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‘No affair before us of greater concern’: the war at sea in Ireland, 1641-1649

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D

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Summary

This thesis examines the war at sea in Ireland between 1641 and 1649. The significance of the maritime conflict that took place on the Irish coast has been overshadowed by the military campaigns on land during this decade. This study therefore aims to put forward a reassessment of the importance of naval warfare in the waters around Ireland to the war in the three kingdoms in the 1640s. This dissertation takes a chronological and analytical approach to the war at sea in order to quantify and evaluate the efforts of the three opposing naval forces in Ireland. Chapter 1 considers the importance of harbours and coastal fortifications along the Irish seaboards to the various fleets. The next three chapters (2, 3 and 4) provide a detailed narrative account of the events that occurred in the 1640s relating to maritime affairs in Ireland. This thesis then analyses, in chapters 5, 6 and 7, the strength of the fleets set out by the confederates and English navy and the levels of shipping they detained as prizes. Privateers sailing from Irish ports intercepted over 460 vessels and the parliamentary navy stopped at least 350 ships during the 1640s. It also looks at the type of vessels, in particular the use of frigates deployed to patrol the Irish seas. The remaining two chapters assess the conduct of the war at sea in Ireland including how men of war fought against each other and the treatment of captured mariners. This detailed examination of the hostilities on the Irish coast suggests that naval affairs had a major impact on the overall outcome of the war in Ireland. Ultimately the ability of the parliamentary navy to adapt to the conditions they faced played a crucial role in the success of the eventual Cromwellian re-conquest of Ireland in the 1650s.

This project has been based on the quantitative and qualitative use of primary archival material to build up a picture of the actions, strength, successes and failures of the squadrons operating in the seas around Ireland. It has relied on manuscript and printed primary sources such as the records contained in high court of admiralty files. It also draws on a variety of other material including maps, charts, illustrations, pamphlets, correspondence, government papers and financial accounts. One of the key aims of this project has been to study the level of prizes seized by the confederates and parliamentarians at sea in the 1640s. This has been achieved through the use of a database for all ships that can be identified as being detained on their voyage (this can be found in Appendix C). With this information it has been possible to examine the trade of ports such as Waterford and the impact the war had on the overseas commerce of the main protagonists.

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Abbreviations

Add Ms.	Additional manuscripts, British Library, London
B.L.	British Library
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Cal. S.P. Carew, 1603-24 [etc]	*Calendar of the Carew manuscripts preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth* (London, 1873)
Cal. S.P. Dom., 1641-3 [etc]	*Calendar of state papers, domestic series, 1641-3* [etc.] (London, 1887)
Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47 [etc.]	*Calendar of state papers relating to Ireland, 1633-47* (London, 1901)
Cal. S. P. Venetian, 1640-2 [etc.]	*Calendar of state papers and manuscripts relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, 1640-2* [etc.] (London, 1924)
Commons Journal	*Journals of the House of Commons*, ii-vi (London, 1802)
D.N.B	Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford, 2004-7), http://www.oxforddnb.com
HCA	High Court of Admiralty
H.L.R.O.	House of Lords Records Office (The Parliamentary Archive), London
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
I.M.C.	Irish Manuscripts Commission
Lords Journal	*Journals of the House of Lords*, v-x (London, 1802)
MS	Manuscript
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland, Dublin
N.M.M.	National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London
ns	New Series
os	Old Series
Rawl. MS	Rawlinson manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford
R.I.A	Royal Irish Academy, Dublin

SP	State Papers
T.C.D.	Trinity College, Dublin
T.N.A.	The National Archives, Kew, London

Dating and Spelling

Dates are given according to the Old Style (Julian) calendar used in the British Isles but the year is taken as beginning on 1 January and not 25 March. It has been assumed that people writing from the continent dated correspondence according to the New Style (Gregorian) calendar which was ten days ahead.

Quotations are kept in their original spellings throughout.

Modern spellings have been used as far as possible for place, ship and personal names.

Introduction

> There is no affair before us of greater concern than expediting our fleet to sea, for want whereof the shipping of this nation is daily taken by those pirates and rebels which abound in this and the Irish seas: Council of state to Colonel Willoughby, 13 March 1649.[1]

In the spring of 1649 the parliamentary regime in England stood in a precarious position. Having executed Charles I in January they faced a number of external and internal threats. Most of Ireland and Scotland opposed the Commonwealth and prepared military and naval forces to restore the monarchy. Continental powers, such as the Dutch Republic and France, horrified by the killing of the king, might provide aid to place his son, Charles II, on the throne. Unrest among the soldiers over issues relating to arrears of pay, the conquest of Ireland and the political settlement led to instability in England. Eight years of war had left parliament virtually bankrupt and the government in London quickly needed to restore its credit. Added to these problems the naval situation in Ireland in March 1649 posed a major concern for the council of state. Parliament speedily needed to set out the summer guard for that year to deal with the threat posed to English shipping from privateers and the royalist squadron that operated in the seas around Ireland.

Many of the leading military and administrative officers who fought in the 1640s in the three kingdoms realised the importance of events that took place at sea. For much of the decade naval officers such as Robert Rich, earl of Warwick and lord high admiral, and Richard Swanley, admiral of the Irish squadron, warned parliament of the importance of keeping a fleet in the waters around

[1] Council of state to Colonel Willoughby, 13 Mar. 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 38).

Ireland. For instance in December 1643 Warwick advised the House of Lords on the state of the navy and the necessity of deploying warships to Ireland and elsewhere around the British Isles.[2] Many among the confederates and royalists in Ireland equally recognised the importance of the maritime situation and of the need to set out men of war on the Irish coast. The confederate supreme council sent blank commissions and instructions to their agents on the continent to offer favourable terms in order to encourage ship owners to bring their vessels into Irish service. In December 1642 they approved terms for Captain Francis Oliver in the *St Michael the Archangel*. They agreed that he could keep the prizes he had already seized and that he could also fly a vice admiral's flag. [3] The administration in Dublin had a similar appreciation of the dangers they faced if naval vessels did not patrol the coast against the Irish rebels.[4]

All sides fighting in Ireland expended considerable energy and resources on their naval forces and securing their ports there. For example between 1643 and 1645 parliament spent £451,917 on setting out state owned men of war and a further £250,185 on the charter of armed merchantmen.[5] This raises the question of why bother with the war at sea if total victory could only be obtained on land. The parliamentary newspaper *The Moderate Intelligencer* acknowledged as much in 1648 when it advised on how to deal with the problem of privateering and that

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[2] *Lords journal*, vi, 332-3.
[3] Supreme council to Father Shee, 30 Dec. 1642, J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation and war in Ireland 1641-53* (7 vols, Dublin, 1882-91), ii, 125; supreme council to Francis Oliver, c.31 Dec. 1642 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, p. 376).
[4] See for example lords justices to the commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, 1 Sept. 1642, H.M.C., *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Duke of Ormonde,* ns (8 vols, London, 1902-20), i, 185-9.
[5] N.A.M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea; a naval history of Britain, 660-1649* (2nd ed., London, 2004), p. 423.

'the Irish piddling pirates need chastizing by land souldiers'.[6] Why then did gaining mastery of the waters around Ireland matter to parliament, the confederates and the royalists? This can probably be best examined in terms of the strategic importance of control of the sea to each of the opposing sides. It becomes a question of what did they gain and how did their adversaries lose if they achieved naval dominance on the Irish coast.

The confederates, parliament and royalists all needed to protect their overseas trade. A large naval force at sea could provide a safe passage for merchantmen by using convoys to escort ships to safe ports and by intercepting enemy men of war. Merchant shipping carried vital supplies of munitions, salt, wine, tobacco and other goods into each of the three kingdoms. These vessels then took local commodities such as hides, tallow, cloth and other goods back to the continent. As well as the revenue generated from the sale of these cargoes the money paid on the customs and excise produced a considerable source of income. A failure to protect shipping could lead to losses to the enemy and falling customs revenues. As well as providing security to ships at sea ports had to be kept open and free from blockade so that merchant men could safely enter and exit. Parliament relied on London for most of the money it raised through taxation.[7] If the overseas commerce of the city could be cut off the support of its citizens for the parliamentary war effort might falter. In July and August 1648 Prince Rupert brought his royalist flotilla into the Downs and seized eleven ships going to and from London. One source put the value of this shipping at between

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[6] TT E.467(16), *The Moderate Intelligencer: impartially communicating martial affaires to the Kingdome of England. From Thursday October 5 to Thursday October 12 1648* (London, 1648), p. 1920.

[7] Ben Coates, *The impact of the English Civil War on the economy of London, 1642-50 (*Aldershot, 2004), pp 22-53.

£100,000 and £120,000.[8] The loss of so much valuable shipping in such a short space of time put considerable pressure on the capital's merchants. Rupert failed to exploit his success as his return to Holland alleviated strain on the city.

As well as safeguarding trade by setting out a large number of warships the maritime activities of opponents could be hindered. This created two potential benefits. Firstly the seizure of prizes and the sale of the ships and the goods they carried generated considerable sums of money. The inventory for the *Gift of Wexford* in 1642 listed iron and other goods on board with a value of £300 19*s*.[9] The detaining by the confederates and parliamentarians of ships trading to hostile ports in Ireland could also persuade ship owners not to risk a voyage for fear of capture. In July 1642 a Mr Fountaine charged with taking £10,000 to the English army in Munster refused to sail until the navy provided a strong convoy as his bark only possessed two pieces of ordnance.[10]

A substantial guard of ships on the Irish coast impeded the ability of opposing armies to interfere in other theatres of the war. During the 1640s the royalists in Ireland sent soldiers to aid the king in England and Wales. The confederates transported men across to England and Scotland and to Spanish and French service on the continent. The parliament in London and the Scots mobilised regiments to be shipped to Ireland. Warships on the coast could intercept the shipping as it carried men over or possibly even prevent their setting out. For parliament the effective patrolling of the Irish seaboard could also limit

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[8] Dr Stewarts relation of the fleet under prince Charles, Sept. 1648 in J. R. Powell and E. K. Timings (eds), *Documents relating to the civil war 1642-48* (Navy Records Society, London, 1963), p. 376; Coates, *Impact of the English Civil War*, pp 133-5; Bernard Capp, *Cromwell's navy, the fleet and the English revolution* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 32-3.

[9] Inventory for the *Guift of Washford*, 6 July 1642, (T.N.A., Appraisements of ships, 1641-54, HCA 4/4)

[10] Mr Fountaine to Lord General, 27 July 1642 in James Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers relating to the Irish rebellion between 1642-46* (I.M.C., Dublin, 1936), pp 95-6.

the intervention of foreign powers in the war in Ireland in terms of shipment of munitions, soldiers and money. Men of war stationed along the coast also interrupted communications between Britain and Ireland. The capture of packet boats and personnel travelling between the Irish royalists and the court at Oxford greatly undermined the position of the royalists in Dublin and Ormond, the lord lieutenant's, freedom of action.

Naval vessels had the capability to play an important role in supporting the army. Ships convoyed provisions and arms to coastal outposts that enabled them to withstand sieges. Warships provided escorts to troop transports and supply ships as they carried men on seaborne expeditions. The navy directly supported campaigns on land when they took place along the coast. Captains could send sailors, gunners, carpenters, artillery and other supplies ashore from their men of war to aid in the defence of a besieged garrison or to help an attack on an enemy position. Ships could also use their ordnance and boats to take a direct part in assaulting hostile towns and fortifications.

Contemporary and modern historians of the wars of the three kingdoms have rightly regarded the war on land and the battles that took place there as the decisive turning points in parliament's final victory. Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, in his history of the civil war referred to the battle of Naseby in June 1645 as 'when the King and the kingdom were lost'.[11] Others such as S. R. Gardiner and Ian Gentles concurred on the significance of the disaster that befell Charles I at Naseby.[12] In his recent study of the war in Ireland Pádraig Lenihan noted that the defeats of the Leinster and Munster armies in 1647, at Dungan's

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[11] Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, *The history of the rebellion and civil wars in England begun in the year 1641*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (6 vols, Oxford, 1992), iv, 46.

[12] S. R. Gardiner, *History of the great civil war, 1642-1649* (4 vols, New York, 1965), ii, 55-60; Ian Gentles, *The New Model Army in England, Ireland and Scotland, 1645-1653* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1994), pp 251-3.

Hill and Knocknanauss, represented 'a fatal blow' to the confederate cause.[13] The battle of Rathmines in August 1649 has generally been regarded as a crucial precursor to the success of Cromwell's campaign in Ireland in the autumn of that year. [14] The contribution of armies to victory on land can be relatively straightforward to assess but without large scale battles at sea the part played by naval forces can be much harder to quantify. Writing on the situation in England Bernard Capp summed up the problem: 'the first English Civil War was clearly won by the New Model Army, and it is not easy to assess the navy's overall contribution'.[15]

The difficulties of analysing the role and importance of the war at sea may help explain why many studies of the war in the three kingdoms in the 1640s ignore or briefly pass over maritime events.[16] For example Martyn Bennett in his book on the civil war has a chapter entitled 'The agony of choosing sides' that barely mentions the wholesale defection of the English navy to parliament in 1642.[17] Unsurprisingly maritime historians regard the war at sea as a much more central element in the civil wars. J. R. Powell in his introduction to his study of the period wrote that 'The adherence of the Navy to Parliament in the English Civil War did much to decide the issue'.[18] Other more recent accounts such as those by N.A.M. Rodger and Bernard Capp also consider the economic and

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[13] Pádraig Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war, 1641-49* (Cork, 2000), p. 220; James Scott Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland* (Dublin, 1999), p. 237.
[14] Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland*, p. 79; Gentles, *New Model Army*, pp 356-7.
[15] Bernard Capp, 'Naval Operations', in John Kenyon and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds), *The civil wars, a military history of England, Scotland and Ireland 1638-1660* (Oxford, 1998), pp 175-6.
[16] See for example Patrick J. Corish, 'The rising of 1641 and the confederacy, 1641-5', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland,* iii: *Early modern Ireland, 1534-1691*, (Oxford, 1976), pp 289-316; Patrick J. Corish, 'Ormond, Rinuccini and the confederates, 1645-9', Moody, Martin & Byrne (eds), *A new history of Ireland*, iii, pp 317-335; Richard Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts and during the Interregnum* (3 vols, London, 1963), ii, 1-210; Ian Gentles, *The English Revolution and the wars in the three kingdoms, 1638-1652* (London, 2007), pp 33-411.
[17] Martyn Bennett, *The civil wars in Britain and Ireland, 1638-1651* (Oxford, 1997), pp 114-41.
[18] J. R. Powell, *The navy in the English civil war* (London, 1962), p. xii.

military importance of controlling the seas. On the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland Rodger wrote that 'only the support of the navy allowed Cromwell to campaign in an impoverished country'.[19] Not all assessments of the parliamentary navy are so sure of the work done by its squadrons. Kenneth Andrews observed that 'it did its job well enough'.[20]

A number of books and articles on this period have also tried to integrate the incidents that occurred on the Irish coast into their narratives of the war. James Scott Wheeler has examined aspects, including maritime events, of the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland. These included the strategies of the royalists and parliamentarians on the Irish coast, the importance of the navy in the logistical planning of the invasion and the role of the fleet in supporting the army once it crossed over.[21] As part of his analysis of the arms trade in the 1640s Peter Edwards has considered the importance of imports of foreign munitions into England, Scotland and Ireland. He looked at the function of shipping and navies in the carrying, convoying and intercepting of arms shipments on the high seas.[22] Rolf Loeber and Geoffrey Parker bring components of the naval conflict, such as the spread of artillery fortresses and privateering, into their review of the military revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland.[23] The involvement of prominent nobles in naval affairs can be observed in Jane Ohlmeyer's work on the career of Randal

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[19] Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*, p. 415; N.A.M. Rodger, *The command of the ocean; a naval history of Britain, 1649-1815* (London, 2004), p. 3; Capp, 'Naval operations', pp 175-7.
[20] Kenneth R. Andrews, *Ships, money and politics: seafaring and naval enterprise in the reign of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 202.
[21] Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland*, pp 52-3, 64-75, 83-115; J. S. Wheeler, 'Logistics and supply in Cromwell's conquest of Ireland' in Mark C. Fissel (ed.), *War and government in Britain 1598-1650* (Manchester, 1991), pp 38-56; J. S. Wheeler, 'Prelude to power: the crisis of 1649 and the foundation of English naval power', in *Mariner's Mirror*, lxxxi, no. 2 (1995), pp.148-155.
[22] Peter Edwards, *Dealing in death, the arms trade and the British civil wars, 1638-52* (Stroud, 2000), pp 175-226.
[23] Rolf Loeber and Geoffrey Parker, 'The military revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland', in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), I*reland from independence to occupation, 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1995), pp 66-77.

MacDonnell, the first marquis and second earl of Antrim. Along with his involvement in confederate politics and military matters the earl had extensive privateering interests.[24]

As well as the integration of naval material into broader works on the history of the 1640s numerous books, journal articles and theses examine elements of the war at sea in this decade. J. R. Powell and M. L. Baumber have both written narrative histories of the maritime conflict that cover most of the major phases of naval conflict.[25] More general maritime histories of the period including work by N.A.M. Rodger, Bernard Capp, J. D. Davies and Kenneth Andrews also provide narrative accounts and analysis of the struggle.[26] Books and articles in journals like the *Mariner's Mirror* cover many aspects of the struggle for mastery in the seas around the three kingdoms. There has been a considerable focus on the politics of the parliamentary navy and its officers with articles on the defection of the fleet in 1642, the mutiny in the Downs in 1648 and the officers who manned the ships.[27] The administration of the English navy has also generated a large body of material.[28] Few of the principal naval officers on

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[24] Jane Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and restoration in the three Stuart Kingdoms, the career of Randal MacDonnell, marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683* (Cambridge, 1993), pp 162, 185, 194-5, 230-1.
[25] Powell, *The navy in the English civil war*; M. L. Baumber, The navy during the civil wars and commonwealth, 1642-1651 (MA Thesis, 1967, University of Manchester).
[26] Rodger, *Safeguard of the sea*, pp 411-26; Rodger, *Command of the Ocean*, pp 1-5; Capp, 'Naval operations', pp 156-90; Capp, *Cromwell's navy*, pp 15-154; J. D. Davies, 'A permanent national maritime fighting force', in J.R. Hill (ed.), *The Oxford illustrated history of the Royal Navy* (Oxford, 1995), pp 56-79; Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, pp 184-202.
[27] D. E. Kennedy, 'Naval Captains at the outbreak of the English Civil War', in *Mariner's Mirror*, xxxxvi, no. 3 (1960), pp 181-98; S. J. Greenberg, 'Seizing the fleet in 1642: Parliament, the Navy and the printing press', in *Mariner's Mirror*, lxxvii, no. 3 (1991), pp 227-34; C.H. Firth, 'Sailors of the civil war, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate', in *Mariner's Mirror*, xii, no. 3 (1926), pp 237-59; M. L. Baumber, 'Seizing the fleet in 1642', in *Mariner's Mirror*, lxxviii (1992), pp 227-234; 'Parliamentary naval politics 1641-49', in *Mariner's Mirror*, lxxxii, no. 4 (1996), pp 398-408; R. C. Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1648', in *Mariner's Mirror*, ix, no. 2 (1923), pp 34-46.
[28] A.C. Dewar, 'The naval administration of the interregnum', in Mariner's Mirror, xii (1926), pp 406-30; Michael Oppenheim, *A history of the administration of the Royal navy and of merchant shipping in relation to the navy from 1509 to 1660* (Aldershot, 1988), pp 240-301; R. McCaughey, The English navy, politics and administration, 1640-9 (D.Phil, 1983, University of Ulster), pp 1-182.

any side, with the exception of Robert Blake, the parliamentary general at sea, and Prince Rupert, the commander of the royalist fleet after 1648, have received modern biographies.[29] There is also a plentiful supply of books on technical aspects of early modern warfare at sea. Robert Stradling and R. Baetens both examine the privateers that operated from ports in Flanders during the seventeenth-century.[30] The development of the frigate in England and the spread of broadside gunnery also receive extensive treatment.[31]

A number of secondary books and articles examine parts of the war at sea from an Irish point of view. J. R. Powell has written on the three major coastal sieges that took place at Duncannon and Youghal in 1645 and Bunratty in 1646.[32] Jane Ohlmeyer has provided an overview of confederate privateering from Wexford and Waterford and identified individuals involved in this enterprise.[33] Two articles by M. L. Baumber in the *Mariner's Mirror* look at some of the facets of the war at sea in Ireland from 1641 to 1646. He includes the setting out of parliamentary squadrons to patrol the coast, accounts of the major sieges and

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[29] J. R. Powell, *Robert Blake; General at sea* (London, 1972); M. L. Baumber, *General at Sea; Robert Blake and the seventeenth century revolution in naval warfare* (London, 1989); Frank Kitson, *Prince Rupert: admiral and general at sea* (London, 1998).

[30] Robert Stradling, 'The Spanish dunkirkers, 1621-48: a record of plunder and destruction', in *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis*, lxxxxiii, (1980), pp 541-58; Robert Stradling, *The Armada of Flanders, Spanish maritime policy and European war, 1568-1668* (Cambridge, 1992); R. Baetens, 'The organisation and effects of Flemish privateering in the seventeenth century', in *Acta Historiae Neerlandica*, ix, (1977), pp 57-60.

[31] Brian Tunstall, *Naval warfare in the age of sail; the evolution of fighting tactics, 1650-1815* (London, 1990) pp 11-7; Nicholas Tracey, 'Naval tactics', in Robert Gardiner (ed.), *The line of battle, the sailing warship 1650-1840* (London, 1992), pp 181-7; N.A.M. Rodger, 'The development of broadside gunnery, 1450-1650', in *Mariner's Mirror*, lxxxii, no. 3 (Aug. 1996), pp 301-24; Andrew Thrush, 'In pursuit of the frigate, 1603-40', in *Historical Research*, lxiv, no. 153 (1991), pp 29-45; Gregory Robinson, 'The seventeenth century frigate', in *Mariner's Mirror*, xv, no. 3 (Jul. 1929), pp 271-81; R. C. Anderson, 'The ancestry of the eighteenth century frigate', in *Mariner's Mirror*, xxvii, no. 2 (1941), pp 158-65.

[32] J.R. Powell, 'Operations of the parliamentary squadron at the siege of Duncannon in 1645', in *Irish Sword*, ii (1954-56), pp 17-21; J. R. Powell, 'Penn's expedition to Bonratty in 1646', in *Mariner's Mirror*, xl, no. 1 (1954), pp 4-20; J. R. Powell, 'Penn's attempt to relieve Youghal, 1645', in *Irish Sword*, ii, (1954-56), pp 83-87.

[33] Jane Ohlmeyer, 'The Dunkirk of Ireland: Wexford privateers during the 1640s', in *Journal of the Wexford Historical Society*, xii (1988-9), pp 23-49; Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Irish privateers during the Civil War 1642-50', in *Mariner's Mirror*, lxxvi, no. 2 (May 1990), pp. 119-33.

transportation of soldiers across to England to aid Charles I. He fails to look extensively at the impact of privateering on the Irish coast and by concluding in 1646 the later years of the war at sea are not considered. Overall none of the accounts of the war at sea in Ireland provide a full and detailed narrative or analysis of the events or conduct of the conflict on the Irish coast.

The first section of the study will therefore seek to examine the events that took place on the coast of Ireland from the outbreak of the Ulster rising in October 1641 till Cromwell's army went into winter quarters in December 1649. Chapter 1 focuses on the principal port towns and harbours on the Irish seaboard. It evaluates the geographic and military features that made these places suitable as naval anchorages. It also considers how possession of different coastal towns affected the various forces fighting in Ireland during the 1640s. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 provide a full narrative account of the war in the waters around Ireland. In conjunction with looking at well documented maritime events such as the sieges of Duncannon, Youghal and Bunratty these chapters also seek to integrate the more neglected aspects of the naval war. Chapter 2 begins with the outbreak of the 1641 rising from a maritime perspective. It details the spread of the rebellion to the main port towns and the reactions and responses of the government in Dublin and London up to the cessation of September 1643. Chapter 3 covers the middle phase of the naval conflict from the cessation to the end of 1646. It examines interventions from Ireland across the Irish Sea to the war in England and Scotland, the increasing dominance of the parliamentary navy at Dublin, the expansion of confederate privateering and the three major coastal sieges that took place. Chapter 4 looks at the war from 1647 through to the fall of Wexford and defection of Cork, Youghal and Kinsale to Cromwell in late 1649. During this

three year period of intense naval activity privateering from Irish harbours reached its zenith. The dominance of parliamentary men of war in the seas around Ireland also came to the fore and aided the re-conquest of the country.

In conjunction with providing a narrative account of the war at sea in Ireland a second objective of this study is to evaluate and quantify the strength of the navies that fought for mastery of the seas around Ireland and the level of prizes they captured. This will make it possible to analyse the success of confederate privateers and the parliamentary Irish squadrons in hindering their opponent's overseas trading capabilities. It will assess the level and type of shipping set out in the Irish seas and how these vessels fared. With these goals in mind chapter 5 investigates the level of parliamentary men of war deployed on the Irish coast and the prizes they intercepted. As well as the official lists for the summer and winter guards published each year it looks at additional vessels that served in Ireland such as privateers and hired merchantmen. Chapter 6 explores the ownership of private parliamentary ships and expeditions that plied the coasts around Ireland. It weighs up the motivations behind the hiring of ships to parliament and the potential for profit to be made from the charges paid by the state and sale of prize goods. Chapter 7 analyses the confederate maritime effort in the 1640s. It looks at the type of man of war favoured by privateers operating from Irish harbours. It also seeks to quantify the number of warships that sailed from ports such as Wexford and Waterford along with the number of prizes they seized that can be identified.

Thirdly this thesis will examine the conduct of the war at sea in Ireland during the 1640s. It will focus on what actually happened when opposing ships met each other. Chapter 8 looks at the tactics used by English men of war and

Irish frigates and how they developed and changed over the decade. In conjunction with this it considers the similarities between the war on land and at sea in Ireland and the impact of the military revolution on the engagements that took place. Chapter 9 reviews the atrocities that occurred in an Irish maritime context. In particular it concentrates on the killing of prisoners of war taken at sea. In addition to looking at the executions that took place this chapter looks at the reasons behind these actions and how they changed as the war progressed.

As well as examining why the war at sea in Ireland mattered it is necessary to consider the primary sources available for this study. These can be broken down into two broad categories – general archival material from the seventeenth-century in which references to maritime matters occur and specific papers relating to the naval forces that fought in the 1640s, their administration and operations.

Many archives holding papers relating to the civil war period contain information relating to events that took place in the waters around Ireland from 1641 to 1649. Contemporary historians of the wars of the three kingdoms included seaborne events they considered to be of significance in their accounts. Richard Bellings, secretary of the confederate supreme council and author of the *History of the Irish confederation and war in Ireland 1641-53*, had an excellent grasp of the importance of Waterford harbour and Duncannon fort to Irish trade and referred to the parliamentary privateer Thomas Plunkett as 'that noted scourge of the Irish sea'.[34] Newsbooks such as *The Moderate Intelligencer* and pamphlets related accounts of events, both factual and fanciful, concerning the sea. They reprinted correspondence that contained maritime information for

[34] Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, iv, 7-8.

example; in 1642 a letter from the mayor of Kinsale, Tristram Whetcombe, appeared in London as *A most exact relation of a great victory obtained by the poor Protestants in Ireland.* This detailed the strength of the confederate privateering fleet at Wexford.[35] Other pamphlets published the lists for the parliamentary naval guards each year and various happenings at sea. One of the more incredible tracts that appeared in 1645 included a description the killing of a whale by some English seamen and how on cutting the mammal open they found a priest bearing pardons from the pope for the rebels in Ireland.[36] The state papers and Lords' and Commons' journals also hold orders of parliament and its bodies such as the council of state concerning the war at sea.

Letters which survive in printed compilations by the *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, *Irish Manuscripts Commission* and in manuscript collections like the Carte papers also contain a vast array of naval information. The correspondence of officials responsible for running the war in Ireland including the lord lieutenant, the lords justices in Dublin, lord presidents in the provinces and other local military commanders all refer to naval matters. They usually give details on the state of maritime affairs in the area they control. The lords justices in Dublin advised Ormond in March 1643 about the loss of vessels in the bay there to a 'Dunkirk frigate' due to the absence of the men of war assigned to guard the bay. [37]

It is also important to consider sources of information concerning the geographic, military and economic state of Irish harbours in the seventeenth-

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[35] TT E.119(22), *A most exact relation of a great victory obtained by the poor Protestants in Ireland, under the command of the Lords Inchequeen, and Kinealmekie and Sir Charles Vavasour* (London, 1642), p. 3.

[36] TT E.308(24), *A true and wonderfull relation of a whale, pursued in the sea, and incounterd by multitudes of other fishes, as it was certified by divers mariners of Weymouth* (London, 1645), pp 3-8.

[37] Lords Justices and Council to Ormond, 24 Mar. 1642/3 (Bodl., Carte MS 4, f. 559).

century. These can be broken down into three main categories: travel narratives, contemporary accounts and maps. Sir William Brereton, who became a parliamentary commander during the 1640s, detailed his journey along the east coast from Carrickfergus to Waterford in 1635.[38] The physician and natural historian Gerard Boate compiled a description of every major and minor harbour in Ireland in *Irelands naturall history*. Boate did not arrive in Ireland till late 1649 and died soon afterwards. He used information supplied by his brother, Arnold, and other people who resided there prior to the 1641 rising, including refugees who fled to England, to undertake his study.[39]

Contemporary accounts from the war such as letters, journals and newspapers often gave details of the physical and defensive aspects of places along the coast from a maritime perspective. Captain William Penn, a parliamentary rear admiral, highlighted the problems of operating on the River Shannon in his journal. His pilot lacked knowledge of the area and ran the vessel aground on a ledge of rocks in 1646.[40] A parliamentary newspaper summed up the problem facing the navy in trying to deal with the royalist fleet commanded by Prince Rupert anchored at Kinsale in 1649 'The strength of this Town is their fort, commanded by Col. Brockett, a creature of Inchquins: this fort secures the Harbour and Town'.[41] Numerous sources provided information on the artillery batteries the confederate general the earl of Castlehaven erected before Youghal

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[38] C. Litton Falkiner (ed.), *Illustrations of Irish history and topography, mainly of the seventeenth century* (London, 1904), pp 370-400.

[39] Gerard Boate, *Irelands naturall history being a true and ample description of its situation, greatness, shape, and nature, of its hills, woods, heaths, bogs...*(London, 1657), pp 1-186; Gerard Boate, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2740, accessed 11 Apr. 2007.

[40] Granville Penn (ed.), *Memorials of the professional life and times of Sir William Penn...* (2 vols, London, 1883), i, 165-6.

[41] TT E.350(41), *A perfect Diurnall of some passages in Parliament. And the daily proceedings of the Army under his Excellency the Lord Fairfax. From Munday June 11 to Munday June 18 1649* (London, 1649), p. 2501.

during the siege in 1645. In his memoirs Castlehaven stated that he planted two artillery pieces to fire on ships at anchor at the ferry point. Sir Percy Smith, the governor of Youghal, also mentioned the battery erected by the confederates there.[42] The anonymous author of the *Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction* added further detail when he described the construction of an earthen fort at the harbour mouth on which the Irish mounted some ordnance.[43]

Numerous printed and manuscript maps and charts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show geographic features, nautical aspects and man made defences at Irish harbours. Map making in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Ireland, as William Smyth has recently shown, was not just a reflection of the reality of English conquest. Maps 'were crucial instruments in the hands of monarchs, statesmen and soldiers in the business of conquest, colonization and economic exploitation and transformation'. [44] The English state spent considerable time and effort in mapping the Irish coast and its defences. These plans show the importance of sea power in protecting Ireland from an external threat and also as possible bases to open up the country for any re-conquest. They also place Ireland in the Atlantic maritime world in a time of expansion for the English empire.[45] Drawings and plans can also provide useful information on the spread of new style fortifications along the coast as bastions and other features of their construction can often be distinguished.

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[42] James Tuchet, earl of Castlehaven, *The earl of Castlehaven's Review: or his Memoirs of his Engagement and Carriage in the Irish Wars* (London, 1684), p. 68; Sir Percy Smith to Sir Philip Percival, 19 Aug. 1645, H.M.C., *Report on the manuscripts of the earl of Egmont* (2 vols, London, 1905-9), i, part i, 260.

[43] J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland from 1641 to 1652* (3 vols, Dublin, 1879-80), i, part i, 96.

[44] William Smyth, *Map-making, landscape and memory: a geography of colonial and early modern Ireland, c. 1530-1750* (Cork, 2006), p. 25.

[45] Ibid, pp 27-35.

A lack of knowledge of the Irish coast could easily cause a ship to lose its way. In 1649 Prince Rupert's ship became separated from the rest of the royalist fleet en route to Kinsale. His pilot had little familiarity with the area and brought the ship into Crookhaven instead.[46] Captains who sailed in the seas around Ireland in the 1640s may have been familiar with sea charts of the area. The first English navigational atlas for the sea appeared in 1588 entitled *The Mariners Mirrour*. It copied an earlier Dutch atlas and contained charts which covered the coast of continental Europe and parts of England, but not Ireland.[47] Contemporary English evidence such as ship's journals or examinations from the high court of admiralty from ships that plied the coasts around Ireland made no mention of sea charts on merchantmen or warships. Captain Thomas Powell in the *Fellowship of Bristol* made no reference to any maps on board his vessel on his patrol on the south coast of Ireland from February to July 1642. Captain William Penn commanded a number of different men of war in the parliamentary Irish squadron from 1644 to 1650. His diary, which covered his service from 1644 to 1647, gave no indication that his vessels carried or made use of any nautical charts.[48] Continental merchantman sailing to the British Isles carried charts and Irish privateers sought them out if they intercepted a vessel. In November 1647 an unnamed confederate frigate seized the *Cisne* sailing from San Sebastian to Dover. The crew of the Irish man of war beat up the Spanish sailors to try and find their maps.[49] Captains in the waters around Ireland had

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[46] Account of Prince Rupert in Ireland, 1649 (N.L.I., MS 17,851, f.1).
[47] Derek Howse and Michael Sanderson, *The sea chart: an historical survey based on the collections in the National Maritime Museum* (Newton Abbot, 1971), p. 11; A.G. Hodgkiss, *Understanding maps: a systematic history of their use and development* (Folkestone, 1981), p. 109; Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer, *The Mariners Mirrour* (London, 1588), pp 20-2.
[48] David Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell, 1642' in *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 37 (I.M.C., Dublin, 1998), pp 251-86; Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 104-253.
[49] Ohlmeyer, 'Irish privateers during the Civil War 1642-50', p. 119.

other navigational aids to help them on their course. A ruttier, or set of sailing instructions and directions, from the reign of James I mentioned all the major ports, islands and land marks along the coast. It laid out a safe passage around the country and warned of dangers to be avoided such as a ledge of rocks in Galway bay.[50]

Printed maps included natural features and fortifications at major harbours. William Petty published an atlas of Ireland called *Hiberniae Delineatio* in 1685. The maps contained in this volume showed natural obstacles to shipping like the sand bar in Dublin bay which can be clearly seen on the county chart (see Map 6 for a copy of this map). Strongholds such as Rosslare fort which guarded the entrance to Wexford harbour can be identified on the map for that county (see Map 7).[51] Other works like *Pacata Hibernia* included detailed drawings of some of the major coastal fortresses and towns. These show the style and type of defences employed at these garrisons. At Castle Park fort in Kinsale (see Map 8) the demi-bastioned inner citadel and full bastioned outer walls can be seen overlooking the haven. The defences of Cork harbour included a square stronghold on Haulbowline Island (see Map 9) with two demi-bastions and two full bastions.[52] Plans of towns such as Limerick (see Map 10) showed the quays, castle and potential defensive capabilities and vulnerabilities of the place.[53]

Manuscript maps in archival collections also hold a considerable quantity of information relating to port towns. For instance a 1673 chart of Dublin from

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[50] A ruttier (rutter) was a set of instructions for finding one's course at sea; a marine guide to the routes and tides. A rutter for Ireland, made by Grandger, an expert master, nd, (*Cal. S.P. Carew, 1603-24*, pp 435-9).

[51] William Petty, *Hiberniae Delineatio, Atlas of Ireland* (London, 1685), pp 6, 16.

[52] Thomas Strafford, *Pacata Hibernia; Ireland appeased and reduced or, an historie of the late warres of Ireland* (London. 1633), pp 252-3, 352-3; Paul Kerrigan, *Castles and fortifications in Ireland, 1485-1945* (Cork, 1995), pp 61, 81.

[53] Strafford, *Pacata Hibernia*, pp 362-3

the National Maritime Museum (see Map 11) shows the extent of the sand bar at the mouth of the bay.[54] The town of Kinsale provides a good example of the range of information that can be obtained from early modern maps of the Irish coast and ports. The formidable seaward defences the town possessed in the 1640s can be seen on a plan dated to 1649 (see Map 12). Castle Park fort can be distinguished overlooking the harbour and docks there. A blockhouse close to the sea to protect ships at anchor can be identified at point h on this map. Two batteries erected by Prince Rupert, at points k and l on the map, can also be made out.[55] Two maps of Kinsale, one dated to 1601 and the other to 1637 (see Maps 13 and 14) have markings which indicate the depth of the water in the estuary and beside the town. On the 1637 map (Map 14) the shallows near the coast and anchoring points can be readily identified.[56] The presence of the nautical symbols on these charts suggests they may have been carried or consulted by ship masters or pilots.

One of the main sources of specific naval information for the conflict in the Irish seas comes from records contained in the High Court of Admiralty files in London. The High Court of Admiralty was the court responsible for dealing with cases of maritime law and with particular responsibility for piracy, salvage and prizes. The papers of the court date back to the fourteenth-century and continued up to 1995. Most of the documents originated from the late fifteenth-century on. These files held in the National Archives in London consist of sixty-five series of papers.[57]

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[54] The citty and suburbs of Dublin, 1673 (N.M.M., Dartmouth collection of maps, P49/11).
[55] Map of Kinsale, 1649 (N.M.M., Dartmouth collection of maps, P49/16).
[56] Kinsale, 1601 (N.M.M., Dartmouth collection of maps, P49/17); A draught of the river of Kingsale, October 1637 (T.N.A., Maps extracted from state papers, MPF 1/314).
[57] For the history and workings of the High Court of Admiralty see R. G. Marsden (ed.), Documents relating to law and custom of the sea (2 vols, Navy Records Society, London, 1915), i,

Admiralty courts arrived in Ireland in the late sixteenth-century. They operated in Munster and Leinster and heard cases relating to piracy, salvage and other nautical issues. The Irish courts of admiralty remained subordinate to the High Court of Admiralty in London and cases could be appealed to England.[58] Letters and papers in other archives make reference to the operations of the Leinster admiralty court based in Dublin during the 1640s. It heard cases relating to the war at sea such as those concerning captured prizes brought into the harbour. For example in 1643 Robert Smith, the marshal of the admiralty, sold the cargo seized on a ship called the *Magdalen*. Captain John Bartlett commanding the *Swan* had intercepted the vessel en route to New Ross. The court also dealt with day to day maritime issues that occurred such as the salvage of ships.[59] Prior to the cessation with the confederates in September 1643 Dr Allen Cooke, the judge of the admiralty in Leinster, forwarded depositions taken before him to the court in London.[60]

A vice admiralty court oversaw prize matters under the auspices of parliament in Munster during the 1640s. Parliament approved Lord Broghill, a military commander, as vice admiral of the province.[61] Sir Robert Travers, the judge of the admiralty in Munster, and the mayor of Kinsale heard examinations

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pp vii-xx; John Appleby, *A calendar of material relating to Ireland from the High Court of Admiralty examinations, 1536-1641* (I.M.C, Dublin, 1992), pp ix-xxi; John Appleby, 'An Irish letter of Marque, 1648', in *Irish Sword*, xv, no. 61 (1983), pp. 218-21; John Appleby, '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 Michael McCaughan and John Appleby (eds.), *The Irish sea: aspects of maritime history* (Belfast and Cultra, 1989) pp 47-60.

[58] For the history and operations of the Irish courts of admiralty prior to 1641 see John Appleby and Mary O'Dowd, 'The Irish admiralty: its organization and development, c.1570-1640', in *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. xxiv, no. 95 (May 1985), pp. 299-326; Kevin Costello, The court of admiralty in Ireland, 1580-1877 (Ph.D, 2005, University College Dublin), pp 1-16, 23-45.

[59] Costello, The court of admiralty in Ireland, pp 17-8; lords justices to Sir Edward Nicholas, 13 Mar. 1642/3, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 242-3.

[60] Lords justices to William Lenthall, 23 June 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 290-1.

[61] Warrant for Lord Broghill to be vice admiral of Munster, 12 Feb. 1644/5 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1625-47, HCA 30/864).

concerning ships brought into ports there. Broghill received the tenths due to the admiral for ships that the court condemned.[62] Despite the presence of a vice admiralty court in Munster privateers patrolling on the coast there had to send any prizes they seized directly to London for condemnation. Parliament called Captain Thomas Plunkett and the other owners of the *Discovery* to account before the committee for the admiralty for having disposed of merchandise from a prize called the *St Peter* in Kinsale in 1646.[63] The High Court of Admiralty in London retained precedence over the court in Ireland. Plaintiffs and defendants could choose to have their case heard there rather than in Munster. In 1646 after the capture of the *John of London* Captain Richard Parr sought an order to send the ship and its cargo of tobacco to London for adjudication. Some of the other planters who laded goods on the ship objected to this. They believed that the tobacco might be destroyed on the voyage as the *John* had sustained damage. Instead they petitioned the lord president of Munster for the sale of the tobacco in that province and to hold the money there until the court in England reached a final decision on the matter.[64]

The confederate association established a court of admiralty in the 1640s. Most of the documents that survive from this body come from papers held in the English High Court of Admiralty. Parliamentary captains sent any papers they found on captured Irish vessels to London as part of the legal process. Donough MacCarthy, Viscount Muskerry, served as the Irish lord high admiral and

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[62] For example see the case of the *Flora* in 1646. Examinations of Claus de Witt, John de Witt, Chrisian Anderson and Jacob Johnson, 29 May 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248); orders by Lord Broghill, 29 May 1646, ibid; appraisement for the *Flora*, 3 June 1646, ibid.

[63] Examinations of Jacob Aston, Thomas Banfield, John Whitechurch and Lord Inchiquin, 28 Feb. and 2 Mar. 1645/6 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7); order of the committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and cinque ports, 10 Mar. 1645/6 (T.N.A., Various 1625-47, HCA 30/864).

[64] Petition of Daniel Kendall and others to Lord Inchiquin, 31 Jan. 1646/7 (T.N.A, Interrogatories, 1649-53, HCA 23/15).

Thomas Cusack acted as judge of the court.[65] Ormond took over the administration of the court in 1649. He recalled and reissued the commissions issued earlier in the war and appointed a new prize commission.[66] The confederate admiralty court seems to have been primarily concerned with prize cases and issuing letters of marque. The court can be seen functioning in Wexford, Waterford, Limerick and Galway from commissions issued in those ports. For example the Supreme Council gave William Wadding a letter of marque for the *Mary and Joseph* at Limerick in June 1646. In April 1649 Michael Bolan, the mayor of Wexford, certified that he had received sufficient security from Nicholas Rochfort in the frigate *Mary Magdalen of Wexford*.[67]

This study has aimed to examine systematically all the relevant papers relating to Ireland in the High Court of Admiralty from 1641 to 1649. Over 1,000 individual documents consisting of over 2,000 pages concern the war at sea on the Irish coast. In theory it should be possible to follow each ship through all the relevant sections of the court to its conclusion. In practice this has rarely been possible. Some cases are incomplete and missing papers. Added to this some of the files are in very poor condition making it impossible to properly examine the documents they contain.

The most important information that relates to the war at sea in Ireland can be found in files of examinations. These papers primarily held in HCA 13/245-252 and HCA 13/58-63 hold two types of depositions. These statements usually establish the basic facts such as the name of all the ships involved, port of

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[65] Costello, The court of admiralty in Ireland, pp 18-9.
[66] Ibid, pp 51-2; list of captains and frigates who operate from Wexford and Waterford, 1648, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, i, 121.
[67] Costello, The court of admiralty in Ireland, pp 18-9; commission for the *Mary and Joseph*, 11 June 1646 (T.N.A., Various, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 336); commission for the *Mary Magdalen*, Mar. 1648/9, ibid, f. 278; certificate by Michael Bolan, 23 Apr. 1649, ibid, f. 278v.

origin and destination, cargo and so on. From the dating and location of the first set of depositions these examinations usually took place in the immediate aftermath of the event in the nearest secure port. Captain Peacock and the *Tiger* seized the *Mary of Antrim* on 3 February 1649 near Scilly. Antonio Undermerch, the captain of the frigate gave a deposition before the mayor of Plymouth on 5 February.[68] The second set is made up of large bound volumes some up to 700 folios long with and without pagination. The witnesses gave their statements before officials of the court in London, sometimes years after the event described. The examinants answered specific questions, that can be found in HCA 23/14-18 and HCA 23/29-30, relating to the case and sometimes refuted earlier depositions. As well as the examinations the files contains records concerning the vessels, for example bills of lading and inventories of cargoes and the proceedings of the court. The fate of ships adjudicated as prizes can be found in HCA 34/1-4.

As well as prize matters the High Court of Admiralty also has a large amount of material relating to other aspects of the naval administration, overseas trade and the war at sea in the 1640s. These include letters of marque issued to parliamentary supporters, account books concerning hired men of war, mutinies and orders by the committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque Ports. The main source of information that remains for the confederate admiralty comes from papers seized by parliamentary shipping and stored in the High Court of Admiralty records. Instructions for the *St Peter of Waterford* and

[68] Examination of Antonio Undermarche, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).

letters of marque for the *Mary Magdalen of Wexford*, *Mary and Joseph* and *John Baptist* can be found in HCA 30/855.[69]

Other archival sources that primarily concern naval affairs in Ireland include payment orders, records of prize commissioners and account books which shed light on the financial workings of the squadrons stationed around Ireland. The correspondence of many of the principal naval officers can be found in various manuscript and printed collections. Letters between Ormond and the various captains and admirals form part of the Carte collection. Papers of a number of the parliamentary committees charged with administering the navy can be found in the British Library and National Archives in London.

As well as the written record maritime archaeology offers a potential source of information for the war at sea and the ships that fought on the Irish seaboard. A number of merchantmen and warships are known to have sunk on the Irish coast in the 1640s including the *Great Lewis* and *Duncannon frigate* in 1645 and *Tiger's Whelp* in 1649.[70] Some shipwrecks and artefacts of seventeenth-century vessels with possible connections to the war at sea have been found in the seas around the British Isles. A wreck off Duncannon bar in Waterford harbour may be the *Great Lewis* that sank there after being hit by confederate artillery fire in 1645. Items found during excavations on the site included a mid-seventeenth-century cannon.[71] A ship found off Duart Point in Mull in Scotland has undergone extensive excavations and been identified as the

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[69] Instructions for *St Peter of Waterford*, 28 Apr. 1649 (T.N.A., Various, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f.202); commission for *Mary Magdalen*, Mar. 1648/9, ibid, f. 278; commission for *Mary and Joseph*, 11 June 1646, ibid, f. 336; commission of *John Baptist*, 23 Feb. 1647/8, ibid, 378.

[70] For a general summary of maritime archaeology in Ireland see Colin Breen and Aidan O'Sullivan, *Maritime Ireland: An Archaeology of Coastal Communities* (Stroud, 2007).

[71] Connie Kelleher, *Results of the Archaeological Surveys and Investigations into two shipwrecks (a 16th century and 17th century wreck) on Duncannon Bar in Waterford Harbour, 2000-2006,* (unpublished report for the Department of Environment, Heritage & Local Government, Dublin, 2007), pp 25-54; Connie Kelleher, *The Duncannon Wreck – a seventeenth ship in Waterford Harbour, Heritage Guide 26* (Wicklow, 2004).

royalist frigate the *Swan*. Captain John Bartlett and the *Swan* operated from Dublin between 1642 and November 1645 when a parliamentary raid took the vessel from the bay.[72] The remains of other vessels with their equipment that sank in the 1640s may still be preserved in the seas around Ireland and if found could provide valuable information on the construction of men of war and frigates.

Overall from the documents contained in the High Court of Admiralty and other archives it is possible to build up a detailed picture of the naval conflict in the three kingdoms in the 1640s. This includes aspects of the war such as how ships fought, overseas trade routes between the British Isles, the continent and further afield and a social history of the sailors who manned the ships. There are some limitations in the primary sources used in this study. The focus of this project has been the war at sea fought in the seas around Ireland between parliament, the royalists and confederates. It has therefore concentrated on available records in Irish and English archives and not on material held in continental repositories. Given the European dimension of trade and privateering in the seventeenth-century there may be considerable amounts of information in collections held in the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Spain.

[72] This may not actually be the state ship the *Swan* and may instead be a vessel of the same name that belonged to the Marquis of Argyll (private correspondence from Connie Kelleher/Colin Martin). For the artefacts and other details of the wreck see Colin Martin, *Scotland's historic shipwrecks* (London, 1998), pp 46-66; Colin Martin, 'The Cromwellian Shipwreck off Duart Point Mull', in Mark Redknap (ed.), *Artefacts from Wrecks* (Exeter, 1997), pp 167-180.

Chapter 1: Irish ports and their strategic importance to the war at sea

> Numerous deep harbours are a source of strength and wealth, and doubly so if they are outlets of navigable streams, which facilitate the concentration in them of a country's internal trade; but by their accessibility they become a source of weakness in war, if not properly defended. A. T. Mahan[1]

A. T. Mahan writing in *The influence of sea power upon history* noted the advantages a country gained by securing access to suitable harbours in a time of war. The maritime conflict in Ireland in the 1640s for all sides hinged on the ports they controlled. Holding good natural harbours with defensive features allowed merchants to generate revenue through overseas trade and taxation. Military supplies for all the armies fighting in Ireland entered the country through the ports they possessed. Safe havens around the coast enabled the naval forces stationed there to protect their own merchant vessels and hinder those of their opponents. None of the sides fighting in Ireland throughout the 1640s possessed the maritime strength to close down the coastal towns of their rivals by sea-power alone. The Dutch had similarly failed to halt the privateers that sailed from Dunkirk in their war with Spain.[2] The most effective way to shut down a naval outpost involved an army conquering that place by land. The parliamentary newspaper *The Moderate Intelligencer* advised in October 1648 that 'the Irish piddling pirates need chastizing by land souldiers'.[3]

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[1] A. T. Mahan, *The influence of sea power upon history, 1660-1783* (Boston, 1890, reprinted London, 1965), p. 35.
[2] Jan Glete, *Warfare at sea, 1500-1650: maritime conflicts and the transformation of Europe* (London, 2000), pp 177-9.
[3] TT E.467(16), *The Moderate Intelligencer: impartially communicating martial affaires to the Kingdome of England. From Thursday October 5 to Thursday October 12 1648* (London, 1648), p. 1920.

Much of the military campaigning that took place on land during the 1640s can be attributed to the need to capture outposts along the coast. The marquis of Ormond, the king's lord lieutenant in Ireland, marched his army south from Dublin in 1643 to try and take the confederate naval head quarters at Wexford. Along the way he attempted to besiege another Irish held port town at New Ross. The two largest and most elaborate sieges conducted by the confederates took place at Duncannon in 1645 and Bunratty in 1646. In both cases the confederates sought to take parliamentary fortifications that overlooked the important shipping channels on the Rivers Suir and Shannon. The success of the Cromwellian invasion in 1649 can be attributed to the seizure of key towns along the eastern seaboard which enabled the fleet to support and supply the army. The ports each side maintained dictated the strategy they adopted and their success in the war at sea.

The spread of the 'military revolution' into Ireland in the seventeenth-century also provides a second aspect to the importance of coastal fortifications. The development of artillery fortresses made up one of the four vital components of the early modern 'military revolution'. Fortifications adapted in order to hold out against the greater numbers of heavier artillery pieces that became more common from the sixteenth-century on. The main elements of the *trace italienne* defensive system involved the building of works with low walls and angled bastions to withstand bombardment and provide flanking fire. The high costs of such works limited their spread throughout Europe and Ireland.[4] During the later decades of the sixteenth-

[4] Geoffrey Parker, *The military revolution: military innovation and the rise of the west 1500-1800* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1996), pp 7-12; Loeber & Parker, 'The military revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland', pp 66-7; Pádraig Lenihan, 'Conclusion: Ireland's military revolutions' in Pádraig Lenihan (ed.), *Conquest and resistance, war in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Leiden, 2001), pp 351-3.

century fear of Spanish invasion often led to a spate of building projects or repairs to neglected outposts along the Irish seaboard. The government built many of the new style defensive forts in Ireland on the estuaries of the principal port towns such as Duncannon built between 1587 and 1589. English military engineers constructed and extended a number of bastioned citadels to overlook predominantly Catholic towns and their harbours including Waterford, Cork, Galway and Limerick.[5] Paul Ives, an engineer, drew up plans for fortifications at Haulbowline in Cork and Castle Park in Kinsale harbour (Maps 8 and 9). After Ives' death Samuel Molyneux, the clerk of works, commenced work on those places between 1601 and 1604. Molyneux also started some repairs at St Augustine's fort in Galway city. Sir Josias Bodley as superintendent of castles from 1607 to 1613 and director general and overseer of fortifications from 1613 to 1617 continued to restore coastal defences and drew up plans for new forts before Waterford and Cork city. He completed and reinforced a number of other coastal defences including Duncannon, Castle Park and St Augustine's fort. Nicholas Pynnar during his tenure as director general and overseer of fortifications between 1618 and 1644 repaired and extended a number of strongholds including Castle Park during the 1620s.[6]

This chapter examines the principal harbours and coastal fortifications used by naval forces in Ireland in the 1640s. Firstly it will analyse the key features necessary to make a harbour suitable for use by warships. Secondly it will examine the characteristics and attributes of the main outposts used by the confederates,

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[5] Leober and Parker, 'The military revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland', p. 68; Kerrigan, *Castles and fortifications in Ireland*, pp 41-63.

[6] Rolf Loeber, 'Biographical dictionary of engineers in Ireland, 1600-1730', in *Irish Sword*, xiii, nos 50-53 (Summer 1977-Winter 1979), pp 34-44, 240, 284-7.

parliamentarians and royalists in Ireland (see Maps 1 and 2 and Appendix B for an outline of all the main port towns in the three kingdoms). As part of this study of the importance of Irish ports in the war at sea it is also necessary to consider the impact of the 'military revolution' on coastal fortresses. In particular how places built in the new style performed and fulfilled their functions such as harbour defence or overawing the Catholic towns and their trade. As some of these places changed sides on more than one occasion during this decade this chapter will consider them on a provincial basis.

Key features for naval harbours

All the navies fighting in the seas around Ireland had access to more harbours in the country than they regularly used. As well as being impractical to situate warships in every port each side controlled such a policy offered little military benefit. Instead concentrating naval forces in a few strategically located bases offered the best opportunity to exert their power at sea. A port needed to possess a number of key attributes to make it a viable base for stationing men of war there in the 1640s. The location of the harbour played a crucial role in the selection of ports. Men of war needed to operate from places where they could protect their own trade routes and hinder those of the enemy. As can be seen in Map 5 the major English overseas shipping lanes from North America, the East and West Indies all passed by the southwest coast of Ireland. This made harbours in the vicinity of this zone crucial for either striking against or protecting merchantmen as they made their way to ports such as London and Bristol. Trade from the continent also had to pass through St

George's Channel en route to parliamentary held ports in Wales and Ireland. Isolated harbours no matter how good the other facilities they offered served little purpose. The importance of towns on the east coast and south west can largely be ascribed to their proximity to the major trade routes to England and the continent. Equally the relative insignificance of settlements in Connacht and the more westerly Ulster ports like Coleraine and Londonderry came from their isolation.

Geographic features such as the water depth of a haven or natural barriers at the entrance such as sand banks lessened the usefulness of some places. These natural obstacles made it difficult for large men of war to enter safely and anchor there unless they had experienced pilots on board. A good harbour for naval use also required natural features which could be fortified. Hills and promontories that received new style artillery fortifications before and during the war helped to keep enemy ships from attacking vessels in the places they protected. Throughout the 1640s the confederates and parliamentarians raided and stole shipping from anchorages that lacked man made defences such as artillery batteries, blockhouses and forts.

Economic considerations also played a major part in deciding which harbours came to prominence as naval bases. Naval and merchant shipping needed a vast array of maritime services and resources including dockyards, victuallers and other ancillary supplies. They also required markets to provide the supplies they needed and to purchase any prize goods that came in. Men of war required regular cleaning and maintenance. In theory a ship needed to be tallowed every few months to

maintain optimum seaworthiness.[7] Major port towns also contained the skilled tradesmen such as carpenters and shipwrights who could keep the ships fit for sea. A harbour with deep water and good natural defences served little purpose if it provided no fresh supplies or markets. For example, in 1642 Captain Francis Oliver seized an English ship called the *Blessing of London* near Sheephaven in Donegal. Gerard Boate described it as an excellent natural harbour on the north coast but he also noted that few ships went there due to the lack of towns. Oliver sold some of the goods to the local people but sent the rest and the prize vessel to Wexford.[8] Only harbours which possessed most of these attributes became major naval bases during the 1640s. The principal ports that served as stations for men of war during the 1640s included Carrickfergus, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, and Kinsale. The other main commercial harbours in Ireland in this decade were Ballyshannon, Londonderry, Coleraine, Belfast, Dundalk, Drogheda, New Ross, Dungarvan, Youghal, Limerick, Galway and Sligo (see Map 1 for the principal ports In Ireland used during the 1640s).

Ulster

For most of the 1640s the main coastal towns in Ulster - Ballyshannon, Londonderry, Coleraine, Belfast and Carrickfergus - remained in the hands of Protestant armies. The Irish failed to take and hold any port of significance in the province during the initial stages of the rising. The Ulster rebels seized Newry in

[7] Brian Lavery, *The arming and fitting of English ships of war 1600-1815* (London, 1987), pp 56-8.
[8] Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, p. 14; examination of William Elliott, 3 Nov. 1642, (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, f. 299).

November 1641 but a Scots army recaptured the town in May 1642.[9] Carrickfergus became the principal base for the parliamentary navy in the region. A number of factors accounted for this pre-eminence. Prior to the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641 Carrickfergus had been a well established English military stronghold in Ulster. The town possessed a garrison, defences and a strong medieval castle. The location of Carrickfergus on the east coast of Ireland in Belfast Lough made it an ideal entry point for the Scots army and their supplies into the country. In March 1642 the regiments commanded by Major-General Sir Robert Monro sailed from Ayr and landed in Carrickfergus on 3 April.[10] As can be seen in Map 12 the most accessible port in Ireland to Ayr lay at Carrickfergus. This made the port a logical base for English men of war in Ulster at times when parliament allied with the Scots. As part of their agreement for military aid with the Scots in 1644 parliament promised to set out a squadron of six ships to patrol the coast and ensure provisions reached the army in Ulster.[11]

Good anchoring for ships before the town of Carrickfergus helped to make it a suitable headquarters for the parliamentary squadron in the north of Ireland. Boate described 'a reasonable road before the Town of Knockfergus'.[12] The harbour had some limitations; ships with a large draught could not easily operate there in winter due to a lack of water depth. Captain William Penn justified his actions in sending the *Globe* there, in the autumn of 1645, in place of the *Fellowship* on the basis that it

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[9] See Appendix B for a breakdown of the principal port towns and when they changed hands throughout the 1640s. The spread of the rebellion in the provinces will be examined in Chapter 2.
[10] Edward Furgol, 'The civil wars in Scotland', in John Kenyon and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds), *The civil wars, a military history of England, Scotland and Ireland 1638-1660* (Oxford, 1998), p. 48.
[11] Scottish Commissioners to ____, 20 Oct. 1644, Charles McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters: original documents and notices of Irish affairs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (I.M.C., Dublin, 1943), p. 170.
[12] Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, p. 13.

had a shallower draught than his vessel.[13] The castle overlooked the harbour, this can be seen in Maps 15 and 16, and afforded security for vessels riding there.[14] This provided a safe and sheltered anchorage for warships and merchantmen. It also meant that in the absence of men of war vessels riding at anchor below the castle could be protected by its guns and not attacked by Irish privateers. The town also had traditionally been a major Ulster port since the middle ages. Seventeenth-century customs records, which did not include Coleraine and Londonderry, showed Carrickfergus as the dominant trade centre in the region. The customs revenue for 1628-9 indicated that Carrickfergus raised £425 14*s*. The three other Ulster ports of Bangor, Donaghadee and Strangford, mentioned in the returns, took in less than this combined.[15]

By the mid seventeenth century other port towns in Ulster such as Londonderry and Belfast began to eclipse the overseas trade of Carrickfergus. In 1634-5 the customs return for the city of Londonderry generated £1,019 16*s*. 3¼*d*. in revenue compared to £724 5*s*. 1*d*. from Carrickfergus.[16] As this indicates economic factors alone did not attract naval vessels to a port. Towns like Ballyshannon, Londonderry and Coleraine remained relatively isolated on the north and west coast of Ireland. They lay considerably further away from Scotland than Carrickfergus. The vital trade routes that the parliament needed to protect did not pass by these places, whereas men of war sailing from Carrickfergus could protect merchantmen

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[13] William Penn to the committee for the admiralty, Sept. 1645, Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 142-3.
[14] Carrickfergus, c 1560 (B.L., Cotton MS Augustus I, ii, 42); Carrickfergus c. 1596 (T.N.A., Maps extracted from state papers, MPF 1/98).
[15] Donald Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics, 1614-1641', *Irish Economic and Social History*, xxvi (1999), pp 58-9.
[16] Ibid, p. 64; Jean Agnew, *Belfast merchant families in the seventeenth century* (Dublin, 1996), pp 1-4.

about the north coast of Ireland. From a practical point of view none of the other northern harbours offered the same geographic and defensive features available at Carrickfergus. Shallow water depth made situating men of war at Ballyshannon impractical. Sir William Cole advised in 1646 that Ballyshannon had only eight feet of water due to a bar at the harbour mouth. Hence Cole requested that small vessels with a shallow draught be sent there. Gerard Boate estimated that no ship of greater than thirty to forty tons could enter Ballyshannon. Even the smallest hired men of war had a tonnage in excess of this.[17]

Londonderry possessed both advantages and disadvantages as a potential naval headquarters. Situated on the River Foyle a fort at the mouth of the estuary protected the river and prevented hostile ships coming up to the quays. A previous military commander, Sir Henry Dowcra, constructed an earthen work fort at Culmore in 1600.[18] Sir Josias Bodley recommended rebuilding the decayed fort with stone in 1608.[19] A 1622 drawing of Culmore fort (see Map 17) indicated a triangular bastioned fort with guns pointing out to sea.[20] A sand bar at the mouth of the Foyle made access for ships difficult.[21] A map of the River Foyle dating from 1689 clearly shows the water depth in fathoms which indicates a reasonable water depth up to the quays (See Map 19).[22] A lack of fortifications at the quays made Londonderry an unsuitable long term haven for naval vessels. No defences can be seen at the city

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[17] Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, pp 28-9; propositions of Sir William Cole, 30 July 1646 (*Cal., S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, pp 483-4).
[18] John McGurk, *Sir Henry Docwra, 1564-1631* (Dublin, 2006), pp 61-9.
[19] Kerrigan, *Castles and fortifications*, p. 50, 59.
[20] Ibid, p. 76; The Fort of Coolemore 3 miles from London derry seaward, Thomas Raven, 1622 (Drapers Hall, +793).
[21] Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, pp 14-5.
[22] Londonderry and its environs, Thomas Philips, 1689 (B.L., Maps K Top 54 25.3: from Avril Thomas, *Derry-Londonderry, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 15* (Dublin, 2005)), map 13.

quays in a map of the city from 1625 or in two maps of the city in 1689 that also show this area (see maps 18, 19 and 20).[23] The vulnerability of shipping in such an unprotected harbour can be seen in 1647. Some Irish frigates sailed into the harbour and removed thirty barks carrying provisions in one month.[24] The lack of defences also left ships riding in the port at risk if a hostile army captured the land opposite the quays. They could erect artillery batteries to fire on vessels anchoring there. Both the 1689 charts of Londonderry (maps 19 and 20) show just such a scenario with ordnance clearly planted against the quays.[25] Similarly a 1611 map of Coleraine on the River Bann shows no defences overlooking the quays there either (see Map 21).[26] The absence of fortifications to protect the quays of Londonderry and Coleraine did not pose problems once the garrisons controlled the surrounding hinterland. This lack of protection for ships at anchor did not make either place suitable as long term naval bases during the 1640s.

By the mid seventeenth-century Belfast had begun to overtake Carrickfergus in terms of overseas trade. By the 1630s the town had become a regional centre for the provisions trade.[27] Boate in *Irelands naturall history* made no specific mention of the condition of the port at Belfast other than to note that ships could sail past Carrickfergus and go up to it. [28] Despite its waning trade a number of factors made

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[23] Ibid; A plot of ye cittie of Londonderry, Thomas Raven, 1625 (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/22: from Thomas, *Derry-Londonderry),* map 10; Mapp of the cittie of London-Derry, Francis Neville, 1689 (N.L.I, Ms 16 H 248): from ibid, map 11.

[24] Sir Charles Coote to the committee of the lords and commons for the affairs of Ireland at Derby House, 11 June 1647 (Bodl., Carte MS 67, f.133).

[25] A plot of ye cittie of Londonderry, 1625, by Thomas Raven (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/22: from Thomas, *Derry-Londonderry),* map 10; Mapp of the cittie of London-Derry, Francis Neville, 1689 (N.L.I, Ms 16 H 248): from ibid, map 11.

[26] Coleraine, *c.*1611 (T.C.D., Ms 1209/24).

[27] Agnew, *Belfast merchant families*, pp 1-3.

[28] Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, pp 13-4.

Carrickfergus a more attractive base for naval operations than Belfast. At the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641 Belfast had virtually no landward defences and only constructed some minor bastions in 1642.[29] This made the well fortified Carrickfergus a more attractive landing place and headquarters for the Scots and later the navy in Ulster. The parliamentary navy also did not have reliable access to Belfast as the royalists under Colonel Chichester held the town for the king in 1643. After seizing Belfast in May 1644 the Scots denied access to parliamentary commissioners and soldiers in 1645 and 1646. Hence Belfast never became a significant naval station during the 1640s.

Ulster ports lost their significance as the war progressed. From 1645 on the focus of much of the parliamentary war effort in Ireland switched to the south of the country. Problems with the Scots in the province created access problems for parliamentary men of war into harbours there. Many officers in the province had supported the king in the second civil war and parliament did not regain control of Carrickfergus, Belfast and Coleraine until Colonel George Monck retook the towns in September 1648. He could not hold these places and Scots forces in alliance with Ormond retook them in the spring of 1649. This left Londonderry as the only significant port in Ulster in parliamentary control until the Cromwellian forces finally regained control of Belfast in September 1649 and Carrickfergus in November of the same year. Overall the location of Carrickfergus on the east coast of Ireland and its closeness to Scotland more than anything else accounted for its dominant naval position in Ulster. It also held some of the other key features that

[29] Agnew, *Belfast merchant families*, p. 3; Robert Young (ed.), *The town book of the corporation of Belfast, 1613-1816* (Belfast, 1892), p. 22.

naval ships needed from the ports they used. The town provided a commercial centre with a secure harbour that included good anchoring with sufficient depth of water and no major obstacles to hinder men of war. None of the other available ports in Ulster made this combination of elements available to parliament in the 1640s.

Leinster

Dublin and Wexford overshadowed all other ports in Leinster (Carlingford, Dundalk, Drogheda and New Ross) as naval bases.[30] A combination of factors made Dublin the principal harbour in the north of the province during the 1640s. As the political, commercial and administrative capital Dublin had an importance as a port beyond the limited facilities its bay provided. All the sides that fought in Ireland sought to take the prize of Dublin. The city lacked the physical and defensive characteristics of many of the other principal havens on the Irish seaboard. A dangerous sand bar that can be seen on many contemporary maps (see Maps 6 and 11) ran across the mouth of the harbour.[31] A number of ships sank on this obstacle in the 1640s. In December 1641 a Southampton vessel laden with Malaga wine ran aground with the loss of most of the cargo. A parliamentary man of war, the *Tiger's Whelp*, foundered there in September 1649.[32] Sir William Brereton in an account of his travels referred to Dublin as a 'vile barred haven'. Boate offered a more detailed description of the bay. He noted that deep ships could come no closer to the city than Ringsend. At low tide you could walk round ships at anchor except at two pools at

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[30] Even though they are in County Wexford Duncannon, New Ross and Ballyhack will be examined as part of the outer defences of Waterford in the Munster section.

[31] Petty, *Hiberniae Delineatio*, p. 6; Dublin harbour, 1673, (N.M.M., Dartmouth collection of maps, P49/12).

[32] Deposition of John Hapgood, 28 Mar. 1642 in R. C. Anderson (ed.), *The book of examinations and depositions, 1622-1644, vol. 4, 1639-1644* (Southampton Record Series, 1936, Southampton), pp 36-7; colonel Deane to the council of state, 27 Sept. 1649, H.M.C., *Report of the manuscripts of F.W. Leyborne- Popham, Esq., of Littlecote, Co. Wilts.* (London, 1899), p. 42.

Clontarf and Poolbeg. The bay also offered no shelter from the wind for vessels riding there.[33]

In addition to its poor natural features the harbour lacked man made defences to protect ships in time of war. Proposals for a blockhouse to be constructed at Ringsend did not come about until 1644.[34] The safety of shipping anchoring at Dublin relied on having men of war to patrol the haven to keep hostile vessels away. The lack of artillery overlooking the bay and a lack of sufficient warships to keep it clear allowed enemy vessels to ride there to seize shipping and communicate with sympathisers on shore. From 1641 to 1647 with the city under the control of the royalist marquis of Ormond confederate and parliamentarian men of war raided the harbour and seized merchant shipping and on one occasion a frigate. The lords justices reported in March 1643 that the absence of the *Confidence* and *Swan* assigned to guard Dublin had allowed a Dunkirker privateer to enter the harbour and remove a merchantmen.[35] Parliamentarian vessels blockading Dublin intercepted packet boats, traded with citizens and sailors visited the city. For example, in February 1646, a group of men and women went out to trade for tobacco with the *Nicholas* and *Swan* lying at anchor in the bay. On their return they brought a boy and mariner from the *Nicholas* ashore.[36] Ormond complained in 1644 that the English

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[33] Litton Falkiner (ed.), *Illustrations of Irish history*, p. 377; Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, pp 25-6.
[34] Proposal for erecting a blockhouse in Dublin harbour, 1644, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* ns, i, 88; Kerrigan, *Castles and fortifications*, p. 91.
[35] Lords justices to William Lenthall, 23 Mar. 1642/3, H.M.C. *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 256.
[36] Examinations of Jonathan Paley, Leonard Graves and Thomas Lowe, 12 Feb. 1645/6 (T.C.D., Dublin depositions, ii, MS 810, ff 307-8v); examinations of John Lambert, William Sheppard and Leonard Graves, 14 Feb. 1645/6, ibid., ff 329-32.

navy had such good information about his intentions from their friends on the shore that they could thwart his plans to transport soldiers to Anglesey.[37]

Given the physical and defensive limitations of Dublin why did it remain such a significant port throughout the war? The lack of alternatives in Leinster accounted for its importance to the royalist forces in Ireland until Ormond handed the city over to parliamentary forces in the summer of 1647. The other ports that Ormond controlled, until he yielded them along with Dublin in 1647, had even more drawbacks. The harbours at Drogheda and Dundalk offered reasonable anchorages for merchantmen but natural obstacles made both unsuitable for the stationing of men of war. The bar at Drogheda could only be crossed at high tide and with great care due to the narrowness of the mouth of the bay. Dundalk had a wide open bay but lacked deep water and shelter for ships from the wind.[38] Carlingford provided the best natural harbour available on the north east coast. A deep harbour and high mountains protected ships from the wind. The one physical problem with it lay in the large number of rocks at the entrance which made entry to the harbour difficult. The harbour could also be fortified. Estimates from around 1646 put the cost of building a blockhouse at £180 3*s*. 8*d*. This may have been for repairs to an earlier fortification in Carlingford Lough.[39] By 1649 the sea fort seems to have been in a reasonable state of repair as it put up considerable resistance when the parliamentary navy and army launched a simultaneous assault on Carlingford. At an agreed signal between the

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[37] Ormond to Archbishop of York, 22 May 1644, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, p. 141; Elaine Murphy, 'The English navy and intelligence in Ireland in the 1640s' in Eunan O'Halpin, Robert Armstrong and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds), *Intelligence, statecraft and international power* (Historical Studies XXV, Dublin, 2006), pp 35-47.

[38] Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, pp 26-7; Litton Falkiner (ed.), *Illustrations of Irish history*, pp 373-4, 418-9.

[39] Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, pp 11-12; estimate for the charges of building a blockhouse at Carlingford, nd (Bodl., Carte MS. 16, f. 642); Kerrigan, *Castles and fortifications*, pp 34-6.

soldiers commanded by Colonel Venables and the *President* under Captain Ferns the ship fought its way into the bay. He came under heavy fire from the blockhouse and one shot split the ship's main mast before the garrison surrendered.[40] Despite its strength as a harbour other considerations limited royalist use of the port. Gerard Boate summed up the problem when he stated that very few large ships went there as it lacked a great town.[41] Without a town to provide supplies and other services the royalists gained little by stationing ships at such an isolated harbour.

Parliament continued to station ships in Dublin after 1647 even though they had access to other ports with fewer physical restrictions. The city's location on the east coast of Ireland opposite Wales made it an ideal entry port for military supplies and personnel. The city provided the most convenient place to ship soldiers into the country. From Dublin an invading army had numerous options in terms of the way it moved through out into the rest of the island. As well as its excellent position on the east coast Dublin had been a major pre-war overseas trade centre. Customs revenue from the port eclipsed all other towns in Ireland in the early seventeenth-century. From 1634 to 1635 the city raised £6,617 16*s*. 8½*d*. in customs. The next closest port of Waterford only took in £1,509 15*s*. 4*d*.[42] This large overseas trade suggests that numerous vessels used the port and that the range of maritime services necessary to keep ships at sea existed in Dublin. Sources from the 1640s made little mention of these facilities in the city. But naval captains from the 1650s referred to the

[40] TT E.575(7), *Letters from Ireland, relating the several great successes it hath pleased God to give unto the Parliaments Forces* (London, 1649), pp 13-15.
[41] Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, p. 12.
[42] Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics, 1614-1641', p. 64.

availability of victualling, cleaning and tallowing services in Dublin for their men of war.[43]

Wexford became the pre-eminent privateering base in Ireland during the 1640s. After the town joined the rebellion from December 1641 on officials in Dublin feared that the rebels there would use that harbour to 'make another Dunkirk and infest us'.[44] Wexford shared some of the characteristics that made the port of Dunkirk such a successful naval headquarters. The location of Wexford on the south east coast served as a perfect point for attacking English shipping lanes in the Irish Sea and St George's Channel. Similarly the position of Dunkirk in Flanders aided vessels from the port in their assaults on Dutch shipping. Sir William Brereton described a spacious harbour at Wexford that could hold thousands of vessels. Both he and Boate agreed that the presence of two sand bars at the mouth of Wexford harbour limited the size of ships that came into the port.[45] The confederates used this to their advantage in keeping the harbour secure. The shallower draughts of the 'Dunkirk frigates' used as privateers meant the lack of deep water at the mouth of the harbour posed less of a problem to them. Shifting sand banks similarly made the entrance to Dunkirk treacherous for unwary or inexperienced captains.[46]

The confederates fortified Rosslare point at the entrance to Wexford with an artillery fortress to protect the ships riding there. They constructed a fort there, including some of the latest military specifications, sometime in 1642 under the direction of Captain Antonio Vanderipen (possibly Antonio Nicholas Vanderkipp,

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[43] Captain Richard Cowes to the admiralty committee, 3 Apr. 1655 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1655*, p. 457).
[44] Lords justices and council to commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, 1 Sept. 1642, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 185.
[45] Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, p. 24-5; Litton Falkiner (ed.), *Illustrations of Irish history*, p. 395.
[46] Stradling, *The Armada of Flanders*, p. 35.

the privateer owner, from Spanish Flanders). By fortifying the harbour the confederates hoped to prevent attacks on the shipping and to encourage Irish and foreign merchants to use the port. Rosslare fort originally mounted five pieces of ordnance. It contained seven guns when the garrison abandoned it to the approaching Cromwellian forces in October 1649.[47] Two 'Down Survey' maps of the area from the 1650s show the position and style of the work there (see Maps 22 and 23). A general drawing of Rosslare shows the fort at the end of the Rosslare peninsula protecting the entrance to the bay. A more detailed drawing of the area depicts a square bastioned fortification.[48] The erection of artillery fortresses at Dunkirk also helped to defend the access to the harbour there.[49] The difficulty of getting into the haven coupled with the presence of Rosslare fort ensured that parliamentary raiders did not steal ships at anchor as they did elsewhere.

The strong maritime economy of Wexford and the fact that the confederates controlled the town continuously, from December 1641 to October 1649, also made it attractive as a naval centre. A large fleet of merchantmen that belonged to the town sailed to and from continental harbours from Wexford throughout the 1640s. Ships going to France carried a large amount of herrings including the *Katherine of Wexford* in 1646 and the *Mary of Wexford* in 1648.[50] Vessels returning from

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[47] Loeber & Parker, 'The military revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland', p. 77; Kerrigan, *Castles and fortifications*, p. 91; TT E.576(2), *A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the honourable William Lenthal Esq; Speaker of the Parliament of England* (London, 1649), p. 4; John Lodge, *Desiderata curiosa Hibernica: or a select collection of state papers; consisting of royal instructions, directions, dispatches, and letters* (2 vols, Dublin, 1772), ii, 159.

[48] The parish of Roslahir in the county of Wexford (N.L.I., Down Survey maps of County Wexford, MS 725); the baronie of Forth, ibid.

[49] Stradling, *The Armada of Flanders,* pp 35-6.

[50] Examinations of Bernard Pursell and Hendrick Johnson, 28 Dec. 1646 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2); Examination of David Wherey, 3 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 245).

European ports brought a variety of merchandise into Wexford including salt, wine and munitions. For example, the *Rowland of Bremen* sailed from La Rochelle laden with salt, tobacco and wine for Wexford in 1643.[51] The presence of such vibrant overseas trading links gave the town the industries to provide the support services on which privateers depended. Frigates needed large crews to sail the vessel and operate its guns in order to overwhelm ships they engaged. With so many merchantmen passing through the port Wexford provided a place in which mariners could be recruited for service in private men of war. For example Patrick Canaway, James Morrice and David Rossither, three Wexford mariners, signed on for a privateering voyage with the *Dolphin of Wexford* under Captain Beachie in that town in June 1647.[52] The town also had the facilities to repair, construct and outfit men of war. Patrick O'Quouny, a carpenter in Wexford, deposed in the 1650s about working on building the privateer the *Mary and John of Wexford*. In his report on the storming of the town in October 1649 Cromwell noted that his forces found a ship on the stocks with the materials to complete the work; which he ordered done.[53]

The merchants of Wexford had the capability to process and sell the large amount of prize goods and vessels that came into them. Privateer captains required a ready market for the goods and vessels they captured. Numerous Wexford citizens took part in the trade in prize merchandise. William Keating, an alderman in the town, purchased prize goods brought in by privateers. Another Wexford alderman,

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[51] TT E.65(29), *Severall letters of great importance and good succcesse* (London, 1643), p. 1; examinations of Gilbert Snebye, John Peterson and John Johnson, 9 Sept. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, ff 617-19v).

[52] Examination of Patrick Canaway, James Morrice and David Rossither, 30 July 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).

[53] Deposition of Patrick O'Quouny, 23 Jan. 1653/4 (T.C.D., Wexford Depositions, ii, MS 819, ff 203-v); TT E.576(2), *A letter from the lord lieutenant of Ireland to the honourable William Lenthall Esq., speaker of the parliament of England* (London, 1649), p. 7.

Alexander Roch, bought an English bark laden with coals that a privateer brought into the harbour.[54] Confederate privateers captured over 400 ships that can be identified in the 1640s many of which they disposed of in Wexford. Walter Enos, a confederate theologian based in Wexford, claimed that frigates from the town brought in over 1,900 prizes.[55] English accounts of the storming of Wexford all stressed the vast amount of booty taken in the town and the number of ships seized in the harbour. An officer at the attack mentioned silver, plate, jewels, commodities and forty ships in the harbour. Cromwell in his report on the capture of Wexford also noted the prosperity of the town and that the army took 'a very good booty in this place'.[56] Wexford possessed all the prerequisites for a successful privateering base in the 1640s. It had an excellent location on the coast to intercept shipping, a secure harbour and a large town to support the activities of vessels that operated from there.

Munster

The naval war in Munster focused on the control of two key port towns; Waterford and Kinsale. But other places including Youghal, Cork and Limerick also played significant roles at various stages of the 1640s. As in Leinster the ownership of these places divided between the confederates and royalists/parliamentarians. Both

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[54] Deposition of John Carne, 3 Apr. 1654 (T.C.D., Wexford Depositions, i, MS 818, f. 292); deposition of Philip Roch, 10 Jan. 1653/4 (T.C.D., Wexford Depositions, ii, MS 819, ff 255-v).
[55] See Appendix C1 for a list of prizes. Barnabas O'Ferrall and Daniel O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus, de sedis apostolicae legatione ad foederatos Hiberniae catholicios per annos 1645-9*, ed. Stanislaus Kavanagh (6 vols, I.M.C., Dublin, 1932-49), i, part vii, 519-20; Daniel O'Connell and Barnabas O'Ferrall, *De haeresis Anglicanae in Iberniam intrusione et progressu, et de dello Catholico ad annum 1641 caepto, exindeque per aliquot annos gesto Commentarius* (Florence, 1661-1666), ed. Grainne C. McLaughlin and transl. Grainne C. McLaughlin et al. [hereafter referred to as O'Ferrall & O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*].
[56] TT E.576(2), *A letter from the lord lieutenant of Ireland to the honourable William Lenthall Esq., speaker of the parliament of England* (London, 1649), pp 6-7; TT E.575(35), T*he taking of Wexford* (London, 1649), p. 5.

harbours had a hinterland of surrounding havens and forts which helped to support and protect the main port. Fortifications on the River Suir at Duncannon, Passage and Ballyhack defended the route to the New Ross and Waterford. Cork and Youghal acted as supporting harbours for the naval base at Kinsale with men of war regularly visiting both places. As well as examining Waterford and Kinsale it will be necessary to look at why the other main port in Munster, at Limerick, never became a significant naval outpost.

Most seventeenth-century writers regarded Waterford as one of the finest natural ports in Ireland. Luke Grennan in 1620 rated it the best harbour in Ireland and Sir William Brereton concurred that it had the most convenient quay in Ireland.[57] Gerard Boate wrote that a deep and clear channel led to the harbour with no sands or rocks to block the passage.[58] As a major maritime trade centre from before the war it also held the population, industries and services to support privateering enterprises that established themselves there. Before parliament blockaded his fleet in Kinsale Prince Rupert planned to fit out his royalist men of war and recruit sailors in Waterford in May 1649.[59] Like Wexford local merchants benefited from the trade in prize goods. John Pine deposed in 1649 that 'the cellars and storehouses of Waterford are full of Englishmen's goods and the Irish there come and trade for them familiarly'.[60] As they shared the same estuary and much of the same route to the sea New Ross should be considered in conjunction with Waterford. New Ross on the

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[57] Litton Falkiner (ed.), *Illustrations of Irish history*, pp 351-2, 400.
[58] Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, pp 10-11.
[59] Prince Rupert to Ormond, 8 May 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 24, f. 652); Colonel Legge to Ormond, 22 May 1649, ibid, f. 765.
[60] Examination of John Pine sent to William Lenthall, 5 Feb 1648/9, H.M.C., *The manuscripts of his grace the duke of Portland preserved at Welbeck Abbey* (London, 1891), i, 510.

River Barrow had a much lower level of overseas trade than Waterford. The customs in Waterford raised £1,509 17*s.* 4*d.* in 1634-5. For the same period the town of New Ross only brought in £146 3*s.* 2½*d.*[61] During the 1640s some privateers sailed from the port in search of prizes. In June 1649 the parliamentary man of war the *Tiger's Whelp* intercepted the *Patrick of Ross* near Dublin. The crew confessed that they came from New Ross with a letters of marque from Ormond.[62]

The town of Waterford joined the rising in the early months of 1642 and remained in confederate control until its surrender to Cromwell in August 1650. Its situation on the River Suir so far from the sea created difficulties for the confederates. In order to utilise the port fully ships needed clear and secure access to the sea. As the harbour itself lacked fortifications to protect vessels at anchor there the townsmen needed to control the passage to St George's Channel in order to keep hostile ships away from Waterford. Map 24 shows the route from Waterford to the sea. The main defensive impediments that vessels going to the town had to pass at Ballyhack, Passage and Duncannon can be clearly seen.[63] A new style citadel with two bastions and two demi-bastions had been designed for Waterford by Sir Josias Bodley. The plan of the fort with guns pointing into the city suggests that overawing the predominantly Catholic townsmen lay behind the building of this work and not protecting ships.[64] As long as the town controlled the defences on the route from the

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[61] Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics, 1614-1641', p. 64.
[62] Examination of Robert Sansun and John Nager, 22 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[63] The trew Description of the Cittie of Waterford wt the New fortification there', Francis Jobson, 1591 (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/64).
[64] Kerrigan, *Castles and fortifications*, pp 57, 62, 81-2.

sea to Waterford harbour, which they did for most of the 1640s, they could protect ships travelling to the port and keep enemy vessels at bay.

