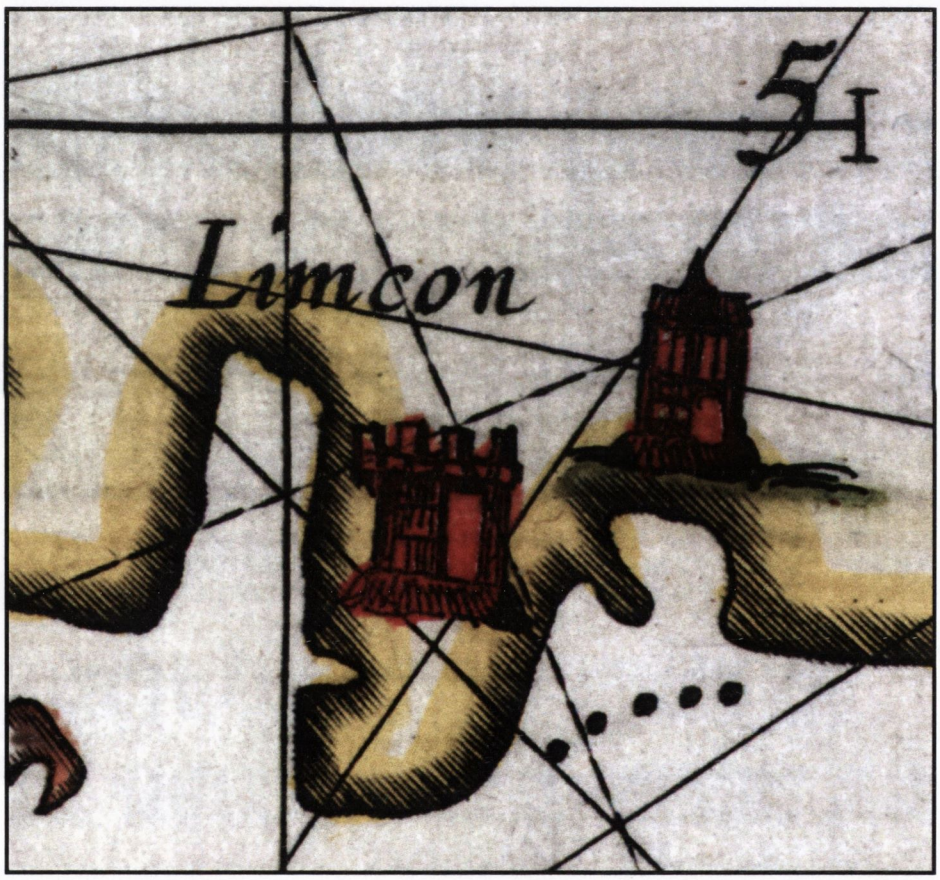
[272] The reuse of stone from existing buildings was a well-known tradition, with the stones from Dunagall castle on Ringaroige Island in Baltimore being used to build the cathedral in Skibbereen during the nineteenth century and the modern roadway on the northside of Croagh Harbour constructed from the stone of the corn store that stood on that side of the harbour up to the middle of the same century.

[273] Coleman, 'The old castles of south-west Cork', ibid; Recorded sites 3099 *Fortified house*, Baltimore and 3409 *Country House*, Leamcon, D. Power, *Archaeological Inventory of County Cork, Volume 1, West Cork* (Dublin, 1992), p. 332, 378; H. Leask, 'The Towered and Gabled Houses and Plantation Castles', in *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses* (Dundalk, 1995), pp 125-141, 146-151; J. Nunan, *The Fortified House: A Review*, www.jpnunan.com/thefortifiedhouseareview, no date given.

[274] B. O'Donoghue *Parish Histories and Placenames of West Cork* (Privately published, 1986), p. 10.

[275] Detail included in the 1612 John Hunt chart of Ireland.

there seems to be a light shown from within the ground floor window – leading one to ponder if Sir William Hull could have been entertaining pirates at the time the chart was drawn by John Hunt![276] Black Castle is shown as a towerhouse, with distinct crenellations and located on the promontory where it stands today. The representation of what can be surmised as William Hull's house would have suited his rising status, officially as the deputy vice-admiral then living in Leamcon, near Schull, but also his subsequent growth in personal wealth and social standing.[277]




(map image 9) 1612 detail from John Hunt chart showing 'Limcon' with two castellated structures, the foreground of Black Castle located on Castle Point and the other of William Hull's 'small castle'.

[276] This is of course conjecture, but if one bears in mind that the sole purpose of commissioning the 1612 chart was to inform the Dutch on pirate activity, bases, coastal features and the location of those colluding with the pirates, the possibility that there were pirates frequenting Hull's house is highly probable, as he was certainly entertaining them within the confines of his estate, which is well documented. Again, see Chapter 4 for a detailed overview of Hull's unofficial dealings with the pirates and the relevant sources for this.

[277] William Hull is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Hull intimates that his house at Leamcon was of substance, when he writes in March of 1628: 'I dwell in a remote part of Ireland and in a strong castle'.[278] His later deposition provides some insight into what was in his household at that time and it again suggests that the structure and indeed his estate were substantial. It mentions a wine cellar, within which were stored masts for vessels, the building of 'twoo faire houses at Lymcon & Clonakelty', barns, stables, malthouses and other tenements, as well as supplying the 'castle at Leamcon' with munitions. Left behind in the castle at Leamcon when he had to flee at that point in 1641 were victuals, beer, wheat and malt. Though the overall deposition presents information on what is primarily to do with his industrial interests, particularly to do with fishing, agriculture and maritime commerce, personal items are mentioned in regard to the household.[279]

All upstanding structures, lesser dwellings and indeed the coastal features depicted on the 1612 Dutch chart by John Hunt are drawn obliquely as they would have been viewed from the seaward when illustrated, so one has to allow for deviation and distortion to compensate for this. While it is possible to get some insight into the type of house built by Hull from the documentary sources and maps of that time, no such known details exist for the pirate Admiral Richard Bishop's house or its exact location, apart from the reference to his settling in Leamcon. An examination taken in 1613 makes specific reference to a meeting held at Leamcon in 'Captain Bishops' house, which though no further details are given, confirms that Bishop was living somewhere on Hull's estate at that point.[280] Indeed Bishop was not alone in having a

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[278] Sir William Hull to Secretary Nicholas, 22 March 1627, SP 63/246, f. 86r (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript No. MC4347800968).
[279] Sir William Hull knight & one of his Maiesties Councell of Mounster, 22 October 1642, Deposition of William Hull (MS 824, fols 253r-259v, TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970); http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition.php?depID<?php
[280] Examination of Richard Millington, 21 August 1613 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42, f. 214v).

place of repose at Leamcon and in 1611 Easton, too, is reported to have had his own 'place' there.[281]

When viewing another detail from the 1612 chart, to the immediate east of the area named as 'Limcon' is depicted another little harbour between Leamcon and 'Scolhaven'. This shows Croagh Harbour (pronounced 'Crewe'), which geographically lies between the two (see map image 10).




(plate 5) Aerial image showing location of strategic points and harbours near Leamcon and Croagh harbours[282]

The use of Croagh Harbour by the pirates is recorded, with references to their principal resort being Long Island Sound (Leamcon and the adjacent island), to the west of Schull (plate 5).[283] The Sound was a suitable anchorage for the largest of ships and the estuary called 'Croagh harbour' was used for careening and repairs.[284]

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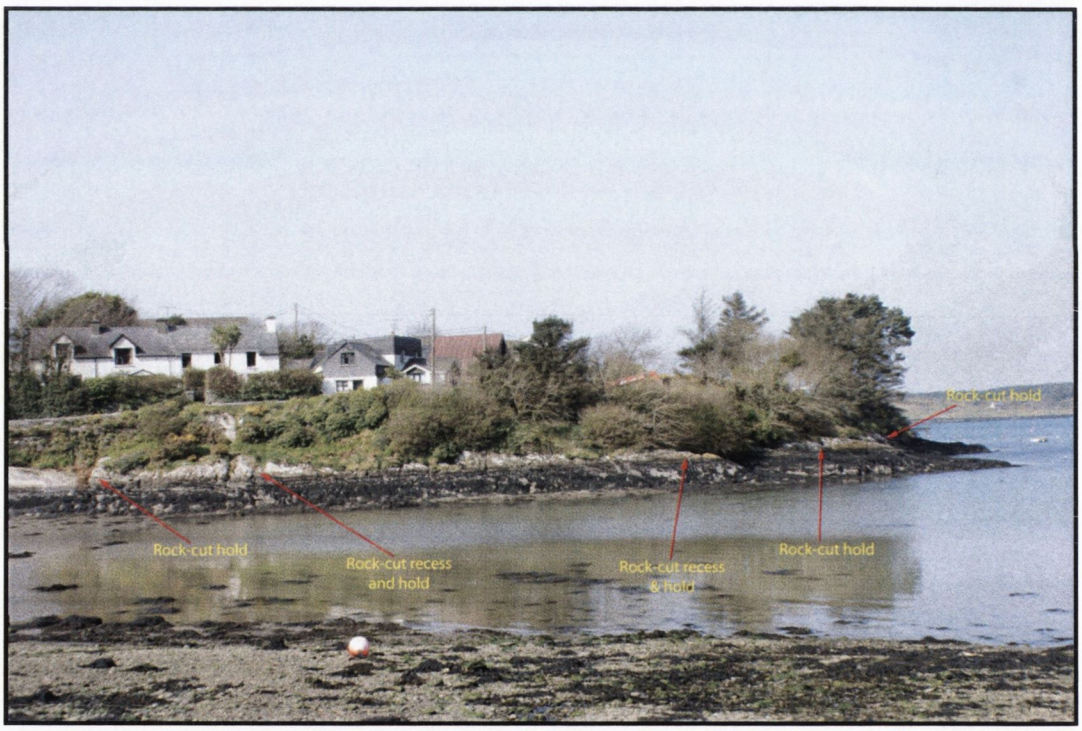
[281] Roger Myddleton to Salisbury, 23 August 1611, SP 63/231, f. 182r (State Papers Online, Gale manuscript no. MC4347680227).

[282] Image © OSI; http://maps.osi.ie/publicviewer

[283] The harbours used by the pirates as bases are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

[284] Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts and during the Interregnum*, I (London, 1909-16), p. 104.

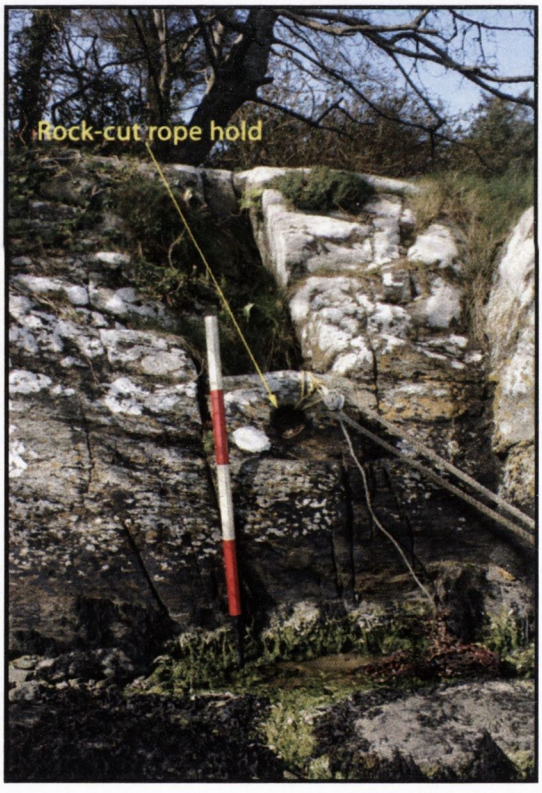
Archaeological evidence for a careening site is to be found in Baltimore, in the Cove area, with rock-cut rope holes, putlog recesses and beam slots clearly visible. This site is still in use today for mooring vessels and little if no archaeological surveys have been carried out on such sites to date, which were essential to any mariner to ensure the efficient and sustained operation of their ships. The site in Baltimore lies on the southwest side of Cove strand, immediate to the water's edge (plate 6). Holes have been cut out of the rock in a number of places along the course of the rockface, interspersed with putlog holes and rock-cut slots to take lengths of timber and beams for scaffold.




(plate 6) The Cove strand and careening site with details indicated.

The process of careening a vessel took skill and dedication, particularly if the job needed to be done efficiently. There was a number of ways a vessel could be careened, but all necessitated pulling the ship over to one side first to reveal the lower hull so it could be cleaned, recaulked or repaired and then to the other to reveal the opposite side of the hull. It left the vessel vulnerable and its crew literally stranded

until the job was completed.[285] For pirates, who needed to ensure their ships were exposed for the least amount of time, a careening place ideally had to be secluded yet accessible, familiar but not well known. Such sites also had to have protection from the prevailing winds and were usually located in areas of calm water, to allow the wooden platforms that were hauled close alongside the vessels, for crew to clean the lower hull, to operate properly. At times one vessel could be pulled over against another vessel or structure to allow for careening or if available, the ship utilised a natural rock face or shore base for the work.[286] The site in the Cove is ideally located in this respect.




(plate 7) Rock-cut rope hold at the Cove where rope was tied to rigging to pull a vessel over onto its side.

[285] Michael P. Goelet, 'The Careening and Bottom Maintenance of Wooden Sailing Vessels' (Masters Thesis, Texas A and M University, 1986), pp 6-10, 23-36; R. Barker,,1991. Careening: Art and Anecdote, *Mare Liberum*, 2, pp. 177-207; Henry Mainwaring, 'The Seaman's Dictionary', in G.E. Mainwaring and W.G. Perrin, *The Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring* (1922), pp 118-119.
[286] Ibid. p. 23.

Rope and tackle were attached to the upper masts, once the sails had been furled and secured, and the vessel 'hoved' or pulled over onto its side by means of pulling the rope through rock-cut holes on the nearby shore. A wooden scaffold erected beside the vessel along the face of the rock ensured that the ship balanced on timber braces while pulleys allowed the vessel to be pulled over as far as was required; this allowed adjustment for the rise and fall of tides.[287] At the Cove the rock-cut holes for the ropes are clearly evident and still in use as mooring holes, and the putlog holes to take the timber scaffold are also there (plate 7). It is impossible to say with certainty that the rock-cut features evident today date back to the time of the main period of pirate activity, though targeted archaeological investigation may produce some artefactual evidence, perhaps pottery, ship remains or other more individual or personal objects, that could be dated and thus would allow for discussion on and interpretation of potential trade or industry active near the careening site at a specific time. What can be said is that this is a traditional careening place and as such would more than likely have been in use at the time for the repair and cleaning of vessels, certainly by local fishermen who were located within the area of the Cove but also perhaps by the pirates themselves. Written information on these types of sites, and specifically on the site at the Cove, is similarly lacking to support details of who actually used sites like this, at any given period.

Croagh harbour's proximity to Leamcon meant that it would have come under the jurisdiction and ownership of William Hull. Three buildings are depicted on the chart of 1612, all close to the shore but located in the inner harbour area near Croagh (map image 10). These are of two types, one that is more substantial than the other two, with high roof at one end and two raised hips to the gable at its other end. The

[287] Mainwaring, ibid. p. 118.

structure is rectangular in appearance, with possible columns or vertical features on one site. Whether this represents an industrial building, religious establishment or indeed a private dwelling (perhaps a structure similar to the illustration of the admiral's house on Hunt's map of the Popham colony) is impossible to say as no archaeological site is recorded for that part of Croagh harbour and evidence in the form of written information is equally lacking for settlement at Croagh from that period. The other two structures may again be domestic, as they are similar to other buildings of that type depicted on the chart; they seem to have one and a half or two storeys, steeply-pitched roofs, suggesting the roofs are timber frame with slate and indeed the buildings themselves seem to retain almost Tudor features with half-timbering and cross-sections visible. It certainly shows buildings that are more than just huts with thatched roofs.



(map image 10) Detail taken from 1612 John Hunt Chart 4 showing Croagh Harbour and discreet settlement.

While representations on contemporary charts can suggest areas for settlement, pinpointing the actual location of habitational structures is where the

difficulty lies, particularly within a dispersed, rural landscape and where written accounts for such settlements are scarce or indeed non-existent. Drawing on comparative evidence, both cultural and written, from other sites may help in our understanding of what these sturctures may have looked like, the landscape within which they were located and the socio-economic environment into which settlers and local residents co-existed.[288]

**Why Ireland?**

Southern Ireland was an ideal location for a pirate headquarters on a number of levels. Its position within the temperate Atlantic waters on the periphery of northern Europe was coupled with its strategic placement along the emerging Atlantic trading routes. This allowed for the interception of ships outward from Britain and Europe to the Continent and the Americas and then likewise on their homeward journeys. Its multitude of harbours, ports and hidden havens made it an ideal setting as a northern headquarters for the Atlantic pirate confederation. Moryson, writing with an air of despondency to Salisbury in 1609 from Youghal, stated that it was the 'continual repair of the pirates to the western coast of the province [of Munster], in consequence of the remoteness of the place, the wildness of the people and their own strength and wealth both to command and entice relief, is very difficult for them to prevent or remedy'.[289] This was not a newly-discovered setting for the Atlantic pirates, the region was well known to them when they were still using the southern English coastal ports and harbours, in particular Cornwall and Devon, as their main base of

[288] D. Power, 'The Archaeology of the Munster Plantation', in A. Horning, R. Ó Baoill, C. Donnelly & P. Logue (eds.), The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland 1550-1850, (Wicklow, 2007), pp 23-36' C. Donnelly, 'The Archaeology of the Ulster Plantation', in ibid., pp 37-50; A. Horning, 'The archaeology of British expansion: Ireland and North America in the seventeenth century', in ibid., pp 51-70; see also J. Lyttleton & C. Rynne, (eds.), 'Introduction', in J. Lyttleton & C. Rynne (eds.), Plantation Ireland, (Dublin 2009), pp17-

[289] Sir Richard Moryson to Salisbury, August 22, 1609, *Cal. S. P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 277.

operations during the latter part of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries.[290]

The Irish climate afforded the pirates a strategic summer base that formed a key part of their North Atlantic operations. The seasonality of this activity ensured a continuous source of potential pickings for the pirates. Sailing to Ireland from early May onwards, they based themselves primarily along the south and southwest coast until the weather began to change in August. At times during this period, if the weather proved too inclement they would stop instead for a time in Newfoundland. It was also a favoured recruiting ground for both pirates Peter Easton and Henry Mainwaring.[291] Mainwaring could be described as a reluctant pirate. Born in the year 1587, he attended Brasenose College in Oxford and in 1602 received his Bachelor of Arts Degree there. He was the second son of Sir George Mainwaring, an MP in Shropshire and to Anne, daughter of Sir William More, also an MP. Mainwaring thus came from a well established and politically connected family background and no doubt influenced his actions during his career as a captain and commander, but perhaps during his time as a pirate as well.[292]

Little is known of his exploits for the next ten years but he was most probably serving in James' naval forces. In 1611 he received the post of Captain of St. Andrew's Castle near Southampton, though he did not take it up and was given a commission to proceed against pirates who were targeting ships in the Bristol Channel, and in particular the predations there of Peter Easton.[293] Mainwaring fitted

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[290] Mathew, 'Cornish and Welsh', pp 337-348; L'Estrange Ewen, 'Organised Piracy', pp 29-42.

[291] Gosse, *History of Piracy*, pp 118-119; Rogers, *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies: Newfoundland* (Oxford, 1861), p. 58; H. Horwood and E. Butts, *Pirates & Outlaws of Canada, 1610-1932*, (Toronto, 1984), pp 11-34.

[292] 'Mainwaring, Sir Henry (1586/7–1653)', *Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004); http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38733

[293] Grant to Hen. Mainwaring, on surrender of Robt. Gosnold, [ ] of Captain of St. Andrew's Castle, 10 June, 1611, *Cal. S.P. Dom. Jas I*, 1611-1618, p. 41.

out a number of ships for the task of seeking out pirates. At this time too Sir Robert Shirley, adventurer, had returned to England having spent time in court in Persia and he recounted tales of commercial riches and political power potential there. Mainwaring was keen to set sail to seek his fortune and may have volunteered or been commissioned to accompany Shirley on his return to the Persian court in 1613.

Intervention by the Spanish ambassador, however, who feared that the ships fitted out for the voyage would be used to attack Spanish shipping, resulted in the king prohibiting Mainwaring's involvement in the voyage. Such was his annoyance at this interference by the Spanish envoy, that Mainwaring began targeting Spanish shipping and it is from this year that Mainwaring's career as a pirate can be traced.[294] This concern of the Spanish Ambassador may have had foundation as such expeditions, particularly under the umbrella of being combined with pirate hunting, was often a favoured excuse to mask more commercially-orientated ventures on the high seas, with the Spanish suspecting that such voyages would in fact target the lucrative trade to the Indies and the New World.[295]

So successful was Mainwaring in his taking of Spanish ships and as a commander, that he eventually led a fleet of some thirty or forty ships; he was noted for being a gentleman when handling captured crews and not targeting his fellow Englishmen. Horwood and Butts place Mainwaring in Newfoundland in 1613 having fitted out three ships for the pirate raid,[296] but other accounts date his arrival to June 4,

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[294] G.E. Mainwaring and W.G. Perrin, *Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring*, 1 (London, 1922), pp 3-34, 50; the Venetian ambassador, Antonio Donato, noted this as the reason for Mainwaring's entrance into piracy, referring to him as 'Manerino'; see Antonio Donato, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Council of Ten, 17 January, 1618, *Cal. S.P. Ven. 1617-1619*, 695; http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.

[295] Mainwaring and Perrin, *Life and Works*, I, p. 59.

[296] Horwood and Butts, *Pirates & Outlaws*, pp 25-34; Certain inaccuracies exist in this account of Mainwaring, and while interesting information is given on Mainwaring himself, lack of due reference within the text does not facilitate cross referencing, checking or locating of sources.

1614 with eight ships.[297] The latter date would seem to be the correct one, as from 1613 Mainwaring had made Mamora, on the northwest coast of Africa, his primary base of operations where no doubt his success at plundering Spanish ships would have ingratiated him with the merchants of the ports there. It was during his absence when in Newfoundland, that the Spanish took the opportunity to attack and capture Mamora in 1614, thus taking control of one of the three main pirate bases used by the confederacy.

With no base to return to Mainwaring took refuge in Villefranca, which had taken over from Mamora as a free port for the pirates and was then under the protection of the duke of Savoy.[298] Mainwaring was possibly in companionship with Peter Easton who was also there at that point, and where he continued to carry out acts of piracy against the Spanish.[299] Once autumn fell in August, the pirates would move south again and for a period of six to seven months to mid-February, they would spend their time in a number of key locations in North Africa, including their main base of Mamora.

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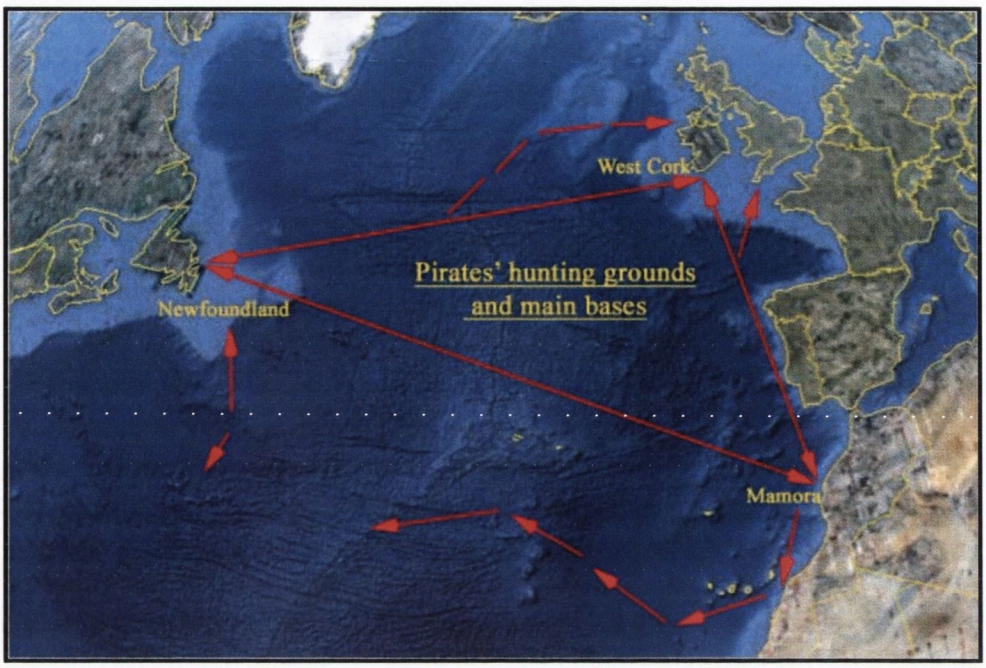
[297] 'Sir Henry Mainwaring', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 2000); http://www.biographi.ca; 'Mainwaring, Sir Henry (1586/7–1653)', *Dictionary of National Biography;* http://www.oxforddnb.com.elib.tcd.ie/

[298] Vincenzo Gussoni, Venetian Ambassador in Savoy, to the Doge and Senate, 3 March 1613, *Cal. S.P Ven. 1610-1613*, entry 780; 'enclosed in preceding Despatch': 'The Conditions on which Nice and Villafranca were declared Free Ports', 3 March 1613, *Cal. S.P Ven. 1610-1613*, entry 781 (*British History Online*).

[299] 'Mainwaring, Sir Henry (1586/7–1653)', *Dictionary of National Biography,* ibid.




(plate 8) The pirate routeways indicated within the North Atlantic, main bases and optional routes outside main triangular hunting grounds[300].

During this period they could venture as far afield as the Caribbean waters of Barbados and the East and West Indies. Though infrequently, they were recorded as carrying out plundering ventures in Mediterranean seas, including revictualling at Algiers and Tunis, from February to May they tended primarily to focus their activity in the more local warmer waters north of Africa, including skirting the coasts of Spain and Portugal (plate 8).[301] This tradition of seasonal travel, forming part of the annual structured activities of the pirate alliance in the southwest, lent itself not alone to availing of the most suitable sea and weather conditions but also serving to impede their capture by the English Navy. This is borne out by Chichester when, writing in August 1613 in response to notification of the planned embarkation of the king's ships to Ireland to clear the coasts of pirates, he informed Lord High Admiral Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, that there would be no pirates in the area by then with

[300] Base map image: © Google Earth
[301] Mainwaring and Perrin, *Life and Works* – Discourse, II, pp 15-33; Appleby, 'A Nursery of Pirates', pp 1-2.

the advent of winter.[302] He continued to detail where the pirates went from spring onwards:

> [the] most opportune time of the season is allredy spent, and that Pirates here do take new Enterprizes in hand very Early about the end of Spring, if not before as divers have done this yeare and so enabled themselves against the Winter to Adventure Southwards towards Spain and Barbary, where they become Expert and hard to be dealt with all afterwards, and from whence again when the heat of the Sun and the Gallyes there do threaten to prosecute them, they return hither (to refresh themselves for the time) or towards the Newfound Land, which seems to be a safe retraict.[303]

Being weather dependent, however, operations could change as the need arose so at times some of the pirates could find themselves revictualling and repairing their ships in Ireland in January or February if the wind and weather were favourable to travelling that far north from their winter base in Mamora (map images 11 and 12).[304] Closely tied in to this seasonally-dictated maritime route were the trading ships of England and mainland Europe, individually commissioned merchantmen as well as the larger merchant fleets of nations like England, Holland and Scandinavia. They would equally have followed the seasonal weather patterns and trade winds on their voyages. The organizational aspect to the North Atlantic pirate confederacy was thus both targeted and calculated to maximize the opportunity to capture these merchant vessels and avail of favourable weather conditions and over-winter in sunnier climes.

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[302] Nottingham is discussed in Chapter 3.
[303] Chichester to the Lord Admiral, 4 August 1613, Edwards, 'letter-book of Sir Arthur Chichester', p. 120.
[304] Mainwaring and Perrin, *Life and Works* – Discourse, II, p. 33.




(map image 11) Bleau's 1662 map of Northwestern Africa showing the general pirate coast utilised by the confederacy of pirates during the winter season.[305]




(map image 12) Detail taken from Bleau's map showing closeup view of location of Mamora.

[305] J. Blaeu, 'Fezzae et Marocchi Regna Africae Celeberrima, 1662', from his *Atlas Maior, Sive Cosmographia Blaviana, Qua Solum, Salum, Coelum, Accuratissime Describuntur* (Amsterdam, J. Blaeu, 1662-65, Van der Krogt 2, 601-3); http://www.sanderusmaps.com/antique-maps/africa/morocco_22817.cfm

The topography of West Carbery enabled successful maritime visitation and exploitation over the centuries.[306] Its rugged landscape, hidden havens and deepwater bays supported by the seclusion afforded by the many smaller harbours, provided an environment in which coastal settlements could develop and grow and shipping, fishing and piracy could flourish. It is a region where the sea and its hinterland were integral to its survival and development. The three main bays in the area, Roaringwater Bay, Dunmanus Bay and Bantry Bay, with their expanse of open water, facilitated all sizes of vessels, ranging from the necessary faster sailing pirate vessels to the larger merchant ships, allowing silent access by the pirates in the deep of night to avail of coves and inlets along their course, with willing locals waiting to assist when trading ships were targeted.[307]

An excellent example of such a cove, with the archaeological remains there suggestive of clandestine activity, is Canty's Cove, located on the southern side of Dunmanus Bay (plate 9). Though little is known of this cove from an historical perspective, local anecdotal information, coupled with the archaeological remains and the natural, secluded setting of this site all point to its use over time as a probable pirate haven but specifically in the second decade of the seventeenth century where tradition tells that an individual named Canty, a 'known pirate', operated out of there.[308]

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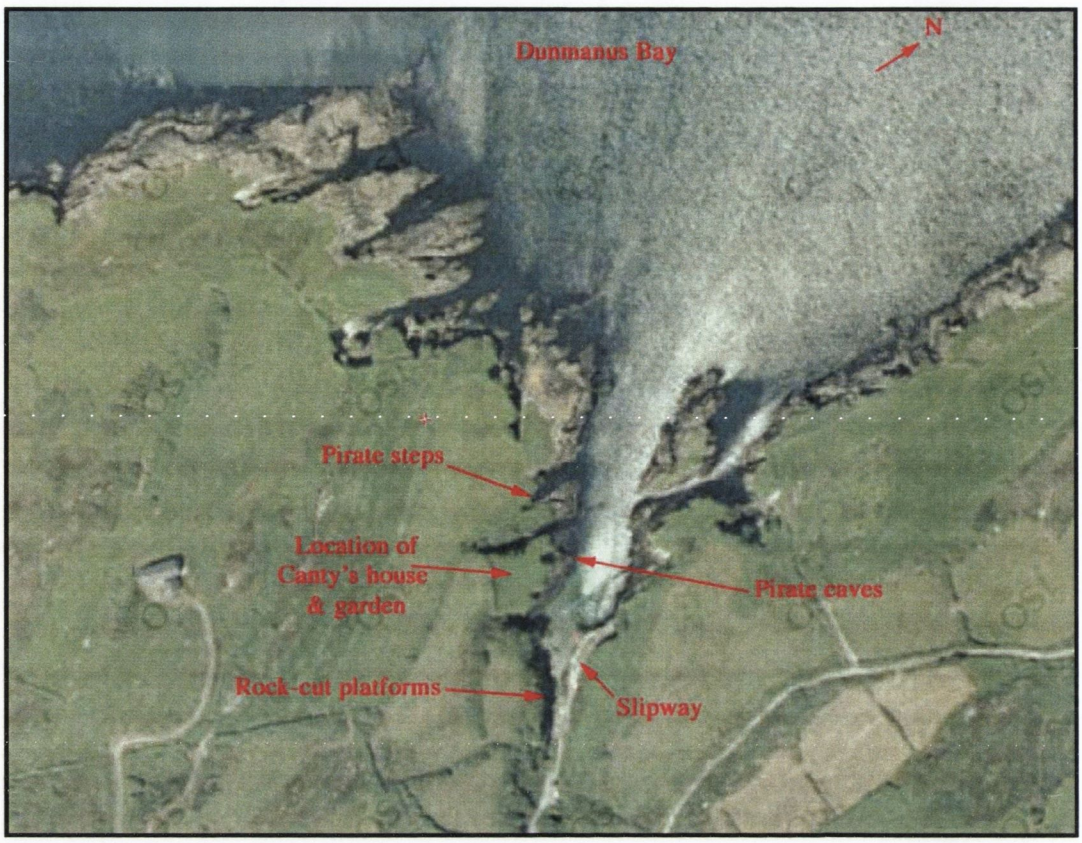
[306] Please refer to chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion on the geographic importance of this area and on specific sites identified within this landscape.
[307] Again chapter 2 discusses the types of boats and ships in use at the time, including the preferred vessels utilised by pirates, with discussion on the evidence for these from the archaeological record.
[308] John Hawke, 'Canty's Cove – Legend and History', *The Mizen Journal*, 5 (Selections from *The Mizen Journal* 1993-2004, Skibbereen, 1992), pp 292-302.




(plate 9) Aerial image of Canty's Cove on the southern side of Dunmanus Bay and north of Leamcon. The main cultural and natural features are indicated.[309]

When surveying the cove itself, interesting coastal features, not least the set of rock-cut steps leading from the water's edge, would have fully facilitated such past activity, and the rock-cut platforms and Gaelic name of *Cuasnastaighre* or 'Cove of the Stairs' (but known locally as 'the pirate steps') confirm this.[310]

Contemporary accounts refer to the natural attributes of these bays and harbours, with Boate writing that Bantry had 'severall good Harbours and Roads', Berehaven itself being 'a very good and safe port' and the 'rest of the Harbour and Sound, is everywhere very clean and clear, and very good anchor-ground, ten, twelve and thirteen fathoms deep'. Of Dunmanus he describes it as being great and wide and, though not comparable to Bantry, is a 'very commodious Road to save ships in and

[309] Image © OSI; http://maps.osi.ie/publicviewer
[310] Hawke, ibid.; P. McCarthy and R. Hawke, *North Side of the Mizen* (Cork, 1999), pp 100-104; this site is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

good anchor ground everywhere'.[311] Though not named, Boate refers to Roaringwater Bay as one 'far greater than those three forenamed' (Kenmare, Bantry and Dunmanus) within which are located Crookhaven and Schull, with Baltimore being the most easterly. These are described as being 'great havens'. He singled out Baltimore as 'surpassing all the others in bigness'.[312] His detailed description of Baltimore harbour referred to its narrow entrance, with a rock to the east that endangers shipping. This is what is now known as the Looe Rock, at the eastern side of the main entrance to Baltimore, so named following the wrecking of the English man-of-war HMS *Looe* on it in the year 1697.[313]

Though outside the time frame of this study, the shipwreck remains of the HMS *Looe* provides evidence for the persistence of pirate activity in the area and the continued attempts by the English government to curb it in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The *Looe* was on patrol along the southwest coastline with specific orders to engage with pirates when encountered. As part of the Irish coast fleet, the *Looe* was wrecked at the entrance to Baltimore on the 30 April 1697, when attempting to leave the harbour to patrol the coast. The State Papers at the time record that 'Another of his Majesty's ships, the *Loo*, coming out of Baltimore harbour, had the misfortune to run against a rock, and was lost, but all the men saved; she carried 34 guns'.[314] This rock would have been a hazard to shipping throughout the millennia and the remains of the HMS *Looe* attests, not alone to the historical continuance of maritime anti-pirate coastal patrols along the West Cork coastline, but also the

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[311] Boate, *Ireland's Naturall History*, p. 20, 22.
[312] Ibid, p. 22.
[313] C. Kelleher, 'Connections and Conflict by Sea' in A. Horning, R. Ó Baoill, C. Donnelly and P. Logue (eds.), *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland, 1550-1850* (Wicklow, 2007), pp 67-68, 80-82; 'HMS *Looe*: A late-seventeenth-century English *demi-batterie* frigate lost in Baltimore, Co. Cork Ireland', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology,* forthcoming.
[314] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: William III,* 14 May, 1697 (1927), pp. 139-178. URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk

potential for cultural material to remain to be discovered within the waters of Baltimore and elsewhere in the form of shipwreck archaeology.

Boate's account of the harbour is interesting as his description suggests that he may have been viewing Baltimore and the landscape in the region from the sea rather than from the land. He refers to 'Baltimore-Haven' and 'the Iland' and being within Roaringwater Bay, with the 'Iland' probably being Sherkin Island in this case; there is no mention of a town or village that would indicate settlement of any consequence remaining at that stage. The town of Baltimore went into decline following the raid by Algerine pirates in 1631, who captured over one hundred of its inhabitants.[315] Boate describes the northern entrance to Baltimore, which lies between Sherkin and Spanish Island. The fact that Baltimore has two entrances was a strategic factor in its attractiveness over the years by a multitude of users of the sea, not least among the pirates themselves, as it would have allowed an extra escape route from the harbour, if required, and also a second exit or entry point should weather conditions prevent the use of its main southern entrance. Natural navigational hazards were well known, such as the previously mentioned Looe Rock, and these were noted on cartographic sources, in sailing directions or 'rutters' and commented upon in documents.[316]

Carew recorded the harbour as:

> the haven's mouth of Baltimore is caused by the island of Inisherkin, two leagues to the east of Cape Clear and the harbour is ten fathoms at low water but exceedingly narrow, by reason of a great rock lying in the same (always above the water) which, being within half a caliver's shot of the better shore, gives good opportunity to secure a port. At the other end of the island, with good pilotage a ship of two hundred tons may safely come in by day but not by night by reason of sunken rocks that lie in the entrance.[317]

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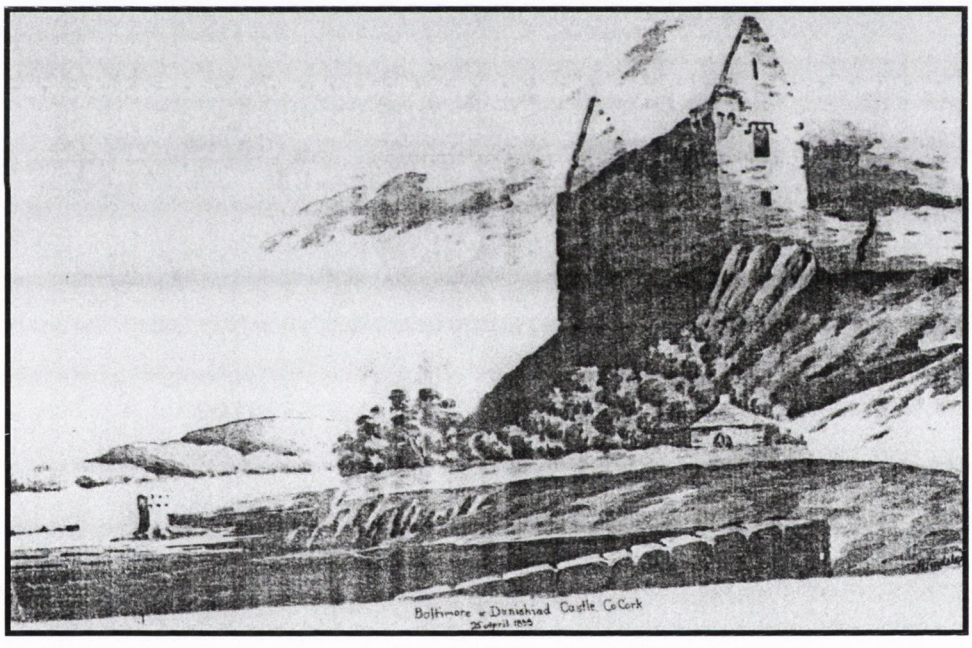
[315] Boate, ibid.; Appendix 5 discusses this attack and relevant sources.
[316] Boate, ibid.; See Introduction and chapter 2 which includes a discussion on relevant cartographic sources and contemporary rutters, including their usefulness, direct applicability and importance in identifying and mapping cultural remains for the study area.
[317] *Cal Carew MSS, 1601-03*, p. 255.

Such detail was again worthy of mention from a strategic perspective when Chichester reflected that in Baltimore:

> [the pirates] might be easily kept out thence, by the advantage of the narrow entrance in at the mouth thereof, where there is a rock naturally made to contain ordnance that would be able to sink any ship coming within reach of their shot as one necessity it must, if it will come in. A small charge, with three or four pieces of ordnance and a few warders, will make it inaccessible to any.[318]

Though not referring to the rock later known as the 'Looe rock', it is more probable that Chichester is referring to either the high areas to the north of the entrance where the beacon is now located or on the southern extent, on Sherkin, where the remains of the lighthouse is seen but where a battery formerly stood.




(figure 4) Ruins of Dún na Séad castle and small battery tower on foreshore, as sketched in 1835 by John Windele.[319]

[318] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Lords of the Privy Council, 30 March 1608, *Cal. S. P. Ire. 1606-1608*, p. 447.

[319] J. Windele, 'Baltimore or Dunishiad Castle, Co. Cork', 25 April 1835 (Royal Irish Academy Windele Manuscript 12 M 15, Dublin); I am grateful to Bernie McCarthy for providing me with a copy of this image and to senior archaeologist Con Manning, National Monuments Service for assistance with accessing the manuscript.

A second battery was extant below Dún na Séad castle, on a rocky outcrop, commanding the inner harbour (figure 4). This stood across from Dunalong castle, where another battery was located (plate 10).



(plate 10) Iron cannon from the battery on Sherkin Island; it was recovered from the water below the castle, having been decommissioned by lobbing off the trunnions at the side of the cannon that would have allowed it to rest on its carriage.[320]

The Spanish emplaced these inner harbour batteries in 1601 when they garrisoned the castles there during the lead up to the battle of Kinsale, but Chichester's comments suggest that there was no proper battery at the entrance to the harbour itself. The strategic nature of such harbours as Baltimore proved attractive to settlement, allowing for the intense exploitation of marine resources. These southern coastal harbours afforded safe anchorages, revictualling opportunities, local trade, careening places and, of key importance, local knowledge and local support. This included the

[320] A depiction of a cannon on the battery at Dunalong on Sherkin is shown on the map of Baltimore housed in the Sheffield Archives, see map image 3; I am grateful to the late Mr. Billy O'Driscoll of Baltimore for allowing me access to record the cannon; see also C. Kelleher, 'The Fort of the Ships' in C. Manning (ed.) *From Ringforts to Fortified Houses: Studies of Irish Monuments in Honour of David Sweetman* (Wcklow, 2007), pp 206-207 for a brief description of the gun; I am grateful to Dr. Ruth Brown for clarifying the details on the decommissioning of the gun.

residual Gaelic-Irish rulers, many of whom, as previously noted, had their lands returned to them by surrender and regrant, and who remained open to aiding and abetting with the pirates.[321] The interdependent relations between the ruling lords and local residents sustained, where both were more than willing to supply the pirates' and contemporary sources contain numerous records of such assistance.

Skipwith, deputy vice-admiral to Chichester noted that the pirates in Munster could be facilitated there free of charge for at least three months.[322] Similarly he detailed that men brought provisions to the pirates from other parts of Ireland under the guise of bringing supplies to the fishermen of Crookhaven. One, Henry Cook of Cork, brought 22 barrels of beer to the pirates at Leamcon.[323] But it was not supplies in the form of food, drink or timber for the repair of their ships that was the sole attraction that drew the pirates to Munster. It was also the willing recruits - local men who had no work or unemployed sailors who could not find any ships willing to take them on, who were waiting to become part of a pirate crew in the hope of rich rewards and whom the pirate captains welcomed to augment their crews.[324] So too it was the availability of free lodgings at the many alehouses and taverns, that was the allure for so many pirates to make Munster their base of operations.[325]

The unpredictable loyalties of the local populace were not the sole preserve of the native Irish and, like government and admiralty officials in England, many of the resident English landowners and government representatives in Munster were equally open to trading with the pirates when opportunity presented itself, as was hinted at

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[321] Kelleher, 'The Gaelic O'Driscoll Lords', pp 131-133.

[322] Letter of Henry Skipwith, 2 October 1611 (NLI, *Carew MSS 629*, f. 178).

[323] Examination of Henry Skipwith, Esq., taken at Kinsale, 23 September 1612, regarding the proceedings with the pirates, *Cal. SP Ire. 1611-1614* (State Papers Online, Gale Document no. MC4347600525), p. 285; it is not clear where the beer was brewed.

[324] Similar scenes were noted in the remote harbours of southern England where idle men looked to the sea to make their fortune in whatever way they could; Senior, ' An Investigation', p. 224.

[325] APUD Corck, 6 August 1610 (*Harleian MSS, 36r*), Curtis Clayton, (ed.), *Council Book*, p. 71; see chapter 5 for a discussion on this aspect to pirate entertainment and social intercourse.

previously with Sir Thomas Crooke.[326] Moryson again points to such behaviour when he refers to the unlawful activity being 'not without the toleration of some of His Majesty's officers here'.[327] Whether native, local resident or government official, these terrestrially-based 'aiders and abettors' were generically referred to at the time as 'land pirates' and were a feature of the English and Irish landscape from Elizabeth's time onwards.[328] David Mathew has highlighted the intensity of land-based facilitation of piracy in England at the close of the sixteenth century, where the vested interests of local landowners extended from Dorset in England to Kerry in Ireland. In fact, several harbours, including 'three or four in Ireland', according to Mathew, were immune from government attack as they were in private hands and were almost never used for legitimate traffic, being essentially private pirate harbours and used in secret.[329]

Mainwaring, in his 'Discourse', noted this when he wrote that Ireland more easily accommodated the pirates 'by reason that there are divers places (and chiefly such as are not capable of great shipping) with no command'.[330] Petty officials in ports and harbours were more than willing to take bribes to ignore offences taking place and, as Gosse states, 'they began to think of it as a principal perquisite of their office'.[331] It is ironic then that in 1608 Sir Richard Hawkins, who was acting vice-admiral for Devon and was eventually himself to be removed from office for colluding with the pirates operating there, should comment that in attempting to

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[326] A.L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall- Portrait of an Age* (London, 1949), p. 390; Senior, *Nation of Pirates*, pp. 127-8; Lords of Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 8 March 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1606-1608,* p. 433.
[327] Moryson to Salisbury, August 22, 1609; *Cal. S. P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 277.
[328] Senior, *Nation of Pirates*, p. 124.
[329] Mathew, 'Cornish and Welsh Pirates', p. 227; John Hunt and Hessel Gerritzsoon refer to the 'pirate harbours' in their 1612 rutter and state that the charts drawn are of these 'pirate havens'; see Appendix 4.
[330] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 14. The authors of the work suggest that the word 'command' as used by Mainwaring infers that there was no fort or military presence of any consequence to prevent the pirates from operating in the harbours.
[331] Gosse, *History of Piracy*, p.107.

remove the pirates from the coast of England, the king's actions had forced them to relocate instead to Ireland.[332]

**Conclusion**

The coastal waters of early seventeenth-century Ireland, particularly along the southwestern coastline, witnessed a dramatic increase in shipping. This was primarily attributable to the expansion of the Atlantic trading routes, with Ireland strategically located within this theatre of expanding maritime commerce. Other more localized factors were also key influences to the preponderance of ships and shipping along this stretch of coastline at that time, not least the new settlements that were taking place under the auspices of the Munster plantation. The increase in legitimate trade saw an inevitable increase in illegal activity and the southern coasts of Kerry, Cork and Waterford became prime locations for pirates.

Though this activity found a welcome headquarters in southern Ireland, its influences and impacts were felt across the wider Atlantic - to touch North Africa, Newfoundland and the New World. European shipping, particularly Spanish and Dutch, suffered as a consequence and England took steps throughout the seventeenth century to combat the incessant attacks on merchant ships by increasing its own naval patrols in Irish waters. Key pirate players such as Richard Bishop, admiral of the pirates, were pardoned and resided as legitimate settlers, whether permanently or for a time is unknown.[333] Vice-Admiral Peter Easton refused a pardon and ended his days as a practising pirate in Newfoundland and later settled in Italy as an influential member of the aristocracy there, with the title marquis to indicate his services to the

[332] Sir Ric. Hawkins to the Council, 18 September 1608, SP 14/36, f.21, f.25r-26v (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4323586683).
[333] See chapter 6 where this point is discussed in more detail.

Duchy of Savoy.[334]

While historical sources clearly speak about the main pirate havens in the south, cultural material associated with the pirates primarily presents in the form of extant castles and towerhouses that were the focus of official usage, such as that of Dún na Séad in Baltimore where Thomas Crooke had his headquarters. Association tenuously links them with the pirates, through the latters collusion with the officers dwelling there. Local settlement, transient strongholds, port and harbour facilities and evidence for the ships that were used remain invisible and yet to be discovered, but as discussed in the next chapter, some sites may be slowly revealing their secrets to the archaeological community.

[334] Vincenzo Gussoni, Venetian Ambassador in Savoy, to the Doge and Senate, 30 March 1613, 'The Corsair [Eston] is on the point of acquiring Marquisate and other fiefs'; same to same, 26 April 1613; 'The Englishman [Eston] has covered himself with glory', *Cal. S.P. Ven. 1610-1613*, entries 804 and 824; the *Cal SP Venetian* contain numerous entries concerned with Easton's eventual settlement in Savoy; access via Trinity College Library website.

## *Chapter 2. The Pirates: Operations, Logistics and Footprints in the Landscape*

> Unto must also be added the convenience of the place [Ireland], being that the South, the West, and the North Coasts, are so full of places and Harbours without command, that a Pirate being of any reasonable force, may do what he listeth.[335]

For any pirate activity to work productively, certain geographical and logistical elements needed to be in place to guarantee coordination and cooperation among involved parties and thus an efficient, economically viable operation. These included elements within the physical landscape – a territory conducive to clandestine activity, suitable ships to guarantee speed, manoeuvrability and transport of men and goods. Similarly a reliable and experienced crew were required to man the vessels and secure harbours to anchor in, to land plundered goods, restock and repair when needed and willing locals, both native and newcomer, to form part of the commercial circle. More intangible fundamentals were also required, which were equally as critical – knowledge of the coastline and coastal processes; intelligence on shipping, trade and naval patrols; a network of communication that extended beyond traditional hunting grounds; commitment and loyalty from commanders and crew to see a pirate venture through to the end.

Not all of these requirements were necessarily in place all of the time but we shall see how certain geographical criteria can be present in the landscape to ensure a successful pirate coast.[336] Where loyalty was concerned in reality the only true guarantee of allegiance and commitment was by individuals to themselves, hence

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[335] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 16.

[336] E. Semple, 'Pirate Coasts of the Mediterranean Sea', *Geographical Review*, 2, no. 2 (August, 1916), 134-151; P. Galvin, *Patterns of Pillage: A Geography of Caribbean-based Piracy in Spanish America, 1536-1718* (New York, 1999).

while this mutual commercial relationship worked to the economic benefit of all concerned, it remained fragile due to its self-serving foundation.

The pirate alliance in Munster did seem to have most if not all required elements in place, for at least some of the duration of its success. This can best be understood when considering the context within which the confederacy operated. It was not just about plunder on the high seas for the pirates involved, or at least the main pirate leaders, but was in fact about being part of a network comprised of differing levels of political, social and economic developments that were taking place within the wider Munster landscape and broader Atlantic at that time. The regional demography was changing with the influx of settlers under the plantation, and with this came new mindsets about using the ports and harbours for bigger and more diverse mercantile commerce, including those in the remoter areas of Munster which remained outside central authoritarian scrutiny.

The Atlantic pirate alliance had a code of practice that provided some formal stability and required behavioural patterns, including not attacking their own country's ships but only those who were the traditional enemies of Britain. The code of operations went beyond the basic practice of everyday piracy or carrying out opportunistic acts of plundering passing foreign ships at sea. The fact that many of the pirates had settled family and kin in the coastal areas of Munster established a sense of familial permanence to their operation, including being part of a social set-up ashore that in turn engendered a sense of legitimization to their activities. This also assisted with the commodification of goods and services within local communities – in a sense, though they were pirates under the strict letter of the law, from a local or

regional perspective, it could be argued that they were perhaps viewed as privateers, operating without formal commissions.[337]

The Atlantic trading world saw bigger and faster ships plying routeways to newly-discovered lands. Dominated by the maritime fleets of Europe, including England, Holland, France and Spain, these armed merchantmen returned with their holds full of exotic goods, precious metals and cargoes of rich bullion from the mines of Mexico and South America. Resident merchants in the north and northwestern coasts of Africa, many comprising the displaced Moriscos from southern Spain, willingly engaged with the pirates in processing booty from plundered ships belonging to the Christian states. Backed by the ruling Moslem leaders, this guaranteed that the pirates had ready markets in the harbours of the Mediterranean and Africa and where they could also carry out necessary repairs to and revictualling of their ships.

These Atlantic transformations coincided with the pirates' bases in southern England being shut down by the anti-pirate actions of James from 1608 onwards.[338] The transplantation of the pirates and their operations to Munster must therefore be seen in the context of the overall policy of resettlement under the Munster plantation, though outside the official areas earmarked for such settlement. Equally it was within a maritime framework of commercial mercantile endeavour that was to have international dimensions within the Atlantic world.[339]

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[337] For an interesting discussion on the concept of pirate codes and property rights, see Charles M. North, 'Not just guidelines: Pirate codes and the emergence of property rights in *The Invisible Hook*', *Review of Austrian Economics,* 23 (2010), pp 307-313; see also Peter Leeson, *The Invisible Hook: The Hidden Economics of Pirates* (New Jersey, 2009), pp 45-82.

[338] Sir Ric. Hawkins to the Council, 18 September 1608, SP 14/36, f.21, f.25r, ibid; same to same, *Cal. S. P. Dom. Jas. I, 1603-1610*; where Hawkins explains his work in dealing with the pirates in Devon and along the southern coast of England and admits that his actions were partly responsible for encouraging the pirates to move their base of operations to the southwestern coast of Ireland; accessed: http://www.british-history.ac.uk.elib.tcd.ie/report.aspx?compid=15021

[339] This point was argued by both MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, pp 221-222 and Appleby, 'The Problem of Piracy in Ireland', p. 43 and 'Settlers and Pirates, p. 104; see also M. Rediker, *Villians*

**The pirate hierarchy of command**

Of the various pirates mentioned in the sources, there are only a small number who provide us with any substantive information about their lives and backgrounds. Senior, in his study of English piracy, provides an extensive and comprehensive list of the primary English pirates active around the coasts of England and Ireland for the early part of the seventeenth century, and of these, approximately seventy-four are recorded as having frequented the southern coast of Munster, either as a stopover point or as their permanent summer base. Of these, twenty-one pirates are listed as living in the area, with many in Leamcon on William Hull's lands.[340] Within this confederacy, singular ships and small fleets seem to have been commanded by individual pirates. In turn, these vessels or fleets (numbering two or more ships) cumulatively made up the overall pirate force, with its elected commanders comprising the Admiral Richard Bishop, Vice-Admiral Peter Easton and Rear-Admiral Thomas Francke. Chichester noted that Bishop was admiral of the pirate confederation by 1609, when ten or eleven pirate vessels arrived there, with the prospect of more joining them.[341]

Just a few days later, it was reported by the lord president, Richard Moryson that 'Busshopp' was elected admiral by the pirate crews and with the eleven pirate vessels and one thousand men, Moryson was forced to suspend any attempt at suppression as he was concerned that it may have provoked 'this unruly multitude

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*of All Nations*, pp 38-82 and Acosta's 'Piracy's Influence in the Atlantic World' (Masters thesis, University of Florida, 2005), pp 39-57, both of which discuss the motivations behind men turning to piracy and the social set up on board a pirate vessel, in relation to later piracy but they provide an interesting perspective and insight into how pirate crews operated.

[340] Senior in Appendix 2 of his thesis gives a comprehensive bibliographical list of the English pirates; Appendix 1 of this thesis provides an inventory of the pirates in Ireland, drawing on Senior's information and other sources where relevant.

[341] '[ ] under the command of Byshope, their admiral', Sir Arthur Chichester to Salisbury, 17 August 1609, SP 63/227, f. 81r-82v (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347580466).

into [carrying out] any act either of spoiling or burning the country'.[342] This was further borne out by Monson, when he reiterates that Moryson was too weak to take steps against the pirates.[343] In 1611 Peter Easton, then acting admiral of the pirates as Bishop had been pardoned at that point, was heading a fleet moored in Leamcon harbour that was described as formidable – comprising thirteen ships, with a complement of 400 men and 250 guns, with his own ship being the captured English prize *Concorde*.[344]

Certain key individuals also dominated and held positions of seniority within the pirate ranks. They were captains of their own ships and attendant fleet of two or three vessels. These included John Jennings, from Portsmouth and a regular colleague of Bishop, Thomas Coward of Bristol and Robert Walsingham of London, who was resident in Leamcon in 1611 but described as 'admiral' of his own ship in Mamora in 1614.[345] Henry Mainwaring was also admiral of his own fleet of ships that in turn had their own requisite captains and who had their primary headquarters at Mamora. He remained independent of the main pirate alliance in the North Atlantic, though he was well known in Newfoundland and Ireland, and no doubt communed with the pirates in Munster when necessary, as did the likes of John Ward whose main base was in Tunis.[346] Mainwaring was known elsewhere in Ireland too, as evidenced by William Monson's actions. As admiral of the Narrow Seas fleet, tasked primarily to eradicate pirates, he impersonated Mainwaring in Broadhaven in Mayo in 1614, in a successful effort to gain access to the local Gaelic family of Michael Cormack and his castle,

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[342] Sir Richard Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609, SP 63/227, f. 90 (State Papers Online, MC4347580473).
[343] Oppenheim, *Naval Tracts*, III, 'Piracy in Ireland', p. 74.
[344] Sir Arthur Chichester and Lord Carew to the Privy Council, 29 July 1611, SP 63/231, f. 164r (State Papers Online, MC4347680207).
[345] Senior, 'An Investigation', pp 406-407, 438-439.
[346] Mainwaring, *Life and Works*, I and II; Horwood and Butts, *Pirates & Outlaws of Canada,* pp 25-34; Marc' Antonio Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, Venice, 12 November 1609, *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, 11: 1607-1610* (1904), pp. 376-391.

most probably at Inver.[347] This he did with ease as the lord, his family and the locals, thinking it Henry Mainwaring and his ships full of booty, openly welcomed him and his crew.[348] Though the confederacy concentrated itself in Munster, it is obvious from accounts such as Monson's, that individual pirates had their own private hunting grounds along other parts of the coast as well, particularly in the remote part of the northwest coast where patrol by the king's ships was irregular.[349]

As correctly identified by MacCarthy-Morrogh, many of these pirates considered themselves as legitimate descendants of the Elizabethan privateers, who were now involved in piracy by default rather than by desire. They confirmed this by concentrating their attentions on Spanish shipping and other traditional enemies of the crown and by not attacking their fellow Englishmen.[350] Indeed many of the leading pirate captains of that time, including Bishop and Mainwaring, viewed their pirate actions as *pulchrum scelus* or 'honourable crimes', with Mainwaring using the term in his discourse to the king in 1616.[351] Not all of the pirates stuck to this code of conduct, however, with Easton being noted as attacking the ships of his own nation when opportunity presented itself, and John Ward doing likewise. He seemingly went further, however, and sold captured Englishmen into slavery in North Africa, an issue that allegedly was a factor in Richard Bishop leaving Ward's crew and relocating to North Atlantic waters instead. This is not supported by subsequent accounts of Ward visiting Munster and meeting with Bishop there and it is more likely that both

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[347] This again probably refers to the Cormack/Cormick Gaelic clan who originally moved to Mayo from Munster, see chapter 2.
[348] Oppenheim, ibid., p. 59.
[349] Piracy was a significant problem at this point in other ports and harbours around Ireland, including places like Lough Foyle, where the king sought the assistance of Scottish privateers to curb the activity that was impacting heavily on Scottish shipping; see for instance Murdoch's chapter on 'Peacetime and Piracy' in *The Terror of the Seas*, pp 111-189; HCA papers contain material on piracy from other areas in Ireland for this time too, see Appleby's *Calendar of Material.*
[350] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, p. 221.
[351] 'Discourse' in Four fragments concerning proceedings against pirates, no date, 1616 (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII, f. 329-344r, ibid.); Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 11.

remained in contact, plying separate stretches of water that ensured wider control of the targeting of trade ships and merchant routeways and extended their pirate hunting grounds .[352]

Other serving pirate captains are mentioned with less frequency but with no less strength. Lord Danvers listed four captains as commanding individual ships: Lewis Plomley [Plumley], a Dartmouth mariner and who, in 1609, was one of Bishop's crew; Tibalt Suxbridge, from Ratcliffe who sailed with Easton to Newfoundland, where he died while fighting a French fleet, he is recorded as leaving a wife and family in Dublin; Peter Bonyton [Boniton] from Cornwall who seems to have been permanently active in the Atlantic and brought several prizes into Baltimore. The fourth pirate mentioned was William Thompson, possibly a Yorkshire man and active along the southern coast of Munster in 1607 where he received a ship from Suxbridge in 1608. He settled there and apparently became so involved in local business that the lord high admiral's agent in West Cork, Humphrey Jobson, engaged him to serve on jury duty during a session of an admiralty court hearing on Sherkin Island.[353] Indeed this is probably the same Thompson referred to by Richard Jobson when suggesting that he be pardoned, '[ ] that it is well knoween hee is the onely pirate this daie in the Sea, for his true understandeinge of all remote harbors bothe in Engelande, Irelande and all other Countries where men of therie wicked condition resorte or are fitt to be rescorted [ ]'.[354]

In 1611, during the period when pardons were being negotiated and the confederacy was being slowly dissolved, Roger Middleton, the official tasked with

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[352] Capt. Skipwyth to the Lord Deputy, 25 July 1611, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, pp 89-91; Bak, John Ward, Barbary Pirate, pp 149-150, 156, 160.
[353] Lord Danvers to [the Lords of the Privy Council or the Lord Salisbury], 19 January 1609, SP 83/226, f. 14 (State Papers Online, Gale manuscript no. MC4347680236); Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 379, 421, 426, 431.
[354] Richard Jobson of Windesor, 21 April 1610 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47 f. 107v).

negotiating and presenting pardons to the pirates in Ireland and North Africa, wrote to Salisbury of the pirate group then in West Cork, 'in all, nine ships [are] divided into three factions, being as it were in a mating among themselves'.[355] A list detailing the pirate captains and their crews assists with a visual awareness of the chain of command and helps to better understand how the pirates operated as a cohesive unit.[356] Though commands could change over time as circumstances dictated, with individuals being elevated to control positions on their own ships or demoted as the case may be, and with other crews joining, leaving or swapping from one ship to another, the makeup of the confederacy was a working, mobile arrangement. This fluidity ensured freedom of movement while equally allowing for strength in numbers. The cumulative elements that comprised the pirate alliance, however, relied on more than just cohesion of individuals, it also needed suitable bases and infrastructure to guarantee sustainability and success – in essence, and as a fundamental, it required an appropriate pirate landscape.

**The historical geography of piracy in the southwest**

Contemporary and modern writers alike have identified the strategic nature of the geography of particular places and the importance of the topography of such landscapes to piracy.[357] The physical characteristics of a particular coast, as identified by both Pennell and Galvin, presented opportunities for pirates to operate, but there was also a corresponding need to have social and economic components present

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[355] Roger Myddleton to Salisbury, 23 August 1611, SP 63/231, f. 182r (State Papers Online, Gale manuscript no. MC4347680227).

[356] Examination of Rich Kerry, 'A note of the Pirates', undated but possibly May 1610 (T.N.A. Examinations, 1610, HCA 1/47, f. 105v); this list is shown, with a transcription, in Appendix 3.

[357] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', pp 15, 25-40; E. Semple, 'Pirate Coasts of the Mediterranean Sea', ibid., pp 134-151; C.R. Pennell, 'The geography of piracy: northern Morocco in the mid-nineteenth century', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 20, no. 3 (1994), pp 272-282; Galvin, *Patterns of Pillage*, pp 8-19, 75-108.

within the geographic spread of that landscape, to make such opportunities viable.[358] While places of piracy may have similarities – examples being the remoteness of coastlines, the presence of offshore islands, wind and current correlations, local resource parallels, willing local populations, political and social transformations, to name but a few, Galvin rightly states that 'the complexity of factors involved ensures uniqueness' of these places and pirate events.[359]

The suitability of the southwest coastline of Ireland had close parallels to other more famous pirate haunts. Again, Galvin has looked at the Caribbean, with places like Tortuga being among the most infamous and Semple's study of the Mediterranean where she succinctly noted that, with Mediterranean piracy, 'the sea hunter [ ] knew various points where he was sure to bag his game'.[360] Pirates knew a good coastline when they saw it. The fusion of a variety of complexities that marked the period of the Munster plantation, including the spatial transplantation of populations, made this remote coastal area an ideal, functional and useable pirate base. But the pirate operations at that time in that area were unique in scope, intensity and subsequent demise. The geographical importance of its main pirate harbours has already been noted in previous chapters - Baltimore with its dual entry-exit points, Leamcon, Croagh and Long Island Sound and Crookhaven harbour to the western extremity of the pirates' hunting ground, strategically overlooked the wide open, Atlantic ocean for unsuspecting passing prey.[361] Within this stretch of the Munster coastline, however, other, more subtle features in the landscape, that leave little or no archaeological trace or have hitherto not been archaeologically recorded, formed part of the key components that made this stretch of coastline a manifest pirate haven.

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[358] Pennell, ibid. p. 280; Galvin, ibid. p. 19.
[359] Ibid.
[360] Ibid. pp 111-168; Semple, 'Pirate Coasts', p. 153.
[361] Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Stuarts*, I, p. 104.

Some of these, it will be seen, can be directly linked to pirate and smuggling activity, such as rock-cut steps, rock platforms and eroded quays.

Mainwaring noted these qualities, inferring that, of the other pirate bases used by the pirate confederacy of the early-seventeenth century (the others being Harbor Grace in Newfoundland and Mamora in West Africa primarily), the harbours of Ireland successfully met such needs, 'in regard of the general good entertainment they received there; supply of victuals and men which continually repair thither out of England to meet with Pirates'. It was thus well known that the southern coast of Munster was an open receptacle for the pirates and their goods, and it seems the locals ensured that this remained the case. Mainwaring continued by saying that 'they [the local populace] have as good or rather better intelligence where your Majesty's Ships are, than contrariwise they shall have of the Pirates'.[362] Local knowledge was as valuable a commodity to the pirates as victuals and a benefit to be used by the locals when negotiating with the pirates on goods and services.

Some contemporary commentators referred to these harbours as being primary bases. Monson for example, when discussing the need to negotiate with the pirates, stated that 'their headquarters at Baltimore' would be a good place to open discussions.[363] Leamcon played a central role also in the daily activities of the pirates, with Senior referring to it as being the northern equivalent of Mamora.[364] It has been variously described in contemporary and more recent publications, with one reference likening Leamcon to 'a wild place, more like a frontier town than an Irish village.'[365]

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[362] Mainwaring, 'Discourse'. P. 16; Stanley Lane-Poole's seminal work on the Barbary corsairs, first published in 1890, describes in detail the harbours around North Africa and their attributes for piracy, *The Barbary Corsairs* (New York, reprint 1970), pp 14-27.

[363] Oppenheim, *Monson Tracts*, III, p. 74.

[364] Senior, 'an Investigation', p. 114.

[365] A. Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests and Captivity in the 17th-Century Mediterranean* (London, 2010), p. 69; this is an interesting point, see in relation to the concept of a 'frontier' zone, Ohlmeyer, ''Civilizing of those Rude Partes': Colonization within Britain and Ireland,

While the pirates utilised other harbours outside the confines of this section of the southern coast, such as Bantry, Dingle, Kinsale and Youghal, the main concentration of activity was within the small but strategically located stretch of coastline between the havens of Castlehaven, to the east of Baltimore and Crookhaven to the west and encompassing the general area of Roaringwater Bay (see map image 1). The remoteness of this area certainly lent itself to pirateering, ensuring security through seclusion and isolation. Familiarity with the coastline gave an immediate advantage to those navigating its waters, as the many islands and sunken rocks, particularly within Roaringwater Bay, were hazardous for all but the most experienced mariners. Many havens required pilotage for safe access, a service that locals were only too pleased to provide for a cost or that the pirates provided for themselves by either pressing pilots to join their crews or welcoming willing pilots as fellow crew members. Mainwaring refers to 'perforstmen', those forced to join crews, such as carpenters, surgeons and pilots, but similarly noted that, while many claimed they were pressed into service, they were in fact there by choice.[366]

1580s-1640s' in N. Canny (ed.) *The Origins of Empire* (New York, 1998), pp 125-127; Canny, 'Origins of Empire: An Introduction', in N. Canny, ibid., pp 2-13; Appleby, 'War, Politics and Colonization, 1558-1625', in N. Canny, ibid., pp 70-76.

[366] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', chapter II, p. 22.




(map image 13) Safe anchorage locations indicated in Baltimore harbour by illustrated anchors and masted vessel anchored in the Cove south of Dún na Séad castle.[367]

The potential of these harbours was equally as obvious to government officials like Thomas Crooke in Baltimore and William Hull in Leamcon, not alone as ideal settlement locations but bases for themselves to countenance with the pirates.[368] In turn, the pirates identified the potential of officials like Crooke and Hull as being predisposed to facilitating their activities and fully prepared to engage directly with them on a commercial basis. Such communications and collusion of course was more than likely a continuation of pre-existing relationships, rather than ones that had to be fostered anew.

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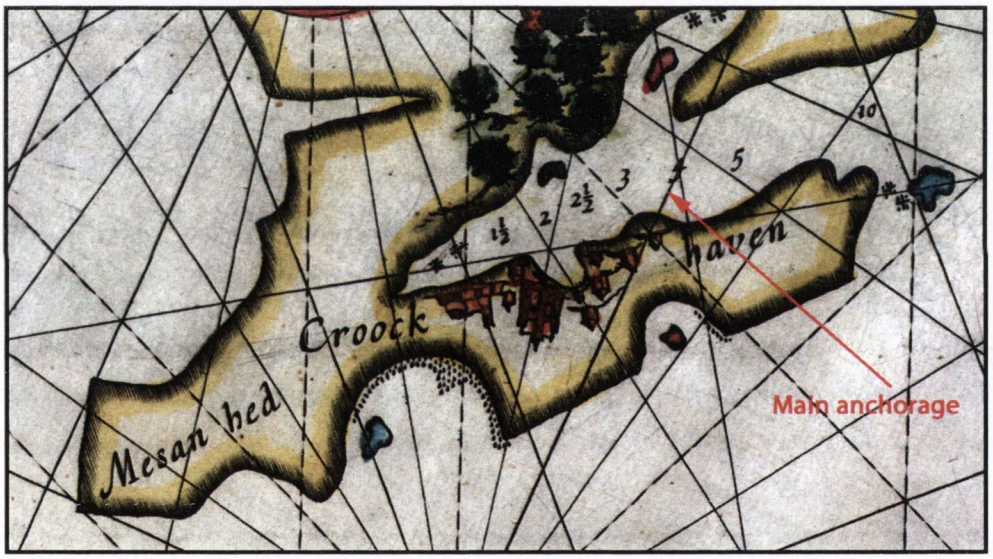
[367] Detail of Baltimore harbour, from 1612 Dutch chart by John Hunt, Gerritzsoon, *Beschrijvinghe van de Zeecusten ende Havenen;* written onto the chart are the words in Dutch 'stenighe groundt' meaning 'stoney ground' for Tramadroum, which would be certainly in keeping with the nature of the little bay today; thanks are due to Dr. Edda Frankot for translating this.
[368] MacCarthy-Morrough, *Munster Plantation*, p. 151.

**Harbour anchorages and facilities**

To utilise any coastline, access to and from the coast was necessary. Baltimore and Crookhaven both had primary anchorages. Baltimore had three within the main harbour that offered varying depths, the deepest one was in front of Dunalong castle on Sherkin Island, another for medium sized vessels in the Cove area and at Tramadroum, south of the Cove, for smaller vessels. These anchorages are indicated on the three early maps of Baltimore, denoting the necessity by cartographers, mariners and pirate hunters to be aware of such coastal tidal specifics (map images 2, 3, 13 and 14).[369]




(map image 14) Detail from 1612 John Hunt map showing Crookhaven with depth ranges indicated.[370]

At Crookhaven the main deep water and sheltered mooring was located within the inner harbour immediate to the town. This allowed, as it does today, vessels to access their shore base via tender craft or by mooring along the quay in front of the village. The 1612 chart provides the depth within the harbour of Crookhaven and again,

[369] Simancus MPyD58/051:Guerra y Ma Leg. 3145 (Archivo de Samancas, Spain); John Hunt/H. Gerritzsoon, 1612, ibid.; Map of Baltimore, WWM. Str. P 20/(b)/100 Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments Strafford Folio Map; ibid.

[370] Detail of Crookhaven harbour, from chart 4 by John Hunt, 1612, p. 20, Hessel Gerritzsoon, ibid.

signifying the need by the Dutch to know the depth ranges in advance of their attack on the harbour in 1614.

Leamcon had a more secluded waterway and curiously the 1612 Dutch sailing directions provide little if any mention of Leamcon, apart from 'Skolhaven' indicated to the east of 'Limcon'. Neither does the attendant chart give details of anchorages there.[371] Captain Martin White's sailing directions of the early eighteenth century similarly do not mention any anchorage specific to Leamcon and White places two main anchorages for this area by the northern shore of Long Island.[372] From archaeological features and structures identified at Leamcon, it can be said with certainty that vessels did utilise the area in the past. Landing facilities are evident here in the form of the basal remains of an old quay, eroded slipway, steps attached to a second stone pier and three stone mooring posts, which show distinct wear from mooring ropes and indicating that they had a long use period (plates 11 – 13). Other quay remains are also present, as are stone features on either side of the watercourse at Leamcon, which may have provided control of access to the inner reaches of the creek.

The creek that runs in front of Leamcon house, which today is very shallow, denotes Leamcon Harbour.[373] Its depth, or lack thereof, is due to inundation by mobile sand over the years, with the build up of mudflats and the development of salt marsh environments, allowing only vessels of slight draft or small boats access to the waterway in relatively recent times.The reason for such inundation is subject to

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[371] J. Hunt 1612 chart, ibid.; when reference was made to 'Leamcon harbour' it also included Long Island Sound, which lies between Long Island and the mainland, including Leamcon 'creek' and Croagh harbour. Long Island Sound provided the safe, sheltered anchorage at the time for all shipping.

[372] Capt. Martin White R.N., *Sailing directions for the English Channel, including a general description of the south coasts of England and Ireland, and a detailed account of the Channel Islands* (London, 1835), pp 170-174; White surveyed the coastal waters around Ireland in his ship the HMS *Shamrock* and produced detailed charts of several harbours, including Crookhaven and Baltimore.

[373] This refers specifically to Leamcon creek that runs from the entrance west of Croagh harbour to the foreshore in front of Leamcon house.

debate but one suggestion that has foundation is due to the effects of tsunamis following particular earthquake events over the centuries.[374] While this is an interesting subject in its own right, its particular relevance to this study is the potential that it holds for cultural remains, including wrecks that were buried as a result within the affected harbours. These include the bays and inlets of Courtmacsherry, Timoleague, Rosscarbery, Clonakilty, Barleycove to the west and thus most probably harbours like Leamcon too. In fact the affects of the 1755 tsunami is recorded as being felt all the way to Galway, where allegedly the Spanish Arches were damaged. The rivers too were affected, including the Bandon that leads inland from Timoleague, with associated consequences for Dundaniel, Shippool and Innishannon.[375]

At Leamcon, from the evidence identified during the course of fieldwork for this study, it is obvious that there must have been sufficient depth at high water to allow at least small to medium craft access the facilities there. In 1612 William Baugh was in Leamcon seeking his pardon, from where he then proceeded to Kinsale.[376] In the same year, the lords of the English privy council wrote in reference to a letter

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[374] Joseph P. O'Reilly, 'Catalogue of Earthquakes Having Occurred in Great Britain and Ireland during Historical Times: Arranges Relatively to Localities and Frequency of Occurance, to Serve as a Basis for an Earthquake Map of the Three Kingdoms', *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy,* I, Science (1880-1886), pp 285-316; this is a very interesting paper in that it lists the main earthquakes that have been recorded since the year 1426 and that have affected areas around Britain and Ireland, including mention of places like Cork, Wicklow and Inishowen; what is of interest here too is that many of the harbours in North Africa were equally as affected by earthquakes over the centuries, with similar inundation occurrences; see also for reference: Victor Sousa Moreira, José Sousa Marques, Jorge Fonseca Cruz and José Costa Nunes, 'Review of the historical seismicity in the Gulf of Cadiz area before the 1 November 1755 earthquake. An Intermediate report', for EC Project: Review of Historical Seismicity in Europe (RHISE) 1989-1993; published on:
http://emidius.mi.ingv.it/RHISE/i_15sou/i_15sou.html

[375] Two tsunamis in particular, following the earthquakes of 1755 and 1761 in Lisbon, seriously affected the southern coast of Ireland, with it being noted that Kinsale, Cork and other smaller harbours were affected by great volumes of water rising and covering areas; Charles Lyell *Principles of geology, being an attempt to explain the former changes of the Earth's surface, by reference to causes now in operation,* 1 (Ed.) John Murray (London, 1830); see also for a general discussion: 'The 1755 and 1761 Tsunamis in Ireland', 7 May 2009, http://www.politics.ie/forum/history/65636-1755-1761-tsunamis-ireland.html

[376] Lords of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 22 July, 1612, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, pp 276-277.

from the French ambassador, who was seeking restitution of certain ships and goods that had been brought into 'Limecon' by Baugh and his pirate colleague Miller. They ordered that such goods be returned to their French owners. Baugh and Miller are referred to as 'the late pirates', indicating that at that point they had received their pardons.[377] Leamcon would have needed the necessary infrastructure to facilitate the movement of cargoes, an example being when Baugh and pirate colleague, Captain William Wollmer, provided Deputy Vice-Admiral Captain Skipwith with wheat and rye out of a ship named the *St. Saviour* of Lübeck.[378]

Though such cargo could have been landed by smaller boats, the involvement of William Hull in the fishing industry in the area and the presence of sites like the fish palace there, points to formal facilities being in place along the foreshore at that point for the landing of fish and other goods.[379] Fish palaces, though not always located directly on the foreshore, were used to press the fish, primarily herring and pilchard, to extract train oil, which was traded as a commodity and shipped in barrels.[380]

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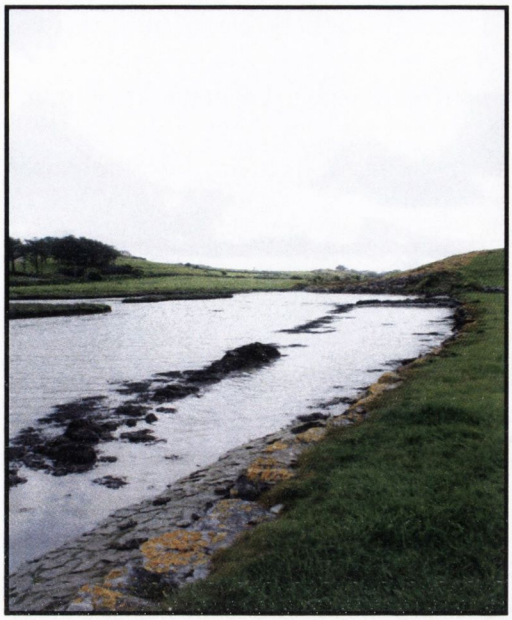
[377] The Lords of the Council to the Lord Chichester, Order dated 24 February 1612, written at Whitehall, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, pp 325-326; the accompanying note dating to 1615 adjudging the appraisment of the goods, but referring in fact to the earlier events of 4 November 1613, refers to Baugh as 'late a pirate, pardoned; Arrearages for Ireland; Captain Baugh, 10 November 1615, in F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer: being payments made out of his Majesty's Revenue during the reign of James I* (London, 1836), pp 178-179; I am grateful to my colleague Karl Brady for this source.

[378] Appleby and O'Dowd, ' The Irish Admiralty', p. 32.

[379] Recorded Monument CO:148:02703 *fish palace*, Register of Monuments and Places; Site no. 3654, Power, *Archaeological Inventory, West Cork*, p. 411.

[380] A.E.G. Went, 'The Irish Pilchard Fishery', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Section B: Biological, Geological, and Chemical Science*, 5 (1945-1948), pp 82-83.





(Plates 11 and 12) The basal remains of a possible quay and smaller slipway at Leamcon.



(Plate 13) Stone mooring post at Leamcon with distinct signs of wear at bottom and evidence of rope depressions.

In 1613, when Robert Stephenson was offered a pardon, he brought his ship into Leamcon harbour, where Captain Middleton boarded it during the course of his

negotiations with the pirate captain. In the same deposition William Hull mentions that Stephenson arrived at Leamcon about 2 March 1613, anchored in the harbour and that they met at the 'Battering place' in Leamcon, when the pardon for Stephenson arrived.[381] What is meant by the 'Battering place' is debatable, whether it refers to the Battery, which is all that now remains of Leamcon castle and its associated fortified towers, or if it refers to another type of place not previously identified, is open to discussion (map image 15 and plate 14).[382] We can infer that facilities were in place at Leamcon to accommodate the mooring of ships and landing of personnel and goods. The basal remain of the quay structure; the stone steps and mooring posts may thus date to this period, though archaeological excavation again would be needed to definitively determine this.




(map image 15 and plate 14) 1840s map of Leamcon showing Leamcon House, battery, etc. and image of battery as it exists today.[383]

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[381] Deposition of William Hull of Leamcon, gentleman, aged 40, 13 May 1613 (T.N.A. examinations, HCA 13/42, f. 153v-155); Appleby, *A Calendar of Material*, p. 131.

[382] Recorded Monument CO:148:02602 *Battery*, Register of Monuments and Places; Site no. 3304, Power, *Archaeological Inventory, West Cork*, p. 360; A general trawl of sources as well as informed discussions with fellow archaeological colleagues, has, to date, produced no information that may inform on what is meant by the 'Battering place'; it is thus assumed for this thesis that it is the Battery at Leamcon that is being referred to.

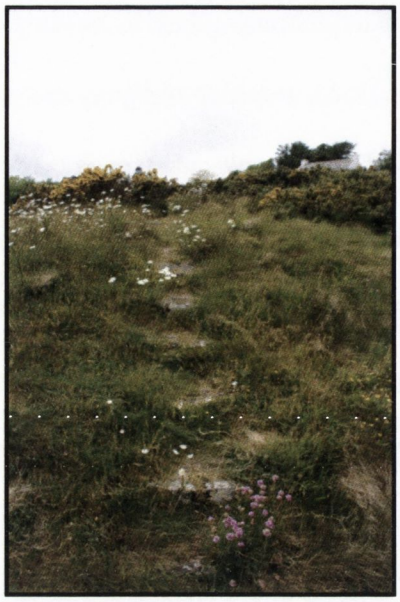
[383] 1840s 6 inch map, OSI; http://maps.osi.ie/publicviewer; the remains of the *Battery*, monument number CO:148:26(02) date to the period when Hull was living in Leamcon and would have formed part of a much larger complex of fortified buildings; survey of the foreshore for this study below the site has revealed previously unrecorded archaeology, including from the seventeenth century and quite possibly dating to Hull's tenure there.

Croagh harbour, Leamcon's neighbouring bay to the east, is accessible at high water and retains the remains of rock cut steps, an old quay and a stone mooring post similar to those at Leamcon. Another set of rock-cut steps is evident within the inner harbour area here too, in the general area where a corn store used to be located, but the remains of which have long since vanished (plates 15 and 16). Fifteen steps are visible, though in varying states of attrition, with the main set of ten steps rising within a grassy mound; at the base of these steps a rock-cut platform area is visible and, turning to the southwest, five more steps continue at a more acute angle down onto the foreshore. A later stone and concrete addition extending out from the earlier rock-cut platform has been built up against the platform and steps, but the original features can still be discerned.

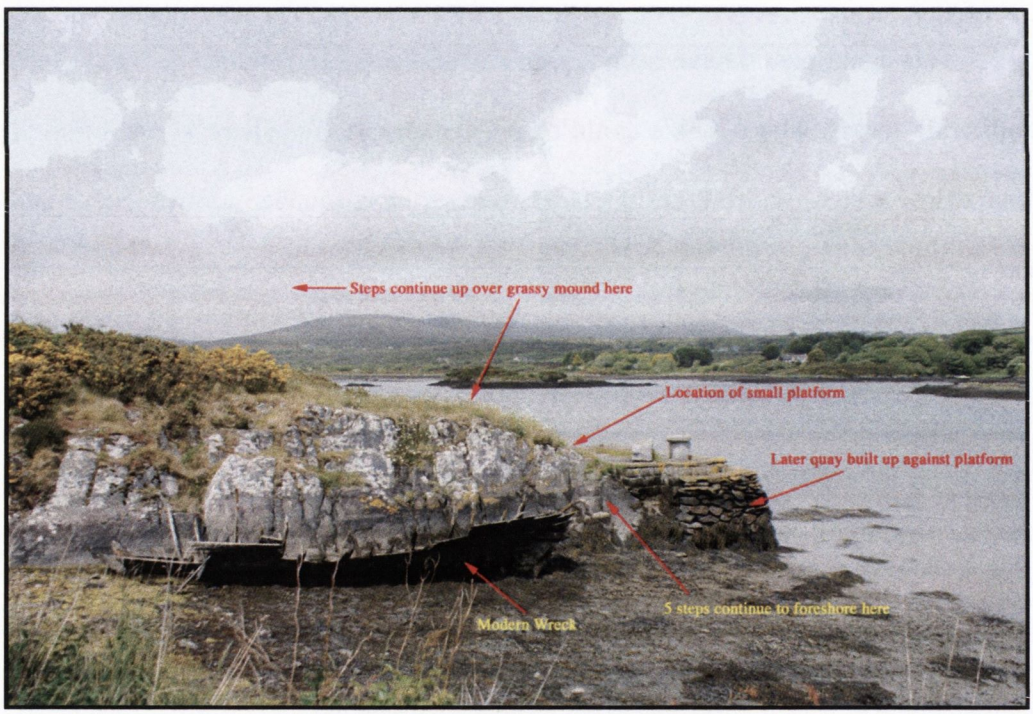
This again would have been a high water accessible site, or one that relied on small craft access, where a boat could be pulled onto the foreshore to rest beside the steps at low water. Indeed, the wrecked remains of an abandoned wooden boat lie next to the steps today, providing a sense of atmosphere and context to the maritime use of the place (plate 17).



(plate 15) Rock-cut steps at Croagh next to a more recent quay extension.



(plate 16) Continuation of the steps, with a turn at their lower levels, to allow direct access to the foreshore.




(plate 17) Descriptive details of Croagh Harbour steps.

On the opposite side of the harbour, the eroded rough rubble core of a once sizeable quay is evident on the southeastern shore and is represented on the early edition 1840s

ordnance survey maps, providing a pre-famine date for the site (plate 18). At the top of the quay stands a stone mooring post, almost identical to those identified at Leamcon and suggestive of a similar usage pattern across the harbours in the area. The present remains may be contemporary with the nearby eighteenth century country house of Seafort, which was connected to the maritime industry in the area at the time.[384] Quays like this one would have had a long usage period and the remains of the quay at Croagh could be sited where an earlier quay or slipway was formerly located.



(plate 18) Dilapidated remains of a quay on the southeastern shore of Croagh harbour; the steps are located directly across the water in front of the house.

[384] Recorded Monument CO:148:016: *Country House*, Seafort; Archaeological Survey of Ireland, Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht.

**Islands and Rivers**

Derwent Whittlesey in his work on political geography *The Earth and the State* was one of the first to identify the importance of islands and river courses to pirates.[385] Whittlesey suggested that islands were 'springboards' with political significance as they had the qualities to ensure unity of settlement, isolation to guarantee non-government interference and strategic locations for control of waterways and for advancing political or piratical power.[386] The many islands that dot the waters of Roaringwater Bay, the islands immediate to Baltimore (Sherkin and Cape Clear being the chief among them) and those guarding the waterways in front of Leamcon and Schull (the largest being Castle Island and Long Island) were all utilised by the pirates at one time or another.

Their strategic importance to the pirate harbours is indicated by their inclusion in the 1612 Dutch chart by John Hunt. Long Island protected the entrance to Leamcon creek and Croagh harbour, thus serving the purpose of providing shelter to shipping from the southerly winds and also providing safe anchorage within the Sound between the island and mainland, anchorages that, as discussed above, were the primary mooring points for Leamcon and Croagh harbours. Long Island similarly acted as an ideal lookout base for the pirates to control the use of their waterways, and may well have become the focus for legitimate settlement when members of the pirate alliance were eventually pardoned. In 1615 Richard Boyle engaged Denis O'Driscoll to set up the pilchard fishery on Long Island and perhaps it was in such industries and on such islands, that the pirates found gainful employment.[387] Certainly from the representation of Long Island, written as 'Long Iland', on the 1612 Dutch chart, there

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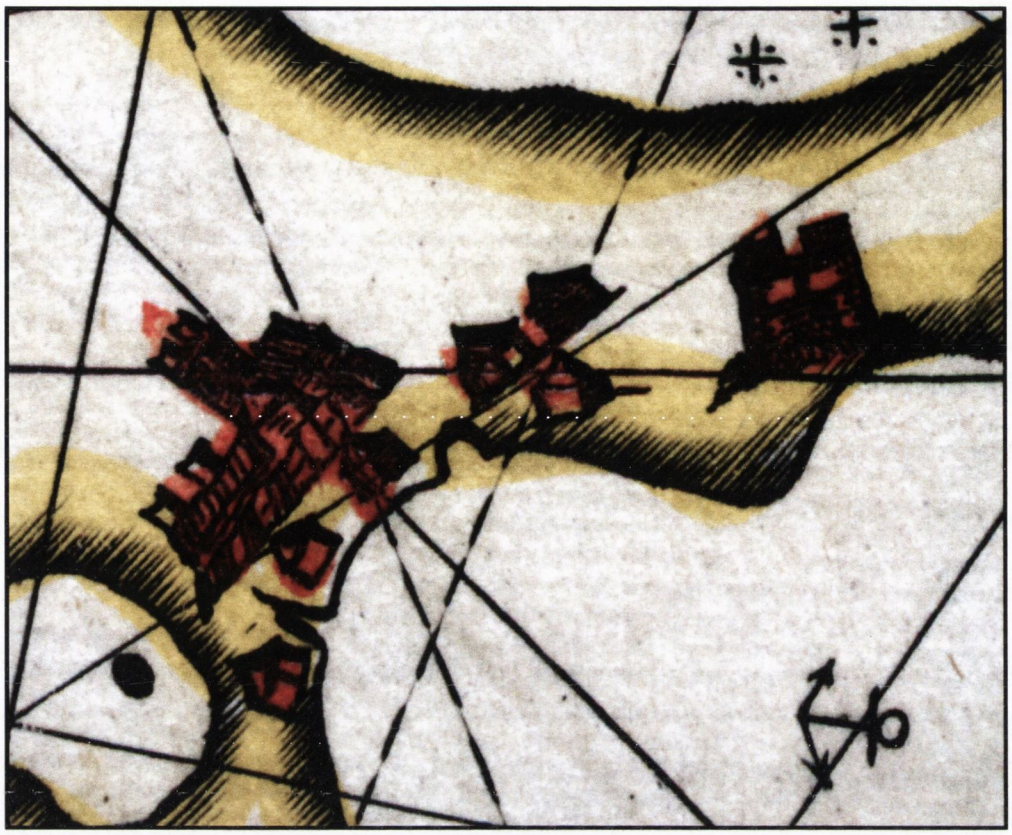
[385] Derwent Whittlesey, *The Earth and the State* (War Department, Henry Holt, 1939, reprinted with maps 1944), pp 59-70; http://books.google.ie/books; Galvin, *Patterns of Pillage*, pp 16-18.
[386] Whittlesey, ibid. pp 59-60.
[387] Rev. C.B. Gibson, *The History of the County and City of Cork*, II (London, 1861), p. 522.

was a vibrant community, with substantial structures there even at that time (map image 16).

Sherkin Island, like Long Island, provided protection to shipping in Baltimore harbour from the prevailing southwesterly winds and attendant sea conditions, and with the main anchorage, as already discussed, located immediate to the primary landing place on the island, near Dunalong castle, Sherkin's strategic importance to the pirates and those using the harbour is obvious. Like Long Island, the main settlement on Sherkin was on its northern extent, parallel to the main anchorage place in the harbour (map image 17).




(map image 16) Detail from 1612 chart of Long Island, showing settlement and more substantial structures located on the northern coastal side of the island, next to the main harbour and anchorage within the Sound (image inverted for clarity).



(map image 17) The Franciscan friary, settlement and Dunalong castle as depicted on the chart, overlooking the main anchorage area.

Whittlesey similarly identified rivers as avenues of penetration, which could be the focus of settlement from the coastal regions into the interior, accommodating trade, transport and communication.[388] The Ilen river, which enters Baltimore harbour from the north and winds its way to the town of Skibbereen, has been used over the centuries by smaller vessels and lighters to ferry people and goods, including a vibrant transportation industry in sand in the early part of the twentieth century, and no doubt illegal merchandise inland over time. Its representation on both the 1612 Dutch chart by Hunt and later map of Baltimore in the Sheffield Archives, denotes its strategic position and indicates that mariners were aware of its location and usage potential even in those early times.

[388] Whittlesey, ibid. pp 60-65.

**To land or not to land: remote coastal facilities**

Accessing the coast in more remote areas, where no formal harbour facilities were located, required planning, innovation and prior knowledge of where access could be found. Certain site types have come to light during the course of fieldwork for this study that have not been archaeologically surveyed or recorded previously. Indeed, they have not been recognised in the archaeological record before now and it is suggested here that they represent a new site type with specific functions. A generic title is suggested for these sites, namely 'coastal access points' as they provided the cultural link in a coastal hinterland between the land and the sea and merits wider discussion on these as unique site types.[389] A selection is discussed here, as they are associated with illegal activity either in the study area or within a wider landscape. These coastal access sites are predominantly carved out of the bare rock and present in a number of forms, including rock-cut steps, rock-cut slipways, rock-cut platforms, rock-cut niches and rock-cut recesses, with some of these sites having associated sea caves.

When viewed spatially, topographically and stylistically, their placement within a maritime landscape reveals them to have had a firm focus on the sea that allowed contact by those on land with those arriving by boat or allowing those on the water to access the land and its resources. Some were located remotely, away from any established settlement or formal residence, constructed in isolated, almost inaccessible areas that, while not perhaps being the only function of the sites, would certainly have accommodated covert activity. Other rock-cut steps identified are associated with known monuments, particularly castle sites. A fine example are the steps leading up to Dún na Séad castle in Baltimore, which would have been the main

[389] A site listing can be found in Appendix 6.

access point into the site when occupied by Thomas Crooke and his predecessors (plate 19).



(plate 19) The contemporary, preserved rock-cut steps leading to Dún na Séad castle; the modern steps to the left are now used as the means of entry.

These sites would have been the focus of multiple and repeated usage over time which could have ranged from the collection or offloading of goods and people in remote parts of the coastal mainland and islands, to piratical and smuggling activity; other uses could have formed part of their wider function, including providing access to fresh water, with several sets of rock-cut steps located near a fresh water well, spring or river/stream outlet. Within the study area these include one remaining set of steps at Canty's Cove, north of Goleen and those at Kinish and Horseshoe harbours on Sherkin Island (plate 23).[390] Similar sites exist in other counties in Ireland. Examples include one at the tip of Creadan Head in County

[390] There were two sets of rock-cut steps that Canty's Cove originally, but one was destroyed in recent times; *pers. comm.* Mr. Patrick McCarthy, Goleen.

Waterford (plate 20), the rock-cut steps of which lead directly to a spring and the other at Finian's Bay, near Ballinskelligs, in County Kerry, again near a fresh water source.

The site at Creadan Head is included here briefly as it provides potential evidence for illegal activity, with its placename also being informative as to its possible past usage within the landscape.[391] The site, which is shown on the second edition Ordnance Survey 25 inch map as 'Rock of the Forty Steps' (map image 18), has an associated rock-cut platform and cave. Toponymically it has two attributable names, one that states its generic form – that of having forty steps and the other one possibly more sinister. The local toponym for the site is that of 'Bóthar na Mná Gorm', or 'Road of the [Blue] Black Women', and according to local tradition, refers to the transportation of slaves via the southern Irish coast, and reflecting the colour of the unfortunate individuals' skin and the garb worn by them.[392] Such sites may, inadvertently hint at Ireland's past involvement in this maritime trade, and certainly local lore tells of captives allegedly off-loaded at Waterford to await retransportation elsewhere.[393] A mitigating factor against this, however, is that ships that were involved in the slave trade traditionally returned to England as just merchant ships, carrying cargoes of material like elephants' teeth (tusks), exotic goods and perhaps one or two slaves who would be the private property of the captain on board or the merchant financing the venture. Slaves as a cargo tended to be offloaded to the plantations in the New World or Caribbean following their capture in Africa.[394]

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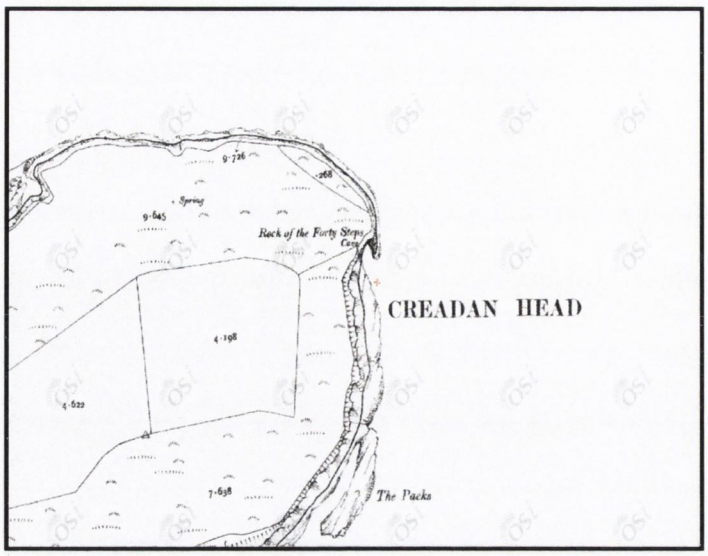
[391] I am very grateful to Mr. John O'Connor, of Dunmore East, Co. Waterford, for first drawing my attention to the Creadan Head steps and giving me the background information on it.