The fort at Duncannon posed the main obstacle to the use of Waterford as a naval outpost up to March 1645. Richard Bellings in his history of the war succinctly summed up the geographic situation the confederates faced

> The fort of Duncannon, which is the key of the ports of Waterford and Ross, by which the rivers of the Barrow, the Shure and the Nore fall into the sea, and make a noble and secure harbour, is seated on the north side of the river in Leinster, on a rock and regularly fortified.[65]

The garrison and its governor, Lord Esmond, held the position for forces in opposition to the Irish until they surrendered to General Preston commander of the confederate army of Leinster in March 1645. As can be seen in Map 21 the fort at Duncannon jutted out into the estuary and overlooked all traffic going to and from Waterford. Construction of the fort had begun in 1587. Repairs in the seventeenth-century, such as those undertaken by Sir Josias Bodley around 1611, concentrated on the landward defences.[66] Contemporary writers regarded the fort as a significant hindrance to confederate shipping on the river prior to 1645. The author of the *Aphorismical Discovery* stated that 'Duncannon greatly hindered the trafficke of a great part of Linster, and specially of Waterford and Rosse'. Father Bonaventure Baron noted in 1645 that the fort on its elevated site commanded all ships going to Waterford and Ross. Gerard Boate warned that 'no ships can go up or down against

[65] Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, iv, 7.
[66] Ibid, pp 41, 59-60.

the will of those in the Fort, without running extreme hazard'.[67] From a map of the siege conducted by General Preston in 1645 the confederate camp and works against the fort can be easily seen. Artillery batteries inside Duncannon pointing out to sea and the Irish ordnance that fired on the parliamentary shipping can also be identified. (See Map 25).[68]

The hindrance posed to Waterford shipping if Duncannon remained in English hands led the administration in Dublin to expect an attack on the outpost in 1642. The arrival of continental veterans at Wexford caused the lords justices to fear an immediate assault against the garrison at Duncannon in September 1642.[69] Confederate attempts to take the fort prior to 1645 achieved little. This raises the question of how successful was the fort in limiting the use of Waterford port as a confederate naval base. Between 1641 and 1645 no active privateer can be distinguished, for definite, operating from Waterford. The risks involved in passing by or sending prizes in past the fort may have persuaded frigate owners to establish themselves in more accessible harbours like Wexford. Yet merchantmen can be clearly seen going to and from the harbour. Between September 1643 and April 1644 at least twenty-three vessels entered and thirty-one ships sailed from Waterford. They sailed to and from continental ports including Nantes, La Rochelle, Bordeaux, St Malo, Middelburg, Hamburg, Bilbao and Dunkirk. In January 1644 the *St Francis of Dunkirk* arrived in Waterford carrying wine and hops. The vessel sailed in

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[67] Gilbert (ed.), *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland*, i, part 1, 102; P. H. Hore, *History of the town and county of Wexford* (6 vols., London, 1900-11), iv, 147; Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, p. 11.
[68] Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, iv, front piece.
[69] Lords justices to the commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, 29 Sept. 1642 (Bodl., Carte MS 3, f. 532).

February for Dunkirk laden with hides, wool, sheep skins and tallow. The merchantman arrived back again in Waterford towards the end of March bearing wine, hops and sugar. Most of the vessels and merchants came from Waterford. For example, John Walsh, a Waterford merchant, consigned and received merchandise in the *Mary Conception of Waterford*. Ships and traders from other Irish and European ports also sent vessels into Waterford. In December 1643 Patrick Brey, a merchant of New Ross, loaded tallow, herring, hides and sheep skins on the *St John Baptist of Dungarvan* for Nantes. [70] As Lord Esmond adhered to the cessation agreed between Ormond and the confederates, until the garrison defected to parliament in the summer of 1644, this may explain the large volume of traffic that passed in this period. Merchantmen continued to trade between Waterford and ports in Europe and further afield throughout the war. The *Burdeaux of Flushing* came from the West Indies with a freight of tobacco for Waterford before being intercepted by the *Assurance* in January 1647.[71] The fall of Duncannon to the confederates in March 1645 seems to have made Waterford more accessible to privateers. After 1646 a considerable percentage of the Irish frigates that can be identified, such as the *Angel Keeper of Waterford*, used Waterford in their name.[72] They also sailed from that port and sent their prizes in there. Joseph Content, the captain of the *St Peter of Waterford*, stated after his capture that he sailed from that harbour and sent any ships he intercepted in there.[73]

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[70] A note of the shipping that are gone out of and came into the harbour of Waterford, Sept. 1643-Apr. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 6, ff 505v-7v).
[71] Examinations of Walter Thompson and John Barrow, 13 Dec. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[72] See Appendix C1 for a breakdown of confederate privateers and the prizes they took each year.
[73] Examination of Joseph Content, 11 July 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).

The fort of Duncannon and the seaward ordnance it mounted alone may not have been hugely successful in preventing access to Waterford for confederate men of war. No accounts from the 1640s refer to the garrison hitting or sinking any vessels trying to pass by them. In theory ordnance from the fort should have been able to hit vessels as they passed by. A confederate artillery battery erected as part of the siege fired on and sank the *Great Lewis* as it lay at anchor near the fort in January 1645.[74] A shortage of cannon, powder, ammunition or even a skilled gunner at various times may account for the lack of vessels being sunk by artillery from Duncannon. The difficulty of hitting a moving ship with cannon may have persuaded the soldiers not to waste scare munitions on such targets. In September 1644 a list of the wants of Duncannon presented to Captain Bright of the *Jeremy* included 6 pieces of ordnance, powder, match, bullet and 'a good gunner'. Previously in 1642 Lord Esmond sought four small pieces of ordnance which he could haul from place to place to fire on shipping to save on powder 'which we can spend but saveingly'.[75] Accounts of shore based artillery hitting ships usually occurred when the vessels lay at anchor or as they slipped their moorings.

The presence of enemy shipping at anchor below the fort posed more of a problem to the commerce of Waterford than artillery fire. English warships regularly used the anchorage below the fort and chased any potential prizes they spotted. Captain Thomas Powell and the *Fellowship of Bristol* spent most of March and April

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[74] Powell, 'Operations of the parliamentary squadron at the siege of Duncannon in 1645', pp 17-8; Kelleher, *Results of the Archaeological Surveys and Investigations on Duncannon Bar*, pp 25-54.
[75] A list of the wants of the fort of Duncannon given to Captain Bright of the *Jeremie* which parliament promised to supply, 8 Sep. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 12, f. 357); Lord Esmond to the Lord Lieutenant General and commissioners for Irish affairs, 29 Sept. 1642 in Hore, *History of the town and county of Wexford*, iv, 87.

1642 there. In his journal Captain Powell noted that he intercepted a number of vessels bound for Irish ports along with other men of war stationed there.[76] Once the fort joined with parliament in 1644 the English navy based at Milford Haven under the command of Richard Swanley tried to keep men of war stationed there. In December 1644 Captain Samuel Howett in the *Duncannon frigate* seized a merchantman called the *North Holland* as it attempted to sail past the fort en route to Waterford.[77]

Prior to, and even after, the fall of Duncannon in March 1645 the confederates relied on a blockhouse at Passage and a castle at Ballyhack to secure Waterford harbour. These two fortifications overlooked the river and the route to Waterford (see Map 24). Lord Esmond, the governor of Duncannon fully recognised the significance of these two places in 1642 when he stated that a poor blockhouse at Passage and a castle at Ballyhack hindered the yielding of the corporations of Waterford and Ross.[78] Attempts to batter these places into submission with artillery from English ships achieved little. In any case Esmond lacked the manpower to hold them even if the navy had been successful.[79] Their geographic position on the river made both places a real threat to hostile vessels attempting to pass by. Richard Bellings advised that Ballyhack castle should be demolished in 1649 rather than let the Cromwellian army capture it and obstruct traffic between Waterford and

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[76] Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', pp 259-66.
[77] Examinations of Samuel Howett, Abraham Montham and Henry Elliott, 22 Nov. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[78] Lord Esmond to the Lord Lieut. General and commissioners for Irish affairs, 29 Sept. 1642 in Hore, *History of the town and county of Wexford*, iv, 87.
[79] Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', p. 260; Lord Esmond to the earl of Cork, 25 July 1642, in Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, iv, pp xxxi-ii.

Duncannon.[80] As the confederates held Passage and Ballyhack from 1642 on they could keep hostile shipping from raiding into Waterford harbour. The capture of Duncannon in 1645 combined with Waterford's excellent location on the coast and the natural advantages of deep water its harbour possessed made it one of the principal privateering bases in Ireland.

Kinsale with its supporting ports at Cork and Youghal had been the principal headquarters of the English navy in Ireland in the 1630s. In 1638 the lord deputy and council at Dublin recommended Kinsale as the 'fittest place' in Ireland for the fleet.[81] The town remained as the focus for English naval activity on the Irish coast despite changing sides on a number of occasions during the 1640s. The English navy used Kinsale as its headquarters after the outbreak of the rebellion in 1641. Cork, Youghal and Kinsale adhered to the royalist cessation with the confederates in September 1643. This denied access to the ports to the parliamentary Irish squadron until July 1644 when Lord Inchiquin, the royalist commander in Munster, defected to parliament. Another switch occurred in April 1648 when Inchiquin and the towns reverted to their former royalist allegiance. The citizens declared for parliament in October and November 1649 as Cromwell approached with his army. A number of qualities made Kinsale attractive as a place to site men of war.

Kinsale's position on the south west coast gave vessels that operated from there an ideal base from which to protect English merchantmen coming from North America and the West Indies as they passed by the Irish coast. They could also intercept any vessels sailing from places like Barbados and destined for confederate

[80] Richard Bellings to Ormond, 16 Oct. 1649, Gilbert, *History of the Irish confederation*, vii, 355.
[81] Lord deputy and council to the lords of the admiralty, 20 Feb. 1637/8 (*Cal. S.P. Ire,. 1633-47*, p. 181).

held towns. In October 1646 the *Hunter* intercepted the *John of London* coming from Barbados and laden with tobacco near the Old Head of Kinsale.[82] Warships from Kinsale could sail up the west coast to hinder Irish shipping from Galway and Limerick. All the continental traffic from these towns had to pass close by the harbours on the south coast under the authority of the English navy. For instance the *Assurance* captured the *St John of Dieppe* as it sailed by Mizenhead en route to Limerick in January 1649.[83] Parliamentary men of war operating from Kinsale could also ply St George's Channel to intercept ships bound to the eastern ports of Wexford and Waterford.

In addition to its location Kinsale had possibly the finest natural harbour in the country. According to Boate 'the haven of Kinsale is one of the famousest of all Ireland; ships may sail into it, keeping in the midst of the channell, without any danger either without or in the mouth of the harbour'.[84] The town also had the seaward defences to keep the haven secure. Castle Park fort which overlooked the road and docks had been built as a new style bastioned fort between 1602 and 1604. Bodley added an inner citadel between 1608 and 1611 to strengthen the works (see Map 8).[85] Later additions to the fortifications at Castle Park included a blockhouse by the sea. The proposals for this artillery fortification by the sea came about in 1626. It had been constructed by 1649 as it can be seen as point 'h' on a map of

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[82] Examination of Richard Webster, 15 Oct 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62); examination of Richard Shone, 12 Oct 1647, ibid; answers of Thomas Plunkett, 15 Sept. 1645 (T.N.A., Answers, 1646-8, HCA 13/120); answers of Daniel Kendall and others, 21 Sept. 1647, ibid; 3 bills of lading, 1-10 Aug 1646 (T.N.A., Interrogatories, 1649-53, HCA 23/15).
[83] Examination of George Macfarson, 12 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[84] Boate, *Irelands naturall history,* p. 34.
[85] Kerrigan, *Castles and fortifications*, pp 55, 61, 63-4.

Kinsale harbour from that year (see Map 12).[86] Artillery could also be placed at Ringcurran castle, as the Spaniards had done in 1601 to prevent access to the harbour (Ringcurran can be seen on Maps 12, 13 and 14).[87] Prince Rupert added two further artillery platforms in 1649, points 'k' and 'l' on Map 12, and he erected a number of other works and palisades beside Castle Park and on the south and west side of the harbour to make it even more secure.[88] These formidable artillery defences meant that the parliamentary naval squadron which came to deal with the royalist fleet anchored at Kinsale in 1649 could not risk entering the harbour. Instead they had to remain at the mouth of the estuary being battered by the Atlantic winds.

As a town Kinsale also had the resources to support men of war that operated from its haven. David Dickson and Nicholas Canny have noted the expansion of British settlement in the main Munster towns after 1601. Cork, Youghal and Kinsale saw a massive growth in their overseas trade in the 1630s. The customs revenues increased six fold in the three towns from 1615-1618 to 1640. Ships crossing the Atlantic regularly took on provisions at Kinsale and most of the tobacco imported into Ireland landed there.[89] These existing maritime industries and connections made Kinsale an ideal port town for naval expansion in the 1640s. The navy authorised John Chudleigh to be the master shipwright's assistant and master caulker for men of war at Kinsale in June 1647. They allowed him a salary of £30 per annum and a

[86] Ibid, p. 83; map of Kinsale, 1649 (N.M.M., Dartmouth collection of maps, P49/16).
[87] Kerrigan, *Castles and fortifications*, p. 49.
[88] Map of Kinsale, 1649 (N.M.M., Dartmouth collection of maps, P49/16); Account of Prince Rupert in Ireland, 1649 (N.L.I., MS 17,851, ff 7-8).
[89] Andrews, *Ships money and politics*, p. 93; Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650*, (Oxford, 2001), pp 313-4; 336-9; David Dickson, *Old world colony, Cork and south Munster, 1630-1830* (Cork, 2005), pp 18, 113.

dwelling house in or near the town.[90] The town possessed the facilities to maintain men of war as docks can be seen on the 1649 map and Rupert careened his ships there in the same year to prepare them for action.[91] The importance of Kinsale stretched into the 1650s as the admiralty decided to maintain a permanent victualling office for 500 men there.[92]

The relatively small size of the English naval squadrons assigned to Ireland each year meant the fleet needed one key Munster harbour to operate from. Access to Cork and Youghal enhanced the navy's position in Munster at Kinsale. Both had been major maritime centres before the outbreak of the war. Youghal had become the dominant port in Munster in the wool and live cattle trade. Cork focused on the traditional Irish commodities of hides, skins and cloth.[93] Boate described Cork as 'very fitly situated for trafick and navigation, as standing upon very good Havens'.[94] The modern forts at Haulbowline and Corkbeg helped to defend the channel to the town.[95] As the military and political centre for the region sea access to Cork remained a priority. Naval ships and captains regularly stopped off at the town. The town of Youghal never became as important as a naval base due to two major drawbacks. Firstly a bar at the mouth of the harbour which could only be passed at high tide made access to the town difficult. Secondly artillery batteries erected on

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[90] Commissioners of the navy to John Chidleigh, 1 June 1647 (B.L., Warrants from the navy board 1646-48, Add MS. 9306, f. 104v).
[91] Careening involved turning a ship over onto one side in order to clean and repair its hull. Map of Kinsale, 1649 (N.M.M., Dartmouth collection of maps, P49/16); account of Prince Rupert in Ireland, 1649 (N.L.I., MS 17,851, f.6).
[92] Admiralty committee proceedings, 2 Apr. 1650 (*Cal. S. P. Dom., 1650* p. 78); council of state proceedings, 18 Nov. 1652 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1651-2* p. 22); council of state proceedings, 3 Sept. 1652, ibid, p. 391; council of state proceedings, 13 Sept. 1653 (*Cal. S.P. Dom. 1653-4* p. 145).
[93] For Munster trade in the early seventeenth- century see Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp 308-47; Dickson, *Old world colony*, pp 18-9.
[94] Boate, *Irelands naturall history,* p. 9.
[95] Kerrigan, *Castles and fortifications*, pp 55, 60, 63.

shore outside the town could fire at ships riding at anchor in the harbour. In July 1645 fire from the shore sunk the *Duncannon* at anchor in the harbour.[96] While Youghal never became a major naval base men of war regularly stopped off there and the port provided another safe anchorage for parliamentary vessels. The proximity of the three towns and the defensive potential of Kinsale meant that it remained the pre-eminent naval port in Munster.

Like Waterford on the River Suir Limerick lay inland from the sea on the Shannon. Limerick lacked many of the natural advantages that made Waterford such an important and useful harbour for men of war. The tidal nature of the Shannon and obstacles in the river meant only small vessels could go all the way up to the quays at the city (see Maps 10, 26 and 27).[97] The confederates had secured their control of Limerick in June 1642 when the Protestant defenders of King John's castle in the city surrendered. They retained the city until October 1651 when it surrendered to a parliamentary army. The yielding of the castle, which overlooked the quays, as can be seen in Maps 10 and 27 and the shallowness of the river made Limerick fairly secure for ships once they reached the city.

The passage to Limerick along the Shannon lacked any of the defensive features which made Waterford such a formidable harbour. The confederates never managed to secure properly the passage to the city. They failed to put up any artillery batteries along the Shannon to provide security for ships visiting Limerick and to keep parliamentary men of war out of the river. Fortifications erected during the Cromwellian siege in 1651 can be seen in Map 27. English men of war regularly

[96] Ibid, p. 30; Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 122-4.
[97] Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, p. 18; Limerick, c.1602 (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/57).

patrolled the mouth of the Shannon. This left merchantmen going to and from Limerick vulnerable. They also left Bunratty castle which overlooked the Shannon in the hands of the pro-parliamentary Barnabas O'Brien, earl of Thomond. He effectively closed down Limerick as a port once he handed the castle over to parliament in 1646. Until the confederates managed to retake Bunratty in the summer of 1646 the presence of an English squadron in the river meant ships could not go into or out of Limerick. Three merchantmen, the *Sampson of Flushing*, *Salt Kettle of Middelburg* and *Flushing of Flushing*, remained stuck at the quays in Limerick until the confederates gained Bunratty castle. Even though they had captured Bunratty the confederates could not guarantee the safety of ships on the Shannon coming from Limerick. A small parliamentary flotilla managed to seize the three merchantmen in August 1646 as they came down the river on their homeward voyage.[98] The drawbacks of operating on the Shannon rarely made it worthwhile for privateers to operate from the port on a long term basis. Despite the problems of operating on the Shannon Limerick remained an important overseas trading centre throughout the 1640s with vessels coming from ports in France, the United Provinces and Spanish Flanders. From prize records most of the merchantmen that can be identified sailing to Limerick belong to ports such as Rotterdam, Flushing, St Malo and Middelburg rather than the city.[99]

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[98] Answers of John Lymes and Captain Thomas Winnall, 5 Nov. 1646, (T.N.A., Answers 1647-48, HCA 13/120); examination of Jacob Sension, 4 Aug. 1646, T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1645-47, HCA 13/248); Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 216.
[99] See Appendix C1.

Connacht

Galway served as the main port of real naval significance in Connacht during the 1640s. The city possessed a great bay but only small barks could go up to the city. Larger ships riding in the bay lacked protection from the fortifications of the city. Construction had begun on a fort at St Augustine's monastery after 1600 and by 1602 the earthwork fortification had been nearly completed (see Map 30).[100] During repairs to the fort between 1608 and 1611 Bodley noted that the fort did not fully command the harbour as it had been primarily designed to overawe the citizens and its guns only partially covered the bay. He recommended erecting a small blockhouse in the harbour at Mutton Island.[101] Trouble connected to the rising began to flare up in the town in March 1642 and the citizens eventually besieged the English garrison in St Augustine's fort. Attempts by soldiers that formed part of the 'Sea Adventure', led by Lord Forbes, to force the city to admit a parliamentary garrison in the late summer of 1642 achieved nothing. The fort finally surrendered to the confederates in June 1643 and remained under Irish control until its surrender to Cromwellian forces in April 1652. The citizens partially destroyed St Augustine's fort after seizing it in 1643 but its site can be seen on a 1651 map of the city (see Map 30). The extensive rebuilding works on the defences of Galway that took place during the 1640s concentrated on the landward side of the city.[102]

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[100] Kerrigan, *Castles and fortifications*, p. 56; engraved map of Galway, 1651 (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/73).
[101] Kerrigan, *Castles and fortifications*, p. 62.
[102] Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, pp 17-8. Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war*, pp 151-2; James Hardiman, *The history of the town and county of the town of Galway from the earliest period to the present time* (reprint, Galway, 1975), pp 121-2.

The relative isolation of Galway from the main shipping lanes meant it never became as important a privateering base as ports on the east coast. To utilise Galway confederate warships would have to sail further to reach the main English trade routes and then send their prizes home past the parliamentary naval base at Kinsale. Some privateers did operate from the city during the 1640s. A frigate commanded by Captain Darcy plied about Galway bay in 1647. He seized the English privateer the *Sampson* which had been blown in by bad weather.[103] Galway increased in significance as the royalist naval position in Ireland deteriorated in 1649 and 1650. The loss of Wexford in October 1649 and the presence of a large English fleet on the east coast supporting Cromwell led to many privateers moving abroad or to the west coast. Captain Antonio Nicholas Vanderkipp, one of the principal privateering entrepreneurs at Wexford, arrived at Galway in a frigate in May 1650.[104] Galway lacked the facilities to have been a major naval port of choice for many privateers during the 1640s. Necessity led to its utilisation and privateering never really flourished from the city.

Despite the lack of privateering from Galway the city retained its place as one of the major commercial centres in the three kingdoms. The customs revenues from the town had traditionally been substantial, in 1634-5 they amounted to £934 15*s.* 11*d.*[105] Numerous ships from the town sailed to and from ports in continental Europe, in particular to Spain. The *Mary of Galway* put to sea in February 1647 laden with beef and hides for Bilbao. In April 1648 the *Patrick of Galway* sailed

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[103] Examination of Robert Plunkett, 2 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62); examination of William Bamber, 22 Oct. 1647, ibid.
[104] Lewis Dyves to Ormond, 21 May 1650 (Bodl., Carte MS 27, f. 530).
[105] Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics, 1614-1641', p. 64.

from that city to Bilbao for the account of John Bodkin, a Galway merchant. There the crew loaded Spanish iron on board before the vessel began its homeward voyage only to be intercepted by the *Constant Warwick* on 27 June 1648 near Dungarvan.[106] Despite the risks of capture by parliamentary men of war foreign ship owners and merchants continued to trade with the city. Bartolmeus Vannole and his brother hired their vessel the *Oyster Hoyle of Rotterdam* to Oliver French, an Irishman, for a voyage from Amsterdam to Galway in February 1648.[107] Unlike the overseas commerce of Limerick which could be blocked up by men of war on the Shannon English warships operating from Kinsale simply could not patrol a large enough area of sea to shut down the trade of Galway.

The town of Sligo served as the next most important port along the coast of Connacht. A report in 1614 stated that ships of up to 200 tons could enter the harbour. Boate concurred that Sligo possessed a reasonably deep anchorage but he also noted that some rocks and a sandbar lay near the entrance.[108] Rebels from counties Sligo and Leitrim forced the small English garrison to surrender the town around Christmas 1641.[109] Sligo remained in Irish control until the parliamentary lord president of Connacht, Sir Charles Coote, besieged and captured it in June 1645. Despite attempts to retake Sligo by the confederates the parliamentarian army held out until Ulick Burke, earl of Clanricarde, seized the town for the royalists in July

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[106] Examination of John Mackarte, 26 Mr. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248); examinations of John Lobe and John Bodkin, 29 June 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[107] Examination of Bartolmeus Vannole, 26 Mar. 1648 (T.N.A., Various, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, ff 616-v).
[108] A description of Connacht by Oliver St John, 1614 (*Cal. S.P. Carew, 1603-24*, p. 297); Boate, *Irelands naturall history*, p. 29.
[109] Mary O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land: early modern Sligo, 1568-1688* (Belfast, 1991), p. 105.

1649.[110] English men of war and supply vessels sent from London called into the harbour and brought supplies. In May 1646 Captain William Penn, then at the siege of Bunratty, agreed to send one of the smaller ships under his command to Sir Charles Coote at Sligo.[111] The *Mary Ann of London* under the command of Captain Peter Wappall carried munitions and the artillery to Sligo for Coote's siege in the summer of 1645. Wappall and his sailors helped with the moving and planting of the ordnance against Sligo and a number of local castles.[112] The isolation of Sligo on the west coast meant the parliamentary navy never used the port as a long term station for warships.

Conclusion

As A. T. Mahan noted access to good harbours conferred many advantages on those who held them but also dangers if they failed to defend properly them. Control of the major Irish ports played an important role in determining the outcome of the war. Much of the war on land came about from the necessity of securing or capturing port towns. Confederate privateering activities would never have been so successful without Wexford and Waterford. These towns had an excellent geographic situation being close to many of the principal English trade routes. They both had enough deep water and new style defensive fortifications for men of war to operate there in safety. As two of the main urban centres on the coast they also provided the economic facilities necessary for a private maritime enterprise to

[110] Ibid, pp 128-9.
[111] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 182.
[112] Allegation of Peter Wappall, 21 Nov. 1645 (T.N.A., Files of libels, allegations, decrees and sentences, 1643-6, HCA 24/106, no. 345).

flourish. Galway and Limerick were both crucial harbours for confederate overseas trade but remained peripheral to the confederate maritime war effort. A lack of modern seaward defences left shipping vulnerable to attack in both places and made them unsuitable for long term naval operations. Throughout the 1640s Kinsale became the centre for English, both royalist and parliamentary, naval activity. An excellent position on the south west coast combined with a deep natural harbour and some of the best and most modern fortifications in Ireland gave the navy an excellent platform for striking at the confederates along the eastern and western seaboards. After Kinsale Dublin was the next most important harbour for the English navy. The bay lacked modern defences but as the capital city, with an extensive overseas trading network and administration, gaining mastery of the city maintained its allure for all sides fighting in Ireland. Having examined the importance of the major port towns on the Irish seaboard it is necessary to go back to the outbreak of the rebellion in October 1641 to look at how each side gained or lost harbours that proved to be so important in the next decade.

Chapter 2: Naval reactions and responses to the rising in Ireland, October 1641 to September 1643

Most accounts of the 1641 rising focused on the outbreak and spread of the rebellion from the perspective of the war on land. Little attention has been paid to the development of the rising from a maritime point of view. Events in Ireland between October 1641 and September 1643 had a major impact on the war at sea. This chapter aims to examine events in Ireland from the start of the rising to the cessation between the confederates and royalists in September 1643 in a naval context. It will look at how and why the major port towns along the Irish coast became involved in the war on a province by province basis. It will analyse the policies adopted by the Irish rebels to create a naval force. It will also study the reaction and responses of the government in England and Dublin to the crisis they faced at sea.

Ulster

A combination of surprise and a low level of military preparedness allowed the Ulster rebels led by Sir Phelim O'Neill quickly to gain control of much of the province after 23 October 1641. They seized towns such as Portadown and Newry. The insurgents made little attempt in the initial stages of the rebellion to seize the main ports in the province. The principal northern coastal towns of Belfast, Londonderry, Carrickfergus, Coleraine and Ballyshannon remained in Protestant hands. Refugees brought warnings to places like Carrickfergus which gave the townsmen the opportunity to prepare their defences and avoid being taken unawares

as inland garrisons such as Charlemont had been. For instance a force of Ulster rebels led by Alasdair MacColla failed in their attempts to seize Coleraine in February 1642. As the rebellion spread the Ulster forces commanded by O'Neill turned their attentions towards northern Leinster rather than seizing the Protestant garrisons along the coast that held out. The foot company guarding Dundalk lacked arms and ammunition and surrendered on 31 October 1641. The Ulster rebels began besieging the town of Drogheda on 21 November 1641.[1]

The failure of the rebels in Ulster to secure any of the main harbours in the region in 1641 created two problems which continued throughout the war. Firstly their inability to seize Carrickfergus allowed the Scots to use it as an entry port into the province. In April 1642 an army of 2,500 men commanded by Major-General Sir Robert Monro landed there. They campaigned from the town and cleared the Irish forces out of the surrounding countryside. The Scots retook Newry on 1 May 1642.[2] Monro's army cleared the rebels out of Counties Antrim and Down, arrested the earl of Antrim and billeted troops in Coleraine after he cleared a besieging rebel force away from the town.[3] The English navy sent men of war to ply about the Ulster coast but did not station ships there. The government in England also sent supplies into beleaguered northern garrisons through the ports the rebels failed to seize. For example in August 1642 the admiralty in London employed the *Charity* to transport

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[1] M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The outbreak of the Irish rebellion of 1641* (Montreal, 1994), pp 214-23; Aidan Clarke, *The old English in Ireland, 1625-42* (London, 1966), p. 164

[2] Patrick J. Corish, 'The rising of 1641 and the confederacy, 1641-5', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A new history of Ireland,* iii: *Early modern Ireland, 1534-1691*, (Oxford, 1976). p. 293.

[3] Robert Monro, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18978, accessed 4 Aug. 2007.

fifteen pieces of iron ordnance and sundry military supplies to the mayor of Londonderry.[4]

Secondly the fact that the confederates did not control any of the major ports in the province meant that the ships that brought Irish soldiers back from the continent could not remain in Ulster. Antonio Nicholas Vandkipp, a Flanders merchant, helped to ship Owen Roe O'Neill, a veteran of the Spanish army in Flanders, and his men to Ireland. They landed the force at Doe Castle in Donegal in July 1642.[5] The ships can be identified as the *St Francis of Dunkirk* and probably the *St Peter of Dunkirk*.[6] The *St Peter of Dunkirk* captured the *Blessing of London* in Sheephaven bay as it carried provisions to Londonderry in July 1642. Captain Francis Oliver in the frigate sold a small quantity of the commodities he took from the *Blessing* to the locals in Sheephaven. He sent most of the merchandise and the vessel itself to Wexford for sale.[7] The frigates that brought O'Neill over also sailed south to operate from Wexford rather than to support the confederate army in Ulster.[8] Privateers could search out prizes along the northern coast of Ireland. Without a safe haven to sell their booty in they could not continue there to harass shipping taking relief to English outposts.

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[4] Order to pay William Younger, 20 Aug. 1642 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/1).
[5] Ohlmeyer, 'The Dunkirk of Ireland' p. 39; Hugh Bourke to Luke Wadding, 10 Oct. 1642, H.M.C., *Report on the Franciscan manuscripts preserved at the convent, Merchants Quay, Dublin* (Dublin, 1906), p. 202.
[6] O'Neill wrote a letter from on board the *St Francis* in June and the *St Peter* seized a ship on the coats of Donegal in July 1642. Owen O'Neill to Hugh Bourke, 18 June 1642, ibid, p. 150.
[7] Examination of William Elliott and William Gilder, 3 Nov. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, ff 299-300v).
[8] Owen O'Neill to Hugh Bourke, 18 June 1642 H.M.C., *Report on the Franciscan manuscripts*, pp 150-1; Hugh Bourke to Luke Wadding, 9 Sept. 1642, ibid, p. 186; Sir John Vaughan to the commissioners for Irish affairs, 3 Sept. 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, p. 119.

Leinster

The revealing of the plot to seize Dublin Castle on 22 October 1641 left the city in the hands of the government.[9] The lords justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, began to bolster the defences of the city and to organise naval resistance. They could do little to check the spread of the rebellion southwards and so concentrated their efforts on Dublin and its hinterland. They quickly realised the need for shipping on the east coast to keep the lines of communication open to England and to prevent arms from the continent reaching the insurgents. In January 1642 they advised the earl of Northumberland, the lord high admiral in England, of the danger of the rebels receiving munitions from abroad. They reiterated this warning in February and suggested deploying men of war at Wexford, Waterford, Kinsale and between Galway and Killybegs. While they waited for shipping from England to arrive, the lords justices acted to secure Dublin harbour. They brought the royal frigate the *Swan* into service. They also hired two pinnaces, the *Confidence* and *Phoenix*, along with six other small unnamed vessels.[10]

The Ulster rebels began besieging Drogheda on 21 November 1641. The Irish defeated a relief force sent overland from Dublin to aid the garrison on 29 November at Julianstown. This left the administration in Dublin with no choice but to send aid to Drogheda by sea. The lords justices employed the shipping they had taken into service at Dublin for this task. The insurgents before Drogheda realised the necessity of preventing provisions from reaching the town by sea. A sand bar made the

[9] Clarke, *Old English in Ireland*, pp 159-63.
[10] Lords justices to the earl of Northumberland, 3 Jan. 1641/2, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* ns, ii, 58-9; lords justices to the earl of Northumberland, 12 Feb. 1641/2, ibid, pp 68-9.

entrance to the River Boyne impassable at low tide. The Ulster men sought to strengthen their position by blocking the river to stop ships coming up to the quay at Drogheda. They initially tried to obstruct the channel by sinking a bark in it. This obstacle did not prove successful as a storm drove it out to sea. To prevent vessels passing by, the rebels then created a boom by placing a ship on each side of the river to hold an iron cable in place. This proved as ineffective as the previous impediment as a pinnace and shallop carrying supplies passed over it on 12 January 1642.[11]

After this the rebels strengthened their boom by adding ship masts and a strong chain. A storm dislodged the boom on 20 February 1642 and further relief ships took the opportunity to get through to the town.[12] The failure of the besiegers firstly to construct, and secondly to maintain, an effective obstacle in the river contributed to seaborne relief getting through to Drogheda. Even if they had erected a stronger barrier it may not have prevented ships from getting up to the town quays. The ships that brought provisions in February also carried an engine for cutting through chains. As the Irish lacked artillery they could not hinder the vessels as they cut through the boom.[13] In order to force the submission of Drogheda through starvation, the Ulster rebels needed to maintain a close blockade of the town and close off access to the sea. Their inability to do this successfully eventually led to the siege petering out in March. The Dublin administration used the arrival of soldiers from England and the raising of the siege at Drogheda to go on the offensive in north

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[11] Thomas Carte, *The life of James, Duke of Ormond: containing an account of the most remarkable affairs of his time, and particularly of Ireland under his government; with appendix and a collection of letters, serving to verify the most material facts in the said history* (2nd ed., 6 vols, Oxford, 1851), ii, 165-6.

[12] Ibid., pp 168-9; TT E.141(1) *The victorious proceedings of the Protestants in Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 1.

[13] Carte, *Ormond*, ii, 169.

Leinster. They recaptured Dundalk at the end of March and retook Carlingford in early May.

Sea power played a key role in enabling Drogheda to withstand the assault of the Irish rebels in the early months of 1642. The lords justices lost some of their naval strength during this period. They reported in February that the *Phoenix* had been cast away in Wales and that two to three of the shallops they employed to bring supplies to Drogheda had become unserviceable from damage they had sustained in that employment.[14] The English navy did not station any of the summer guard they employed for Ireland in 1642 at Dublin. The government in the city relied on the *Confidence* and *Swan* to keep the sea lanes open to England and to hinder the confederates on the east coast. In July the *Confidence* and Captain Thomas Bartlett patrolled the Irish Sea. He informed the lords justices of the casting away of the *Hopewell of London* off the Saltee islands, near Wexford, as it carried provisions for Dublin.[15] As the summer progressed the lords justices became increasingly worried by intelligence they received about the rebels sending ships laden with munitions from the continent to Ireland. They advised the earl of Leicester, the lord lieutenant, of the need to move against Wexford and New Ross before the summer campaigning season passed.[16]

By the autumn of 1642 the lords justices' initial fears regarding the Irish use of Wexford port as a centre for the importation of arms had altered. In September they reported on the arrival of several frigates from Dunkirk that brought veterans

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[14] Lords justices to the earl of Northumberland, 12 Feb. 1641/2, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 68-9; lords justices to John Griffith, 23 Feb. 1641/2, ibid, pp 77-8.
[15] Lord justices to the earl of Leicester, 23 July 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 88-9.
[16] Lords justices to the commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, 7 June 1642, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 137-8; lord justices to the earl of Leicester, 23 July 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 88-9.

from Europe to serve in the confederate armies. They believed these men of war intended to try and intercept shipments of arms and provisions destined for Dublin.[17] They sought extra warships to be set out from England to protect the harbour at Dublin and to block the rebels at Wexford as the vessels they commanded lacked the strength for this.[18] The lords justices also recommended in October that the *Confidence* and *Swan* be continued in the pay of parliament for the guarding of Dublin. The *Swan* appeared as part of the winter guard list approved by parliament.[19] The *Crescent* commanded by Captain Thomas Plunkett and listed as one of the king's pinnaces in the winter guard for 1642 also operated against Wexford from Dublin in the autumn of 1642. A mutiny led by the master forced the ship away from its position trying to intercept rebel vessels near Wexford. After taking a small prize the crew refused to return to Dublin and forced the ship to put into Dartmouth in December.[20]

Ormond in Dublin made no moves against the southern Leinster ports held by the confederates till the spring of 1643. In March he led his army overland to try and take the Irish controlled town of New Ross. To support and supply his soldiers the marquis hired shipping to transport provisions and munitions for his men along the coast. He reached an agreement with Captain Muryell Lucas of the *Constance of Yarmouth* to take supplies to Wexford on 4 March 1643.[21] On his arrival before New

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[17] Lords justices to the commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, 1 Sept. 1642, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 185-6; lords justices to the commissioners, 13 Sept. 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 126-7.
[18] Lords justices to the commissioners, 23 Sept. 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 140-1.
[19] Lords justices to the commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, 21 Oct. 1642, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 213-4; *Lords Journals*, v, 379.
[20] *Lords Journals*, v, 379; Captain Thomas Plunkett to the House of Commons, 13 Dec. 1642, H.M.C., *Portland,* i, 78.
[21] Agreement between Ormond and Muryell Lucas, 4 Mar. 1642/3 (Bodl., Carte MS 4, f.439).

Ross on 12 March 1643 Ormond wrote to Lord Esmond, the governor of Duncannon fort, to check that the *Constance* with his provisions had arrived there. He also sent Esmond a blank order that allowed him to press any ships at the fort into service to search for the provision ship if it had not arrived or to take supplies up to the army before New Ross.[22] In his reply on 14 March, Esmond made no mention of the *Constance* and informed Ormond that he had laded sixty culverin shot and nine hand grenades aboard a small bark and ship.[23] At Duncannon, Esmond pressed the *Love's Increase* that had arrived from England with supplies for the fort. On 15 March the vessel carried six barrels of powder, thirty saker shot and 200 weight of small shot from the fort to the army before the town.[24] The crew of the *Love's Increase* used their ordnance and fired into the town on four or five occasions. In response to this the townsmen built a small battery and placed two pieces of artillery in it to fire on the vessel. Shots from the Irish guns hit the ship a number of times. They damaged the hull, sails and injured one mariner. The sailors warned Ormond of their vulnerability to artillery fire due to contrary winds and low tides. They wanted the lord lieutenant to use his musketeers to clear out the Irish position.[25] Ormond made no attempt to thwart the confederate fire on the ship and the crew abandoned their vessel. The inhabitants of Ross seized the vessel and renamed it the *St Patrick of Ross*. The army lacked the strength to take the town and Ormond raised the siege and began his return march to Dublin on 18 March 1643.

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[22] Ormond to Esmond, 12 Mar. 1642/3, ibid, ff 456-7; blank order by Ormond, 12 Mar. 1642/3, ibid, f. 463.
[23] Esmond to Ormond, 14 Mar. 1642/3, ibid, f. 476.
[24] John Webb to Ormond, 15 Mar. 1642/3, ibid, f. 476.
[25] Lazarus Howard and others to Ormond, 16 Mar. 1642/3, ibid, p. 494; Lords justices and council to William Lenthall, 3 Apr. 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, i, 259.

The administration in Dublin retained responsibility for the maritime defence of the city and surrounding seaboard through the spring and summer of 1643. As the lords justices only had two ships at their disposal privateers raided into the harbour if they found the men of war absent. In March 1643 a Dunkirker seized a ship in the bay bound for Milford as neither the *Swan* nor *Confidence* had returned from their duties in England. The lords justices advised William Lenthall, the speaker of the House of Commons in May that a lack of English warships at sea made the rebels grow bold and that they continued to seize vessels close to the bar at Dublin bay.[26] None of the ships assigned to the summer guard for Ireland in 1643 arrived in Dublin until Captain Brooks and the *Providence* cleared some Irish frigates away in July.[27] To deal with the problem the government in Dublin engaged a number of merchant ships to act as men of war along the east coast. They forwarded the charges for these ships onto parliament in London. Over the spring and summer of 1643 they hired the *William of London* to guard St George's Channel, the *Adventure of Dublin* to clear pirates near Dublin and the *Constance of Yarmouth* to patrol between the city and Wicklow.[28] Even before the expedition to New Ross Ormond had started negotiations with the confederates for a truce to enable him to militarily aid Charles I in England.[29] Once the cessation came into effect on 15 September 1643 the royalists at Dublin no longer needed to deploy ships against the confederates. The financial support they received from parliament for the engaging of armed merchantmen in the

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[26] Lords justices to Ormond, 24 Mar. 1642/3 (Bodl., Carte MS 4, f. 559); lords justices to William Lenthall, 11 May 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 280.
[27] TT 669 f.7(7) *A List of his Majesties Royall, and Merchants Ships* (London, 1643), p. 1; lords justices to William Lenthall, 11 July 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 296-8.
[28] Lords justices to William Lenthall, 17 Apr. 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 266; lords justices to William Lenthall, 29 June 1643, ibid, p. 293; lords justices to William Lenthall, 23 June 1643, ibid, pp. 291-2.
[29] Patrick J. Corish, 'The rising of 1641 and the confederacy, 1641-5', pp 304-8.

city ceased. Parliament still paid the outstanding charges for shipping that had been employed by the lords justices prior to the cessation. For example Robert Smith, the owner of the *Adventure of Dublin*, received £1077 7*s*. 6*d*. for the hire of his ship until 23 September 1643.[30]

By mid November 1641 disorder connected to the rising spread into south Leinster and county Wexford. For instance George Charlton described being robbed by rebels at Gorey around 14 November.[31] The town of Wexford had joined the rebellion by 21 December 1641.[32] The inhabitants immediately set about organising the town's defences. They realised the need to erect seaward defences and created a boom near the quays. The townsmen seized timber from a ship in the port and used it and a Dublin bark which they sank to block the channel into the harbour. The citizens also took ordnance from some of the ships at the quay and planted the guns on the town walls.[33] In January 1642 about sixty Protestants tried to leave the town by sea to go to England. The ship sank within the harbour and the passengers drowned. Some accounts stated that the mariners deliberately cast the vessel away to obtain the valuables the victims carried and that the rebels in Wexford drowned any who managed to swim ashore.[34]

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[30] Order for payment to Robert Smith, Sept. 1643 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/2, f. 14).
[31] Deposition of George Charlton, 24 Jan. 1641/2 (T.C.D., Wexford depositions, i, MS 818, f. 57); Perceval-Maxwell, *The outbreak of the Irish rebellion of 1641*, pp 252-4.
[32] Hore, *History of the town and county of Wexford,* v, 254-5; deposition of Robert Meredith, nd (T.C.D., Wexford depositions, i, MS 818, ff 135-6).
[33] Hore, *History of the town and county of Wexford*, v, 254-5; deposition of Robert Meredith, nd (T.C.D., Wexford depositions, i, MS 818, ff 135-6); deposition of Nicholas Rochford, 29 July 1642, ibid, ff 138-9.
[34] Deposition of Thomas Lucas, 7 Feb. 1641/2 (T.C.D., Wexford depositions, i, MS 818, f. 18); deposition of Mathew Mudford, 12 Mar. 1641/2, ibid, f. 19; deposition of John Archer, 12 Mar. 1641/2, ibid, ff 19-v.

As the first major port town to support the rising, Wexford quickly became the principal naval base for the rebels in Ireland. Irish maritime activity in the early months of 1642 concentrated on the importation of arms and munitions from the continent. This became more difficult by April 1642 as English spies in ports like Dunkirk passed on details about the movements of Irish merchantmen to the navy. Father Hugh Bourke, the commissary of the Franciscans and confederate agent in Brussels, reported on the difficulties of getting arms shipments out of Dunkirk in April. In March the vice admiral of Cornwall detained a ship at St Ives carrying five friars and three soldiers bound for Ireland.[35] By mid April 1642 Irish agents began to look into engaging frigates to attack English shipping. Priests in Europe tried to persuade Irish men with experience in Dunkirk frigates and maritime warfare to go to Ireland. Father Bourke recommended an Irish captain whom he described as 'a very bold seaman and dexterous and adventurous: with such a frigate and mariners of our nation, such as there are, very good in Dunkerque, he might do great service'.[36] Negotiations proceeded and in May Bourke had arranged for arms to be shipped to Ireland by a Dunkirk captain who promised to set out six frigates against the English. Problems relating to a shortage of money and Irish sailors there hindered this plan.[37] Father Mathew O'Hartegan in Paris tried to persuade John O'Daniel, an experienced Limerick seaman and captain, to return home and enter confederate service.[38]

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[35] Hugh Bourke to Luke Wadding, 12 Apr. 1642, H.M.C., *Report on the Franciscan manuscripts*, p. 132; TT E.142(17), *A true and perfect Relation of the Apprehension of 5 Fryers, one Pilgrim and three Souldiers; who were all bound for Ireland but were stayed and taken at S. Ives in the County of Cornwall* (London, 1642), p. 3.

[36] Hugh Bourke to Luke Wadding, 12 Apr. 1642, H.M.C., *Report on the Franciscan manuscripts,* p. 132.

[37] Hugh Bourke to Luke Wadding, 30 May 1642, ibid, pp 144-5; Hugh Bourke to Luke Wadding, 8 June 1642, ibid, p. 146.

[38] Mathew O'Hartegan to Luke Wadding, 29 Aug. 1642, ibid, pp 183-4.

Over the summer months of 1642 frigates began to arrive in Wexford. The ships that carried Owen Roe O'Neill's soldiers to Ulster arrived in the port. According to Father Bourke they seized eight English and Scottish prizes on their voyage south to Wexford and that 'it is incredible how much terror and ruin have been spread by the two frigates that bore Don Eugenio, for the English quake for dread of them'.[39] Antonio Nicholas Vanderkipp, the owner of the *St Francis* and a Flanders merchant, also arrived with O'Neill to set out frigates for the confederate association.[40] The two ships, the *St Francis* and *St Peter* did not remain in Ireland throughout the autumn of 1642. One of the frigates returned to Dunkirk in October with a cargo of butter, tallow and hides.[41] Thomas Preston, another veteran from the Spanish army, arrived in Wexford with five ships in September.[42] The number of privateers based in Wexford continued to rise during the later part of 1642. The lords justices warned in September that the confederates possessed at least one strong frigate at Wexford and they believed another seven to eight sailed for that port. Tristram Whetcombe, the mayor of Kinsale and a merchant, reported to his brother in the same month that five or six men of war sailed from Wexford.[43] Only three frigates, the *St Peter of Dunkirk, St Francis of Dunkirk* and *St Michael the Archangel*, can be definitely identified as receiving confederate letters of marque or operating on the Irish coast in 1642. The *St Peter* and *St Francis* arrived with O'Neill

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[39] Hugh Bourke to Luke Wadding, 9 Sept. 1642, ibid., p. 186; Hugh Bourke to Luke Wadding, 10 Oct. 1642, p. 202.
[40] Ohlmeyer, 'The Dunkirk of Ireland', p. 39.
[41] Mathew O'Hartegan to Luke Wadding, 29 Aug. 1642, ibid, p. 208.
[42] Lord Esmond to the Lord Lieutenant, 29 Sep. 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 147-8; Gilbert (ed.), *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland*, i, part 1, 42.
[43] Lords Justices to the Commissioners, 23 Sept. 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 140-1; TT E.119(22), *A most exact relation of a great victory obtained by the poor Protestants in Ireland, under the command of the Lords Inchequeen, and Kinealmekie and Sir Charles Vavasour* (London, 1642), p. 3.

in July and the *St Michael the Archangel* received a commission from the supreme council in December. These three vessels and other unidentified Irish men of war seized twenty-seven recorded vessels between July and December 1642.[44]

Irish agents in Europe stepped up their efforts to recruit captains to serve in Ireland in late 1642 and early 1643. In December 1642 the confederates sent eight blank letters of marque to Father Shee, their agent in France. They forwarded a further twelve commissions to Father Bourke in February 1643.[45] The exertions of the Irish representatives in Europe began to produce results. In February 1643 the Supreme Council noted the arrival of several Dunkirk ships at Wexford and Dungarvan. They encouraged Father Bourke in Flanders to send over more shipping in April.[46] Irish frigates from Wexford seem to have been quite active by the summer of 1643. Mark Roche, a Wexford mariner who served on the *St Patrick of Wexford*, testified after his capture in July that another twelve vessels planned to set out from the town as men of war.[47] Prize court and other documents mentioned the names of four frigates or captains that served as Irish privateers in 1643 (see Table 2.1 below). These warships captured twenty-three vessels in 1643.[48] As well as seizing merchantmen confederate frigates captured some of the vessels set out against them by the lords justices in Dublin. In June 1643 the *St Francis of Dunkirk* intercepted the *William of London*. The privateer brought the *William* into Wexford and sold it

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[44] Appendix C1 shows the prizes taken by confederate privateers from 1641 to 1651. Supreme council to Francis Oliver, c.31 Dec. 1642 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, p. 376).
[45] Supreme Council to Father Shee, 30 Dec. 1642 in Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, ii, 125; Supreme Council to Father Bourke, 1 Feb. 1642/3, ibid., pp 203-4.
[46] Supreme Council to Father Bourke, 21 Feb. 1642/3, ibid, p. 205; Supreme Council to Father Bourke, 7 Apr. 1643, ibid, pp 262-3.
[47] Examination of Mark Roche, 12 Jul. 1643, Powell and Timmings (eds), *Documents* p. 81.
[48] See Appendix C1 for a breakdown of prizes seized in 1643.

for £370.[49] The cessation of 1643 removed royalist shipping as a target for Irish frigates and allowed them to concentrate on parliamentary vessels.

Table 2.1 Irish privateers that can be identified prior to the cessation in 1643[50]

Ship Name	Captain/Owner
St Francis of Dunkirk (also *Franciso of Dunkirk*)	Captain Durchan/Captain Antonio Nicholas Vanderkipp (owner)
St Michael the Archangel	Captain Francis Oliver
St Patrick of Wexford	Captains Pruneas and Hayes
Unnamed Dungarvan frigate	Captain Garret

Munster

The rebellion crossed over from Wexford into Waterford towards the end of November 1641. Towns in the county such as Dungarvan joined the rebels in December. The inhabitants used a ruse to surprise the Protestants who had taken to the castle for safety.[51] Initially the city of Waterford did not join the rebellion. The mayor, Francis Briver, tried to protect the lives and goods of the English living in Waterford.[52] Events elsewhere in the province undermined Briver's efforts to maintain the peace in the city. Sir William St Leger's brutal efforts as lord president of Munster to suppress the rising drove many into rebellion. For example on 3 December 1641, St Leger led a force of 200 cavalry troopers into Waterford to intercept rebels crossing into the county from Wexford. Reports of the encounter claimed that the lord president killed 200 Irish rebels. He brought forty prisoners to

[49] Lords justices to William Lenthall, 23 June 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 290-1.
[50] Examination of Paul Dodd, 2 Aug. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations 1642-4, HCA 13/58, ff 603-4); supreme council to Father Bourke, 8 Aug. 1643 in Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, ii, 338-41; Examination of Mark Roche, 12 Jul. 1643, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, p. 81; deposition of John Sellar, 29 May 1643 (T.C.D., Waterford depositions, MS 820, ff 298-v).
[51] Thomas Fitzpatrick, *Waterford during the civil war, 1641-1653* (Waterford, 1912), pp 67, 77-8.
[52] Francis Briver to Ormond, 2 Dec. 1641, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, ii, 7-8; Mrs Briver to Captain Evlings, 14 and 15 Mar 1641/2, ibid, pp 8-16; Charles Smith, *The ancient and present state of the county and city of Waterford being a natural, civil, ecclesiastical, historical and topographical description thereof* (Dublin, 1746), pp 147-8.

Waterford city and had them executed there.[53] In late December some of the leading rebels from neighbouring counties came to Waterford and tried to gain control of the city. They also seized four vessels going up to the harbour. After the mayor became ill the citizens adhered to the rebellion and in February detained the English in the city until they could be transported across to England.[54]

Once Waterford joined the rebellion the Irish needed to secure the sea passage to the city by gaining control of Duncannon fort, Passage and Ballyhack. The inhabitants in Passage and Ballyhack became involved in the rising at about the same time as Waterford city. Lord Esmond, the governor of Duncannon and an experienced soldier, held out against the rebels with a garrison of 100 men. Insurgents from Wexford began to surround Duncannon fort around Christmas 1641. By the middle of February 1642 English reports suggested that at least 1,000 rebels besieged the fort.[55] At the end of February 200 soldiers and supplies arrived from England in the *Lambe of Bristol*. The armed merchantman the *Fellowship of Bristol* under Captain Thomas Powell also arrived at Duncannon.[56] Captain Powell sailed his ship up river towards Waterford around the 6 or 7 March 1642. The *Fellowship* anchored between Passage and Ballyhack. According to Captain Thomas Aston, one of the army commanders who landed in Duncannon, the fort at Passage fired three

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[53] Fitzpatrick, *Waterford during the civil war*, p. 115.

[54] Francis Briver to Ormond, 2 Dec. 1641, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, ii, 7-8; Mrs Briver to Captain Evlings, 14 and 15 Mar 1641/2, ibid, pp 8-16; Smith, *The ancient and present state of the county and city of Waterford*, pp 147-8; Fitzpatrick, *Waterford during the civil war*, pp 6-11.

[55] Hore, *History of the town and county of Wexford*, iv, 59-60; TT E.142(7), *A continuation of the late occurrences from Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 1; Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war,* p. 178; Laurence Esmonde, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8884, accessed 28 June 2007.

[56] TT E. 142(4), *Newes from the west of Ireland relating what hapned to Captain Weldon and Captain Aston after their passage from Bristol to the fort of Duncannon* (London, 1642), p. 2; Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', pp 259-60.

times on the ship. The *Fellowship* returned fire and the garrison at Passage then hung up a flag of truce. Captain Powell in his journal made no mention of shooting at Passage during this voyage.[57] The *Fellowship* then used its ordnance to try and batter a breach in Ballyhack castle. The artillery did little damage and Aston landed twenty musketeers who burnt the town before the ship returned to Duncannon.[58] The *Fellowship* remained at anchor below the fort till the middle of April. During that time Captain Powell tried to intercept ships going to and from Waterford and supported the garrison. In March the *Fellowship* seized the *John of Le Croisic* en route to Wexford when it put in to the mouth of the River Suir. Powell sent a considerable portion of the wheat on board the prize into the fort before carrying the vessel to Kinsale.[59]

In July 1642 the captains of three ships at anchor before the fort and Captain Aston from the garrison persuaded Esmond to send some soldiers by sea against the Irish held Hooke castle. Esmond issued strict instructions to Aston regarding the conduct of the campaign. In particular he warned Aston not to allow the soldiers to pillage, that he should keep his men together and that if they could not seize the castle they should retreat to the ships. Once the infantry landed the men quickly dispersed to pillage the countryside. Aston then ordered the sea captains to land two pieces of artillery from the ships even though they informed him they would achieve nothing against the castle. The ordnance battered Hooke castle for a few hours but as

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[57] TT E. 142(4), *Newes from the west of Ireland*, p. 5; Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', p. 260.
[58] TT E. 142(4), *Newes from the west of Ireland*, p. 6; Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', p. 260.
[59] Account of prizes to the Kinsale victualling office, 15 Apr. 1642 (T.N.A., Various, 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 263); Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', pp 262-6.

predicted did little damage. As foul weather came upon them the naval officers wanted Aston to gather his men together and come back onto the ships. Aston delayed and as the conditions worsened the Irish took advantage of the bad weather and disorganisation among the English soldiers to sally out from the castle. Of the ninety soldiers Esmond sent to Hooke castle only thirty returned to Duncannon. The rebels captured or killed the rest including Aston and seized the ordnance he had landed.[60] Captain Sir Henry Stradling in the *Bonaventure* arrived at Duncannon on 24 July. He wanted to make a seaborne attempt to seize the fort at Passage. Esmond advised against this as he lacked the manpower to hold the place even if they succeeded in taking it.[61] The Irish siege of Duncannon eventually died out towards the end of the summer of 1642 as the confederates lacked the ability to take or starve out the defenders.[62] Ships continued to bring supplies to the outpost from England and Dublin throughout the winter of 1642 but Esmond lacked the strength to go on the offensive.

In February 1642 an Irish army from Counties Kilkenny and Tipperary led by the prominent south Leinster noble and Ormond's great uncle Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret, marched into County Cork. The Irish forces and the government troops commanded by the lord president met at Redshard. The reached some form of local truce and St Leger withdrew to Cork while Mountgarret seized Mallow.[63] At the end of February Donough McCarthy, Viscount Muskerry, the principal catholic noble in Cork, joined the rebellion. St Leger and his army had just

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[60] Lord Esmond to the earl of Cork, 25 July 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 92-3.
[61] Letters by Lord Esmond and Sir Henry Stradling, 25 July 1642, ibid, pp 93-4;
[62] Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war*, p. 178.
[63] Clarke, *Old English in Ireland*, p. 197; Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, i, 67.

retaken Dungarvan. Once he received news of the defection of Muskerry he immediately abandoned the town and retreated to Cork.[64] The command of the Munster Irish army passed to Colonel Garret Barry in early March. Barry served in the Spanish army in Flanders and wrote a number of military books including a *Discourse of Military Discipline* in 1634. He had been one of the colonels involved in raising the disbanded Irish army in 1641. The Irish forces began to besiege Cork city in March. A combination of harassment by the soldiers inside the city and a lack of resources to either storm or starve the garrison into submission forced Barry to lift the siege in early April.[65] This lack of action against the city of Cork by such an experienced soldier led Richard Bellings, the secretary of the confederate association, to question the wisdom of placing him in command of the army. Bellings felt that the elderly Barry had been promoted beyond his experience and lacked the ability to adapt to warfare in Ireland.[66]

The arrival of English men of war in Cork, Youghal and Kinsale from January 1642 on helped to strengthen the capability of these towns to hold out as the rising spread southwards. The *Swallow* with Captain Thomas Kettleby as admiral of the Irish Seas arrived in January or February 1642. Sir Henry Stradling reported his arrival in the *Bonaventure* at Kinsale on 2 March 1642.[67] Brian Smith, the minister on the *Bonaventure*, noted the danger Kinsale faced in March 1642 and that the town

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[64] St Leger to William Lenthall, 23 Mar. 1641/2, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 14-5; Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, i, 73; TT E.140(23), *Certaine and good news from the west of Ireland and city of Cork* (London, 1642), pp 1-5.

[65] Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, i, 74-6; E. 145(9), *Two famous and victorious battels fought in Ireland* (London, 1642), pp 2-7.

[66] Clarke, *Old English in Ireland*, p. 199; Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, i, 74-5 Gerat Barry, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1559, accessed 28 Apr. 2007.

[67] Lords justices to the earl of Northumberland, 3 Jan. 1641/2, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ii, 58-9; Sir Henry Stradling to Sir John Pennington, 6 Mar. 1641/2 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, p. 357).

'expected to surprized every houre, if the Kings Ships (which keepe them in awe) leave them in harbour'.[68] Most of the state owned and hired merchant ships that formed part of the summer guard operated from the Protestant controlled harbours of Cork, Youghal and especially Kinsale from March 1642 on and into 1643. For example the *Fellowship of Bristol*, *Employment* and *Mary of Bristol* all brought prizes into Kinsale in April.[69] Captain Kettleby as the admiral for the Irish squadron based himself in Kinsale. From there he directed the naval vessels that arrived in Ireland to their stations and wrote extensively to London to seek more ships and supplies. In July his correspondence concerned the shortage of victuals on the ships and the danger if they left the coast unguarded.[70] The *Swallow* and *Bonaventure* deserted the Irish coast to join the king's service at Newcastle in September 1642.[71] In August 1643 the *Swallow*, now commanded by William Smith, operated from Kinsale.[72] The defeat of the confederates at the battle of Liscarroll in August 1642 effectively ended their chances of overrunning the coastal enclave centred on Cork, Youghal and Kinsale.

A second strand of English naval activity occurred in Munster during the summer of 1642. On 29 June a fleet of eighteen ships outfitted as the 'Sea

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[68] TT E.141(1), *The victorious proceedings of the Protestants in Ireland; from the beginning of March to this present, being the 22. of the same month* (London, 1642), p. 4.
[69] Account of prizes to the Kinsale victualling office, 15 and 27 Apr. 1642 (T.N.A., Various, 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, ff 263-4).
[70] Captain Kettleby to the earl of Northumberland, 4 and 22 July 1642, Hogan, *Letters and papers*, pp 65-7, 87-8.
[71] Lords justices to the commissioners, 23 Sept. 1642, ibid, pp 140-1.
[72] TT E.65(29), *Severall letters of Great Importance and good successe. Lately obtained against the Fellowship of Bristow, by Captain William Smith* (London, 1643), p. 1.

Adventure' for Ireland sailed from Dover (see Table. 2.2 for a list of the fleet).[73] Alexander, Lord Forbes, who had served under Gustavus Adolphus in Sweden, received command of the land forces and Captain Benjamin Peters in the *Speedwell* acted as admiral for the squadron.[74] The flotilla delayed around the Lizard before deciding to offer their services to the lord president of Munster. The bulk of the ships arrived at Kinsale around 11 July.[75] Lord Forbes landed a party of approximately 700 soldiers and 100 sailors and on 13 July 1642 he began his campaign in Munster. He first marched to relieve the English at Bandonbridge. While the army campaigned in Munster some of the fleet put to sea in search of prizes. Captain Clark in the *Pennington* sailed into the Irish held town of Baltimore. By flying Dunkirk colours the captain lured some local rebels on board his vessel whom he then seized. The soldiers led by Forbes returned to Kinsale from their expedition to Bandonbridge. They re-boarded their vessels and sailed from the harbour on 24 July.[76] The 'Sea Adventurers' had received requests for help from the Protestant garrisons at Duncannon and St Augustine's fort in Galway. With autumn approaching the fleet could only go to the assistance of one place. A council of war reached a decision to go to the aid of the English soldiers holding out in Galway. The expedition had done little to bolster the military or naval position of the Protestants in Cork. Lord

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[73] The motives behind the organisation and actual administration of the 'Sea Adventure' are examined in Chapter 7. TT E.242(15), *A true relation of the passages of Gods Providence in a voyage for Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 4.

[74] G.E.C, *The complete peerage* (14 vols, new ed., Gloucester, 1982-1998), v, 547; TT E. 242(15), *A true relation of the passages of Gods Providence in a voyage for Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 4.

[75] TT E. 242(15), *A true relation of the passages of Gods Providence in a voyage for Ireland* (London, 1642), pp 3-4; TT E.239(4), *A relation of the sundry occurrences in Ireland from the fleet of ships set out by the Adventurers of the additionall forces by sea* (London, 1642), p. 1.

[76] TT E.239(4) *A relation of the sundry occurrences in Ireland from the fleet of ships set out by the Adventurers of the additional forces by sea* (London, 1642), pp 1-2; TT E.109(16) *The truest intelligence from the province of Munster in the kingdome of Ireland* (London, 1642), pp 2-4.

Inchiquin, the military commander in Munster after the death of St Leger, wrote to inform the parliament in London about the 'Sea Adventure'. He complained about the waste of supplies and lack of concerted action that took place during the time Lord Forbes spent in the country.[77]

Table 2.2 Ships and captains that formed part of the 'Sea Adventure'[78]

Ship	Commander	Tons	Men
Speedwell	Benjamin Peters	400	120
Zante-Merchant	Thomas Rainbowe	400	120
Good Hope	William Thompson	400	120
Achilles	Nicholas Simonson	260	78
George Bonaventure	Robert Sackrey	240	72
Mary Bonaventure	George Richardson	240	72
Hopewell	Edward Thompson	200	61
Katherine	Samuel Andrews	180	54
Penington	Thomas Clark	130	39
Dolphin	Edward Dorrington	80	24
Christopher	John Seaman	70	21
William & Thomas	John Daniel	70	21
Intelligence	Anthony Euerist	70	21
Willing-mind	John Kichiner	40	12
Raphe	Ralph Richardson	40	12
Lion	Luduwicke Dick	500	150
Lorne	Andrew Raine	100	30
Prosperous	John Harrison	160	46

The rebellion began to stir in Counties Clare and Limerick from December 1641 on. Two of the infantry companies that guarded King John's castle in Limerick city had been removed to Dublin and Cork in late November. This only left a small garrison to defend the fortification and according to English accounts encouraged

[77] Inchiquin to William Lenthall, 25 Feb. 1642/3 (Bodl., Carte MS 4, ff 415-v).
[78] TT E.239(4) *A relation of the sundry occurrences in Ireland from the fleet of ships set out by the Adventurers of the additional forces by sea* (London, 1642), p. 3; TT E.242(15), *A true relation of the passages of Gods Providence in a voyage for Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 4.

disaffected people within the city to take up arms. By Christmas 1641 the Protestants in Limerick complained of being robbed and that the mayor, Dominick Fanning a Catholic, did nothing to protect them. Fanning also used his position as mayor to gain access to the castle to check on the arms store and from this discovered the weak position of the garrison and low level of munitions held there.[79] Thomas Polding, the master of an English merchantman called the *Neptune*, and his crew sailed from the quays at Limerick on 25 December before they had fully laded the vessel as they feared for their lives due to the rebellion in the city.[80] In late January 1642 Captain George Courtney arrived at Limerick to take command as constable of King John's Castle. He brought no extra soldiers or munitions with him. The robberies continued and by February 1642 most of the Protestant community had fled to the castle for protection.[81] In May 1642 the citizens admitted the Munster insurgent army led by Colonel Garret Barry into the city. They began to besiege King John's castle from about 15 May on.[82] Most first hand or contemporary accounts of the siege, which lasted until late June 1642, put the number of people in the castle at between 600 and 800, including approximately 300 able bodied men.

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[79] The relation of the siedge of the Castle of Lymrick, 1641-2 (B.L., A collection of papers formerly belonging to Edmund Borlase, M. D., Sloane MS 1008, ff 123-v); Kenneth Wiggins, *Anatomy of a siege: King John's Castle, Limerick, 1642* (Bray, 2000), pp 67-70.

[80] Examination of Robert Bonner, 2 Sept. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-4, HCA 13/58, ff 224-8).

[81] The relation of the siedge of the Castle of Lymrick, 1641-2 (B.L., A collection of papers formerly belonging to Edmund Borlase, M. D., Sloane MS 1008, ff 123v-4).

[82] Another account of the siege dated the close besieging of the castle to 18 May 1642. Ibid, f. 124v; 'A relation or Dyary of ye Siege of ye Castle of Limerick by ye Irish from May 18 until June 23, 1642 (T.C.D., MS 866), This diary was printed as M. J. M'Enery, 'A diary of the siege of Limerick Castle, 1642,' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquities in Ireland*, xxxiv (1904), pp 163-87 [henceforth cited as M'Enery, *Siege of Limerick Castle*].

The defenders possessed mixed arms for about 200, six pieces of ordnance and a very limited supply of powder.[83]

St Leger, the lord president of Munster, based in Cork lacked the strength to get through to Limerick overland. As at Drogheda this left seaborne relief as the only way to support the English defenders of King John's Castle. The first attempt to bring supplies into the castle by ship took place in April before the close siege by the Munster army had commenced. The *Fellowship of Bristol* sailed in company with the provision bark the *Hart* from Kinsale for Limerick. On 18 April 1642 the *Fellowship* seized a ship coming from La Rochelle with arms for the citizens of Limerick. During the pursuit of the prize the *Fellowship* lost contact with the *Hart* in a gale. The bad weather blew the *Hart* to Galway.[84] News of the loss of their arms ship persuaded the citizens to construct a boom across the river to prevent ships bringing relief to the castle. John Rastall, one of the defenders in the castle, referred to a chain of long aspen trees fastened together with links of iron. The boom went from the castle at the quays to Mockbeggar Castle on the Thomond side of the river. Map 27 shows the quays and the probable site of Mockbeggar castle. This boom allowed ships to come up to the quays in the city but not to pass to the castle. Another account written by Dr Henry Jones, the church of Ireland bishop of Meath, also noted that the Irish used iron bars to secure the chain. He added that the river broke the boom on a number of occasions and that the Irish added a cable so the boom could rise and fall with the tide. Jones had not been present at the siege of Limerick but as

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[83] The relation of the siedge of the Castle of Lymrick, 1641-2 (B.L., Sloane MS 1008, ff 124-v); TT E.155(7), *Good and bad newes from Ireland* (London, 1642), pp 1-2; A relation of ye rebellion in and about Limerick with ye taking of ye castle there from 20 Oct 1641 to 26 July by Dr Henry Jones (T.C.D., MS 840, ff 92-3v).

[84] Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', pp 267-8.

one of the commissioners appointed to take evidence about the massacres in 1641 he had access to many first hand accounts of the events. His brother, Ambrose Jones, who had been present at the siege, wrote a diary from 18 May on and may also have given him information.[85] The rebels also constructed two forts to hinder any shipping that tried to get through to the castle. The likely positions of these forts, one on the Thomond side of the River Shannon and the other on the Munster side, can be seen on Map 28. The Irish initially only placed musketeers into the Thomond side fortification.[86]

The *Fellowship* anchored in the River Shannon on 19 April and received word about the situation at King John's castle the next day. The *Hart* arrived in the river on 24 April.[87] According to Captain Powell's journal the two ships made no attempt to bring the provisions they carried up to Limerick and instead arrived at Kinsale with the prize from France on 27 April.[88] Henry Jones in his relation of the siege stated that the *Fellowship* could have supplied the castle if Captain Powell had sent up his longboat. Powell claimed at first that he had no commission to do so and then that his boat had sustained some damage.[89] Sir William St Leger did not find Powell's explanation that the Irish defences kept him from relieving the town acceptable and believed he should have tried harder to get relief through. St Leger informed London that 'the captain whereof, as he pretended, some difficulties and

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[85] TT E155(7), *Good and bad newes from Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 2; A relation of ye rebellion in and about Limerick with ye taking of ye castle there from 20 Oct 1641 to 26 July by Dr Henry Jones (T.C.D., MS 840, f. 93v); Wiggins, *Anatomy of a siege*, pp 49-54, 75-7.
[86] A relation of ye rebellion in and about Limerick with ye taking of ye castle there from 20 Oct 1641 to 26 July by Dr Henry Jones (T.C.D., MS 840, f. 93v); Wiggins, *Anatomy of a siege*, pp 75-7.
[87] Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', pp 267-8.
[88] Ibid, pp 269.
[89] A relation of ye rebellion in and about Limerick with ye taking of ye castle there from 20 Oct 1641 to 26 July by Dr Henry Jones (T.C.D., MS 840, f. 94).

dangers in the passage by sconces and blockhouses raysed on the shore, by boates manned forth upon the water'. The lord president then ordered the *Fellowship* to return to the Shannon with some other ships.[90]

Sir Henry Stradling, the vice admiral for Ireland, led the second mission to get supplies into the castle. On 5 May 1642 Stradling in the *Bonaventure* departed for Limerick with the *John*, *Fellowship* and some supply vessels.[91] The two largest ships, the *Bonaventure* and *Fellowship* anchored in the Shannon near Enniscattery. Stradling took a number of ships, including the *Hart*, *John*, a small frigate and the boats from the other ships up river to try and get through to King John's castle on 15 May.[92] By this time the Munster army had entered the city and begun to besiege the castle. Captain Powell remained with the *Fellowship* and provided no naval account of Stradling's attempt to bring aid to the garrison. Narratives from within the castle provided a detailed description of events from a maritime perspective. On 22 May at eight in the morning Stradling in the pinnace, the *Hart*, and the other boats came up the river. The admiral put two culverins and a demi-canon from the *Bonaventure* into the pinnace. They could not get near Limerick because of the tide and fired some ordnance into the city. The small flotilla returned in the afternoon. An Irish flag in the steeple of St Mary's Cathedral provoked the admiral and he fired sixty shots at it. On seeing Stradling's approach the defenders in the castle opened fire on the city to cause a diversion to support the boats. The fleet did not come any closer and

[90] Sir William St Leger to the lords commissioners, 30 May 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, p. 26.
[91] Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', p. 269.
[92] Ibid. p. 271.

withdrew down river having caused minimal damage to Limerick.[93] The English garrison had used up a considerable quantity of their powder and ammunition in their efforts to aid the ships.

The *John*, *Hart* and the *Fellowship*'s boat came back down the river on 24 May. Captain Powell ascribed their lack of success to 'the rebbells being so strongly fortified allongst the river'. On 25 May the *Hart* left for Kinsale, the *Bonaventure* and the frigate sailed for Galway, while the *John* and *Fellowship's* boat went to Bunratty.[94] Ambrose Jones, inside King John's Castle, attributed Stradling's failure to get through with relief to problems with the weather and tide. He wrote that on the afternoon of the 22 May they 'could not come neere enough to ye towne for want of winde & water' and that they retreated at night because they perceived 'the winde full aginst them and that the waters would be too lowe to doe seruice they fell downe'.[95] Henry Jones, though not present, also reported that problems of weather and low tides forced the ships to withdraw. He also noted that 'had Sr Henry Stradling sent up his longboate the castle might have beene releeved but he not attempted it'.[96] The anonymous author inside the castle believed that Stradling did not send a boat up with relief as he feared the chain across the river. He claimed that at that time the boom posed no threat as it had been broken at low tide. He also wrote of the despair felt by the English as the ships sailed away.[97] As the ships sailed for

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[93] The relation of the siedge of the Castle of Lymrick (B.L., Sloane MS 1008 ff 126v-7); A relation of ye rebellion in and about Limerick with ye taking of ye castle there from 20 Oct 1641 to 26 July by Dr Henry Jones (T.C.D., MS 840, f. 93v); M'Enery, *Siege of Limerick Castle*, pp 178-9.
[94] Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', p. 273.
[95] M'Enery, *Siege of Limerick Castle*, pp 178-9.
[96] A relation of ye rebellion in and about Limerick with ye taking of ye castle there from 20 Oct 1641 to 26 July by Dr Henry Jones (T.C.D., MS 840, f. 93v).
[97] The relation of the siedge of the Castle of Lymrick (B.L., Sloane MS 1008 ff 126v-7).

Kinsale on 25 May the defenders began to hear digging, hammering and sawing from the houses near the walls of the castle.[98]

The Irish attempts to take King John's Castle continued into late May and early June 1642.[99] The navy endeavoured to relieve King John's castle again with the arrival of the *Ruth* carrying 100 soldiers on 6 June in the Shannon. In company with the *John* and *Fellowship* the sailors from the *Ruth* burned houses along the shore over the next few days.[100] The *Bonaventure*, *Jocelyn* and a frigate arrived in the Shannon on 10 June. The larger ships again anchored down river in deep water while on 12 June the *Ruth*, *Jocelyn*, the frigate and the *Fellowship*'s boat sailed for the city.[101] This fleet advanced carefully up the river to the great distress of the English who witnessed their slow progress. On 16 June one of the ships came within a mile and a half of the city sent out its longboat. It made a few shots at one of the Irish forts and returned to the ship without trying to get through to the castle. The besieged sent a man to swim to the fleet to inform them of the desperate situation within the castle.[102] The next day Captain Constable and the *Ruth* came up closer to Limerick but made no attempt to go up to King John's Castle even though he had good weather and a high tide. As the tide went out the rebels perceived that the *Ruth* did not have enough water to sail down river. They brought out some artillery from the town, and planted their ordnance in a fort on the Thomond side of the river fort and began to fire on the ship. Constable managed to re-float his vessel on the afternoon

[98] M'Enery, *Siege of Limerick Castle*, p. 179.
[99] Ibid, pp 179-81; Wiggins, *Anatomy of a siege*, pp 95-116.
[100] Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', pp 274-5.
[101] Ibid, p. 275.
[102] M'Enery, *Siege of Limerick Castle*, pp 182-3.

tide.[103] Over the next three days the ships lay within sight of the castle and 'the winde being faire & ye tyde soe high as then it was to bring them to our castle watergate'.[104] But the fleet did little to assist the defenders other than to fire at some Irish soldiers on the shore. On 20 June the Irish again used their artillery against the ships. This time the *Ruth* sustained damage to its mast and captain's cabin before being forced to cut its cables and abandon an anchor to get away.[105] Captain Edward Powell, the officer in charge of the infantry company carried on the *Ruth*, later deposed that 'Constable never fired a shot against Limerick & was deservedly beaten and proved a coward'.[106] As the ships sailed away the Irish continued with their efforts to undermine the castle walls. On 21 June at one o'clock in the morning Barry's sappers collapsed part of the castle wall which created a breach through which the English expected to be stormed.[107] The castle surrendered on 23 June 1642. The ships that had failed to relieve the English garrison then provided transport for them to Cork and England.[108]

Kenneth Wiggins has identified four main reasons behind the fall of King John's Castle in June 1642: a lack of preparation for a siege, Irish superiority at mining, possible poor performance from the constable, George Courtney, and the issue of concern here the failure of the navy to get supplies to the garrison.[109] Contemporary sources inside the castle criticised the ships for not coming to their

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[103] Ibid, pp 183-4.
[104] Ibid, pp 184-5.
[105] Ibid, p. 185; A relation of ye rebellion in and about Limerick with ye taking of ye castle there from 20 Oct 1641 to 26 July by Dr Henry Jones (T.C.D., MS 840, f. 94).
[106] Articles to be produced before the House of Commons in parliament wherein is showed and declared that Captain Constable hath grievously wronged Captain Edward Powell's foot company …, 1642 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1647-60*, pp 260-1).
[107] M'Enery, *Siege of Limerick Castle*, p. 185; Wiggins, *Anatomy of a siege*, pp 157-8.
[108] The relation of the siedge of the Castle of Lymrick (B.L., Sloane MS 1008 f. 129-v).
[109] Wiggins, *Anatomy of a siege*, pp 178-83.

aid. St Leger, the lord president, clearly felt that more resolution from the ships would have got the supplies up to the castle in April. Many of these writers possibly underestimated the difficulties naval captains faced on the Shannon. Tidal and weather conditions made the river dangerous to operate on. The presence of a boom and Irish fortifications near the city exacerbated these problems. The squadron before Limerick mainly consisted of merchantmen that probably had little experience of working on the River Shannon. This may explain the grounding of the *Ruth* in June as the tide went out. Merchant captains usually owned a share of the vessel they sailed and this may have made them cautious and reluctant to risk their ships in such treacherous conditions. Fresh supplies of provisions and the 100 soldiers the *Ruth* brought may have alleviated the suffering in the garrison and helped it to hold out for longer. But as the much larger Irish army efficiently undermined the walls, seaborne relief alone could not prevent the fall of King John's Castle.

Connacht

The rising spread into Connacht in November and December 1641. Reports of trouble in Mayo occurred in November and the Sligo gentry joined the rebellion in December.[110] Rebels from Counties Sligo and Leitrim arrived before the town of Sligo at Christmas 1641 and the small English garrison there surrendered. In January 1642 most of the British settlers being held in the town jail were massacred by a group of rebels. English soldiers raided and burned Sligo in 1642 but the town

[110] Perceval-Maxwell, *The outbreak of the Irish rebellion of 1641*, pp 246-52; deposition of William Hamond, May 1643 (T.C.D., Galway and Roscommon depositions, MS 830, f. 134); Clarke, *Old English in Ireland*, pp 196-7.

remained in confederate hands.[111] Trouble began to flare up between the town of Galway and the soldiers in St Augustine's fort in December 1642.[112] Ulick Burke, the earl of Clanricarde, as the governor of Galway town and county and the most powerful noble in Connacht mediated between the townsmen and fort in the first three months of 1642. Trouble finally erupted on 19 March when the *Elizabeth and Francis* arrived in Galway bay. The ship came from France and had been laded with arms by some of the leading citizens in the town. Captain Clarke, the master of the vessel, informed the governor of the fort, Captain Anthony Willoughby, about the cargo he carried. Willoughby ordered the seizure of the munitions on board the *Elizabeth and Francis*. A group of Galway merchants led by Dominick Kirwin boarded the vessel after the captain had gone to the fort. They killed the master's mate and wounded two to three other sailors as they captured the vessel. The soldiers in the fort tried to use their ordnance to sink the ship but the Galway men managed to sail it out of reach before they unloaded their arms and the ship's guns (see map 30 for the site of St Augustine's fort in Galway bay and the city quays).[113]

The townsmen closed their gates to the fort and erected batteries against it. The earl of Clanricarde supplied Captain Willoughby with provisions. The fortifications put up by the Irish failed to prevent Captain Ashley and the *Employment* getting through to St Augustine's fort in April 1642. The supplies Ashley brought and the presence of the ship in the bay helped the garrison to hold

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[111] O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land*, p. 105; T. O'Rorke, *The history of Sligo town and county* (2 vols, reprinted, Sligo, 1986), i, 148-55.
[112] M.D. O'Sullivan, *Old Galway; the history of a Norman colony in Ireland* (Cambridge, 1942, reprinted Galway, 1983), pp 237-9; Hardiman, *The history of the town and the county of the town of Galway* pp 108-110.
[113] Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, i, 97-103; examination of John Turner, 23 Mar. 1643/4 (T.C.D., 1641 Depositions, MS 830, ff 146-7); examination of Robert Rawlins, 5 Feb. 1653/4, ibid., ff 197-8; examination of Stephen Lynch, 17 Jan. 1652/3, ibid., ff 209-210v.

out.[114] Effectively from April 1642 onwards the English government considered the town of Galway to be in rebellion. On 30 May St Leger wrote to London to sum up the military condition of Munster and Connacht. He stated that Galway 'is now totally in rebellion' and that by keeping a man of war in the bay they prevented more overseas arms from reaching the town.[115] Clanricarde brokered a pacification agreement between Galway and the fort and the town reopened its gates on 13 May 1642. Despite this deal, tensions between the soldiers and town remained high through the spring and summer of 1642. Clanricarde later blamed Captain Willoughby for continuing to harass the town and breaking the terms he had negotiated.[116]

After leaving Kinsale on 24 July the fleet carrying the 'Sea Adventure' raided and spoiled the Irish along the south west coast at Castlehaven and Baltimore. Lord Forbes received requests for help from Lord Esmond at Duncannon and Captain Willoughby at Galway. After holding a council of war they decided to sail for Galway.[117] On 9 August 1642 the 'Sea Adventurers' fleet of seventeen ships and 2,000 men anchored in Galway bay. Lord Forbes immediately wrote to the town and to Clanricarde. He wanted the earl to come to Galway to consult with him and for the city to admit a garrison of his men.[118] The earl refused to travel to meet Lord Forbes

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[114] Lords justices to the earl of Leicester, 23 Apr. 1642, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 113.
[115] Sir William St Leger to the Lords Commissioners, 30 May 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, p. 26.
[116] Hardiman, *The history of the town and the county of the town of Galway*, pp 113-5; Clanricarde to Captain Willoughby, 9 Aug. 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 103-4.
[117] TT E.242(15), *A true relation of the passages of Gods Providence in a voyage for Ireland*, pp 10-11; Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, i, 139-40.
[118] Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, i, 140-2; TT E.242(15), *A true relation of the passages of Gods Providence in a voyage for Ireland*, p. 11; copy of a submission sent by Lord Forbes to the town of Galway, Aug. 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, p. 109; Lord Forbes to the governor of Galway, 9 Aug. 1642, ibid, pp 104-5.

and justified this decision to Captain Willoughby, in the fort, on the grounds that he was unaware of any commission issued by the king or lords justices saying 'I am altogether a stranger to his Lordship and to the nature and quality of his imployment'. In explaining his unwillingness to assist the 'Sea Adventure' Clanricarde informed the lords justices that the information he received from Munster showed that 'they did not make any distincion in their proceedings, but spoiled all alike'. He also notified Forbes that he had already agreed a peace deal with the town and that the lords justices in Dublin had approved it until the king in England made a decision on the matter.[119] Forbes ignored Clanricarde's protestations and landed part of his force who proceeded to plant two pieces of ordnance against the town. His soldiers also raided the surrounding countryside for cattle but could not take the town. On 3 September the 'Sea Adventurers' ships sailed from Galway. The fleet remained on the west coast mainly raiding along the Shannon. They attacked a number of Irish held castles including the castle of the Knight of the Elms which they stormed on 23 September.[120] Lord Forbes' force gradually returned to England but the adventurers kept out nine of the larger ships as part of the winter guard.[121] Overall, as both Lord Inchiquin and the earl of Clanricarde noted, the 'Sea Adventure' brought little but destruction to Munster and Connacht. From a naval perspective the enterprise achieved more success. The sizeable squadron the adventurers set out plied between Sligo and Kinsale for much of the summer of 1642

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[119] Clanricarde to Captain Willoughby, 9 Aug. 1642, ibid p. 103; Clanricarde to Lord Forbes, 10 Aug. 1642, ibid, pp 105-8; Clanricarde to the lords justices, 10 Aug. 1642, ibid, p. 110.

[120] Earl of Clanricarde to the lords justices, 10 Aug. 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, p. 110; Hardiman, *The history of the town and the county of the town of*, pp 116-8; TT E.122(28) *The latest and truest intelligence from Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 3; TT E.242(15), *A true relation of the passages of Gods Providence in a voyage for Ireland*, (London, 1642),pp 12-21

[121] *Lords Journal*, v, 408; Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, p. 197.

and seized a number of valuable prizes. A least five captured vessels can be identified and one account put the value of ships and their cargoes taken by the expedition at over £20,000.[122]

The situation between the garrison in the fort and the town of Galway continued to deteriorate during the winter of 1642. In February 1643 Colonel John Bourke, the confederate lieutenant general in Connacht, arrived at Galway and began to besiege St Augustine's fort. By the end of April he had enclosed the place and blockaded the passage to the sea. He erected two bulwarks and a chain across the harbour.[123] In June 1643 Captain Brookes and the *Providence* arrived with supplies. The Irish batteries at Rinmore kept him away from the fort and an attempt to get provisions in at night by a long boat failed.[124] Captain Willoughby surrendered on 20 June 1643 and the *Providence* transported his men back to Dublin.[125]

English naval reactions and responses to the rebellion in Ireland

The government in England reacted quickly to deploy naval vessels to Ireland after receiving news of the rebellion. In mid-November 1641 they selected four ships to go to guard the Irish coast; the *Bonaventure*, *Happy Entrance*, *Leopard* and *Providence*.[126] They also ordered the stay of any vessels bound to Ireland that put

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[122] TT E.242(15), *A true relation of the passages of Gods Providence in a voyage for Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 21; TT E.119(22) *A most exact relation of a great victory obtained by the poor Protestants in Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 10; TT E.122(28), *The latest and truest intelligence from Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 5. Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, p. 197.

[123] Hardiman, *The history of the town and the county of the town of Galway*, pp 119-20; Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war*, p. 151.

[124] Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, i, 159-60; Hardiman, *The history of the town and the county of the town of Galway*, p. 120.

[125] Hardiman, *The history of the town and the county of the town of Galway*, p. 120; lords justices to William Lenthall, 11 July 1642, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 296-7.

[126] Thomas Wiseman to Sir John Pennington, 18 Nov. 1641, Carte, *Ormond*, ii, 168.

into English harbours. Most of the Irish ships seized by parliament in the first months of the rebellion had been stayed when they entered ports like Dartmouth, St Ives and Falmouth. Between October 1641 and December 1642 officials in English and Welsh ports seized twenty-two Irish ships that can be identified from prize records.[127] For example foul weather forced the *Gift of God of Wexford*, bound from Bilbao to New Ross, into St Ives in February. The vice admiral of Cornwall, Francis Basset, ordered the detention of the ship.[128] Delays and changes affected the men of war selected for Ireland and only two state owned ships had arrived on the coast by March; the *Swallow* and *Bonaventure*. In conjunction with the navy warships sent to Ireland parliament also hired private shipping to guard the Irish seas. The hire of merchantmen commenced in late January and some of them can be seen on the coast by February. Admiralty bill books noted the charges for the *Discovery*, *Ruth*, *Peter* and *Pennington* as beginning on 27 January 1642. The *Fellowship of Bristol* sailed from that city on 22 February and arrived at Kinsale a few days later.[129] By the time parliament published the details of the summer guard for 1642 most of the ships assigned for Ireland had already arrived there.[130] The arrival of these vessels had an immediate impact on the war on the Irish coast as they seized merchant shipping

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[127] See Appendix C2 for a list of ships stayed in English harbours relating to Ireland.

[128] A list of prizes seized in English and Welsh ports can be found in Appendix C2. John Payne and others, 19 July 1642 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1593-1659, HCA 30/853, f. 496); examinations of Thomas Fforstall, Patrick Carr and Richard Bourke, 27 Sept. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-4, ff 239v-41).

[129] Orders for payments to Maurice Thompson, nd (T.N.A., Admiralty bill book, 1642-3, Adm 18/1); Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', pp 258-9.

[130] The summer guard list for Ireland in 1642 can be found in Appendix D1. TT 669 f.3 (50), *A List of his Majesties Navie Royall, and Merchant Ships*, (London, 1641/2), p. 1.

going to and from rebel ports. For instance in March 1642 the *Employment* seized the *Notredam of Carma* near Baltimore.[131]

Parliament had more pressing naval matters to deal with over the spring and summer of 1642 than getting ships to the Irish Seas. Tensions over control of the fleet began to brew in March over the summer guard. The earl of Northumberland as lord high admiral submitted the list of captains for approval to the king. He also sent the selections to parliament, which had never been done before. Parliament proceeded to debate and vote on each of the officers. They rejected Sir John Pennington as the sea going vice admiral for the fleet and replaced him with Robert Rich, the earl of Warwick.[132] The choice of Sir Henry Stradling, a well known royalist, in the *Bonaventure* for the Irish guard also raised questions. Parliament accepted his selection by nine votes, possibly as he had already arrived in Ireland.[133] Charles I reacted slowly to the affront of the removal of Pennington and did not seek to regain control of the fleet till June. By then he had missed his opportunity as the earl of Warwick secured control of the men of war in the Downs for parliament.[134] The king still retained authority over the two men of war in the Irish Seas and on 23 June ordered Stradling to sail for the coast of Scotland.[135]

In October 1642 parliament approved a winter guard for Ireland consisting of eighteen ships. They also allowed for ten of the ships that had formed part of the

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[131] For all the prizes seized by English ships relating to Ireland see Appendix C2. Account of prizes to the Kinsale victualling office, 15 Apr. 1642 (T.N.A., Various, 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 263v).
[132] Baumber, 'Parliamentary naval politics', p. 399; Kennedy, 'Naval captains at the outbreak of the English Civil War', p. 181; Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*, p. 414. Sir David Murray and Captain Price were also rejected as captains by parliament.
[133] Kennedy, 'Naval captains', p. 181.
[134] Baumber, 'Parliamentary naval politics', p. 399; Greenberg. 'Seizing the fleet in 1642', pp 299-300; Bernard Capp, 'Naval operations', pp 158-60.
[135] Charles I to Sir Henry Stradling, 23 June 1642, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents,* p. 12.

'Sea Adventure' to remain in service on the Irish coast.[136] Some vessels allocated to the winter guard never arrived in Ireland as events in England diverted them elsewhere. The *Charles*, under Richard Swanley, named as admiral for Ireland instead went to Southampton.[137] On 19 October 1642 the lords and commons also approved a scheme that authorised English ship owners and captains to set out privateers against the Irish rebels. In return for entering a bond, usually for £2,000, in the high court of admiralty they received letters of marque to seize vessels going to or from confederate ports.[138] Some of the surviving commissions remain in the court of admiralty records. Only a few, such as the licence issued to Nicholas Polhill for the *Spie*, dated from 1642.[139] The reduced English naval presence on the Irish coast over the winter of 1642-3 led to a fall off in the number of prizes seized compared to the summer months. Of the fifty-five Irish related prizes captured from January 1642 to August 1643 only sixteen can be identified as having been stopped from July 1642 to August 1643.[140]

The civil war in England began to impact on the maritime situation in Ireland much more directly in 1643 than it had in 1642. Parliament set out eight state and three merchant men for the Irish summer guard in March.[141] These vessels do not appear to have arrived in the seas around Ireland till much later. Captain Swanley and part of the squadron probably patrolled near Kinsale in May. None of the ships

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[136] See Appendix D1. *Lords Journals, vol. 5*, 379, 408.
[137] Michael Baumber, 'The navy and the Civil War in Ireland 1641-1643' in, *Mariner's Mirror*, lvii, no. 4 (1971), p. 391.
[138] *Lords Journal*, v, 408-9
[139] Petition of Nicholas Polhill to the committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports, Oct. 1642 (T.N.A., Various 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 282).
[140] See Appendix C2.
[141] See Appendix D1. TT 669 f.7 (7) *A List of his Majesties Royall, and Merchants Ships* (London, 1643), p. 1.

assigned for guarding the port of Dublin appeared there till July when Captain Brooks in the *Providence* cleared privateers from the harbour.[142] The number of surviving letters of marque issued to ship owners to operate against the confederates increased in 1643. In March John Harris sought a commission for a vessel called the *Alexander*. Not all those who petitioned the admiralty for licences intended to set out men of war to hinder the confederates. Some masters, like those of the *Ann of London* and the *Solomon of London*, desired letters to attack Irish shipping they might encounter on their own merchant voyages.[143]

The deteriorating situation facing parliament in England and Wales took naval priority through the summer in 1643. In July the royalists captured Bristol which gave them control of a major port on the west coast and extra shipping. Sir John Pennington, the royalist naval commander, tried to follow up on this success when he sent two vessels to try and secure Milford Haven in August. The arrival of the *Swallow* and Captain William Smith, the parliamentary vice admiral, foiled the royalist plans. The royalist army led by Robert Vaughan, earl of Carberry, the king's lieutenant general in west Wales, went on the offensive in south Pembrokeshire and Milford in the summer and autumn of 1643. The danger posed by this army forced the Irish guard to concentrate its limited resources on supporting the parliamentary cause in Wales in the summer and autumn of 1643. For example Richard Swanley led a flotilla composed of the *Bonaventure*, *Leopard*, *Swallow*, *Expedition*,

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[142] Rodger, *Safeguard of the sea*, p. 416; Baumber, 'Navy and civil war in Ireland', p. 394; lords justices to William Lenthall, 23 June 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 291; lords justices to William Lenthall, 11 July 1643, ibid., pp 296-8 lords justices to Sir Edward Nicholas, 11 July 1643, ibid., pp 293-4.

[143] Petition of John Harris to the committee of the admiralty, 28 Mar. 1643 (T.N.A., Various 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 286); petition of Giles Seymour to the committee of the admiralty, 25 Feb. 1642/3, ibid, f. 284; petition of Solomon Parke to the committee of the admiralty, 7 Jan. 1642/3, ibid, f. 275.

Fellowship, *Hart*, *Prosperous* and a merchantman also named the *Leopard* to aid the parliamentary assault on the town of Tenby.[144] The low number of Irish prizes seized up to September 1643 reflected the low level of parliamentary shipping on the coast for much of the year. Nine vessels can be identified as having been captured going to or from confederate ports by English ships, they did not include any Irish men of war.[145] The English naval position in Ireland declined even further in September 1643. Lord Inchiquin and Lord Esmond, with the ports they controlled, adhered to the cessation Ormond brokered with the confederates. This denied the fleet access to the ports of Dublin, Cork, Youghal, Kinsale and Duncannon. It forced the Irish squadron to rely on the ports of Carrickfergus in Ulster and Milford Haven in Wales to try and contain the expanding confederate privateering fleet.

Conclusion

By September 1643 the confederates were on the ascendancy in the seas around Ireland. With the capture of the St Augustine's fort at Galway in June 1643 they had secured their control of four of the principal coastal towns, Galway, Wexford, Waterford and Limerick, and many of the secondary ports in Ireland. English and Scottish forces retained control of many of the principal ports elsewhere in Ireland. The cessation the confederates negotiated with Ormond, which came into effect on 15 September 1643, only served to strengthen the Irish naval position. Most of the main ports that the confederates did not hold adhered to the truce. In Leinster

[144] TT E65(29) *Severall letters of great importance and good successe* (London, 1643), pp 1-6; Powell, *The navy in the English Civil War*, pp 44-5; Peter Guant, *A nation under siege; the Civil War in Wales, 1642-48* (London, 1991), pp 40-1.
[145] See Appendix C2.

Ormond held Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk and Carlingford and Lord Esmond had command of Duncannon fort. Since the death of Lord President St Leger in Munster Lord Inchiquin took charge of Cork, Youghal and Kinsale. The Scots in Ulster still held Carrickfergus and Coleraine. Their commander, Robert Monro, could do little against the cessation as he feared many of the British forces in the province and their officers, such as Sir Robert Stewart the governor of Londonderry city, and Arthur Chichester the governor of Belfast, obeyed Ormond and adhered to it. The parliamentary navy controlled the largest fleet in opposition to the confederate association but it lost access to all the harbours of military significance in Ireland in September 1643. Instead the English men of war assigned to patrol the waters around Ireland had to retreat to the port of Milford Haven in south Wales. The poor military position of parliament in England and the loss of its bases in Ireland undermined the ability of the parliamentary navy to impose itself on the war at sea. With the cessation in place between the confederates and royalists the navy also faced its greatest threat of the war as Ormond began shipping soldiers across to aid Charles I in England.

Chapter 3: The war at sea in Ireland, September 1643 to July 1646

This chapter will examine events in the war at sea in Ireland from the cessation of September 1643 to the surrender of Bunratty castle to the confederates in July 1646. The four main phases of the war from a naval perspective that took place in this period included the transportation of soldiers from Irish ports to aid King Charles I in England and the three coastal sieges of Duncannon from January to March 1645, Youghal in the summer of 1645 and Bunratty from March to July 1646. As well as looking at the most visible events that occurred in the seas around Ireland this chapter will investigate some of the other maritime occurrences that took place. These included the activities of privateers and the start of the sea blockade of Dublin by the parliamentary navy.

September 1643 to July 1644

The cessation of 1643 provided an unprecedented maritime opportunity for the confederates and royalists in Ireland. The removal of the southern harbours of Cork, Youghal and Kinsale from the English navy made it much easier and safer for Irish merchantmen and privateers to sail to and from towns such as Limerick and Wexford. The greatest gain to the confederates came from the adherence of Duncannon fort and its governor Lord Esmond to the cessation. Parliamentary men of war could no longer safely anchor below the fort and seize shipping from Waterford and New Ross as it passed by. Records from Waterford port show a large amount of overseas trade after the cessation. Between 15 September 1643 and 6 April 1644 port officials in Waterford examined twenty-six merchant vessels before

they sailed from the harbour. They carried tallow, butter, sheep skins, beef, wool, hides and other agricultural commodities to ports in France, Flanders, England and Germany. In the same period Peter Hendra, the searcher of Waterford port, inspected thirty-one ships that came into the city. They brought salt, wine, tobacco, munitions, powder and a range of other goods from ports in Europe and England. The safety of the passage past Duncannon can be seen in the fact that merchant vessels that sailed from Waterford can be found arriving back to that port from their voyages. For example the *Katherine of Waterford*, with George Collins on board as master, sailed with a lading of tallow, wool and hides for Nantes in December 1643. The ship arrived back in the haven in April 1644 with a cargo of French wine, paper and aniseed.[1]

Irish privateers do not seem to have taken the opportunity provided by the absence of parliamentary men of war from the southern ports to seize large numbers of English and Scottish ships with less hindrance. Between September 1643 and July 1644 eight prizes can be distinguished as having been seized by Irish frigates.[2] One warship, the *St Francis*, captured six of these prizes in May and June 1644.[3] In the same period only four privateers can be identified by name; the *Hare*, *Mary Magdalen of Wexford*, *Clement of Wexford* and *St Francis of Wexford/Dunkirk*.[4] Some of the other frigates that have been found in the records for earlier in 1643,

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[1] A note of the shipping that are gone out of and come into the harbour of Waterford since the 15th of September 1643, 1643 and 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 6, ff 505v-7v).
[2] See Appendix C1.
[3] Antonio Nicholas van Dyck to Patrick Archer, 21 May 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 10 f. 725); Ormond to Antrim, 17 May 1644, Carte (ed.), *Ormond*, vi, 122.
[4] Some sources refer to the *St Francis* as belonging to Dunkirk and others to Wexford. As Captain Antonio Nicholas Vanderkipp is usually listed as the owner this seems to have been the same ship. A note of the particular vessels and of the owners who are to be contracted for his Maties service, Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS 7, ff 27-v); deposition of James Dalton, 8 Jan. 1653/4 (T.C.D., Wexford Depositions, ii, MS 819, f. 256).

such as the *St Patrick of Wexford*, probably continued in service throughout this period (see Table 2.1 in Chapter 2). The low level of prizes intercepted by Irish privateers in this period may be attributable to the fact that some of the frigates served as escorts for transporting soldiers to England and Scotland. The *Hare*, *Mary Magdalen of Wexford*, *Clement of Wexford* and *St Francis* all appeared on a list of ships to be contracted for taking soldiers to England in October 1643.[5] Ormond also engaged 'some pirate friends', Captain Antonio Nicholas Vanderkipp and his frigates, to convoy the transport vessels carrying the men recruited by the earl of Antrim to serve the king in Scotland.[6]

For the Irish royalists the cessation offered the opportunity to transport their army in Ireland across to England and Wales to aid the king there. Ormond needed to find shipping to transfer as many of his regiments across the Irish Sea as quickly as possible. The high cost of maintaining the soldiers in Ireland coupled with the danger of parliamentary men of war blocking up the royalist harbours necessitated the rapid transportation of the men. A scarcity of shipping at Dublin meant Ormond quickly turned to the confederates to meet his transport needs. The articles of cessation included for the provision of troop ships to Ormond. On 4 October Richard Bellings wrote to the lord lieutenant to inform him of the support of the Supreme Council and that he would advise him of the availability of vessels for hire at Wexford. The Supreme Council then ordered the stay of all shipping in Wexford, Dungarvan and

[5] A note of the particular vessels and of the owners who are to be contracted for his Maties service, Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS 7, ff 27-v).
[6] Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and restoration*, pp 142-4; Ormond to Antrim, 17 May 1644, Carte (ed.), *Ormond*, vi, 122.

Tramore to facilitate this.[7] By the end of October a list of twelve Irish ships to transport soldiers to England had been drawn up. The fleet had the capacity to carry 1,930 men and included the four frigates referred to earlier as escorts.[8]

Despite Ormond's best efforts to transport soldiers from Leinster to England the first men to cross over came from Lord Inchiquin, the royalist commander in Munster. Soldiers from the regiments of Sir John Paulet and Sir Charles Vavasour landed at Minehead on 23 October 1643.[9] The arrival of a fleet commanded by the royalist admiral, Sir Baldwin Wake, at Dublin on 7 November increased the number of men that could be sent from Dublin. Ormond estimated that Wake's ships could carry a further 3,000 men.[10] By mid-November the royalist and confederate vessels had commenced shipping men to Wales and Gerolamo Agotini, the Venetian secretary in England, reported to the Doge that 3,000 men had landed and that the king 'is beginning to enjoy the fruits of the truce in Ireland'.[11] Calculations by Joyce Lee Malcolm that 22,000 men sailed from Ireland to join Charles I in England and Wales from October 1643 to June 1644 seem to be considerably over inflated. By examining the details of the regiments that actually crossed from Ireland to England in 1643 and 1644 Mark Stoyle has produced a more reliable analysis of the numbers

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[7] Richard Bellings to Ormond, 4 Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS 7, f. 66); Richard Bellings to Ormond. 21 Oct. 1643, ibid, f. 226.
[8] A note of the particular vessels and of the owners who are to be contracted for his Maties service, Oct 1643, ibid, f. 267-v.
[9] J. R. Powell, *The navy in the English civil war* (London, 1962), p. 49.
[10] Ormond to the archbishop of York, 11 Nov. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS 7, f. 414).
[11] Gerolamo Agotini to the Doge and senate, 13 Nov. 1643 (*Cal. S. P. Venetian, 1643-7*, p. 39).

involved. He estimated that by the end of 1643 3-4,000 soldiers joined the royalist army there, a far cry from Malcolm's figure.[12]

The regiments that arrived from Ireland helped to bolster royalist forces especially in Wales. Five regiments from Dublin joined the king's army in Cheshire commanded by Sir John Byron. By the end of December 1643 they had pushed the parliamentary army under Sir William Brereton out of the entire county except at Nantwich.[13] Ormond continued shipping men in the first two months of 1644 and according to Stoyle's calculation had sent approximately 7,740 soldiers by the end of February.[14] Getting troops across in large units became increasingly difficult for the Irish royalists as 1644 progressed. The squadron led by Sir Baldwin Wake mutinied due to a lack of pay in March and refused to sail for Dublin and returned to Bristol instead. Ormond countered this problem by hiring merchant ships like the *Henry of Dover* to make stay of small barks in Dublin harbour to keep the supply of men flowing during the early months of 1644.[15]

In January 1644 Charles I gave permission to the earl of Antrim to raise troops from the confederates in Ireland for an expedition to Scotland. The king also ordered Ormond to assist in the preparations. The confederate Supreme Council agreed to the plan and to supply munitions and provisions if the lord lieutenant

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[12] Joyce Lee Malcolm, 'All the King's men: the impact of the crown's Irish soldiers on the English civil war', in *I.H.S.*, vol. xxi, no. 83 (Mar. 1979), pp 251-5; Mark Stoyle, *Soldiers and strangers, an ethnic history of the English civil war* (New Haven, 2005), pp 53-62, 209-10.
[13] James Scott Wheeler, *The Irish and British wars, 1637-1654: triumph, tragedy and failure* (London, 2002), pp 97-8; Powell, *The navy in the English civil war*, pp 49-51.
[14]Stoyle, *Soldiers and strangers*, pp 53-62, 209-10. .
[15] Lord Digby to Ormond, 8 Mar. 1643/4 in Powell & Timings (eds), *Documents*, p. 126; examination of John Pensocks, 10 Apr. 1644(T.N.A., Interrogatories 1641-8, HCA 23/14); order of the lord lieutenant and council, 5 Feb. 1643/4, ibid.

provided a suitable Ulster port to ship them from.[16] Ormond opposed the suggestion of giving either Carlingford or Greencastle to the confederates on two grounds. First he feared the garrisons in those ports would not obey such an order. Second if the confederates used them as bases to attack the English or Scots in Ulster the king's reputation would be damaged.[17] Despite Ormond's reservations on the issue of ports preparations continued for the expedition.

By the end of April the issues relating to the ports had been resolved.[18] Logistical problems relating to shipping and provisions delayed the setting forth of the expedition. To speed things along Ormond arranged the necessary finance and security for the hire of three well armed merchant men, the *Angel Gabriel*, *Jacob of Surdame* and *Jacob of Ross* to convey the men across. Antonio Nicholas Vanderkipp provided the frigates to protect the fleet for three months. By 17 May Ormond reported on the readiness of the ships to Antrim and on the great charge he had undertaken in facilitating their preparation.[19] The Supreme Council consented to the soldiers embarking at Passage and Ballyhack. The presence of parliamentary men of war on the east coast near Dublin led to the decision for the small fleet to sail via the west coast to Scotland.[20] On 1 July Antrim reported to Ormond that the flotilla had gone out. It sailed via Connacht taking a number of prizes en route before safely

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[16] Charles I to Ormond, 20 Jan. 1643/4 in Carte (ed.), *Ormond*, vi, 20; Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and restoration,* pp 131-3.
[17] Ormond to Lord Digby, 13 Mar. 1643/4, Carte (ed.), *Ormond*, vi, 60-1.
[18] Daniel O'Neill to Ormond, 23 Apr. 1644, ibid, p. 97; Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and restoration*, pp 137-42.
[19] Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and restoration*, pp 142-3; Ormond to Antrim, 17 May 1644, Carte (ed.), *Ormond*, vi, 122.
[20] Daniel O'Neill to Ormond, 24 May 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland*, i, part 1, 584-5; Torlogh O'Neill to Daniel O'Neill, 20 May 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 10, f. 698).

landing the soldiers in July. Parliamentary men of war captured the transport ships sometime thereafter.[21]

Despite the success Ormond achieved in getting a large body of soldiers across the Irish Sea to aid the king over the winter of 1643-4 a number of problems began to affect the royalist maritime position in Ireland by April 1644. In that month the Scots forces in Ulster took the solemn league and covenant and in May Robert Monro expelled the royalist garrison from Belfast. Warnings about the dissatisfaction of Lord Inchiquin in Munster and Lord Esmond in Duncannon began to appear soon after the former's return from Oxford without having being appointed as lord president of the province as he desired. In March the Supreme Council reported their suspicions to Ormond.[22] The defection of either place to parliament would greatly strengthen their naval position in Ireland while at the same time weakening that of the confederates and royalists. Ormond also began to encounter difficulties in transporting the soldiers that remained in Ireland across to England. The parliamentary squadron assigned to guard the Irish coast began to seize transport and provision ships going to and from Dublin. In March 1644 the *Providence* seized the *Fortune* after it landed a contingent of soldiers at Holyhead. Ormond reported on the loss of seven provision barks for the city to English men of war in early April.[23] The arrival of two parliamentary warships and a frigate in Dublin bay in May prevented the shipping of 300 soldiers. News from England about Captain Richard Swanley's

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[21] Antrim to Ormond, 1 July 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 11, f. 332); Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and restoration*, p. 145.

[22] Supreme Council to Ormond, 29 Mar. 1644, Carte (ed.), *Ormond*, vi, 75; John A. Murphy, 'The expulsion of the Irish from Cork in 1644', in *Journal of the Cork historical and archaeological society*, lxix (Jan. – Dec. 1964), pp 123-4.

[23] Ormond to Lord Digby, 1 Apr. and 29 Apr. 1644, Carte (ed), *Ormond*, vi, 83-4, 102-3; exam of John Gibson, 24 June 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations 1644-5, HCA 13/59, ff 342-v).

execution of seventy Irish prisoners taken in a ship also made men unwilling to venture.[24]

Prior to the cessation the government in Dublin relied on the admiralty in London to pay for the merchantmen they hired to patrol the east coast. Without any additional funds from England for shipping Ormond only had two warships, the *Confidence* and *Swan*, at his disposal from September 1643 on. A shortage of pay and supplies reduced the crews and capability of both ships by the summer of 1644. Captain Thomas Bartlett informed Ormond that many of the mariners deserted the *Confidence* due to the lack of provisions and their wages. Those that remained refused to put to sea in the ship. Captain John Bartlett reported similar problems in the *Swan*.[25]

Even though the parliamentary naval presence near Dublin increased in strength from April on and that of the royalists weakened overseas shipping continued to trade with the city. Entries by the customs officials for Dublin port in April and May 1644 show a large amount of trade between the city and Milford Haven in south Wales. Merchantmen, such as the *Mary of Dublin* and the *Thomas and Ralph of Milford*, plied the route. Elias Arnia, a Dutch man living in Dublin, described the business as a 'common trade exercised and used by some betweene Dublyn and Milford'.[26] This overseas commerce seems to have been maintained with the connivance of parliamentary naval officers rather than by royalist sea power. The *Honour* commanded by Captain Edmond Seamen and employed by the admiralty as

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[24] Ormond to Archbishop of York, 22 May 1644, in Powell & Timings (eds), *Documents*, p. 141.
[25] Ormond to the commissioners of array, 13 June 1644 (Bodl., Carte Ms 11, f. 178); John Bartlett, 16 July 1644, ibid, f. .462).
[26] Dublin port book, 24 May and 24 Oct. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1645, HCA 13/247); Examination of Elias Arnia, 15 Sept. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations 1645-7, HCA 13/60).

a man of war rode in Dublin bay during this time. According to the customs collectors Captain Seamen allowed various merchantmen to go in and out of the port and the captain traded in wine with Dublin merchants.[27] Charles Cant, the master of the *Blessing of Amsterdam*, and Thomas Galloway, a Dublin merchant, alleged that Richard Swanley, the admiral of the parliamentary Irish guard, issued passes for merchantmen to go to Strangford, a port under the control of parliament. But that the admiral knew the ships went to Dublin instead.[28] Cant also claimed to have seen Swanley sell silk and prize goods to Dublin merchants. Captain Samuel Howett, of the parliamentary warship the *Duncannon*, gave evidence that he witnessed Swanley's clerk, Richard Pendares, sell prize goods and that the clerk and a woman called Bellindia Steele first sorted the merchandise in the admiral's cabin.[29]

The cessation in September 1643 exacerbated the problems the parliamentary navy faced on the Irish coast. The Irish squadron lost access to harbours at Dublin, Duncannon and in Munster. Carrickfergus in Ulster remained as the only significant port in Ireland the fleet still retained. The financial crisis that afflicted parliament in the autumn of 1643 posed the most immediate problem faced by the navy in Ireland. Ships from the summer guard departed the coast as their victuals and contracts ran out; no winter fleet came out to replace them. By November the Irish squadron had not gone out. The earl of Warwick gave his assessment of the situation to parliament. He complained that too much time had passed in setting out the winter guard and

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[27] The *Honour* entered into the states pay on 5 April 1644. Order for payment to Captain Edmond Seamen, 14 Nov. 1644 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-1653, Adm 18/4, f. 13); Dublin port book, 24 May and 24 Oct. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1645, HCA 13/247).
[28] Examination of Thomas Galloway, 15 Sept. 1645, (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1645, HCA 13/247); examination of Charles Cant, 9 Oct. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[29] Examination of Charles Cant, 9 Oct. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations 1645-7, HCA 13/60); examination of Samuel Howett, 12 Nov. 1645, ibid.

proposed sending sixteen ships to Ireland and a further eight to guard the north coast.[30] The absence of the Irish squadron meant that royalist shipping faced little opposition in the last months of 1643 as they carried soldiers to England.

A small flotilla of five ships, the *Leopard*, *Swallow*, *Crescent* and two merchantmen, the *Leopard* and *Providence*, under the charge of Captain Richard Swanley arrived at Milford Haven on 23 January 1644. On their arrival there they found that royalist forces under the earl of Carberry had over run much of Pembrokeshire and had erected a fortification, called the Pill fort, which overlooked Milford harbour. Two royalist ships, one called the *Globe*, that had brought ammunition from Bristol sought shelter below the guns of the fort.[31] Swanley's fleet and sailors spent the next two months aiding Major General Rowland Laugharne, the parliamentary military commander in the region, to clear Carberry's forces from Pembrokeshire. Mariners from the *Crescent* and *Swallow* led the successful assault on the town of Tenby in March 1644.[32] Swanley followed up this victory with the capture of a troop ship carrying approximately 100 soldiers crossing from Dublin to join the royalist forces in England. The admiral executed seventy of the Irish men and two women by tying them back to back and casting them overboard. Parliamentary newspapers praised Swanley's actions in clearing Wales and executing the prisoners. The *Spie* wrote that 'for valiant and industrious Captain

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[30] Order of the committee for the admiralty, 10 Nov. 1643 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1641-3*, p. 498); *Lords Journal*, vi, 331-3.

[31] TT E.3(12), *An exact relation of that famous and notable Victorie obtained at Milford-Haven against the Earle of Carbery his forces; by the Admirall and Vice-Admirall of the Irish Seas* (London, 1644), p. 1.

[32] Ibid, pp 1-9; Powell, *The Navy in the English Civil War*, pp 58-61; Geraint H. Jenkins, *The foundations of modern Wales: Wales, 1642-1700* (Oxford, 1987), pp 12-3.

Swanley hath done admirable service in Wales since the securing of Milford haven for the King and Parliament'.[33]

The summer guard list approved by the commons in March 1644 did not list the individual ships assigned to the Irish squadron. A large number of English men of war can be detected operating in the waters around Ireland throughout the summer.[34] The parliamentary position also improved in Ulster. Prize records show the *Truelove* and *Fellowship* as active seizing prizes on the Irish coast. In March William Penn and the *Fellowship* seized the *Alice of Londonderry* going to a royalist port in England. In May the *Fellowship* and *Truelove* seized the *Peter of Jersey* coming from Limerick near Land's End.[35] In April parliament recalled Swanley and William Smith, his vice admiral, to London and in June they received the thanks of the House of Commons and gold chains for their service in Wales.[36] Captain Robert Moulton, in the *Lyon*, took command of the Irish guard after Swanley's departure for London. To try and restore royalist fortunes in Wales Charles I replaced the earl of Carberry with Colonel Charles Gerard, a more energetic professional soldier, as general of the army there. By mid-summer 1644 Gerard advanced into south Wales and rapidly retook most of the places lost to the parliamentarians earlier in the year. Pembroke and Milford Haven held out as the only places of significance for

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[33] This incident will be examined in detail in Chapter 9. TT E.42(9), *The Spie, communicating intelligence from Oxford. From Thursday the 4 of April to Thursday the 11. Number 11* (1644, London), p. 84; TT E.49(3), *Mercurius Aulicus, Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the rest of the Kingdome. The eighteenth weeke, ending May 4 1644* (Oxford, 1644), pp 965-6; TT E.49(23) *Mercurius Aulicus, Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the rest of the Kingdome. The nineteenth weeke ending May 11 1644* (Oxford, 1644), pp 973-4; Ormond to the archbishop of York, 27 May 1644, Powell & Timings (eds), *Documents*, p. 141.

[34] See Appendix D1 for the 1644 summer guard in Ireland. *Commons Journals*, iii, 437-8.

[35] Prize claim for the *Alice of Londonderry*, 1644 (T.N.A., Prize claims 1649-93, HCA 30/494); examinations of Jervase Coachman & David Talbott, 8 May 1644 (T.N.A, Examinations 1644-5, HCA 13/59, f. 187-v).

[36] *Commons Journals*, iii, 516-8.

parliament.[37] As long as the navy lacked access to Irish ports it remained vulnerable to military shifts in England and Wales and the over riding need to secure the port of Milford Haven.

July 1644 – March 1645

The confederate failure to seize the fort at Duncannon and the Munster towns of Cork, Youghal and Kinsale during the initial phase of the rebellion became problematic from a military and naval standpoint in the summer and autumn of 1644. In July Inchiquin, still dissatisfied with his treatment by the king, defected with his garrisons to parliament. The fort at Duncannon followed in September when the soldiers there took the Covenant and accepted parliamentary aid.[38] This gave the English navy access to the three main harbours in County Cork and they could safely anchor below Duncannon fort to harass Irish shipping sailing for Waterford or New Ross. The defeat of Charles I at Marston Moor on 2 July also bolstered the parliamentary naval situation relating to Ireland. In the aftermath of the battle the king had to recall Colonel Charles Gerard's royalist army from south Wales to deal with the threat posed by the advancing Scottish and parliamentarian soldiers from the north. The royalist withdrawal in Pembrokeshire allowed the admiral of the Irish squadron, Robert Moulton, to send relief ships to Munster.[39] Richard Swanley arrived back at Milford Haven in September having been reappointed to command

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[37] Powell, *The Navy in the English Civil War*, pp 71-2; Jenkins, *Wales, 1642-1700*, p 13.
[38] Murphy, 'The expulsion of the Irish from Cork in 1644', pp 123-6; examination of Ensign Walter Esmond, 2 Apr. 1645, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, iv, 211; examination of Richard Undwood, Apr. 1645, ibid, p. 215.
[39] Rodger, *Safeguard of the sea*, p. 429; Powell, *The navy in the English civil war*, pp 71-2; Warwick to the committee of both kingdoms, 21 Aug. 1644 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, p. 444).

parliament's Irish guard. He employed a number of ships to supply and support the outposts in Ireland. For example in September 1644 he directed the *Great Lewis* to supply Duncannon fort and then ride at anchor there.[40] Swanley also joined forces with Major General Laugharne's parliamentary army and in November the soldiers and sailors captured the town of Cardigan.[41] Despite the upturn in parliamentary naval fortunes in Ireland and Wales the military situation remained precarious in much of England with the surrender the earl of Essex's army to the king in Cornwall in August 1644.

The defection of Duncannon to parliament posed the most immediate threat facing the confederates in the autumn of 1644. English men of war riding below the fort seized merchantmen as they tried to pass by damaging the trade of Waterford and New Ross that had prospered since the cessation. For example in December Captain Samuel Howett in the *Duncannon* frigate intercepted the *North Holland* as it tried to sail past the fort for Waterford.[42] Therefore in January 1645 General Thomas Preston with the confederate Leinster army began to besiege the fort.[43] The 'Aphorimisical Discovery' rated this as the 'verie best siedge that was yett in Ireland, most plentifull of all necessaries, both of pay, amunition, shuttlers, all kinde of liquor'.[44] The anonymous author also commented on the willingness of Waterford and New Ross to keep their promise to supply the army with men and 'all

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[40] Richard Swanley to Captain Beale, 23 Sept. 1644, Powell & Timings, *Documents*, p. 173.
[41] TT E. 25(1) *A letter from Captaine Richard Swanley, to the Right Honourable the Earl of Warwick* (London, 1645), pp 1-4; Rodger, *Safeguard of the sea*, p. 429; Powell, *The navy in the English civil war*, pp 71-2, 78.
[42] Examination of Samuel Howett, 22 Nov. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[43] For a detailed account of the siege and land operations see Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war*, p. 178-89.
[44] Gilbert (ed.), *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland,* i, part 1, 102-4.

necessaries befittinge a seidge'.[45] The enthusiasm of the citizens from the nearby towns to support Preston can probably be attributed to their desire to remove the threat posed to their overseas trade if the port remained in parliamentary hands.

The fort sent an appeal for aid to the admiral of the Irish guard at Milford Haven on 17 January 1645. The reappearance of the royalist army led by Colonel Charles Gerard in Wales in the same month limited the amount of relief Swanley could spare for Duncannon. Instead he sent some ships to Cork to see if Inchiquin could dispatch any men to the fort.[46] The besieging confederate army quickly and effectively cut off the fort from support by sea and land. The French engineer, Nicholas La Laloue, who served as the confederate engineer general, erected a ship battery that overlooked the English ships anchoring below the fort. Map 25 shows La Laloue's drawing of the siege of Duncannon. The ship battery he constructed can be seen at point 7 on the map.[47] On 24 January the artillery opened fire and hit some of the parliamentary ships including, the *Great Lewis*. To escape the bombardment, the fleet cut their cables and anchors and fled. The *Great Lewis* sustained too much damage and sank as it sailed down the channel. Captain Beale of the *Great Lewis* left for Milford on 28 January to report to Richard Swanley on the loss of his ship and the non arrival of aid from Cork.[48]

On 15 February Swanley ordered Captain William Smith, his vice admiral, with the *Swallow*, the *Duncannon* frigate and Captain Beale to return to the fort. En

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[45] Ibid, p. 103; copy receipts for monies levied on New Ross for the siege of Duncannon, 1644-5 (N.L.I., Ormond papers, MS 11,048, no. 11).
[46] The ships were the *Elizabeth*, *Mayflower* and *Magdalen*. Powell, *The navy in the English civil war*, pp 85-7; Richard Swanley to Lord Esmond, 15 Feb. 1645 Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, iv, 145.
[47] Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war*, pp 180-1; Map of the siege of Duncannon, 1645, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, iv, frontpiece.
[48] Powell, 'Operations of the parliamentary squadron at the siege of Duncannon in 1645', pp 17-8.

route they met the three vessels Swanley had sent earlier to Cork for aid. Inchiquin could not spare any men to relieve the garrison at Duncannon. Captain William Smith brought his fleet to anchor below Creedon Head, out of range of the Irish artillery. The parliamentary flotilla did not bring over any extra provisions, munitions or soldiers for Duncannon. Smith used the small ship boats that his squadron possessed to send up supplies and seamen that he could spare to assist the fort. After the death of Lieutenant Larcan, the most active officer in defending Duncannon, the situation became grave for the garrison.[49] On 9 March some of the mariners who had gone ashore to help man the defences wrote to Smith highlighting the desperate situation and reminding him of his promise not to leave without them.[50] The captain then wrote to Lord Esmond to advise him that provisions on the ships had reached dangerously low levels and that he must sail at the first opportunity. He counselled the governor to assess his position and to consider negotiating with Preston as relief was at least eight to ten days away. The fleet sailed almost immediately leaving the sailors behind. With the walls breached and the confederate army ready to storm the fort Esmond surrendered on 19 March.[51]

A few days after the siege ended some English ships arrived with supplies for the fort. By raising the parliamentary flag in the fort the Irish persuaded the ships that the garrison still held out. The *Discovery* sent a small boat ashore with five or six men on board to see the situation in the fort. The confederates being 'not as politicke

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[49] Ibid, pp 18-9; Gilbert (ed.), *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland*, i, part 1, 103.
[50] Abraham Mootham and other sailors to William Smith, 9 Mar. 1645, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, iv, 177.
[51] William Smith to Lord Esmond, 11 Mar. 1645, ibid, pp 178-9; examinations of Richard Underwood, John Hollond and Thomas Fleming, ibid, pp 213-23; Powell, 'Operations of the parliamentary squadron at the siege of Duncannon', pp 19-21.

in this business, as required' gave away their position too soon. They captured the boat crew but the rest of the fleet spotted the ruse and made sail for England.[52] The main beneficiaries of this victory were the citizens of Waterford and New Ross. The perceptive author of the 'Aphorimisical Discovery' summed up the situation when he wrote that 'Waterford and Rosse were verie glad for this service. Wexford lost much of his trafficke by it'.[53]

In contrast with the fluctuating fortunes of parliament at sea those of the Irish royalists deteriorated through late 1644 and early 1645. The distance of Duncannon and the Munster ports from Dublin meant their defection to parliament did not threaten to undermine the royalists in the city. From July 1644 on the number of vessels detained by parliamentary ships blockading Dublin began to increase in the prize records. Ships assigned to patrol the seas around Ireland and other parliamentary men of war seized fifty-six prize vessels in 1644. Of the 119 identifiable prizes apprehended by parliamentary shipping in 1644 and 1645 vessels guarding the Irish Sea detained a considerable percentage.[54] A lack of precise information means the exact month of capture can not be ascertained for many of these vessels.[55] Men of war in the squadron before Dublin such as the *Jocelyn* intercepted merchantmen belonging to the port including the *Mary of Dublin* and *Hare of Dublin*.[56] At the same time the English captains sought to surprise any vessels leaving or entering the city on royalist business. This eroded Ormond's

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[52] Powell, *The navy in the English civil war*, p. 89; Gilbert (ed.), *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland,* i, part 1, 104.
[53] Gilbert (ed.), *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland,* i, part 1, 104.
[54] See Appendix C2 for a breakdown of parliamentary prizes in 1644 and 1645
[55] See Appendix C2 for prizes taken by parliamentary men of war before Dublin in 1644 and 1645.
[56] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations 1650, HCA 13/63, ff 267-9).

capability to communicate safely with England. In December 1644 the *Truelove* intercepted the *Content* carrying Ormond's commissioners from the king en route to Dublin.[57] Conditions on the royalist frigate the *Swan*, based in Dublin, continued to deteriorate. In July 1644 a lack of pay led to a near mutiny among the men and in March 1645 John Bartlett sought a warrant to press mariners as he had only twelve able seamen on board the vessel to man the guns.[58] Bartlett and the poorly manned *Swan* could do little to clear the parliamentary men of war that rode more or less continuously in Dublin bay. Whether or not Captain Swanley permitted commerce with Dublin had little effect on the overall decline in the royalist maritime position.

Surviving records show very little confederate privateering activity from July 1644 to March 1645. Some unnamed frigates that belonged to Antonio Nicholas Vanderkipp went as escorts for the expedition to Scotland in July 1644. In August 1644 Ormond informed Antrim that he lacked the money to maintain the ships and advised the earl to recall the ships. This seems to have been done soon afterwards.[59] Only one privateer, the *Hare* under Captain Palle Roach, can be identified by name as actively intercepting prizes in the period. In September 1644 he surprised four ships near Yarmouth but only managed to keep one as a prize. One of the vessels escaped from the Irish frigate and the *Green Dragon* recaptured the other two for parliament.[60] In the same month near Falmouth the *Hare* also took the *Unicorn* laden with deal boards for Dundee. Roach put some mariners on board to carry the

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[57] Richard Swanley to Ormond, 30 Sept. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 12, f. 398); TT E. 25(1) *A letter from Captaine Richard Swanley, to the Right Honourable the Earl of Warwick* (London, 1645), p. 5.
[58] John Bartlett, 16 July 1644 (Bodl., Carte Ms 11, f. .462); John Bartlett to Ormond, 26 Mar. 1645 (Bodl., Carte MS 14, f. 304).
[59] Ormond to Antrim, 23 Aug. 1644, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, iii, 259.
[60] William Coneham and others to the committee of the navy, 28 Sept. 1644 (T.N.A, Various 1579-1656, HCA 30/849, f. 552); letter by Francis Green, 15 Sept. 1644, ibid, f 553, opinion of Robert Tweedy, navy commissioner, 15 Sept. 1644, ibid, f. 553v.

Unicorn to a confederate port but they sailed the ship into Carrickfergus. There the crew of the *Blessing* seized it.[61] Other unidentified Irish frigates seized English fishing and merchant vessels at this time. The *Hopewell of Boston* met an unnamed Irish man of war on a voyage to her home port. The privateer later abandoned the prize near Dublin as two parliamentary ships, the *Honour* and *Crescent*, came upon them.[62] From July 1644 to the end of March 1645 admiralty prize records and other sources only noted eleven vessels as having been captured by Irish privateers.[63] Confederate frigates did not participate in the siege of Duncannon. Accurate artillery fire, and not men of war, drove the parliamentary fleet away from the anchorage.

April 1645 – December 1645

Overall the loss of Duncannon and the *Great Lewis* did not greatly weaken the parliamentary navy in Ireland. A change in the administration in London took place in April 1645 with the passing of the Self Denying Ordinance. This excluded members of the Houses of Lords and Commons from holding appointments in the army and navy. The passing of the ordinance forced the earl of Warwick to step down as lord high admiral. He remained an active member of a number of key committees responsible for administering naval affairs.[64] The summer guard list for 1645 set out a substantial fleet for Ireland. The committee of the navy issued a list of

[61] Examinations of John Hill and Oliver Winter, 29 Oct. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5, HCA 13/59, ff 546-v).
[62] Examinations of Mathew Adams and William Pollard, 29 Oct. 1644, ibid, ff 541v-3.
[63] See Appendix C1.
[64] Rodger, *Safeguard of the sea*, p. 420; Baumber, 'Parliamentary naval politics, 1641-49', pp 402-3.

vessels to be prepared in January 1645. The House of Lords approved nine ships to form the Irish guard. But lists from June 1645 named sixteen vessels and two unnamed shallops to form the squadron.[65] Parliament also assigned six men of war to guard the Scottish coast. Three of these vessels, the *Fellowship*, *Eighth Whelp* and *Jocelyn* based themselves at Carrickfergus in April and May 1645. The *Globe* also operated from that port.[66]

In late May William Smith, the vice admiral of the Irish squadron, died. On 2 June 1645 William Penn replaced him as vice admiral and captain of the *Happy Entrance*.[67] As at Duncannon in January a royalist resurgence in Wales occurred at the same time as a parliamentary outpost in Ireland came under threat. In April the earl of Castlehaven began to advance with the confederate Munster army towards the Protestant enclave in Cork. Having dealt with the more pressing problem of taking Duncannon fort the Irish army could spend the summer campaigning season to try and gain the three principal port towns in County Cork: Youghal, Kinsale and Cork city. Castlehaven's regiments rapidly overran most of the Protestant strongholds in the county and by June his army approached Youghal.[68] In May Colonel Charles Gerard's royalist army again forced the parliamentary forces in south Wales back to Pembroke. The need to assist the army in Wales and protect Milford Haven tied down part of the Irish guard. Parliament received some good news in June 1645 when their army in Connacht under Sir Charles Coote, supported by English

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[65] See Appendix D1 for the 1645 summer guard. Committee of the navy, 4 Jan. 1644/5 (*Cal. S. P. Dom., 1644-5*, p. 629); TT 669 f.9 (36), *A List of such of the Navy Royall, as also of the Merchants Ships*, (London, 1645), p. 1; *Lords Journal*, vii, 373; summer guard list, 17 June 1645 (Bodl, Rawl. C.406 ff 40v-41v).
[66] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 105-9.
[67] Ibid, p. 112.
[68] Castlehaven, *The earl of Castlehaven's Review,* pp 56-68.

merchantmen retook the town of Sligo from the confederates.[69] In June the admirals, Richard Swanley and William Penn, decided to leave the *Globe*, *Magdalen* and *Anne and Joyce* at Tenby to aid that town against the royalists. With the confederates advancing on Youghal they also selected the *Duncannon* frigate and *Happy Entrance* to sail for Munster. Some of the sailors on board the *Duncannon* frigate initially refused to put to sea. The admirals settled the seamen and the ship eventually sailed. Captain Penn in the *Happy Entrance* departed on 30 June.[70]

Penn arrived in Cork on 2 July 1645 and his journals provided most of the information about the naval aspects of the siege of Youghal.[71] Inchiquin agreed to spare men from his garrisons at Cork and Kinsale to relieve the town. Penn dispatched the *Duncannon* frigate to Kinsale to start loading a hundred men there. The *Mayflower* remained at Cork to take on any men the lord president could find. On 7 July Penn arrived at Kinsale as the loading of the soldiers continued. When he arrived at Youghal on 8 July he found the *Mayflower* and the *Nicholas* already before the town.[72] Sir Percy Smith, the governor of Youghal, requested that Penn place one ship at either end of the harbour to impede attempts by the confederates to assault the town and move supplies. Penn reluctantly consented to this and placed the *Nicholas* at the south end of the town and the *Duncannon* at the north. He advised the captains of the ships to be vigilant for any threats to their vessels. The governor also sought spare ammunition from the fleet which the captains agreed to send in.[73] The flotilla

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[69] O'Dowd, *Power, politics and land*, p. 128.
[70] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 115-8.
[71] Ibid, pp 119-33.
[72] Ibid, pp 118-9.
[73] Ibid, pp 119-20.

supported the besieged town by sending in mariners to assist in an attack on the Irish and by firing with their guns on any confederates who came within range.

On the morning of 16 July the *Nicholas* began firing at a confederate earthwork overlooking the town. After examining the fort Penn decided that artillery fire from it could not hit his ships.[74] By daybreak on 17 July the Irish had constructed another fort which opened fire on the *Duncannon*. Captain Howett in the frigate returned fire. The *Duncannon* then blew up. Penn in his journal claimed an accident in the powder store caused the explosion. Inchiquin added more colour in his account of the sinking to the House of Lords. He stated that a shot from the confederate battery entered the powder room. There it hit and decapitated a woman holding a candle, which then fell into the powder and caused the explosion. Eighteen sailors died but the captain, master and the rest of the crew managed to get to the shore. As the sunken ship lay in shallow water Captain Penn tried in vain to get the *Duncannon*'s company to go back to their ship to salvage the ordnance and rigging.[75] That night fire from confederate artillery hit the walls of the town as Penn, the governor and some of his principal officers watched the English barges chase Irish boats bringing supplies to the besiegers. The next day the sailors from the *Duncannon* still declined to go back out to their ship. Samuel Howett, the captain, and the frigate's master went out with in some boats with mariners from one of the other warships to rescue the guns from their former vessel.[76]

The confederate artillery fire increased in accuracy and on 19 July the battery on the east side of the harbour opened up on the *Nicholas*. They hit the ship several

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[74] Ibid, pp 120-22.
[75] Ibid, pp 122-3; Inchiquin to the lords, 19 July 1645, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, pp 190-2.
[76] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 123-4, 129-30.

times and killed two men before Captain Bray managed to get his vessel away. Having driven the English ships away from close support of Youghal the Irish failed to take advantage of this situation to seize the town. The navy managed to keep up a steady flow of supplies into the town when relief ships arrived throughout July. Penn sent in gunners and munitions from his fleet to support the army. He also set out the boats from his ships to try and intercept the Irish army transporting supplies by sea.[77] The confederates pressed on with the siege into August. The fleet kept the sea route into Youghal open and managed to get relief through, mainly at night. When the master of a bark with provisions refused to take his ship into the town Penn threatened to tie him to the mast as the vessel went past the confederate guns.[78] On 7 August Penn sailed from Youghal and arrived back at Cork the same night. News arrived from Youghal on 9 August that the Irish had withdrawn the siege from the town. By 16 August reports put the Irish army at six miles from Youghal.[79]

On 29 July parliament again recalled Richard Swanley to answer charges made against him for his actions at Milford Haven. They appointed Robert Moulton as his replacement and John Crowther to be vice admiral and captain of the *Happy Entrance*. The allegations against Swanley came from a variety of sources. They included John Poyer, the mayor of Pembroke, and other members of the gentry in Pembrokeshire. Merchants and ship masters whose goods the navy seized also provided statements. Augustine Baxter, the minister, on board Captain William Smith's man of war also laid charges against Swanley. They claimed that during the time the town of Pembroke was besieged that Swanley refused to send spare supplies

[77] Ibid, pp 124-7.
[78] Ibid, pp 128-30.
[79] Ibid, pp 131-2.

from his fleet to the garrison, that he traded with the royalists in Wales and Dublin, that he inappropriately entertained some women in his cabin including a 'malignant' Irish woman named Belinda Steele and that he slighted his vice admiral, William Smith. The mariners from Swanley's own ship, the *Leopard*, asserted that their captain did not permit trade with Dublin and denied most of the other charges laid against him. Some members of the Pembrokeshire gentry deposed on behalf of Swanley. They refuted the charges laid against him and asserted that Baxter 'was much given to drinkeing'.[80]

Crowther arrived at Cork on the *Trial* pink on 13 August to take over from Penn. On 18 August after settling some discontent among the crew over the change in commanders Penn gave the ship over to Crowther.[81] The fleet returned to Youghal and Penn sailed from there on 23 August and arrived back at Milford the next day to await the return of the *Fellowship*.[82] The confederates continued to attack the town up to December but the scale of their assaults gradually petered out. Parliamentary ships under Crowther maintained the supply line into the town and helped the garrison to hold out. The inability of the Irish to take Youghal owed more to problems of leadership among the confederates than the actions of the parliamentary navy. Some confederate sources such as the 'Aphorimiscal Discovery' and the

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[80] Examinations of Edward Oates, Thomas Galloway, Richard Fenton, Charles Cant, Ralph Vizar and Richard Harrowe before John Poyer, 15 & 29 July 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1645,HCA 13/247); examination of John Poyer, 9 Dec. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations 1645-7, HCA 13/60); examinations of William Aylasse, John Brooker, Richard Cox and Thomas Wright, mariners on the *Leopard*, 18 & 19 Sept. 1645, ibid; examinations of James Phillips, Ambrose Tindall and Augustine Baxter, 11, 15 Oct & 15 Nov. 1645, ibid; examinations of Roger Lort and John Elliott, 13 & 17 Oct. 1645, ibid.

[81] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 132-3; *Lords Journal*, vii, 517.

[82] The *Fellowship* did not arrive for three weeks. Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 133-6.

theologian, Dr Walter Enos, attributed the failure at Youghal to treachery by the earl of Castlehaven and the Supreme Council.[83]

On the return of the *Fellowship* to Milford Haven Captain William Penn initially received orders to report back to his former station at Carrickfergus with his ship. Swanley amended the command and sent the *Globe* instead as it had received four months provisions. Penn remained at Milford patrolling the harbour and guarding the prizes.[84] In September parliament issued the winter guard list for 1645 which included a large number of vessels for the Irish squadron.[85] The blockade of Dublin continued and in November 1645 Captain Robert Clarke in the *Jocelyn* achieved its greatest success. On 5 November in Dublin bay Clarke sent a dozen men with muskets by boat to the *Swan*. They managed to seize the man of war with little trouble. The absence of the captain, John Bartlett, and disaffection among the crew probably accounted for the ease with which Clarke took the ship. Bartlett had not gone on board that day as he lacked money to pay the mariners and the gunner of the *Swan* handed over the keys to the gun room without any fight.[86] The crew of the *Jocelyn* also seized a small vessel called the *White Lamb* in the bay. Most of Bartlett's crew joined the parliamentary navy. Parliament rewarded Clarke's audacity with command of the *Swan*. Having seized Ormond's remaining man of war the

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[83] For the end of the siege and problems of confederate leadership between Castlehaven and Thomas Preston see Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war*, pp 188-9; Sir Philip Percival to Sir Robert King, 20 Nov. 1645, H.M.C., *Egmont,* i, part i, 264; Gilbert (ed), *A contemporary history of the affairs of Ireland*, i, part i, 94-7; O'Ferrall & O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus,* i, part vii, 569-70.

[84] From his letters it was clear that Penn did not want to go back to the north of Ireland and preferred instead to return to Munster. Hence, his insistence that the *Globe*'s smaller draught made it a more suitable ship for service at Carrickfergus. William Penn to William Batten, 23 Sept. 1645, Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i pp 140-1; William Penn to the committee for the admiralty, Sept. 1645, ibid, pp 142-4.

[85] See Appendix D1 for 1645 winter guard list. *Lords Journal*, vii, 594-5.

[86] Examinations of Thomas Suery, John Andoe, John Bartlett and Thomas Bartlett, 6 and 8 Nov. 1645, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* i, 101-4; examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations 1650, HCA 13/63, f. 267v).

admirals at Milford Haven continued in their attempts to persuade the lord lieutenant in Dublin to join with them.[87] Even though the navy spent much of 1645 supporting Duncannon and Youghal parliamentary ships seized sixty-three prize vessels during the year. Parliamentary privateers, like Thomas Plunkett in the *Discovery*, enthusiastically captured royalist and confederate shipping on the coast of Ireland. Plunkett sent some of the prizes he intercepted to relieve parliamentary garrisons in Ireland. For example he conveyed the *Thomas of Ely* into the Munster ports. On 25 April he received the thanks of parliament for his services.[88] By the end of 1645 the war at sea in Ireland seemed to have turned in favour of parliament.

Confederate frigates played no part in supporting the army at the siege of Youghal. Admiralty prize court records provide very little information on the activities of Irish privateers or prizes in 1645. Only two ships can be identified as prizes from high court of admiralty records. An unnamed Dunkirk frigate seized the *Blessing of Leith*, a Scottish ship, going from its home port to Zeeland. Two parliamentary warships, the *Expedition* and *Garland*, later recaptured the vessel.[89] In December the townsmen of Berehaven stayed the *Prosperous of Bristol* after a storm forced the vessel to take shelter there for repairs. Thomas Plunkett's parliamentary privateer the *Hunter* later retook the ship.[90] Other sources, such as newspapers, suggest more Irish privateering activity took place than can be seen in English

[87] Robert Moulton to Ormond, 2 Nov. 1645 (Bodl., Carte MS, 16 ff 157-8v).
[88] Examination of William Smart, 2 May 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[89] Examination of Gregory Bell, 11 June 1645, ibid.
[90] Examinations of Lanuncelott Groute and Fernando Colsen, 13 May 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 199v-200v); examinations of Robert Smith and John Brown, 6 May 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248).

admiralty records. In May *The True Informer* reported the loss of twenty-two English and Scottish ships in the space of fifteen days.[91]

Names and details for some confederate frigates in 1645 can be ascertained from other places. In October 1645 the earl of Antrim acquired two frigates in Dunkirk. Each of the vessels carried sixteen guns. Jane Ohlmeyer has identified these as the *San Pedro* [probably the ship later known as the *St Peter of Waterford* commanded by Joseph Content] and the *Mary of Antrim*.[92] Rinuccini, the papal nuncio to Ireland, acquired some frigates which later served as privateers. Dionysius Massari, the dean of Fermo and second in command to the papal nuncio, engaged the vessels in 1645. The *San Pietro* carried Rinuccini to Ireland in October 1645.[93] During the voyage disaster nearly struck the confederate cause. The parliamentary privateer Captain Thomas Plunkett in the *Discovery* chased the *San Pietro*. The outbreak of a fire on the *Discovery* forced Plunkett to call off the chase and this probably saved the nuncio from capture. Rinuccini and his party were fortunate to avoid being detained by the *Discovery*. Captain Plunkett had a fierce reputation and earlier in the year he executed two friars he found on a ship going to Ireland.[94]

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[91] TT E.284(19), *The True Informer: containing a perfect collection of the proceedings of parliament and true information from the armies. From the whole week past, ending Saturday May 17 1645* (London, 1645), p. 27.

[92] Antrim owned at least four frigates which included the *Mary of Antrim*, *Mary of the Isles*, *St Peter of Waterford* and another unnamed vessel., Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and restoration*, pp 161-2; Ohlmeyer, 'The Dunkirk of Ireland', pp 30-2.

[93] Jane Ohlmeyer, 'The Dunkirk of Ireland, pp 30-2; Dionysius Massari, 'My Irish campaign', in *The Catholic Bulletin*, vi (1916), pp 155-9, 504; O'Ferrall & O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, iii, 55-6.

[94] O'Ferrall & O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, ii, part i, 9-10; examinations of Richard Poole and William Smart, 23 June 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations 1645-7, HCA 13/60); examinations of Connor O'Connor and Owen Dalie, 31 Dec. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1643-4, HCA 13/246); interrogatory for the *Nostra Dama of Le Croisic*, nd (T.N.A., Interrogatories 1641-8,HCA 23/14, no. 380).

January 1646 – July 1646

With Milford Haven secure and parliament dominant in England the navy in 1646 finally possessed the freedom to concentrate on the war at sea in Ireland. Munster still remained vulnerable and Inchiquin complained that the province held out only through the arrival of chance supplies.[95] In December 1645 the earl of Thomond wrote to London to seek support for his castle at Bunratty on the River Shannon. The earl supported parliament but lacked the capacity to be a military threat and so had been left relatively unmolested in his castle by the confederates. Inchiquin and Lord Broghill in Munster advocated aiding Thomond and sought the support of Robert Moulton, the admiral of the Irish Seas, and the navy.[96] In late January Moulton sailed for Kinsale in the *Lyon* with a small fleet including the *Fellowship*, *Peter* and *Roebuck*. There he consulted with Lord Broghill about the plan. They selected Lieutenant Colonel John McAdam to take charge of a regiment of 700 men to be landed at Bunratty.[97] Parliament issued the list for preparing the summer guard on 26 February 1646. On the same day Moulton appointed William Penn to command the naval aspect of the expedition to Bunratty. By fortifying the castle they hoped to relieve pressure on Inchiquin's outposts and to divert the confederates from their plans to aid Charles I in England. In order to hold the castle

[95] Narrative by Inchiquin, 27 Jan. 1646 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, pp 434-5).
[96] Robert Moulton to William Lenthall, 17 Mar. 1645/6, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, pp 215-7.
[97] As at the siege of Youghal the primary naval account of the siege came from the journals of William Penn. Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 159; Robert Moulton to William Lenthall, 17 Mar. 1645/6, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 215; Powell, 'Penn's expedition to Bonratty in 1646', pp 4-20.

Moulton predicted they would need a further 1,500 men and a supporting campaign from Inchiquin in Cork.[98]

The flotilla sailed from Kinsale on 1 March (see Table 3.1 for a list of English men of war that participated in the siege of Bunratty). The ships put in at Dingle and Ventry en route and inflicted considerable damage to both places. On 10 March the English anchored before Glin castle in the Shannon.[99] Moulton then ordered Penn to take command of the ships capable of going up to Bunratty. The tidal nature of the Shannon meant only the smaller ships in the squadron could safely ply the river. The vessels anchored near the castle and sent a trumpeter to the earl of Thomond to inform him of their presence. After dining with Penn and McAdam Thomond agreed to admit their soldiers and they garrisoned Bunratty on 12 March.[100] On 13 March Moulton came up and spoke with Thomond before returning to his ship at Glin. Moulton had received reports that the 10,000 soldiers raised by the confederates awaited transport at Waterford for England. Therefore on 17 March 1646 he decided to leave the Shannon to try and prevent this.[101]

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[98] Committee of the admiralty to the commissioners of the navy, 26 Feb. 1646 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1645-7*, pp 510-1); Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 160-2; Robert Moulton to William Lenthall, 17 Mar. 1645/6, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, pp 215-6.
[99] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 160.
[100] Ibid, pp 110-1,161-2.
[101] Moulton initially ordered the *Roebuck* to accompany him but later changed this command. Ibid, p. 164; Robert Moulton to William Lenthall, 17 Mar. 1645/6, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, pp 216-7.

Table 3.1 English men of war at Bunratty in 1646 [102]

Ship	Captain
Peter	Captain Dacre
Increase	Captain Swymmer
Green frigate	Captain Farmer
Roebuck	Captain Liston
Trial	Captain Brown
Ann Percy	Captain Smith
William and John	Captain Hall
Unnamed hoy	

After the departure of his admiral Penn set about preparing the castle's defences. A diagram of the siege of Bunratty by J. R. Powell can be seen in Map 29. He sent carpenters and gunners from the ships ashore to help construct artillery platforms. Penn stationed the *William and John* a mile above Bunratty in case the confederates at Limerick tried to send fire ships down among the parliamentary flotilla. By the end of March a shortage of provisions among the fleet threatened to undermine the naval effort at the castle. On 23 March Penn placed the men on half rations in order to prolong the squadron's stay in the Shannon.[103] By 1 April the confederates had brought their army up to Bunratty. The confederates warned Ormond that if the parliamentarians continued at Bunratty they would have to redirect the soldiers intended for the king. In April Lord Broghill summed up the success of the campaign at Bunratty to date when he wrote to Inchiquin that 'the progress of our designes in the River of Lymerick hath not only diverted a supply of

[102] Penn went up in the *Peter* as the *Fellowship* remained at Cork to defend the harbour. J. R. Powell included the *Antelope* as part of the flotilla. He seems to have included the *Antelope* on the basis of the summer guard list for 1645 which included Edward Hall in the *Antelope* and references to Captain Hall in Penn's journal at Bunratty. However, prize court examinations and sentences showed the *William and John* under a Captain Hall as active at Bunratty and in the seizure of prizes there. Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 110-1,161-2; Powell, 'Penn's expedition to Bonratty', p. 6; prize court sentences for the *Flushing of Flushing*, *Sampson of Flushing* and *Salt Kettle of Flushing*, nd, (T.N.A., Prize Court Sentences 1643-50, HCA 34/1, ff 567-568, 575).

[103] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, *i*, 166-7.

six thousand from going to the King, and ready to be shipped at Waterford, but also ruined their projects upon us'.[104]

As the siege progressed in April and May 1646 Penn and his sailors continued to work on the defences at the castle. They sent out parties to raid for livestock to support the expedition. In order to protect his flotilla at anchor before the castle Penn directed his sailors to fortify an island in the river.[105] The shortage of provisions in the ships continued through April. He reported to McAdam that he had three weeks worth of supplies left at the end of April. To try and rectify the situation Penn intended sending the *Roebuck* to Cork for relief and also to send another two ships out to sea to try and bring in some prizes. Penn also received news that the confederates in Limerick intended to try and fire his ships. Therefore, he ordered his captains to be on their guard. The confederates at Limerick tried to persuade the masters and crews of three merchantmen from Flushing to take their vessels down to attack Bunratty. The sailors on the Dutch vessels refused this service and the confederates in the city imprisoned some of the mariners.[106] Penn tried to juggle his limited resources to help McAdam as the Irish forces pressed on towards the castle and supplies ran low. Thomond departed for Cork on 9 May 1646. The tidal nature of the Shannon at Bunratty made the fort constructed by the sailors of critical importance. By mid May with the Irish so close Penn could also no longer risk

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[104] Nicholas Plunkett and others to Ormond, 11 Apr. 1646, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, v, 324-5; TT E.335(2), *The treaty with the earle of Southampton, the earle of Lindsey and other commissioners from Oxford* (London, 1646), pp 5-6.
[105] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 168-72.
[106] The three ships were the *Flushing of Flushing*, *Salt Kettle of Flushing* and *Sampson of Flushing*. Ibid, p. 175; examinations of William Mettalman and Remens Cronse, 16 Dec. 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations 1645-7, HCA 13/60).

sending out some of his fleet to seek relief for the garrison in case the Irish attacked.[107]

On 19 May the confederates sent a drummer to demand the surrender of the castle. The *Blessing of London* arrived with orders from Moulton to send the *Roebuck* and *Ann Percy* to London. Penn ordered Captain Smith in the *Ann Percy* to spare some beef from his ship for the fleet and a gun for the castle before he left. McAdam at Bunratty delayed the sailing of the two ships. He wanted the men of war to take away some women and children from the castle. However, as he had no provisions to spare for them Captain Smith refused to take them on board his ship. By the end of May when the ships finally put to sea Penn reported that confederate shot continuously plied the castle. On 4 June the Irish brought down two pieces of ordnance which began firing on the ships. They also staged an assault on the English position and seized some livestock. Penn continued to send munitions into the garrison and agreed to place one of his vessels before a marshy area, known as the corcasse (see Map 29), to the south of the castle to prevent the Irish from attacking there. A council of war selected the *Green frigate* to ride before the corcasse to prevent the Irish from coming into it.[108] The *Sampson*, *Charles* and *Truelove* came up to Bunratty and the *Roebuck* returned with men and supplies in June. With this addition to his strength Penn resolved to send the *Increase* away. Before he could do so Captain Swymmer informed him that the *Increase* was too leaky to put to sea. Penn ordered the ship hauled ashore at Enniscattery and the carpenters from the

[107] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 176-82.
[108] Ibid, pp 182-91.

squadron fixed her leaks. Moulton ordered the recall of the *Increase* and *Roebuck* and Penn decided to send the *Green frigate* to Sligo for aid.[109]

The position of the garrison worsened and a sally led to the death or wounding of thirty sailors on 23 June. On 28 June McAdam sought extra men and munitions from the ships as he expected the confederates to attempt to storm the castle. The fleet spared sixty-four men and some munitions. On 1 July McAdam died during a confederate attack on the castle. The morale of the defenders collapsed and on going ashore Penn found a number of the officers squabbling over money stored in the castle.[110] The final blow for the parliamentarians came on 10 July. The confederates managed to seize the crucial corcasse by driving off the two ships stationed there with artillery fire. With this area under confederate control and dwindling supplies the garrison had little choice but to begin negotiations for surrender on 11 July. Penn received word confirming the surrender of the castle on 14 July and agreed to send boats to bring off the soldiers and sailors. He spread the men among his ships but a shortage of beer and water caused problems and forced him to put in to land. Penn and part of the fleet finally arrived back at Kinsale on 26 July.[111] Weather and problems with one of the ships delayed five of the ships in the Shannon. There they seized the three merchantmen from Flushing as they tried to return home having been detained in Limerick by the siege.[112] At Kinsale Moulton

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[109] Ibid, pp 192-7.
[110] Ibid, pp 198-202.
[111] Ibid, pp 202-3.
[112] The English ships were the *Sampson*, *Truelove*, *Peter, William and John* and *Blessing of London*. The merchant men were the *Flushing of Flushing*, *Salt Kettle of Flushing* and *Sampson of Flushing*. Examination of Jacob Sension and other mariners on the *Salt Kettle of Flushing*, 4 Aug. 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1646-7, HCA 13/248); examination of Remens Sicouff, 4 Aug. 1646 (T.N.A., Various papers 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 404); examination of Robert Moulton, 3 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A, Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

and Penn assigned the small squadron of ships at their disposal to ply the Irish coast (see Table 3.2). On 12 August Penn and the *Fellowship* sailed for England.

Table 3.2 Ships allocated to guard the Irish coast in July 1646[113]

Ship	Station
Truelove, Blessing of London, Charles	Shannon to Galway
Sampson, Peter, Discovery	Kinsale to Land's End
Trial, William and John, Fellowship	Milford
Green frigate	Youghal

The number of prizes seized by the navy declined from previous years to twenty-four ships. The presence of such a large portion of the Irish guard at Bunratty for much of the year may account for this.[114]

The royalist naval position all but collapsed at Dublin in 1646. After the loss of the *Swan* in November 1645 Ormond and John Bartlett managed to acquire another frigate. Bartlett reported on patrolling the Irish and Welsh coasts in the *Falcon* in May.[115] This newly acquired man of war did little to enhance the maritime security of Dublin or communications with England. In January and February Robert Moulton and Robert Clarke seized papers at sea coming from Dublin relating to secret peace deals between Edward Somerset, earl of Glamorgan, and the confederates.[116] Ormond could not prevent communications between the city and the blockading men of war. Citizens from Dublin traded for tobacco with the *Nicholas* and *Swan* lying at anchor before the city in February. Mariners from the warships

[113] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 215-6.
[114] See Appendix C2.
[115] Journal of the *Falcon* frigate, 16 May 1646 (Bodl., Carte MS 17, ff 387-90v).
[116] Robert Clarke to the committee of the navy, 13 Feb. 1646, Powell & Timings (eds), *Documents*, p. 231; Robert Moulton to the committee of the admiralty, 23 Jan. 1645 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1645-7, p. 346).

also came ashore to visit their family.[117] With victory in England the parliamentary admirals wrote to Ormond through May and June to try and persuade him to join with them against the Irish. On 26 May Moulton wrote to Ormond and advised that 'it is now high time to begin to make way for yr peace'.[118] The lord lieutenant refused to consider yielding Dublin in the summer of 1646.

The arrival of the parliamentary fleet and soldiers at Bunratty castle in March 1646 forced the confederates to spend much of the summer campaigning season there. The presence of English men of war in the river and a garrison at Bunratty effectively shut down the overseas trade of Limerick. No Irish men of war appear to have been at the town when Penn's fleet arrived at Limerick. The mayor tried unsuccessfully to make use of the three merchantmen at the town to fire on Bunratty castle.[119] Irish frigates from other ports did not make any attempt to support the confederate army on the Shannon. Three Irish frigates can be identified as active from the names of their captains in 1646. Privateers commanded by Captains Ruchor, Nicholas Health and Peter Peterson all seized English and Scottish prizes.[120] The confederates probably had a number of other warships that cannot be clearly identified. In June 1646 a letter from Ireland claimed that five or six frigates sailed

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[117] Examinations of Jonathan Paley, Jeremy Smith, Thomas Lowe, John Lambert, William Sheppard and Leonard Graves, 14 Feb. 1645/6, (T.C.D., Dublin depositions, ii, Ms 810, ff 307-8v, 329-32).
[118] Robert Moulton to Ormond, 26 May 1645 (Bodl., Carte MS 17, ff 416-7v).
[119] Examination of Jacob Sension and other mariners on the *Salt Kettle of Flushing*, 4 Aug. 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1646-7, HCA 13/248); examination of Remens Sicouff, 4 Aug. 1646 (T.N.A., Various papers 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 404); examination of Robert Moulton, 3 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A, Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[120] Examinations of John Church and John Blatt, 16 and 18 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A, Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62); Charles I to Ormond, 9 July 1646 (Bodl., Carte MS 18, f. 23); order by the committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports, 12 Nov. 1646 (T.N.A, Various 1579-1656, HCA 30/849, f. 611).

from Wexford and Waterford and that the earl of Antrim possessed a further two.[121] The privateering fleet appears to have captured very few ships in 1646, only eight prize vessels can be distinguished from written records.[122]

Conclusion

Royalist maritime activity reached its peak in the period from September 1643 to the spring of 1644. Ormond had two men of war at his disposal and the majority of the men he dispatched across the Irish Sea arrived safely in England and Wales. By the end of 1646 the parliamentary blockade of Dublin and the seizure of the *Swan*, in November 1645, had virtually eradicated the royalist naval threat in Ireland. The parliamentary Irish squadron had rallied and reorganised itself after the setback it suffered in September 1643 with the loss of the Irish ports. The defection of Cork, Youghal, Kinsale and Duncannon in the summer of 1644 had given the fleet unprecedented access to some of the best and most important harbours in Ireland. The navy could not capitalise on these gains in 1645 and 1646 and the gain of Duncannon proved to be short lived as the confederates took the fort in March 1645. From a parliamentary naval perspective the ability of the fleet to prevent the fall of Youghal proved to be their most important achievement. If this town had surrendered the confederate army might have moved onto and taken Cork and Kinsale. In order to hinder confederate frigates the English squadrons needed a secure harbour on the Irish coast. By holding Youghal the navy retained a crucial base from which to operate in later years. For much of the period from 1643 to 1646 it can be hard to

[121] Val Savage to Sir Philip Percival, 26 June 1646, H.M.C., *Egmont*, i, part i, 295.
[122] See Appendix C1 for a list of these prizes.

assess the confederate maritime position as very few 'Dunkirk frigates' or prizes can be identified in Irish harbours. The confederate army also failed to effectively deal with the parliamentary naval danger in Munster. Going forward the confederate naval situation seems to have improved in this period. With the arrival of frigates belonging to the earl of Antrim and the papal nuncio the strength of the privateering fleets increased. The fall of Dunkirk to the French in October 1646 offered the prospect of a further injection of warships in 1647. Most significantly the confederates had removed the parliamentary blockade on Waterford and Limerick, two of the principal harbours they commanded, and this permitted the expansion of overseas commerce and privateering from these ports.

Chapter 4: The war at sea in Ireland, August 1646 to December 1649

The war at sea in Ireland increased in tempo from the autumn of 1646 on. The confederate and parliamentary naval forces stepped up their efforts in the seas around Ireland. Both sides underwent a number of changes which affected their capability to fight at sea. The aim of this chapter is to look at the events that took place on the Irish coast from August 1646 to December 1649. Some of the more visible aspects of the war at sea, such as the coastal sieges that had dominated in the previous years, became less common. From 1647 on the level of confederate privateering activity increased considerably. Large numbers of Irish frigates and the prizes they captured can be identified in the records. Parliament also began to deploy frigates with considerable success to the Irish Sea. Ireland remained high on the naval agenda for parliament. External factors like the arrival of a royalist fleet at Kinsale in January 1649 made securing mastery of the seas around Ireland even more important than in previous years.

August 1646 to December 1647

From late 1646 on increasing numbers of Irish frigates and privateering activity can be detected in admiralty prize court records, private correspondence and English newspapers. The fall of Dunkirk to the French in October 1646 may have led to vessels that sailed from that port transferring their operations to Wexford and Waterford. A report in November 1646 claimed that these two Irish harbours

swarmed with Dunkirkers.[1] At least nine Irish men of war can be identified as being active from Irish ports in 1647 (see Table 4.1 below).

Table 4.1 Irish privateers active in 1647 [2]

Ship	Captain
Mary and John of Wexford	John Rossiter
Patrick of Waterford	Francis Oliver
Dolphin of Wexford	Captain Beachie
Mary Consolation of Waterford	William Horne
Mary of Antrim	William O'Doran
Mary of the Isles	Michael Hay
----------	Captain Darcy
Francis (formerly Sampson)	----------
----------	Thomas Turner

These frigates seized fifty-four prizes that can be distinguished during the year.[3] Other evidence suggests that privateers operated with increasing effectiveness against parliamentary shipping in 1647. In March the House of Commons received complaints that confederate men of war roving near Barnstaple seized four vessels within the space of ten days.[4] Reports from Dublin in July stated that 'the Irish Coasts are infested with Pirates, in small Frigates'.[5]

Privateers also attacked English shipping away from the coasts of Ireland. In October the committee of the admiralty directed the *Nonsuch* and *Adventure* to go to

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[1] Colonel Thomas Piggott to Sir Philip Percival, 9 Nov. 1646, H.M.C., *Egmont*, i, part i, 328.
[2] Deposition of George Hampton, 26 Jan. 1643/4 (T.C.D., Wexford depositions, ii, MS 819, ff 205-v); deposition of David Young and John Nessett, 27 Apr. 1647, H. E. Nott (ed.), *The deposition books of Bristol, vol. I: 1643-47* (Bristol, 1935), pp 216-7; examination of James Morrice and others, 30 July 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2); examinations of John Herne and William Barrett, 27 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62); order of the commissioners of the confederate court of admiralty, 30 Apr. 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2); examination of Robert Plunkett, 2 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/620; certificate by Thomas Turner to Richard French, 1 June 1647 (T.N.A., Interrogatories files, 1644-55, HCA 23/30).
[3] See Appendix C1.
[4] Devon committee to Sir John Bampfyde and other MPs, 12 Mar. 1646/7, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 235.
[5] *Commons Journal*, v, 245-7.

the coast of France to deal with three Irish frigates plying there.[6] Accounts of Irish men of war sailing together in packs also increased in frequency in 1647. In February the *Mary of Antrim* and *Mary of the Isles* captured the *Hopewell of London* en route from London to France. Two Irish frigates seized the *Charity of Hamburg* going to Amsterdam and brought the ship into New Ross.[7] An Irish privateer under Captain Darcy even managed to overpower and capture a parliamentary man of war, the *Sampson*, after bad weather blew if off course into Galway bay in January.[8] Overall, despite their military losses on land the confederate naval position gained in strength in 1647. The parliamentary armies who overcame the confederates in Leinster and Munster never managed to threaten any of the key port towns of Wexford, Waterford, Limerick or Galway.

The end of the first English civil war enabled parliament to concentrate its energies on a military and naval conquest of Ireland from late 1646 on. The navy played a part in helping to gain control of Dublin for parliament. The captains in the vessels blockading Dublin focused their attentions on trying to persuade Ormond to surrender the city. The lord lieutenant had refused to consider yielding in the summer of 1646. His position had changed by September as negotiations with the confederates collapsed and the Irish Leinster and Ulster armies advanced on the city.[9] Ormond turned to the parliamentary ships riding in the bay for aid. Captains Willoughby and Woods promised to supply him with munitions if the confederates

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[6] Committee of the admiralty to Captain Willoughby, 9 Oct. 1647, Powell & Timings (eds.), *Documents*, pp 292-3; committee of the admiralty to Willoughby, 12 Oct. 1647, ibid, p. 293.
[7] Commissioners of the court of admiralty of the confederate Catholics at Wexford, 30 Apr. 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); examination of Arens Dirricke, 25 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A. Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[8] Examination of Robert Plunkett, 2 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A. Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[9] For a summary of royalist negotiations with the confederates in Ireland in 1646 and their failure see Wheeler, *The Irish and British war*, pp 150-4.

attacked. They also agreed to provide passes for delegates from Ormond to go to London.[10] By November the confederate advance on the city faltered and negotiations between Ormond and commissioners from parliament broke down. The parliamentary commissioners redirected the soldiers they brought over to Belfast and Munster but they ordered the *Globe* to remain at Dublin.[11]

By December 1646 three or four parliamentary men of war lay before the bay and ships could not pass without their permission. Captain Willoughby, in the *Globe*, seized the *Falcon*, belonging to Du Moulin, the French agent to the confederates, as it tried to leave Dublin. He had earlier been given assurances that the vessel could pass unmolested if it submitted to a search.[12] The royalist maritime capability at Dublin had been completely eradicated by the end of 1646. On 2 February 1647 the confederate general assembly rejected the 'First Ormond Peace'. This left the marquis with few options and he reopened talks with parliament. Regiments from England began to arrive in the city in April and the parliamentary governor, Colonel Michael Jones, landed with 2,000 men on 7 June. After formally surrendering the city to parliament on 19 June Ormond sailed for England in July.[13]

The second arena of parliamentary naval activity in late 1646 and 1647 differed quite considerably from earlier operations conducted by the Irish squadron

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[10] Richard Willoughby and Mathew Woods to Ormond, 28 Sept. 1646 (Bodl., Carte MS 18, ff 610-v); Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war*, pp 95-100.
[11] Orders of the parliamentary commissioners at Dublin, 24 and 25 Nov.1646 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, pp 547-8).
[12] The *Falcon* had been sold by Ormond to the French agent. It was bound to Wexford to collect Digby and take him to France. Examination of Robert Thorp, 17 Oct. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62); examination of John Boon, 25 Feb. 1646/7 (T.N.A., Prize papers 1627-50, HCA 15/2); Digby to Ormond, 31 Dec. 1646, Carte (ed.), *Ormond*, vi, 487-8.
[13] Patrick J. Corish, 'Ormond, Rinuccini and the confederates, 1645-9', in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds.), *A new history of Ireland* iii*: Early modern Ireland, 1534-1691*, (Oxford, 1976), pp 322-3.

in the seas around Ireland. In 1645 and 1646 the fleet played a crucial role in supporting beleaguered garrisons. Most of the military campaigning that took place in 1647 occurred away from the coast. The navy provided assistance to Lord Inchiquin when he assaulted confederate port towns. For instance English warships at Dungarvan prevented boats with provisions from relieving the town and Richard Swanley brought £5,000 to Inchiquin there to enable him to pay the army and sustain the campaign.[14] Men of war could do little to assist the armies once they turned inland. Instead the admiralty began to direct ships from the Irish guard to put out to hinder confederate merchantmen and privateers. In October 1646 the three new frigates commissioned by the admiralty, the *Adventure*, *Assurance* and *Nonsuch*, came into service. Parliament gave command of the *Assurance* to William Penn for his previous service in the Irish guard. Together with Captain William Thomas in the *Nonsuch* they received orders to go into the Irish Sea and ply near Wexford and Waterford to intercept confederate shipping.[15]

The navy needed more than two new frigates before the southern Irish ports to make a substantial dent in confederate trade or privateering. In January 1647 Captain Thomas of the *Nonsuch* reported seizing a ship but noted that five others coming from Waterford slipped past him.[16] In March parliament approved a summer guard of seventeen ships for Ireland with an extra two vessels to protect the fishing

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[14] Captain R. Lombard to supreme council, 7 May 1647 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, p. 621); Inchiquin to Lenthall, 6 June 1647, H.M.C., *Portland*, i, 424.
[15] Captains Thomas Bedell, William Penn and William Thomas received command of the *Adventure*, *Assurance* and *Nonsuch*. William Penn to Richard Swanley, Oct. 1646, Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 222-3; instructions for Richard Swanley, 7 Nov. 1646, Powell & Timings (eds), *Documents*, pp 257-8; admiralty committee to William Penn, 8 Oct. 1646, H.M.C., *Portland*, i, 65.
[16] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 234-5.

fleet from confederate frigates.[17] English ship owners also continued to seek letters of marque to operate on the Irish coast. Reeve Williams, a ship owner and captain, led a consortium that petitioned for commissions for four ships in April – the *Catt*, *Mermaid*, *Warspite* and *Cambria* (a galley).[18] The main parliamentary fleet concentrated its efforts on the south coast of Ireland over the summer months. William Penn noted in his journal that the *Lyon*, *Satisfaction*, *Increase*, *Recovery*, *Hunter* and his own ship the *Assurance* plied off the coast of Wexford in May and June. He informed the admiralty that the English squadron had so effectively blocked up Wexford and Waterford that the Irish sent any prizes they seized to Galway or Limerick instead.[19] Complaints from confederates and prize court records support Penn's assertions about the success of the navy in the summer of 1647. The earl of Clanricarde received a warning that with English ships so active no ship 'dares peep out' between Sligo and Youghal till the winter as parliament had over forty men of war on the coast.[20]

In 1647 English men of war and privateers seized thirty prizes with confederate connections.[21] These included Irish and continental merchantmen trading with ports such as Limerick and Wexford. Captain Thomas Wells in the *Catt* went into the mouth of the Shannon in search of prizes going to or from Limerick. In January he seized the *Middelburg of Middelburg*, *Olive* and *John Baptist of Limerick*

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[17] See Appendix D1 for a list of English naval vessels on the Irish coast. TT E. 669 f11(13), *A list of such ships and frigots belonging to the parliament: as also of such merchant ships as are set forth to sea and prepared for the service of the parliament in this summers expedition* (London, 1647), p. 1
[18] Commission to Reeve Williams and others by the committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports, 8 Apr. 1647 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1579-1656, HCA 30/849, f. 577).
[19] William Penn to the committee of the admiralty, 16 June 1647, Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 245-6.
[20] Sir Robert Talbott to the earl of Clanricarde, 13 June 1647, John Lowe (ed.), *The letter book of the earl of Clanricarde, 1643-47* (I.M.C., Dublin, 1983), p. 446
[21] See Appendix C1.

there.[22] They also intercepted ships that had been captured by Irish privateers as they sailed for Irish ports. In June the *Hunter* took the *Orange Tree of Rotterdam*. The Irish privateer Captain Thomas Turner had detained the ship in May and sent the prize towards Wexford with his quartermaster, Richard French, in command.[23] The *Recovery* retook the *Jennett of Leith* in April en route into Waterford after the *St Patrick of Waterford* had seized the vessel.[24] The effectiveness of the Irish guard in the St George's Channel in the summer of 1647 also hampered confederate attempts to ship soldiers to Europe. The *Adventure* and *Assurance* apprehended ships assigned to transport regiments to France and Spain. At the end of June Francisco Foiscotte, the Spanish agent at Kilkenny, informed Thomas Preston that the loss of two ships led to the disbanding of 800 men intended for Spain.[25] As well as apprehending numerous commercial vessels the summer guard captured two confederate frigates on the coast of Ireland and one en route to France. In July the *Adventure* detained the *Patrick of Waterford* near the Scilly Isles and the *Garland* caught the *Dolphin of Wexford* on the French coast. The *Constant Warwick* captured the *Mary Consolation of Waterford* off Land's End in August.[26] Operating exclusively against confederate shipping represented a shift in strategy for the parliamentary navy in Ireland in 1647

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[22] Examinations of Thomas Wells, 25 Oct. and 9 Nov. 1647(T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62); examinations of Daniel Johnson and Leonard Leonardson, 1 Feb. 1646/7 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).