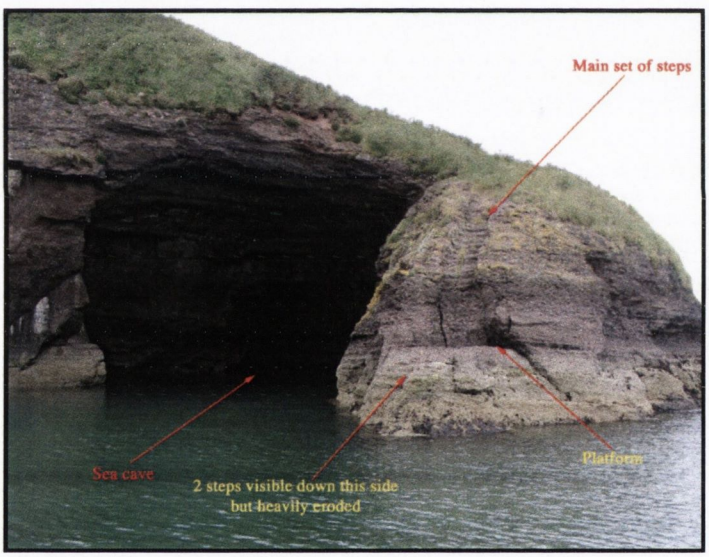
[392] Though *dubh* is the direct translation in Gaelic for 'black', as an emphasis, the word *gorm* or 'blue' is often used to indicate something that is extremely black, i.e. so black it looked blue/navy; similarly the word 'gorm' was used for the colour black, as the actual Gaelic word for black, i.e. 'dubh' was associated with the devil, and its use was thus selective due to ascribed superstitious connotations.

[393] B. Colfer, *The Hook Peninsula*, (Cork, 2004), p. 107.

[394] I am grateful for this insight from Dr. Jane Webster, senior lecturer in Historical Archaeology and Head of Archaeology, Newcastle University.




(map image 18) 1880s OS map showing steps at Creadan Head, its associated name and spring well.[395]




(plate 20) Creadan Head steps and cave.

Another proposed hypothesis is put forward here to explain the local name for the steps. It may be that it refers to foreign pirates, such as Algerine Turks. In Gaelic the North African pirates were often referred to as 'Fir Gorm' or 'Blue men' as it was commonly viewed that their attire comprised loose, flowing garments and included

[395] © Ordnance Survey if Ireland; http://maps.osi.ie/publicviewer/#V1,671693,603612,6,9

the wearing of turbans.[396] The raid by the Turks on Baltimore in 1631 is well known, but during the period from the middle of the second decade of the seventeenth-century, North African corsairs frequented the North Atlantic coastal areas of England and Ireland and their presence may have been locally known and thereafter represented in the placename evidence.[397] Rather than being indicative of black slavery, it may actually reflect a North African corsair presence and association with white slavery when the trade in captives was a lucrative business. The site at Creadan Head cannot be attributed a specific date, including to the time of the main pirate activity in the southwest, but its function in facilitating direct remote access to the mainland from the coastal periphery is obvious. No doubt it saw multi-usage over time, such as a fresh water access point, including by local fishermen; improbably too it may have facilitate in the transportation of human captives by official slave traders or potentially by pirates and smugglers working together at the edge of Waterford harbour.

It is interesting to hypothesize if such steps were primarily located in these areas because a fresh water source were available nearby, and thus allowed mariners and coastal users the opportunity to get fresh water when needed and that all other uses, including those by pirates, were ancillary to this. Naessens' study of coastal tower houses in Connemara would certainly support the strategic locating of sites to avail of natural resources.[398] It is therefore probable that other sites too, like rock-cut steps, were equally sited within a given landscape for such a reason. Mainwaring made a point of including access to fresh water as an attribute for particular harbours,

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[396] I am grateful to Mr. John Moriarty of Tralee for information on local names for the African Corsairs.

[397] This little known fact that the coastal areas of southern Ireland may have been frequented by North African pirates was highlighted by J. de Courcy-Ireland, 'Algerine raid on Baltimore', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 56, no. 3, Notes (1970), p. 298.

[398] Naessens, 'Gaelic lords of the sea'. pp.217-235

such as that of 'Porto Farina', in the Gulf of Tunis.[399] If, as it were, there was a practical, legitimate motive involved in the placement of at least some of these sites within the coastal landscape, and other uses were then made of them from an opportunistic perspective, then the exploitation of such sites by pirates is an interesting if not pragmatic, addition to the general use of these sites within the coastal landscape through time. One can equally ponder if some of these sites were decidedly cut out of the bare rock in their remote context for the deliberate facilitation of piracy and smuggling, within a specific pirate landscape?

Again, early maps can inform how mariners may have acquired resources when at sea, with the need in particular, to frequently replenish fresh water supplies on board their ships. This would have been paramount to their health and wellbeing, as well as ensuring the maximization of time at sea, so knowing where such resources could be located around the coast was essential. White's map of Crookhaven from 1817 shows clearly areas where fresh water was available, indicated on the chart as 'watering places', where rivers or streams emerge onto the foreshore (map image 19).[400]

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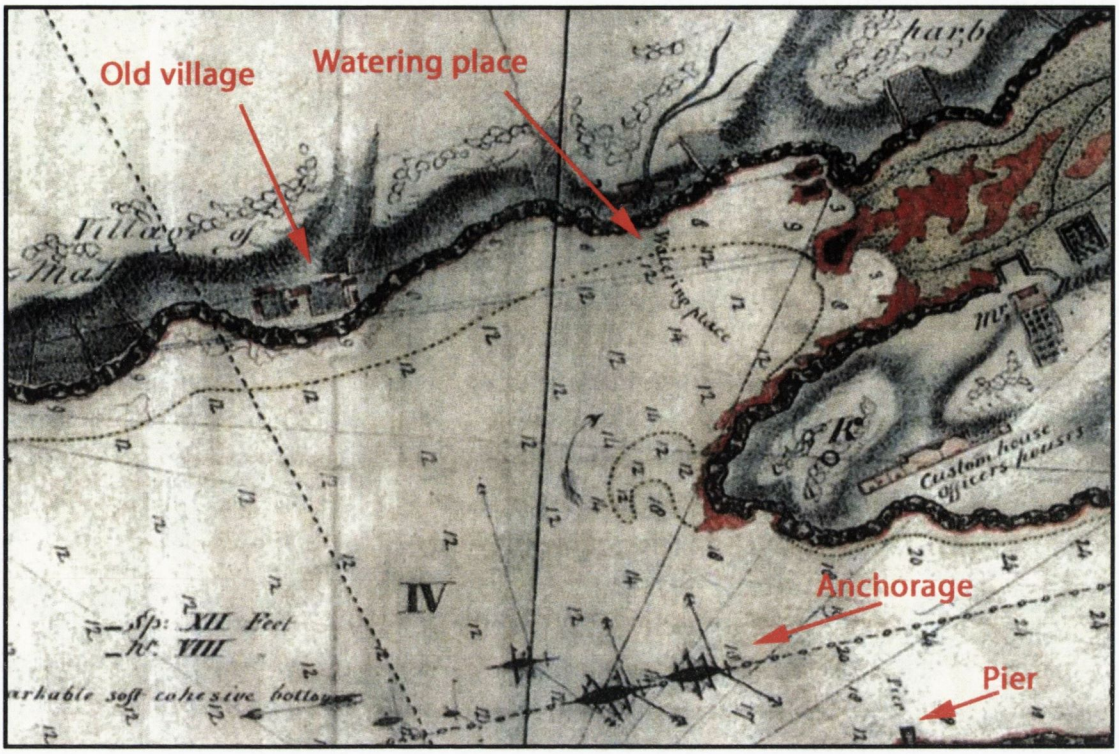
[399] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 29: 'Porto Farina is 7 leagues from Cape Carthage, and there is very good watering, and a good place to careen in'; Porto Farina refers to Porto Feryn in Tunis, Mainwaring and Perrin, ibid; see also Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 34, for other harbours mentioned in relation to watering places.

[400] Chart 833: 'Crookhaven' by Capt. Martin White, 1817 (Admiralty Office, Taunton, UK); Captain Martin White's chart of Crookhaven Harbour, 1817, referred to in Capt. Martin White R.N. *Sailing Directions for the English Channel,* p. 170.




(map image 19) From White's 1817 chart of Crookhaven showing 'Watering place' within harbour; also indicated is a village, north of the harbour, which now leaves no above ground archaeological trace.[401]

As indicated earlier with the site on Creadan Head in Waterford, specific functions can be gleaned directly from the toponymical evidence, such as is suggested by the local name of the set of steps on Hare Island. Called 'the Coffin Steps', they were also used to enable coffins to be delivered or collected from the island when required.[402] Twenty steps are evident at this site, with four below the mid-water line (plate 21). These steps are wider than other similar site types surveyed, and the location of a sub-rectangular rock-cut platform at the break of the steps between where they rise landward to the northwest and where they descend southeast to the waterline, points to their probable use for the movement of larger goods, including presumably coffins

[401] Ibid.

[402] I am very grateful to Mr. Nigel Towse of Sherkin Island, Baltimore for showing me these steps and for taking me out in his traditional wooden sailing boat *An Rún* around Roaringwater Bay to follow the trail of the pirates; the term 'coffin steps' is a local term but the steps were used generally, and not specifically for the movement of the dead, they therefore served a multitude of functions; I am grateful to Mr. Cormac Levis for clarifying this for me.

on and off the island, where the casket may have needed to be placed on the platform when being manoeuvred. The extra width would have allowed for a number of individuals to stand on the steps, side by side, if part of a funeral cortège and carrying a coffin but also for the rapid movement of goods in this remote part of Roaringwater Bay (plate 22).

Local lore also refers to the steps being for the offloading of goods to be temporarily stored there for victualling, which were then collected by pirates at pre-arranged times. Mainwaring notes this as part of the pirates' operation in Munster. Though not done openly, locals (who could include both native and settler) liaised with the pirate captains to agree where goods could be either left by the pirates or collected by them under the cover of darkness, that they 'privately with the Captain will appoint where he shall in the night find so many Beeves [beef] or other refreshments that he shall need'.[403]



(plate 21) The Hare Island steps in Roaringwater Bay, from the seaward and looking northwest.

[403] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 17.




(plate 22) Details showing continuation of upper set of steps and intervening platform, all cut from the rock; looking from the landward, to the southeast over Roaringwater Bay.

Secluded sites were therefore a necessity for the exchange of goods and were, it would appear, well known to the locals and pirates in the area. Similar tales are told of the Saltee Islands off Wexford, a noted pirate sea base, where they would store their goods whilst awaiting collection or redistribution.[404] The extent and location of the steps on Hare Island meant that they would have been accessible at most tidal levels, except for the lowest spring tides; a medium to large vessel would have been able to anchor at a distance, with smaller boats used to transport goods on and off the ships and to access the steps.

On Sherkin Island, two sets of steps have been identified. One set is found at the outer, western extent of Kinish harbour and looks across at Hare Island and on a good day may be intervisible with the steps on Hare Island. The other steps on

[404] R. Roche and O. Merne, *Saltees: Islands of Birds and Legends* (Dublin, 1977), pp 38-39.

Sherkin are found within the enclosed space of Horseshoe Harbour. The Kinish steps would have been high water steps only, as they do not continue down to the edge of the rocky outcrop. They have been subject to more erosion than the Hare Island steps, however, perhaps denoting greater antiquity or more intense usage, though the geological nature of the rock itself needs to be considered too in this regard; the Kinish steps are more discrete in structure and form. Only five steps now remain at Kinish, though from depressions below the existing steps, there may have been at least two more there originally. These would only have been accessed by small craft, most probably a small row boat or punt, that could have pulled up to or onto the rocky ledges and individuals could then move out of or into the boat from the steps or where small amounts of goods were placed on the rock below the steps to be collected by a boat coming along the edge of the rocks.



(plate 23) Steps in Kinish Harbour, Sherkin Island.[405]

[405] I am again grateful to Mr. Nigel Towse of Sherkin Island for showing me this site.

To the immediate south of the steps there is a stone well, again indicating a fresh water source. The Horseshoe Harbour steps, though eroded, are more substantial. In fact two sets of steps are to be found. One rises from the water's edge to a substantial rock-cut platform that in turn leads up to another set of steps. Carved recesses similar to shallow putlog holes are also evident beside the upper steps and perhaps indicate use for a derrick or some structure to assist with the movement of goods. Parallel to the steps, and running into the sea, is a small stream that is directly accessible from the steps. The location of these sites, on the islands in Roaringwater Bay, suggest that the islands were far more important to mariners in the days of sail than has been previously studied. As discussed earlier by Whittlesey when he suggested islands acted as 'springboards', he supported this by saying that they 'figure far more conspicuously than either their size or their resources appear to warrant. Their qualities of unity, isolation and strategic location lend them this political significance'. He further suggested that islands close to shore acted as natural defence points and thus facilitate activities on the mainland.[406] Certainly the islands within Roaringwater Bay, Baltimore and Long Island near Leamcon were identified by central government as strategic to the success of the pirates, as a suggestion was made in 1611 to depopulate the islands as a means to eradicating the pirate problem.[407]

While interpretations as to who used these remote sites are generally speculative, some sites have direct links to specific individuals. On the southern side of Dunmanus Bay, north of Goleen in the townland of Dunkelly West, is located the previously mentioned Canty's Cove (map image 20 and plate 24). The cove is just

[406] Galvin, *Patterns of Pillage*, p. 17; Whittlesey, *The Earth and the State,* pp 59-60.
[407] Vice-president and Councell of Mounster, Mogeely, September 1611, signed Rich. Moryson, Edw. Harrys, Tho. Roper, Par Lane, H. Gosnold, *Harl. MS. 37r*, Curtis Clayton, (ed.), *Council Book for the Province of Munster, c. 1599-1649*, p. 73.

over eight miles northwest of Leamcon, which would have enabled local residents in the general area of Canty's Cove to have had knowledge of the pirate activity in the Leamcon area and beyond, with perhaps integration taking place when the need arose between the two communities. The link between the two areas is suggested in the later deposition of William Hull when a 'Daniell Canty Landlord of Donkelly gentleman' is mentioned as attacking his estate in 1641.[408] In 1629 Canty, a probable Gaelic-Irish sub-lord, was resident at the cove, where he had his 'house' and 'garden' and where he exerted dues from those using the sea around his area.[409] These were located on the promontory overlooking the cove and the wider stretches of Dunmanus Bay with the use of promontories by pirates identified from the earliest times. These high points in the landscape were ideal locations to act as sentinels for coastal defence and exploitation.[410]

Local lore recounts that Canty was said to have been a rather disingenuous individual, and it could be said that he was not really a 'pirate' in the true sense of the word. His reputed tactic was to encourage captains to moor in his cove, where he then invited them to his house for food and wine. When sufficiently intoxicated and on the pretense that he was escorting them back to their ship, he led them out through the backdoor of his house that overlooked the cove, and pushed them over the cliff. He then proceeded to plunder their ships moored in his harbour. The story is steeped in

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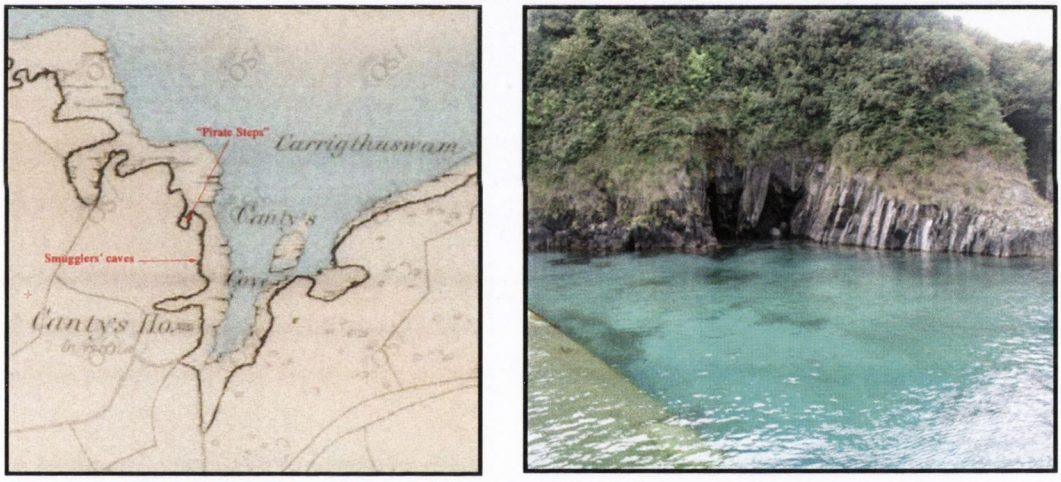
[408] Sir William Hull knight & one of his Maiesties Councell of Mounster, 22 October 1642, Deposition of William Hull (MS 824, fols 253r-259v, TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970), f. 253r; I am grateful to Dr. Elaine Murphy and Dr. Annaleigh Margay for information on this deposition.

[409] John, Hawke, 'Canty's Cove – Legend and History', *The Mizen Journal*, 5 (Selections from *The Mizen Journal* 1993-2004, Skibbereen, 2004), pp 292-302; P. McCarthy and R. Hawkes, *Northside of the Mizen* (Cork, 1999), pp 102-104; his first name is not recorded in the local information but a Fearfasa O'Canty is recorded in the 1659 Census in the barony of Kilnalmeaky in West Cork and the family name is said to derive from a bardic family; Canty's Cove looks across the Bay of Dunmanus to Kilcrohane where the famous O'Dalaigh or O'Daly bardic poetry school was located, the remains of which are still there today;
http://www.surnamedb.com/Surname/Canty

[410] Semple, 'Pirate Coasts', p. 136.

myth and no doubt has been embellished over the centuries, but the archaeological remains of a building in the place where his house is recorded to have stood, is compelling, though most of the stone from the building was used to construct the pier at the cove in the 1920s.[411] The cove area itself is, if one were a pirate, ideal for such activity. Indeed the presence of copper in the general geology of the area has stained the sands within the cove a turquoise green, giving the whole inlet a Mediterranean feel. Here was found not one but two sets of rock cut steps and rock-cut platforms, used for the landing of goods before the pier was built and several small caves that would have provided perfect temporary space for goods at low water. The cove is of sufficient depth to allow a medium sized vessel moor safely within.




(map image 20 and plate 24) OS 1840s map of Canty's Cove on southern limits of Dunmanus Bay[412] and view of 'pirate caves' ('plúisnafóghlaímara') within Cove utilised by Canty and other visiting pirateers.

One set of steps, in the literature referred to as Cuasnastaighre or Cove of the Steps but known locally as the Pirate Steps, is steep and precarious, allowing access to individuals rather than the efficient and safe movement of goods (plate 25). They also seem to be high water steps, though they do run down to the water's edge. The inlet is

[411] I am grateful to Mr. P. MacCarthy for showing me around the cove, for relaying the tales of Canty and his lazy pirate ways and for providing an overview of works done at the pier in recent times.
[412] © OSI image downloaded from: http://maps.osi.ie/publicviewer/#V1,481422,531857,7,7

so narrow where they are located that only a small punt could access the area safely, and only during benign sea conditions, with individuals accessing the sandy area beneath the steps at low water, walking to or from the steps safely on the exposed shingle shore.[413]



(plate 25) 'Cuasnastaighre' or cove of the stairs, pirate steps at Canty's Cove; the derrick device was located immediately at the top of the image.

[413] Up to the late-1990s, the remains of a wooden derrick was located at the top of the steps that was used for the recovery of sand from the area around the base of the steps during the 1940s. One can wonder if something similar were utilised in the early-seventeenth century to facilitate the transfer of goods from vessels anchored within the cove? I am again grateful to Mr. MacCarthy for this information.

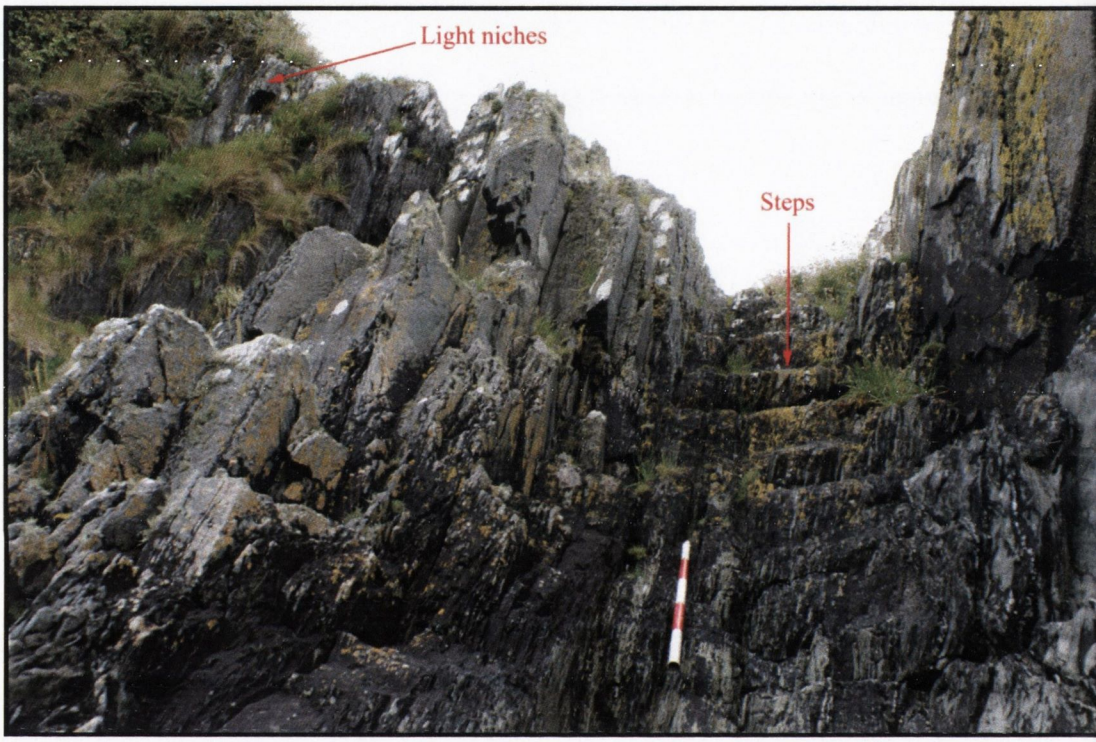
The second set of steps in the inner cove were sited near a spring, known as the Bone Well, and would have provided access to the fresh water source.[414] The presence of rock-cut steps with associated platforms and sea caves, such as that at Canty's Cove, are known from all periods of antiquity and within a global context, with pirates being dependent on the landing of goods to ensure continued successful commercial endeavours.[415] Canty's Cove thus fits well into the geographical and archaeological template for such pirate sites as it contains all the 'markers' that point to its being a pirate harbour. It is posited here that two other sites surveyed can be more directly tied to piracy and smuggling, though tying such usage to a specific period is a persistent problem.

The first is that of Dutchman's Cove in Castletownsend. This small cove is located some 7.5 nautical miles east of Baltimore and lies on the western side of Castlehaven harbour. The name itself is provocative and here can be viewed another set of rock-cut steps (plate 26). Two niches have been cut out of the rock face directly over the steps, inside of which were placed candles or small lanterns to signal smugglers and pirates and to guide the ships' boats safely to shore (plate 27). The little niches are a testament to this illegal activity that married piracy with smuggling, users of the sea with users of the land. This is the only example currently known by the author of such lantern niches identified in Ireland, though it stands to reason that

[414] Hawkes. 'Canty's Cove', p. 294; McCarthy and Hawkes, ibid. p. 104; the second set of steps near the Bone well were destroyed during the construction of the modern pier in the 1950s, but the well itself is still there.

[415] C. Marangou, 'Carved Rocks, Functional and Symbolic (Lemnos Island, Greece)', from *Prehistoric Art: Signs, Symbols, Myth, Ideology, XV UISPP World Congress*, L. Oosterbeek, M. Otte, L. Remacle and D. Seglie, (eds.) (Lisbon, 2006), pp 95-97; the early prehistoric residents of Lemnos were known to be pirates and raiders and archaeological survey has shown that several of the rock-cut steps and platforms on the island were directly associated with them; see also M.G. Marten, 'Spatial and Temporal Analyses of the Harbor at Antiochia ad Cragum (MA. Thesis, Florida State University, 2005) for an interesting study of piracy in the remote harbour of Rough Cilicia in the Mediterranean.

others must surely exist but await discovery.[416] Here too a number of carved recesses in the rock below the steps may be evidence for some support mechanism, perhaps a wooden platform, hoist or derrick, to assist with the movement of smuggled goods and such evidence may again being to suggest a pattern for these types of sites (plate 28).




(plate 26): Dutchman's Cove steps and lantern niches.

[416] I am very grateful to Thomas Somerville of Drishane, Castletownsend, for drawing my attention to this site and allowing me access to survey it.



(plate 27) Closer view of lantern niches cut out of the rock face at Dutchman's Cove




(Pl. 28) Carved recesses in the rock below the steps, perhaps to house timber to form a platform or derrick for the movement of goods.

The final site being discussed here is a set of steps encountered at one of the remotest areas surveyed for this thesis. Eleven steps were visible, but more could have been present in the past and have now collapsed. Safety considerations did not allow access

to the lower part of the steps due to their dangerous nature. They are located at the very tip of the promontory called Gokane or Alderman Point, to the southeast of the village of Crookhaven (plate 29). They have been carved precariously up against the sheer rock face there, with an acute angle to the steps that is almost vertical. They overhang a drop to the sea below of some one hundred feet (plate 30). They did not go all the way to the water but are carved to allow access to a cavern that runs beneath and through the full length of the promontory and is open on both sides to the sea. Local kayakers on calm days travel through the cavern and small vessels could thus access, via this sea cave and gain access to the steps overhead.



(plate 29) The series of rock-cut steps at Gokane point, Crookhaven.

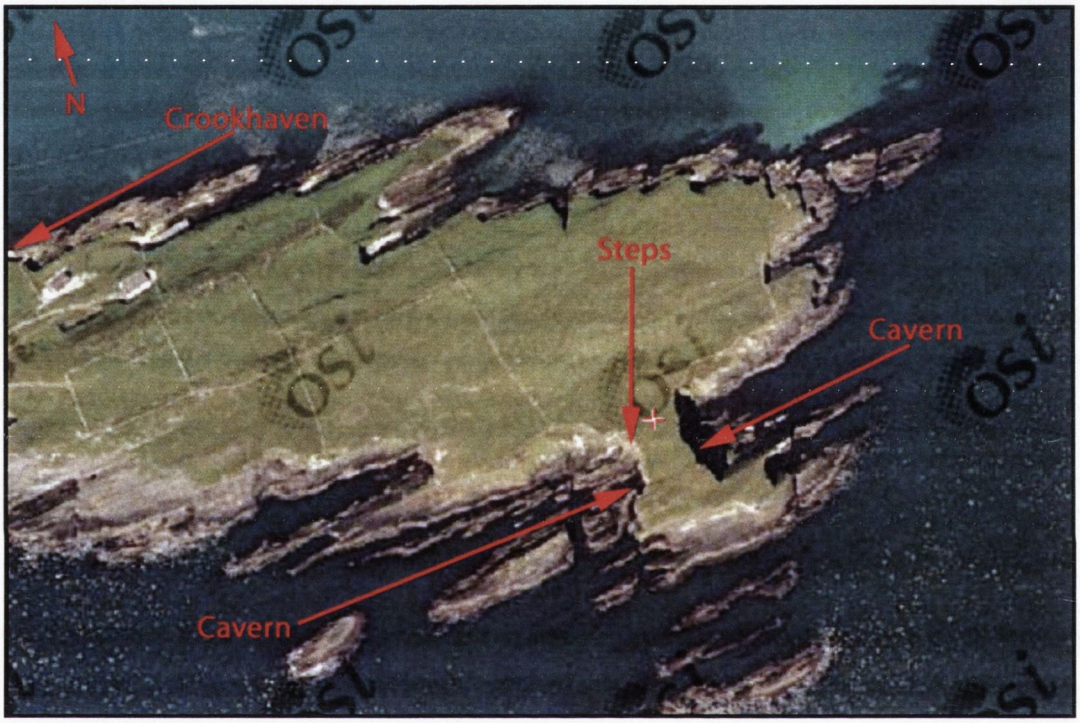


(plate 30) View of the narrow steps and their acute angle, with a drop to the sea below.

The Gokane steps are amazing and terrifying at the same time. They immediately open up considerations about who cut them, the onerous task of doing so, the danger of using them and how exactly they were used. It is to be supposed that they were used in conjunction with ropes to move goods up and down and no doubt to secure the user while there. Again perhaps a termporary hoist or derrick was used that could be put up when required, and placed at the top of the rock face, inferring a collaborative effort. The steps are just wide enough to allow one individual to use them at any given time, similar in width to those at Canty's Cove.

The nature, extent and location of the steps gives a sense of purpose to the site, with planning, efficiency and co-operation required to utilise the steps to their fullest and to their safest. Prearrangement, communication and knowledge of movement would have been critical to ensure that individuals, boats and goods were in place at the designated time. Without doubt, this site can be directly linked with

piracy and smuggling, though to what period cannot be defined. The economic return that must have accrued from goods that landed or left via this site must have been lucrative enough to warrant the construction of this site in the first place at its hazardous location on an exposed, wind-swept headland (plate 31).




(plate 31) Aerial view showing location of steps and cavern on Gokane Point.[417]

The occurrence of these sites within the area of known pirate activity in southwest Munster, is telling. Some of the sites could have been constructed earlier than the period under study and continued in use thereafter. If some of them date to the sixteenth and into the early seventeenth centuries, then it is reasonable to suggest that the pirates of the day - and the locals who aided and abetted - used them. The sites would certainly have allowed individuals to carry out commercial transactions outside

[417] Image © OSI: http://maps.osi.ie/publicviewer

the scope of official central scrutiny. The motivations of those who physically cut these sites out of the natural landscape are impossible to determine. It is likely that they were designed for a diversity of stakeholders, not alone mariners seeking fresh water or the resident locals to gain access to the sea, but also the pirates and smugglers frequenting the coastline there. What is obvious is that these sites warrant further and fuller historical and archaeological investigation for not alone the Munster coastal area but nationally and indeed perhaps internationally, while such sites still remain visible within the landscape.

**Pirate ships and shipwrecks**

Perhaps the most obvious requirement and indeed a primary need of a pirate to fulfil their role successfully, were ships and boats – ships to carry out their function as predators on the high seas and boats to land their goods and ensure an economic return on their pirated 'booty'. With the neglect of the navy by James, compounded by his ineptitude in dealing with corruption by his leading officers, including Lord High Admiral, the earl of Nottingham, the pirates in Munster were more than capable of out-manoeuvring the two or three royal naval vessels sent to patrol the Irish coastline each year.[418] In 1608 such was the depleted state of the English navy that it was described as 'for the greatest part manned with aged, impotent, vagrant, lewd, and disorderly companions; it is become a ragged regiment [ ] of common rogues'.[419] This inadequacy was clear when, being captured, pirate vessels were identified as potential additions to the run down royal squadron. When Vice-Admiral Humphrey

[418] Oppenheim, 'The Royal Navy under James I', *The English Historical Review*, 7, no. 27 (July 1892), pp 471-496; C.P. Penn, *The Navy Under the Early Stuarts and its influence on English History* (Portsmouth, 1920), pp 84-85; R. Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral: The Political Career of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, 1536-1624* (Baltimore and London, 1970), pp 162-165, 264-271.

[419] Oppenheim, ibid. p. 475; for a general discussion on the administration of the navy under James VI and I, see ibid., pp 184-215 and N.A.M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain, Volume I, 660-1649* (London, 1997), p. 347-378.

Jobson took possession of pirate Captain Richard Robinson's ship in Baltimore in 1608, Lord President Danvers commented that being 120 tons and with twenty cast guns, it would make a fine vessel for service in the king's navy to remain upon the coast to give back-up to the *Tramontane*, which 'is outsailed by every pirate'.[420]



(figure 5) Painting of a single decker ship of 1628, similar to the *Lion's Whelp* of 1608.[421]

While some historical sources have addressed the operations of the Irish coastal fleet for the period and the neglected Stuart navy, a fact that allowed the pirates to operate openly without fear of capture,[422] one of the main historical accounts for the ships used by the pirates is Mainwaring's *Discourse* of 1616. It provides first hand

[420] Lord Danvers to the Earl of Salisbury, 3 June 1608, *Cal. S.P. 1606-1608*, p. 551.
[421] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, artist unknown, negative no. A3637.
[422] Donald Woodward, 'Sir Thomas Button, the *Phoenix* and the Defence of the Irish Coast 1614-1622', *The Mariner's Mirror,* 59, no 3 (1973), pp 343-344; Oppenheim, 'The Royal Navy under James I, pp. 471-496; Penn, *Navy Under the Early Stuarts and its influence on English History* (Portsmouth, 1920).

references to the types of ships used and why. This is augmented by his glossary in his *Seamans' Dictionary*, where he explained the terminology used in regard to the vessels discussed. He recounted, for instance, that their ships were for the most part 'Flemish bottoms, if they can get them'.[423]

Of the royal naval vessels sent to patrol the coast of Ireland at that time the *Lion's Whelp* and the *Tramontane* were the main ones, under the general command of Sir William St. John (figure 5). Generally only one or two were sent during the early part of the seventeenth century, which was one of the main problems inhibiting the navy from making any impact into the pirate activity there at the time. Others included the *Moon,* the *Antelope,* the *Rainbow* and the *Phoenix*, the latter two under the command of Sir Thomas Button, with these being the most active but equally inefficient Irish coast fleet ships.[424] Both the *Lion's Whelp* and the *Tramontane* had a long service life, with *Tramontane* built in 1586 and the *Lion's Whelp,* of 90-tons burthen and built in 1590, being rebuilt in 1608 under James' orders.[425]

This Irish coast fleet comprised several pinnaces, a type of vessel that could be both small and medium in build, ranging from 100- to 500-tons (plate 32). The smaller vessels could also have oar power, they were generally single-masted and were often used as tender vessels. The larger ships referred to as pinnaces could be fully-rigged and akin to a medium-sized man of war. In general, pinnaces tended to be fast, seaworthy and could carry a heavy quantity of armament.[426] This made them highly suitable as naval coastal patrol vessels, but also ideal targets by pirates as ships of choice.

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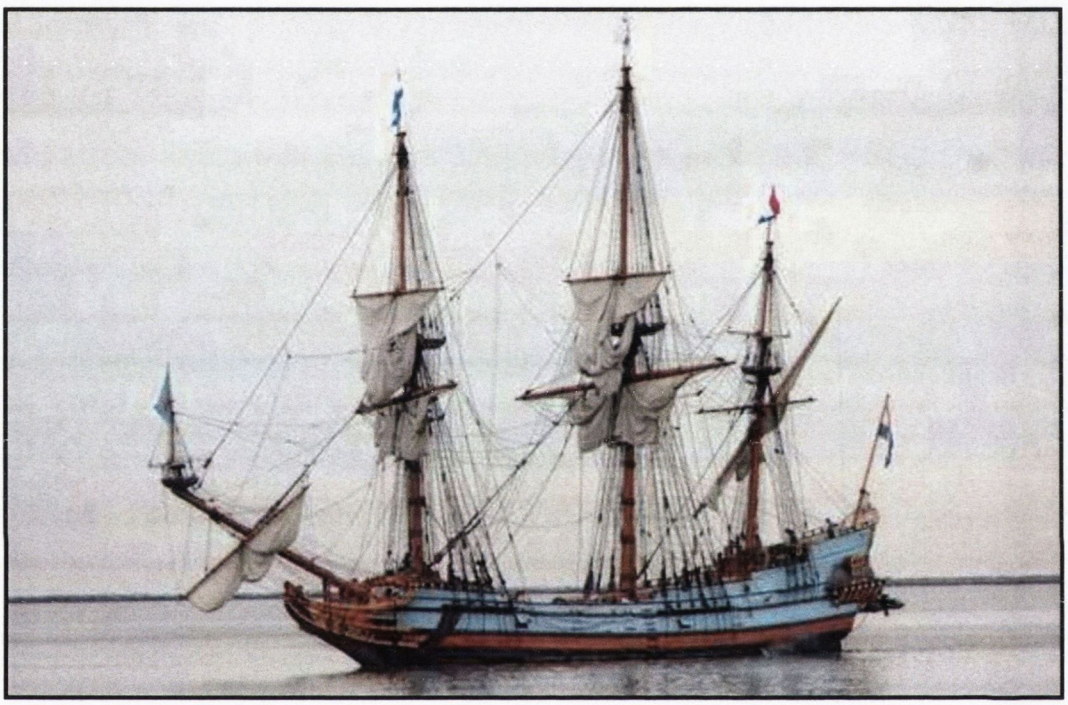
[423] Mainwaring, 'Discourse ', p. 25, 149.
[424] Woodward, 'Sir Thomas Button, the *Phoenix* and the Defence of the Irish Coast', pp 343-142.
[425] Oppenheim, ibid. p. 121; Oppenheim is cautious of the term 'rebuilt', stating that, without actual details of what was done to the ship, this term could also refer to a ship being repaired rather than completely rebuilt, p. 202; Rodger, *Safeguard of the Seas*, p. 329, however, explains that 'rebuilds' were essentially new ships but built with the timbers from the old ship.
[426] Rodger, ibid. p. 219.

Indeed, pinnaces were popular from the earliest times, though their design altered somewhat with the main body of the fleets of the maritime Gaelic lords, such as the O'Driscolls for example, comprised of pinnaces and with fifty-three recorded as being wrecked in 1538 in Baltimore Harbour as a result of an ongoing feud with the men of Waterford.[427]



(plate 32) Replica of the Swedish *Kalmar Nyckel*, the Dutch-built pinnace.[428]

Logistically the pirates required vessels that were fast, seaworthy, lightly armed and efficiently crewed.[429] While many pirates began their days with small, ill-equipped vessels, they enhanced their power, as reported by Mainwaring, by judiciously targeting slightly bigger ships and thus they slowly 'reinforce themselves'

[427] Kelleher, 'The Gaelic O'Driscoll Lords of Baltimore', p. 147.
[428] *The Kalmar Nyckel: A Guide to the Ship and Her History* (The *Kalmar Nyckel* Foundation, Wilmington, Delaware, 2009); http://www.kalmarnyckel.org/; the *Kalmar Nyckel* brought the first settlers to Delaware in America in the year 1638; this represents a typical medium-sized pinnace that was in use at the time; it was between 100-150 feet long and could carry from 12 to 16 cannon onboard.
[429] David Cordingly, *Life Among the Pirates: The Romance and the Reality* (London, 1995), p. 186.

and built up their strength until they had command of their chosen vessel.[430] The ship types favoured by pirates were those generally between 80- and 300-tons burdens, though some captains did command larger men of war for their prestige value. From the ships listed as making up Henry Mainwaring's flotilla, information on the types of ships used is provided including details of the general size ratio for the vessels. These included Mainwaring's own 160-ton *Resistance* and with a mixture of French, Flemish and English-built ships making up his fleet.[431]

Mainwaring mentions that the pirate ships often consisted of 'Flemish bottoms, [ ] in regard that generally they go well, are roomy Ships, floaty [draws little water] and of small charge'.[432] Pirate captains would have had more than one ship, with subordinate captains commanding support vessels and their crews. They were thus able to sail in packs, with safety in numbers. A second ship type that seems to have been extremely popular was that of the Dutch flyboat or 'vlieboot'.[433] The vlieboot was originally developed to be a cargo carrier, primarily operating over short distances as a North Atlantic trader. It had good depth of hold and was sturdy in the water, modified to a more speedy design towards the end of the sixteenth century. It traded across the Atlantic to Newfoundland, Africa and the New World. Around 1595 the Dutch 'fluyt' was designed and built, being roomy and cheap to build. This ship type grew in popularity, including being favoured by the later Algerine pirates of North Africa.[434] Barques or barks were also favoured, both by the navy and by pirates

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[430] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', Chapter I, p. 15.

[431] Deposition of William Jackson, 9 August 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/98. f. 211r-212v).

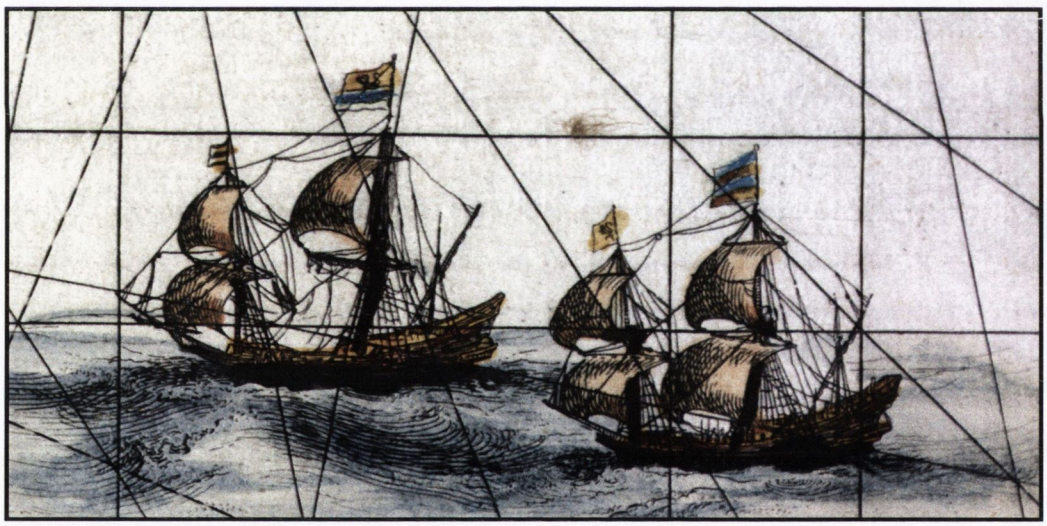
[432] Mainwaring, Discourse, p. 25, 149.

[433] The High Court of Admiralty examination papers contain frequent references to the pirates using 'flyboaes' or 'Flemings', see for instance: Examination by Rich. Kerry, 29 January 1609 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47, f. 79v – 84r).

[434] Kris E. Lane, *Pillaging the Empire: Piracy in the Americas 1500-1750* (New York, 1998), p. 94; while these two vessel types were distinct in ship design, the term 'flyboat' was used interchangeably in the documents during this early period, with the word 'flyboat' or 'flyboate' often used for both vessel types and with the Dutch fluyt having its equivalent for example with the `French 'flûte' and

as they were again, speedy and agile craft and could easily sail into small bays and harbours. This is borne out when referring to a barque provided by Ralph Bingley to Sir William St. John in Baltimore to assist the *Lion's Whelp* there. In 1607 Chichester states that it is 'as fitter to go in and out among those islands than His Majesty's ship'.[435]

The ships depicted on the 1612 John Hunt chart provide visual evidence for the types of ships that would have been used not alone for the attack on Crookhaven, but in general during that time (map image 21). Shown are two typical late-sixteenth century or early seventeenth-century Dutch 'yachts' and essentially smaller versions of the larger, ocean-going vessels used by the Dutch East India Company or other joint-stock venture companies in those early years of exploration.[436]



(map image 21) Detail from 1612 John Hunt chart showing Dutch ships flying provincial and local flags.[437]

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Spanish 'felibote'; care must therefore be taken with nomenclature in the contemporary sources; O.H.K. Spate, 'The Spanish Lake' (Canberra, 2004), p. 19.

[435] Deputy Chichester to the Privy Council, 16 July 1607, SP 63/222, f. 21r-22v (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. 4347480293).

[436] I am very grateful to Dr. Wendy Duivenvoorde of Flinders University, Adelaide, Western Australia, for her insight into the ship types and to her colleague, Dr. Willem Van Ham on the possible provenance of the Dutch flags as depicted on the ships.

[437] John Hunt, chart 4, 1612, p. 20.

Ship commands and further details are also discernible from the sources, with Rear-Admiral Thomas Francke being given his first command by fellow pirate captain Robert Stephenson. Francke took command of the vessel *Fortune*.[438] Others, like pirates William Hughs and Thomas Hussy took part shares in an individual ship, in this case the *Black Raven*, a Flemish vessel of between 160- and 200-tons and carrying twenty-eight guns. The pirate Gilbert Roope, during the course of his piratical activities, commanded several ships including the *St. John Evanglist*, the *Bishop* and the *Katherine*.[439] When Easton and his crew captured the London ship *Concorde* in 1611, he made the ship his main vessel - 'being a tall shippe and verie well fitted with ordinaunce and municion'; he had lost his own ship of 200-tons and which mounted twenty-four guns, during the encounter.

Skipwith noted that Easton, whom he referred to as the general of the fleet, refitted the *Concorde* for his own use including altering it 'for better fight and mounted much ordnance more into her'. Easton's captains included William Hughs, William Baugh and William Wolmer, each captaining a vessel of 160-tons and carrying eighteen guns; William Harvey was in a 60-ton vessel with eight guns; Gilbert Roope was also present but the type and size of his ship is not recorded.[440] Indeed, it is obvious from the contemporary accounts, that Easton's subordinate captains favoured smaller vessels, of 160-ton size or thereabouts and each of which carried similar amounts of ordnance. This allowed for the inclusion of small, swift and well-armed vessels within their combined pirate fleets, adding critical support to the main ships including that of Easton's larger warship and generally being the key

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[438] Examination of William Hughes of London, 12 August 1612 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47, f. 308r – 309v).
[439] Senior, ibid. p. 404.
[440] Sir Arthur Chichester and Lord Carew to the Privy Council, SP 63/231, f. 164r (State Papers Online, Gale Document no. 4347680207); Capt. Skipwith to the Lord Deputy, 25 July, 1611, SP 63/231, f. 166r-167r (State Papers Online, Gale Document no. 4347680208).

to the success of such predatory pirate ventures in areas like Roaringwater Bay and its multitude of islands and inlets.

The pirates targeted other ships to replace either their own vessels or supplement the overall fleets, not alone for the ships themselves but also for the guns that were carried on board. Easton, in the same year, was recorded as attacking the *Hercules* of London in the *Concorde* whereupon he stripped the ship of its guns and ammunition.[441] At this point Easton was in command of seventeen ships, in Ireland with his pirate captains and noted as having grown very strong.[442] Pirate captains were open to changing their vessels frequently – upgrading as it were, to larger ones when the opportunity arose or having the use of several sizes of ships when required. Again, William Hughs is recorded as manning a 250-ton flyboat in 1611, which carried twenty-eight guns comprising demi-culverins, sakers, minions and six fowling pieces.[443] Mainwaring, when referring to the Turkish corsairs of Algiers at the time, wrote that they went about in fleets of some eight or nine ships together, with between twenty to thirty pieces of ordnance on each vessel.[444] Contained in an important entry from the HCA examinations for the year 1609, are several details on the pirate ships, their size and provisioning. Admiral Richard Bishop was in command of a ship of 240-tons, with 27 pieces of ordnance and a complement of 120 men 'or thereabouts' which he brought into Leamcon. With him were his vice-admiral, Peter Easton in a French(?) ship of 140-tons, with 35 pieces of ordnance and 'about' 50 men and Rear-

[441] Capt. Skipwith to the Lord Deputy, 25 July, 1611, SP 63/231, f. 166r-167r, ibid.
[442] Foscarini to Doge and Senate, 11 August 1611, *Cal. S.P. Ven., 1610-1613*, p. 195; Senior, ibid.
[443] Deposition of William Poulter, 26 April 1611 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47, f. 186r-186v); Senior, ibid. p. 237; ordnance varied greatly throughout the ages and pirates were not choosy when it came to acquiring all makes and sizes of guns.
[444] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 43.

Admiral Francke in a 'flyboate' of 200-tons and carrying 16 pieces of ordnance and 90 men.[445]

When using the historical sources to inform on the types and sizes of ships used, accuracy is obviously a consideration. With Mainwaring's 'Discourse', written by a man who was not only a master sailor himself but uniquely placed to detail the pirate vessels, being an ex-pirate at that stage, the accuracy of the information is to be trusted. The details he provided on the construction of the ships, such as where masts were located to allow greater speed and manoeuvrability, is important to any nautical study but it will also allow for comparative analysis should archaeological evidence be discovered for a potential pirate shipwreck from this period.[446] No archaeological study has yet been done into the pirate ships from the early seventeenth-century period in Irish waters or indeed any pirate ship from any period in Irish waters.[447] While the contemporary sources provide details on size of ships, cargoes carried, how many mariners were on board and details of encounters at sea, of critical importance to a study like this one is that they can also retain information on ship losses pointing to the potential for shipwreck remains to exist within the areas referred to in the documents.[448]

Nine ships are recorded as having been wrecked between the years 1582 and 1631, with a spatial distribution eastward along the coastline from the harbours of Berehaven to Crookhaven and on to Baltimore, Castlehaven and finally Dunworley

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[445] Examination by Rich. Kerry, 23 January 1609 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47, f. 79v – 84r); 'A note of the Pirates', undated but possibly May 1610 (T.N.A. Examinations, 1610, HCA 1/47, f. 105), signed by Rich. Kerry; see Appendix 3 for the full list.

[446] Mainwaring, 'Discourse ', p. 149.

[447] C. Breen and W. Forsythe,' 'The Early Modern Period, c.1600-1920', *Boats and Shipwrecks of Ireland*, pp 109-113, provide a general overview of ships from this period, but no specific pirate vessels are discussed.

[448] See for instance: Deposition of Edward Davenant of Whiddy Island, 1 October 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/226 f. 338), loss of captain Patrick Myagh's ship in Crookhaven; Examination of Rich. Kerry, 29 January 1610 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47 ff 82v-83r), loss of pirate captain Sammes' ship in Berehaven harbour.

Bay.[449] The potential that shipwreck remains may provide the first tangible archaeological link to support the historical accounts for pirate activity in southwest Ireland in the early seventeenth century, is significant and is discussed in more detail in following chapters, with proposed evidence put forward as potential cultural material remains for the pirates, their ships and their activities.[450]

In 1609 Captain Sammes was part of Richard Bishop's crew when they came in to Leamcon. Virtually no information exists on Sammes the individual, and he seems to have had a short piratical career. Killed in 1610 following the capture of another flyboat off the Munster coast,[451] his ship is recorded as being 'bulged' at the entrance to 'Berehaven' in 1609, but whether this is the Biscayan ship of 80-tons and twenty men that accompanied Bishop into Leamcon in that year is unknown.[452] The exact location for the wrecking of Samme's ship is also unknown and the reference to 'Berehaven' unfortunately is too general to pin down exactly where the ship was lost within the confines of Bantry harbour.

A more secure location for the loss of other pirate ships is known. When the Dutch, under Captain Moy Lambert, attacked the pirate base of Crookhaven in 1614 some thirty individuals were killed, both on land and in the harbour and a number of the pirate vessels there, including captain Patrick Myagh's 180-ton ship, were wrecked.[453] The scroll containing Edward Davenant's recounting of the event has

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[449]Shipwreck Inventory of Ireland Archive, wrecks of County Cork shortlist for pirate vessels (Unpublished data, Underwater Archaeology Unit, Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht); see Appendix 6 for a list of sites, including shipwrecks; the reference here to nine pirate wrecks does not include records for privateers lost in the same area; new wrecks are coming to light all the time, either through further research or discovery underwater, see chapter 7 for a brief overview of the most recently discovered 'Colla Wreck' in Schull, Co. Cork for example.

[450] See chapters 6 and 7 for instance for discussion on two specific wreck sites.

[451] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 426.

[452] Examination of Rich. Kerry, 29 January 1609, ibid.; 'bulge' is an early nautical term and means to founder.

[453] The career of Dutch Captain Moy Lambert is discussed in detail in Lunsford, *Piracy and Privateering,* little if no reference, however, is made of the commission issued to the Dutch under

been damaged by fire, but the full account of the attack can be discerned nevertheless.[454] Davenant, a Cork merchant living on Whiddy Island in Bantry, was in Crookhaven to liaise with the pirates in the restoration of stolen goods to their owner, Thomas Boothbye. In return for this, the pirates were promised protection by the admiralty. In an attempt to escape, Captain Myagh, his two sons and fellow crew members jumped overboard but upon reaching the shore, they were caught and murdered; his third son survived but was seriously wounded. Others also attempted to make it ashore and were assisted by locals who tried to help them up the steep banks on the shore.[455]

When looking to old maps for the harbour to inform on possible areas where this event occurred, one can begin to hypothesise as to where Myagh's ship may have been wrecked and where the location for the shore landing attempts may have been located. Though of later date, the chart of Crookhaven Harbour from 1817 provides a view of the area, which would not have changed to any great degree in the intervening period in as much as the main anchorage and landing places, for example, would have remained more or less the same (map image 22). Martin White details in his sailing directions that Crookhaven was able to accommodate ships of any size and there were always willing pilots there to assist.[456] This chart substantiates the earlier 1612 Dutch chart, which shows the harbour of Crookhaven including the depth soundings within the harbour. The deepest part of the harbour is shown where the traditional anchorage was and still is located.

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Lambert to enter the harbours and ports of Ireland to rid them of pirates there, though reference is made to a panphlet that commemorates the Dutch victory against the pirates in Ireland, p. 129.

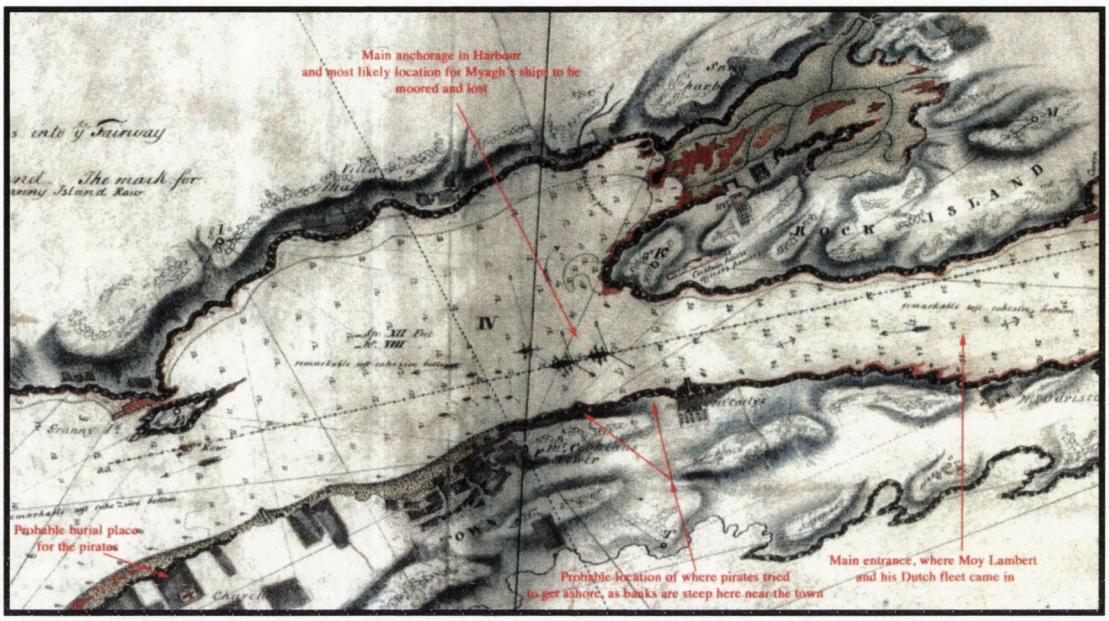
[454] Edward Davenant, 1 October 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/226, f. 338); the attack itself is dealt with in detail in Chapter 6.

[455] Ibid

[456] Cap. Martin White R.N. *Sailing Directions for the English Channel,* p. 171.

Davenant recounted that, during the attack, the Dutch fired upon those local inhabitants who were attempting to assist the pirates trying to get ashore and, fearing for their own lives, they returned to the town. This suggests that the place where the pirates were trying to get ashore was close to the main town of Crookhaven or on the northern side of the harbour, where on White's later chart a village is shown but which now leaves no visible trace. If such dispersed settlements were there in 1614, then the pirates could have been trying to get ashore on either side of the harbour, with local assistance. Certainly there was a thriving community within the main town area of Crookhaven as is indicated on the 1612 chart, but on its northern side a fortified structure with distinct crenellations and called 'Don Hog' is shown and which would have had associated settlement.[457] Immediately east of the town the land rises sharply, in an area directly across from the main anchorage place in the harbour. When the pirates jumped ship it is in this general area that they may have attempted to come ashore and tried to climb the steep embankment located there.

[457] This fortified structure shown on the 1612 chart probably represents either Castlemeighan, which stood immediate to the northern shore of Crookhaven harbour (recorded monument CO:147:054) or Dough castle (and possibly what the name 'Don Hog' refers to), that was also located to the north in Dough townland but about 4 kilometres from the main harbour and at more of a distance from the main settlement in the harbour; no surface trace of either of these O'Mahony castles now remains; Power, *Archaeological Inventory of West Cork,* p. 318; James N. Healy, *The Castles of County Cork*, (Cork, 1988), p. 175, 181.




(map image 22) Chart of Crookhaven harbour drawn by Captain Martin White of the Royal Navy in 1817 with details indicated.[458]

The anchorage point as indicated on White's chart, is the probable place where most of Myagh's fleet would have been moored in 1614, and as indicated on White's map as having a 'remarkable soft cohesive bottom'.[459] The admiralty record stated that Myagh's ship was on the foreshore at the time and thus openly vulnerable to attack, but whether it was beached in the immediate area or further to the west within the inner and shallower part of the harbour, is not clear.[460] Neither do the admiralty records detail if there were any Dutch ship casualties that would add to the archaeological record for these vessels, a depiction of which is presented in the 1612 chart by Hunt.[461] As Myagh's ship was on fire following the attack, the Dutch captain Moy Lambert was unable to board it and thus could not acquire the ordnance onboard or the masts, anchors or cables. He was eventually able to take some of the sails and

[458] Chart 833: 'Crookhaven' by Capt. Martin White, 1817 (Admiralty Office, Taunton, UK); Capt. Martin White, *Sailing Directions for the English Channel,* p. 170.
[459] Martin chart of Crookhaven, 1817, ibid.
[460] See discussion in Chapter 6 on possible location of Myagh's ship and burial of those killed.
[461] Lunsford's study on Dutch piracy, which includes the career of Moy Lambert, refers to a document that commemorates the attack on pirates in Ireland, and may contain more details on the Crookhaven battle and the loss of ships and men; Lunsford, *Piracy and Privateering*, p. 129, 289, n233 and n237,

all the goods and money on board; it was only what was on its lower deck, which would have included the guns, anchor and cables that remained inaccessible. What he did manage to take included 3 whole pieces of satin, 3 whole pieces of silk grograine, about 1 whole piece of velvet, 120 whole pieces of Holland cloth, 24 whole pieces of canvas, 1 chest containing about 300 turbans, 2 great chests of sugar, 1 chest of sweetmeats, silver and gold, coined and uncoined, to the value of £3,000. The goods taken were given an overall value of some £5,000.[462]

While this highlights the diversity of goods that were carried on board the pirate ships, it also informs on what may yet remain on the wreck site – the guns, the anchors and their cables but also residual material remains of the cargo too. The salvage of the wrecked vessels would inevitably have taken place immediately after and over the proceeding years but cultural material in the form of actual ship structure or artefactual material may still be present buried beneath the seabed.[463] This potential is highlighted by the recently discovered Colla Wreck near Schull harbour, the date of which coincides perfectly with the pirate activity in the area and which may yet turn out to be the remains of one of the pirate ships.[464] A programme of targeted geophysical survey of the areas in Crookhaven harbour where Myagh's ships may have been moored combined with focused archaeological diver survey and investigation may produce positive results for these lost ships and their material cultural remains (plate 33).

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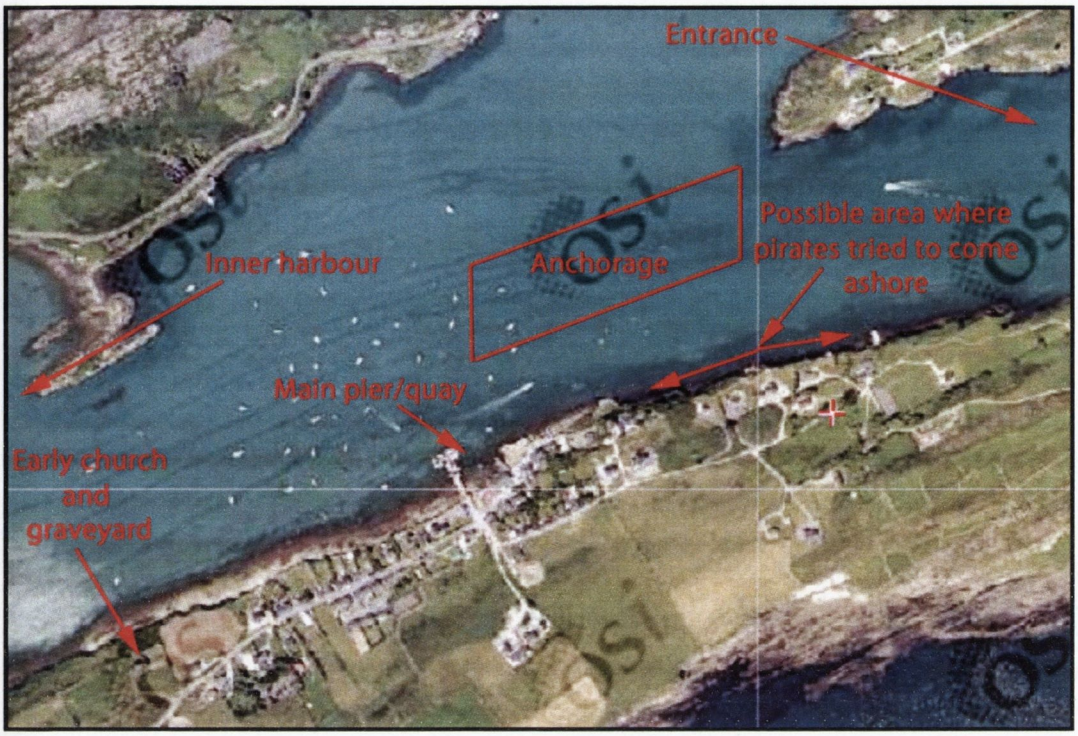
[462] Edward Davenant, 1 October 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/226, f. 338); Appleby, *Calendar of Material*, pp 285-289.

[463] A recently discovered late-sixteenth or early seventeenth-century wreck in Rutland Harbour, Donegal is currently the subject of detailed survey and excavation by the Underwater Archaeology Unit; being shallow, the site was heavily salvaged over the years since its wrecking but a substantial part of the lower hull and attendant artefacts still remain on the seabed; the potential therefore exists for such remains to be preserved in the soft muddy sands in Crookhaven for the pirates ships lost there; see C. Kelleher, 'The Rutland Island Wreck', *Archaeology Ireland* (Autumn 2011), pp 38-40.

[464] See chapter 7 for a discussion on this site.




(plate 33) 2005 Ordnance Survey aerial view of Crookhaven with areas being discussed indicated.[465]

Another wreck that may be directly linked with piracy in the southwest of Ireland, though from a slightly later date and thus outside the scope of this study, is that of the Dunworley Bay shipwreck. Possibly associated with the Algerine-dominated piracy of the second decade of the seventeenth century and the raid in 1631 on Baltimore, the wreck is discussed in Appendix 5 at the end of this thesis.

**Conclusion**

The hierarchical makeup of the Atlantic pirate alliance allowed them to capitalize on their strengths; when not successfully plundering ships they could be found liaising with locals, including government officials, in remote harbours in an intermingling of commercial engagements and shared rewards. They adapted well to their geographic setting, exploiting, manipulating and commanding the southwestern coastal fringe of

[465] © OSI image downloaded from: http://maps.osi.ie/publicviewer/#V1,480336,525645,6,0

West Cork and emerging in a very short period of time, into a successful pirate landscape, with three main bases at Baltimore, Leamcon and Crookhaven. It was the nature of this landscape, however, that allowed the pirates to become prosperous predators, with key geographic criteria in place not least its remoteness that ensured anonymity in obscurity beyond the reach of official authority. The multitude of islands within the confines of a relatively short stretch of sea provided natural protection and suitable anchorage, allied with suitable staging points from which they could target passing trade ships.[466] Within this landscape there are a number of archaeological sites emerging that, while not being readily datable, have the hallmarks of sites that would have been useful to and perhaps used by the pirates.

More enigmatic among the sites include coastal access points on the mainland and islands that have been cut out of the bare rocks to facilitate contact between those ashore with those at sea. They more than likely had multiple uses and users, not least in providing access to fresh water sources and terrestrial resources. They were also ideal secluded contact points from where contraband could be delivered or collected by smugglers. Indeed cultural evidence from a number of the recent archaeologically recorded sites, in conjunction with their geographical settings, directly links them with piracy and smuggling.

But other more easily recognizable sites too may have provided the facilities for the pirates to better use the landscape in which they chose to operate. The diversity of intertidal archaeology coming to light along the foreshore area of both Leamcon and Baltimore, for instance, attests to these facilities. Quays, docks, landing slips, mooring posts and careening sites are evidence for the past maritime infrastructure that existed in those places that may well date as far back to the time of

[466] Galvin, *Patterns of Pillage*, p. 12, 15-16; Semple, 'Pirate Coasts', p. 143; the concept that islands provided ideal locations to avail of strategic 'choke points' or narrow places where passing ships could be more easily targeted, is discussed by these two authors.

the pirates. Certainly the sources attest to such facilities being in place in those locations and the discovery of fragments of seventeenth-century pottery, including that of a Tuscan oil jar,[467] again significantly points to international trade and mercantile activity using those ports and harbours. While it may be difficult to identify the evidence for individual pirates, the cumulative study of such coastal access points and maritime monuments may instead lend itself to identifying the fundamentals of a definitive pirate landscape.

The close liaisons that took place between local officials and the pirates ensured success and economic advancement for both parties, and understanding these relationships is critical to our understanding of how the pirates operated, the sites they used and how they were able to monopolize the southwestern coastal landscape at that time. Indeed, as will be seen from the following chapters, while most of the government officials who had an input into affairs around the coastal regions of Munster at the time were in some ways implicated in the illegal trade going on there, several other key individuals were directly involved. These men can only be viewed as land-based pirates in their own right, albeit hiding beneath an umbrella of admiralty jurisdiction; they successfully muddied the waters between legitimate affairs and corrupt piratical contacts and are an intrinsic part of any study of pirates in southwest Munster at that time.

[467] Details of these discoveries are discussed in chapter 5.

> I pray your Lord$^{ps}$. to signifie w$^{t}$. shall be don with these [pirates] in Prison, for we have no Law to hang them here, & it will require charge to send them into England.[468]

**Early legislation and the court of admiralty**

The prevalence of piracy in the southwest of Ireland in the early part of the seventeenth century was facilitated by the lack of national legislative procedures to deal directly with it.[469] A loophole in the existing common law legislation but more appropriately in the civil admiralty laws in Ireland meant that any person caught on suspicion or in the act of piracy in Ireland could not be tried here. Instead it required their transporation to England to stand trial, which was laborious, costly and allowed opportunities en route for individuals to escape. Commissions could be issued to the lord deputy in Ireland to deal directly with the problem, though individuals would still need to be sent to England for trial. This ensured that the lord high admiral retained control of events, including the disposal of plundered goods and ships.[470] A specific statute prohibiting piracy was enacted in England and in 1536 the Act of Henry VIII (28 Hen. VIII, c. 15) made all 'treasons, felonies, robberies, murders and confederacies' committed within admiralty jurisdiction subject to trial by commission

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[468] The Lord Deputy to the Lords of the Council, 25 July 1612, Edwards, 'Letter-Book', p.36.

[469] Ibid.; Lords of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, Nov. 30 1608, *Cal. St. P. Ire. Jas 1. 1608-1610*, pp 105-106, Chichester was instructed to send over pirates the following January to Barnstaple, Bristol or Chester to stand trial and be executed; Moore, 'Some Aspects', 181-213; the clampdown by the new king on illicit activity in harbours in England, the depletion of the Royal Navy during the course of his reign and the willing participation of both natives and newcomers to facilitate the pirates, were other mitigating circumstances that encouraged the pirates to relocate and operate in Ireland.

[470] Appleby and O'Dowd, 'Irish Admiralty', p 302.

according to the course of the common law.[471] The statute, however, did not extend to Ireland though there appears to have been an unsuccessful attempt to draft a commission under the Henrician Act to allow for execution in Ireland.[472] In the latter part of the sixteenth century, attempts were made to suppress piracy by the queen and her council, with the establishment of commissioners and the issuing of commissions that primarily targeted the coast of and waters around Britain. Though this move initially had some effect, in reducing the occurrence of piracy in those waters, it had little or none on piracy in Irish waters. Over time it proved to be ineffectual overall through a combination of convoluted bureaucracy, rivalries of jurisdiction and the continued problem of corrupt officials.[473] While the scale of piracy in Irish waters during the sixteenth century may not have been to the same extent as that in the opening decades of the following century or indeed as organized as that of the North Atlantic pirate alliance, officials were highlighting the problem from an early period. Henry VIII's lieutenant in Dublin in 1521 commented that Ireland was 'the very land of refuge that English pirates most resort unto'.[474]

Pirates and their attendant aiders and abettors were able to function openly along the southern coast as a result of this legislative ambiguity in Ireland from this period and through to the second decade of the seventeenth century. In 1613 the English legislature sought to address this and on the 20 October a bill came before the Irish Parliament in Dublin, with it being passed into law in 1614 as the 'Act for the

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[471] Yale, 'A Historical Note on the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty in Ireland', *The Irish Jurist*, III new series (Dublin, 1968), p. 146, 149; Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 24; Marsden, *Documents Relating to Law and Custom,* pp xv-xxx.

[472] Yale, ibid. p.149 n22; Yale refers to HCA 1/32/1, no. 68 as the abortive commission; when consulted part of this collection had been removed for conservation and the remainder of the documentation dealt with the seventeenth century; I am grateful to Dr. Elaine Murphy for undertaking this enquiry.

[473] Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag*, pp 158-167.

[474] Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag*, pp 13-20.

punishing of pirates and robbers at sea'.[475] This now meant that legislation was extended to Ireland that allowed both the High Court of Admiralty and Irish Parliament to deal directly with piracy and more importantly the pirates themselves, on its home ground.

The new king, prior to the 1613 Piracy Act, issued a number of proclamations in tandem with commissions in his initial attempts to curb pirate activities.[476] These efforts at prohibiting not only piracy but also those aiding and abetting, including government and admiralty officials, sought to tackle the problem of piracy at home and abroad and to also show foreign governments that the problem was being actively addressed.[477] Indeed it appears that under James, there were two main areas dealt with by the court of admiralty – those arising out of the war with Spain and Holland, which, as pointed out by Marsden, raised important questions of international law, and those cases dealing directly with piracy, the latter being the most notable feature of the court records for this period and with many cases highlighting James' 'feeble attempts to suppress them'.[478]

This action by the crown to eliminate piracy was one of the primary reasons for the geographical shift in such activity from the southern coast of England to the

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[475] 1612, Heads or titles of the Acts concerning the Common Weal, no. 7: An Act against pirates, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, p. 250; Sir John Davys to the Earl of Somerset, 31 October 1614, passing of the Act against pirates, *ibid.* p. 516; Piracy Act 1613: 11, 12, and 13 Jas, 1, c. 2, (Irish Statute Book); Treadwell, 'House of Lords in the Irish Parliament 1613-1615', p. 101; Moody, 'The Irish Parliament under Elizabeth and James I: A General Survey', ibid, p. 52, 60.

[476] In 1610, for example, a commission was issued to Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral in England to actively try piracy, though it is not known to have been in any way effective. The commission stated that pirate numbers were on the increase and that it needed to be suppressed. Twelve commissioners were appointed to try cases both of piracy itself and anyone suspected of assisting them. It is interesting to note that the commission further stated that procedures for such trials were to be according to the civil and maritime laws and all other judges and courts were forbidden to deal with such cases, Marsden, *Documents relating to law and custom,* pp 381-382.

[477] Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government*, p. 10; Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 11, he states that all commissions issued between the years 1604 and 1625 were solely for the capture of pirates.

[478] Marsden, 'The High Court of Admiralty in Relation to National History, Commerce and the Colonisation of America, AD 1550-1650, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, 16 (1902), pp 76-78.

southern coast of Ireland at that time.[479] Though piracy had been a variable in the waters around Ireland for centuries, the escalation and organisation of piracy now frequenting the waters of the North Atlantic was on a scale not seen before.[480] This highlighted the inadequacies of admiralty jurisdiction to deal fully with such activity but, and as discussed in more detail below, also reflected underground relations between admiralty officials, English settlers and the pirates themselves.[481] It will be seen however, that it was not down to the inability of the admiralty alone, as corruption, economic incentives, particularly in regard to the settlement ventures in Munster ongoing at that time, plus overt business dealings between government officials and the pirates, also heavily influenced the transmigration of the pirates to Ireland during this period. As Craven correctly highlighted, while James may have strongly disapproved of piracy and his proclamations may be indicative of this, he could not prevent it.[482]

**Development of the Irish admiralty and issues of jurisdiction**

The origins of the Irish admiralty and its attendant legislation, as stated by Yale, lay within the jurisdictional powers conferred on the lord high admiral in London, with in

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[479] See Chapter 1 for background discussion. See below for link with movement of English settlers, including the pirates, and the continued programme of settlement under the Munster plantation.

[480] Ewen, 'Cornish and Welsh Pirates', pp 341-346; Appleby, *Under the Bloody Flag*, pp 24-25, 32, 34, 51-52, 60-66, 93-95, 146-158, 164-165, 185-186, 245; Appleby suggests that during the mid-to-late sixteenth century, many of the pirates operating along the southwest coast of Ireland were there at the request of the resident Gaelic lords such as O'Sullivan Beara, who saw them as allies against English rule, see in particular p. 61, 93, 149, 154; Hurd, 'Some Aspects' pp 299-312; Hughes, 'Wales and Piracy', pp 62-76; Moore, 'Some Aspects', pp 10-13, 24-25, 181-182; Williams, *The Sea Dogs,* p. 25, 165; Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering*, pp 15-17,181.

[481] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, pp 215-216, points out that one of the primary intentions of the initial but unsuccessful attempted plantation of Munster in 1569 was to build towns at Baltimore and Berehaven to discourage pirates who frequented the area; such activity was closely interwoven with the legitimate privateering business which equally operated out of Munster at that time, and with which individuals like the vice-president Sir Thomas Norris were closely linked.

[482] Wesley F. Craven, 'The Earl of Warwick: A Speculator in Piracy', *Hispanic American Historical Review,* 30 (1930), p. 457; Lord Deputy Chichester to the Lords of the Council, 26 June 1613, 'his Majesty was driven to make reparation of their [pirates] misdeeds dayly, and yet Piracy increased or continued nevertheless', Edwards, letter-book, p. 112.

practice, these powers being exercised by a deputy acting as judge. Until the enactment of the Piracy Act of 1613, all administration of admiralty business in England and Ireland, including court proceedings, was administered centrally from London, with as previously stated, pirates and other felons having to be extradited to England to stand trial. The need for legislative provision to govern those using the seas and tidal waters of Britain and Ireland in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, as identified by Appleby and O'Dowd, was twofold. Firstly, it was essential to ensure control and defence of the Atlantic waters around England and Ireland from enemy ships. This was primarily administered by the central admiralty in London and included overseeing the provisioning of ships to patrol these waters. Secondly, the whole issue of maritime legislation in Ireland - or the 'law maritime', was paramount to control in those waters. This law governed all acts of pillage or seizure on the sea or coast by pirates, as well as death at sea, wages of crews, orders to ships' masters and captains, salvage, wreck, collision at sea and other disagreements that may have arisen while on the water.[483] The issue of jurisdiction at sea, however, was a long-standing one argued between the common law courts and the admiralty; it escalated under James, particularly between him and foreign courts and the necessity to have authority on the high seas, and on ships that were plundered and taken as prizes, became all the more enhanced as international markets opened up and cargoes increased in value.[484] On a more individual level, the desire by those in command of admiralty business, not least the lord high admiral (both Nottingham, and later Buckingham), to maintain control of prizes taken was essential to their own power base.

[483] Appleby and O'Dowd, 'The Irish Admiralty', p. 299.
[484] Marsden, 'Early Prize Jurisdiction and Prize Law in England', pp 243-255.

Sources suggest that there was a high court of admiralty in England since the 1340s, primarily established to deal with increasing problems of piracy at that time.[485] Many seaport towns on the other hand, had their own local administrative 'marine' or 'port' courts and the common law courts similarly dealt with cases relating to maritime issues, which served ultimately to complicate matters.[486] In the 1530s the powers of the high court of admiralty were strengthened and appear to have been more formally established, with the office of lord high admiral coming into common use from that time.[487] This coincided with the enactment of the Henrician law against all those committing crime at sea, with all maritime matters then arising dealt with more directly, though not necessarily any more efficiently.[488]

In Ireland a separate admiralty court was not established for a further four decades, but when it was set up in the 1570s it was done so strictly under the direct supervision of, and as a subordinate court to, the high court of admiralty in England.[489] This need to control all matters maritime in Ireland by central government was evident in 1573 in the case concerning Sir John Perrot, then president of Munster, who was accused of seizing a French ship when in Youghal harbour and distributing the rich cargo on board, including keeping some of it for himself. Called before the high court of admiralty in London, he was able to show that he held a commission from the Dublin government to impound the ship and dispense with its cargo as instructed. Though he was acquitted, the government in Dublin was severely reprimanded for making independent decisions and issuing commissions not alone beyond its authority, but also by so doing, was overriding the authority of the

[485] Appleby, *A Calendar of Material*, p. ix.
[486] L.H. Laing 'Historic origins of admiralty jurisdiction in England', *Michigan Law Review*, 45, no. 2 (Dec. 1946), p. 164.
[487] W.G. Perrin, 'The Lord High Admiral and the Board of Admiralty', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 12, no. 2 (1926), p. 117.
[488] Laing, ibid., p. 165; Appleby and O'Dowd, p. 299.
[489] Ibid.; Costello, 'The Court of Admiralty', pp 16-17.

London court.[490] The authority of the court in England was regularly challenged in respect to its own jurisdiction and that of the common law courts.[491] Sir Edward Coke, as chief justice from 1606, appears to have been particularly at variance with allowing any leeway to the court of admiralty in matters of jurisdiction. Coke argued that admiralty jurisdiction was on the high seas only and any issue relating to other areas, including coastal, estuarine or on the inland waterways, fell under the auspices of the king's court of common law:

> Be it enacted, that all Contracts, Pleas and Complaints, and all other things [ ] arising within the bodies of the Counties as well by Land as by Water, as also of Wreck of the Sea, the Admiral Court shall not have any conusance, power, or jurisdiction, nevertheless of death of a man, and of Mayheme done in great Ships, being in the main stream of great Rivers, onely below the Bridges nigh to the Sea, and not in other places of the same Rivers.[492]

In Ireland, however, the issue of jurisdiction and its attendant powers appears to have been problematic from the beginning. A fundamental issue was its own perception of

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[490] Lords of the Privy Council to Sir John Perrot, 7 February 1572, 'French claim to certain goods of a ship detained in Youghal', *APC 1571-1575*, p. 81; Lords of the Privy Council to Sir John Perrot, 30 March 1753 (ibid.), p. 93; Lords of the Privy Council to Sir John Perrot, 25 April 1753 (ibid.), p. 100; Lords of the Privy Council to Sir John Perrot, 23 June 1573, 'send originals of the billes of lading... of the shippe of Marcelles staied at Corke' (ibid.), p. 119; Lords of the Privy Council to John Perrot, 27 June 1573, ' to make restitucion of a certain shipp', (ibid.), p. 121; Lords of the Privy Council to Sir John Perrot, 3 July 1573, (ibid.) p. 125; Appleby and O'Dowd, pp 302-303.

[491] J. Mathiasen, 'Some problems of Admiralty Jurisdiction in the Seventeenth Century', *The American Journal of Legal History*, 2, no. 3 (July 1958), pp 215-236; Marsden, *Law and Custom*, pp 359-360; Marsden, 'Prize Law, Part II', p. 245; G. F. Steckley, 'Merchants and the Admiralty Court During the English Revolution', *The American Journal of Legal History*, 22, no. 2 (April 1978), pp 137-175, provides a good discussion on the disputes between the common law courts and those of admiralty civil law jurisdiction in England. Though focusing on the period after 1648, it provides an excellent background to how economic factors were driving this friction, particularly during Coke's time as chief justice, between the common law lawyers who were trying to prevent the admiralty from gaining a monopoly on commercial maritime trade, the merchants who were caught in the middle and the civil law courts who were trying to gain sole jurisdiction over mercantile law. The inclusion of international legal cases indicates just how convoluted the dispute between both courts was, how long it lasted and the intricacies of the fiscal issues inherent to all.

[492] *Certain Select Cases in Law, reported: by Sir Edward Coke, knight, late Lord Chief Justice of England And one of His Majesties Council of State. Part XIII: XXI Trinity Term, anno 7 Jacobi Regis. The Case of the Admiralty* (The Second Edition, London, Printed by the Assigns of R. and E. Atkins, Esquires, for H. Twyford, T. Basset, and B. Sherley, 1677), this gives a good insight, albeit in a very legalistic way, of Coke's reasonings in regard to common law jurisdiction and that of admiralty authority, prior to the Henrician Act, including discussing whether individuals who pirated goods on the high seas could be tried in England under the common law or if they could only be attainted by an act of Parliament, pp 52-54.

itself. Appleby and O'Dowd suggest that from the outset it may have suffered from an 'identity crisis'.[493] Officials in Ireland seem to have perceived it as being more substantial than just a vice-admiralty court, though not of the same standing as the high court of admiralty itself, while the lord high admiral and his officials in London categorically viewed the Dublin court as being subsidiary and answerable to central government. While the vice-admiral in Ireland could appoint his own officials, it was with the direct sanctioning of central government in England.[494] By the time the two crowns were joined under James in 1603, lord high admirals had long ceased to hear cases themselves, instead they appointed deputies or judges to hear and administer cases for them, including sanctioning those in Ireland. The desire to maintain central control on appointments and commissions has its basis in the profit that was to be obtained from a wide range of fees and fines that could be exacted and the shares that were to be had from cases relating to sea casualties such as flotsam, jetsam and wreck and, during the time of Elizabeth, prize goods taken.[495] Highlighted briefly below is the wealth that was obtainable by the Gaelic lords during the time when they were in control of harbours like Baltimore and Bantry, including the dues and fees that were exacted from fishing and resource exploitation. These were consequently an added source of profit for the admiralty in London following the fall of the Gaelic order.

With the intensity of English piracy along the southwest coast from 1603 onwards and the obvious opportunities presented for increasing profits on pirated goods and ships, the need to maintain rigid control on the appointment of admiralty officials in Ireland was all the more important. It will be seen that this constant striving to retain central control equally frustrated officials here, who themselves saw

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[493] Appleby and O'Dowd, 'Irish Admiralty', p. 303.
[494] Ibid.
[495] Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, p. xi; Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering*, the admiralty received a tenth of all prizes taken by English privateers, a detail of the extent of such wealth that was obtainable is given by Andrews, pp 129-131.

the opportunity (and indeed it became the norm to avail of such opportunities) to make profit from the pirate community. As identified by Appleby, this link between law and profit led to a blurring of the boundary between public and private interests.[496]

Comprehensive evidentiary material for cases undertaken by the admiralty court in Ireland is rare, particularly during its early period of existence. This is due primarily to the fact that the court records for that period do not survive as complete papers. Indeed it is only on rare occasions that a case brought before the admiralty court can be followed through from beginning to end, from the first issuing of a warrant to sentences handed down.[497] This was as a direct result of the ineptitude and corruption of admiralty officials on the ground, their failure to hold regular courts and, as was often a deliberate act, failure to keep annual accounts. Equally, it was the reluctance of local admiralty officials, as will be seen, to take direct action against the pirates in Ireland that also prevented full accounts being compiled.[498]

The first judge of the admiralty court in Ireland was Ambrose Forth, but from the beginning of his appointment he had to contend with challenges from the chancery court and common law courts in respect to jurisdictional matters.[499] He also had to compete with the absence of specific law in Ireland to prosecute pirates. Being a lawyer himself and master of the chancery in Dublin, he was best placed to ensure that procedures would be followed as judiciously as possible to curb piracy.[500] Such measures would, in theory anyway, be compliant with the high court of admiralty in

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[496] Appleby, ibid. p. xiii.
[497] Costello, 'The Court of Admiralty', p. 4.
[498] Appleby, ibid. p. xiv.
[499] Costello, ibid. Forth served as admiralty judge for at least thirty years, p. 4.
[500] Letter to the Lord Justice of Irelande from Lords of the Council, 23 November 1579, *APC 1578-1580*, p. 318.

London.[501] Little is known of Forth during his holding of office, though he did report to London on the state of affairs in Ireland and seems to have held court on a number of occasions.[502] The operation of the court was sporadic due in no small way to the absence of an established court in which to hold regular sittings. The lack of specific law also inhibited the hearing of cases as they arose, though Forth tried to argue that the Henrician statute also extended to cover Ireland and thus allowed him to hear cases and try pirates in Ireland. Following the successful apprehension in 1587 of a Captain Cawfeld (Caufield?) and his pirate crew in Drogheda and their incarceration in the jail there, Forth states that:

> The pirates are all committed there to the number of one and fifty. We have no commission in Ireland for their trial according the course of Her Majesty's laws; neither are the statutes made anno H. VIII$^{vi}$ 27 and anno H. VIII$^{vi}$ 28 for trial of pirates of force in Ireland, according the common opinion of our Justices. Howbeit I construe (consterr) them to extend to all Her Majesty's dominions, for offences committed upon the main seas.[503]

The Dublin government did not agree, and Forth's pleas to the Lord High Admiral, Charles Howard of Effingham landed on deaf ears, with the admiralty in London upholding the Dublin decision and refusing permission to hold pirate trials in Ireland.[504] Howard had been made lord admiral in 1585 and, being a particular favourite of Queen Elizabeth, he was given the title earl of Nottingham in 1597 following his command of the fleet during the expedition to Cadiz in 1596.[505]

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[501] Appleby and O'Dowd, p. 303.

[502] Ambrose Forth to Walsyngham, 6 August 1579, Dublin, he reports on the 'dangerous state of Ireland', *Cal. S. P. Ire.1574-1585*, p. 179; Appleby and O'Dowd, ibid.

[503] Ambrose Forth to Lord High Admiral Howard, 25 February 1587, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1586-1588*, p. 269.

[504] 'Doubts to be resolved touching the Admiralty', no date, SP 63/128 f. 120 (State Papers Online); Appleby and O'Dowd, p. 304, n17; The *Cal. S.P. Ire.* attribute a date of 25th February 1587 to this entry but no specific date is given on the manuscript itself; the reference given by Appleby and O'Dowd is SP 63/128 f.57, which has been renumbered as f.120.

[505] 'Howard, Charles, second Baron Howard of Effingham and first earl of Nottingham (1536–1624)', *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004-2007); http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13885

Nottingham was one of the longest-serving lord high admirals in London, serving from 1585 to 1619. Nottingham's collusion with his vice-admirals and his acquiescence in relation to pirate booty no doubt influenced his decisions to have pirates and their goods brought to England to be tried – essentially ensuring that he received his share of any goods captured. The remoteness of Ireland meant that control of pirate trials and more importantly pirated goods would have been virtually impossible.[506]

At that time piracy was rife along the southern coast of England, particularly in the harbours around Devon and Cornwall, being augmented by the legitimate trade in privateering ventures. Even before his coronation as king of England, James VI of Scotland issued orders forbidding the commissioning of any new privateers and he immediately suspended the issuing of all letters of marque upon his coronation as James I. These actions hit directly at the pockets of individuals such as Nottingham. Profits from prizes taken were one of the main sources of income for the earl throughout his tenure as lord admiral under Elizabeth, taking one tenth of all enemy ships and goods brought into English ports, worth it was estimated, some many thousands of pounds every year.[507] It is no surprise then that Nottingham would have looked to alternatives to supplement his income and profit from pirate booty, and it is perhaps no coincidence that Nottingham's main agents, Humphrey and Richard Jobson, were reassigned duties to Ireland in 1607, at the same time that the main body of pirates also moved their activities westwards from England. It was agents like these who were the direct link between the admiralty in England and admiralty business on the ground in remote harbours and ports and ensured that financial returns on goods captured still found their way to the pockets of the lord high admiral in London.

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[506] Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, p. 28.
[507] Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral*, p. 265.

The collusion of admiralty officers on all levels from the lord admiral down to local officials was thus common practice in England and one that easily transferred over to the south coast of Munster when piracy was at its height at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[508] Indeed it is suggested here that it subsequently proved easier to operate such unofficial relationships in Ireland for officials like Nottingham, who was coming under the direct glare of the king in England and was finding it more and more difficult to sustain alternative routes of supplementing his income. Nottingham had to make recompense for the pirating of a ship by a Captain Tompkins in 1603 off the Isle of Wight, by paying Venetian secretary in London Giovanni Carlo Scaramelli one thousand three hundred ducats in Venetian silver coinage and a hundred and fifty lengths of gold cloth.[509] Scaramelli accused Nottingham of collusion and the lord high admiral's actions were an attempt at appeasement but one that would ensure the spotlight was diverted away from him.

The transplantation of many of the English-based pirates to Ireland can therefore be seen as reciprocally beneficial but this shared relationship was not limited to admiralty officials alone. It was embedded within a wider social landscape that permeated undertakers, settlers and government officials who looked to Munster as a means to obtain land, wealth, and - in many instances - to escape authority.[510] These inter-relationships are expanded upon in the next chapter.

London continued to issue commissions for the apprehension of pirates in Irish waters without consulting with Forth, though a letter did issue to the Lord Justice of Ireland, Sir William Pelham, to ensure he was prepared in advance when instructions were given to Sir William Winter to send ships to patrol the coastal

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[508] Ibid. p. 267; by 1603 Nottingham himself was being questioned by the king as to his dealings with pirates.
[509] Ibid. pp 267-269.
[510] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, pp 177-222.

waters of Ireland, and in particular the Shannon region, to apprehend pirates if they were encountered.[511] Forth wrote to Sir Julius Caesar in 1586 detailing his concern in regard to pirates infesting several towns and pleading to send a commission to try the pirates in Ireland, but again this appears to have been ignored.[512]

Another issue thwarting Forth's progress was the claim by some incorporated towns and cities to their own right to admiralty administration. It is interesting to note, as highlighted by Appleby and O'Dowd that some town and city officials were clever enough to have the right to carry out their own admiralty business written into their charter of incorporation. In 1578 for instance, Galway officials ensured that:

> mayors of the said town, so long as they shall be mayors of the same, shall be admirals of us, our heirs and successors, and every of them, for the time he shall be mayor of the said town, as long as he shall be mayor of the same, shall be admiral of us, our heirs and successors within the port, bay, town, liberties, franchises and suburbs of Galway.[513]

Similarly in 1582, when Dublin's charter was being confirmed, granted to its mayor, sheriffs, commonalty and citizens of Dublin was 'The office of Admiralty, and all matters pertaining to it', with its being stipulated that 'the jurisdiction and authority of Admiralty [was] to be exercised by the Mayor for the time being'.[514] This insistence by cities and towns to claim admiralty jurisdiction seems to have remained a persistent and unresolved issue, as evidenced by the inclusion in Youghal's then current charter, that the mayor was 'to have a further grant of office of admiralty from Ardmore and Caple Island to the Island at Toorene with Jetsam and Flotsam, to the

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[511] Instructions given by the Privy Council to Sir William Winter, 17 March 1580, *Cal. Carew MSS 1575-1588*, p. 233-235.

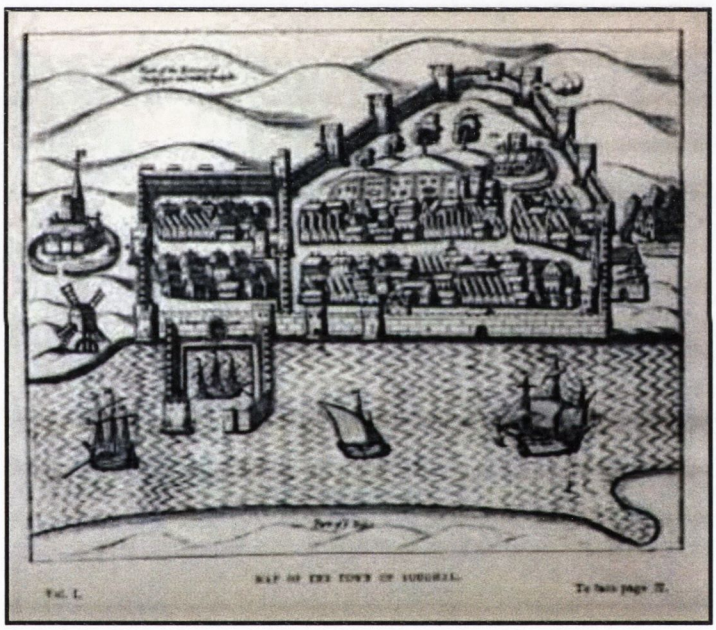
[512] Ambrose Forth to Sir Julius Caesar, 25 February 1586, *Lansd. MSS* 145, f.37, (British Library).

[513] J. Hardiman, *History of the town and county of the town of Galway*, Appendix III, Charter of Elizabeth to the town of Galway (Dublin, 1820), p. xxiii.

[514] J.T.Gilbert (ed.) *Calendar of the ancient records of Dublin in the possession of the municipal corporation*, I (4 vols. Dublin, 1889-95), pp 36-37.

use of the Town [ ]'(map images 23 and 24).[515] The control of admiralty matters was thus retained at a local level, which further exacerbated governmental handling of pirate matters.

Harbours like Youghal would have been among the most important in the southwest throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods, along with Cork and Kinsale. The smaller towns and harbours equally appear to have had an administrative set-up throughout this period, albeit on a more localised level, that governed matters maritime and including admiralty jurisdiction (plate 34).[516]

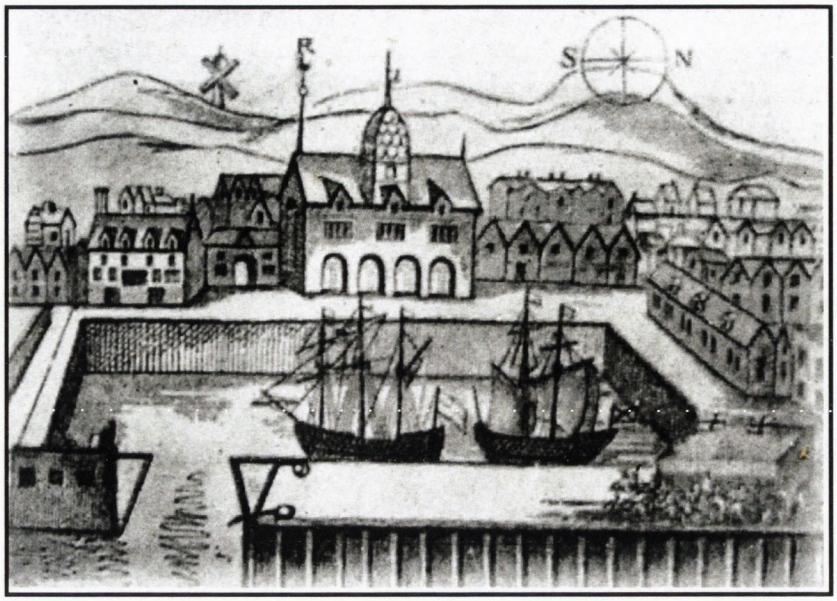


(map image 23) Map of Youghal showing a vibrant maritime harbour *c.* 1603, taken from *Pacata Hibernia*[517]

[515] Reading of the charters of Youghal, at Dublin, 2 December 1609-1610, Annals of Youghal, R. Caulfield, (ed.) *The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal from 1610 to 1659, from 1666 to 1687, and from 1690 to 1800* (Surrey 1878), p. xxxi.