[23] Examinations of Richard Waters and Robert Plunkett, 30 Aug. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62); certificate by Thomas Turner to Richard French, 1 June 1647 (T.N.A., Interrogatories files, 1644-55, HCA 23/30).

[24] Examinations of David Young and John Nessett, 27 Apr. 1647, Nott, *The deposition books of Bristol, i*, 216-7.

[25] Examination of Derrick Ramson, 22 May 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248); examination of William Powline, 31 May 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); Francisco Foiscotte to General Preston, 30 June 1647 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, p. 695).

[26] Examination of Francis Oliver, 24 July 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); examinations of James Morrice and others, 30 July 1647, ibid; examinations of John Horne and William Barrett, 27 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

and they achieved notable success in areas that men of war like the *Assurance* extensively patrolled. The increasing strength and success of parliamentary warships in 1647 continued to force confederate frigates to sail further away in search of prey in less heavily guarded seas.

January 1648 - December 1648

Political turmoil in England and Ireland began to impact on the ability of the parliamentary navy to function effectively against privateers in 1648. Problems began to beset the administration of the navy in London in the autumn of 1647 over the selection of a new naval commander. The House of Commons recommended Colonel Thomas Rainsborough to be admiral in command of the fleet. Rainsborough had some naval experience and could be relied upon by the Independent faction in parliament to support their negotiating stance with the king. The House of Lords initially approved the appointment. Rainsborough's involvement with Leveller agitation in the army at Ware led the Lords to change their minds and block his selection. This effectively left the winter guard with no commander in chief in the autumn of 1647. The Lords continued to oppose the employment of Rainsborough even after the king fled from Hampton Court in November.[27] With no one in charge of the fleet parliament set out a greatly reduced winter guard for Ireland of nine ships in October.[28] The House of Commons began 1648 by making an effort to alleviate the deteriorating naval situation. On 1 January they ordered Rainsborough to take command of the fleet in spite of the objections of the House of Lords. They followed

[27] For the political crisis of 1647 and how it affected the navy see Capp, *Cromwell's navy*, pp 15-7; Rodger, *The safeguard of the sea*, pp 424-5; *Lords Journal*, ix, 605-12.
[28] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 251; *Lords Journal*, ix, 458-61.

this on 8 February by nominating a summer guard comprised of thirty nine men of war and two ketches. Disagreements over the selection of captains in the House of Commons further delayed the setting out of the summer guard.[29] Rainsborough immediately became active in organising the fleet. He warned of the need to set out the summer guard as quickly as possible.[30] The admiralty ordered extra sailors to serve on smaller men of war such as the *Cygnet* to enable them to better defend themselves against Irish privateers. They also deployed the *Blessing* and *Truelove* as escort vessels to protect the northern fishing fleets on the Irish coast through the summer months.[31]

The Irish squadron continued its strategy from 1647 of concentrating its resources against confederate frigates along key shipping lanes around the three kingdoms. In March the *Nonsuch* and *Tiger* received orders to ply off Land's End to hinder Irish privateers seizing shipping sailing through the Irish Sea to Milford Haven and Bristol.[32] The *Tiger* and another parliamentary man of war, the *Adventure*, took prizes near Land's End in the first three months of 1648.[33] Captain William Penn in the *Assurance* patrolled near the Blasket Islands and captured merchantmen going to ports on the west coast of Ireland. In February 1648 he took the *Francis of St Malo* bound for Galway and the *St James of Newhaven* laded by

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[29] *Commons Journal*, v, 457-9; Capp, *Cromwell's navy*, p. 18.
[30] Thomas Rainsborough to Lenthall, 17 Feb. 1647/8, McNeill (ed.), *Tanner letters*, p. 287.
[31] Committee of the admiralty to the commissioners of the navy, 16 Mar. 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1648-9*, p. 359); committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports to Captain Henry Lands, 16 Mar. 1647/8 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add MS 9305, ff 11-v).
[32] Committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports, 23 Mar. 1647/8 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add MS 9305, f. 18).
[33] Examination of Philip Douerme, 7 Jan. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); examination of David Wherey, 3 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 245).

Irish merchants with salt, tobacco and other goods for Limerick or Galway.[34] The *Dragon* cruised between Youghal and Dungarvan and detained vessels like the *Elizabeth of Wexford* as they came out of confederate harbours.[35] The Irish guard also intercepted two confederate frigates in March 1648. The *Adventure* seized the *Angel Keeper of Waterford* in that month; the privateer had already taken eight prizes on its voyage. In the same month the *Tiger* caught the *Mary and Joseph of Wexford* off the Lizard a few days after it came out of that harbour.[36] The parliamentary fleet scored considerable success in the first three months of 1648 in areas on the coast that men of war comprehensively patrolled.

From late March on events in England and Ireland with the outbreak of the second civil war hindered the continuation of this. Discontent over arrears of pay in south Wales led John Poyer to refuse to hand over Pembroke castle and declare for the king. This effectively removed the harbour of Milford Haven from parliamentary control by April after attempts to retake the castle failed.[37] The English navy also lost access to Carrickfergus as Robert Monro supported the Scots alliance, called the Engagement, with the king in December 1647. The situation deteriorated further in April when Inchiquin still in Munster declared a ceasefire with the confederates. Growing dissatisfaction with the dominance of the Independent faction in London and treatment of the king led the lord president to begin negotiations with the confederates in February 1648. In any event parliament had ordered John Crowther

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[34] Examination of Edward Browne, 5 Feb. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); examination of John Le Hurve, 7 Feb. 1647/8, ibid.
[35] Examination of Peter Peterson, 8 Feb. 1647/8, ibid.
[36] Examination of William Hoville, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); examinations of William Wadding and Nicholas Rochfort, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, ff 334-5).
[37] Powell, *The navy in the English civil war*, pp 148-9.

with the *Bonaventure* to leave Munster to go to Wales to aid in defeating the royalists there. News of the defection of the Munster garrisons necessitated his remaining on the Irish coast to block those harbours. Crowther received instructions to prevent supplies getting in to Inchiquin but not to risk his ships by going within range of the forts at Kinsale or Cork.[38] With the loss of the key southern ports in Ireland and unrest in Wales the committee of the admiralty issued an order for nineteen ships to guard the coasts of Ireland and Milford in April. Some, such as the *Assurance*, *Elizabeth* and *Dragon*, were already out. Others, including the *Satisfaction*, *Pelican* and *Swan,* received orders to make ready.[39] The defection of these important harbours greatly hampered the work of the Irish squadron.

The maritime situation deteriorated further for parliament with the outbreak of a royalist uprising in Kent in May. Dissatisfaction among the sailors over the dominance of the army, negotiations with the king and the removal of William Batten and his replacement with the unpopular Rainsborough all helped the revolt to spread to the fleet in the Downs. On 27 May the crew of the *Constant Reformation* refused to allow Rainsborough back on board the ship. Other ships including the *Swallow*, *Hind* and *Roebuck* also declined to allow the admiral on board. The mutineers sent a declaration to London and parliament quickly reacted by reappointing the earl of Warwick as lord high admiral on 29 May 1648. Warwick sailed for the Downs but failed to win the sailors back to parliament. He then went to Portsmouth to secure the flotilla stationed there. The army under Sir Thomas Fairfax

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[38] Warwick to John Crowther, 1 Apr. 1648, Powell & Timings (eds), *Documents*, p. 317; TT E. 435(33), *Papers presented to the parliament against Lord Inchequin Lord President of Munster in Ireland, sent from Captain Crowther* (London, 1648), pp 1-5; *Lords Journals*, x, 201.

[39] Order of the committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports, 15 Apr. 1648 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add MS 9305, f. 41-v).

quickly crushed the revolt in Kent in early June. The mutinous fleet initially considered blocking the Thames but finally resolved to go to Holland and join the prince of Wales and left the Downs around 11 June 1648.[40] Nine ships sailed to Holland. Further defections such as that of William Batten with the privateer the *Constant Warwick* and the seizure of prizes bolstered its strength during July.[41]

The mutiny in the Downs had little immediate impact on events in the Irish seas. The ships from the Irish guard, then at sea, seem to have been less affected by the revolt than the fleet in the Downs and no men of war already on the coast left to join the disaffected ships. Parliament had some doubts about captains such as William Penn who had close ties to Lord Inchiquin in Munster. Parliament even ordered the arrest of Penn after receiving reports that he and Richard Swanley led a fleet into Milford to join the rising there. Once these rumours proved to be false the committee of the admiralty sought to reassure Penn of their faith in him.[42] The revolt had the effect of reducing the strength of the fleet in harbours available to the admiral that could be sent to guard the seas around Ireland. Four of the ships assigned to Ireland in April joined in the mutiny: the *Hind*, *Roebuck*, *Pelican* and *Satisfaction*. Another three men of war intended for service in Ireland in April, which had not put to sea when the mutiny broke out, did not go out. Instead they formed

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[40] For the mutiny in the Downs in 1648 see Capp, *Cromwell's navy*, pp 18-29; Baumber, 'Parliamentary naval politics, 1641-49', p. 405; Rodger, *Safeguard of the sea*, pp 425-6; R. C. Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1648', in *Mariner's Mirror*, ix, no. 1 (Jan. 1923), pp. 34-8.

[41] The committee of both houses listed the strength of the revolted fleet in June as

Constant Reformation	*Antelope*	*Hind*
Swallow	*Roebuck*	*Crescent*
Convertine	*Satisfaction*	*Pelican*

Committee of both houses, 13 June 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1648-9*, pp 124-5); Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1648', pp 34-8.

[42] *Commons Journals*, v, 530, 533; committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports to William Penn, 4 May 1648 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add MS 9305, f. 58); Capp, *Cromwell's navy*, pp 24-5.

part of the squadrons in the Downs (*Adventure* and *Providence*) and Portsmouth (*Lyon*) that opposed the royalist fleet when it put to sea in July. Warwick could not afford to draw away too many of the warships already at sea on the Irish coast to oppose the revolted fleet with confederate privateers so active over the summer months. Normal wastage among the men of war in the seas around Ireland during the spring and summer of 1648 reduced the strength of the Irish squadron. By July the *Bonaventure* had come into Portsmouth having become 'very foul and unserviceable' off Kinsale.[43] Parliamentary warships at sea when the mutiny occurred, including the *Dragon*, *Assurance* and *Elizabeth*, all remained on station in the St George's Channel against confederate shipping. In August the *Assurance* and *Dragon* seized four prizes previously taken by the *Michael of Wexford* and an unnamed frigate en route for Irish harbours.[44] The menace posed by the ships that defected to the royalists occupied parliamentary naval efforts in England through the summer and autumn of 1648.

The arrival of the Prince of Wales with part of the fleet in the Downs in July endangered the commerce of London on which parliament depended for its economic survival. Warwick concentrated his ships near the Thames. The fleets avoided battle and the royalists eventually returned to Helvoetsluys in Holland in September. Warwick followed and began a blockade with approximately twenty ships a few weeks later. The defection of the *Hind* and *Constant Warwick* and the capture of the *Satisfaction* and some merchant men reduced the strength of the

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[43] John Crowther to committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports, 11 May 1648, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 292; Warwick to the commissioners of the navy, 10 July 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1648-9*, p. 364).

[44] The *Assurance* seized the *Hope of Hamburg*, *Three Blackmores of Flushing* and the *Fisher of Serdam*. The *Dragon* took the *Richard of St Sebastian*. Examinations of John Burke, Henry Readmun, John Jobson, Henry Hamlett and Edward Hammell, 7, 9 & 25 Aug. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648, HCA 13/249).

royalists by November. On 21 November Warwick left Helvoetsluys without ordering any of his ships to stay behind and keep a watch on the revolted fleet.[45] The blockading of the royalist ships in Holland allowed parliament to redirect some of its naval efforts towards Ireland from September on. The captains of the *Cygnet*, *Expedition* and *Elizabeth* all received directions to form a squadron between Land's End and Scilly to halt the spoils committed by Irish pirates 'infesting the southern channel'.[46] Parliament also regained access to Ulster ports in September when Colonel George Monck and some dissident Scots officers arrested Robert Monro and seized Belfast, Carrickfergus and Coleraine. With most of the English navy tied up in Holland the winter guard set out for Ireland in October 1648 offered little hindrance to Irish privateers. Only with the return of the blockading squadron in November could Warwick spare a substantial number of ships to deal with confederate frigates. On 24 November he ordered the *Tiger*, *Phoenix*, *Nonsuch* and *Providence* to go to the west. A survey of the *Nonsuch* found the vessel in need of repair. In December the admiral notified the House of Lords of the stations of the ships then at sea. For securing the west he recorded ten ships; the *Assurance*, *Elizabeth*, *Dragon*, *Expedition*, *Cygnet* and *Weymouth pink*. The four vessels he had ordered to put to sea in November still remained at Portsmouth revictualling.[47]

Confederate privateers also continued to increase in numbers and in terms of prizes they seized that can be identified in 1648. Thomas Rainsborough, in his capacity as the new admiral of the English navy, warned parliament in February that

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[45] Capp, *Cromwell's navy*, pp. 32-40; Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1648', pp 40-5.
[46] Proceedings of the committee of both houses, 21 Sept. 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1648-9*, p. 288).
[47] Warwick to the commissioners of the navy, 24 Nov. 1648, Powell & Timings (eds), *Documents*, pp 399-400; *Lords Journals*, x, 625-7.

'the Irish men of war do not lessen but increase'. He further added that eleven Irish ships joined together in the Channel to form three squadrons to seize prizes. [48] Newspaper reports and other accounts detailed considerable losses to Irish privateers in the first three months of 1648. The *Moderate Intelligencer* reported on the great sufferings of merchants due to pirates in March.[49] Privateers plied off a number of ports intercepting English trade. An Irish frigate under Captain Hall lying off Yarmouth seized the *Hopewell of Scarborough* and a Newcastle bark. They even lay in wait for particularly valuable merchant men. The committee for the admiralty ordered the stay of the *Samuel*, bound for Hamburg with a lading worth £50,000, until a convoy became available as one or two Irish privateers waited for the ship to come out.[50]

Confederate frigates took advantage of the political upheavals in England and the defection of Lord Inchiquin in April that reduced the number of parliamentary men of war at sea. Prize court examinations, newspapers and letters all list substantial losses to Irish privateers. 106 prizes can be identified as having been seized by Irish men of war in 1648.[51] This represented a considerably larger number of vessels than in any previous year. In May the news book *Perfect occurrences of every Daies journal in Parliament* detailed the loss of transports to Wexford frigates near Dublin. By the end of August Michael Jones informed parliament that with no parliamentary men of war nearby the enemy came into the harbour of Dublin. The

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[48] Thomas Rainsborough to Lenthall, 17 Feb. 1647/8, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 287.
[49] TT E.434(9), *The Moderate Intelligencer: impartially communicating martial affaires to the Kingdome of England. From Thursday March 23 to Thursday March 30 1648* (London, 1648), p. 1594.
[50] Committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports to Thomas Rainsborough, 11 Mar. 1647/8 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add MS 9305, f. 6v); committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports to Peter Tholwell, 16 Mar. 1647/8, ibid, f. 13.
[51] See Appendix C1.

governor of Weymouth lamented that 'the seas are pestered by Irish men of war'.[52] Confederate men of war ranged far and wide in search of prizes in 1648. Before its apprehension in March the *Angel Keeper of Waterford* traversed the seas on the east coast of England seizing ships from Holland, Newcastle, Scarborough and Yarmouth fishing boats. An unnamed Irish privateer attacked the *William and Henry of London* in the Canary Islands.[53]

Part of the success of confederate frigates in 1648 can be attributed to their exploitation of the weakness and turmoil that afflicted the English navy for much of the year. The large number of Irish frigates that can be identified in that year also played a key role in the seizure of so many prizes. Twenty-one men of war that operated from Irish ports or with confederate letters of marque can be distinguished from admiralty prize court and other records in 1648 (see Table 4.2 below). Frigates from the previous years that do not appear to have been captured by parliament such as the *San Pietro* may have continued to set out on privateering voyages from confederate ports. The inability of the parliamentary navy to capture many Irish men of war from March 1648 on also partially explains the large number of English and Scottish ships lost to the confederates. Only three Irish frigates can be distinguished as having been captured during the year. Parliamentary warships took the *Mary and Joseph of Wexford* and *Angel Keeper of Waterford*, as previously mentioned, in

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[52] TT E.522(31), *Perfect occurrences of every Daies journal in Parliament and other moderate intelligence. From Friday May the 19 to Friday May 26 1648* (London, 1648), p. 528; Robert Coytmor to the committee of the navy, 13 Sept. 1648 (B.L., Papers relating to the navy 1612-60, Add MS 9300, f. 98); James Hearne to the committee at Derby house, 30 Sept. 1648, H.M.C., *Portland*, i, 499.

[53] Examination of William Hoville, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); interrogatory for the *William and Henry of London*, nd, (T.N.A., Interrogatory files, 1649-53, HCA 23/15, no. 195).

March. In November the *Hart* intercepted the *John Baptist of Waterford* in November as it came out from Ostend.[54]

Table 4.2 Irish privateers in 1648 [55]

Ship	Captain
Angel Keeper of Waterford	William Hoville
St Peter of Waterford	Joseph Content
Michael of Wexford	Captain Beach
Mary of Antrim	Antonio Vandermarche/William O'Doran
St John of Waterford	Daniel Van Vooren
John Baptist of Waterford	Laurence Baron
Mary and John of Wexford	John Rossitor
Mary and Francis	----------
St Clara of Waterford	Emmanuel Gonzales
Mary Virgin of Wexford	William O'Doran
Mary and Joseph of Wexford	William Wadding
St Francis	Nicholas Holt
Mary of the Isles	Antonio Vandermarche
Cock (St Teresa)	Peter Deferterue
Lord Crafford's frigate	Michael Casey
Cupido	Manuel Buckson
St Cornelius	Francis Oliver
Frigate owned by John Talbott and Michael Stafford (possibly *St Ursula*)	Captain George Bradshaw
----------	Captain Darcy
----------	Captain Turner
----------	Captain Hall

[54] Examination of Laurence Baron, 21 Nov. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations 1648-9, HCA 13/61, f. 209v).

[55] Examination of William Hoville, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); examination of Peter Content, 11 July 1649, ibid; examinations of John Jobson and Henry Readmun, 7 and 9 Aug. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1648, HCA 13/249); examination of Antonio Undermarche, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i); commission for *St John of Waterford*, 22 Nov. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii); commission for Laurence Baron and the *John Baptist* by the Supreme Council, 23 Feb., 1647/8 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 378); deposition of William Page, 1 Dec. 1648 in R. C. Anderson (ed.), *The book of examinations and depositions, 1622-1644, vol. 4, 1639-1644* (Southampton Record Series, 1936, Southampton), pp 2-3; examination of Thomas Thompson, 14 July 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, f. 202); examination of Henry Johnson, 31 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Interrogatory files, 1649-53, HCA 23/15, no. 239); examination of Peter Bowry, 8 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii); examination of William Wadding, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 335); list of captains and frigates who operate from Wexford and Waterford, 1648, H.M.C *Ormonde,* ns, i, 121; Committee of the Lords and Commons for the Admiralty and Cinque Ports to Peter Tholwell, 16 Mar. 1647/8 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add MS 9305, f.13).

By the end of 1648 the war at sea in Ireland had taken a major turn in favour of the confederates and royalists. A large fleet of privateers operated with little hindrance from Wexford and Waterford. The parliamentary fleet had been removed from Cork, Youghal and Kinsale. The mutiny in the Downs in May placed a substantial maritime force in royalist control. The revolted fleet based for most of the year in Holland or the Downs played no direct part in the war at sea in Ireland. The landing of Ormond at Cork in September changed this. His brokering of a peace deal with the Irish opened up the possibility of bringing the confederate privateering fleet under direct royalist control. Added to this Prince Rupert, Charles I's nephew and an experienced soldier, took command of the royalist squadron at Helvoetsluys in October and favoured going to Ireland.[56]

January 1649-December 1649

The royalist maritime position in Ireland got even stronger in the first month of 1649. Prince Rupert overcame the financial difficulties he faced in Holland and by early January sent some of his smaller vessels out in search of prizes. The *Roebuck* and *Guinea* both brought in captured merchantmen. The sale of these prizes combined with money raised by selling the guns of the *Antelope* provided the royalist fleet with enough money to put to sea by the end of January.[57] On 21 January Rupert sailed from Helvoetsluys with a flotilla of seven vessels escorted by some Dutch men of war. By 27 January the fleet had arrived in Ireland. Rupert on the

[56] Capp, *Cromwell's navy*, pp 38-40.
[57] Ibid, p. 40; R. C. Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1649', *Mariner's Mirror*, xiv, no. 4 (Oct. 1928), pp 320-3.

Constant Reformation missed Kinsale through the lack of a knowledgeable pilot and put into Crookhaven and came up to Kinsale a few days later. The parliamentary squadron in the Downs made no attempt to challenge the powerful royalist fleet though the earl of Warwick warned the Irish guard to be on the alert for the royalist fleet as it made its way to Ireland in January.[58] They prince's ships also managed to seize some prizes on their journey in spite of the shortage of mariners that undermined the strength of the force. Inchiquin put the value of one of the captured vessels at £40,000.[59]

The royalist fleet represented the main maritime danger that faced parliament in 1649, regardless of where it sailed from. Rupert's ability to get his ships safely to Ireland in January made his force an even greater threat to the regime in England as it prepared an army to invade Ireland. Parliamentary ships set out as part of the winter guard for Ireland in 1648 remained on the coast in the early months of 1649. The *Assurance*, *Dragon*, *Tiger*, *Nonsuch* and *Phoenix* all seized merchant men going to Irish harbours or privateers between January and March. William Penn in the *Assurance* sailing off Cork captured two merchant men bound for Limerick and one for Waterford that had been blown off course by a storm in January. The *Dragon* and *Tiger* each seized an Irish privateer; the *St Clara of Waterford* and *Mary of Antrim*.[60]

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[58] Warwick to Captain Peacock, 23 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Prize claims, 1649-93, HCA 30/494).

[59] The ships that sailed from Holland were the *Constant Reformation*, *Convertine*, *Swallow*, *Guinea*, *Thomas*, *James*, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*. The *Roebuck* and *Blackmoor Lady* had put to sea beforehand. Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1649', p. 323; Rupert to Ormond, 27 Jan. 1648/9, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vii, 233; Inchiquin to Ormond, 29 Jan. 1648/9, ibid, pp 237-8; Prince Rupert's fleet, 1648-52 (N.M.M., AND 45, ff 5-6).

[60] Examinations of George MacFarson and Thomas Fontaine, 12 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i); examinations of Antonio Undermerch and James Gott, 5 Feb. 1648/9, ibid; examination of Peter Morow, 12 Feb. 1648/9, ibid; examination of Henry Johnson, 31 Jan 1648/9 (T.N.A., Interrogatory files, 1649-53, HCA 23/15, no. 239); examination of William Wadding, 25 Jan. 1648/9, ibid, no. 243.

Parliament approved a substantial summer guard in February 1649.[61] Administrative and financial troubles in London delayed the setting out of these vessels. In February the newly created council of state took over many of the duties of the lord high admiral. Other problems facing parliament relating to Ireland included the collapse of the parliamentary position in Ulster after the execution of Charles I. Most of the principal garrisons with the exception of Sir Charles Coote in Londonderry accepted Ormond's authority.[62] Parliament appointed three politically reliable army colonels, styled the generals at sea, to replace the earl of Warwick. On 27 February colonels Robert Blake, Richard Deane and Edward Popham received their commissions and instructions to command the fleet.[63] The immediate task facing the newly appointed admirals involved getting the summer guard out as quickly as possible. Huge unpaid naval debts from previous years made creditors unwilling to provide supplies or money to the fleet. In order to get the fleet to sea for the summer of 1649 the new administrative regime had to first restore navy's' credit. Improvements in the collection of customs and the sale of church lands provided enough collateral for loans by the end of April to get the summer guard out.[64]

The central issue facing royalist commanders in Ireland involved how best to use their new found naval strength before reforms to the navy in England took effect and parliament turned its attentions towards them. For the first time in Ireland the

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[61] Various lists all give slightly different ships for this guard. But it roughly consisted of 40 state men of war and 30 hired merchant men. Summer guard list for 1649, 2 Feb 1648/9 (Bodl., Rawl MS A223, f. 97); committee of the navy, 26 Feb. 1648/9 (B.L., Navy papers, 1643-66, ff 29, 34).

[62] David Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanteers and Irish confederates; Scottish Irish relations in the mid-seventeenth century* (Belfast, 1991), pp 268-9.

[63] Capp, *Cromwell's navy*, pp 43-6; council of state to Blake, Deane and Popham, 27 Feb. 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 23).

[64] Wheeler, 'Prelude to power: the crisis of 1649 and the foundation of English naval power', pp 150-3.

royalist/confederate alliance could deploy a combined maritime force consisting of a state controlled fleet made up of large men of war capable of standing up to parliamentary warships. In conjunction with this they also licensed a large, highly effective and experienced privateering armada. Rupert initially favoured using the fleet to take 1,000 soldiers to try and reduce Guernsey. He also realised the need for a centralised and coherent naval strategy to attack parliament. To achieve this he sought to unify the Irish privateers under his command. He sought from Ormond 'some expedient desired for the uniting of ye Irish frigates to this fleete'. He intended to use some ships to guard the coast while others went out to seek prizes and that all would share equally in the spoils. He further advised recalling the letters of marque for any ship owner who refused these terms.[65] The need to consult the confederate commissioners regarding the terms of the peace articles scuppered the idea of amalgamating the two fleets under the direction of the prince. Instead Ormond promised to try and raise the 400 seamen the prince needed to man the fleet.[66] The lord lieutenant favoured using the men of war against Dublin, which he believed to be vulnerable in March. He gave notice to Rupert that only two parliamentary men of war, the *Swan* and another smaller vessel, lay in the harbour there and that 'they might be surprised with little difficultie'.[67] Instead ships left Kinsale for the Scilly Isles in March and April. They captured some English ships but parliamentary men of war seized two of the royalist fleet, the *Thomas* and *Guinea*.[68] Ormond persisted

[65] Prince Rupert to Ormond, 7 Feb. 1648/9 (Bodl., Carte MS 23, ff 436-7).
[66] Ormond to Rupert, 10 Feb. 1648/9, ibid, ff 437-v.
[67] Ormond to Rupert, 8 Mar. 1648/9 (Bodl., Carte MS 24, ff 90-v).
[68] Rupert to Ormond, 10 Mar. 1648/9, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vii, 273; Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1649', pp 325-7; Richard Fanshaw to Ormond, 27 Mar. 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 24, f. 265).

in trying to persuade Rupert to take the royalist fleet against Dublin. On 7 May he wrote:

> I am apprised from Dublin that there is not now there ten dayes provision of bread and that if that harbour weare but blocked upp they must necessarily fall to nothing immediately this is my duty to the kings servcie and yr Highness I thought fitt to lett you know that in case there be any possibillity of sending shipps to that purpose it may be seasonably done but of that I presume not to determine.[69]

Rupert proved unwilling to send any of his force to block the city. This may in part have been due to the interference of the earl of Antrim. The earl's personal feud with Ormond meant that in early 1649 he wanted to ensure the royalist coalition led by the marquis did not achieve a decisive victory in Ireland. Antrim negotiated a separate, though not very secret, arrangement with Prince Rupert. In return for being made vice admiral of the fleet he would provide the sailors the prince desperately needed to man the royalist ships in Kinsale. He could also place his own privateering vessels under Rupert's command.[70] In the end these negotiations helped to ensure inactivity on the part of Rupert and by the end of May the arrival of a parliamentary squadron before Kinsale removed the opportunity for decisive action.

The arrival of a parliamentary flotilla, of ten men of war, commanded by the generals at sea at Kinsale on 21 May 1649 eliminated much of the danger posed by the royalist fleet.[71] The English commanders that arrived before the town found the

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[69] Ormond to Rupert, 7 May 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 24, f. 647).
[70] Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and restoration*, pp 222-8
[71] Voyage of Colonel Popham, 28 Mar. 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 12; Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1649', pp 218-30.

royalist fleet at anchor in the harbour. Prince Rupert had strengthened the harbour defences of the town since his arrival there in January. He constructed two new blockhouses to prevent ships entering the port (see Map 12).[72] The formidable fortifications that protected the anchorage combined with the fact that Rupert possessed a flotilla of similar strength to the parliamentary squadron meant the generals at sea could not risk an assault on the royalists.[73] Equally with his warships undermanned and some of the crews in a mutinous state Prince Rupert could not risk going out to engage the parliamentarians. Sailors from the ships anchored in Kinsale regularly deserted to the parliamentary squadron and Rupert erected a gallows in sight of both fleets to execute some of those he caught.[74] The blockade continued till early June when a storm forced eight parliamentary ships back to Milford Haven. The royalists did not take advantage of this opportunity to escape and on their return Blake and Deane wrote to London that 'providence which hath kept us by ill-weather hence, hath by the same kept all the revolters still in here'.[75]

The parliamentary ships at the entrance to Kinsale harbour prevented the royalists from putting to sea. This helped to protect English commerce and more importantly in the spring of 1649 it removed some of the danger to the forces

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[72] Richard Fanshaw to Ormond, 31 Mar. 1649, (Bodl., Carte MS 24, f. 334v).

[73] Rupert noted that the parliamentary fleet before Kinsale consisted of 10 ships on 25 May. About thirteen ships made up the royalist fleet at Kinsale. R. C. Anderson named 10 ships as being with the generals when they went to the town, this list may not be completely accurate. A newspaper in early June detailed nine ships with the generals and twelve with Rupert. Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1649', p. 330; TT E.530(38), *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies journall in Parliament: proceedings of the council of State: And other moderate intelligence. From Fryday June the 8 to Fryday June the 15 1649* (London, 1649), p. 1069; H.M.C., *Report on the Pepys manuscripts preserved at Magdalene college, Cambridge* (London, 1911), p. 272.

[74] Capp, *Cromwell's navy*, pp 62-3; Prince Rupert's fleet, 1648-52, (N.M.M., AND 45, f. 8); TT E.530(41), *A perfect Diurnall of some passages in Parliament. And the daily proceedings of the Army under his Excellency the Lord Fairfax. From Munday June 11 to Munday June 18 1649* (London, 1649), pp 2500-1; account of Prince Rupert in Ireland, 1649 (N.L.I., MS 17,851, f. 8).

[75] Blake and Deane to Lenthall, 13 June 1649, McNeill (ed.), *Tanner letters*, p. 309; Blake and Deane to council of state, 20 June 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 18.

preparing to cross to Ireland with Oliver Cromwell. Attempts by the royalists to slip vessels out past the parliamentary cordon met with little success. Rupert commissioned the *St Teresa*, a fast frigate under Captain Darcy, to transport Colonel William Legg and Sir Hugh Windham to France. The *Adventure* intercepted them as they tried to sail by the parliamentary fleet at night.[76] Parliament in London wanted the navy to do more than just to keep Prince Rupert's ships bottled up in southern Ireland. In June the council of state apprised the generals at sea of the situation as they saw it. They doubted that they could set out such a large guard in successive years and therefore the navy needed to deal with the royalists over the summer months. In pressing for action they wrote:

> therefore some extraordinary improvement should be made of this extraordinary preparation, this summer, for breaking the head and pulling up the route of the enemies' marine strength in the fleet with Rupert; also for lopping off the loose branches and gathering up those pickeroons that infest the seas. If Rupert continue whole until winter when the chief of our strength will be come in, the return of our ships home from France, Spain and the Straits will be of very great danger.[77]

In June Robert Blake assumed command of the parliamentary warships at Kinsale as Richard Deane returned to Plymouth to seek supplies for the squadron. Throughout the rest of the summer the men of war under Blake continued to prevent any breakout by the royalists.

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[76] Colonel Blake to colonel Popham, 10 July 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham,* p. 21; commission for the St Teresa by prince Rupert, 4 July 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); examination of Richard Teague, 20 July 1649, ibid.

[77] Council of state to the generals at sea, 22 June 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 202).

By September 1649, having spent over four months being battered by Atlantic seas, many of the English men of war needed to return to port for repairs. Blake sent the *Triumph* and *Victory* back to England on 16 September 1649 as the two ships had developed leaks. A few days later he ordered the *Paradox* home as unfit for service on the coast. This left five men of war remaining to bar the exit to the harbour by the end of September.[78] The success of the English army under Cromwell in September and October as he brought his force south along the coast from Dublin made the royalist naval position untenable in Munster. If Rupert remained in Kinsale he risked losing the entire royalist fleet to the advancing Cromwellians. The prince needed to get his ships out to sea before the parliamentary army besieged the town or the citizens decided to return to their former parliamentary loyalties and surrendered to the parliamentary army. As early as March 1649, long before the situation turned against him in Ireland, the prince considered taking his squadron to Portugal.[79] A storm in mid October presented Rupert with the opportunity to flee Munster. Foul weather forced the parliamentary squadron back to Milford. Rupert badgered Ormond for any money he could provide for his ships and sailed around 20 October with seven ships for Portugal. Two vessels, the *James* and *Roebuck*, remained in Kinsale.[80] On returning to Munster Blake found that the royalist fleet had fled. He put into Cork harbour as the city and Youghal had declared for parliament and Kinsale followed shortly afterwards.[81] The

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[78] Blake to Popham, 16 Sept. 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 39; Blake to Popham, 26 Sept. 1649, ibid, p. 42; Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1649', p. 334.
[79] Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1649', p. 331.
[80] The *Constant Reformation*, *Convertine*, *Swallow*, *Mary*, *Blackmoor Lady*, *Scott* and *Black Knight* left with Rupert. Rupert to Ormond, 18 Oct. 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 25, 774); Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1649', pp 335-6.
[81] Blake to Popham, 5 Nov. 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 49.

navy partially achieved its first priority in Ireland in 1649. It contained but had not eliminated the threat posed by the royalist naval force at Kinsale.

The second strand of the royalist coalition's naval strength in Ireland lay in the frigates operating from the south east coast. Irish privateering during the war reached its peak in 1649. In February the mayor of Bristol informed William Lenthall that the Irish had at least twenty-eight sail at sea and that they lay between Land's End and Scilly preventing the passage of English shipping. The council of state summed up the situation in the same month writing to Captain Robert Moulton when they stated that 'the seas here and upon the Irish coast are much infested with pirates'.[82] Frigates from Wexford seized parliamentary post barks and the council of state considered the twenty-four gun *Satisfaction* too weak a ship to serve as an escort for a merchant man taking rye to Dublin.[83] Not counting the fleet under Rupert at least forty-one men of war can be identified in prize papers and other records in 1649 (see Table 4.3 below).

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[82] William Cann to Lenthall, 5 Feb. 1648/9, H.M.C., *Portland*, i, 509-10; council of state to Robert Moulton, 24 Feb. 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 18).
[83] Council of state to Robert Moulton, 26 Feb. 1648/9 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 20); council of state to Moulton, 27 Feb. 1648/9, ibid, p. 23.

Table 4.3 Irish privateers in 1649 [84]

Ship	Captain
Mary of Antrim	Antonio Vandermarche
Little Mary and John of Wexford	William Wadding
Cornelius of Wexford	Clement Ryder
Delight of Waterford	Richard Keating
St John of Waterford	Daniel Van Vooren
St Clara of Waterford	Emmanuel Gonzales
Patrick of Wexford	Ignatius Brett
St John of Wexford	Patrick Wadding
St Peter of Waterford	Joseph Content
St Teresa	Captain Darcy
Mary Magdalen of Wexford	Nicholas Rochfort
Patrick of Ross	----------
Mary Conception of Wexford	Christopher Turner
Peter of Silly (acquires after losing *Mary Conception* at Wexford)	Christopher Turner
Trinity of Waterford	Adam Browne
Mary Virgin of Wexford (January)	William O'Doran
Mary of the Isles (April)	William O'Doran
St Francis of Wexford	Nicholas Holt
Young Tobias (being adapted as a frigate at Wexford in March)	John Bartlett

[84] Examination of Antonio Undermarche, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i); examination of William Wadding, 4 June 1649, ibid; commission for the *Cornelius of Wexford*, 9 July 1649, ibid; commission for *Delight of Waterford* [Cork], 30 May 1649, ibid; examinations of Daniel van Vooren and Derrick Hendes, 25 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii); examination of Henry Johnson, 31 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Interrogatory files, 1649-53, HCA 23/15, no. 239); examination of Ignatius Brett, 22 Apr. 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); examination of Patrick Wadding, 7 May 1649, ibid; examination of Joseph Content, 11 July 1649, ibid; examination of Richard Teague, 20 July 1649, ibid; commission for the *Mary Magdalen*, Mar. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 278); examination of Robert Sansum, 22 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62); examination of Christopher Turner, 30 July 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/251, part i); letter by Blake and Deane, 5 May 1649, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, pp 305-6; condemnation of the *Trinity*, 1649 (T.N.A., Sentences in prize court, 1649-52, HCA 34/4, f. 74); examination of Peter Bowry, 8 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii); Michael Bolan to Ormond, 30 Apr. 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 24, f. 562); examination of Peter Rowensen, 2 May 1649, ibid, f. 602; John Bartlett and John Talbott to Ormond, 20 Mar. 1648/9, f. 177 Muskerry to Ormond, 8 Sept. 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 25, ff 488-v); Michael Bolan to Ormond, 6 Aug. 1649, ibid, f. 165; Unsigned letter, 6 July 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 26, f. 454); John Bartlett to Ormond, 31 Jan. 1649/50, ibid, ff 577-v; examination of Robert Holloway, 2 May 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations 1648-9, HCA 13/61, f. 382; deposition of William Harvey, 23 July 1649, Anderson, *The book of examinations and depositions*, p. 20; a particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-1650 (Bodl., Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v); TT E.564(8), *A great victory obtained by Prince Charles, his ships upon the north coast of England* (London, 1649), p. 5.

Lord Crafford's frigate	Michael Casey (listed as captain in 1648)
Frigate owned by John Talbott and Michael Stafford (possibly *St Ursula*)	Captain George Bradshaw (Unnamed frigate in 1649)
St Peter of Galway (formerly *San Peitro*)	Nicholas Martin
Unnamed Waterford man of war at Galway	Captain Williams
Unnamed Irish man of war	Hugh Kelly
Unnamed Irish man of war	William O'Howille
Mirrour of Dunkirk	Thomas Plunkett
----------	Michael Everard
----------	Diego Leyne
----------	Jacques LeCroy
----------	Thomas Corvall
----------	Claude Collett
----------	Jean Pearce
----------	Hantman Eldson
----------	Claus van Hoost
----------	Michael Ruduicke
----------	John Cusack
----------	William D'Horne
----------	Abraham Brent
----------	Pierre LaMotte
----------	Jacob David

These privateers seized at least 191 prizes in the same year.[85] The case of the *St Peter of Waterford* clearly illustrated the damage one successful frigate could do in a short space of time. In a ten week voyage between May and July the captain, Joseph Content, declared that he had seized fifteen to sixteen vessels.[86] Other frigates also took considerable numbers of prizes. Between April and July the *St John of Waterford* detained twenty-three merchant men, fishing boats and colliers. Patrick

[85] See Appendix C1.

[86] Examination of Joseph Content, 11 July 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).

Wadding in command of the *St John of Wexford* intercepted five vessels in April alone.[87]

Irish men of war ranged over considerable distances against English shipping in 1649. Robert Coytmor recounted the loss of twenty merchant men and colliers near Newcastle to privateers. The *Moderate Intelligencer* commenting on the loss of eight ships from Ipswich noted that 'there is great lamentation in this Town, for the loss of many Ships taken by those pilfering vessels call'd Irish Frigots'.[88] In September the council of state received reports from the Canary Islands about the damage done to the wine trade there by a former parliamentary captain, Thomas Plunkett, in an Irish man of war. In October news reached London about an 'Irish pirate' who plied the Mediterranean in search of English merchantmen.[89] The activities of privateers damaged English trade in other ways. The cost of hiring shipping and insurance premiums both rose because of the dangers involved. In January 1649 John Paige noted that 'the times are now so dangerous at present that scarce any man will underwrite a policy being many ships of late taken by Irish men of war'. Insurance for a voyage from Tenerife to Nantes cost six per cent in January,

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[87] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-1650 (Bodl., Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v); examinations of Daniel van Vooren and Derrick Hendes, 25 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii); examination of Patrick Wadding, 7 May 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).

[88] Robert Coytmor to Colonel Popham, 26 July 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 23; TT E.572(26), *The Moderate Intelligencer: impartially communicating the martiall affairs to the Kingdom of England. From Thursday August 30 to Thursday Septemb. 6 1649* (London, 1649), pp 2239-40.

[89] Council of state to Colonel Popham, 27 Oct. 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 48; TT E.533(19), *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies journall in Parliament: proceedings of the council of State: And other moderate intelligence. From Friday Octob. the 5 to Friday Octo. 12 1649* (London, 1649), p. 1343.

by May it had risen to ten per cent, which he believed eroded the profit on the goods.[90]

Irish frigates became increasingly aggressive in 1649 in their encounters with English shipping. The *Mary of Antrim* and another vessel fought with the *Assurance* and damaged its mizzen mast and bowsprit in January.[91] The Irish also seized at least two men of war employed by parliament. In May two ships captured the *Robert* frigate off Fairleigh [Farley]. The council of state ordered the exchange of Captain Tatnell of the *Increase* with his men who had been seized by the Irish later in the same month. A squadron of privateers commanded by Plunkett attacked and scattered a convoy on the north coast in July, reputedly seizing thirty ships.[92]

The main problem for frigates sailing from Irish ports in 1649 came from the fact that the English navy prioritised its efforts and resources on the Irish coast. This led to the presence of large numbers of parliamentary men of war on the Irish seaboard for much of the year. This resulted in the seizure of large amounts of merchant shipping going to and from ports adhering to the royalist coalition and of frigates using those harbours. Parliamentary vessels arrested eighty identifiable ships with Irish connections in 1649. For example in January the *Assurance* detained the *St John of Dieppe* near Mizenhead as it sailed for Limerick.[93] Of greater consequence for Irish privateering was the capture of a large number of frigates by the parliamentary fleet over the summer of 1649. Thirteen named men of war that

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[90] John Paige to William Clerke, 8 Jan. 1649 in George Steckley (ed.), *The letters of John Paige, London merchant, 1648-1658* (London Records Society, London, 1984), pp 1-2.
[91] William Cann to Lenthall, 5 Feb. 1648/9, H.M.C., *Portland*, i, pp 509-10.
[92] Blake and Deane to William Willoughby, 12 May 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 138); council of state proceedings, 16 May 1649, ibid, p. 143; TT E.564(8), *A great victory obtained by Prince Charles, his ships upon the north coast of England* (London, 1649), p. 5.
[93] See Appendix C2 for prizes taken by parliament in 1649. Examinations of George MacFarson and Thomas Fontaine, 12 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).

operated from harbours in Ireland can be detected in prize records (see Table 4.4 below). The English navy also seized a number of unnamed frigates during their operations around Ireland. The loss of so much maritime strength reduced the ability of privateers to challenge parliamentary superiority at sea in 1649.

Table 4.4 Irish privateers captured by parliament in 1649 [94]

Privateer	Month (if known)	Parliamentary ship (if known)
Mary of Antrim	February 1649	*Tiger*
Little Mary and John of Wexford	May 1649	*Tiger's Whelp*
St John of Waterford	July 1649	*Greyhound*
St Clara of Waterford	January 1649	*Dragon*
Patrick of Wexford	April 1649	*President*
St John of Wexford	April 1649	*President*
St Peter of Waterford	July 1649	*Phoenix*
St Teresa	July 1649	*Adventure*
Mary Magdalen of Wexford	Prior to July 1649	*Adventure*
Patrick of Ross	June 1649	*Tiger's Whelp*
Mary Conception of Wexford	October 1649	Taken at Wexford by Cromwell
Trinity of Waterford	May 1649	*Nonsuch*
Mirrour of Dunkirk	November 1649	Unnamed ships

Dealing with the threat posed by the presence of a royalist fleet in southern Ireland took precedence over all other maritime dangers for parliament in 1649. The secondary maritime priority for the English navy involved supporting Colonel Michael Jones in Dublin and the invasion army being prepared under the command

[94] Examination of Antonio Undermarche, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i); examination of William Wadding, 4 June 1649, ibid; examinations of Daniel van Vooren and Derrick Hendes, 25 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii); (T.N.A., Interrogatory files, 1649-53, HCA 23/15, no. 239); examination of Ignatius Brett, 22 Apr. 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); examination of Patrick Wadding, 7 May 1649, ibid; examination of Joseph Content, 11 July 1649, ibid; entry for *Mary Magdalen of Wexford*, 23 July 1649 (T.N.A., Prize act books, 1649-52); examination of Robert Sansum, 22 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/250, part i); letter by Blake and Deane, 5 May 1649, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, pp 305-6; condemnation of the *Trinity*, 1649 (T.N.A., Sentences in prize court, 1649-52, HCA 34/4, f. 74); TT E.584(2), *A great fight in Ireland between the Lord Lieut. Cromwels forces and the Lord Inchequeens army neer Washford* (London, 1649), p. 6.

of Oliver Cromwell. Other naval setbacks including the loss of most of the principal ports in Ulster except Londonderry to the royalists and surrender of Sligo to the earl of Clanricarde in July 1649 did not take precedence for the generals at sea. The parliamentary fleet needed to gain mastery of the seas in order to keep the shipping lanes open to Dublin and to bring fresh supplies of men and equipment to the army once it crossed to Ireland. In order to achieve this other sectors of the coast in the three kingdoms received limited naval protection. Robert Blake summed up the problem of prioritising one area over others in July 1649 in response to escalating losses on the north coast when he wrote to Edward Popham of 'how impossible it is to give satisfaction unto all clamours'.[95]

The generals sought to assign ships of sufficient strength to convoy supplies and soldiers safely to the city and also to guard the coast there. In May they directed a small squadron under Sir George Ayscue to Dublin. The level of shipping before the city varied as the generals reassigned vessels as necessary. On 25 May Ayscue sent the *John* and *Lyon* to join the flotilla at Kinsale in response to a request from the generals. The presence of Ayscue's squadron combined with the failure of the royalist fleet to come out of Kinsale played a major role in enabling the parliamentarian forces at Dublin to survive and ultimately defeat Ormond at the battle of Rathmines in August. For example the arrival of three regiments under Colonels Moore, Venables and Reynolds increased the strength of the forces at Michael Jones disposal.

Oliver Cromwell sailed from Milford Haven on 13 August with over thirty ships for Dublin. A second squadron of about eighty-four vessels sailed with their

[95] Blake to Popham, 10 July 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 21.

general Henry Ireton and Richard Deane a few days later. They intended to land in Munster but as that proved impracticable they instead put into Dublin on 23 August. Colonel Horton brought a third smaller force of ships to Dublin a few days later.[96] In conjunction with its tasks of escorting supply convoys and clearing the coast the fleet under Deane played an active role in Cromwell's campaign in 1649. For example some of the warships carried the artillery battery to Drogheda. After the fall of the town Colonel Robert Venables took part of the army north. Dundalk, Newry and Carlingford surrendered to the parliamentarian force. Captain Ferns in the *President* assisted Vennables in taking Carlingford. Ferns brought his vessel into the harbour past the blockhouse which managed to split his main mast and in the harbour he seized a small prize.[97] Hugh Montgomery, earl of Mount Alexander and the royalist commander in Ulster, had captured Belfast and Carrickfergus from the parliamentarians earlier in 1649. Belfast yielded to Venables in late September. At the end of October 1649 Venables and Sir Charles Coote led an army to besiege Carrickfergus. On 2 November the governor of Carrickfergus signed articles of surrender to parliament in which he agreed to hand over the town and castle on 13 December.

After taking Drogheda Cromwell made use of his advantage in shipping by marching his army south along the coast. Richard Deane with a flotilla of twenty ships sailed with the army. He arrived before Wexford town on 29 September with artillery, munitions and provisions for the army. According to Deane foul weather

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[96] Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland*, pp. 71-3; Deane to Popham, 13 and 23 Aug. 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, pp 26, 34; W. C. Abbott, *The writings and speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (3 vols, Oxford, 1939, reissue 1989), ii, 104.

[97] TT E.575(7), *Letters from Ireland, relating the several great successes it hat pleased God to give unto the Parliaments Forces* (London, 1649), pp 5, 13-5.

prevented the navy from landing the equipment they carried for seven days. Rosslare fort at the mouth of the harbour thwarted the ships from entering the bay to land supplies.[98] Once Cromwell came before the town on 1 October the navy became active in the task of reducing the town. Cromwell initially sent a summons to the governor of Wexford to surrender the town. At the same time he realised the importance of capturing Rosslare fort with its seven artillery pieces at the harbour mouth (see maps 7, 22 and 23). On 2 October Cromwell sent Michael Jones with some infantry and cavalry to assault the fortifications. The soldiers guarding the fort made no attempt to defend the position and fled to a nearby frigate as Jones approached. At the same time as the soldiers advanced to assault the fort some of the fleet came up to the harbour to support them. With Rosslare fort in parliamentary control the ships entered the harbour and forced the Irish frigate to surrender.[99] The taking of Rosslare fort proved to be a crucial moment in the fall of Wexford. One account summed up the significance of this victory to the English army at Wexford 'for neither had we canon to batter, nor provisions to subsist without our Navy, nor could our Navy force their passage by that Fort, and the two Frigots there riding, nor scarce any otherwise supply us'.[100] The fleet under Deane could safely enter the harbour and land the artillery and provisions the army desperately needed to continue its campaign.

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[98] Deane to Popham, 22 Oct. 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p 47.

[99] Abbott, *The writings and speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, pp 133-5; Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland*, pp 94-7; TT E.576(2), *A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the honourable William Lenthall Esq; Speaker of the Parliament of England* (London, 1649), pp 4-7.

[100] TT E.576(6), *A brief relation of some affaires and transactions, civill and military, both forraigne and domestique* (London, 1649), p. 51.

The parliamentary army assailed and took the town on 11 October 1649. Cromwell captured a large quantity of shipping in the harbour. One account of the taking of Wexford in October claimed that the parliamentary army seized forty ships in the harbour. Cromwell's relation of the storming of the town noted four possible men of war. These included the twelve gun frigate captured at Rosslare fort. After taking the town they found two twenty gun men of war nearly ready for sea and a vessel with thirty-four pieces of ordnance.[101] Christopher Turner, the captain of the *Mary Conception of Wexford* with twelve to fourteen guns, managed to escape from the town but lost his vessel there. The *Mary of the Isles* may also have been one of those in the harbour.[102] The loss of Wexford proved to be more significant for privateering in Ireland than the simple capture of such a large number of frigates in one blow. Irish privateering went into decline after the fall of Wexford. The town had been the centre of operations for frigates since 1642 and its loss resulted in a reduction in the number of privateers that sailed from Irish ports. Some ship owners such as Antonio Nicholas Vanderkipp moved to other Irish held ports like Waterford but others shifted their enterprises to safer royalist harbours away from Ireland in places like the Channel Islands or to Brittany or Ostend.

In the immediate aftermath of the storming of Wexford in 1649 Cromwell's army failed to take the other principal privateering port of Waterford or Duncannon fort guarding the river up to that city. Despite the failure of Cromwell's army to seize

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[101] TT E.608(15), *A history or brief chronicle of the chief matters of the Irish Warres with a prefect table or list of all the victories obtained by the Lord Generall Cromwell* (London, 1650), p. 4; TT E.576(2), *A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the honourable William Lenthal Esq; Speaker of the Parliament of England* (London, 1649), pp 4-7.

[102] Examination of Christopher Turner, 30 July 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/251, part i); Ohlmeyer, 'The Dunkirk of Ireland', p. 31.

the city or fort the mercantile trade and privateering activities of Waterford began to suffer. In November English men of war operating near Duncannon seized five vessels and a frigate belonging to Thomas Plunkett as they tried to sail into Waterford.[103] The confederates still controlled the harbour but it remained accessible to an ever declining number of frigates that operated from Ireland. By the end of the year Patrick Archer informed Ormond that the owners of the frigates there had resolved to leave Waterford. The arrival of the plague at Galway in 1649 also made privateering crews reluctant to sail from that city.[104] The royalist military and maritime position in Ireland continued to decline in the last months of 1649. The inhabitants of Cork, Youghal and Kinsale sought terms from Cromwell and surrendered in October. The port town of New Ross also surrendered to the parliamentarians.

Conclusion

Having failed to take Duncannon and Waterford Cromwell took his army into winter quarters in County Cork in December 1649. His army re-emerged in late January 1650 to resume the reduction of the remaining royalist strongholds in Ireland. Cromwell campaigned inland in the early months of 1650 and captured a number of towns and fortifications including Kilkenny city on 28 March. After Cromwell's return to England in May 1650 Henry Ireton, his son-in-law, took command of the parliamentary army in Ireland. On 6 August 1650 Waterford

[103] TT E.584(2), *A great fight in Ireland between the Lord Lieut. Cromwels forces and the Lord Inchequeens army neer Washford* (London, 1649), p. 6.
[104] Patrick Archer to Ormond, 22 Dec. 1649 (Bodl, Carte MS 26, f. 402); John Bartlett to Ormond, 31 Jan. 1649/50, ibid, ff 577-v.

surrendered and Duncannon followed suit later in that month. This left Limerick and Galway as the only two principal ports in royalist hands. The parliamentary army moved against Limerick in September 1650 but failed to take the city and had to lift the siege in October. Ireton resumed the attack in the summer of 1651 with the assistance of the navy and Limerick finally surrendered in October 1651. Galway continued to hold out until May 1652 when the city submitted to Lieutenant General Edmund Ludlow. This left all the port towns of naval significance in parliamentary hands. Some minor harbours like Sligo, which had been taken by the earl of Clanricarde in July 1649, held out for another few months.[105]

The fall of Wexford in October 1649 spelt the end of large scale privateering from Irish ports that had increased so dramatically since 1646. Even before Cromwell stormed the town the swelling of the parliamentary naval presence on the Irish coast created ever increasing problems for confederate frigates. English men of war seized approximately one quarter of the privateers that can be identified operating from Irish ports in 1649. The parliamentary navy underwent a resurgence after events in 1648 and 1649 eroded its power to effectively guard the waters around the three kingdoms. Parliament lost considerably more merchant shipping to privateers than English warships seized going to rebel ports in Ireland. But they retained their focus on the need for the fleet to support the army in Ireland and this ultimately led to the capture of Wexford and the reduction of the danger posed by Irish frigates to English trade.

[105] Sligo surrendered to parliament in July 1652.

Chapter 5: The parliamentary naval effort in Ireland: the fleets and prizes

In many respects analysing the English navy exclusively on the Irish coast serves little purpose. All the men of war employed by parliament sought to engage and capture any shipping they encountered going to confederate or royalist ports in Ireland. At times warships in the North Sea or on the coast of Scotland faced considerable threats from confederate privateers. Nevertheless the bulk of the war at sea relating to Ireland took place on the Irish coast as parliamentary men of war supported Protestant enclaves, intercepted merchant shipping going to and from ports like Wexford, and fought confederate frigates plying the shipping lanes especially in St George's Channel. Hence it is necessary to examine the Irish squadrons set out by parliament throughout the 1640s. This chapter will firstly examine the strength of the English navy assigned to Ireland. It will look at the level of shipping deployed on the coast by parliament, the losses sustained by the English navy and how the Irish guard compared with the men of war set out elsewhere in the three kingdoms. Secondly, it will focus on the division between the state owned ships and merchantmen hired and licensed in London to fight the 'Dunkirk frigates' set out from Irish harbours. This next section will analyse the level and type of prizes with Irish connections seized by English men of war during the 1640s. This chapter will finally assess the type of shipping used by parliament for guarding the Irish seas.

Analysing the strength of the parliamentary navy

In comparison to the confederate naval forces deployed on the coast of Ireland in the 1640s, the parliamentary navy at first glance seems to be more straightforward to quantify and assess. A list of the strength of the parliamentary fleet sent to Ireland appears in Appendix D1. In order to try and make the details for each year as complete as possible the official summer and winter guard lists set out each year by parliament have been used as a starting point. This has been combined with information about other ships known to have been in service on the Irish coast as men of war in that year. This information comes from a variety of other sources including prize records, admiralty bill books, letters and journals. This has produced a consolidated listing of all the ships that can be seen to have served in the Irish guards during the 1640s.

Each year the admiralty in London issued a summer and winter guard which set out the names of the men of war for the fleet in the coming months. Between 1642 and 1648 half the guard lists approved by parliament gave some indication of the ships directed to Ireland. In some years they included a detailed breakdown of the squadrons set out. The summer guard for 1647 gave details for fifty-eight vessels spread over several areas including the Downs, Guernsey, Ireland, the western guard and North Sea fishing. In 1645 the division included eighteen ships for Ireland, eight to the coasts of Scotland and twenty-one men of war with the vice and rear admiral.[1] In other years, such as the summer fleets in 1642 and 1643, only the ships assigned

[1] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 236-9; summer guard, 1645, Powell & Timmings (eds), pp 202-3.

to Ireland appeared separately.[2] The guard records alone cannot be relied on as in some years they gave no details of stations for any men of war. The summer guard for 1646 contained ninety-eight vessels, only three of which the *Lion*, *Happy Entrance* and *Fellowship*, can definitely be allocated to the Irish seas. In 1644 the printed account for the navy included the names of the ships, the captain, tonnage, number of crew and guns but gave no indication about where the lord high admiral intended the warships to ply.[3]

These guard lists issued by parliament also need to be treated carefully in order to assess if all the vessels allotted to the Irish squadron arrived on the Irish coast. Emergencies elsewhere in England sometimes led to the diversion of ships to other duties. The *Charles*, designated as the admiral for the winter guard for Ireland in 1642, never came over and went instead to Southampton as the civil war in England escalated. The mutiny of part of the fleet in May 1648 affected the composition of the fleet for that summer. A number of the ships in Portsmouth and the Downs preparing to go to Ireland in April 1648 became caught up in the revolt. Some of the vessels originally intended for the Irish guard, such as the *Antelope* and the *Swallow*, deserted to the royalists in Holland and so never appeared.[4] Ships intended for guarding the coasts of Scotland could also bolster the parliamentary naval presence around Ireland. The summer guard list for 1645 assigned the *Jocelyn*

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[2] TT 669 f.3 (50), *A List of his Majesties Navie Royall, and Merchant Ships*, (London, 1641/2), p. 1; TT 669 f.7 (7) *A List of his Majesties Royall, and Merchants Ships* (London, 1643), p. 1.

[3] The guard list noted these three vessels as the admiral, vice-admiral and rear-admiral of the Irish seas. TT 669 f.9 (58), *A List of such Ships and Frigotts of the Navy Royall*, (London, 1646) p. 1; TT 669 f.9(8), *A List of his Maiesties Navie Royall and Merchants Ships, their Names, Captains, Men, Ordnance, in every ship* (London, 1644), p. 1.

[4] Baumber, 'The Navy and the Civil War in Ireland 1641-1643', p. 391; summer guard, 15 Apr. 1648 (B.L., Papers relating to the navy, 1612-60, Add 9300, f. 79); Committee of the Lords and Commons for the Admiralty and Cinque Ports, 15 Apr. 1648 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add 9305, ff 41-v).

to the Scottish guard. In the event, Captain Clark and the *Jocelyn* spent much of the year participating in the blockade of Dublin.[5]

The guard lists failed to take account of additions to the fleet that took place during the year. Through most of the 1640s the admiralty in London or local commanders in England and Ireland took extra ships into service when necessary. Captain Richard Swanley, acting as admiral for the Irish seas, pressed the *Great Lewis* to bring relief to the fort of Duncannon in 1644. The lords justices in Dublin engaged the *Confidence* and *Phoenix* in 1642 to help guard the coast there along with the state man of war the *Swan*.[6] Some of these locally hired ships remained in service and eventually appeared on the guard lists themselves. The *Charles* frigate, owned by Lord Inchiquin, entered into the pay of parliament in October 1644 and featured on the guard lists from the summer of 1645 on.[7] Other ships never became part of any of the official summer or winter guards issued from London. This makes sense in terms of vessels like the *Resolution* and *Dispatch* hired by Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, vice admiral of Munster and one of the principal parliamentary commanders in that province, and Captain Robert Moulton during the siege of Bunratty. These ships only remained in service for a few months during the spring and summer of 1646 to carry out the specific task of carrying relief to the besieged

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[5] TT 669 f.9 (36), *A List of such of the Navy Royall, as also of the Merchants Ships*, (London, 1645), p. 1; summer guard list 1645, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, pp 202-3; Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, pp 104-38; examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1650, HCA 13/63, ff 267-9).

[6] Roger and Katherine Drayton to the committee of the admiralty, 30 Mar. 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Adv., 1642-59*, p. 369); lords justices to the earl of Northumberland, 12 Feb. 1641/2, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* ns, ii, 68-9.

[7] Committee of both kingdoms, 13 Oct. 1644 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1644-5*, p. 220); order to pay Lord Inchiquin for the *Charles*, 18 Mar. 1645/6 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f. 50); summer guard, 17 June 1645 (Bodl., Rawl. C.406, ff 40v-1v).

castle. But some vessels with much longer period of service such as the *Confidence* never featured on the guard lists either.[8]

The presence of parliamentary privateers on the Irish coast also strengthened the English maritime presence when they can be identified. Parliament approved the issuing of letters of marque to ship owners willing to set out private men of war against the confederates in October 1642.[9] High court of admiralty records show numerous petitions from captains seeking licences to put to sea as privateers. In the years in which these ships can be seen operating on the coast they have been added to the strength of the parliamentary forces for that season. Some privateering ships, such as the *Discovery* and *Hunter*, patrolled the Irish coast continuously over a number of years after they set out. Other men of war only plied the waters around Ireland for a short time. The *Warspit* and *Increase* chased Irish shipping along the west coast in June 1646 before the captains moved their vessels to France in search of prizes.[10]

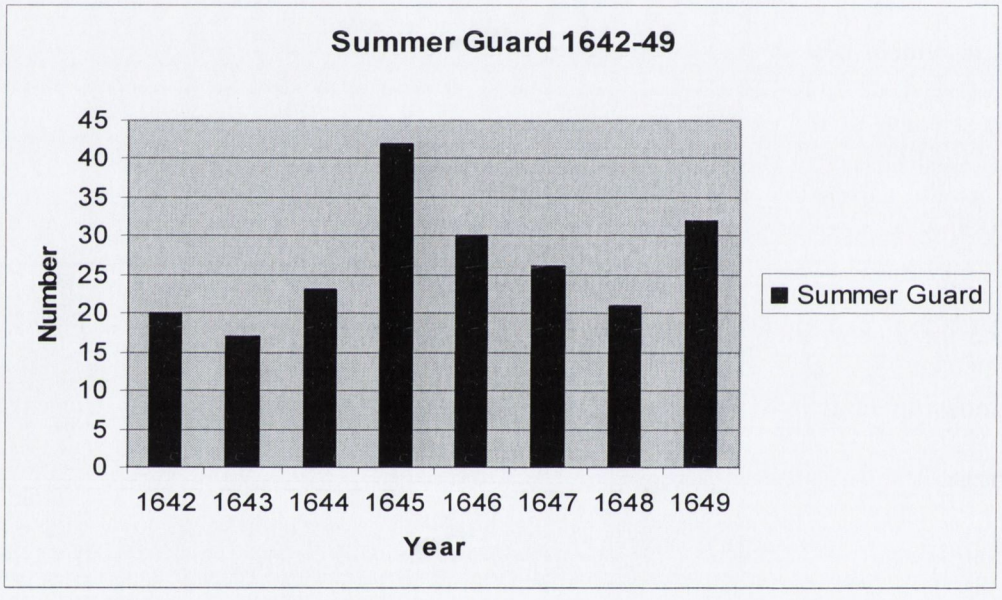
Strength of the parliamentary fleet on the Irish coast

Between 1642 and 1649, 116 men of war can be identified as serving parliament on the coast of Ireland. These vessels included state owned warships, hired merchantmen and privateers. The strength of the fleet sent to Ireland varied considerably from year to year and between the summer and winter guards as can be

[8] Order to pay Thomas Plunkett, 8 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f. 105).
[9] *Lords Journals*, v, 409-10.
[10] The *Discovery* can be seen in prize lists on the coast of Ireland from 1644 on. TT E.340(19), *A Sea-fight: two ships taken by Captain Southwood and Captain Faulkner* (London, 1646), pp 1-3).

seen in Appendix D1 and the three charts below (Charts 5.1., 5.2 and 5.3). The parliamentary naval presence peaked numerically in the summer guard for 1645. Forty-two English ships can be seen in service on the coast. The peaks and troughs in these figures can be broadly attributed to events during the civil war in the three kingdoms.

Chart 5.1 Parliamentary summer guard in Ireland 1642-49[11]



[11] Figures are taken for the summer guard listed for each year in Appendix D1.

Chart 5.2 Parliamentary winter guard in Ireland 1642-49[12]

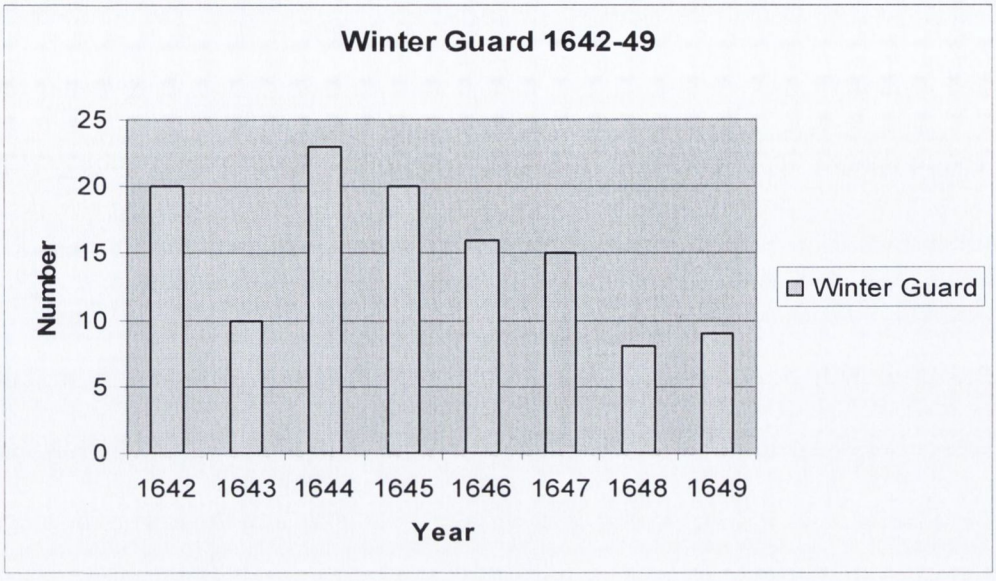
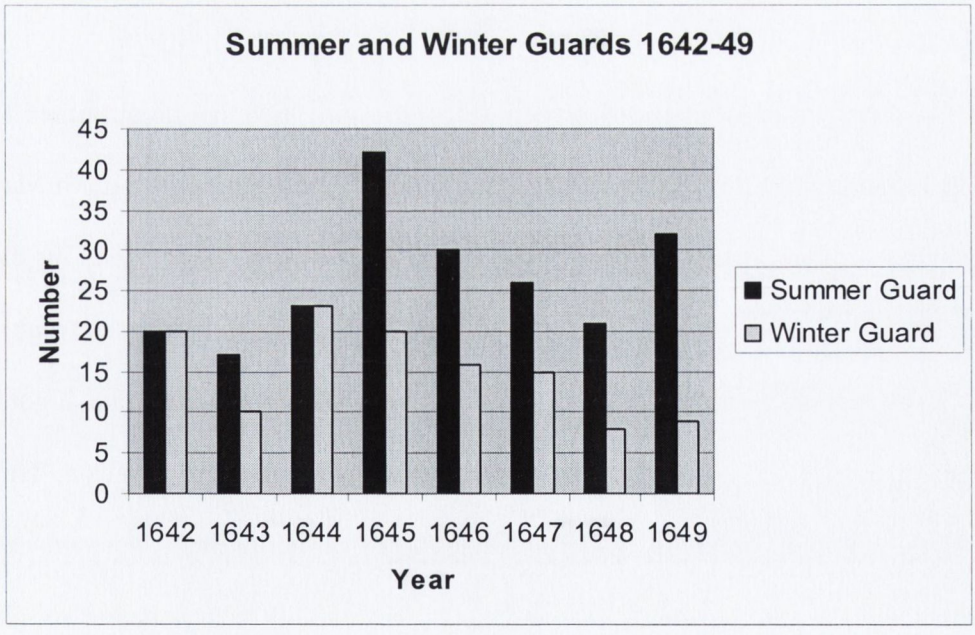


Chart 5.3 Comparison of summer and winter guards 1642-49[13]



[12] Figures are taken from the winter guard listed for each year in Appendix D1.
[13] Figures are taken from the summer and winter guards listed for each year in Appendix D1.

The high levels of the summer guards in 1645 and 1646 and the winter guard in 1645 can mainly be attributed to the sieges that took place in those years. The confederate advance into Munster after the fall of Duncannon in March 1645 necessitated the retention of a large fleet to support Lord Inchiquin in that province. A number of the hired merchantmen including the *Charles*, *Nicholas*, *Mayflower*, *Anne and Joyce* and *Green frigate* that had been present at the siege over the summer continued in the employ of parliament on the Irish coast through the winter months.[14] In late November 1645, Sir Philip Percival reported that the inhabitants of Youghal lacked food, fuel and clothes but that the navy still brought supplies into the town. The siege of Bunratty preoccupied the navy over the summer of 1646. Eighteen of the thirty ships distinguished as part of that squadron played some part in defending the castle between March and July 1646. Table 3.1 in chapter 3 contains a list of the English naval vessels that can be identified at Bunratty.

The dip in strength that took place in the winter of 1648 can be attributed to events in England. The mutiny that broke out among the fleet in the Downs in May 1648 had an immediate impact on the Irish guard. Some of the ships designed for the summer guard in 1648 had already arrived on the coast of Ireland before the trouble started.[15] The rest of the men of war assigned for Ireland do not seem to have gone over. Parliament redirected those ships that had not deserted to the royalists. This lack of fresh shipping gradually undermined the fleet as the summer wore on and those ships already at sea came in from Ireland as they ran out of supplies or sought repairs. The vice admiral John Crowther advised the committee of the admiralty in

[14] Sir Philip Percival to sir Robert King, 20 Nov. 1645, H.M.C., *Egmont*, i, part i, 264; orders for payment, 1645 and 1646 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, ff 48, 50, 54, 61-2, 65).
[15] Report on the Irish guard, 25 Apr. 1649 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add 9305, f. 49v).

May that his ship 'is very foul and unserviceable'.[16] By July he had arrived back in Portsmouth with the *Bonaventure*.[17] Once the royalists had been bottled up in Holland, parliament began to replace the men of war on the Irish coast. From September 1649 the admiralty ordered shipping to put to sea against Irish privateers. These included the captains of the *Elizabeth*, *Cygnet* and *Expedition* who received directions in that month to ply between Land's End and the Isles of Scilly to counter the frigates 'infesting the southern channel'.[18]

The winter guards for Ireland in most years fitted the traditional naval pattern of being smaller than their summer counterparts. The need to refit and repair warships and merchantmen coupled with poor weather conditions usually led to a sizeable reduction in the size of the fleet over the winter months. In some years during the war the strength of the squadron set out for the winter numerically equalled that of the summer guard for that year. In 1642 twenty ships can be distinguished as part of the summer squadron. A number of factors led to the deployment of the same number of vessels for the winter fleet in that year.[19] Parliament extended the service of the merchant men it had engaged for the summer, hired some extra vessels and allocated two state men of war, the *Lion* and *Charles*, to replace the ships that had deserted to the king. The outbreak of the civil war in England and the arrival of privateers from the continent to join the confederates necessitated maintaining a strong guard over the winter months. By September 1642

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[16] John Crowther to the committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and cinque ports, 11 May 1648, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, pp 291-2.
[17] Warwick to the commissioners of the navy, 10 July 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1648-9*, p. 364).
[18] Committee of both houses, 21 Sept. 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1648-9*, p. 288); Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1648', pp 38-46.
[19] See Appendix D1.

reports credibly placed at least five to six frigates at Wexford intending to attack English shipping.[20] The navy needed to ensure that any privateering fleet based in Ireland did not diminish the overseas trade of parliament or aid Charles I. This new threat may help to explain why ten of the ships that accompanied the 'Sea Adventure' to Ireland in July received approval to remain on the coast. In reality not all the adventurers' ships may have remained in Ireland. Only one vessel, the *George Bonaventure*, can definitely be identified in Irish waters in late 1642 and 1643. The *George Bonaventure* intercepted a Dutch vessel on the coast of Ireland in 1643 and retook the *John of London* from the Irish rebels in the same year.[21]

The substantial size of the winter guard in 1644, with twenty-three identified vessels, can be attributed to the defection to parliament of Lord Inchiquin, with the towns of Cork, Youghal and Kinsale, and Lord Esmond with the garrison at Duncannon fort. At least eleven ships came into service on the Irish coast between October 1644 and March 1645 due to these places rejoining parliament.[22] The outposts required provisions and munitions that could only be provided by sea in order to defend themselves as they had resumed the war against the confederates. Richard Swanley, the admiral, engaged a number of merchant men in late 1644 to bring military supplies into Duncannon. They included the *Great Lewis*, *Jeremy* and *Mayflower*. He also sent a prize vessel, the *Duncannon* frigate, to help guard the sea

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[20] TT E.119(22), *A most exact relation of a great victory obtained by the poor Protestants in Ireland, under the command of the Lords Inchequeen, and Kinealmekie and Sir Charles Vavasour* (London, 1642), p. 3.
[21] *Lords Journal*, v, 379; examination of Edward Norman, 17 June 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations 1642-4, HCA 13/58, ff 539-v); examination of Robert Zachery, 11 Aug. 1643, ibid, ff 607-v.
[22] See Appendix D1.

approaches to the fort.[23] Swanley stepped up his efforts once the Irish besieged the fort. He sent his deputy, Captain William Smith, and another three ships he had engaged to try and relieve the garrison.[24] The need to provide extra shipping for the Munster ports also led to an increase in the winter guard. The main parliamentary commanders in Munster, Lords Inchiquin and Broghill, approved the hiring of a number of men of war to help defend their ports. Broghill engaged the *Green* frigate from January 1645 on. Inchiquin employed the *Charles* frigate, *Blessing* and *Reformation* in March, June and July of the same year.[25]

The ships identified as part of the Irish fleet in each guard do not present a wholly accurate picture of parliamentary naval strength. Like their confederate counterparts not every man of war remained active throughout the year. Ships left the coast for a variety of reasons such as to obtain repairs or revictual and this could considerably weaken the guard. At different times these factors reduced the number of men of war actually operating in the seas around Ireland. The 1649 summer guard contained the names of thirty-two ships guarding the Irish coast. On 22 September a naval list put twenty-three vessels at sea for Ireland. The springing of leaks and the spread of sickness among the crews further whittled this number down as the month progressed. Robert Blake sent the *Paradox*, *Triumph* and *Victory* back to England from Kinsale due to their leaky condition and illness among the mariners in late

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[23] Richard Swanley to Captain Beale, 23 Sept. 1644, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, p. 173; committee of both kingdoms to the committee of the navy, 13 Oct. 1644 (*Cal. S.P. Dom*, 1644-5, p. 220); Examination of Samuel Howett, 22 Nov. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[24] The ships were the *Elizabeth*, *Magdalen* and an unnamed vessel. Richard Swanley to lord Esmond, 15 Feb. 1645, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, iv, 145.
[25] Committee of both kingdoms, 13 Oct. 1644 (*Cal. S.P. Dom*, 1644-5, p. 220); orders for payment, 1644-5 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, ff 16, 19, 33).

September.[26] These fluctuations in the level of the English navy on duty in Ireland at times greatly reduced the strength and capability of the ships left behind. For instance in September 1642 the lords justices in Dublin reported on the rumours that the *Swallow* and *Bonaventure* had departed from Ireland. They warned of the vulnerability of trade to the Wexford rebels if the ships had truly abandoned the coast.[27]

At first glance the percentage of ships assigned to Ireland in comparison to the rest of the fleet seems quite low especially in the early years of the war. The 1642 summer guard named forty-two vessels but only allocated ten (twenty-four per cent) to Ireland. The number of ships for Ireland increased to twenty-one by the summer guard of 1643. As parliament set out eighty men of war ships assigned to the Irish guard only increased to twenty-six per cent of the overall total.[28] By the mid 1640s the proportion of Irish squadron in comparison to the rest of the guard had increased by very little. Parliament assigned eighteen (twenty eight per cent) of the sixty-five men of war listed for the summer guard in 1645 to Ireland. In 1647 this had risen to thirty-two per cent as eighteen of fifty-five men in the summer guard received orders for the Irish seas.[29] In the later years of the war parliament focused more of its naval resources on the war at sea in Ireland. The proposed summer guard for 1648

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[26] Robert Blake to Edward Popham, 16 Sept. 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne- Popham,* p. 39; ship list, 22 Sept. 1649, ibid, p. 41; Robert Blake to Edward Popham, 26 Sept. 1649, ibid, p. 42.

[27] Lords justics to the commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, 1 Sept. 1642, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 185-8.

[28] I have used the guard lists as issued for each year rather than the consolidated figures in Appendix D1. Admirals elsewhere in the three kingdoms may have added to their squadrons as liberally as the Irish guard. Hence there is little purpose in comparing the amalgamated figures in Appendix D1 to the rest of the guard lists. TT 669 f.3 (50), *A List of his Majesties Navie Royall, and Merchant Ships*, (London, 1641/2), p. 1; TT 669 f.7 (7) *A List of his Majesties Royall, and Merchants Ships* (London, 1643), p. 1.

[29] TT 669 f.9 (36), *A List of such of the Navy Royall, as also of the Merchants Ships*, (London, 1645), p. 1; summer guard list 1645, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, pp 202-3, 274-6; summer guard list, 17 June 1645 (Bodl, Rawl. C.406 ff 40v-41v); Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 236-9.

apportioned nineteen (forty-six per cent of its total of forty-one men of war to dealing with the rebellion in Ireland. A similarly high percentage can be seen in 1649 when thirty-two (fifty per cent) of the sixty four ships in the summer guard plied in Irish waters.[30]

The importance of the war at sea in Ireland can be detected from a more detailed analysis of the Irish guards in the years for which complete information exists. Contemporary breakdowns of the warships set out by parliament into their component fleets only remain for four years in this decade (see Table 5.1). From these guard allocations the significance of the Irish squadron can be seen in comparison to other stations. In the summer guard for 1645 and 1647, Ireland received more vessels than any of the other individual guards. In the summer guard for 1646 and the winter guard for 1647 parliament assigned the second highest level of shipping to the Irish coast. Overall, these figures suggest that parliament took the threat posed by confederate frigates seriously and set out a large percentage of its available naval resources each year to counter the problem.

[30] Report on the Irish guard, 25 Apr. 1649 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add 9305, f. 49v); list of the summer guard, 13 Mar. 1647/8, ibid, ff 7-v; list for the summer guard, 22 May 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 17.

Table 5.1 Squadron breakdowns for the parliamentary navy 1645-47[31]

Summer 1645		**Summer 1646**		**Summer 1647**		**Winter 1647**	
Ireland	**18**	Chatham	12	**Ireland**	**21**	Downs	11
Vice Admiral	13	**Ireland**	**9**	Downs	15	**Ireland**	**9**
Rear Admiral	8	Downs	4	Western Guard	13	North Coast	2
Scottish	8	Dry Dock	4	North Sea	11	Guernsey	2
Particular Service	6	West	4				
Guernsey	3	North	4				
		Guernsey	3				
		North East	1				

Parliamentary ship losses in Ireland 1642-1649

Overall the parliamentary navy lost very few men of war that can be distinguished in the records to enemy action or natural disasters in Ireland. Eleven vessels owned by the state or in its employ as men of war can be identified as having been sunk or captured by the confederates or cast away from 1642 to 1649 (see Table 5.2 below). The greatest number occurred in 1649 when Irish privateers captured three vessels and a fourth ship sank on the sand bar in Dublin bay. Most of the damage sustained by English men of war came about from enemy action. The confederates captured or destroyed eight vessels serving as men of war. Two of the three ships that ran aground by accident did so in Dublin bay. As well as the *Tiger's*

[31] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 239, 251-2; Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, pp 202-3, 244-6.

Whelp and *Ann Speedwell* the treacherous nature of the sand bar before the harbour also caused a number of merchantmen to be cast away there.[32]

Table 5.2 parliamentary ship losses in Ireland, 1642-49

Ship	Captain	Year Lost	How
Phoenix (Hired)[33]	Unknown	1642	Cast away in Wales
Ann Speedwell (Hired)[34]	Henry Browne	1642	Cast away in Dublin bay
Love's Increase (Hired)[35]	John Webb	1643	Captured at the siege of Ross
William of London (Hired)[36]	William Cowell	1643	Captured by the *Francis of Dunkirk*
Great Lewis (Hired)[37]	William Beale	1645	Sunk at the siege of Duncannon
Duncannon frigate (State)[38]	Samuel Howett	1645	Sunk at the siege of Youghal
Sampson (Privateer)[39]	Robert Plunkett	1647	Captured by Irish frigate at Galway
Increase (State)[40]	William Tatnell	1649	Captured by an Irish man of war
Robert (State)[41]	Unknown	1649	Captured by 2 Irish frigates
Tiger's Whelp (State)[42]	Anthony Houlding	1649	Cast away in Dublin bay
Patrick of Waterford (Hired)[43]	Unknown	1649	Taken by an Irish frigate, retaken.

[32] Deposition of John Hapgood, 28 Mar. 1642, R. C. Anderson (ed), *The book of examinations and depositions, 1622-1644, vol. 4, 1639-1644* (Southampton Record Series, 1936, Southampton), pp 36-7.
[33] Lord justices to John Griffith, 23 Feb. 1641/2, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 77.
[34] Lords justices to the commissioners of his majesty's navy, 21 Jan. 1642/3, ibid, p. 229.
[35] Lords justices to William Lenthall, 3 Apr. 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, i, 259.
[36] Lords justices to William Lenthall, 23 June 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 290-1.
[37] Powell, 'Operations of the parliamentary squadron at the siege of Duncannon', pp 17-8.
[38] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 122-4.
[39] Examination of Robert Plunkett, 2 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[40] Council of state proceedings, 16 May 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 143).
[41] Blake and Deane to William Willoughby, 12 May 1649, ibid, p. 138.
[42] Deane to the council of state, 27 Sept. 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 42.
[43] Council of state to the collectors for prize goods, 18 May 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 147).

The confederates seized or sank a variety of different types of shipping employed by the navy. They included hired men of war like the *William of London* with eight guns and thirty-four men and privateers such as the *Sampson* driven into Galway bay and seized by Captain Darcy.[44] The two state owned men of war captured by the confederates seem to have been at the smaller end of the range of parliamentary warships. The *Robert* carried eight pieces of ordnance and the *Increase* mounted twelve guns.[45] In general the spread of the ship losses over a wide geographic area and time frame meant they never really threatened to undermine the strength of the parliamentary navy in Ireland. The main danger to the naval position occurred in years when the fleet lost multiple vessels from the same area of the coast in a short period of time. For example, in 1643 the crew of the *Love's Increase* abandoned their vessel after it came under artillery fire at the siege of Ross in March. Then in April the *Francis of Dunkirk* seized the *William of London* after it came out of Dublin. The loss of these two ships on the east coast in such a short space of time put pressure on the lords justices. They complained about their sufferings from the piracies of the Irish frigates who boldly ventured into Dublin bay to seize merchant shipping at anchor there.[46]

As well as losing ships in the seas around Ireland, parliamentary men of war occasionally suffered considerable damage in engagements with the confederates and from the general dangers of the sea. Bad weather, poor maintenance, unfamiliarity

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[44] Lord justices to William Lenthall, 17 Apr. 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 266; examinations of Robert Plunkett and William Bamber, 2 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[45] R.C. Anderson, *List of English men of war 1509-1649*, (Greenwich, 1974), pp 21-2.
[46] Lords justices to William Lenthall, 23 June 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 290-2; Lazarus Howard and others to Ormond, 16 Mar. 1642/3 (Bodl., Carte MS. 4, f. 494); Lords justices and council to William Lenthall, 3 Apr. 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, i, 259.

with the Irish coast and general incompetence often posed as great a danger to captains as encounters with hostile frigates. William Penn blamed the ineptitude of the pilot on his ship for running the vessel aground and breaching its hull in the Shannon in 1646.[47] Irish privateers could inflict a substantial amount of destruction on English men of war they met if they chose to engage them. In May 1648 the *Roebuck* escaped into Yarmouth having been shattered in a fight by two Irish frigates.[48] Confederate shore based artillery sank two English warships and forced the crew of another to abandon their vessel. It also effectively kept the navy at bay and scored a number of hits on unwary parliamentary sailors. In 1642 fire from the besiegers at Limerick hit the mast and captain's cabin on the *Ruth*, one of the ships trying to bring relief to King John's castle. Accurate artillery fire forced the *Green frigate* and the *William and John* to leave their positions defending the castle at Bunratty in 1646. The confederates hit one ship in the hull and the other in the mast.[49] Given that parliament lost so few ships most vessels obviously managed to get back to a safe port in spite of the damage they suffered.

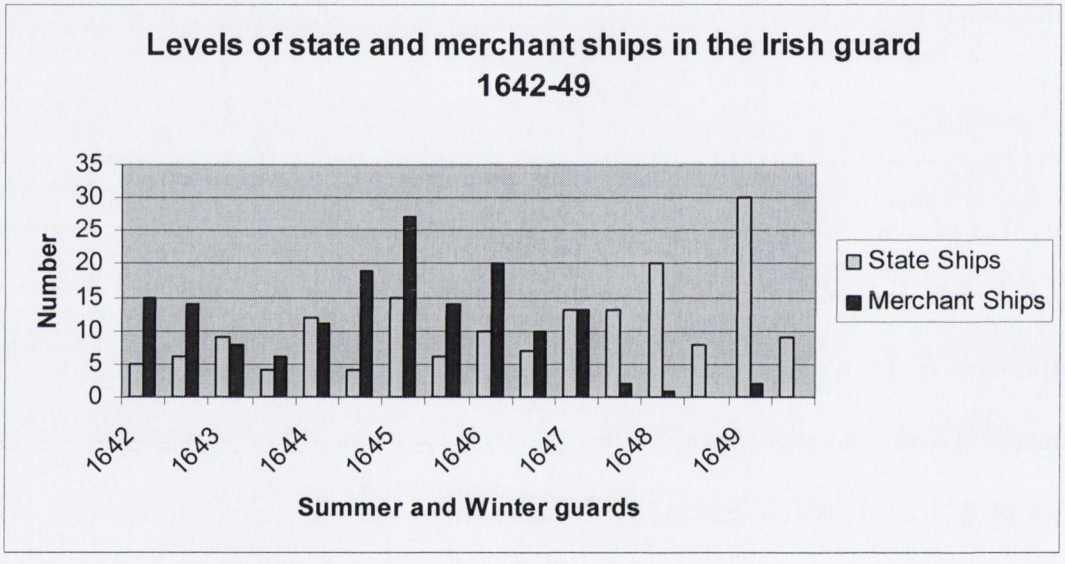
Types of parliamentary shipping in Ireland

The confederates relied exclusively on private enterprise to set out their maritime forces. In contrast parliament's fleets included both vessels owned by the state and those on hire or licensed as privateers. In early 1642 a survey of all the

[47] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 165-6.
[48] Committee for the admiralty to the commissioners of the navy, 4 May 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1648-9*, p. 360).
[49] A relation of ye rebellion in and about Limerick with ye taking of ye castle there from 20 Oct 1641 to 26 July by Dr Henry Jones (T.C.D., 1641 depositions, MS 840, f. 94); Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 205.

ships the navy possessed listed thirty-five vessels as fit for sea.[50] Parliament only assigned two of these to the summer guard for Ireland in March. From the outset of the war the navy relied on hiring large numbers of merchantmen to make up the majority of the Irish squadron. This policy continued for most of the 1640s as can be seen in Chart 5.4. The number of privately owned men of war serving in the war at sea in Ireland out stripped state held ships until 1647.

Chart 5.4 A comparison of state and merchant ships in the Irish guard[51]



A number of factors accounted for this preponderance of private shipping. Firstly a scarcity of men of war prevented the sending of a large part of the state fleet to Ireland. The outbreak of the civil war in England placed huge demands on parliament's naval resources. The fleet required warships to patrol vast coastal areas around the three kingdoms and to support beleaguered garrisons such as Plymouth. The English model for setting out naval forces in times of crisis relied heavily on private shipping. This practice dated back to the reign of Elizabeth and many

[50] Powell, *The navy in the English civil war*, pp 7-8.
[51] See Appendix D1.

prominent naval officers, like the earl of Warwick, and merchants had vested interests in shipping and fully supported this policy.[52]

From a practical perspective, employing merchantmen offered a convenient way to get extra shipping to the Irish seas quickly. It also gave the admiral of the Irish guard the flexibility to react to changing developments in the war at sea. Throughout the early years of the war local commanders and admirals hired shipping when they deemed it necessary. After the fort of Duncannon defected from the royalists in the summer of 1644 Richard Swanley engaged William Beale and the *Great Lewis* to carry munitions there and to support the garrison.[53] On the day he set out his instructions to William Penn for the expedition to Bunratty in February 1646 Robert Moulton, the admiral, engaged the *Dispatch* in Munster as a man of war to support the fleet.[54]

The percentage of hired merchant ships in the Irish guard declined from 1647 on. A combination of events led to the gradual phasing out of private shipping in the squadrons deployed in Ireland. The end of the first civil war in England allowed parliament to divert state naval resources to the Irish campaign. The navy also increased the number of state owned ships it possessed. The parliamentary frigate building programme began to produce results with three new men of war in 1646 and four more in 1647. The number of prize vessels seized by the navy also increased. The admiralty assigned many of these newly acquired frigates and converted prizes to the Irish squadron. The captains of two of the new frigates, the *Nonsuch* and

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[52] Rodger, *The safeguard of the sea,* p. 421.
[53] Richard Swanley to Captain Beale, 23 Sept. 1644, in Powell & Timings (eds), *Documents*, p. 173.
[54] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 160; order to pay Thomas Plunkett, 8 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f. 105).

Assurance, received orders to ply off the south coast of Ireland in December 1646 to deal with the problem of Irish privateers. The other new frigates began to appear in the guard lists for the Irish squadron from 1647 onwards.[55] The number of prizes that parliament deployed as men of war rose on the Irish coast from 1647 on. For example the 1647 winter guard list included three such vessels; the *Swan*, *Hector* and *Increase*.[56] Some captured privateers could be quickly set out again on the Irish coast. The *Tiger* intercepted the *Mary of Antrim* on 3 February 1649. By March the frigate, renamed the *Tiger's Whelp*, had joined the Irish squadron and intercepted a merchantman coming from France.[57] Not all the confederate men of war pressed into service by parliament returned to the Irish coast. Captain Ball and the *Adventure* seized the *Angel Keeper of Waterford* in March 1649. The committee of the admiralty recommended using the ship almost immediately. Under its new name, the *Dolphin*, the frigate does not appear to have been sent to guard the Irish seas.[58] The vast cost of employing merchant shipping in general and allegations of corruption relating to the hiring of vessels may have also promoted the shift in policy.[59]

The large amount of information about the actual ships that made up the parliamentary squadrons on the Irish coast contrasts with the confederate naval effort. A vast array of guard lists and other documents provided the name of the ship,

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[55] The new frigates completed by parliament were in 1646 the *Adventure*, *Assurance* and *Nonsuch*. In 1647 the *Tiger*, *Elizabeth*, *Phoenix* and *Dragon*. Committee of the admiralty to Richard Swanley, 22 Dec. 1646, Penn (ed.), *Memorials, i*, 228.

[56] Anderson, *List of English men of war 1509-1649*, pp 21-2.

[57] Examination of Antonio Undermerch, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A. Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i); examination of Patrick Strafford, 29 Mar. 1649 (T.N.A. Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).

[58] Order of the committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports, 14 Mar. 1647/8 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add 9305, f. 8v-9); committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports, 15 Apr. 1648, ibid, f. 42.

[59] The issue of corruption is dealt with in Chapter 6. Rodger, *Safeguard of the sea*, pp 421-4.

if the navy acquired it by building, purchase, prize or hire, the tonnage and amount of cannon and crewmen carried by the vessel. Parliament selected a considerable range of different type of ships to serve as men of war in the Irish seas. They ranged from small craft like the pinnaces *Elizabeth*, *Richard* and *Grace*, sent over to the Irish guard in July 1642, to some of the largest vessels the navy possessed. The *Charles* mounting forty-four guns and the *Lion* and *St Andrew*, each with forty-two pieces of ordnance, formed part of the fleet on the Irish coast in the summer of 1649.[60] Frigates operating from confederate harbours essentially only had one purpose; to act as privateers and seize enemy shipping. English men of war had a variety of functions including seizing hostile vessels, aiding loyal outposts and protecting English commerce. This multiplicity of roles required differing types of craft. Smaller ships could more safely manoeuvre on rivers and support besieged coastal garrisons than large men of war. In April 1647 the admiralty recommended employing either the *Falcon* or *Truelove*, prizes taken by the Irish squadron, for work on the rivers in Ireland. The navy also needed to set out suitable vessels to take account of geographic features along the Irish seaboard such as shallow water depth in some harbours. Captain William Penn recommended the employment of the *Globe* at Carrickfergus in 1645. She had a shallower draught than his man of war, the *Fellowship*, which he believed made her more suitable to spend the winter there.[61]

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[60] A pinnace in the seventeenth-century usually referred to a fairly seaworthy boat up to 35 feet long. It was also used to describe a ships boat. Robert Gardiner, 'Glossary', Gardiner (ed.), *The line of battle*, p. 200; Captain Kettleby to Northumberland, 4 July 1642, Hogan (ed), *Letters and papers*, p. 66; Anderson, *List of English men of war 1509-1649*, pp 18-21; Account of a voyage by Popham, 28 Mar. 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne- Popham*, p. 12; Anderson, ' The royalists at sea in 1649', pp 329-33.

[61] Committee of the admiralty to the commissioners of the navy, 29 Apr. 1647 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1645-7*, p. 604); Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, pp 138-41.

As well as having a variety of vessels suitable for operating on the Irish coast the admirals in command of the squadron also needed ships capable of defending themselves against Irish frigates. Captain Kettleby complained in 1642 when the three above mentioned pinnaces arrived from England to join the Irish guard as he believed they lacked the strength to defend themselves. The *Elizabeth* and *Richard* only carried four guns apiece.[62] An analysis of the guard lists suggests that when possible the admiralty and admirals in the Irish squadron tried to avoid sending very small ships to the coast. The state owned men of war and merchantmen assigned to Ireland tended to be quite substantial vessels. For instance the *Mayflower* employed in 1644 and 1645 carried twenty-nine guns and 121 men. The 300 ton *Anne and Joyce* mounted twenty-two pieces of ordnance. The prizes parliament sent over included the strongly armed ships, such as the *Roebuck*, *Sampson* and *Increase*, which carried fourteen, twenty and twelve cannon respectively.[63] The navy further sought to strengthen the ships it assigned to Ireland by adding extra sailors to the complement at times of increased danger. In April 1648 the committee of the admiralty ordered more mariners to be carried on small ships because Irish privateers had become so active. They increased the crew of the *Cygnet* from sixty to seventy men to better enable the ship to protect itself and the convoys it escorted from confederate frigates.[64]

The admiralty generally avoided sending any ship of less than ten guns to Ireland. Some smaller vessels came into the employment of the state in the Irish seas.

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[62] Captain Kettleby to Northumberland, 4 July 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 65-6.
[63] See Appendix D1.
[64] Committee for the admiralty to the commissioners of the navy, 4 Apr. 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1648*, p. 359); committee for the admiralty to the commissioners of the navy, 16 Apr. 1648, ibid, p. 359.

These included vessels such as the *Green* frigate and the *Charles* frigate. Each ship carried six cannon and between thirty and fifty men. Many of the very small men of war such as these two vessels seem to have been ships taken into service in Ireland by local commanders. Admiralty bill books listed Lord Broghill, the vice admiral of Munster, as the owner of the *Green frigate*. The lord president of the province, Lord Inchiquin, owned the *Charles frigate* and other vessels which he employed as men of war at the expense of parliament.[65] As the province and its commanders had defected from the royalists it may have been expedient for parliament and its admirals to approve the use of such vessels regardless of their suitability. In general parliament tried to set out ships capable of defending themselves while fulfilling a variety of duties in the war at sea in Ireland.

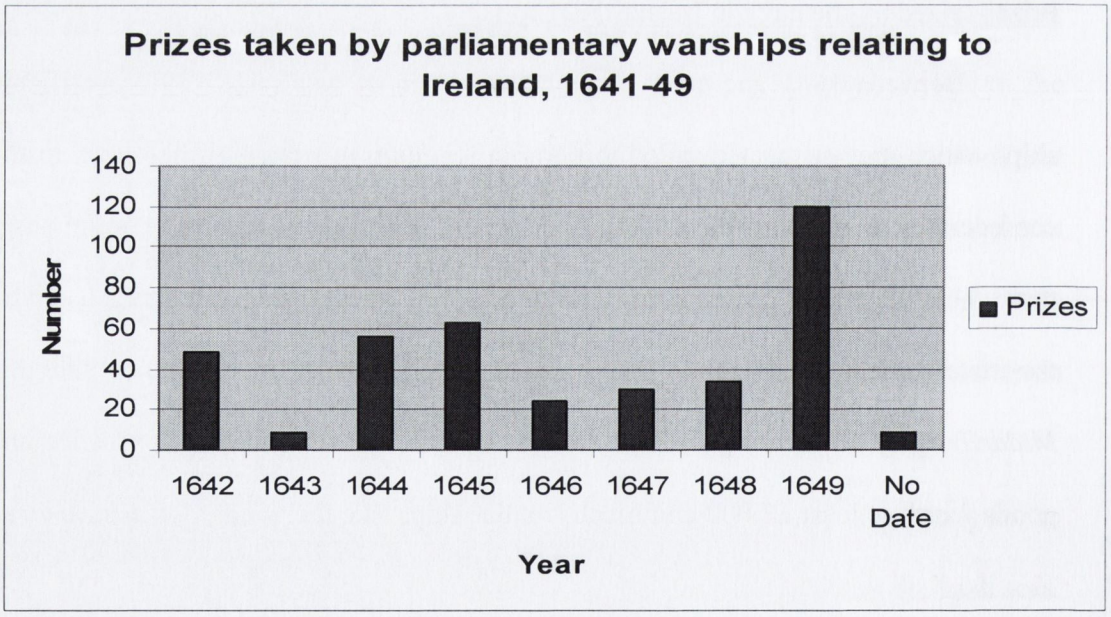
Prizes seized by the navy in Ireland 1641 to 1649

Between 1641 and 1649 parliamentary men of war seized 394 identifiable ships which they suspected sailed to ports in rebellion in Ireland or belonged to the confederates or royalists there.[66] The seizures of Irish prizes occurred continuously throughout the war as can be seen in Chart 5.5. The types of ship and goods taken by the state varied considerably. The vessels included large merchantmen like the *Middelburg of Middelburg* of 330 tons and carrying eleven pieces of ordnance and goods worth at least £2,000 and much smaller ships like the twenty ton *Elizabeth of*

[65] Payment for Lord Broghill, 21 July 1645 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f. 19); payment for Lord Inchiquin, 18 Mar. 1645/6, ibid, f. 50.
[66] A full list of these prizes appears in Appendix C2.

Wexford seized carrying agricultural commodities to Spain.[67] The ships taken as prizes contained soldiers, merchants and priests among the passengers on board and a variety of merchandise including basic foodstuffs, hides, wool, salt, munitions, wine and other luxury goods. Parliamentary prize court records provide an invaluable source of information on trade to and from ports in Ireland during the 1640s. The increases in the strength of the summer guard did not necessarily lead to the seizure of a greater number of prizes by parliamentary shipping (see Chart 5.5). A considerable drop in the number of ships taken by English men of war occurred from 1642 when they seized forty-eight ships to nine vessels in 1643. The small reduction in the size of the English fleet on the Irish coast, from twenty to seventeen warships, cannot account for this alone.

Chart 5.5 Prizes seized by parliament 1641-49[68]

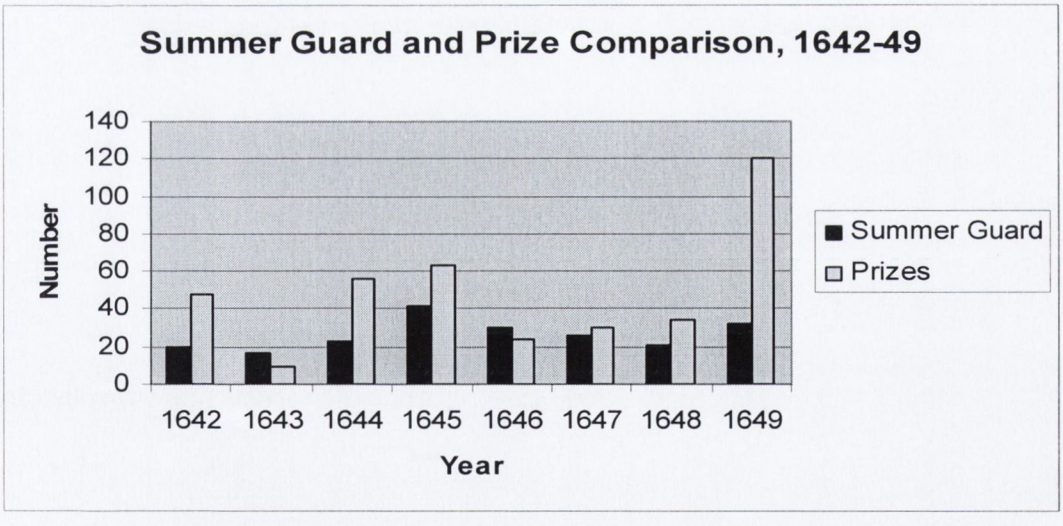


[67] Examination of Thomas Wells, 25 Oct. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62); examination of John Thompson, 1 Nov. 1647, ibid; certificate by William Keating, 6 Dec. 1647 (T.N.A., Prize papers, 1627-52, HCA 15/2).

[68] The figures in this chart have been compiled from data in Appendix C2.

In 1646 thirty parliamentary ships only seized twenty-four vessels in comparison to the sixty-three prizes apprehended by men of war in 1645. This can largely be explained by the presence of much of the Irish guard at the siege of Bunratty during the summer of 1646. Expansion of the fleet in 1644 and 1645 did not fully explain the large number of vessels seized in those years. Other factors played a part in the success of the Irish squadron. In conjunction with a higher level of shipping the defection of the principal Munster ports, the strategy of blockading Dublin and the activities of privateers such as Thomas Plunkett led to a large haul of 119 captured ships in this two year period.

Chart 5.6 Prizes seized by parliament compared to the summer guard, 1642-49[69]

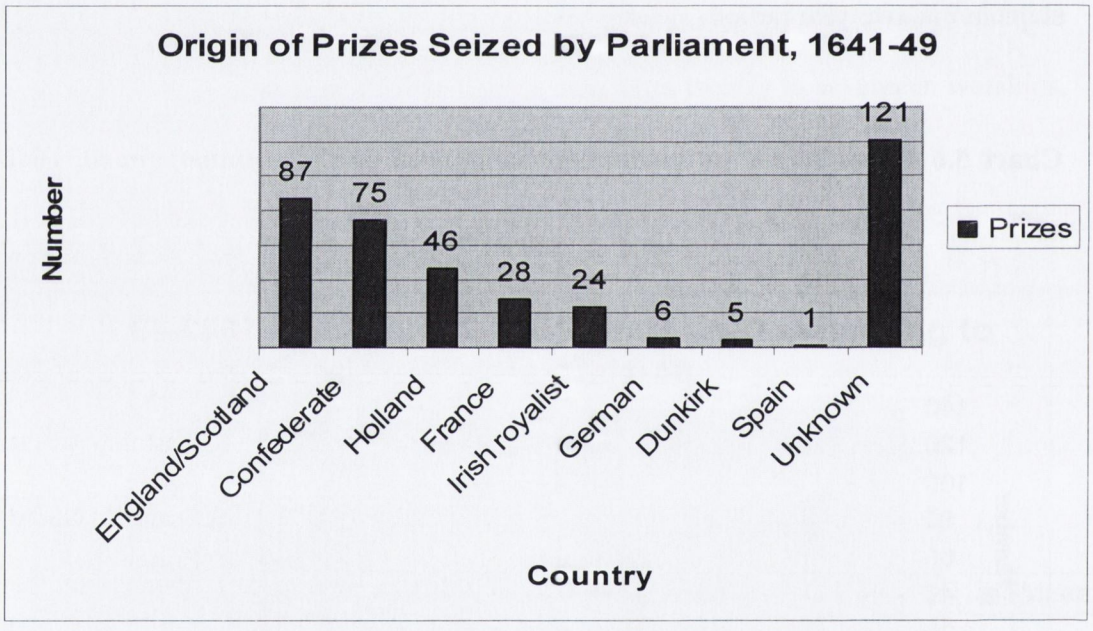


By using the names of the ships captured by parliament, countries of origin can be established for 272 vessels (See Chart 5.7). For example the *Angel of Amsterdam* intercepted by the *Discovery* in 1645 has been classified as Dutch.

[69] This chart has been compiled from data in Chart 5.1 and Chart 5.4.

Merchant men identified as being from Dublin such as the *Mary of Dublin* have been categorised as Irish royalist vessels.[70] If a ship bore the name of an Irish port such as Galway, Limerick, Wexford and Waterford it has been taken as being an Irish confederate vessel. A further eighty-one out of the total of 394 prizes could not be classified from their name. The names of captains and masters of these vessels do not provide a reliable method for ascribing a port of origin to a ship.

Chart 5.7 Origin of prizes seized by parliament 1641-49[71]



From Chart 5.7 it can be seen that English and Scottish (both royalist and parliamentarian) ships represented the majority of identifiable prizes seized by the parliamentary Irish squadron in the 1640s. They made up twenty-two percent of the total number of ships detained. This figure included merchantmen from royalist ports

[70] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1650, HCA 13/63, ff 267-v); examination of Adrian Franson, 23 Apr. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5, HCA 13/59, ff 725-v).
[71] See Appendix C2 for a full breakdown.

in England going to trade in Ireland or seized in the Irish Sea. For instance in April 1644 parliament seized the *Henry of Dover* carrying hides from Dublin.[72] It also included the vessels that had been seized by Irish frigates and were en route to Irish harbours when parliamentary warships intercepted them. The English navy retook forty-five prizes; eleven per cent of the overall total, as they sailed for confederate ports in Ireland or Flanders in the 1640s.[73] Twenty-six of these ships bore English or Scottish names. For example the *Nicodemus* and *Greyhound* rescued the Scottish collier, the *Fortune of Kirkcaldy*, from an unnamed Irish frigate in 1648.[74] These twenty-six ships represented twenty-nine per cent of the British prizes retaken by the parliamentary navy.

Ships belonging to confederate held towns in Ireland with seventy-five (nineteen per cent) prizes represented the next largest group of shipping seized by parliament. As can be seen in Table 5.3 Wexford and Waterford appeared as the most common home port for Irish vessels seized by the English navy. The parliamentary navy only captured a few vessels from minor confederate ports like Dungarvan. It may be that not many ship owners based themselves in those harbours or that the proprietors from places like Limerick had the good fortune for their vessels not fall into the hands of the parliamentary navy.

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[72] Examination of John Pensocks, 10 Apr. 1644 (T.N.A., Interrogatories, 1641-8, HCA 23/14).
[73] Details of the 44 ships retaken by parliament from the confederates appear in Appendix C3.
[74] Allegations regarding the *Fortune of Kirkcaldy*, 1648 (T.N.A., Allegations, 1638-1782, HCA 24/176).

Table 5.3 Port of origin mentioned in the case of 75 confederate ships seized by parliament[75]

Port	Number
Wexford	27
Waterford	18
New Ross	4
Galway	4
Dungarvan	2
Limerick	2
Unspecified	18
Total	75

The English navy also intercepted twenty-four ships that belonged to ports under the control of the royalists in Ireland. Parliament seized most of these vessels before Dublin surrendered in 1647 or during the periods in which Cork, Youghal and Kinsale commanded by Lord Inchiquin served the king. The changes of sides that occurred in Munster posed problems for some ship owners. Daniel Dayly, the master of the *Gift of God of Cork*, claimed that when he sailed from that city Inchiquin still adhered to parliament. By the time of his return voyage from St Martins in France the lord president and the Munster ports had defected to the king and the parliamentary man of war the *Dragon* detained him for going to a royalist port.[76]

After ports in the three kingdoms ships bearing the names of Dutch harbours made up the bulk (eleven per cent) of the foreign vessels seized by parliament. The preponderance of Dutch shipping fits in with their increasing dominance of carrying trade during the 1640s. Dutch merchants willingly took advantage of the civil war and to hire their ships out for risky voyages to ports in rebellion against parliament in Ireland. Contemporary reports claimed that a merchant trip to Ireland during the war

[75] See Appendix C2.
[76] Examination of Daniel Dayly, 15 Mar. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 352v-3v).

years could be as be as profitable as one to the East or West Indies.[77] French shipping formed the second largest continental group of prizes with twenty-eight ships seized by the parliamentary navy. Only five vessels can be identified as coming from ports in Spanish Flanders such as Dunkirk. One possibly Spanish ship bringing arms to Galway in 1642 can be distinguished as having been captured by the flotilla of ships that made up the 'Sea Adventure'.[78]

The names of the ships only gave a partial indication of trade to Ireland from 1641 to 1649. The home port of a merchantman did not necessarily reflect the port of embarkation for the voyage on which parliament seized the ship. Prize records for the 394 parliamentary prizes relating to Ireland indicated the port of embarkation for 170 vessels and the intended destination for 191 ships (see Table 5.4 below). These records provide a vast amount of information about trade between confederate ports and continental Europe in the 1640s. The incomplete nature of many of these records makes analysing trade routes to and from Ireland problematic.[79] In some cases sailors gave statements that precisely outlined every stage of a ships voyage. Edward St Lawrence, the master of the *Catherine of Waterford*, described his cargo, the merchants who laded the vessel and his intended journey to St Malo before the *Assurance* detained the ship on the night of 10 December 1646.[80] Other witnesses who gave evidence in prize cases only referred to either the port the ship sailed from

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[77] Coates, *The impact of the English civil war on the economy of London*, pp 191-9; Michael J. Braddick, 'Government, war, trade and settlement, 1625-1688', in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British empire, i: The origins of empire, British overseas enterprise to the close of the seventeenth century* (Oxford, 1998), p. 294; Edmond Duier to Luke Wadding, 21 Sep. 1642, H.M.C., *Report on the Franciscan manuscripts*, p. 196.

[78] TT E. 242(15), *A true relation of the passages of Gods providence in a voyage for Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 20.

[79] See Appendix C1.

[80] Examination of Edward St Lawrence, 28 Jan. 1646/7 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248).

or its destination. For example the *Tiger's Whelp* and *Expedition* apprehended the *Roebuck of Wexford* in March 1649. The sailor examined by the admiralty prize court in this case specified that the *Roebuck* came from Brest but did not give an exact destination for the ship other than that it sailed for a harbour in Ireland.[81] Ships which belonged to a particular Irish port probably intended to go to that place. But it cannot always be taken as a given that a ship belonging to Wexford came from or intended to return to that port on any particular expedition. Proprietors and masters of merchantmen sought out contracts for hire wherever they could get them. In July 1644 Nicholas and Dominick Bodkin, along with other unnamed merchants in Galway, chartered the *Solomon of Waterford* to carry merchandise to Cadiz. Before the merchantman put to sea a group of English sailors detained in the town of Galway managed to board and surprise the crew of the *Solomon*. They brought the vessel to Cork and received £354 for the pipe staves and other goods contained in the hold.[82]

From Table 5.4 below it can be seen that most vessels intercepted by parliament going to the continent came from or intended to go to France. Most of the ships that sailed from France began their voyage at Nantes or St Malo. Many of the Dutch merchantmen that can be distinguished also put out from French ports in particular La Rochelle. The *John of Rotterdam* seized carrying salt in 1645 sailed from La Rochelle for Dublin. The *Constant Warwick* intercepted the *Charity of Flushing* also carrying salt from La Rochelle and bound for Ross or Dublin in

[81] Examination of Patrick Strafford, 29 Mar. 1649 (T.N.A. Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[82] Examination of Lewis Boulden, 25 Jan. 1644/5 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5, HCA 13/59, ff 617v-8v); certificate for the *Solomon of Waterford* from the mayor of Galway, 6 July 1644 (T.N.A., Interrogatories files, 1644-55, HCA 23/30).

1647.[83] Most of the merchantmen that can be identified going to or from Spain had Irish names. For example the *Constant Warwick* captured the *Patrick of Galway* on its homeward voyage from Bilbao in June 1648. Similarly in December 1646 the *Assurance* ran into the *Patrick of Waterford* on her outward journey to Bilbao.[84]

Table 5.4 Port of origin/destination for ships seized by parliament, 1641-49[85]

Embarkation Port	Number	Destination Port	Number	Total
France	53	France	19	72
Spain	10	Spain	5	15
Confederate	38	Confederate	61	99
Irish royalist	18	Irish royalist	37	55
England/Scotland	17	England/Scotland	47	64
Flanders	14	Flanders	0	14
Holland	14	Holland	11	25
West Indies	6	West Indies	1	7
Other	10	Other	10	20
Total	170	Total	191	

Dublin dominated as the Irish port of origin or destination for most of the shipping seized by parliamentary men of war (see Table 5.5 below). Parliament seized thirty-four ships going to or from that harbour. This suggests that the parliamentary Irish squadron had some success in preventing shipping from getting through to the city when they properly enforced their blockade. By the summer of 1644 some merchants landed goods intended for the city of Dublin at Wexford rather than risk trying to get past the parliamentary men of war patrolling the entrance to

[83] Examination of William Wray, 24 Oct. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 164-7, HCA 13/60); aldermen of Flushing, Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1648, HCA 13/249).
[84] Examination of John Lobe, 29 June 1648 (T.N.A. Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii); examination of George Collins, 21 Dec. 1646 (T.N.A. Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248).
[85] Compiled from figures in Appendix C2.

the bay.[86] References to towns like Cork usually occurred at times when those places had defected from parliament. For instance the *Spy* arrested the *Swallow of Youghal* in June 1644 as it sailed from that town to Bristol carrying cavalry troopers and letters.

The four principal confederate coastal towns, Wexford, Waterford, Limerick and Galway, can be identified as the harbours from which the majority of vessels going into and out of Ireland sailed. As can be seen in Table 5.5 Wexford, Waterford and Limerick all had similar numbers of ships seized en route to and from their quays.

Table 5.5 Irish ports of origin or destination for ships seized by parliament, 1641-49[87]

Port	Number	
Dublin	34	
Wexford	21	The 4 principal confederate ports are referred to 74 times
Waterford	20	
Limerick	20	
Galway	13	
New Ross	8	
Cork	6	
Kinsale	5	
Dungarvan	4	
Carrickfergus	4	
Drogheda	2	
Other/Unspecified Irish ports	17	

The high level of shipping intercepted relating to Limerick contrasts with the fact that only two vessels, the *Elizabeth of Limerick* detained in Falmouth in December 1642 and the *John Baptist of Limerick* seized by the *Catt* in January 1647, that can

[86] Ormond to Richard Bellings, 21 June 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 11, f. 258).
[87] See Appendix C2.

identified as belonging to the town in Table 5.4.[88] The large number of ships detained may indicate the commercial importance of the town in the 1640s. Customs figures from Limerick for the early seventeenth-century show considerable overseas trade to the port and exports of hides and tallow.[89] Equally, the tendency for large numbers of confederate and parliamentary ships to seek shelter during stormy weather in the Shannon may have made merchantmen on that route particularly vulnerable to meeting with English men of war in the river. For example in August 1646 five parliamentary men of war seized three ships from Flushing - the *Salt Kettle*, *Flushing* and *Sampson* - as they anchored in the Shannon near Tarbet to await fair weather.[90]

Over the course of the war from 1641 to 1649 the loss of shipping suffered by the principal confederate ports to parliamentary naval action does not appear to be sufficient to undermine the Irish economy. As can be seen in Tables 5.4 and 5.6 English men of war seized fifty-one ships that can be identified as belonging to the four main Irish port towns and seventy-four vessels going to or from those places. Customs information from Waterford for the 1640s seems to support this. Parliamentary warships seized twenty vessels sailing to and from Waterford that can be distinguished from prize records in Table 5.5. Port records that covered the period from 15 September 1643 to 6 April 1644 named twenty-six merchantmen going out

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[88] Examinations of David Kelly and Peter Dyer, 10 June 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1643-4, HCA 13/246); examination of Andrew Harrold, 29 Apr. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, ff 20-1); examinations of James Morrice and James Nagle, 3 Feb. 1646/7 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[89] Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics' pp 58-70.
[90] Examinations of Jacob Senson, William Mettallman and Remens Croose, 17 Dec. 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).

of the town and a further thirty-one coming in.[91] In this seven month period ships made fifty-seven voyages to or from Waterford. If these figures represented the norm for the trade of the harbour in the 1640s then the loss of twenty-four vessels bound to Waterford over an eight year period would not dramatically weaken the overseas trade of the city. But as most of the prizes taken by parliament that can be identified relating to Waterford were detained after 1647 the loss of the twenty-four identifiable vessels may have been much greater. The presence of such a formidable English squadron in the seas around Ireland in 1649 may have persuaded foreign merchants not to risk a crossing to Waterford. The collector of customs for the port provided a breakdown of the revenue he received for shipping in the first two months of 1649. During that time only three ships came into the harbour and three went out.[92] Realistically Irish merchants and privateers operated out of too many ports for the English navy to close off completely their trade with the continent. As the war progressed and the strength of the Irish guard improved men of war assigned to Ireland began to inflict substantial losses on some of the main harbours controlled by the confederates.

Conclusion

Overall, despite some early fluctuations in strength the English navy in Ireland consistently grew in numbers and power from 1645 on. The admiralty in London showed a flexible attitude towards the acquisition of shipping for the Irish

[91] A note of the shipping that are gone out of and come into the harbour of Waterford since the 15th of September 1643, 1643 and 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 6, ff 505v-7v).
[92] John Lee, 6 Mar. 1648/9 (Bodl. Carte MS 23, f. 590); note on Waterford customs, 2 Mar. 1648/9, ibid, f. 592.

coast from a variety of sources. It also demonstrated the ability to adapt in its use of different types of vessels and in establishing a building programme for frigates. The failure of the confederates to offer a serious challenge prior to 1647 to the level of the English fleet on the coast also helped to maintain the strength of the Irish guard. The Irish squadron never sustained a level of losses that threatened to undermine its effectiveness. In conclusion the ability of parliament to consistently set out ships for Ireland each year ultimately enabled it to create a platform from which it could win the war at sea.

Chapter 6: The parliamentary naval effort in Ireland: the ship owners and sailors

From the beginning of the war the English navy relied on private ship owners to provide the bulk of the vessels that made up the Irish guard each year. Parliament extended this even further when it passed an ordinance in October 1642 that approved setting out privateers against the confederates in Ireland.[1] As well as examining the level and type of vessels fitted out as privateers and armed merchantmen it is also necessary to look at the owners of these ships. Who set out the private shipping which formed such a large and successful part of the Irish guard for much of the war? What factors motivated English men to invest in shipping to serve on the coast of Ireland? A considerable amount of information exists from high court of admiralty records concerning the prizes seized by hired men of war and privateers. This chapter will also look at the potential for profit for the owners of ships hired to the state using a number of case studies from ships with remaining financial records. In conjunction with an examination of the ownership of shipping on the coast the second section will analyse the manning of vessels assigned to Ireland. It will focus on distinctive aspects of the navy's staffing of ships relating to Ireland. This includes the number of Irish men that can be detected in the parliamentary Irish guard and the possibility of promotion for service against the confederates. This chapter will also consider if service in the seas around Ireland was a factor in a number of the mutinies that took place on ships attached to the Irish guard.

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[1] TT E.176(40), *An ordinance and declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in parliament* (London, 1642), pp 1-5.

Parliamentary ship ownership

Trying to identify who owned the merchantmen and privateers that served in Ireland can be problematic. A number of issues arise in attempting to analyse the ownership of many of the vessels that plied the Irish seas. Firstly it can be hard to identify exactly who held shares in all the private shipping assigned to the Irish guard. In order to spread the costs and risks associated with owning and fitting out a ship many merchantmen had multiple owners. The surviving records often only name one of the owners of the vessels and allude to the others without naming them. Admiralty bills for payment generally named one of the proprietors for the vessel. This tended to be the captain or master if he had a stake in the ship. A payment order for the *Blessing of London* in November 1646 only listed one part owner of the ship, Thomas Winnall, the captain. An earlier account for the same ship referred to Edmond Younge and the other owners of the vessel.[2] Petitioners seeking letters of marque to set out privateers against the Irish rebels similarly only included one of the shareholders in the vessel. Nicholas Polhill and some unnamed partners sought and received such a licence for the *Spie* in October 1642.[3]

Secondly trying to decipher which ships served as hired men of war and privateers each year on the Irish coast can be equally difficult. Some merchants set out vessels for the coast of Ireland in both categories. Ships frequently shifted between the two types. Some privateers also operated for short or extended periods as hired men of war depending on the influence of the proprietors or the needs of

[2] Orders for payments for the *Blessing of London*, 3 June 1645 and 18 Nov. 1646 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, ff 16, 72).
[3] Petition of Nicholas Polhill and partners, Oct. 1642 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 282).

commanders in the Irish fleet. In general ships became hired men of war once they appeared in pay on the Irish guard lists and can be seen in other sources to be obeying the directions of parliament's admirals in that squadron. The prospect of pay for the hire as a man of war may have persuaded some owners who originally set out vessels as privateers to directly enter the state's service. They received the set rate for their ship, other allowances and retained the right to a share of any prizes their vessel intercepted. The case of the *Honour* illustrates this point. The committee of the admiralty approved the issuing of letters of marque to Captain Edmund Seaman for the *Honour* in September 1643. The ship can be seen in service as a hired man of war from 1644 on. It entered into pay on 5 April 1644. Similarly the earl of Warwick ordered the issuing of privateering licences to the *Truelove* and *Magdalen* in the early months of 1644. Both formed part of the Irish guard before the year ended.[4] In times of crisis during the war, ships that plied the Irish coast primarily as privateers found themselves taken into pay as hired men of war in the fleet. The admiral for the Irish seas engaged the *Hunter*, a privateer owned by Thomas Plunkett, into the Irish squadron from February to August 1647. The dangers faced by Michael Jones, the governor of Dublin, in 1648 led him to detain the privateer, the *Constant Warwick*, at that harbour.[5] Therefore in order to avoid confusion the most straightforward way to examine the ownership of English merchantmen and privateers involves analysing all the proprietors of privately owned shipping together.

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[4] Order by the committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and cinque ports, 6 Sept. 1644 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 295);orders by the earl of Warwick, Jan. and Feb. 1643/4, (T.N.A., Various papers, 1625-47, HCA 30/864); orders for payment for the *Honour*, *Truelove* and *Magdalen*, 1644 and 1645 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, ff 10, 13, 23).

[5] Order for payment to Thomas Plunkett, 8 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f. 105); certificate by Michael Jones, 29 June 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1654*, p. 47).

Ship ownership can be broken down into two broad classifications; firstly large scale investors who held shares in multiple vessels assigned to Ireland and those involved at a lower level with one or two men of war. Little more than the names of some of the people involved can be ascertained for some vessels. For other ships with well connected or prominent owners a considerable amount of information remains. During the 1640s a small group of M.P.s, naval officers and London 'new merchants' oversaw the running of the navy. N.A.M. Rodger succinctly summed up how parliament managed the navy during the 1640s when he wrote 'the navy was run by a group of men who combined public office with private business'.[6] The men who dominated the naval administration in the civil war held shares in large numbers of the vessels hired as men or war or commissioned as privateers. They engaged many of their own ships or those of their friends and relations to serve as part of the Irish fleet each year.[7] The connections between these M.P.s, city merchants and seamen stretched back to long before the war. For example, Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer, prominent London merchants, held stakes in five of the ten merchantmen listed for the summer guard in 1642. The admiralty authorised payments to them for the service of the *Discovery*, *Employment*, *Pennington*, *Peter* and *Ruth*. Thompson and Pennoyer had both been involved in the Providence Island company and privateering expeditions along with John Pym, one

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[6] Rodger, *The Safeguard of the sea*, p. 421.

[7] 'New merchants' is a term generally used to describe smaller independent merchants and privateers who took part in interloping trades from before the war who were not connected to the large trading companies such as the East India Company. Rodger, *Safeguard of the sea*, p. 424; Robert Brenner, *Merchants and revolution, commercial change, political conflict and London's overseas traders, 1550-1653* (Princeton, 1993), pp 113-61.

of the most important members of the House of Commons, and Robert Rich, the earl of Warwick and parliament's lord high admiral, in the 1620s and 1630s.[8]

The links between merchant shipping interests, the navy and parliament continued into the 1640s. Many of the principal naval officers had merchant backgrounds and interests. These included Richard Swanley and Robert Moulton who both served as admirals in the Irish guard during the war.[9] Merchants and ship owners held dominant positions on the numerous parliamentary committees which directed all aspects of English maritime policy. For example the M.P. and merchant Samuel Vassall became a member of the navy commission in 1642 and remained active in other naval bodies throughout the 1640s. Richard Cranley, a ship master and owner, acted as a prize commissioner and navy commissioner.[10] Many of these committee members and officers held shares in merchantmen and privateers allocated as part of the squadrons for guarding the coast of Ireland over a number of years (see Table 6.1). The key posts they held in the naval administration allowed them to select the ships engaged by the state and to assign them to their stations around the British Isles.

Three of the men of war that took part in blockading Dublin harbour from 1644 to 1647 had owners who sat on the principal naval committees in London.

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[8] Orders for payments to Maurice Thompson, 1642 and 1643 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/1); order for Sir Henry Vane to pay Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer, 15 Oct. 1642 (Bodl., Rawl. A220); Brenner, *Merchants and revolution*, pp 156-9; Maurice Thompson, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38061, accessed 13 Mar. 2007; Robert Rich, earl of Warwick, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23494, accessed 16 Feb. 2007.

[9] Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, p. 187; Robert Moulton, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37791, accessed 13 Mar. 2007; Richard Swanley, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26821, accessed 13 Mar. 2007.

[10] For a breakdown of the various naval committees and the principal members of each see Rodger, *Safeguard of the sea*, pp 422-4; Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, pp 187-90; Samuel Vassall, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28120, accessed 13 Mar. 2007.

Richard Cranley, the prize commissioner and member of navy commission, held shares in the *Honour*, along with the captain Edmund Seaman. Thomas Smith, the secretary of the admiralty and a collector for prize goods owned part of the *Jocelyn*. A number of related members of various committees including the navy commission each had a percentage of the *Samuel*. They included Alexander and Squire Bence and their brother in law, Samuel Vassall as well as the commander Mathew Wood.[11]

Table 6.1 Prominent parliamentary ship owners and their vessels, 1641-49[12]

Ship	Owners
Ruth of London[13]	Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer (London merchants)
Discovery	Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer
Pennington	Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer
Peter of London	Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer
Employment	Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer
Fellowship of Bristol[14]	Richard Hill (London merchant)
Mary of Bristol	Richard Hill
Little Mary of Bristol	Richard Hill; John Knight
Grace of Bristol	Richard Hill
Mayflower of London[15]	Samuel Vassall (M.P., navy commissioner, member of navy and admiralty committees
Truelove[16]	Gervase Coachman (captain); Richard or Benjamin Cranley
Honour[17]	Edmund Seaman (captain); Roger Twiddy (navy commissioner) Richard Cranley (navy commissioner)

[11] Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, pp 193-4; order for payment to Edmund Seaman, 14 Nov. 1644 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f. 13); order for payment to Thomas Smith, 27 June 1645, ibid, f. 41;

[12] See Appendix D1 for the years these vessels served in the Irish guard.

[13] Order for payments to Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer, 15 Oct. 1642 (Bodl., Rawl. MS A220, no. 117).

[14] Orders for payment to Richard Hill and others, 21 Aug 1642 (Bodl., Rawl. A220, no. 35); order for payment to John Knight, 25 Oct. 1642 ibid, no. 126; orders for payment to Richard Hill, 8 Mar. 1642/3 (Bodl., Rawl. A221, f. 1).

[15] Order for payment to Samuel Vassall, 27 Aug. 1643 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/2, f. 145r); TT E.335(6), *To the right honourable, the high court of parliament, the humble remonstrance of Andrewes Burrell* (London, 1646), p. 17.

[16] Order for payment to Gervase Coachman and others, 31 Mar. 1646 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f. 53); Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, p. 193; J.R. Tanner (ed.), *Two discourses of the navy, 1638 and 1659, by John Hollond* (Navy Records Society, London, 1896), lxv.

[17] Order for payment to Edmund Seaman and others, 14 Nov. 1644 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f. 13); TT E.335(6), *To the right honourable, the high court of parliament, the*

Honour[17]	Edmund Seaman (captain); Roger Twiddy (navy commissioner) Richard Cranley (navy commissioner)
Elizabeth of London[18]	William Coppin (captain)
Blessing of London[19]	Thomas Winnall (captain); Edmond Young; Alexander Bence (M.P., navy commissioner, member of the navy and admiralty committees); John Morris (navy commissioner)
Green frigate[20]	Lord Broghill (Munster vice admiral and parliamentary commander)
Magdalen[21]	John Hosier (captain)
Ann Percy of London[22]	Thomas Smith (secretary of the admiralty and a collector for prize goods); William Hancock; Richard Cranley; John Morris
Reformation[23]	Lord Inchiquin (Lord President of Munster)
Charles frigate	Lord Inchiquin
Anne and Joyce[24]	Thomas Jones (captain)
Angel[25]	Mr Reynolds (M.P.); Major Jephson (M.P.); Thomas Smith; Richard Cranley
Hunter[26]	Thomas Plunkett (privateer)
Resolution	Thomas Plunkett

[17] Order for payment to Edmund Seaman and others, 14 Nov. 1644 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f. 13); TT E.335(6), *To the right honourable, the high court of parliament, the humble remonstrance of Andrewes Burrell* (London, 1646), p. 17; TT E. 340(31), *The answer of the commissioners of the navy to a scandalous pamphlet published by Mr Andrewes Burrell* (London, 1646), p. 28.

[18] Order for payment to William Coppin and others, 25 Apr. 1645 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f. 15).

[19] Orders for payment to Blessing, 3 June 1645 and 18 Nov. 1646 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, ff 16, 72); TT E.335(6), *To the right honourable, the high court of parliament, the humble remonstrance of Andrewes Burrell* (London, 1646), p. 17; TT E. 340(31), *The answer of the commissioners of the navy to a scandalous pamphlet published by Mr Andrewes Burrell* (London, 1646), p. 28; Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, p. 193; Tanner (ed.), *Two discourses of the navy*, p. lxii.

[20] Order for payment to Lord Broghill, 21 July 1645 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f. 19).

[21] Order for payment to John Hosier, 28 May 1645 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f. 23).

[22]Commissioners deny Morris and Cranley owned part of this ship Orders for payment to Thomas Smith and William Hancock, 8 Oct. 1645 and 9 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, ff 33, 110); TT E.335(6), *To the right honourable, the high court of parliament, the humble remonstrance of Andrewes Burrell* (London, 1646), p. 17; TT E. 340(31), *The answer of the commissioners of the navy to a scandalous pamphlet published by Mr Andrewes Burrell* (London, 1646), p. 28.

[23] Orders for payment to Inchiquin, 18 Mar. 1645/6 and 25 July 1645 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, ff 33, 50).

[24] Order for payment to Thomas Jones, 17 Aug. 1646 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f. 65).

[25] Major Jephson and others to the committee of the admiralty, 14 June 1645 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1644-5*, pp 590-1).

[26] Orders for payments to Thomas Plunkett, 8 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, ff 105-6).

Discovery[28]	Thomas Plunkett (captain); earl of Warwick (admiral); Robert Moulton; Gregory Clements (M.P.); Thomas Smith; Maurice Thompson
Constant Warwick[29]	Earl of Warwick, Robert Moulton; Richard Swanley (admiral); William Batten (admiral)
Providence[30]	William Swanley (captain); Richard Cranley; Roger Twiddy
Samuel[31]	Mathew Wood (captain); Samuel Vassall; Alexander Bence; Squire Bence (M.P., navy commissioner, member of the Navy and admiralty committees)

Many of these men, as can be seen in Table 6.1, had shares in multiple vessels that formed part of the English fleets sent to patrol the seas around Ireland in the 1640s. The connections between the different owners can be seen in the shares of ships they held with other. Richard Cranley can be identified as a part owner of the *Providence*, *Truelove* and *Ann Percy*. Thomas Smith also held a share in the *Ann Percy*. Admiralty accounts listed Vassall as the proprietor of the *Mayflower*.[32] Some of the leading naval officers also set out shipping. The owners of the *Constant Warwick* included the earl of Warwick, William Batten, Robert Moulton and Richard Swanley. Moulton and Warwick also held a stake in the *Discovery* along with the

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[27] Order for payment to Thomas Smith, 27 June 1645 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f 41); R. McCaughey, The English navy, politics and administration, 1640-9 (D.Phil, 1983, University of Ulster), p. 166.

[28] Answers of Gregory Clements, 30 Jan. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Answers 1646-8, HCA 13/120); examination of Thomas Plunkett, 9 Oct. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

[29] Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, pp 195-6.

[30] Ibid, p. 193; TT E.335(6), *To the right honourable, the high court of parliament, the humble remonstrance of Andrewes Burrell* (London, 1646), p. 17; TT E. 340(31), *The answer of the commissioners of the navy to a scandalous pamphlet published by Mr Andrewes Burrell* (London, 1646), p. 28.

[31] Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, p. 193; Tanner (ed.), *Two discourses of the navy*, p. lxiv.

[32] Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, pp 193-4; order for payment to Thomas Smith, 8 Oct 1645 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f.33); order for payment to Samuel Vassall, 27 Aug. 1643 T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/2, f. 145r).

captain Thomas Plunkett, Thomas Smith, the merchant and M.P. Gregory Clement and others.[33]

The importance of influence in getting ships taken into the service of parliament for Ireland can be seen by the success of certain commanders. Thomas Plunkett owned parts of a number of other men of war as well as the *Discovery*. The committee of the navy approved the hiring of his vessels, the *Hunter*, *Dispatch* and *Resolution*, and passed orders for their payment.[34] Important local commanders also had ships they owned or recommended placed on the guard lists for Ireland and paid for by parliament. Lord Inchiquin, the lord president of Munster, had his own men of war, the *Charles* and a converted prize called the *Reformation*, employed and paid for by the admiralty in London. The *Reformation* may have been the ship formerly known as the *James of Bristol*. Bad weather forced the *James* into Kinsale on its return voyage from Barbados where it was detained. They also approved payments to other ships hired in Munster including the *Increase* and *Blessing of London* in 1645.[35]

The partial nature of the ownership records makes it hard to establish which vessels did not belong to well connected parliamentary syndicates. The shipping interests of London merchants extended far beyond the city and its vessels. Richard Hill, a London merchant and business partner of Maurice Thompson, set out a

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[33] Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, pp 195-6; answers of Gregory Clements, 30 Jan. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Answers 1646-8, HCA 13/120); examination of Thomas Plunkett, 9 Oct. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62); Gregory Clements, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5602, accessed 13 Mar. 2007.

[34] Order for payment to Thomas Plunkett, 1647 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, ff 105-6).

[35] Orders for payments to lord Inchiquin, 1645 and 1646 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, ff 16, 25, 44, 50); deposition of James Lassolds, 2 Jan. 1645/6, Nott (ed.), *The deposition books of Bristol, vol. I: 1643-47*, pp 98; Inchiquin to Ormond, 25 Sept. 1645 (Bodl., Carte MS 15, ff 679-80v).

number of Bristol vessels for the Irish guard in 1642. He part owned the *Fellowship of Bristol*, *Mary of Bristol* and *Little Mary of Bristol* and he also received money relating to the hire of the *Grace of Bristol*.[36] The petitions for payments for ships hired or pressed into service suggest that some of them belonged to small scale ship owners. A lack of influence or connections may explain why, by 4 March 1648 Katherine Drayton, the widow of Captain Thomas Beale of the *Great Lewis*, had had not received money owed for the service of the ship at Duncannon in 1644 four years earlier.[37] Given the volume of merchantmen employed by the navy in the 1640s many must have belonged to owners with few connections to merchants or naval officials in London.

Allegations about the corruption of the naval administration abounded in the 1640s. Andrews Burrell, a shipyard owner, complained in 1646 that the officers of the navy set the best prizes aside for themselves as privateers and engaged their own 'sluggish ships' as men of war. John Hollond, a navy commissioner until he resigned in 1645, made numerous allegations against his fellow commissioners. These included charges that they kept their own ships in service for longer than necessary at the charge of the state.[38] The navy commissioners refuted many of the charges against them in a pamphlet in 1646. In it they accepted that some commissioners

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[36] Orders for payment to Richard Hill and others, 21 Aug 1642 (Bodl., Rawl. A220, no. 35); orders for payment to Richard Hill, 8 Mar. 1642/3 (Bodl., Rawl. A221, f. 1); Brenner, *Merchants and revolution*, pp 403-4.

[37] Roger Drayton and Katherine Drayton to the Committee of the Admiralty, 30 Mar. 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Adv., 1642-59*, p. 369); Richard Swanley to the Committee of the Admiralty, 26 Mar. 1648, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, pp 173-4.

[38] TT E.335(6), *To the right honourable, the high court of parliament, the humble remonstrance of Andrewes Burrell* (London, 1646), pp 4-5; Tanner (ed.), *Two discourses of the navy*, p. 139; McCaughey, The English navy, politics and administration, pp 151-78.

owned ships but disputed that they were unserviceable.[39] Some ships assigned to the Irish guard did remain in pay for very long periods of time. In a period of over four years eight months and two weeks the *Jocelyn* received pay from the state for all but fifty-four days.[40]

This raises the question of how such ships could function efficiently at sea on the Irish coast for such long cruises without coming in for repairs. It seems likely that general maintenance of the vessels took place while they remained at their station. Captains had the men of war they commanded patched up as necessary on the Irish coast. In June 1646 William Penn ordered the *Increase* to be hauled ashore on the banks of the Shannon so the carpenters in his flotilla could find and fix the leaks on board the ship.[41] The docks in Kinsale provided facilities for the upkeep of parliamentary men of war. William Penn spent four days cleaning and tallowing the *Assurance* there in June 1647.[42] Milford Haven also possessed the services for fitting out state and privately owned men of war. Richard Swanley spent £167 3*d.* on supplies for graving five ships there in 1645. His successor as admiral of the Irish guard, Robert Moulton, paid out money for repairs to the hired merchantmen the *Charles*, *Green* frigate and *Anne Percy* in 1646 and 1647.[43] Having such well connected owners of merchant shipping assigned to Ireland also benefited the navy at times when the Irish guard required additional vessels. The captains of privateers

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[39] TT E. 340(31), *The answer of the commissioners of the navy to a scandalous pamphlet published by Mr Andrewes Burrell* (London, 1646), pp 1-28

[40] McCaughey, The English navy, politics and administration, pp 166, 281.

[41] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 195-6.

[42] William Penn to the committee for the admiralty, 16 June 1647, Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 245-6.

[43] Graving involved the cleaning of the bottom of a ship and the applying of a substance, such as tar, to improve the speed and sailing capability of the vessel. Order for payment to Richard Swanley, 31 Aug. 1645 (T.N.A., Admiralty Bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/5, f. 4); order for payment to Robert Moulton, 2 Jan. 1646/7, ibid, f. 104.

such as the *Discovery* or *Constant Warwick* were unlikely to refuse orders from the lord high admiral or other commanders such as Robert Moulton who owned shares in the ship. For instance Captain Thomas Grigge and the *Discovery* went to aid the garrison at Bunratty as soon as he received instructions from Lord Broghill and Moulton to do so in April 1646.[44] This contrasted with the situation involving confederate privateers; commanders like Ormond and his agents usually had to engage in elaborate negotiations in order to employ Irish frigates even for a short period of time.

Motivations to send shipping to Ireland

Prominent and well connected men who hired their vessels to parliament, such as those who sat on the various admiralty committees, could probably make sure their ships avoided particularly dangerous or unprofitable duties. A number of overlapping factors motivated ship owners to make their vessels available for service against the confederates in Ireland. Some proprietors had little choice in the matter as admirals like Richard Swanley pressed their ships into service when the need arose. In 1643 Swanley ordered the captain of the *Love's Increase* to carry provisions to relieve the fort at Duncannon. After arriving there the governor, Lord Esmond, ordered the ship to take supplies up to the besieging army before New Ross.[45] Personal reasons such as a desire for revenge against the Irish persuaded John Harris to seek a letter of marque for the *Alexander* in March 1643. Harris and his family had been forced to flee from County Kerry by the rebellion and claimed to have lost an

[44] Examination of Thomas Grigge, 3 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[45] Lords Justices to William Lenthall, 3 Apr. 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, i, 259; Lazarus Howard and others to Ormond, 16 Mar 1642/3 (Bodl., Carte MS 4, f. 494).

estate allegedly worth £2,000. As he had been utterly ruined he sought the commission to support himself and to 'bee the meanes by Gods blessing to bring them to their deserved destruction'.[46] A combination of profit and patriotism motivated most of the proprietors who put their vessels into the employ of parliament. Firstly they saw the potential for profit from the war at sea and secondly many parliamentary supporters had a desire to crush the rebellion in Ireland and support Protestant outposts there. As merchants and ship owners they also realised the dangers posed to their commercial interests from confederate privateering bases on the south east coast of Ireland.

The potential for profit attracted many ship owners to let their vessels to the English navy. Parliament offered generous terms to attract merchantmen to its service. They paid the owners £3 15*s*. 6*d*. per man per month for each ship, allowing twenty-eight days per month and thirty men per 100 tons of shipping. The owners also benefited from extra expenses paid for by the state such as the equipping of a surgeons chest. The amount of money owed for the hire of a ship for a summer or winter guard could be quite substantial. Between 1643 and 1645 the navy had 124 merchantmen in its service at a cost of £250,184.[47] The charge for hiring the *Blessing of London* with sixty men for eight months from April to November 1646 amounted to £1,952 15*s*. 5*d*. The employment of the *Ann Percy*, manned by between seventy-five and eighty-six sailors, from May 1645 to November 1647 cost the state £4,396 11*s*. 2*d*. The five ships owned by Maurice Thompson and hired to parliament from January 1642 as part of the Irish guard ran up charges of £34,327 13*s*. 1*d*. until their

[46] Petition of John Harris, 28 Mar. 1643 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 286v).
[47] Rodger, *Safeguard of the sea*, p. 423.

service ended in April 1643.[48] Additional expenses borne by the state also lowered the costs the proprietors faced in outfitting their vessels for sea. The accounts for most hired merchantmen included payments for supplying the surgeon's chest on board the ship. The *Truelove* received £2 10*s*. for service from the winter guard from 1645 and £5 for the summer guard in 1646 on the Irish coast.[49] The rates of hire given for merchant men did not apply exclusively to Ireland. The navy offered them to all the private ships in their employ. Why then did the ship owners and officers who sat on the committees that selected and assigned the ships to their stations in the three kingdoms choose to send so many of their own vessels to the Irish guard?

The other potential source for profit from the war at sea came from the seizure and sale of enemy vessels. The owners of hired merchant shipping received a third of the value of the prize once sold and privateers kept all the proceeds less the tenths due to the state. This offered the possibility of large profits for the individuals who set out these men of war. Between March 1646 and April 1649 the owners of merchant ships received £10,722 13*s*. 9*d*. as their thirds of the prizes condemned and sold by the admiralty. Private shipping seized 138 of the 353 parliamentary prizes that have been identified relating to Ireland.[50] Records from prize condemnations and the tenths of prizes paid to the state suggest that privately owned English shipping detained many vessels of considerable value. The *Recovery* apprehended the *Olive of St Malo* and *Mary of Galway* in February 1647 on the west coast of Ireland. The

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[48] Order for payment for the *Blessing*, 18 Nov. 1646 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, f. 72); order for payments for the *Ann Percy*, 1645 to 1647, ibid, ff 33, 53, 59, 110; orders for payment to Maurice Thompson, 26 Apr. 1643 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/1).
[49] Orders for payment for the *Truelove*, Mar. and Dec. 1646 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, ff 53, 71).
[50] See Appendix C2. Accounts of Thomas Smith and John Hill, collectors for prize goods (T.N.A., Navy treasurer's accounts, 1641-53, E351/2513).

privateer paid tenths to parliament of £22 16*s*. 3*d*. for the *Olive* and £11 10s for the *Mary*. This gave a sale value of over £300 to the two prizes and their cargoes.[51] Reeve Williams, a captain involved with a number of privateers, paid tenths of £408 5*s*. 9*d*. to Lord Broghill, the vice admiral of Munster, for ships he captured in 1647. This valued the vessels and the goods they carried at over £4,000.[52]

Not all private maritime enterprises in Ireland during the 1640s succeeded financially. In 1644 a number of members of the navy commission promoted a privateering expedition to Ireland. It consisted of five ships commanded by Captain John Man. The backers had the *Achilles*, *Lorne*, *Magdalen*, *Marigould* and *Scout* entered into pay as part of the summer guard for that year.[53] At least one prize can be attributed to the flotilla. In the spring of 1644 the *Lorne* and *Magdalen* seized the *Jennet of Belfast* carrying wine and tobacco to Carrickfergus. Even though the ships received pay from parliament at the standard rate, the owners recalled them in November as the costs involved outweighed the gains. One of the vessels the *Magdalen* remained in the Irish fleet and took part in the naval operations during the siege of Duncannon.[54]

The positions many of the London merchants and ship owners held on the various naval committees placed them in an excellent situation to take advantage of opportunities that arose relating to the sale of prizes. For example, those involved in

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[51] Accounts of Richard Cranley, collector of tenths of prizes (T.N.A., Navy treasurer's accounts, 1641-53, E351/2514); condemnation of the *Olive of St Malo* and *Mary of Galway*, nd, (T.N.A., Sentences in prize court, 1643-50, HCA 34/1, ff 539, 603).

[52] Williams petitioned for letters of marque in 1647 for the *Mermaid*, *Cat*, *Warspite* and *Cambria* galley. Accounts of Richard Cranley, collector of tenths of prizes (T.N.A., Navy treasurer's accounts, 1641-53, E351/2514); petition of Reeve Williams and others, 1647 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1579-1656, HCA 30/849, f. 577).

[53] Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, p. 198.

[54] Examination of Thomas Parker, 11 May 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations 1644-5, HCA 13/59, ff 204-v).

disposing of captured shipping as public officials sometimes bought the same vessels as private businessmen. Thomas Smith, who can be seen in Table 6.1 as a shareholder in numerous ships, served as one of the two collectors for prize goods. Other officials responsible for appraising and making inventories of the captured vessels included men with extensive private shipping interests such as Maurice Thompson and Richard Cranley.[55] The case of the *Angel*, a 300 ton prize reported to be 'an extraordinary sailor', clearly illustrates this and supports one of the claims made by Andrewes Burrell in his attack on the parliamentary naval administration. Burrell felt that the state should make use of any suitable prize vessels rather than the officials selling them on at favourable rates to their friends. Captain Plunkett in the *Discovery* seized the *Angel* in 1645 and brought the ship into the Thames. The owners of the *Discovery* included a number of leading merchants and naval officers including the earl of Warwick. Plunkett sold the prize onto a number of prominent parliamentary ship owners including Thomas Smith, Richard Cranley and others.[56] No definite proof of corruption exists as the only sources for the worth of the prizes came from material prepared and controlled by the very people Burrell complained about such as the appraisements of ships.

As well as their share of the profit from prizes the owners of vessels hired to the state hoped to benefit economically from safer seas around the three kingdoms. In the seventeenth-century trade with the wider world beyond continental Europe became increasingly important for England. By the 1640s overseas commerce with

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[55] Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, p. 198.
[56] TT E.335(6), *To the right honourable, the high court of parliament, the humble remonstrance of Andrewes Burrell* (London, 1646), pp 4-5; Major Jephson and others to the committee of the admiralty, 14 June 1645 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1644-5*, pp 590-1).

the New World had become more lucrative for England than traffic with Europe. The principal crops destined for the ports of London, Liverpool and Bristol included tobacco from North America and sugar from Barbados. By the early 1650s Barbados produced an annual sugar crop worth in excess of £3 million per annum.[57] Many of the men that set out warships as part of the Irish guard can be identified as having extensive overseas trading interests to the East and West Indies, North America, Africa and the Levant. Maurice Thompson, William Pennoyer, Samuel Vassall, Gregory Clement and Richard Cranley all had involvement in the tobacco and provisioning trades to and from the West Indies, Virginia and New England. Vassal and Richard Cranley held shares in ships that participated in the slave trade between Guinea and the West Indies.[58] As can be seen in Map 5, most of these ships had to pass by the southern Ireland on their return voyage. This left them vulnerable to attack from confederate frigates operating from Wexford and Waterford. In order to limit losses to privateers the navy needed to ensure it deployed a strong guard in the area of St George's Channel and Scilly Isles. An awareness of the potential dangers posed by hostile men of war sailing from bases on the south east coast of Ireland may have prompted merchants with overseas commercial ventures to place their ships into the service of parliament. By strengthening the squadrons the admiralty deployed on the Irish coast they could try and limit the losses of shipping and valuable merchandise they might suffer.

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[57] Hilary McD. Beckles, 'The 'hub of empire': the Caribbean and Britain in the seventeenth century' in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British empire, i: The origins of empire, British overseas enterprise to the close of the seventeenth century* (Oxford, 1998), pp 222-5; Nuala Zahedieh, 'Overseas expansion and trade in the seventeenth century', ibid, pp 398-9; Nuala Zahedieh, 'Economy' in David Armitage and Michael Braddick (eds), *The British Atlantic world, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp 55-6.

[58] For a full breakdown of new merchants and their overseas trading interests from 1616 to 1649 see Brenner, *Merchants and revolution*, pp 113-193.

The desire to suppress the rebellion and turn a profit from any conquest can be seen in the 'Sea Adventure' scheme in the spring and summer of 1642. Parliament had established the 'Adventurers for Irish Land' scheme early in 1642. The money raised from investors would be used to raise an army to help put down the rebellion in Ireland. After the reconquest the investments would be repaid in confiscated Irish land. By April, as the political situation with the king worsened, it became obvious that parliament could not afford to let the adventurers' forces cross to Ireland. In mid April a group of London merchants and parliamentary supporters proposed setting out an additional force of five to seven ships and 500 soldiers to 'further the conquest of Ireland, and the relief of their brethren there'. For their investment they sought a return in Irish land. The House of Commons approved the raising of £40,000 for the 'Sea Adventure' on 30 April 1642.[59] The scheme quickly brought in just over £43,400 from approximately 180 contributors.[60] On 17 June parliament set out the precise terms of operation for the adventurers' force in Ireland and the fleet sailed for Ireland on 29 June 1642.[61]

From the subscribers list a number of leading merchants with shipping interests can be distinguished. These included Samuel Vassall, Maurice Thompson, Gregory Clement, William Pennoyer, Richard Cranley and Richard Hill, among others.[62] Parliament appointed some of these men as commissioners for the project in June. Robert Brenner summed up the men who formed the principal backers of the

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[59] H.M.C., *Fifth Report, Appendix* (London, 1878), p. 18; *Lords Journal*, v, 3-5; *Commons Journal*, ii, 549-52; Brenner, *Merchants and revolution*, pp 402-3.
[60] John P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement of Ireland* (Dublin, 1875, 2nd ed.), pp 443-8.
[61] For details of the 'Sea Adventure' in Ireland see Chapter 2. *Lords Journal*, v, 144-5; TT E. 242 (15) *A true relation of the passages of Gods providence in a voyage for Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 4.
[62] Prendergast, *Cromwellian settlement*, pp 443-8.

'Sea Adventure' as 'the private project of the new colonial-interloping leadership and its non-merchant political and religious allies'.[63] The financiers of the 'Sea Adventure' clearly hoped to make financial gains from their investment. Parliament granted them the right to keep any rebel goods they seized and issued letters of marque for the fleet's ships. The navy also entered the vessels into pay at the standard rate for hired merchantmen. The shareholders also had the not unrealistic prospect of receiving Irish land once the rebellion had been suppressed. Kenneth Andrews summed up the scheme as a 'privileged privateering expedition'.[64]

The impetus behind the enterprise came from the merchants themselves. They proposed the 'Sea Adventure' to parliament rather than being pressurised into supporting it. As many like Thompson and Hill already had ships in the Irish guard they had no need to set out extra shipping unless they wanted to. Profit alone does not explain why these merchants outfitted such an expensive and risky venture so quickly in 1642. A genuine desire to put down the revolt in Ireland and help the 'distressed Protestants' there probably persuaded many to back the endeavour. The presence of radical puritan officers like the commander Lord Forbes and ministers such as Hugh Peters showed the intent of the promoters to effect a bloody suppression of the rebels.[65] Some investors, including Thompson and Clements, had previously suffered losses to frigates that sailed from Dunkirk in the 1630s. They realised the threat to English commerce if parliament failed to deal with rebel-held

[63] The sixteen commissioners included Thompson, Clements, Hill, Pennoyer and their merchant and political allies. *Lords Journal*, v, 144-5; Brenner, *Merchants and revolution*, pp 403-4.
[64] *Lords Journal*, v, 144-5; Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, pp 195-6.
[65] See Robert Brenner for a detailed analysis at the origins of the scheme and the backers. Brenner, M*erchants and revolution*, pp 401-12.

ports in Ireland.[66] Reports of frigates going to aid the Irish became more common from the spring of 1642 on. The lord lieutenant received credible news in April about ships coming from France and Spain to aid the Irish rebels.[67] Setting out a fleet and army along the coast could help prevent the confederates from setting out privateers which would damage their overseas trade. Hence a series of overlapping reasons persuaded most private ship owners to set out their vessels for service in the Irish seas in the 1640s.

The potential for profit: the *Jocelyn* and the *Discovery*

Two case studies illustrate the potential for profit from prize sales and the ability of owners to manipulate the process to their advantage. From 1644 to 1646 the *Jocelyn*, a hired merchantman of 196 tons with a crew of fifty-nine sailors commanded by Robert Clarke and part owned by Thomas Smith, served on the east coast of Ireland. During that time the *Jocelyn* participated in blockading Ormond in Dublin, and in conjunction with a number of other merchantmen and converted prizes, intercepted royalist shipping from England and Ireland. The men of war the *Jocelyn* consorted with in the Irish Sea included the *James of Youghal*, *Honour*, *Samuel*, *Peregrine* and *William and Thomas*. This flotilla seized approximately twenty-seven identifiable prizes in 1644 and 1645.[68] The ships seized varied from the 200 ton royalist man of war the *Swan* taken out of Dublin bay by Captain Clarke to small boats laden with a few tons of coal, corn and other goods. The value of these

[66] Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, p. 57.
[67] Advice to the lord lieutenant, 21 Apr. 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers*, pp 22-3.
[68] The records for these prizes are imprecise in terms of the date of capture for most ships .See Appendix C2 for a list of these prizes.

prizes also varied considerably depending on the vessel and its lading. The assessment of the *Swan* valued the ship with all the equipment on board at £400. The *White Lamb*, a 60 ton merchantman, taken from Dublin bay at the same time by the *Jocelyn* had herring, beef and butter on board worth £460. A small bark and its cargo of coal seized by the *Peregrine* sold for £8.[69]

The owners of the *Jocelyn* and the other men of war stood to receive a third of the money achieved by the sale of the prizes. The values placed on captured ships and the merchandise they carried in examinations can not be wholly relied on for establishing how much the prize realised for the owners. Parliamentary commanders such as Sir William Brereton occasionally seized some of the goods and ships to supply the army and paid less than the appraisement value for what they took. The *Jocelyn*, in association with the *James of Youghal* and *William and Thomas*, detained the *Unicorn of Portsmouth*. The captains valued the goods on board the prize at £1,000. Another witness Richard Dermot calculated that the ship carried fruit and wine worth £600. Sir William Brereton only allowed £400 for the vessel and its lading to the *Jocelyn* and its consorts.[70]

An account book in the high court of admiralty files contains details for the disposal of fifteen prizes taken by this flotilla, primarily by the *Jocelyn* and *James of Youghal* in 1644 and 1645. It also shows the allocation of the revenue among the relevant parties.[71] The sale of the fifteen listed prizes raised £1,611 to be divided among the hired merchantmen. From this sum the owners of the *Jocelyn* received

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[69] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1650, HCA 13/63, ff 267-9).
[70] Accounts for the *Jocelyn*, 1644 and 1645 (T.N.A., Instance papers, 1650-3, HCA 15/5); examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1650, HCA 13/63, ff 267-9).
[71] The relevant ships are indicated in Appendix A1. Accounts for the *Jocelyn*, 1644 and 1645 (T.N.A., Instance papers, 1650-3, HCA 15/5).

£235 and the mariners a further £206 as their share of the prizes. The proprietors and sailors of the *James of Youghal* shared out £345 10*s*. 6*d*. for their thirds.[72] The owners could reap further benefits from the vessels their men of war seized. This helped to reduce the costs they incurred in out fitting their ships. For instance the *Jocelyn* and other ships took supplies and equipment they needed from the prizes. These things should have been provided by the proprietors as part of their contract for the hire of their vessels to parliament. The *Jocelyn* received a cable and anchor worth £24 5*s*. and Captain Clarke also took wine and beer valued at £32 6*s*.[73] As well as their share of the sale of prizes Thomas Smith and the other owners of the *Jocelyn* also received the standard rate of hire for the ship from parliament. This amounted to £5,251 7*s*. between August 1644 and June 1646.[74] The income from prizes therefore provided a reasonable extra source of revenue to the owners of the *Jocelyn*.

The second case involved the *Discovery*, the most successful privateer operating on the coast of Ireland in the 1640s. Originally called the *St Jacob of Dunkirk*, the Flemish built 350 ton frigate had been set out as a privateer in 1637 by its owners, the London merchants Gregory Clement, Maurice Thompson, Robert South and George Pryor. In August 1644 they sold the vessel, now called the *Discovery*, to a syndicate fronted by her new captain, Thomas Plunkett, for £1,400. The new owners included Plunkett, the earl of Warwick, Robert Moulton, Thomas Smith, Samuel Ferns and others. Two former owners continued to hold shares in the ship. Gregory Clements maintained a quarter of the ship. He split his portion with

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[72] Accounts for the *Jocelyn*, 1644 and 1645 (T.N.A., Instance papers, 1650-3, HCA 15/5).
[73] Accounts for the *Jocelyn*, 1644 and 1645, ibid.
[74] Between 1642 and 1646 the *Jocelyn* earned £13,526 11s 5d in the service of the state. Payment orders for Thomas Smith, 1645 and 1646 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, ff 41, 63); McCaughey, The English navy, politics and administration, p. 281.

Maurice Thompson, who owned a fifth of Clements' share, or five per cent of the total.[75] Parliamentary ordinances issuing letters of marque usually specified that the owners should set out their vessels at their own charge. The presence of so many prominent naval officers and merchants among the owners of the *Discovery* may explain why the ordnance office supplied sixteen demi-culverins, six sakers and four minions for the ship in November 1644.[76] During the 1640s Thomas Plunkett shared command of the ship with Captain Thomas Grigge.

From high court of admiralty records forty-one named vessels seized by the *Discovery* can be identified, mainly in 1644 and 1645.[77] Many of the vessels came from English royalist ports. These ships have been counted as Irish prizes as Plunkett essentially operated as a privateer on the coast of Ireland and he disposed of many of the prizes in Munster ports. For instance Plunkett paid £149 as tenths for the English ships the *Adventure of Dartmouth* and *Mary of Foy* to Lord Broghill in Munster.[78] Other sources alluded to prizes taken by the frigate but without names they cannot be distinguished from the identified vessels. For example William Penn's journal noted the arrival of Thomas Grigge in the *Discovery* with a captured ship at the siege of Bunratty in April 1646.[79] During the 1640s the admiralty adjudged twenty-five of the prizes captured by the *Discovery* as legitimate and condemned them for sale (see

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[75] Examination of Thomas Plunkett, 26 Oct. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations 1644-5, HCA 13/59, f.534v); examination of Thomas Plunkett, 9 Oct. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62); answers of Gregory Clements, 9 Feb. 1653/4 (T.N.A., Answers 1652-5, HCA 13/126).

[76] TT E.75(20), *Two ordinances of the lords and commons assembled in parliament* (London, 1643), pp 3-4; security for the *Discovery*, 1 Nov. 1644 (B.L., Register of Sir Walter Erle, lieutenant general of ordnance, 1642-4, Add MS 32,426, f. 48v).

[77] See Appendix C2. This appendix lists the 37 named prizes that can be identified.

[78] Accounts of Richard Cranley, collector of tenths of prizes (T.N.A., Navy treasurer's accounts, 1641-53, E351/2514).

[79] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 174.

Table 6.2).[80] As well as these vessels, one of the owners, Gregory Clements, gave a statement to the high court of admiralty in 1654 concerning nineteen prize ships (not all the same ones as the admiralty deemed prizes) seized by the privateer in 1644 and 1645. Not all the ships referred to by Clements match those in the admiralty prize files.

Table 6.2 Ships seized by the *Discovery* as named by Gregory Clements and condemned in the High Court of Admiralty[81]

Ships name by Clements[82]	Ships condemned in HCA 34/1
George of Dartmouth	*George of Dartmouth*[83]
Cross of Le Croisic	*Cross of Le Croisic*[84]
Golden Salmon	*Golden Salmon*[85]
Blue Angel	*Blue Angel*[86]
Notterdam	*Nostra Dama of Le Croisic*[87]
Sarah of Barnstaple	*Sarah of Barnstaple*[88]
Mary of Foy	*Mary of Foy*[89]
Lidia of Foy	*Lydia of Foy*[90]
Peter or *Phoenix of Amsterdam*	*St Peter of Amsterdam*[91]
Resolution	*Resolution*[92]
Charles of Nantes	*St Charles of Nantes*[93]
Philip	*Philip of Bideford*[94]
2 barks of Barnstaple	*Robert of Barnstaple*[95] *Lyon of Barnstaple*[96]
1 Irish vessel	*Hope of Dungarvan*[97]

[80] See Appendix C2.
[81] I have tried to match the names and details of the ships on the 2 lists as far as possible.
[82] Answers of Gregory Clements, 9 Feb. 1653/4 (T.N.A., Answers 1652-5, HCA 13/126).
[83] Condemnation of the *George*, nd, (T.N.A., Sentences in prize courts, 1643-50, HCA 34/1, f. 294).
[84] Condemnation of the *Cross*, nd, ibid, f.307.
[85] Condemnation of the *Golden Salmon*, nd, ibid, f. 274.
[86] Condemnation of the *Blue Angel*, nd, ibid, f. 613.
[87] Condemnation of the *Nostra Dama*, nd, ibid, f. 308.
[88] Condemnation of the *Sarah*, nd, ibid, f. 421.
[89] Condemnation of the *Mary*, nd, ibid, f. 433
[90] Condemnation of the *Lydia*, nd, ibid, f. 423.
[91] Condemnation of the *St Peter*, nd, ibid, f. 424.
[92] Condemnation of the *Resolution*, nd, ibid, f. 469.
[93] Condemnation of the *St Charles*, nd, ibid, f. 482.
[94] Condemnation of the *Philip*, nd, ibid, f. 419.
[95] Condemnation of the *Robert*, nd, ibid, f. 293.
[96] Condemnation of the *Lyon*, nd, ibid, f. 284.

Bark of Lowe	*Content of La (Loos)*[98]
Blessing	*Blessing of Barnstaple*[99]
St Charles	----------
Sarah	----------
----------	*Phoenix of Flushing*[100]
----------	*Lyon of Ilfracombe*[101]
----------	*Patience of Ilfracombe*[102]
----------	*Adventure of Dartmouth*[103]
----------	*Angel of Amsterdam*[104]
----------	*Rebecca of Appledore*[105]
----------	*Hope of Bideford*[106]
----------	*Unity of Barnstaple*[107]

Clements's valued the nineteen prizes and the goods they carried at £3,951 5*s*. 2*d*. From this sum he deducted £3,492 15*s*. 4*d*. as the cost of out fitting the *Discovery*. This left a profit for the owners of £459 9*s*. 10*d*. of which he received £114 12*s*. 5*d*. for his quarter share. The value placed on the nineteen ships by Clements seems to be quite low given the amount Plunkett paid as tenths on the above mentioned *Adventure of Dartmouth* and *Mary of Foy*. Lord Broghill, as vice admiral in Munster received £149 which puts a sale value of £1,490 on the two ships. This makes it unlikely that the disposal of nineteen prizes raised just under £4,000.

Not all the ships the *Discovery* captured generated revenue for the syndicate of owners. If the court of admiralty decided that Plunkett had not taken a legitimate prize they could order the restoration of the ship and merchandise or the value of the

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[97] Condemnation of the *Hope*, nd, ibid f. 296.
[98] Condemnation of the *Adventure*, nd, ibid, f. 434.
[99] Condemnation of the *Blessing*, nd, ibid, f. 431.
[100] Condemnation of the *Phoenix*, nd, ibid, f. 432.
[101] Condemnation of the *Lyon*, nd, ibid, f. 422.
[102] Condemnation of the *Patience*, nd, ibid, f, 420.
[103] Condemnation of the *Adventure*, nd, ibid, f. 434.
[104] Condemnation of the *Angel*, nd, ibid, f. 276.
[105] Condemnation of the *Rebecca*, nd, ibid, f. 282.
[106] Condemnation of the *Hope*, nd, ibid, f. 283.
[107] Condemnation of the *Unity*, nd, ibid, f. 286.

same to the original proprietors. This created problems if the goods had already been disposed of for the use of Protestant outposts in Ireland. The committee of the admiralty did not approve of this practice as the issue became complex if a captured vessel turned out not to be legitimate prize and they received complaints if it belonged to a foreign state. The committee of the lords and commons for foreign affairs wrote to the court of admiralty in July 1645 after they received complaints from the French government agent in London about the seizure of the *Cross of Le Croisic* and the *Nostra Dama of Le Croisic* by the *Discovery*.[108] In granting permission to William Penn in December 1646 to use some of the goods from a captured Waterford merchantman, to aid Lord Inchiquin in Munster, they acknowledged that cargoes sometimes had to be sold to support parliamentary garrisons there.[109] For the original owners of the ship and its lading the process of retrieving their property could prove time consuming and frustrating. In December 1644 the *Discovery* seized a Scottish ship carrying wine from France to Carrickfergus. The owner of the vessel, Thomas Boyd, managed to obtain an order to have the value of the wine repaid to him by Thomas Plunkett. Over two years later, in March 1647, Boyd had still not received any money. Plunkett refused to pay for the wine as he had given it Inchiquin who used it for his army in Cork.[110]

As well as revenue from the sale of prizes, Clements also detailed the money owed for the hire of the *Discovery* by parliament in 1646 and 1647. Clements claimed that parliament owed £1,959 12*s*. 2*d*. to the owners for the leasing of the

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[108] Committee of the lords and commons for foreign affairs to the high court of admiralty, 12 July 1645 (T.N.A., Various, 1624-50, HCA 30/863).
[109] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 228-9.
[110] Scottish commissioners to Lenthall, 23 Mar. 1646/7, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 235.

frigate in this period. They received £947 7*s*. 3*d*. He collected £449 6s 6d of this.[111] Overall, for his quarter share in the privateer Clements claimed to have received £563 18*s*. 11*d*. in 1654. Parliament still owed the owners over £1,000 for the services of the *Discovery* in 1646 and 1647. Clements also had to pay a fifth of any money he received to Maurice Thompson for his holding in the man of war. The share of the profit from the *Discovery* made by Clements does not seem particularly high for such a successful ship. Robert South and George Pryor, two of the original partners in the ship, laid allegations against him that he had sold the ship in 1644 for a very low rate and kept a share of the vessel to benefit from the bargain price and any future prizes. The figures provided by Clements for his share of the venture formed part of his defence against the charges brought against him by South and Pryor and therefore cannot be wholly relied upon.[112]

As well as the income from prizes and the hire of the ship to the state other potentially lucrative sources of revenue for the owners of the *Discovery* can be seen in the records. They set out some of the vessels they captured as men of war and hired them to the navy. In 1647 the admiralty approved payments of £1,639 10*s*. 5*d*. to Thomas Plunkett for the use of his ships as men of war. This included payments for the *Resolution* of £362 14*s*. 10*d*. Some of the other ships may have been renamed former prizes.[113] The manipulation of the disposal of prize goods in Ireland away from the attention of parliamentary officials in England may also have afforded an

[111] Answers of Gregory Clements, 9 Feb. 1653/4 (T.N.A., Answers 1652-5, HCA 13/126).
[112] Ibid; interrogatories for the *Discovery*, nd, (T.N.A., Interrogatories files, 1649-53, HCA 23/15, no. 153).
[113] Order for payment to Thomas Plunkett, 1647 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1644-53, Adm 18/4, ff 105-6); condemnation of the *Resolution*, nd, (T.N.A., Sentences in prize courts, 1643-50, HCA 34/1, f. 469).

opportunity for ship owners and officers to increase their profits. The court occasionally ordered the immediate sale of merchandise on board a prize vessel if it came into port in a leaky condition or if the goods on board might decay. In April 1647 they approved the disposal of the salmon seized on board the *Mary of Galway* as its perishable condition meant it would rot before proceedings could take place.[114] The case of the *St Peter*, a ship taken by the *Discovery* in 1645, showed the possibilities to influence the adjudication process to benefit the owners of the privateer. Plunkett brought the *St Peter* into Kinsale as he needed to repair his man of war before he brought the prize to England for judgement. Lord Inchiquin desperately needed supplies to maintain the Munster army. He resolved to make use of the goods on board the *St Peter* to maintain his army regardless of its legitimacy as a prize. As no merchants came forward to buy the goods Inchiquin issued tickets to his officers to receive part of the goods in lieu of their wages. None of the deponents in the case stated at what rates Plunkett issued the goods. But Inchiquin and others claimed that the goods definitely would have sold for more in England and that if parliament ordered the restoration of the value of the goods then the original owners would suffer a large loss. Some witnesses believed that Plunkett personally purchased some of the goods for himself at these favourable rates.[115] From the number and known details of the prizes the *Discovery* made along with ancillary activities the owners seem to have made a substantial profit for their efforts and investment.

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[114] Order of the committee for the admiralty and cinque ports, 23 Apr. 1647 (T.N.A., Various, 1624-50, HCA 30/863).

[115] Examination of lord Inchiquin, Feb. 1645/6 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60); Jacob Aston, 28 Feb. 1645/6, ibid; Agmondsham Muschamp, 3 Mar. 1645/6, ibid; Richard Gething, 10 Mar. 1645/6, ibid.