[516] See *Cal. Carew MSS 1515-74*, p. 436 and *Cal. Carew MSS 1575-88*, p. 214, where in 1585 the great woodland in Munster is mentioned with a good store of timber being available in Youghal for shipbuilding, where local shipwrights and mariners were on hand and where two ruined abbeys were being used as storehouses for the timber. Youghal and Kinsale therefore appear to have been the main harbours in the southwest at this time for the building of large ships, while the smaller harbours like Baltimore provided a source for timber, whilst also facilitating basic boat and ship repair; see also Kelleher, 'Gaelic O'Driscolls', p. 145; A.K. Longfield, 'Anglo-Irish Trade in the Sixteenth Century as Illustrated by the English Customs Accounts and Port Books', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature,* 36 (1921-1924), pp 326-327; in 1591, the export of timber from the southern harbours in Ireland, including Youghal, to the ports of Milford, Cardiff, Bristol, Bridgewater, Barnstaple, Padstow, St. Ives and Fowey is mentioned.

[517] *Pacata Hibernia* 1, facing p. 27.




(map image 24) View of old customs house in Youghal in the early seventeenth century.[518]

Many of these retained similarities to the legislative controls of the seaport towns in England. These were in place since medieval times and also to systems of revenue governance for the main coastal towns and harbours, which similarly covered dealing with ongoing problems of piracy. This had its origin in the feudal administration under the Anglo-Normans and continued under later English control, taking in the area on the eastern seaboard known as the Pale.[519] With the final fall of the Gaelic order at the turn of the seventeenth century, further laws were enacted to control trade and shipping in Irish ports and harbours in general. These tended to concentrate on revenue and exchequer returns on goods imported and exported, not alone with the merchant community and their ships but also those settlers and natives who supplied much of the goods to the port towns and harbours.[520]

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[518] Rev. Richard J. Hodges, *Cork and County Cork in the Twentieth Century* (Brighton 1911).
[519] A.F. O'Brien, 'The Royal Boroughs, the Seaport Towns and Royal Revenue in Medieval Ireland', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 118 (1988), pp 13-26.
[520] V. Treadwell, 'The Establishment of the Farm of the Irish Customs 1603-1613', *The English Historical Review*, 93, no. 368 (1978), pp 580-602.




(plate 34) Two views of the Customs House in Baltimore, County Cork, now converted to a restaurant. Though dating to the 18th century, its presence is indicative of a rural port that has a long history of trade, customs accounts and admiralty control.[521]

Canny has highlighted that Youghal, as well as other Munster ports at the time, was seen as an ideal location from which to develop a vibrant export trade, including that of live exports and other agricultural produce to tobacco planters in colonial New World settlements like Virginia. In turn it was hoped that such a development in trade would entice settlers to the province. Ships going to the developing settlements in the New World frequently stopped off at Munster ports and some merchants, such as a Symon Gibbons who had settled in Youghal, traded tobacco from the West Indies to that port.[522]

The pirates would have identified this growing trade and followed the merchant ships involved, with some of the individuals straddling divide between legal work and illegal plunder when it suited. Individuals such as Richard Bishop who lived in Leamcon, Richard Robinson who worked in the fishing industry, and William Baugh, who lived for a time in Innishannon after receiving his pardon, are

[521] Images taken from: http://www.property.ie/commercial-property/Customs-House-Baltimore-Co-Cork/64952/

[522] Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (Oxford University Press, 2001), pp 311-313.

examples.[523] It seems clear that settlement in Munster – both legitimate and illegitimate, whether merchant, undertaker, adventurer, admiralty official or indeed pirate, were intrinsically interwoven locally and within a wider context. Legislating to manage and prohibit such activity, particularly in the main port areas, was therefore central to controlling trade, shipping and profits.

**Native dwellers and new arrivals: acquiescence and accord**

Little by way of addressing the growing problem of English-led clandestine activity towards the turn of the seventeenth century was included in these new legislative measures introduced. It is interesting to consider that prior to and during this period, not only did the Gaelic maritime lords hold traditional sway over their own harbours, with extensive control on all activity within the jurisdiction of their coastal and maritime empires, but they appear from contemporary accounts to have had a localized and semi-formal administrative approach to it, with some lords acting as admirals of their own harbours.[524] The larger and more urban harbours and ports still retained their charters through the English chancery,[525] as evidenced above, but the more rural and peripheral harbours were controlled by the Gaelic lords like those of the O'Sullivan Beare and O'Driscolls in the southwest and the O'Donnells in the northwest.[526] The remote nature of these harbours was a mitigating factor for these ancient lordships to retain control for much longer than those that had fully-

[523] Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates'. P. 77.

[524] O'Donovan, *Miscellany* - it is stated that the lord (O'Driscoll) had their own bailiffs who levied the duties from those using the harbours, with orders being given that the 'Lord's Bailiff ought to be assisted in the execution of their offices by all the strengths in the Harbough or Country', p. 105; Kelleher, 'Gaelic O'Driscolls, p. 134

[525] D.B. Quinn and K. Nicholls, 'Ireland in 1534', in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds) *A New History of Ireland* iii, *Modern Ireland 1534-1691* (Oxford, 1976, 2003 reprint), pp 9-12.

[526] For a detailed discussion on spatial distribution of sites and uses of their harbours by the O'Donnells of Donegal, see Máire Ní Loingsigh, 'An Assessment of Castles and Landownership in Late Medieval North Donegal', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 57 (1994), pp 145-58; for the O'Sullivan Beara lordship see Colin Breen, *The Gaelic Lordship of the O'Sullivan Beare: A Landscape Cultural History* (Dublin, 2005).

succumbed to the Anglo-Norman feudal system during the medieval period; submission of their lands under surrender and regrant would have given an extended lease of life to rulers who would have lost everything had they refused.[527]

Major changes did occur from later medieval times through to the post-medieval period in these remote areas. A marked transformation in the socio-economic and political landscape was dominated by resource availability, the industrialization of the landscape, particularly in the southwest, and land exploitation by subsequent arriving English settlers. The ability of the local populace and in particular the ruling native lords, to adopt from, adapt to, cooperate and conform with these changing times, facilitated the continuation of their native rule for longer than in many other areas of the country.[528] These lords extracted vast amounts of wealth by essentially taking advantage of those who were exploiting the marine resource within their respective territorial waters and they were not going to let changing times prevent them from continuing with their accustomed way of life.[529] A relationship evolved between the native rulers and those administrating admiralty jurisdictions locally, to control and manage the ports and harbours in their respective peripheral places. The terms of regrant for these lords, following the surrendering of their lands to the crown during the latter part of the sixteenth century, would no doubt have

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[527] Lords like the O'Driscolls did not remain in total isolation following the defeat of the Anglo-Normans in the southwest at the Battle of Callan in 1261, but were influenced by and no doubt selectively adopted strategic ways from the new arrivals in order to govern more judiciously; Kelleher, 'Gaelic O'Driscolls, pp 134- 135; K. Nicholls, 'The Development of Lordships in County Cork, 1300-1600' in P. Flanagan and C. Buttimer (eds.) *Cork History and Society* (Dublin, 1993), pp 157-210; A letter sent from Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam to Lord Burghley in 1573 noted that Fineen O'Driscoll sought to retain control of his territory by complying with the new dispensation. As a consequence, Fineen agreed to take his lands by letters patent, swear fealty to the crown of England and accept a knighthood, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1509-73,* p. 523.

[528] C. Breen, 'The post-medieval coastal landscape of Bantry and Beara', in *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland 1550-1850*, A. Horning, R. Ó'Baoill, C. Donnelly and P. Logue (eds), Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group Proceedings I (Wicklow, 2007), pp 206-209; Kelleher, 'The Gaelic O'Driscolls', pp. 134-158.

[529] Kelleher, 'Gaelic O'Driscoll', pp 139-142; Breen, *The Gaelic Lordship*, pp 113-121; E. O'Mahony, 'The O'Driscolls and their revenues from fishing – the 1609 inquisition', in *Mizen Journal*, 8 (Skibbereen, 2000), pp 128-30; E. O'Mahony, 'Baltimore, the O'Driscolls and the End of Gaelic Civilisation', in *Mizen Journal*, 8 (Skibbereen, 2000), pp 110-127.

included co-operating with local government officials and paying dues to the crown annually.

The inquisitions carried out under James VI and I, particularly the 1609 inquisition, provide first hand evidence for the extent of the wealth of some of these lords, including detailing the means by which they prospered. The O'Driscoll lords of West Carbery are an example. From very early on since the fourteenth century, these Gaelic-Irish lords retained control of their harbours and the territorial waters along their coastline through the use of their own fleet of ships, including large galleys (figure 6). In what capacity they were allowed to retain the use of this fleet following the surrender and regrant of their lands, have yet to be fully assessed.[530] Certainly the O'Malley's retained the used of their galleys, albeit on a fluctuating level, during the late sixteenth- and into the seventeenth-centuries, but the true nature and extent of their maritime activities remains obscure. As Appleby has pointed out, though Grace O'Malley continued to use her fleet of ships as a mechanism to exert local power, this usage was increasingly affected by the changing political situation in the west at that time. Piracy, as noted, was one of the ways in which Gaelic leaders like O'Malley could exert influence through distruption of trade and control of shipping, being used in effect as one of the 'arts of survival'.[531]

[530] Kelleher, 'Gaelic O'Driscolls', pp 142-150.
[531] Appleby, 'Women and Piracy in Ireland', in Pennell (ed.), *Bandits at Sea*, pp 286-288.



(figure 6) Three ships represented on the 1556 Waterford Charter of Phillip and Mary said to be the O'Driscoll galleys captured by the men of Waterford during the 1461 O'Driscoll raid on Tramore.[532]

It is worth considering certain details of the 1609 inquisition in regard to the O'Driscoll lords as it serves to explain one aspect to why Baltimore was such an attractive base for the subsequent English-dominated pirate confederacy.[533]

The hereditary territorial waters of the O'Driscolls traditionally extended from the Fastnet Rock off Cape Clear to the rocks known as the Staggs some six kilometers east of the harbour of Baltimore, in an area concomitant with Castlehaven today, with

[532] Image courtesy of Waterford Museum of Treasures; see also J.C. Walton, *The Royal Charters of Waterford* (Waterford, 1992), p. 25.

[533] J. O'Donovan, *Miscellany*, pp 99-107; O'Mahony, 'The O'Driscolls and their revenues', pp 128-130; F.W. Harris, 'The Commission of 1609: Legal Aspects', in *Studia Hibernica*, 20 (1980), pp 31-55 – a good overview of the 1609 commission, primarily dealing with the plantation of Ulster, but includes a discussion on those involved and the course taken to carry out the commission; addresses Munster in the context of earlier failures with the attempted plantation there; MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, pp 73, 81, 151-164.

dues being exacted from both local, regional and foreign ships. The O'Driscolls were entitled to:

> [ ] every ship and bark that comes to anchor in any part of the said harbour of Baltimore, to pay the chief Lord of the time four-pence sterling. The lord hath been wont to be Admiral of the Harbour and to have all wrecks within the harbour and country time out of mind...to include a royalty out of a butt of wine landed in any part and that no man may draw a seine [i.e. fish] in the harbour without a licence first obtained from the lord.
>
> Every ship or boat that fishes there is to pay the lord in money sixteen shillings and two-pence, a barrel of flour, a barrel of salt, a hogshead of beer, a dish of fish three times a week from every boat and if they dry their fish in any part of the said country to pay thirteen shillings for the rocks. For every beef they [those using the harbour] kill they are to pay eight pence, and for every sheep and pig that is killed likewise one penny to the lord.
>
> That every boat that is let in to the harbour to fishermen, that the lord is to have of the latter six shillings and eight pence for every hundreth white fish and every barrel of herrings or pilchards'.[534]

The relationship that Gaelic lords like the O'Driscolls had at that time, following the surrender and regrant of their lands in the sixteenth century, with local admiralty officials is informed by considering how admiralty matters were organised in the local towns, such as Kinsale for example:

> the town of Kinsale was wont to appoint an admiral for the fishing season and that he and the lord [O'Driscoll] would join in settling orders for the fishing, and keep Admiral's Court every Monday, and all pecuniary punishments for breaking the orders agreed upon were to be equally divided between the Lord and the Admiral, but if Kyngsale did not send one Admiral then, the Lord might appoint one, and take the same course alone.[535]

These underlords, while continuing to acquire wealth from ruling within their own territory, would still have had to pay dues to their requisite overlords, in this case the MacCarthy Reagh. The Lord O'Driscoll provided annually to the earl of Desmond

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[534] O'Donovan, ibid. pp 103-104.

[535] Ibid. p. 105; Kelleher, 'Gaelic O'Driscolls', p. 137, 142-150: lords like the O'Driscolls may well have been maritime mercenaries and it is shown that as early as the 1380s admirals had been appointed in the various ports around Cork to deal with this 'menace to merchant shipping' and they were commissioned 'to fight with God's assistance the nation of the O'Driscolls, who constantly remain upon the westerly ocean preying on passing ships': T. O'Neill, *Merchants and Mariners in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1987), p. 126.

'eight beeves or eight nobles sterling, at the ellecction of the said O'Driscolls, to be paid at the feastes of All Saints'. To the MacCarthy Reagh 'duties [ ] of fower poundes, thirteen shillings and fower-pence sterling, Irishe. Also a rente, called in Irishe by the name of Dubh Chios or black rent, three poundes, two shillings and two-pence halfe penny sterling [ ] and certain tribute at Samhain and Bealtaine'.[536]

It is to be presumed that the location for the 'Admiral's Court every Monday' in Kinsale was either in Desmond Castle or Castlepark (Oldfort). Desmond castle was a fortification, built in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century by the earl of Desmond as his official town residence and also acted as the customs house (plate 35).



(plate 35) Desmond Castle, Kinsale built in AD 1500 as a customs house by the earl of Desmond, it was traditionally used as the admiralty office from the late-sixteenth century onwards.[537]

[536] Mary O'Dowd, 'Gaelic Economy and Society', in C. Brady and R. Gillespie (eds), *Natives and Newcomers*, pp 120-121; K. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, pp 186-196; O'Donovan, ibid. pp 105-106.

[537] Image taken from http://www.winegeese.ie/; © National Monuments Service.

Desmond castle operated as a powder magazine for the commander of the Spanish fleet, Don Juan del Aquila, during the battle of Kinsale in 1601 and thereafter was used as a prison, since known as the French Prison, Kinsale.[538] The castle commands an excellent view of the harbour from its battlements and would have been the centre of activity for wine, wool and tobacco imports during the latter part of the sixteenth century.[539] It is now resident to the international museum of wine, providing historical details and information on Ireland's wine trade with Europe and the wider Atlantic.[540] The castle comprises a three-storey keep and storehouses to the rear, with domestic offices on the first and second floors, where the business of customs and excise and admiralty duties would have been carried out.

Castlepark is discussed in more detail below but it probably marked the site of an earlier fortification.[541] It was here that Sir Henry Skipwith was also stationed as admiralty officer from that time and from where he had dealings with the pirates in West Cork, including having a close working relationship with many of them (figure 7).[542] By 1607 Skipwith was constable where he received 5s, he had a lieutenant on 18d, a gunner on 12d and twenty soldiers on 8d each, so the complement of men stationed there was relatively small.[543]

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[538] Desmond castle is a National Monument, in the ownership of the State, and is protected under the National Monuments Acts 1930-2004; Registered Monument no. C0112-034006 and National Monument no. 360.

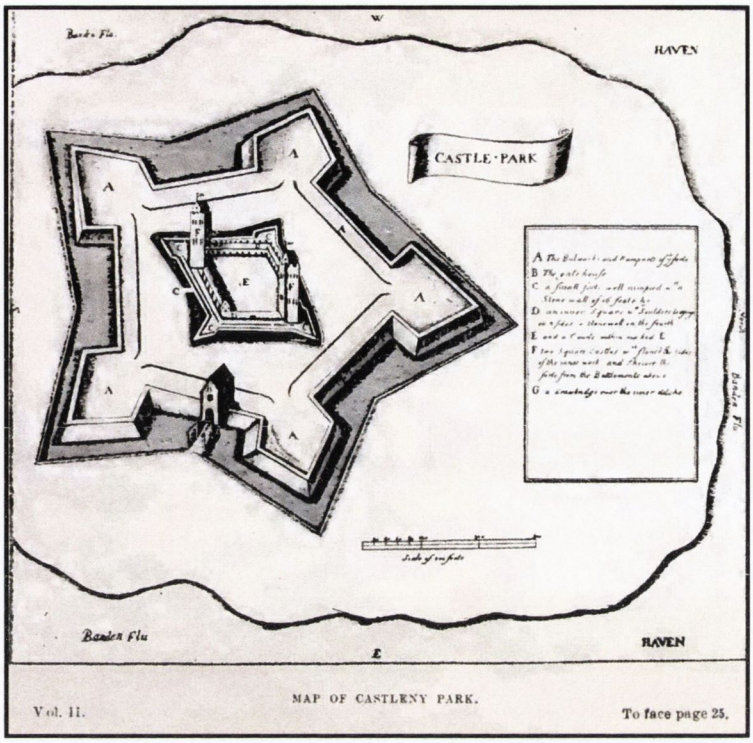
[539] Healy, *The Castles of County Cork*, p. 247.

[540] See www.winegeese.ie and http://www.heritageireland.ie/en/South-West/DesmondCastle/

[541] M. O'Donnell, 'Excavations at James Fort, Kinsale, 1974-1998, *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 107 (offprint, 2002), pp 1-70; Paul Kerrigan, *Castles and Fortifications in Ireland, 1485-1945* (Cork, 1995), p. 64.

[542] See chapter 5 for a discussion on Skipwith's dealings with pirate William Baugh.

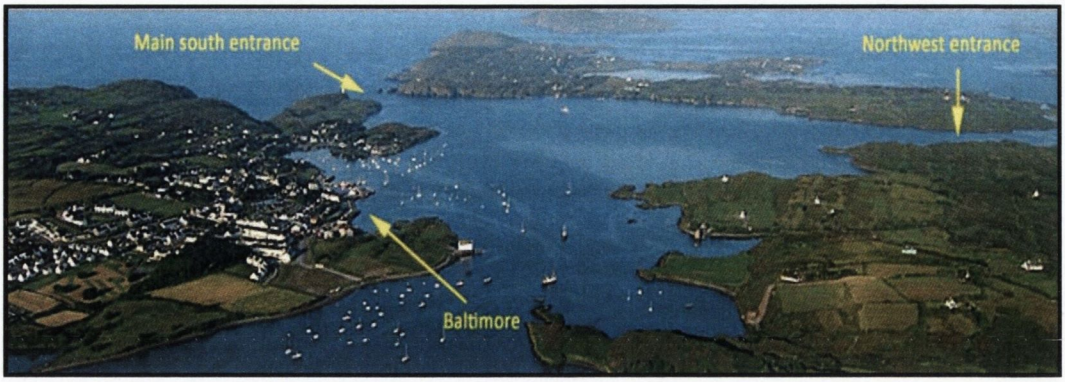
[543] Wards, [undated] 1607, SP 63/221 f. 23r (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347480115).




(figure 7) Contemporary plan of Castle Park fort from *Pacata Hibernia* as it would have looked in the early part of the seventeenth century.[544]

Castlepark and Desmond castles provide important upstanding archaeological evidence for the potential location of admiralty operations during the period leading up to and possibly during the time when piracy was in its heyday in Munster. It was from sites like these that official business was administered, but so too underground dealings took place and allowed the pirates' operation to sustain through the legitimate cloak of admiralty jurisdiction.

[544] *Pacata Hibernia* II, facing page 25; see also plan in Kerrigan, ibid., p. 61 from the *Cottonian manuscript*; James Fort is a National Monument, in guardianship of the State and is protected under the National Monuments Acts 1930-2004; Registered monument no. CO112-036/083 and National Monument no. 525.




(plate 36) Aerial image of Baltimore Harbour, showing both entrances that ensured its strategic status as a port and pirate haven.[545]

Baltimore harbour and its second entrance to the northwest played a key role in admiralty affairs and the 1609 Inquisition provides insight into the local administrative system and how it worked (plate 36). A licence was required if operating as a pilot in the harbour when guiding vessels through the northwest-passage; it seems the Gaelic lord had the power to elect the local law enforcers and administrators:

> That whosoever goeth aboard any ship or barque coming into the said Harbour before the Lord or his Bailiff had been aboard them or giveth license thereunto, forfeiteth for every time unto the said Lord twenty-six shillings and eight-pence sterling. That all waives, strayers, wreacks and fellons' goods do belong to the Lord of Fee for the time being of ancient right. That the Lord hath always had the election of the Constables, Baylifes, and Clearcks of the market in that whole Country or Cantred, and given them their oaths.[546]

It thus emerges that the ruling Gaelic lords at this point, having declared fealty to the crown, exerted significant power locally and ruled with apparent semi-autonomy within the confines of their own territories. Though Fineen O'Driscoll's landholding was brought into question in 1602 following his involvement in the battle of Kinsale, his right of ownership was returned to him thereafter, though with

[545] Downloaded from http://www.baltimorewelcomes.com/
[546] O'Donovan, ibid. p. 105.

conditions including paying a rent of £500 annually to the crown.[547] This administrative set up, involving national and regional governance allowing local native power to be exerted more or less unhindered once the requisite payments were made annually to the exchequer, suited everyone involved – in theory anyway. In practice, both the native ruling élite and local and regional admiralty officials played both sides when it suited their purposes.[548] As will be seen below, where loyalties were so unpredictable and opportunism was innately part of the socio-economic and political culture, at times it was difficult to determine who exactly was the legitimate representative and who was the true pirate.

It was into this environment that a number of key English officials arrived and settled. They played a crucial part in future dealings with both the local ruling lords, like the O'Driscolls but also the pirates, many of whom arrived at about the same time. Central figures included Thomas Crooke, James Salmon and William Hull, who are discussed in chapter 4 and their motives for moving are expanded upon.[549]

Within just a few years of being in office Sir Adam Loftus had the benefit of the passing of the act for punishing pirates 1613-1614. He was thus able to attend with a hands-on approach to the piracy problem in Munster, which he appears to have done more or less straight away. Loftus succeeded Ambrose Forth, who died in 1610, as judge of the admiralty in Ireland and had two distinct periods of tenure, the first spanning seven years following his appointment by Nottingham in 1612. The

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[547] R. Caulfield, *Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale* (London, 1897), p. 327.

[548] Sir Warham St. Leger to Walsingham, 1583, the O'Driscolls' good actions against pirates in Baltimore is noted, *Cal. S. P. Ire., 1574-1585,* pp 369-73; a year previous the O'Driscolls also facilitated the admiralty by retaining for them confiscated goods from a pirate ship in the harbour, Appleby, *(ed.), Calendar of Material*, p. 48; Appleby and O'Dowd suggest that the authority of the Irish admiralty was undermined during this period due to many local landowners claiming ancient maritime rights, 'Irish Admiralty', p. 312.

[549] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, p. 199, points out that a number of arriving settlers, such as Crooke and Salmon, were not only related through marriage but were seen as nonconformists in England and their motives for moving to Munster ranged from 'fishing interests, religious freedom and quasi-piratical activities'.

admiralty court in Ireland, during the course of the two years between the death of Forth and appointment of Loftus, remained out of commission, a hiatus no doubt that was exploited to its fullest by both the pirates in the southwest and the complicit officials in residence there.[550]

He had an illustrious and colourful career that saw him quickly elevated to several accomplished positions, including a knighthood in 1604, becoming a member of the Irish privy council in 1608, constable of Maryborough Castle in 1611 and judge of the Irish court of admiralty in 1612. It was equally fraught with disputes and disagreements as Loftus was known as an awkward and stubborn official, arguing over time with many of his colleagues. One was the lord deputy, first Viscount Falkland, Sir Henry Cary in 1624 (then vice-admiral of Munster) over the appointment of officers to the courts of assize and later in 1627 he was summoned to stand before the then king Charles I to answer charges of opposing the king's interests, but was subsequently exonerated.[551] Loftus throughout his time in Ireland was an astute and successful investor in land and speculator in business; he was issued with several patents of grant of land and eventually owned large estates in Ireland, including his main residence of Rathfarnham castle in Dublin. He acted as legal advisor to Richard Boyle's investments and made a small fortune investing, in the early part of the seventeenth century in ventures such as ironworks, a key industrial speculation of Boyle's. Subsequently he and Boyle fell out, as appears to

[550] K. Costello, 'Sir Adam Loftus' first period as judge (1612-1619)', and 'The Court of Admiralty, 1628-38, Loftus second period', in *The Court of Admiralty of Ireland*, (Dublin, 2010), pp 4-5, 8-11; I am very grateful to Dr. Kevin Costello for supplying critical information on the tenure as judge of the Irish admiralty of Sir Adam Loftus and for clarifying a number of points in this regards.

[551] 'Loftus, Adam, first Viscount Loftus of Ely, 1568–1643', *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16935; F. E. Ball, *The judges in Ireland, 1221–1921,* Book III, 1603-1690 (2 vols. London, 1926), pp 326-327.

have been a frequent occurrence with Loftus and many of his colleagues over the course of his career.[552]

Richard Boyle travelled to Ireland in 1588 accompanying the chancellor of the Irish exchequer, Sir Edward Waterhouse.[553] He arrived into a region that was at that point undergoing conflict and change. The Spanish Armada campaign and the earl of Desmond's uprising had been defeated and the international maritime markets continued to present new and fruitful prospects for emerging merchant adventurers. This was a time of opportunity in Ireland and abroad and Boyle instantly recognised the chance to generate profits.[554] Much has been written about Boyle, the man and the earl, but it is Boyle's inter-relationships with other lesser officials that are of interest to this study, in particular the likes of William Hull and Thomas Crooke.[555] Criticised early on for exploiting his position in dealing both officially and illicitly in land transactions, he found favour again under the patronage of Sir George Carew, lord president of Munster. Boyle took up the clerkship of the presidential council of Munster in 1600 and it was this move that allowed him to gain direct access into the administration of government in the region. By 1603 Boyle was judiciously intensifying his economic resources, underpinned by his purchase of the estate of

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[552] T.O. Ranger, 'Richard Boyle and the Making of an Irish Fortune, 1588-1614', in *Irish Historical Studies*, 10, no. 39 (March 1957), p. 294; H.F. Kearney, 'Richard Boyle, Ironmaster', in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* 83, no. 2 (1953), p. 156; 'Boyle, Richard, first earl of Cork (1566–1643)', *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004);'Loftus, Adam', ibid.

[553] Richard, first earl of Cork (1566–1643)', *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[554] J. Ohlmeyer, 'A Laboratory for Empire?' pp 43-45.

[555] Ranger, 'Richard Boyle and the Making of an Irish Fortune', pp.256-297; N. Canny, *The Upstart Earl: A Study of the Social and Mental World of Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork 1566-1643* (New York, 1982); P. Little, 'The Geraldine Ambitions of the First Earl of Cork', *Irish Historical Studies*, 33, no. 130 (November 2002), pp 151-168; D. Townshend, *The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork* (London, 1904); A.B. Grosart (ed.) *The Lismore Papers*, 10 vols. (London, 1886-88); C. Tait, 'Colonising Memory: Manipulations of Death, Burial and Commemoration in the Career of Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork 1566-1643, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature,* 101C, no. 4 (2001), pp 107-134; J. Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, Boyle is covered extensively in Ohlmeyer's publication.

Walter Raleigh in East Cork and his later purchase of Bandon between 1612 and 1618, one of the primary towns in West Cork.[556]

He was created Lord Boyle, baron of Youghal in 1616 and later first earl of Cork in October 1620, though he is said to have paid €4,500 for these titles.[557] His various business ventures took in multitudes of land leases, grants and purchases, iron works and fishing industries, with the latter industries having a firm focus along the south coast from Cork to Waterford, and ensured his continued growth in both influence and profit. It was through these industries that Boyle became involved with and exerted influence, on maritime activity along the southern coastline and which brought him into direct dealings with the pirates there.[558]

He was not alone, however, in industrial endeavours and one of the earliest iron works established in Cork was that located at Kilpatrick, sited on the northern bank of the River Bandon adjacent to Dundaniel bridge and castle. Known locally as Dundaniel ironworks, it was established in 1612 by the English East India Company. The Company set up three townships there to accommodate three hundred English settlers to undertake shipbuilding and iron smelting on site. The three townships, 'Thomas', 'Hope' and 'Bantam', were built near the ironworks and the Company paid £7,000 for the surrounding timber woods. Structural elements of the ironworks, including the partial remains of the furnace, still survive as evidence for this once

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[556] Barnard, ibid; M. MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'The Munster Plantation, 1583-1641' (Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1983), p. 278.

[557] Barnard, Ibid; George Edward Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom,* vol. 11: Bass to Canning (London, 1912), p. 266.

[558] The Lord Deputy [Chichester] to Boyle, 1613, *Lismore Papers* Vol. 1, LXX (1887), pp 152-1, where Boyle is commended for caring for the lord deputy's brother when the ship he was to sail on was taken by a pirate name Parker and his crew.

vibrant, though short-lived, industry and one that challenged Boyle's monopoly on such enterprise in the south.[559]

The operation of the site was the focus of several disputes between the Company and Boyle. In 1613 for example, the Company complained to the English privy council that Walter Coppinger, a catholic entrepreneur who had arrived into Cork in the early 1600s, and others were attempting to thwart their industrial endeavour even to the extent of sabotaging the ironworks. The dispute escalated until in 1620 Boyle was forced to pay £1,609 to the Company in recompense for damage done.[560] The East India Company, granted a royal charter in 1600 by Elizabeth, comprised a group of London-based merchants who began commissioning ships to look initially for markets in the East Indies, but soon expanded operations to encompass global maritime ventures including eventually ruling large parts of India. Early on the Company recognised the importance of iron and shipbuilding to ensure the success of its colonial expansion and to enable it compete with the existing maritime empires of the Spanish and Dutch.[561]

Contemporary correspondence refer to docks being constructed at Dundaniel where two ships, one of 400 and the other of 500 tons were built during the duration of the works there and reputedly the largest built at that time in Ireland.[562] The Company also strategically identified the potential of the large oak forests that were

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[559] C. Rynne, *Industrial Ireland 1750-1930, An Archaeology* (Cork, 2006), p. 111, 114; D. Power, *Archaeological Inventory of County Cork – West Cork,* 1, pp 384-385.

[560] Letter to the Lordes Justrice of the realme of Irelaunde, April 17, 1616, *Acts of the Privy Council 1615-1616*, pp 491-492; E. McCracken, 'Ironworks in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Ireland', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Third Series, 20 (1957), p. 127-128.

[561] For a full history of the Company, see John Keay, *The Honourable Company: A History of the English East India Company* (London, 1993); E. McCracken, 'The Woodlands of Ireland Circa 1600', *Irish Historical Studies*, 11, no. 44 (September 1959), p. 281, 290.

[562] Petition of the Merchants trading to the East Indies and of William Burrell, 30 June 1613, Cal. S. P. Ire. 1611-1614, pp 369-370; Sir Thomas Smythe to Lord Chichester, 3 July 1613, ibid. p 381; D. Pochin Mould, *Discovering Cork* (Kerry, 1991), 170; I am grateful to Mr. Eoghan Kieran for providing me with information from his own research on the site, including the fact that the early records of the company in relation to the ironworks were destroyed in a fire.

extant in Munster at that time to feed both industries and it was this impetus that found the Company setting up residence in West Cork. The Company linked Munster with expanding international markets and it is with this that comparisons can be drawn between them and the confederacy of pirates, who equally exploited the potential of Munster in facilitating their business of plunder and, it can be said, connected the coastal areas of West Cork with the wider Atlantic world.[563]

A case that elucidates the extent of collusion and malpractice is that of the ship called the *Pearl*. Following its wrecking in 1613 near Dursey Island in Bantry Bay, the *Pearl* formed part of a protracted dispute between the East India Company, admiralty officials, the captain and crew of the ship, the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar,[564] and the king himself.[565] The case attests to the convoluted dealings that were inherent feature of admiralty business and illustrates well the competitive nature of the officials involved, particularly where the opportunity for self-enrichment was identified. The ship was recorded as being 'casually run aground' by a deposition of Walter Rockwell, a mariner of Bristol and one of the crew of the ship, suggesting it was a deliberate act. Other contemporary sources suggest otherwise, detailing that the ship was in danger of being totally lost and the cargo was close to being destroyed, recounting that 'the *Pearl* was so much distressed with a Storm at the place where she arrived, that her Bulk is broken or made altogether unprofitable as I hear, but the goods are saved with small loss'.[566]

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[563] N. Canny, *Making Ireland British,* pp 313-314.

[564] Gondomar was in London representing Portuguese interests, as Portugal was at that time under Spanish dominion.

[565] C. Senning, 'Piracy, Politics, and Plunder under James I: The Voyage of the *Pearl* and its Aftermath, 1611-1615', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 46, no. 3 (Summer, 1983), pp 187-222; this is the most comprehensive account of the voyage, loss and subsequent legal wranglings of the *Pearl*.

[566] Ibid. p. 195; The Lord Deptuty [Chichester] to the Lords of the Council, 3 November and 6 November, 1613, Edwards, 'Letter-book', p. 132, 140.

The *Pearl* was on its way back to England from a privateering venture to Sumatra, then part of the Dutch East Indies, having spent two years privateering under Captain Samuel Castleton of London. Though heading for a port in England, there is no surviving account to explain why the ship ended up on the Irish Coast. As it is suggested by Chichester's letter, the ship may have been blown off course by bad weather but it is also the case that, as an interloper, Castleton may have preferred to land the goods in Ireland rather than taking them to a port in England, and may have had prior knowledge of the potential ready markets available along the coastline there.[567] The cargo was saved by Sir Richard Bingley (brother to Ralph Bingley), then captain of the Royal ship *Dreadnought* and surveyor of the navy. He was in the area and arranged to have the cargo removed, with several barks hired to assist with the unloading of the goods.[568]

The cargo on board was reputedly of great value, though this was revised as the judicial case progressed, and there were very many parties with vested interests in acquiring it for themselves.[569] Indeed in December 1613, when directed to bring the 'bark *Pearl'* from Ireland to London [supposedly it is the cargo on board that is being referred to here], Henry Howard, the earl of Northampton[570] states 'this course is the safest both for the Ambassadors and the proprietors, but the Lord Admiral [Nottingham] thinks that by his patent, all those matters belong to his jurisdiction'.[571]

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[567] Senning, 'Piracy. Politics and Plunder', p. 195.
[568] Deposition of Walter Rockwell of Bristol, mariner, 7 June, 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42, f 307r); Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, p. 140; Edwards, 'Letter-book', ibid.
[569] Senning, 'Piracy, Politics, and Plunder', p.196, 199.
[570] 'Howard, Henry, earl of Northampton (1540–1614)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com.elib.tcd.ie; Sir Henry Howard was made earl of Northampton in 1604 by James, who held him in high favour in his court. The same year he jointly held the office of commissioner of the earl marshal, which afforded him control of merchant activity; he spoke openly in favour of freedom of trade with the Indies, which tied in closely to his own private interests overseas, including being granted estates in Newfoundland and ingratiating himself with the Spanish court. It may be this latter fact that influenced his dealings in the 'Pearl Affair', with the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar being so emphatic about it.
[571] Northampton to [Lake], 2 December, 1613, *Cal. SP Dom. James I, 1611-18*, pp. 213-219.

As the cargo made its way back to England, much of it was siphoned off. Bingley loaded the goods into a number of ships and sent the vessels to various ports in England.[572] Northampton, agitated at the potential loss of all the cargo, requested Sir William Monson, admiral of the Narrow Seas, to bring the remainder of the goods from Ireland himself to ensure its safe arrival. He was sent to take command of the *Dreadnought* and he brought it and another ship back to London in March 1614.[573] At this point the owner of the ship that had originally been leased by the East India Company, John Morris, was looking to have his goods returned. So too was the Spanish Ambassador, Gondomar, who regarded the goods as being rightfully Portuguese, having been taken off a Portuguese ship in the east.

Nottingham sought jurisdiction over the goods, as lord high admiral. James I, who saw the opportunity to seize a valuable cargo to bolster the coffers of his dwindling exchequer, thwarted Nottingham's effort but he also had an ulterior motive, in that he wished to reward a favoured courtier, Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester, whom he had made earl of Somerset in November 1613. As suggested by Senning, there were rumours at that time that Northampton and Somerset were planning to embezzle the entire prize and share the profits. The culmination of the legal wrangling was that the government sold the cargo, with Sir Lionel Cranfield and Sir Arthur Ingram, London merchants, handling the sale for the king.[574]

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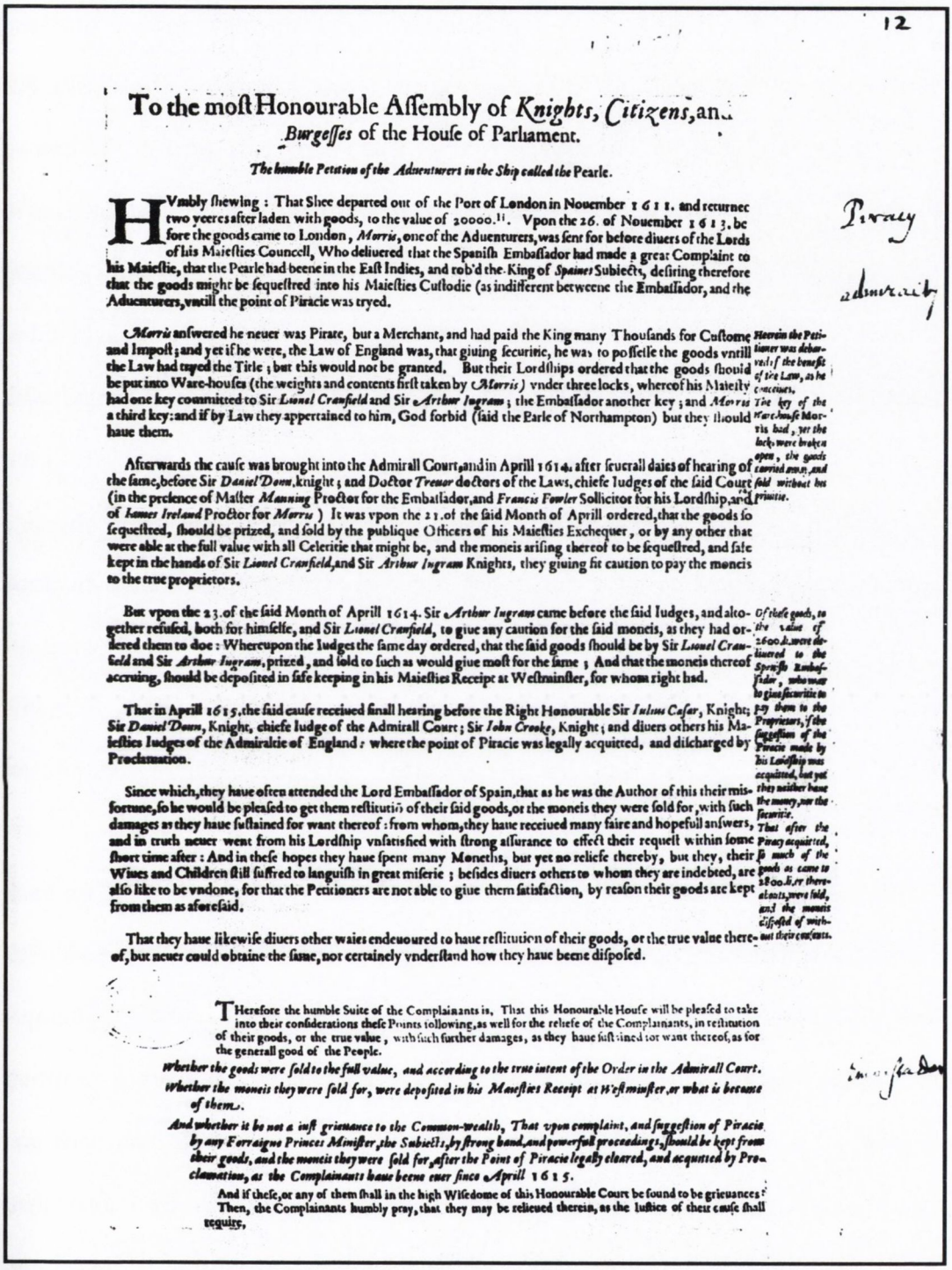
[572] Senning, 'Piracy, Politics, and Plunder'. p. 195; D. B. Quinn,'The Voyage of the *Triall* 1606-1607', in *Explorers and Colonies: America 1500-1625* (London, 1990), pp 363-381, in particular see pp 379-382.
[573] Senning, 'Piracy, Politics and Plunder', pp 199-200.
[574] Senning, 'Piracy, Politics, and Plunder', p. 205.



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# To the moſt Honourable Aſſembly of *Knights, Citizens,* and *Burgeſſes* of the Houſe of Parliament.

*The humble Petition of the Adventurers in the Ship called the* Pearle.

Piracy

admiralty

HVmbly ſhewing: That Shee departed out of the Port of London in November 1611. and returned two yeeres after laden with goods, to the value of 20000.li. Vpon the 26. of Nouember 1613. before the goods came to London, *Morris*, one of the Aduenturers, was ſent for before diuers of the Lords of his Maieſties Councell, Who deliuered that the Spaniſh Embaſſador had made a great Complaint to his Maieſtie, that the Pearle had beene in the Eaſt Indies, and rob'd the King of *Spaines* Subiects, deſiring therefore that the goods might be ſequeſtred into his Maieſties Cuſtodie (as indifferent betweene the Embaſſador, and the Aduenturers, vntill the point of Piracie was tryed.

*Morris* anſwered he neuer was Pirate, but a Merchant, and had paid the King many Thouſands for Cuſtome and Impoſt; and yet if he were, the Law of England was, that giuing ſecuritie, he was to poſſeſſe the goods vntill the Law had tryed the Title; but this would not be granted. But their Lordſhips ordered that the goods ſhould be put into Ware-houſes (the weights and contents firſt taken by *Morris*) vnder three locks, whereof his Maieſty had one key committed to Sir *Lionel Cranfield* and Sir *Arthur Ingram*; the Embaſſador another key; and *Morris* a third key: and if by Law they appertained to him, God forbid (ſaid the Earle of Northampton) but they ſhould haue them.

Herein the Petitioner was debarred of the benefit of the Law, as he conceues.

The key of the ware-houſe Morris had, yet the lock, were broken open, the goods carried away, and ſold without his priuitie.

Afterwards the cauſe was brought into the Admirall Court, and in Aprill 1614. after ſeuerall daies of hearing of the ſame, before Sir *Daniel Dunn*, knight; and Doctor *Trenor* doctors of the Laws, chiefe Iudges of the ſaid Court (in the preſence of Maſter *Manning* Proctor for the Embaſſador, and *Francis Fowler* Sollicitor for his Lordſhip, and of *Iames Ireland* Proctor for *Morris*) It was vpon the 21. of the ſaid Month of Aprill ordered, that the goods ſo ſequeſtred, ſhould be prized, and ſold by the publique Officers of his Maieſties Exchequer, or by any other that were able at the full value with all Celeritie that might be, and the moneis ariſing thereof to be ſequeſtred, and ſafe kept in the hands of Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, and Sir *Arthur Ingram* Knights, they giuing fit caution to pay the moneis to the true proprietors.

But vpon the 23. of the ſaid Month of Aprill 1614. Sir *Arthur Ingram* came before the ſaid Iudges, and altogether refuſed, both for himſelfe, and Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, to giue any caution for the ſaid moneis, as they had ordered them to doe: Whereupon the Iudges the ſame day ordered, that the ſaid goods ſhould be by Sir *Lionel Cranfield* and Sir *Arthur Ingram*, prized, and ſold to ſuch as would giue moſt for the ſame; And that the moneis thereof accruing, ſhould be depoſited in ſafe keeping in his Maieſties Receipt at Weſtminſter, for whom right had.

Of theſe goods, to the value of 2600.li. were deliuered to the Spaniſh Embaſſador, who vnder pretence to giue ſecuritie to pay them to the Proprietors, if the ſuggeſtion of the Piracie made by his Lordſhip was acquitted, but yet they neither haue the money, nor the ſecuritie.

That in Aprill 1615. the ſaid cauſe receiued finall hearing before the Right Honourable Sir *Iulius Cæſar*, Knight; Sir *Daniel Dunn*, Knight, chiefe Iudge of the Admirall Court; Sir *Iohn Crooke*, Knight; and diuers others his Maieſties Iudges of the Admiralcie of England: where the point of Piracie was legally acquitted, and diſcharged by Proclamation.

That after the Piracy acquitted, ſo much of the goods as came to 2800.li. or thereabouts, were ſold, and the moneis diſpoſed of without their conſents.

Since which, they haue often attended the Lord Embaſſador of Spain, that as he was the Author of this their misfortune, ſo he would be pleaſed to get them reſtitution of their ſaid goods, or the moneis they were ſold for, with ſuch damages as they haue ſuſtained for want thereof: from whom, they haue receiued many faire and hopefull anſwers, and in truth neuer went from his Lordſhip vnſatisfied with ſtrong aſſurance to effect their requeſt within ſome ſhort time after: And in theſe hopes they haue ſpent many Moneths, but yet no reliefe thereby, but they, their Wiues and Children ſtill ſuffred to languiſh in great miſerie; beſides diuers others to whom they are indebted, are alſo like to be vndone, for that the Petitioners are not able to giue them ſatisfaction, by reaſon their goods are kept from them as aforeſaid.

That they haue likewiſe diuers other waies endeuoured to haue reſtitution of their goods, or the true value thereof, but neuer could obtaine the ſame, nor certainely vnderſtand how they haue beene diſpoſed.

THerefore the humble Suite of the Complainants is, That this Honourable Houſe will be pleaſed to take into their conſiderations theſe Points following, as well for the reliefe of the Complainants, in reſtitution of their goods, or the true value, with ſuch further damages, as they haue ſuſtained for want thereof, as for the generall good of the People.

*Whether the goods were ſold to the full value, and according to the true intent of the Order in the Admirall Court.*

*Whether the moneis they were ſold for, were depoſited in his Maieſties Receipt at Weſtminſter, or what is become of them.*

*And whether it be not a iuſt grieuance to the Common-wealth, That vpon complaint, and ſuggeſtion of Piracie by any Forraigne Princes Miniſter, the Subiects, by ſtrong hand, and powerfull proceedings, ſhould be kept from their goods, and the moneis they were ſold for, after the Point of Piracie legally cleared, and acquitted by Proclamation, as the Complainants haue beene euer ſince Aprill 1615.*

And if theſe, or any of them ſhall in the high Wiſedome of this Honourable Court be found to be grieuances: Then, the Complainants humbly pray, that they may be relieued therein, as the Iuſtice of their cauſe ſhall require,

(figure 8) Petition detailing the case being made by the owners of the *Pearl* when looking for restitution of their cargo [575]

[575] STC / 11857:20: Petition from owners of the *Pearl*, dated 1621, complaining that their goods were taken and sold in 1615 and looking for restitution either with the return of the goods or their value, Bib name / number: STC (2nd ed.) / 1951; (Copy from: Guildhall Library, London, England); downloaded from http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie/search

The involvement of these two individuals, business partners in both financial and political endeavours, was not a chance occurrence. Cranfield, who during his career was a merchant, financier and government minister at the time of the loss of the *Pearl*, was a successful and very rich export merchant and speculator in privateering ventures. Cranfield's speculations in overseas trade and political financial dealings brought him into contact with Ingram, who himself was involved in money lending as a young man. Ingram rose rapidly up the political ranks, with support from key government players like Henry Howard, the earl of Northampton and Thomas Howard, the earl of Suffolk.[576] The potential profit that was to be made from the cargo of the *Pearl* was enticement enough for both men to become involved with its resultant outcome. A 1621 petition by the owners of the goods, looking for restitution specifically mentions Cranfield and Ingram selling the goods from the *Pearl* as a prize, when the cargo was supposed to be in safe keeping in Westminster under lock and key pending the results of the admiralty court case (figure 8).

The crew of the ship too looked to be paid for the voyage, petitioning for back pay as late as 1625, eventually being given cursory payments in 1629.[577] Conspicuous by their absence, there is no mention of pirates being involved, apart from attempts being made to suggest that the owners of the ship were pirates themselves. As a fitting conclusion, Senning in his detailed account of the entire affair states 'the need and greed of the king, his courtiers, and officials seemingly being a stronger force than their sense of justice, the way was made clear for those whose position of power and influence gave them licence to take what they wanted, to commit an act of piracy of

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[576] 'Cranfield, Lionel, first earl of Middlesex (1575–1645)', *Dictionary of National Biography*; 'Ingram, Sir Arthur (*b.* before 1571, *d.* 1642)', *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[577] Senning, 'Piracy, Politics and Plunder', ibid. pp 202-211; The value of the cargo and the economic implications of shipwrecks like the *Pearl* to those with vested interests, not least the pirates themselves, are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

their own and plunder the plunderers'.[578] The case of the *Pearl* highlights perfectly the self-motivating efforts made by and political intent of officials to prosper from and control maritime affairs and the lengths to which they were willing to go to fulfil their needs. Such was the eagerness of individuals to profit from the cargo on ships that it is fully understandable why piracy flourished so well within a theatre dominated by greedy speculators, influential officials and materialistic adventurers.

Following the passing of the act for prosecuting pirates and robbers on the sea, the work of the Irish admiralty court increased, both in regard to bringing those suspected of piracy to trial and in negotiating pardons with known pirates. To help him with this growing volume of work, a number of new assistants were either appointed or had their work brief extended, including William Ellesworth, marshal of the court in Dublin. His admiralty brief covered the execution of warrants for the seizing of ships and goods and for the custody and care of such goods until cases were heard and resolved by the court. It was Ellesworth who is recorded by Chichester as having brought over the commission for the appointment of Loftus as judge: 'Mr. Ellesworth hath now lastly brought over a Commission by which Sr. Adam Loftus is Authorized to be Judge of the Admiralty Court here, which had bin without of a long time'.[579] Indeed Chichester sent a letter of thanks to the earl of Nottingham for the appointment of Loftus as judge, saying that he would now be able to ease the burden of work and undertake it with greater knowledge of 'marine cases', than he could himself.[580]

From the outset, however, there appears to have been unease in London about Loftus' dedication to his position. As early as 1613 the earl of Nottingham queried

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[578] Ibid. p. 211.

[579] Chichester to the earl of Nottingham, 24 Dec. 1612, Edwards, 'letter-book', p. 68; I am grateful to Dr. Costello for drawing my attention to this particular entry.

[580] Chichester to Lord Admiral, 4 August 1613 & same to same, 19 Dec. 1614, Edwards, 'letter-book', p. 120, 175.

whether Loftus, with all his other engagements, had the time to adequately devote to his position as judge of the admiralty in Ireland and issued an order seeking to revoke his appointment. The warrant does not appear to have been acted upon as Loftus remained in office, but doubts continued to be aired as to his commitment to the job, including being censured in 1614 for not adequately reporting on admiralty matters.[581] Loftus set about the apprehension and execution of pirates immediately upon the passing of the Piracy Act. In 1613 Captain Beverley Newcomen, then in command of a pinnace plying the waters of Broadhaven in County Mayo, intercepted and captured a number of pirates there, including Robert Jackson, John King and William O'Kelly. They were brought to Dublin and arraigned before Loftus who had them summarily executed on the 29 July in that year. That same summer, Loftus also tried William King and William Bedford, both of Wexford town who, having spent twenty four days at sea plundering as many as fifteen ships, were also executed in Wexford town on the 19 August 1613.[582]

During Loftus' tenure old problems prevailed, even with the benefit of the Piracy Act, as indicated by a letter to the lord admiral from Chichester in 1614, where he stated that Loftus was prevented from carrying out his duties to the fullest of his abilities due to the fact that:

> all those causes have bin perforce withdrawne again continually out of his hands and jurisdiction, by vertue of such Commissions and directions as have bin sent unto him out of England from time to time in barr of his further proceedings in them.[583]

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[581] Costello, 'Sir Adam Loftus', ibid. p.5.

[582] Lord Chichester to the king, 1613, a Chronicle of Lord Chichester's Government of Ireland; containing Certain Chroniculary Discourses, for the Years of our Lord 1612, 13, 14, and 15, in J. Lodge (compiler) *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica: or A Select Collection of State Papers consisting of Royal Instructions, Directions, Dispatches and Letters to which are added some Historical Tracts*, I (Dublin, 1772), pp 276-277.

[583] Chichester to Lord Admiral, 19 December 1614, Edwards, 'Letter-Book', p. 175.

Chichester concluded with reference to a ship, then held in Lough Foyle and which was recorded as being Spanish by admiralty court clerks in England, but which was known by Chichester's office in Ireland as being French; the inference being that the admiralty in London should perhaps rely more on local knowledge in Ireland than attempting to send commissions directly that may, in fact, be misinformed. He summed up by saying:

> if you expect any honest benefit to redound unto you by the like endeavors and Services, which We shall offer you here, I pray your L^ps^. to stay the Currents of such Commissions, or else to hold us Excused, if you receive no better account then that which Sir Adam Loftus now sends unto you.[584]

Loftus' insistence on appointing his own local officials served to maintain control on trade and shipping from southern harbours, such as Baltimore, Kinsale and Kenmare where Boyle's iron industries were located, and also to control the flow of profits that could be obtained from those areas through admiralty administration. Loftus' endeavours as a business speculator included involvement in ironworks and land rental.[585] There was a need therefore to secure sources of income, and augment his own official salary, to finance these ventures. This was clearly seen in 1633 during Loftus' second term of tenure as judge - he was successfully reappointed following Parson's death in late-1628, when he attempted to employ his own official in Dublin as marshal in order to control the office of water bailiff, a position held as an extension to that of the marshal's office and the most lucrative position in the admiralty.[586] The profits to be gained from customs duties, fees for anchorages and ballastage (a toll charged for acquiring ballast in ports or harbours) that fell under the

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[584] Ibid. p. 176.
[585] Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, p. 365, 375.
[586] Costello, 'Loftus' second period', pp 8-9; he was successfully reappointed in late-1628 but had 'unofficially' assumed office in 1627 when Parsons' was in London answering charges of corruption. This attempt was brought to a halt when he fell out with lord deputy Falkland and had to spend time in London to clear his name.

jurisdiction of the bailiff could be substantial. This attempt at appointing his own water bailiff, a Dublin official named Salmon, followed the death of William Ellesworth and Loftus refused to hand over the warrant of appointment sent over by the High Court of Admiralty in London, to appoint their choice of Robert Smith.[587] The issue of the water bailiff continued for eighteen months, at which point, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, then recently appointed lord deputy of Ireland, intervened and Smith was eventually engaged as marshal and water bailiff. [588]

**The provincial court of admiralty in Munster and further matters of jurisdiction**

Following the establishment of the Irish admiralty in Dublin, provincial courts or local vice-admiralty courts were set up within the four provinces. The Munster vice-admiralty court was the earliest established in Ireland, with Sir John Norris, president of Munster, acting as vice-admiral there from 1586 and the remaining three provincial courts set up in the early part of the seventeenth century. Though the Irish courts of admiralty remained subordinate to the high court of admiralty in London[589] and if the need arose cases could be appealed to England,[590] attempts were made by the Irish government to exercise sole jurisdiction without due regard to the high court in London.[591]

Costello points out that the constitutional status of the Munster admiralty court was clearly that of a satellite court of the national court in Dublin, which was in turn meant to be a regional or vice-admiralty court of the high court of admiralty in

[587] This is most probably the same Salmon as the James Salmon, son-in-law to Thomas Crooke, who was judge in Baltimore in 1610 and later settled in the Castlehaven area and was admiralty officer there; he is discussed in the next chapter.
[588] Costello, ibid. pp 15-16.
[589] Ibid, p.15; Appleby and O'Dowd, 'Irish Admiralty', p. 307; Marsden, 'The vice-admirals of the coast', pp 753-755.
[590] E. Murphy, 'War at Sea in Ireland 1641-53' (PhD Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2007). p. 19; see also E. Murphy, *Ireland and the War at Sea, 1641-1653* (London, 2012).
[591] Appleby and O'Dowd, 'Irish Admiralty', p. 303.

London. Essentially it was to have been an extension of central admiralty governance of Ireland or at least this appears to have been the view of London.[592] But issues pertaining to jurisdiction prevailed. Vice-admirals held their positions more or less on an honorary basis, many being absent and holding other high-office roles (as was seen with Loftus and Nottingham) and with deputies appointed to carry out the work in the regions – the deputy vice-admiral essentially covering for the absent vice-admirals in the provinces.[593] Sir Arthur Chichester for example, was vice-admiral of Ulster from 1607 whilst he also held the office of lord deputy of Ireland from 1605-1616. His nephew succeeded him as vice-admiral in 1628. In Munster, Sir John Norris was succeeded by several individuals who resided in England, the most relevant to this study being the earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral in England, who took on the position of vice-admiral for Munster in 1609.

Several individuals were mentioned in the intervening period between when Norris' tenure ended in 1598 and when Nottingham took up the post. Henry Cowper is mentioned as acting as vice-admiral in 1598 and the following year George Wadham was in office. In 1606 Humphrey Jobson is referred to as servant of the lord admiral and individuals like Jobson acted as deputies for the London court at that time, rather than being officially appointed as vice-admirals in Munster.[594] Jobson is also referred to as 'Deputy Vice-Admiral in Munster and Secretary for Admiralty Causes to the Earl of Nottingham' in 1627 by Falkland, to which is added that he was expelled for bad behaviour.[595] Lord Deputy Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland was acting

[592] Costello, ibid. pp 15-17.
[593] Appleby and O'Dowd, ibid. p. 308.
[594] Marsden, 'Vice-admirals of the coast', p. 755, n. 153; see chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion on Humphrey Jobson.
[595] The Lord Deputy to Secretary Nicholas, 11 June (misdated)/July 5, 1627, *Cal. S.P. Ire. Charles I, 1625-1632*, p. 249.

vice-admiral in 1619 and was replaced in 1634 by Thomas Wentworth, later earl of Strafford.[596]

The Munster court of vice-admiralty was organised in a more highly structured way to the other provincial courts, due to the intensity of pirate activity around the coastline there. The geographical location of the area, within the direct line of the transatlantic trading routes would have been another mitigating factor for the complexity of organization, as the Munster court was the most profitable of the four provincial admiralty courts.[597] Costello suggests that it was Forth who first established the Munster court of admiralty and it was he who appointed Henry Gosnold as his resident deputy judge in 1608. Gosnold was judge of the Presidential Court of Munster and was MP for Clonakilty at that time, but as also indicated by Costello, it is not clear whether he was judge for the separate (provincial) court of the admiralty of Munster as commissioned by the lord admiral, or was a deputy of the National Court of Admiralty and acting as Forth's deputy in Munster.[598]

Sir Lawrence Parsons was acting judge in the region from 1620, taking over from Gosnold, though he may have been also acting as deputy on behalf of the central admiralty court rather than for the court of Munster.[599] He assumed the role of judge of the Irish admiralty court in 1619, but was an absentee adjudicator who relied fully on others to function on his behalf. He arrived into the Munster area as an inspector for the 1622 commission that sought to examine all aspects of the plantation, including land acquisition and undertakers' activities. It is ironic that one of the main findings of the survey was criticism in regard to absentee undertakers, a fault which Parsons himself could be accused of in his role as admiralty judge. In 1620 Henry

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[596] Appleby and O'Dowd, 'Irish Admiralty', pp 307-308.
[597] Ibid.
[598] Costello, ibid, pp 15-16.
[599] Ibid.

Cary was named Viscount Falkland and shortly afterwards was appointed lord chief deputy of Ireland. In 1618 he had been appointed vice-admiral of Munster, taking over from Nottingham and he complained that Parsons was essentially doing nothing in his post as judge. This complaint also had a fiscal basis, with Loftus later also using Parsons' ineptitude to support his own cause, estimating that no more than £10 sterling profit had been made during Parsons time in office.[600] This was somewhat hypocritical of Falkland, who himself admitted in 1624 that he had no real experience in admiralty matters, preferring to leave such issues to the likes of Parsons and Richard Boyle to oversee in his stead.[601] Obviously personal agendas influenced official responses and attitudes could change according to who was in office, as seen in 1618 when a letter sent on behalf of the lord deputy in Dublin, Oliver St. John and the privy council, requested recompense for Parsons as 'the Lord president of that province and others haue recomannded him for a faithull and Diligent officer' and it continued by stating that Parsons had efficiently 'carryied out the king's work'.[602]

Parsons was, however, dogged with accusations of corruption, including being accused by Humphrey Jobson who held office as vice-admiral from 1607 to 1610. Jobson accused him of receiving bribes, along with Falkland, from a suspected Spanish ship in Kinsale in order for it to secure its release. Falkland threw Jobson in jail and in a letter of refute to the English admiralty official, Sir Edward Nicholas, who was then secretary to Buckingham, explained that 'He [Jobson] has been committed because he foully scandalized me and the Judge of the Admiralty [Parsons], and could give no surety that he would answer a legal charge against him'. The letter further elucidates on issues of jurisdiction, when Falkland states that during

[600] Ibid, p. 7, 19,
[601] Appleby and O'Dowd, Ibid. p. 308.
[602] Curtis Clayton, (ed.), *The Council Book of Munster*, p. 215.

the course of explaining why he continued to hold Henry Duke, the captain of the ship, that 'Long delays in such a case would discourage foreign trade and lessen import duties. If I am instructed to do nothing without consulting the Admiralty in London, the account for import duties and sea casualties will be reduced in the same way'.[603] Parsons died in 1628. Falkland proposed Robert Travers to take over the role but Adam Loftus was reappointed to the position of judge of the Irish admiralty in late 1628, stating with an air of disdain that 'I will do my best to regulate matters in the Admiralty, and introduce some system into the chaos created by Sir Lawrence Parsons while he was enjoying my rights'.[604] Parsons, a cousin of Richard Boyle, had close liaisons in all matters fiscal, both legal and illegal, which proved useful to both parties.[605] Parsons too was a close associate of William Hull and as suggested by Appleby, it may have been Parsons who forged links between Boyle and Hull in their business ventures in the West Cork area.[606]

**Conclusion:**

This chapter sought to provide a background to the development and process of the Irish admiralty and the leading officials at the upper echelon of administration tasked with its implementation and operation. Knowing the chief characters themselves and how they operated, including augmenting their official pay with other means of income, is critical to understanding how this same administrative process worked at local level. The almost incestuous nature of admiralty office and command at the time, particularly under Nottingham, is clearly evident. In the next chapter the key

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[603] Costello, 'The Court of Admiralty of Ireland, 1580-1877', p. 24-25; Lord Deputy to Secretary Nicholas, 11 June (misdated)/ 5 July, *Cal. S.P. Ire. Charles I, 1625-1632*, p. 249.
[604] Ibid, *The Court of Admiralty*, pp 28-29; The Lord Chancellor of Ireland to Secretary Nicholas, 29 Jan. 1629, *Cal. S.P. Ire. Charles 1, 1625-1632*, p. 428.
[605] Canny, *The Upstart Earl,* p. 123.
[606] Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates', p. 86.

official players who dealt directly with the pirates in the southwest are discussed, as is the level of collusion, corruption and reciprocal transactions that formed part of everyday official life. fraud took on a new level when political opportunism and self-motivating greed pervaded the lust for land speculation and merchant adventure in the remote part of southwest Ireland and it will be obvious just why it was so difficult to eradicate piracy when it was to such an economic benefit to individual and community alike.

## *Chapter 4: Local Connections: 'Land Pirates' and 'Sea Sharkers'*[607]

> Further there must be a strict course, and duly executed, that no Vice-Admiral, or other, be suffered to speak with any of the Pirates, but to forfeit either life or goods, for so long as they have any communications with them so long will there be indirect dealing and relieving of them. And to conclude, neither the Deputy, nor any other Presidents, must have power to protect though it be but for one hour.[608]

### The local problem: admiralty officers, collusion and complicity

As has been highlighted in the previous chapter, the Irish admiralty was often tied up in matters of jurisdiction between central government and those admiralty officials tasked with the administration of admiralty affairs in Ireland, either as provincial residents or acting remotely from England. Several deputy vice-admirals, who were based in the southwest, operated for the most part within a framework of semi-autonomy and inherent self-interest. The links between characters like Sir Lawrence Parsons and his cousin Richard Boyle, both in a personal and professional capacity, is indicative of the interpersonal relationships that existed within the context of the Munster plantation itself and the opportunities that presented themselves through the settling and exploitation of certain coastal areas. Such relationships appear to have filtered down to the very heart of these peripheral locations and a number of individuals had key parts to play in how the pirates of the southwest operated at the time. This fact was blatantly stated in a proclamation of 1608, where the potential for collusion between those outside the law and official personnel is clearly stated:

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[607] Chapter heading taken from: Lord Danvers to the Earl of Salisbury, 3 June 1608, SP 63/224 f. 108v, (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347480748).

[608] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 48; Henry Mainwaring identified that one of the main support systems in place for the pirates was the ease with which local officials colluded with them; he advised the king that the only way to eradicate the pirate problem was to ensure that all officers, of whatever rank, did not deal with the pirates in any way but by force and to send them directly to England for trial.

> And having lately found by many pregnant circumstances, that most of the great faults [piracies] are continued by the connivence, or corruption in many [of] the subordinate Officers, especially such as are resident in and neere the Ports and Maritine Counties.[609]

Collusion by government officials went hand in hand with piracy, with Sir Richard Hawkins in 1608 being a specific example. When acting vice-admiral for Devon, he was removed from office for conspiring with pirates.[610] It was a point mooted by several individuals at the time, including in 1616 by then ex-pirate Henry Mainwaring, when he advised the king on how to combat piracy in his 'Discourse'.[611] The lord deputy, Chichester, stated clearly in 1612 that

> It is not only the Irish Inhabitants upon the Seacoasts here that do cherish them [the pirates] when they arrive, either in consideration of the benefits they receive by Exchange of Vitualls for commodities or ready money [ ] but Men of our own Nation under colour of Treaty do vsualy and familiarly converse and commerce with them, and have therefore taken convenient places for the purpose upon the Western Coasts of this Realm, either in the Ilands or upon the Maine, in which they are well provided for.[612]

The issue of corruption was also a familiar and long-standing one in Ireland. The profits that were to be made from admiralty matters were potentially enormous and officers were sent to Ireland, and in particular Munster, to oversee the acquisition of goods and cargo from ships and in many instances, the controlling of individual ships using the harbours along the southwest coast.[613] Senior notes that Humphrey Jobson, who was appointed vice-admiral of Munster early in 1607, was as corrupt as Hawkins had been in Devon. Secretary to Lord High Admiral, the earl of Nottingham, he had been tasked with investigating reports of corruption in the vice-admiralty in Devon in 1606. He would thus have been well informed of the workings of rural politics and

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[609] *By the King. A Proclamation against Pirats, 1608* (Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie; http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie/search/).
[610] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 26.
[611] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 48; see opening paragraph.
[612] The Lord Deputy to the Lords of the Council, 31 October, 1612, Edwards, 'Letter-book', p. 61.
[613] Appleby and O'Dowd, 'The Irish Admiralty', p. 317.

familiar with most of the leading pirates there at the time – the majority of whom transferred their attention and activities to Ireland from 1607 onwards.[614]

He was used as a proxy by Nottingham in England to take in pirate goods and make a profitable return on them, with Nottingham no doubt reaping a comparable reward.[615] Jobson, it is to be suspected, fulfilled a similar role in Ireland for Nottingham, who administered his office through deputies, with Humphrey and his brother Richard acting more on behalf of the pirates than that of the crown.[616] This was not new to the admiralty or those involved in colonial expansion, with vested interests of those involved influencing decisions and actions. As identified by Andrews, this quasi-feudal franshise had its beginnings in the commercialising of colonisation in the time of Elizabeth and it continued to the reign of Charles I. Intergral to this was plunder, either piracy, privateering or 'semi-official expeditions' overseas. As succinctly stated by Andrews, 'lord admirals and their staff were less concerned with keeping law and order at sea than with profiting, directly or indirectly, from lawlessness and disorder'.[617]

Jobson thus was a cog in the wheel of admiralty business, but he also had links elsewhere. He was connected to William Hull, deputy vice-admiral in Munster from 1607 through the marriage of his daughter, Hester, to Hull's brother Henry, who was at that point living in Clonakilty in West Cork.[618] In June 1608, Humphrey's brother Richard was also in Munster in the capacity of deputy-vice admiral, a post he held until February 1610. He too was tasked with undertaking the same inquiry in Ireland as his brother in England, to examine officers who 'favoured, relieved, Consorted, ayded and abetted' with pirates. Little came of either of the investigations, however,

[614] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 276.
[615] Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral*, p. 76.
[616] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, pp 217-218.
[617] Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp 18-28.
[618] Appleby, 'Pirates and Settlers', p. 83;

as both brothers were overtly predisposed to gain from pirate booty.[619] The extent to which they colluded during that time was staggering, with Richard even issuing 'passports' to the pirates to enable them to travel unimpeded.[620] This alone is suggestive of how in control and at ease the pirates were in the Baltimore area at the time, to the point of being directly involved in admiralty affairs and it again highlights the weakness (whether delibrate or otherwise) of the English state to deal with piracy, with the admiralty's, and by default, the crown's attitude toward piracy being ambivalent to say the least.[621]

Humphrey Jobson was examined in London in 1609 regarding his handling of events relating to the taking of goods from the *Pearl*.[622] The ship, carrying a cargo of hides, cochineal, indigo, ginger, leather, pearl and Spanish money, was captured on its way to Calais in 1607, by two pirate ships under the captaincy of Alexander Vaughan and William Blanch. The High Court of Admiralty in London commissioned Paul de Cuper, a German merchant resident in London, to recover the goods and arrest the pirates. De Cuper went to Ireland when he heard that the pirates were located there but, rather than arresting the pirates, he seems to have spent time instead in the company of the pirates without, as can be inferred from Jobson's deposition, keeping the deputy vice-admiral informed. De Cuper recovered the goods, which may have been the primary aim of the admiralty, but Jobson's deposition provides evidence for continuing complaints of commissions being made by central admiralty without knowledge by the local admiralty officers. It is more probable, however, that Jobson

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[619] Ibid.

[620] Lord Danvers to [the Lords of the Privy Council or the Lord Salisbury], 19 January 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 130; Senior, ibid., p. 289, 379, 421, 426, 431.

[621] Andrews, *Trade, Settlement and Plunder*, p. 28.

[622] This is interesting in that it is not clear if this is the same ship as the *Pearl* (*Pearle*) allegedly run aground in 1613 near Dursey, see chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion on that *Pearl* affair; Senning, 'Piracy, Politics, and Plunder under James I: ibid. pp 187-222; the name 'Pearl' was a common one for ships throughout this period, see Marsden, 'English Ships in the Reign of James I', p. 328; what is more interesting is that both Ingram and Cranfield were involved with both shipping events.

was relinquishing responsibility for the activity and hiding behind his ignorance to absolve himself of complicity.[623] Either way, Humphrey Jobson was imprisoned, and his brother Richard dismissed in 1610, for their ineffectual handling of and collusion with pirates in Ireland, though those who succeeded them did not vary too much from the same course.[624]

Captain Henry Skipwith, listed in 1610 as one of the crown's undertakers in Ireland, succeeded Jobson as vice-admiral but no sooner had he assumed the post in Munster than he too was suspected of receiving pirate goods and selling them to his deputies, one of whom was William Hull.[625] In 1613, for example, Skipwith received wheat and rye out of a cargo from a ship named the *St. Saviour* of Lübeck that had been seized by Captains Baugh and Wollmer and brought to Leamcon, no doubt with William Hull acting as broker to the deal. Skipwith distributed the goods to his tenants on the understanding that they pay 'two for one at the nexte harveste followinge'.[626] Indeed Skipwith's frustrations at not being able to prevent the local populace from trading with the pirates is seen when he states that the smaller fishing boats of Crookhaven and the fishing community there declare that they are 'forced' to victual the pirates, though he suspected that this is more a ruse to cover what they would have intentionally done anyhow.[627]

The fort at Castlepark, now named James' Fort, was originally known as Castle Ny Parke or Old Fort when construction began in 1603. Its name changed

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[623] Deposition of Gionisius Gallot of Calais, aged about 35, 16 June 1609 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/40, f 161r-162r); Deposition of Humfrey Jobson, aged about 36, 15 July 1609, (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/40, f 197v-198r); Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, pp. 121-122.
[624] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, p. 217.
[625] List of Names of the Undertakers in Ireland, 1610, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 547.
[626] Appleby and O'Dowd, ' The Irish Admiralty', p. 323.
[627] Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates', p. 93.

following the visit to the area of James II in 1689 during his Irish campaign.[628] It was from this fort that Skipwith administered his admiralty affairs, though he is also associated with Carriganassig castle in Inishannon.[629] Castlepark, one of the earliest bastioned forts in Ireland, comprises approximately 200m in external diameter and encloses an area of some 2.3 hectares, the inner citadel is centrally located within the large, pentagonal earth and stone fort. A national monument, the site was the subject of various archaeological excavations dating from 1974 through to 1998 by both the Office of Public Works and the National Monuments Service, primarily as part of the State's maintenance and preservation strategy for the monument.[630] These excavations have provided for a broad interpretation of how the fort was constructed and an insight into the military arrangements within the fort during the period when Skipwith used it as one of his official residences. It may have been via the blockhouse, located at shore level and *c.* 200m north-north-east of the main fort and accessed via a covered way, that any cargo or goods taken off ships would have been landed. Though the upper levels of the blockhouse are later in construction, the lower level has gun embrazures that would have commanded the harbour on three sides and would have controlled the traffic of goods within the harbour proper.[631] These archaeological sites provide a visual link to Henry Skipwith, his duties as an admiralty official and, by association, his dealings with the pirates.

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[628] M. O'Donnell, ' Excavations at James Fort, Kinsale, 1974-1998, *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 107 (offprint, Cork, 2002), p. 1.

[629] Lords of Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 31 December 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1603-1625*, p. 384, (T.N.A. Calendar entry no. 509; State Papers Online, Gale Document no. MC4347400512); Petition of Florence M'Carthy to the Privy Council, [undated]1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1603-1625*, p. 385, (T.N.A. Calendar entry no. 510; State Papers Online, Gale Document no. MC4347400513); Florence McCarthy had leased Carriganassig and Rinrone castles to Herbert Pelham for 21 years; Deposition of Richard Thorne of London, 19 August 1613, (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42, f. 204v-205r); Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, pp 135-136; Thorne refers to 'captain Skipwith's house at Carginasse' in his deposition; I am grateful to Dr. Colin Breen, Centre for Maritime Archaeology, University of Ulster, Coleraine, for providing clarification on this site from the HCA references.

[630] Ibid. p. 1, 7.

[631] Ibid. pp 30-33.

**The Land Pirates**

A number of leading English settlers were strategic to the operation of the pirate empire in the southwest. These included Thomas Crooke, who was granted the lands of Baltimore in 1607 following a protracted legal case involving the hereditary lord of the area, Fineen O'Driscoll and an Irish catholic entrepreneur, Walter Coppinger.[632] James Salmon, son-in-law to Crooke who took up a grant of lands around the Castlehaven area, was later involved in legal issues pertaining to the salvage of a wreck in Castehaven Harbour; he may be the same Salmon put forward by Loftus as his candidate for water bailiff.[633] Crooke and Salmon are discussed in detail below, as are other more peripheral individuals like Thomas Roper and Robert Travers, though in less detail.

<u>William Hull: entrepreneur and arbiter of an underground economy</u>

Perhaps more than anyone else one individual stands out among others. William Hull, a Devon mariner and deputy to the Vice-Admiral of Munster, the earl of Nottingham from about 1607, arrived into the West Cork area in the early part of the seventeenth century.[634] Hull may have been a pirate in his early days, or more appropriately, a privateer, as is suggested by an earlier proclamation issued by the king, one specifically addressing a William Hull thus:

> Whereas it hath appeared vnto vs by the Records of our high Court of the Admiraltie, That William Hull Captaine of a Ship called the Talbot of Topisham in our Countie of Deuon, [ ] with diuers others [ ] respectiuely

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[632] E. Cotter, 'Dún na Séad Castle: an Early 17th century house at Baltimore, Co. Cork', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 115 (2010), p. 44.

[633] MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'The Munster Plantation 1583-1641', p. 222; Costello, *The Court of Admiralty*, pp 8-9.

[634] Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates', p. 78; Appleby has written the most comprehensive account of Hull's life to date, and it is not the intention here to rewrite it. Only the primary events involving Hull within the context of the confederacy of pirates in the southwest or where his business dealings elucidate on the activities of the pirates are discussed for this study.

> stand indicted, for that they in Nouember 1602, [ ] did rob and spoile a Ship called la Serene of Olona in France, and the goods therein laden.[635]

Though it may be the case that the William Hull mentioned was a different person to the gentleman who became deputy vice-admiral in Munster, the possibility that Hull may have had prior experience as a pirate would certainly lend itself to better understanding his ability to 'seize' opportunities, including liaising so easily with the main pirates in his area.[636] It is suggested by Appleby that the Hull in question is the same person, who was absolved of any misdeeds in the Mediterranean through the deathbed confession of Captain Phillip Ward, with the case against Hull being dismissed in 1607.[637] This opened the way for Hull to settle in Leamcon, to the west of Schull in County Cork, as he had leased the lands from the ruling Gaelic lords O'Mahonys after 1607. He may have previously identified the potential of the area when he visited Leamcon as early as 1601, following receipt of a grant of money from the crown possibly for naval services.

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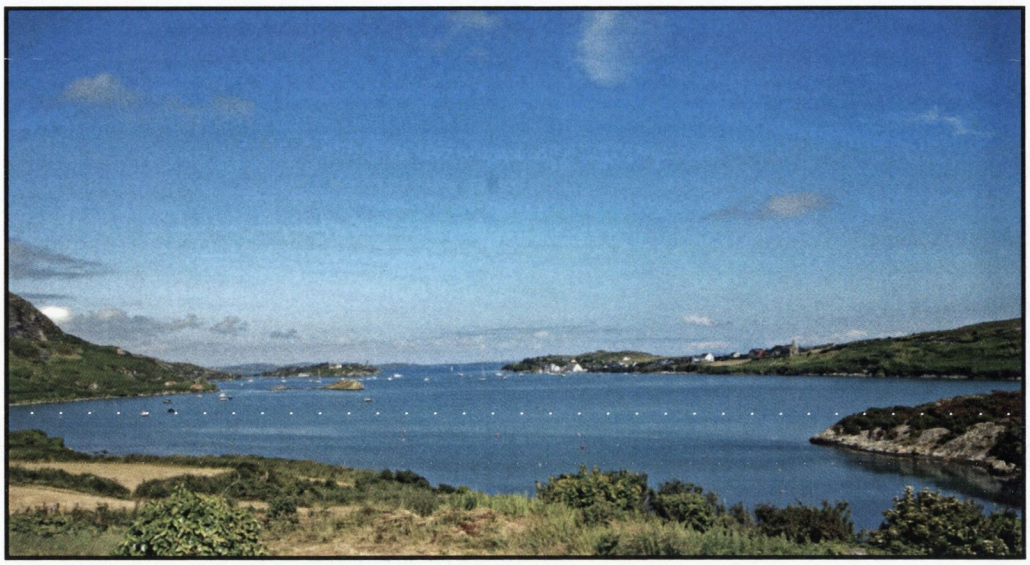
[635] *By the King a proclamation for the search and apprehension of certaine pirates, giuen at our Pallace of Westminster the xij.day of Nouember 1604*, (Robert Barker, Printer; 1604, Society of Antiquaries, STC, 2nd ed. / 8363, STC / 1875:25; http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib.tcd.ie/search; one page; Lord Deputy Falkland to Secretary Nicholas, 29 Apr. 1627, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32*, p. 227.

[636] See Senior's thesis 'An Investigation of the Activities', p. 26, 51, 156, 274, 444, where he debates if this is indeed one and the same William Hull; Examination of William Hull, age 37 or thereabouts, 14 July 1609, (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47, f. 24v-26v), in which he is again being examined for his possible dubious dealings with pirates.

[637] Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates' , pp 78-80.



(plate 37) Crookhaven harbour, where Hull established one of his most successful fishing industries.

Shortly after he settled in Leamcon, acquiring the lands of Crookhaven (plate 37) from the church and where he rented out the O'Mahony castle there for £100 per annum.[638] A detailed list of lands either claimed or leased by Hull and taken from the information recorded by Bishop Dive Downes during his visitation to Cork in 1699, shows that the lands of Crookhaven were part of the bishopric of Cork when leased.[639] Hull was serving as deputy vice-admiral to Nottingham very shortly after his arrival in Schull and he held this office until his death in the mid-seventeenth century.

What is known of Hull from this time is that from his arrival in Cork until the outbreak of the 1641 Rebellion, he became one of the most influential and wealthy local settlers in the area. He acquired large tracts of land, was directly involved in several business ventures, including trade and fishing and his liaisons with the pirates supplemented his escalating prosperity throughout his tenure as deputy vice-admiral,

[638] Ibid., pp 79-80; Appleby states that no evidence exists for the transactions of either the leasing of the lands at Leamcon or the granting of Crookhaven to Hull by the church authorities.
[639] W. Maziere Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, I, (London, 1863), p. xliii, xlvii, lviii, lviv, 170, 172, 173.

and in fact may have been the fiscal basis for his resultant wealth as indicated by his deposition in 1642.[640] His entrepreneurial spirit brought him into direct contact with Richard Boyle, with whom he went into business in 1616 and 1617, primarily in the fishing industry. Boyle pulled out of the venture at an early stage, but probably acted as a silent partner or provided financial backing when required. Though Hull operated alongside Thomas Roper initially, who also held fishing interests in Schull and Crookhaven, he eventually more or less monopolised the resource in West Cork, including assuming control of Roper's Crookhaven enterprise upon his departure to Ulster, to avail of colonial opportunities there. Hull's deposition of 1642, which covers his losses by 'rebels' during the general unrest of the Irish Rebellion period in the area in 1641, and though no doubt exaggerated in figures given, does provide detailed evidence for the wealth of the man, with the majority of his stated losses to do with his fishing interests. The sum total of his losses claimed at that point, in 1642, was 'he Loste, was robbed and forcibly dispoyled of his goods and Chattells to the severall values following [ ] 7679 besides the proffitts of his lands & leases worth 1148 li. Per annum'. It is also noted that he was receiving £250 per annum rent from Crookhaven.[641]

The 1642 deposition is important in not alone providing insight into Hull's wealth at that time, but also for the archaeological information on the structures that were located on his estate, including his own manor house, which he built in the 'English fashion'. Practically nothing now survives of this and other buildings, apart from the solitary remains of a battery tower but the details provided within the

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[640] Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork,* I, with information extracted from *Books of Survey and Distribution for Cork,* provides extensive lists of the lands owned or leased by Hull.

[641] Appleby, Ibid. p. 78-81; Sir William Hull knight & one of his Maiesties Councell of Mounster, 22 October 1642, Deposition of William Hull (MS 824, fols 253r-259v, TCD, 1641 Depositions Project, online transcript January 1970); A.E.J. Went, 'Sir William Hull's Losses in 1641', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 52 (1947), p. 55-68.

deposition are particularly useful in developing a possible picture of what was, at the time, located on Hull's lands. This included 'besides the great and strong houses and fish-houses that Sir William Hull built on it [Leamcon], which cost above fourteen hundred pounds… the house being so fortified with towers and works for defence that it was abell to defend it selfe well againste fower or five thousand'.[642] This suggests that Hull had built a fortified house, but with defence in mind as well as for its prestige value, comprising his own manor house but with probable surrounding turrets that could have housed a military presence. This would have at the very least given a perception of fortification and strength and would have followed the prescribed building style and layout for plantation settlement. The structural integrity of his estate was, it seems, extensive and cartographic evidence lends valuable support to the archaeological potential, including pointing to possible sites that now leave no above-ground trace.

More recent sources can also inform on possible structures, including the *Sailing Directions* written by Captain Martin White of the Royal Navy in 1835, following his survey of the coastline there in 1817, where he describes this site as 'Leamcon high tower' and separates it from the towerhouse on Castle Point by stating clearly that this was 'not the castle' (not Leamcon castle) that he was referring to.[643] Hull's 'tower' is therefore distinguished from Black (Leamcon) castle by Captain White and further supports the possibility that the fortified structures were still standing at that time, with an additional usage by then as navigational markers. Fragmentary remains showing on the 1840s Ordnance Survey maps as a small, square

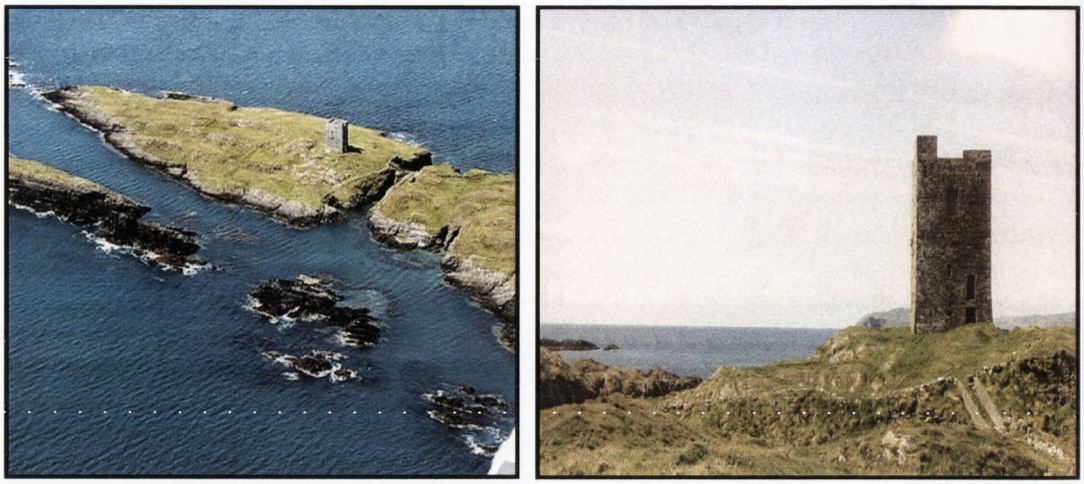
[642] Deposition of William Hull, ibid.
[643] White, R.N., *Sailing directions for the English Channel*, p. 173.

structure with a 'turret' and two walls, are all that are represented on the same maps from the 1920s.[644]

The details taken from the 1612 Dutch chart by Hunt show two castellated structures at 'Limcon' (map image 9). These can therefore be viewed in tandem with the available information contained in his deposition. One represents Hull's 'house' or castle (on the height) and the other the O'Mahony castle to the southwest at Castlepoint, known variously as both Leamcon castle and Black castle (plate 38). This large towerhouse, renovated into a private residence in recent years, formed part of Hull's holdings at Leamcon and was one of the most southerly defensive structures commanding the open Atlantic and surrounding coastline. What can be said with certainty is that clearly both structures were impressive, particularly when viewed from the seaward but they were equally identified as strategically important to the map-makers at the time, seen as central to the pirate activity there, and a tactical target for the Dutch, and later, as previously noted, as aids to navigation.

Identifying the remains of these sites is made easier when combining the historical evidence with the illustrative imagery from cartographic sources. Aerial survey can also be extremely useful for identifying sites on the ground, particularly when used in conjunction with this applied methodology, serving to give a broader perspective to a landscape study and allow for the placement of sites within their wider contexts, such as those in which Hull and his pirate contemporaries operated.

[644] Power, *Archaeological Inventory of Ireland: West Cork,* site no. 3048, p. 320.



(plate 38) Aerial view of Castlepoint, with 'Leamcon' castle, also known as Black castle, southwest of Leamcon harbour, West Cork .[645]

The undertaking of an aerial survey over the coastal landscape of Leamcon and Crookhaven would, it is suggested, be a very useful study and a previous aerial survey carried out by the author of the Baltimore area, resulted in the identification of new sites and the reinterpretation of known sites within their archaeological landscape context.[646] Mechanisms are available, however, that can be drawn upon to visually inspect sites from the air, such as the Ordnance Survey of Ireland website, within which aerial images of the southern coastline are available to view along with scanned images of the early 1840s six inch and later 1880s-1900s twenty-five inch maps of the country. Google Earth is similarly invaluable in obtaining a bird's eye view of the landscape.[647]

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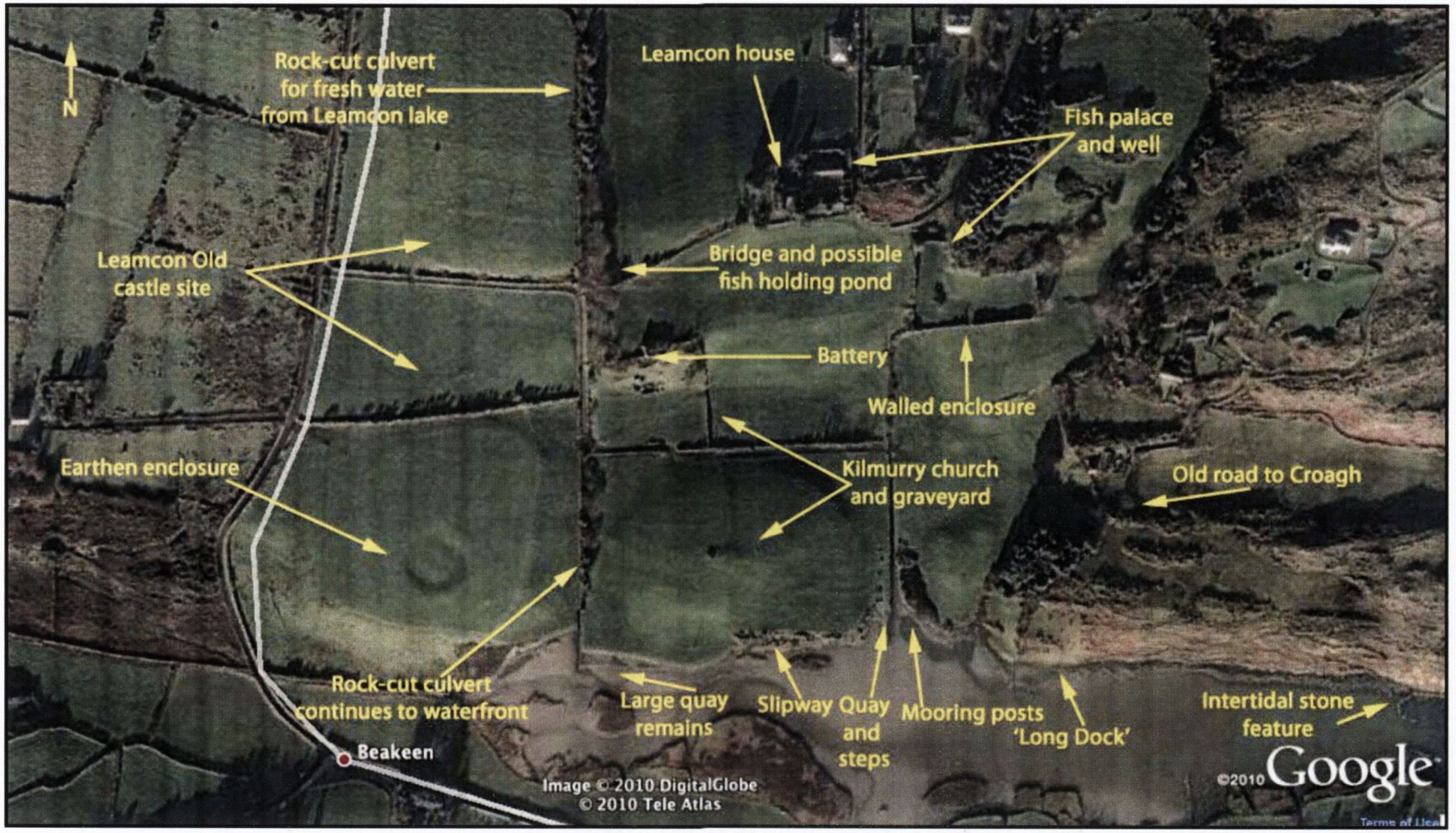
[645] Images taken from: http://www.heritagecouncil.ie/archaeology/image-gallery/gallery-1/ and http://www.flickr.com/photos/29527829@N02/3311560751/

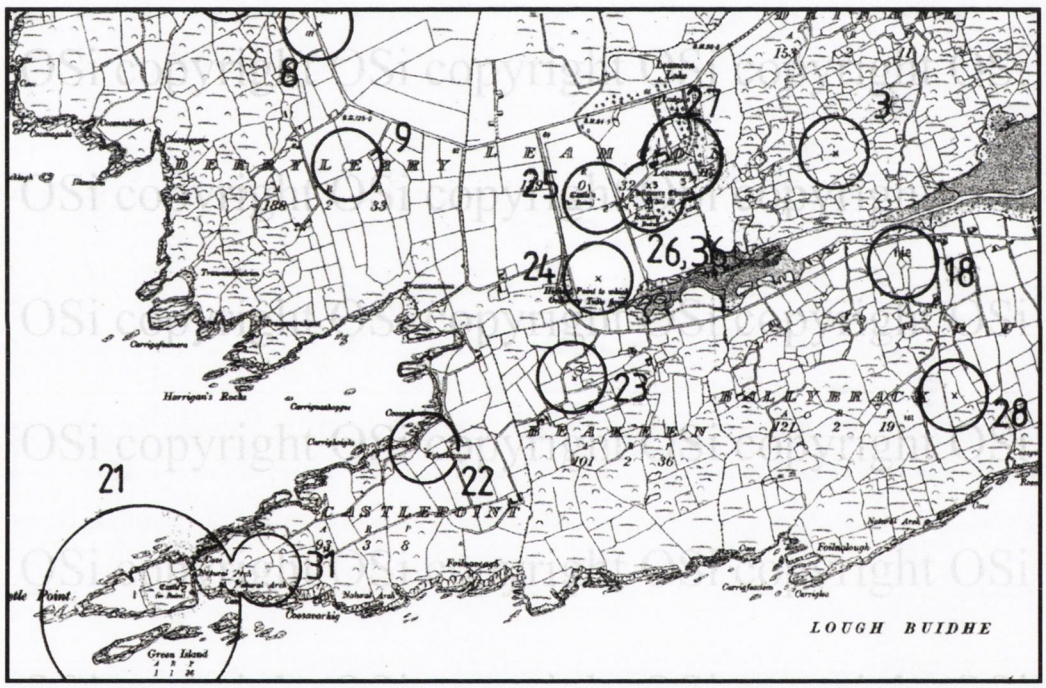
[646] Kelleher, 'Maritime Archaeological Landscape of Baltimore, Co. Cork' (M.A. thesis, University College Cork 1998); see also Kelleher, ''Gaelic O'Driscoll Lords of Baltimore', pp 142-143, 150-159; Kelleher, 'In a Harbour Long Ago', pp 273-285.

[647] www.osi.ie; www.google.ie




(plate 39) Known and newly identified archaeological sites are traced on this aerial image, which shows up landscape variations on the ground and assists in the locating of potential cultural remains.

The known archaeological sites recorded for Leamcon, and in particular in the area where Hull's estate was located, again hint at the potential for discovering much more extensive archaeological remains through a targeted programme of archaeological excavation, including the potential to reveal evidence for maritime and possible pirate activity. This is clearly seen from the high altitude image of the area, where preliminary results from fieldwalking have highlighted new areas worthy of investigation alongside previously recorded sites and features (plate 39[648] and map image 25).




(map image 25) The circles are indicative of known archaeological sites, both upstanding remains and where a site was previously located, at Leamcon, Schull, Co. Cork.[649]

A general walkover of the demesne lands of William Hull by the author revealed several previously unrecorded archaeological remains, all directly related to a maritime function, including a shard of seventeenth-century Tuscan oil jar, found in

[648] Image © www.google.com

[649] Detail taken from the Record of Monuments and Places (RMP) 6-inch map for Leamcon, West Cork, sheet no. 148, showing the known recorded archaeological sites in the area (© Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht). The main complex in the centre, sites numbered 24-27, represent Hull's estate and site no. 21, to the lower left of the map, is Castle Point.

an area skirting disturbed plough soil and the foreshore, providing physical evidence of the trade that was taking place at that time to the Continent and the New World.[650]

It is through his office as deputy vice-admiral that Hull was brought into direct contact with the pirates in the southwest. Familial connections, particularly between Hull and Richard Boyle, also facilitated this in that he was able to exert influence when he needed to, obtain financial backing when required and may explain his rapid elevation into local society and why he was so successful in his own business ventures.[651] He became intricately connected with Boyle when he married Boyle's sister-in-law, Elizabeth, in 1622. Hull's second wife was the widow of John Boyle, formerly bishop of Cork and older brother of Sir Richard Boyle. Boyle himself chronicled the event 'January 1622. My brother the late Bishop of Cork's widow was by me given in marriage to Sir William Hull, and married together in the study at Youghal by Mr. Goodwin.'[652]

Boyle's matchmaking is indicative of how well connected Hull was locally, and while thus being accepted as a fitting partner to marry into the Boyle dynasty, no doubt it was also influenced by his success as a planter and business entrepreneur, and perhaps his ability to successfully make a profit from his trade with the pirates. In a peculiar act of loyalty, Hull named his only son by this marriage Boyle in respect of the family connection and another son by his first marriage, also named William, went on again to marry into the Boyle family.[653] Hull's other daughter Mary married

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[650] The pottery and the other identified sites are discussed in detail in chapter 5 within the context of the potential infrastructure that was in place at the pirate base and the economic trade links taking place during this period and the business of piracy; thanks are due to both Rosanne Meehan and Clare McCutcheon for positively identifying the shard of pottery and providing expert comments on it.

[651] Appleby, ' Pirates and Settlers', p. 87.

[652] D. Townsend, *The Life and Letters of the Earl of Cork* (London, 1904), p. 67.