The Mariners

A large amount has been written about the social history and politics of the sailors who manned the parliamentary fleets in the 1640s and 1650s. Bernard Capp has looked at the officers and seamen of the parliamentary navy. Many historians such as M. Oppenheim and R.C. Anderson have studied the motivations of the mariners in choosing sides in 1642 and again during the mutiny in the Downs in 1648.[116] The examinations given by sailors from English men of war relating to prize cases provide a large amount of information relating to the age of the seamen and the maritime communities they came from. Very little of this information has any unique connection with Ireland. Most of the ships employed by parliament served at various places in the three kingdoms during the war. Hence, crews in men of war probably did not sign on exclusively to fight against the Irish rebels. Officers can be seen receiving promotions for their service in the Irish guard. The committee for the admiralty recommended Captain Richard Willoughby in the *Globe* to take command of the *Nonsuch* as a reward for his diligence. In wartime promotions for industrious service occurred throughout the navy not just in the Irish guard.[117] Some of the complaints that came into parliament about actions in the Irish squadron appeared about ships on other stations. It was alleged that Richard Swanley kept a malignant Irish woman, named Bellinda Steele, in his cabin on board his flag ship at Milford Haven. A letter written to one of the generals at sea in 1649 blamed the presence of

[116] Capp, *Cromwell's navy*, pp 155-330; Oppenhiem, *A history of the administration of the royal navy*, pp 239-43; Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1648', pp 34-46.
[117] Committee for the admiralty, 26 Feb. 1647, Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 235

Captain Peacock's wife on board the *Tiger* for the lack of service done by that man of war on the north coast.[118]

A number of mutinies occurred in ships that formed part of the parliamentary Irish squadron in the 1640s. The details of some of these suggest that service in the seas around Ireland may not have been hugely desirable for many English sailors. Mariners who did not want to serve in Ireland managed on occasion to take their ship back to England. In late 1642 the master and gunner of the *Crescent* refused the orders of Captain Thomas Plunkett to ply about Wexford in search of rebel merchantmen. Instead they insisted on bringing the ship to Dartmouth. On arriving into port Plunkett wrote to the House of Commons to report this disobedience and also to explain his presence in that harbour.[119] Another officer led a mutiny on a supply vessel bringing munitions to Connacht in 1645. After arriving at Sligo the *Mary Ann of London* received orders from Sir Charles Coote, the local parliamentary commander, to remain at the town for a month. According to Captain Peter Wappall his lieutenant conspired with some other seamen to seize the ship. They broke into the captain's cabin, wounded Wappall and took all the small arms on board. John Locke, the lieutenant, then sailed with the vessel to Plymouth even though they had not unloaded all the arms they carried for Sligo.[120]

Some mariners refused to put to sea for Ireland. In June 1645 the crew of the *Duncannon* frigate disobeyed their orders to sail for Munster. Captain Samuel

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[118] Robert Coytmor to Edward Popham, 14 Aug. 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne- Popham*, p. 26; examinations of Nicholas Gatouby, Henry Man and George Parker, 1-20 Sept. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[119] Captain Thomas Plunkett to the house of commons, 13 Dec. 1642, H.M.C., *Portland*, i, 78.
[120] Allegation of Peter Wappall, 21 Nov. 1645 (T.N.A., Files of libels, allegations, decrees and sentences, 1643-6, HCA 24.106, no. 345).

Howett, with the assistance of Captains Penn and Swanley, managed to persuade them to go.[121] He clearly had not fully resolved the issue as trouble flared among the sailors in July. After being hit by confederate artillery fire the *Duncannon* blew up and sank at Youghal. The mariners refused to man longboats to try and salvage the frigate's ordnance. Captain Penn persuaded the crew of the *Nicholas* to assist in rescuing the guns. Penn felt the ordinary seamen had acted in a cowardly way. He praised Captain Howett and the master for having been active in the work.[122] In 1647 some of the sailors on the *Bonaventure* demanded their pay in a disorderly way from Captain John Crowther. The committee of the admiralty recommended paying off the ringleaders but to withhold the four shillings parliament paid as a bonus to sailors in the fleet.[123] The ships in the seas around Ireland in 1648 did not become involved when the mutiny in the fleet broke out. A factor in this may have been their distance from the events and grievances of the sailors in the Downs. The incidents that took place in the Irish guard never undermined the operations of the squadron on the Irish coast.

Only a small number of Irishmen can be distinguished serving in ships employed by parliament. Many sailors from Ireland possibly gave English addresses in their high court depositions. Hugo Fulham, a sixteen year old cabin boy in the *Discovery*, described himself as being from London in his examination. In explaining that he spoke the Irish language later in the same deposition he stated that he had

[121] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 115-6
[122] William Penn to Richard Swanley, Aug. 1645, ibid, pp 129-30.
[123] Committee of the admiralty to the lords, 7 Oct. 1647, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, pp 291-2.

been born in Ireland.[124] Thomas Plunkett, the captain of the privateer the *Discovery*, proved to be the most well known and senior Irish sailor who can be identified. In his examinations he gave his age as between thirty-two and thirty four, giving him a year of birth of around 1612 and stated that he had been born in Ireland.[125] Plunkett may have been from Cork. His brother, Robert, in an examination in 1647, stated that he came from Cork and the family had strong connections with Lord Inchiquin in Munster. He received land and a house on Cork harbour from the lord president during the war.[126] He defected from parliament in 1648 and became a successful royalist privateer. A pamphlet from November 1649 claimed that his frigate, the *Mirrour of Dunkirk*, had been captured by parliamentary warships as it entered Waterford harbour with two prizes but that Plunkett escaped ashore in a long boat.[127] Plunkett returned to Cork city in late 1649 and seems to have died prior to 1654 when his wife re-married.[128] Sailors that signed on to privateering vessels may have been aware that their chosen ship intended to sail for Ireland. They probably had more awareness and interest in where the owners planned to patrol as their share of any profits would depend on a successful voyage.

Some captains who served in Ireland had links to the country. Captain William Penn's wife, Margaret, possessed an estate in Ireland. Penn strongly sought

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[124] Examination of Hugo Fulham, 23 June 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[125] Examination of Thomas Plunkett, 26 Oct. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations 1644-5, HCA 13/59, f.534v); examination of Thomas Plunkett, 9 Oct. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62), Thomas Plunkett, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66465, accessed 13 Mar. 2007
[126] Examination of Robert Plunkett, 2 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62); examination of Richard Gething, 15 Dec. 1648, ibid; Inchiquin to Thomas Plunkett, 5 July 1647 (B.L., Egmont papers, ADD 47,019, f. 6).
[127] TT E.584(2), *A great fight in Ireland between the Lord Lieut. Cromwels forces and the Lord Inchequeens army neer Washford* (London, 1649), p. 6.
[128] Thomas Plunkett, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66465, accessed 5 Aug. 2007.

to serve in Munster in the winter of 1645 and greatly resented patrolling the harbour at Milford Haven instead. He wrote numerous letters to Inchiquin of his desire to help the province and 'to whom forever I acknowledge myself engaged and to whose service I shall ever be devoted'.[129] Other captains and admirals such as Richard Swanley, John Crowther and Robert Moulton seem to have had no direct connection to Ireland other than their service in the Irish guard.[130]

Conclusion

Up to 1647 private ship owners played a pivotal role in the war at sea in Ireland. Their vessels made up the bulk of the English naval strength on the Irish seaboard. Without hired merchantmen the parliamentary navy could not have supported isolated outposts in Ulster, Connacht and Munster. With the arrival of newly built frigates in late 1646 and the conversion of suitable prizes into men of war the numbers of privately owned ships in the service of parliament began to decline after 1647. The twin factors that initially motivated men to lease their vessels to the navy included a desire to suppress the rebellion in Ireland and the potential to make substantial profits from freight charges paid by the admiralty and the sale of prizes. Many prominent London merchants, parliamentarians and naval officers had extensive involvement in the hire of ships to the fleet. From the limited evidence that remains many of them clearly made a good profit from this business. Some ship

[129] William Penn, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21856, accessed 13 mar. 2007; Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 144-52.
[130] Robert Moulton, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37791, accessed 13 Mar. 2007; Richard Swanley, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26821, accessed 13 Mar. 2007.

owners and members of the various admiralty administrative bodies that ran the navy engaged in some questionable practices relating to the hire of merchantmen and the disposal of prizes. Ultimately these same committees approved the construction of new frigates that played a major part in the success of parliament in the Irish seas from 1647 on. Private ship owners and their vessels filled a gap and ensured that parliament contested the war at sea in Ireland until it could deploy its own frigates to challenge confederate privateers.

Chapter 7: The confederate naval effort, 1641-49

Between 1641 and 1649 at least sixty-nine separate vessels can be identified as having operated as privateers from Irish ports. This fleet inflicted considerable losses on parliamentary shipping throughout the war. It represented the main maritime threat faced by the English navy. In order to assess the confederate naval effort this chapter will examine the shipping and sailors involved in this enterprise. Firstly it will analyse the levels of shipping that operated from confederate ports through the 1640s. Then it will consider the type of vessels that composed the confederate privateering fleet. Finally it will look at who owned and manned these vessels.

Problems of sources for confederate shipping and seamen

A number of problems exist that make identifying and quantifying the extent of confederate privateering in the 1640s difficult. Without admiralty and prize court papers, investigating Irish efforts in the war at sea relies on a variety of other, often hostile, records. The remaining confederate admiralty papers mainly consist of letters of marque and sailing instructions found on Irish frigates by parliamentary men of war. The documents seized on the *St Peter of Waterford* included a commission from the Supreme Council to Captain Joseph Content dated in April 1648 and sailing instructions from viscount Muskerry in 1648 and Ormond in 1649.[1] The examinations contained in the English high court of admiralty files can contain very

[1] Supreme Council to Joseph Content, 1 Apr. 1648 (T.N.A., Various, 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, ff 407-v); instructions from Muskerry, 24 Oct. 1648, ibid, ff 408-10; instructions from Ormond, 28 Apr. 1649 (T.N.A., Various, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 202).

detailed statements concerning privateers, their crews and the prizes they took. The statement given by Antonio Undermerch, the captain of the *Mary of Antrim*, included his age, place of birth, details about the number and origin of his crew, the tonnage and armament of his vessel and the prizes he had seized.[2] Other depositions provided little information about warships from ports in Ireland that participated in the war at sea. Humphrey Sheare, one of the owners of the *Mayor of Dartmouth*, could only depose that an 'Irish man of war' captured his vessel.[3] Robert Phelps could offer no information about the 'Irish man of war' that intercepted the *Elizabeth of London* en route to London other than that it intended to take the prize to Wexford.[4]

Other possible sources of information that might help to quantify the number of vessels that served as privateers need to be treated with caution. Some of these authors may have had limited first hand information about the war at sea in Ireland. For example, the Venetian ambassador in London reported in December 1642 that the insurgents in Ireland kept '30 well armed ships at sea'. This figure seems far too high for so early in the war. The twenty recorded blank letters of marque which the supreme council sent to their agents on the continent did not go until that month and February 1643. A figure of five to six men of war at Wexford in September 1642, as given by Tristram Whetcombe, the mayor of Kinsale and a merchant, seems far more realistic and fits in with other known information.[5] The arrival of vessels bearing the

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[2] Examination of Antonio Undermarche, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[3] Examination of Humphrey Sheare, 16 June 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations 1648-9, HCA 13/61, f. 117).
[4] Examination of Robert Phelps, 29 Mar. 1648, ibid, ff 375v-6.
[5] Giovanni Giustinian to the Doge and senate, 12 Dec. 1642, H.M.C., *Report on the Franciscan manuscripts*, p. 211; TT E.119(22), *A most exact relation of a great victory obtained by the poor Protestants in Ireland, under the command of the Lords Inchequeen, and Kinealmekie and Sir Charles Vavasour* (London, 1642), p. 3.

commissions sent to Europe earlier in the year can possibly be seen in the examination of a captured Wexford crewman from a privateer in July 1643. Mark Roch deposed that along with his frigate, the *St Patrick*, a further twelve men of war lay in that harbour.[6] Other commentators, such as Dr Walter Enos based at Wexford, claimed that twenty one frigates sailed from that port. He did not state if that figure applied to one year or represented the total number of ships based in that town in the 1640s.[7]

Trying to identify the captains who served the confederate association can be equally problematic. Some officers appear in the surviving records on multiple merchant and warships throughout the 1640s. They may be the same man serving on different ships or they could be distinct people, perhaps a family member, bearing the same name. The lack of information in many examinations makes it hard to distinguish precisely these sailors. For instance in January 1649 the *Assurance* detained the *Katherine of Wexford* carrying salt, wine and other goods from La Rochelle to Waterford. In his examination William Wadding, the master, gave no information about himself. The parliamentary warship the *Tiger's Whelp* surprised the *Little Mary and John of Wexford* near the Isle of Man in June 1649. William Wadding the captain of the frigate described himself as an Irishman and papist.[8] Neither of the statements given by Wadding provides enough information to clarify for definite if this is the same person or two differing people possibly related to each other. A similar problem exists in relation to Christopher Turner. In 1643 the *Lily*

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[6] Examination of Mark Roch, 12 July 1643, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, p. 81.
[7] O'Ferrall & O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, i, part vii, 519
[8] Examination of William Wadding, 25 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Interrogatories, 1649-53, HCA 23/15); examination of William Wadding, 4 June 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).

detained the *Margaret of Wexford* with Turner on board. He gave a statement to the admiralty court in which he said that he was aged about forty, came from Wexford and owned one quarter of the vessel. In 1650 parliament captured and examined a Christopher Turner 'late of Wexford' and the former owner of the privateer the *Mary Conception of Wexford.*[9] Other issues occur in trying to match confederate naval officers to the appropriate vessel. For example if a captain is mentioned as commanding an unnamed privateer in one year and his name appears in association with a named ship in another year should he be credited to that vessel for the earlier record? Or how should two men with similar names be treated? Is the Nicholas Holt listed as commanding the *St Francis* in 1648 the same as the Nicholas Health referred to in 1646?[10]

For clarity each captain or ship that appears separately in the records will be treated as an individual entry.[11] Sources of information will be amalgamated if possible to avoid duplicating records. In a letter in May 1649 the generals at sea reported the capture of an unnamed Irish man of war commanded by Adam Brown. The name of Brown's ship can be established from prize court papers. In the file of prize court sentences Adam Brown appeared as the captain of the *Trinity of Waterford.*[12] Ships which are known to have changed names such as the *San Pietro* to the *St Peter of Galway* have only been counted as one entry. They appear under their original name in each year in which they can be identified. Bearing these

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[9] Examination of Christopher Turner, 27 Mar. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1643-4, HCA 13/246); examination of Christopher Turner, 30 July 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/251, part i).

[10] Charles I to Ormond, 9 July 1646 (Bodl., Carte MS 18, f. 23); list of captains and frigates who operate from Wexford and Waterford, 1648, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* ns, i, 121.

[11] See Appendix D2.

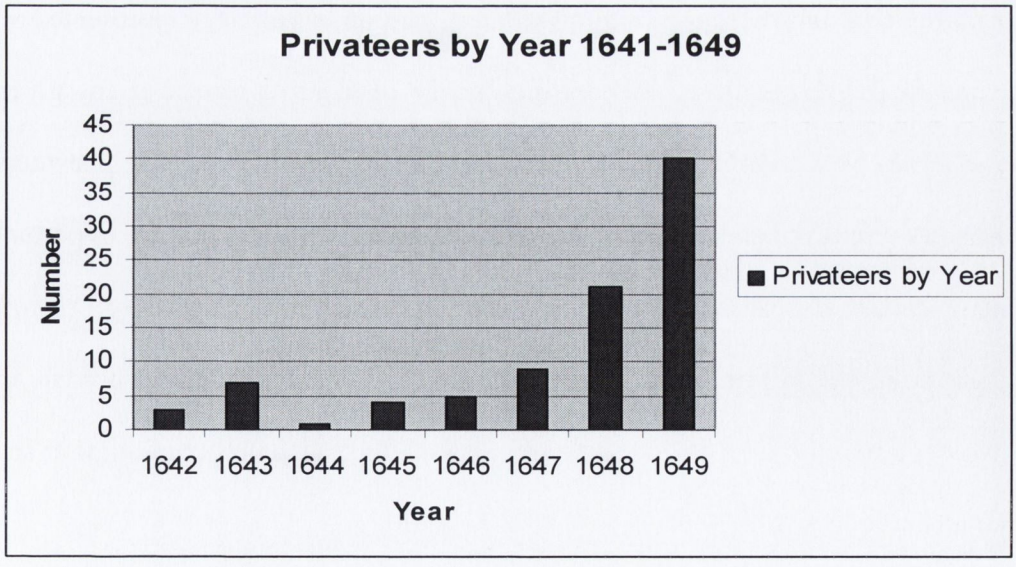
[12] Letter by Blake and Deane, 5 May 1649, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, pp 305-6; condemnation of the *Trinity*, 1649 (T.N.A., Sentences in prize court, 1649-52, HCA 34/4, f. 74).

caveats in mind this chapter will piece together the strength of the confederate privateering fleets from 1642 to 1649.

Levels of confederate shipping and prizes

Sixty-nine men of war can be identified as operating as Irish privateers between 1641 and 1649.[13] More vessels probably sailed from Irish harbours but these can not be clearly distinguished from the available information. The sixty-nine warships that can be seen from the records war placed a considerable naval force at the disposal of the confederates. Not all of these men of war operated at the same time. Many of the ships only served at sea for limited periods of the war. A breakdown of the identifiable privateers in each year can be seen in Appendix D2 and Chart 7.1 below.

Chart 7.1 Privateers that can be identified with Irish connections, 1641-49[14]



[13] See Appendix D2 for a breakdown of all the privateers that can be identified.
[14] Compiled from figures in Appendix D2.

These figures present a broad picture of the maritime strength of the confederates in the 1640s. Peaks in the number of privateers generally tied in with known events which affected the war at sea. For example the rise in 1643 can be attributed to the arrival of men of war with the blank letters of marque sent to the continent in late 1642 and early 1643. The transfer of frigates to Irish ports from Dunkirk after the French took the town in October 1646 accounted for the increase in shipping from 1647 on.

Identified privateers do not present a wholly accurate view of the level of confederate shipping in each year. For example in 1646 only five confederate frigates can be identified from archival sources.[15] This seems to be very low. Other information suggested more men of war sailed from Irish harbours in that year. Writing from Ireland in June 1646 Valentine Savage stated that confederates had five or six frigates at Wexford and Waterford and that the earl of Antrim possessed a further two. This gives a total of seven to eight ships rather than the five which can definitely be seen in the records.[16] In other years the number of ships represented all those that can be distinguished and not necessarily all those in service at any given point in time. Not every frigate served in Ireland for the full year. Ship owners occasionally employed their vessels for other duties such as transporting important people or goods. For example reports in 1646 noted that the *St Francis of Dunkirk* had gone to France to bring over leading royalists to Ireland.[17] Ships set out late in the year or captured by the parliamentarians also affected the number of ships at sea from Irish harbours.

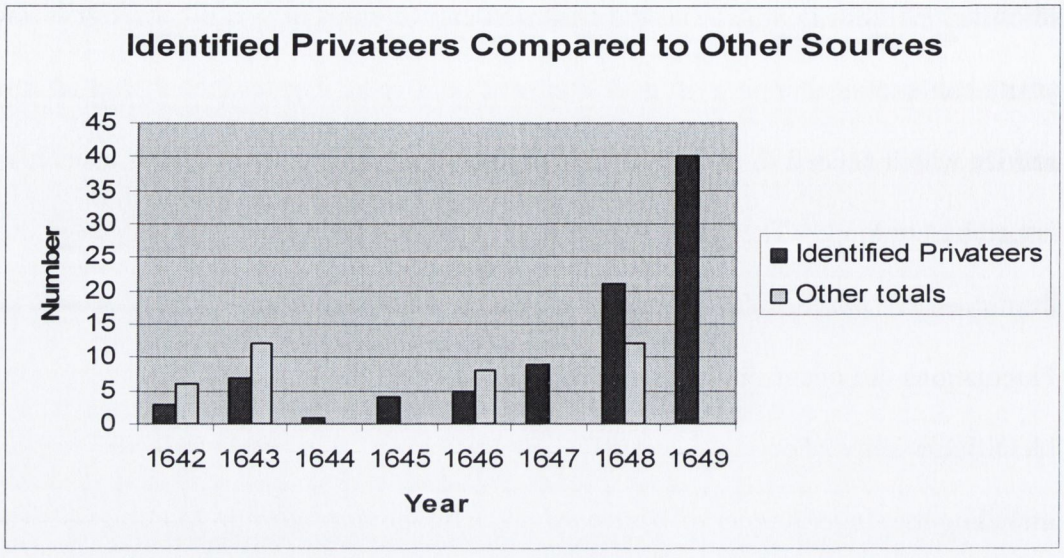
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[15] See Appendix D2 for a list of these ships.
[16] Valentine Savage to sir Philip Percival, 26 June 1646, H.M.C., *Egmont*, i, part i, 295.
[17] The Paris intelligencer, 1 June 1646, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 223.

In February 1648 the new English naval commander, Thomas Rainsborough, informed William Lenthall that the Irish had eleven ships at sea. At the end of the year a confederate shipping list gave the names of twelve frigates then in confederate service which needed to exchange their Irish commissions for new letters of marque issued by Ormond.[18] These two figures at the start and end of the year suggested that the level of confederate shipping remained fairly constant throughout 1648. Fluctuations did occur during that year which created the higher total of twenty-one identifiable ships. For instance parliamentary men of war captured some frigates including the *Angel Keeper of Waterford* taken by the *Adventure* in March 1648. The supreme council also issued letters of marque during the year which increased the number of frigates at sea. The *St John of Waterford* only received a commission in November 1648. Some privateers like the *John Baptist of Waterford* failed to see out a full year as privateers. Laurence Baron, the captain, received letters of marque on 23 February 1648. The English man of war, the *Hart*, seized the ship in November of the same year.[19] Chart 7.2 below provides some indication of possible totals for confederate privateers in some years in comparison to the number of identified vessels.

[18] Thomas Rainsborough to William Lenthall, 17 Feb 1647/8, ibid, p. 287; list of captains and frigates who operate from Wexford and Waterford, 1648, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* ns, i, 121.
[19] Commission for the *St John of Waterford*, 22 Nov. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii); commission for the *John Baptist of Waterford*, 23 Feb. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Various, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 378); examination of Laurence Barron, 21 Nov. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 209v-10).

Chart 7.2 Identified privateers compared to other sources, 1641-49[20]



Over the course of the war at sea the confederates lost considerable numbers of privateers. In 1643 the Dutch seized Captain Francis Oliver, probably commanding the *St Michael the Archangel*, and detained him and the crew in Holland for some time.[21] The bulk of confederate losses came about due to the parliamentary navy. In total twenty-one frigates can be seen to have been seized by English men of war (see Table 7.1 below). Hence between 1642 and 1649 the confederates lost nearly one third of all the recognisable frigates they set out to enemy action. Parliament did not begin to achieve results in intercepting privateers until 1647.

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[20] The identified privateers in each year come from figures in Appendix D2. TT E.119(22), *A most exact relation of a great victory obtained by the poor Protestants in Ireland, under the command of the Lords Inchequeen, and Kinealmekie and Sir Charles Vavasour* (London, 1642), p. 3; examination of Mark Roch, 12 July 1643, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, p. 81; Val Savage to sir Philip Percival, 26 June 1646, H.M.C., *Egmont*, i, 295; Thomas Rainsborough to William Lenthall, 17 Feb 1647/8, ibid, p. 287; list of captains and frigates who operate from Wexford and Waterford, 1648, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* ns, i, 121.

[21] The supreme council commissioned Francis Oliver in the *St Michael* in late 1642. Supreme council to Captain Francis Oliver, 31 Dec. 1642 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, p. 376); supreme council to Father Bourke, 8 Aug. 1643,Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, ii, 338-41.

Table 7.1 Privateers captured by parliamentary men of war[22]

Privateer	Date	English Ship
Dolphin of Waterford	July 1647	*Garland*
Mary Consolation of Waterford	August 1647	*Constant Warwick*
Patrick of Waterford	July 1647	*Adventure*
Angel Keeper of Waterford	March 1648	*Adventure*
John Baptist of Waterford	November 1648	*Hart*
Mary & Joseph of Wexford	March 1648	*Tiger*
Mary and Francis of Wexford	March 1648	*Constant Warwick*
Mary and John of Wexford	June 1649	*Tiger's Whelp*
Mary of Antrim	February 1649	*Tiger*
Patrick of Ross	June 1649	*Tiger's Whelp*
Patrick of Wexford	April 1649	*President*
St Clara of Waterford	January 1649	*Dragon*
St John of Waterford	July 1649	*Greyhound*
St John of Wexford	May 1649	*President*
St Peter of Waterford	July 1649	*Phoenix*
St Teresa	July 1649	*Adventure*
Mary Conception of Wexford	October 1649	Wexford (Cromwell)
Mary Magdalen of Wexford	1649	*Adventure*
Trinity of Waterford	May 1649	*Nonsuch*
Mary of the Isles	October 1649	Wexford (Cromwell)
Mirrour of Dunkirk	November 1649	Waterford

The numbers of privateers captured by parliament after 1647 can be attributed to the rise in the number of frigates at sea and the deployment of extra men of war by the parliamentary navy to Ireland with the end of the first English civil war.[23]

The achievements of Irish privateers can be measured in how successfully they undermined the maritime trade of parliament in the 1640s. Anecdotal evidence from newspapers and complaints addressed to the English House of Commons suggested that their overseas commerce suffered considerably at the hands of Irish

[22] See Appendix C2 for details relating to the capture of Irish privateers.
[23] See chapters 4 and 5 for more on this.

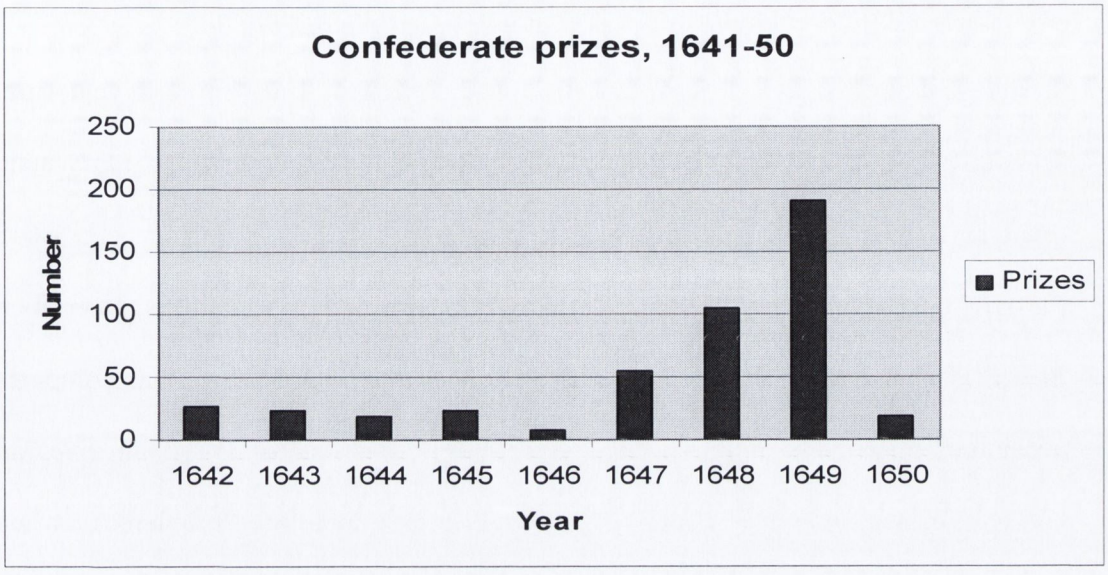
frigates. Ben Coates in his study of the economy of London during the English civil war noted an overall slump in the trade of the city during the 1640s which can be partially attributed to losses to confederate men of war. Other factors such as an internal royalist embargo, changes in foreign demand for English draperies and the increased use of Dutch shipping after the treaty of Munster in 1648 all played a part in the diminishing of the trade of London.[24] The activities of confederate privateers never managed to destroy the economy of the city and its revenues on which parliament financially depended.

The lack of Irish admiralty records makes the compiling of a total for the number of prizes seized by Irish ships and their values problematic. Dr Walter Enos, a confederate theologian based in Wexford, stated that frigates from that port seized 1,900 prizes in a six year period. This figure has generally been regarded as too high and unrealistic.[25] From various sources it has been possible to bring together details for 468 prizes seized by Irish privateers between 1641 and 1650 (see Appendix C1). The breakdown of these vessels by year can be seen in Chart 7.3. This figure comes no where near the total produced by Enos and also includes prizes from later years and some that went to ports other than Wexford such as Dunkirk and Ostend.

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[24] Coates, *The impact of the English civil war on the economy of London*, pp 125-37, 163-99.
[25] O'Ferrall & O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus,* i, part vii, 519-20; Ohlmeyer, 'Irish privateers during the civil war', p 126.

Chart 7.3 Prizes taken by the confederates 1641-50[26]



This raises the question as to whether or not confederate privateers could have apprehended 1,900 prizes during the 1640s. In a ten year period from 1643 to 1653 the high court of admiralty in England condemned 888 vessels as legitimate prizes.[27] The parliamentary navy captured many more royalist and Irish ships during this period. The fact the English men of war often seized ships that later had to be released and the slow workings of the court meant some cases dragged on for years making it hard to compile definite prize totals for each year. Robert Stradling has analysed the prize records that exist for the Spanish Netherlands from the 1620s through to the 1640s. From 1627 to 1634, a period of eight years, warships that formed the Armada of Flanders and privateers captured 1,499 vessels and sank a further 336 ships. This gave an average of 187 prizes per year. In the five years

[26] Compiled from figures in Appendix C1.
[27] This figure comes from the indexes in the sentences in prize court papers; HCA 34/1, HCA 34/2 and HCA 34/4.

between 1642 and 1646 Dunkirk frigates and state men of war brought a further 906 captured vessels into Flemish ports, averaging 181 prizes per annum.[28]

During this period, Spain set out in the region of 100 ships per year from Flanders. The Armada of Flanders usually consisted of twenty-five to thirty state owned warships as well as a further sixty to seventy privateers. For instance, in 1645 the fleet contained sixty-two ships including forty-four privateers and eighteen men of war and they brought 191 vessels into the Spanish Netherlands.[29] This compares unfavourably with the tally by Enos of 1,900 prizes in six years, which gives an average of 300 vessels per year. This figure becomes even more problematic when compared to the smaller number of identified vessels deployed by the confederates. In the Flemish accounts an average of 100 ships sailed each year and brought in just over 180 prizes. The Irish maritime effort reached its peak in 1649 with forty identified frigates. Even allowing for extra unknown privateers sailing from Irish harbours it seems unlikely that such a small confederate naval force could inflict such huge losses on the English parliament throughout the 1640s.

Before discounting the figures provided by Enos out of hand as unrealistic, aspects of the war at sea in Ireland need to be considered. Records for confederate frigates indicate high levels of prize taking by some ships which may have made it possible to capture such a large number of vessels. Joseph Content in the *St Peter of Waterford* seized thirty-six vessels on his first voyage and a further fifteen to sixteen

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[28] Stradling, *The Armada of Flanders*, pp 252, 255.

[29] Baetens, 'The organization and effects of Flemish privateering in the seventeenth century', pp 54-62; Stradling, 'The Spanish dunkirkers, 1621-48', pp 547-9; Stradling, *The Armada of Flanders*, pp 252, 255.

ships on his second ten week cruise in 1648 and 1649.[30] The *St John of Waterford* commanded by Daniel van Vooren intercepted ten vessels in the summer of 1649.[31] Confederate men of war seized 191 ships in 1649 which indicates that a small fleet could inflict considerable damage on its maritime opponents given favourable circumstances.[32] In 1648 and 1649 men of war sailing from confederate harbours took advantage of the turmoil in the English navy. Part of their success and the high level of prizes they intercepted in 1649 can be attributed to the distraction of the parliamentary squadron with the royalist fleet in Holland and Kinsale. Even in years with a smaller level of privateers a high number of prizes can occasionally be seen. For example on a patrol in May 1644 the *St Francis* captured at least six merchantmen and fishing vessels.[33] Overall, while 468 vessels can be identified as prizes taken by the confederates a much higher total seems possible, though it may not have reached the 1,900 given by Enos.

The majority of the shipping seized, as can be seen in Chart 7.4, belonged to parliamentary ports in England. 247 of the prizes bore English names or were described as belonging to ports in England. In 1648 Thomas Rainsborough informed William Lenthall that a twenty-two gun Irish frigate seized three English ships and a Dover vessel.[34] The confederates detained at least thirteen Scottish ships including the *Gift of God of Aberdeen* stopped by the *St Francis* on its voyage to Zeeland in

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[30] Examination of Joseph Content, 11 July 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).
[31] Examination of Daniel van Vooren, 25 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[32] See Appendix C1 for a listing of confederate prizes in 1649.
[33] Richard Bellings to Ormond, 22 May 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 10, f. 730).
[34] Thomas Rainsborough to Lenthall, 17 Feb 1647/8, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 287

June 1644.[35] Prior to the cessation in September 1643 confederate men of war intercepted four vessels based in the Irish royalist port of Dublin. They included a Dublin flyboat seized by the Wexford rebels in August 1642 as it brought wine and salt from Le Croisic in France to the city.[36] In October 1643 Daniel Hutchinson, a Dublin merchant, deposed that in July of that year he 'was by the rebels or pyrats of Wexford robbed at sea of his goods' worth £350.[37] After shipping from the three kingdoms the Dutch owned the next largest group of intercepted vessels which can be identified. They included vessels from Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Flushing. The *Mary and John of Wexford* caught the *Hope of Amsterdam* as it sailed from that port to Bristol in May 1648.[38]

The ownership of a high percentage of prizes can not be conclusively assigned to any one country. Ancillary details about some of these vessels indicated that most probably belonged to England, Scotland or the United Provinces. The master's name of many ships implied either a Dutch or English prize. For example the names of many of the commanders of ships taken by the *St John of Waterford* in 1649 seem to be English such as David White in a coal ship seized in April or John Poyes in a catch detained in April. Other masters like Wolkart Hondwekson intercepted in a hoy by Daniel van Vooren in May 1649 seem more likely to have commanded Dutch ships.[39]

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[35] Ormond to Muskerry, 9 Oct. 1644 (Bodl. Carte MS 12, ff 458-v); Charles I to Muskerry, 31 Dec. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 13, ff 98-v).
[36] Examinations of Walter Heath and Christopher Finch, 12 Apr. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, f. 510v).
[37] Deposition of Daniel Hutchinson, 6 Oct. 1643 (T.C.D., Dublin depositions, ii, MS 810, f. 238)
[38] Examinations of Cornelius Theremen and Swart Swartson, 5 July 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 109v-110).
[39] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-1650 (Bodl., Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v).

Chart 7.4 Origin of prizes seized by the confederates[40]



The port of origin the captured vessels sailed from or intended to put into also offers some information on the possible origin of many of the ships the confederates seized. The port of origin can be determined for seventy-one ships and the destination for a further eighty-four of the 468 prizes taken by Irish frigates in the 1640s (see Table 7.2 below).

Table 7.2 Port of origin and destination for prizes seized by the confederates, 1641-49[41]

Port of Origin	Number	Port of Destination	Number	Total
England	23	England	46	69
Scotland	7	Scotland	4	11
Ireland	6	Ireland	15	21
Holland	9	Holland	6	15
France	7	France	3	10
West Indies	7	West Indies	0	7
Portugal	4	Portugal	0	4
Other	8	Other	10	17
Total	71	Total	84	

[40] Compiled from figures in Appendix C1.
[41] Compiled from date in Appendix C1.

Unsurprisingly given the high number of English and Scottish ships taken by the confederates most of the craft that can be distinguished sailed for harbours in those two countries. The twenty-one ships going to and from Irish harbours included ships destined to royalist ports before the cessation and also vessels bound for places in alliance with parliament there. Captain Doran in the *St Francis* apprehended an unnamed merchantman going from Amsterdam to Carrickfergus with corn in May 1644.[42]

Most of the other ships captured by confederate frigates sailed to or from ports in continental Europe. The majority of the vessels that referred to the United Provinces mentioned the Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Zeeland. Only half the vessels that came from or went to France specified the haven. The rest merely noted the country. Irish men of war intercepted four ships coming from Portugal to London. They included the *William and Sarah*, carrying sugar, wine and other goods, taken by Nicholas Health in an unnamed frigate between the Lizard and Land's End in August 1646.[43] Merchantmen on their homeward voyage from the West Indies laden with tobacco and other valuable commodities also proved to be attractive targets for confederate frigates. They seized seven such vessels but did not take any ships that can be identified on the outbound leg of the journey. In November 1648 the *Mary and John of Wexford* captured the *Jonathan of Southampton* on its return voyage from Barbados laden with tobacco, sugar, cotton and ginger.[44]

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[42] Bellings to Ormond, 22 May 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 10, ff 730-v).
[43] Examinations of James Blatt and John Church, 16 and 18 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[44] Deposition of William Page, 1 Dec. 1648, in Sheila D. Thompson (ed.), *The book of examinations and depositions before the mayor and justices of Southampton 1648-1663* (Southampton Record Series, Southampton, 1994), pp 2-3.

It is impossible to evaluate the true value of the prizes and the economic benefit they brought to the confederate association. Privateers brought in a vast array of different types of shipping and merchandise to Irish ports. The vessels ranged from small fishing boats such as catches up to large armed merchantmen, the occasional English man of war and everything else in between. The cargoes on these vessels covered the full spectrum of seventeenth-century trade goods including munitions, agricultural commodities and foodstuffs, gold, silver, salt, wine, sugar, tobacco and coal. The sale of the prizes ships and their cargoes combined with the duties payable to the confederate association created significant economic benefits to coastal towns such as Wexford, Waterford and New Ross. Numerous contemporary writers and pamphleteers commented on the ill gotten wealth of Wexford and Waterford. A ready market existed for the sale of the ships and their merchandise in these towns. Information sent to the House of Commons stated that 'the cellars and storehouses of Waterford are full of Englishmen's goods, and the Irish there come and trade for them familiarly'. In his account of the storm of Wexford in October 1649, Cromwell wrote that the townsmen had suffered a 'just Judgement upon them' for their many piracies and that the soldiers had taken 'a very good booty in this place'.[45]

Privateers sent prizes of considerable value into Irish ports. Paul Dodd, the master of the *Adventure of London*, valued the sugar and other luxury goods he carried at £14-15,000 after the *St Francis* sent the ship to Wexford as a prize in 1643. In one year from February 1648 to February 1649 the *Mary of Antrim* reputedly

[45] William Cann to William Lenthall, 5 Feb. 1648/9, H.M.C., *Portland*, i, 510; TT E.576(2), *A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the honourable William Lenthal Esq; Speaker of the Parliament of England* (London, 1649), pp 6-7.

seized shipping worth £8,000.[46] The vessels and their rigging also realised large sums of money. In April 1647 Michael Teeling, a Wexford merchant, received 2,400 livres tournois on a bill of exchange for the *Hopewell of London* which he acquired after its condemnation as a prize.[47] The tenths of prizes due to the confederate association from the sale of all lawfully condemned ships had the potential to provide an erratic but substantial source of income. If paid the tenths on the prizes worth £8,000 brought in by the *Mary of Antrim* equated to two thirds of the taxation raised in County Carlow in 1645.[48]

Corrupt practices by ships' captains and owners reduced the revenue that actually reached the coffers of the confederate association. Letters of marque and sailing instructions issued to captains all stipulated that prizes must be brought into loyal Irish ports. Those given to Captain Joseph Constant for the *St Peter of Waterford* in April 1649 stated that 'you are not but in cases of inevitable necessity to expose to sale any prize to be taken by you in any other place then in the portes of this Kingdome, under his Maties obedience'.[49] Privateers regularly pillaged and released or ransomed small ships back to their owners. In June 1648 an Irish man of war took £300 in money and bills of exchange worth £120 from Thomas Bayly and then 'in compassion' allowed the ship go free. Other privateers, such as Daniel van Vooren, sold many of the ships they captured back to their owners. In 1649 he received £135 for a Yarmouth fishing vessel from its owner John Page and on the

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[46] Examination of Paul Dodd, 2 Aug. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-4, HCA 13/58, ff 603-4); Ohlmeyer, 'Irish privateers during the civil war', p. 126.
[47] Certificate of the confederate commissioners of the admiralty, 30 Apr. 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); certificate by Michael Teeling, 24 Apr. 1647, ibid.
[48] Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war*, p. 177.
[49] Commission for the *St Peter of Waterford* from Ormond, 28 Apr. 1649 (T.N.A., Various 1598-1652 HCA 30/855, f. 202).

same voyage he obtained 1,400 guilders from the proprietors of two colliers.[50] Captains and owners probably never declared much of the revenue they accrued in this way to officials responsible for prize collections in confederate ports.

By 1648 Irish frigates regularly sent vessels they intercepted into Dunkirk and Ostend rather than ports in Ireland. Daniel van Vooren in the *St John of Waterford* directed five prizes to Ostend in April and May 1649. Captain Clement Ryder of the *Cornelius of Wexford* brought three ships into Ostend between April and August 1649.[51] This further reduced the income the confederate admiralty received. Confederate privateers sent fifty-seven or approximately thirty per cent of the prizes they captured in 1649 to Dunkirk or Ostend. Van Voren in his examination after the capture of his frigate by the *Greyhound* in July 1649 stated that he never sent his prizes to Ireland. Instead he 'made his owne benefit thereof for himselfe and his company although by his commission he was bound to carry in his prizes thither'.[52]

Type of shipping

Seventeenth-century sources generally described all the ships that sailed under confederate letters of marque as frigates. Richard West attributed the loss of the *Hopewell of London* en route to Portugal in 1647 to an Irish frigate. Newspapers

[50] Answer of Thomas Bayly, 17 May 1650 (T.N.A., Answers, 1650, HCA 13/123); Examination of Daniel van Vooren, 25 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[51] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1649-51 (Bodl., Carte Ms 29 f. 110-111v); Commission for the *Cornelius of Wexford* and Captain Clement van de Reyder, 9 Jul. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250 part i); Examination of Daniel van Voren, captain of the *St John of Waterford*, 25 Jul 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250 part ii).
[52] Examination of Daniel van Voren, captain of the *St John of Waterford*, 25 Jul 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250 part ii).

usually credited confederate frigates when reporting on the loss of merchantmen. For example *Perfect occurrences of every daies journal in parliament* blamed Irish frigates for the seizure of supply ships in Dublin bay in 1648. Occasionally they offered a more precise depiction of a ship. In the summer of 1649 a newspaper reported that the *Tiger's Whelp* captured a Wexford ship described as being between a frigate and a shallop.[53] This tendency to label most confederate men of war as frigates poses problems for analysing the shipping licensed by the supreme council to sail under its colours. The Dunkirk frigates ascribed to the confederates represented the pinnacle of mid-seventeenth-century naval design and construction. They possessed a number of distinct characteristics which made them formidable fighting vessels. R. C. Anderson summed up their capabilities as 'a new type of frigate combining something of the agility of a Mediterranean oared craft with the fighting power of a Northern broadside ship'. By the 1630s overuse of the term frigate meant that the name alone should not be wholly relied on to denote such as vessel.[54]

Historians studying Dunkirk frigates usually assign a number of defining characteristics to the vessels. The hull tended to be long in relation to the width of the frigate which reduced drag and increased speed at sea. The use of oars boosted the manoeuvrability and swiftness of the vessels in comparison to their opponents. They generally rode low in the water which made them difficult to detect at sea. Frigates usually carried a large amount of ordnance and crew to assault and later man

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[53] In the seventeenth-century a shallop usually described a large sea going boat. Richard West, 16 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62); TT E.522(31), *Perfect occurrences of every Daie journal in Parliament and other moderate intelligence. From Friday May the 19 to Friday May 26 1648* (London, 1648), p. 528; TT E.532(1), *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies journall in Parliament: proceedings of the council of State: And other moderate intelligence. From Fryday July the 20 to Fryday July the 27 1649* (London, 1649), p. 1195; Gardiner, 'Glossary', p. 202.

[54] Anderson, 'The ancestry of the eighteenth-century frigate', p. 158; Stradling, *The Armada of Flanders*, pp. 166-8.

any captured prizes. R. Baetens calculated the ratio of tons to cannon to sailors that a Dunkirk frigate should possess. He stated that 'a ship of 100 tons had to have 12 cannon, 50 sailors and 25 men on board and a ship of 140 tons, 14 cannon, 60 sailors and 30 soldiers'. Using these figures this gives a breakdown of approximately one piece of artillery per ten tons and six men per gun or seventy five men per one hundred tons.[55] Robert Stradling also asserts that only vessels built in the yards of Flanders fully enshrined the characteristics of a Dunkirk frigate and that shipwrights elsewhere never fully learned and applied the 'full secret of their construction'.[56] If these features made up a Dunkirk frigate then how many of the ships that fought with Irish commissions in the 1640s possessed any or all of them?

A number of vessels that served in Ireland definitely originated in the shipyards of Flanders. The supreme council sent at least twenty letters of marque to its agents on the continent in 1642 and 1643. Some of the ships that came to Irish harbours with these commissions had probably been built in Dunkirk. Descriptions from contemporary sources sometimes noted the place of construction of the man of war. William Elliott referring to the *St Peter of Dunkirk* which took his vessel, the *Blessing of London*, in 1642 called the ship a 'Dunkirker' and 'Flemish built'. In 1644 Thomas White one of the crew of the *Francis of Wexford* described the ship as a frigate built in Dunkirk.[57] Frigates from Flanders continued to arrive into Irish ports throughout the 1640s. The marquis of Antrim acquired and outfitted two frigates at

[55] Baetens, 'The organization and effects of Flemish privateering', p. 56.
[56] Stradling, *The Armada of Flanders*, p. 168; Robinson, 'The seventeenth century frigate', pp 271-81.
[57] Examination of William Elliott, 3 Nov. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations 1642-3, HCA 13/58, ff 299-v); examination of Thomas White, 1 June 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations 1644-5, ff 300-v).

Dunkirk in October 1645.[58] Overall, few confederate ships can be definitively identified as coming from Flanders as most sources do not mention the place of construction for the frigates. Privateer names which included Irish towns such as the *St Patrick of Waterford* had not necessarily been built there. The name possibly represented the harbours from which the ships or their owners operated.

Shipyards in Irish towns did build some of the vessels that served as frigates in the confederate fleet. After seizing Wexford in October 1649 Oliver Cromwell described the shipping left in the town. It included a frigate of twenty guns on the stocks nearly ready to sail. He appointed workmen to complete the vessel as they had the materials to do so already. In 1654 Patrick O'Quoumy, a Wexford ship carpenter, deposed that he helped build and later repair the *Mary and John of Wexford* in that town during the 1640s.[59] The evidence that remains for ships manufactured in Irish shipyards does not indicate whether or not the vessels conformed to the standards of a Dunkirk frigate. Stradling maintains that only those craft built in Flanders showed the necessary traits for this type of ship. Ship building enterprises in Wexford and Waterford may have attracted skilled workers from the shipyards of Flanders to build frigates for Irish privateers. The confederates successfully recruited skilled munitions workers from the continent to produce gunpowder including Nicholas Lallo, who established a saltpetre house and two powder mills at Kilkenny.[60]

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[58] Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and restoration* , pp 161-2.

[59] TT E.576(2), *A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the honourable William Lenthal Esq; Speaker of the Parliament of England* (London, 1649), p. 7; deposition of Patrick O'Quoumy, 23 Jan. 1653/4 (T.C.D., Wexford depositions, ii, MS 819, ff 203-v).

[60] Peter Edwards, *Dealing in death, the arms trade and the British civil wars, 1638-52* (Stroud, 2000), p. 120.

Confederate ship owners also probably adapted suitable vessels already in their possession for use as men of war. English ship owners hired out their merchantmen as converted warships to parliament usually by increasing the number of sailors and guns the vessel carried. The owners of the *John Baptist of Waterford* possibly converted their ship into a man of war. Captain Laurence Baron received a commission from the supreme council in February 1648 for the vessel. Yet when the *Hart* intercepted it in November the vessel came from Ostend on a merchant voyage carrying munitions, tobacco and gold for her owners in Waterford.[61] Few of the ships can be conclusively traced back to Flanders and Irish shipyards may have produced vessels in the tradition of Dunkirk frigates. Classifying privateers based on their origin alone may not represent an accurate picture of the use of Dunkirk frigates in the war at sea in Ireland.

The structural elements that defined a Dunkirk frigate included a high length to width ratio combined with riding low in the water and oars for speed and manoeuvrability. No specific length to width ratios exist for confederate privateers. The only structural account of a confederate man of war remains for the *Peter of Dunkirk*. English mariners captured by her described her as a long ship with a deck and a half deck and a picture of either St Francis or St Peter in her stern.[62] Accounts for four Irish ships mentioned the use or possession of oars by the frigates. The *Paul of Dunkirk* used its oars to flee into the royalist controlled port of Dartmouth in 1645 from two chasing parliamentary warships. Another unnamed Irish frigate escaped

[61] Letter of marque for the *John Baptist of Waterford*, 23 Feb. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Various 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 378); examination of Laurence Baron, 21 Nov. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 209v-10).

[62] Examinations of William Elliott, William Older and Charles Cant, 3 Nov. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations 1642-3, HCA 13/58, ff 299-301).

from the *Phoenix* in July 1649 by its oars after an eight hour pursuit.[63] A newspaper report of the taking of the *St Peter of Waterford* by the *Phoenix* referred to four oars on the frigate. Daniel Gotier, a mariner captured in the *Endeavour of Southampton*, deposed that the Irish frigate that detained him carried eight guns, seventy-five men and twenty-four oars.[64] The standard structural components of a Dunkirker cannot be wholly used to ascertain which Irish privateers fitted the type as only five examples exist for any of these features.

The third set of traits which usually defined a Dunkirk frigate included being heavily armed and manned. Information including the name of the frigate or captain and some details relating to the tonnage, ordnance or the size of the crew remains for twenty-nine confederate ships.[65]

Table 7.3 Confederate ships and captains with other ship information

Ship/Captain (if no ship name)	Tons	Ordnance	Crew
Angel Keeper of Waterford[66]	------	6	30
Clement of Wexford[67]	170	-----	----
Cornelius of Wexford[68]	60	6	65

[63] Examinations of William Cleach and Semon Emocke, 23 &26 May 1645 (T.N.A., Interrogatories 1628-66, ff 153-4v); TT E.531(19), *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies journall in Parliament: proceedings of the council of State: And other moderate intelligence. From Fryday July the 6 to Fryday June the 13 1649* (London, 1649), p. 1106.

[64] TT E.531(21), *A perfect Diurnall of some passages in Parliament. And the daily proceedings of the Army under his Excellency the Lord Fairfax. From Munday July 9 to Munday July 16 1649* (London, 1649), p. 2558; deposition of Daniel Gotier, 23 July 1649, Thompson (ed.), *The book of examinations and depositions of Southampton*, p. 20.

[65] I have not included details in the table if the name of the ship or captain is unknown to avoid possible duplication of records. For example Patrick Root, a sailor in the *Mary Virgin of Wexford* listed a Waterford frigate with 10 guns and 60-70 men that sailed in company with his vessel. Or that in June 1646 the earl of Antrim possessed two frigates with 16 guns each. I have used some of these examples when analysing ratios. Examination of Patrick Root, 6 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii); Val Savage to sir Philip Percival, 26 June 1646, H.M.C., *Egmont*, i, part i, 295.

[66] Order of the committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports, 14 Mar. 1647/8 (B.L., Navy papers 1645-1657, Add MS 9305, ff 8v-9).

[67] A note of the particular vessels and of the owners who are to be contracted for his Maties service, Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS 7, f. 267).

Francis of Dunkirk/Wexford[69]	100 (200)	10-12 (18)	130
Hare of Wexford[70]	50	6	40
John Baptist of Waterford[71]	50	-----	-----
Mary and John of Wexford[72]	80-160	14-16	60-110
Mary and Joseph of Wexford[73]	40	6	64
Mary Conception of Wexford[74]	-----	12-14	-----
Mary Consolation of Waterford[75]	20	2 Guns & 2 Murderers[76]	25-6
Mary Magdalen of Wexford (1643)[77]	16	4	30
Mary Magdalen of Wexford (1649)[78]	50		
Mary of Antrim[79]	120	16 (13 mounted)	109
Mary of the Isles[80]	130	14-16	-----

[68] Commission for the Cornelius, 9 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part i); examination of Peter Toland, 3 Nov. 1649, ibid.

[69] There are numerous references to a ship the *Francis* owned by Captain Antonio Vanderkipp. In October 1643 the *Francis of Wexford* of 200 tons and 18 guns and owned by Captain Antonio is listed in ships hired for Ormond. In November 1643 a deponent credited Captain Antonio with setting out the *Francis of Dunkirk*, a 100 ton frigate commanded by Captain Madran. In May 1644 Captain Antonio wrote about his frigate the *St Francis* under William O'Doran and its last voyage. In June 1644 an examinant described the *Francis of Wexford* of 100 tons with 130 men under Captain Addurant. In 1646 a description of the *Francis of Dunkirk* describes it as having 10-12 guns and 100 soldiers. Antonio may have owned two vessels called the *Francis* at the same time but given the similarities between them it seems more likely that there was one vessel. A note of the particular vessels and of the owners who are to be contracted for his Maties service, Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS 7, f. 267); examination of Richard Buthe, 13 Nov. 1643 (T.N.A., Various, 1624-50, HCA 30/863); Captain Antonio Nicholas van Dyck to Patrick Archer, 8 May 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 10, f. 549); examination of Thomas White, 1 June 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations 1644-5, HCA 13/59, ff 300-1); the Paris intelligencer, 22 May 1646, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 223.

[70] A note of the particular vessels and of the owners who are to be contracted for his Maties service, Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS 7, f. 267).

[71] Commission for the *John Baptist of Waterford*, 23 Feb. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Various, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 378).

[72] Deposition of William Page, 1 Dec. 1648 Thompson (ed.), *The book of examinations and depositions of Southampton*, pp 2-3; examination of Patrick Strafford, 29 Mar. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).

[73] Commission to William Wadding, 11 June 1646 (T.N.A., Various, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 336).

[74] Examination of Christopher Turner, 30 July 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/251, part i).

[75] Examinations of John Herne and William Barrett, 27 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62); commission for the Mary Consolation, 27 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Interrogatories files, 1644-55, HCA 23/30).

[76] A murderer was a small breech loading anti personnel weapon. In the seventeenth century they pointed into the waist of the ship and were designed to clear the deck of boarders. Gardiner, 'Glossary', p. 200.

[77] A note of the particular vessels and of the owners who are to be contracted for his Maties service, Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS 7, f. 267).

[78] Commission for the Nicholas Rochfort, Mar. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Various, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 278).

[79] Examination of Antonio Undermarche, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).

[80] Ohlmeyer, 'The Dunkirk of Ireland', p 31.

Mary Virgin of Wexford[81]	------	18	100+
Michael of Wexford[82]	-------	16	------
Patrick of Ross[83]	------	2	24+
Patrick of Waterford[84]	80	12	100
Patrick of Wexford[85]	------	11	35-100
Peter of Dunkirk[86]	100	18	----
Paul of Dunkirk[87]	------	5	-----
San Pietro[88]	300	14	-----
St John of Waterford[89]	120	5 Guns & 1 Murderer	55
St John of Wexford[90]	-----	------	30
St Michael the Archangel[91]	120	------	------
St Peter of Waterford[92]	60	9	75
Trinity of Waterford[93]	------	3 Guns & 2 Murderers	40
Captain O'Howille[94]	-------	8	75

As can be seen from Table 7.2 the composition of confederate vessels varied widely. Some broadly fitted into R. Baetens' calculations for the ratio of tonnage to ordnance and crew. For example Captain Stafford's frigate the *Hare of Wexford* of fifty tons mounted six guns and carried forty mariners. Other ships partially corresponded with these ratios. The *Mary of Antrim* mounted thirteen guns to 120 tons and the

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[81] Examination of Patrick Rooth, 8 Jan 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[82] Examination of Harmen Bruen, 10 Aug. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1648, HCA 13/249).
[83] Examination of John Nager, 22 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[84] Examination of Patrick Rooth, 8 Jan 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[85] Examination of Ignatius Brett, 22 Apr. 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2)
[86] Examination of William Elliott, 3 Nov. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations 1642-3, HCA 13/58, ff 299-v).
[87] Examination of Delone Johnson, 23 May 1645 (T.N.A., Interrogatories, 1628-66, HCA 23/29, f. 153)
[88] Massari, 'My Irish campaign', pp 155-9, 504; O'Ferrall & O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, iii, 55-6.
[89] Examination of Daniel van Vooren, 25 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[90] Examination of Patrick Wadding, 7 May 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).
[91] Supreme council to Captain Francis Oliver, 31 Dec. 1642 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, p. 376).
[92] Examination of Joseph Content, 11 July 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).
[93] Letter by Blake and Deane, 5 May 1649, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, pp 305-6.
[94] Deposition of William Harvey, 23 July 1649 , Thompson (ed.), *The book of examinations and depositions of Southampton*, p. 20.

Cornelius of Wexford carried six cannon for her sixty tons.[95] Other vessels bore no relation to Baeten's estimates. The St *John of Waterford* only held five guns, one murderer and fifty-five men to its 120 tons. It should have held approximately twelve pieces of artillery and ninety men.[96]

Rather than trying to analyse confederate men of war in terms of the criteria laid down by Baetens it may be more appropriate to see if Irish frigates met the general characteristics of Dunkirkers of being heavily armed and manned. Some of the ships that sailed under Irish letters of marque seem to have been quite small and lacked men and armaments. The *Patrick of Ross* armed with two small iron artillery pieces and four to six old muskets posed little threat to parliamentary warships. The captain and twenty-three of the crew jumped overboard and swam ashore rather than engage the *Tiger's Whelp* when it came within range of them in 1649.[97]

Overall, from figures relating to the tonnage of ships and ordnance Irish vessels seem to have been well armed in comparison to their size. As Jane Ohlmeyer noted some vessels bristled with ordnance.[98] Some examples included the *Peter of Dunkirk* which bore eighteen guns to its one hundred tons and the *Mary and John of Wexford* carried between fourteen and sixteen guns to eighty tons.[99] Other vessels with unknown tonnage seem to have been well supplied with ordnance. The *Mary*

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[95] A note of the particular vessels and of the owners who are to be contracted for his Maties service, Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS 7, f. 267); examination of Antonio Undermarche, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part i); examination of Peter Dolard, 3 Nov. 1649, ibid.

[96] Examination of Daniel van Vooren, 25 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).

[97] Examination of John Nager, 22 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

[98] Ohlmeyer, 'Irish privateers during the civil war', p. 123.

[99] Examination of William Elliott, 3 Nov. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations 1642-3, HCA 13/58, ff 299-v); deposition of Francis Cheevers, 23 Jan. 1653/4 (T.C.D., Wexford depositions, ii, MS 819, f. 204).

Conception of Wexford deployed twelve to fourteen guns.[100] Confederate privateers also appeared to have been well manned. Frigates needed to carry a large number of men for boarding prizes and providing sailors to bring the captured vessel safely back to a friendly harbour. Some of the confederate ships with lower numbers of crew on board may reflect the fact that some seamen had gone on prize vessels. When the *Tiger* seized the *Mary of Antrim* in February 1649 they found only fifteen men left from the crew of 109. The captain had sent the rest away in three prizes bound for Ireland. The *St Peter of Waterford* likewise only had forty-one sailors left out of a total of seventy-five when taken by the *Phoenix*.[101]

The advantages of speed, manoeuvrability and fighting capacity attracted parliamentary ship owners to deploy 'Dunkirk frigates' to serve in the seas around Ireland. Two such vessels can be clearly distinguished by a number of elements which define such ships. They both originated in Flanders and had a high length to breadth ratio and rode low in the water. Stephen Rich gave an account of his Flemish built frigate the *Rebecca*. He described a ship of 280 tons that was 108 feet long by 20 feet wide and twelve foot deep from the lower deck. In 1644 Thomas Plunkett described the *Discovery*, 350 tons, as Flemish built with a length of 100 feet to a width of 28 foot and twelve and a half foot deep.[102] Both these vessels broadly tallied with Baetens' calculations of one gun per ten tons; the *Rebecca* mounted twenty cannon and the *Discovery* between twenty-eight and thirty-four. Neither matched the

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[100] Examination of Christopher Turner, 30 July 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/251, part i).

[101] Examination of Antonio Undermarche, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part i); examination of Joseph Content, 11 July 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).

[102] Examination of Thomas Plunkett, 26 Oct 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations 1644-5, HCA 13/59, f. 534v); examination of Stephen Rich, 1 Feb. 1644/5, ibid, f. 624.

criteria for manpower, which allowed seventy-five men per 100 tons. The *Rebecca* carried a complement of seventy-five men and the *Discovery* between 103 and 130 sailors. The low level of sailors on English frigates reflected parliament's policy of only allowing pay for thirty men per 100 ton of shipping on private men of war.[103] Without such restraints captains on Irish privateers probably manned and armed their vessels as they saw fit or could afford. On the whole, the majority of confederate privateers had some elements of a Dunkirk frigate in their make up. Few can definitively be classified as Dunkirk frigates. The ships that arrived from Dunkirk nearly all possessed more than one of the features that categorise a frigate. For many of the other craft not enough evidence remains to confirm their classification one way or the other.

Privateer ownership and manning

This section will examine the owners who set out the privateers and the sailors who manned the vessels. Establishing who owned the numerous frigates operating from confederate ports can prove difficult. Letters of marque issued by the supreme council name the commander of the ship not its owners. Examinations taken before the high court of admiralty in England focused on the commission issued to the captain rather than the ownership of the man of war. Privateering offered the potential for large profits and attracted a varied range of people including merchants,

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Ship	Tons	Ordnance	Crew
Rebecca	280	20	75
Discovery	350	28-34	103-130

By Baetens figures a 280 ton ship should have 210 men and a 350 ton ship should have 263 sailors. Lists of naval strength and costs, 1642-7 (B.L., Add MS 17503).

nobles and clerics. Purchasing or building a suitable vessel together with fitting it out involved considerable expense and risk. John Brown and James Stephens, two Waterford merchants who owned the *John Baptist of Waterford*, may not have enjoyed much profit from their investment. Between receiving a commission in February 1648 and its capture in November of that year no prizes can definitely be attributed to the ship.[104]

Two broad types of ship ownership can be distinguished from the surviving records. The first group generally consisted of a single owner who possessed multiple vessels. The ships they set out also tended to be larger and more likely to fit the classification of a 'Dunkirk frigate'. These owners tended to be wealthy or prominent supporters of the confederate cause. They also participated in other aspects of the war such as importing arms and transporting soldiers at sea and military matters and government on land. From the perspective of known prizes Randal MacDonnell, the second earl and first marquis of Antrim, operated the most successful privateering fleet from an Irish harbour in the 1640s. He owned at least four frigates; the *Mary of Antrim*, *Mary of the Isles*, *St Peter of Waterford* and an unnamed ship. The marquis's notoriety among parliamentarians for his involvement in confederate and royalist politics, peace negotiations and shipping men to Scotland meant they often referred to his ships simply as 'Antrim's frigates' rather than by name. This makes it difficult to distinguish the vessels. For instance, in February 1648 Captain Robert Dare seized a man of war with twenty two guns described as

[104] Commission for the *John Baptist of Waterford*, 23 Feb. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Various, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 378); examination of Laurence Barron, 21 Nov. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 209v-10).

'one of the best frigates that the earl of Antrim hath'.[105] The four privateers that have been identified as belonging to Antrim seized sixty-one prizes that can be distinguished from records. The marquis gradually lost control of the frigates he acquired through the 1640s. In February 1647 he used the *Mary of Antrim* as security on a loan from James Dillon and Michael Tooting, two Wexford merchants. They took possession of the vessel from February 1648 on.[106] Parliamentary men of war seized the rest of his shipping in the late 1640s.

Antonio Nicholas Vanderkipp, a merchant from Flanders, provided some of the earliest frigates to serve the confederates. In 1642 his ships brought Owen Roe O'Neill and arms to Ireland. Only two of his frigates can be identified by name, the *St Francis* and the *St Joseph*. He probably owned more frigates than Antrim. He also set out other unnamed ships as men of war. In October 1643 he hired a dogger boat with four pieces of ordnance to Ormond for transporting soldiers to England.[107] Mariners held prisoner in Wexford testified that Vanderkipp had set out several frigates to attack English shipping.[108] In December 1649 he and other frigate owners had resolved to leave Ireland. Having been promised 'letters of reprisal' against Dutch shipping he agreed to bring over eight or ten frigates and to persuade his friends to send another twenty to thirty frigates.[109] Vanderkipp's privateers brought in a large number of prizes to Wexford. A Wexford resident remembered the *St*

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[105] TT E.426(19), *A great victory at sea against the Irish rebels by Captaine Robert Dare* (London, 1648), pp 2-3.
[106] Ibid, pp 185, 194-5; Ohlmeyer, 'The Dunkirk of Ireland', p. 31.
[107] A dogger boat was a type of North Sea fishing boat. A note of the particular vessels and of the owners who are to be contracted for his Maties service, Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS 7, f. 267); Ohlmeyer, 'The Dunkirk of Ireland', p. 39.
[108] Examinations of Richard Hill, Thomas Webb and Gabriel Hughes, 13 Nov. 1643 (T.N.A., Various, 1624-50, HCA 30/863).
[109] Patrick Archer to Ormond, 22 Dec. 1649 (Bodl. Carte MS 26, ff 401v-2).

Francis as sending much plunder into Wexford and at least twenty prizes can be attributed to the frigate. These included the *William of London*, a merchantman with eight guns and thirty men hired by Ormond to hinder confederate shipping. The *St Joseph* under Claude Collett seized a further nine prizes in 1649 and 1650.[110] In conjunction with his privateering business Vanderkipp imported considerable quantities of arms into Ireland, set out merchantmen on trading voyages and hired shipping to Ormond and the confederates.[111] As the royalist position in Ireland deteriorated in 1649 Vanderkipp shifted his operations to Waterford and then onto Galway. In May 1650 he arrived in Galway in a frigate laden with arms and munitions.[112] He probably relocated back to the continent at some point in time after that. Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, the papal nuncio to Ireland, commanded the third largest privateering enterprise from Ireland. He claimed to possess four frigates but only two, the *San Pietro* and *St Ursula*, can be distinguished.[113] Three English prizes can be identified as having been captured by the *San Pietro*. The nuncio sold this ship to Nicholas Martins of Galway in 1649. He renamed it the *St Peter of Galway* and it continued to act as a privateer. No prizes can be attributed to the *St Ursula* before its capture by parliament in November 1647.[114]

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[110] Deposition of Christopher White, 13 Jan 1653/4 (T.C.D., Wexford depositions, ii, MS 819, f. 66); lords justice and council to William Lenthall, 13 Apr. 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* ns, ii, 266; a particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-1650 (Bodl., Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v); William Boswell to Ormond, 17 July 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 25, f. 43).

[111] Examinations of Richard Hill, Thomas Webb and Gabriel Hughes, 13 Nov. 1643 (T.N.A., Various, 1624-50, HCA 30/863); Antrim to Ormond, 26 Nov. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 12, f. 634).

[112] Lewis Dyes to Ormond, 21 May 1650 (Bodl., Carte MS 27, f. 530).

[113] Ohlmeyer, 'The Dunkirk of Ireland', p. 37; O'Ferrall & O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus,* iii, p. 56.

[114] Ohlmeyer, 'The Dunkirk of Ireland', pp 34, 37; Unnamed, 6 July 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 26, f. 454).

The second type of privateer ownership involved multiple owners of a vessel. Having more than one proprietor of a merchant or privateering vessel helped to spread the cost of fitting out a voyage and limited the losses if parliament intercepted the ship. English privateers such as the *Discovery* had numerous part owners including her captain Thomas Plunkett, London merchants like Gregory Clements and the lord high admiral, the earl of Warwick.[115] Many Irish privateers had more than one owner. The *Mary and John of Wexford* and the *Paul of Dunkirk* each had five proprietors. Three Waterford men set out the *Patrick of Waterford* under the command of Francis Oliver in the summer of 1647.[116] The owners of these privateering vessels tended to be connected with the confederate port towns of Wexford and Waterford. Many of these men can be identified as merchants living in those places or members of the civic government. William Keating, a partner in the *Mary and John of Wexford* served as a mayor and bailiff of that town in the 1640s. An alderman in Wexford, Alexander Roch, had a son Clement who commanded and part owned the *Clement of Wexford.*[117] Some of the captains owned or had a share in the vessels they sailed or like Roch had relatives who held a percentage of the vessel. John Rochester, the captain of the *Mary and John of Wexford*, owned part of the ship. A Thomas Rochester also held a share in the vessel. Christopher Turner

[115] Answers of Gregory Clements, 9 Feb. 1653/4 (T.N.A., Answers, 1654, HCA 13/126).
[116] Deposition of Francis Cheevers, 23 Jan. 1653/4 (T.C.D., Wexford depositions, ii, MS 819, f. 204); examination of Delone Johnson, 23 May 1645 (T.N.A., Interrogatories, 1628-66, HCA 23/29, f. 153); examination of Francis Oliver, 24 July 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).
[117] Certificate by William Keating, 6 Dec. 1647, ibid; deposition of William Strafford, 8 Feb. 1653/4 (T.C.D., Wexford depositions, i, MS 818, f. 291v); deposition of James Dalton, 8 Jan. 1653/4 (T.C.D., Wexford depositions, ii, MS 819, f. 256);

purchased the *Peter of Scilly* in Waterford after losing his previous ship the *Mary Conception of Wexford* when the town fell to the parliamentary army.[118]

Overall, the ownership of most confederate privateers can not definitely be accounted for. In contrast with parliamentary naval enterprise the lack of the names of more prominent confederates among the shareholders in frigates seems surprising. The earl of Warwick owned part of the *Discovery* and *Constant Warwick*, two of the most successful English privateers in service against the confederates. The involvement of Warwick was not surprising considering his long standing involvement with English colonies and maritime enterprise even before the civil war.[119] None of the members of the confederate association involved in processing licences appeared as owners of privateering frigates. The confederates issued letters of marque signed by the Supreme Council, such as that given to William Wadding for the *Mary and Joseph* in 1646. Donough MacCarthy, viscount Muskerry, the Irish lord high admiral, also gave out commissions solely under his name like those from November 1648 for the *Mary of Antrim* and *St John of Waterford*.[120] With the potential for large gains parliamentary and royalist commanders with little prior connection to naval warfare became involved in privateering. The marquis of Ormond purchased and leased out a number of frigates throughout the 1640s including the *Falcon*. Lord Inchiquin, the lord president of Munster set out the

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[118] Deposition of Francis Cheevers, 23 Jan. 1653/4, ibid. f. 204; deposition of James Dalton, 8 Jan. 1653/4, ibid, ff 200-1; Examination of Christopher Turner, 30 July 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/251, part i).

[119] Andrews, *Ships, money and politic*, pp 194-5;Robert Rich, 2nd earl of Warwick, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23494, accessed 16 Feb. 2007.

[120] Supreme Council commission for the *Mary and Joseph*, 11 June 1646 (T.N.A., Various, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 336); commission for the *St John of Waterford*, 22 Nov. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii); commission for the *Mary of Antrim*, 22 Nov. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1648, HCA 13/249).

Charles frigate and Lord Broghill, an army commander there, owned the *Green* frigate.[121] Senior confederates like Muskerry, who had no particular maritime experience, may have held shares in frigates through intermediaries such as merchants in the port towns. Equally, given their extensive involvement in other aspects of the war, they may have had little interest in the war at sea beyond issuing letters of marque.[122]

Information about the sailors who manned the confederate privateers tends to be fragmentary. Most detail relating to crews covered the officers of the frigates as parliamentary captains only needed to examine a few men to establish whether or not the ship they had detained was a privateer. Some sailors in their depositions provided some general facts about the number of men on board their man of war and their composition. Antonio Vandermarche, the captain of the *Mary of Antrim*, stated that the ship carried 109 men. Some came from Ireland, Dunkirk and Holland but he only had one Englishman on board. The *Cornelius of Wexford* sailed with sixty-five men on board, of whom only one came from England, the rest being Irish or Dutch. Patrick French, one of the four Irishmen on the *St John of Waterford*, deposed that the rest of the mariners were Dutch.[123]

Most examinants before the high court of admiralty provided some personal information about themselves, they usually included where they came from and occasionally their age or religion. Daniel Van Vooren, the captain, and Derrick

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[121] Examination of Robert Thorp, 17 Oct. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62); examination of John Boon, 25 Feb. 1646/7 (T.N.A., Prize papers 1627-50, HCA 15/2); payments for the *Charles* and *Green* frigates, 1645-6 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-54, ADM 18/4).
[122] Donnough MacCarthy, first earl of Clancarty and viscount Muskerry, *Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67053, accessed 16 Feb. 2007.
[123] Examination of Antonio Vandermarche, 5 Feb. 1648/9, (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i); examination of Peter Toland, 3 Nov. 1649, ibid; examination of Richard French, 25 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).

Hendes, the master, of the *St John of Waterford* both came from Dunkirk. Antonio Vandermarche, the captain of the *Mary of Antrim* came from Flanders and gave his age as thirty on its capture in February 1649. His lieutenant James Gott, aged twenty-seven, came from Waterford.[124] With so little detailed information for confederate seamen a very limited analysis can be undertaken (see Appendix D3). Most of the Irish sailors listed Wexford as their home port. One mariner each from Galway, Limerick and Waterford stated that they came from those places. Only one man, Arthur Gunnes on the *Angel Keeper of Waterford*, came from England. He joined the vessel in Waterford after another ship captured his bark.[125] The rest of the examinants listed either Dunkirk or Flanders as their home. The crews also showed a considerable variety of ages. The examined seamen ranged from their late teens up to fifty.

Conclusion

The confederates in the 1640s possessed a formidable fleet of privateers. Many of these frigates represented the height of mid-seventeenth century naval sophistication. From details of known prizes they clearly did considerable damage to English maritime trade. Irish ship owners, sailors and port towns also reaped the benefits of this enterprise. At the peak of their success in 1648 and 1649 Irish privateers outstripped the much larger Armada of Flanders in terms of prize taking. Confederate frigates never managed to undermine fully the overseas mercantile

[124] Examinations of Daniel van Vooren and Derrick Hendes, 25 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii); Examination of Antonio Vandermarche and James Gott, 5 Feb. 1648/9, (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i);
[125] Examination of Arthur Gunnes, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).

economy of London or other English ports. Even as they reached their zenith in 1649 the confederate naval position began to collapse as Cromwell seized their base at Wexford and the English guards assigned to Ireland seized increasing numbers of frigates.

Chapter 8: Fighting the war at sea in Ireland

> He tooke about thirtie sixe vessels, moste of them English, some whereof hee only pillaged and others havinge only ballaste hee lette goe. Joseph Content.[1]

Joseph Content, the captain of the highly successful confederate privateer the *St Peter of Waterford* provided this deposition in July 1649 after his capture by the parliamentary man of war the *Phoenix*. His rather uninformative statement provides little information on how his frigate actually managed to capture so many prizes at sea. Not all contemporary accounts of the war at sea provided so little detail. Writing about a battle at sea in 1642 the author of a pamphlet entitled *The Earl of Warwickes glorious victory* described how the English admiral engaged a Danish fleet: 'he went against him with one and twenty ships, and most valiantly with an undaunted courage let off thirty pieces of Ordnance'.[2] He credited the victory to the way in which Warwick had 'regulated the ships in such an equall way, that at the second discharge, they were compelled to turne, Sayle and fly'.[3] This type of naval battle, involving large numbers of warships engaging each other with their artillery, did not take place on the Irish coast during the 1640s. In many respects the war at sea can be broadly compared with the war on land in Ireland. Small scale skirmishing and sieges rather than large set piece battles characterised the war there. By Jane Ohlmeyer's calculations seven battles took place in Ireland in the 1640s.[4] The

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[1] Examination of Joseph Content, 11 July 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).
[2] TT E.150(26), *The Earl of Warwickes glorious victory over fifty ships of the King of Denmarkes in the narrow seas* (London, 1642), p. 3.
[3] Ibid, p. 4.
[4] Ohlmeyer identifies Kilrush, Liscarroll, Benburb, Dungan's Hill, Knocknanauss, Rathmines and Scarfhollis. Pádraig Lenihan also considers Cloughlea and Ballinvegga (Ross) to fit the necessary criteria to be termed battles. Jane Ohlmeyer, 'The civil wars in Ireland', in Kenyon & Ohlmeyer (eds),

encounters that took place at sea mainly consisted of engagements between individual or small groups of warships rather than involving large battle fleets. Writing after the Restoration of Charles II the earl of Orrery's (formerly Lord Broghill) summing up of the situation in Ireland, that 'we make war more like foxes than lions', could equally be applied to the maritime situation.[5]

The confederate reliance on fast frigates and commerce raiding made it unlikely that anything that could be termed a battle would take place in the waters around Ireland. The aim of this chapter is to look at what happened when ships from opposing sides fighting in Ireland met each other at sea. How did confederate privateers use their advantages in speed and aggression to seize merchantmen? When they encountered warships set out by parliament did they seek to flee or fight? What stratagems did the masters of commercial shipping adopt to try and avoid capture by the warring parties? Fighting instructions issued to parliamentary captains assigned to the Irish guard in the 1640s gave directions on how to fight in a battle fleet formation against an enemy arrayed in a similar manner. Officers like Richard Swanley and William Penn who received these orders did not meet with confederate privateers in this type of action.[6] What methods did English men of war adopt to deal with the frigates that sailed from harbours in Ireland? Before examining the details of fighting the war at sea in Ireland it is first necessary to look in general at the tactics used by navies in the seventeenth-century.

The civil wars, p. 84; Ronald Hutton and Wylie Reeves, 'Sieges and fortifications', ibid, p. 195; Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war*, pp 190-1.

[5] Roger Boyle, earl of Orrery, *A treatise of the art of war dedicated to the Kings most Excellent Majesty* (London, 1677), p. 14.

[6] Instructions for Richard Swanley, 10 Apr. 1643 (B.L., Transcripts of State Papers and other papers made for or by Thomas Birch. Vol. 1 1473-1657, Add MS 4106, ff 199-204); instructions for William Penn, 16 July 1645 (N.M.M., Papers relating to the service of Sir William Penn in Ireland, WYN 2/3, ff 1-18).

Naval warfare in the seventeenth-century

Studies of the tactics used by early modern naval forces have focused on three main issues; the development of the line ahead formation, the decline of close combat and boarding and the rise of naval gunnery.[7] The first use of line ahead tactics can be seen at the battle of the Downs in 1639 when the Dutch defeated a Spanish fleet.[8] The ordering of fleets into this battle formation did not become common place until the First Anglo-Dutch War in the 1650s.[9] Of more relevance to the war at sea in the 1640s in Ireland has been the move away from close combat and boarding tactics to a preference for naval gunnery. This has been seen as one of the key factors in revolutionising warfare at sea.[10] Instead of trying to ram and board an opponent captains tried to use their cannon to stand off from their enemy and force his submission with superior firepower rather than manpower.

Technological improvements in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries increased the firepower warships could bring to bear. The use of cast iron guns and truck carriages to mount them on allowed for quicker reloading and more accurate firing of ordnance during an engagement.[11] This enabled well armed ships to try and keep any enemy vessels they met at a distance and to avoid being rammed

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[7] Jan Glete, 'Introduction' in Jan Glete (ed.), *Naval history, 1500-1680* (Aldershot, 2005), p. xix.
[8] Parker, *The military revolution*, p. 100.
[9] For the origins and first use of line ahead tactics see Tunstall, *Naval warfare in the age of sail*, pp 18-20; Nicholas Tracy, 'Naval tactics', pp 181-7; M.A.J. Palmer, 'The 'military revolution' afloat: the era of the Anglo-Dutch wars and the transition to modern warfare at sea', *War in History*, iv (1997), pp 128-40.
[10] Parker, *Military revolution*, pp 82-3; Loeber & Parker, 'The military revolution in seventeenth-century Ireland', pp 66-7.
[11] Rodger, 'The development of broadside gunnery', pp 301-17; Glete, *Warfare at sea, 1500-1650*, pp 21-32, 35-8; Parker, *The military revolution*, pp 95-6.

and boarded. For example the English used their guns to keep the Spanish fleet at a distance and to prevent infantry from boarding their vessels during the Armada campaign in 1588.[12] The English navy board commission stated in 1618 that 'Experience teacheth how sea-fights in these days come seldome to boarding ... but are chiefly performed by the great artillery'.[13] Despite the increased use of artillery at sea in the seventeenth-century navies did not completely abandon boarding tactics if the circumstances favoured them. A shortage of sailors on a vessel might persuade a captain to try and get in close to overwhelm an enemy crew. The Portuguese tried this at Goa in 1638. A squadron of six Portuguese vessels attempted and failed to board the better armed but poorly manned Dutch flotilla blockading the port.[14] How then did the war at sea in Ireland fit into seventeenth-century naval warfare?

The Irish experience and its problems

Writing on the tactics used by early modern navies Jan Glete noted that 'rather little is known about how sailing warships actually fought before the mid-seventeenth century'.[15] Much of the contemporary information relating to the seas around Ireland in the 1640s adds little to this knowledge. Many of the witnesses who gave statements to the high court of admiralty used very formulaic phrases to describe their experiences. In articulating the details of the capture of their ship sailors often simply stated that they were 'surprised by', 'taken by' or 'met with' an enemy warship. For example John Blake, the quartermaster in the *Adventure*, stated

[12] Parker, *The military revolution*, pp 93-5; Tunstall, *Naval warfare in the age of sail*, p. 11; Rodger, 'The development of broadside gunnery', pp 308-14.
[13] Quoted in Parker, *Military revolution*, p. 99.
[14] Glete, *Warfare at sea, 1500-1650*, p. 175.
[15] Jan Glete, 'Introduction', p. xix.

that they met with the merchantman the *Hope of Hamburg* coming out of Waterford and that 'Capt Bedell tooke the said ship the *Hope*'. Similarly Henry Readmun, a mariner in the *Michael of Wexford*, deposed that the privateer met with and surprised the *Richard of Bristol* off Land's End in August 1648.[16]

A small number of mariners gave more detailed statements on encounters they took part in with hostile men of war. From this evidence two main types of engagement between vessels on the Irish coast can be identified. Firstly a number of English and confederate mariners depicted events when men of war from opposing sides met each other. A few weeks after their capture in July 1647 the master and captain of the privateer the *Patrick of Wexford* described the circumstances that led to their clash with the *Adventure* near the Isles of Scilly.[17] Secondly the seamen from men of war and merchantmen related events when those two types of ships came upon each other at sea. For instance various members of the crew of the *Flora of Amsterdam* including Jacob Johnson, the carpenter, and Claus de Witt, the cook, gave examinations that set out the reason their ship put into the port of Ventry in county Kerry. They further described the seizure of the vessel by Irish rebels from the town and how the *Mermaid*, an English privateer, retook the *Flora*.[18] Captains of merchantmen and privateers had three options if they met a hostile warship on the Irish coast. The vessel could yield immediately, try to flee from the man of war or make a stand and try to beat the enemy off. If a captain opted to fight he had to

[16] Examination of John Blake, 22 May 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248); examination of Henry Readmun, 7 Aug. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1648, HCA 13/249).
[17] Examinations of Randle and Francis Oliver, 24 July 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).
[18] Examinations of Jacob Johnson, Claus de Witt, Christian Anderson and John De Witt, 29 May 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248).

decide whether or not to try and get up close to board his opponent or keep his distance and rely on his cannon.

The type of men of war the confederates and parliament possessed dictated the tactics they adopted. English warships in the seventeenth century were noted as being strongly built, well armed and slow. In contrast speed characterised the 'Dunkirk frigates' used by the Irish as privateers. This made them suitable for very aggressive hit and run commerce raiding. They carried a relatively large amount of ordnance in comparison to most merchant ships they faced but not in relation to English naval vessels. For example the *Mary of Antrim*, one of the best armed privateers in confederate service, mounted thirteen cannon. The *Tiger* which seized the *Mary of Antrim* in February 1649 carried thirty-two pieces of artillery.[19] Privateers sought profit and prizes not engagements with more heavily armed ships belonging to the English navy. The London newspaper *The Moderate Intelligencer* summed up the situation in September 1648 when it quoted an old sea proverb that said 'There's good to be got by fighting Merchant ships, nothing but blows of men of war'.[20]

Irish frigates avoided engagements with the English navy when possible. Rather than fight confederate captains preferred to flee if a parliamentary warship came upon them. This tactic made sense in that it allowed privateers to make use of their advantage in speed to get away from a hostile man of war and in so doing avoided the potential loss or damage of the frigate. In order to facilitate their escape

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[19] Examination of Antonio Undermarche, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part i); winter guard, 1647 (B.L., Lists of naval strength and costs 1642-47, ADD 17,503).

[20] TT E.462(18), *The Moderate Intelligencer: impartially communicating martial affaires to the Kingdome of England. From Thursday August 31 to Thursday September 7* (London, 1648), p. 1861.

confederate privateers often abandoned any prizes they had in their possession and any Irish mariners on board those vessels. The speed of the *St Patrick of Wexford* enabled it to avoid the pursuit of the *Cygnet* in 1643. Captain Wilde in the *Cygnet* retook a Dover coal ship with some Wexford sailors on board that the frigate had deserted. The *Fisher of Serdam* had only been in the control of an unnamed Irish frigate for a few hours before the *Assurance* came upon them near Land's End. After spotting the *Assurance* 'the said Irish frigat made all the saile hee coulde and fledd'.[21] The oars many 'Dunkirk frigates' deployed gave them a further advantage in escaping from parliamentary vessels. They enabled the privateers to move faster and to hide in areas into which English ships with a larger draught could not follow such as close to the shore. The *Paul of Dunkirk*, part owned by the Irish Captain John Daniel, used its oars to escape into the royalist port of Dartmouth in 1645 when two parliamentary ships chased it. The Dublin royalist Captain John Bartlett in the *Falcon* frigate used his oars and the onset of night to evade a number of parliamentary vessels near Bray in May 1646.[22]

Fleeing to avoid conflict seems to have become less successful for Irish privateers once parliament started to set out frigates of its own. Privately owned parliamentary frigates such as the Flemish built *Discovery* or the *Constant Warwick* constructed in Ratcliff appeared in the seas around Ireland from 1644 on. These vessels had the capability to challenge confederate ships in terms of speed. Thomas Plunkett in the *Discovery* chased and nearly captured the *St Peter* in 1645 as it

[21] Examination of Mark Roch, 12 July 1643, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, p. 81; examination of Jacob Jansen, 24 Aug. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 152v-54).
[22] Examination of Semon Emocke, 26 May 1645 (T.N.A., Interrogatories, 1628-66, HCA 23/29, ff 154-v); journal of the *Falcon* frigate, 16 May 1646 (Bodl., Carte MS 17, f. 387).

carried Rinuccini, the papal nuncio, to Ireland. According to the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus* the *Discovery* proved to be faster than the papal frigate and Plunkett ordered his crew to prepare for a fight once they caught up to it. The outbreak of a fire in the galley of the *Discovery* forced Captain Plunkett to abandon the chase for the safety of his ship. This enabled the *St Peter* to maintain its distance and get away once night fell.[23] The parliamentary frigate building programme which led to the launch of seven new ships in 1646 and 1647 may account for the number of confederate privateers captured from then on. These vessels possessed the speed to pursue successfully Irish men of war that tried to escape. Despite having oars and being 'an excellent saylor' the *St Peter of Waterford* could not out run the *Phoenix* in July 1649. Captain Harris in the parliamentary frigate followed the *St Peter of Waterford* for a day and a night. Captain Content in the privateer fired a number of shots at the *Phoenix* but achieved little and eventually struck his sails and sought 'faire quarter' for his crew. In the same month Captain Coppin in the *Greyhound* chased and captured the *St John of Waterford* near Yarmouth.[24]

Irish captains had two choices if flight from parliament failed or did not offer a realistic chance of success. They could surrender or fight. From surviving accounts many privateers yielded as soon as they came within range of parliamentary guns. Most English men of war carried considerably more ordnance than the confederate vessels they faced. This left Irish captains such as Francis Oliver with little choice

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[23] O'Ferrall & O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus,* ii, part i, 9-10.