[653] Appleby, 'Pirates and Settlers', p. 87, states that his son married one of Sir Richard Boyle's daughters, 'Jane'; there is some confusion here as Canny, *The Upstart Earl* makes no mention of familial ties with Hull, or indeed a daughter 'Jane', instead he mentions Boyle's daughter Joan as marrying firstly George, earl of Kildare in 1630 and later negotiations taking place between Joan and the eldest son of Sir Edward Villiers, president of Munster, pp 48-55, 78-79, 88-89; similarly no

Edward Boyle, son of the deceased bishop of Cork and Hull's second wife. This resulted in the somewhat intriguing family set-up whereby Hull's daughter married her stepbrother.

Hull was given a customs post in Kinsale in 1622, along with retaining his deputy vice-admiralty post in Schull, and in 1621 he was appointed to the council of Munster. He was also awarded his knighthood in that year. By the 1620s, such was Hull's familial and commercial ties with Boyle that he appears to have been acting as rent collector in the southwest for Boyle.[654] His rise through the ranks of the landed élite was rapid, due primarily to familial and economic connections, but Hull's dealings with the pirates along the southwest coast were equally as extensive and lucrative. The High Court of Admiralty papers have abundant entries on his encounters with, victualling of and benefitting from the pirates that frequented his shores with one overtly denouncing Hull as 'a notorious harboror of piratts and receavor of theire goodes'.[655] He came under direct scrutiny as a result of this when in January of 1610 an arrest order was issued and was carried out by Sir Richard Moryson in March, reporting that he 'has apprehended the deputy vice-admiral of the province, Captain Hull'.[656]

The value of Hull's intelligence in respect of the pirate activity was recognised, as was the strategic nature of his lands in the midst of such activity, and he was almost immediately given authority to 'parley and go aboard any pirates, the better to enable him to give accounts of their proceedings.' In fact while in England at

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mention of a Jane Boyle is made in Townsend's *Life and Letters*; the confusion may eminate from and be solved by reference to Grosart's 'Notes and Illustrations' at the end of his transcription of Boyle's *Lismore Papers,* I, part ii, p. 375, where he mentions William, son of Sir William Hull, who married Jane, daughter of Richard Boyle, Archbishop of Tuam, so perhaps the mix-up is in the person in question, while the name is correct.

[654] Appleby, 'Pirates and Settlers', pp 85-88.

[655] Deposition of Rich Kerry, 29 January 1610 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47, f 79v-83).

[656] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Lords of the Privy Council, 26 January 1610, *Cal. S. P. 1608-1610,* pp 353-354.

that time, Hull received a commission to entreat with the pirates in an effort to encourage them to accept pardons, whereupon Hull assumed a more conciliatory role in this respect.[657] This was to the annoyance of Moryson, who cautioned at the prospect that 'it cannot be but hurtful to the service [Admiralty], for they will never be able to constrain this misunderstanding people to think commerce a fault with them, when they shall see any by authority converse with them'.[658] Hull's own deposition of 1613 recounts the extent to which he was involved in negotiating with the pirates for pardons, when he stated that he boarded the ship of Captain Robert Stevenson when he and his crew arrived at Leamcon seeking his majesty's pardon, and confirmed that Stephenson paid Captain Middleton, in Mamora, £200 to secure the pardon from the king – a fact that Middleton was attempting to deny.[659]

As suggested by Appleby, the London government was cautious in its dealings with individuals like Hull. It was circumspect about his liaisons with pirates. They did not want to undermine his success in planting and settling large tracts of land or his successful business ventures, which were a consistent and increasing source of revenue to the crown. Neither did they wish to compromise themselves, however, as they were aware of Hull's 'double-dealing' when it came to commercing in pirated goods.[660] Hull's interaction with the pirates provides key insights into the everyday activity of the individuals involved. As Appleby termed it, several individuals were 'pirates-cum-settlers', with many of these leading figures coming from the community of pirates. A case in point would be Richard Bishop, admiral and leader of the pirates, who eventually accepted a pardon in 1611 and lived in Leamcon, probably

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[657] Sir Richard Morison to Salisbury, 4 March 1610, *Cal. S. P. 1608-1610,* pp 397-398.
[658] Ibid.
[659] Deposition of William Hull of Leamcon, gentleman, 13 May 1613 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42, f. 153v-155r); Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, p. 131.
[660] Appleby, 'Pirates and Settlers', p. 84.

on William Hull's estate. Similarly, William Baugh had an abode at Innishannon, when he received a pardon in 1613 following extensive negotiation by Hull.[661]

Characters like Hull, though abusing their official positions for their own interest, were useful to the crown in that they were in a perfect position to exert local pressure and influence on the pirates in order to suppress this activity. Inadvertently it served to diminish piracy to a certain degree by slowly encouraging the pirates themselves to settle and live locally – the over riding view being that, even though these were brigands, they were also English, so better an English settler to support the crown's plantation endeavours in Munster than to prevent such settlement when it was needed. It is perhaps this very fact, no doubt supported by his influential connections to individuals like Richard Boyle, that allowed officials like Hull to remain in their position unhindered for so long.[662]

But exasperations in England continued and indeed heightened as time passed, with the pirate problem being directly linked to corrupt officials. The privy council writing from Whitehall in November of 1612 clearly stated that

> As to the general subject of the pirates, it has hitherto been supposed that their means of support and countenance come from two quarters only, the coast of Barbary and the west coast of Ireland [Munster]; the former of which is beyond all rule and justice, being wholly given up to barbarism, while the latter is inhabited either by natives, who, from motives of interest or of fear, are ready to supply their necessities, or by persons of our own nation who have taken places there with the express purpose of commercing with the pirates with more convenience and security.[663]

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[661] Ibid. p. 77; Deposition of John Hoskins of Plymouth, mariner, 19 August 1613 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42, f. 210v-212r); Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, p. 135; see chapter 6 for a broader discussion on this.

[662] Hull's actions to countermand the activities of pirates, after the demise of the confederacy, were determined and are dealt with in Chapter 6.

[663] Lords of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 18 November 1612, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, pp 301-302.

Thomas Crooke and Baltimore

Thomas Crooke, having identified the opportunity to acquire land in Ireland, established his settlement there to make legitimate profits through plantation. He would no doubt also have recognised the prospect of enjoying economic returns on more unofficial activity through association with the pirates who were similarly a part of the landscape in southwestern Munster at the time of his arrival there. Perhaps aptly termed 'the imported pirate', Crooke arrived and settled in Baltimore in 1606 supported by an existing agreement with Sir Fineen O'Driscoll of a twenty-one year lease of his lands to Crooke, totaling some thirty-four and a half ploughlands.[664] Crooke paid an entry fee of £2,000 and rent of £56 per annum.[665] O'Driscoll was impoverished at that point, with this being hinted at in October of 1606: 'Sir Finie O'Driscoll, of Carberrie' petitioned Chichester to regrant his 'poor waste country' to him without being subject to 'composition'. He claimed extreme poverty due to costs accruing from the king's predecessor, Queen Elizabeth.

Fineen's petition is also of value to our archaeological understanding of his castle and the possible state that it was in at that point. He describes it as 'much of the timber of the said castle being pulled down for fuel by the soldiers there, a great part of the stone frame is fallen'.[666] Though there may be exaggeration in detail, the possibility that some of the castle structure had fallen supports the evidence that when Crooke arrived and built his fortified house, he did so with the stones of the old castle,

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[664] Bernie McCarthy, *Pirates of Baltimore*, p. 22; Ms. McCarthy's research looks specifically at Crooke in light of his taking over the O'Driscoll castle, building his own fortified house that is now the existing castle of Dún na Séad and tracing the settlement of Baltimore as established by Crooke at the time in Baltimore, in particular see chapter 2, pp 18-31.

[665] O'Donovan, *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, p. 107; O'Mahony, 'Baltimore, the O'Driscolls and the end of Gaelic Civilisation 1538-1615', p. 126; MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, pp 151-153;

[666] Sir Finie O'Driscoll's Petition, 22 Oct. 1606; Carte Papers, 61, p. 225 (State Papers online; Gale Document no. MC4347400016); Sir Finie O'Driscoll's Petition, 22 October 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1606-1608*, pp 6-7;

and in an area adjacent to and over earlier structures.[667] The petition is signed by Chichester and counter-signed by seven other individuals, including Captain Henry Skipwith, who had been sent as a commissioner to enquire of the lands of 'Sir Fynny O'Driscoll'.[668]

Fineen took the crown's side in 1602 against his sons, Conor and Dermot, both of whom had supported the Spanish forces during the battle of Kinsale in 1601. He handed his lands over to the crown, including his main castle of Dún na Séad and within which Sir George Carew placed a garrison. The soldiers proceeded to ransack the castle, tearing down the timbers of the roof to use as firewood resulting in the collapse of some of its structure.[669] The lands were regranted to Crooke, who had the backing of Sir James Lancaster, interestingly the commander of the East India Company fleet of ships and who was commercially linked to the development of the settlement in Dundaniel.[670] Lancaster's, and indeed Crooke's, connections with Baltimore would seem to go back farther than this, however, with both having taken a stake in lands around the area from O'Driscoll as early as 1600 and with further letters of 'feoffement' being issued in 1605 and 1606 to both parties.[671]

Crooke was linked both in business and personally to the Winthrop family, with a John Winthrop settling in Munster in the late 1590s. He had settled in Aghadown to the north of Baltimore, where he died in 1613, and would have been perfectly placed to identify the opportunity for Crooke and others to come to the area to settle and commerce, following the fall of the Gaelic order and it may have been

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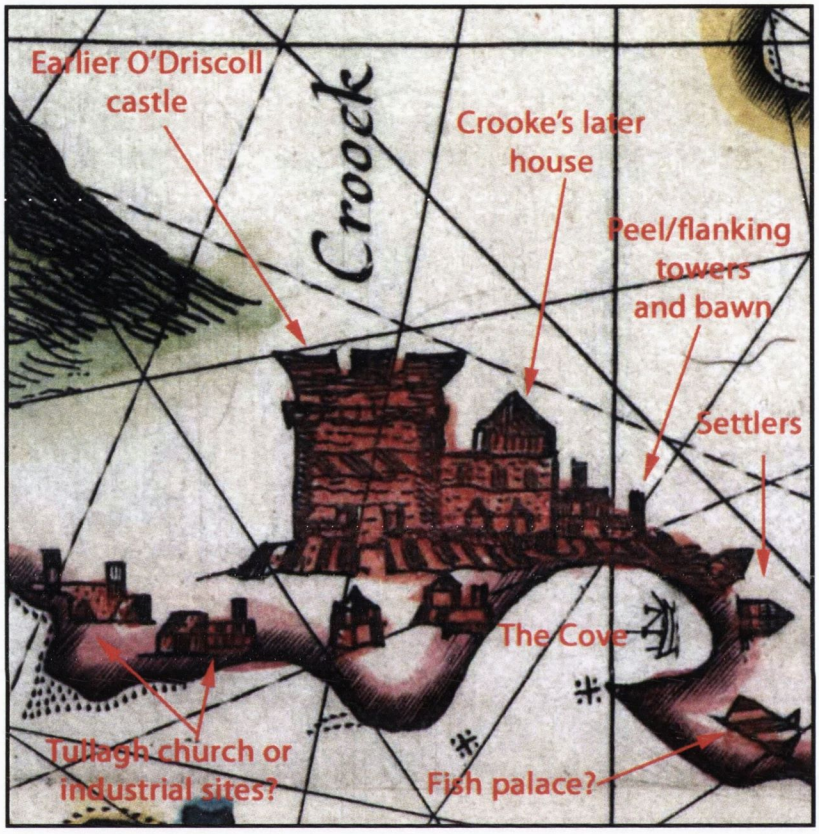
[667] E. Cotter, 'Dún na Séad Castle: an early-17th century house in Baltimore, Co. Cork', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 115 (2010), pp 31-54.
[668] Sir Finie O'Driscoll's Petition, ibid.
[669] Sir Finie O'Driscoll's Petition, 22 October 1606, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1606-1608*, pp 6-7; the destruction of the castle may have been deliberate, as Carew had received permission from the Privy Council in England to demolish the castles in Baltimore to prevent their use by 'rebels', see The Privy Council to Sir George Carew, 18 July, 1602, *Cal. Carew MSS 1601-1603*, pp 271-272.
[670] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, p. 151; Keay, *The Honourable Company*, p. 10-23, provides a history of Lancaster's command of the Company's fleet.
[671] O'Donovan, *Celtic Miscellany*, pp 106-107.

this connection that brought Crooke to the area at the turn of the century. His son, also John, formed what MacCarthy-Morrogh refers to as the 'Baltimore syndicate' comprising John Winthrop, Thomas Crooke and James Salmon. Indeed Salmon may have had familial ties with the Winthrops.[672] The motives for the three of these New English settlers to move to the south coast, apart from the resource potential of the area, seems equally to have been freedom of religion, with all three classed as non-conformists in England. Relocation and settlement in remote places like the West Cork coast afforded them religious freedom without fear of political or ecclesiastical recriminations.[673] This opportunity to express and practise their beliefs more freely was an issue, with Richard Moryson in 1611 writing on matters relating to conformity of religion and the penalties that should be enforced on those not complying.[674]

Within a very short time of settling in Baltimore, Crooke had been granted a lease to hold a weekly market and two annual fairs. He established a vibrant settler community there by 1609 with two towns, the main one centred round the castle of Dún na Séad, which Crooke, who must have repaired or rebuilt the castle, now used as his administrative centre. The second community was a smaller, less defined town in the area known as the Cove, to the southeast of the main town and which would have been the location of the original medieval settlement of Baltimore. The Dutch chart of the area from 1612 shows the settlement in detail (map image 26). Clearly seen is the castle of Dún na Séad – comprising the possible earlier O'Driscoll tower with attached rectangular structure, most probably the hall or administrative building used by Crooke and built by him when he established the settlement there shortly after arriving. Archaeological evidence was identified for this structure by

[672] MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Munster Plantation, 1583-1641', p. 223.
[673] MacCarthy-Morrogh, ibid., pp 222-223.
[674] Curtin Clayton, *Council Book for the Province of Munster*, pp 73-74.

archaeologist Eamonn Cotter during his excavations of the site.[675] To the east of the main fortification are shown various attached buildings enclosed within a possible bawn, with what appear to be two flanking towers.

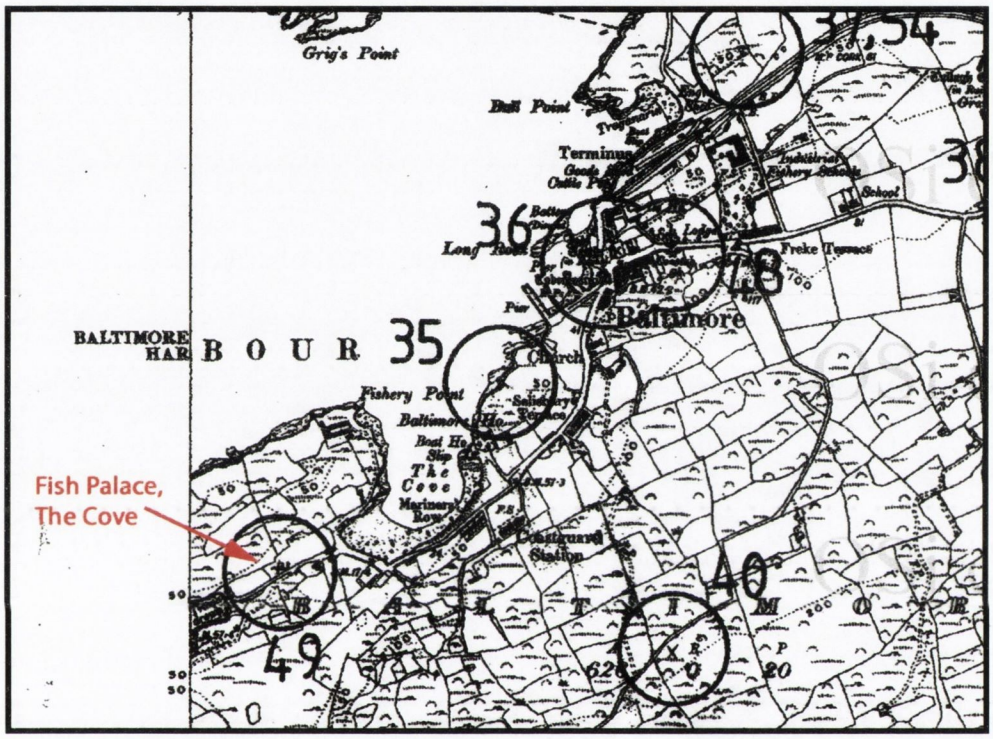



(map image 26) Detail from 1612 John Hunt map showing Dún na Séad, named as 'Croock' and the Baltimore settlement under Crooke.[676]

Continuing south from there into the Cove area are two buildings, leading down to another structure beside the water's edge. In this general area the recorded archaeological remains of a fish palace that was operated by Crooke under the auspices of Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, are located and for which evidence presents as a series of beam hole niches cut into the rock face, with fourteen holes evident in a

[675] E. Cotter, 'Dún na Séad Castle', ibid., pp 45-47.
[676] Detail taken from John Hunt chart 4, H. Gerritzsoon, 1612, *Beschrijvinghe van de Zeecusten ende Havenen van Yerlandt*, ibid., p. 20.

line, 1.2m above the present ground level (map image 27 and figure 9).[677] One of the two structures illustrated on the water's edge, adjacent to where the vessel is anchored on the chart in what is the small bay at the Cove, may represent the known fish palace.[678]

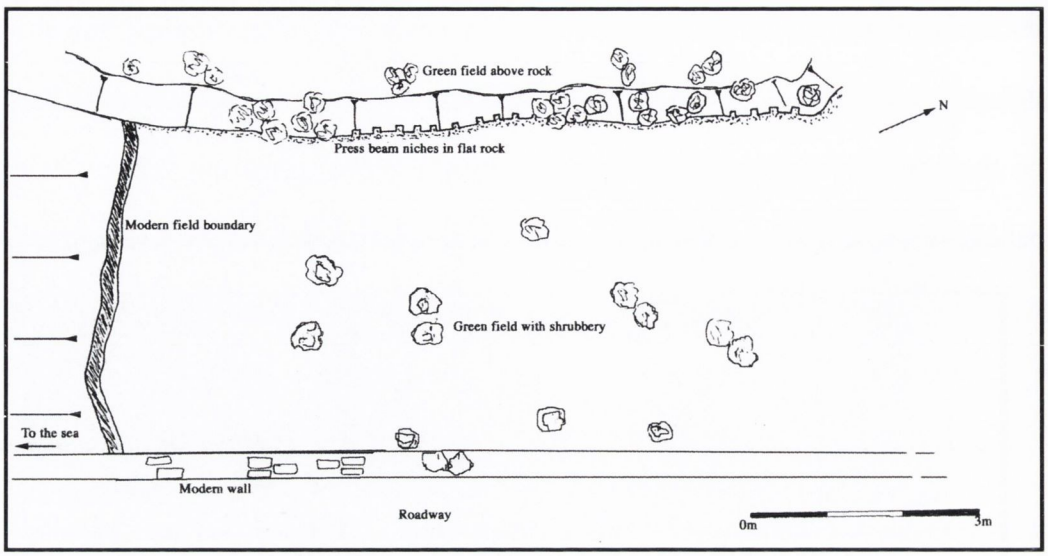



(map image 27) 6-inch RMP map of the Cove area of Baltimore showing location of fish palace; where the niches for the press beams are located cut into the rock face.[679]

[677] H. Kelleher, 'The Archaeology of fish palaces in West Cork' (M.A. Thesis University College Cork, 1995), p. 29; D. Power, *Archaeological Inventory of County Cork: West Cork*, I (Dublin, 1992), site number 3652, p. 410; Kelleher, 'The Maritime Archaeological Landscape of Baltimore, Co. Cork', p. 27.

[678] RMP number CO:150:049: *fish palace*, Record of Monuments and Places (Archaeological Survey of Ireland data, Dept. of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, Dublin).

[679] Register of Monuments and Places 6 inch map no. 150 for Cork (Archaeological Survey of Ireland, Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, Dublin).




(figure 9) Ground plan of Cove fish palace remains, with press beam niches cut into rock face.[680]

The larger rectangular building illustrated to the bottom of the image is substantial, with a possible spire, turret or gable indicated on one end may represent the fish palace. It could, however, equally be evidence for other structures that were located in that area and that now leave no extant archaeological remains.

The other buildings indicated on the 1612 chart and located directly below the castle may be structures along the coastal fringe either northwest of Dún na Séad, essentially looking west of the castle site, or to its immediate southward on the foreshore. It can only be surmised what these actually are or where they were exactly located, as the area in front of the castle today has been extensively reclaimed. The fortification now stands at a distance from the water's edge, unlike its original position which would have been accessible directly from the water. One building in particular on the very edge of the shoreline immediately north from the castle as illustrated may be that of Tullagh church, the remains of which are located northwest of Dún na Séad, on the shores of Church Strand Bay (plate 40).

[680] Plan by author, taken from C. Kelleher, 'Maritime Archaeological Landscape of Baltimore, Co. Cork', p. 118, as adapted from Archaeological Survey of Ireland field notes, Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, Dublin.



(plate. 40) Tullagh church northwest of Dún na Séad and overlooking Church Strand Bay.

Two of the buildings nearest the possible church look like settler houses, as they are represented as having two stories with hipped roofs, again in the 'English style', while the other structures represented are rather strange and may be industrial, though this is purely speculative.

With local government officials, like Hull and Crooke working so closely with the pirates, the sources attest to many of the pirates availing of the opportunity to partake in 'legitimate' work, particularly those individuals who had families in the area, when not undertaking predatory activities on the high seas. Similarly, local fishermen, identifying the opportunity for profit through piratical acts, also 'volunteered' to join the pirate crews. Such 'double-jobbing' is well accounted for the

period with the pirates in the southwest and fishermen in Newfoundland providing similar examples.[681]

The value of maps and charts such as the 1612 Dutch chart and map held among the Strafford papers is multifold. They present the opportunity to trace the potential nature and extent of the plantation settlements, providing visual representations but also supplying information on economic activity, possible habitation sites and also allow interpretations to be made as to activities of the individuals using the areas at that time. The commissioning of such maps and charts may have had varying motivations, which could have included representing intentions at prospection, encouragement of speculation, possible ideological depictions of ownership, or perhaps indeed existing settlement. Allowing for inaccuracies, particularly in regard to spatial and geographical deviation but also political bias, these contemporary pictographic representations of the landscape are proving to be quite accurate from an archaeological perspective and thus an invaluable additional research tool for identifying sites, many of which may not now leave any above-ground surface trace.[682] The Popham colony map by John Hunt has already been discussed and archaeologically its accuracy has been proven.[683]

The issue of ownership of the lands around Baltimore was confusing and contested as Fineen O'Driscoll, also in 1607, had made a lease of sixteen ploughlands to Walter Coppinger, the catholic entrepreneur who had arrived in Ireland looking to build an empire for himself and saw such opportunities in the lands around Baltimore,

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[681] See D.W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (London, 1896), p. 102 where in 1612, Easton is accused of forcing fishermen to join his crew, though it is stated that 'many [are] volunteers'; HCA 13/226 also contains numerous references to pirates, or those 'forced' into piracy in West Cork, working legitimately or returning to their old trades once they came ashore there; see Chapter 5 for more detail on this.

[682] See for instance Kelleher, 'In a Harbour', ibid., which discusses the ground-truthing of the Boyle/Strafford map and also Breen *The Gaelic Lordship of the O'Sullivan Beare*, pp 204-205; Breen, *An Archaeology of Southwest Ireland'*, pp 104-156.

[683] Brain, 'The John Hunt Map of the First English Colony', p. 69, 73.

Bandon and Clonakilty. Coppinger paid £1,700 for his lease but problems arose when it became clear that those lands leased by Crooke and Coppinger overlapped, with each prospector claiming the right to the land. Protracted arguments were made by both parties over the following years, with Coppinger resorting to bullying tactics, and at times illegal actions, in an attempt to undo Crooke's settlement and hold on to the land.

By 1610, though petitions had been sent to the lord deputy from various persons, including Fineen O'Driscoll, in relation to dues and commissions owing on their lands, Coppinger was accepted as the representative to collect the said dues for the crown.[684] Coppinger may have taken advantage of his position, however, with complaints about his methods and actions being later made by settlers in Baltimore – 'his malicious and covetous desire to supplant the said plantationers and get their possessions, has by very many forgeries, champerties, maintainers and other like corrupt and unlawful courses [ ] gotten several pretended titles to all their lands'. Coppinger was jailed and fined in 1616 for his transgressions.[685] Such tactics seem to have been a normal strategy for Coppinger as he was also to get into trouble in 1613 for sabotaging the works at Dundaniel in an attempt to force the English East India Company's scheme to fail there.[686]

By 1612 the Baltimore plantation had received Government approval, receiving a royal charter the following year, which saw Crooke appointed sovereign and supported by a council of twelve burgesses, including among the twelve, James

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[684] To the right honourable Lord Deputy, 23 November 1610, *Harleian MSS*, f. 95r-95v; Richard Morrison to the Vice President and Council of Munster, 24 May 1610; from Curtis Clayton, (ed.), *Council Book for the Province of Munster*, pp 192-199.

[685] Petition of James Spenser and other English Inhabitants of a Plantation in Carbrie, county Cork, to the Privy Council, April 1618, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1615-1625*, pp 190-191; the whole land issue between Coppinger and Crooke is convoluted and protracted and beyond the scope of this study; for an insight see http://www.copinger.org.uk/1Walter3.html

[686] McCracken, 'Charcoal-burning Ironworks', p. 128.

Salmon who himself was involved with the pirates and later privateers. Crooke, as sovereign, held court for minor offences and civil actions and with his council, could enact byelaws; he was invested with the duty to send two officers to the king's parliament held in Dublin that year and essentially was empowered locally, which he exploited to his own gain.[687] At this point and following agreement between O'Driscoll, Crooke and Coppinger, the lands around Baltimore had been rented to Thomas Bennett of Bandon, who it seems acted as executor for Crooke in 1610 during the then ongoing issue of land ownership.[688] As early as 1608, Crooke was under suspicion of colluding with the pirates in Baltimore as letters appear with complaints about him and his extra-curricular commercial activities with individuals in the harbour. In a postscript to a letter sent by the lords of the council of Munster, writing to Chichester in 1608, we read that:

> They understand that one Thomas Crooke, of Downshead, Esq., dwelling not far from Baltimore, has been a chief maintainer and abettor of Coward [Captain Coward a pirate] and other notorious pirates, and that having been often sent for by process out of the Court of Admiralty, he could not hitherto be brought to his answer for it; wherefore they pray his Lordship to take notice, and to give order that he [Crooke] may likewise be apprehended and sent over hither, for he little knows how much they have to do for the satisfying the ambassadors of foreign princes in their complaints against pirates harboured in Ireland.[689]

And again, the lord president of Munster also took issue with Crooke when he states that:

> fforasmuch as Thomas Crooke of Baltimore in the Countie of Corck Esquier beinge accused before his Maiestes more honorable privy Councell in England for Divers matters. Wherevppom yt hath pleased their Lordships to send for

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[687] James Salmon to Thomas Crooke, 23 June 1608, *Cal. S.P 1606-1608,* pp 571-572; The Lord Deputy to the Attorney-General, 20 October 1612, *Cal. S.P. 1611-1612*, p. 292; MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, p. 152; E.J. Priestley, 'An Early 17th Century Map of Baltimore', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 89, no. 248 (1984), p. 55; Henry Barnby, 'The Sack of Baltimore', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 74 (1969), pp 106-107.
[688] O'Donovan, *ibid.*, p. 108; Cotter, E. 'Dún na Séad Castle', ibid. pp 31-47.
[689] Lords of Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 8 March 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1606-1608,* p. 433.

him for annsweringe thereof before them, and by the Dirrection of the Lord Deputies of this kindgome, I am to send him ouer accordingly.[690]

In the same month, however, Chichester supported Crooke in his dealings with the pirates, suggesting that he was falsely accused and his actions misconstrued. Crooke had boarded a pirate vessel that had entered the harbour and, during an excursion by the pirates onshore to obtain supplies, they had burned a house. Crooke boarded to seek restitution for the damage and was then accused of liaising with the pirates. Chichester wrote a letter in his favour.[691] Similarly, the bishop of Cork, wrote to exonerate Crooke of any wrong-doing – 'he is bold to recommend him as more serviceable to His Majesty, in respect of his ability and sufficiency in many ways, than any man in those parts [ ] and has been, for the service in that behalf, commended by their Lordships and hated by pirates.'[692] This letter is quickly followed by a report of the return of Crooke to Baltimore, who was 'declared free of all imputations'.[693]

The suspicions were, however, well founded. The High Court of Admiralty papers contain several entries showing Crooke openly trading with the pirates. As early as 1605 he was provisioning the pirates, in partnership with James Salmon, in Baltimore harbour, supplying them with beef, beer and mutton in return for sugar and other booty. He was also closely tied in with Sir Ralph Bingley, an undertaker who acquired lands in Donegal and was tasked with planting settlers there.[694] Bingley was involved with the Virginia Company and overseas colonial endeavours, but was also

[690] By the Lord President of Mounster, 23 June 1608, Curtis Clayton, (ed.), *Council Book for the Province of Munster,* p. 376.
[691] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council, 20 March 1608, *Cal. S. P. Ire. 1606-1608*, p. 447.
[692] Copy of a letter from the Lord Bishop of Cork to the Lords of the Council in England, August 1608, *Cal, S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, pp 100-101.
[693] The Privy Council to Lord Danvers, 20 November 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 101.
[694] List of names of the undertakers of Ireland, Dec. 1610, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610,* p. 548.

suspected of acts of piracy.[695] In 1607 Crooke willingly received goods off the ship *Triall,* which, scheduled for a voyage to Virginia from London, saw Bingley board the ship in Dublin, and who proceeded to divert it into Kinsale.[696] In an act, described by Andrews, as one of the most notorious cases of a captain turning pirate, and seemingly with the full knowledge of the lord president of Munster, Sir Henry Brouncker, proceeded to trade the goods on board with the pirates in the port.[697] Indeed, Bingley did not content himself with taking the goods from the *Triall* but while in Kinsale, with some of his crew using the longboat from the *Triall*, entered into Cork harbour and took another ship that was moored in the River Lee.[698]

In 1607, Crooke refused to hand over goods to Humphrey Jobson that Bingley had plundered from a French vessel.[699] The frustration of the privy council in London is clear when they accused Thomas Crooke of Baltimore of 'being a chief maintainer and abettor of Coward and other notorious pirates'.[700] Bingley, surprisingly, was never tried for piracy and continued in his ventures unimpeded by either the pirates or indeed the establishment in London.[701] In 1611, the States-Generals of the United Provinces in Holland, had received sanction by James to pursue the pirates and with orders issued to all vice-admirals of the coast, were complaining that Crooke had 'uncourteously refused' to furnish the Dutch captains of the anti-pirate fleet with pilots to guide them into the harbours around Munster.[702] Though it seems that

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[695] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 117.
[696] Deposition of Roger Bamford, servant to William Angell, 3 September 1607 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/19, f. 18v-21); Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, pp 116-117.
[697] Andrews, *The Westward Enterprise*, p. 38.
[698] Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, p. 298; Quinn, 'The Voyage of the *Triall* 1606-1607', in *Explorers and Colonies: America 1500-1625* (London, 1990), pp 363-381.
[699] Senior, ' An Investigation', p. 117; (original source refers to T.NA. Examinations; HCA 13/97/17, f. 208: 1 June 1607 and 22 Sept. 1608; this volume was in conservation and could not be consulted for this study).
[700] Lords of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 8 March 1608, *Cal. SP. Ire. 1606-1608*, pp 433-434.
[701] Andrews, ibid.
[702] Lords of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 9 September 1611, *Cal. S. P. Ire. 1611-1614*, p. 101.

Crooke was still serving two masters, by 1613, he had been awarded a knighthood.[703] He was created a baronet in 1624.[704].

James Salmon, holding court

Directly connected to Crooke, both personally through family ties and officially as a prospective undertaker in Baltimore, James Salmon arrived into Munster about the same time as Crooke. Though there is less information available on him, he is recorded as being from Suffolk and was married to one of Crooke's daughters.[705] He worked closely with Crooke, being one of his twelve burgesses. From letters that passed between both gentlemen, Salmon kept Crooke appraised on shipping activity, where, for example, Salmon thought it right to inform Crooke of a ship in Baltimore harbour that 'seems strange to him'. He confirmed that the crew comprised 'Irishmen, who could speak but little English'. The letter is signed from 'Ould Court', with an additional note 'To my loving father, Mr. Thomas Crooke, Esq.' (map image 28).[706]

There are two Oldcourts in Baltimore: the O'Driscoll castle of Oldcourt towerhouse which is located along the lower reaches of the Ilen River, about a kilometer north of Baltimore village and nearby Oldcourt House, a later Georgian house but which was built on the site of an earlier towerhouse (plate 42). Little if anything is known about this latter towerhouse, so it cannot be said with certainty which site is depicted on the 1612 map. What can be said is that the structure depicted is definitively crenellated, and if assessed alongside other known fortification sites on the chart, like that of Leamcon and Castlehaven, then it strongly suggests that it is Oldcourt towerhouse that is illustrated. This castle was one of the last of the

[703] Bennett, *History of Bandon*, p. 86.
[704] 'Sir Thomas Crooke, first baronet (*c.*1574–1630)', *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6777
[705] MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'The Munster Plantation', p. 223.
[706] James Salmon to Thomas Crooke, 23 June 1608, *Cal. S. P. Ire. 1606-1608*, pp 571-572.

O'Driscoll strongholds vacated by them, with a member of the O'Driscoll clan still resident in the towerhouse in 1629.[707]




(map image 28) Oldcourt as depicted as 'Cort' on the 1612 chart by John hunt, where James Salmon presided.[708]

Further supporting this argument, the structure indicated on the 1612 chart is placed at the confluence of the Ilen River and estuarine limits of Baltimore harbour, exactly where Oldcourt castle is located (plate 41). While it seems likely that James Salmon was resident in the other towerhouse, now Oldcourt House (plate 42), it cannot be definitively stated that this was the case, but what can be said is that the depiction by the Dutch on the 1612 chart indicates its importance as a site of note, being represented at that time as the 'Cort' or courthouse.

[707] Coleman, 'The Old Castles', p. 31.
[708] Detail taken from chart 4, John Hunt, 1612, Beschrijvinghe van de Zeecusten ende Havenen van Yerlandt, ibid., p.20.



(plate 41) Aerial view of Oldcourt towerhouse, Baltimore located at the edge of what is the start of the Ilen River; adjacent to the site lies Hegarty's boat-building yard.[709]

In a letter from Chichester dated 20 October 1612, the lord deputy requests that Salmon, among a list of others including Crooke, be named as provost to coincide with the incorporation of Baltimore, which was given borough status in 1613.[710] It is again through the HCA papers that evidence of his communications with pirates comes to light. In association with Crooke in 1607, both were involved with providing the pirate captains in Baltimore with victuals, including beef, beer and mutton in return for sugar and other goods.[711] Not all his dealings with the pirates were self-serving. In 1608 Salmon, in his legitimate role as admiralty officer, sent goods that Bishop and Jennings had pirated from the ship *Almanac*, back to Bristol to their rightful merchant owners.[712]

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[709] Image taken by N. Kelleher for Kelleher, 'The Maritime Archaeological Landscape of Baltimore', plate 49; unfortunately since the image was taken in 1998, a large part of Oldcourt Castle has collapsed.

[710] The Lord Deputy to the Attorney-General, 20 October 1612, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1612*, p. 292.

[711] Examination of Nicholas Poole of St. Albans in the county of Hartford aged 43, 23 January, 1606 (T.N.A Examinations, HCA 1/46, f. 310v-311r).

[712] Senor, 'An Investigation', p. 106.



(plate 42) Oldcourt House, Baltimore, a Georgian structure built *c.* 1770 but which incorporates fabric of an earlier tower house.[713]

In 1624 in papers dealing with Interrogatories taken on behalf of the lord high admiral, several responses refer to goods being taken from pirates in Castlehaven by 'Mr. Salmon, an Englishman'. One, being an interrogation of a suspected pirate, queried a ship called the *Neptune* that was taken and brought into Castlehaven, where its goods, including salt, were sold to James Salmon for money and other victuals to the value of £250.[714] It is apparent therefore, and no great surprise, that James Salmon was also open to making profit from ill-gotten goods. By 1627, Salmon was resident in Castlehaven, as he is referred to within the patrol journal of the royal navy's ship the *St. James* in that year, when the vessel and it's crew took shelter in Castlehaven from bad weather.[715] Salmon seems to have been a man of wealth at that point, as a letter from Sir Richard Aldworth, detailing the misery and poverty of the soldiers

[713]National Inventory of Architectural Heritage, Buildings of Ireland; http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah

[714] Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material,* p. 302.

[715] John C. Appleby, 'The Defence of Ireland: A Naval Journal of 1627', *Analecta Hibernica*, 37 (1988), p. 246.

stationed in County Cork at the time, suggests that the 'rich Englishmen of the province should be written to and asked for a loan'. One of the gentlemen he lists is Mr. James Salmon.[716]

His involvement in a number of admiralty cases relating to ships either plundered or wrecked on the coast of Cork is documented in his later service to the crown. One with extensive records relating to it concerns the loss of the Spanish galleon *Santa Ana Maria* in Castlehaven harbour in 1628 and perhaps provides one of the most informative accounts we have on his business dealings locally. While not specifically being a case of piracy, in fact being one of privateering, it serves to show Salmon's continued involvement in admiralty affairs in the area and his commercial interventions when opportunities arose. The *Santa Ana Maria* formed part of the Spanish silver fleet engaged in bringing silver and gold, spices, precious jewels and other exotic goods back to Spain from the Spanish colonies in the West Indies, the New World and South America. It was the Capitania or command ship of the fleet and, while returning to Spain via Cuba, was captured by the Dutch privateer Piet Heyn, vice-admiral for the Dutch West India Company, along with the rest of the treasure flota. While being taken to Holland, the *Santa Ana Maria* was separated from the rest of the Dutch fleet and was recaptured by an English privateer, the *Dragon* of Bristol. It was as the ship was being escorted back to Bristol that it was wrecked in bad weather at the entrance to the harbour of Castlehaven. Being the command ship it would have carried most of the silver and gold and would thus be considered an extremely valuable prize.[717]

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[716] Sir Richard Aldworth (to the Lord Deputy), 16 February 1627, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-1632*, p. 211.

[717] C. Kelleher, '*Santa Ana Maria*: 1628 wreck of the Capitana of La Flota de la Nueva España', *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission/Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* (IKUWA 3, 2008, London Conference Proceedings, 2012, forthcoming); the silver and gold bullion had been removed from the ship by Heyn when he first captured the fleet in Matanzas, Cuba and loaded onto his own ships.

What is interesting in regard to James Salmon is that he was obviously involved in the salvage of wrecks at that time, as he hired fourteen or fifteen men to salvage the guns off the *Santa Ana Maria*. He sent the ordnance to Holland to be sold on the open market there. In fact he seems to have received most of the goods salvaged off the ship as an inventory of goods was drawn up and signed by him.[718] He was very much in control of his harbour as a deposition taken in 1630 states that Salmon prevented others from salvaging the ship.[719] Such was the perceived value of the wreck that the legal case went on for a number of years after its wrecking with the West India Company of Holland, the admiralty court in London, the owners of the Bristol privateer the *Dragon*, local government officers like Thomas Crooke and local businessmen like Salmon all vying for rights to the wreck and its valuable contents.[720]

What can be considered about Salmon, from the sale of goods from both the ship *Neptune* in 1624 and the *Santa Ana Maria* in 1628, is that while acting on behalf of the admiralty in such matters, he was also reaping the economic benefits locally of salvage from wrecks around the coast there. In essence, he was continuing the tradition of coastal life, of lining his own pockets by straddling the divide between feeding a grey economy but also serving an admiralty that had at its heart a semi-feudal commercial regime.[721] As highlighted by Benton when discussing the development of international maritime law, 'the various courts of the Atlantic colonies developed with highly localised concerns at their core'.[722] This system provided individuals like Salmon the opportunity to control local admiralty cases over

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[718] Sir William St. Leger to the Lord Deputy, 17 January, 1629, SP 63/248, f. 70v– 72r (State papers Online; Gale manuscript no. MC4347881307).

[719] Deposition of Jacob Johnson of Enkhuizen, 4 November 1630 and Deposition of Ralph Freake, esquire, 4 November 1630, Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, pp 194-195.

[720] Petition of the West India Company of the United Provinces to the Council, 1 August 1630, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1629-1631*, p. 319; The King to Sir Thomas Crooke and Others, 7 November 1630, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1629-1631*, pp 85-90.

[721] Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp 25-28.

[722] L. Benton, *Oceans of Law: The Legal Geography of the Seventeenth-Century Seas*, NJIT and Rutgers University; http://www.historycooperative.org/proceedings/seascapes/benton.html

a prolonged period, being perfectly placed to 'manipulate' the law on a local level for their own gain.[723] This was a period too, with the advent of the Caroline administration, when privateering was once again being used as a legitimate mechanism for maritime predation on the high seas. It will be seen in chapter 7 that some of the men who formed the backbone of the confederacy in the southwest made the transition from pirate to privateer and from dishonest sailor to legitimate mariner with ease.

**Associated officials:**

Further individuals were involved in some shape or other during the heyday of piracy in the southwest and, while certain figures may be better recognised for their political or commercial influence nationally depending on their office, they were invariably involved in local level business enterprises too, and in particular with trade and merchant cases. This meant that they had some measure of influence on or assistance in dealing with the pirate problem, if not directly with the pirates themselves. The nature and extent of such relationships, however, is often difficult to determine from available sources as such sources tended to focus on their involvement in national affairs. What is clear is that some of these officials were able to exert power on local admiralty cases and thus manipulate circumstances when required. The impetus for this was dominated by vested interests in colonial ventures, trade, shipping, control of commodities and ultimately in their own personal gain. It is within the context of colonial endeavours, in particular the need to generate venture capital or profit from

[723] MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'The Munster Plantation, 1583-1641', p. 306, states that arriving gentry into Munster did not see themselves as part of a colonizing force, but rather as moving from one region to another, with many of the planters coming from the southwestern region of England and thus saw Munster as a neighbouring area rather than a new colonial zone.

goods plundered, that the relationships between government officials and the Atlantic pirates is best understood.

Thomas Roper and Robert Travers

Thomas Roper received the lease of the lands in Crookhaven initially, following the granting to him of the seignory in Castleisland, County Kerry by Sir William Herbert. He is listed as being constable of a ward in Castlemaine in 1607, when in receipt of 2s, 3d for the position and having a ward comprising four horsemen and thirteen footmen.[724] His focus changed to the southwest coast of Cork and between 1610 and 1620 he had established fisheries in Schull, Crookhaven and Bantry and the 1622 Commission reports that he had planted a couple of hundred families at Crookhaven.[725] He was made Viscount Baltinglass in 1627 and this seems to have been the impetus for him to look beyond West Cork to Wicklow and other places where he expanded his industrial empire, including the production of cloth in Munster and the licensing of alehouses in Ulster.[726]

Roper was not averse to receiving goods out of pirated vessels. In 1625 he received 700 pounds of sugar from the ship *Hope* of Rotterdam, and again in the same year goods that included 50 tons of salt out of a Dutch ship brought into Kenmare that was taken off Portland.[727] Roper held the primary lease of the fisheries, particularly around Schull and Crookhaven, during the beginnings of the pirate confederacy there and he would have come into indirect contact with them. Though he seems to have

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[724] Wards, [undated] 1607, SP 63/221, f. 24v (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347480115).
[725] Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, p. 104.
[726] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation*, pp 153-154, 236-237; A. Horning, 'The cultural role of the alehouse in the Ulster plantation', in J. Lyttleton and C. Rynne (eds.), *Plantation Ireland: Settlement and Material Culture, c. 1550-c. 1700* (Dublin, 2009), pp 124-125.
[727] Deposition of William Weare of Leith, 6 April 1625 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/41 f. 476v – 477v) and Testimony of Robert Perey, taken and examined 28 June, 1625, Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material,* pp 153, 305-306.

had agents, as a Mr. Crosse is mentioned as acting as his servant, with Roper being an absentee, he still oversaw the acquisition of pirated goods in his own interest.[728]

Robert Travers was appointed deputy vice-admiral in Munster in 1626 acting for Lawrence Parsons, who was then judge in Dublin. He had been unsuccessfully proposed by Falkland to replace Parsons, who died in 1628, but Henry Gosnold had resumed his position as judge of the admiralty in Munster by 1634. Falkland recommended Travers as 'the fittest [that] can be appointed, being a man both sufficiently read in the civil law and already practiced in the manner of the proceedings in that court'.[729] It was Travers' admiralty duties in West Cork that brought him into contact with the pirates there including acting as part of his office as a legal officer on the Munster Council.[730] Travers, connected to the Boyle dynasty through his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Boyle, Bishop of Cork, was later knighted for his part in the battle of Knocknaness in 1647.[731] Travers was not without controversy, being accused on a number of occasions throughout the 1620s of corruption. One particular example surrounded a ship of Einkeusen in Holland, the *Greyhound*, where the owners claimed that Travers took bribes from those who captured the ship as a prize when it entered Kinsale and that he had legitimized the sale of the goods by issuing a licence to those who pillaged the cargo.[732]

Though much of the information on Travers relates to admiralty business in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, when the heyday of the

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[728] Deposition of William Weare of Leith, 6 April 1625, Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material,* ibid.
[729] Costello, *The High Court of Admiralty*, p.7.
[730] Appleby and O'Dowd, 'Irish Admiralty', p. 309; Mr. Robert Travers, and Sr Lawrence Parsons, 'Apostles for the Appeal upon the Berehaven business', 27 October 1626, *Cal. St. P. 1625-1632*, p. 166.
[731] Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork,* I, ibid. pp 351-352.
[732] Petition of the masters and owners of the Greyhound, of Enckhuysen, to the Council, 10 January 1629, SP 16/132 f.2 (State Papers Online); http://go.galegroup.com/mss/i.do?id=GALE|MC4324083700&v=2.1&u=tcd&it=r&p=SPOL&sw=w&viewtype=Manuscript; Costello, ibid., p 16.

confederacy was ended, it provides valuable details on the continuing issue of jurisdiction of the admiralty, ongoing between central administration in London and provincial courts in Ireland, and the continuing problem of piracy along the southwest coast of Munster. In 1626 a case surrounding a Galway merchant and a French ship freighted by him, on a voyage from Newhaven to Galway, was attacked by pirates on the way and was forced to take refuge in Berehaven. The crew managed to escape ashore, leaving the ship to be taken by the pirates, who plundered some of the cargo. The pirates then abandoned the ship in the harbour, where the Galway merchant subsequently reclaimed it and his crew, when they returned.

Local Deputy Vice-Admiral, Robert Skerret, however, claimed the ship had been abandoned and was therefore the property of the lord high admiral in London. An admiralty court was convened in St. Finbar's Cathedral in Cork, with Sir Lawrence Parsons and Robert Travers presiding. Falkland had sent William Clarke, a civilian lawyer, from Dublin to put the case for the lord high admiral. Parsons and Travers argued that the ship was not the property of the high admiral, and Falkland looked to London for advice on the matter. Sir Henry Marten, judge of the high court of admiralty in London, agreed with the local Munster judges, upon which Clarke amended his original argument. The convoluted nature of the case, where the outcome is unknown, illustrates the confusion that abounded as to matters of jurisdiction.[733] In December of that year, Falkland received legal opinion on this case and in particular on whether an appeal on the decision taken on the Berehaven ship case would stand up in court. Mr. Clarke reported that it was the opinion of the privy council in Dublin that if a crew leaves their ship *salutis causa*, if unoccupied, she is forfeited. His final opinion was that if the lord admiral were a litigant, as he was in the case, then he had

[733] Appleby and O'Dowd, 'The Irish Admiralty', p. 315.

the right to appeal.[734] From information contained within the Books of Survey and Distribution for Cork, Robert Travers was living in Timoleague by 1615, as rector and another Robert Travers was stationed there acting as admiralty agent in 1699.[735] He was directly involved in the salvage of the Royal African Company ship, the *Amity* that wrecked in Dunworley Bay in County Cork in the year 1700.[736] The Travers' family history is one of long-acting admiralty officials in the area and indeed, a Robert Travers and his family are still resident in Timoleague House and Castle today.[737]

Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond

Mentioned briefly in the opening chapters, Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond, played at being both poacher and gamekeeper when it came to his handling of the pirates, though it could be argued that he was in fact just following instructions during the course of his office. From the sources can be gleaned his interactions with members of the confederacy, generally on a peripheral basis, where he steps in and out of events without seemingly being directly complicit. These encounters may perhaps have had a wider context if Thomond's pursuits to expand his economic holdings and rental income from developing settlements along the course of the River Shannon are considered.[738] Thomond was provisionally appointed lord president of

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[734] Wm. Clarke to Lord -, 8 December 1626, SP 16/41 f.83, (State Papers Online) http://go.galegroup.com/mss/i.do?id=GALE|MC4319684956&v=2.1&u=tcd&it=r&p=SPOL&sw=w&viewtype=Manuscript; Mr. Clarke to Lord Falkland, about 8 December 1626, *Cal. St. P. 1625-1632*, p. 179.

[735] W. Maziere Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork*, I, pp 351-352.

[736] T70/119: Discourse with Lord Barramore, Lord of the Mannour, where the *Amity* was cast away, 23 December 1701: Minute Book of the Royal African Company, 23 November 1699 – 24 April 1703.

[737] I am grateful to Robert and Laura Travers of Timoleague House and Castle for their time in discussing the family history; it is unfortunate that the family papers were destroyed in a deliberate fire in 1922. It is perhaps fitting that Robert Traver's cousin, Prof. Emeritus of History at the University of Calgary and lecturer in history at Victoria University, Canada Tim Travers, has recently published a book entitled: *Pirates – A History* (Stroud, 2007).

[738] Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650*, p. 330.

Munster, jointly with Sir Richard Moryson, in June of 1607, following the death of Sir Henry Brouncker. Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork, proposed him as a candidate.[739] Boyle and Thomond maintained their cordial relationship in the proceeding year, speculating on land, and with so much land changing hands in 1610, Salisbury received complaints that 'the Earl of Thomond and Sir Richard Boyle are at this present passing so many parcels of land as the particulars contained in a roll of parchment reach 16 yards in length'.[740]

In late June, writing to Salisbury, Thomond apologised for not writing sooner and promised to continue the good works of Brouncker, particularly in regard to purging seminarians and Jesuits in Munster; interestingly he remarked on the need to fortify areas to ensure control, and blamed the undertakers for not carrying out their settlement requirements as commissioned.[741] It is from March 1608 onwards, in letters that issued back and forth between the English Privy Council and lord deputy Chichester, that a view into his dealings with the pirates is provided. One suggested Thomond was too lenient towards pirates who cruised the reaches of the River Shannon right up to Limerick, and indeed one enquiry surrounded Thomond's employment of the pirate Thomas Coward. As a postscript to the same letter, the lords of the council accused Thomas Crooke of 'being a chief maintainer' of pirates, with Coward specifically named in this too.[742] So an individual pirate captain, in this case Thomas Coward and his crew, was able to sail between Limerick and Baltimore over a relatively short period, and have dealings with two government officials, with one being the lord president himself.

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[739] Sir G. Fenton to Salisbury, 7 June 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1606-1608*, pp 191-192; MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'The Munster Plantation, 1583-1641', p. 297.
[740] The Principal Heads of Captain (Barnaby) Riche's Treatise delivered to my Lord Salisbury, undated, 1610, SP 63/229, f. 206v (State Papers Online; Gale Document MC4347500949); Ibid. *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 552.
[741] Earl of Thomond to Salisbury 28/29/30 June 1607, *Cal. .S.P Ire. 1606-1608,* pp 206-207.
[742] Lords of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 8 March 1608, ibid, pp 433-434.

At the end of March, the lord deputy provided an explanation for Thomond's actions, explaining that, upon examination of Coward, Thomond concluded that the pirate was a proficient seaman and an 'excellent pilot', and that it was more beneficial to the crown to engage his services than to put him into jail. This was based on Coward's willingness to fight rebels, fugitives and enemies of the crown if issued with a pardon. Thomond's leniency towards the English pirates may have been influenced by his desire to promote all things English, including customs, law and settlement, a point that he was commended on frequently by senior government officials during the tenure of his office.[743] He may therefore have been less rigorous in his dealings with the pirates as a result, seeing the potential for advancement of the plantation policy through encouraging them to settle. Chichester was careful to point out that Thomond only kept Coward engaged for a short time until he was able to deliver the pirate to the lord deputy himself.[744] This explanation seems to have worked, as subsequent letters from the king to Chichester spoke highly of Thomond and suggested that the lord deputy give the earl 'special consideration'.[745]

In February of the following year, Chichester instructed Thomond to apprehend the pirate John Jennings who was anchored at the mouth of the River Shannon. If interception were not possible, the lord deputy suggested, then some alternative means to hold Jennings in the area should be used, until such time as Jennings and his crew's intent to submit to a pardon could be legitimised – a period of some twenty days was expected before such corroboration would be forthcoming.[746] This is curiously similar to Thomond's handling of Coward previously and suggests that an 'unofficial' policy of negotiating with the pirates was already in place at that

[743] Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, p. 374.
[744] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council, 30 March 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1606-1608*, pp 445-446.
[745] King to Sir Arthur Chichester, 9 June 1608, ibid. pp 552-553.
[746] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council, 5 February 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610,* p. 142.

stage. By the end of February, Thomond had taken Jennings prisoner but the earl was injured during his storming of the pirate's vessel, losing the use of his right arm during the encounter.[747] Some of the pirates involved in the confederacy were thus targeting merchant ships travelling along the course of the Shannon up as far as Limerick. These ships were trading with the satellite towns established by Thomond within the estuary, including Kilrush and Ennis, establishments that saw foreign traders availing of the rich supply of timber in the area and exploiting the abundant fishing resources.[748]

When Captain Jennings entered 'the river of Limerick', he did so with a rich cargo that he had taken from a Dutch ship. He proceeded to harass the local towns along its course and 'impeached even their ordinary trade'.[749] The value of the goods on board Jennings' ship and the potential value of selling off confiscated cargo would not have gone unnoticed by Thomond, and the necessity for the admiralty to make a decision on its fate was emphasised when he wrote, 'the charge of the ship, her keepers, and others will eat up all, or the greatest part, of the goods in short time'.[750] Indeed in a deposition a few days later, it is stated that the Deputy Vice-Admiral Richard Jobson was to go to Limerick to meet Thomond and deliver to him 49 chests of sugar left by Jennings.[751] Thomond was thus receiving pirated goods officially, but the question remains, if he were also doing so personally?

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[747] Lord Danvers to Salisbury, 24 February 1609, *ibid.*, p. 151; Earl of Thomond to Salisbury, 10 March 1609, ibid. p. 162.
[748] Canny, ibid. p. 330.
[749] Lord Danvers to the [Lords of the Privy Council or the Lord Salisbury], 19 January 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 130.
[750] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council, 5 February 1609, ibid., p. 188.
[751] Rich. Kerry, servant to Mr. Humphrey Jobson, also signed by Daniel Dun and Rich Trevor, 27 January 1609 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47 f. 78r).

Ultimately Thomond appears to have been a loyal royal subject, with he being made lord deputy of the council of Munster in 1615.[752] His associations with Boyle, his speculations in developing maritime trading towns within his jurisdiction and his involvement, albeit indirectly, with admiralty business through his interception of pirates, could suggest a more calculated involvement, and possible wider associations that cannot be readily traced within the existing sources.[753] It is interesting to note that Dr. Thomas Singleton, principal of Brasenose College, Oxford,[754] wrote to Thomond in August 1607 recommending that his sons should return to Ireland, as they were intent on doing so and thus there was no point in keeping them at the college any longer.[755] This was the same college attended by Henry Mainwaring, who graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1602.[756]

It may be of equal interest that the seignory of Fedamore (Fanningstown) in County Limerick was originally granted to Edmund Mainwaring in the latter part of the sixteenth-century, and who is said to have come from Peover in Cheshire. In 1620, Thomond bought the whole seignory from Mainwairing.[757] Pirate Henry Mainwaring's family history can be traced back also to Peover and indeed his ancestry as well as his siblings were part of a well-established aristocracy, legal profession and political establishment.[758] Though it is difficult to make a direct link between Edmund and Henry Mainwaring or between Henry Mainwaring and

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[752] Sir G. Fenton to Salisbury, 7 June 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1606-1608*, pp 191-192; Victor Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland 1616-1628: A Study in Anglo-Irish Politics* (Dublin1998), pp 99-100; Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, pp 220-221.

[753] In May 1919, Thomond made an official but unsuccessful application for the vice-admiralty in Munster, no doubt to gain wider control on matters maritime; Treadwell, ibid. p. 100.

[754] Singleton was principal from 1595 to 1614, http://www.bnc.ox.ac.uk/345/brasenose-college-archives-and-history-38/brasenose-people-216/principals-list-of-past-and-present;

[755] Dr. Thomas Singleton to Earl of Thomond, 1 August 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1606-1608*, p. 234.

[756] Mainwaring, *Life and Works*, I, pp 4-5.

[757] MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'The Munster Plantation, 1583-1641', p. 362; R. Dunlop and G. O'Brien, 'An Unpublished Survey of the Plantation of Munster in 1622', *Journal of the Royal Society fo Antiquaries of Ireland*, 14, no. 2 (December 1924), p 131.

[758] Mainwaring and Perrin, *Life and Works*, I, pp 2-5; 'Discourse', II, p. 284.

Thomond, it seems likely that, at the very least, the men would have been aware of one another.

**Conclusion**

Many more individuals were of course involved in one way or another with facilitating the pirates and their plundering in the West Cork area during the main period of pirate activity there, including the continued collusion of native Irish rulers and their kin who learned very quickly, as identified by Ohlmeyer, that, 'in order to survive and succeed in this 'civilizing' English world' and take advantage of the commercial opportunities opening up under the plantation policy, they too needed to change their view to land ownership, tenure and administration, from one of conflict to a more conciliatory approach.[759] Most did this politically through submission under the policy of surrender and regrant and on a local level, by recognizing that resident government officials were not opposed to liaising on matters maritime, including by unofficial means if necessary. As in the case of the Gaelic lords like Fineen O'Driscoll, some were prepared to serve two masters in order to gain increased rents from their ancestral lands, irrespective of whether both settlers, in this case Crooke and Coppinger, agreed or not. In economic terms and when considering commercial strategies, one wonders who was the 'civilizing' force and who the business mastermind?

The next chapter ponders the business of piracy, when political ambition, personal greed and individual opportunism joined forces within a pirate landscape that allowed for a vibrant underground economy to develop and grow.

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[759] J. Ohlmeyer, ''Civilizing of those Rude Partes': Colonization within Britain and Ireland, 1580s-1640s', N. Canny (ed.) *The Origins of Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 141.

> That which passeth here [in Munster] is rialls of eight, Barbary ducats, and dollars, and it is thought some treasure is buried on land by these pirates.[760]

**Black markets and grey economies**

Piracy in general tended to comprise two aspects: the act of plundering at sea and, if successful, making a profit from that action and as a way of life and ensuring a living for the individual pirate and his family. As a consequence, the motivations behind the activity could vary according to who was doing the pirating, where and when. Fundamentally, the act of piracy during the study period by the majority of the North Atlantic based pirates combined both.

Combining targeted attack on ships at sea with organised shore-based activities, the role of the pirates within the wider context of settlement, trade, politics and social interaction in Munster is clear. Central to this were the opportunities identified for commercial profits and merchant ventures closely linked to an administrative system made up of government officials and overseas traders within the ports and harbours of southern Ireland.

David Hancock discussed the idea of networks existing between those with business interests across Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which looked at the growth and sometimes failure of emerging early modern markets.[761] The Atlantic pirates and their business of plunder can equally be viewed in this light, with their activity being intrinsically linked with a network of business people involved in commercial dealings, both within and outside of the law, though predominantly focused on Ireland, North Africa, the New World, the Spice Islands and the

[760] Roger Myddleton to Salisbury, 23 August, 1611, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, p. 99.
[761] David Hancock, 'Combining Success and Failure: Scottish Networks in the Atlantic Wine Trade', in D. Dickson, J. Parmentier and J. Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Gent, 2006), pp 5-38.

Caribbean. These links are discussed in detail below and the nature and extent of the commercial network involved will be clearly seen. Irish trading connections to the continent for the period were vibrant, with most of the trade to Iberia, for example, carried on Irish ships leaving Irish ports during the early part of the seventeenth century.[762] These links were not without issue, however, as Spain remained suspicious of Irish immigrants and Irish merchant loyalties, the majority of whom were made up of Old English catholic gentry, but with some remaining loyal to the English crown. Native Irish too had arrived into Spain after the fall of the Gaelic order following the battle of Kinsale in 1602. Though they also forged alliances, they were often subject to lingering Spanish doubts as to their affiliations back home, complicated by the fact that many of the English traders often pretended to be Irish.[763]

Direct links between the pirates and the continent therefore is not as easily identifiable on an individual basis as it is with merchant venturers on a wider global stage. The Atlantic pirates certainly affected trade to the continent, directly through the plundering of trading ships to mainland Europe but also within the Mediterranean. A specific pirate problem active within the Mediterranean existed under the leadership of pirate John Ward at that time, leading to the Atlantic pirates under Bishop focusing their attacks on the open waters of the Atlantic to the west, rather than clashing with Ward's pirate hunting grounds within the Straits.[764] This relocation of pirate activity inadvertently assisted England's trading operations as piratical attacks on Iberian ships interrupted trade to that peninsula, affecting the economic

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[762] Karen Schüller, 'Irish-Iberian Trade in the Mid-Sixteenth to the Mid-Seventeenth Centuries', in D. Dickson, J. Parmentier and J. Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks,* ibid. pp 175-196.

[763] Óscar Recio Morales, 'Identity and Loyalty: Irish Traders in Seventeenth-Century Iberia' in D. Dickson, J. Parmentier and J. Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks*, ibid. pp 199-204; Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish Empire 1600-1826* ibid. pp 71-101.

[764] Senior, in particular chapter 3: English Pirates in the Mediterranean, in 'An Investigation', pp 41-97; Bak, *Barbary Pirate: The Life and Crimes of John Ward,* ibid.

status of Spain in particular, but of equal importance, it frequently disrupted information on English trade and the movement of royal naval ships that formed part of an established intelligence link between many of the Old English in Ireland, those then resident in Spain (with many in paid administrative positions in the main ports and harbours there) and with catholic Spanish officials.[765]

One source that may provide evidence for links between the Atlantic pirates and those trading with mainland Europe are port books, such as those of the Bristol Port Accounts.[766] If records within these books are compared with information contained within the High Court of Admiralty papers, it may be possible to cross-reference individuals contained within both sets of records. While only suggestive at this point as it warrants a full study in its own right, there may be a connection between the names of merchants listed in the Port Books and known pirates serving thereafter in the confederacy. As an example to illustrate the point, when assessing the list of merchant names in any given year from the Bristol Port records, certain names stand out. For the years 1594-1595 and just picking a particular name, a number of individuals with the name Cullimore are notable. For the year 1595 both a John and a George Cullimore are listed on several occasions as having freighted various ships. These included John Cullimore, a Bristol merchant on 26 October 1594 lading the 40-ton *Thought* out of Boyne[767], bound for Larmester (in France?); on 18 February, 1595 the 30-ton *Daisey* out of Bristol to go to Brest; 2 August 1595 the 40-ton *Francis* out of London bound for La Rochelle. Within the same Port records there is a George

[765] Morales, 'Identity and Loyalty', ibid., p. 202.

[766] Bristol Port Accounts Project: Ireland-Bristol Trade in the Sixteenth Century (RES-000-23-1461; Department of History, University of Bristol); http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Ireland/; Susan Flavin and Evan T. Jones, *Bristol's trade with Ireland and the Continent 1503-1601* (Dublin, 2009).

[767] 'Boyne' is listed as representing Bayonne in France, but I would query if it could also possibly refer to the Boyne in Drogheda in Ireland?

Cullimore mentioned as a merchant of London, who freighted the 200-ton ship *Young Tobias* out of Gdañsk, Poland bound for the Canaries.[768]

In the year 1612 a number of individuals, following the capture of the ship the *Daisy* of London, were forced to serve on board the pirate ship of Peter Easton. These include Robert Walsingham, Thomas Tucker and Henry Cullimore. Walsingham and Tucker became noted pirates in their own right. They took command of their own ships as part of the confederacy and went on to have long careers as pirates and, following being pardoned, as legitimate mariners. Cullimore rose to become Easton's lieutenant and was still with him in 1613 when they sailed into Villafranca where they served out their days serving the duke of Savoy.[769]

It cannot be said with certainty if this Henry Cullimore was related to the Cullimores mentioned in the Bristol Port books some eighteen years earlier, but if later port books from Bristol are assessed as thoroughly as those from the earlier period, then this question may be clarified. The opportunity to crosscheck such sources may prove fruitful in connecting individuals involved in trade to mainland Europe and Atlantic piracy for that time. Certainly, as will be seen below, the pirates were intricately involved in a two-way trade in goods that served a localised system of supply and demand in Munster where a black market prevailed virtually unhindered.

This chapter aims to discuss various traceable economic implications of the pirate activity for the study period, including looking at the nature and extent of goods plundered, links between individuals and commercial ventures, financial gains for the pirates and those trading with them plus impacts to both the local economy in coastal Munster and also wider repercussions of this underground trade.

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[768] Bristol Port database 1594-1595; downloaded from http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/Ireland/
[769] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 225.

**The potential value of plunder**

As discussed in the previous chapter, by 1609 Captain John Jennings was seeking a pardon. It seemed he had tired of pirating and looked to the earls of Clanricard or Thomond to act as intermediaries on his behalf. Earlier in 1608 he had voiced his distrust of the government's pardon initiative, stating that he and his fellow pirates 'might be hanged with their pardons about their necks'. He obviously had a change of heart and subsequently submitted his ship and its booty to Thomond.[770] The diversity of goods on pirate ships like Jennings' 300-ton vessel and its reported value, is indicative of the nature and extent of cargoes plundered. Offloaded at Limerick were 150 chests of sugar, 36 cases of cinnamon ('some double, some single'), 12 packs of pepper; in his own keeping (personal goods) were small diamonds, pearls, and in his chest was 140 pounds worth of Spanish silver (presumably referring to 'reales' or pieces of eight), but other packs full of pearls and money, but not diamonds, were also noted; his clothing, part embroidered with Barbary gold, was valued between £400-£500 and 'he had on him' £40 worth of doubloons and 'dymondes and a number of rubyes'.

The examination recounts other, miscellaneous booty taken by Thomond as amounting to some £2,000.[771] When they surrendered with Jennings, goods belonging to captain Gilbert Roope and his lieutenant, 'negro' Arthur Drake, were also found to contain precious jewels and money.[772] Some of Jennings' goods had been taken to

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[770] Lord Danvers to the [Lords of the Privy Council or the Lord Salisbury], 19 January 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 130; Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 407.

[771] Examination of John Jennings, a pirate, before the court of admiralty, no date (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII, f. 361-362; State Papers Online, Gale Document No. MC4318815332).

[772] Ibid., f. 363; 'Drake, for his lieutenant being a blacke man dwelling in Plimouth', deposition of Gionisius Gallot of Calais, sailor, aged about 35, 16 June 1609 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/40, f. 161v); Arthur Drake is one of the only black pirates recorded from this period as a member of the Atlantic pirate crews; there were, however, many others particularly in later pirate times who made up significant numbers on crews; see for example Kenneth Kinkor, 'Black Men under a Black Flag', in C.R. Pennell, ed. *Bandits at Sea, A Pirates Reader* (New York, 2001), pp 195-210; Leeson, *The Invisible Hook*, pp 156-171; for Arthur Drake see Senior, 'An Investigation', pp 387-388.

Thomond's house while more of it had been sent to Leamcon under the guardianship of Deputy Vice-Admiral Richard Jobson and his brother Humphrey.[773] The precious jewels and money may appear to be the most valuable commodities on board, in today's terms, but at the time, of equal if not of more value, would have been the spices. In particular, pepper.

This spice was of immense worth and highly sought after, referred to at the time as 'black gold', and on occasion used as a currency in its own right. Pepper became one of the oriental condiments, along with cinnamon, cloves, nutmeg and ginger, which were central to the international race for maritime domination of the East and West Indies and the New World from the close of the sixteenth century onwards.[774] The establishment of the East Indies companies: the Honourable East India Company (or John's Company) by the English in 1600 and the Dutch East Indies Company or VOC in 1602, began a rivalry between the two nations for supremacy of these emerging global markets, that was to have a profound commercial and colonial impact at home and abroad.[775]

Sugar too was highly prized, as is clear from the level of interest in the product when the pirates brought it to the shores of Munster. English merchants had traded sugar from the ports of Morocco since the 1540s and in turn the merchants brought English cloth to trade with the Barbary ports.[776] The sugars within the holds of the pirate vessels may well have been the product of plunder, but equally, may have been 'legitimately' traded by the pirates when in North Africa in exchange for

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[773] Senior, ibid.

[774] see Charles Corn, *The Scents of Eden* (New York, 1998) for a history and full discussion on the spice trade.

[775] For a history of both companies, see C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* (New York, 1965); John Keay, *The Honourable Company: A History of the English East India Company* (London, 1993); see also chapters 11 – 14 in K.R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*; East Indies are often referred to as the Spice Islands, concomitant with modern day northern Indonesia and southern Philippines; the West Indies comprise the Caribbean, Greater and Lesser Antilles and Cuba.

[776] K. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, p. 101.

European goods. As defined by Kenneth Andrews, the trade in such exotic goods fuelled 'the growth in luxury consumption. The luxury trade boomed, feeding the appetites of the rich with silks, satins, linens and other fine cloths, wines, sugars and spices, gold and silver ware, jewellery, perfumes and medicament'.[777] From the inventory of several of the pirate cargoes that were subsequently dispersed throughout the local communities, Andrew's list fits well with goods brought in to the southwest by the pirates.

A slightly later but nevertheless relevant example to illustrate the diversity of goods brought into Leamcon in 1625, including the subsequent dispersal of cargo, is that of Dutch pirate captain Claus Campane.[778] The record is interesting on a number of levels.[779] It provides a detailed inventory of the commodities that were landed but also ironically, a separate list of all the goods 'embezzled' when the ship docked at Leamcon, Of the list of goods on board, included were 864 hides, 5,820 weight of iron, 30 dozen earthen dishes, 30 dozen hangers and girdles, 2 pieces of golden [gilted] leather, fourteen pieces of silk, 14 pairs of silk stockings, 3 pound of tobacco, 8 pistols, 11 pieces of ordnance, 2 kettles and 11 hats.

Of the items taken out of the ship and not 'legitimately' traded, 50 pairs of hangers, 3 pieces of silt stuff and 2 pairs of silk stockings, 1 barrel of tobacco, 6 barrels of iron and 6 dozen earthenware dishes.[780] While the value of the goods was not given, the information supplied is highly significant as it shows the types of goods

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[777] Ibid. p. 4.

[778] In Dutch, he is referred to as Claes Compaen; See chapter 7 for a more detailed discussion on Claus Campane and this chapter for a more detailed discussion on the cargo brought into Leamcon and Kinsale by Captain William Baugh; see also Lunsfords, *Piracy and Privateering*, in which she discusses Campane's career in detail and other Dutch pirate colleagues of his; he is included in the inventory in Appendix 1.

[779] 'The full note of all the goods I hadd laden aboard my ship as followeth', [?] February 1625, SP 63/239 f. 33 (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript No. MC4347781353); though a date of February is given for this, it may be that Campane arrived in late January as a letter from the lord deputy dated 1 February mentions that the pirate was at that point in Leamcon: Lord deputy to Sir William Hull, 1 February 1624(5), SP 63/239 f. 27 (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347781350).

[780] Ibid.

still being traded by officials like Sir William Hull, well after the demise of the confederacy, the ongoing trade with other pirates who had emerged at that point but also the business of piracy within what was an underground economy with ready markets, including the means for a pirate to complain of goods being embezzled and look for recourse.

An accompanying list containing the names and details of individuals who bought goods from Campane is worth quoting in full.[781] The scale of the transactions that took place between the pirates is obvious. So too is information on local officials and business men, named individuals, resident locally and farther afield but from all strata of English settler community, government officials, admiralty officers and tradesmen alike. The list also contains other details of value, particularly from an archaeological perspective, including mention that Campane's ship was lost in the harbour in that year.[782]

The names and goods listed were:

> Martin Harman bought of this pirate to the value of 200*l.* Justice Bradye was thought to be partner with him. The pepper cost 6½*d.* per lb., the wax cost 6*d.* per lb.
>
> Thomas Neale, of Bandonbridge, bought two bales of pepper containing 700 weight at 8*d.* the lb., and 100 Barbary hides.
>
> Josua Boyle, of Waterford, bought one chest of camphor, 500 weight at least, 14 rolls of tobacco, 1,000 weight of pepper, 212 lbs. of cloves, 3 elephants' teeth, 5 doz. red Muscovy hides.
>
> A chest of Chencry [chicory?] roots, 150 weight, at 5*s.* per pound.
>
> Sir William Hull knew who had them.
>
> The two Whites of Cork, carriers there, could discover much, for they carried for most men and bought much themselves.

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[781] The Names of those who bought Goods of the Pirate Campane at Lymecon, in the West of Ireland, [?] 1625, *Cal S.P. Ireland, 1603-1625* (State Papers Online, Gale Calendar no. MC4347701417).

[782] Chapter 7 discusses the loss of Campane's ship and the recent discovery of a new shipwreck that has the potential to be the remains of either Campane's vessel or a vessel from that period.

Mr. Jeremy Roston, near Kinsale, bought tobacco and pepper.

Mr. Luxtone, near Bandonbridge, bought 300 weight of pepper.

Mr. Newcomen, of the Bridge, bought 800 weight of pepper.

Sir Wm. Hull sent 40 horse loads of pepper to Kinsale.

Mr. Richardson, of Plymouth, sent 500 weight of pepper from Baltimore, which he bought of Campane ; witness, James Stanley, searcher there.

Mr. Nicholas Atwood confessed that the Deputy had from this pirate 6,000 weight of pepper and near 2,000 weight of wax.

Mr. Henry Turner, of Bandonbridge, bought much pepper and tobacco.

Mr. Alexander, dwelling near Castlelions, bought tobacco and other commodities to the value of 100*l.* sterling.

Sir Lawrence Parsons' men traded there; and John Forde bought 24 bundles of red hides, wherein was divers parcels of fine Hollands.

Mr. Nic. Atswood, of Cork, had 360 weight of pepper.

Mr. Symson had a bail containing 350 weight of pepper or thereabouts.

Lieutenant Jacques, of Cork, stole from Campane 16 lbs. in massy gold, was questioned for it, and upon examination confessed. Men of power thereof made admission.

Met carriages of goods, the chief of which were for the Deputy's man, Mr. Gaye.

Mr. Jenkin Conoway, near Kilmairc [Kenmare], had two coverings for beds with canopies which came out of ship from the Canary Islands. Mr. Bates, the Marshal of Munster, could give a relation at large of that business. Bates lived at Clanghanna-Keltye [Clonakilty], 24 miles from Cork, and could discover more abuses done to my Lord than any man.

Campane's prize had sunk in the harbour of Lymecon in three or four fathoms.

Mr. Henry Hull bought 1,000 weight of pepper.

Will. Palmer, of Clanghannakelty [Clonakilty], carrier, bought many things of Campane, and carried many men's goods, &c.

> Mr. Harman and Brady were joined partners in the bargain, for testimony thereof Mr. Gregory Symson, at the Snail in Cheapside, was at the composition making.[783]

The document is signed 'T.B' and what is immediately striking is the intricate network of individuals involved in acquiring, transporting and moving goods, including 'carriers' who moved their own and others' booty. The distribution network stretched from Kenmare in County Kerry, to Cork, Waterford, Plymouth and London. An intelligence system must have been in place to inform on when the goods were arriving and where, what the cargo comprised and who should be in place on the ground to partake in the transactions when the ships docked.

The statement that 'men of power thereof made admissions', upon the admittance by Lieutenant Jacques of Cork that he too had bought goods, perhaps provides the clearest indication of how the trade in pirate goods had infiltrated all echelons of administrative, military and naval office. Justice Brady is mentioned, as is William Hull (who had been knighted at that point), his brother Henry in Clonakilty, Joshua Boyle of Waterford, and Sir Lawrence Parsons. All men of established official positions but who were directly involved in a grey market fuelled by pirated luxury goods. Another named Henry Turner of Bandon, is traceable within the HCA documents. On 16th July of the same year he was examined under suspicion of again trading in pirated goods; he attested to buying sugar from Joseph Carter, a merchant in Baltimore, but clarified that he did not know where Carter got the goods.[784] The list of names certainly presents scope for more in-depth study, not least if comparing

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[783] Snail, Cheapside in London was the main street for goldsmiths and jewellers; a list of jewellers for the period working in Cheapside, includes several Symsons, Simons, Simmons, etc, see Sir Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths, 1200-1800: A Record of the Names and Addresses of the craftsman, their shop-signs and trade-cards* (London, 1972).

[784] Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, p. 306 (from HCA 13/228).

names contained in other documentary sources, but even as a stand-alone document, it is clear evidence for why piracy was so successful in Munster for the study period.

**The administration of pirate booty**

It is interesting to note that Campane had been given protection by Parsons, on the understanding that the pirate agree to submit. Vested interests also influenced such protection, and the security levied on the pirate was confirmed in a letter from the lord deputy, Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland to Sir William Hull in February 1624. Discussing the submission of Claus Campane, Falkland suggests that Campane make a petition for a pardon but to include details of his wealth. The conditions involved 'where his wealth lies, and [if not in Ireland] that he will make a voyage to sea to fetch it.'[785] Suggested here is that the pirates may have kept their wealth elsewhere, and as discussed in chapters 2 and 5, perhaps safe harbours like that in Newfoundland or Villafranca when Easton was active, provided security for any riches amassed by the pirates themselves.[786]

Certainly the pirates had their own administrative mechanisms for the distribution of booty among themselves. Some captains, such as Thomas Francke for example, received their first command from colleagues, in this case from Captain Robert Stephenson. In return, Francke would provide a certain agreed percentage of the proceeds from plundered goods to Stephenson.[787] Crews received an agreed amount of shares in accordance to their contribution to the plundering event and their station on board. Senior noted that bravery in battle as well as the post held by a crew

[785] Lord deputy to Sir William Hull, 1 February 1624(5), SP 63/239 f. 27 (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347781350).
[786] The Conditions on which Nice and Villafranca were declared Free Ports, 3 March 1613, *Cal. S.P. Ven. 1610-1613*;Vincenzo Gussoni, Venetian Ambassador in Savoy, to the Doge and Senate, 10 March 1613, *Cal. S.P. Venetian 1610-1613* (British History Online), entry 784.
[787] Examination of Robt. Russell of the Bankeside, aged about 35, 11 August 1612 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47 f. 307r-308r).

member could have determined a greater share of the reward. While the shares allotted to individual pirates may have been dictated by actions or by those in command, by all accounts it seems to have been on an equitable basis, with a dedicated purser in charge of any monies, goods or other shares owing to the crews on Captain John Ward's ships. Shares could also be depleted by local market trends, as discussed below, where in return for victuals being supplied by coastal communities, the pirates had to pay inflated prices for the goods supplied. For ships captured, many pirates including William Baugh, insisted on receiving all goods from ships captured, with he then distributing a percentage of the value of the prize to his crew.[788]

A system of compensation and compositions was attempted between the admiralty and the pirates, by which they could keep all or a portion of their plundered cargo if they agreed to submit and take a pardon. This is alluded to in the list of names discussed above, when such an agreement was reached with Claus Campane, and where Mr. Symson from Cheapside, 'was at the composition making'.[789] This was meant as an encouragement to pirates to submit but was not always successful. The case of William Baugh, as discussed below in more detail, shows how a series of ill-conceived agreements, greed and personal interests by officials tasked with negotiating such deals, betrayal by admiralty officials and distrust by the pirates, frequently led to breakdown in negotiations, frustration for central government and disaster for the pirates involved.[790]

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[788] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 249.
[789] The Names of those who bought Goods of the Pirate Campane at Lymecon, ibid.
[790] Appleby, 'The 'Affairs of Pirates': the surrender and submission of Captain William Baugh at Kinsale, 1611-1612', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 91 (1986), pp 68-84.

**Social, commercial and technological links across the Atlantic**

The growth in piracy coincided with the emergence of the lucrative overseas markets, to encompass Europe, the Continent, North Africa, the Caribbean and the New World, tied in with the resultant commissioning of merchant adventurer companies and colonial opportunists, initially under Elizabeth I and then under James VI and I. Appleby has previously identified that the expansion of this organised predation occurred within a colonial context, tapping in, as it were, to the commercial opportunities afforded by the richly-laden ships now plying Atlantic waters but also by the availability of ready markets in secluded areas for the sale of such goods.[791] From the 1580s through to the 1620s, English trade to the Mediterranean, particularly with the Levant, was intensive. This lucrative enterprise thus attracted pirates and privateers, from all nations. Piracy grew in accordance with the expansion in trade networks and as seaborne nations vyed for supremacy, so too pirates looked to dominate the waters within and immediately outside the Mediterranean. As identified by Andrews, these new predators were attracted by the rich cargoes of these European ships, and 'by the ready markets in Barbary, where lawful prize was not subject to taxes levied in England, nor illicit prize subject to arrest'.[792]

English pirates therefore followed the trade ships into the Mediterranean, where some, like pirate John Ward chose to base his crews and others, under Bishop, headed northwest to patrol North Atlantic waters. Between them, they impacted heavily on legitimate trade and caused nations like the Dutch to plan ways to counter this problem on the high seas.

The size of ships, particularly those belonging to the Dutch, was attested to in contemporary accounts with the Venetian ambassador Marc' Antonio Correr in 1609

[791] Appleby, 'The Problem of Piracy', p. 43.
[792] Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, p. 97.

reporting that 'four great Dutch ships passed the English coast' on the 29th of July. They were on their way back from the East Indies with very rich cargoes and the size of the ships varied between 1,000 and 2,000 tons. He concluded that 'The Dutch who were accustomed to employ small vessels have now for some time past found larger vessels better suited to that trade and are building others'.[793]

The network of remote ports and harbours included those in Munster, northwest Africa, particularly their headquarters at Mamora and those beyond the Straits within the Mediterranean, including Tunis and Algiers in Barbary (modern Tunisia and Algeria). Smaller harbours in southern Spain also formed part of this commercial chain, as did those of the multitude of islands within the Mediterranean, including the Balearic, the Greek islands and those off the Atlantic coast of Africa, Spain and Portugal. Each harbour and each location offered a variety of operational needs, including careening places and fresh water sources but more strategically ready seasonal markets for the pirates' plunder.[794]

The North Atlantic pirates would patrol the coastal waters off the west coast of Spain by mid-August, awaiting the arrival of the north-bound East India merchant ships that would be following the trade winds home or vessels going to and coming from the Mediterranean and which could be easily intercepted by the fleeter pirate vessels.[795] The same dispatch by the Venetian ambassador Marc' Antonio Correr as discussed above, recounts that pirates had of late plundered two other small English ships, 'setting free the ships and crews as a reward for their cowardly surrender

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[793] Marc'Antonio Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, 6 August 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ven. 1607-1610*, entry 575; accessed via British History Online; www.british-history.ac.uk.elib.tcd.ie/

[794] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', pp 26-29; Mainwaring particularly mentions the Greek Islands as being openly welcoming to the pirates; 'The Straits' was a generic term used at the time to mean the Mediterranean, ibid. p 26.

[795] The ships targeted were predominantly those of Spain, Portugal, France or Holland, with some Swedish and Danish merchantmen also captured; pirate captains like John Ward, however, and on occasion Peter Easton, also attacked their own fellow English ships, one of the primary reasons why Admiral Richard Bishop fell out and distanced himself from both pirate captains.

without striking a blow'. The Dutch too had suffered damage through loss of their ships to the value of about 600,000 ducats. His account details that the Dutch were sending ships of their own to North Africa to try to tackle the pirate problem, but also in an effort to open trade with the Turks, as the pirates were able to buy goods there at very low prices.[796]

**The North African bases**

The pirates, predominantly those who formed the alliance active along the southwest coast of Munster, would only remain along the Atlantic coast of Spain and Portugal while onboard supplies lasted and ships were in good repair, this presumably to ensure that if given chase they could make it to a suitably friendly port on the Atlantic coast of Morocco.[797] Several of the smaller ports along the Moroccan coastline provided open markets for the pirates' goods as well as being provisioning and stopover points when needed.

North of Mamora, these havens included Cape Spartel, Asilah and Larache, all located south of the larger port of Tangiers and north of Mamora (Mehdya).[798] Those south were Salé and Rabat, Fidallah, Safi, Mogador, Santa Cruz (now Agadir) and Massa (map images 29).[799] Interestingly, the pirates rarely sailed south beyond the Canary Islands, primarily because this meant that their ships would have to be fully provisioned for such a long journey and would thus be heavier, slower and more vulnerable to attack in open water. Another mitigating factor, however, was that

[796] Marc' Antonio Correr, Venetian Ambassador in England, 6 August 1609, ibid.
[797] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 34.
[798] Ibid.; Mehdya is now generally shown on maps in reference to the larger port city of Kenitra that lies farther inland, along the course of the River Sebou.
[799] Mogador was its Portuguese name, it is now called Essaouira in Arabic; Santa Cruz was the older Portuguese name for what is now Agadir; Santa Cruz is mentioned frequently in the contemporary sources in regard to the pirate operations in North Africa.

beyond Massa, from Rio de Oro southwards, the area was under the Spanish Protectorate, rendering it unsafe to the pirates.[800]

Unlike Mamora, not all of these ports were fully open to free trade for the Atlantic pirates. Mainwaring indicated this, when in Massa the pirates could sell their booty only with the agreement of the Moors.[801] Generally, however, the pirates were facilitated in return for their business, including a good sale price and their knowledge as sailors and shipwrights, of seamanship and shipbuilding. The extent to which the European pirates influenced Muslim maritime technology is obvious when considering that the majority of navigational terms now in Arabic and Turkish use have their derivatives in European languages.[802]

Further studies have shown that some pirates adopted Muslim ways, including learning the Arabic language, some clipped their beards as the Muslims did and others dressed in traditional North African clothes. Pirates like John Ward and Sir Francis Verney decided to adopt the culture fully and 'turned Turk' and converted to the Muslim faith.[803] The links then between the pirates of Northern Europe, who were predominated by Englishmen, and the rulers, merchants and Barbary corsairs of North Africa, were closely based on common commercial understanding, shared respect and the opportunity for both to advance not only their socio-economic but also their maritime technological circumstances.

With the expulsion of the Moriscos from southern Spain to North Africa, many willingly engaged with the English pirates against their common enemy, with at

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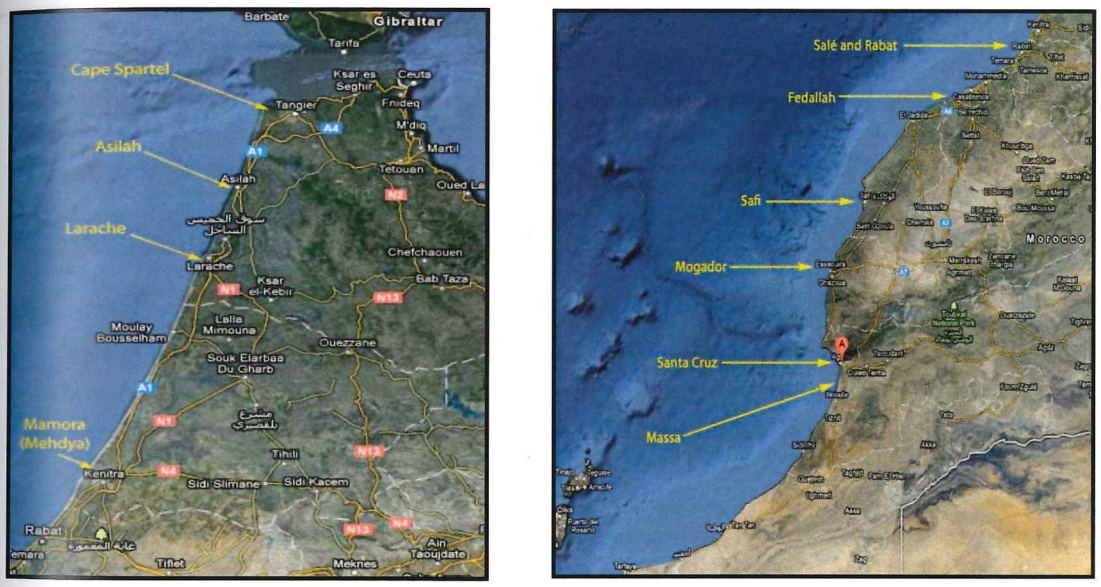
[800] Mainwaring, ibid. p. 36, n 4; N. Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion 1400-1668* (New York, 2005), p 11.

[801] Mainwaring, ibid, p. 36.

[802] Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, pp 57-58.

[803] Matar, ibid., p. 58, 61-62; Bak, '*Barbary Pirate: The Life and Crimes of Pirate John Ward*, in particular see chapter 11, pp 171-189, for an interesting discussion on the impetus for Ward's conversion; see also N. Matar, 'The Renegade in English Seventeenth-Century Imagination', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900,* 33, no. 3, Restoration and Eighteenth Century (1993), pp 489-505, which provides an insightful discussion on how such conversions were viewed in England and, again, includes Ward within the study.

least two communities of Moriscos establishing themselves in port areas on the Atlantic coast of Morocco.[804] This may have facilitated the Atlantic pirates in accessing the ports and harbours of North Africa, but to suggest that this communal bond was based primarily on an anti-Christian/anti-Catholic ethos alone would be over-simplification. Individual agendas, political circumstances prevailing and economic factors would have influenced affiliations between pirate bands and those living and working in those areas at any given time and would have been the real dictators of events.[805]




(map image 29) Location of main trading and revictualling ports north and south of Mamora.[806]

[804] Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen,* p. 58; Ellen Friedman, 'North African Piracy on the Coasts of Spain in the Seventeenth Century: A New Perspective on the Expulsion of the Moriscos', *The International History Review* 1, no. 1 (1979), p. 2, 11-14, this is a very interesting study of the central role played by the Moriscos in the corsair communities of North Africa and piracy in the Atlantic in general.

[805] K. Parker, 'Reading 'Barbary' in Early Modern England, 1550-1685', in M. Birchwood and M. Dimmock (eds), *Cultural encounters between East and West, 1453-1699* (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 2005), pp 93-95; Parker's re-evaluation of the interaction of the pirates in North Africa throws new light on how we should view such activity, particularly when considering captives and how their stories are represented in Travel Narratives, but also within the wider sphere of European and especially English, maritime colonial history; accounts for that period also suggest that both the Moors and Moriscos distrusted the English, with the English suspected of betraying them to the Spanish; see Antonio Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Doge and Senate, 20 October 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ven. 1607-1610*, entry 674; accessed via British History Online; www.british-history.ac.uk.elib.tcd.ie

[806] © Google Earth maps; www.maps.google.ie/maps

With the fall of Mamora in 1614 to the Spanish, the pirates of the confederacy were forced to move their bases of operations to ports like Algiers and Tunis. There they came under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Turks and could no longer behave with such freedom within these port cities. This was no deterrent, however, and they essentially sailed in partnership with their fellow Barbary corsairs on board the same ships, albeit with many of the European (and primarily English) pirates now outnumbered by their North African counterparts.[807] Some, like Henry Mainwaring had built up such a relationship with the Turkish pirates in Algiers and Tunis at that stage, that he was readily accepted into their fold, with the Dey of Tunis pleading with him to lead his corsairs and promising him riches if he took up the position instead of returning to England to seek a pardon.[808] Generally, however, this change meant depletion in power for the Atlantic pirates, particularly within the scope of their operations and with the consequential loss of control of markets and market prices.

Legitimate relationships, not predicated on piracy, but on socio-economic and political associations, had been in place between Britain and Barbary since the time of Elizabeth I. Indeed English traders were living in Morocco by the latter part of the sixteenth century and Morocco was identified as an important centre for commerce.[809] An interesting point made by Kenneth Parker in his consideration of Barbary's

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[807] Senior, in the introduction to his study, 'An Investigation', p. iii, points out that the activities of the English pirates at Algiers and Tunis were completely separate from those pirates operating out of the Atlantic coast of Morocco during the early part of the century, due to the fact that the northern Barbary coastal ports were under the control of the Ottoman Turks; a fact that Senior emphasises was only first identified by Godfrey Fisher in his publication *Barbary Legend: War, Trade and Piracy in North Africa 1415-1830* (Oxford, 1957).

[808] Mainwaring, ibid. p. 11; for a detailed and informative discussion on the history and ideology of the Ottoman Turks, which also provides a better understanding of how the Algerine Turkish pirates operated, see Tal Shuval, 'The Ottoman Algerian Élite and its Ideology', *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 32 (2000), pp 323-344; see Chapter 7 for a discussion on this change in piracy from 1616 onwards, the growth of the Algerine Turks in northern waters and the attack on Baltimore by them in 1631.

[809] Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen,* pp 63-64.

relationship with early modern England, was that the excommunication of Elizabeth I by Pope Pius V in 1570, allowed English merchants to trade freely with North African states. This was previously forbidden under Papal edicts and the Pope's actions thus led to the legitimate opening up of hitherto closed trading routes.[810] While this may not have overly influenced the trading nature of the Atlantic pirates themselves, as they would no doubt have used the ports of North Africa anyway, it did mean that legitimate merchants now stationed there gained access to unlawfully acquired commodities, particularly for personal gain, well away from the watchful administrative eye of central government. This in turn ensured that the pirates of Atlantic Europe could find a market 'away from home' for goods that otherwise they would have had to take back to northern Europe to trade.[811]

The ruling North African élite welcomed English traders, tradesmen, mariners and pirates alike, embracing their knowledge and technology with a view to advancing and expanding their own. Captain John Smith, in 1604 provides a vivid description of both the natural and cultural world of Morocco, with interesting insights into the interplay between European and North African communities. He observes that there were at that time, working in Barbary from England, goldsmiths, 'plummers', carvers, stone masons and watchmakers. So impressed was the ruling king Mullah Hamet with their abilities, as little or none of such trades existed in his kingdom at that time, that he was paying them 10 shillings a day and providing them with food, clothes and lodging. He also allowed them to trade freely for whatever they

[810] Parker, ibid., p. 90; Matar, ibid. pp 19-21.

[811] Matar, ibid., pp 65-66; Chapter 2 of Matar's study provides an excellent overview of the relationships between Englishmen in North Africa with their North African counterparts, focusing particularly on soldiers, pirates, traders and captives, pp 43-82.

needed.[812] This would certainly not alone have encouraged migration from England to these port cities and towns in North Africa, but would have facilitated free trade, legitimate and otherwise. With records like this providing evidence for how English tradesmen were embraced by the ruling powers, it is easily understandable how the English pirates, their goods and their knowledge, found such willing acceptance in North African social and economic life and ensured that the pirates were successful in their disposal of booty.

**Newfoundland bases**

Newfoundland provided the pirates with ready supplies of fish, bread, wine and cider and in return they supplied plundered goods to the settlers there.[813] Migratory fishing communities were located around Harbor Grace and Ferryland but there was also the then developing Grand Banks fishing industry at St. John's, which was to become a thriving business from 1615 onwards, worth an estimated £120,000 for the fish catch alone to England in that year.[814] The pirates exchanged goods but at times targeted the fishing fleets, with Peter Easton attacking the fleet there in 1610. The focus for such attacks was to supplement their diet rather than acquire marketable produce, as cargoes of fish were cumbersome and not easily transported.

Newfoundland was also a valuable source of able men to add to existing crews and both Mainwaring and Easton regularly augmented their pirate bands with

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[812] E. Arber, 'The Travels and Observations of Captaine Smith', II, from *Capt. John Smith, of Willoughby by Alford, Lincolnshire; President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England. Works. 1608-1631* (Birmingham, 1884), p. 871.

[813] 'Discourse' in Four fragments concerning proceedings against pirates, no date, 1616 (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII f. 339r; State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4318895326); Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 37.

[814] R. Whitbourne, *A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland* (London, 1620), pp. 11-12.

Newfoundland fishermen.[815] Easton and Mainwaring equally focused their attention on the fishing fleets and trading ships passing by going to or coming from the New World, the opening up of which coincided with the pirates' arrival in Newfoundland. The pirates did little harm to the colonists or to their settlements on the island, preferring to work in partnership to the ultimate benefit of both.[816] While Easton appears to have adopted this tactic, it may have been predicated more on the terms of a protection racket, with the colonists paying for security in money or goods to the pirates, including as victuals, with animals being provided as required.[817] Whether the pirates used places like Harbor Grace or Ferrybank to warehouse their 'treasure' within relatively secure surroundings, is speculative, as evidence for this has yet to be found either in the written or archaeological record, but evidence for the storage of goods is attested to in Savoy, where Easton finally took his pardon. In fact the duke of Savoy had 'bonded warehouses' opened in Nice and Villafranca for the pirates to store their goods for a nominal sum paid yearly to the exchequer. Out of these warehouses, the pirates were allowed to trade with visiting merchants on the understanding that a percentage went to the State of Savoy.[818]

Easton settled in Harbor Grace, before moving to Ferryland where he is recorded as building a 'great house'.[819] Though no archaeological evidence for these warehouses has been discovered to date in Harbor Grace, other archaeological objects

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[815] Whitburn, *Westward Hoe for Avalon*, p. 12, 42; Horwood and Butts, *Pirates & Outlaws*, pp. 11-34; Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus; or Purchas his Pilgrims: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others in 1626*, XIX (Reprinted as *Purchas his Pilgrims* by James MacLehose and Sons, Glasgow, 1907), p. 416.

[816] 'Peter Easton', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 2000): http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=203

[817] Peter Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (University of North Carolina Press, 2004), p. 50; A.F. Williams, *John Guy of Bristol and Newfoundland* (St. John's Newfooundland, 2010).

[818] 'The Conditions on which Nice and Villafranca were declared Free Ports', 3 March 1613, *Cal. S.P. Ven. 1610-1613*, ibid.

[819] Horwood and Butts, ibid. p. 19.

are at least hinting at the links between Ireland and Newfoundland from that period. The discovery of an Irish silver shilling during excavations at Ferryland, within the lower layers of the defensive ditch, certainly attests to the transatlantic traffic that was occurring during the reign of James VI and I and which provided evidence for this contact from the earliest phases of occupation at the Colony of Avalon (plate 43).[820]




(plate 43) Irish Silver Shilling from Ferryland.[821]

This is an example of a coin dating from the second issue of 1604-1607 during the king's reign,[822] and one can ponder if the pirates themselves, or perhaps even Peter Easton, may have brought it from one of the harbours in Ireland only to lose it in Newfoundland while there. Of equal interest, from ongoing archaeological investigations at Ferryland, evidence has been recovered from the earliest European layers of fragments of North Devon pottery, indicative of the English presence there but also accompanied by sherds of continental ceramics, including Iberian Merida-wares and cooking pot fragments from the Brittany area of France. While these are

[820] http://www.colonyofavalon.ca/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=54:avalon-defenses

[821] Reproduced by permission of Photographic Services, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's Newfoundland, © 2001; downloaded from: http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/visitors/default.html

[822] http://www.irishcoinage.com/JAMES1.HTM

interpreted as representing general domestic wares, which were available locally at that period all over Europe, the investigators also suggest that the evidence could represent vessels that were used on board ships during their Atlantic voyages, perhaps those used by the early migratory fishermen.[823] It is suggested here that they could just as easily have been on board the pirates' ships when frequenting the Newfoundland coastline during the course of their own Atlantic travels.[824]

While the fishermen may have been directly exploiting the rich fishing resources of the Newfoundland Banks as a way of life, the vast remaining maritime activity across the Atlantic at that time coincided with and was directly tied into the setting up of the New World merchant adventure companies.[825] These included the Virginia Company in 1606, the Bristol and Newfoundland Company in 1610 and the Bermuda Company in 1611-1612.[826] The English East India Company had already been set up in 1600, and nearer home the Ulster plantation began in 1609-1610. Ongoing at the same time was the second more concerted attempt at the plantation of Munster. Ships therefore had the potential to be carrying rich cargoes from new worlds but also information and knowledge of new speculative opportunities at home and abroad, opportunities that could be exploited by pirates open to any prospective ventures that would make them money, ensure their success or facilitate their safety as settlers. Closely linked to many of these ventures were investors stationed in Munster, serving as official government officers.

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[823] B. Gaulton and J. A. Tuck, 'The Archaeology of Ferryland, Newfoundland until 1696', *Avalon Chronicles: The English in America 1497-1696*, 8 (2003), pp 187-188.

[824] I am grateful to Dr. James Lyttleton for drawing my attention to and supplying me with a copy of the publication by Gaulton and Tuck.

[825] Other venture companies had been set up to carry out voyages of speculation and exploration to different parts of the globe, including the North West Passage Company, The Muscovy Company and the South Sea Company; these companies had been set up under the auspices of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of London; see T. Rabb, 'Investment in English Overseas Enterprise 1575-1630', *The Economic History Review*, 19, no. 1 (1966), pp 70-81.

[826] D.B. Quinn, 'Advice for Investors in Virginia, Bermuda, and Newfoundland, 1611', *The William and Mary Quarterly*.23, no. 1 (1966), p. 138.

**The complexities of inter-related business dealings**

Most government officials who operated in remote coastal areas, those like William Hull, Thomas Crooke and Humphrey Jobson used the opportunity to build up personal wealth through direct dealings with the pirates.[827] But it was far more expansive than just ensuring that they were able to live well in West Cork; this source of financial gain was by and large untraceable by the exchequer in England, and where it was suspected, was regularly countered by argument, with the accused being ultimately cleared. This was due in no small part by the fact that governing officials like the Lord High Admiral, the earl of Nottingham in London, also expected their share of any ill-gotten riches.[828] These misappropriated funds supplemented legitimately earned monies, and thus could be strategically redirected as important sources of 'venture capital' used to finance both local interests and overseas investments.

Hull built up his business in the pilchard industry in Crookhaven and Leamcon from 1613 onwards, initially in full partnership with Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork, and thereafter intermittently with Boyle's input.[829] Extensive investment was required for the fishing industry to ensure any successful return and another sure source of ready capital came from his dealings in pirate goods.[830] If the investment were successful, the return could seemingly be substantial. In Newfoundland the profits from the fishing industry, including its by-produce train oil, was potentially enormous, estimated to be €120,000 per year through the sale of fish and up to

[827] D. Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster 1630-1830* (Cork, 2005), p. 19.
[828] Nottingham's insider dealings is discussed in chapter 3; see also Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral*, pp 260-286; Lords of Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 8 March 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1606-1608,* p. 433; Examination of Rich Kerry, 29 January 1610 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47, ff. 79v-83).
[829] Dickson, ibid.,pp 19-20; Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates', p. 86,
[830] Appleby, ibid. p. 94 and n47.

€135,000 for the trade in train oil.[831] The oil was the by-product from the pressing of fish, in contemporary times that of pilchards (sardines). This process was carried out in dedicated structures, known as fish palaces, the archaeological remains of which are still visible within the study area. Hull built two in Crookhaven and one on his own estate in Leamcon.[832] Press beams, which incorporated bucklers or lids, pressed down onto the fish in barrels, in turn squeezeing out the oil content. A drain hole at the bottom of the barrels ensured the oil ran out along a channel where it was re-barrelled ready for export. The oil had a multiple of uses including as a lubricant, food additive, to add to wax for candles or for use in oil lamps. Such figures need to be viewed with caution, however, as they could be both inflated to bolster the vested interests of those involved in the venture companies to Newfoundland but were also estimates and relied, in reality, on logistics in trade and shipping to ensure such a return, including avoiding being attacked by pirates like Peter Easton.[833]

In his deposition from 1642, Hull provides a detailed list of items stolen, damaged or lost following the attacking on his estate by Irish rebels at the outset of the Irish rebellion period.[834] His wealth is suggested within the contents of the deposition, though it may be subject to some exaggeration as a means to augmenting his claim. He recounts that he had 16 seine boats at Leamcon, a large coasting boat of 12 tons, fish cellars and palaces. The listing of 'sixty bucklers to presse fishe' is evidence for the extraction of train oil, though when this would have begun at

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[831] R. Whitbourne, *A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland* (London, 1620), p. 12; Went, 'The Irish Pilchard Fishery', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section B: Geographical and Chemical Science*, 51 (1945-1948), pp 81-120.

[832] Power, *Archaeological Inventory of West Cork*, p. 365, 410 and 411; recorded monuments: CO:152:03: *fish palace* (Ballynaule), CO:147:046 *fish palace* (Leenane) and CO:148:027/3 *fish palace* (Leamcon); Went, 'The Irish Pilchard Fishery', pp. 83-86.

[833] G. Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, (London, 1982), pp. 14-34, 123-145; G. Cell, 'The Newfoundland Company: A Study of Subscribers to a Colonizing Venture', in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 22, no. 4 (1965), pp 611-625.

[834] The Gaelic O'Mahonys figure prominently in the deposition, attacking Hull in his demesne. They may have been taking the opportunity to reclaim their lands at Leamcon, which Hull had been granted under the Munster plantation scheme.

Leamcon is uncertain. Train oil extraction would have required press beams that squeeze the fish inside barrels, with the buckler being a flat piece of wood that covered the top of the barrel and was slowly squeezed downwards to extract the oil. This was then channeled via the bottom of the barrel out through train-pits where it was collected. Thousands of barrel staves for barrel construction to hold the train oil is mentioned, and other material pertaining to his fishing industry.[835] While fish was the primary focus of the industry, the infrastructure required to service it was equally substantial, and this is also suggested in Hull's deposition. Labour was needed to build the cellars, fish palaces, fish holding pools, quays and landing places; coopers to construct the barrels for the fish and train oil; men to man the bucklers to press the fish; carpenters to repair boats and sail makers to rig them; the fishermen themselves and men to manage and run the whole operation were also central to the industry.[836]

In all, the scale of Hull's loss suggests his business was significant and though he also includes other commodities in his deposition, including 1,300 sheep taken from his estate, he put the value of his loss at nearly €9,000.[837] Cultural evidence along the foreshore at Leamcon is pointing to a harbour that had extensive docking facilities and associated infrastructure (plate 44).[838] Indeed the local placename evidence alone is suggestive of this. Directly below where old Leamcon house (Hull's house) would have been located is known as 'the boathouse field' and to the immediate east of that along the foreshore is 'the long dock'.[839] Survey in both areas

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[835] Sir William Hull knight & one of his Maiesties Councell of Mounster, 22 October 1642, Deposition of William Hull, f 254, 2365 (MS 824, fols 253r-259v, TCD, 1641 Depositions Project); http://1641.tcd.ie/deposition

[836] Appleby, 'Pirates and Settlers', p. 94.

[837] Sir William Hull knight & one of his Maiesties Councell of Mounster, 22 October 1642, Deposition of William Hull, ibid; Appleby, ibid., p. 91, 101; Appleby correctly advised caution when viewing the quoted amounts in Hull's deposition and does emphasise that the depositions were based on estimates and thus may not include all costs or indicate true wealth.

[838] Appendix 6 contains a full listing of these sites.

[839] I am grateful to Mr. Donal O'Callaghan of Beakeen for the information on the local placenames.

has produced archaeological remains of quays, mooring posts, slipways and stone steps (plates 11 – 13; 45 and 46).

While the outline of the basal remains of the quay (plate 47) and the canalized dock is indicated on both the 1st edition 1840s and 25 inch 1880s Ordnance Survey maps, there is no detail as to what they are and they are not identified as actual structures. This suggests that they had fallen out of use by that time and is indicative of an earlier date for them. Similarly, the remaining structures surveyed, including the Long Dock and associated slipways and intertidal stone features, do not appear on any maps and thus must not have been considered usable or indeed identifiable at that point. This again suggests a date for them to before the early nineteenth century.




(plate 44) Aerial image of Leamcon foreshore with archaeological remains indicated.[840]

Though each of these sites on their own could have been constructed at any point, the combined nature of all of them together suggests that they formed part of an extensive harbour infrastructure that serviced regular maritime traffic to and from Leamcon. It

[840] © Google Earth

is possible that they were part of the eighteenth-century Leamcon estate landscape features, but their cumulative extent, stretching for nearly half a kilometer along the foreshore, is more indicative of industrial or mercantile usage than being the focus of leisure activity. The locating of the projecting stone features at either side of the entrance to Leamcon harbour points to a concerted attempt to control traffic in and out of the waterway, again hinting at a judicious and quite possibly commercial use for the sites identified. The history of maritime usage in the area, supported by the identified sites on the ground and the placename evidence, lends itself to an interpretive date for these sites. This may well stretch back to earlier centuries and be contemporary with William Hull's settlement in Leamcon, his fishing industry there and the employment of pirates as labourers on his land. The earthquake events discussed previously, in particular the effect of the tsunami following the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, may have led to inundation and silting up of the harbour in Leamcon, which may explain why sites along the foreshore there went out of use and why the harbour today is so shallow.[841] It may also explain why the sites do not feature on maps after that date.

[841] Joseph P. O'Reilly, 'Catalogue of Earthquakes Having Occurred in Great Britain and Ireland during Historical Times: Arranges Relatively to Localities and Frequency of Occurance, to Serve as a Vasis for an Earthquake Map of the Three Kingdoms', *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy,* I, Science (1880-1886), pp 285-316; the earthquake and subsequent tsunami of 1692 that led to the destruction of Port Royal and submergence of the pirate settlements there is a useful comparative study; see D. Hamilton, 'Pirates and Merchants: Port Royal, Jamaica', in Skowronek and Ewen (eds.) *X Marks the Spot*, pp 13-30.



(plate 45) The boathouse field quay and steps



(plate 46) Remains of the 'long dock'.



(plate 47) Large stone features extending out into waterway that appear to control access to the harbour entrance.

By 1609 several pardoned pirates had settled on Hull's lands and may have been legitimately involved in the pilchard industry with him, either in business directly or as local workers. David Dickson points out that there is little or no record for local workers or indigenous investors engaged in the fishing trade, including in the Crookhaven industry.[842] Entries in the High Court of Admiralty papers may be able to bridge this gap somewhat, and importantly in respect to the pirates themselves. The examination of John Lee previously discussed in an earlier chapter in regard to his being forced into service by Captain Suxbridge, concluded by stating that he was since then in the service of a Mr. Clarke as a labourer at Leamcon.[843]

One wonders if this Mr. Clarke may have been a manager on Hull's estate overseeing the successful operation of his budding fishing industry, with his remit to recruit able-bodied workers including pirates as legitimate labourers? The value of

[842] Dickson, ibid. p. 20.
[843] Examination of John Lee, 5 May 1610 (T.N.A. Examination, HCA 12/266 f 99v-100); please refer to chapter 1 for earlier reference.

documents like the HCA examinations is obvious, and hitherto have not been fully explored in respect to identifying individuals who worked locally in Munster at the time, the majority of whom remain invisible in the historical record and certainly so in the archaeological. What is also interesting with accounts like that of John Lee's is that it related to the period before Hull set up his 'official' fisheries industry, suggesting that his establishment of his fishing interests were earlier than has been documented. Other HCA examinations of pirates contain similar information. For example, a Thomas Williams was living at Rosbrin in Lord Audley's town; Thomas Champion was working as a tailor in Baltimore; Simon Ashdon worked as a shoemaker, in Baltimore and Rosscarbery, and Roger Salter was also engaged by a Mr. Clarke, though it is not stated where he was actually working, but perhaps it is the same Clarke in Leamcon as previously recorded in the examination of John Lee?[844]

Thomas Crooke's rapid establishment of the town of Baltimore suggests that he had considerable financial backing. Crooke divided the town into tenement lots, each with a garden and gave every settler a plot for building and grazing their cattle.[845] James Lancaster, knighted by the king in 1603 and overall commander of the East India Company's merchant fleet, is reported to have been one of Crooke's backers. Lancaster's early ventures in accessing the Spice Islands in the East Indies is interesting because while he acted in his official capacity as commander in charge of

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[844] Examination of Thomas Williams, prob. 5 May 1610 (T.N.A. Examination, HCA 12/266 f 105v); Examination of Thomas Champion, 7 May 1610 (T.N.A. Examination, HCA 12/266 f 103-103v); Examination of Simon Ashton, 5 May 1610 (T.N.A. Examination, HCA 12/266 f 105v-106); Examination of Roger Salter, 5 May 1610 (T.N.A. Examination, HCA 12/266 f 106-106v); John Appleby has published these accounts previously, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, pp 294-296; It is interesting to note that Salters continue to live in the area today, specifically in Castletownsend (to the immediate north of Castlehaven); George Touchet, Lord Audley acquired lands in Munster early in the first decade of the seventeenth century, setting up a settlement at Rosbrin, where the harbour became known as Audley's Cove and a thriving slate quarry industry developed that lasted into the nineteenth century; it is also curious that he acquired the lands around Castlehaven at that time too and was made first earl of Castlehaven in 1616; D. Donovan, *Sketches in Carbery, Co. Cork: Its Antiquities, History, Legends and Topography* (Dublin, 1876), p. 138.

[845] Donovan, 'Dun na Séad: the history of Baltimore castle', pp 70-75; McCarthy, *Pirates of Baltimore*, pp 18-31; Charles Smith, *Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork,* I (1750), p. 276.

the Indies fleet, he also partook in acts of piracy when the necessity and opportunity presented itself. In 1602 for example, when the pepper crop had not reached the port of disembarkation in Banda Aceh, on Sumatra's northwestern coastal fringe, Lancaster's ships attacked a Portuguese carrack that came to trade there and in the latter part of the previous century, he operated his own privateering vessel.[846] Men like Lancaster, therefore, were well adept at straddling both sides of the official divide and would have identified the commercial advantages that could accrue from investing in the establishment of settlements like that at Baltimore.

With Crooke's development of the town, he also promised to allow his tenants to hold their estates in fee farm, again as a means to encouraging advancement and permanence in settlement.[847] This had the advantage of ensuring that his tenants held their land as freeholders while there was a return to the exchequer through the admiralty farm of customs. Baltimore and Crookhaven are listed in 1607 among the harbours that had not paid any revenue for many years, claiming exemption by charter or prescription.[848] The imposition of the customs fee farm in Ireland, including into remote places like southwest Munster, was promoted by Lord High Admiral, the earl of Nottingham, as a means to supplementing his own funds.[849] This allowed legitimate revenue to accrue from trade in harbours like Baltimore, while facilitating the ongoing underground trafficking in pirate goods. Crooke's investment in the fishing industry in Baltimore would equally have brought in legitimate commercial returns to the crown, but provided the opportunity to launder funds and employ pirates as part of the settler community. Thus the industry that developed unofficially between the local

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[846] Corn, *The Scents of Eden,* pp 126-127; MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Credit and remittance: monetary problems in early seventeenth century Munster' *Irish Economic and Social History,* XIV (1987), pp.17-18.
[847] Smith, ibid.; Donovan, 'Dun na Séad: the history of Baltimore castle', ibid.
[848] Treadwell, 'The Establishment of the Farm of the Irish Customs 1603-1613', *English Historical Review*, 93, no. 368 (1978), p. 588.
[849] Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland*, p. 93.

officials like Crooke and the pirates was greatly supported by using this legitimate 'front' to facilitate operations.[850]

Crooke invested in other resources along the southwestern coast of Munster too. He reached a commercial agreement with one Thomas Wilson and Dudley Norton in 1608 for the purchase of 'certain lands and woods lying upon or about the Bay of Bantry, and for the improvement of the same to the communal interests of all the three parties'.[851] Crooke would have needed to look beyond the confines of Baltimore itself in his acquisition of natural resources, particularly for his fishery industry where timber was needed for barrel making and press beam construction; it also served as an important asset for fuel, building materials, for boatbuilding and repair and as a trading commodity.[852] This was emphasised in 1608 when Phillip Cottingham was sent over to Ireland to survey the woodlands in Munster. He reported that much of the finest timber there had already been used for the manufacture of barrel staves but that farther west, in 'Desmond's country', there were still good woods to be found.[853]

The Strafford map of Baltimore shows Crooke's settlement in the early years of its establishment and is significant in that it provides a view of the town for that early period, including hinting at the fishing activity taking place there at that time, both on the water and on land (see map image 3 in the introduction). Shown as a vibrant maritime harbour, with a variety of vessels, including fully-masted ships, fishing boats and smaller tender vessels. The various types of fishing methods are also indicated that were used in the pilchard fishing industry. These included what were

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[850] McCarthy, *Pirates of Baltimore*, pp 21-22.

[851] Agreement between Thomas Wilson, Dudley Norton, and Thomas Crooke, 22 November 1608, SP 63/225, ff 224, (State Papers Online, Gale Document No. MC4347580165); Ibid., *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 101; It is signed by Thomas Crooke and part signed by Norton.

[852] J. Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, p. 375 and also see n70.

[853] E. McCracken, 'The Woodlands of Ireland circa 1600', *Irish Historical Studies*, 11, no. 44 (1959), p. 219.

referred to as 'open seining' and 'fixed engine seine' fishing. Both methods incorporated the use of a 'hewer' or primary vessel that would deploy the seine nets and follow the shoal. In turn the 'follower' or support vessel that held the other end of the net would gather it around the shoal, essentially ensnaring the fish. The catch was then either hawled into the hewer and landed on shore (open seining) or had one end of the net fixed or anchored to a shore base, where the net could be pulled ashore when the fish had been surrounded (fixed engine seining).

Possible fishery-related buildings on the shoreline of the Cove are also depicted, as is settlement and fortified sites scattered around but immediate to the harbour. The intensity of activity is illustrated in the manning of the vessels both within and without the harbour, the smoke coming from the chimneys of what were decidedly settler houses and the utilization of the landscape within the confines of a controlled environment. The activity is focused on the main settlement of Baltimore, where the fortified structure surrounded by a large bawn wall is shown, outside of which is also drawn the defined and well laid out plantation settlement. The date of this map is the subject of ongoing debate. Cotter suggests that it could date to the early part of the seventeenth century, possibly to 1610 and to when Crooke's settlement was well established at that point. If this were the case then the map would be an important representational view of Crooke's plantation, showing settlers, industry and maritime activity.[854]

The map may also be later than that, possibly dating to the 1620s and associated with Richard Boyle, the first earl of Cork and the threat of a raid on the Cork coast by the Algerine Turkish pirates. A letter forming part of the earl's letter book and found in the Devonshire Collection in Chatsworth House, was written on

[854] Cotter, 'Dún na Séad Castle', pp 46-47.

February 14th 1631, only four months before the raid took place. In it he referred to enclosing '[ ] a Mapp of the Harbour and Towne of Baltimore, which I have cause to be drawn to present you withall, and that your Lordship may observe how the Town and Harbour lyeth and how narrow the entry of the Harbour mouth is and how easily and fitt it is to bee fortified and secured .....I have receaved new intelligence that the Turkes are preparing to land (and) infest those Maritime parts of Munster'.[855]

Though it is not known how the map ended up as part of the Wentworth papers, its true value is the information it contains on the nature and extent of the settlement and the activities associated with that in Baltimore for the early part of the seventeenth century. Crooke's fortified house is shown, within the confines of where the O'Driscoll castle of Dún na Séad was located, and surrounded by a bawn wall with houses located both within and without. Whether Crooke used this building as his main residence or as an administrative centre is not clear. In the sources Crooke was referred to variously as 'living near Baltimore', or 'of Downshead', and 'dwelling not far from Baltimore', while in his will he was termed as 'Thomas Crooke of Baltimore.[856] It is thus not specifically clear if he actually lived in Dún na Séad castle itself or outside the village, using the castle site as his seat of official work. To the immediate southeast within the Cove area, are other houses, with chimneys and

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[855] Rev. J. Coombes, 'The Sack of Baltimore, a forewarning', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 63, no. 198, note (1956), pp 60-61; Rev. Coombes states that a copy of the map was originally held in Trinity College Library in about the year 1860 but went missing thereafter. The National Library of Ireland also holds a microfilm copy of the earl's Letter Book but it does not contain any map; NLI n. 3306, p. 2924. The original copy forms part of the Devonshire Collection in Chatsworth, now part of the Hardwick manuscript no. 78; I am grateful to Stuart Band, Archivist Emeritus, The Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth for information on this manuscript and clarification on the earl's letter book; E.J. Priestley, 'An Early 17th Century Map of Baltimore', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 89, no. 248 (1984), p. 55; C. Kelleher, 'In a Harbour Long Ago', pp 283-285.

[856] By the Lord President of Mounster, 23 June 1608, Curtis Clayton, (ed.), *Council Book for the Province of Munster,* p. 376; Lords of Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 8 March 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1616-1608*, p. 434; Last Will and Testament of Thomas Crooke, 27 May 1630, original in Guildhall, London (DL/C/B/05/MS9172/039; Will no. 208A); I am grateful to Bernie McCarthy of Dún na Séad for drawing my attention to this will and providing me with details of it.

smoke emanating from these, indicative that they are domestic dwellings. The type of structures depicted, all with hipped-roofs, chimneys and one and a half or two storeys, is suggestive of English-style constructions and points to the English plantation of Thomas Crooke extending into the Cove area and on Ringaroige Island, where Dunagall castle is indicated, as is 'The Keye' at Inane.

Archaeological evidence from excavation carried out in the interior of Dún na Séad castle, in advance of its restoration, identified two domestic hearth sites including one with a hearth stone. The location of these sites would be in keeping with those houses depicted on the map within the southeast corner of the fortified structure and suggest that the map is accurate in its representation of settlement there for that time. The recovery of substantial amounts of pottery, including fragments of French, Spanish, Dutch, German and English wares, dating to the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, also attests to the widespread trading activities that were part of everyday life in Baltimore, with some of these perhaps linked to the maritime plunder by the pirates themselves.[857] The representation of the larger vessels on the map again points to maritime traffic, transport and trade but may again be suggestive of the pirates utilizing the harbour as one of their main bases of operations. The map then, like that of the 1612 Dutch chart, could be another tangible link to those times when the pirates and settlers were one and the same.

Humphrey Jobson, the deputy vice-admiral, was also involved in overseas pursuits including that of the Jamestown colony in Virginia. His name appears on a list of adventurers on the charters of 1606, 1609 and 1612.[858] This is interesting, when considering the suggestion put forward by lord president of Munster, Sir Richard

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[857] Cotter, ibid. p. 42.

[858] Jamestown Society, *Qualifying Ancestors: Stockholders in the Virginia Company* (Ancestor Register, 2007), p. 2; http://www.jamestowne.org/adv.htm;

Moryson in 1609, to send over the pirates in Munster to the emerging plantation settlements in Virginia. It suggests that more than he was in fact investing in settlement in places across the Atlantic, with known individuals in mind to plant in the colonies there.[859] Once again, profits that were made through Jobson's dealings with the pirates could be used for such speculative ventures. It would be an irony indeed if such ill-gotten profits were in turn put to use re-settling the pirates in colonies abroad, perhaps to establish similar trading habits there and ensure a continued mutual link across the ocean between the southwest of Munster and the colonies in the New World.

On the same list of investors in the Virginia colony is James Duppa.[860] An Englishman then living in Leghorn (now Livorno) in Italy under the auspices of the duchy of Tuscany, he too was a noted pirate from the southwest coast of England, who patrolled the Mediterranean and traded extensively with the Atlantic pirates in Mamora.[861] He and his brother Michael were active around North Africa between 1612 and 1614. Michael was recorded as having bought a Spanish vessel from fellow English pirate William Baugh when in Mamora and was listed as being a member of Captain Henry Mainwaring's pirate crew also at Mamora in 1614, manning his own Flemish ship of 160 tons in consort with known Atlantic pirates like John Ellis and

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[859] Sir Richard Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609, Youghall, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 278.
[860] Jamestown Society, ibid.
[861] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 93; The various grand dukes of Tuscany had been criticized from the sixteenth century onwards by English officials for enticing English sailors and shipbuilders into their service, to serve in their navy and bring knowledge of shipbuilding and seafaring with them to enhance the Duchy's warships. Several high profile individuals took up residence there, with the lure of living in luxury and becoming wealthy through serving the Duke, trading within the Mediterranean and investing in colonial ventures; in 1607 for example, Sir Robert Dudley, once suitor to Elizabeth I, arrived in Leghorn and quickly established himself within the shipyards and encouraged more of his fellow Englishmen to join him. It was noted at the time that 'The Grand Duke [Ferdinand I] continues to entice English mariners and shipwrights into his service, has brought ordnance from English ships, and taken English Pirates under his protection'; Joyce Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon 1550-1646* (London, 1989), p. 30; similar enticements were traditionally made by the dukes of Florence and Savoy, with perhaps the pirate Peter Easton being the most noted of the Atlantic pirates to eventually settle in Savoy; see also A. Gwynn, 'Early Irish Emigration to the West Indies, 1612-1643', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 18, no. 71 (1929), pp 377-393.

Robert Walsingham. There also at the same time was Irish pirate Captain Richard Myagh.[862] This last account is interesting as the Dutch fleet, led by Moy Lambert, during their attack on the pirate and settler community in Crookhaven, killed Myagh and many of his crew in March of that year.[863] Though the account of Myagh in Mamora dates to August 1614, it must refer to the pirates being there in January or February as Edward Davenant's report states that Myagh's ship, of 160 tons, had arrived into Crookhaven three or four days before the 4 March 1614. It carried a cargo of 'velvet, satin, grograine, Holland cloth, canvas and sundry other goods and money of the said Myagh and his company'.[864]

The interchange between the pirates when in Mamora and others operating around the coast of North Africa, such as the Duppa brothers, illustrates how men like James Duppa straddled the legitimate line between pirate, privateer and professional merchant, being involved directly with the pirates in North Africa but investing in overseas adventures alongside government officials like Humphrey Jobson. Senior relays that James Duppa was looked upon as a 'tufted taffeta captaine' by fellow English pirates who had been professional seamen, being viewed as a merchant and trader rather than as an outright pirate.[865] Though beyond the scope of this study, characters like James Duppa, who went on to become financially involved in the Guiana Company and colonial ventures to the Amazon from the late-1620s, are indicative of how maritime commerce actually operated.[866] Similarly the

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[862] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 107, 151, 388-389.

[863] Examination of Edward Davenant of the island of Whiddy, county of Cork, merchant, aged 45, 1 October 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/226, f. 338).

[864] Ibid.; Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, p. 285.

[865] Senior, ibid. p. 388.

[866] Duppa went on to command several ships, including the *Seahorse, Amity* and ill-fated *Sea-Nymph*, and had a long career as an adventurer with investments in several companies involved in colonial pursuits in South and Central America, under Charles I; in 1642 he is recorded as an 'Englishman, now elderly, called James Dupay, who years ago was a pirate, afterwards captain of some of the king of England's ships, and now he is very wealthy and has shares in ships'; for a full and excellent account

transplantation of pirates from Munster to Virginia would have enabled this interchange of individuals on a quasi-legal basis that facilitated commercial gain, specifically for venture capital, whilst also ensuring control of territories and inadvertently the expansion of empire.

Lauren Benton, in her studies of the legal geography of the oceans in the seventeenth century, discusses the application of legislative admiralty controls on the high seas and how they were regularly influenced by the applied commercial strategies of mariners, merchants and pirates. She states 'the creation of a colonial admiralty court system extended English legal authority through the empire at the same time that it opened new avenues for the avoiding of courts in England [and by extension Ireland] and in particular the colonies'.[867] In many cases, therefore, the commercial gains of merchant venture expeditions justified the means by which such economic returns were achieved – the distinction between officially sanctioned piracy and commercial piracy indeed being interlinked.[868]

**Pirate treasure: the value to local communities and local community values**

At times Humphrey Jobson was at variance with Thomas Crooke as to who was entitled to the acquisition of pirate booty. Crooke, who liaised with individuals like Ralph Bingley in the distribution of plundered goods, actively worked to prevent others, including Jobson, trading with the pirates.[869] It therefore seems that local officials could be in competition with each other when vying for control of this lucrative trade. The ease by which pirates like Richard Bishop or John Jennings could

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of these colonial ventures see Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon*, and for Duppa's involvement in particular pp 98-99, 101-103, 116-117, 353, 439-445.

[867] Lauren Benton, 'Oceans of Law', ibid.; see too Benton, 'Legal Spaces of Empire: Piracy and the Origins of Ocean Regionalism', *Journal of Comparative Study of Society and History*, 47, no. 4 (October 2005), pp 700-724; http://cssh.lsa.umich.edu/.

[868] Richie, *Captain Kidd,* pp 11-20; see introductory chapter for a discussion on this.

[869] Senior, ibid. p. 117.

land their booty, the acquisition of such commodities by the local Irish and settlers - goods which they would normally have no access to - symbiotically supported this thriving market. Government agents 'officially' intercepted such goods for the crown, but equally dispersed select amounts for themselves.

The transporting of some of Jennings' goods to Leamcon, by Jobson but no doubt to William Hull's demesne where Jobson was stationed, speaks volumes of the overt nature of how such booty was distributed among those involved.[870] It is equally obvious from examinations that payment in kind using products like pepper was as acceptable, if not more so, than using coin of silver or gold. It was noted by Chichester that the local populace benefitted from the 'exchange of victuals for commodities, or ready money'.[871] Mainwaring also wrote that the locals living along the coast in Munster privately arranged with the pirate captains what locations were suitable for the exchange of goods. This was done at night and such victuals often included beef, hides, butter and 'other refreshments'. In turn the pirates dropped off money and other goods worth, as was expected, two or three times the value of what locals were supplying to the pirates.[872] It was reported that the willing locals 'receive payment to the double valewe, and by that meanes thinke to be freed from the penalty of divers proclamacions forbidding commerce with them [ ]'.[873] This indicates just how lucrative trade with the pirates was to the local economy and how it was perceived that such commerce, though illicit, was looked upon with more lenience in that it provided extra returns to local official coffers that bolstered the English settlement efforts overall.

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[870] Examination of John Jennings, a pirate, before the court of admiralty, no date, ibid.
[871] Lord Deputy to the Lords of the Council, 31 October 1612, Edwards (ed.). 'Letter-book', p. 62.
[872] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 17.
[873] Captain Henry Skipwith to Sir Arthur Chichester, October 1611 (NLI, *Carew MSS*, 629, f. 178).

It shows also how important it was to have places where goods could be easily exchanged, even if it were by means of smuggled imports and irregular exports. It is in this context that sites like Canty's Cove or Dutchman's Cove (plates 24 - 27) are best understood. The rock-cut platforms would have facilitated the dropping off of goods, while the steps would have allowed coastal access in the dead of night; the lantern niches signaled and guided ships and boats ashore, also at night, and temporary hoist facilities, using crude lifting mechanism that could be erected or dismantled quickly, all served to make exchange of goods efficient and successful. Such landing places, as discussed previously, had to be strategically located but needed to be familiar to both the locals and pirates to ensure that business continued as usual.[874]

Those involved with the pirates seem to have come from all levels and all professions in the local society. At Leamcon in 1610, even the local vicar was known to openly 'victualle and entertaine all manner of pirates' and where 'one Nathanaell a butcher killed beefes at Captaine Hulls house at Lymcone and sold 7 or 8 beefes to Captaine Bishoppe and Captaine Parker pirates but whether they were Hulls beefe or the said Nathanaells owne' was not clarified.[875] On Whiddy, a Mr. Davenent was recorded as supplying relief to Richard Bishop, Peter Easton and Thomas Coward, including providing 'beeves and muttes'.[876] No doubt this is the same Davenant who was examined in 1614 and gave his account of the Dutch attack on Crookhaven.[877] The trade in illegally obtained goods continued under Izon Kempe, who succeeded Jobson as vice-admiral. In late 1610 Richard Grice, Kempe's deputy, disclosed the

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[874] See chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of these sites.
[875] Examination of William Thompson, 4 May 1610 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47, f 116v-117r).
[876] Richard Grice, Deputy-Vice-Admiral, 2 December 1610, (NLI, *Carew MSS*, 619, f. 138); 'beeves' and ''muttes' are the old English equivalent for beef and mutton.
[877] Examination of Edward Davenant of the island of Whiddy, county of Cork, merchant, aged 45, 1 October 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/226, f. 338).

main collecting points used at night and by day, while providing the names of most of the inhabitants who were implicated.[878]

It can be gauged from the cargo brought back to Ireland in 1612-1613, by pirate captain William Baugh, then rear-admiral to confederacy leader Peter Easton, just how diverse and valuable plundered commodities could be to the communities along the southwest coast of Munster, to the pirates themselves and to individual local officials. The pirating escapades of and case relating to Baugh's surrender and pardoning is both complex and extensive and has been covered in detail by John Appleby. The detail with which the affair was documented highlights how significant it was at the time and acts as an example for the potential worth of commodities and intensity of the commerce by pirates like Baugh, serving to contextualize the whole ethos of how piracy was, first and foremost, a business.[879] This should not suggest that all pirate cargoes brought into the southwest at that time were of the same volume, diversity and worth, it certainly illustrates how valuable they could be and why all strata of the population living along the Munster coast were keen to partake in some aspect of these rich pickings.

On his way back to Leamcon from Mamora over the course of several months, Baugh and his pirate fleet plundered and took as prizes a number of ships. These included the *Greyhound* of La Rochelle carrying linen, silks, canvas and other goods, and the *St. Michael* of Lübeck, laden with rye and wheat. Two Dutch vessels, one carried bags of pepper, crockery stored for transit within barrels and bags of silver and gold coin and the other damask, red velvet, satin and silk stockings. Yet another ship named the *Bull* of Dieppe with a cargo of sugar, Brazil wood, cotton wool and precious stones was attacked; plates of copper, beadsteads and various other goods

[878] Richard Grice, Deputy-Vice-Admiral, 2 December 1610, (NLI, *Carew MSS*, 619, f. 138).
[879] Appleby, 'Affairs of Pirates', p. 125, 127, 128.

were taken out of another ship.[880] The diversity of the goods that could be pirated in any given plundering event, and the scale of the operations, was significant.

Initially landing the goods at Leamcon, they were valued as worth £3,361. Some of the booty was shared out among various locals, including two chests of sugar and a bag of pepper sent ashore in a boat at night; another boat with one or two chests and canvas followed, also under the cover of darkness. More booty was given to Richard Bishop, who was living 'near' Leamcon, which included a chest of sugar and a bag of pepper and William Hull received two chests of sugar. Yet another chest of sugar was sent to the king's ship, the *Lion's Whelp*, then at anchor in Leamcon harbour.[881] In an attempt to curb the activity of pirates in Leamcon in 1611, the council of Munster had placed a garrison of soldiers in the castle there, under Captain Povey. Baugh was quickly trading with them, however, providing goods to individual soldiers, and later providing similar merchandise to the king's men stationed in the castle in Kinsale, including ribbon as a wedding gift to one of the trumpeters in Castlepark.[882]

At that point, the personal wealth of Captain Baugh is given as between £3,000 and £4,000, an incredible amount for that period.[883] The nature of this wealth is not clear, however, and it is to be supposed that it was disposable income accrued from his piratical activities rather than wealth expressed in land or asset ownership. This is borne out somewhat, as discussed below, where fellow pirates robbed Baugh's possessions and, in general where records show that pirates like Baugh dealt in money

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[880] Appleby, ibid.

[881] Examination of John Hoskins, of Plymouth, 19 August 1613 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42, f. 201-202v); Examination of Richard Millington, 21 August 1613 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42, f. 214r).

[882] Examination of Thomas Morris, 19 August 1613 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42, f. 201v-202); Appleby, 'Affairs of Pirates', pp 73-74 and ' Settlers and Pirates', p. 83.

[883] Appleby, ibid., p. 72.

for both commercial and gift exchange, rather than actual investment in property.[884] That being said, it is recorded, as previously discussed, that pirates like Richard Bishop did actually build a house, but again whether he owner the property or lived there under the auspices of William Hull in Leamcon remains unknown.[885]

The extent of the wealthy of some of the pirates can be speculated if compared to sources like that of William Hull's deposition of 1642, where the total of his losses is given as £8,972.[886] Other depositions are also invaluable in providing information on the personal incomes of individuals. Richard Boyle's wealth by 1641 was calculated to be between £18,000 and £20,000. The earl of Ormond's income in 1610 was £3,000 but by 1641 was estimated to be worth £8,000. The earl of Thomond's annual income before the civil war period was £7,000, while the average income for most of the lesser noble families at the time was between £2,000 and £3,000.[887] The fact that pirates like Baugh could be on a financial parallel with many of the ruling élite of the time, and far better off than some of the lesser nobles, is striking and with the potential to become that wealthy, which in turn ensured a certain amount of power, it is easy to see why piracy was so successful at that point and so difficult to curb.

Baugh was advised by Deputy Vice-Admiral Henry Skipwith to sail to Kinsale where he could anchor safely and stay in the fort at Castlepark. This was, however, preceded by Baugh leaving '900 pieces of eight at Captain Bishop's house', in Leamcon, for Skipwith. This was done with the full knowledge of Bishop, indicating his continued facilitation of piracy even after he had been officially pardoned and

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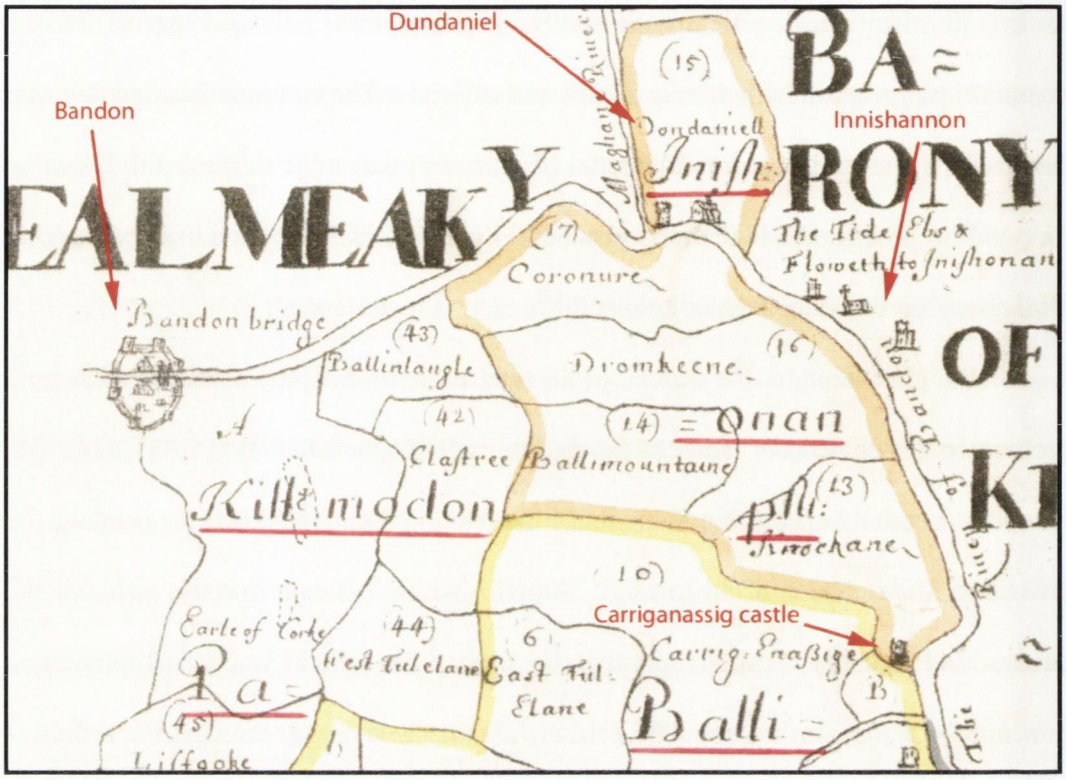
[884] Deposition of Edmunde Flinte, 3 September 1613 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42 f. 223v-224); there is slight confusion here as the first page of Flinte's deposition is also marked f. 225 on the admiralty papers.
[885] Senior, 'An Investigation'. p. 400
[886] Sir William Hull knight & one of his Maiesties Councell of Mounster, 22 October 1642, Deposition of William Hull, ibid.
[887] Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, p. 365.

settled. It also denotes the protection racket that was part and parcel of the negotiations for pardons between pirates and officials. The examination detailed that 'the Boatswaine told this examinant that [the money] was to be delivered to Captaine Skipwith to procure the lo deputies protection' points directly at such bribery filtering all the way up to the lord deputy himself.[888]

Baugh was under the official protection of the lord deputy at that point having previously negotiated the terms of his pardon with Roger Middleton in Mamora. He was to surrender himself, his ships and his goods to Captain Skipwith, pending the arrival of Middleton with the pardon. Skipwith advised Baugh that the terms of the pardon had actually expired and that he needed to remain under his protection pending the renegotiation of a new pardon.[889] There were suggestions at the time that Baugh wished to marry Skipwith's daughter and plied Mrs. Skipwith with gifts when at Leamcon, to win her agreement. They included a silver basin and ewer, a pack of canvas, damask and a chest of sugar for her sons.[890]

[888] Examination of Richard Millington, ibid.
[889] Examination of Richard Millington, ibid.; Appleby, 'The 'Affairs of Pirates', pp 74-76.
[890] Examination of Richard Millington, ibid.;Appleby, ibid. p. 75,




(map image 30) Detail from Down Survey parish map showing 'Inishonan' and 'Carrigenassige'.[891]

Baugh settled in Innishannon in County Cork following acceptance of his pardon in 1613, referring to himself as a 'gentleman of Inishoon' in his examination of that year.[892] Whether Baugh built a house, and thus became owner of a property, albeit perhaps as a tenant, or if he were 'accommodated' is not stated in the sources. Innishannon's proximity to Bandon along with its location on the Bandon river, the main artery leading inland from the harbour of Kinsale, is striking and may have influenced Baugh's settlement there (map image 30). Certainly Captain Skipwith spent time in Carriganassig castle in Innishannon, and it is perhaps this link that also

[891] Detail from Down Survey parish map of The Barony of Carbury and Ibaune, in the County of Corke, dc. 1908, (Ordnance Survey, Southampton; original housed as MSS Anglais 1-2, Bibliotheque National de France); I am very grateful to Dr. David Brown and Dr. Micheál Ó' Siochrú, Trinity College Dublin, for making a copy of this map available to me and for their help with references to the maps from this period for the study area.

[892] Examination of William Baugh of Inishoon in Ireland, gent aged 25 years or thereabouts, 23 July 1613 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/98, f. 82r-83v); Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates', p. 77; Ibid. 'The Affairs of Pirates', p. 81.

ensured Baugh's safety there.[893] It is also conspicuous that it was here that the English East India Company set up their iron works at Dundaniel in 1612. At nearby Shippool the East India Company built several ships to service the trade in iron.[894] Certainly as late as 1837 Innishannon was still described as an important maritime town, with Collier's quay facilitating lighters into the town and the river being navigable for ships of up to 200-tons burden.[895]

Though William Baugh was eventually granted his pardon, he did not receive a share of his goods, a key element of the negotiations and which had been agreed with Chichester.[896] Sir William St. John in the king's pinnace, the *Speedwell*, arrived into Kinsale and though he was meant to wait there on the instructions of the lord deputy, he had been given acounter order by the English Privy Countil to arrest Baugh and take command of his ship and goods. This he did but proceeded to help himself to the pirate's goods. The whole affair escalated into a confused conflict between the pirates, local admiralty officers and governing officials, with most of Baugh's goods being dispersed in the meantime and with the lord deputy incensed as to the whole affair.[897]

Baugh may have received some cursory payments as an order of 4 November 1613, but not entered as a payment out of revenue until 1 July 1615, refers to Baugh, being paid the sum of £2,*310l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*[898] He is, however, recorded in the year 1619 as

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[893] Deposition of Richard Thorne, 19 August 1613 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42, f. 204v-205r); Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, pp 135-136; Thorne refers to 'captain Skipwith's house at Carginasse' in his deposition.

[894] D. Pochin Mould, *Discovering Cork* (Cork, 1991), p. 170; C. Rynne, *Industrial Ireland 1750-1930, An Archaeology* (The Collins Press, 2006), p. 111, 114.

[895] Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, II (London, 1837), pp 20-21.

[896] Appleby, 'Affairs of Pirates', pp 79-80.

[897] The Lord Deputy to the Lords of the Council, 25 July 1612, Edwards, 'letter book', pp 34-36, 43-44, 46-48, 60, 63-69, 107-108, 111-113, 136-136.

[898] Note of payments made to Capt. Baugh, a pirate, since Dec. 1613, in part of sum of 2,586*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, March 1616 (SP 14/198 f. 20; Gale, Centage Learning, 2012; MC4323785487); downloaded from State Paper Online; the entry in the exchequer payments list of July 1615 specifically states the amount to have been 2,310*l.* *16s.* *8d.*; Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer,* pp 178-179.

dying, destitute and 'discontent' in a debtors' jail.[899] With such a convoluted case it is understandable why so many pirates returned to piracy and why those like Admiral Peter Easton, who mistrusted the intent of negotiators and government officials alike, chose instead to serve under the duke of Savoy rather than chance being double-crossed in Ireland.

**Pirates, prostitutes and places of pleasure**

With the potential for such wealth to flood the local economy, it was inevitable that local industries grew up to service this lucrative market. Enterprising individuals, both male and female, identified the opportunities presented to them by settling in the pirate harbours of southwest Munster. Others worked out of other areas but enjoyed direct ties to places like Baltimore and Leamcon. Some of these industries, throughout time, have always been synonymous with piracy. Taverns, alehouses and prostitution seemed to have gone hand in hand with pirate operations, both in fact and fiction. While we can enjoy the romanticized rum-swilling pirate rogues depicted in Hollywood movies, the reality on the ground was not that far removed from these fictional representations.

Certainly the role of taverns and alehouses within small communities in ports and harbours became central to the everyday lives of the inhabitants in those remote places, but it went farther than this. The establishment of these gathering places along the southwest coast of Munster needs to be viewed in the context of being a 'material

[899] Sir John Finet to the earl of Salisbry, 27-29 October 1619, *Cal. of MSS of the most Hon. Marquis of Salisbury, 1612-1668*, 22 (State Papers Online, Gale Document no. MC4332200202), p. 96; this is an extensive document dealing with various finances but refers to Ralph Bingley's handling of moneys with the pirates, including Baugh. In it Baugh was to receive £1,100 from Bingley out of a sum of £2,800 for the pirates, but only got about £40 at most. Baugh was imprisoned for debt and died there. His brother attempted to obtain Captain Baugh's share but appears to have been done out of it by Bingley, whereupon Baugh's brother was pursued by Captain Baugh's creditors for outstanding amounts.

element' to the overall plantation taking place there and as part of the regular lives of fishermen and pirates within this settler landscape. These places, while providing a living for those running them could often have been private dwellings in their own right. They acted as meeting places, drinking 'holes', tippling houses, inns or boarding houses. Frequently they fronted as brothels, they importantly provided entertainment, but they were often fora for socio-political discussions and debates. This facilitated the conduct of business, both legal and illegal, between legitimate merchants but also sustained an underground trade in black market goods. They were places where pirates could spend their disposable income when ashore or where the families of pirates could meet, make a living and provide safe houses, as discussed below.

Peter Pope, when looking at the cultural significance for the same period to the settlers in Newfoundland of alcohol and tobacco, suggests that both commodities acted as 'little hearths'. They provided warmth and comfort to wayward sailors and maritime travellers, including pirates, at a time when recreational behaviour was moving outside the home to centralized locations like tippling houses and taverns.[900] These gathering spaces formed a key constituent to the localized market place, while both native and newcomer would have frequented them. They were the focus for the diffusion of English tastes within the plantation environment, the exchange of 'civilized' ideas that allowed for like-minded or at least fellow countrymen to gather. Those of like mind also saw the opportunity for profit out of alcohol, when in 1617 Sir Ralph Bingley and Sir William St. John formed a partnership to set up a farm of Irish alehouse-licensing for 21 years, at a crown rent of £500. It had the backing of Sir

[900] Peter Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill & London, 2004), pp 393-396.

Edward Villiers, the duke of Buckingham and Sir Thomas Roper became the major partner in the venture.[901]

Alehouses became homes away from homes within the plantation landscape, and Professor Audrey Horning in her study of the cultural role of the alehouse in the Ulster plantation states that 'The role of alcohol in lubricating cross-cultural interactions, while also exacerbating colonial conflicts, deserves further consideration'.[902] Certainly there may have been places where drink was served prior to the heyday of piracy along the southwest coast of Munster, but frequenting such establishments by the Gaelic-Irish or Old English would not have been commonplace. The native Irish tradition of hosting and feasting would have included drinking, but primarily of wine and locally made beverages such as mead and 'uiscebeatha', but this would predominantly have been done from the security of their own seats of power.[903] The growth in alehouses and taverns from this time in a sense 'professionalised the role of hospitality' and brought individuals outside the confines of their own home to drink, engage and be entertained.[904] This therefore allowed all strata of society to gather, intermingle and share common ideas, including commercial ventures, whilst expanding the local knowledge base.

Contemporary sources show that these 'tippling houses' were often viewed as dens of iniquity, with, as Treadwell describes, unregulated alehouses being seen as nurseries of sedition.[905] There was no regulation of drinking places in Ireland, however, and no doubt síbíns and illegal drinking houses existed all along the coast,

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[901] Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland*, p. 83.
[902] Horning, ''The root of all vice and bestiality', p. 114.
[903] Horning, ibid. p. 120; Beer and rum became the drink of preference from the latter part of the sixteenth century, at least among the general coastal populace and seafaring communities; see Frederick H. Smith, *Caribbean Rum: A Social and Economic History* (Gainesville, 2005), in particular pp 6-30.
[904] Horning, ibid. p. 118.
[905] Treadwell, ibid. pp 82-83.

whereever the need arose. The lack of official control did not change until about the year 1620, when the alehouse patents were introduced, which regulated the establishment and running of taverns, inns and alehouses in general. There was an effort made in 1612 to regulate the consumption of alcohol and establishment of alehouses with the attempted introduction of the 'Act for the erecting of common inns and suppressing the multitude of alehouses' by Sir John Davies. This proved to be ineffective, however, due to the difficulty in enforcement, particularly in remote areas and due to the fact that many establishments were set up in private dwellings and thus extremely difficult to identify.[906] The establishment of the alehouse patents was a means to raise extra capital through the imposition of licence fees. But it was also an attempt to prevent the gathering of individuals who were involved in dubious undertakings, and who could, under the cover of such tippling places, conduct their business in relative secrecy and safety (plate 48).






(plate 48) The Síbín Bar and The Algiers Inn, two of four 'alehouses' in Baltimore where the names hark back to pirate days of illegal drinking, secret gatherings and raucous behaviour in similar establishments; over drinks today cultural, commercial and colloquial ideas continue to be exchanged between natives and newcomers.[907]

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[906] Horning, ibid.; Treadwell, ibid. pp 81-92; By the Lord President of Munster: Instruccions sent to the Maiors, Soveraignses, Provosts and other Chiefe officers of the Citties, Townes and borroughes throughout the Province of Mounster to be observed wthin the seuerall Liberties 25 February 1621, in Curtis Clayton, ibid. p. 229, see instruction 4, where the opening times of taverns or drinking places are to be regulated.

[907] Image of Síbín Bar from: http://westcorktimes.com/home/?p=3978

Though Captain Skipwith was very much involved in dealing with the pirates, his report of 1611 again supported this multi-functional aspect to alehouses and taverns for the pirate community. He wrote that they '[ ] May be enterteyned and kept in those alehouses three moneths or more without payment for anything they take, every pyrate having his factor there for whom hee provideth men and other necessaries against their arrival, and there receweth payment largely for his paynes, soe that it is a perpetuall market for that trafficque'.[908] This centrality of purpose facilitated not alone the pirates in their personal needs when onshore but equally supported businesses accruing from this, most particularly that of boarding house, brothel or both.

These buildings acted as a sanctuary for many travellers, including merchants, sailors and pirates but in turn, the pirates brought welcome income into the small villages and towns along the coast. For others, particularly local women or the wives, children or relatives of the pirates, it ensured that they could make a living when their men were at sea. The deposition of pirate Edmond Flinte, taken in 1613, in which he relayed an account of encountering another pirate, Henry Orenge, from Munster when in a boarding house in Dublin, is interesting on a number of levels.[909] Orenge was master in one of the pirate vessels under Captain Baugh, and an earlier account put him in Leamcon about the year 1610, so he was active for quite a number of years as a member of the pirate confederacy.[910] The place where Flinte stayed was 'the house of Mistress Suxbitche of Dublin', wife of pirate captain Tibalt Suxbridge.[911] Suxbridge, who came from Ratcliffe, was the master of Captain

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[908] Letter of Henry Skipwith, 2 October 1611 (NLI, *Carew MSS* 629, f. 178).
[909] Deposition of Edmunde Flinte, 3 September 1613 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42 f. 223v-224).
[910] Examination of Thomas Williams, no specified date (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/226 f. 105v).
[911] There are various spellings in the sources for his name, including Saxbridge, Suxbitch, Suxpidge or Sugbridge.

Richard Robinson's ship in 1608, and later joined Peter Easton's fleet. He took many rich prizes but met his death plundering with Easton in Newfoundland, when he led an attack on a French prize.[912]

Orenge, upon arrival at her house, called Mrs. Suxbridge 'sister', suggesting that they were directly related, or if not, that they were at the least endeared to each other.[913] Both men lodged at the house for about a week. Orenge had brought jewels taken from Baugh's ship, worth £100 and later told Mrs. Suxbridge and her two daughters that he also had diamonds and a 'carbuncle of great prise' hidden within ' the pletes of his hose'. He put the value of the carbuncle at between £20,000 to £30,000 and all together the jewels were 'worth about forty thousand pounds'.[914]

While this account again indicates the diversity and worth of William Baugh's cargo, it also provides written evidence for safe houses run by members of the pirates' family, in this case in Dublin, but others may also have existed elsewhere in Ireland. This wider network of connections nationally, with potential familial links, presents a picture of the pirate confederacy that is seldom evidenced in the sources. No doubt, following the death of her husband in 1612, Mrs. Suxbridge would have needed to find a way of surviving but from the obvious familiarity between her and the pirates lodging with her, it is reasonable to infer that her boarding house was well established before 1613. With the presence of her daughters, it also seems likely that this was, in fact, the family home.

Boarding houses like these frequently fronted as brothels, with Henry Mainwaring describing the scene in Munster as having 'Good store of English, Scottish and Irish wenches which resort unto them, and these are strong attractors to

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[912] Lord Danvers to [the Lords of the Privy Council or the Lord Salisbury], 19 January 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 99, 130; Senior, 'An Investigation', pp 426-427.
[913] Appleby, 'A Nursery of Pirates', p. 20, who states Orange was a brother-in-law to Suxbridge.
[914] Deposition of Edmunde Flinte, ibid. f 224.

draw the common sort of them hither'.[915] The presence of prostitutes in the harbours of southwest Munster is borne out by a report given to the admiralty in 1609, when a pirate called Gibbs of Salcombe, active among the pirates in Baltimore, loaded his ship and set sail. He carried with him 'two of the pyrates and some of their whores, about five in number'.[916] Still another account and one that hints at piracy and prostitution continuing on in Munster even after the period of pardons, is that of one pirate Tompson, who was' very ill of burneinge by whoores'.[917] Whether this refers to a deliberate action on behalf of the prostitutes against the pirate or that the 'burneinge' is that of a disease like gonorrhea cannot be identified. No doubt violence and sexually transmitted diseases must have been commonplace.

What the nature and extent of the alehouse, boarding house or prostitution trade was in the remote parts of southwest Munster is impossible to gauge, as a detailed study using the primary sources, such as the High Court of Admiralty papers, still remains to be done. Even with such a study activities like prostitution may be impossible to assess and we may only be able to guess at who was involved and what happened to them thereafter.[918] John Appleby has addressed the role of women in the maritime community, including within the piratical environment in southwest

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[915] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 40

[916] Report of Richard Kerry, 29 January 1609 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47 f. 81-81v).

[917] Deposition of Emanuell Butta, mariner, 29 July 1615 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1//48, f. 68r).

[918] Mary Luddy had produced an excellent study of prostitution in Ireland during the later period; see Luddy, *Prostitution and Irish Society 1800-1940* (Cambridge, 2007); she similarly points out that 'It is very difficult to know what women who worked as prostitutes thought of their lives. They did not leave records of their own [ ]. Nevertheless, it is through a critical examination of [ ] sources that we can begin to answer some of these questions', ibid. p. 17; for a study of the role of women in this early modern period see M. MacCurtain and M. O'Dowd, *Women in Early Modern Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1991) and in particular chapter 4: J. Appleby, 'Women and Piracy in Ireland: from Gráinne O'Malley to Anne Bonny', ibid. pp 53-68; for an insight into the legal rights of women at the time of this study, see M. O'Dowd, 'Women and the Irish Chancery Court in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', *Irish Historical Studies*, 31, no. 124 (1999), pp 470-487; what is of interest to this study from O'Dowd's work on the Chancery Court is that it shows that only women who had some standing, or whose family had some standing, are primarily represented, with litigants from the poorest levels of society seldom appearing in the records, ibid. pp 474-475. It is thus difficult from a legislative perspective to assess the role of these lower class women in the society of that time and perhaps it is here that sources like the High Court of Admiralty papers may shed further light on this.

Munster. While he states that records are indeed scarce before 1800, when looking to other contemporary accounts like that of the High Court of Admiralty and State Papers, they can throw light on women's critical input and show that they had a strategic role to play.[919] As aptly stated by Appleby, frequently it was women who became alehouses- and tavern-keepers and apart from providing sustenance and lodgings, the mistress of the house frequently provided a loan or pawnbroker service. Such places then became a 'focus of a subculture of crime based on prostitution, theft or receiving stolen goods'.[920] By extension this also included being involved with pirates, and such women became aiders and abettors, as evidenced by Mistress Suxbridge in Dublin. Others like the wife of Thomas Barloe are mentioned in an examination taken in 1609 in connection to a ship carrying beer that was brought into Baltimore by a Rob Gybbs of Plymouth. The beer was offloaded but the vessel continued to Leamcon where the said Gybbs and Barloe's wife sold it. It is not clear if she were at Leamcon and took part in the sale or if she were onboard the vessel itself.[921] What is inferred is that she had an influence on and input into the transaction that took place.

**Seeking the evidence for the cultural economic footprint**

One can but speculate as to where alehouses, taverns or brothels were located in rural Munster at that time and if they were readily identifiable even then. Certainly there

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[919] Appleby, 'Women and Piracy in Ireland', ibid. pp 53-54; Appleby's study importantly points out that as most of the surviving evidence is from a male perspective, the majority of women involved remain as nameless and faceless characters but nevertheless, piracy at the time clearly influenced the lives of the women in the local communities ashore, ibid. p. 60, 66.

[920] Ibid. p. 54.

[921] Deposition of Edmunde Flinte, ibid. f 223v-224; Examinations taken at Youghal by Edward Harris and Henry Gosnold, exquires, Captain Henry Duffield being examined, 19 February 1609 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/226, f 96-96v); a Thomas Barloe mariner, examined in December 1610 by Richard Moryson, lived in Baltimore and it is plausible that Mrs Barloe was related, perhaps wife or mother: Thomas Baloe's Deposition, 14 December 1610, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1603-1625* (State Papers Online, Gale document no. MC4345500934); the deposition is signed 'Thomas Barlow'; the original source for this is in the Carew Papers, 691, p. 145.

was at least one if not more within towns or suburbs, as alehouses were mentioned at Bandonbridge in a proclamation of 1610[922] and the lord deputy refers to 'Guest houses upon the Shore' in West Cork in 1612.[923] While difficult to identify and particularly so in a rural setting outside official plantation areas, it is possible to recognise evidence. Once again Horning has shown that finding the archaeological footprint for these social spaces is possible, though reinterpretation of artefactual discoveries may be required in some cases, particularly when drawing on comparative evidence from elsewhere. Evidence recovered from brewhouses excavated in Jamestown in the early 1950s revealed that they were rectangular structures with brick foundation but were wooden framed buildings, in keeping with colonial building specifications.[924] From a deep pit excavated at Narrow Quay in Bristol, carried out in the late-1970s, extensive ceramic assemblages were recovered that provided evidence for distilling and alcohol use in the seventeenth century.[925] In Kilkenny at 17 High Street, known during contemporary times as 'The Hole in the Wall', archaeological excavation produced a late sixteenth to early-seventeenth century beaten-earth floor that may have been the original floor of the eighteenth-century tavern, which formed part of the earlier stone townhouse, built by Martin Archer in 1582.[926]

Evidence for the location for such structures, which were directly associated with the development of the settlements under the plantations in Ireland can be gleaned from some plantation maps. Thomas Raven's map of Newtown Limavady shows Thomas Phillips' two-storey inn with associated signage, but unfortunately no

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[922] APUD CORCK, 6 August 1610, Rich: Morysen, Dom: Sarsfeld, Edw: Harris, in Curtis Clayton, (ed.), *Council Book of Munster*, pp 71-72.
[923] Lord Deputy to the Lords of the Council, 31 October 1612, Edwards, 'Letter-Book', p. 62.
[924] Horning, 'The root of all vice and bestiality', pp 126-127.
[925] G.L. Good, 'The excavation of two docks at Narrow Quay, Bristol, 197809', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 21 (1987), pp 25-126.
[926] C. Ó'Drisceoil, '17 High Street ('The Hole in the Wall'), Kilkenny: Late 16th-century townhouse', in I. Bennett, *Excavations Bulletin 2011, Summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland* (Dublin, 2011), p. 210.

such depictions have been found on settlement maps for southwest Munster.[927] Certainly the two maps directly associated with the study area, the Dutch 1612 chart and the Strafford map of Baltimore do not hint at any such buildings.

Pottery assemblages can inform on activities that were taking place in an area at the time. It is plausible to suggest at this point, from documentary evidence of the cargoes coming in on the pirate ships, that there was a thriving domestic scene, including perhaps a drinking place in Leamcon on William Hull's estate. Targeted walk-over visual survey of the foreshore areas and the plough zone immediate to the water's edge has produced evidence for both domestic and trading activity. The recovery from near the foreshore, beside the basal remains of the identified quay in the Boathouse Field, of a handle fragment from a Tuscan oil jar provides evidence for continental trade (plate 49 and figure 10).[928] The fragment dates to the seventeenth century and indicates that maritime activity continued in the area throughout that period, with facilities at Leamcon continuing to accommodate trade.[929]

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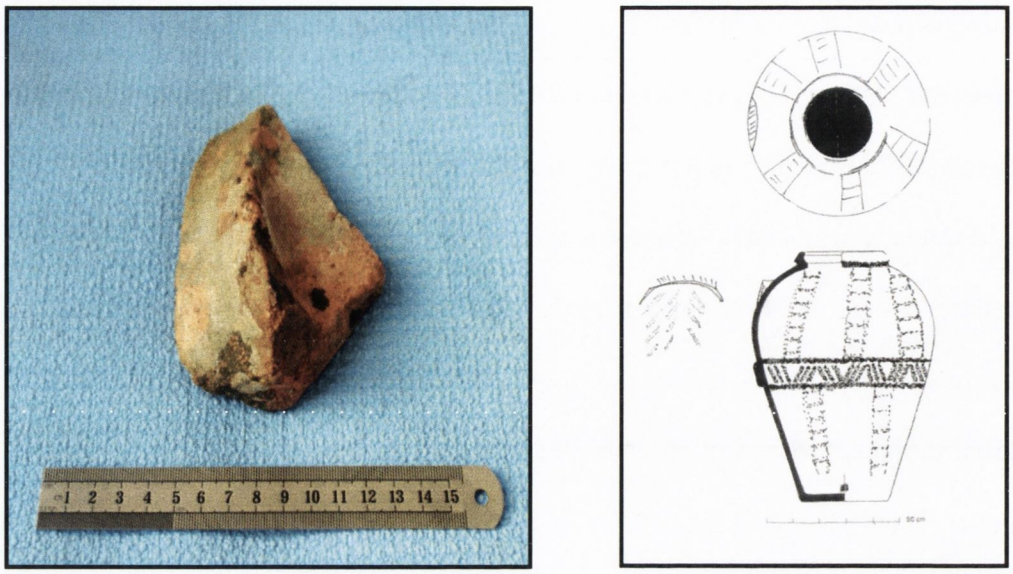
[927] Horning, ibid. 124-126.

[928] I am grateful to pottery specialist Claire McCutcheon for information supplied on the shard of Tuscan oil jar and for the archaeological illustration of the storage jar from James Fort in Kinsale; Mary O'Donnell, 'Excavations at James Fort, Kinsale, 1974-1998', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, (Offprint, 2002), pp 35-42.

[929] *pers comm.* Claire McCutcheon.



(plate 49 and figure 10) Sherd of Tuscan oil jar discovered during fieldwalking at Leamcon and archaeological representation of what the jar could have looked like from the period, as indicated from archaeological excavation results at James Fort, Kinsale.[930]

Results from archaeological investigations of other coastal sites in the study area have also produced evidence for continental maritime trade through artefactual assemblages, particularly pottery. Eamonn Cotter recovered a large quantity of continental pottery fragments dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries during his excavations at the castle sites of Dún na Séad and Kilcoe. These included examples of Saintonge from France, Northern Italian marbled ware, Seville coarse ware, Portuguese faience ware, Low Countries ware and Cologne/Frechen ware from Germany, as well as tin-glazed earthenwares and North Devon gravel tempered wares from England.[931] The diversity of pottery recovered from Dún na Séad castle clearly indicates the intensity of maritime trade and travel that was taking place in Baltimore during these centuries. Some of this trade could have directly involved the pirates themselves.

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[930] O'Donnell, ibid. p. 35.

[931] E. Cotter, 'Dún na Séad Castle', ibid., pp 49-52; 'Kilcoe Castle: Excavations of a Late Medieval coastal stronghold in County Cork', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 117, (2012), pp 1-23; I am grateful to Eamonn Cotter for providing me with an advanced copy of his paper.

Ann Lynch found similar transatlantic cultural evidence when excavating at Sherkin Island Friary, as did Tom Fanning and J. G. Hurst at the late-medieval tower house of Ballyhack in County Wexford, where again continental wares were varied.[932] Artefactual remains from a specific period, when particular activity was known to have taken place, can provide valuable insights into that activity itself. Such was the case with the artefactual material recovered from the seventeenth-century maritime site in Limehouse, London at a time when that area of the port of London was emerging as a mercantile centre and was closely connected with piracy and privateering. Finds of pottery, glass and other material from ditches, wells and cess pits were shown to have originated from places that included Holland, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Turkey and as far away as Iran and China. It is argued by Douglas Killock and Frank Meddens that the finds represent the remains of booty from trade and plunder and they state that 'The discoveries offer a unique opportunity to view a seventeenth-century community of intimately interacting seafaring families from the perspective of their land-based material culture and the remains of their homes'.[933]

The finds from Limehouse and the discussion on their variety and origin, particularly of the pottery, but also other material like the glass, clay pipes and individual finds (which included reptile remains, probably terrapin), provide a fascinating insight into the trade, travel and maritime movements of the community

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[932] A. Lynch 'Sherkin Island Friary, Farranacoush' in I. Bennett (ed.), *Excavations Bulletin 1990: Summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland* (Dublin, 1991); T. Fanning, and J. G. Hurst, 'A mid-seventeenth century pottery group and other objects from Ballyhack castle, Co. Wexford', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* 75, Sect. C (1975), pp 103-118.

[933] D. Killock and F. Meddens, 'Pottery as Plunder: a 17th-century maritime site in Limehouse, London', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 39, no. 1 (2005), p. 1.

there at the time but also the family life that was happening around it, and where piracy was known to have played an integral role in that maritime commerce.[934]

Sites like that of Leamcon, though not located within an emerging maritime city or capital port, were still the focus of intense maritime trade (both lawful and unlawful) and may therefore retain similar evidence for continental and colonial interconnections for that period. During the same fieldwork at Leamcon several more sherds of domestic wares were recovered from the foreshore, including red-glazed utilitarian wares, a fragment of an earthenware pancheon and various fragments of bowls and basins (plate 50). With the list of cargo carried by Claus Campane including '30 dozen of earthen [ware] dishes', if his ship wrecked close by or if indeed a wreck were discovered with such an assemblege on board, then the recovery of artefactual material could point to the possibility that it was part of a pirate's booty.[935]

It has been proposed that a pattern for piracy needs to be developed before a template for identifying pirates and their sites can be fully archaeologically engaged.[936] This could look to assessing 'marker artefact' material from a site, like that of a particular pottery assemblage or a range of objects recovered that match goods acquired through a documented series of plundering events.[937] The use of such a patterning analysis could help to formulate a template for the assessment and identificatiom of pirates and their sites.

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[934] Ibid. pp 34-82.

[935] 'The full note of all the goods I hadd laden aboard my ship as followeth', 1[?] February 1625, S.P. 63/239 f. 33 (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347781353); this is written as 'Pirate's Cargo' when transcribed online.

[936] Ewen, 'Introduction', in Skowronek and Ewen (eds.), *X Marks the Spot*, p. 7.

[937] Killock and Meddens, 'Pottery as Plunder', pp 1-9; Daniel Finamore, 'A Mariner's Utopia: Pirates and Logwood in the Bay of Honduras', in R. Skowronek, and C. Ewen (eds.), *X Marks the Spot*, pp 64-78; Heather Hatch, 'Material Culture and Maritime Identity', pp 217-231; John De Bry, 'Christopher Condent's *Fiery Dragon*, pp 100-130; de Bry argues that the wreck can be identified as that of Condent's ship by the range of artefacts recovered, including the numismatic evidence where the gold coins matched the provinence of ships pirated in 1720 by Condent, pp118-120.



(plate 50) Miscellaneous seventeenth-century utilitarian pottery finds from foreshore survey at Leamcon.[938]

**Finding the invisible, is it possible?**

Identifying the archaeological evidence for prostitution in remote areas like the coastal harbour towns and villages of Munster is even more difficult. No such study has been carried out from an historical perspective for the study period and certainly no archaeological one has been attempted to date. While dock and harbour prostitution has been a focus of activity in coastal areas all over the world, servicing the transient maritime trade, it leaves little or no archaeological evidence generally. Sadly these ladies of pleasure were often invisible when alive and they remain so when dead.[939]

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[938] I am very grateful to ceramic specialist Ms. Claire McCutcheon for taking time to have a look at the pottery finds and providing expert opinion on them.

[939] Henry Trotter, 'Dockside Prostitution in South African Ports', *History Compass*, 6, no. 3 (2008), pp 673-690; this is an interesting study into dockside prostitution, providing good argument as to why such women were and still are invisible in the records and putting forward recommendations for the need for further studies into the coastal sex trade.

Contemporary sources certainly attest to prostitutes playing a central role in the social life of the pirates at the time. In 1610 vice-president Edward Harris highlighted the link between the pirates, prostitutes and drinking establishments. He stated: 'Whereas the kinges most excellent Maiestie having ben enformed of the contynuall relief that Pyratts haue received from tyme to tyme in the western partes of this Province as Baltimore, Inisherkin, and Divers other partes thereabouts aswell by the contynuall supplyes of such Desperat and Dishonest men as resorted thither to Joyne and Combyne themselues with the said Pyrates, as also of such shameless and adulterous women, as Daylie repair vnto them, and especially by the meanes of Divers Taverns, Alehowses and victualling howses, that haue frome tyme to tyme basely and mercenarily intertained both theis kyndes of people [ ]'.[940] So, while history reports on these places and people in Munster for that time, the archaeological record has still to prove it.

Like pirates, prostitutes were outcasts and were treated as such not alone in life but also in death. Many would have been buried in unmarked graves making identification of their final resting places impossible to find. The author has not come across any reference to specific women who were prostitutes in Baltimore or if they lived out their lives there, or were buried locally. Many no doubt either followed the colonial ships to the new world, and thus left the area once the heyday of piracy came to an end or else settled down, like the pirates, to a life of legitimate pursuits. Many may thus have raised families and when they passed on and were buried locally they did so as accepted members of the society in which they then lived, with no evidence for past misdemeanors. Neither was evidence found thus far for graveyards or cemetery sites in the study area that have any tradition of burials of pirates or

[940] By the Vice-President and Council of Mounster, 26 August 1610, signed Edw: Harris, in Curtis Clayton (ed.), *The Council Book of Munster*, p. 72.

prostitutes. Little if no folklore was identified for burial places set apart from official burial sites, indicative of the outcasts involved. Only one story emerged during the course of this study for any burial of women locally and this involved the interment within the walls of Leamcon House, of a female black slave. Who she was or why such an event took place remains unknown. It is not clear if this relates to the original Leamcon House from William Hull's time, when the event may be linked to the pirate era or if it is associated with the more recent eighteenth-century house now standing and perhaps later slave-trading ventures in the area. Curiously, when part of the existing house, which is a later Georgian successor to the original Hull house, was knocked in the 1950s, human skeletal remains were discovered within the space between the roof and wall. Nothing further is known of this discovery or what happened to it and no archaeological evidence has been found to substantiate the story.[941]

Elsewhere evidence can be found. Cross Bones Graveyard in Southwark in London was a plot provided by the Bishop of Winchester for the burial of 'single women', a known euphemism for prostitutes. It is known to have been in existence from as early as the twelfth century and has been the focus of unconsecrated burials right into the middle of the nineteenth century. During the latter part of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century it was the burial place for the women who plied their trade in Southwark's and Bankside's brothels. Archaeological excavations undertaken at the site by the Museum of London Archaeological Services between 1991 and 1998

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[941] P. Somerville-Large, *The Coast of West Cork*, (London, 1974), p. 126; I am grateful to archaeologist Lee Snodgrass for relaying the tale of the slave girl to me; no background to the story is known but Ms. Snodgrass, who at one point owned and lived in Leamcon House, relayed that it was a story told of old that went back centuries; it may have its origins in someone's imagination, but then again, may have some basis in fact – the discovery of the skeletal remains near the roof space perhaps? Folk tradition relays that pirates often killed and buried the bodies of slaves where they also buried their treasure, so that the ghost of the slave watched over the booty thereafter. No doubt a tale to act as a deterrent rather than one based on actuality.

recovered evidence of mass graves predominated by newly born children and women with an average age of thirty-six years. Many of the skeletons showed signs of disease like syphilis.[942]

Certainly prostitution from this period in Ireland warrants a detailed historical study. An analysis that looks to place these women within the full context of society, both urban and rural and that includes connections with piracy, colonialism and settlement. Whether it is possible to trace these individuals in the archaeological record, however, is the critical question.

**Losses to the exchequer through the business of piracy**

The impact from the contraband trade with the pirates in the coastal harbours of Munster has yet to be fully investigated. The profits that were to be made from piracy and its associated industries of prostitution and drinking establishments must have been substantial, at least to the chosen few who controlled it.[943] David Starkey argues that piracy was essentially an economic activity, with men and sometimes women plundering, prostituting and taking prizes essentially to generate an income for themselves, and piracy, as he points out, was a 'facet of the markets which governed trading and shipping activity'.[944] While this is certainly the case, it is argued here that the pirate confederacy in the southwest was more than that; it was also a way of life. The impetus for their actions, while economic, was also in many cases to support families, as venture capital, as supplementary to their legitimate work as tradesmen or fishermen ashore or just because it was the only option open to them at that point.

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[942] Megan Brickley, Adrian Miles, and Hilary Stainer, *The Cross Bones Burial Ground, Redcross Way, Southwark, London*, Museum of London Archaeology Service (London, 1999): History of Crossbones: http://www.crossbones.org.uk/#/history/4527977516

[943] Appleby, 'Pirates and Settlers', pp 76-77.

[944] David. J. Starkey, 'Pirates and Markets', in C.R. Pennell (ed.), *Bandits at Sea: A Pirates, Reader* (New York and London, 2001), p.107.

Plus it was all intrinsically linked to settlement under the Munster plantation, so the prospect for trade and commercial ventures was obvious. Certainly the southwest coast had the right conditions at that time to ensure that piracy was a success. There was ample supply and demand to encourage the continuation of the trade and individuals like William Hull grew rich and his settlement flourished as a direct result of dealing with and accommodating the pirates first hand.

Peter Easton's reputed wealth at the time of his 'retirement' in Savoy highlights the loss to revenue but equally the value of such funds if directed toward State investment. Easton offered to endow 'large sums' in the State of Savoy in return for his residency and safety thereafter. His goods at that point in 1613 were valued at upwards of two million in gold alone [sic], of which the duke of Savoy was only too willing to accept.[945] The frustration of such losses from piracy is clear when in 1611 Henry Skipwith acknowledged that he was unable to prevent the trade between the local communities and the pirates.[946] It was proposed to send out a number of ships to suppress piracy in Ireland, but the lack of funds in the exchequer meant that only one or two were ever deployed at any given time.[947] While the influence of piracy may have had inadvertent positive economic effects locally, the consequence of this predation would have had wider impacts generally. The loss of cargo and thus profit to legitimate merchants, the loss of ships through plunder or wrecking, the loss of crews through defection or death and the reduction in the impetus to trade because of the success of piracy, would all have been consequential negative impacts on the

[945] Vincenzo Gussoni, Venetian Ambassador in Savoy, to the Doge and Senate, 3 March 1613 and 10 March 1613, *Cal. S.P. Ven. 1610-1613*, entries 780 and 784 (British History Online); the ambassador refers to this amount in Italian as 'di due millioni di oro', which seems an incredible amount for that time and must thus be treated with caution.

[946] Appleby, 'Pirates and Settlers', p. 93.

[947] A project concerning a force to be employed against pirates, (two fragments), no date (BL, *Cottonian MSS*, Otho E/VIII, f. 188; downloaded from State Papers Online, MC4318815286).

wider national and international mercantile markets.[948] The escalation in complaints from merchants and foreign ambassadors to the king is evidence for this global depletion in commercial trade. Eventually James VI and I was required to act, in whatever way he could to suppress the pirate confederation in Munster. This he needed to do to ensure that funds coming into the plantation settlements made it to the exchequer and that legitimate merchants were encouraged to trade with the coastal ports and harbours in Ireland to support crown interests there. He also had to save face internationally in what had become a highly embarrassing situation for the king and his government officials.

**Conclusion**

From the turn of the seventeenth century the regional economy of Munster had begun to expand steadily, with local resources of fish and timber identified by planters and settlers as viable commercial produce, allowing for the establishment of new and expansion of existing industries around these staple commodities. As recognised by Amanda Evans in her study of the vernacular watercraft known as Jamaica sloops, pirates actively influenced the politics and economies of the areas in which they operated.[949] This was no less the case in Munster. While the initial phase of the plantation policy at its outset sought to 'civilise' in the first instance and establish towns in places like Baltimore and Berehaven, it also endeavoured to depress 'the noiseome number of pirates [ ] who now without fear haunt the place'.[950] Such a

[948] See J. L. Anderson, 'Piracy and World History: An Economic Perspective on Maritime Predation', *Journal of World History* (1995), pp 175-199, for an informative discussion on the economic impacts of piracy on legitimate trade.
[949] A. Evans, 'Defining Jamaica Sloops: A Preliminary Model for Identifying an Abstract Concept', *Journal of Maritime Archaeology, 2* (2007), pp 83-92.
[950] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, p. 215.

policy, as the new century dawned and a second more decisive phase of plantation was enacted, quickly became economically driven.

In essence, the southwest coast of Cork at that time bore witness to piracy that became a thriving international business, dealing in exotic commodities, foreign currency and personally-acquired wealth. These professional pirates were intricately interwoven with local officials who in turn were directly involved in speculative ventures and used plunder-derived monies as venture capital.

But the piracy in Munster was somewhat different as it also had a personal aspect to it, with many of the pirates also settlers in the area, supporting their families and households. In turn family members, especially the women, became involved in associated trades including that of prostitution and as alehouse-keepers, with both frequently being synonymous. These ancillary activities, where wives or sisters or other female family members could supplement their own income, equally served to legitimize the pirate presence when ashore, where their husbands could find legitimate work in the fisheries, ironworks, timber industries or as tradesmen in the local community.

The sheer intensity and intricacy of these outcasts within legitimate plantation society made the restraint, suppression and control of piracy all the more difficult to defeat. As shall be seen in the next chapter, the mechanisms employed by official government forces, including the king himself, to eradicate piracy in the southwest met more challenges than could have been imagined.

## *Chapter 6. Beyond Piracy: Submission, Suppression and Assimilation*

> I will die a poor labourer in mine own country, if I may, rather than be the richest pirate in the world.[951]

### Pressure from within and without

The discussion on the closing chapters of the pirate confederation is heavily weighted in favour of the historical narrative, with the available documentary evidence forming the basis to our understanding of why the heyday of the confederacy of pirates in the southwest finally came to an end. Several key events took place between the years 1609 and 1614 that had an impact on the Atlantic pirate alliance and also influenced the need for the English government to tackle piracy there head on. These included the willingness of many of the pirates to accept pardons from the king in return for giving up their pirate ways; growing pressure on England from international governments and powerful merchants to do something about the pirate problem; agreement between the king and the States-General in Holland in 1612 to allow a Dutch fleet access to the coastal waters of Ireland to intercept the pirates there; the coming into force in Ireland of the Act for the Suppression of Pirates in 1613 and the fall of Mamora, the main confederacy base in Northwest Africa, to the Spanish in 1614.[952]

From 1609 many of the main pirate leaders were beginning to seek pardons, not least among them Richard Bishop and John Jennings and it was at this point that negotiations for pardons began.[953] By then many of the pirate leaders had experienced successful careers, and with families now settled in the southwest and commercial

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[951] Quote by Richard Bishop, Admiral of the confederacy of pirates, when seeking a pardon in 1611; Skipwyth to the Lord Deputy, 25 July 1611, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, p. 91.
[952] Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*, I, pp 349-352.
[953] Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, pp 277-278; Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council, 5 February 1609, 7 April 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610,* pp 141-143, 186-187.

opportunities opening up in the new world – by 1607 Jamestown had been established and in 1609 John Guy was in the process of setting up the colony in Cuper's Cove, Newfoundland, for instance, pirates like Bishop and many of his colleagues sought to legitimize their existence through the mechanism of being reprieved by the crown. These measures were not instigated solely by the pirates, however, but were equally sought by government officials. The pirates in southwest Munster were, by 1609, of such strength in numbers but perhaps more importantly, so economically essential to the area that the crown and admiralty were forced to look to other means to suppress their activity.

The weakened state of the royal navy at that point meant outright attack on the pirate bases in Ireland was not a viable option, so attempts were made to reach a 'middle course' as a way to curbing the impact of the pirates on shipping, trade and local affairs.[954] Henry Danvers, the lord president of Munster, noted that it was unlikely that the pirates could be subdued or 'expulsed' from the area due to the expense that this action would take on the king's ships, which by necessity had to return to England to be repaired and restocked and frequently resulted in the king's ships being detained there for lengthy periods. He put it to the English Privy Council that they should consider pardoning the pirates who showed a willingness to renounce their unlawful ways and submit to the crown.[955] The need to suppress or eradicate the piracy problem around the Munster coastline was underpinned by mounting complaints to the king from ambassadors from other nations, particularly those of the Spanish and the Dutch. The deteriorated state of the royal navy was noted as early as 1607 when the Venetian Ambassador to England, Nicolo Molin, sent a report home

[954] *Cal. S.P. Ireland 1611-1614*, lxvii.
[955] Lord Danvers to the Lords of the Privy Council or Lord Salisbury, 19 January 1609, *Cal. S.P.Ire. 1608-1610*, p.130.

that the full fleet then comprised only about thirty-seven ships, many of them old and rotten and barely fit for service.[956] His comments were predicated by the concern that if the king's navy could not keep control of north Atlantic waters and ensure safety for ships from predatory attacks, the Dutch would take control, 'for the Dutch will become masters of these seas, as they keep as a rule upwards of 100 armed ships in commission'.[957] His concerns were borne out some years later when a Dutch fleet entered the harbour of Crookhaven and attacked not alone the pirates there but the English settlers as well.[958]

By 1609, the problem of piracy and its impact on international shipping and political affairs had become a major embarrassment for the king both nationally and internationally. At a time of colonial expansion on a global scale, with the seafaring nations vying for supremacy of the oceans and with Spain ever anxious to ensure that the Dutch were not gaining maritime dominance, representations to James from the courts of Spain as well as on behalf of Spanish and Venetian merchants grew exponentially. This was compounded by the fact that many of the English pirates were willing to both continue to target the traditional enemy, and thus Spanish ships, but many others had chosen, when privateering was outlawed by James in 1603, to take letters of marque from the Dutch and operate under their flag. Indeed many of the Atlantic pirate leaders began their careers as privateers under Dutch letters of marque, including Richard Bishop in 1604 in the Mediterranean in his ship the *Blessing*, Peter Easton serving under a Dutchman, Captain Isaac, in 1607 and John

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[956] Report on England presented to the Government of Venice in the year 1607, by the illustrious Gentleman Nicolo Molin, Ambassador there, May 1607, *Cal. S.P. Ven. 1603-1607*, p. 739; http://www.british-history.ac.uk.elib.tcd.ie/report.aspx?compid=95651&strquery=Molin; Penn, *The Navy under the Early Stuarts*, p. 11.
[957] Penn, ibid., p. 12.
[958] This is discussed later in the chapter.

Jennings, who lived in Flushing with his family in 1603 and operated a Dutch ship called the *Pied Lion*.[959]

The English exchequer at this point was nearing bankruptcy, which meant that James was unable to put money into augmenting royal ships even if he had the will to do so. This was compounded by an ongoing investigation into corruption and malpractice in the navy, not least among such individuals as the Lord High Admiral, the earl of Nottingham, who continued, even in advancing years, to treat the navy as his own private domain to be used to sustain personal income obtainable through the ports of England and Ireland.[960] Examinations of pirates taken at the time highlighted the ineptitude of Nottingham in controlling his deputies and royal naval captains and handling of the pirates. Examinations like this were necessary to gain direct insight into the pirate operation and were a vehicle for justifying the pardoning of some of the pirates who were willing to 'come clean', they were also useful to rival naval commission members when attempting to oust fellow colleagues.

Such was the case with Nottingham's cousin, Henry Howard, the earl of Northampton, who made use of evidence taken from the examinations and depositions, carried out under the royal commission of inquiry to identify the nature and extent of corruption, to emphasise Nottingham's malpractice and to bolster his own rise to power.[961] One such examination of two of the pirates in Munster, Captain

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[959] Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering*, p. 261; Senior, *A Nation of Pirates*, p. 25; Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 389, 406.

[960] Julian Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean* 1603-1713, I (London, New York and Bombay 1904), pp 68-69; Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral*, pp 268-273; Sir Thomas Lake to Salisbury, 17 December 1609, *Cal. S.P. Domestic James I, 1603-1610*, p. 573, here Lake states that he does not think it can be warranted that Nottingham should have the right to 'compound' with pirates in order to reach an agreement with them; Senior, 'An Investigation', pp 272-285.

[961] Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral*, pp 302-31, the 1608 commission into 'abuses and discords' in the navy was first headed by Nottingham, but was superseded some months later by another under the direction of Northampton, who seems to have had a longterm hatred of his cousin, the earl of Nottingham and used any opportunity to undermine him; it is suggested by Kenny that Northampton harboured a personal hope of becoming lord treasurer and was determined in his actions to find proof of corruption in the navy at all levels of office, including those of high admiral, deputy admirals and

John Jennings and Captain James Harris, provides specifics on how the pirates were able to operate successfully with the collusion of naval officers. Though damaged by fire, the examination details how Captain Williams of the king's pinnace *Tramontane*, which was patrolling the Irish coast against piracy, was extorting money and goods from the pirates in return for allowing them to operate freely along the coast of Munster, in particular in the harbours of Baltimore, Leamcon, Crookhaven, Berehaven and Limerick (figure 11).

Others complicit with Captain Williams were the earl of Thomond and the Deputy Vice-Admirals, Humphrey and Richard Jobson. All were doing business with Jennings and his colleagues in goods, which included sugar, pearls, diamonds, ginger and pepper, some to the value of £2,000, as well as paying over money to secure passage.[962] Of critical importance with examinations like this one is that it details the routes taken by the pirates and the bases used by them, including purchasing ginger in Mamora, along with some barrels of powder, and which were used as payment in Ireland to ensure unhindered passage around Munster.[963] Harris' examination is equally as telling, with Richard Bishop and Captain Williams shown to have engaged in open business, to the full knowledge of Jobson and fellow admiralty colleagues in Baltimore and Leamcon.

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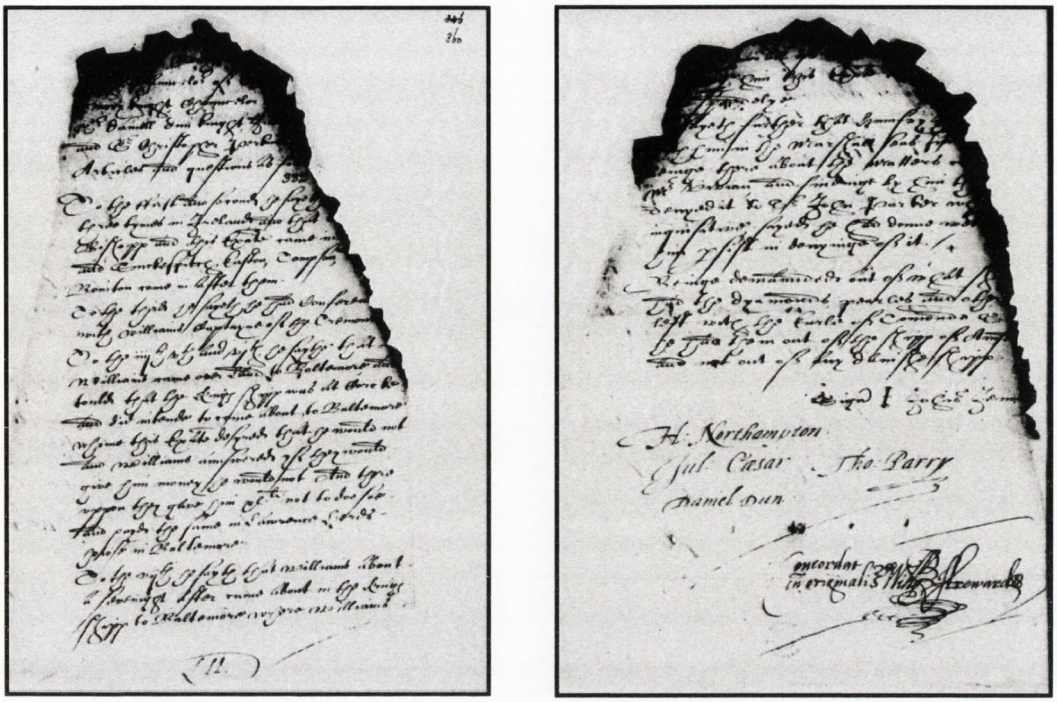
vice-admirals around the coast, in order to ingratiate himself with the king and secure his own position; Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 283.

[962] Examination of John Jennings, a pirate, before the court of admiralty, undated (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII, f.360-364; British Library, MC4318895332; downloaded from State Papers Online, Gale, Cengage Learning, 2011); http://go.galegroup.com.elib.tcd.ie/mss

[963] Ibid., f. 364.



(figure 11) f 360 on left, where Jennings stated that Captain Williams of the royal naval ship demanded money from the pirates; on right, f 364 signed by Northampton, Julius Caesar, Thomas Parry and Daniel Dun; Jennings signs his name with the letter 'J', perhaps evidence that he was unable to write, as it is countersigned in another hand as John Jennings.[964]

The underlining of certain sections by Northampton is indicative of his use of these examinations as a mechanism to emphasise to the king the level of continued corruption and collusion that existed within the admiralty.[965] When viewed in tandem with another examination of Harris, which gave the full complement of pirate captains by name, explained their movements and the payments they made to officials in the ports and harbours used as pirate bases, the Commission members began to accumulate evidence on the pirates' operations and the level of complicity involved to

[964] Examination of John Jennings, a pirate, before the court of admiralty, no date (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII, f 360, f 364); Two examinations concerning pirates, taken before the E. of Northampton, no date (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII f. 367; downloaded through Trinity College Library website: http://go.galegroup.com.elib.tcd.ie/

[965] Examination of James Harris from Two Examinations taken before the E. of Northampton, undated (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII, f 367-369).

enable some form of determination to be made as the best way to tackle the pirate problem.[966]

But no single action was viable due to the combined nature of the relationships that existed between local officials and individual pirates and the confused approach taken by central government to the pirate issue. This is clearly shown by Appleby in his study of William Hull, where in March 1610 at the same time that vice-president of Munster Sir Richard Moryson was ordered to arrest Hull for his suspected collusions, Hull himself was in England receiving a commission of enquiry that authorized him to negotiate with pirates on behalf of the government.[967] With confusion pervading 'official' approaches it is no wonder that the pirates were able to continue to operate freely and take their time to look for pardons. It is equally understandable, however, why foreign powers like the Dutch, were growing more and more frustrated with such a protracted and confusing situation – an issue clearly highlighted at the time when it was stated that 'much confusion is daily bred by the multiplicity of inferior persons, authorized under others to parley with them [the pirates]'.[968]

**Acquiescence and direct action**

The pirates' dealings with local officials, and the acquiescence of those officials in higher office, were all part of the social commerce that was engendered in rural life in remote coastal communities.[969] In a sense the pirates 'legitimately' controlled the area

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[966] Examination of James Harris, 17 August 1609 and 8 December 1609 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47 f 32r-32v and HCA 1/47 f 62v-62r), it seems from Harris' examinations that, unlike Jennings, he was able to write, as he signs his name the same in all testimonies as Jam. Harris.

[967] Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates', p. 83; see chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion on William Hull.

[968] Senior, ' An Investigation', p. 302.