[24] TT E.531(22), *A perfect Diurnall of some passages in Parliament. And the daily proceedings of the Army under his Excellency the Lord Fairfax. From Munday July 9 to Munday July 16 1649* (London, 1649), pp 2648-9;examination of Joseph Content, 11 July 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); examination of Daniel van Vooren, 25 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).

but to surrender if they allowed a parliamentary ship to get too close to them. In 1647 Oliver in command of the *Patrick of Waterford* with six pieces of ordnance made the mistake of chasing the thirty-two gun *Adventure*. He only discovered his error when he came within hailing distance of the parliamentary man of war. Captain Bedell in the *Adventure* fired a number of shots at Oliver and demanded and received his immediate submission.[25] A shortage of mariners on board some frigates may also have left some captains with no alternative but capitulation. Most privateers carried large crews to man any prizes they seized and to take them back to a safe port. This reduced the number of sailors on board to handle the ship and guns if they came under attack. The *Mary of Antrim* only had fifteen out of 109 seamen left on board when it met the *Tiger* in 1649. The frigate surrendered as these few men did not provide the captain with enough mariners to sail the ship and fire the thirteen cannon he carried.[26] Rather than surrender or fight some sailors chose to flee ashore if they could when they came within shot range of an approaching parliamentary ship. The captain and twenty-three of the crew of the *Patrick of Ross* jumped into the sea and swam ashore near Lambay in Dublin in 1649 as the *Tiger's Whelp* with fourteen guns bore down on them. As the *Patrick* only carried two pieces of iron ordnance and four to six old muskets the sailors clearly felt they could not prevent the capture of their vessel by the better armed parliamentary ship.[27]

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[25] Examinations of Master Randle and Francis Oliver, 24 July 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).
[26] Examination of Antonio Undermarche, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[27] Examinations of Robert Sansun and John Nager, 22 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

A lack of detailed and reliable information makes it difficult to establish what happened when men of war from Ireland and England clashed. Witnesses before the high court of admiralty in these cases rarely commented on what took place when the ships met each other. The parliamentary navy clearly feared that confederate privateers operating in packs could overpower any individual state man of war they met.[28] Some first hand accounts show that warships from opposing sides definitely fought each other. A number of English sailors set out in an unnamed man of war from Dublin deposed that the *St Francis of Dunkirk* seized their ship after a long fight. Mark Roch, a Wexford mariner from the *Patrick of Wexford*, stated that his ship fought the *Cygnet* for two hours before fleeing.[29] These generic descriptions of fighting at sea provide little information on the tactics used by either side. Second hand reports of the damage sustained by two parliamentary men of war, the *Roebuck* and *Assurance*, in two different incidents with Irish frigates indicated the use of stand off gunnery rather than boarding tactics. The committee for the admiralty reported the *Roebuck* as shattered in a fight in 1648. The *Assurance* was said to have lost its mizzen mast and bowsprit against the *Mary of Antrim* and another unnamed frigate in 1649.[30]

Accounts of meetings between Irish privateers and merchantmen belonging to or en route to parliamentary ports provided more information on the tactics used in the war at sea. Meetings between confederate frigates and commercial ships occurred

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[28] Thomas Rainsborough to William Lenthall, 17 Feb. 1647/8, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, pp 287-8.
[29] Examinations of Richard Hill and others, 13 Nov. 1643 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1624-50, HCA 30/863); examination of Mark Roch, 12 July 1643, Powell &Timmings (eds), *Documents*, p. 81.
[30] Committee for the admiralty to the commissioners of the navy, 4 May 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1648-9*, p. 360); William Cann to William Lenthall, 5 Feb 1649, H.M.C., *Portland*, i, 510.

much more frequently than between men of war. The crews of vessels retaken from Irish warships often gave very detailed statements in the high court of admiralty about how they had been seized. These depositions formed part of the process of establishing the ownership of the ship, if it could be deemed a prize or if a payment for salvage should be made for rescuing it from the Irish rebels.

Confederate privateers sought to force the immediate surrender of merchantmen they met and used their aggression combined with overwhelming superiority in armament and manpower to achieve this. By doing so they could take the prize without having to inflict any damage to it. In order to achieve this they needed to get within firing range of their prey as quickly as possible. To do this they used their speed and occasionally a number of ruses to close with unsuspecting merchant vessels. Frigates sometimes flew English flags in order to persuade ships to come within hailing distance of them. A newspaper report in 1644 described how a Master Taylor in a merchantman from London saw an Irish frigate that had put out the king's colours on his journey to Holland. He believed it to be a parliamentary warship and went in close to it. He hailed the Irish ship and received a friendly answer before he came under attack.[31] The *Peter of Dunkirk* seized the *Blessing of London* when bad weather forced it into Sheephaven on the north coast of Ireland in 1642. The privateer acted in a friendly manner towards the *Blessing* and offered to help with repairs as it approached the ship so as not to arouse the suspicions of the crew until it came within range of the damaged merchantman.[32]

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[31] TT E.21(11), *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer sent abroad to prevent misinformation. From Tuesday the 3 of December to Tuesday the 10 December 1644* (London, 1644), pp 671-2.
[32] Examination of William Kent, 3 Nov. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-4, HCA 13/58, ff 299-v).

For most merchant captains neither flight nor fighting offered a realistic option for escaping the attentions of a privateer. Frigates could out sail large heavily laden merchant vessels designed for carrying a high volume of cargo and not for speed. The owners of merchant vessels usually cut their operating costs by manning their ships with the minimum number of sailors they needed to sail it. Confederate frigates generally carried more ordnance and mariners than the merchantmen they encountered. In 1643 a 'Dunkirk frigate' from Dungarvan commanded by Captain Garret with thirty-two men seized the *Marygould* bound from Chester to Spain with five men and a boy on board. The *Three Blackmores of Flushing* armed with five guns had little chance of fighting off the *Michael of Wexford* which carried sixteen pieces of ordnance when they met in the summer of 1648.[33]

Because of the dangers they faced the masters of merchant vessels on all sides sometimes carried false bills of lading and others papers to try and persuade any men of war they met that they sailed for or belonged to a friendly port. This could be successful in persuading a privateer that the ship intended going to a confederate or neutral harbour and not one controlled by parliament. The master and merchant who laded the *Fisher of Serdam* to go to Bristol in 1648 deliberately drew up 'a colourable bill of lading for Amsterdam' in case they met any privateers. The document and the story that they had been blown off course by bad weather worked. They met an Irish frigate near Land's End and Aldred Kempson, the master, brought the false papers on board the privateer. After a few hours Kempson informed his crew that they had been discharged. Before he had time to cross back to the *Fisher*

[33] Deposition of John Sellar, 29 May 1643 (T.C.D., Waterford depositions, MS 820, ff 298-v); examination of Harmen Bruen, 10 Aug. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1648, HCA 13/249).

the parliamentary frigate, the *Assurance*, came upon them and the confederate man of war fled with Kempson still on board.[34] This ruse occasionally came undone if some of the crew or passengers gave information on the correct port the ship sailed to or if the privateer found other paperwork on board that contradicted the documents he had been shown. John Hay, the mayor of Wexford, detained an unnamed vessel in that town in 1645. He suspected the intentions of its master, John Waterhouse, and had the ship searched. The mayor found hidden passes and certificates from the parliamentary admiral Captain Richard Swanley.[35] The ploy could equally backfire if a merchantman mistook his captors. In 1649 Prince Rupert's royalist fleet seized a ship on the Irish coast as it sailed from Middelburg to Waterford. Henry Aranson, the master, mistakenly believed he had been captured by some of the parliamentary Irish squadron and claimed he was bound for Dublin. He later gave his correct destination as Waterford once he realised that the royalists had detained his vessel.[36]

Fights between Irish frigates and merchantmen that occurred took place when privateers came up and immediately opened fire on their prey or if the vessel refused to yield. In order to overpower Master Taylor's ship an unnamed confederate man of war flew false colours to lure the English ship closer. Once alongside the frigate opened fire with a broadside that killed five men. The *Peter of Dunkirk* similarly began shooting at the *Blessing of London* once it got close enough and 'by force and

[34] Examination of Jacob Jansen, 24 Aug. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 152v-54).
[35] John Hay to Ormond, 2 Jun. 1645, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, i, 93-4.
[36] Mayor of Waterford to Ormond, 17 Feb 1648/9, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, vii, 256-7.

violence surprised' the ship.[37] From the limited number of remaining accounts Irish frigates used a mixture of tactics to subdue ships. Some privateers got close and tried to board the merchantmen and others stood away and used their guns to force the surrender. On a few occasions they made use of both methods to overpower the merchant ship.

Confederate privateers aimed to take their prize with as little damage as possible. The need to fire a large number of cannon at a ship greatly increased the risk of the vessel sustaining leaks or other damage which could cause the vessel to sink. This may have made getting up close and boarding an attractive option as the vessel would be less likely to sustain potentially devastating injuries. The *Mary and John of Wexford* under Captain John Rossitor, with sixteen guns and up to 160 seamen on board, fired two to three broadsides at the *Jonathan of Southampton* on its return voyage from Barbados laden with sugar and tobacco. The twelve sailors on the *Jonathan* feared the ship would sink and surrendered. Despite the damage Rossitor's crew managed to carry their potentially valuable prize away.[38] In a fight that lasted for two hours the *Francis of Wexford* fired over thirty shots at the *Mary and Dorothy*. One to the hull caused a leak and six to seven foot of water got into the hold.[39] In 1649 the *William and Mary*, with six guns and twelve mariners, en route with wine from the Canaries to London, ran into an unnamed Irish man of war. The frigate fired so many shots at the *William and Mary* that the ship had 8 foot of war in the hold and

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[37] TT E.21 (25), *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer sent abroad to prevent misinformation. From Tuesday the 3 of December to Tuesday the 10 December 1644* (London, 1644), pp 671-2; examination of William Kent, 3 Nov. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-4, HCA 13/58, ff 299-v).

[38] Depositions of William Page and Charles Darvall, 1 Dec. 1648, Thompson (ed.), *The book of examinations and depositions of Southampton*, pp 1-2.

[39] Examination of Thomas White, 1 June 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5, HCA 13/59, ff 300-1); examination of Simon Chamblett, 30 May 1644, ibid, ff 256-7; order of the committee of the navy, 15 May 1644 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1579-1656, f. 545).

began to sink when the privateer eventually left. The wine on board helped to keep the vessel afloat until the master managed to run the ship aground. He subsequently managed to retrieve a substantial proportion of the cargo from the vessel.[40]

Many of the accounts relating to clashes between privateers and other ships stressed the prominent part played by the captain or master of the merchant vessel in leading the resistance. Many of the crews seem to have yielded once their commander had been wounded, killed or taken prisoner. The crew of the *Mary and Dorothy* surrendered to the *Francis of Wexford* after a vicious fight that left three men dead and the master mortally wounded.[41] In 1648 sailors on a Dover ship with ten pieces of ordnance fought off a twenty-two gun frigate until a shot blew off both the master's legs and they sought quarter.[42] On another occasion a fight between a confederate privateer and an unnamed ship in 1644 ended abruptly once the Irish seaman boarded and seized the master.[43]

The presence of so many pieces of ordnance described as 'murderers' on confederate frigates may indicate that some privateers preferred to use boarding tactics to seize prizes. This anti-personnel breech loading weapon fired stone or grape shot and cleared men from the decks of an enemy ship. No examinants from the war ever specifically mentioned a murderer as being fired. The *St John of Waterford* had five guns and a murderer on board when seized by the *Greyhound* in 1649. The *Patrick of Waterford* carried an even higher ratio with four murderers and

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[40] Examination of Francis Rathbone, 7 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[41] Examination of Thomas White, 1 June 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5, HCA 13/59, ff 300-1); examination of Simon Chamblett, 30 May 1644, ibid, ff 256-7; order of the committee of the navy, 15 May 1644 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1579-1656, f. 545).
[42] Thomas Rainsborough to William Lenthall, 17 Feb. 1647/8, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 287.
[43] TT E.21(25), *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer sent abroad to prevent misinformation. From Tuesday the 3 of December to Tuesday the 10 December 1644* (London, 1644), pp 671-2.

two cannon on board. The *Mary Consolation of Waterford* possessed two guns and two murderers when the *Constant Warwick* seized the ship in August 1647.[44] The English navy intercepted a number of merchant ships that belonged to Irish ports or en route there that listed murderers among their armaments. These included the *Salt Kettle of Flushing*, with one gun and one murderer on board, and the *Margaret of La Rochelle*, which carried four murderers when taken by the *Assurance*. The *Gift of God of Cork* held two murderers along with eight other pieces of ordnance.[45] By the 1630s the murderer had become largely obsolete on English men of war owned by the state.[46] Merchantmen hired by parliament continued to carry these guns. The *Trial* and *Increase* carried four murderers between them at the siege of Bunratty in 1646. As the squadron supporting the castle had little use for this type of ordnance Captain Penn sent them ashore to the garrison.[47] The continued use of so many murderers on confederate privateers and merchant ships during the 1640s may point to a case of choice due to availability and affordability.

Some privateers used their guns to weaken their victim before trying to force their way on board. The crew of the thirty-six gun Irish man of war that attacked Master Taylor's vessel eventually boarded the ship after a fight lasting two hours. Another unnamed Irish frigate with twenty pieces of ordnance used its guns to skirmish with a Newcastle ship until it could no longer put up any resistance. The

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[44] Examination of Daniel van Vooren, 25 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii); examinations of Master Randle and Francis Oliver, 24 July 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); examination of John Herne, 27 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

[45] Examination of Jacob Sension, 4 Aug 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248); examination of John Richard, 16 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part i); examination of Daniel Dayley, 9 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Interrogatories, 1649-53, HCA 23/15).

[46] Lavery, *The arming and fitting of English ships of war*, p. 103.

[47] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 192.

sailors from the privateer then tried to board the English ship. The master of the ship managed to sail close to Hartlepool and its seaward defences. Shore based artillery hit the confederate warship a number of times and drove it off.[48] On one occasion when boarding failed Irish frigates resorted to gunnery until their quarry gave up. In 1643 two confederate men of war attempted to board the *Trade* as it went from Portugal to London. One of the mariners described how the master, Henry Houlding, and the crew valiantly resisted and forced the privateers to abandon the fight. A few hours later they returned with some more 'Dunkirk frigates' and let loose at least thirty shots into the hull and rigging of the *Trade*. The ship surrendered and the privateers pillaged and then released the vessel and mariners.[49] Overall, from the few examples of clashes involving confederate frigates and merchant shipping, the use of gunnery over boarding tactics seemed to be the dominant method of gaining the surrender of a ship in the 1640s.

Parliament needed to find some methods to minimise the losses suffered by the merchant marine by the activities of Irish frigates. The use of convoys to protect the fishing fleets and trading vessels offered the most practical solution available in the 1640s. Privateers sought easy targets and in general did not go after ships escorted by men of war. The Dutch successfully deployed convoys to reduce their losses to Flemish privateers during their war with Spain.[50] As the war progressed the admiralty in London increased its use of naval vessels to act as convoys. In March

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[48] TT E.21(25), *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer sent abroad to prevent misinformation. From Tuesday the 3 of December to Tuesday the 10 December 1644* (London, 1644), pp 671-2; B.L., *Several proceedings in parliament. From Thursday the 7 of February to Thursday the 14 of February 1649* (London, 1650), p. 270.
[49] Examination of Jacob Frassor 3 Oct. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-4, HCA 13/58, ff 631v-3).
[50] Glete, *Warfare at sea*, pp 177-9.

1648 the committee for the admiralty took up the *Blessing* and *Truelove* specifically to go as escorts for the fishing fleet and to remain with it until the ships returned to a safe harbour.[51] This may have helped to lower English shipping losses to the confederates. Privateers operating in packs could seize large numbers of ships if they attacked poorly defended convoys. In July 1649 Captain Thomas Plunkett, in the *Mirrour of Dunkirk*, led a squadron of royalist ships in an attack on a group of parliamentary vessels en route for London. He seized thirty ships and dispersed the rest of the convoy.[52] Even though the risks increased for merchantmen sailing on their own many merchants still preferred to send their ships on voyages without escorts. The master of the *William and Mary* wanted to wait for the company of another ship before sailing from the Canaries to London in 1649. Philip Ward, the owner of the cargo of wine, ordered the *William and Mary* to sail immediately and the ship came under attack from an Irish frigate near Falmouth.[53]

English men of war versus merchantmen

English men of war generally did not possess the advantage in speed of confederate frigates for coming up on prizes. How then did they encounter merchantmen they suspected of going to rebel ports in Ireland? The admirals in parliament's Irish squadron tried to allocate part of their fleet to patrol along the key trade routes on the coast each year. Ships on the south coast hindered trade going to Limerick and Galway and vessels coming in from the West Indies. Warships

[51] Committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports to Captain Henry Lands, 16 Mar. 1647/8 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add MS 9305, f. 11).
[52] TT E.564(8), *A great victory obtained by Prince Charles, his ships upon the north coast of England* (London, 1649), p. 5.
[53] Examination of Francis Rathbone, 7 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

stationed on the east coast seized ships going to Wexford and Waterford and retook prizes confederate captains sent to those towns. The *Assurance* and *Nonsuch* received orders to guard the coast near Wexford and Waterford in December 1646.[54] The *Assurance* plying off Dursey Island in Cork seized the *Margaret of Rochelle* as it made for Limerick or Galway on 25 January 1649. Three days later he took another ship in the same area. The *Hunter* privateer intercepted the *John of London* on the coast near Kinsale on its return voyage from Barbados laden with tobacco in October 1646.[55] The Irish frigate the *Mary and Francis* captured a Scottish ship called the *Robert* in 1648. The *Constant Warwick* intercepted and retook the *Robert* near Waterford a few weeks later. In January 1649 the *Phoenix* stopped the *Peter of London* en route to Wexford. It had been seized coming from Spain with oranges and lemons by the *Mary Virgin of Wexford* under Captain William O'Doran.[56] The most effective way for the English navy to encounter a large number of enemy merchant ships involved the continuous plying of the seas around Ireland.

Like confederate privateers some English captains set out false colours to try and lure enemy ships within range of their guns. The *Magdalen* and *Lorne*, two parliamentary privateers, flew royalist colours called the 'Bristol jack'. The sight of the flags persuaded some Scottish ships they met to haul in their sails. Once the privateers hung out their parliamentary flags the merchant ships tried to flee. The *Magdalen* and *Lorne* fired a few shots to make the ships stay. The parliamentary

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[54] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 234-5.

[55] Examinations of Peter Morrow and John Carnas, 12 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission 1649, HCA 13/250, part i); examination of Henry Sanders, 10 Mar. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations 1648-9, HCA 13/61, f. 343v); examination of Richard Webster, 9 Oct. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

[56] Examination of Thomas Thompson, 14 July 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations 1648-9, HCA 13/61, f. 202); examination of Jacob Bowers, 6 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).

mariners boarded the vessels and initially continued with the pretence that they belonged to the king. They told the seamen on the *Jennet of Belfast* that they would take the ship to the king's quarters. The crew of the *Jennet* admitted that they possessed a pass from Ormond and sailed for Dublin. The *John* claimed that it belonged to the Irish royalist port of Strangford. Once the *Magdalen* and *Lorne* revealed that they really served parliament the captured sailors changed their stories. The mariners on the *John* said their vessel belonged to Glasgow. Those on the *Jennet* stated that they sailed for Carrickfergus and that they only had the pass in case they met confederate men of war. The privateers released the other two ships they had stopped but kept the *John* and *Jennet* as prizes.[57] No records remain of any English ships flying confederate flags to entrap merchants going to Ireland. In 1642 Captain Clark in the *Pennington*, one of the ships that formed part of the 'Sea Adventure', flew Dunkirk colours and went into the harbour of Baltimore. The townsmen believed the *Pennington* had come in to sell powder and went out to the vessel. Clark captured fourteen men including some of the leading rebels in the area.[58]

Some men of war employed by parliament actively sought out potential prizes. They sailed into Irish and royalist controlled ports and removed merchantmen at anchor there. If a harbour did not set out ships to patrol its mouth or possess shore based defences vessels anchoring there could be vulnerable if an enemy warship came in. Stationary ships could not quickly manoeuvre to try and escape from the English men of war or make proper use of their guns to fight them off. A

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[57] Answers of George Denny and Richard Cranley, 27 Apr. 1644 (T.N.A., Answers, 1642-4, HCA 13/118); examinations of Thomas Parker, Thomas Garwen, Thomas Browne, 11, 12 and 17 May1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5, HCA 13/59, ff 204-v, 208v-9v, 225-6).

[58] TT E.242(15), *A true relation of the passages of gods providence in a voyage for Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 10.

combination of the geographical features of the bay, a lack of artillery fortifications and the absence of patrolling warships enabled both the confederates and parliamentary fleets to seize shipping from Dublin during the war. In November 1644 the *Jocelyn* and *Honour*, part of the blockading squadron, sent in their boats and captured a small ship with four pieces of ordnance. They set their prize out as a man of war for the service of parliament.[59] Captain Clarke in the *Jocelyn* followed up on this success a year later. He sent the master of his vessel with a score of men armed with muskets in his boat into Dublin bay. There they took the royalist man of war the *Swan* and the *White Lamb*, a sixty ton vessel loaded with herring, as they lay at anchor. Dissatisfaction among the crew of the *Swan* contributed to its loss. The gunner allegedly handed over the keys to the gunroom of the *Swan* without any resistance.[60]

The absence of the principal officers from the ship or some of the crew being ashore also left ships at anchor vulnerable with no one to take charge on board. Captain John Bartlett, the commander of the *Swan*, had not gone onto the ship the day the *Jocelyn* seized it as he had no money to pay the crew.[61] The *Catt* privateer under Captain Thomas Wells found the *Middelburg of Middelburg* at anchor in the Shannon in 1647. Wells ordered the master of the vessel to come aboard the *Catt* with any papers he possessed. The merchants on board the *Middelburg* persuaded the crew to try and escape. The sailors could not get their vessel away from the English warship and failed to make use of their superior number of cannon to force the *Catt*

[59] Accounts for the *Jocelyn*, 22 Nov. 1644 (T.N.A., Instance papers, 1650-3, HCA 15/5).
[60] Examinations relating to the *Swan*, 6 Nov. 1645, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* ns, i, 101-4; examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations 1650, HCA 13/63, f. 267v).
[61] Examinations relating to the *Swan*, 6 Nov. 1645, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* ns, i, 101.

back and eventually yielded.[62] The *Catt* had further success on the Shannon in the same year. In January Wells found the *John of Limerick* anchored there waiting to sail for France with hides, tallow and other merchandise. He easily seized the ship as the master and some of the crew had gone ashore.[63]

English men of war did not manage to enter the principal confederate harbours at Wexford and Waterford to seize ships at anchor there. Both these towns had fortifications and men of war which could challenge any ships that dared to go in there. Parliamentary warships only risked entering fortified harbours as part of an assault on the place or to get supplies through to a beleaguered garrison. Colonel Deane's ships only moved into Wexford bay in October 1649 to land supplies after soldiers from the army led by Michael Jones had over run Rosslare fort that defended the entrance.[64] In the same year Captain Ferns took his ship the *President* past the fortified blockhouse at Carlingford as part of the attack on the town.[65] Parliamentary ships did venture to Galway in search of prizes. The relatively undefended bay at Galway allowed parliamentarian ships to scour the area in search of prizes. The *Sampson*, a privateer in the pay of parliament commanded by Robert Plunkett, put into the bay in January 1647 before being seized by Captain Darcy.[66]

Most merchantmen going to and from Irish ports did not carry enough armaments and men to offer any serious resistance to parliamentary men of war they

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[62] Examination of Thomas Wells 25 Oct. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62); examination of John Thompson, 1 Nov. 1647, ibid.
[63] Examinations of James Morrice and James Nagle, 3 Feb. 1646/7 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).
[64] Abbott, *The writings and speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, ii, 133-5; Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland*, pp 94-7; TT E.576(2), *A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the honourable William Lenthal Esq; Speaker of the Parliament of England* (London, 1649), pp 4-7.
[65] TT E.575(7), *Letters from Ireland, relating the several great successes it hat pleased God to give unto the Parliaments Forces* (London, 1649), pp 5, 13-5.
[66] Examination of Robert Plunkett, 2 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

met. Only one ship, the *Red Fortune of Amsterdam*, can be identified as trying to fight off an English warship. In July 1647 it met the *Assurance* near the Blaskets as it sailed from Galway to France. The master tried to defend his ship for an hour but lost two men and had to yield.[67] From examinations in the high court of admiralty, once their vessels came within range of an English warship the masters of merchantmen either surrendered fairly promptly or tried to flee. The *Magdalen* fired one warning shot at the *Orange Tree of Amsterdam* as the merchantman tried to pass by the fort of Duncannon en route to Waterford. As his ship only possessed four pieces of ordnance the master of the *Orange Tree* struck his sails and anchored by the parliamentary man of war.[68] The *Swallow of Flushing* en route to Dungarvan with hops and iron carried five men and no ordnance when the *Tiger* seized it near Cornwall. The *St Francis of St Malo*, a 100 ton merchantman with two cannon, carrying wine and salt from France to Galway, had little chance of fighting off the thirty-two gun *Assurance* when they met near Bantry in January 1648.[69] Jacob Jacobson, the master of the *St John of Rotterdam*, struck his sails and allowed his ship to be boarded without any resistance by two parliamentary privateers near Dublin in September 1645.[70]

Prize ships taken by the confederates had even less chance of making any resistance if they met a parliamentary warship. Privateer captains generally left some of the original crew on board and put a few of their own sailors on board for the task

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[67] Examination of John Peterson, 5 Aug. 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).
[68] Examination of Thomas Black, 24 Jan. 1645/6 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7,HCA 13/60).
[69] Examination of Francis Martyn, 6 Feb. 1648/9 (Interrogatories, 1649-53, HCA 23/15); examination of James Patarran, 5 Feb. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).
[70] Examinations of William Wraye and Jacob Jacobson, 24 Oct. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7,HCA 13/60).

of sailing the ship to a safe port. The remaining mariners could not be relied upon to help the prize fight or flee if they met an English ship. Richard Beach, in command of the *Michael of Wexford*, put eleven of his sailors onto the *Three Blackmores of Flushing* and took the master and seven other mariners into his ship. Those left behind included Peter Arnesen, the steersman, one of the principal officers on board when they encountered the *Assurance* in August 1648.[71]

Rather than surrender some merchantmen tried to escape the attentions of English men of war by running their vessel ashore if they could not out sail the chasing ship. The men on board a Dutch vessel being chased by the *George Bonaventure* threw the goods they carried overboard to try and lighten the ship to aid their escape. They ran their ship ashore when it became obvious they could not get away.[72] This offered the sailors on board a practical way to try and save themselves, the goods on board and possibly the ship itself. The seamen wanted to avoid capture as at the very least they would lose their personal possessions and they might be detained in an English gaol for a number of months.[73] The *Rowland of Bremen* coming from La Rochelle to Wexford fled when the *Expedition* began to pursue it. Some of the crew later stated that they feared the *Expedition* might be a Turkish man of war and so ran the ship aground in Wales. The captain organised the crew and got most of the goods ashore in the long boat. The *Expedition* managed to get the ship away and captured some of the sailors left on board who gave examinations before

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[71] Examination of Peter Arnesen, 7 Aug. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1648, HCA 13/249).
[72] Examinations of William White, William Freeman, Edward Norman, 17 June 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-4, HCA 13/58, ff 538v-9v).
[73] See Chapter 9 for a discussion on the treatment of captured mariners.

the high court of the admiralty.[74] The master and merchant managed to unload the cargo from the *Roebuck of Wexford* after grounding the vessel at the approach of two much larger parliamentary vessels, the *Expedition* and *Tiger's Whelp*. The English ships laid out their anchors and succeeded in hauling off the *Roebuck*. The sailors on a small twenty ton ship fled ashore with their clothes and all the goods they could carry when they saw *Truelove* coming towards them.[75]

The pursuing parliamentarians usually tried to seize and re-float the grounded vessel. If the mariners landed in a confederate held area they could call on the support of local military forces to try and repulse the warships with shore based musket and artillery fire. The crew of the Dutch ship chased by the *George Bonaventure* in 1643 went ashore near Dungarvan. The next morning as the seamen from the *George Bonaventure* tried to get the ship to sea her former crew came down to the waterside with some Irish rebels to attempt to rescue the ship. According to William White, a sailor on the *George Bonaventure*, they fired forty to fifty muskets shots at them before they got away with the prize.[76] In 1647 the *Hunter* met the *Orange Tree of Rotterdam* which Captain Turner, a confederate privateer, had seized carrying deals and tar from Norway to Scotland and sent to Ireland as a prize. As the *Orange Tree* could not out run the *Hunter* the crew ran the ship ashore near Wexford and fled on a timber raft. The *Hunter* could not get in close enough to haul the ship off. The sailors from the English man of war manned a boat and armed it with a

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[74] Examinations of Gilbert Snebye and John Johnson, 9 Sept. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-4, HCA 13/58, ff 617-8).
[75] Examination of Patrick Strafford, 29 Mar. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii); examination of Gabriel Sandere, June 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[76] Examinations of William White, William Freeman, Edward Norman, 4 May and 17 June 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-4, HCA 13/58, ff476v-8, 538v-9v).

cannon from the ship. By this time Irish soldiers had come down to the shoreline equipped with muskets, pistols and fowling pieces. They fired a large number of rounds at the boat crew from the *Hunter* and killed one man and wounded another. They failed to prevent them from getting the *Orange Tree* out to sea. Robert Plunkett, from the *Hunter*, deposed that the ship lost £100 worth of tackle and rigging in the operation to seize the prize as well as facing great danger.[77]

The depositions that occur in the high court of admiralty papers suggest that musket fire from the shore could not prevent a man of war from hauling a grounded ship back out to sea. Most of the witness statements about these incidents came from parliamentary seamen. These accounts all helped to establish the legitimacy of the prize claim in order to have the ship condemned. They also served to refute any counter claims that the owners of the ship might make by proving that they had knowingly gone ashore to the Irish rebels and sought their help. Thomas Wells, the captain of the *Catt*, in his deposition concerning the capture of the *Olive of St Malo* in the Shannon stressed that ships coming from France to Cork had no reason to be there unless going to Limerick. He noted that his parliamentary colours could be clearly seen so he could not be mistaken for a Turkish ship when the *Olive* ran ashore. The ship also sent a boat to the Irish soldiers that came down to the river to fire on the *Catt* and aid the merchantman.[78] But if the parliamentary man of war failed to re-float the merchantman then there would be no prize and no need for any

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[77] Examinations of Magnes Johnson and Robert Plunkett, 11 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62); examination of Hugo Fusham, 1 Oct. 1647, ibid; examinations of Richard Waters, Robert Plunkett and William Bamber, 1 and 2 Sept. 1647, ibid; certificate by Thomas Turner, 1 June 1647 (T.N.A., Interrogatories, 1644-55, HCA 23/30).

[78] Examinations of Thomas Wells and John Thompson, 9 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

examinations concerning the matter. Other evidence may indicate that this tactic of fighting off warships from the shore could be successfully used. In May 1646 John Bartlett, commanding the *Falcon*, gave chase to two ships he saw in the Irish Sea. Both ships ran aground near Holyhead as they could not escape the pursuit of the royalist frigate. The crews with the aid of local women carried all the merchandise and sails of the ships ashore as musketeers from the county lined the rocks and kept Bartlett's boat away from the ships. The situation resolved itself once both sides discovered they fought for the king.[79]

Conclusion

During the 1640s no battles occurred at sea involving the navies fighting each other in Ireland. But Joseph Content's examination, relating the capture of so many prizes, clearly shows that a lot of naval activity took place on the Irish coast in this decade. Orrerry's complaint that 'we make war more like foxes than lions' can in many respects be seen to apply equally well to the maritime conflict.[80] The confederate navy never possessed the resources to set out large men of war in grand battle fleets to challenge the English navy in set piece battles. Instead they made the most of their limited resources and adopted tactics to make the most of their advantages. The spread of the military revolution to Ireland can be seen in the 'Dunkirk frigates' confederate privateers relied on. These frigates put some of the

[79] Journal of the *Falcon* frigate, 16 May 1646 (Bodl., Carte MS 17, f. 387-v).

[80] Roger Boyle, earl of Orrery, *A treatise of the art of war dedicated to the Kings most Excellent Majesty* (London, 1677), p. 14.

most advanced naval technology of the day at their disposal. Like the 'fox' they used speed and cunning to attack when a favourable opportunity arose or to flee if the circumstances went against them. The English navy, the 'lion', went into the war with a fleet of large men of war designed to meet other similar foreign formations in battles to determine sovereignty of the seas. In order to take on confederate frigates they needed to adapt their tactics and the type of vessels they deployed. Through the 1640s the parliamentary navy gradually acquired new frigates and adopted tactics to deal with the confederate privateers on the coast around Ireland. Like the war on land small scale engagements, skirmishing and hit and run attacks all characterised the war at sea.

Chapter 9: Atrocities and the treatment of prisoners of war taken at sea

The war in Ireland in the 1640s has been noted for its general brutality and the atrocities that took place. The events that took place in England during the civil war have had a more benign image. Reassessment of the war of the three kingdoms has altered opinions on the conduct of the conflict on both sides of the Irish Sea. Barbara Donagan has looked at the treatment of prisoners and codes and conduct of the war in England. She has noted that along with conscientious behaviour towards captives, atrocities and massacres also took place.[1] Recent analysis of the war in Ireland by Micheál Ó Siochrú examined the stabilising effect returning continental veterans and increased professionalism had on the armies fighting in Ireland. They acted as a moderating influence and atrocities became less common between 1642 and 1647.[2]

This research has focused on land warfare and generally overlooked events which took place at sea. Confederate and parliamentarian maritime forces fought each other at sea and similarly suffered casualties. They also took large numbers of captives in the ships they seized on the coast of Ireland. Atrocities took place at sea and at the hands of sailors from early in the war. In July 1642 the parliamentary man of war, the *Pennington*, captured some of the leading rebels in Baltimore in County Cork. Captain Clarke drowned and hanged a number of the men he detained.[3] The

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[1] Barbara Donagan, 'Prisoners in the English Civil War', in *History Today*, xxxxi (Mar. 1991), p. 28; Barbara Donagan, 'Codes and conduct in the English Civil War', in *Past and Present*, no. 118 (Feb. 1998), pp 65-95.

[2] Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'Atrocity, massacre and the conduct of the war in Ireland, 1641-52' in *Past and Present* (forthcoming).

[3] TT E.242(15), *A true relation of the passages of gods providence in a voyage for Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 10.

best documented incident occurred in April 1644 when Captain Richard Swanley intercepted a ship coming from Ireland. He tied seventy Irish men and two women back to back and threw them overboard at Milford Haven. The royalist newspaper *Mercurius Aulicus* deplored this execution as an 'unparalleled murder'.[4] The aim of this chapter is to examine how the navies that fought in the seas around Ireland conducted the war. What atrocities did take place and what factors led to these acts? How common did the killing of prisoners seized at sea become? What, if any, factors served to limit the worst excesses of both the navies of the confederate association and parliament?

A considerable amount of literature and narratives of the wars of the three kingdoms offered opinions on the conduct of the war. Manuals written by veterans of the Thirty Years war such as the *Scotch Military Discipline* by Major General Robert Monro, a returning Swedish veteran and commander in chief of the Scots army in Ulster, advised young and inexperienced officers on the treatment of prisoners of war. Monro suggested that they spare the lives of any captives they took.[5] Sir James Turner, another officer who served with the Swedes in the 1630s, wrote an account of his experiences that included a chapter on the treatment of prisoners. Turner gave in depth analysis on the issue of prisoners of war and how the laws of war should be applied to the issue of quarter. He noted that prisoners should not be killed in cold blood but also that 'Neither can the promise of Quarter secure Rebels from that death

[4] TT E.49(3), *Mercurius Aulicus, Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the rest of the Kingdome. The eighteenth weeke, ending May 4 1644* (Oxford, 1644), p. 965.
[5] Robert Monro, *The Scotch military discipline learned from the valiant Swede and collected for the use of all worthy commanders favouring the laudable profession of armes* (London, 1644), pp 207-8.

Rebellion deserves'.[6] Other officers and manual authors paid more attention to other matters. Garret Barry, the confederate Munster general in 1642, had fought in Spanish service in the Thirty Years war. He wrote a detailed military manual called *A Discourse of Military Discipline* which covered most aspects of how to set out an army for battle but offered little guidance on the issue of captives.[7]

Each of the sides that fought in the 1640s issued ordinances and articles of war which set out the duties and obligations of their forces and usually gave instructions regarding the treatment of prisoners. The *Lawes and Ordinances of Warre* issued by the earl of Essex for the parliamentary army in 1642 and reissued in subsequent years forbade the killing of prisoners stating that 'none shall kill an Enemy who yeelds and throwes downe his Armes'.[8] Confederate and royalist articles of war did not expressly forbid the killing of prisoners of war. Instead they concentrated on issues relating to the ransoming of captives.[9] Numerous accounts and memoirs by soldiers outlined the details of the engagements they fought in. Many, such as the anonymous 'British officer' who fought in Ulster, offered their opinions on how captives should be treated. He stated that 'after an enemy having surrendered his sword and arms, and is a prisoner 'tis murder to kill him'.[10] In his memoirs the confederate earl of Castlehaven outlined an incident during his

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[6] Sir James Turner, *Pallas armata, Military essayes of the ancient Grecian, Roman, and modern art of war vvritten in the years 1670 and 1671* (London, 1683), pp 335-47.
[7] Garret Barry, *A Discourse of Military Discipline devided into three boockes ...* (Brussels, 1634), pp 1-211.
[8] TT E.116(34), *Lawes and ordinances of warre, established for the better conduct of the army by his Excellency the Earle of Essex* (London, 1642), p. 20.
[9] B.L., *Lawes and orders of warre* (Waterford, 1643), pp 6-7; TT E.246(22), *Military orders and articles established by his Majestie* (Oxford, 1642), p. 8.
[10] E.D. Hogan, (ed.), *The history of the war in Ireland from 1641 to 1653, by a British officer of the regiment of Sir John Clotworthy* (Dublin, 1873), p. 73.

campaign in Munster in 1645 in which he executed two of his soldiers for breaking the terms of the quarter he granted to a castle.[11]

These conventions covered armies on land but much less has been written about the treatment of prisoners taken at sea. John Smith in his *A Sea Grammar* noted the lack of naval manuals available for inexperienced officers. He offered captains advice on how they should treat captives they seized on a prize at sea. Firstly they should look after any wounded men, women or old men they found but any sailors taken in a fight could be imprisoned and pillaged of their goods.[12] Other European maritime powers developed their own systems for dealing with enemy sailors they seized in the early decades of the seventeenth century. In 1621 Spain set out a series of regulations which ordered the summary execution of all Muslim sailors taken at sea by its ships. As part of their war with Spain the Dutch navy adopted the practice of throwing the crews of Flemish privateers they captured overboard in the 1620s. This became known as 'foot watering'.[13]

Both the confederates and parliamentarians issued directions to their maritime forces during the 1640s which dealt with how they should handle any prisoners they seized. In contrast to the ordinances set out for their armies neither side published those sent to their fleets. The confederates supplied letters of marque and instructions to captains who sailed under their colours. The letter of marque served as a licence for a captain to seize any vessels he suspected of trading with a parliamentary port. The issue of what to do with prisoners did not rank as a high

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[11] Castlehaven, *The earl of Castlehaven's review*, pp 108-9.
[12] John Smith, *A sea grammar, with the plaine exposition of Smiths accidence for young seamen enlarged* (London, 1627), pp 59-63.
[13] Stradling, *The armada of Flanders*, pp 39-46.

priority for the confederate admiralty. The commissions that survive, such as those for the *Mary of Antrim*, *St John of Waterford* and *Cornelius of Wexford*, made no mention of the issue.[14] The sailing instructions given to Irish captains provided more extensive directions for the management of the privateering enterprise. Only one set seized on the *St Peter of Waterford* after its capture in July 1649 can be found in the high court of admiralty in London. These orders stipulated that Captain Joseph Content bring any prisoners he seized into a confederate harbour. There he should hand them over to a port officer for questioning to establish the legitimacy of his prize. A commander could only release the captured seamen if he feared they might overpower his company.[15] Neither the sailing instructions nor licences issued by the confederate supreme council authorised the killing of prisoners taken at sea.

The sailing instructions given to English naval captains provided much more guidance for officers and covered most aspects of the day to day running of a man of war. Like their Irish counterparts they included few provisions relating to prisoners other than to bring some ashore to be examined by an admiralty court.[16] In conjunction with the standard directions issued to Richard Swanley in April 1643, as admiral of the Irish guard, he received a set of additional instructions from the earl of Warwick. These orders supplemented and differed from the general sailing

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[14] Commission for the *Mary of Antrim*, 22 Nov. 1648 (T.N.A., examinations on commission, 1648, HCA 13/248); commission for the *St John of Waterford*, 22 Nov. 1648 (T.N.A., examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i); commission for the *Cornelius of Wexford*, 9 July 1649, ibid.
[15] Instructions to be observed by captains in the service of the confederate Catholics, 24 Dec. 1648 (T.N.A., Various 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, ff. 408-10); TT E.531(19), *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies journall in Parliament: proceedings of the council of State: And other moderate intelligence. From Fryday July the 6 to Fryday July the 13 1649* (London, 1649), pp 1105-7.
[16] Instructions for Captain William Penn, rear admiral of the Irish Seas, 16 July 1645 (N.M.M., Official papers of Sir William Penn, Admiral, 1621-1670, WYN 2/3, ff 1-14); instructions for Captain Richard Swanley, 10 Apr. 1643 (B.L., Transcripts of State Papers and other papers made for or by Thomas Birch. Vol. 1 1473-1657, Add Ms 4106, ff 199-203v).

instructions the fleet had received and related exclusively to Ireland and not to parliamentary commanders on other stations. They ordered Swanley to prevent any Irish coming over to England stating that 'as for the Irish Rebells you are to use Martiall Lawe on them both by sea and land' and that he should 'use a more free and liberall hand over them in executing Martiall lawe upon them'. Warwick reiterated these commands in May 1643 when he reminded Swanley to punish any who tried to cross from Ireland to England to cause disturbance by death and that he should be 'very strict in your justice'.[17] These explicit instructions authorised the parliamentary Irish squadron to execute any Irishmen they detained at sea and promised the protection of parliament for their obedience.[18]

Despite the issuing of these orders in April and May 1643 Swanley did not execute any prisoners his squadron seized in the Irish Sea until April 1644. The delay that occurred from the initial issuing of the orders to the killing of the Irish captives a year later at Milford Haven cannot be attributed to a lack of prizes in that time period. The fleet intercepted a number of ships going to and from confederate ports in Ireland.[19] For example in November 1643 the *Sampson* captured the *Fortune of Wexford* en route to Spain laden with pipe staves. The *Expedition* under Captain Jordan seized a 300 ton Hamburg vessel bringing supplies from La Rochelle to Ireland in August 1643.[20] None of these prizes met the criteria laid down for executing prisoners captured at sea. Warwick specified that Swanley should use

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[17] Additional instructions for Captain Swanley, 10 Apr. 1643 (B.L., Transcripts of State Papers and other papers made for or by Thomas Birch. Vol. 1 1473-1657, Add Ms 4106, ff 203-4); private instructions to Captain Swanley, 6 May 1643, ibid, ff 205-v.

[18] Additional instructions for Captain Swanley, 10 Apr. 1643, ibid, f. 204.

[19] See Appendix C2.

[20] Examination of Gabriel Hughes, 23 Jan. 1644/5 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5, HCA 13/59, f. 616); TT E.65(29), *Severall letters of Great Importance and good successe. Lately obtained against the Fellowship of Bristow, by Captain William Smith* (London, 1643), p 1.

martial law on soldiers attempting to cross from Ireland to England. The ships the navy caught in this period consisted of merchantmen not troop transports. The vessel Swanley intercepted in April 1644 had the misfortune to be first ship carrying soldiers that he detained at a time of heightened fear about Irish regiments arriving in England.

The popular fear in England of an invasion of Irish Catholics that came about in the aftermath of the 1641 rising came to pass in September 1643. The marquis of Ormond agreed a cessation with the confederates which allowed him to transport the royalist army in Ireland to aid Charles I in England. Parliamentarian propaganda portrayed this force as mainly consisting of Irish Catholics who sought 'to joyne with the Papists here to destroy the Protestants, and for the utter extirpation of the Protestant religion'.[21] In reality most of the men who crossed to England consisted of returning English and Welsh soldiers who had gone over to suppress the rebellion in Ireland in 1641 and 1642. Mark Stoyle has estimated that between October 1643 and March 1644 approximately 7,740 men sailed from Ireland to join the royalist armies in England. Of this force he calculated that only about 1,200 were Irish soldiers.[22]

From a naval perspective the arrival of extra forces to strengthen the royalists in Wales threatened the security of the key parliamentary harbour at Milford Haven. At the time of the cessation the English navy lost the use of the main harbours it relied on in Ireland at Dublin, Cork, Youghal, Kinsale and Duncannon. This left Milford Haven the base of operations for the ships assigned to guard the Irish coast. Royalist forces commanded by the earl of Carberry over ran most of Pembrokeshire

[21] TT E34(11), *An exact relation of foure notable victories obtained by the parliaments forces* (London, 1644), pp 3-4.
[22] Stoyle, *Soldiers and strangers*, pp 53-62, 209-10.

in south Wales and threatened to seize this key parliamentary harbour in late 1643. Captain Swanley arrived there in January 1644 with a flotilla of five ships. During February and March the naval force aided the army under Major General Langherne in relieving the town of Pembroke and clearing the county of royalist forces. Sailors from the squadron participated in storming the town of Tenby in March 1644.[23] During this time reports relating to the execution of Irish men captured in England began to appear in parliamentary news books. In November 1643 *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* claimed that the parliamentarians at Liverpool planned to 'make short work' with some Irish they had captured. The *True Informer* followed this up in February 1644 when it reported that Sir William Brereton intended to put some Irish women taken at Nantwich to the sword or to tie them back to back and cast them into the sea.[24] Paranoia over the landing of soldiers from Ireland, pressure on the naval outpost at Milford Haven and reports of the killing of Irish prisoners created a combination of factors which made the early months of 1644 the worst possible time for a ship load of Irish soldiers to fall into the hands of the English navy.

The ship the navy intercepted in April coming from Dublin carried approximately 150 soldiers who formed part of Colonel Willoughby's company. According to Ormond these men had fought against the rebels in Ireland since the outbreak of the rebellion. Some may have been part of the garrison commanded by

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[23] TT E.3(12), *An exact relation of that famous and notable Victorie obtained at Milford-Haven against the Earle of Carbery his forces; by the Admirall and Vice-Admirall of the Irish Seas* (London, 1644), pp 1-9; Powell, *The Navy in the English Civil War*, pp 58-61.

[24] TT E.75(31), *The kingdomes weekly intelligencer sent abroad again to prevent mis-information. From Tuesday the 7 of November, to Tuesday the 14 of Novemb. 1643* (London, 1643), p. 241; TT E.31(10), *The true informer...From Saturday January 27 to Saturday February 3 1643* (London, 1644), p. 151.

Willoughby who held out against the confederates at St Augustine's fort at Galway until June 1643.[25] Swanley offered the covenant to the soldiers and spared the lives of those who took it. He imprisoned their officers to ensure their future loyalty. Those who refused to take the covenant - essentially seventy Irish men and two women - were bound back to back and cast overboard. Royalist newspapers such as *Mercurius Aulicus* condemned this action as an 'unparalleled murder' and denounced its perpetrator as 'that barbarous mariner Captaine Swanley'.[26] Parliamentarian newspapers revelled in the details of the execution and lauded Swanley's actions. The *Spie* commended 'the valiant and industrious Capt. Swanley' and suggested that 'salt water was a very convenient drench to cure those barbarous wretches, which had taken a Surfeit with Protestant blood in Ireland'.[27] *Mercurius Britanicus* agreed that 'it was just to cast them into the Sea and wash them to death from the blood of the Protestants that was upon them' and that Captain Swanley 'hath a spirit made fit for revenging the blood of the poor Protestants in Ireland'.[28] In June 1644 Captain Swanley appeared before the House of Commons and received its thanks and a gold chain valued at £200 for his 'faithful service, and valiant Actions' in Wales.[29]

Swanley's brutal actions had the desired effect of slowing down the transportation of soldiers to aid the king. News of the atrocity made men preparing to

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[25] Ormond to the Archbishop of York, 27 May 1644, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, p. 141; Ormond to sir John Mennes, 29 May 1644, Carte (ed.), *Ormond*, vi, 136.
[26] TT E.49(3), *Mercurius Aulicus, Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the rest of the Kingdome. The eighteenth weeke, ending May 4 1644* (Oxford, 1644), p. 965.
[27] TT E.42(9),*The Spie, communicating intelligence from Oxford. From Thursday the 4 of April to Thursday the 11* (London, 1644), p. 84; TT E.47(24), *The Spie ... From Wednesday the 8 of May to Wednesday the 15* (London, 1644), p. 224.
[28] TT E.49(4), *Mercurius Britanicus, Communicating the affaires of great Britaine: for the better information of the people. From Monday 13 May to Monday 20 May 1644* (London, 1644), p. 282; TT E.51(8), *Mercurius Britanicus ... From Monday 10 June to Monday 17 June 1644* (1644, London), p. 308.
[29] *Commons Journal*, iii, 516-8.

sail from Dublin unwilling to venture across the Irish Sea.[30] The killing of Irish soldiers taken in England and Wales continued through the summer and autumn of 1644. For example the parliamentary garrison at Bolton hanged an Irishman they captured from the town ramparts. In July the earl of Essex approved the killing of some Irish prisoners taken at Dorchester stating that 'he would not have quarter allowed to those'.[31] Parliament in London followed up on the actions of its military and naval commanders by passing the 'No Quarter Ordinance' in October 1644. This stated that no officer on land or sea was to grant quarter to any Irish man or Catholic born in Ireland captured in arms against parliament in England.[32]

The committee of the admiralty passed the directive onto all the naval captains and a number of executions occurred later in 1644 and in the following years.[33] In December 1644 Thomas Plunkett in the *Discovery* found two friars dressed as common mariners on board the *Nostra Dama of Le Croisic* sailing for Limerick. He tortured the men by placing lighted match between their fingers and then threw the friars overboard.[34] In July 1644 *Perfect Occurrences of Parliament* reported that Captain Robert Moulton had cast some Irish overboard.[35] In November 1646 a petition reached the House of Commons that detailed the actions of Captain

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[30] Ormond to the Archbishop of York, 27 May 1644, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents,* p. 141.
[31] Stoyle, *Soldiers and strangers*, pp 68-9.
[32] TT E14(7), *Two ordinances of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament: one commanding that no officer or souldier either by sea or land, shall give any quarter to any Irishman, or to any papist borne in Ireland, which shall be taken in armes against the Parliament in England*, (London, 1644), pp 1-2.
[33] Committee of the lords and commons of the admiralty and cinque ports, 17 Dec. 1646 (H.L.R.O., Main papers, PO JO 10 1 220, f. 120).
[34] Interrogatory for the *Nostra Dama*, nd (T.N.A., Interrogatories, 1641-8, HCA 23/14); examination of Owen Dalie and Connor O'Connor, 31 Dec. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1643-4, HCA 13/246); examinations of Richard Poole and William Smart, 23 June 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7 HCA 13/60).
[35] TT E.254(6), *Perfect Occurrences of Parliament, and chief collections of letters. From Friday the 19 July till Friday the 26 of July 1644* (London, 1644), p. 5.

Plunkett and Captain John Gilson in the *Constant Warwick*. Gilson allegedly cast fifteen men from Wexford overboard. Accounts of the drowning of prisoners continued to appear in London newspapers.[36] The *Scottish Dove* provided an account in August 1646 about the rescuing of two English ships from the earl of Antrim's frigates. The Irish privateers intercepted two ships coming from the Canaries laden with wine. The confederates placed thirty men on board each vessel to bring the prizes to Waterford. Before they reached that port they encountered two unnamed parliamentary frigates. The Irish men of war fled abandoning the prizes and their crew members on them. After retaking the two ships the English sailors proceeded to throw the sixty confederate mariners overboard.[37]

The confederates also drowned some of the Protestant prisoners they held. At the outbreak of the rebellion in Wexford an atrocity took place in the harbour there. Witnesses stated that in January 1642 Irish sailors deliberately cast away a ship in the bay taking Protestant refugees to England. Only the mariners and a Catholic woman got to safety. The rebels forced any Protestants that swam ashore back into the sea where they drowned.[38] Some Irish captains took a hard line approach to English men they seized at sea. After a fight for two hours an Irish man of war seized a vessel belonging to Master Taylor bound from London to Rotterdam in December 1644. *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* reported that the privateer shot the master with a brace of bullets and then threw the crew into the sea. An Irish privateer, named

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[36]Committee of the lords and commons of the admiralty and cinque ports, 17 Dec. 1646 (H.L.R.O., Main papers, PO JO 10 1 220, f. 120); Robert Vennard to his wife, 9 Nov. 1646, ibid, f. 123.

[37] Given the lack of precise details it is possible that the incident involving Gilson and Plunkett made be the same one involving the Antrim frigates. TT E.350(16), *The Scottish Dove sent out and returning, from Wednesday the 12 of August till Wednesday the 19 of August 1646* (London, 1646), p. 7.

[38] Depositions of John Archer and Mathew Mudford, 12 Mar. 1641/2 (T.C.D., Wexford depositions, i, MS 818, ff19-v); deposition of Thomas Lucas, 7 Feb. 1641/2, ibid, f. 18.

Donnell, complained when some English seamen were brought before him. In a great rage he allegedly said 'why did you bring these parliament doggs a shore could not you throw them over board'. He then vowed to cut off the heads of any English sailors he took at sea.[39] Despite these incidents and threats the confederates do not appear to have executed large numbers of parliamentary mariners they captured at sea. Robert Venard, an English sailor detained in Wexford, in a letter to his wife, refuted rumours that the Irish had cast captured mariners overboard in 1646.[40]

Overall, even though some atrocities did occur during the war at sea neither side ever fully implemented a policy of executing sailors or soldiers they detained. The *Spy* intercepted the *Swallow of Youghal* carrying twenty-one horses and men under Captain John Bannister going to Bristol to serve the king in June 1644. None of the witnesses mentioned the execution of these cavalry troopers.[41] In August 1644 the earl of Warwick recommended swapping twenty-four Irish men taken on the *Mary and Dorothy* and held in London for twenty seven-English men detained in Wexford and Limerick. While he did not approve of releasing confederate sailors he supported the deal because 'it will be a work of charity to get our men from under so base an enemy'.[42] The reality of the war at sea made the parliamentary 'No Quarter Ordinance' unworkable. Frigates with confederate commissions operating from ports such as Wexford and Waterford seized large quantities of English merchant shipping throughout the 1640s. If English naval officers regularly put to death captured Irish

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[39] TT E.21(25), T*he kingdomes weekly intelligencer sent abroad to prevent misinformation. From Tuesday the 3 of December to Tuesday the 10 December 1644* (London, 1644), pp 671-2; deposition of John Sellor, 29 May 1643 (T.C.D., Waterford depositions, MS 820, ff 298-v).
[40] Robert Vennard to his wife, 9 Nov. 1646 (H.L.R.O., Main papers, PO JO 10 1 220, f. 123).
[41] Order by Inchiquin, May 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1643-4, HCA 13/246); examination of Walter Quint, 29 June 1644, ibid.
[42] Earl of Warwick to the commissioners of the navy, 21 Aug. 1644, (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1644*, p. 557).

mariners then the confederates promised to retaliate. As they usually held in the region of 150 English and Scottish seamen in their port towns parliament had to take this threat seriously. Geoffrey Parker has noted the spread of reciprocity as one of the key factors that led to restraint in early modern warfare.[43] The prospect of retaliatory executions quickly persuaded most warring parties of the need for moderation in their dealings with captives. The Dutch suspended their practice of 'foot watering' Flemish privateers for fear of reprisal as numerous Dutch captives were held in Dunkirk.[44]

Most of the threats concerning maritime prisoners of war took place on the confederate side at a local level. Officials in port towns such as Wexford conducted most of the correspondence and negotiations relating to captives and their treatment. Captain Mathew Woods in the *Samuel*, blockading Dublin bay, seized a small bark carrying forty confederate soldiers. He asked Ormond to intervene to help secure the release of English seamen being held at Wexford in June 1646. The marquis wrote directly to the mayor of the town to try and arrange an exchange of prisoners rather than to the supreme council.[45] In reply Walter Turner, the mayor of Wexford, wrote back that he had already released the captives he held. He added a warning that if Woods executed any of the captured Irishmen he held then he would kill ten English sailors for each Irishman in retaliation.[46] Jaspar Bolan, the next mayor of Wexford, reiterated this threat. In November 1646 he wrote to parliament after receiving news

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[43] Geoffrey Parker, 'Early modern Europe', in Michael Howard, George Andrepoulos and Mark Shulman (eds), *The laws of war, constraints on warfare in the western world* (New Haven, 1994), p. 55-7.
[44] Stradling, *Armada of Flanders*, p. 45.
[45] Mathew Woods to Ormond, 22 June 1646 (Bodl. Carte MS 17, f. 559); Ormond to mayor of Wexford, 23 June 1646, ibid, f. 582.
[46] Mayor of Wexford to Ormond, 30 Jun. 1646, ibid, f. 617.

of the killing of fifteen townsmen by Captain Gilson. He reminded the commons that he held approximately 168 Englishmen in his custody and warned that he would retaliate in kind unless he received assurance that the navy would cease the practice of drowning Irishmen. In order to illustrate his point he placed the English captives he held in a 'woeful dungeon' for fifteen days. He only released them to a better prison when word reached Wexford that Captain Robert Moulton, junior, had compassionately treated some townsmen he apprehended.[47] Parliament could not afford to engage in tit for tat killings of seamen. If English mariners who feared for their lives refused to put to sea then the fishing industries and overseas trade of parliament would suffer. In 1649 the council of state advised the generals at sea to arrange exchanges of maritime prisoners as 'it will do much to the satisfaction of the seamen, when they see that care is had of them'.[48]

Parker also noted that for reciprocity to work there must be 'some recognition of adversaries from earlier encounters and some certainty that the two sides will meet again'.[49] In contrast to the armies that fought in the three kingdoms the prospect of meeting the same foe again and possibly becoming a prisoner did not really apply to most of the sailors who served in the English navy in the 1640s. Soldiers in a small geographic area like Munster might encounter each other on multiple occasions at different sieges, skirmishes and battles over the course of the war. In the war at sea with no battles and Irish frigates preferring to prey on easy merchant targets very few mariners in the employ of the English state fell into confederate hands. Between

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[47] Jaspar Bolan, 22 Nov. 1646 (H.L.R.O., Main papers, PO JO 10 1 220, f. 122); Committee of the lords and commons of the admiralty and cinque ports, 17 Dec. 1646, ibid, f. 120.
[48] Council of state to the generals at sea, 12 May 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 138).
[49] Parker, 'Early modern Europe', p. 57.

1641 and 1649 only six men of war owned or on hire to parliament can be definitely identified as having been seized by the confederates. Hence, the prospect of one day being captured did not really serve as a moderating influence on the war at sea for the parliamentary navy.

The confederates did not seize many sailors from parliamentary men of war but they did detain large numbers from English merchant vessels. The English navy and its crews did not operate in isolation from the rest of the population who earned their living from the sea. Many of the sailors captured by the confederates probably had friends and relatives serving in the navy. The sailors and officers who manned the state's ships often first went to sea in the merchant or fishing fleets. The council of state described the fishing industry as 'the very nursery and means of breeding our mariners and seamen, and without which we could not supply our naval forces'.[50] These men came from and lived in the same maritime communities as the sailors held by the confederates. For example the parish of Ratcliff on the Thames appeared numerous times in depositions by seamen. The construction of the *Constant Warwick* also took place in shipyards there. Two Irish men of war seized Jacob Frasor, a sailor in the *Trade* from Ratcliff, in 1643. In the same year the confederates captured the *Adventure of London* in St George's Channel with Nathan Boulte, aged 53 and also from Ratcliff, on board. Numerous sailors and officers in state men of war and privateers listed their home parish as Ratcliff. These included William Martell, the

[50] Council of state to the generals at sea, 22 Jun. 1649, (*Cal. S.P. Dom 1649-50*, p. 202).

master's mate of the *Constant Warwick*, Thomas Drew, a mariner in the *Warwick* frigate and Richard Waters, another common seaman in the *Hunter*.[51]

Captains like Richard Swanley, Robert Moulton and many others served on merchant ships before they joined the navy and had family members at sea.[52] Moulton for instance had sailed on trading voyages to the Americas before the war and his son, Robert junior, also joined the navy. Equally Irish sailors or officials in ports who might threaten to execute English seamen often had relatives at sea who if captured might face a similar fate. Nicholas Hay, the mayor of Wexford in 1643, had a brother, William, who commanded the *St Patrick of Wexford.* Some parliamentarian officers can be identified as having seafaring relatives seized by the confederates. Captain Thomas Plunkett's brother Robert commanded a privateer named the *Sampson* on the Irish coast in 1647. In January of that year foul weather drove the *Sampson* into Galway where Captain Darcy seized the vessel. Reciprocity clearly worked in this case. The confederates had released Robert by October 1647 as he testified before the high court of admiralty in London in that month.[53] The fact that it would be their friends and relatives who would suffer if they carried out the full rigours of parliamentary policy probably served to lessen the impact of the 'No Quarter Ordinance' at sea.

This can also be seen in the fact that most of those who can be identified as having been thrown overboard did not serve as sailors in the captured vessels. The

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[51] Examination of Jacob Frasor, 3 Oct. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-4, HCA 13/58. ff 631v-2v); examination of Nathan Boulte, 5 May 1643, ibid, f. 523; examination of William Martell, 8 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62); examination of Richard Waters, 30 Aug. 1647, ibid; examination of Thomas Drew, 29 Jan. 1645/6 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).

[52] Andrews, *Ships, money and politics*, pp 36-47.

[53] Examination of Robert Plunkett, 2 Sept. 1647 and examination of William Bamber, 22 Oct. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

men from the Antrim frigates executed in 1646 had definitely served as mariners on those privateers.[54] In other cases the issue was less clear cut. Parliamentary accounts all stressed that the Irish men Swanley executed in 1644 had been soldiers coming over from Ireland to serve the king. They made no mention of the mariners on the ship some of whom may have been Irish. Ormond had engaged confederate shipping to transport over the royalist army in October 1643. Equally the crew may have been made up of royalists as by the spring of 1644 the lord lieutenant seems to have been more reliant on English shipping.[55] The confederates made no threat of retaliation against English captives they held after this incident. This can possibly be attributed to the fact that the murdered Irishmen served in Ormond's royalist army and not the confederate association. The two friars Plunkett threw overboard from the *Nostra Dama* in 1644 seem to have been the only people on the ship treated in that manner. Subsequent depositions by the captain made no mention of further killings. The account of the killing of fifteen men in 1646 by John Gilson only stated that the victims came from Wexford and did not state their profession.[56] Sailors may have been reluctant from the outset to execute their counterparts if they arrested them at sea.

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[54] TT E. 350(16), *The Scottish Dove sent out and returning, from Wednesday the 12 of August till Wednesday the 19 of August 1646* (London, 1646), p. 7.

[55] A note of the particular vessels and of the owners who are to be contracted for his Maties service, Oct 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS 7, f. 267); order of the lord lieutenant and council, 5 Feb 1643/4 (T.N.A., Interrogatories, 1641-8, HCA 23/14).

[56] Interrogatory for the *Nostra Dama*, nd (T.N.A., Interrogatories, 1641-8, HCA 23/14); examination of Owen Dalie and Connor O'Connor, 31 Dec. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1643-4, HCA 13/246); examinations of Richard Poole and William Smart, 23 June 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7 HCA 13/60);committee of the lords and commons of the admiralty and cinque ports, 17 Dec. 1646 (H.L.R.O., Main papers, PO JO 10 1 220, f. 120); Robert Vennard to his wife, 9 Nov. 1646, ibid, f. 123.

As both sides detained large numbers of enemy mariners the obvious policy for parliament involved arranging exchanges for English men detained in Irish towns. The process of swapping Irish rebels for English sailors detained in Wexford and other places became more frequent after the English House of Commons approved the policy in December 1646.[57] Captain Swanley wrote to the confederate supreme council in February 1647 and offered to exchange 150 men he held for 160 sailors imprisoned at Wexford and Kilkenny.[58] Prior to the official shift in policy local commanders in Ireland often used captured confederate sailors to procure the release of their own soldiers. Lord Inchiquin held on to the Irish sailors taken in the *Phoenix of Flushing* and brought into Cork by the *Discovery* until they could be exchanged for some Protestant captives.[59] Occasionally an offer to exchange prisoners failed to take place for various reasons. The confederates sent William London, a mariner from Dartmouth, to Kinsale to arrange the swap of some Irish captives in return for his colleagues held at Crookhaven. The English refused as the ship the mariners came from had gone in to that harbour voluntarily to trade with the Irish and 'because these were surprised in their owne base condition knowing they were Rebells, and yet for lucre of gain would trust themselves into their hands'.[60]

Practical problems involving cost and a shortage of space meant that parliament could not arrange exchanges for all the maritime prisoners they held. Commanders sometimes simply released captured mariners with no formal

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[57] Order by the lords and commons, 31 Dec. 1646 (H.L.R.O., Main papers, PO JO 10 1 220, f. 119); *Commons Journal*, v, 33-5.
[58] *Commons Journals*, v, pp 33-5; TT E.375(3), *Mercurius Diutinus, Collector of the affaires of great Britaine and martiall proceedings in Europe. Number 11* (London, 1646/7), p. 83.
[59] Order by Inchiquin, 9 Jan, 1645/6 (T.N.A., Examinations 1646-47, HCA 13/248).
[60] TT E.126(26), *Speciall Passages and certain information from severall places collected for the use of all that desire to be truly Informed. From Tuesday the 1 of Novemb to Tuesday the 8 of Novemb 1642* (London, 1642), pp 113-4.

exchange. Captains might set part of any captured crew on the nearest land rather than bring them into port. In 1649 when the *Phoenix* captured the *St Peter of Waterford* Captain Harrison set all the seamen ashore except the captain. Captain Wynd of the *Adventure of London* landed twenty of the crew of the *Margaret of Waterford* in Holland after he captured the vessel.[61] Like their parliamentarian counterparts confederate captains sometimes landed captured crews on the nearest shore. The *Cornelius of Wexford* put the captured company of a Dover ship on shore after they fired the vessel.[62] Local considerations, such as the availability of space in convenient prisons, often determined whether or not ordinary seamen would be released or imprisoned.

The admiralty in London usually stipulated that prominent or dangerous prisoners such as privateer captains, army officers or priests should be sent to the city for further examination. Important captives received secure escorts to ensure they arrived safely. For instance the council of state ordered a close guard for Captain Darcy to convey him to London in 1648.[63] The fear that Irish soldiers going into Spanish service in Flanders in 1649 might serve Charles II against the Commonwealth instead probably led to the order to send the common men taken on a ship, bound from Galway to Middelburg, to the plantations in the West Indies.[64] Even privateer captains might be freed if they treated Englishmen they captured

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[61] TT E.531(21), *A perfect Diurnall of some passages in Parliament. And the daily proceedings of the Army under his Excellency the Lord Fairfax. From Munday July 9 to Munday July 16 1649* (London, 1649), p. 2558; examination of Captain Wynd, 23 Mar. 1649/50, (T.N.A., Examinations 1650, HCA 13/251, part i).

[62] Examination of Peter Dolard, 3 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).

[63] Ormond to the earl of Clanricarde, 3 Feb. 1644/5 (Bodl., Carte MS 14, f. 16); council of state to the committee of merchants, 16 Apr. 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom, 1649-50*, p. 95); council of state to the generals at sea, 17 July 1649, ibid, p. 235.

[64] Council of state to the committee of merchants, 16 Apr. 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom, 1649-50*, p. 95); council of state, 21 Apr. 1649, ibid, p. 101.

properly and if prisoners of a similar status could be found to exchange in Irish captivity. The admiralty in London approved the release of Captain William Hoville of the *Angel Keeper of Waterford* in March 1648. They reported to Admiral Rainsborough that he had acted civilly towards parliamentary mariners he apprehended and that he should be discharged once he gave security not to act against parliament and that he would release two Englishmen from detention on his return to Ireland.[65] Hoville may not have kept his word. In May 1649 an unnamed Irish man of war commanded by the similarly named Captain William O'Howill assaulted the *Endeavour of Southampton* as it sailed from France towards its home port.[66]

Many Irish seamen made their way back to Ireland once they had been released. Lawrence Trehy and John Brennan were seized en route from Galway to Spain in 1649. On their return in August they gave a detailed account of the preparations taking place around Milford for Cromwell's army.[67] Some mariners had the misfortune to be taken on more than one occasion by parliamentary men of war. Christopher Turner from Wexford was on the *Margaret of Wexford*, which he part owned in January 1643, when the *Lily* detained the vessel on its homeward voyage from France. He escaped from Wexford just before Cromwell stormed the town in October 1649. But he lost a twelve gun frigate, the *Mary Conception of Wexford* which lay at anchor in the harbour. In 1650 the parliamentary navy seized Turner again. This time he commanded the privateer the *Peter of Scilly* which he had

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[65] Committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque Ports, 16 Mar. 1647/8 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add 9305, f. 14v).
[66] Depositions of Daniel Gotier and William Harvey, 23 July 1649, Thompson (ed.), *The book of examinations and depositions of Southampton*, p. 20.
[67] Michael Bolan to Ormond, 6 Aug. 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 25, ff 165-v).

purchased after his flight from Wexford.[68] Some English mariners gained their freedom by serving on confederate ships. If retaken by parliament they usually claimed like Thomas Webb, arrested on the *Fortune of Wexford* in 1643, that they had been coerced into service by their captors.[69] Religious differences generally precluded the pressing of Irish sailors by English naval vessels.

The treatment received by confederate sailors detained by parliament varied depending on circumstances of their capture. Mariners faced similar problems to those of soldiers who became prisoners of war in England. After their surrender soldiers could generally expect to be roughed up and robbed of their money and clothes. Men on all sides also complained about the harsh conditions of the prisons in which they found themselves incarcerated. Parliamentarians regularly protested about the cruelties of the royalist Provost Marshall Smith in pamphlets such as *The inhumanity of the Kings prison-keeper at Oxford.*[70] Mariners seized by parliamentary men of war underwent similar hardships. The crew of a Kinsale bark seized in Devon in 1642 and suspected of carrying soldiers for Ireland complained that their goods had been seized and that they remained in great misery in Newgate prison. Inventories taken for the high court of admiralty from captured vessels often listed the personal property of the mariners. An inventory for the *St Nicholas* seized near Waterford in 1649 included the line 'and all the money and goods of the mariners'.[71] Parliament granted an allowance of three pence a day to the keeper of Marshalsea

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[68] Examination of Christopher Turner, 27 Mar. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1643-4, HCA 13/246); examination of Christopher Turner, 30 July 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/251).
[69] Examination of Thomas Webb, 13 Nov. 1643 (T.N.A., Various papers 1624-50 HCA 30/863).
[70] Charles Carlton, *Going to the wars, the experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638-1651* (London, 1994), pp 239-43; TT E63 (17), *The inhumanity of the Kings prison-keeper at Oxford* (London, 1643).
[71] Inventory of the goods on the *St Nicholas*, 5 Nov. 1649, (T.N.A., Examinations 1651, HCA 13/251, part I); TT E.141(4), *The petition of the rebells in Nevv-Gate* (London, 1642), pp 1-6.

prison to maintain the Irish sailors detained there. This was less than the six pence a day generally given for the upkeep of prisoners of war by both sides in England. By 1649 the council of state ordered an increase to eight pence per day in the amount allowed to prisoners of war taken at sea. The committee of the navy also approved payments to pursers on warships for the victualling of men they detained on Irish prizes. In November 1647 they ordered £17 7*s*. 8*d*. be paid to John Attawell, the purser of the *Assurance*, for a number of captives the vessel took in the Irish Sea.[72]

Some captains in the service of parliament acted harshly towards the passengers and companies of vessels they seized. William Penn, the captain of the *Assurance* and parliament's rear admiral in Ireland, abused some high ranking Spanish nobles he intercepted in the *St Patrick of Waterford* en route to Bilbao in late 1646. Penn stripped Don Juan de Urbina naked and put him in with the common seamen. The Spanish ambassador in London complained about this incident to the committee of the admiralty who then ordered the release of the Spaniards.[73] Other captains took a much harsher line when dealing with prisoners. Adrian Block, the master of the *Charity of Flushing*, claimed that Captain John Gilson, in the *Constant Warwick*, tortured an Irish passenger on his ship named Richard Butler. He forced Butler to say that the vessel sailed for New Ross. Block contended that the *Charity* carried salt for Dublin, then under the command of parliament. Gilson reportedly placed lighted match between Butler's fingers and put a rope around his neck and

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[72] Payment for James Lindsey, keeper of Marshalseas, 23 Nov. 1644 (T.N.A., Navy treasurer's accounts, 1641-53, E351/2513); payment for James Attawell, 29 Nov. 1647, ibid; *Commons Journal*, ii, pp 909-10; Carlton, *Going to the wars*, p. 246; Council of state to the navy commissioners, 30 Apr. 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom, 1649-50*, p. 113).
[73] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 230-1.

threatened to throw him overboard until he confessed that the ship intended to go to the confederate port.[74]

Captain Thomas Plunkett allegedly tortured some of the mariners and passengers taken on board the *John of London*. His privateering vessel the *Hunter of London* seized the *John* on its return voyage from Barbados laden with tobacco in October 1646. Plunkett detained the captives at his house for five days. During this time he threatened to hang or shoot any of them who refused to sign examinations that said they were bound for the confederate towns of Limerick, Galway or Tralee. He also promised to allow the carpenter and gunner of the *John* to keep their personal stores of tobacco and offered them positions on his man of war if they deposed that the ship sailed for a port controlled by rebels in Ireland. The planters from the ship recanted their confessions on reaching London and claimed they laded the ship for a parliamentary port such as Liverpool. They asserted that they gave false examinations from fear for their lives. Plunkett denied the accusations made by the passengers on the *John*. He deposed that when intercepted the *John* plied a direct course for a confederate port and that it had fired on the *Hunter* even though it clearly flew parliamentary flags. The parliamentary sailors found three bills of lading for Galway, Limerick or Tralee on the ship. The passengers admitted in London that the master of the ship, William Mabbett, and Captain Richard Parr had actually issued the bills of lading for the Irish ports. But they claimed they had signed them by mistake and that the ship really sailed for a parliamentary town. The three bills which clearly showed the *John*'s destination as Limerick, Galway or Tralee helped to

[74] Examination of Adrian Bloc by the Aldermen and Council of Flushing, Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations 1648, HCA 13/249).

settle the issue and justify the prize claim. The high court of admiralty condemned the *John of London* as a legitimate prize to Plunkett.[75]

Those officers who tortured captives often had some personal motive behind their actions. William Penn's brother, George, had been detained as a prisoner in Spain at the time the *Assurance* seized the *St Patrick of Waterford* in 1647 and humiliated the Spanish nobles on board. The order to free the Spaniards may have helped secure the release of his brother soon afterwards.[76] Plunkett and Gilson both operated as privateers with letters of marque from the admiralty in London. In order to maximise their profits privateer captains sometimes seized any vessel that crossed their paths. Many of the company in these private men of war served solely for a share of any prize money and not for wages. Many mariners stood to gain nothing if the admiralty court released the vessel they had taken. John Thompson, a gunner, in his examination concerning the taking of the *Middelburg of Middelburg* by the *Catt* privateer in the Shannon in 1647 stated that he would receive six shares in the ship if the admiralty condemned it but nothing if they discharged the vessel.[77] This may have made them willing to threaten or torture the crew and passengers on a ship to improve their claim to the prize. In their depositions many of the officers and ordinary seamen in the *Discovery* noted the number of shares they hoped to gain at the disposal of a prize. A common sailor like George Somerset and the surgeon, William Smart, expected to receive a single share each from the prize. Officers such

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[75] Exam of Richard Webster, 15 Oct 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62); exam of Richard Shone, 12 Oct 1647, ibid; answers of Thomas Plunkett, 15 Sept. 1645 (T.N.A., Answers, 1646-8, HCA 13/120); answers of Daniel Kendall and others, 21 Sept. 1647, ibid; 3 bills of lading, 1-10 Aug 1646 (T.N.A., Interrogatories, 1649-53, HCA 23/15); sentence for the *John of London*, nd (T.N.A., Sentences in prize courts, 1643-50, HCA 34/1, f. 622).

[76] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 231-3.

[77] Examination of John Thompson, 1 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

as John Whitty, the master's mate, and Daniel Southerland, a quartermaster, obtained between four and six parts of any condemned vessel.[78]

The allegations made against John Gilson and Thomas Plunkett implied that they abused their prisoners to extract confessions to legitimise their prizes. As many of the vessels they intercepted carried merchandise of considerable value this may well have been a factor in their actions. The *John of London*, for example, had bills of lading on board for tobacco weighing 18,000 pounds. The *Prosperous of Bristol* carried 1,000 rolls of tobacco and some indigo when the *Hunter* detained it coming from the West Indies in 1645.[79] The fact that many captains carried false documentation to avoid seizure if stopped by parliamentary men of war may also have persuaded captains like Plunkett and Gilson to apply ruthless methods to get at the truth. Passengers on the *Mary of St Malo* gave evidence against her master after her capture in June 1649. According to their statements the master carried 'false writings' that said the ship sailed for the parliamentary port of Dublin. But it actually laded barrel staves at New Ross held by the confederates.[80]

English mariners who fell into confederate hands generally received similar treatment to that meted out to their Irish counterparts held in England. The confederates at Wexford allocated two pence a day to feed captured English sailors.[81] Like the mariners taken by parliament they usually lost all their possessions and some crewmen were beaten up. John Fletcher, a London merchant, lost goods worth

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[78] Examinations of George Somerset, William Smart, John Whitty and Daniel Southerland, 23 June 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7 HCA 13/60).
[79] Examination of Thomas Winter, 9 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62); examination of Edward Lugg, 10 Sept. 1647, ibid.
[80] Examination of James Cordier, 15 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[81] Robert Vennard to his wife, 9 Nov. 1646 (H.L.R.O., Main papers, PO JO 10 1 220, f. 123).

£3,552 and a ship valued at £750 when his vessel anchored at Crookhaven. The Irish there seized him and some of his crew when they went ashore to seek provisions. The rebels promised to release his men, ship and goods if he surrendered the ordnance and ammunition on the ship. But once they had the guns they proceeded to seize the vessel, her lading and the company.[82] As in the case of the treatment of Irish mariners taken by parliament the fact that each side held so many maritime prisoners limited the worst abuses for fear of retaliation.

Conclusion

The 'unparalleled murder' of Irish men taken at sea that *Mercurius Aulicus* reported on in May 1644 proved to be the most well documented incident of this type to take place during the 1640s. Other killings of prisoners captured at sea did take place in the following years but they received much less coverage in contemporary newsbooks. The language of both warring parties offered no quarter for captured mariners but the realities of the war at sea limited the worst excesses of both sides. The execution of captives never became the norm for any of the naval forces fighting in the seas around Ireland. Unlike the war on land in Ireland which became more brutal and bloodier after 1647 the maritime conflict became even less so. As both the confederates and parliamentary fleets increased in Irish waters from 1647 on the number of prisoners of war rose substantially as both sides detained more ships. Neither side could afford to implement such a severe policy. The presence of so many English sailors imprisoned in Irish ports constrained the actions of

[82] Deposition of John Fletcher, 16 Sept. 1642 (T.C.D., Cork depositions, iii, MS 824, ff 265-v).

parliamentary commanders including Richard Swanley. If the navy began executing all the Irish mariners they captured they could expect the confederates to retaliate by killing English sailors. As had happened elsewhere in the seas around Europe the threat of retaliatory killings put an end to such ruthless practices. Hence, reciprocity rather than execution became the norm for prisoners taken at sea.

Conclusion

> The importance of naval operations and their influence upon the history of a nation have been the subject of many a tome, yet the question of the real value of an efficient but expensive military marine to a country bordering upon the seas, ever continues a subject replete with controversial points, and containing intricate problems for the guardians of national exchequers.[1] C. D. Penn

Christopher Denstone Penn in the introduction to his history of the early Stuart navy questioned the justification for vast expenditure on navies and the benefits that accrued to the state from the possession of such a force. From tottering on the verge of collapse in the spring of 1649 the Commonwealth and its navy moved into the 1650s in a position of increasing strength. Numerous threats to the regime still required attention – royalist opposition remained to be dealt with on land in Ireland, Scotland and on the continent while at sea Prince Rupert maintained a squadron of ships for the king. By the end of 1649 the political, military and naval situation had largely stabilised in favour of parliament from the crisis point in the first months of the year. This study has sought to evaluate, analyse and quantify the conflict that took places in the waters around Ireland between 1641 and 1649. While the parliamentary council of state considered naval matters to be of paramount importance in March 1649 the question remains as to whether or not the war at sea mattered for the protagonists in Ireland. Would any of the sides have been worse off if they had not expended their time and resources in fitting out warships to patrol the coasts around Ireland?

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[1] C. D. Penn, *The navy under the early Stuarts and its influence on English history* (Leighton Buzzard, 1913, reprinted London, 1970), p. vii.

The war at sea in Ireland did not end in the autumn of 1649 with the fall of Wexford and the departure of the royalist fleet from Kinsale. The maritime conflict continued on the coasts around Ireland until the submission of Insihbofin Island to Cromwellian forces in February 1653. Irish frigates continued to operate against parliamentary shipping from the principal royalist ports until their eventual surrender. The garrisons in Waterford and Duncannon fort yielded in August 1650, Limerick negotiated terms in October 1651 and defenders of Galway laid down their arms in April 1652. Parliamentary men of war continued to play a vital and active role in the conquest of Ireland between 1650 and 1653. English warships patrolled the waters around Ireland to hinder Irish shipping and blockade rebel held harbours. Even though the city of Waterford held out against a parliamentary army in late 1649 and early 1650 men of war frustrated privateers and merchantmen attempting to use the port. For example in November 1649 they seized a frigate commanded by Thomas Plunkett, two prizes and three merchantmen as they sailed into the River Suir for Waterford. In May 1650 parliamentary vessels chased a man of war carrying envoys from Charles IV, duke of Lorraine, to the confederates and forced the agents to throw the papers they carried overboard for fear of capture.[2] English shipping transported the fresh supplies of soldiers, provisions and munitions that the army in Ireland depended on in order to maintain its strength. In June 1651 the *President*, a state built frigate, carried 2,000 recruits to Waterford and a letter to London, printed in a newsbook, on the state of the army before Limerick informed readers that 'Our

[2] TT E.584(2), *A great fight in Ireland between the Lord Lieut. Cromwels forces and the Lord Inchequeens army neer Washford* (London, 1649), p. 6; Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'The duke of Lorraine and the struggle for Ireland, 1649-53', in *Historical Journal*, xlviii, no. 4 (December 2005), pp 913-4.

Ships neare Limbrick very comfortably furnisht us with Bisket, Cheese and what else they had'.[3]

Despite the continuation of the war at sea till 1653 a complete shift in the maritime situation had taken place in Ireland by the end of 1649. The storming of Wexford in October removed the main confederate port that threatened English overseas commercial activity. Privateering operations initially transferred to other Irish harbours such as Waterford and Galway but ship owners gradually shifted their vessels to safer havens in the Channel Islands, Isles of Scilly and continental ports including Ostend and Dunkirk.[4] A large number of prizes seized by Irish based frigates can be identified being disposed of in the ports of Flanders in 1649 and 1650. Captains Nicholas Holt and Daniel van Vooren sent a number of ships they captured into Ostend and Dunkirk in 1649 and 1650.[5] Prince Rupert's royalist squadron also abandoned Kinsale in October 1649. This restored the most important naval anchorage on the Irish coast to parliamentary control and allowed the English fleet to use the town as a base for operations against privateers that still plied the Irish seas and the cities of Waterford, Limerick and Galway. With the departure of the flotilla commanded by Prince Rupert parliament also needed to refocus its naval efforts away from Ireland to deal with the royalist fleet before it inflicted considerable losses on parliamentary merchantmen. By the end of November 1649 the government in London knew that Rupert had arrived in

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[3] The number of soldiers carried by the *President* is given as 20,000. This seems to be a printing error. For the role of the navy in supply the army in Ireland see Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland*, pp 194-5; TT E.786(8), *Severall proceedings in parliament from Thursday the 19 of June to Thursday the 26 of day of June 1651* (London, 1651), p. 1395.

[4] See Jan Parmentier, 'The sweets of commerce: the Hennessys of Ostend and their network in the eighteenth century', in David Dickson, Jan Parmentier and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds), *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks in Europe and overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Ghent, 2007), pp 68-71.

[5] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-1650 (Bodl., Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v).

Lisbon and that his ships seized five prizes on their voyage to Portugal.[6] On 1 December 1649 the council of state wrote to the generals at sea concerning the re-assignment of warships from the Irish guard to sail south. They ordered the generals to designate ten men of war to seek out and destroy the royalist squadron.[7] Hence by December 1649 the war at sea in Ireland had effectively ended for the main maritime combatants that fought on the Irish coast.