[969] Akin to the 'social banditry' as discussed by Hobsbawm, where he argues that banditry is intrinsically linked with the history of power; such banditry is a social phenomenon, where it flourishes best in remote areas with a peasant society, with ongoing social change and attempts at colonization;

along the coast of Munster in as much as this was an accepted way of life in those areas, they operated openly, with the support of officials and the king and his officers seemed powerless to suppress them. This has been discussed earlier, with the piracy in Munster being part of a wider process and central to expanding commercial and political networks within the Atlantic, networks that had the vested interests of individuals linked to them and economic foundations of emerging merchant empires at their core. The fact that admiralty officials like Nottingham and Northampton were acting against each other in a power struggle also meant that hidden agendas influenced actions; Northampton, for example, sent the examination of pirates Jennings and Harris to Secretary Thomas Lake seeking permission to reprieve them as he feared that their testimonies were so damning that Nottingham would have them executed, 'because they tell tales'.[970] The old saying, so often attributed to pirates, that 'dead men tell no tales', has particular resonance in this case.[971] Though Harris and Jennings were given reprieves at that point by the king, both were hanged shortly afterwards at Execution Dock, Wapping in London.[972] Jennings had voiced his

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where capitalism is taking root – both local and global but is being controlled by locally-based groups through coercion and negotiation with local government officials, to the mutual benefit of both and why such illicit commerce can be so successful and so hard to combat; the piracy in West Cork fits well into this definition; Eric Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (Abacus, 2000), pp 7-15; see also Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea,* pp 267-271.

[970] Earl of Northampton to Sir Thom. Lake, 7 December 1609, SP 14/50 f. 38-39 (State Papers Online, Gale Document No. MC4323588271).

[971] The saying has a number of proclaimed origins including spiritual connotations referring to those who have passed on and can no longer tell secrets, as well as Arabic, Middle Eastern and European usage in varied formats; it is perhaps most directly associated today with piracy in a traditional sense, cultivated by the media and associated with images of the skull and crossbones, but it has been directly associated with pirates in the past, including a seventeenth-century English pirate, Hiram Beakes, on the island of Saba in the Caribbean, who is credited with coining the phrase there; http://tourbook.org/saba-island/

[972] Sir Thomas Lake to Salisbury, 8 December 1609, *Cal. S.P. Dom. Jas. I, 1603-1610*, p. 568; states that the king ordered the reprieve of Jennings and Harris, pirates; Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 399.

distrust of the king's pardons in 1608, as discussed previously in chapter 5, with he ultimately proven correct by his execution at Wapping gallows.[973]

Alternative approaches had to be taken to the pirate problem in the southwest if it were to be controlled and suppressed, even if such measures meant bowing to external political pressure and allow action that would be personally objectionable to the king and his court. One suggestion was to depopulate areas, including the islands around Baltimore and Roaringwater Bay. This was reconsidered as it was viewed as too disruptive locally to the plantation efforts and to trade, 'those Depopulacions would haue ben grevious vnto some particular persons and if peradventure vnavailable to prevent the said mischeefe'.[974] The radical but strategic move came in the form of consenting to Dutch seaborne access to the territorial waters of the English crown, in particular to the harbours in Ireland. In 1611 the Dutch ambassador at London, Sir Noel de Caron complained that such was the impact that the pirates were having on their shipping, that it was getting to the stage that it was not worth their while going to sea. He petitioned the king to allow Dutch ships access to the harbours of Ireland as 'they desire Licence to enter into the Port and Harbours when there is cause'.[975]

Such complaints formed part of the impetus for acquiescing to the Dutch, but more embarrassing was when James had to concede that his ships were incapable of having any impact on the pirate problem in Ireland. This was made clear when it was

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[973] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Earls of Salisbury, Northampton, and Nottingham, 16 April 1611, SP 63/231, f. 80r (State papers Online, Gale Manuscript No. MC4347680067) refers to 'John Jennings, lately executed in England'.

[974] Vice-president and Councell of Mounster, Mogeely, September 1611, signed Rich. Moryson, Edw. Harrys, Tho. Roper, Par Lane, H. Gosnold, *Harl. MS. 37r,* in Curtis Clayton, (ed.), *Council Book for the Province of Munster, c. 1599-1649*, p. 73.

[975] Lords of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 9 September 1611, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614,* p. 101; The earl of Salisbury to Sir Ralph Winwood, 17 July 1611, *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James I collected from the original papers of the Right Honourable Sir Ralph Winwood Kt.* III (London, 1725), pp 285-286; Winwood was the English ambassador to Holland at that point.

shown that a number of captains of the royal ships operating in Ireland were in fact part of the problem, compounded by James' unwillingness to invest the money from his exchequer funds into the navy to properly arm and upgrade his ships. Though James agreed to allow the Dutch enter ports and harbours in Ireland, it was not without conditions, including that the Dutch only enter harbours once they had given due notice to the local admiralty officials and received their consent to enter and that if they encountered and captured any pirates, they 'shall not carry away any Goods which they find aboard but leave them for his Majesty to restore unto the true Proprietors'.[976]

Indeed the Dutch were already making forays into the harbours of the southwest in search of the pirates even before officially petitioning the king for a commission to do so. In April 1611, two Dutch ships had attacked Richard Bishop and his crew off Baltimore, while Bishop was returning from Mamora to discuss his pardon, capturing Bishop's ship and with the pirate admiral barely escaping with his life. This was in direct contravention of a protection order given by Chichester to Bishop.[977] Writing from the harbour at Long Island, at Leamcon, Roger Middleton, who had been tasked with going to Ireland to negotiate individual pardons, recorded that the pirates had left as 'fear [of the Dutch] drove them hence' and he now had to go to Mamora to entreat with Bishop and his Confederate colleagues there.[978]

The following October, Skipwith wrote to Chichester and stated that the pirates were willing to submit but they were not prepared to remain in Ireland to negotiate as they would not risk being surprised again by 'the Hollanders'. He continued that the pirates had left for the coast of Spain but would submit upon their

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[976] Ibid. p. 286.

[977] Examination of Richard Trosse of Dartmouth, mariner, 2 November 1611 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47 f 246r); Capt. Skipwith to the Lord Deputy, 25 July 1611, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, pp 89-90.

[978] Roger Myddleton to Salisbury, 23 August 1611, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, p. 99.

return.[979] While the Dutch sought to deal with the pirates to prevent attacks on their merchant ships, particularly the large, heavily armed Dutch East Indies merchantmen that were frequently intercepted on their homeward journeys from the Indies, there was also a personal element to the rivalry between the two. In April of 1611, some of the leading pirate captains, including Rear-Admiral Thomas Francke, Thomas Hussy, William Baugh and another named Parker were in Mamora where they attacked the Dutch fleet, under the command of captains Stoute, Jacques and Johnson. The battle at sea went on for three days, with the Dutch eventually being defeated, though the English pirates suffered heavy losses, with only Baugh and Francke surviving of the five pirate captains.[980]

At this point, the king acquiesced and granted permission to the States-Generals in Holland to allow a Dutch fleet to enter Irish and also Welsh harbours to engage with the pirates by force and take them prisoners.[981] The idea of allowing the Dutch such access was discussed in July 1611 by Antonio Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in England, as a means to tackling the problem. Following discussion between the king and his council, full permission was granted, with obvious support from Venice, as Foscarini reported that 'Dutch ships may in future chastise pirates in all ports of the Kingdom of Ireland, both following them up in the act of flying or going on purpose to attack them in the harbours except such as are fortified, inside which of course the pirates cannot find shelter. This shows that the idea of the King and Council is to extirpate the pirates by force rather than in any other way, and it is

[979] Captain Henry Skipwith to Sir Arthur Chichester, 2 October 1611, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, p. 138; Sir Arthur Chichester to Salisbury, 10 December 1611, ibid. , p. 178.
[980] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 149.
[981] The Privy Council to Lord [unknown], 1611, *Cal. of MSS of the most Hon. Marquis of Salisbury, 21, 1609-1612*, p. 319; (State Papers Online, MC4332100858).

thought a matter of moment that his Majesty should oblige the States in so important an affair'.[982]

The Dutch wasted no time in preparing a fleet and part of this preparation was to map the coastline of Ireland in advance, including commissioning detailed charts and drafting a set of sailing instructions to ensure they had first hand knowledge of the areas that they needed to target. The impetus for this was that the Dutch did not have the knowledge to navigate safely their vessels into the small bays and havens, particularly along the southwest coast, as evidenced by the fact that they sought pilots from the local officials in Munster. Thomas Crooke refused, however, and the Dutch were again forced to complain to James. In September of that year an order was issued to all the vice-admirals in Munster that 'the States' shipping are to be furnished with pilots to follow the pirates'.[983]

As has been discussed in earlier chapters, in 1612 Hessel Gerritszoon, chief hydrographer with the Dutch East Indies Company, engaged English cartographer John Hunt. Gerritszoon was acting on behalf of the States-General and engaged Hunt to sail around Ireland starting at Crookhaven, which appears to have been the primary focus for the Dutch, and to map and describe the coastline as he proceeded.[984] The anti-pirate chart of the southwest coast certainly highlights Crookhaven as a harbour of note, as depth ranges are included in the detail along with the main settlement within the town.

The Dutch augmented their existing fleet of eight ships that were already at sea under the command of Captain Moy Lambert, with a further eight vessels. The entire fleet was under the overall command of lieutenant-admiral for Zeeland,

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[982] Antonio Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, 14 July 1611, *Cal. S.P. Ven. 1610-1613*; http://www.british-history.ac.uk.elib.tcd.ie/report.aspx?compid=95691&strquery=Dutch

[983] Lords of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 9 September 1611, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614,* p. 101.

[984] H. Gerritszoon/John Hunt, 1612, *Beschrijvinghe van de Zeecusten ende Havenen,* ibid.

Guillaume de Zoete de Laecke, Lord of Houthain (Haultain) and indeed it is to him that Hessel Gerritszoon directs his report in the opening pages of the 1612 document.[985] Gerritszoon further detailed that it was a 'William Lery of Wexford, one of the best pilots in Ireland' who accompanied himself and John Hunt during the mapping of the Irish coast.[986] The full Dutch fleet was in Falmouth in early 1612, where it took on supplies enough for six months at sea.[987] While the Dutch attacked some pirate ships in the intervening period, they did not attack Crookhaven until August of 1614, at which time Senior surmises the agreement between James and the States-General had probably lapsed.[988]

Their attack on the harbour went beyond all bounds of any commission agreement, being unprovoked and without any attempt at negotiation. The sanction given to the Dutch by James to enter the harbours in Ireland was 'with the restriction before they enter his ports they shall give notice to his officers, and that they shall leave the goods they find in the pirates' possession in the custody of his ministers, to be restored to the true proprietors'.[989] The intensity of the attack shocked contemporaries at the time[990] with the Dutch killing between thirty to forty individuals, both pirates and ordinary townspeople;[991] this included one Thomas Smith the admiralty officer there, an act for which they were severely criticized thereafter.[992] This was compounded by the fact that pirate captain Richard Myagh,

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[985] 'To the noble, honourable, wise and prudent Lord, Sir Guillaume de Soete, called Houthain, lieutenant-admiral of Zeeland', f. 2, Gerritszoon to Houthain, ibid., p. 3.
[986] Ibid. f. 3, p. 5.
[987] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 311.
[988] Ibid. p. 313.
[989] The Privy Council to Lord [unknown], 1611, *Cal. of MSS of the most Hon. Marquis of Salisbury, 21, 1609-1612*, p. 319, (State Papers Online, MC4332100858).
[990] Edward Davenant, 1 October 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/226, f. 338).
[991] A list of those killed is provided in the HCA examinations for the event; see Appleby, (ed.), *A Calendar of Material*, pp 287-288.
[992] A letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, knight, Ambassador for his Majestie with the States of the United Provinces, 30 April 1616, *APC 1615-1616*, pp 510-514; Examination of Nighton Filps, August 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/98, f. 209v-211r).

who commanded the fleet in Crookhaven, was under the protection of the Lord Deputy at that point. Myagh had agreed to hand over the goods of a merchant, Thomas Boothby in return for his pardon. To add insult to injury, Moy Lambert and his crew made off with Thomas Boothby's goods, reputed to be worth some £5,000, in direct contravention to their agreement with the English king.[993]

From an archaeological perspective, one can ponder as to where these individuals were buried? It has been discussed in chapter 6 that there is a potential for archaeological material to be present in the form of shipwreck remains, though accounts vary as to where Captain Myagh's ship was when attacked – either beached (possibly being careened) and whereupon Myagh and some of his crew jumped ship and landed on shore or his ship was driven ashore by the Dutch, whereupon he and his crew were pursued inland. The Dutch crew set the ship on fire and it blew up. If the pirate ship had been located on the shore, then it would have been heavily salvaged at the time, with any usable material reused by the locals. Where this 'shore' base was is open to consideration. While the quay front of what is now the main village of Crookhaven has developed over the years, this has not been extensive. The foreshore there beside the main quay dries out at low water, allowing even today, craft to pull ashore on the soft sands and would have equally facilitated vessels doing the same in the past. A more probable location for larger ships to hove ashore and undergo repairs would have been the shallower part of the inner harbour to the west, in the area known as White Strand (plate 51). Certainly the basal remains of two old quays is evidence for facilities being there for maritime usage, and it would be an ideal, sheltered location for careening and repairing vessels of all sizes (plate 52). The locating there too of the remains of a fish palace is also indicative of usage of this

[993] A letter to Sir Dudley Carlton, ibid. p. 514.

inner part of the harbour during the first half of the seventeenth century, when William Hull built two palaces in Crookhaven as part of his and Richard Boyle's commercial venture into the fishing industry.[994]




(plate 51) View of Crookhaven inner harbour and remains of quay indicated.



(plate 52) The basal remains of the quay shown in plate 51; this is one of two earlier quays in the inner harbour area.

[994] Power, *Archaeological Inventory of West Cork*, p. 365, 410; recorded monuments: CO:152:03: *fish palace* (Ballynaule) and CO:147:046: *fish palace* (Leenane); Went, 'The Irish Pilchard Fishery', pp. 83-86.

The potential still remains, however, that some cultural evidence may be located within the harbour proper for the attack, whether the remains of wreck, wreck material or artefactual evidence such as guns, munitions or even human remains. One can ponder too as to whether the pirates who died were buried locally or indeed in unmarked ground, which was often done for shipwrecked sailors, unknown mariners and pirates, with the tradition for the latter being to bury them on the foreshore where their graves are washed over by the tides or on the edge of sea cliffs, overlooking the open ocean. In point of fact, local lore recounts that such graves were visible at one point on White Strand at Ballyrisode, to the east of Crookhaven.[995]

Field survey for this study located stone settings and a series of upright stones on the upper foreshore at Ballyrisode (plate 53). The two uprights, not unlike markers or headstones, lie about a metre apart at slight angles to each other and are parallel to the shore. A metre to the south from these is a distinct sub-rectangular stone setting, comprising three flagstones set on edge in a box-like shape, with the edge facing the open sea. This structure measures 1.5m N-S and 1m E-W.[996] The site is only just showing above the sand, with no doubt these levels changing over time. It is impossible, without excavation, to say what this site is or if the upright stones and box-like feature are one site or two distinct features. If they were burial markers, then the two uprights would suggest a supine burial, probably laid east-west, as is the tradition for Christian burials.

[995] Hawkes, 'Canty's Cove', p. 294.
[996] Refer to Appendix 6 for pro-forma discription of this site.



(plate 53) Stone setting and two uprights on Ballyrisode strand, the possible burial site of sailors or pirates.

There is also the possibility that the stone settings have some industrial function, as Ballyrisode is well known for mining sites that date from the Bronze Age right up into modern times. So they may represent an intertidal site, now inundated, that was associated with past mining activity in the area. It is here again that archaeology may inform on the actual function of these and if burials, provide information on the individuals and ensure their presence is recorded. The burial of individuals in a coastal location, while uncommon is not without precedent. The archaeological excavation of the remains of a single individual from an eroding coastal sea cliff at Little Cove, Churchtown near the Hook Head in County Wexford provided probable evidence for the burial of a shipwrecked male from the seventeenth century (plate 54).[997]

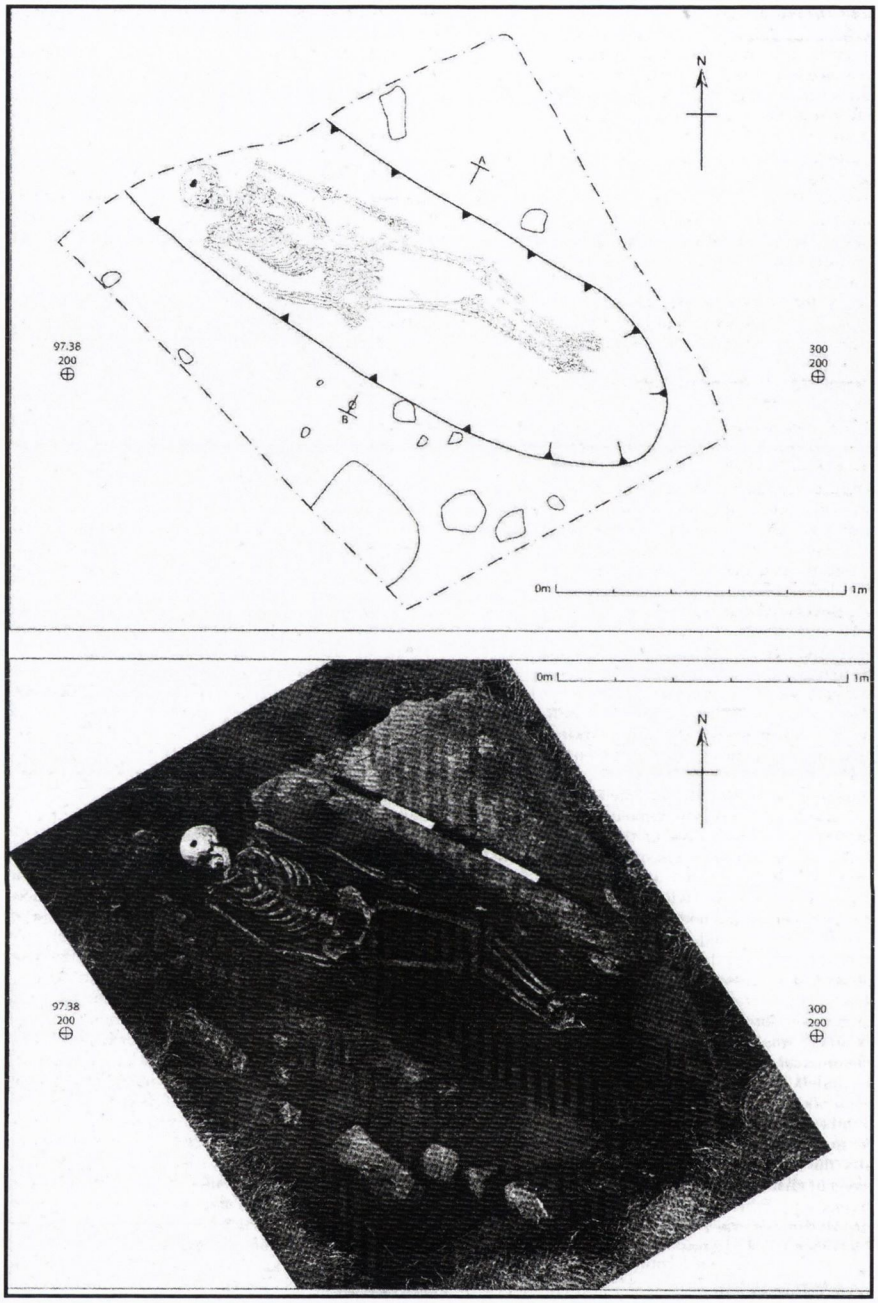
[997] K. Brady and C. Kelleher, 'Churchtown, Human Remains: 00E0872', in I. Bennett, *Excavations Bulletin: Summary of Archaeological Excavations in Ireland 2000*, (Wicklow, 2000), p. 353.




(plate 54) Location of burial place of possible mariner or pirate, with view of Hook Head at top left.

Dating obtained from the grave places the 5'7"-5'9" male who was between 21-25 years at time of death, to between the mid-seventeenth to early-eighteenth century. The burial has been interpreted as that of a probable sailor, pirate or victim of a shipwreck and who was either washed ashore or was killed and buried hastily (figure 12). Further evidence from the remains showed accentuated muscle markings on the upper body, demonstrating that the individual was used to hard work, again pointing to a possible life at sea.[998]

[998] C. O'Driscoll, 'Churchtown, Hook Head, Human Skeletal remains', in I. Bennett, ibid, 2005, pp 397-399.




(figure 12) Site plan and image of Churchtown burial of single male.[999]

A few interesting burial sites are located within the West Cork coastal landscape that hint at sporadic burial of individuals from the sea. On the southern slopes of Slievemore on Sherkin Island is a burial site thought to contain the remains of Spanish soldiers. These may be the remains of those who were either lost during

[999] Ibid. p. 398.

the taking of Dunalong castle by English troops following the defeat of the Spanish at the Battle of Kinsale or those lost from the Spanish ship *Leon De Oro*, wrecked near Baltimore Harbour in September 1601, when several of the crew were lost but General Pedro de Zubiaur and others, sailing from Castlehaven, made it back to Corunna safely on a sister transport ship that was sailing with the main convoy.[1000]

On Reen Point, at the entrance to Castlehaven Harbour, there is a tradition of buried sailors there, again said to be Spanish sailors killed during the encounter in the Harbour between Spanish General Pedro de Zubiaur and English Captain Richard Levenson in 1601.[1001] A site known as the 'Spanish Ovens' is located there, associated with an entrenchment put up during the battle, and immediately north of that is a burial ground.[1002] There is no historical or archaeological reference to any other structure being sited there and it is here that cartography can be of immense use to both the historian and archaeologist. In the 1612 Hunt chart of the southwest coast, a building written 'chapl' is shown on Reen Headland (map image 31). It is illustrated as a rather substantial structure and within the text of the rutter itself, it is referred to specifically as a church ['chapl'].[1003]

There were 28 burials encountered in the 1930s when vice-admiral for Castletownsend, Sir Richard Boyle-Somerville excavated there and he also exposed a possible souterrain or subterranean chamber.[1004] The fact that the 1612 chart not alone depicts the chapel site but clearly states that it stood on the east side of the

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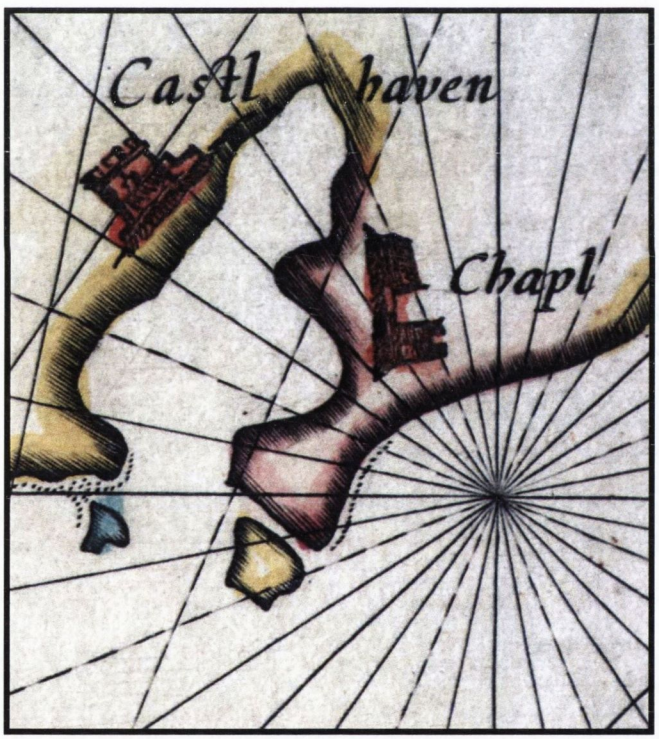
[1000] Shipwreck Inventory of Ireland, West Cork (Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht); Monument 952 (RMP: CO:153:003 *Burial*), Power, *Archaeological Inventory of West Cork*, p. 115.
[1001] Rev. J. Coombes and N.J. Ware, 'The Letter Book of General de Zubiaur: A Calendar of the 'Irish' Letters', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society,* 60 (1978), pp 50-58.
[1002] Monuments No. 991 (RMP: CO151:019002 *Structure*), Power, *Archaeological Inventory of West Cork*, p. 118-119, 255, 309.
[1003] Gerritszoon pilot: SUB Göttingen, 4 H BRIT P III, 6 RARA, f. 14, p. 19, column 2; I am grateful to Dr. Edda Frankot for translating this for me; Refer to Appendix 4 for a translation of this document and to the section that refers to 'chapl'.
[1004] Power, ibid, p. 309; recorded monuments CO:151:19/02: *Miscellaneous 'Spanish Ovens'*; CO:151: 20/02: *Souterrain*; CO:151:20/03: *Burial ground.*

headland, provides definitive evidence for the site's existence and serves to explain why the burial ground, and quite possibly the Spanish graves, are located where they are – being directly linked to an ecclesiastical complex. Local tradition has a very early placename attributed to the location on Reen Point as 'Cill an Chuais' or 'Church of the recess or hollow', again suggesting that a church site originally stood here.[1005] More correctly perhaps, the name may refer to the 'Cuas' or indentations in the steep cliffs along the coastal limits of the site – a more maritime and thus more apt name for the foundation.[1006]




(map image 31) Detail from 1612 John Hunt chart showing 'Chapl' at eastern side of Castlehaven Harbour.

[1005] Archaeological Survey of Ireland site notes for monument CO:151:020/01: *Burial Ground* (Department of Arts, Heritage and Gaeltacht).
[1006] Rev. Patrick S. Dineen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla*, The Irish Text Society (Dublin, 1904), p. 196.

Whether an earlier church site stood there or not remains to be discovered pending archaeological excavation and when the chapel as depicted on the chart would have been destroyed is equally as curious, as there does not seem to be any local memory of a church ever having been located there, with the parish church for Castlehaven located in Myross, a short distance to the southeast. Apart from a similar depiction on the slightly later 1625 chart by Willem Blaeu of the southwest coast, which is an almost direct copy of Hunt's chart, there does not seem to be any evidence on subsequent charts or maps that have been identified to date.[1007] The contribution made by the 1612 document to both history and archaeology for the existence of this site therefore cannot be overstated.

In Crookhaven the local burial ground for the time was to the immediate west of the town, in the old church of St. Mullagh or Molloga.[1008] The chapel was in a ruined state by 1699, when Bishop Dive Downes visited the area, and in 1700 a new parochial church, dedicated to St. Brendan, was built on the site of the earlier church. Dr. Brown, Bishop of Cork, financed the erection of the new church for the accommodation of sailors frequenting the port of Crookhaven.[1009] Attached to the church is a graveyard, and it is plausible to suggest that those who died as a result of the Dutch attack in 1614 may have been buried in this burial ground. Quite possibly the officials and townspeople who were killed were interred there but also perhaps some of the pirates themselves who were either settlers or natives (plate 55). Only late-eighteenth and nineteenth century gravestones are now readable, with a number commemorating losses by drowning of local individuals, but the majority are

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[1007] The Blaeu chart was attributed this date by Andrew Bonar Law, but later Blaeu charts from his Atlas, though similar, are again copies; I am grateful to Dr. David Brown, research assistant in the Department of History, Trinity College Dublin, for information on these charts.

[1008] Recorded monument number CO:147:05801:*Graveyard*, CO:147:05802: *Church* and CO:147:05803: *Possible earlier church*; Power, *Archaeological Inventory of West Cork*, p. 354.

[1009] Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records*, I, p. 172; Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, I, p. 435.

unmarked headstones that bear no writing at all but which may be indicative of those lost or killed locally prior to the Church of St. Brendan being built, and buried in the earlier part of the graveyard.



(plate 55) St. Brendan's Church of Ireland in Crookhaven overlooking the harbour, the burial ground lies behind the church at the shore side.

Another possibility, however, is that the pirates may have been buried elsewhere, removed as it were from 'official' places of burial and worship, and it should be noted that the parish church for Crookhaven is located about a kilometer away near Barleycove to the north of Crookhaven in Kilmoe, so there is also the chance that individuals were buried there or within close proximity to the parish church. Again, archaeological evidence has shown that sailors or non-local seamen were sometimes buried in earlier graveyards or those used for unbaptised children, known as cillín, with the site at Caher Point, Tonatanvally on Achill Island being an example.[1010]

[1010] T. McDonald, 'Caher Point, Tonatanvally, Achill Island Cillín/Children's burial-ground', in I. Bennett, ibid. (Wicklow, 2004), pp 397-398.

By the late-eighteenth century the earlier church in Crookhaven was in ruins. Prior to the 1641 rebellion, there were a recorded 200 houses in the town and the castle was used in earlier times as a prison.[1011] The exact location of O'Mahony's castle in Crookhaven is unknown but it stood within the main town, and Hunt in his 1612 chart depicts this. By 1864 only the walls of the castle remained.[1012] Earlier photographs of the town provide some potential evidence for where the castle may have been located, though with the area now heavily built upon, all above ground traces are gone (plate 56). In 1622 Sir Thomas Roper is recorded as building a fort in Crookhaven, in tandem with his expansion of the English settlement there, and which was 'furnished with good store of ordnance for the defence of the harbour'.[1013]

Roper was at that point heavily involved in the fishing industry in the locality but what is not clear is if his 'fort' were located where the earlier castle was or built elsewhere. There is now no known location for either structures or indeed for the burial places of the pirates themselves. Of the fort, a report from October 1677 refers to its being built of stone and clay and located on a rock by the harbour side, having only two bastions to the landward.[1014] No further information is given on it so it cannot be said with certainty if this refers to a tower on the headland or if it lay within the town of Crookhaven itself. What can be said is that it was still in use at that point as it refers to maintaining the garrison there.[1015]

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[1011] Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records*, pp 172-173.
[1012] Brady, Ibid. p. 172.
[1013] Commissioners in Ireland to the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Admiral, 5 July 1622, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1615-1625*, p. 361.
[1014] R. Caulfield, *Annals of Kinsale: Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale* (London, 1897), p. liii-liv.
[1015] Ibid.




(plate 56) Late-eighteenth century view of Crookhaven from east, with some potential sites indicated.[1016]

To date only one known burial place for a pirate involved in the confederacy in the southwest is identifiable, and this is in a graveyard in England. Pirate captain Richard Robinson (sometimes referred to as Richard Roberts), who settled his family in Munster after receiving a pardon in 1609, was on a list of prisoners sent to England on suspicion of piracy in 1610. Whether this was a mistake or he continued to pirate after being pardoned is uncertain, but he was subsequently released. He died shortly afterwards and Senior mentions a certificate existing for his burial in St. James cemetery in Garlickhithe, London on the 27 April 1611.[1017] The question once again arises, if the known location of this grave could be ascertained and was then

[1016] I am grateful to the owners of Nottage's Bar in Crookhaven for allowing me access to their establishment and their photographic collection; apologies are given for the quality of the image but the original could not be traced and all that was available was the reproduction in Nottage's Bar.
[1017] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 423.

excavated, would this be evidence of pirate archaeology or simply the grave of an English mariner who, at one stage of his life, partook in piratical activity?

**1613 and the Act for Suppressing Piracy**

The coming into force of the Act Against Piracy in Ireland in 1614, as the 'Act for the punishing of pirates and robbers at sea' (Act 11, 12 and 13 Jas. 1, c. 2),[1018] provided the mechanism for local officials to apprehend, hold trials and send for execution within Ireland those found guilty of piracy. This essentially bridged the loophole that had existed in the Irish legislative process and in theory this should have had a visible impact on curbing piracy in the region.[1019] In practice, however, it had little affect primarily due to the deep-rooted corruption that existed within these remote areas between the pirates and governing officials and the fact that at that stage, piracy was acceptable both on a social and economic level.

Up to this point too pirates could claim benefit of clergy, which allowed many to escape being hanged in return for a lesser sentence if they showed contrition and it was their first time doing so. Deputy Chichester recognised this as a means for the pirates to avoid execution, indicated by him when dealing in 1606 with the pirate named Captain Connello and seven of his crew who were captured in Wexford. Stating that 'they will be admitted their "cleargie" by the laws of this realm [Ireland], and then he is sure the chiefest of them will escape with life, for they can read

[1018] 1612, Heads or titles of the Acts concerning the Common Weal, no. 7: An Act against pirates, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, p. 250; Sir John Davys to the Earl of Somerset, 31 October 1614, passing of the Act against pirates, *ibid.* p. 516; V. Treadwell, 'House of Lords in the Irish Parliament 1613-1615', *English Historical Review*, 80, no. 314 (Jan. 1965), p. 101; T.W. Moody, 'The Irish Parliament under Elizabeth and James I: A General Survey', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 45 (1939/1940), p. 52, 60.
[1019] Yale, ' A Historical Note', p. 149; C. Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 114.

well'.[1020] The reference here to their ability to read reflected the requirement that when using benefit of clergy, those claiming it had to be able to read, with the first verse of Psalm 51 generally being read aloud to fulfil the process:

> Have mercy on me, O God, according to your steadfast love;
> According to your abundant mercy, blot out my transgressions;
> Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity and cleanse me from my sin![1021]

Others, however, did not escape, either because they could not read or had previously claimed benefit of clergy, and thus ended up facing the hangman's noose.

**Trials and executions**

While the HCA examinations record the trials and executions of numerous pirates for the period, including some twenty six individuals examined in Youghal between the years 1610-1614, of interest to this study is how such trials and executions were carried out, in particular the physical location of hanging places and if evidence can be found for these structures.[1022] An account of three individuals, John Morris, Peter Hilliard and Hugh Rogers, with others unnamed, who had taken a ship in Dalkey in Dublin but who sailed north to seek safe anchorage in Lough Swilly, were captured and transported back to Dublin. Arraigned under Sir Adam Loftus, they were found guilty and hanged on the 30 May 1614.[1023] What is particularly interesting about this account is that it specifically states that the three pirates were 'executed upon the strand, at low-water mark, by Dublin'.[1024]

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[1020] Sir Arthur Chichester to Earl of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 2 January 1606, *Cal. S.P. 1603-1616,* pp 382-383.
[1021] First verse of Psalm 51, also known as the 'neck verse', as those who read it having claimed benefit of clergy and having received a reprieve, avoided being hanged by the neck from the gallows.
[1022] HCA 13/226; see Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, pp 284-299.
[1023] Account of execution of 'certain lusty companions', [non-specific] 1614, *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernia,* I, pp 313-314.
[1024] Ibid., p. 314.



(plate 57) Replica gibbet on the foreshore of Wapping today.[1025]

This ensured that the admiralty had jurisdiction as traditionally gallows were set up on the foreshore that was seen as outside the ambit of the common law court. The same was the case in England, where at Wapping, on the Thames at low water, and best known as Execution Dock, pirates were hanged. Marshalsea prison in London was the traditional admiralty prison where pirates were held pending being marched, as a public spectacle, to Execution Dock (plate 57). In Scotland, pirates were hanged on a gibbet at the Sands of Leith within the 'flood mark'. In 1610 nine pirates were sentenced to be hanged upon 'the sandis of Leyth, within the floddis-mark' and the same year 'the trial of thirty more pirates for the affair at Long Island, in Ireland' was carried out on the Sands at Leith. This tradition of hanging continued

[1025] http://www.travel-news-photos-stories.com

at Leith until 1822 and it is clear that the use of these liminal places was universally applied for the execution of pirates.[1026]

In Dublin, Old Newgate prison appears to have served this official purpose as the city gaol. It stood where the Cornmarket is now located and was originally one of the city gates in an area that was not too distant from the River Liffey within the medieval confines of the Viking quarter of Wood Quay, Wine Tavern Street and St. Audeon's.[1027] Perhaps pirates were also marched from Old Newgate to the river's edge to be hanged 'on the strand'. Reclamation of the area from the nineteenth century onwards, in conjunction with extensive modernization during the recent decade of the boom years, now presents an area removed from the water with no sense of riverine or indeed estuarine attachment.

There are a number of recorded places of execution in Dublin where gallows were located. One was at the north-east corner of Stephen's Green.[1028] The bodies of the pirates were then hung up in irons on either the South Wall or on a gibbet at MacCarrell's wharf, near Ringsend or at the Piles below the Pigeon House.[1029] During the twelfth century, the Anglo-Normans appear to have had a gallows erected on the north shore of the River Liffey, possibly near the modern intersection of Parkgate Street and Infirmary Road. The approach to this would have been via Old Bridge (now Fr. Mathew Bridge) and Hangman's Lane (now Hammond's Lane).

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[1026] Murdock, *The Terror of the Seas?,* p. 139; History of Leith, Edinburgh, http://www.leithhistory.co.uk/2011/10/26/the-sands-of-leith/; it is not clear where the reference to the piracy at Long Island comes from.

[1027] J.W. Hammond, 'George's Quay and Rogerson's Quay in the Eighteenth Century', in *Dublin Historical Record,* 5, no. 2 (December 1942-February 1943), p. 44.

[1028] A. Edwards, *Cork Remembrancer, or Tablet of Memory. Enumerating every remarkable circumstance that has happened in the City and County of Cork, and in the kingdon at large. Including all the memorable events in Great Britain with and account of all the Battles by Sea and Land in the present century. Also, the remarkable earthquakes, famines, inundations, storms, frosts, fires and all other accidents of moment, in Every Quarter of the Globe, from the earliest period, to the year 1792* (Cork, 1792), records four pirates being executed in the year 1766 at a place near St. Stephen's Green in Dublin, p. 214.

[1029] Hammond, ibid.

Another gallows in use up to the seventeenth century, the gallows at Gibbet's Mead or Meadow, was regularly mentioned in various correspondences to do with the city. Shortly after the restoration in 1660, it is recorded that this gallows was moved across the river to Kilmainham, where the jail was then located.[1030]

In Cork, Gallow's Green (now renamed Greenmount, on the southern approach to the city) was the location of the city's gallows, though it is not clear if this is where pirates were also hanged.[1031] From an archaeological perspective, the locating of hanging places and gallows in the intertidal zone or on beaches or strands means that the potential for cultural remains to survive is minimal, with many of these places now having been developed or reclaimed over time. Indeed if evidence has been or were to be found in such areas, perhaps in the form of wooden structures or wooden piles, they may well be misinterpreted as belonging to quays, wharves, old jetties or simply as mooring posts. The probability that such wooden evidence may have been a gallows would not readily come to mind. Archaeological evidence for this activity relating to the execution of pirates could, therefore, have been and may continue to be easily missed or misunderstood.

Finding evidence for structures relating to the site of the executions or human remains at these places is again fraught with difficulty. Structures were often temporary, leaving little or no cultural footprint. Monson brought a gallows with him in his ship, which he set up on the foreshore to hang offenders when caught. He recounts doing exactly that when in Broadhaven, during the time when he

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[1030] J. DeCourcy Ireland, *The Liffey in Dublin* (Dublin, 1996), p. 171.

[1031] Edwards, *Cork Remembrancer*, provides several accounts of executions at Gallows Green in Cork during the eighteenth century, with the form of death varying from straight forward hanging to burning, to being shot (appears to be reserved for soldiers), to being hanged and quartered and finally to being hanged, quartered and beheaded, see p. 133, 137, 141, 180, 222; an interesting account is of a tailor named Dennis Sheehan who was hanged at Gallows Green on 9 July, 1755, for the murder of his aunt near Macroom, but who 'later came back to life and made his escape', p. 179.

impersonated Henry Mainwaring.[1032] To compound the problem further, many of the individuals executed were either removed after hanging to other locations, as previously discussed with the pirates that were executed in Dublin being displayed elsewhere after death, or were buried in mass graves.[1033] Other bodies were frequently suspended from gallows or gibbets at the entrance to harbours or on headlands, as a deterrent to pirates who intended to enter the waterways. A direct reference for this comes from an account of services rendered by Sir Thomas Button between the years 1614 and 1621. During that period he was commander of the Irish Coast fleet, which included the ships the *Phoenix* and the *Moon*. In 1618 he captured a pirate named Captain Austin and his crew at Oysterhaven near Kinsale, where both parties fought each other for a full day, with the pirates finally being beaten. Austin lost his ship and many of his crew. Six of the 'Chiefest' of the captured crew were condemned in Cork jail and executed there but the master of the ship, records Button in his log, 'for example sake (on the head lande nearest the place I tooke them att) was hangd in Chaynes in November 1618'.[1034]

The term 'hanged in chains' specifically refers to being hanged on or in a gibbet, an iron cage. The condemned would most probably be hanged first from a gallows and then placed inside the iron gibbet, to be displayed and act as a deterrent to others in following the same path. Perhaps one of the most infamous hanging and gibbet executions was that of pirate William Kidd. He was hanged at Execution Dock,

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[1032] Oppenheim, *Naval Tracts*, III, pp 64-65.
[1033] Hammond, 'George's Quay and Rogerson's Quay in the Eighteenth Century', p. 44.
[1034] D. Woodward, 'Sir Thomas Button, the Phoenix and the Defence of the Irish Coast 1614-1622', *Mariner's Mirror*, 59, no. 3 (1973), p. 344; this account is taken from the papers of Lionel Cranfield, part of the Sackvill MSS, ON 7125.

at Wapping quay in London in 1701 and then placed inside the iron cage located at Tilbury Point for all to see and as a warning to other pirates.[1035]

A possible location for the execution site where Button hanged the master of the pirate vessel from Oysterhaven may be the headland at the eastern tip of the entrance into Kinsale Harbour. Now called Pregane Point, up until the mid-nineteenth century, however, it was called Hangman's Point.[1036] Oysterhaven lies immediately to the east and the headland would have provided a clear viewing platform to anyone entering or leaving both harbours. It is here that hangings were carried out at the time of the Irish rebellion, when in 1649 Prince Rupert reputedly hanged a number of would-be deserters from the royalist side on the headland in full view of the parliamentary fleet.[1037] While this may have been a singular event, the site may equally have been a traditional hanging place. It may thus have been the scene of many other, now unrecorded, executions of brigands, thieves and pirates in the past. The placename evidence would certainly be suggestive of this (map image 32).

No archaeological site is marked on the headland, and it is admittedly difficult to pinpoint the exact location of where a gallows or gibbet would have been located, particularly if such a structure were of a temporary nature and erected only when it was needed. On the 1840s six-inch map a curious sub-rectangular feature is illustrated, as is a possible rise or natural rock outcrop toward the edge of the headland. These may, perhaps, indicate a possible location for the site.

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[1035] Richie, *Captain Kidd*, pp 205-229; Richard Zacks, *The Pirate Hunter – The True Story of Captain Kidd* (London, 2002), pp 373-389.
[1036] It is noted as this on the 1840s six inch Ordnance Survey maps.
[1037] I am indebted to Dr. Elaine Murphy for this reference.




(map image 32) Hangman's Point at the entrance to Kinsale Harbour.[1038]

Tradition and placename evidence should be a consideration when assessing the potential for such sites within a historic cultural landscape. Historical sources can certainly inform on both the events and where they possibly took place, but archaeological investigation is the mechanism that can prove its existance.[1039] In 1990 the remains of fifteen individuals were discovered in the backyard of a house in Greenmount, South Ward, Cork, in the general area of what would have been Gallows Green. None of the skeletal remains were complete and many of the bones were broken. In one area the long bones were stacked together with the skulls lying close

[1038] 1st edition 1840s 6 inch map; http://maps.osi.ie/publicviewer; on the 2nd edition 25 inch map from the 1880s, the name has been changed to Pregane Point.
[1039] Joseph B. Jones and Charles M. Dowling, 'Capital Punishment in Colonial Virginia: Phase III Data Recovery for Mitigation of Adverse Effects to Site 44WB66 (The Colonial Gallows)', Technical Report Series 18, William and Mary Centre for Archaeological Research (College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, 1993), pp 1-78.

by.[1040] Whether some of these individuals were pirates executed at Gallows Green will never be known. In Bern, Switzerland and Bečov in the Czech Republic, recent excavations have provided interesting information on the location of gallows, their structural makeup and the way executions were carried out.[1041] It is only in recent times that archaeology has had the opportunity to investigate actual known hanging places and obtain first-hand information on the individuals executed, though again, identifying whether they were pirates or not is difficult if not impossible.

Targeted historical research and archaeological excavation still remains to be done, globally as well as in Ireland, into this aspect of our past history in order to inform more fully on the location and logistics of these execution places, their nature and extent and, from this study's perspective, the potential to provide hitherto previously unknown information on outcasts like pirates and the last moments of their lives. Reliance on historical and folkloric evidence is one of the primary means to locating these areas, at least on a documentary and oral level. Cartographic sources can be extremely helpful in indicating the possible location of gallows and places of execution, supported by the documentary evidence and may, in the future, lead to the archaeological discovery of the sites themselves.

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[1040] S. Cherry, Mass Grave: 1990:022: Greenmount, South Ward, Cork', I. Bennett (ed) *Excavations Bulletin* (Dublin, 1990), accessed on http://www/excavations.ie/Pages/Details.php?Year=&County

[1041] M. Andina, 'Bern's Gallows: Archaeologists uncover evidence of past punishments', 26 September 2009, Swissinfo.ch, http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/multimedia/video/Berns_gallows.html?cid=18194; T. Wizovský and P. Sokol, The Bečov Gallows, Czech Republic http://www.cestujme.cz/exteds/sibenice/sibenice.php?jaz=1




(map image 33) Detail taken from Map of Bantry and Beara showing gallows.

The detail taken from the sixteenth century map of Bantry and Beara shows a gallows near the area known as Blackrock, the early landing place in Bantry (map image 33).[1042] While no doubt at times the limb of a tree could be used as an on-the-spot solution, for formal hangings, structures could be in centrally-placed locations that made it a socio-political event, with the gathering of the masses to witness the occasion. The gallows on the map of Bantry and Beara appears to be a solid, substantial structure in a prominent place within the landscape. Peripheral or liminal places were also used, such as on the foreshore or headlands, influenced perhaps by jurisdictional factors but equally to make a statement or to highlight the concept that the individuals being hanged were not part of civilized society.[1043] The implication of

[1042] Detail from *c.* 1558 map of Bantry and Beara, (T.N.A. London, MPF/1/94).

[1043] Such places could also be on hill tops to ensure visibility to act as a deterrent (hence placenames like Gallows Hill); on village or town greens as the focus for the 'execution event', again to make a spectacle (indicated by names like 'Gallows Green' or 'Hangman's Lane') or on the foreshore, where pirates would be hanged and then displayed on a gibbet or left swinging from the gallows, to be washed by the tide three times until they rotted; this acted as a warning to mariners or those who may have considered piracy as a viable option.

this for archaeology is in the difficulty in identifying the evidence for such hanging sites or places of executions. This is compounded by the current archaeological mindset, in Ireland anyhow, that has not readily identified the potential for such material cultural remains to exist; further to this, linking any such evidence to pirate trials is, in general, extremely rare.

Prior to the coming into force of the Piracy Act in 1614, many of the leading pirates who were captured in the southwest were extradited to England, though this was in some instances seen as a formality, as the intent was recognised that they would be pardoned. This did not always turn out to be the case, as discussed earlier with pirate captain John Jennings and his colleague James Harris.[1044] It has been discussed earlier that Northampton may have had ulterior motives in wanting to keep the two pirates alive but what this case highlights is the difficulty of the task of tackling the pirate problem on the ground. This was more or less impossible due to the ingrained nature of piracy within the community there and the corruption of the admiralty officers.[1045] The examination taken of Harris closed by saying that 'the readiness of Officers to discharge them [the pirates] upon takinge their money' clearly underlined the point.[1046] By January 1610, however, both pirates had been hanged at

[1044] Lord Danvers to Salisbury, 4 August 1608, *Cal, S.P. Ire. 1608-1610.* p. 14; Earl of Thomond to Salisbury, 10 March 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610,* p. 162; Examination of John Jennings, pirate, before the court of admiralty, no date (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII f 360-364, British Library, State Papers Online, Gale document MC4318815332); Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council, 5 February, 1609, SP 63/226, f 62r-63v (State Papers Online; Gale Manuscript no. MC4347580260); Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council, 5 February 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610,* p. 142.

[1045] Jennings, the Pirate, to the Earl of Thomond, 23 January 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 145, 'prays his Lordship to be a mediator for their pardon. Offers to deliver up the ship and stores'; Earl of Northampton to Sir Thos. Lake, 7 December 1609, *Cal. St. P. Dom. James I, 1603-1610*, p. 568; Earl of Northampton to Sir Thom. Lake, 7 December 1609, SP 14/50 f. 38-39 (State papers Online, Gale Document No. MC4323588271); Examination of John Jennings, a pirate, before the court of admiralty, no date (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII, ff 360-365); Two examinations concerning pirates, taken before the E. of Northampton, no date, (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII, f. 367-369; State Papers Online, Gale documents MC4318815332 and MC4318815334).

[1046] Two examinations concerning pirates, taken before the E. of Northampton, no date (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII, f. 367-369); these documents have been badly damaged by fire.

Wapping, having spent over ten months in prison and though their reprieve was issued from the highest office of the crown, they still did not escape death.[1047]

**Indirect action, pardons and personal assurances**

From about the year 1608 onwards many of the pirates within the confederacy were actively looking for pardons for a variety of reasons.[1048] Certain individual pirates had tired of the life and saw the opportunities offered for legitimate settlement in Munster under the mechanism of plantation, with Admiral Richard Bishop perhaps being the most visible here. Many looked to take advantage of the offer by the English crown of a general pardon, in an effort to eradicate the pirate problem in the southwest.[1049] Others called the bluff of the government with threats of heightened attacks if pardons were not forthcoming. Thomas Coward, for example, suggested this recourse when, following his capture and being sent to England in 1610, proclaimed that the pirates would attack the fishing fleets in Newfoundland the following spring, if pardons were not forthcoming immediately: 'his advice is to receive them to mercy, otherwise they are resolved to prey upon the subject as well as the stranger.[1050] It was shown just a short time later that Coward had returned to his old ways, even after his petition had been given favourable consideration, thus supporting the suspicion by the crown that the issuing of pardons may not have actually solved the pirate problem –

[1047] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Earls of Salisbury, Northampton, and Nottingham, 16 April 1611, refers to 'John Jennings, lately executed in England', *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, p. 29.
[1048] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Earl of Salisbury, 14 June 1608, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1616-1608,* p. 559, details that pirate Richard Robinson had lately come into Baltimore and delivered his ship to the President of Munster.
[1049] Appleby, 'A Nursery of Pirates', p. 16.
[1050] Sir Arthur Chichester to Salisbury, 19 July 1610, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 480.

'[ ] Coward, to whom favour was lately shown in a similar case, has returned to his former courses, and is now a dangerous pirate'.[1051] Over the intervening years up to 1614, the majority of pirates within the Atlantic alliance sought, at one time or another, a pardon from the crown but most of these, if not returning outright, continued to dabble in piracy when the opportunity allowed.

At this point too the English government considered various ways to try to curb piracy from a demographic perspective, including depopulating the islands around Baltimore to eliminate physically the pirate strongholds there. When the case was made that 'wee can fynde no other assured meanes left for the securities of those Lewde and wicked Pyrattes but the vnpeopling and Layeing wast certaine Ilands in those borders and other places open vnto their arrival which they haue and yet Do hitherto most comonly frequent', this was quickly ruled out as an option. It was considered that such a move 'would haue ben grevious vnto some particular persons and if peradventure vnavailable to prevent the said mischeefe, there being a great number of ports in those partes as commodious and of as easie and salfe access as those wee intended to Displant, And for that we hold it [ ]'. Essentially it would have had a negative effect on the English settlements there and the suitability of other areas along the same coastline where the pirates could look for safe harbour, meant that the problem would only have become more mobile.[1052] In tandem with this, a commission was set up to close all but a few taverns and alehouses, and to set up a licensing system for those that would remain open, again in an attempt to control the victualling places of pirates.[1053]

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[1051] Lords of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester, 27 April 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, . 200.
[1052] Curtis Clayton, ibid. p. 73.
[1053] Richard Caulfield, Appendix A, 6 August 1610, *The Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale from 1652 to 1800* (Guildford, 1879), p. 313; Curtis Clayton, (ed.), *Council Book of Munster*, p. 71.

Attempts at direct action continued, with orders issued in 1609 to Sir William Monson to send out three royal naval ships to go to Baltimore, and the lord deputy Chichester was to provide the mariners to man the ships; these were to engage with the pirate fleet there.[1054] Individual royal naval ships, under the command of Sir William St. John continued to frequent the waters in search of pirates, but though there were some captures, it had little if any significant impact on the pirate activity.[1055] This was no doubt complicated by St John's collusion, as discussed in the previous chapter, when he intercepted pirate captain William Baugh in Kinsale and embezzled part of the plundered cargo for his own gain.[1056]

A general pardon then appeared to be the best option. Official negotiations were thus sanctioned, with certain officers tasked with liaising with the pirates to discuss terms and requirements. Roger Middleton arrived into Ireland in 1611, accompanied by Humphrey Curson and William Perpointe, to begin parlaying with the pirates. Well before that, however, there were attempts at unofficial negotiations, with general instructions issued to tease out the sensibilities of the pirates and their terms if they indicated that they were willing to come in to discuss reforming their ways.[1057]

Henry Skipwith too was tasked with negotiating with the pirates. In August of 1611 he had returned from London with warrants to protect the pirates from being attacked by the king's ships if they were willing to submit. He did state that the pirates were disinclined to remain on the southwest coast at that point, as they were

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[1054] Charles Earl of Nottingham to the Earl of Salisbury, 2 September 1609, *Cal. S.P. Dom. James I, 1603-1610,* p. 541.
[1055] Sir Arthur Chichester to Salisbury, 23 October 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 301; Earl of Nottingham to Salisbury, 3 July 1609, *Cal. S.P. Dom. James I 1603-1610*, p. 525; John Hopkins to Lord Admiral Nottingham, 6 February 1610, ibid. p. 586.
[1056] Appleby, 'The 'Affairs of Pirates', pp 72-74; Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, pp 124-138.
[1057] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council, 7 April 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, pp 186-188 Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 314.

concerned with the threat of being attacked by the Dutch, whom they had knowledge as being at sea with a fleet intent on attacking them. Skipwith recounted that the pirates headed for the safety of the coast of Spain (and then presumably to continue to Mamora in North Africa) but had given promises to return. At that stage Middleton and Curson had arrived into West Cork with the pardons for the pirates and Skipwith further informed the Lord Deputy that 'all the pirates are resolved to receive their pardon upon the conditions therein offered'.[1058]

What is curious about Skipwith's account to Chichester is that he concludes by suggesting what can only be construed as a double-cross, when he proposed that garrisons be placed in the harbours that were most frequented by the pirates and upon their return, they could then be 'assaulted by such forces as shall be sent against them'.[1059] Some years earlier Skipwith had negotiated directly with Richard Bishop in an attempt to persuade the pirate admiral to act as an intermediary between the crown and the confederacy. Indeed it was suggested at the time by Richard Moryson that if pardoned, use could be made of the pirates by employing them in the then intended plantation of Virginia, 'being active men and good mariners, hereafter when time shall wear out their former offences, with better desert in other countries not troubled so near at hand with their spoiling, they may return and prove necessary instruments of His Majesty's service'.[1060]

Middleton and Curson had headed to North Africa by 1611, in an attempt to negotiate with the pirates over there. No sooner had they landed in Mamora, then Middleton 'busied himself with extracting personal gratuity from the pirates' rather than offering the terms of the pardons that he had with him. He is recorded as going

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[1058] Capt. Henry Skipwith to the Lord Deputy, 2 October 1611, Kinsale, *Cal. Carew MSS. 1603-1623*, pp 120-121.
[1059] Ibid. p. 121.
[1060] Sir Richard Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609, Youghall, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 278.

as far as to encourage Captain William Baugh to take more prizes in advance of receiving his official pardon.[1061] When he returned to Ireland, Middleton continued to extort money from the pirates, one example being his demanding of more money from Captain Stephenson upon his arrival back into West Cork in 1612, having agreed when in Mamora to take the offer of a pardon.[1062] Middleton's and Curson's handling of the negotiations was severely compromised by self-motivation, a point not missed by Skipwith when he complained of both their behaviour.[1063]

Fresh pardons were offered to all the pirates in 1612, with the intention of facilitating further the return of goods to merchant owners, but instead and primarily through Middleton's double-dealing, extremely generous terms were offered where the pirates were allowed to keep their booty when issued with the newly extended pardons.[1064] Skipwith again noted the self-serving conduct of Middleton in the offering of such generous terms to the pirates but he was very soon thereafter to be called before the admiralty himself on suspicion of receiving pirate goods during the course of his own negotiations with them. He was not alone and William Hull is also noted as being implicated. Hull sold some of the booty in his keeping and Skipwith was ordered to pay for the goods he was found to have taken from German merchant, Harman Holtsho, whose ship had been plundered and the goods from which had been placed in Skipwith's care in Castlepark/Old Fort in Kinsale.[1065]

This insider dealing, as it were, also heightened the suspicions of a certain number of the pirates, with many distrusting the intentions of the crown, both on a

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[1061] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 314.

[1062] Examination of Stephen Davis of Bristol, merchant, 28 June 1613 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42, ff 186-187); Appleby, (ed.),*Calendar of Material*, p. 132.

[1063] Senior, ibid.

[1064] Ibid, p. 317; Senior refers here to HCA 30/858, bundle E. 1612-1620, containing papers reporting on how the pirates had to go to the High Court of Admiralty in London to claim their booty; the documents had been removed for conservation and could not be consulted at that time.

[1065] At the Court of Whitehall, 20 March 1613, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Duke of Lenox, Lord Chamberlen, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Worcester, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Zouche, Lord Knollis, Lord Wotton, Sir Julius Caesar, *APC 1613-1614,* pp 384-387.

local and central level, at that point. Peter Easton, Thomas Francke and Gilbert Roope left Ireland in advance of receiving their pardons, as they worried they would be swindled should they surrender. Though a pardon was finally granted for the three in 1612, Easton at that point, having grown tired of waiting for a pardon to arrive, had instead taken the offer of the duke of Savoy and settled in Villafranca in Italy. By the end of 1612 the majority of the pirates who formed the confederacy had surrendered either in England, Ireland or in Mamora and received pardons.

This should have seen the end to the pirate problem in the southwest, but through a combination of renéged terms, including not receiving their agreed share of booty or having been only given pay-offs rather than their pardons, many of the pirates returned to a life of plunder. A very interesting point noted by Senior is that by 1614 there had been a dramatic change in the command structure of the pirate alliance, with the main leaders like Bishop, Easton, Francke, Stephenson and Jennings pardoned, relocated elsewhere, settled in West Cork or executed at that point and a new captaincy was then in place. There were at least sixteen independent pirate captains commanding their own vessels, most of whom had not been prominent within the fleets of the confederacy in its heyday, though some names still reappeared, like Robert Walsingham for instance, but on a more independent, self-reliant level than before, one that was not supported by an alliance but operated more as a marauding pirate presence.[1066]

**The fall of Mamora, demise and acceptance**

In 1614 the Spanish sent a fleet of ships across the Straits of Gibraltar and attacked Mamora. The impetus for the assault was due in part to the sporadic attacks on its

[1066] Senior, 'An Investigation', p 150.

coastline by the Moriscos since their expulsion began in 1609, but also because of the constant attacks on its merchant shipping by pirates.[1067] Various attempts had been made over the preceeding years and several plans enacted to prevent Mamora from being used by the pirates. In 1611, for example, Spain tried blocking the harbour by sinking eight ships at the entrance. Though not fully successful, it did discourage some of the pirates from using the port and they began to look elsewhere in North Africa for safe ports.[1068] Following the fall of Mamora to Spain in 1614, many of the pirates shifted their theatre of operations further south to Rabat, but essentially the loss of their main, independent pirate base in Africa, spelled the end of free trade and seasonal settlement for the confederacy.[1069] It is interesting to note that just before Mamora was lost to the Spanish, the pirate captains there were still predominantly English, though Henry Mainwaring appears to have been among the pirate admirals leading the force at that stage. Within a list of captains among the admiralty records for the time are the names of John Collins as rear-admiral, Robert Walsingham in a ship of 100-tons, John Fleming with a ship of a similar tonnage and captains Richard Myagh and Christopher Thickpenny.[1070]

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[1067] David Goodman, *Spanish Naval Power, 1589-1665: Reconstruction and Defeat* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 16; Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government*, p. 13.
[1068] Piero Priuli, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the Doge & Senate, 30 July and 17 August 1611, *Cal S.P. Ven. 1610-1613*, entries no. 290 and 305 and Antonio Foscarini, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, 25 August 1611, ibid., entry no. 310.
[1069] Pennell, *Morrocco: From Empire to Independence* (Oxford, 2003), p. 94.
[1070] Senior, ibid. p. 151.



(plate 58) Mehdia castle today (Mamora) looking out over the River Sebu and western Atlantic, with gun emplacements still *in situ*.[1071]

The potential for utilizing the pirates' skills as mariners rather than executing them was proposed for several of the main pirate players frequenting the southwest, as has been discussed above, and indeed was clearly seen in the specific case of Captain Henry Mainwaring, whose knowledge of and background in the workings of the Pirate Confederation was ultimately used against the pirates themselves.[1072] This was a concept that was used as a diplomatic solution to such brigand activity elsewhere. In the 1620s, for example, Chinese officials dealing with their own pirate problems also engaged the pirates active in those waters in an effort to curb their activity. The pirates operating in the South China Seas at the time were given powerful posts as a means to persuading them to abandon their errant ways, much to the annoyance of the Dutch East India Company, which was eager to dominate the trade routes to China and which itself looked to liaising with the pirates to monopolise trade in the

[1071] I am very grateful to Professor C.R. Pennell for providing me with these images.
[1072] Henry Mainwaring, 'Discourse'.

region.[1073] It is perhaps noteworthy, though not surprising, that it was the Dutch in 1614 who had taken the most direct action to tackle the pirate problem in Ireland.

The pardoning of the pirates was not done in isolation, but the advantage gained by doing so was clearly evident to the political powers at the time. Not alone would it seek to disperse and split up the confederacy but many of the pirates themselves were accomplished mariners, whose skills as such could be put to good use. Skipwith too identified that the pirates, if pardoned, could have their uses: 'almost all the pirates are English, many of them good mariners, of whom necessary use may be made. This knot being broken, it will be long ere such a force be gathered together again.[1074] Richard Bishop's value was similarly recognised, being identified as a learned man: 'a man of such parts, and experience in that profession [mariner] that, if his courses of life were any way suitable to them, good use might be made of him in His Majesty's service'.[1075]

As discussed in earlier chapters, Bishop's 1614 deposition described him as a 'gentleman of Skull, aged about 52 years'.[1076] He is being referred to in terms of a respectable, English settler and a positive addition to the plantation endeavours. Again, Captain John Smith's reference to him in his *General History* and included in a possible list of retired pirates in North Africa, suggests that by 1630, Bishop was living out his days in warmer climes.[1077] This would leave and may well explain the

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[1073] T. Andrade, 'The Company's Chinese Pirates: How the Dutch East India Company Tried to Lead a Coalition of Pirates to War against China, 1621-1662', *Journal of World History*, 15, no. 4 (University of Hawaii Press, 2005), p. 415.

[1074] Capt. Skipwyth to the Lord Deputy, 25 July 1611, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, p. 90.

[1075] Sir Richard Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609, SP 63/227 f.91v (State Papers Online, Gale manuscript no. MC4347580473); Sir Richard Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, pp 277-278.

[1076] Deposition of Richard Bushoppe of Scull in Ireland, gent, 20 August 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/98 f. 213v)

[1077] Smith, 'The bad life qualities and conditions of pyrats', in *The General History of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Iles,* II, p. 280.

paucity in both the historical and archaeological records for Richard Bishop in Ireland following his pardoning by the crown.

From a social perspective, and very much in keeping with such a study of the piracy in the southwest of Ireland for the period, Claire Schen's analysis of the concept of 'forgiveness' for offences like piracy has shown that expressions of regret for such crimes committed, if thought to be genuine, could result in pardons.[1078] Recalling Mainwaring's view of *pulchrum scelus*, or 'noble crimes' being of a lesser offence when a certain code of practice was followed, such as not attacking fellow Englishmen, certainly made the decision to pardon individual pirates more palatable and easier to justify.[1079] This again, as discussed earlier, was clearly seen from the statement by Moryson in 1609, when he spoke of 'former offenses' being forgotten.[1080] Pardoning the pirates in the southwest ensured that the emerging population in the remote areas of Munster retained its sense of Protestantism and 'Britishness', with a view taken that the pirates were in fact an integral part of the local population and their settlement there showed that they retained their sense of 'belonging to household and local community'.[1081] The 'forgiving' of these individuals by government, where 'clemency went to the desperate and contrite or to those with something to offer', was vindicated by arguing that these British subjects could advance plantation and commercial undertakings not alone in Munster but, as Schen has pointed out, across the Atlantic as well. In claiming to have protected homeland trade, assisted with the repatriation of captives and having shown contrition

[1078] Claire S. Schen, 'Breaching "Community" in Britain: Captives, Renegades, and the Redeemed', in Michael J. Halvorson and Karen E. Spierling (eds), *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe* (Hampshire, UK and Vermont, USA, 2008), pp 230-231.
[1079] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 11.
[1080] Sir Richard Moryson to Salisbury, 22 August 1609, Youghall, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 278.
[1081] Claire S. Schen, 'Breaching "Community" in Britain', ibid.

for their crimes by offering service to the crown, the pardoned pirates ingratiated themselves and made the issuing of pardons easier and more acceptable.[1082]

Schen uses Walsingham as an example of a pirate who was an active member of these outcasts, even serving as part of an Algerine fleet at one point, but who ended up ironically serving in Robert Mansell's royal fleet and being one of the main players on the expedition to Algiers in 1622 to attack the Turkish pirate fleet there.[1083] It was Walsingham's protests that he had been forced into piracy in the first instance and then pressured into serving aboard the Algerine fleet thereafter, that allowed for his pardoning as he appeared contrite in his affirmations and honourable in his actions towards his fellow Englishmen. No doubt, as pointed out by Senior, it was Walsingham's specialized knowledge of the Algerine defences that were utilised for the expedition in 1622 and it was this that justified his pardoning and inclusion as part of the official fleet.[1084]

In 1618 Henry Mainwaring, perhaps the quintessential pirate-turned-pirate-hunter, published his proposed 'remedy' for defeating the pirates, which put forth that 'those that which are now out may be cut off, and those that are not yet may be prevented, which were both an honourable thing for the State, an acceptable thing to God, and a great benefit to all Christian Merchants'.[1085] Mainwaring's proposed handling of the pirate problem was predicated on his firsthand knowledge of the pirates themselves, many of whom, once pardoned, returned to piracy or at least, like Bishop, were later known to provide safe houses for active pirates when required.[1086] Essentially Mainwaring advised that any discussions with the pirates in the form of

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[1082] Ibid. p 246.
[1083] Oppenheim, *Monson Tracts*, III, pp 70-71; Claire S. Schen, 'Breaching "Community" in Britain', ibid.
[1084] Senior. 'An Investigation', p. 439.
[1085] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', II, Chapter V, p. 40.
[1086] Sir Oliver St. John, Lord Deputy of Ireland, to Winwood, 4 April 1617, ibid, pp 193-194.

negotiations or deal-making would prove useless, and he proposed looking at the whole pirate problem from its genesis to the suppression of existing pirates.

Mainwaring sought to address piracy at all levels including beginning with deterring individuals from taking up piracy in the first instance. To stem the number of unemployed mariners entering into piracy, he suggested empowering all admiralty officers in the ports of England and Ireland so that they could enquire as to the business of all mariners, whom they encountered, including those who were known ex-pirates. He proposed more stringent measures for Ireland due to its remoteness, and suggested that all those who were known to have been pirates should be made to live up to ten or twelve miles from the coast. He proposed the complete cutting off of all known pirates through a concerted and deliberate effort of removing them physically from Ireland; this he argued would ensure that they no longer held bases there and thus could no longer rely on local aiders and abettors. As he put it, if such action were taken, they [the pirates] would *Per simplicem desinentiam* – simply come to an end.[1087] Mainwaring's 'Discourse' was a useful guide but its actual practical success was certainly influenced but equally hampered by prevailing circumstances and individual personal agendas on a local level.

**Conclusion**

It is clear from the sources that many of the pirates, when pardoned, settled in the southwest of Ireland. Before that though many had already settled their families there, primarily because they viewed the area as a safe haven which was beyond the reach of official governance and where they could more easily visit and see their families. Captain Richard Robinson, who has been discussed above, had moved his family to

[1087] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 46, n4, 'By merely ceasing to exist'.

Ireland in 1608, when safety was envisaged and visiting them made easier. Similarly pirates like Richard Bishop showed a willingness to submit from a very early point in their Atlantic career, being subsequently viewed with integrity and respect as a settler and English planter, though retaining his hand in aiding and abetting when it suited.

What the examinations of pirates like Jennings and Harris show is just how incestuous piracy was in Munster at the time, where it was an acceptable local business, far removed and remote from central governance and thus more or less impossible to control or eradicate.[1088] This symbiotic affiliation went beyond the immediate boundaries of a localized relationship, however. Arriving into the Munster area at this same period were other English settlers as part of the ongoing plantation policy of the government, and by 1611 there were a reported 5,000 English households in Munster, most comprised of old, retired soldiers.[1089] Could the willingness of the pirates from this period to seek pardons perhaps reflect their recognition of the potential to settle locally but more importantly, legitimately, as 'old, retired pirates,' as Bishop eventually did?[1090] With the majority of the pirates being English, supported by influential backers in the admiralty officials who colluded with them, it suited crown purposes to allow some of the leaders of this errant alliance to settle outside of the areas of official plantation, in that it ensured that land held there was at least in English hands. Such holdings would then have formed part of the crown jurisdiction and would have afforded eventual returns to the exchequer.

It is perhaps this 'honourable crime' approach to pardoning the pirates from 1609 onwards that served to augment the settlement of English in the remoter parts of

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[1088] Examination of John Jennings, a pirate, before the court of admiralty, no date, ibid; Two examinations concerning pirates, taken before the E. of Northampton, ibid.

[1089] MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, p. 149, MacCarthy-Morrogh suggests that this figure was exaggerated.

[1090] Sir Oliver St. John [Lord Deputy of Ireland] to Winwood, ibid.

Munster and solidified the crown's plantation endeavours there. It also meant that knowledgeable mariners were in place in these remote harbours to encourage trade and partake in economic advancement whilst also ensuring that these skillful seafarers were now, in theory anyhow, acting on behalf of the official governing regime.

What James' government had not foreseen, however, was that the knowledge imparted by the English pirates in North Africa during their heyday in Mamora and along the northern coastline into the Mediterranean, had been adopted by Moorish coastal fleets, shipwrights and merchants and this experience was to be used against the Northern European states with impacts not previously contemplated. Piracy as the English crown knew it was to decline and change fundamentally, but piracy itself endured through the continuing collusion of local officials with successors to the Atlantic pirates. What re-emerged from the third decade of the seventeenth-century, was a formidable force comprising a multi-national pirate threat, one that proved particularly devastating to Baltimore Harbour and its English inhabitants in the year 1631.[1091]

[1091] See Appendix 5.

## *Chapter 7. Transformations: The End of the Pirate Era or Continuity through Change?*

> The Turks have also taken Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Portingales. The ships are now hovering off the coast [of Ireland], their crews consisting of several different nations.[1092]

### Closing chapters and opening paragraphs

Piracy in the southwest did not end with the pardoning of some of the main players in the confederacy. Indeed many returned to piracy after receiving their pardons and others, like Captain Peter Easton as discussed in previous chapters, chose to take up commissions elsewhere. The issuing of pardons raises the question did it allow lesser captains to rise to the fore as commanders and thus inadvertently encouraged a new era of piracy to emerge? Some pirates, once pardoned, settled but continued as aiders and abettors to those pirates then frequenting the Munster coast. Admiral Richard Bishop took his pardon from the king sometime around 1611 or early 1612 and settled on William Hull's estate.[1093] As was noted with the William Baugh affair, however, Bishop remained active even after his pardon in accommodating colleagues and acting as a type of intermediary between individual pirates and officials.[1094] Certainly in 1617 he was again implicated, when lord deputy Sir Oliver St. John wrote:

> This day I am advertised [by] letters from himself and from my Lord Boyle, [that] Sir Thomas Roper hath apprehended a notable pirate, one Fleaming, of the birth of this country [Irish]. He took him in th' house of one Cap[t.] Bishopp an old pardoned pirate, that lives suspiciously near Limcon and Scull Haven, ever plotting with and relieving of pirates, [not] withstanding that I have given often [ ] to the governors of these part[s]...an eye upon him. [1095]

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[1092] The Lord Justices and the Council to the English Privy Council, 10 July 1631, SP 63/252, f. 183.

[1093] Examination of Richard Millington, 21 August 1613, ibid.

[1094] Examination of Richard Millington, 21 August 1613 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42, f. 214r); see chapter 5 for an synopsis of the Baugh affair.

[1095] Sir Oliver St. John [Lord Deputy of Ireland] to Winwood, 4 April 1617, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, preserved at Montagu House, Whitehall, 1, 1483-1778* (Historic Manuscripts Commission, Canada, 2009) I, pp. 193-194.

Piracy thus continued, as did collusion and facilitation by those on land. This was no longer within a framework of an organised alliance of pirates, however, with captains, crews and fleets sailing in unison under an orderly command.[1096] Piracy now emerged on a more individual basis, where pirate captains, whether English, Dutch or those serving under the Muslim flag, did so with a small group of fellow pirates or as singular ships plundering and then trading their booty. The harbours of the southwest thereafter were not acknowledged bases, but did continue as viable trading posts and revictualling stations for pirates throughout the year. This persistence in piracy was assisted in no small measure by the continued presence of government officials remaining in office in the area, most of who were there during the heyday of the confederacy. Thus networks were maintained, symbiotically, between ex-pirates now settled in the area, the corrupt admiralty officers still in place and new faces entering the scene.

By 1611 other Atlantic pirates, who had operated primarily out of Ireland, had been executed or killed, adding impetus to the demise in the confederacy itself. These included Cornishman Captain Peter Boniton who had been captured off the coast of Spain, taken to France and executed in Marseille in 1609.[1097] Tibault Suxbridge, following a successful pirate raid around the Azores and as far away as the West Indies, travelled to Newfoundland in 1609. There he engaged with a French ship and in the ensuing battle was killed.[1098] John Jennings who has been discussed in earlier chapters, was executed at Wapping in London about the year 1610, his fate dictated by the competing political and personal agendas of the earls of Nottingham and

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[1096] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 165.
[1097] STC/725.15: A. Barker, *A True and Certaine Report of the Beginning, Proceedings, Overthrowes, and now present Estate of Captaine Ward and Danseker, the two late famous Pirates:from their first setting foorth to this present time* (1609), p. 25; Senior, ' An Investigation', p. 379.
[1098] Senior, ibid. p. 427.

Northampton.[1099] Thomas Sockwell or Salkeld, at one time the self-proclaimed king of Lundy Island off Wales, operated on occasion out of Ireland. Injured during a revolt by prisoners he was holding on the island, he sailed to Ireland where he went aboard Peter Easton's ship. Setting sail and when at sea, he is reported to have been thrown overboard by Easton.[1100] A 'Captaine flemming', captured by Sir Thomas Button in July of 1616 in the royal naval ship the *Moon*, was also executed 'in Chaines' shortly afterwards in Youghal, while most of his crew were hanged at the same time in Cork.[1101] This is most likely the same Fleming found in Richard Bishop's house in Leamcon. Following his capture, he was being sent to England but was recalled by the lord president of Munster, the earl of Thomond, to deal with him directly in Ireland under the newly enacted legislation on piracy.[1102]

The most fundamental change that was to take place in piracy from about 1615 onwards was that Englishmen no longer dominated North Atlantic piracy. Slowly it became more international and multi-national in character. While the economic incentives prevailed, the focus for many of those now involved also changed to include human cargo as part of the commodification of their unlawful trade. This intensified as time passed, with the growing magnitude of the new pirate problem being acknowledged in a report to the admiralty in September 1616 'the strength and boldness of the pyrats (or rather of the Turks) is now grown to that height, both in the Ocean, and Mediterranean Seas, as I have never known anything to

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[1099] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Earls of Salisbury, Northampton, and Nottingham, 16 April 1611, SP 63/231, f. 80r (State papers Online, Gale Manuscript No. MC4347680067).
[1100] Senior, ibid. pp 428-429.
[1101] D. Woodward, 'Sir Thomas Button, the Phoenix and the Defence of the Irish Coast 1614-1622', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 59, no. 3 (1973), p. 344.
[1102] Sir Oliver St. John [Lord Deputy of Ireland] to Winwood, ibid. p. 194.

have wrought a greater sadness and distraction in the Court, then the daily advice thereof.'[1103]

It is not the intention of this chapter to present a detailed history of the new emerging pirate threat, primarily from North Africa. This has been covered before and is a study in itself.[1104] It is also outside the period of study for this thesis, so any more than a brief overview as a means to emphasise continuity and change of piracy is superfluous. It is addressed in a general way here for two reasons. Firstly, to highlight that piracy continued though the altered nature of it presented different challenges for those continuing to deal with piracy in Ireland, plus it had direct impact on the settlement community within the study area that was significant. Secondly, it is an opportunity to suggest an alternative hypothesis to the events that led up to the Algerine pirate attack on the settlement in the Cove area of Baltimore in 1631. This is presented in Appendix 5 at the end of the thesis.

**The pirate threat remains**

A select number of other pirate captains who were prominent in the confederacy of pirates went on to forge legitimate maritime careers after they received their pardons. Henry Mainwaring was perhaps the most successful. He was in the northwest of

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[1103] Sir Francis Cottington, to the Duke, 1 October 1616, Madrid, *Cabala: Mysteries of State and Government in Letters of Illustrious Persons and Ministers* (London, 1663), pp. 217-218; Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government*, p. 2, 12.

[1104] See for instance: Lane-Poole, *The Barbary Corsairs;* G.N. Clark, 'The Barbary Corsairs in the Seventeenth Century', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 8, no. 1 (1944), pp 22-35; P. Earle, *Corsairs of Malta and Barbary* (London, 1970); J. Heers, *The Barbary Corsairs: Warfare in the Mediterranean, 1480-1580* (London, 2001); E. Bradford, *The Sultan's Admiral: Barbarossa – Pirate and Empire Builder* (London, 2009); A. Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary: Corsairs, Conquests and Captivity in the 17th-Century Mediterranean*, ibid.; Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government*, ibid.; N. Matar, 'The Barbary Corsairs, Charles I and the Civil War', in M. Birchwood and M. Dinnock, *Cultural Encounters Between East and West, 1453-1699* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2005), pp 239-258; more topically see: D. Ekin, *The Stolen Village: Baltimore and the Barbary Pirates*, ibid.; K. Smári Hreinsson and A. Nichols (eds.), *The Travels of Reverend Ólafur Egilsson: Captured by Pirates in 1627* (Reykjavik, 2008); I am grateful to Nigel Kelleher for sourcing a copy of this book.

Ireland awaiting his pardon, probably around Broadhaven Bay in Mayo in 1614.[1105] When he eventually received it in 1616 he went on to write his 'discourse', which he presented to the king in 1618 and was knighted in that year. He saw active service as commander in the royal navy, lieutenant of Dover Castle and was a member of parliament in 1621. In 1637 he was appointed rear-admiral in the navy, elevated to vice-admiral in 1639 and received his doctorate in physics from Oxford University in 1643. Throughout his naval career he was actively involved in numerous expeditions until his death in 1653, aged just 66 years old.[1106]

Robert Walsingham was also one of the leading captains. Captured out of the merchant ship the *Daisy* of London in 1611 off the Guinea coast by Easton, Walsingham chose to remain on with Easton to become an accomplished pirate in his own right. He served under Bishop and later Easton when he was admiral of the confederacy, but by 1614 he is listed as one of Mainwaring's captains in a ship of 100-tons based out of Mamora.[1107] He arrived into Berehaven sometime after 1617 seeking a pardon, but not before he had spent time pirating with a Turkish fleet.[1108] He joined the pirates in Algiers in 1614, following the fall of Mamora and by late 1616 he was reported to be commanding a Turkish fleet of six ships. By 1618 he was on trial for piracy in England and though found guilty, was never executed. He is next recorded as part of a naval expedition to Algiers in 1621, under Sir Thomas Button and it is more than likely that his knowledge of Algiers and the Barbary pirate operations there saved him from being executed. He was subsequently engaged as a commander in the king's navy. It was not to last however, as he is finally heard of in

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[1105] Oppenheim, *Naval Tracts*, III, 'Piracy in Ireland', pp 59-63; Mainwaring, 'Discourse' (*Cottonian MSS* Otho E/VIII, f. 330r-331v); Mainwaring, 'Discourse', pp 16-17.
[1106] For a full account of Mainwaring's life and exploits, see Mainwaring and Perrin, *Life and Times*, I.
[1107] Examination of William Jackson, 9 August 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/98, f. 211r-211v).
[1108] Senior, 'Robert Walsingham: A Jacobean Pirate', *Mariners' Mirror*, 60, no. 2, notes (1974), pp 141-142.

1622, a prisoner in the Tower of London on suspicion of returning to his pirating ways. Whether he was executed or not thereafter remains unknown.[1109]

From about 1615 onwards there was a concerted effort as central government sought to clamp down on those who were assisting the pirates and were enabling a continued ready market for their goods locally. For example, in 1616 the Lord President, the earl of Thomond received a set of sixteen instructions, part of which involved 'the apprehention of releevers of Pyrattes and to punishe seuerally anie that shall vpon anie pretence haue conference with them and to remoue all those that Dwell in places where Pyrattes Doe usually resorte or where they maye resorte'.[1110] The newly invigorated approach to tackling the pirate problem, including aiders and abettors, involved all government officials in the Munster area with instructions issued to admiralty officers accordingly. Those who were involved in direct dealings with the pirates came under more intensive scrutiny.

William Hull retained his position as deputy vice-admiral, ensuring Leamcon continued as a hub for trade and contraband. His lawful business interests were expanding at this stage also, and his links with investors, some of whom he had familial ties with, meant that he had a vested interest in remaining in West Cork, and therefore needed to stay in favour with the crown. By 1620 he was apparently acting as rent-collector for the southwest of Munster for Richard Boyle, the earl of Cork. As summed up by Appleby in his comprehensive account of Hull, his relationship with businessmen like Boyle meant that he could turn 'the illegitimate, irregular and increasingly tenuous business of piracy into more legitimate forms of enterprise,

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[1109] Ibid.

[1110] ffor the right honorable the earle of Thomond Lord Pesident of Mounster, [no date], Harlaein MSS, f. 199v, signed by Oliver St John; from Curtis Clayton, (ed.), *The Council Book of Munster*, p. 461.

revealing clearly the enduring importance of the relationships between family and fortune in seventeenth-century Ireland'.[1111]

While Hull sought to legitimize his affairs, pirates continued to frequent the southwest coast, including at Leamcon and at times Hull was, once again, under suspicion of collusion and now too under scrutiny for under-paying revenue returns to the Lord High Admiral, George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham, who had succeeded Nottingham in 1618. Hull was not alone in this issue and familiar names crop up, including Sir Lawrence Parsons, Thomas Roper and James Salmon, who was at that point stationed in Castlehaven.[1112]

One pirate in particular seems to have had frequent dealings with Hull from the mid-1620s onwards, to the point where Hull and Parsons acted on his behalf to ensure protection and secure a pardon. From the early 1620s Claus Campane, a Dutchman, was a frequent visitor to the southern coast of Munster, as was discussed in chapter 5 with regard to the value of his cargoes. He would offload his goods at Leamcon where he found an immediate buyers market waiting for him.[1113] From a number of other HCA examinations taken at the time, Campane was 'in Ireland' from April to June 1625, suggesting that he was able to access the coast with relative freedom of passage.[1114] He frequented the area around Roaringwater Bay, the old haunts of the confederacy, but is also reported as calling to other harbours, including

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[1111] Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates', pp 87-88.
[1112] Inquiries to be made to certain Rewards for Connivance taken by Sir Laurence Parsons, Vice-Admiral of Minister and Sir William Hull, without making any account to the Lord High Admiral Buckingham, [undated] 1627, SP 63/268, f. 118r-119r (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4348080227).
[1113] The Names of those who bought Goods of the Pirate Campane at Lymecon, in the West of Ireland, [?] 1625, *Cal S.P. Ireland, 1603-1625* (State Papers Online, Gale Calendar no. MC4347701417).
[1114] Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, pp 154-155, 304.

Dingle in Kerry and Killybegs in Donegal.[1115] He thus had a broad stretch of coastline at his disposal.

Campane was referred to as the 'great pirat Campaan' who possessed two ships, the 'Admiral' of 400 tons, with 35 pieces of ordnance and a crew of 80 men and the 'Vice-Admiral' of 220 tons, carrying 26 guns and with a complement of 40 men, most of whom were Dutch and Germans, but with about a third being English and Irish. An account from 1625 detailed 'where he has a rendevous is in Ireland betweene the Long Iland and the mayne [mainland] there he is greatly favored by one Sir William Hull'.[1116] While the same account lists Campane's extensive seasonal plundering routes, that ranged from the coast of Barbary, Spain, the Straits, France, England, Ireland and back to Barbary, it infers that there was some semi-formal gathering point at Leamcon at least where he was concerned. This would further substantiate Hull's continued efforts as a 'fence' or intermediary, known to deal in plundered goods and laundered cargos at agreed prices to interested local parties, with Leamcon acting as the collection point.[1117] Campane's success as a pirate meant that he was known for his rich cargoes, no doubt the reason why officials held him in such high esteem. Following one plundering expedition he had in his hold 'seaven hundreth and tenn pound weights of Barbary gold in ducats, barres and grayne [dust] betweene five and six hundreth weighte of silver and much monies besides of English coyne'.[1118]

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[1115] Lord Falkland to Nicholas, 17 May 1626, SP 63/242,f. 280 (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347880318); Lord Falkland to Lord Viscount Killultagh, 2 May 1626/7, SP 63/244, f. 248 (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347880662).

[1116] Relation of the wrongs done by the great pirat Campaan, aswel upon Inglish shipps as other, [undated, 1625?], SP 16/522, f. 190r-191r (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4326080368).

[1117] The Names of those who bought Goods of the Pirate Campane at Lymecon, in the West of Ireland, ibid.; see chapters 5 and 7 for a list of those named.

[1118] Relation of the wrongs done by the great pirat Campaan, f. 190r.

One of Campane's ships was lost when trading in the area around Long Island or Leamcon, his 'prize had sunk in the harbour of Lymecon in three or four fathoms'.[1119] The potential cultural value of finding the remains of a ship like this to both the historical and archaeological record would be enormous. This is particularly so when the quantity and quality of cargo reported as being onboard is considered, but so too would be the knowledge from the investigation of the wreck itself, including the type of ship and its construction details. This potentially could begin to fill a gap in the record of shipwreck archaeology for vessels of this period, particularly in Ireland where we have very little physical evidence for ships or the goods they traded from the early part of the seventeenth century. While depth levels will vary in the intervening centuries since its loss, the depth described suggests that if evidence of the ship remains to be discovered, it may lie within 18-24 feet or 6-8 metres of water.

A recent discovery of a previously unknown wreck in Long Island Sound, to the immediate west of Schull harbour at Colla Point, dates to this period and lies in 8m-10m of water. Generically called the Colla Wreck, pending more definitive information, the site was discovered during the archaeological monitoring of dredging works of a trench to house a sewage outfall pipe. The site is currently being investigated under the direction of maritime archaeologist Julianna O'Donoghue, who also discovered the wreck. Though at an early stage of exploration, it presents as a substantial wooden wreck the majority of which is buried beneath the seabed.[1120] Following impact by the dredger a number of ship timbers and artefacts were recovered in the dredge bucket. Dredging operations were suspended and the material examined. Several of the timbers are of exotic hardwood, possibly teak or mahogany

[1119] The Names of those who bought Goods of the Pirate Campane at Lymecon, in the West of Ireland, SP 240, 12A, 1625, ibid.; *Cal. SP Ire. 1615-1625*, ibid., p. 560.

[1120] J. O'Donoghue, 'The Colla Wreck: Rapid Archaeological Assessment Report' (Unpublished Interim Report, Cork, July 2012), pp 1-19; I am very grateful to Ms. O'Donoghue for allowing me access to the material from the wreck site and providing me with a copy of her report.

pointing to a possible African origin for the ship. The size of several of the timbers, including a keel fragment and large knee assembly suggests a sizeable vessel.



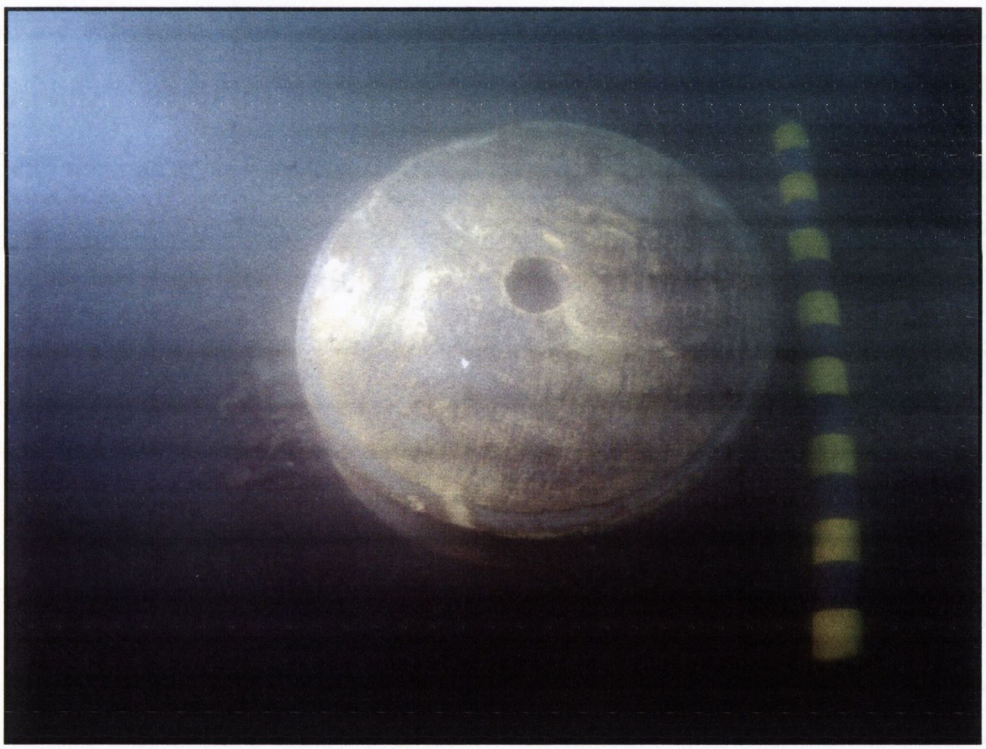
(plate 59) Remains of coconut recovered from the wreck site that has been opened and eaten.[1121]

Several barrel staves, lids and hoops were recovered inferring that the ship carried coherent barrels on board. The hoops are of hazel and withy construct, pointing to an earlier date for the barrels (sixteenth or early-seventeenth centuries) than would be for later iron hoops. A number of fragments of Seville olive jar ware were also recovered, again giving a late-sixteenth or early seventeenth century date and of particular interest were seven husked coconuts that formed part of the more striking material recovered from the wreck site to date. One of the coconuts had been cut open and its internal flesh eaten, providing an immediate tangible link to someone on board who helped themselves to the exotic food source (plate 59). The presence of

[1121] I am grateful to Ms. O'Donoghue for supplying me with images of artefacts from the wreck site, including that of the coconut.

*teredo navalis* or shipworm on several of the timbers informs that the ship had spent time in warmer waters, where such marine borers would have originated at that time.[1122]

It is too early to say anything substantive about the Colla Wreck other than it is the remains of a large wooden ship from the latter part of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth centuries (plate 60). The material recovered to date, the remains of the barrels, pottery and coconuts, suggest a possible merchant ship carrying trade goods, some of which like the coconuts may have come from the Caribbean or North Africa.



(plate 60) A wooden sheave used as part of the rigging on the ship, from the Colla wreck site.

[1122] Ibid. p. 6; the term 'naval shipworm' is a generic term whereas *teredo navalis* is in fact a wood boring bivalve mullusc, just one of a large corpus of *teredo* species; its original geographic origin is given as the warmer waters of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, but over the past couple of centuries, with the increase in shipping, it has populated other seas, including in more recent times examples of the living organism being found in the Baltic and North Sea areas; see D. Gregory, 'Shipworm (Teredo Navalis), Wreck Project: www.europ-aliens.org/pdf/teredo_navalis.pdf; also K.N. Hoppe, 'Teredo Navalis – The Cryptogenic Shipworm', in E. Leppäkoski, S. Gollasch and S. Olenin, (eds.) *Invasive Aquatic Species of Europe, Distribution, Impact and Management* (Dordrecht, 2002), pp. 116-119; D. Gregory, 'Shipworm Invading the Baltic?', notes, *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology,* 39, no. 2 (September 2010), p. 431.

Its location within Long Island Sound, its depth and its date, however, along with the potential that the timber used in building the ship came from North Africa and the cargo on board may also have come from there, provides a tantilising possibility that it may be the remains of a pirate vessel or a vessel brought in as a prize by pirates. What needs to be discovered to identify it as such, and more specifically Claus Campane's lost prize, remains to be seen, but investigations continue and with ongoing discoveries, may provide further insights into the Colla Shipwreck site and perhaps the piracy that continued in the area at the close of James IV's and I's reign.

**Conclusion**

With the demise of the confederacy of pirates in the southwest of Munster came a change in predation, both in who was involved and how it was operated. Many of the known pirates received pardons, others were executed and others again continued pirating but under other nations' flags. Piracy thus continued but in a transformed way, with the new threat now coming from North Africa and the Barbary corsairs. New pirates dominated the scene, of all nationalities, with Dutchmen like Claus Campane sailing their own course and acting as independent operators. Or English pirates like John or Robert Nutt sailing in unison with Muslim colleagues to scout the southern coast of Ireland, sometimes with devastating results. The Algerine raid on Baltimore in 1631 is well documented but there is scope for reinterpretation of some aspects of the story, based on new archaeological and cartographical evidence and perhaps this may help to further inform on that famous event.[1123]

[1123] See Appendix 5.

Collusion with local officials adjusted accordingly to facilitate dealing with new pirates on the scene and many of the noted collaborators continued to become wealthy through this bustling underground economy. William Hull maintained his office as deputy vice-admiral and as one of the main middlemen in pirate affairs. While he looked to legitimise and expand his commercial ventures, he also ensured that Leamcon retained its position as a hub where pirate booty could be landed, traded and dispersed. Hull's familiarity with Claus Campane and the efficient manner in which the pirate's cargo was sold, points to the continuation of a well-established network that fed into an existing vibrant and ever-present black market.

## *Chapter 8. Conclusion*

> We do not follow maps to buried treasure, and 'X' never, ever marks the spot. Seventy percent of all archaeology is done in the library. Research. Reading.[1124]

The combining of the disciplines of history and archaeology lie at the heart of this study. History, combining contemporary and modern sources, provided the written evidence. It informed and elucidated on the pirates of the confederacy and their associates in the southwest while archaeology was undertaken to identify material cultural remains for those individuals and their activities. Bridging the gap between the two disciplines was the inclusion of cartographic sources, in particular a chart from 1612 commissioned by the Dutch to map the pirate harbours of Baltimore, Leamcon and Crookhaven.[1125] The chart provided an immediate link to the pirates and their area of operations. Other inputs that added hugely to the study included the consideration of the geographic and taxonomic details pertaining to this maritime landscape that in turn was supported by local knowledge frequently resulting in clarifying historical accounts, affirming the use of known sites within the landscape and the locating of new ones. The amalgamation of information from documented accounts, the physical evidence on the ground and local knowledge led to a far better understanding and comprehension of the pirates, their political and economic connections and the landscape in which they operated.

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[1124] Indiana Jones. 1989. *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade*. Screenplay by Jeff Boam, story by George Lucas and Menno Meyjes; http://archaeology.about.com/od/quotations/qt/quote74.htm; this quote is included, not as a glib comment, but to underpin one of the key findings of this study – that history is needed to study piracy from this period but equally, archaeology can be the tangible link to the written word.

[1125] John Hunt 1612 chart 4, page 20, H. Gerritzsoon/John Hunte, 1612, ibid.

**Research outcomes**

This is the first examination undertaken in Ireland to combine history and archaeology in a targeted and rigorous study of piracy and pirate landscapes. Such a study is long overdue. The study presents fresh insights into why and how the pirates operated. It informs on the places they visited, settled, traded, the types of goods handled and networks that were in place to dispose of such booty. The nature and extent of this industry has been teased out, with the key individuals involved looked at afresh. Primary historical sources were consulted, not least the High Court of Admiralty and State Papers; secondary sources that have previously highlighted the importance of documentary sources like those of the HCA similarly formed a critical part of the research for this thesis. In particular the works of Clive Senior and John Appleby are acknowledged as being primary sources in their own right for any study of the pirates for that time in Ireland. In turn these combined sources were used to inform on the potential for cultural evidence on the ground and act as guides to where such evidence may be.[1126]

It has been discussed in the opening chapters of this thesis that the influx of pirates into Ireland from the period when James VI and I joined the two crowns was not an isolated event. Part of the impetus was the new king's outlawing of privateering allied with his clampdown on piracy in the ports and harbours of southwest England. It went beyond this however, with the motivations of many who moved underpinned by the opportunities that were opening up to acquire land, wealth and status under the Munster plantation but also as part of expanding maritime networks and commercial empires across the Atlantic.[1127] When looking at the literal

[1126] Please refer to the introduction for a full listing of all reference used from Senior and Appleby.
[1127] M. MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland 1583-1641* (Oxford, 1986), pp 171-190, 347-363; Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*, pp 199-200; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp ?87-100; Fuchs, 'Faithless Empires', pp 45-49..

definition of piracy for that time, it is obvious that the Atlantic pirate alliance straddled several elements of what has been described as types of piracy. These include officially sanctioned piracy, commercial piracy and deep-sea marauders, with each having its own key ingredients.[1128] It comes as no surprise that the piracy of the early seventeenth century traversed these varied modes of defined piratical activity, in that the pirates were part of a process involving wider political, economic and social developments taking place at that time throughout the North Atlantic and touching on the New World, East and West Indies, North Africa and the Mediterranean. This was a period of emerging merchant empires and expanding nation states, not least among them Britain who looked to dominating the trade routes of the Atlantic. Though the pirate menace was a headache for the crown, it also served to interrupt trade with common enemies, particularly Spain; the movement of pirates to Munster facilitate the colonial endeavours of the plantation policy there and the sheer volume and diversity of goods being traded in the small, remote harbours of West Cork ensured that, unofficially, the requisite payments were made into the admiralty purse.

The pirates too identified the chance to not alone tap into but directly influence the expanding underground market for plundered goods that had ready agents in natives and newcomers, lay settlers and government officials in the region. The southwestern coastal fringe of Munster was not unfamiliar to the pirates. Indeed many of them had been frequent visitors over the course of their earlier careers as privateers and would have known the suitability of this remote coastal landscape to allow a continuation of their life at sea, albeit now as outlaws and outcasts to legitimate society. What set the piracy apart was the sheer number of men then involved in that illegal activity and the co-ordination of these men to act in alliance

[1128] Richie, *Captain Kidd*, pp 17-26.

with each other.[1129] Key individuals dominated, including Richard Bishop, their admiral, Vice-Admiral Peter Easton and Rear-Admiral Thomas Francke. Operating under these three men were many more captains and crews, predominantly English, who could plunder individually but who also came together into a confederacy that ensured safety in numbers and proved to be impossible to eradicate.[1130]

A loophole in the law in Ireland allowed the pirates to operate openly, until the law was changed in 1613 with the 'Act for Suppressing Piracy', which came into force in 1614.[1131] This legal gap was an added inducement to these men to use the southwestern harbours, in particular Baltimore, Leamcon and Crookhaven, as their summer headquarters. Their operations were seasonally-based, frequenting southern harbours in Ireland during the summer months and then moving to Mamora on the Northwestern African coast and to Harbor Grace in Newfoundland during the remainder of the year.[1132] Many chose to settle, either permanently or transiently, in Munster and some brought their families to live at Leamcon and Baltimore.

Integral to the success of the pirate confederacy was the local populace – not least government officials like Thomas Crooke of Baltimore and Deputy Vice-Admiral William Hull of Leamcon – to act as middlemen in a bustling trade in plundered goods. Crooke established one of the most successful plantations in Munster, while Hull was sent over to Ireland tasked with tackling piracy but instead became so ingrained in it that he was the main fence in a highly lucrative black market trade that fed his own personal wealth whilst also providing essential funds as venture capital. The study has discussed how characters like these, along with other

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[1129] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 362.
[1130] 'A note of the Pirates', undated but possibly May 1610 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1610, HCA 1/47, f. 105), signed by Richard Kerry
[1131] [1131] Costello, 'The Court of Admiralty', p. 78 and *The Court of Admiralty*, pp 41-42; Senior, ' An Investigation', p. 114; Appleby and O'Dowd, 'The Irish Admiralty', p. 301, 305.
[1132] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p.p14-17, 20-24, 25-40, 48.

official colleagues, were so intrinsically involved with the pirates that it was difficult at times to tell who was pirate and who was not.

Ireland was strategically located within the North Atlantic trading routes and the ports and harbours of the southern coast were perfectly placed to accommodate outward and homeward ships plying their trade.[1133] Contemporary commentators noted the suitability of many of the smaller harbours like Baltimore for ships, trade and safe anchorages.[1134] It was into these harbours that the pirates moved their base of operations; the remoteness coupled with available infrastructure meant they were beyond the scope of central government control but had the necessary requirements to allow their business of piracy to flourish. Local officials too were able to control these harbours without being under the watchful eye of Lord Deputy Chichester in Dublin or the high court of admiralty in London. The lord high admiral himself, the earl of Nottingham, however, was not averse to taking his share from plundered goods and there is evidence that he sent his agents, in particular Humphrey Jobson, to Ireland to continue liaising with the pirates in this regard.[1135]

**Networks of people, goods and sites**

What has been identified previously and has again been looked at anew in this study is the complexity of characters involved in the business of piracy in the southwest during the early seventeenth century.[1136] The complicated nature of these relationships, that clearly crossed the divide between legal and illegal, appears to have been normal practice in government circles and certainly a way of life in remote coastal regions. What seems to be clear when looking at the dispositions of those

[1133] Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates'.
[1134] Boate, *Ireland's Naturall History*, p. 20, 22.
[1135] Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral*, p. 76.
[1136] Appleby, 'Nursery of Pirates'; MacCarthy-Morrough, *Munster Plantation*.

involved, combined with the geographic extent of the pirates' hunting grounds and the types of sites revealing themselves within this pirate landscape, is that a network of communication existed that ensured the successful operation of this commercial underground network. What the true nature of this was, from a political, economic and social perspective, warrants much closer scrutiny.

It has been shown that resident officials in West Cork were connected through family ties.[1137] From a business standpoint, individuals were similarly connected. For example, Humphrey Jobson and Sir Ralph Bingley were involved with the Virginia Merchant Venture Company alongside James Duppa, a known pirate and who, with his brother Michael, spent time pirating with William Baugh and Henry Mainwaring off the coast of North Africa between 1612 and 1614.[1138] Certainly when looking at the later period, when Dutch pirate Claus Campane brought his goods into Leamcon in 1625, the efficiency with which the goods were unloaded, sold and distributed was remarkable.[1139] Connections between individuals included external links, for example to the goldsmiths in Cheapside in London. Tallied wth this, an earlier 1610 list of pirate captains also contains connections to goldsmiths in London. Finally, a member of Richard Bishop's crew admitted buying stores for 'his uncle of Cheapside [ ], a gold smith'. All these strongly suggests a longterm, well-established business network existed that elevated the business of piracy to the level of a well-run commercial industry.[1140] The social, economic and political significance of such a network, if it existed to the degree and over such an extended period that is suggested by the

[1137] Please see chapters 3 and 4 for a more in-depth discussion on this.
[1138] Jamestown Society, *Qualifying Ancestors: Stockholders in the Virginia Company*; Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 107, 151, 388-389.
[1139] The Names of those who bought Goods of the Pirate Campane at Lymecon, in the West of Ireland, [?] 1625, *Cal S.P. Ireland, 1603-1625*; Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates'.
[1140] 'A note of the Pirates', undated but possibly May 1610 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1610, HCA 1/47, f. 105).

contemporary accounts, would present an even more multifaceted view of the pirates' operations in Munster during that time.

Certainly integral to the success of the pirates, as has been seen, were the requirements within a given landscape that allowed them to operate.[1141] For trade networks to exist on the ground ships had to to dock and cargo landed. Pirates needed to access the coast and in turn, those waiting on land need to rendevous at the arranged time. A conclusive result from the research undertaken is the identification of what can be termed an ideal pirate landscape. Even to the present day, the rugged Munster coast is open to exploitation by those looking to act outside the law within the remote regions of this wild and isolated coastline.[1142] The study has shown that within the coastal areas of the southwest, sites were strategically placed. Coastal access points like the many hand-cut steps and platforms facilitated access to or from the coast, allowing covert activity in the dead of night, with many having associated natural caves and caverns that could have been used for the temporary storage of goods. Quays, docks and landing stages in established estates and harbours, like that at Leamcon, point to legitimate usage. When viewed in tandem with the historical accounts for the volume of piracy at William Hull's estate, however, their placement within this maritime landscape takes on heightened and enlightened meaning and interpretation.[1143]

It remains difficult to associate directly sites such as docks, quays and rock-cut steps with the period of the pirate confederacy, due primarily to the complexity of acquiring a sound date for them. Some sites though, due to their very nature and

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[1141] Semple, 'Pirate Coasts'; Galvin, *Patterns of Pillage: A Geography of Caribbean-based Piracy'*, please refer to chapter 2.

[1142] South coast exposed as drug smugglers' gateway, Irish Independent Newspaper, 7 September 1998; http://www.independent.ie/national-news/south-coast-exposed-as-drug-smugglers-gateway-431873.html

[1143] The Names of those who bought Goods of the Pirate Campane at Lymecon, in the West of Ireland, [?] 1625, *Cal S.P. Ireland, 1603-1625*; Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates'.

location within the landscape, can be at least attributed to illicit activity during some period in the past. The rock-cut steps at Gokane Point in Crookhaven and at Dutchman's Cove in Castlehaven are prime examples. The geographical setting and physical attributes of the steps point to past covert usage. Smuggling would be the most obvious, but pirated goods were more than likely brought ashore there also. The remote and precipitous nature of the Crookhaven steps, hewn out of the rock at such an acute angle that allows only singular access to a cavern beneath, would have necessitated the use of ropes to move any material to or from waiting vessels. Positioned in such a windswept, isolated location on a headland with no known associated settlements or industrial sites, infers determined clandestine usage. The steps would have enabled such activity, probably at night as being the preferred time for landing and collecting goods as indicated in Mainwaring's account of piracy and by various examinations contained in the admiralty papers at the time.[1144] While many were no doubt also used for legitimate purposes, the spatial location of some of these sites suggests something mysterious and not wholly legal.

Dutchman's Cove site is located at an oblique angle, behind a rock outcrop that separates the steps from the open harbour, thus providing shelter and seclusion. Above the steps are the lantern or candle niches that would have guided in a ship's boat with its booty, again presumably in the dead of night. The placement of the niches ensured that only those on the water would have been able to see the leading lights. This therefore points to prior knowledge of their existence and, again, an onshore network in place to guide in boats and crew. The deliberate placement of the light niches would again suggest illegal usage, for smaller vessels that would otherwise have had to land at the quays in the upper harbour in Castlehaven. It is

[1144] Mainwaring, 'Discourse', p. 17; Examination of John Hoskins, of Plymouth, 19 August 1613 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42, f. 201-202v); Examination of Richard Millington, 21 August 1613 ibid.

argued therefore that the location of the steps and position of the light niches presents evidence for piracy and smuggling within the confines of Castlehaven harbour. While it is equally acknowledged that this argument requires testing against similar sites, no parallel sites that comprise rock-cut steps and light niches have been identified to date.[1145] A targeted excavation around the upper levels of the site and perhaps submerged parts of the Dutchman's Cove steps may reveal artefactual material from users in the past that could date them to a particular period.

With sites that are directly associated with known pirates, as indicated in the historical accounts, it is argued that positively calling these places 'pirate sites' also has its difficulties. Historical sources place Canty of Canty's Cove in West Cork in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century and local tradition refers to him as a pirate, albeit not a very respected one.[1146] William Hull's deposition mentions a Daniel Canty from there in 1641.[1147] The Cove would have been a perfect pirate harbour, if the attributes for such places were considered.[1148] The lookout capabilities afforded by the elevated position of his house on its promontory overlooking Dunmanus Bay, the secluded nature of the harbour that ensured shelter and anonymity, control and defence, made Canty's Cove the prototype pirate lair within which he could operate successfully. The geographical setting of the cove facilitated the opportunistic interception and plundering of ships passing up or down Dunmanus Bay and hints at strategic planning as a pirate base.

More intensive investigation at Canty's Cove, including archaeological excavation may produce evidence for the alleged plundering background to Canty and

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[1145] It is the author's contention that similar sites do exist but as this is the first time that sites like this have been archaeologically assessed, in Ireland if not elsewhere, many more await discovery.
[1146] John Hawke, 'Canty's Cove', pp 292-302.
[1147] Sir William Hull knight & one of his Maiesties Councell of Mounster, 22 October 1642, Deposition of William Hull, ibid., f. 253r.
[1148] Semple, 'Pirate Coasts of the Mediterranean Sea', pp 134-151; Galvin, *Patterns of Pillage*, pp 8-19.

his activity there. One aspect of Canty's Cove could be critical here. It is by tradition a site associated with piracy from the general period of this study and one whose proximity to places like Leamcon meant that there would have been sharing of knowledge and interchange between individuals at the time, but it remained a Gaelic-Irish site. There is the opportunity therefore to reveal evidence for possible patterns for clandestine trade in a site that has not been officially influenced by new English 'civilizing' policy or settlement under the Munster plantation. It may offer a chance to identify 'artefact markers' that can then be compared with similar evidence elsewhere, but where such identifiers for possible piracy are in the context of ancillary activity rather than primary practice.[1149] The results of such an investigation could be extremely useful to a study such as this one but also to a wider study base as it could inform on early modern piracy that straddled the divide between traditional Gaelic-Irish maritime predation plus government plantation policy and the global piracy that came in with the settlement régime.

**Evidence for decline and demise?**

In 1614 several key events assisted with influencing the decline in piracy at that point including the attack on Crookhaven by the Dutch, the fall of Mamora to the Spanish and the coming into force of the Piracy Act in Ireland. Other elements too, however, played their part. Such were the numbers of pirates in Munster that the king was forced to offer a pardon as a mechanism to encourage pirates to give up their errant ways and become legitimate settlers. This, allied with the opportunities now open in successful New World colonies like Virginia, probably influenced individuals to consider more legitimate lifestyles. Many pirates chose to accept pardons and settle

[1149] Ewen,'Introduction', in Skowronek & Ewen, *X Marks the Spot*, p. 7; Killock and Meddens, 'Pottery as Plunder', pp 1-9; Finamore, 'A Mariner's Utopia', ibid, *X Marks the Spot*, pp 64-78; Hatch, 'Material Culture and Maritime Identity', *The Archaeology of Maritime Landscapes*, pp 217-231.

in Ireland, like Richard Bishop and Richard Robinson, while others like Peter Easton and Thomas Francke chose to continue under the flag of other nations.

There is a distinct probability that evidence exists within the landscape specific to members of the Atlantic pirate alliance, but how this can be positively identified is one of the archaeological questions posed by this study. The next question then arises as to how does one recognize a pirate or a pirate site in the archaeological record?[1150] How would it present itself? Unfortunately such questions are fraught with difficulty. If seeking to find evidence for the pirates, the lack of information from the sources for where dwellings were located makes tracing this on the ground a challenge. In death, the transient nature of hanging places or lack of detail on where such individuals were buried once more leaves very little to work with archaeologically.

Of the pirates researched or mentioned in the study who settled in West Cork, only one has an identified resting place, that of Richard Robinson, who was pardoned and then settled with his family in Munster. He was recorded as being buried in April of 1611 in St. James' cemetery in London. Would this then constitute the final resting place of a pirate, or of a pardoned pirate, or indeed a legitimate settler who at one time in his life practised piracy?[1151] An excavation of sites that are traditionally known to be burial places of sailors and pirates, such as that on the beach at Ballyrisode in County Cork as discussed in chapter 7, may at the very least confirm if it is a gravesite. Should it prove to be it may inform on how the individual or individuals died but may not enlighten on who they were or their profession before their ultimate demise. Such investigation could, at the very least, clarify local tradition but may not, by itself, illuminate on the written history for the pirates in the area.

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[1150] Ewen, ibid. p. 7.
[1151] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 423.

There is scope elsewhere too, again through targeted research, survey and investigation of particular sites like hanging places and execution locations within a landscape or the reinterpretation of results from archaeological sites already investigated. The latter certainly pertains to a long-awaited study yet to be done of seventeenth-century or earlier prostitution in Ireland. Pirates and prostitutes made illicit bedfellows and the historical study of one, at least in a coastal context, could inform on the other. Contemporary accounts of prostitution in Munster in the early seventeenth century linked it directly to the piracy there, and traditionally it is similarly associated in literature, drama and popular culture.[1152] Contemporary documents contain accounts of women involved in this trade and which have yet to be fully studied, though Appleby's work has been the first to do so with respect to the period of the confederacy.[1153] Within the High Court of Admiralty papers there are examinations of women, many of whom may have been wives, mothers, sisters or related in some way to the events at that time and may themselves have been involved in the sex trade.[1154] Again the combined disciplines of history and archaeology would present the most holistic approach to such a study, with history once more informing the archaeology for potential sites within a given landscape and archaeology providing evidence to verify the written accounts.

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[1152] By the Vice-President and Council of Mounster, 26 August 1610, signed Edw: Harris, *The Council Book of Munster*, p. 72; J. Smith, 'More rude and anticque than 'ere was Sodom', Piracy and the Tavern Community in Port Royal, Jamaica, 1680-1692 (Distinction paper, Minnesota, 2010), pp 1-44.

[1153] Appleby, 'Women and Piracy in Ireland', in *Bandits at Sea*, pp 288-292; the topic of women, piracy and their contribution to maritime history has been looked at generally, see for example: D. Cordingly, *Women Sailors and Sailors' Women* (New York, 2001) and U. Klausmann, M. Meinzerin and G. Kuhn, *Women Pirates and the Politics of the Jolly Roger* (New York, 1997), the latter publication is at times somewhat confused, with rather narrow referencing material and with too much reliance on some sources, such as Captain Charles Johnsons' (Defoe) *A General History*.

[1154] HCA 13/24, 1579-1583 and 13/25, 1583-1586 were briefly accessed for this study and contain a number of depositions of women, including possible Irish women among them, from the latter part of the sixteenth century and may contain valuable information on prostitution for that time, though not necessarily specific to Ireland.

Similar archaeological questions can be asked in regard to 'pirate ships'. The maritime archaeological landscape includes the cultural seascape, which was the theatre for pirate action and therefore the sea and its material cultural environment is vital to any pirate landscape study.[1155] It was within this environment that the pirates and their ships were true to the pure definition of piracy – that of robbery on the high seas. Evidence for the ships they sailed is inconclusive, worldwide, apart from one or two sites that have been positively archaeologically identified as ships used by known pirates.[1156] To specifically link a vessel or the remains of a vessel to a pirate or a pirating event has proven extremely challenging generally. For example while the ship during its use may have been a warship or a merchant vessel, following capture or command by a pirate the specifics of the ship itself may not change. If subsequently wrecked, the archaeological remains when discovered will still present as a warship or an armed merchantman. Modification to suit the purposes of the pirate commander and its use as a pirate vessel may assist in attributing some link thereafter, though the alterations to the ship would need to be traceable in the historical record. The modified elements to the vessel may then be identifiable in the material cultural remains. Captain Peter Easton refitted the captured *Concord* in 1611 to enhance its fighting ability, and it is feasible that such modification if recorded could be traceable.[1157]

The identity of pirate Captain John Bowen's 500-ton ship the *Speaker*, lost in 1702 off the coast of Mauritius, has reputedly been identified in this way, through the use of official records that informed on cargo from other plundered ships, the

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[1155] Michelle Marco, 'The Seascape and Meaning in Maritime Archaeology', Archaeology 6011 (University of Southampton, 2010), pp 1-14. http://www.academia.edu/Papers/in/Nautical_Archaeology?page=4

[1156] De Bry, 'Christopher Condent's *Fiery Dragon*', in Skowronek & Ewen, *X Marks the Spot*, pp 100-130; Christopher E. Hamilton, 'The Pirate Ship *Whydah*', in ibid, pp 131-159.

[1157] Capt. Skipwith to the Lord Deputy, 25 July, 1611, SP 63/231, f. 166r-167r (State Papers Online, Gale Document no. 4347680208).

construction of the ship itself and the type and size of guns on board.[1158] Thus particular artefactual markers, combined with historical accounts for changes to the ship or its on-board cargo, can assist with identifying a ship and its previous use. Similarly from the material recovered from the wreck off Saint Mary's Island, Madagascar, certain patterns in the artefactual material recovered have been used to identify it as the remains of pirate Christopher Condent's ship the *Fiery Dragon*, lost there in 1721.[1159] It is perhaps a model approach like this that would need to be taken if archaeologically investigating potential sites for the pirates in Munster; this would support an informed judgment on what may signify 'pirate archaeology'.

Certainly with the two wrecks discussed in this study, the Colla Wreck and Dunworley Bay Wreck, both lie within a given area where historical accounts record the loss of ships associated with particular pirates, that of John or Robert Nutt in Dunworley and Claus Campane in Leamcon.[1160] While both wreck sites date to the correct periods for those pirates and have artefactual assembleges that could have been on a ship involved in piracy at that time, it is not yet possible to confirm their direct association. The Dunworley Wreck has a mixture of guns and appears to be of Dutch construction, while the Colla Wreck produced a diversity of early seventeenth-century pottery and exotic cargo, including Iberian olive jars and coconuts that could have come from North Africa or the Caribbean. All could be put forward as artefact markers that help to form a pattern for piracy, but equally they could represent armed merchant vessels that were lost on homeward journeys or had been taken as prizes and were subsequently wrecked.

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[1158] Patrick Lizé, 'The wreck of the pirate ship *Speaker* on Mauritius in 1702', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 13, no. 2 (1984), 121–132; 'Piracy in the Indian Ocean: Mauritius and the Pirate Ship *Speaker*', in Skowronek and Ewen, *X Marks the Spot*, pp 81-99.
[1159] De Bry, ibid.
[1160] Please see chapter 7 and Appendix 5 for these two shipwrecks.

What the remains of these two wrecks contribute to this study is the information they provide on ships and shipping for the particular period, including the guns and cargoes carried, when piracy was still very much a feature of maritime activity along the southern coastline.

The romantic view of pirates has lasted through the ages, to be commemorated, ironically, by governments and states that perpetuate the idealistic image of the pirate from the past, with places being named after them and representations made of them, like Easton being cast in bronze in Newfoundland and Mainwaring's name and ship cast on gold and silver banknotes in Antigua and Barbuda.[1161] While this is indeed an endearing image, it is only by undertaking studies such as this one that we can continue to re-evaluate our existing view of pirates in the past. Renewing the ways we study aspects of piracy, applying new methodologies and integrating existing disciplines can lead to new understandings of the pirates themselves and their place in the historical and cultural landscape.

The findings of this study have contributed to current knowledge and will add new information to existing mindsets. Equally, it is admitted that it has thrown up more questions, but this was to be expected and is welcomed. This will enhance further our understanding of piracy and the material cultural landscape that was its North Atlantic theatre of operations.

The questions raised should prove to be the foundation for future historical and archaeological research that carries on the investigation of this fascinating topic, continuing to prove that the heyday of the confederacy of pirates in the southwest in the early seventeenth century can be thus considered Ireland's Golden Age of Pirates.

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[1161] These form part of the Leeward Islands of the Lesser Antilles; Horwood and Butts, ibid. p. 22; Antigua and Barbuda 100 gold and silver dollar issued for the year 1981 depicting Sir Henry Mainwaring and the *Resistance* (Government of Antigua and Barbuda); http://www.banknotes.com/agcs5t.htm.

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#### Trinity College Dublin

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***Appendix 1: Inventory of known pirates who operated in Ireland.***

Clive Senior has provided a comprehensive bibliography of the known English pirates operating out of England, and thus by extension, out of Ireland, for the early to mid-seventeenth century.[1162] He drew mainly on criminal records and the civil examinations of the High Court of Admiralty for this. Senior detailed the limitations of his work as well as giving the reasons for his inclusion of the individuals within his Appendix II.[1163] It is not the intention therefore to reproduce Senior's information in its entirety. Rather, and as a means to giving a general overview of the men who were classed as pirates and who frequented the coast of southwest Munster during the study period, Senior's work is drawn upon to assist with an inventory of these individuals. This is given below. Unless otherwise stated all information used is from Senior's work. Individuals are included that have not been mentioned within the text of this study but are listed to highlight the sheer numbers of men active in piracy around the Munster coastline during the period of the early seventeenth century.[1164]

The inventory contains basic information, in alphabetical order, under specific headings as a mechanism to allow a general overview. Where headings are left blank no information was traceable.

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[1162] Senior, Appendix II: Biographical Notes on English Pirates 1603-1640, in ' An Investigation', pp 370-443.

[1163] Ibid. pp 370-372; readers are advised to refer to Senior's work for specific sources and to Vol. I of this thesis for further information on individual pirates listed here.

[1164] Senior calculated that in all 728 individuals were indicted in the High Court of Admiralty for piracy during the period 1603-1640; the names of another 500 offenders, though not indicted, appear in other sources. He gives a number for the pirates known by name as not exceeding 1,250 for that time period and of those he included 175 in his Appendix II; he further clarifies that of those 175, only 80 individuals were ever actually indicted; ibid. p. 371.

## ***Pirate Inventory***

**Arthur,** Richard

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:*[1165] | Possibly from Plymouth. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1611-1612. |
| *Associated pirates:* | Peter Easton; Thomas Francke. |
| *Places associated:* | Leamcon. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |
| *Ships associated:* | In command of a French prize in 1611. Surrendered this vessel to Wm. Hull in Leamcon |
| *Settled or transient:* | Seasonal visitor.[1166] |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Surrendered in Franckes' ship the *Fortune* in 1612. Pardoned in that year. |

**Barret,** John

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | Possibly from London (though name may suggest an Irish connection). |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1605-1610 |
| *Places associated:* | West Cork, Mamora. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |
| *Ships associated:* | Captain Thomas Coward's ships; later the *Swan* of Dunkirk. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Seasonal visitor. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | |

**Barry,** Lording (also named Ludowick).

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | From London. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1608-1618. |
| *Places associated:* | Cork (prob. West Cork) in 1609; Berehaven in 1615. |
| *Position held:* | Captain; playwright. |

[1165] It cannot be said with certainty that the individuals came from their stated places of origin, as most are referred to as being 'of' a place within the HCA examinations, e.g. 'of Barnstable' and this may be referring to their last place of work rather than their birthplace.

[1166] This term is used to cover pirates who were calling to the Munster coast during the course of a season but not remaining in the area for any length of time.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ships associated:* | Captain Harris' ship the *Fly*, in West Cork 1609; brought 100-ton ship into Berehaven in 1615. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Seasonal visitor. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Surrendered in Ireland in 1615. Never indicted; recorded as dying in *c.* 1629. |

**Bastfield,** Lambert

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | From Liverpool. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1612. |
| *Places associated:* | West Cork. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |
| *Ships associated:* | Ship surprised by Dutch captain Moy Lambert while being careened; Bastfield escaped; captured a Dutch vessel in Dublin. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Seasonal visitor; captured by Moors and held prisoner. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Serving in a Turkish men-of-war; goes off record after 1618. |

**Baugh,** William

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | Not specified. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1610-1613. |
| *Places associated:* | Leamcon, Innishannon and Kinsale. |
| *Position held:* | Rear-admiral in Easton's fleet |
| *Ships associated:* | Commanded a ship of 160-tons mounting 18 guns; *Bull* of Dieppe in 1612; surrendered in Kinsale in the *Archangel* of Lübeck. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Settled in Innishannon, near Kinsale. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Pardoned in 1612 but died in debtors' jail in 1619.[1167] |

**Bingley,** Sir Ralph — See Appendix 2

[1167] Sir John Finet to the earl of Salisbury, 27-29 October 1619, *Cal. of MSS of the most Hon. Marquis of Salisbury, 1612-1668*, 22, (State Papers Online, Gale Document no. MC4332200202), p. 96.

**Bishop,** Richard

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | From Yarmouth. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1603-1611. |
| *Places associated:* | Leamcon, Long Island, Baltimore, Crookhaven. |
| *Position held:* | Admiral of the Atlantic pirate alliance. |
| *Ships associated:* | The *Black Bishop*; the *Blessing*. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Settled on William Hull's lands at Leamcon/Schull. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Possibly pardoned in 1612; may have ended his days in North Africa.[1168] |

**Boniton,** Peter

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | From Cornwall. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1608-1609. |
| *Places associated:* | Baltimore. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |
| *Ships associated:* | |
| *Settled or transient:* | Seasonal visitor. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Executed in Marseilles in 1609. |

**Bonnage,** Gabriel

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | Not specified. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1603-1613. |
| *Places associated:* | Leamcon. |
| *Position held:* | Master's Mate under Captain Tompkins; master under Francke; Captain after 1610. |
| *Ships associated:* | |
| *Settled or transient:* | Transient but spent time when ill in Leamcon, under protection of William Hull in 1611. |

[1168] Smith, 'The bad life qualities and conditions of pyrats', in *The General History of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Iles,* II, p. 280.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Still pirating in 1613, indicted in that year; fate unknown.

**Bray,** Walter

*Nationality:* Not specified.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1611-1614.

*Places associated:* Limerick in 1614.

*Position held:* Chief officer under Easton from 1611; Captain Townes' lieutenant in Limerick in 1614.

*Ships associated:*

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:*

**Brooks,** Thomas (fl. 1612-1614?)

*Nationality:* Not specified.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1612-1614.

*Places associated:* 'Ireland'

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:*

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:*

**Brown,** Gregory

*Nationality:* From Plymouth.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1606-1608.

*Places associated:* Baltimore.

*Position held:*

*Ships associated:*

*Recorded retirement/demise:*

**Cade,** Samuel

*Nationality:* A 'Barnstaple mariner'.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1603-1616.

*Places associated:* Leamcon from 1609.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Position held:* | Part of several crews, including Harvey's and Barry's; used by Humphrey Jobson as go-between, who boarded the pirate ships and negotiated the price of booty. [1169] |
| *Ships associated:* | |
| *Settled or transient:* | Settled in Leamcon for a time. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Pardoned in *c.* 1614 but had returned to pracy by 1616. |

**Campane,** Claus[1170]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | Dutch. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1615-1625. |
| *Places associated:* | Munster, Dingle in Kerry, Broadhaven in Mayo. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |
| *Ships associated:* | 'Admiral' ship of 400 tons, with 35 pieces of ordnance and a crew of 80 men and the 'Vice-Admiral' of 220 tons, carrying 26 guns and with a complement of 40 men. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Seasonal visitor. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Pardoned in 1626 by the Dutch States-General. |

**Cary,** Captain

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | No specified. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1615. |
| *Places associated:* | Munster. |
| *Position held:* | |
| *Ships associated:* | |
| *Settled or transient:* | Unknown. |

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[1169] See also Account by Richard Kerry, 29 January 1609, (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 1/47, 81v-82r).

[1170] Virginia Lunsford, *Piracy and Privateering in the Golden Age Netherlands* (New York, 2005), see for instance 'Introduction', pp 1-6; a biography of Captain Claeu Compaen has been published in Dutch, see *Begin, Midden en Eynde Der Zee-Rooveryen van den Mlderfamieusten See-Roover Claes G Campaen* (*The Beginning, Middle and End of the Pirate Career of the Most Famous Pirate Around, Claes G. Compaen), 1659,* again see Lunsford for details; See chapter 7 of this thesis for a discussion on Campane.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Still alive in 1628, recorded as 'that old arch-pirate'.

**Connello,** William?

*Nationality:* Not specified (though name may suggest an Irish connection).

*Flourished:* *c.* 1603-1605.

*Places associated:* Wexford, captured there in 1605.

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:*

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Indicted in 1605 but probably released.

**Coward,** Thomas (fl. 1604-10)

*Nationality:* Possibly from Bristol.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1604-1610

*Places associated:* Kinsale, Youghal, Limerick, Inishboffin, Co. Galway.

*Position held:* Ship's master in 1606; Captain by 1607 and served under Easton from 1609.

*Ships associated:* The *John*, in Easton's fleet; the *Swan* in Inishboffin in 1610.

*Settled or transient:* Captured in 1610 off Galway, sent to London.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Convicted and hanged at Wapping in 1610.

**Drake,** Arthur

*Nationality:* Uncertain, recorded as a Plymouth mariner and as only 'Negro' to have held a position of importance on a pirate ship.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1603-1609.

*Places associated:* With Jennings in Limerick in 1609.

*Position held:* Part of crew.

*Ships associated:*

*Settled or transient:* Probably a seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* May have received a pardon from earl of Thomond after his capture with Jennings in Limerick in 1609.

**Easton,** Peter

*Nationality:* 'Of Dartmouth'.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1607-1613.

*Places associated:* Leamcon, Baltimore, main base in Newfoundland.

*Position held:* Vice-admiral under Bishop ; became admiral of the Atlantic pirates in 1611.

*Ships associated:* The *Concord* from 1611.

*Settled or transient:* Had house in Leamcon.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Settled in Villafranche, under duke of Savoy and retired there.

**Ellis,** John (may have been more than one with this name, records could be confused)

*Nationality:* From Plymouth.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1606-1619.

*Places associated:* Leamcon and Baltimore.

*Position held:* Captain under Mainwaring in 1616, one of the captains within main Atlantic alliance, including serving under Francke in 1609.

*Ships associated:* 300-ton Flemish vessel at Mamora in 1613.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Probably executed for piracy in 1619.[1171]

**Exton.** John

*Nationality:* From Taunton, Somerset.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1602-1608. Early pirate.

*Places associated:* In Baltimore in 1605.

*Position held:* Captain by 1606.

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[1171] D. Woodward, 'Sir Thomas Button, 'The Phoenix and the Defence of the Irish Coast 1614-1622', *Mariner's Mirror*, 59, no. 3, (1973), p. 344; this account is taken from the papers of Lionel Cranfield, part of the Sackville MSS, ON 7125.

*Ships associated:* The *Green Dragon* of Flushing in 1606.

*Settled or transient:* Occasional visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:*

**Finch/Fidge,** John

*Nationality:* Possibly from Boxley, Kent.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1606-1613.

*Places associated:* 1608 on the River Shannon, near Limerick.

*Position held:* Captain under Bishop and later served under Easton; associated with William Baugh's crew in 1612.

*Ships associated:*

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Possibly given an earlier pardon but returned to piracy and may have been executed in Spain after being captured in 1613.

**Fleming,** John

*Nationality:* Probably born in Ireland.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1614-1616/7.

*Places associated:* Leamcon/Schull, Youghal.

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:* *Mary Anne* of Milton, brought into Ireland in 1616.

*Settled or transient:* Captured in Bishop's house in 'Schull' in 1616.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* May be same Fleming captured in Youghal in 1616 by Thomas Button and hanged there in that year.[1172]

**Ford,** Thomas (Captain Ford)

*Nationality:* From London or Plymouth.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1604-1615.

*Places associated:* Leamcon, Baltimore, Irish Coast.

---

[1172] Woodward, 'Sir Thomas Button, the Phoenix and the Defence of the Irish Coast 1614-1622', ibid.

*Position held:* Part of Jenning's crew in 1605; lieutenant in Easton's fleet when in Ireland and made captain by Easton by 1613.

*Ships associated:* The *Angel Gabriel* of Hamburg in 1614, under Walsingham.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Surrendered with Easton at Villafranche in 1613 but may have continued piracy under Walsingham. Probably hanged in England in 1615.

**Francke,** Thomas

*Nationality:* Not specified.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1606-1614.

*Places associated:* Leamcon, Baltimore,

*Position held:* Rear-admiral to Bishop in the Atlantic alliance.

*Ships associated:* 1610 as rear-admiral, commanded a 200-ton flyboat of 20 guns and 100 men; took command of the *Fortune* from Stephenson in 1611; the *Geranium* under the duke of Florence from 1614.

*Settled or transient:* Frequent visitor and may have lived in Leamcon during summer period.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Refused a pardon, sailed under Easton from 1613; may have retired to Florence.

**Gay,** Arthur

*Nationality:* Not specified.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1609-1612.

*Places associated:* Leamcon, Baltimore, Berehaven.

*Position held:* Captain by 1611.

*Ships associated:* Captain of a 200-ton ship in Easton's fleet in 1611, the *Francis* (alias the *Recovery*).

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Captured with Sammes at Berehaven but released. Accepted pardon from Middleton and surrendered at Plymouth in 1613.

**Gunter,** Mathew

*Nationality:* Possibly from Southwark in London.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1613-1625.

*Places associated:* Cork, Broadhaven.

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:* In 1613 was commanding the *Elizabeth* (alias *Providence*) around coast of Ireland.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Possibly same pirate executed in Cork in 1625.

**Harris,** James

*Nationality:* From Bristol.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1605-1609.

*Places associated:* Leamcon, Baltimore.

*Position held:* Served under Bishop; captain by 1607.

*Ships associated:* A pink by 1607; a Flemish ship by 1608.

*Settled or transient:* Living in Leamcon during summer period.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Captured by Wm. St. John in 1609; sent to England but Northampton recommended a reprieve; was probably hanged under orders of Nottingham.

**Harvell,** William (may be confused in records with William Harvey)

*Nationality:* From Plymouth/Staffordshire.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1609.

*Places associated:* With Bishop in Baltimore and Leamcon.

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:* Commanded a Dutch ship of 100-tons and 16 guns.

*Settled or transient:* Possibly living in West Cork during summer period.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Not reported.

**Harvey,** Phillip

*Nationality:* From Plymouth.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1607-1610

*Places associated:* Leamcon.

*Position held:* Possibly serving under Exton in 1606 and later under Suxbridge in 1608-09.

*Ships associated:* The *Son* of Flushing in 1609.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor; died in Ireland.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Surrendered to Wm. St. John in Leamcon in 1609; was too ill to be sent to England and is recorded as dying in Ireland in 1610.

**Harvey,** William (may be confused in records with William Harvell)

*Nationality:* Possibly from Staffordshire/Plymouth.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1602-1612.

*Places associated:* Leamcon, Baltimore, Munster coast.

*Position held:* Referred to as Easton's vice-admiral.

*Ships associated:* Captained from 1611-1612 the *Valentia*, the *Lion Dore (D'Ore)*, the *Elizabeth*, an Irish vessel & the *Margaret*.

*Settled or transient:* Built house in Leamcon.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Received pardon from Middleton in Ireland in 1612.

**Heriot,** George/James

*Nationality:* May have been Scottish.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1623-24. Later pirate.

*Places associated:* General coastal waters of Ireland.

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:*

*Settled or transient:* Visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Arrested in Ireland in 1623 but released. Later executed in 1625.

**Holcomb,** Edward /Richard

*Nationality:* Not specified.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1603-1612.

*Places associated:* In Ireland by 1609 with a French prize.

*Position held:* Probably captain under Easton.

*Ships associated:* The *White Swan* of Amsterdam in Easton's fleet.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Probably pardoned following surrender in 1612.

**Hughs,** William

*Nationality:* From London.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1611-1612.

*Places associated:* Leamcon.

*Position held:* Lieutenant to Hussy; then Captain.

*Ships associated:* The *Black Raven* of Hoorn in 1611, probably a 250-ton Flemish ship of 28 guns and 6 fowling pieces; afterwards captained a 160-ton Flemish ship of 16 guns.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Accepted pardon in Leamcon in 1612 and may later have taken up a royal command.

**Hull,** Sir William See Appendix 2.

**Hussy,** Thomas (fl. 1605-1611)

*Nationality:* From Fowey.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1605-1611.

*Places associated:* Leamcon and Baltimore.

*Position held:* Captain under Stephenson from 1610.

*Ships associated:* Purchased share in the *Black Raven*, ship went to Hughs upon his death.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Wounded in a battle with the Dutch in Mamora in 1611 and died in his cabin.

**Isaac,** Roger

*Nationality:* From Plymouth.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1606-1608.

*Places associated:* Baltimore, Kinsale.

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:* 1606 captain of the 60-ton *Greyhound*; 1607 was in Baltimore in the ship *Bear*.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Pardoned, served as a soldier in North Africa and probably killed there.

**Jennings,** John

*Nationality:* From Portsmouth.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1604-1610.

*Places associated:* Leamcon, Baltimore, Limerick, Erris in Mayo.

*Position held:* One of the leading pirate captains.

*Ships associated:* The *St. Anne* of Roscoff given to him by Robinson in 1607; in 1609 he commanded a 300-ton ship in Ireland.

*Settled or transient:* Regular visitor and may have stayed during summer months.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Surrendered in Limerick to earl of Thomond in 1609, sent to England. Northampton recommended a reprieve but was hanged in 1610 at Wapping, probably under orders from Nottingham.

**Jolliffe,** Edward

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | From Portsmouth. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1609-1615. |
| *Places associated:* | Leamcon, Baltimore. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |
| *Ships associated:* | By 1613 in charge of a 300-ton Flemish ship and 60-ton French ship; also captaining a Dutch flyboat called the *Angel*. A reference in 1614 to him as captain of a 160-ton Flemish ship in Mamora. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Recorded as living openly in Leamcon. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Captured in Chichester in 1614 and hanged at Wapping in 1615. |

**Latimer,** First name unknown

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | Not specified. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1612. |
| *Places associated:* | Recorded as emigrating to Kerry with his family sometime before 1612; Tralee. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |
| *Ships associated:* | Unknown but surrendered his vessel in Tralee in 1612. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Possibly settled in Tralee, County Kerry. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Pardoned in 1613. |

**Lawrence,** First name unknown

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | From Dover. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1614-1615. |
| *Places associated:* | Probably coast of Munster. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |
| *Ships associated:* | Commanded a ship under Alcade of Sally from 1614. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Seasonal visitor. |

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Captured in Ireland by Dutch in 1614/5, possibly during attack on Crookhaven.

**Longcastle,** William (used alias of Captain Davis)

*Nationality:* From Plymouth.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1602-1609.

*Places associated:* Kinsale and Baltimore.

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:*

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Captured in Cornwall in 1609, tried and hanged at Wapping in that year.

**Lumley,** Henry

*Nationality:* From Liverpool.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1609.

*Places associated:* Leamcon.

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:*

*Settled or transient:* Probably settled in Leamcon; engaged by Humphrey Jobson to negotiate with other pirates for pardons.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Unknown.

**Mainwaring, Henry**

*Nationality:* From Peover, Cheshire.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1612-1616.

*Places associated:* Baltimore, Broadhaven.

*Position held:* Captain, admiral; had own pirate fleets.

*Ships associated:* The *Resistance* from 1612.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal and frequent visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Sought pardon and granted in 1616; knighted in 1618.

**Millington,** Richard

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | From London. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1612. |
| *Places associated:* | Leamcon, Baltimore, Kinsale. |
| *Position held:* | Captain and vice-admiral to Baugh. |
| *Ships associated:* | The *Cat* in 1612. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Probably living in Munster during summer months. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Probably pardoned after surrendering in Kinsale in 1612. |

**Miller,** Captain

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | No specified. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1610-1613. |
| *Places associated:* | Munster. |
| *Position held:* | One of Baugh's captains. |
| *Ships associated:* | The *Lion* of 30 guns and the 30-gun *Whelp*. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Seasonal visitor. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | |

**Myagh,** Patrick/Richard

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | Irish, from Crookhaven, Ireland. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1601-1614. |
| *Places associated:* | Crookhaven, Leamcon, Baltimore, Mamora. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |
| *Ships associated:* | Captain in 1613 of a French ship manned by an English, Irish and Dutch crew; 1614 captained a 180-ton Flemish vessel in Crookhaven; ship wrecked in Crookhaven. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Lived in Crookhaven. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Surrendered in Crookhaven in 1614 to seek a pardon but killed during Dutch attack on harbour in that year. |

**Norman,** John

*Nationality:* Not specified, but may be from Corfe in Dorset.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1629-1633, later pirate.

*Places associated:* Around coast of Ireland.

*Position held:* Captain and vice-admiral to Robert Nutt.

*Ships associated:*

*Settled or transient:* Transient visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Reported as lost at sea in 1633.

**Nutt,** John

*Nationality:* From Lympstone, Devon.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1621-1633.

*Places associated:* Baltimore, Kinsale.

*Position held:* Leading captain.

*Ships associated:* May be an associated wreck in Dunworley Bay, County Cork; known to have commanded three ships.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor, but had a wife in Berehaven.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Reputed to have received a pardon in 1623 but may still have been an active pirate thereafter around Ireland.

**Nutt,** Robert

*Nationality:* Not specified.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1631-1632.

*Places associated:* Ballinskelligs, County Kerry to Kinsale, including Crookhaven, Long Island Sound and Baltimore.

*Position held:* Captain, among most famous of pirates during reign of Charles I; in 1610 served under Richard Bishop in Ireland.

*Ships associated:* Served aboard the *Diamond* of Lyme Regis in 1610; commanded two privateers in 1620s.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Pardon offered in 1632 but was reported to have been executed in Spain.

**Parker,** ? (known as Captain Parker, but several with this surname at the time).

*Nationality:* Not specified.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1609-1611.

*Places associated:* Baltimore, Leamcon.

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:* The *Black Raven*, which he sold to Hussy and Hughs in 1610.

*Settled or transient:* Regular visitor and may have stayed during summer months.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Killed at Mamora in 1611 during attack by Dutch.

**Plumley,** Lewis

*Nationality:* From Dartmouth.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1607-1611.

*Places associated:* Baltimore, Leamcon.

*Position held:* Master to Harvey in 1608 and part of Suxbridge's crew in same year; served under Bishop in 1609. Captain of his own ship by 1610.

*Ships associated:* Owned the *Willmott* of Topsham in 1607 which sank. In 1610 commanding the *Raven* of 30 guns.

*Settled or transient:* Frequent visitor and may have stayed in Leamcon during summer months.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Killed in Mamora in 1611 during Dutch attack.

**Reis,** Murat (Murad, Morat), original name Jan Janszoon[1173]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | Dutch, renegade. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1618- *c* 1641. |
| *Places associated:* | Iceland, south coast of England, south coast of Ireland, North Atlantic region. |
| *Position held:* | Commander of Turkish/Algerine fleet and president of the government of pirates in Salé |
| *Ships associated:* | |
| *Settled or transient:* | Transient, raider. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Old man in 1641, acting governor of Oualidia, Morocco; no record thereafter. |

**Roberts/Robinson,** Richard

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | Born in Shropshire. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1606-1611. |
| *Places associated:* | Baltimore, Leamcon. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |
| *Ships associated:* | In 1607 had a 240-ton flyboat in Baltimore and in the same year also brought in the *St. Anne*, which he gave to Jennings. Commanded the *Bull, Bear and Horse* of 120-tons and 24 pieces of ordnance, was taken by the navy when he surrendered in 1608. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Settled his family in Leamcon. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Surrendered in 1608 but on a list of pirates in 1610. Examined but released. Died in 1611 and buried in St. James, Garlickhithe, London. |

**Roope,** Gilbert

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | From Devon/Dartmouth. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1605-1612. |
| *Places associated:* | Baltimore, Leamcon, Limerick. |

[1173] Philip Gosse, *The History of Piracy* (New Mexico, 1990), pp 54-58; Jan Rogozinski, *The Wordsworth Dictionary of Pirates* (New York, 1995), p. 172.

*Position held:* Master to Jennings in 1607; captain by 1608.

*Ships associated:* The *Jacob* of Rotterdam in 1610, *St. John Evangelist*, the *Bishop* and *Katherine* of Olonne, of 50 tons in 1612.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal but frequent visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Surrendered with Jennings in 1609, may have been pardoned through the earl of Thomond. Pirating under Easton by 1610 but seems to have been again pardoned by 1612 when in Kinsale with Baugh.

**Sammes,** Captain

*Nationality:* Not specified.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1609.

*Places associated:* Berehaven.

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:* His ship wrecked in Berehaven in 1609 but captured another in the harbour; in command of a French prize later in the year at Leamcon.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Reported as killed by 1610.

**Smith,** William

*Nationality:* Not specified.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1611.

*Places associated:* Leamcon.

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:* Reported as commanding a Friesland ship under Easton in Leamcon in 1611.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor, in Leamcon with Hughs and Stephenson in late 1611.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Most probably pardoned by 1612.

**Sockwell,** Thomas (also spelled: Suckwell, Salkwell, Sackwelle, Sawkell, Salkeld, Salkell)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | Probably from London, but of Lundy Island fame. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1606-1610. |
| *Places associated:* | Munster and East coast of Ireland between 1609-1610. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |
| *Ships associated:* | The *Jacob* of London. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Seasonal visitor. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Part of Easton's crew in 1610 but was thrown overboard by Easton in that year. |

**Stephenson/Stevens,** Roberts

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | From King's Lynn. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1609-1612. |
| *Places associated:* | Leamcon,, Baltimore, Bantry. |
| *Position held:* | 1609 mentioned as part of Bishop's fleet at Leamcon. Captain by that year. |
| *Ships associated:* | 1611 gave the *Fortune* to Francke and took the *Flying Cow* of Amsterdam as his own ship. He renamed this 200-ton flyboat, that mounted 24 guns, the *Thomas*. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Probably living in Leamcon with Bishop. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Pardoned by 1613. |

**Suxbridge,** Tibalt (also spelled Tabaull Saxpidge, Saxbitch)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | Lived at Ratcliffe. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1606-1609. |
| *Places associated:* | Leamcon, Baltimore, Dublin. |
| *Position held:* | Master to Robinson in 1608 and captain by 1609 alongside Easton. |

*Ships associated:* The *Brave*, taken in 1608 and given to Thompson in Baltimore; the *Content* in Baltimore in 1609.

*Settled or transient:* Spent both winters and summers in Munster, may have had home in Leamcon with family moving to Dublin after 1609, as wife and daughters running a boarding house there from 1612; possible safe-house for pirates.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Killed in an encounter with a French ship near Newfoundland in 1609.

**Sweden,** Captain (fl. 1607).

*Nationality:* Not specified.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1607.

*Places associated:* In Ireland with Isaac in 1607.

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:* Given the *Greyhound* by Isaac when in Ireland.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Unknown.

**Thickpenny,** Christopher

*Nationality:* Not specified.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1609-1614.

*Places associated:* Youghal, probably Baltimore.

*Position held:* Captain. Referred as serving under Easton in Newfoundland in 1612 and later in Mamora in 1614 as a leading pirate captain.

*Ships associated:*

*Settled or transient:* Unknown but operated openly in Youghal.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Unknown.

**Thompson,** William

*Nationality:* North of England.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1606-1610.

*Places associated:* Baltimore and Leamcon

*Position held:* Master to Robinson in 1607 but captain of his own ship in 1608.

*Ships associated:* The *Brave*, given to him by Saxbridge in 1608 but returned the ship to its rightful owners in 1609 in return for a pardon.

*Settled or transient:* Settled in Leamcon with his family, under protection of Richard Jobson. May have served on a jury in Sherkin Island for Jobson.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Betrayed by Wm. St. John and taken to England in 1610; Thompson's house in Leamcon raided by then vice-admiral Izon Kempe. Thompson tried and hanged in Wapping in October 1610.

**Tindal,** Robert

*Nationality:* Not stated.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1612.

*Places associated:* Kinsale, Baltimore and Leamcon.

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:* French bark, the *Morris* in 1612.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Surrendered in Fowey in 1612 and probably pardoned.

**Tompkins,** Thomas

*Nationality:* Lived in Southampton, of noble background.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1603. Early pirate.

*Places associated:* Munster.

*Position held:* Captain.

*Ships associated:* The *Margaret and John*.

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Indicted as late as 1610, convicted but reprieved by the king because of his family connections.

**Townes,** Anthony

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | No specified. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1603-1614. |
| *Places associated:* | Limerick, Munster coast. |
| *Position held:* | Captain as early as 1602. |
| *Ships associated:* | A 25-ton pink in 1602; the *Wagon* of Emden in 1604; the *Swan* of Shoreham in 1613 and brought it to Limerick; the *Ann* of Chichester, captured in Limerick and in 1614 marauding off the coast of Russia in a 200-ton ship. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Seasonal visitor. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Not known. |

**Tucker,** Thomas

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | Mariner of Newcastle. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1611-1616. Pirate career was extensive. |
| *Places associated:* | Leamcon, Baltimore, Broadhaven. |
| *Position held:* | Master's mate to Easton in the *Concord*; Captain by 1613. |
| *Ships associated:* | The *Lion*, formally Woodland's ship; the *Holy Lamb* of 120-tons in 1614, wrecked in a storm in 1615. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Seasonal visitor. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Captured in 1615 and sent to London; pardoned in 1616 under the general pardon offered to Mainwaring. Employed in Denmark but was recognised for previous piracies again Danish shipping, was tried and executed. |

**Vaughan,** Alexander

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | Not specified. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1607-1612. |
| *Places associated:* | Leamcon and Kinsale. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |

*Ships associated:*

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Surrendered in Kinsale with Baugh in 1612, probably pardoned.

**Walker,** John

*Nationality:* A Gloucestershire mariner.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1608-1610.

*Places associated:* Munster.

*Position held:* Formally served under Bishop in North Africa; later Master to Captain Finch.

*Ships associated:*

*Settled or transient:* Must have lived locally as used in negotiations by Humphrey Jobson.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Examined in London but does not seem to have been tried, probably pardoned.

**Walker,** Philip

*Nationality:* From Bristol.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1608-1612.

*Places associated:* Leamcon, Kinsale.

*Position held:* Captain and Baugh's vice-admiral.

*Ships associated:* The *Porpoise*.

*Settled or transient:* May have settled in Munster.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Examined in London in 1613 and pardoned.

**Walsingham,** Robert

*Nationality:* From London.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1611-1618.

*Places associated:* Leamcon, Baltimore, Lough Foyle, Berehaven.

*Position held:* Served as captain under Bishop in Baltimore; 'admiral' of his own ship in Mamora in 1611, as part of Mainwaring's fleet. Commanded a fleet of Turkish pirate ships from 1617.

*Ships associated:* 1612 captain of a ship in Ireland, along with Roope; the *Snap*, a 100-ton French ship with 17 men; exchanged for the *Pilgrim* of 200-tons and 20 guns.

*Settled or transient:* Frequented West Cork, and may have spent summer season there.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Surrendered in 1618. Tried, sentenced to be executed but was reprieved. Returned to piracy by 1622 and ended up as a prisoner in the Tower of London. Remainder of life uncertain.

**Ward,** John

*Nationality:* Not specified.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1603-1622.

*Places associated:* Baltimore and Leamcon. Main pirate base was in North Africa and the Mediterranean.

*Position held:* Commander of main pirate fleet before Bishop split and established himself as admiral in the Atlantic.

*Ships associated:*

*Settled or transient:* Seasonal visitor.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Served Ottoman Turks, giving up his Christian faith, and probably died in Tunis in 1622 from the effects of a plague.

**Wolmer,** William (name variously spelled Wolman, Wollman, Wilmott, Wilmore)

*Nationality:* Mariner of Plymouth.

*Flourished:* *c.* 1611-1612.

*Places associated:* Baltimore and Leamcon.

*Position held:* Captain, colleague of Bishop; later sailed under Easton.

*Ships associated:*

*Settled or transient:* Probably spent summer season in Ireland.

*Recorded retirement/demise:* Reprieved under general pardon for Easton.

**Wolmer, John** (brother of William)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | Probably from Plymouth |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1611-1612. |
| *Places associated:* | Probably in Ireland with his brother. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |
| *Ships associated:* | The *Falcon* of Hamburg, given to him by his brother William. Became captain of the *Lion Dore (D'Ore)* in Newfoundland under Easton. |
| *Settled or transient:* | May have spent time in Ireland along with his brother. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Probably pardoned along with his brother. |

**Woolaston,** Richard

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | Of London. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1615-1618. |
| *Places associated:* | West Cork. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |
| *Ships associated:* | |
| *Settled or transient:* | Seasonal visitor. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Surrendered with Barry in Ireland in 1615 and probably pardoned. Continued in piracy around Newfoundland thereafter. |

**Woodland,** John (alias Mendoza or Monnocho)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Nationality:* | From Liverpool. |
| *Flourished:* | *c.* 1614-1615. |
| *Places associated:* | West Cork and Arranmore, County Donegal. |
| *Position held:* | Captain. |
| *Ships associated:* | The *Lion,* in 1614; joined Tucker to go to Russia in 1615, captured shortly afterwards by a Danish ship. |
| *Settled or transient:* | Seasonal visitor. |
| *Recorded retirement/demise:* | Following capture in 1615, taken to Denmark and executed as a pirate |

## *Appendix 2: Inventory of main government and admiralty officials*

The following inventory lists the main officials who were settled or were stationed along the southern coast of Munster during the period of the heyday of piracy. The greater part of those listed are English officials, with just one Irish inclusion, that of Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond as his dealings with the pirates was on an official level, supported by his protestant loyalties to the crown. Lord High Admiral, Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham and his counterpart, Henry Howard, the earl of Northampton, though resident in England, are also listed, as they were integral to government dealings with the pirate problem and the resultant execution or pardoning of many of the key pirate players.

The inventory contains basic information, in alphabetical order, under specific headings to provide at-a-glance information on those listed, inform on their official standing and to indicate links between each other and/or the pirates. Where headings are left blank, no relevant information was traceable. Only information pertaining to their actions in Ireland is included, rather than an overview of their general career and life's work. Twenty-four individuals are listed whose names dominate proceedings during the study period. There would have been many others who were also involved and who either liaised with, or were actively engaged in collusion and suppressing/pardoning the pirates but whose names are not so evident in the accounts.

Neither are foreign officials included, though it is acknowledged that a number appear regularly in correspondence from time to time. Their engagement with the pirate problem was generally handled remotely, via dispatches and letters or through direct visitations to London as ambassadors. They did not frequent the main pirate bases in Munster and they are thus not included in the inventory. Those listed appear throughout the study but chapters 3 and 4 contain a fuller discussion on the individuals themselves. Sources are given for each individual but specific pages are not; these can be located in the relevant chapters.

## ***Inventory of officials and officers***

**Bingley,** Sir Ralph[1174]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | *c.* 1570-1627. |
| *Position held:* | Privateer, knighted in 1603; speculator and merchant venturer with the Virginia Company. |
| *Period of service:* | 1602 received estates in Donegal; 1606-1627 commanding several maritime ventures. |
| *Place of service:* | A key figure in the Ulster plantation; patrolling the coastal waters of Ireland. |
| *Connections:* | Probably related to Sir John Bingley, whose connections ensured Ralph Bingley was treated favourably; brother to Richard Bingley, captain in the royal navy in 1613 in Ireland; 1617 in partnership with Sir William St. John in Irish alehouse licensing. |
| *Dealings with pirates:* | Up on several charges of piracy, embezzlement and had direct dealings with the pirates in West Cork. |

**Boyle,** Sir Richard, first earl of Cork[1175]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | 1566-1643. |
| *Position held:* | First earl of Cork; speculator, landowner; politician, member of English and Irish privy council; successful undertaker in the Munster plantation; knighted in 1603. |
| *Period of service:* | 1590-1643. |
| *Place of service:* | Munster. |
| *Connections:* | Family ties to Lawrence Parsons; related to William Hull through marriage. |
| *Dealings with pirates:* | Indirect, through local vice-admiralty officials like William Hull. |

[1174] *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Dublin and Cambridge, 2010); http://dib.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie/; see chapter 7 for a more detailed discussion on Bingley.
[1175] *Dictionary of Irish Biography*; Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English* and Canny, *Upstart Earl*, cover Boyle's life in detail.

**Button,** Sir Thomas[1176]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | d. 1634. |
| *Position held:* | Naval officer; admiral of the king's ships from 1614; knighted in 1616. |
| *Period of service:* | Coastal waters of Ireland after 1614. |
| *Place of service:* | Based in Kinsale, operated all around the coast. |
| *Connections:* | Involved in privateering, merchant ventures, including with the Guinea Company and Virginia Company. |
| *Dealings with pirates:* | Specific orders to rid the waters around Ireland and Britain of pirates; 1620 rear-admiral of fleet that attacked Barbary corsairs at Algiers. |

**Cary,** Sir Henry, viscount Falkland[1177]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | *c.* 1575-1633. |
| *Position held:* | Lord deputy of Ireland from 1622 and acting vice-admiral of Munster from 1624. |
| *Period of service:* | *c.* 1622-1634. |
| *Place of service:* | Munster, but generally in absentia. |
| *Connections:* | Enjoyed the support of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham; relied on Lawrence Parsons and Richard Boyle to carry out his plans in Ireland. |
| *Dealings with pirates:* | Indirectly; accused at times of embezzlement and personal enterprise over official duties, but not overtly involved in Munster pirates directly. |

**Chichester,** Sir Arthur

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | 1563-1625. |
| *Position held:* | Soldier, politician, lord deputy of Ireland. |
| *Period of service:* | Lord deputy from 1604-1615 |
| *Place of service:* | Ireland. |

[1176] *Dictionary of Irish Biography;* Woodward, 'Sir Thomas Button', *Mariner's Mirror,* 59, no. 3, pp 343-345.
[1177] *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); Appleby and O'Dowd, 'Irish Admiralty'.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Connections:* | Married daughter of Sir John Perrot, acting lord deputy of Ireland 1584-1588; close contacts with Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury and Henry Howard, earl of Northampton. |
| *Dealings with pirates:* | Actively engaged in eradicating the pirate problem, including overseeing the enactment of the Piracy Act in 1613. |

**Coppinger,** Sir Walter

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | *c.* 1570-1627. |
| *Position held:* | Irish catholic entrepreneur |
| *Period of service:* | Arrived into West Cork in late 1500s. |
| *Place of service:* | West Cork; acquired large tracts of land that stretched from west of Cork city to Baltimore. |
| *Connections:* | At variance with new English settlers for right to land titles and business ventures, particularly at Baltimore and Dundaniel. |
| *Dealings with pirates:* | Undetermined. |

**Crooke,** Sir Thomas[1178]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | *c.* 1574-1630. |
| *Position held:* | Undertaker; sovereign of Baltimore |
| *Period of service:* | Arrived into Ireland *c.* 1606; elected to the Irish parliament in 1613. |
| *Place of service:* | Established the vibrant and successful English settlement at Baltimore; where he lived and administered; royal charter issued in 1613. |
| *Connections:* | Involved in possible merchant venture interests with James Lancaster; James Salmon was son-in-law. |

[1178] Bernie McCarthy, *Dún na Séad Castle.*

*Dealings with pirates:* Directly involved; accused on more than one occasion but exonerated, due in part to his successful establishment of the settlement at Baltimore.

**Danvers,** Sir Henry, earl of Danby[1179]

*Date:* *c.* 1530-1644.

*Position held:* Captain of a ship under Lord High Admiral, earl of Nottingham in 1597; took part in the battle of Kinsale; later lord president of Munster.

*Period of service:* 1607-1615

*Place of service:* Occasionally visited Ireland but primarily acted in absentia.

*Connections:*

*Dealings with pirates:* Administrative; highlighted the weakness of the royal navy and the need to augment existing ships; proposed pardoning the pirates as a means to dealing with the problem.

**Howard,** Charles, Baron of Effingham and first earl of Nottingham[1180]

*Date:* *c.* 1536-1624.

*Position held:* Naval commander; Lord high admiral of England, vice-admiral of Ireland.

*Period of service:* 1585-1619.

*Place of service:* London

*Connections:* Long-standing official dealings with deputy vice-admirals like Humphrey Jobson, who shared vested interests; cousin to Henry Howard, earl of Northampton.

*Dealings with pirates:* Direct and official: inherently involved with the pirates when in the southwest of England and thereafter following their move to Munster.

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[1179] *Dictionary of National Biography*; Lord Danvers to the Lords of the Privy Council or Lord Salisbury, 19 January 1609, *Cal. S.P.Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 130.

[1180] *Dictionary of National Biography;* see also Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral.*

**Howard,** Henry, earl of Northampton[1181]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | *c.* 1540-1614. |
| *Position held:* | Varied, including court administrator, financial advisor, Knight of the Garter in 1605. |
| *Period of service:* | Not in Ireland. |
| *Place of service:* | England |
| *Connections:* | Cousin to Lord High Admiral, the earl of Nottingham |
| *Dealings with pirates:* | Indirectly; personal agenda to prove Nottingham's corruption; attempted to use testimony of captured pirates Jennings and Harris to his advantage. |

**Hull,** Sir William [1182]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | *c.* late 1500s- 1643. |
| *Position held:* | Mariner; captain; privateer under Elizabeth; deputy vice-admiral in Munster. |
| *Period of service:* | 1607-1641. |
| *Place of service:* | Leamcon/Schull/Crookhaven from 1607. |
| *Connections:* | By marriage to Richard Boyle, earl of Cork; involved in business dealings with Boyle and also Thomas Roper in Crookhaven; from 1630s was involved in privateering again. |
| *Dealings with pirates:* | Extensive; possibly involved in piracy himself before 1604; thereafter in Ireland as admiralty official but acted as middleman for the pirates in West Cork. |

**Jobson,** Humphrey [1183]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | |
| *Position held:* | Deputy vice-admiral in Munster; officially tasked with coming to Ireland to investigate corruption in the admiralty. |
| *Period of service:* | 1607-1610. |

[1181] *Dictionary of National Biography*.
[1182] Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates'.
[1183] Marsden, 'Vice-admirals of the coast', p. 755; Costello, 'The Court of Admiralty of Ireland, 1580-1877', p. 24-25; Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates'.

*Place of service:* West Cork.

*Connections:* Brother to Richard Jobson; venture capitalist in Virginia Company; in direct contact throughout his tenure in Ireland with the lord high admiral in England.

*Dealings with pirates:* Official but used opportunities to acquire personal wealth through direct collusion with the pirates. Recalled in 1610 from his post on suspicion of corruption and sent back to England but was back in post again, and serving to at least 1627 when similar complaints were being made against him by Sir Henry Carys, Viscount Falkland.

**Jobson,** Richard [1184]

*Date:*

*Position held:* Deputy vice-admiral in Munster; sent to Ireland to investigate corruption among admiralty officers.

*Period of service:* 1607-1610.

*Place of service:* West Cork.

*Connections:* Brother to Humphrey Jobson.

*Dealings with pirates:* In partnership with brother in colluding with pirates when opportunity arose. Recalled to England in 1610, along with his brother, to answer charges of corruption and was dismissed from his duties.

**Middleton,** Roger[1185]

*Date:*

*Position held:* Naval captain; official negotiator with pirates.

*Period of service:* 1611-1614.

*Place of service:* Ireland and Mamora.

*Connections:*

*Dealings with pirates:* Tasked with negotiating pardons with the pirates but used opportunity to extract payments from them in

[1184] Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates', ibid.

[1185] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 148, 251, 314.

return. His self-serving actions alienated many of the pirates, who refused pardons as a result.

**Monson,** Sir William[1186]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | *c.* 1568-1643. |
| *Position held:* | Naval officer; admiral of the Narrow Seas. |
| *Period of service:* | 1604-1615. |
| *Place of service:* | Waters around Britain and Ireland. |
| *Connections:* | Wrote his *Naval Tracts*, which gave first hand accounts of the pirates and their operations in Ireland. |
| *Dealings with pirates:* | Tasked to rid the seas of pirates; returned some success but complained regularly of the depleted nature of the navy. |

**Moryson,** Sir Richard[1187]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | *c.* 1571-1628. |
| *Position held:* | Army officer; politician; lord president and subsequent vice-president of Munster. |
| *Period of service:* | 1607 – 1614. |
| *Place of service:* | Served in Waterford and Wexford before 1604 in the army, then assumed administrative role primarily from England. |
| *Connections:* | Brother was Fynes Moryson. |
| *Dealings with pirates:* | Concerted attempts to suppress and extinguish problem, including complaining of collusion of admiralty officers in Munster. |

[1186] *Dictionary of National Biography*; Oppenheim, *Naval Tracts*.
[1187] *Dictionary of National Biography*.

**O'Brien,** Donough, fourth earl of Thomond[1188]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | d. 1624. |
| *Position held:* | fourth earl of Thomond; lord president of Munster 1615-1624. |
| *Period of service:* | 1577-1624. |
| *Place of service:* | Connacht and Munster but held lands beyond the boundaries of these provinces too. |
| *Connections:* | Involved in land speculation with Sir George Carew and Sir Richard Boyle. |
| *Dealings with pirates:* | Direct dealings in Limerick with pirates Thomas Coward in 1608, engaging him on one of his ships and John Jennings in 1609. |

**Parsons,** Sir Lawrence[1189]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | d. 1628. |
| *Position held:* | Judge of the Irish admiralty in 1619; knighted in 1620; chief land inspector in Munster from 1622; legal advisor to Richard Boyle. |
| *Period of service:* | Second and third decade of seventeenth-century. |
| *Place of service:* | Munster. |
| *Connections:* | Cousin of Sir Richard Boyle. |
| *Dealings with pirates:* | Accused several times of embezzlement and dealing in pirate goods. |

**Roper,** Sir Thomas, first Viscount of Baltinglass.[1190]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | b.(?) 1587- d. 1637. |
| *Position held:* | Speculator and undertaker; member of Council of Munster; created Baron of Bantry in 1627 and subsequently Viscount later the same year. |
| *Period of service:* | Arrived into Kerry in *c.* 1607; in Cork from 1610. |

[1188] *Dictionary of Irish Biography*; http://dib.cambridge.org.elib.tcd.ie/; Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, p. 103, 220-221, 593, a full overview of Thomand is provided by Ohlmeyer.
[1189] *Dictionary of Irish Biography*; Appleby and O'Dowd, 'Irish Admiralty'; MacCarthy-Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*.
[1190] George Edward Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage,* VI; Senior. ' An Investigation'.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Place of service:* | Castlemaine, Co. Kerry, Crookhaven, West Cork, Leinster and Ulster. |
| *Connections:* | In partnership with Sir Ralph Bingley in alehouse licensing and with Sir William Hull in fishing ventures. |
| *Dealings with pirates:* | Marginal reference to his dealing with pirates when in Crookhaven, but his industrial links would have brought him into direct contact. |

**Salmon,** James[1191]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | |
| *Position held:* | Advisor to Thomas Crooke; deputy vice-admiral for Munster. |
| *Period of service:* | In Baltimore by 1605; acting deputy vice-admiral by 1608 and continued in this post in Castlehaven, still there in 1628. |
| *Place of service:* | Oldcourt, Baltimore and thereafter Castlehaven |
| *Connections:* | Son-in-law to Thomas Crooke |
| *Dealings with pirates:* | Direct collusion but could be official also in impounding booty and arresting pirates. |

**Skipwith,** Henry[1192]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Date:* | |
| *Position held:* | Constable at Castlepark by 1607 and thereafter Deputy vice-admiral in Munster by 1610; arrived as an undertaker. |
| *Period of service:* | From 1607, succeeded Humphrey Jobson in 1610. |
| *Place of service:* | Stationed at Castlepark in Kinsale; also lived in Carriganassig castle, Innishannon. |
| *Connections:* | Exact lineage unclear; from long line of notable Skipwith family; difficult to deduce his exact line. |

[1191] Senior, ibid.; MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'The Munster Plantation'; chapter 4.
[1192] Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates'; Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*; List of Names of the Undertakers in Ireland, 1610, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, p. 547.

*Dealings with pirates:* Directly and extensive. Tasked with negotiating with the pirates for their pardons but colluded closely with them and William Hull and was also in close contact with pirate captain William Baugh, who had sought Skipwith's daughter's hand in marriage.

**St. John,** Sir William[1193]

*Date:*

*Position held:* Commander of the Royal fleet in Ireland.

*Period of service:* From 1607.

*Place of service:* Coastal waters of Ireland.

*Connections:* In partnership with Ralph Bingley in business, with support of the duke of Buckingham and Thomas Roper.

*Dealings with pirates:* Tasked with capturing them but used opportunities to acquire goods for own use when pirates were apprehended.

**Travers,** Sir Robert[1194]

*Date:*

*Position held:* Deputy vice-admiral in Munster and acting legal officer on the Council of Munster; knighted in 1647.

*Period of service:* From 1626.

*Place of service:* West Cork, settled in Clonakilty/Timoleague area.

*Connections:* Appointed by Lawrence Parsons; connected to Boyle dynasty through marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Boyle, Bishop of Cork.

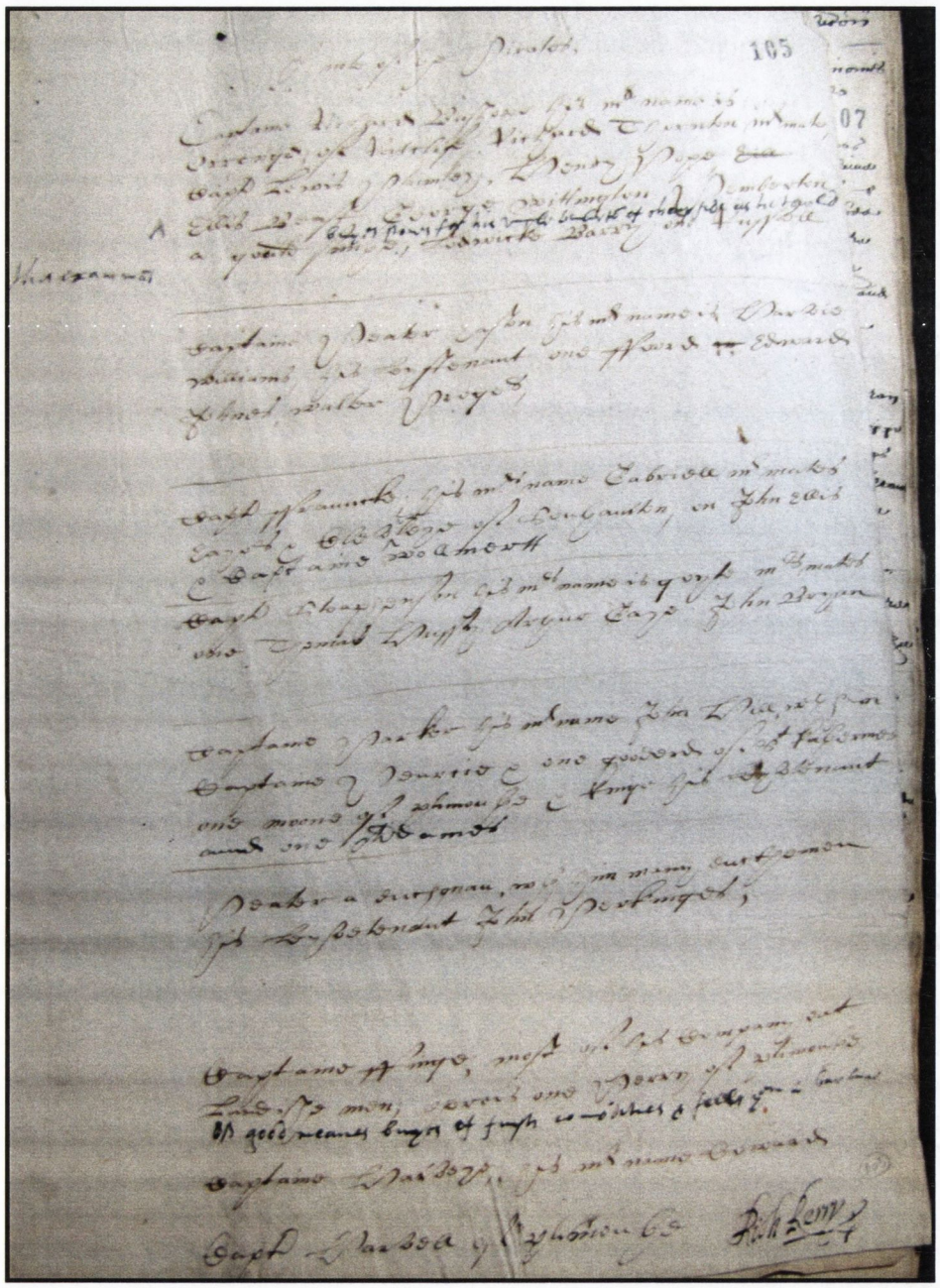
*Dealings with pirates:* Accused on a number of occasions of collusion with the pirates.

---

[1193] Senior. ' An Investigation'; *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610* and *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1611-1614*, various.

[1194] Costello, *The High Court of Admiralty*; Appleby & O'Dowd, 'Irish Admiralty'; Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork.*

## *Appendix 3: List of Pirate Fleet Command, c. 1610.*



List of pirate commanders and their crews.[1195]

[1195] 'A note of the Pirates', undated but possibly May 1610 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1610, HCA 1/47, f. 105), signed by Richard Kerry; Kerry was assistant to deputy vice-admiral Humphrey Jobson, see Appleby, 'Settlers and Pirates', p. 82.

**Literal transcription**

HCA 1/47 f. 105v

A note of the Pirates

Captain Richard Bishop, his master's name is Orange of Radcliffe; Richards Thornton, his master's mates,
Capt. Lewis Plumley, Henry Pope,
X Ellis Beast [*sic*] George Whittington [of] Pemberton, *buys stores for his uncle of Cheapside as he told [me]),* a gold smith,[1196]
Ludowick Barry, one Russell

*This examinate*

---

Captain Peter Easton, his master's name is Harvey Williams [William Harvey?], his lieutenant [is] one Ford, Edward Johnes, Walter Proyes

---

Captain Francke, his master's name is Gabriell, [his] master's mates [are]Hayes and Cleverley of Southampton, one John Ellis and Captain Wollmer

---

Captain Stephenson, his masters name is Goyte [?], his master's mates are one Thomas Hussey, Arthur Gaye, John Bryan

---

Captain Parker, his master's name John Hill, with him Captain Pearce and one Goddard of St. Katherines,
one Moone of Plymouth and Kinge is his lieutenant
*and one Adames*

---

Peter a Dutchman, with him many Dutchmen, his lieutenant John Perkins

Captain Fingh [Finch?], most of his company are out landish [landing?] men; here is one Perry of Plymouth
*Of good means, buyer of fish commodities and felt when in Barbary*
Captain Harvey, his master's name is Coward

Captain Harwell of Plymouth,

Rich Kerry

---

[1196] It is interesting to note here the reference to Cheapside and Whittington's uncle, the goldsmith. In the later 1625 list of those who bought goods off of the pirate Campane in Leamcon, there is a similar reference to Cheapside, with the network for the disposal of goods linked with this area. It is curious to consider if a market had been established as early as

**Direct transcription**[1197]

HCA 1/47 f. 105v

A note of the Pirates

Captaine Richard Bushppe his masters name is
Orrenge of Ratclife; Richard Thornton masters mate,
Capt Lewis Plumley, Henry Pope ~~hill~~
X Ellis Beast George Wittington Pemberton
buyes stores for his vncle [ ] of [cheap] side as he tould
a gould smithe, Lodwick Barry one Russell

*This examinate*

---

Captaine Peater Haston his masters name is Harvie
Williams, his leyftenant one ffoord Edward
Johnes, Walter Proyes

---

Capt ffrauncke his masters name Gabriell masters mates Hayes &
Cleverleye of Southamton, on John Ellis
& Captaine Wollameet

---

Capt Steaphenson his masters name is goyte masters mates one
Thomas Hussy Arthur Gaye John Bryan

---

Captain Parker his masters name John Hill with him
Captaine Pearcie & one gooderd of St Katherines
one moone of plimouthe & kinge his leyftenant
ane one Addames

---

Peater a duchman with him many ducthemen
his leyftenant John Perkinges, Captaine ffinge, most of his
Company out
landishe men thereis one Perry of plimouth
[of good meanes buyers of fusih comodities & fel[ts] then in
barb[ary?]
Captaine Harveye; his masters name Coward
Capt Harvell of plimouth

Rich Kerry

---

1610, and continued thereafter; The Names of those who bought Goods of the Pirate Campane at Lymecon, in the West of Ireland, [?] 1625, *Cal S.P. Ireland, 1603-1625* (State Papers Online Gale Calendar no. MC4347701417).

[1197] I am grateful to Dr. Elaine Murphy for transcribing this list.

*Appendix 4: 1612 Dutch 'Pilot' by John Hunt & Hessel Gerritszoon*[1198]

**Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen. Germany**

SUB Göttingen, 4 H BRIT P III, 6 RARA: H. Gerritszoon/John Hunt, 1612, *Beschrijvinghe van de Zeecusten ende Havenen van Yerlandt/Description of the Seacoasts and Ports of Ireland*

1) Relevant section of document in Dutch with chart.

- Front cover (f. 1)
- Page 5 – letter by Hessel Gerritszoon (f. 3r)
- Page 10 – 'rutter' from Crookhaven to Loop Head (f. 6r)
- Page 19 – 'rutter' from Kinsale back to Schull (f. 13v)
- Page 20 – the 1612 John Hunt chart of the southwest coast (f. 15)

2) English translation of sections of the document as detailed above.

[1198] I am grateful to Dr. Edda Frankot for translating the document from the Old Dutch into English.

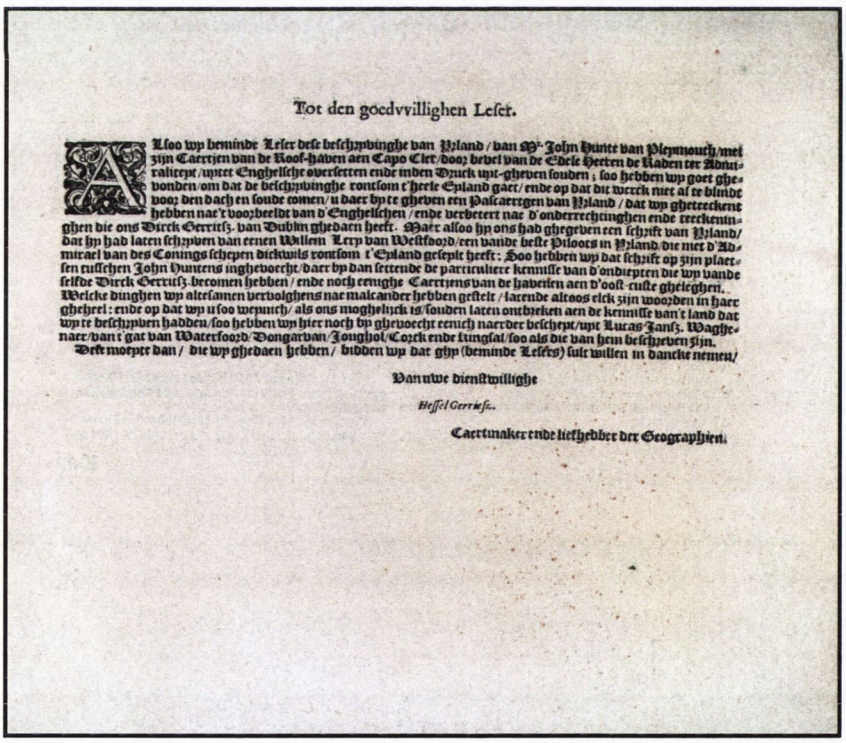


Beschrÿvinghe van
de Seecusten ende Havenen
van
Yerlandt,

VVt-ghegheven
Ten bevele van de E. E. Heeren de Ghecommit-
teerde Raden ter Admiraliteyt / residerende
binnen Amsterdam.
By Hessel Gherritszoon.
Caert-maecker ende Lief-hebber der Geographien,

T'AMSTERDAM,
Op't Water by d'oude Brug/inde Pascaert. Anno 1612.

Cover page of Hunt/Gerritszoon document (f. 1)



Tot den goedvvillighen Leser.

ALsoo wy beminde Leser dese beschryvinghe van Yrland / van Mr. John Hunte van Pleymouch/met zijn Caertjen van de Roof-haven aen Capo Clet/door bevel van de Edele Heeren de Raden ter Admiraliteyt/uytet Enghelsche overseten ende inden Druck uyt-gheven souden ; soo hebben wy goet ghevonden/om dat de beschryvinghe rontsom t'heele Eyland gaet/ ende op dat dit werck niet al te blinde voor den dach en soude comen/ u daer by te gheven een Pascaertgen van Yrland / dat wy gheteeckent hebben nae't voorbeeldt van d'Enghelschen / ende verbetert nae d'onderrechtinghen ende teeckeninghen die ons Dirck Gerritsz. van Dublin ghedaen heeft. Maer alsoo hy ons had ghegeven een schrift van Yrland/ dat hy had laten schryven van eenen Willem Lery van Westfoord/een vande beste Piloots in Yrland/die met d'Admirael van des Conings schepen dickwils rontsom t'Eyland geseylt heeft: Soo hebben wy dat schrift op zijn plaetsen tusschen John Huntens inghevoecht/daer by dan settende de particuliere kennisse van d'ondiepten die wy vande selfde Dirck Gerritsz. becomen hebben / ende noch eenighe Caertjens van de haveien aen d'oost-custe gheleghen. Welcke dinghen wy altesamen vervolghens nae malcander hebben gestelt / latende altoos elck zijn woorden in haer gheheel: ende op dat wy u soo weynich/ als ons moghelijck is/souden laten ontbreken aen de kennisse van't land dat wy te beschryven hadden/soo hebben wy hier noch by ghevoecht eenich naerder beschept/uyt Lucas Jansz. Waghenaer/van t'gat van Waterfoord/Dongarvan/Jonghol/Corck ende Kingsal/soo als die van hem beschreven zijn.
Dese moeyte dan / die wy ghedaen hebben / bidden wy dat ghy (beminde Lesers) sult willen in dancke nemen/

Van uwe dienstwillighe

Hessel Gerritsz.

Caertmaker ende liefhebber der Geographien.

Page 5 of document (f. 3r).

# Een discours van de Custen van Jerlandt/met de namen van de havenen/vlacken ende steen-clippen: mitsgaders de coursen ende distantien/vloed ende ebbe/ als volcht.

Beschryvinghe vande West-zyde van Yrlandt.

TEn eersten van C. Cler tot het Mison-hooft is 7 legues.

Croock-haven. Daer leyt een haven n. w. van cabo Clare/genoemt Croke; dat is/cromme haven/ghy moet 4 leguē zeylen van C. Cler tot in de havē west aen: het vloeyt daer met een w.z.w. ende o.n.o. maen.

By dese leguen salmen geē Spaensche, maer Engelsche legues verstaen, tot 20 in eē graed: so dat de 4 legues zyn 3 duytse mylē.

Besaens hooft. Van het Mison hooft tot de Dorsie is 7 leguen/ende light w. n.w. ende o.z.o. van malcander

Beare haven. Beare havē leyt van het Meson hooft n.n.w. 4 legues/ ghy moet n.w. in de haven vaeren: een o.n.o. ende w.z. w. maen maeckt aldaer hooch water. Soo ghy anckeren wilt tusschen de Dorsie ende t'vaste Lant/ghy moet gaen by de Dorsie: want de oost-zyde is seer sorghelijck.

Dorsie. De 3 eylanden van de Dorsies zijn ghenaemt de Stier of the Bull/de Koe/ende t'Calf/sy en zijn niet sorghelijck/ ghy moochter in ende uyt seylen/ ghy sult alle't perijckel wel sien.

De Bul/ Coe/ en't Calf. Dorsie ende de Blaskie legghen n. ten westen/ende z. ten o. 12 legues van malcander/de Skelockes is tusschen beyden.

Blaskie. Skelockes. N.o. van de Sklekets 3 legues sult ghy vinden den ingangh van Valencia/ghy moet seylen o.z.o. om daer in te comen.

Valēcia. Ghy moet dicht by't Eyland in seylen/want de punt van d'oost-zyde is seer langh.

N.n.o. van de groote Skleck 7 legues sult ghy vindē de haven van Dongal/ende buyten de haven is daer een rotsteen/ghenoemt de Crou/by de welcke is een ingangh aen beyde zyden/ die clippe en vloeyt niet onder dan met een spring-vloed.

Dongal. De Crou. Ghy moet n.w. ten westen in de haven seylen: een o. n.o. ende w.z.w. maen maeckt aldaer hooch water.

Dese reden vvordt van Iohn Hunte vervat, ende hy voeckter dit naevolghende by, ick dencke dat hy dit beter ghelooft heeft.

Noord-oost ten Noorden van de groote Skelockes sult ghy vinden de haven van Dingal-Coch/ende buyten de haven daer is een clippe/ghenaemt de Crouw/ daer is geen perijckel: een n.o. ten o. ende z.w. ten w. maen maect aldaer hooch water.

Ventrie. De Ventrie ende de Sond van Benege leydt z. ten o. ende n. ten w. 3 legues/ ende als ghy ghepasseert zijt tot in de Sond van Begene/ soo moet ghy seylen o. ten n. tot op de reede teghen over een rood land/welck aen de zuydzijd is.

Sond vā Begene. Begene ofte Beg

Tuydoost vā de Sond van Blaskie 6 legues sult ghy vinden een schoone haven/ghenoemt Bege/ welck is n.o. van Valencia: de voorseyde haven heeft twee ingangen/ maer de west-zijd is de beste: ghy moet nauwe letten op een ghesoncken clippe onder water aen de zyde van het Eyland/de welcke ghy aen baghboort moet laeten: Een o.n.o. ende w.z.w. maen maeckt daer volle Tee.

Bege. Ghy sult weten dat de Sond van Blaskie leydt z. o. ende n.w. maer ghy moet u wachten van een plaetse van ondiep water aen de oost-zyde/dwars van de Sebras.

Ondiepte by de Sebras. Van Blaskie tot Smerick zijn 3 legues/soo ghy in de haven wilt ghy moet z. west daer in seylen: Een o.n. ooste ende w.z. weste maen maeckt daer hooch water.

Smerick alias sint Marienwijck. Daer is een Bergh aen't Oosten van Smerick/welck is ghenoemt Senbrandon/ seylt van Smerick n.o. ten o. soo sult ghy varen nevens eē land dat Loupes heet/welck den ingang is van de haven van Limrijck aen de noordzyde/het is verscheyden 10 legues.

Bergh Senbrādon. Limrijc.

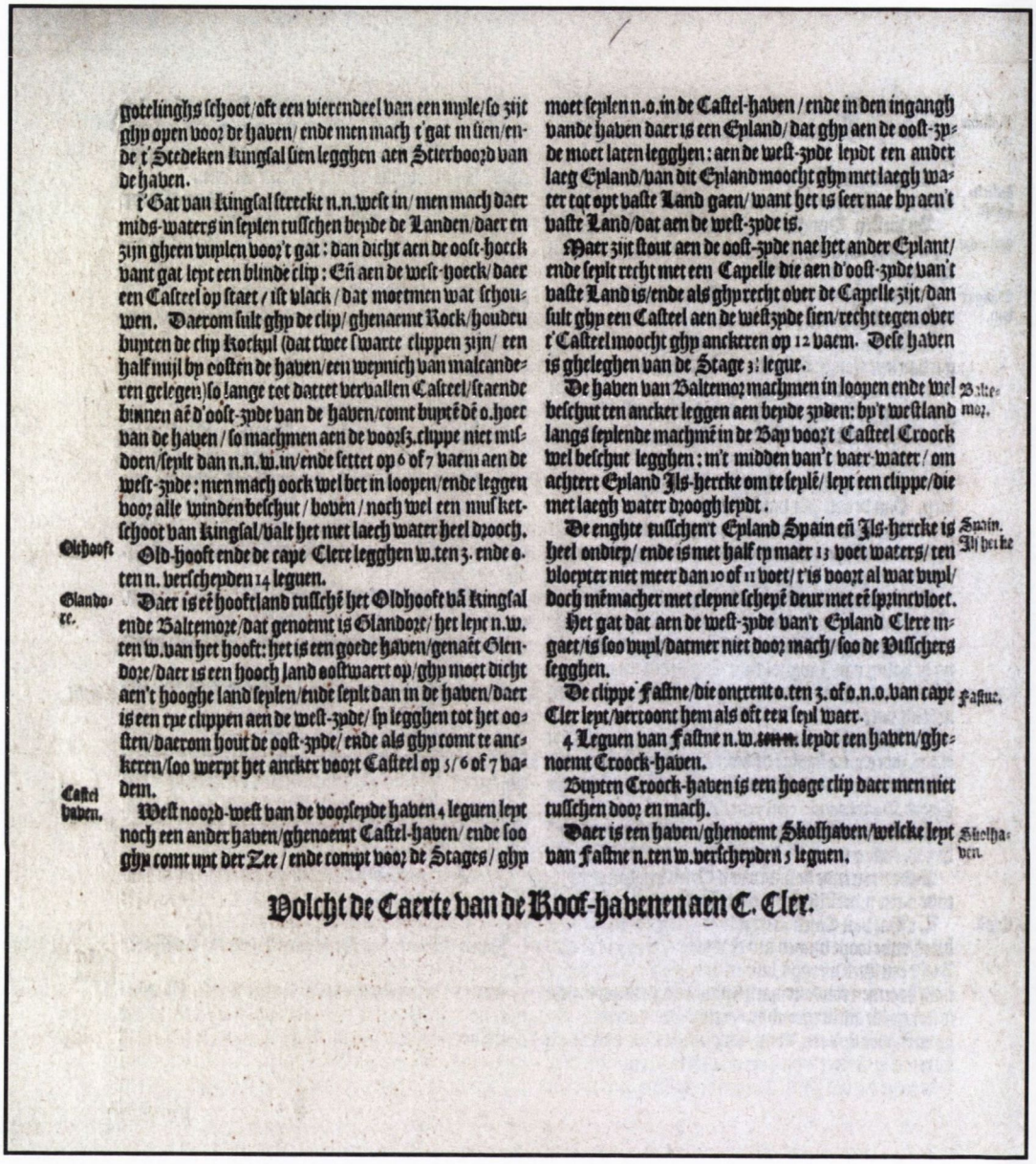
Smerick ende t'hooft van Kerie leyt o.n.o. ende w.z. west verscheyden 7 leguen/ ende daer zijn in de baye drie Eylanden/ghenaemt de Salina.

t'Hooft vā Kerie. Laphooft eñ de Seatrices zijn verscheyden 7 legues/

Laps hooft.

A t'cours

Page 10 of document, giving rutter from Crookhaven to Loop Head (f. 6r).



gotelinghs schoot/oft een vierendeel van een myle/so zijt ghy open voor de haven/ende men mach t'gat myden/ende t'Stedeken Kingsal sien legghen aen Stierhoorn van de haven.

t'Gat van Kingsal streckt n.n.west in/men mach daer mids-waters in seylen tusschen beyde de Landen/daer en zijn gheen vuylen voor't gat: dan dicht aen de oost-hoeck vant gat leyt een blinde clip: Eñ aen de west-hoeck/daer een Casteel op staet/ist black/dat moetmen wat schouwen. Daerom sult ghy de clip/ghenaemt Rock/houden bupten de clip Rockuyl (dat twee swarte cluppen zijn/ een half myl by oosten de haven/een wepnich van malcanderen gelegen) so lange tot dattet vervallen Casteel/staende binnen aē d'oost-syde van de haven/comt bupt̄ dē o. hoek van de haven/so machmen aen de voorz. clippe niet misdoen/seylt dan n.n.w.m/ende setter op 6 of 7 vaem aen de west-syde: men mach ock wel bet in loopen/ende leggen voor alle winden beschut/boven/noch wel een mus ketschoot van Kingsal/valt het met laech water heel drooch.

Oldhoofd. Old-hoofd ende de cape Clere legghen w.ten z. ende o. ten n. verschepden 14 leguen.

Glandorp. Daer is eē hoofd land tusschē het Oldhoofd vā Kingsal ende Baltemore/dat genoemt is Glandorp/het leyt n.w. ten w. van het hoofd: het is een goede haven/genaēt Glendorp/daer is een hooch land oostwaert op/ghy moet dicht aen't hooghe land seylen/ende seylt dan in de haven/daer is een rye clippen aen de west-syde/sy legghen tot het oosten/daerom houd de oost-syde/ende als ghy comt te anckeren/soo werpt het ancker voor Casteel op 5/6 of 7 vadem.

Castel haven. Westnoord-west van de voorseyde haven 4 leguen leyt noch een ander haven/ghenoemt Castel-haven/ende soo ghy comt upt der Zee/ende compt voor de Stages/ghy moet seylen n.o. in de Castel-haven/ende in den ingangh vande haven daer is een Eyland/dat ghy aen de oost-syde moet laten legghen: aen de west-syde leydt een ander laeg Eyland/van dit Eyland moocht ghy met laegh water tot opt vaste Land gaen/want het is seer nae by aen't vaste Land/dat aen de west-syde is.

Daer zijt stout aen de oost-syde nae het ander Eylant/ende seylt recht met een Capelle die aen d'oost-syde van't vaste Land is/ende als ghy recht over de Capelle zijt/dan sult ghy een Casteel aen de westsyde sien/recht tegen over t'Casteel moocht ghy ancketen op 12 vaem. Dese haven is gheleghen van de Stage 3: legue.

Baltemor. De haven van Baltemor machmen in loopen ende wel beschut ten ancker leggen aen beyde zyden: by't westland langs seylende machmē in de Bay voor't Casteel Croock wel beschut legghen: m't midden van't vaer-water/om achterr Eyland Ils-hercke om te seylē/leyt een clippe/die met laegh water drooghy leydt.

Spain. Ils hercke De enghte tusschent Eyland Spain eñ Ils-hercke is heel ondiep/ende is met half ty maer 13 voet waters/ten bloepter niet meer dan 10 of 11 voet/t'is voort al wat vuyl/doch mēmacher met clepne schepē deur met eē lyntvloet.

Het gat dat aen de west-syde van't Eyland Clere ingaet/is soo vuyl/datmer niet door mach/soo de Vullchers legghen.

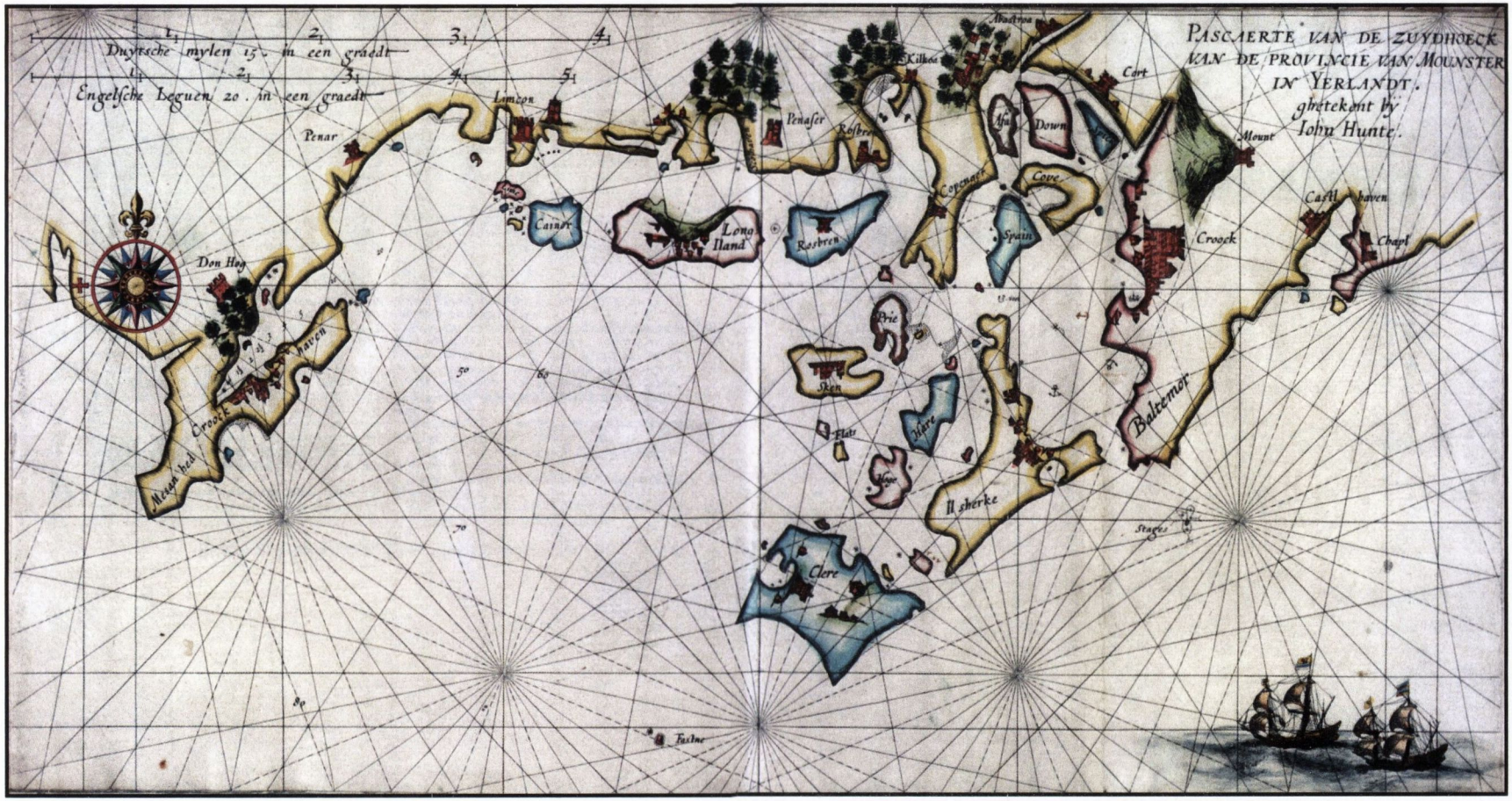
Faste. De clippe Faste/die ontrent o. ten z. of o.n.o. van cape Cler leyt/vertoont hem als oft een seyl waer.

4 Leguen van Faste n.w. ten n. leydt een haven/ghenoemt Croock-haven.

Buyten Croock-haven is een hooge clip daer men niet tusschen door en mach.

Skolhaven. Daer is een haven/ghenoemt Skolhaven/welcke leyt van Faste n.ten w. verschepden 5 leguen.

Volcht de Caerte van de Rock-haven aen C. Cler.




Page 20 of document containing the John Hunt map of the southwest coast of Ireland (f. 15)

[Page 5, f. 3r] **To the well-intentioned reader,**

So we, dear reader, would translate from English this description of Ireland by Mr John Hunt of Plymouth with his/*its charts of the piracy [pirate] havens*[1199] on [near] Capo Clare by command of the Noble Lords the Councillors of the Admiralty and publish it in print, so we have thought it expedient that the description goes around the whole island [includes the whole island] and, so that the work should not appear too blind [sic], provide you with a chart of Ireland that we have drawn after an example by the English, and improved in accordance with the instruction and drawings which were made by Dirck Gerritsz. of Dublin. But so he gave us a text of Ireland that he had let William Lery of Wexford, one of the best pilots in Ireland who sailed around the island with the king's admiral, write, so we have inserted that text in its place between those of John Hunt, including there also the particular information of the shallows, which we have received from the same Dirck Gerritsz., and some small charts of the harbours located on the east coast. Which things we have subsequently placed in sequence, always leaving all the words as they were [i.e. complete]: and so that we leave as little as possible lacking [for you] with regards to the knowledge of the land that we have described, so we have, in addition to that, inserted some further record by Lucas Jansz. Waghenaer regarding the [gap/sea gate/tidal outlet?] of Waterford, Dungarvan, Youghal, Cork and Kinsale as these have been described by him.

We pray that you (dear readers) will appreciate the effort which we have put into this.

From your willing

Hessel Gerritsz.

Chartmaker and devotee of geographie

[1199] The script in italics is my own emphasis.

[Page10, f.6r]

**A rutter of the coasts of Ireland with the names of havens, shoals and rocks: also the courses and distances, flood and ebb as follows.**[1200]

Description of the west-coast of Ireland[1201]

Firstly, from C. Clare to the Missine Head is 7 leagues.

There lies a haven NW of Cabo Clare named Croke, that is 'crooked haven', you must sail 4 leagues from C. Clare by W into the haven: there it flows with a WSW and ENE moon.

Crook haven.

One needs to take 'league' to mean not Spanish but English leagues, up to 20 in a degree: so that 4 leagues are 3 German miles.

Mizen Head.

From the Mizen Head to the Dursey is 7 leagues and lies WNW and ESE from each other.

Bere haven.

Bearehaven lies from the Mizen Head NNW 4 leagues. You must run NW into the haven. An ENE and WSW moon results in high tide there. If you want to anchor between Dursey and the mainland, you must go by the Dursey because the eastside is very alarming [i.e. dangerous].

Dursey.

The Bull, Cow and the Calf

The 3 islands of the Dorsey are called the Bull or the Bull, the Cow and the Calf, they are not alarming, you may go within or without them, you will notice all the dangers.

Blaskets. Skelligs.

Dursey and the Blaskets lie N by W and S by E 12 leagues from each other. The Skelligs is between both.

Valentia.

NE of the ~~Sklekets~~ Skelligs 3 leagues you will find the entrance to Valentia. You must sail ESE to enter.

You must enter near the island because the point of the east side is very long.

Dingle and the Crow.

ENE of the Great Skelligs [Skellig Michael] 7 leagues you will find the haven of Dingle and outside the haven there is a rock called the Crow, at which there is an entrance on both sides. The rock does not get overflown but in spring tides.

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[1200] The following comprises the relevant sections of the 'rutter' or sailing directions for the southwest coast; page 10 runs from Crookhaven to Loop Head in County Clare and page 19 runs from the Old Head of Kinsale, via Baltimore and ends back at Crookhaven.

[1201] West coast here traditionally refers to the southwest of Munster.

You must sail into the haven NW by W: an ENE and WSW moon causes high tide there.

*This reason was included by John Hunt, and he added the following, I think he believed more in it [believed it better?].*

NE by N of the Great Skelligs you will find the haven of Dingle-Coch [Dingle] and outside the haven there is a cliff/rock named the Crow, there is no danger there: a NE by E and SW by W moon causes high tide there.

Ventry. Sound of Begin ish.

The Ventry and the Sound of ~~Benege~~ Begene [Beginish] lies S by E and N by W 3 leagues, and when you have passed into the Sound of Beginish, you must sail E by N until the roadstead across from a red land, which is on the south side.

Beg [?]

SE of the Sound of Blaskerries 6 leagues you will find a nice (?) haven called Bege which is NE of Valentia; the aforesaid haven has two entrance but the one on the west side is the best; you have to watch carefully for the sunken rock under water on the side of the island, which you should leave on the port [side]. An ENE and WSW moon makes a 'full sea' there [i.e. high tide?].

Shoal at the Sibil [Head], Smer wick, alias Mary wick [?]

You must know that the Sound of Blaskets lies SE and NW but you must be wary of a spot of shallow water on the east side athwart the Sebras [most likely Sibil Head]. From Blaskets to Smerwick are 3 leagues, and if you want to go into the haven, you must sail into it SW. An ENE and WSW moon results in high tide there.

Mount St. Brandon. Limerick

There is a mountain at the east of Smerwick which is called Saint Brandon. If you sail from Smerwick NE by E, you will run by a land called Loop Head which is the entrance to the haven of Limerick on the north side. It is separated 10 leagues.

Kerry Head.

Smerwick and the head of Kerry lie ENE and WSW separated 7 leagues and there are 3 islands [Magharee Islands] in the bay named the Salina [Tralee?].

Loop Head.

Loop Head and the Seatrices [?] are separated by 7 leagues. ...

[ ] one can look into the gap, and see the little town of Kinsale on the starboard side of the haven.

[Page 19, f.13r]

The gap of Kinsale stretches in NNW, one can sail in there 'midwaters' [i.e. in the middle of the canal] between both lands; there are no obstructions before the gap; then closeby the east corner/quarter of the gap lies a blind cliff; and at the west quarter, where a castle is located, it is flat; one should inspect [?] that. For that reason you should keep the cliff named Rock outside the cliff Kockul (which are two black rocks half a mile from the haven a little way apart) [the Bulmen Rocks?] so long until the ruined castle located on the inner eastside of the haven lies [can be seen?] outside the east corner/quarter of the haven; Thus one cannot come to harm at the foresaid cliff (?), then sail in NNW and put it on 6 or 7 fathom on the west side: one could also put in less, and anchor sheltered from all winds above a musketshot from Kinsale if the land is uncovered too much at low tide.

Kinsale

Old Head

Old head and cape Clare lie W by S and W by N 14 leagues apart.

Glan dore.

There is a headland between the Old head of Kinsale and Baltimore that is called Glandore. It lies NW by W of the head: it is a good haven called Glandore. There is a high land eastwards from it, you must sail close to the high land, and will then sail into the haven; there is a row of cliffs on the west side; they lie unto the east. Therefore keep to the east side and when you are ready to anchor, drop it in front of the castle at 5, 6 or 7 fathoms.

Castle haven.

WNW from the foresaid haven 4 leagues lies another haven called Castlehaven, and when one comes in from the sea, and in from off the Stages [Staggs Rocks] you must sail NE into the Castlehaven, and at the entrance of the haven there is an island, that you should keep (pass?) on your east side: on the west side lies another low island; from this island it is possible to go to the mainland at low tide, as it is very close to the mainland that is on the west side.

But be brave on the east side near the other island and sail straight with/at a chapel that is on the east side of the mainland, and when you are straight past (over?) the chapel, you will see a castle on the west side; right

across from the castle you may anchor at 12 fathoms. This haven is 3½ leagues from the Staggs.

Balti more.

The haven of Baltimore, one can run in and anchor well sheltered on both sides: sailing along the westlands one may lie sheltered in the bay before Castle Croock: in the middle of the waterway to sail the backway around the Sherkin Island lies a cliff that is dry at low tide.

Spain [Span ish Island] Sherkin Island

The narrows between the Spanish and Sherkin islands is very shallow and at half tide only 13 feet of water; at [mid-tide] not more than 10 or 11 feet, in addition it is somewhat dirty (treacherous?) but one can go through it with small ships with a spring tide.

Fastnet.

The gap that lies on the west side of the Clear Island [Cape Clear] is so 'dirty' [treacherous] that one may not go through, so the fishermen say. The cliff at Fastnet, that lies about E by S or ENE from Cape Clear, appears like it were a sail.

4 Leagues from Fastnet NW lies a haven named Crookhaven.

Outside Crookhaven is a high cliff which one cannot go through (in between; this is Gokane Point].

Schull haven.

There is a haven called Schull haven which lies from Fastnet N by W 5 leagues [this is Leamcon and Schull].

**Follows the map of the pirates' havens at C. Clare.**

***Appendix 5: The Algerine Raid on Baltimore – an overview***

Through communications and contact with pirates like Henry Mainwaring, the North African corsairs expanded their existing knowledge of ship construction, seamanship and warfare. Barbary merchants and traders had contact with mainland Europe and Britain throughout the previous century and would thus have been familiar with ship design, but by the second decade of the seventeenth century the character of Barbary piracy had altered and evolved dramatically. In tandem with this transformation in technology and seafaring capabilities, North African pirates now looked beyond the Mediterranean for pirating opportunities and set their sights on the coastal settlements of the North Atlantic.[1202]

In the summer of 1627 the people of the Westman Islands in Iceland were attacked by Barbary corsairs, three dozen were killed and close to four hundred taken captive to be sold in the slave markets of northern Africa. A first hand account from one of the captives, Reverend Ólafur Egilsson leaves a harrowing tale of fear, loss and grief. One interesting entry may contain a clue to the pirates changed nature when the Reverend recounts that '[ ] while the people were still unprepared, the evil pirates lowered three boats overboard and very quickly put three hundred into them and rushed ashore. In the boats were English pilots who had guided the pirates to Iceland, where none had ever before managed to come ashore'.[1203] No names are given for the pilots but it is possible that they were North Atlantic pirates who were at that point in the service of the Barbary corsairs. What is important about this is that while the pirates were now specifically targeting coastal settlements irrespective of how remote

[1202] Sir Francis Cottington, to the Duke, 1 October 1616, Madrid, *Cabala:* ibid., p. 217; Hebb, ibid. pp 14-15; Earle, *Corsairs of Malta and Barbary*, pp 23-71, provides a very comprehensive overview of the regencies and Corsairs' operations over the emerging sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[1203] K. Smári Hreinsson and A. Nichols, *The Travels of Reverend Ólafur Egilsson*: ibid, p. 20; this is a translation of the original account, the *Reisubók* (the *Travels*) and the quoted reference above is based on the translation, not the original documentary account.

they were in the Atlantic, those involved, in this case the English pilots, had first hand knowledge of the waters and routeways taken. The Barbary corsairs had thus armed themselves with more appropriate ships, armament, men and knowledge to expand their horizons for plunder.[1204]

Indeed in 1626 the economic impact in Ireland from Turkish pirate raids on merchant ships was raised by the Mayor of Limerick when in a letter to lord deputy Falkland he stated, '[ ] the townsmen [ ] are very poor, owing [to] pirates, Turks, Dunkirkers, and Spaniards, who have taken six of their ships at sea [ ]'. The townspeople were left impoverished due to loss of goods and income and could not afford to pay for the redemption of the captives.[1205] In January of 1631, Richard Boyle, the earl of Cork, wrote to Lord Dorchester to inform him that the Mayor of Waterford had received a report from Waterford merchants. They had returned from the coast of Spain and recounted that 36 sail of Turks had been pirating along Spain's coast and they feared that the ships would soon reach Ireland.[1206] In February of that year, Boyle relayed his own concerns about a possible pirate raid occurring along the Munster coastline 'I have receaved new intelligence that the Turkes are preparing to land (and) infest those Maritime parts of Munster'.[1207] He looked for assistance with fortifying Baltimore, but no help seems to have been forthcoming from central government.

Just four months later, on 20 June 1631, the North African pirates attacked Baltimore, killing two and taking 107 settlers captive. Two warships under the command of Dutchman Jan Janszoon, but then known as Murat Reis, moored to the east of Baltimore harbour and attacked the settlers in the Cove part of the town. The

[1204] John de Courcy-Ireland, 'The Algerine Raid on Baltimore', ibid., p. 69; de Courcy-Ireland argues that Algerine Turks were frequent visitors to northern shores before they began raiding coastal areas.
[1205] The Mayor of Limerick to Lord Falkland, 25 October 1626, *Cal. SP. Ire. 1625-1632*, p. 170.
[1206] The Earl of Cork to [Lord Dorchester], 24 January 1631, *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1625-1632*, p. 598.
[1207] Rev. J. Coombes, 'The Sack of Baltimore, a forewarning', ibid. pp 60-61.

day after the attack, Hull wrote to Boyle from Leamcon informing him that 'The ships [Turkish ships before mentioned] are plying off and on near Mizen Head.' The ships had been there over a week and Hull stipulated that if the pirates were not driven off, they would ruin trade and the people would be unable to pay their debts.[1208] This was preceded by a letter to Hull from Joseph Carter, sovereign of Baltimore, on the 20 June, that warned 'this last night just before day two Turke men-of-war [ ] have carried away men, women and children – one hundred & eleven, and 2 more they slayed [ ] the ships are going to the west, [ ] they will put in about Leamcon or Crookhaven.[1209] Hull's subsequent letter to Boyle suggested that there were other pirate ships plying the waters around Crookhaven and Mizen and perhaps Murat Reis' two vessels joined them following the raid on Baltimore. On the 25 June, just days after the attack, the full account of the raid was relayed to the king.[1210] A full list of those taken captive was also sent to the English Privy Council in July and it included another, shorter account of the raid.[1211] From the correspondence being sent back and forth the shock and concern was discernible, with an escalating sense of fear of further attacks.

Barnby, Ekin, Murray and more recently McCarthy have published comprehensive accounts of the Algerine raid.[1212] Apart from McCarthy's work, the

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[1208] Sir William Hull to the Earl of Cork, 21 June 1631, SP 63/252, f. 149v-150r (State Papers online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347881975).

[1209] Joseph Carter (sovereign of Baltimore) to Sir William Hull, 26 June 1631, SP 63/252, f. 161 (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347881980).

[1210] The second relation of the insolency of the Turks done at Baltymore which is more true and punctuall than the former, this being attested by the Soveragn, the burgesses, and Sir Samuell Crooke Barronnet, c. 25 June 1631, SP 63/252, f. 159r-160r (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347881979).

[1211] The Lords Justices and Council to the English Privy Council, 10 July 1631, SP/252, f. 183-185v (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347881996).

[1212] Barnby, 'The Sack of Baltimore', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 74 (1969), pp 117-118; Ekin, Des, *The Stolen Village*, pp 108-110; D. Murray, 'From Baltimore to Barbary: the 1631 Sack of Baltimore', *History Ireland*, 14, no. 4 (2006), p. 16; Bernie McCarthy, 'Algerine Pirates – The Sack of Baltimore', in *Pirates of Baltimore: From the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century* (Skibbereen, 2012), pp 40-62.

suggested landing place of the pirates is said to have been at the Cove, to the immediate south of the main castle and settlement of Dún na Séad.[1213] From there, the pirates are said to have attacked the houses in the Cove directly from the strand. Similarly, the houses in the Cove are described variously as being thatched, possibly of plaster and wood and being 'cabins', representative of what the native Irish would have been living in prior to the development of the plantation settlement.[1214] It is contended here that neither is correct.

In respect of the houses mentioned, from the list of captives from Baltimore, most would appear to have either new English settler or Old English names, with its being accepted that predominantly it was English settlers who were taken.[1215] This suggests that the Cove area was very much part of Thomas Crooke's plantation settlement, which would have had its attendant building regulations to construct dwellings 'in the English fashion'. They would therefore probably have been timber framed, of stone or brick infill, with slate roofs *and* with chimneys. While some structures would have been industrial (Crooke's fishing industry was located at the Cove) or for agricultural/domestic animal usage, and thus may have been thatched,

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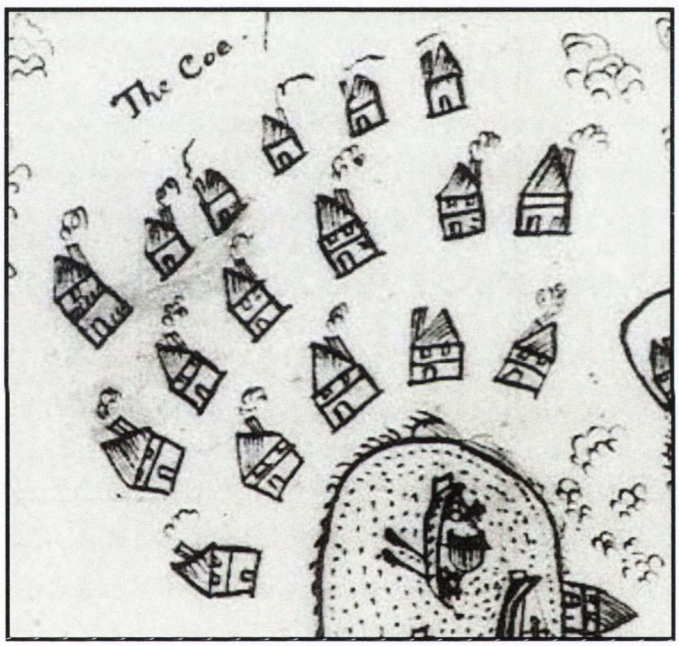
[1213] McCarthy, while not ruling out that some of the pirates may have landed at the Cove, also includes the possibility that they could have landed elsewhere, p. 46; this is a welcome update on the raid, which uses original sources and is supported by knowledge of the area; it discusses the raid, its wider impacts and long-term repercussions.

[1214] H Barnby refers to the houses being 'thatched with straw and 'built of wood and plaster' and as 'cabins'; Ekin's account is more or less a retelling of Barnby's, including referring to thatch and cabins; Murray incorrectly states that the 'cottages' were 'along the shoreline' at the Cove, when in fact they were located on the hill overlooking the strand at the Cove. This is borne out by both archaeological and cartographic evidence. The distance given of 2km for the Cove from the main town of Baltimore is also incorrect and is in reality no more than half a kilometer.

[1215] The Lords Justices and Council to the English Privy Council, 10 July 1631, SP/252, f. 184r-185v, ibid; McCarthy addresses this point too in her published account, p. 49; it is interesting to note that one of the captives was a William Gunter, along with his wife, maid and seven sons. One of the pirates active at the time was a Mathew Gunter, whose activities were noted in the sources from about the year 1613. He was in Broadhaven in that year seeking a pardon and in fact is recorded as being in prison nineteen times on charges of piracy; see Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 397; it would be interesting to try to trace if both individuals were connected, perhaps through the plantation and settlement of pirates in the area or indeed if any other listed captives may have similar names to pardoned pirates, though Mathew Gunter is recorded as executed in Cork in 1625; A corresponding note of interest, though perhaps unconnected, in 1592, another Mathew Gunter is recorded as being executed for piracy by the admiralty in Scotland; see Murdoch, *The Terror of the Seas?*, p. 126.

the majority of the settlers' house would have adhered to plantation standards. This is borne out by their representations on the two contemporary cartographic sources, the Dutch John Hunt chart of 1612 and the Strafford map of Baltimore.[1216] Both show the settlement in the Cove comprised houses with one and a half or two storeys, roofs that have a high pitch and thus most probably slated and all have chimneys (map image 34). These would certainly be representative of settler houses rather than lesser, thatched cabins.




(map image 34) Detail from Strafford map showing the settler houses in 'The Coe'.[1217]

From a landing perspective, it is suggested that the pirates did not land in the Cove area at all and in fact the contemporary accounts, while it is recorded that the pirates attacked the houses in the Cove, they do not state that they came in *at* the Cove. Two options are instead suggested for where the pirates landed, both are based on logistical/geographical considerations and cultural evidence identified. Both are again

[1216] Both are discussed in chapters 1 and 2.
[1217] Map of Baltimore, WWM. Str. P 20/(b)/100 Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments Strafford Folio Map.

backed up by the same cartographic sources. It is known from the contemporary accounts of the raid, that Murat Reis moored his two ship to the east of the harbour entrance. This would be in Eastern Hole Bay, which provided sufficient depth and shelter for the two larger vessels to moor safely. It is a traditional anchorage just outside the main harbour. From here the pirates, once they had lowered their 'long boats' could enter directly to the immediate north of Eastern Hole Bay, where there is a narrow shingle strand and a small river running into the sea there.

Survey of this area showed that this would have provided direct access over the ridge to the settlement at the Cove. It would be a short climb through a narrow inlet, and the pirates could have easily pulled their boats onto the shore there, directly north of their anchored ships. Alternatively, and a more probable landing place is on another slightly larger shingle beach area known as Tramadroum ('the bay of the ridge'). The strand lies just inside and immediately north of the harbour entrance, so it would have necessitated the pirates rowing (as is referred to in the accounts) around the headland and 'along all the shoare' but then into the secluded harbour immediately inside the entrance.[1218] The strand there leads right into the Cove, past the fish palace site into the town proper. Its proximity to the industrial fishing sites suggests that there may well have been some infrastructure for landing boats there at that time in order to load and off-load cargoes of fish and train oil.

A recent survey carried out at Tramadroum for this thesis has resulted in the identification of archaeology on the foreshore. A linear stone feature, the possible remains of a stone quay, was traced (plates 61 and 62). The shingle beach area of the foreshore has built up around the structure, inhibiting full recording but the extent of what is exposed runs 10m N-S and then, turning at a right angle towards the sea,

[1218] The Lords Justices and Council to the English Privy Council, 10 July 1631, SP/252, f. 183-185v, ibid.

continues for another approximate 7m length of stone settings E-W. Certainly the shape of the feature as it currently reveals itself is suggestive of the remains of a stone quay.[1219] The possible existence of a quay again suggests that there was infrastructure there for vessels and for those onshore tending them. When looking at the cartographic evidence for this area, particularly the map of Baltimore in the Strafford papers, the inlet where the fishing boat is shown drawing in the net in front of two buildings enclosed by a possible bawn wall, is that of Tramadroum (map image 35).[1220] The Cove is directly north, around the inner headland, where several small fishing boats are shown as moored. Depicted also, outside and immediately southeast of the harbour entrance, is a large vessel with its anchor deployed. This is Eastern Hole Bay. The proximity of Tramadroum to Eastern Hole, its depicted location, looking directly across to Sherkin Friary and pier, supports it as being a suitable landing place and one that had infrastructure suitable for use by the fishing industry.

[1219] C. Kelleher, New coastal sites at Tramadroum, Coney Island, Baltimore, Co. Cork (internal file, Underwater Archaeology Unit, Department of Arts, Heritage & the Gaeltacht, 2011); I am grateful to Dr. Brian Marten for his help with surveying at Tramadroum and for his local knowledge.

[1220] Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments WWM/Str P 20/100; Priestley, in his publication on the map suggests that the ships shown are anchored at the Cove; E.J. Priestley, 'An Early 17th-Century Map of Baltimore', pp 55-57.



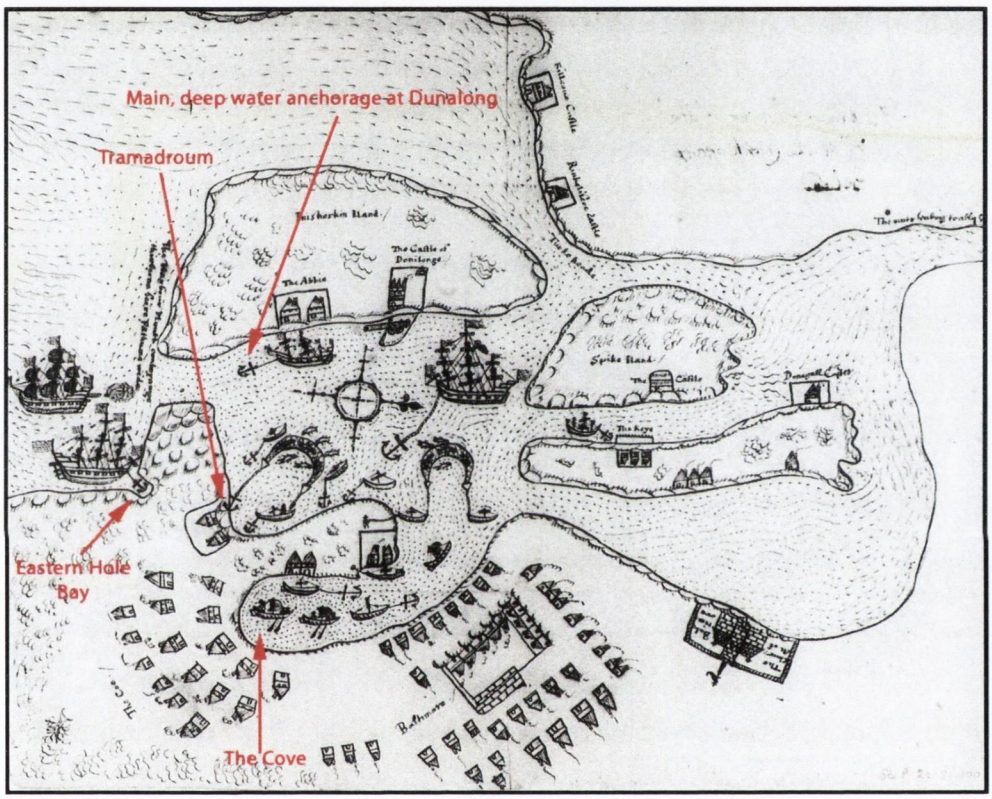

(plate 61) Stone setting of possible quay at Tramadroum, south of Baltimore village.



(plate 62) View looking inshore of feature(s) at Tramadroum.

Eastern Hole Bay or Tramadroum would both have allowed direct access inland to the Cove settlement, but out of view of the inner and main settlement around

the castle. To land in either of those locations would have facilitated a rapid, sudden, surprise attack and by extension, an efficient escape from the scene thereafter. Logistically, to land at the Cove would have necessitated a very long row around the entrance headland by the pirates, with a landing in full view of the main castle and settlement, with its attendant ordnance.




(map image 35) Strafford map of Baltimore showing location of main anchorages and Tramadroum.[1221]

Entering the Cove, as Barnby rightly suggests, would have meant navigating between moored fishing boats.[1222] By default, it would have meant the same when leaving, but the pirates' boats would then have been full of captives, with the long rowing distance to Eastern Hole Bay being slow and laborious. This fact alone mitigates against a Cove landing.

[1221] Map of Baltmore: WWM/Str P 20/100, ibid.
[1222] Barnby, ibid. p. 118.

The fieldwork undertaken for assessing the possible landing places of the Algerine pirates involved both coastal survey (walking and surveying the coastal edges of the Cove and harbour) and boat survey. Viewing the coastline from the sea, coming around from Eastern Hole Bay and tracking the possible route and distance between places, gives an immediate hands-on sense of logistical reality to landing in the dead of night. It certainly suggests that from a pragmatic perspective the Cove was not the landing spot. The direct access afforded by the other two suggested entry points, as well as the possible quay structure at Tramadroum, would support the argument that one of these two locations was in fact used by the Algerine pirates when they arrived in the early hours of a June morning in 1631 and thus their mooring in Eastern Hole Bay was strategic to that landing.

The emerging archaeology in Tramadroum may point to a coastal access point that contained formal facilities known to the pirates or at least mariners using the waterways at that time. Finding more elusive evidence for the pirates from the later period may also be revealing itself in the form of wrecks of vessels that may have been associated with pirate activity and quite possibly directly connected with some of the leading pirates of the day.

**Evidence beneath the waves?**

The newly discovered Colla Wreck near Schull, discussed in chapter 7, may tentatively be linked to the pirate activity associated with William Hull and Leamcon, though admittedly, investigations at the site are at a very early stage and the wreck may turn out to be the remains of an unknown merchant vessel that was legitimately trading in the area. Another wreck site, however, may have more definitive links to the later piracy in the area, and perhaps even to the Algerine pirates and their

associates plying the waters around the southern coastline in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century.

At the time of the growing Algerine threat, a number of pirates emerged onto the scene whose names became better known than others. One name to emerge was that of Nutt.[1223] There were allegedly two pirates named Nutt, John and Robert Nutt, both English. John Nutt reputedly received a pardon by 1623 and thereafter commanded privateers, but he remained active around Ireland up to 1632, where it is not known if Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford and newly appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, had him executed or not.[1224] He was closely linked to George Calvert, later Lord Baltimore, and his settlement in Newfoundland.[1225] Robert Nutt was also active about the same time and frequented the southwest coast of Munster, in particular near Long Island and Crookhaven in April 1632.[1226] A similar, slightly later account also refers to a pirate named Nutt sailing in consort with 'Turks' when surveying the Irish harbours in 1632, when a fear of another attack was again being mooted.[1227] For this period, there are numerous entries in the HCA papers to Robert Nutt's exploits around the southwest corner of Ireland, from Ballinskelligs to

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[1223] Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 416; as indicated by Senior, there were two pirates named Nutt, and he provides information on both of them.

[1224] M.B. Fuller, ''Sir John Eliot and John Nutt, the Pirate', *Smith College Studies in History*, 6, no. 2 (January 1919), pp 71-94.

[1225] John Nutt from Devon is recorded as being married with three children; Senior, 'An Investigation', p. 166 and 416; there is a strong chance that both John and Robert Nutt have been mixed up over the decades in the historical accounts and thus caution is advised when reviewing any information pertaining to both pirates; see also Earle, *Corsairs of Malta and Barbary*, for John Nutt, pp 92-93 and for Robert Nutt, p. 108; Tinniswood, *Pirates of Barbary*, for John Nutt, pp 72-74, though this does not add much to current knowledge; Raymond White's book, *They're Bones are Scattered: A History of the Old Head of Kinsale and Surrounding Areas* (Kinsale, 2003), pp. 172-173, refers to a 'Pieter Nutt', a Dutch pirate who infested the areas around Kinsale from about 1627 to 1632, unfortunately Mr. White does not provide references for his sources and I can find no other reference to a Dutch pirate named Peter Nutt in the area for that time.

[1226] Capt. William Thomas to Nicholas, 6 April 1632, SP 16/215, f. 20 (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4324282483).

[1227] The Lords Justices and Council to the Lords of the Admiralty, 27 October 1632, SP 63/235, f. 230r (State Papers Online, Gale Manuscript no. MC4347882176); Sir Thomas Harris to Lord Falkland, 26 November 1632, SP 63/253 f. 245 (State Papers Online, MC4347882186), Nutt is at this point in Ballinskelligs, County Kerry.

Kinsale.[1228] It seems from the contemporary accounts that Robert Nutt was more active in Ireland than his colleague John Nutt, who is more readily associated with Newfoundland and the southern coast of England.

It is at this time that a ship associated with the Algerine Turks, and possibly that of the pirate 'Nutt' (though it is not clarified which Nutt is referred to) is recorded as being lost in Dunworley Bay in County Cork while plying the coastal regions of the southwest (plate 63).[1229] Dunworley Bay is a smaller harbour within the southeastern corner of the larger bay of Clonakilty on the southern coast of Cork. It is approximately twenty kilometres to the east of Baltimore, just five kilometres from the town of Clonakilty and ten kilometres by sea from Kinsale harbour to its immediate southwest. The pirates would have regularly used this stretch of water if sailing along the south coast, and it was the route taken by Murat Reis following his capture of the fishermen in Dungarvan, including Hacket who is credited with safely piloting him from Dungarvan, around to Kinsale and onto Baltimore.[1230]

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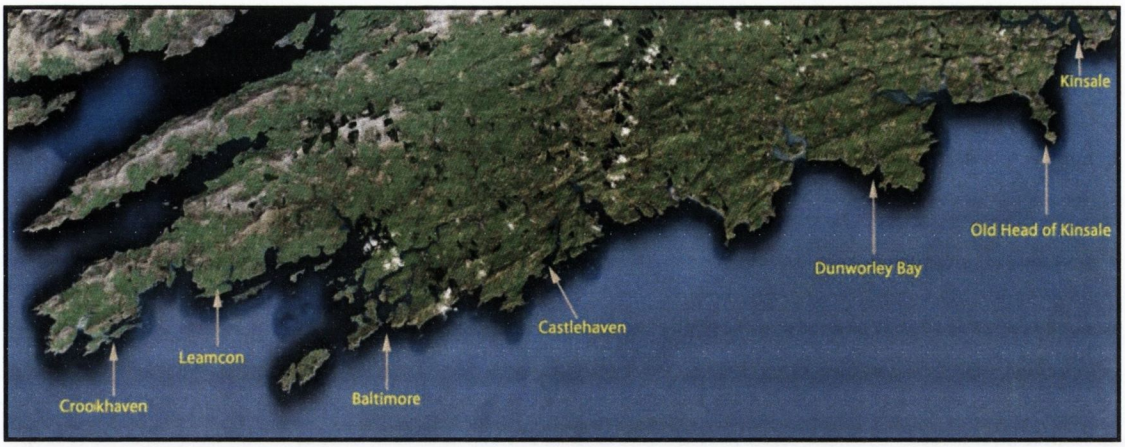
[1228] Appleby, (ed.), *Calendar of Material*, pp 205, 212, 215-216.

[1229] G. Bennett, *A History of Bandon and the Principal Towns in the West Riding of the County Cork* (Cork, 1869), pp 80-82, 90-92; Bennett does not give a source for his reference to the wreck, and he draws on both fact and fiction within his publication, which is of its time and is an often romanticized view of protestant landholding and how it was acquired in Bandon and the surrounding area. Of value is his detail of the actual shipwreck in Dunworley Bay, where he described being able to see cannon, the recovery of trade beads and the depth of the wreck site. Caution is advised as it is the author's opinion that the wreck that Bennett described as viewing in the bay itself is in fact the remains of a later ship, that of the Royal African Company's slave ship the *Amity*, lost in the bay in the year 1700; for a fuller discussion on this see C. Kelleher, 'The Dunworley Bay Shipwreck: 17th-century evidence for piracy and slavery in Ireland?' in C. Horrell and M. Damour (eds.), *ACUA Archaeology Conference Proceedings, 2010* (USA, 2010), pp 138-145.

[1230] Barnby, 'Sack of Baltimore', pp 115-116.




(plate 63) Location of Dunworley Bay relative to study area.[1231]

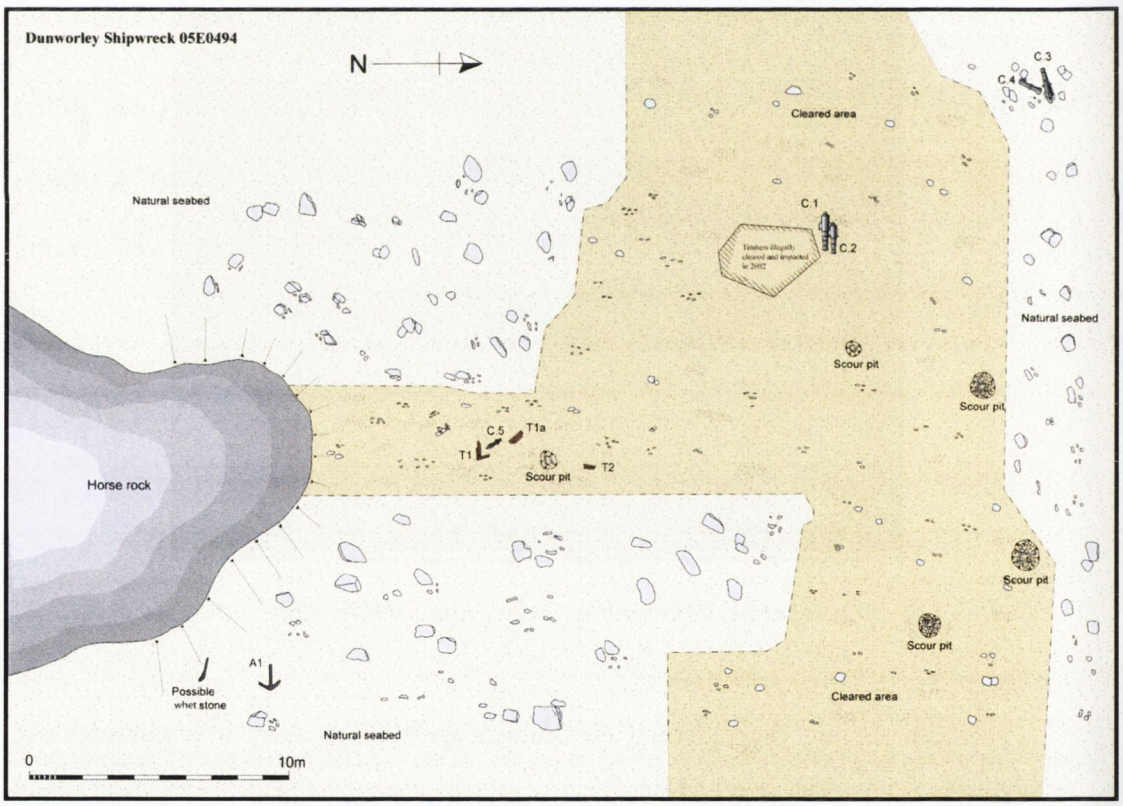



(plate 64) Dunworley Bay with wreck site indicated.[1232]

South facing, the entrance to Dunworley is marked by a continuous reef system that reveals itself through two pinnacles, the larger Cow Rock and the smaller Horse Rock, with the latter being covered at high tides and acting as a hidden hazard to shipping over the centuries. The Dunworley Bay Wreck site lies at the base of the

[1231] Aerial image © Google Earth.
[1232] OSI aerial image (© Ordnance Survey of Ireland, permit EN0059208)

western side of Horse Rock and it appears from the nature and extent of the wreck that the vessel hit or grounded on Horse Rock and came to settle on the seabed to its immediate west (plate 64).[1233] Submerged at an average depth of 12m, archaeological survey and investigation by the author has mapped the main wreck site, with the survey covering a 45m by 45m area. Recorded were *in situ* lower hull timbers, six iron cannon, including one swivel gun and one breech-loader and two iron anchors - a large bower and small kedge (figure 13). Though only the lower hull remains of the wreck itself, analysis of the constructional details points to a possible Dutch built vessel.




(figure 13) 1:50 scale archaeological site plan of general wreck area, showing Horse Rock and wreck remains.[1234]

[1233] C. Kelleher, 'The Dunworley Bay Shipwreck: ibid.

[1234] Wreck site surveyed and excavated under licence in compliance with the National Monuments Amendment Acts 1987 and 1994: Excavation licence 05E0494; see Appendix 5 for pro-forma site sheet.

Of the iron cannon recorded, collectively the guns are of variable sizes and calibres but appear to be English.[1235] One has produced distinguishing maker's marks. A small calibre gun being a falcon or falconet, examination of the maker's marks on the breech end near the touchhole have positively identified it as belonging to John Browne, of the famous Browne family of Horsmonden, royal gunfounders through four generations, from the 1590s to the 1670s. The Browne family marks varied with each generation, with the marks on the Dunworley Wreck gun attributed to the early to mid-seventeenth century period (plate 65).[1236]

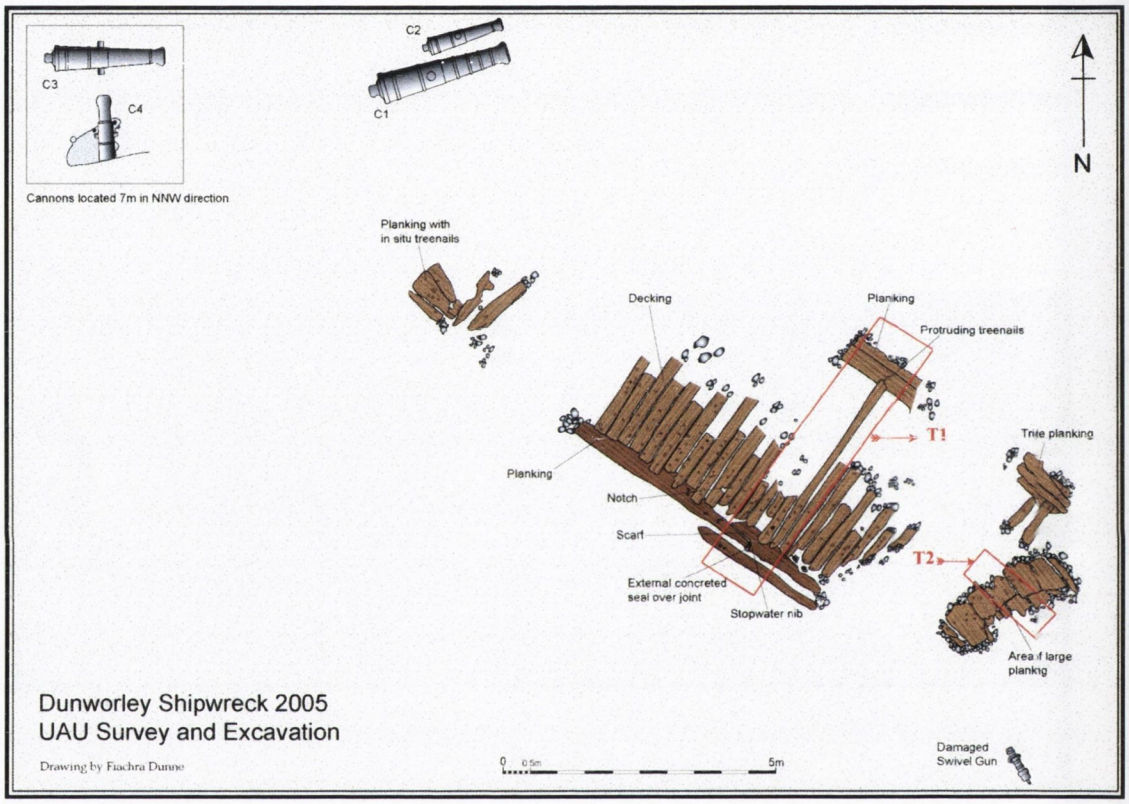


(plate 65) Cannons C3 and C4 being recorded on seabed and maker's marks of John Browne on cannon C6 recovered gun (indicated by yellow line above ruler next to touchhole).

The exposed hull structure of the Dunworley Wreck was recorded in plan at 1:20 scale and this mapped an area measuring 16m by 7m, including 28 tightly-spaced floor timbers abutting external hull planking. The timber is oak and the ship's fixings were predominantly wooden in the form of timber treenails and dowels, but small, square iron nails and nail holes were evident on the outer face of the hull

[1235] Dr. Ruth Rhynas Brown, Specialist Report on the iron guns from the Dunworley Bay shipwreck site, (Unpublished report for the Underwater Archaeology Unit, Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2009).
[1236] Ibid.

planks on the port side, suggesting the use of some form of sheathing or sacrificial planking to protect the outer hull from damage, including from marine borers, such as *teredo navalis*. The shipworm was evident on some of the flooring timbers, and like the Colla Wreck, points to the vessel having spent times sailing in a warmer climate (figure 14)[1237].




(figure 14) 1:20 site plan of the hull timbers pre-excavation with test trenches indicated in red. Constructional features are also indicated on the flooring and planking timbers. Four of the guns on he site are also shown in plan to scale.[1238]

The cumulative results from the recording of the hull of the wreck points to a well-built and sturdy, medium sized ship, possibly of 200-500 tons when fully constructed. The mixture of iron guns on board suggests it may have been a merchant vessel that would have acquired guns from numerous sources. There were ready markets in Europe for the sale of cannon at that time and such merchantmen would not have been

[1237] See chapter 7 for a brief discussion on the Colla Wreck.
[1238] Site plan drawn by C. Kelleher, colour digitization by Fiachra Dunne.

particular as to the type of guns used once the size and price were right.[1239] At that time along the southwest coast of Ireland, large numbers of merchant ships were trading out of the many harbours and ports, with Kinsale immediately to the east and Clonakilty to the west, the ship could have been trading to or from one of those when lost.

The remains may also point to a ship that was used by pirates, as they would have acquired guns from whatever source opportunity presented, including from ships captured, resulting in a mixture of gun types. An example is the swivel gun, a favoured piece of ordnance by pirates as it could be moved easily from one place on a ship to another. Generally they were used for close-up engagement and as anti-personnel weapons. Pirates particularly sought them as they were mounted on the gunwales of a ship and assisted with the boarding of other vessels when being captured. The possible Dutch construction of the ship again adds weight to its being a ship that could have been part of a pirate expedition, as it has been previously discussed that pirates preferred Dutch-built ships, particularly flyboats or fluyts.[1240]

As it stands, however, what can be said about the Dunworley Wreck is that it was a medium sized, well-built early to mid-seventeenth century armed ship that had a mixture of guns on board. From its position on the seabed, it looks to have wrecked on the Cow and Horse reef, with its loss leaving little or no trace in the historical record. The positive identification of this wreck as being that of a ship associated with pirate activity or indeed directly part of Nutt's fleet is difficult and, realistically such clarification may never be positively achieved. What is interesting and valid to a study such as this is the potential that such underwater archaeological sites have to informing on the types of ships in use from that period. Whether pirate ship, pirate

[1239] R. Brown, Specialist Report on the iron guns, ibid.
[1240] See chapter 2 for a discussion on ship types and relevant sources quoted.

prize or merchant ship plying the waters perhaps avoiding the main pirate hunting grounds only to founder in a remote bay, the cultural remains present evidence on the constructional details and size of a ship from that period and the mixture of guns that it carried. The archaeological evidence helps to physically link the maritime history of the early-seventeenth century period with the actual ships then sailing along the coast. This includes the pirates who were skirting the coastal areas of Munster looking to land, raid or plunder and who themselves may have ended their days as settlers, survivors or lost to the depths. While history can record and then recount the story of piracy, like that of Campane's trade with Leamcon or the Algerine raid on Baltimore, archaeology allows for the analysis, interpretation and re-evaluation of these accounts.

*Appendix 6: Catalogue of archaeological sites & artefacts*

Archaeological fieldwork for this thesis comprised visiting known sites and looking for new ones. Sites associated with individuals who were involved with piracy included the recorded monuments at Leamcon (site of castle, country house, fish palace, bridge) and at Baltimore (Dún na Séad castle, Dunalong castle, Oldcourt castle and house and the fish palace at the Cove). Survey work within the chosen landscape resulted in new sites being identified, some of which may have been contemporary with the piracy in the area at that time, with a select number by their very nature being highly suggestive of illicit use.[1241]

A total of 20 new sites were identified that can be added to the archaeological record for the study area. Three further sites, those at Canty's Cove were also surveyed. The sites at Canty's have been previously published and were known but they have not to date been included in the Archaeological Survey of Ireland's (ASI) Record of Monuments and Places (RMP) as protected archaeological sites.[1242] Of the new sites identified, types range from quays, docks, slipways, careening sites, mooring posts, rock-cuts steps and caves. The latter due to their association with man-made sites, such as the steps and rock cut platforms at Canty's Cove, are included for their potential cultural usage. The wreck sites at Colla near Schull and in Dunworley Bay, though previously discovered are included as they date to the study period and may well be directly associated with pirate activity.

As well as new sites being recorded, new site types were also identified, particularly rock-cut steps, platforms and careening places. These categories of sites

[1241] Please refer to Appendix 6 for a discussion on all these sites.

[1242] Hawke, 'Canty's Cove', *Mizen Journel*; The Archaeological Survey of Ireland RMP database comprises a list of recorded monuments, which by their inclusion are protected under the National Monuments Acts 1930-2004. It is the intention of the author to put all new sites surveyed for this study forward for listing in the RMP.

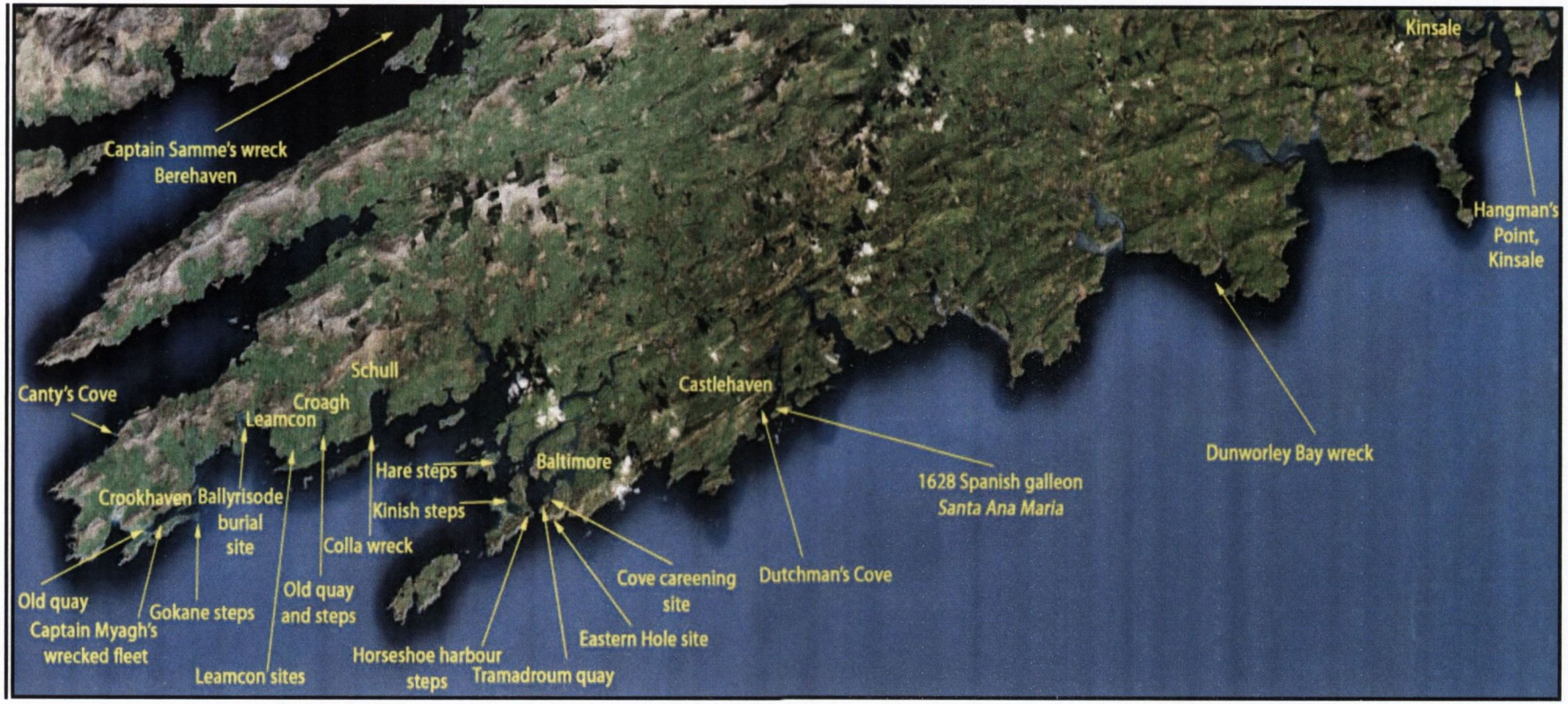
are not included in the ASI's database of archaeological monument classification and are thus offered here as a new category for archaeological monuments that should be afforded protection under national heritage law.

A brief catalogue is presented below comprising an inventory of historically recorded seventeenth-century shipwrecks with known associations with piracy. A full list of all sites surveyed for this study is provided and 6 pro-forma surveys, as a sample of new sites and new site types recorded, is included at the end.[1243]

Presented below are:

- Location map of sites within study area.
- List of the historically recorded shipwreck losses associated with piracy from the seventeenth century within the study area.
- List of sites rapidly surveyed within study area, including artefacts; this includes known sites and those newly discovered.
- 6 Pro-formas of selected sites containing survey details, brief descriptions, local information, images, etc.

[1243] A full catalogue of all sites identified can be obtained by contacting the author.




Location of new and potential sites within study area

## ***Shipwrecks associated with pirates in the general study area for the seventeenth century***

| | |
|---|---|
| *Site Name* | **unknown** |
| *Date of Loss* | Jan. 1582 |
| *Place of Loss* | Sherkin Is. |
| *Detail* | This Spanish ship was owned and mastered by Philip de Oris. She was carrying a cargo of wax, Holland cloth, ropes and other wares when attacked by Englishmen at Falmouth in January. Gabriel Roe of Barnstaple and William Sergent were two of the men who captured the vessel. The ship was brought into Baltimore around 12 January and was in need of masts and other repairs. The pirates bought a bark from Captain Apsley and Thomas Eden of Rosscarbery for £50. In return, they provided them with goods worth 100 marks more than that sum. Most of the cargo from the Spanish ship was transferred onto the bark and left the Spanish ship in the haven. As they were leaving Baltimore the bark ran aground and broke in two. Fineen O' Driscoll seized the goods. Giles Clencher or Klengher, who was a servant to the lord admiral, made an inventory of the goods and ordered O Driscoll to keep the goods safe until the rightful owners were found. The same source also states that Fineen O Driscoll and Eden bought a bark from Mattew Hore of Plymouth and then sold it to the pirates. Three days later the bark went ashore on Sherkin Island and broke in two.[1244] |

[1244] Appleby, *A Calendar of Material*, pp 47-9; Shipwreck Inventory Archive data: Wrecks of County Cork, Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Site Name* | **Unknown** |
| *Date of Loss* | *c.* 1609 |
| *Place of Loss* | Berehaven |
| *Details* | Pirate Captain Sammes, one of Richard Bishop's crew brought his ship into Berehaven where it was 'bulged' or wrecked at the entrance.[1245] |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Site Name* | ***Pearl*** |
| *Date of Loss* | 30 June / 20 Sept. 1613 |
| *Place of Loss* | Trá na Pherle between Allihies and Eyries |
| *Details* | The *Pearl* had set sail for the East Indies in 1610 commanded by Captain Castleton. Though generally commissioned by the East Indies Company, on this occasion the *Pearl* was acting as an interloper under Castleton, and thus outside its official orders. Differing accounts report that the authorities feared that they would be attacked by pirates on the Irish coast and took measures to secure all three ships or the *Pearl* was deliberately run ashore. The vessels reached the Irish coast in a distressed condition and the *Pearl* was wrecked near Dursey Island outside Bantry Bay. It was a 200-ton vessel, carrying a cargo worth £300,000. The goods were salvaged through the efforts of Sir Richard Bingley of HMS *Dreadnought* and a protracted court case ensued thereafter. Timbers and cannonballs have been washed ashore at Trá na Phearla (strand of the *Pearl*) near Dursey in recent years.[1246] |

[1245] Examination by Rich. Kerry, 23 January 1609, ibid.; 'bulge' is an early nautical term and means to founder.

[1246] Appleby, *Calendar of Material*, p. 140; C. Senning, 'Piracy, Politics, and Plunder under James I: The Voyage of the *Pearl* and its Aftermath, 1611-1615', *Hunting Library Quarterly*, 46, no. 3 (Summer 1983), pp 187-222;The Lord Deputy [Chichester] to the Lords of the Council, 3 November and 6 November, 1613, Edwards, 'Letter-book', p. 132, 140; Deposition of Walter Rockwell of Bristol, mariner, 7 June, 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/42, f 307r); please see chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion on this wreck; Shipwreck Inventory Archive data: Wrecks of County Cork, ibid.

*Site Name* **unknown** (there were a number of ships within the pirate fleet sunk during this engagement)

*Date of Loss* 4 March 1614

*Place of Loss* Crookhaven

*Details* Patrick Myagh was in Crookhaven on the 4 March with his 160-ton ship, which carried velvet, satin, grograine, Holland cloth, canvas and other sundry goods. They were read a 'protection' which was on the condition that they 'give satisfaction' to Thomas Boothbye for a £1,900 loss he had incurred by pirates. The protection was accepted and they surrendered themselves to his majesty's pardon. Dutch Captain Moy Lambert arrived in Crookhaven on the same day. Captain Hargill took a boat to speak to some of the people aboard the Holland ships, to certify that Myagh and crew were protected. They would not speak to him but drove their ship full on toward him. Moy Lambert then sent three boats filled with armed men towards Myagh's ship. One of the men, Jacob Johnson, boarded Myagh's ship, as she lay aground (probably being careened). He 'shot' through her, which in turn set fire to her powder. Part of the vessel blew up and some of the crew were burnt and wounded. The rest of Jacob's crew entered Myagh's ship and murdered any surviving men. Myagh's ship was a total loss.[1247]

*Site Name* **Unknown**

*Date of Loss* Spring/Summer of 1625

*Place of Loss* Leamcon/Long Island Sound

*Details* This was pirate Captain Claus Campane's ship that had offloaded its cargo before sinking near Leamcon in two-three fathoms of water. This may have been one of two ships used by Campane, his Admiral' of 400 tons, with 35 pieces of ordnance

[1247] Examination of Edward Davenant of the island of Whiddy, county of Cork, merchant, aged 45, 1 October 1614 (T.N.A. Examinations, HCA 13/226, f. 338); Appleby, *Calendar of Material*, pp 285-289; please refer to chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion on this battle and the loss of Myagh's ship.

and a crew of 80 men and the 'Vice- Admiral' of 220 tons, carrying 26 guns and with a complement of 40 men.[1248]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Site Name* | **The Colla Wreck** |
| *Date of Loss* | late-sixteenth or early seventeenth century |
| *Place of Loss* | Long Island Sound/west of Schull (townland of Colla) |
| *Details* | This wreck was recently discovered during archaeological monitoring of dredging operations. A substantial part of the wreck remains, with deck timbers and hold of ship preserved within the sands. Wooden crates were identified in the hold, along with pottery, coconuts and the remains of barrels. Pottery evidence suggests the date range for the site.[1249] |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Site Name* | **The Dunworley Bay Wreck** |
| *Date of Loss* | early to mid- seventeenth century |
| *Place of Loss* | Dunworley Bay, Co. Cork |
| *Details* | The site was targeted by treasure hunters in the late 1990s and early 2000s, who were subsequently charged in 2007. It is the remains of an early to mid-seventeenth century wreck with iron cannon, anchors and its lower hull remaining. It appears to be Dutch built and the mixture of guns on the site may point to it being an armed merchant ship or pirate vessel. The remains may be that of one of the recorded wrecks from this period lost in the bay or may be a new, previously unrecorded shipwreck.[1250] |

[1248] The Names of those who bought Goods of the Pirate Campane at Lymecon, in the West of Ireland, [?] 1625, *Cal S.P. Ireland, 1603-1625* (State Papers Online, Gale Calendar no. MC4347701417); please see chapter 7 for a broader discussion on Campane and the loss of his ship.

[1249] J. O'Donoghue, 'The Colla Wreck: Rapid Archaeological Assessment Report' (Unpublished Interim Report, Cork, July 2012), pp 1-19; please see chapter 7 for a discussion on this wreck site.

[1250] ; C. Kelleher, 'The Dunworley Bay Shipwreck: 17th-century evidence for piracy and slavery in Ireland?' in C. Horrell and M. Damour (eds.), *ACUA Archaeology Conference Proceedings, 2010* (USA, 2010), pp 138-145; this site is discussed in Appendix 5chapter 7.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Site Name* | ***'Rover'*** (probably not its correct name) |
| *Date of Loss* | 1631 |
| *Place of Loss* | Dunworley Bay |
| *Details* | An Algerian pirate ship is reputedly wrecked in the bay that formed part of the Algerine fleet involved in a 1631 raid on Baltimore or that belonged to pirate captain John Nutt's fleet.[1251] |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Site Name* | ***St. Diego*** |
| *Date of Loss* | post Nov. 1631 |
| *Place of Loss* | Berehaven |
| *Details* | This Lisbon ship had been captured by the pirate Robert Nutt. William Thomas, of the *Ninth Whelp*, was commissioned by the Lords justice to search the west coast for pirates, in particular for Nutt. He located the *St. Diego* in Ballinskelligs Road in County Kerry and the crew aboard said that Nutt was expected to arrive in 4 or 5 days. The next day Thomas went aboard the vessel and boarded up the hatches, so as to protect the cargo. When Nutt took the ship, it carried 700 ducats in gold and 300 ducats of silver but when Thomas took it, there was only black sugar aboard. Miles Button was put aboard to protect the cargo and Pattison was left as master. They left for the safer harbour of Kinsale but they encountered bad weather and the ships were separated. The *St. Diego* lost her mainmast so entered Berehaven, where she moored in bad ground. One of her cables broke and the vessel bulged and lay mostly covered by water. William Bonde saved some of the ship for the use of Captain Smith, 'a pretended Patentee of Pirate goods'. Most of the sugar was landed at Berehaven where it was stored in a |

[1251] G. Bennett, *A History of Bandon and the Principal Towns in the West Riding of the County Cork* (Cork, 1869), pp 80-82, 90-92; C. Kelleher, 'The Dunworley Bay Shipwreck: ibid; Shipwreck Inventory Archive data: Cork, ibid.

waterside house. Bonde then moved it to Bantry but some of it was wasted and stolen by locals.[1252]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Site Name* | **unknown/ possible slave ship *Amity*** |
| *Date of Loss* | 1650-1702/ lost 1700 |
| *Place of Loss* | Dunworley Bay |
| *Details* | The captain of this African ship, with a cargo of gold dust, scuttled her in fear of pirates. The wreck was dated by the presence of coins from the reign of William III. This could also be referring to the Royal African Company slave ship *Amity*, that was lost in the bay in 1700 and this would certainly be in keeping with the date of the coins.[1253] |

[1252] Appleby, 1992, 215-18, 223-24, 319-20, 922, 923, 937, 1355; Shipwreck Inventory Archive data: Cork, ibid.

[1253] Shipwreck Inventory Archive data: Cork, ibid; Kelleher, 'The Dunworley Bay Shipwreck', ibid.; Royal African Company papers: 1701: Letters to Morgan Bernard & Robert Travers, Gents, Ireland, 5 February; 18 November; 18 December; (T.N.A. 'Letter Book of the Royal African Company', 25 November 1700 - 17 January 1705, T70/43); Discourse with Lord Barramore, Lord of the Mannour, where the *Amity* was cast away, 23 December 1701 (T.N.A. Minute Book of the Royal African Company, 23 November 1699 – 24 April 1703, T70/119).

**Catalogue of Sites & Artefacts:**

| No. | Location | New sites | Recorded/known sites | Details |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Castlehaven** | | | |
| 1 | | Dutchman's Cove steps and light niches | | Rock cut with definitive niches to guide in small craft |
| 2 | | Church site, Reen Point | Assoc. with site Co151:020 burial site on Reen Point | In 1612 document as 'chapl' and on John Hunt chart; church site not previously recorded. |
| | **Baltimore** | | | |
| 3 | | Tramadroum possible quay (Tramadroum = strand of the ridge/cave/inlet) | | 2 sections of linear stone settings buried in shingle |
| 4 | | Cove careening place | | Rock-cut perforations in rock face to take ropes |
| 5 | | Eastern Hole Bay landing/careening place | | Perforations & recesses in rocks along rocky strand |
| 6 | | | Cove fish palace | CO149:049 |
| 7 | | | Boat-shaped sailors grave(s) | CO149:033 |
| 8 | | | Dún na Séad castle: Fortified house | CO150:036002; see E. Cotter excavations results, including pottery; CO150:036003 (bawn) |
| 9 | | | Oldcourt Castle | CO141:116 (castle) & CO141:116001 (bawn) |
| 10 | | | Oldcourt House | 20914128 listed building (see NIAH) |
| | **Leamcon** | | | |
| 11 | | Long dock (at Battering Place) | | Basal remains of robbed-out quay |
| 12 | | Small slipway | | Linear edges of uprights of robbed out/eroded slipway |
| 13 | | Quay and steps + stone mooring posts (at Boathouse field) | | Stone quay with steps and adjacent upright stone mooring posts (at least 3) |
| 14 | | Intertidal stone feature (at Pairc an Carta) | | Remains of small quay |
| 15 | | Subcircular stone feature (at Pairc an Malla) | | Unknown use, possible small harbour/dock |
| 16 | | Long quay (at Pairc an Malla) | | Long line of upright stones denoting possible dock or quay |
| 17 | | Double stone features either side of Leamcon harbour entrance | | On both sides of harbour entrance, large stone features protruding into water; possible command platforms/remains of old quays |
| 18 | | | Leamcon House | CO148:026001 |
| 19 | | | Battery | CO148:026002 |
| 20 | | | Bridge | CO148:025002 |
| 21 | | | Leamcon Fish palace | CO148:027003 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 | | | Walled garden | CO148:027002 |
| | | | Castle (site of) | CO148:025001 |
| | | | Church | CO148:025004 |
| | | | Graveyard | CO148:036 |
| | | | Circular enclosure | CO148:024 |
| | **Schull/Long Island Sound** | | | |
| 23 | | Colla Shipwreck - newly discovered 2012 | | Refer to Ms. Julianna O'Donoghue, maritime archaeologist. |
| | **Croagh** | | | |
| 24 | | Old quay + stone mooring post (Seafort) | | On S shore, poss. associated with Seafort House |
| 25 | | Careening site | | On foreshore; as reported by Mr. Precious. |
| | **Crookhaven** | | | |
| 26 | | Gokane Head stone steps + assoc. cavern | | Series of narrow steps at edge of high drop over sea and with cavern underneath |
| 27 | | White Strand quay | | Remains of large quay |
| | **Roaringwater Bay** | | | |
| 28 | | Sherkin Is – Kinish Harbour rock-cut steps | | At NW edge of Kinish Harbour, assoc. with fresh water source |
| 29 | | Sherkin Is – Horseshoe Harbour rock-cut steps and platforms; also recesses in rock | | On NW side of Horseshoe, leading inland, long line of steps with intervening rock platforms. Near fresh waters source |
| 30 | | | Dunalong Castle | CO149:018002 (castle) + CO149:018003 (bawn) |
| 31 | | Hare Island steps | | Wide rock-cut steps, 2 sections with intervening platform |
| 32 | | | Skeam Is. habitation site | CO149:031; seventeenth century midden & pottery; refer to Claire Cotter, 1990 excavation report. |
| | **Other places** | | | |
| 33 | Ballyrisode | Ballyrisode strand – sailors'/pirates' burial site according to tradition | | 2 upright stones and sub-rectangular stone settling similar to cist, on upper strand |
| 34 | Dunkelly | Canty's Cove – steps x 2 | | 1 set remain, other steps destroyed |
| 35 | | Canty's Cove – rock cut platforms + caves | | Leading from inner harbour/river entrance and to S of caves |
| 36 | | Canty's Cove house and garden | | Overlooking harbour, stone enclosing wall and lintels |
| 37 | Dunworley | Dunworley Bay shipwreck – assoc. artefacts | | Surveyed & excavated; published |

| | Artefacts | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | Tuscan oil jar pottery – Leamcon intertidal | | Found in plough soil on foreshore, seventeenth century. |
| 2 | | Seventeenth-century pottery – Leamcon intertidal | | Misc shards – *c.* seventeenth century; vicinity of Boathouse field, on foreshore. |
| 3 | | Sherkin Is Battery iron cannon | At Dunalong castle | CO149:01802<br>In B. O'Driscoll's garden, Baltimore; decommissioned; private ownership. |
| 4 | | Baltimore Harbour elephant tusk | | In Bushes Bar, Baltimore; found in harbour; private ownership. |
| 5 | | 3 misc. fragments of utilitarian wares | | Leamcon intertidal, date range is seventeenth-eighteenth century. |

## Site Details

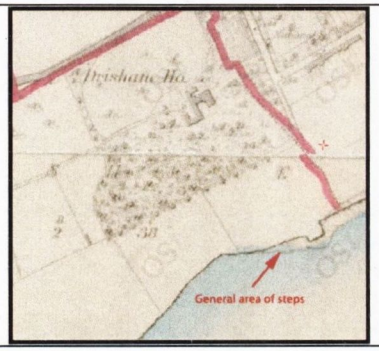
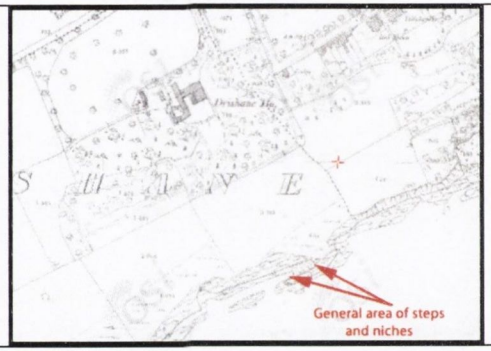
| Location | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Baltimore | | Ballyrisode | | Castlehaven | ✓ | Crookhaven | | Croagh | | | |
| | Dunworley | | Dunkelly | | Kinsale | | Leamcon-Schull | | Other | | | |

| Irish Grid Coordinates | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | IG | 3 | 0 | 7 | 8 | 1 | | Latitude | 51 31 460 N |
| | IW | 1 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 1 | | Longitude | 009 10 737 W |

| Site Type | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Steps | ✓ | Slipways | | Castle | | Quays | | Execution Site | | Inter-Tidal | |
| | Docks | | Shipwreck | | Historic House | | | | Burial Site | | Mooring Posts | |
| | Other | ✓ | Light niches above steps and possible putlog holes to immediate N of steps | | | | | | | | | |

| Site Name | Dutchman's Cove | RMP Number | New site | Site Catalogue Number | 001 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

## Map/Chart Details

| Edition | 1st edition OS map 1840s | 25 inch OS map 1880s | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Image |   |   | |
| Notes | Does not appear on any map or chart identified to date. | | |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Setting** | To immediate south of Drishane House on NW side of Castlehaven harbour; in discreet, remote and hidden area of the harbour.<br><br>Steps would have been mid-to high water steps. |
| **Condition** | Steps quite eroded; niches well defined; possible putlog/impressions in rock face, also eroded. |
| **Description** | Two sets of steps: main set lead to water and comprise 14 cut but eroded steps orientated N-S and parallel to rocky shore. Steps here 1m in width; goings 0.20m and comings *c.* 0.15m but vary with erosion. Steps lead down to small inlet from main harbour that would have allowed a ship's boat to come along.<br>Main steps come up to a rock-cut platform on top that turns NW to 5 more rock-cut steps and another cut platform. This turns NNW and leads inland up to what is now Drishane House but would have been an earlier road leading between Castlehaven/Castletownsend. Top platform also leads WSW to platform and 3 steps that allow access to the light niches.<br>Light niches face out to harbour (SW) within flat rock face to immediate W of steps; niches are *c.* 0.20m apart; niche to W measures 0.12m W x 0.14m H x 0.14m deep; E niche measures 0.13m W x 0.20m H x0.14m deep. Both niches are conical shaped, with rounded/arched heads. |
| **Local Information** | Information provided by Mr. Thomas Somerville of Drishane House, but no full history of site. Remembers them there when he was young. |
| **Other** | 3 Putlog/recesses to W of steps are very eroded; measures 0.15m-0.20m, sub-rectangular in shape. May be foot-holds or possibly recesses to take planks to form a temporary platform for planks/wood. May have accommodated wooden support for scaffold/hoist/derrick to facilitate movement of goods. Similar recesses noted at steps at Horseshoe Harbour, Sherkin Island. |

Additional Images/ Sketch Plan






**Name of Surveyor:** Connie Kelleher
**Details:**

**Date:**

## Site Details

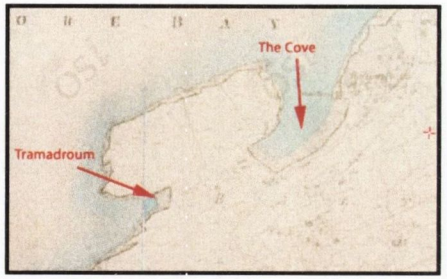
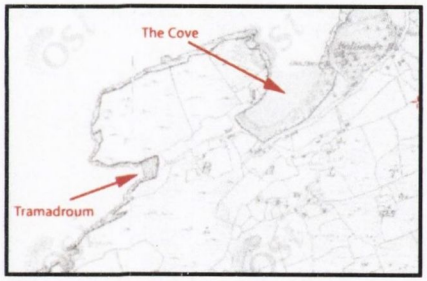
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Location** | Baltimore | ✓ | Ballyrisode | | Castlehaven | | Crookhaven | | Croagh | | | | | |
| | Dunworley | | Dunkelly | | Kinsale | | Leamcon-Schull | | Other | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Irish Grid Coordinates** | **IG** | | | | | | | **Latitude** | 51 28 155 N | | | | | |
| | **IW** | | | | | | | **Longitude** | 009 22 946 W | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Site Type** | Steps | | Slipways | ✓ | Castle | | Quays | ✓ | Execution Site | | Inter-Tidal | | | |
| | Docks | | Shipwreck | | Historic House | | | | Burial Site | | Mooring Posts | | | |
| | Other | ✓ | Possible quay / maritime infrastructure | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Site Name** | Tramadroum, The Cove | **RMP Number** | New site | **Site Catalogue Number** | 003 |

## Map/Chart Details

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Edition** | 1st edition OS map 1840s | 25 inch OS map 1880s | 1612 John Hunt chart detail |
| **Image** |  |  |  |
| **Notes** | Site does not appear on any map or chart identified to date. | | 1612 chart showing anchorage at Tramadroum, with hand written script in Dutch referring to 'stoney ground'. |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Setting** | To immediate SW of the Cove in Baltimore. Facing out toward Sherkin Island pier and harbour. Tramadroum is a shingle/gravel shore, suffering from coastal erosion but secluded and sheltered. Lead inland to the Cove and the recorded fish palace site there. CO:149:049. |
| **Condition** | Unknown, only very top of linear structure appearing from within shingle and gravel foreshore. |
| **Description** | Two lines of linear stone settings, at right angles to each other on top of foreshore. Upper line of stones are substantial and are orientated E-W parallel to water's edge; this line of set stones run for 7.80m and comprise edge set stones forming a distinct line with an edge that faces toward the shore.<br>Second line runs N-S to waterline; may be remains of a quay but is extremely well buried; indicative of substantial build-up of material on the foreshore. |
| **Local Information** | No local information on any site having been located here. |
| **Other** | Would require archaeological excavation to positively identify nature and extent of feature (s).<br>Author's contention that this may have been the landing place of the Algerine pirates in 1631 when they raided Baltimore and would suggest there was some maritime infrastructure there, to accommodate vessels that could have been involved in the fishing industry there. Tramadroum may be the small Cove shown on the 1612 John Hunt chart, with anchor indicated at harbour entrance and on the Strafford map of Baltimore, but no infrastructure is indicated on either map (see chapter 7 for a more detailed discussion on this). |

Additional Images/ Sketch Plan



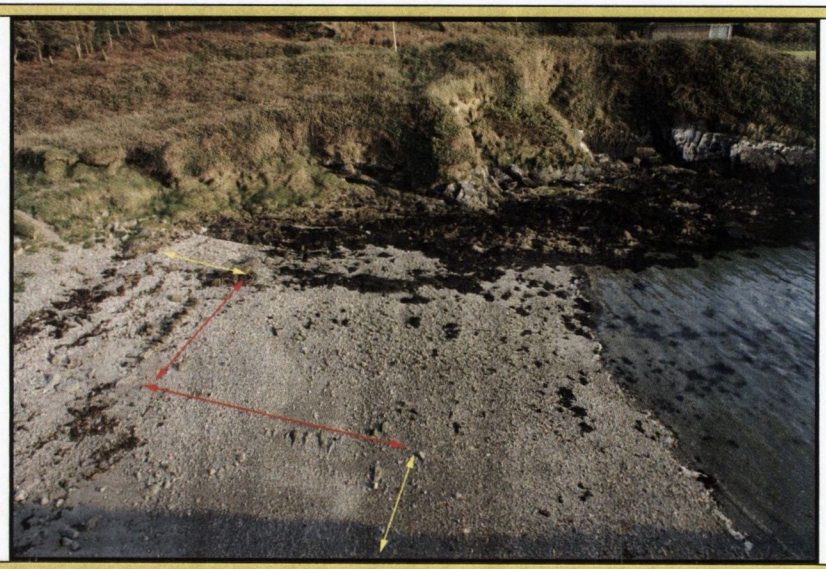



Image above shows line of stone settings in red (main setting running N-S parallel to shore and second setting that runs perpendicular towards water's edge); yellow lines propose a conjectural limit to feature if it were a quay.

**Name of Surveyor:** Connie Kelleher
**Details:**

**Date:**

## Site Details

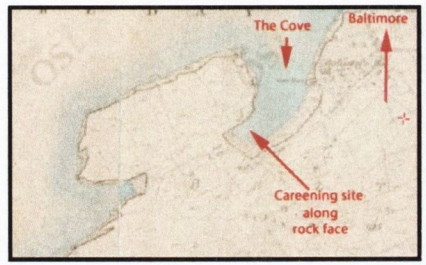
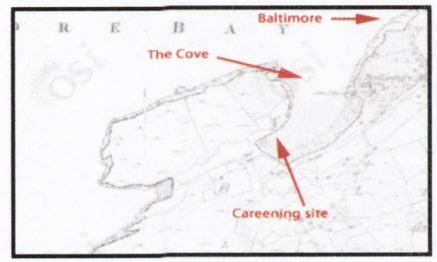
| Location | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Baltimore | ✓ | Ballyrisode | | Castlehaven | | Crookhaven | | Croagh | | | | | | | |
| | Dunworley | | Dunkelly | | Kinsale | | Leamcon-Schull | | Other | | | | | | | |

| Irish Grid Coordinates | | | | | | | | Latitude | 51 28 46.36 N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 8 | | | |
| | E | 0 | 2 | 5 | 9 | 5 | | Longitude | 009 22 45.45 W |

| Site Type | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Steps | | Slipways | | Castle | | Quays | | Execution Site | | Inter-Tidal | |
| | Docks | | Shipwreck | | Historic House | | | | Burial Site | | Mooring Posts | |
| | Other | ✓ | Careening place for vessels, at the Cove. | | | | | | | | | |

| Site Name | Careening place | RMP Number | New site | Site Catalogue Number | 004 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

## Map/Chart Details

| Edition | 1st edition OS map 1840s | 25 inch OS map 1880s | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Image |   |   | |
| Notes | Site does not appear on any map or chart identified to date. | | |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Setting** | To immediate NW of Cove harbour, on rock face. Orientated NNW-SSE. |
| **Condition** | Evidence of erosion but site still in use for mooring of vessels. |
| **Description** | Site presents as carved holes in rock to accommodate ropes as well as putlog/recesses to take timber/planks. 6 rock-cut perforations identified along course of rock face, showing differing signs of wear; recesses associated with two of these perforations. Two of the rope holes still in use. Recesses similar to those observed at Eastern Hole Bay inner harbour site. |
| **Local Information** | Local information records this site being used over long period and is still in use today for mooring boats. Dr. Brian Marten showed me the site. |
| **Other** | Site requires measured survey to spatially distinguish each feature on the rock face. May be further features evident beneath vegetation and seaweed on rock. Surveying in autumn/winter may provide best visual opportunity to view site. Would suggest re-construction using modern planks to assist with ascertaining direction of wooden beams/timbers to support vessels while being careened and to line these up with the rope holes. |

Additional Images/ Sketch Plan






Image above shows rope hold carving above ranging rod and recess to left of ranging rod. Seaweed masks many of the features.

**Name of Surveyor:** Connie Kelleher
**Details:**

**Date:**

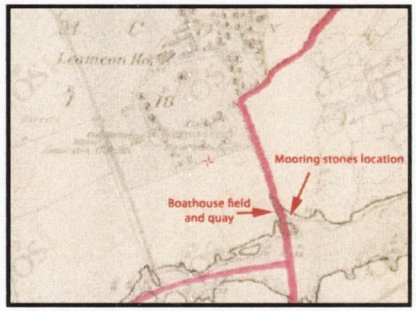
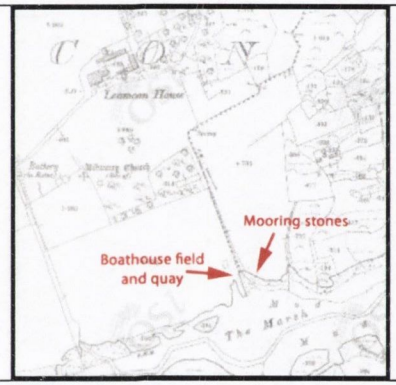
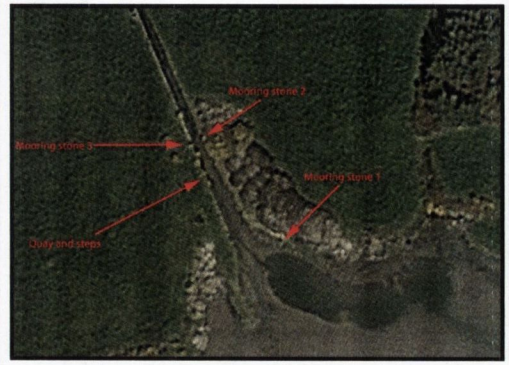
| Site Details | | | | | | | | | | | | ✓ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Location** | Baltimore | | Ballyrisode | | Castlehaven | | Crookhaven | | Croagh | | | |
| | Dunworley | | Dunkelly | | Kinsale | | Leamcon-Schull | ✓ | Other | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Irish Grid Coordinates** | N | | | | | | | **Latitude** | 51 30 02.06 N |
| | E | | | | | | | **Longitude** | 009 36 28.39 W |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Site Type** | Steps | | Slipways | | Castle | | Quays | | Execution Site | | Inter-Tidal | |
| | Docks | | Shipwreck | | Historic House | | | | Burial Site | | Mooring Posts | ✓ |
| | Other | | 3 mooring posts evident | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Site Name** | Mooring stone/posts | **RMP Number** | New site | **Site Catalogue Number** | 013 |

**Map/Chart Details**

| **Edition** | 1st edition OS map 1840s | 25 inch OS map 1880s | Google Earth aerial image |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Image** |  |  |  |
| **Notes** | Site does not appear on any map or chart identified to date. | | Location of mooring stones at Leamcon |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Setting** | At water's edge to SE of Leamcon House. On either side of defined harbour and routeway. Associated with stone quay and steps (new site); |
| **Condition** | Fair but signs of wear on bottom from ropes. Confirms usage over time. Evidence of extensive erosion of general area, particularly dry stone quay; suspect robbing of stones over years. |
| **Description** | One of three mooring stones together, two on E side of waterway and one on the W beside the quay and steps, though there may be a fourth stone there too but would need excavation to reveal and confirm.<br>Mooring stone 1: most prominent at outer SE side has average measurements of 0.99m H x c. 35m-52m W and *c.* 0.07m depth; the stone varies in shape and is narrower at base due to rope wear. Presents as an upright slab, parallel but at a slight angle to water's edge; orientation of main stone NW-SE and 1.5m from edge of water.<br>Mooring stone 2: orientation N-S; 14m NW of mooring stone 1 but on same side of waterway (i.e. on E). Leaning slightly to N; average size 0.62m H x 0.25m W x c. 0.06m depth; possible rope wear evident on this stone too at bottom; at water's edge but would have stood on side of quay before quay eroded away.<br>Mooring stone 3: on W side of waterway; orientated E-W; 1m from edge of quay; only 0.20m exposed and may be deliberately set lower in ground to act more like a mooring bollard; located directly across waterway from mooring stone 2. |
| **Local Information** | No information forthcoming from landowners though local farmer in Beakeen, Mr. O'Callaghan said that the place is known as 'Boathouse Quay', supporting its use as a mooring place for vessels. |
| **Other** | A full drawn and measured record is available for this; would be worth doing extensive metal detection survey, with targeted shovel-testing. |

Additional Images/ Sketch Plan



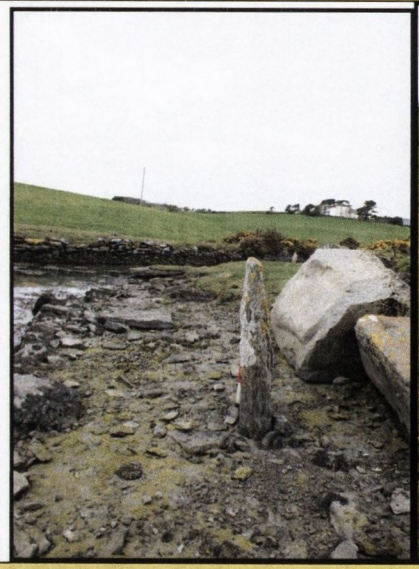





Image above shows mooring stones 1 and 2, on either side of waterway at lower harbour below Leamcon house.
Image shows excessive erosion and robbing of stones from quay within which the mooring stone was placed.

**Name of Surveyor:** Connie Kelleher
**Details:**

**Date:**

## Site Details

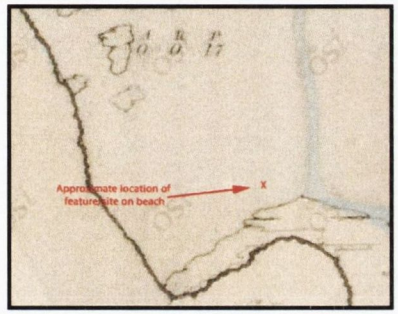
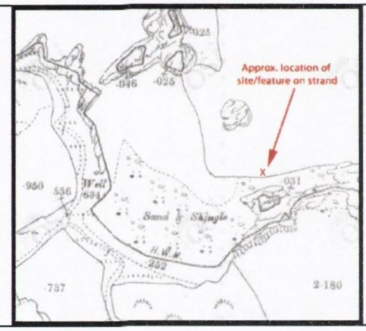
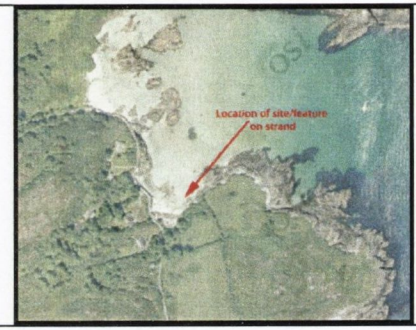
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Location** | Baltimore | | Ballyrisode | ✓ | Castlehaven | | Crookhaven | | Croagh | | | | | ✓ |
| | Dunworley | | Dunkelly | | Kinsale | | Leamcon-Schull | | Other | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Irish Grid Coordinates** | **N** | | | | | | | | **Latitude** | 51 30 674 N | | | UTM | 0454120 | |
| | **E** | | | | | | | | **Longitude** | 009 39 668 W | | | | 5706884 | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Site Type** | Steps | | Slipways | | Castle | | Quays | | Execution Site | | Inter-Tidal | |
| | Docks | | Shipwreck | | Historic House | | | | Burial Site | ✓ | Mooring Posts | |
| | Other | ✓ | Possible burial site or unidentified site type | | | | | | | | | |

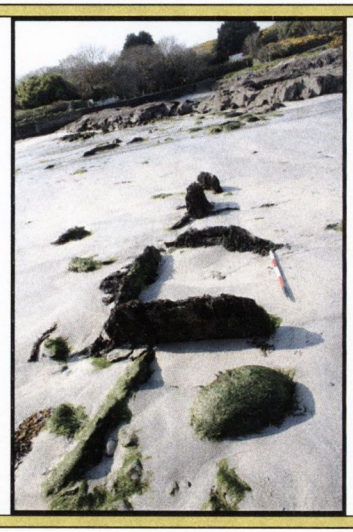
| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Site Name** | Ballyrisode grave site (potential) | **RMP Number** | New site | **Site Catalogue Number** | 0033 |

## Map/Chart Details

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Edition** | 1st edition OS map 1840s | 25 inch OS map 1880s | OSI 2005/6 aerial image |
| **Image** |   |   |   |
| **Notes** | Site does not appear on any map or chart identified to date | | No indication of site on aerial imagery |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Setting** | On mid-foreshore at low water on S side of Ballyrisode beach/strand (inner beach) to immediate SE of car park; site would cover at mid to high water. |
| **Condition** | Eroded and well buried, so difficult to assess nature and extent. |
| **Description** | 2 upright slabs at slight angles to each other facing seaward and may have been a third stone but is now collapsed; 1m to south 3 long slabs enclosing a rectangular box-like stone setting; enclosed on 3 sides and open on side facing seaward.<br>May be an earlier site reused for later burials. |
| **Local Information** | Local tradition of burial of sailors/pirates in this location following sea battle in early seventeenth century; pirate Canty took part.<br>Area known for mining (both ancient and post-medieval), so site could be associated with that. |
| **Other** | Definitive cultural site but impossible to say what type of site it is without archaeological excavation.<br><br>Ref.: J. Hawkes, 'Canty's Cove', *Mizen Journal*, 5 (Skibbereen, 1992 and 2004), pp 292-302. |

Additional Images / Sketch Plan





**Name of Surveyor:** Connie Kelleher
**Details:**

**Date:**

# The Confederacy of Pirates in Southwest Ireland in the Early Seventeenth Century

## Site Details

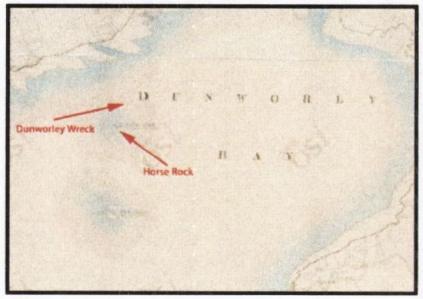
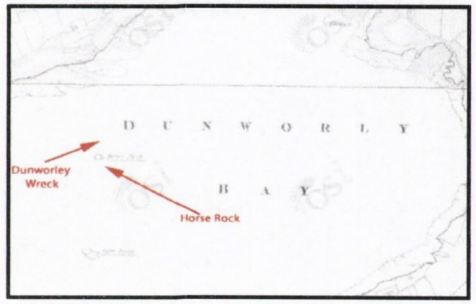
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Location** | Baltimore | | Ballyrisode | | Castlehaven | | Crookhaven | | Croagh | | |
| | Dunworley | ✓ | Dunkelly | | Kinsale | | Leamcon-Schull | | Other | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Irish Grid Coordinates** | **N** | 1 | 4 | 6 | 9 | 2 | | **Latitude** | 51 34 922 N |
| | **E** | 3 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 0 | | **Longitude** | 008 45 986 W |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Site Type** | Steps | | Slipways | | Castle | | Quays | | Execution Site | | Inter-Tidal | |
| | Docks | | Shipwreck | ✓ | Historic House | | | | Burial Site | | Mooring Posts | |
| | Other | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Site Name** | Dunworley Bay shipwreck | **RMP Number** | New wreck site | **Site Catalogue Number** | 034 |

## Map/Chart Details

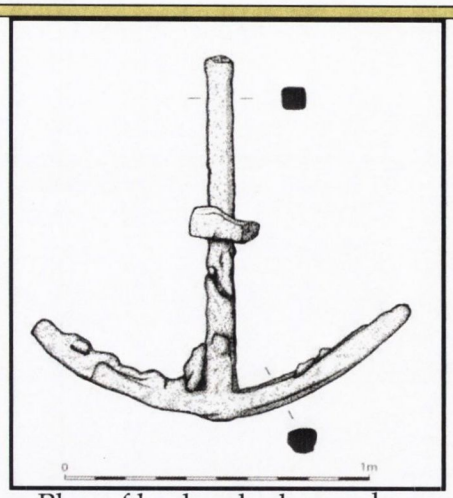
| **Edition** | 1st edition OS map 1840s | 25 inch OS map 1880s | Admiralty chart of Dunworley Bay |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Image** |   |   |   |
| **Notes** | Not on any chart; historical record only | | |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Setting** | In NW side of Dunworley Bay; at depth of c. 12m. Orientated NNS-SSE to immediate W of Horse Rock. |
| **Condition** | Eroded, covers over easily with gravel and stone seabed; impacted by action of treasure hunters between 1999-2004 at which point offenders were apprehended. Had done excessive damage to site using power hoses and water dredges. Damaged artefacts when attempting to remove from site (iron gun and anchor). |
| **Description** | Discovered in 1999 by divers; reported to authorities in 2004; Underwater Archaeology Unit carried out extensive survey and excavation at site from 2004 to 2006 and again in 2009.<br>Wooden shipwreck, lower hull buried in seabed; determined length of wreck remains at least 35 metres of hull. Heavily built oak framing; little or no iron, mainly timber fastenings. & iron cannons recorded on site, one recovered; small kedge anchor also recovered but large bower anchor had been illegally moved closer to shore by divers. |
| **Local Information** | Tradition has pirate wrecks in Bay plus later slave trader, the *Amity* of 1700. |
| **Other** | Full site report available from author on request.<br><br>Ref. C. Kelleher, 'The Dunworley Bay Shipwreck: 17th-century evidence for piracy and slavery in Ireland?' in C. Horrell and M. Damour (eds.), ACUA Archaeology Conference Proceedings, *2010* (USA, 2010), pp 138-145. |

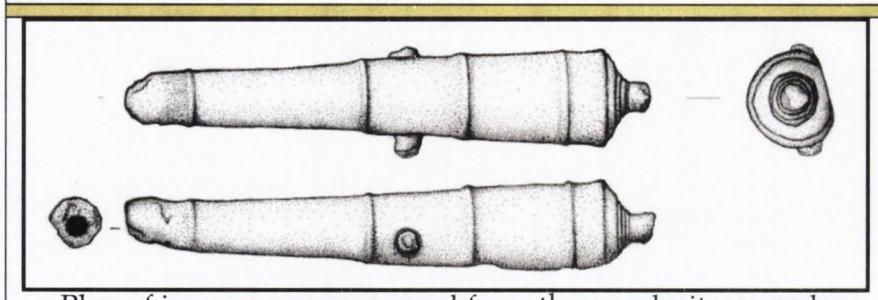
Additional Images / Sketch Plan



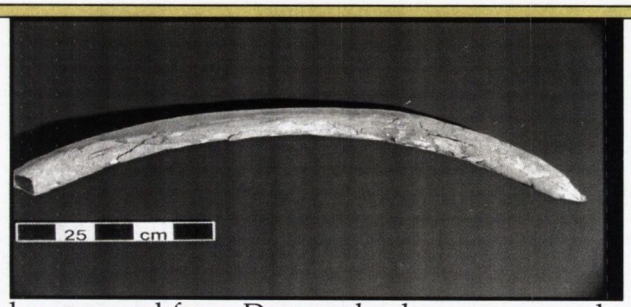
Iron gun from site and prior to conservation




Plan of broken kedge anchor



Plan of iron cannon recovered from the wreck site; muzzle damaged in antiquity; cascable end damaged by action of treasure hunters




Tusk recovered from Dunworley bay, near wreck site.