Setting out men of war posed the greatest challenge the confederate association faced from a maritime perspective in the initial stages of the war. Jeremy Black has described the cannon carrying warship as the single most costly, powerful and technologically advanced weapons system of the period.[8] The confederates started from a disadvantage in comparison to the government in England as they had no existing stocks of ships to deploy or naval administration to call on. Given these limitations the confederates simply did not have the time, money or resources to either construct or purchase and maintain such vessels. Instead they chose the most suitable option available to them for getting a fleet to sea as quickly as possible at minimal cost. By issuing letters of marque to captains willing to serve against English shipping the supreme council had frigates in their service on the Irish coast by the summer of 1642. In December 1642 the Venetian ambassador reported that the rebels in Ireland kept '30 well armed ships at sea'.[9] This figure probably exaggerated the actual strength of the privateering fleet that operated from harbours controlled by the confederates but the fact that a year into the rebellion Irish frigates posed a serious problem for the

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[6] R. C. Anderson, 'The royalists at sea in 1650', in *Mariner's Mirror*, xvii, no. 2 (1931), pp. 135-8.
[7] Council of state to generals at sea, 1 Dec. 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 52; council of state to generals at sea, 3 Dec. 1649, ibid, p. 52.
[8] Jeremy Black, *The British seaborne empire* (London, 2004), p. 30.
[9] Giovanni Giustinian to the Doge and senate, 12 Dec. 1642, H.M.C., *Report on the Franciscan manuscripts*, p. 211.

parliamentary navy gives a sense of the achievement the association accomplished in a short space of time with limited resources.

Pádraig Lenihan in his study of the experience of war on land in 1640s Ireland noted the modernity of confederate armies and that they did not lose so many battles because they 'practiced some outmoded 'Celtic' style of warfare'.[10] The confederates similarly did not adopt a backward style of warfare at sea. Instead they selected a modern approach to fighting at sea that suited their needs and financial capabilities. Just as Irish soldiers like Owen Roe O'Neill, Thomas Preston and Garret Barry gained experience of the military revolution, up to date tactics and technology during the Thirty Years war in Flanders Irish sailors, such as the Limerick captain John O'Daniel, acquired skills in the use of 'Dunkirk frigates' there. These vessels developed for fast aggressive hit and run commerce raiding represented the height of mid-seventeenth-century naval design and construction. Hence when the supreme council sought to licence privateers in its service they turned to ports in Flanders such as Dunkirk and Ostend to recruit the ships and sailors they needed. These men also brought knowledge of new style fortifications that could be used for harbour defences in Irish ports.

The ability of the confederates, with no previous experience in naval administration, to have modern men of war in their employ so soon after the establishment of their government allowed them to reap financial and military rewards. Frigates operating from Irish towns seized over 450 vessels that can be identified in the 1640s. Information on more captured ships exists in continental archives and a further study of this area may increase the number of prizes that can be attributed to confederate privateers. The figure of 1,900 ships captured by

[10] Lenihan, *Confederate Catholics at war*, p. 218; Pádraig Lenihan, 'Celtic warfare in the 1640s', in John R. Young (ed.), *Celtic dimensions of the British civil wars* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp 116-40.

Wexford men of war may not be unreasonable.[11] The seizure of prize ships and the cargoes they carried generated revenue for the confederate cause as the state was due a tenth of the sale value of the condemned goods. The apprehension of merchantmen at sea also made extra supplies of munitions, provisions, tobacco, salt wine and other merchandise available to Irish markets. The disposal of the vessels themselves helped to boost the overseas commerce of port towns in Ireland as new owners sent them on commercial voyages. They also replenished the merchant shipping stocks the confederates set out and negated some of the effect of ship losses to parliament. The presence of privateers in the seas around the three kingdoms promoted Irish overseas commerce by forcing parliament to deploy men of war all along the seaboard they controlled. This diluted the strength of the squadrons they set out against vessels going to and from Ireland and helped to encourage foreign merchants to trade with rebel harbours there. This geographic spread of privateering activity also prevented a concentration of parliamentary naval power against Irish ports like Wexford for much of the 1640s. All this came about with minimal cost to the finances of the confederate state.

Quantifying the gains the association made from the privateering enterprises it licensed proved to be much harder. Without Irish admiralty records and accounts the actual value of the prizes seized by frigates remains unknown except in one or two exceptional cases. Other evidence suggests that the administration may not have received all the revenue due under the terms of the commissions issued to captains. Numerous captains with letters of marque authorised by the supreme council or later by Ormond sent their prizes to the continent to be disposed of despite a prohibition on this. Other ship owners

[11] O'Ferrall & O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus,* i, part vii, 519-20.

embezzled money as they failed to pay the tenths due to the state for prizes they brought into Wexford and Waterford.[12] Hence the potential for profit to accrue to the confederate government from the war at sea existed but whether or not they actually received substantial revenue cannot be definitely ascertained.

As the supreme council did not pay the sailors or ship owners that plied the seas in their name they also had no control over their actions unless they negotiated an agreement for a specific service such as transporting soldiers overseas. Privateers motivated solely by profit sought easy prey and had no interest in patrolling the Irish coast or in providing escorts to protect overseas trade routes. As the parliamentary fleets in the waters around Ireland increased in strength in the late 1640s English men of war seized more and more merchantmen bound to and from confederate ports. The loss of shipping and merchandise cancelled out some of the gains from prizes brought in by Dunkirk frigates. The confederate association also did not have the military benefit of a state run navy that they could call on to cooperate with the army in times of need. Privateers played no part in supporting any of the major confederate campaigns that took place on the coast. Frigates benefited from improved access and security from the capture of Duncannon fort and Bunratty castle but made no effort to assist in those sieges by attempting to engage or draw away parliamentary warships. The capture of Youghal would have provided a potentially lucrative maritime base on the south coast but privateers made no effort to collaborate with the earl of Castlehaven's army.

The war at sea mattered for the royalists in Ireland for it both undermined their position in the country and later presented them with the opportunity for

[12] See for example A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-1650 (Bodl., Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v); James Cusack to Ormond, 14 May 1650 (Bodl., Carte MS 27, f. 507).

victory. The inability of Ormond in Dublin to deploy a sufficient maritime force to secure that harbour and keep the lines of communication open to England, from the summer of 1642 and especially after the cessation with the confederates in September 1643, gradually eroded the royalist position in Ireland. The lord lieutenant initially took advantage of the peace deal to transport soldiers to aid the king. From the spring of 1644 until the yielding of the city to parliament in the summer of 1647 his capability to intervene in English affairs and even to maintain a secure correspondence with Charles I became increasingly compromised. The arrival of a royalist flotilla comprising large men of war at Kinsale in January 1649 gave Ormond the chance to use his maritime supremacy to defeat the parliamentary forces then in Ireland. By combining the powers of Prince Rupert's squadron with the confederate privateers the royalists could move against parliamentary strongholds along the coast especially Dublin. The main battle fleet could challenge English men of war and frigates could harry supply lines to parliamentary armies in Ireland. The royalist/confederate alliance failed to join together with a coherent maritime strategy and missed the opportunity to strike before parliament reorganised its navy

From a strictly financial perspective parliament did not gain from the maritime conflict in Ireland. Many individuals who set out private men of war against the confederates made considerable profits from their investment. The cost of deploying state owned and hired warships far outweighed any revenue that accrued to parliament as its share of the sale of prize goods. In a five year period between 1644 and 1649 the prize commissioners disposed of ships worth £123, 202, of which the state received a share worth twenty-two per cent (just

over £27,000).[13] At a rate of £3 15*s*. per man per month the hire of an armed merchantman would quickly use up this profit. For example the charter of the *Honour* amounted to £5,938 3*s*. 7*d*. for the period between 4 April 1644 and 15 May 1645.

The economic benefit to parliament from a strong presence on the Irish coast came from the protection of trade. Squadrons based in ports like Milford Haven and Kinsale ensured that losses to privateers never undermined the commerce of London on which the parliamentary war effort depended. The navy gradually forced confederate frigates to operate further and further away from the vital English shipping lanes that passed by the south west coast of Ireland and through St George's Channel. From 1647 on the English fleet retook numerous prizes from confederate men of war and captured many of the identified frigates that sailed from Irish harbours. The seizure of the town of Wexford by the army in October 1649 may have spelt the end of the Irish privateering menace but even before this the navy played a major part in limiting the depredations of confederate warships throughout the decade.

A strong naval force in the seas around Ireland helped the army to campaign and isolated outposts to hold out. Men of war supported sieges, ferried men, munitions and provisions into beleaguered outposts and allowed military commanders to go on the offensive. The arrival of shipping from London in 1645 with ordnance and munitions provided Sir Charles Coote with the extra manpower and supplies he needed to capture the confederate held town of Sligo. Ships riding before besieged garrisons such as Duncannon, Youghal and Bunratty provided food, armaments and sailors to enable the garrisons to hold out for

[13] Rodger, *Safeguard of the sea*, p. 423.

longer, though not always successfully. The Cromwellian conquest of Ireland from 1649 to 1653 would have collapsed without the assistance of the fleet to transport fresh recruits and other material to the army.

Gaining mastery of the seas around Ireland also brought parliament long term gains. Control of ports such as Kinsale and Wexford helped to protect and promote expanding English trade with the West Indies, North America and beyond. The study of the role of the parliamentary navy and the importance of Irish ports to the Commonwealth might shed even more light on this. In terms of the wars the Commonwealth fought in the 1650s the value of the experience acquired during naval conflict in Ireland in the 1640s is harder to assess. The English navy did not fight any set pieces battles between 1641 and 1649 in Ireland and the frigates they developed for combating confederate privateers proved to be unsuitable for the large encounters they fought with the Dutch from 1652 to 1654.[14] As the English navy had not fought a set piece battle at sea since the Armada campaign of 1588 fighting the well organised privateering force the confederates controlled may have been a useful learning tool for the officer corps. Many captains who served in actions against the Dutch had gained combat experience in engagements with privateers on the Irish coast including William Penn, John Coppin, Andrew Ball, Samuel Howett, Jonas Reeve and John Mildmay.[15] Not all the sailors took on board the lessons they learned in Ireland such as how to conduct amphibious operations. William Penn commanded the fleet and supported the army before the besieged castle of Bunratty with

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[14] Brian Lavery, 'Ship of the line', in Robert Gardiner (ed.), *The line of battle, the sailing warship 1650-1840* (London, 1992), p. 13.

[15] See Appendix D1 for captains names in the Irish guards and for captains in the Anglo-Dutch war see R. C. Anderson, 'English fleet lists in the First Dutch war', in *Mariner's Mirror*, xxiv, no 4 (Oct. 1938), pp 429-50; J. R. Jones, *The Anglo-Dutch wars of the seventeenth century* (London, 1996), p. 114.

considerable success in 1646. In 1654 he took charge of the fleet assigned for the 'Western Design' to seize Spanish held territories in the West Indies. The expedition successfully seized Jamaica but much of the rest of the campaign was marred by ineptitude and poor organisation.[16]

Overall with limited resources and numerous other constraints the confederates managed to achieve quite spectacular results in challenging parliament for control of the seas. But in the long run the capability of the English government to set out large state owned and controlled fleets each year gradually wore down Irish maritime resistance. The ability of parliament to adapt its naval forces and tactics with the construction of frigates to deal with the dangers they faced also undermined the confederate naval effort. The real value of an 'expensive military marine' to a country as C. D. Penn noted needs to be considered.[17] Unquestionably the war at sea was an affair of great concern to all the protagonists in Ireland in the 1640s.

[16] See Capp, *Cromwell's navy*, pp 87-94.
[17] Penn, *The navy under the early Stuarts*, p. vii.

Appendices

Appendix A: Maps

Map 1:

Principal ports in Ireland, 1641-49

Map 2:

Principal ports in the British Isles (referred to in text), 1641-49

Map 3:

British Isles and principal continental ports, 1641-49

Map 4:

Detail of ports in Flanders and Holland, 1641-49

Map 5:

English overseas trade routes passing by southern Ireland

Map 6:

Dublin showing the sandbar at the entrance to the bay from William Petty, *Hiberniae Delineatio, Atlas of Ireland* (London, 1685), p. 6

Map 7:

Wexford showing Roslare fort from William Petty, *Hiberniae Delineatio, Atlas of Ireland* (London, 1685), p. 16

Map 8:

Castle Park fort, Kinsale from Thomas Strafford, *Pacata Hibernia; Ireland appeased and reduced or, an historie of the late warres of Ireland* (London, 1633), pp 352-3

Map 9:

Haulbowline fort, Cork from Thomas Strafford, *Pacata Hibernia; Ireland appeased and reduced or, an historie of the late warres of Ireland* (London, 1633), pp 252-3

Map 10:

Town of Limerick from Thomas Strafford, *Pacata Hibernia; Ireland appeased and reduced or, an historie of the late warres of Ireland* (London, 1633), pp 362-3

Map 11:

Dublin from 1673 showing the sand bar in the bay from The citty and suburbs of Dublin, 1673 (N.M.M., Dartmouth collection of maps, P49/11)

Map 12:

Kinsale, 1649, showing fortifications from Map of Kinsale, 1649 (N.M.M., Dartmouth collection of maps, P49/16)

Map 13:

Kinsale, 1601, showing water depth from Kinsale, 1601 (N.M.M., Dartmouth collection of maps, P49/17)

Map 14:

Kinsale, 1637, showing water depth, shallows and anchoring points from A draught of the river of Kingsale, October 1637 (T.N.A., Maps extracted from state papers, MPF 1/314).

Map 15:

Carrickfergus, 1567 by Robert Lythe (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/26)

Map 16:

A bird's-eye view of the town, harbour and castle of "Cragfergus", by John Dunstall, 1612 (B.L., Cotton MS Augustus I.ii.41)

Map 17:

The Fort of Coolemore 3 miles from London derry seaward, Thomas Raven, 1622 (Drapers Hall, London, +793)

Map 18:

A plot of ye cittie of Londonderry, 1625, by Thomas Raven (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/22: copied from Avril Thomas, *Derry-Londonderry, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 15* (Dublin, 2005), map 10)

Map 19:

Londonderry and its environs, 1689 by Thomas Philips (B.L., Maps K Top 54 25.3: copied from Avril Thomas, *Derry-Londonderry, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 15* (Dublin, 2005), map 13)

Map 20:

Mapp of the cittie of London-Derry, 1689 by Francis Neville (N.L.I, Ms 16 H 24(8): copied from Avril Thomas, *Derry-Londonderry, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 15* (Dublin, 2005), map 11)

Map 21:

Coleraine, *c.*1611 (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/24)

Map 22:

Wexford from Down Survey, The parish of Roslahir in the county of Wexford (N.L.L., Down Survey maps of County Wexford, MS 725)

Map 23:

Rosslare fort, Wexford from, the baronie of Forth (N.L.L., Down Survey maps of County Wexford, MS 725).

Map 24:

'The trew Description of the Cittie of Waterford wt the New fortification there.', Francis Jobson, 1591 (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/64)

Map 25:

The siege of Duncannon, 1645 from J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation and war in Ireland 1641-53* (7 vols, Dublin, 1882-91), iv, front piece.

Map 26:

Limerick, c.1602 (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/57)

Map 27:

Siege of Limerick in 1642 from Kenneth Wiggins, *Anatomy of a siege: King John's Castle, Limerick, 1642* (Bray, 2000), p. 75

Map 28:

Siege of Limerick, 1651 from Kenneth Wiggins, *Anatomy of a siege: King John's Castle, Limerick, 1642* (Bray, 2000), p. 76

Map 29:

Diagram of the siege of Bunratty, 1646 from J.R. Powell, *The navy in the English civil war* (London, 1962), p.112

Map 30:

Galway 1651 (T.C.D., Hardiman Maps 1209/73: copied from Anne Korff, Jeff O'Connell and Jim Higgins, *Medieval Galway, a ramblers guide* (Galway, 1990)



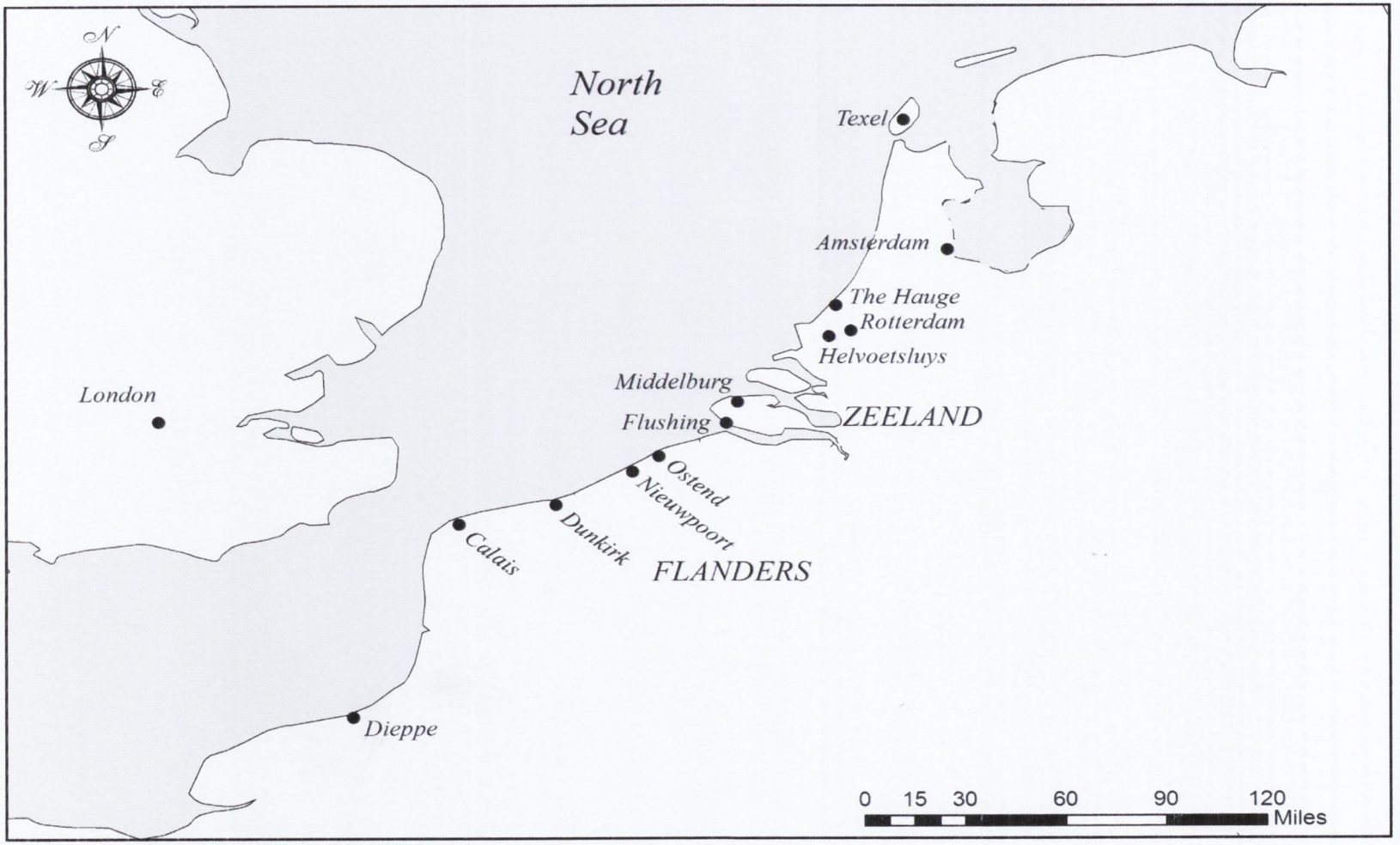
Map 1: Principal ports in Ireland, 1641-49



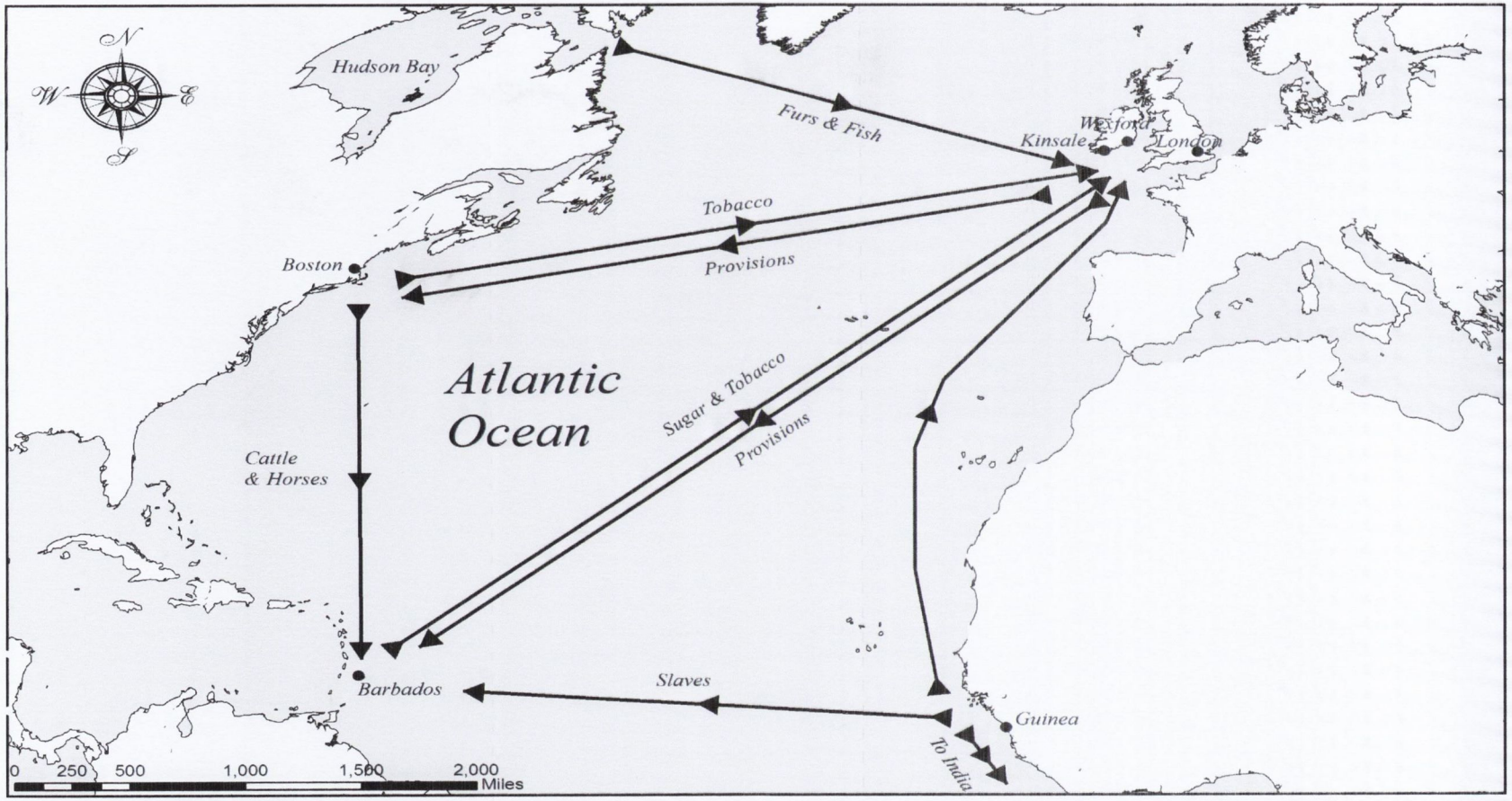
Map 2: Principal ports in the British Isles (referred to in text), 1641-49



Map 3: British Isles and principal continental ports, 1641-49



Map 4: Detail of ports in Flanders and Holland, 1641-49



Map 5: English overseas trade routes passing by southern Ireland.[1]

[1] Adapted from Nicholas Canny, 'Origins of empire: an introduction' in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, i: The origins of empire, British overseas enterprise to the close of the seventeenth century* (Oxford, 1998), p. 27; Robert Brenner, *Merchants and revolution: commercial change, political conflict and London's overseas traders, 1550-1653* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 180.



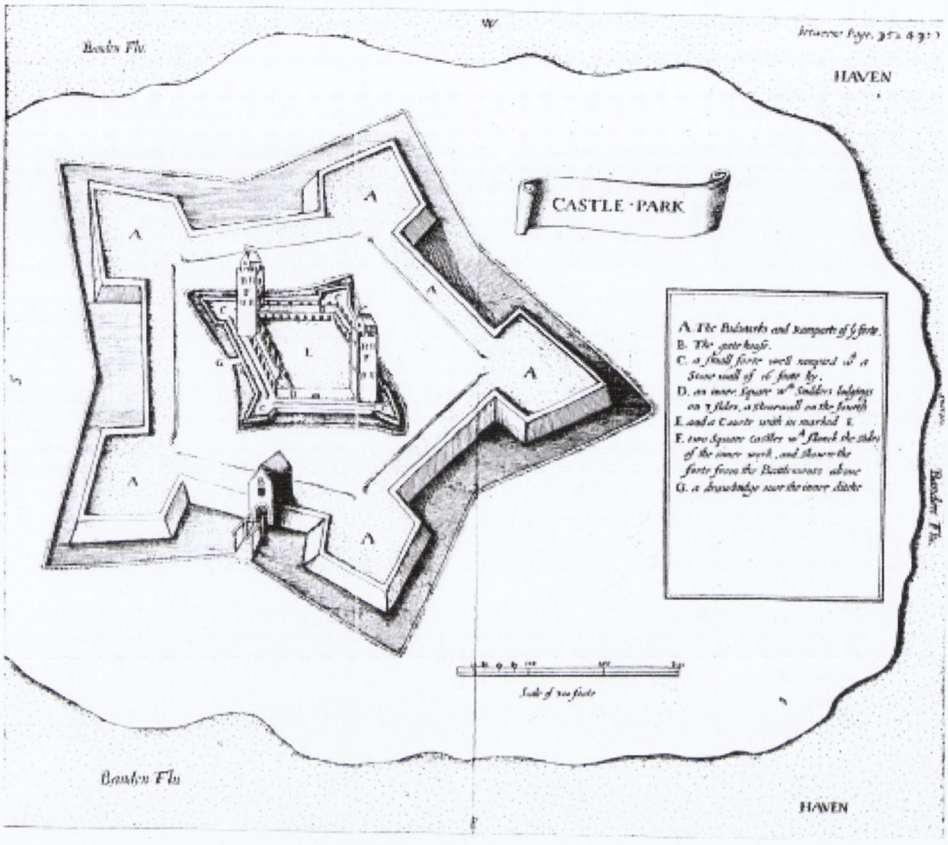
Map 6: Dublin showing the sandbar at the entrance to the bay from William Petty,

Hiberniae Delineatio, Atlas of Ireland **(London, 1685), p. 6**

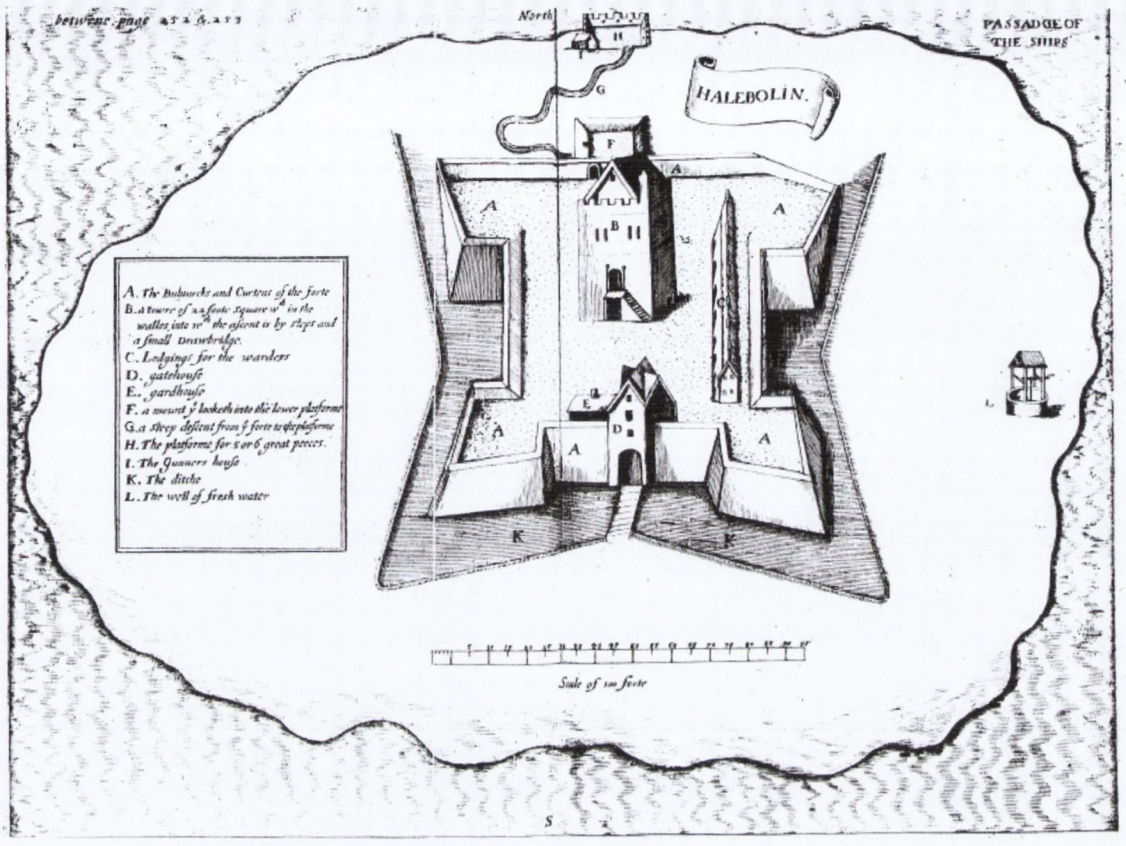


Map 7: Wexford showing Roslare fort from William Petty, *Hiberniae Delineatio,*

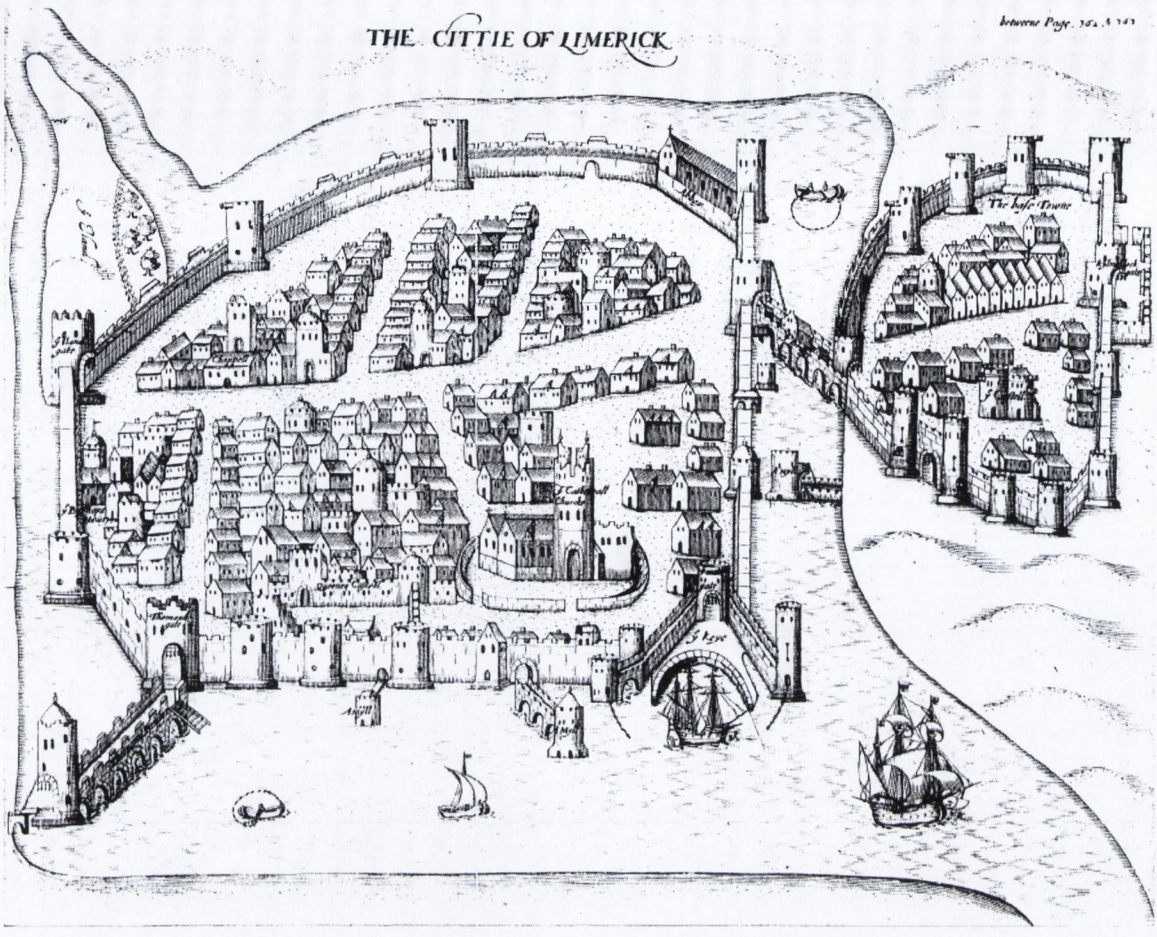
***Atlas of Ireland* (London, 1685), p. 16**



Map 8: Castle Park fort, Kinsale from Thomas Strafford, *Pacata Hibernia; Ireland appeased and reduced or, an historie of the late warres of Ireland* (London. 1633), pp 352-3



Map 9: Haulbowline fort, Cork from Thomas Strafford, *Pacata Hibernia; Ireland appeased and reduced or, an historie of the late warres of Ireland* (London. 1633), pp 252-3



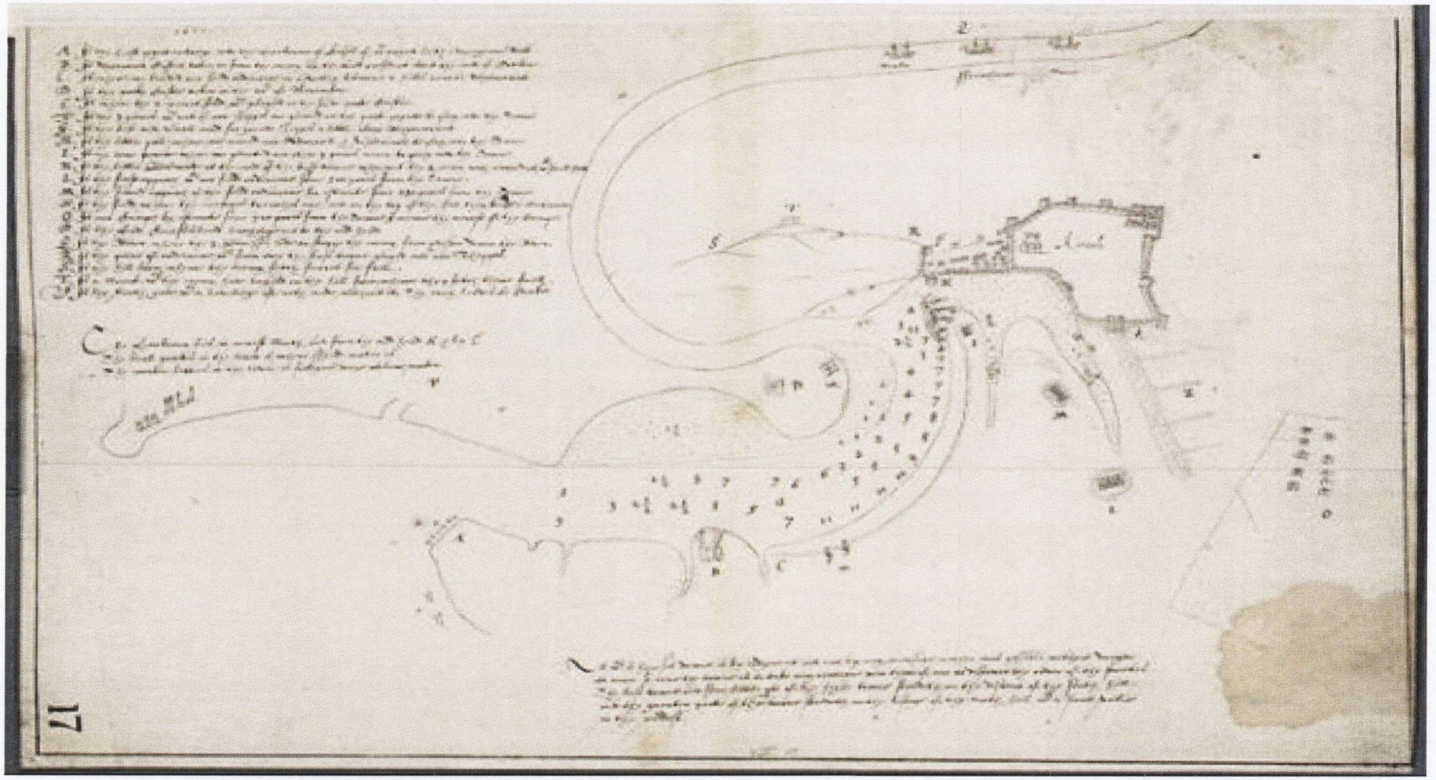
Map 10: Town of Limerick from Thomas Strafford, *Pacata Hibernia; Ireland appeased and reduced or, an historie of the late warres of Ireland* (London. 1633), pp 362-3



Map 11: Dublin from 1673 showing the sand bar in the bay from The citty and suburbs of Dublin, 1673 (N.M.M., Dartmouth collection of maps, P49/11)



Map 12: Kinsale, 1649, showing fortifications from Map of Kinsale, 1649 (N.M.M., Dartmouth collection of maps, P49/16)



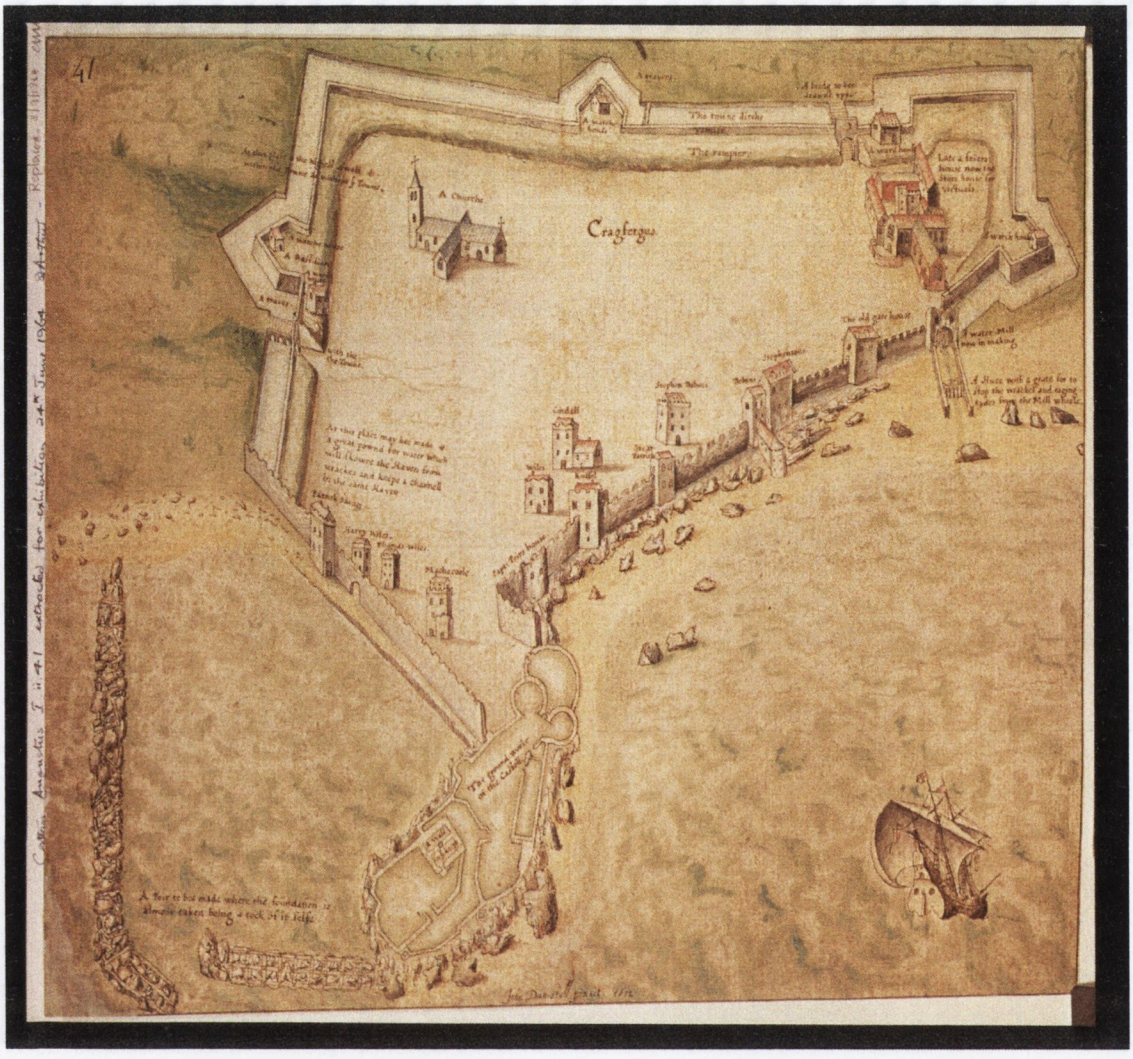
Map 13: Kinsale, 1601, showing water depth from Kinsale, 1601 (N.M.M., Dartmouth collection of maps, P49/17)



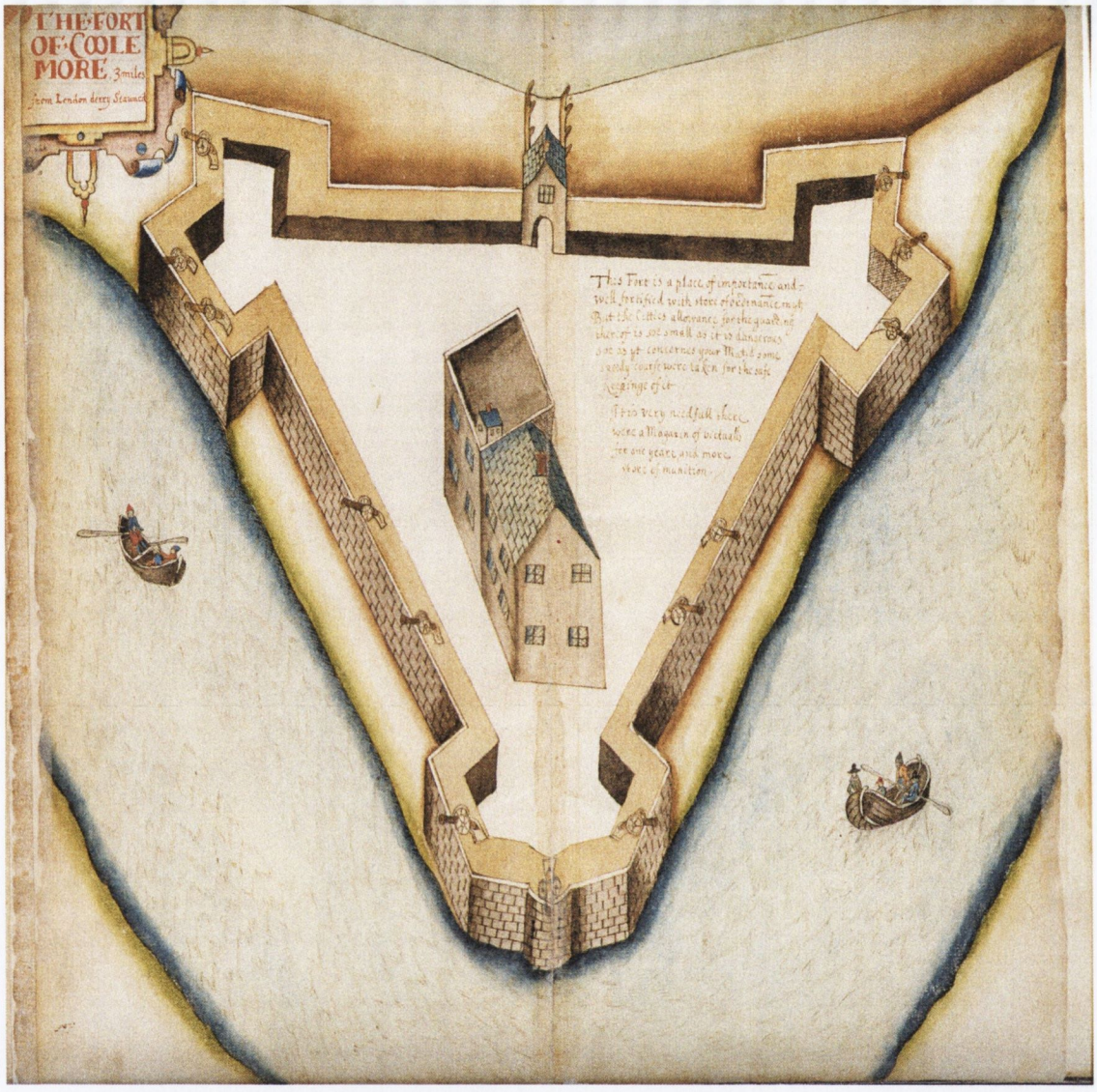
Map 14: Kinsale, 1637, showing water depth, shallows and anchoring points from A draught of the river of Kingsale, October 1637 (T.N.A., Maps extracted from state papers, MPF 1/314).



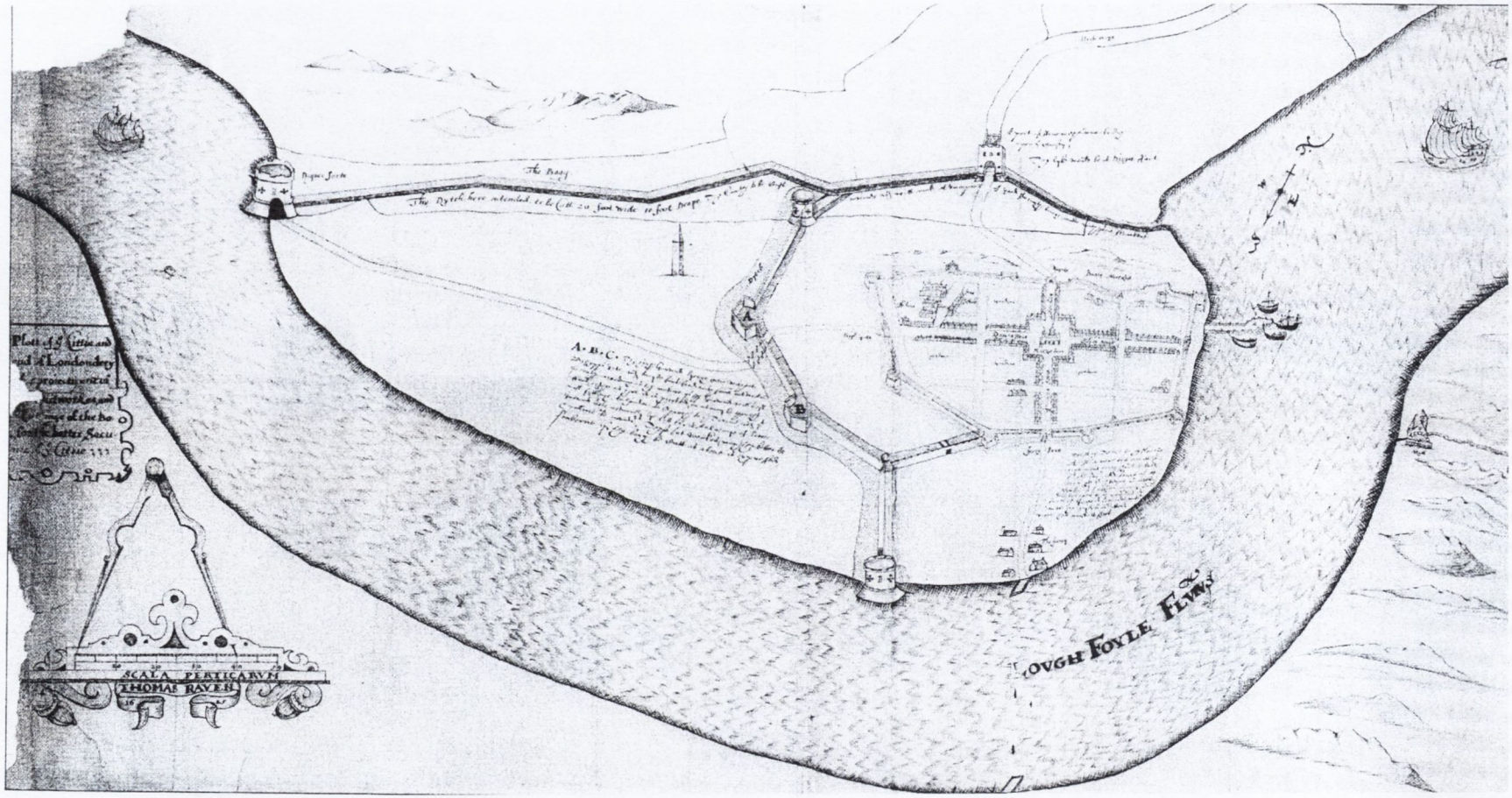
Map 15: Carrickfergus, 1567 by Robert Lythe (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/26)



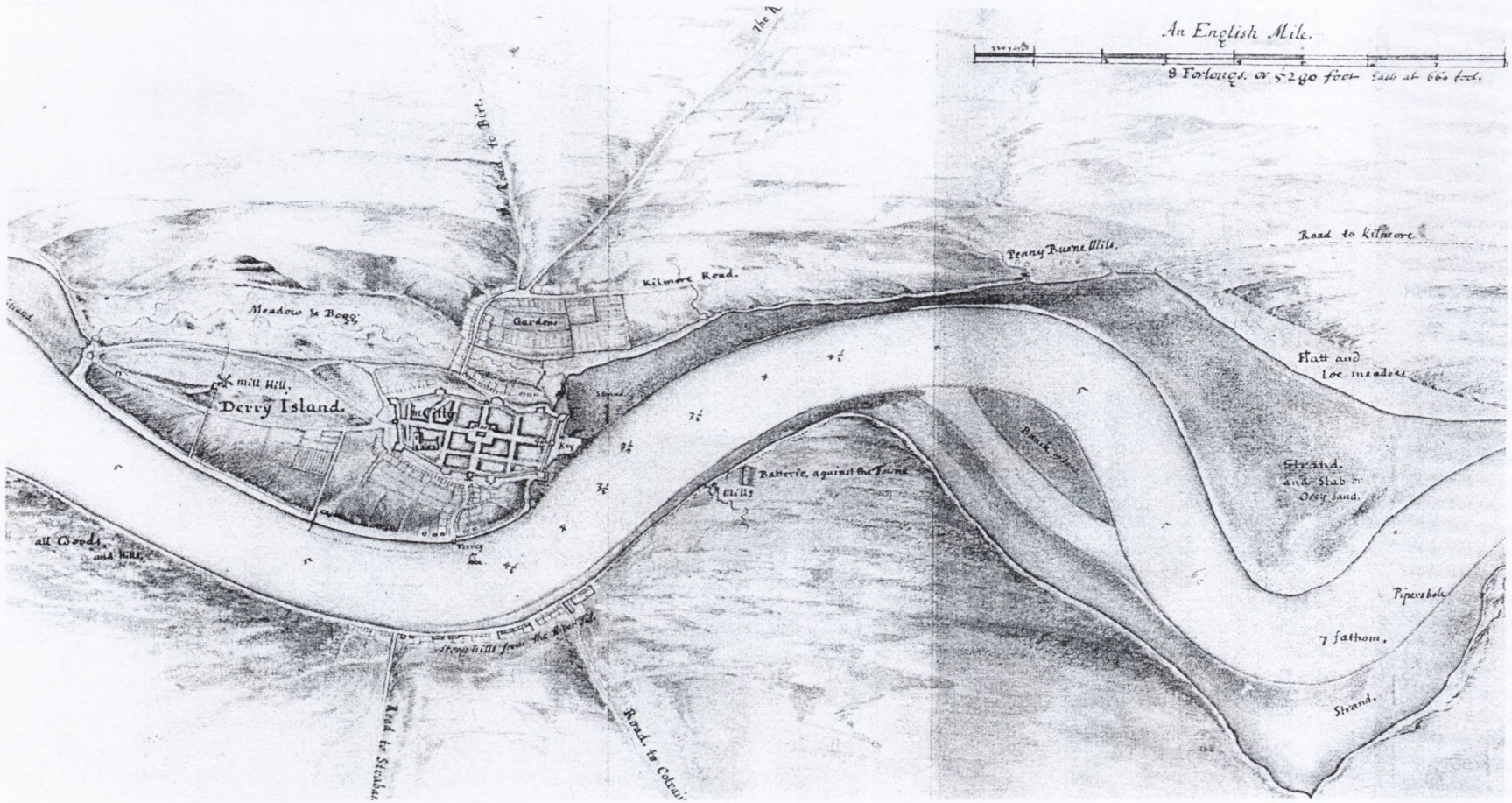
Map 16: A bird's-eye view of the town, harbour and castle of "Cragfergus", by John Dunstall, 1612 (B.L., Cotton MS Augustus I.ii.41)



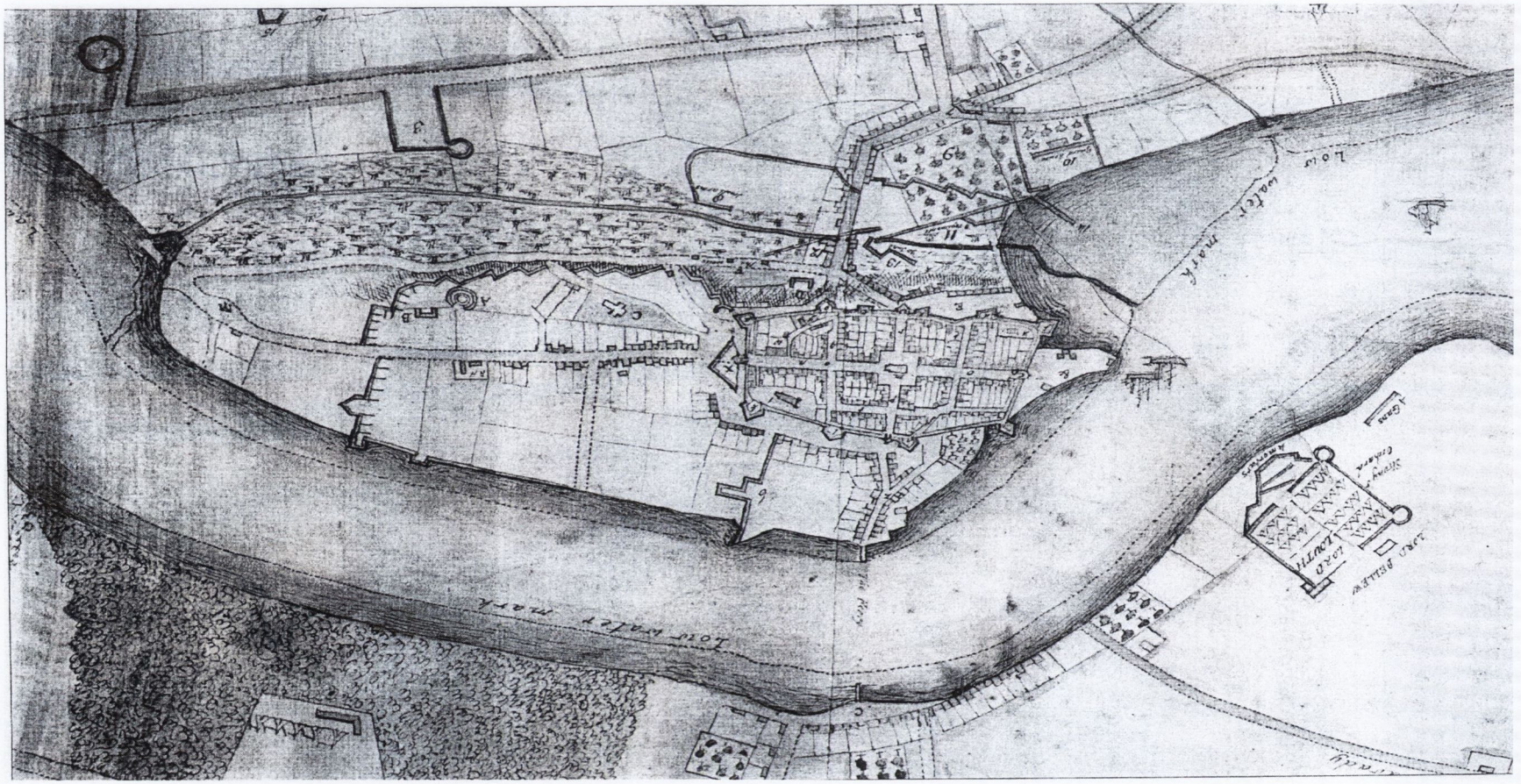
Map 17: The Fort of Coolemore 3 miles from London derry seaward, Thomas Raven, 1622 (Drapers Hall, London, +793)



Map 18: A plot of ye cittie of Londonderry, 1625, by Thomas Raven (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/22: copied from Avril Thomas, Derry-Londonderry, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 15 (Dublin, 2005), map 10)



Map 19: Londonderry and its environs, 1689 by Thomas Philips (B.L., Maps K Top 54 25.3: copied from Avril Thomas, Derry-Londonderry, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 15 (Dublin, 2005), map 13)



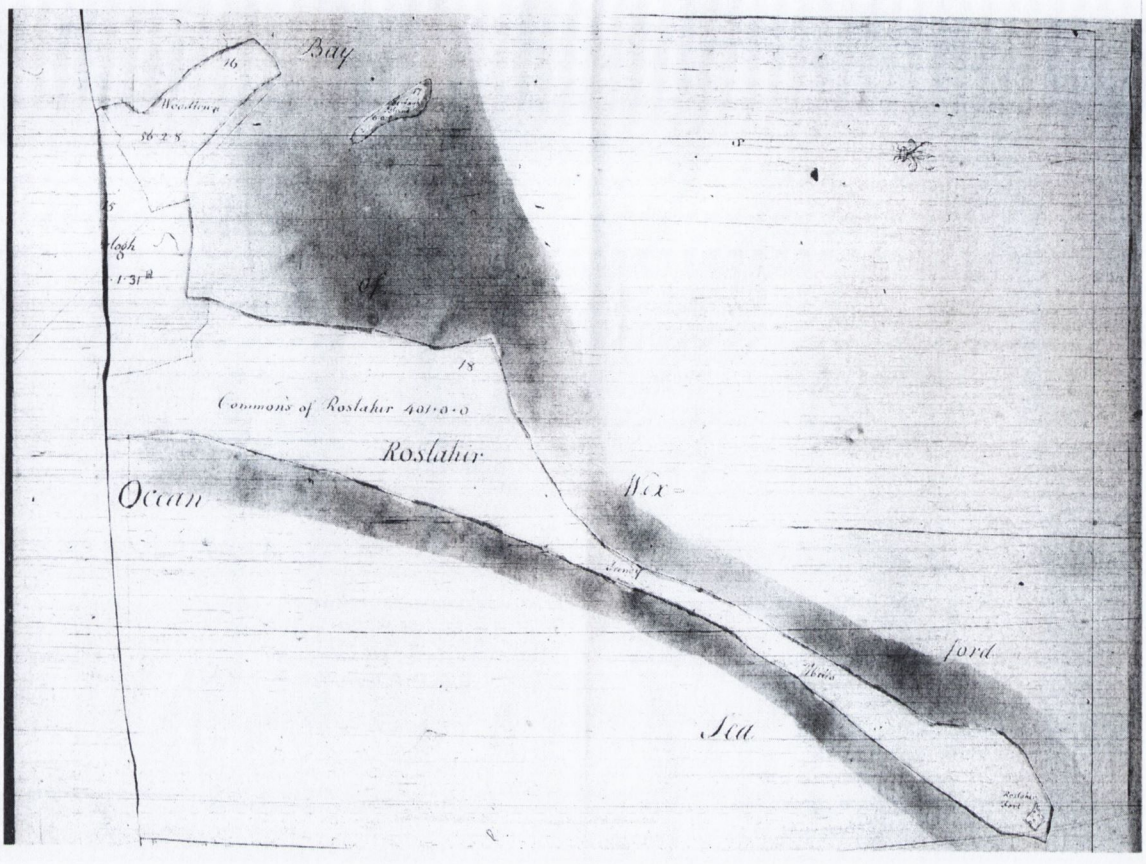
Map 20: Mapp of the cittie of London-Derry, 1689 by Francis Neville (N.L.I, Ms 16 H 24(8): copied from Avril Thomas, Derry-Londonderry, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no. 15 (Dublin, 2005), map 11)



Map 21: Coleraine, *c.*1611 (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/24)



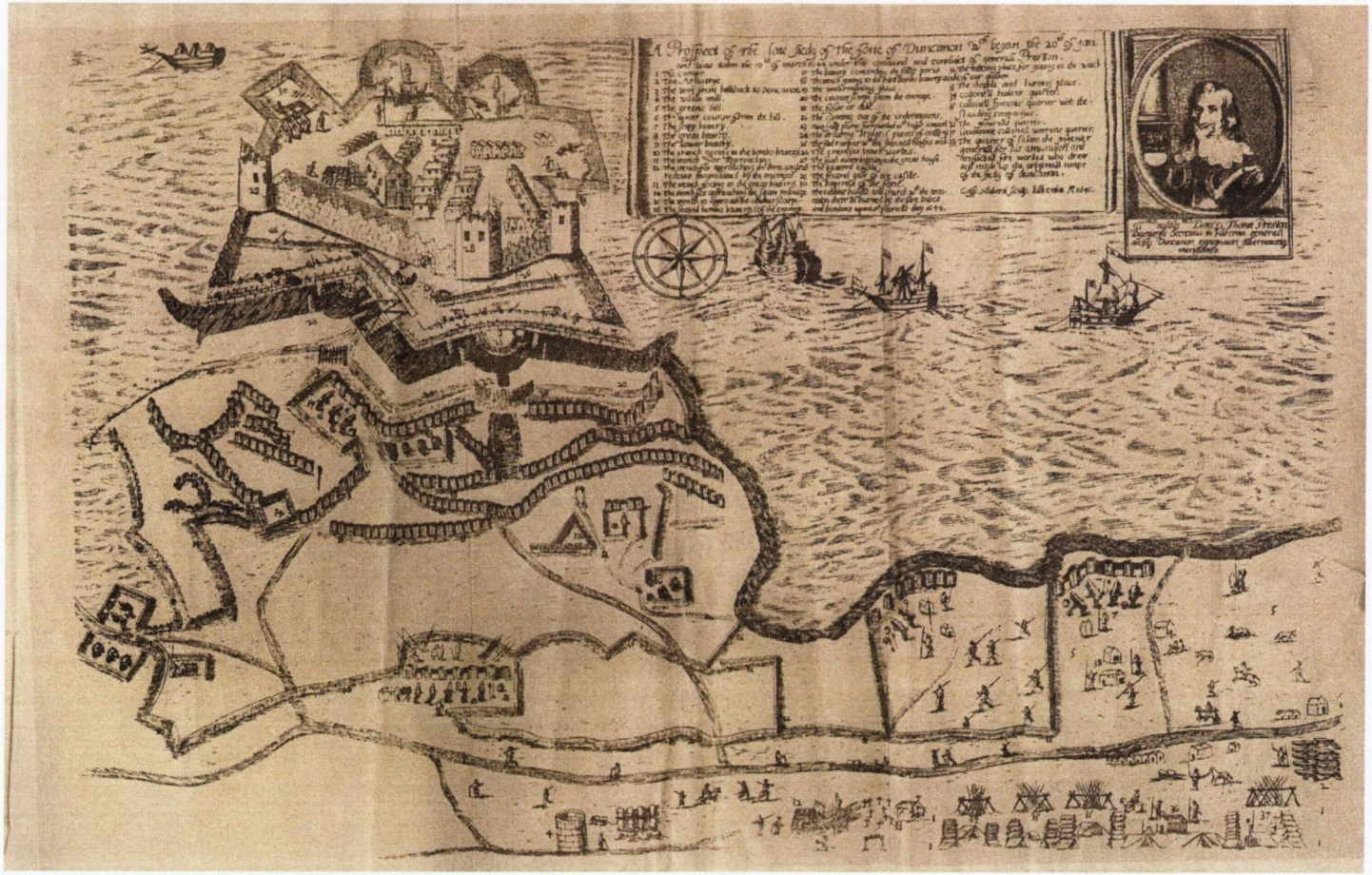
Map 22: Wexford from Down Survey, The parish of Roslahir in the county of Wexford (N.L.L., Down Survey maps of County Wexford, MS 725)



Map 23: Rosslare fort, Wexford from, the baronie of Forth (N.L.L., Down Survey maps of County Wexford, MS 725).



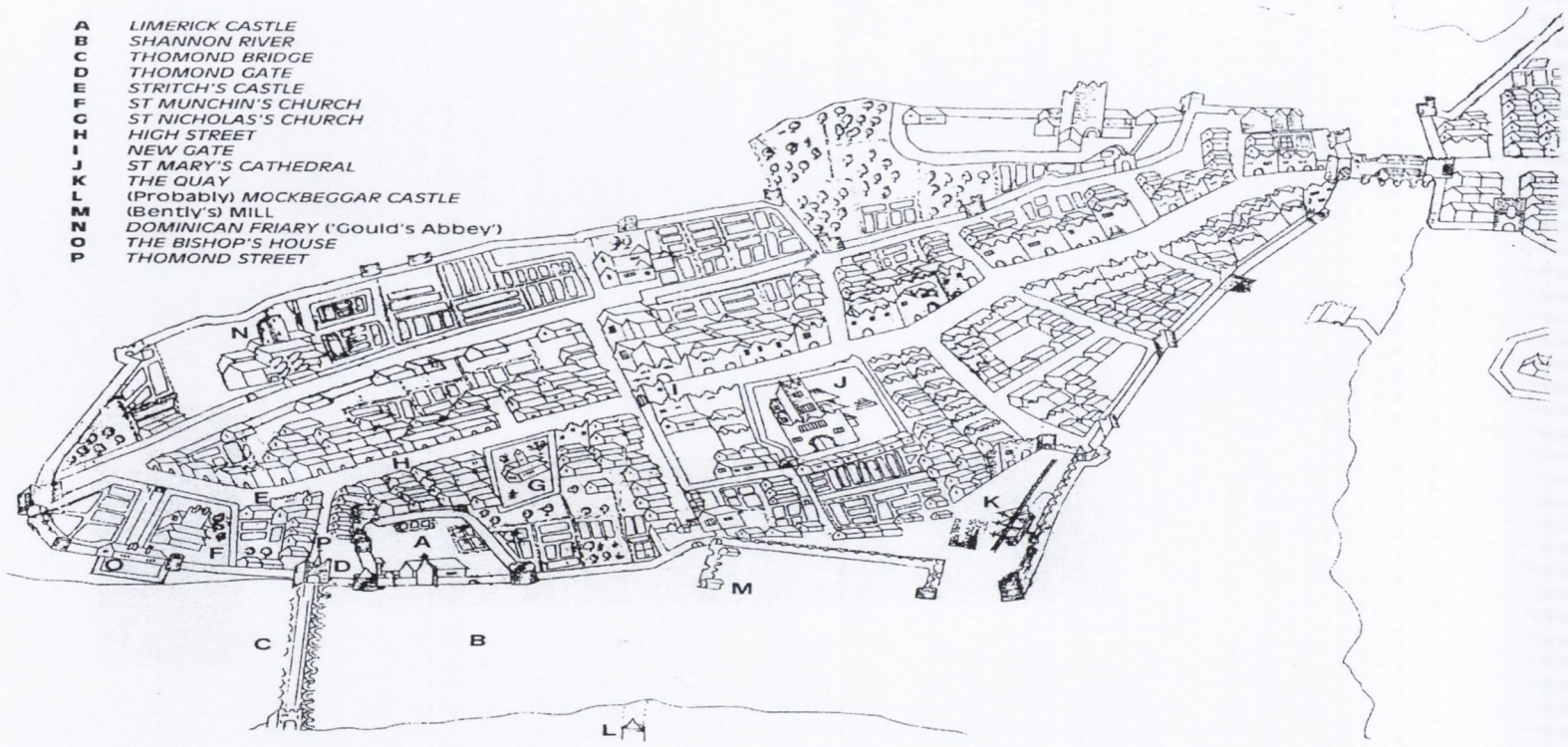
Map 24: 'The trew Description of the Cittie of Waterford wt the New fortification there.', Francis Jobson, 1591 (T.C.D., Harriman maps, MS 1209/64)



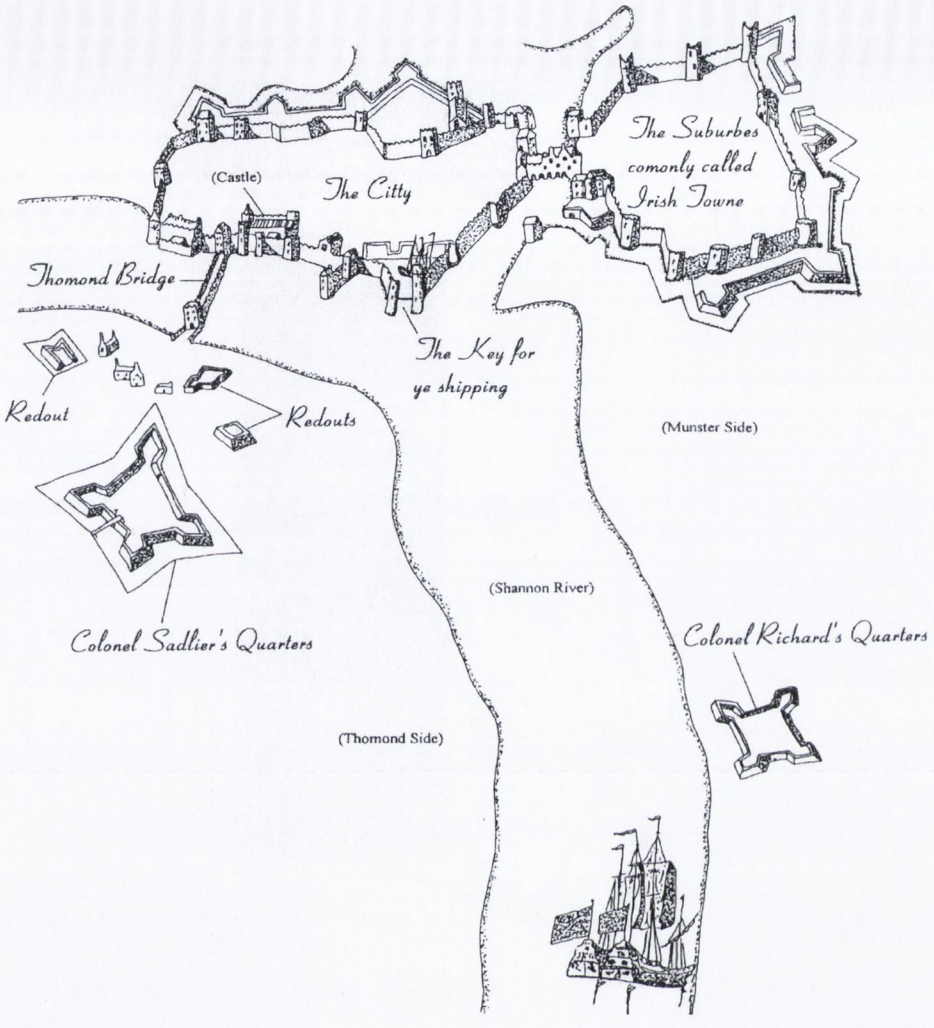
Map 25: The siege of Duncannon, 1645 from J. T. Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation and war in Ireland 1641-53* (7 vols, Dublin, 1882-91), iv, front piece.



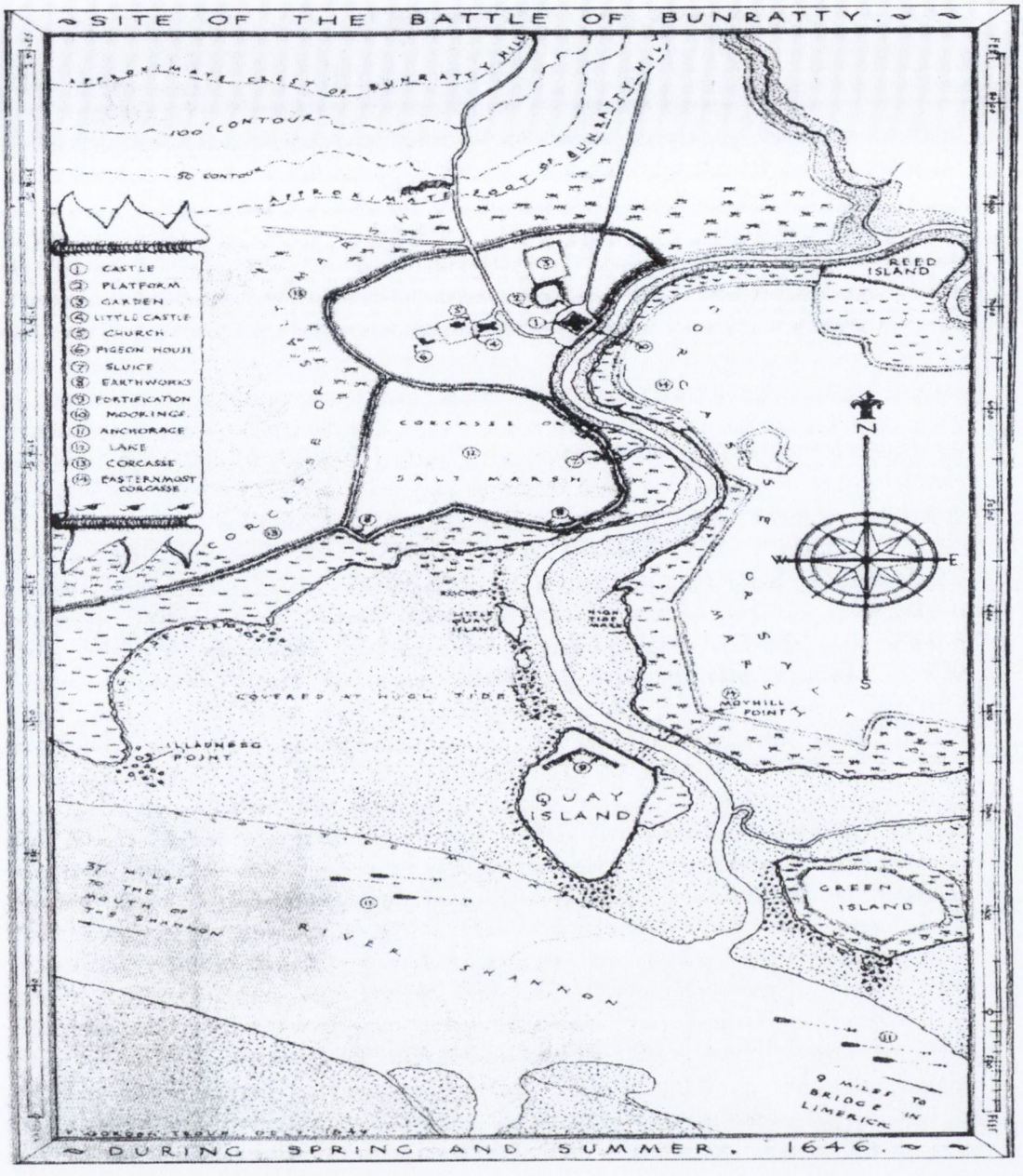
Map 26: Limerick, c.1602 (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/57)



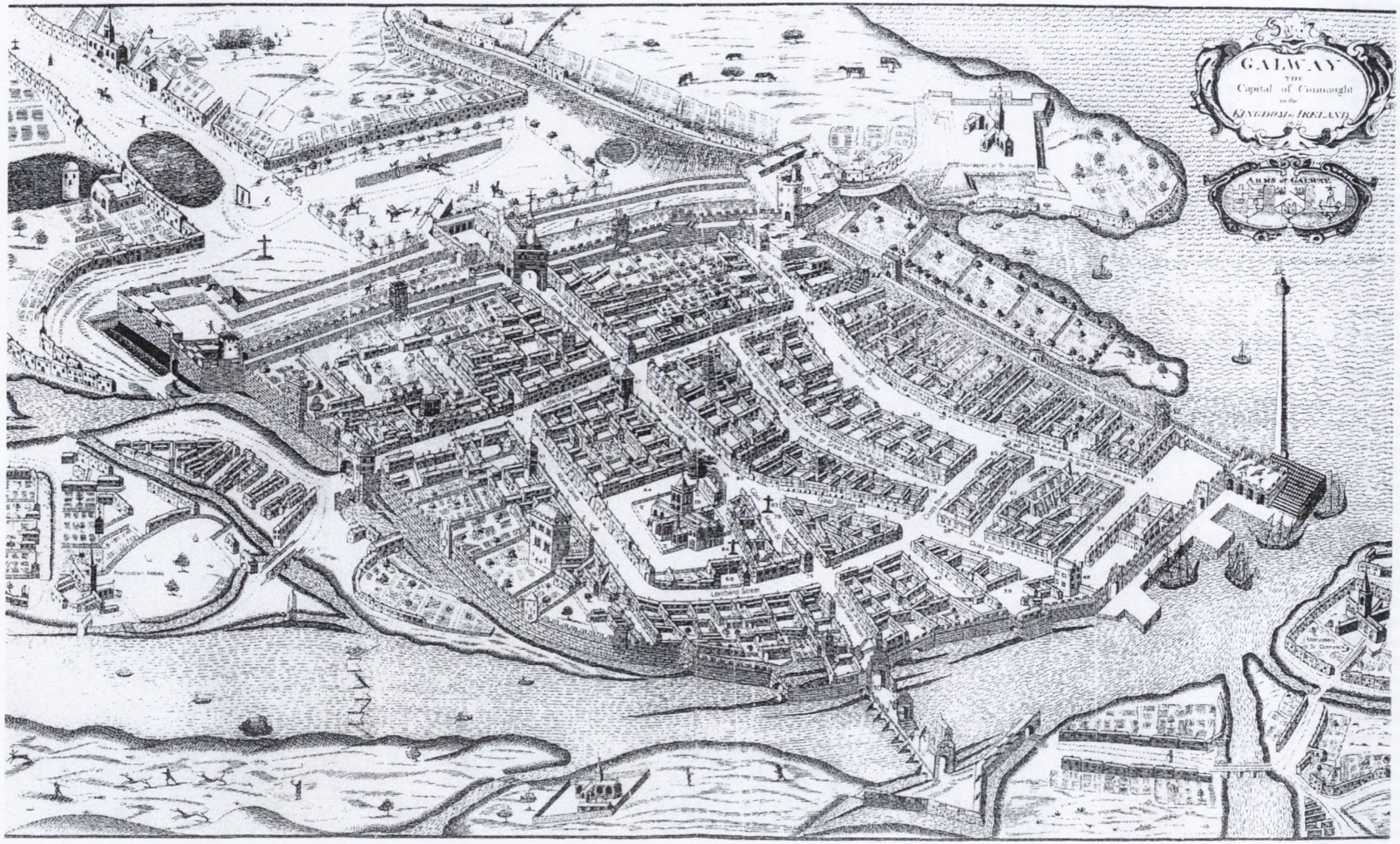
Map 27: Siege of Limerick in 1642 from Kenneth Wiggins, *Anatomy of a siege: King John's Castle, Limerick, 1642* (Bray, 2000), p. 75



Map 28: Siege of Limerick, 1651 from Kenneth Wiggins, *Anatomy of a siege: King John's Castle, Limerick, 1642* (Bray, 2000), p. 76



Map 29: Diagram of the siege of Bunratty, 1646 from J.R. Powell, *The navy in the English civil war* (London, 1962), p.11



Map 30: Galway 1651 (T.C.D., Hardiman maps, MS 1209/73: taken from Anne Korff, Jeff O'Connell and Jim Higgins, *Medieval Galway, a ramblers guide* (Galway, 1990)

Appendix B: Principal ports and coastal fortifications in Ireland

Leinster	
Carlingford	November 1641: Town seized by Ulster rebels May 1642: Town retaken by royalists June 1647: Joins parliament when Dublin surrenders July 1649: Taken by Inchiquin for royalist alliance September 1649: Parliamentary army and navy retakes
Dundalk	October 1641: Ulster rebels seize town March 1642: Town retaken by forces from Dublin and remains in control of royalists. June 1647: Joins parliament when Dublin surrenders July 1649: Taken by Inchiquin for royalists September 1649: Surrenders to parliament
Drogheda	November 1641: besieged by Ulster rebels. Siege fails and ends March 1642. Town remains in control of Dublin royalists June 1647: Joins parliament when Dublin surrenders July 1649: Taken by Inchiquin for royalists September 1649: Stormed by Cromwell for parliament
Dublin	October 1641: Plot to seize castle revealed and foiled. City remains under control of royalists September-November 1646: Confederates fail to take city. June 1647: Ormond surrenders Dublin to Michael Jones for parliament August 1649: Jones defeats royalist force besieging the city at the battle of Rathmines and Cromwell arrives in Dublin
New Ross	November 1641: rebellion spreads to New Ross March 1643: Attempts by Ormond to besiege town fails October 1649: surrenders to parliament
Wexford	December 1641: rebellion spreads to Wexford and the town joins the confederates October 1649: stormed by Cromwell for parliament
Duncannon fort	1641-1643: Fort held for Protestants by Lord Esmond September 1643: supports cessation with confederates July 1644: Garrison defect to parliament January 1645: Besieged by Thomas Preston March 1645: Surrenders to confederates. They man the fort and it remains in confederate hands until 1650 October 1649: Cromwell besieges but unable to take the fort August 1650: surrenders to parliament

Ulster	
Carrickfergus	April 1642: Scottish army lands under Major General Monro. Town remains as headquarters for Scottish forces in Ireland until 1648 September 1648: Monro supports Engagement with king. George Monck and dissident Scots officers seize town for parliament Early 1649: royalists retake town October 1649: Parliamentary army goes to besiege town November 1649: Garrison agrees to surrender December 1649: Hand town over to parliament
Belfast	April - May 1642: Scots army clears rebels from County Antrim September 1643: Governor of town supports cessation with confederates May 1644: Scots expel royalist garrison September 1648: town seized for parliament from Scots Early 1649: royalists retake town September 1649: Town yields to parliamentary forces
Coleraine	February 1642: Attempt by Ulster rebels to besiege Coleraine fails. May 1642: Scots billet soldiers in the town September 1648: town seized for parliament from Scots
Londonderry	1641-1643: Remains in Protestant hands September 1643: Sir Robert Stewart, the governor, supports cessation with confederates but lacks supplies to hold out 1644: local pressure forces the new governor Sir Audley Mervyn to subscribe to the covenant December 1648: Sir Charles Coote seizes the city for parliament April-May 1649: Attempt by Ulster Scots to besiege fails

Munster	
Waterford	April 1642: town joins the confederates and remains under their control until 1650 November-December 1649: Cromwell besieges but unable to capture the city August 1650: surrenders to parliament
Dungarvan	May 1647: Inchiquin captures Dungarvan for parliament May 1648: Inchiquin truce; goes to royalist alliance December 1649: surrenders to parliament
Cork	March 1642: Cork besieged by Irish rebels April 1642: siege lifted. September 1643: support royalist cessation with confederates July 1644: defects to parliament April-May 1648: truce with confederates; defects from parliament back to royalists October 1649: surrender to parliament
Youghal	1641-1643 held for English September 1643: support royalist cessation with confederates July 1644: defects to parliament Summer 1645: besieged by confederates, fails April-May 1648: truce with confederates; defects from parliament back to royalists October 1649: surrender to parliament
Kinsale	1641-1643 held for English September 1643: support royalist cessation with confederates July 1644: defects to parliament April-May 1648: truce with confederates; defects from parliament back to royalists October 1649: townsmen surrender to parliament
Bunratty	1641-1645: earl of Thomond neutral March 1646: parliamentary forces fortify Bunratty castle and confederates besiege July 1646: Castle surrenders to confederates
Limerick	November 1641: rebellion spreads into city. April 1642: King John's castle besieged by townsmen and Irish army. June 1642: Garrison in castle surrender. City remains in confederate hands until 1651 October 1651: City surrenders to parliament

Connacht	
Galway	March 1642: Town declares for rebels and begins to besiege St Augustine's fort June 1643: Fort surrenders. Galway remains in confederate hands until 1652 April 1652: City surrenders to parliament
Sligo	December 1641: Sligo town joins rebellion July 1645 : parliamentary force take Sligo August 1647: confederate attempt to take Sligo fails July 1649: Sligo surrenders to royalist earl of Clanricarde

Appendix C1: Confederate prizes, 1641-50[1]

No.	Prize	Master	Date	Privateer	Captain	Bound From	Bound To
1	*Elizabeth and Francis*[2]	Robert Clarke	March 1642	Galway men seized	Stayed	France	Galway
2	*John of London*[3]		May 1642	Crookhaven	Stayed		Dublin
3-8	5-6 English barks[4]		Summer 1642	Wexford frigates			
9-16	8 prizes[5]		Summer 1642	Owen Roe O'Neill's frigates			
17	*Blessing of London*[6]	William Elliott	July 1642	*Peter of Dunkirk*	Francis Oliver	London	Londonderry
18	*Hopewell of London*[7]	Rowland Langram	July 1642	Cast away off Wexford		London	Dublin
19	Dublin flyboat[8]		August 1642	Wexford rebels		Le Croisic	Dublin
20	Bristol ship[9]	Charles Driver	October 1642	Crookhaven	Seized	St Christopher	Crookhaven

[1] The description of unnamed ships is that given in the original source.
[2] Deposition of John Turner and Robert Rawlins, 5 Feb. and 23 Mar. 1653/4 (T.C.D., Galway Depositions, MS 830, ff 146-7, 197-8).
[3] Deposition of John Fletcher, 16 Sept. 1642 (T.C.D., Cork Depositions, vol. iii, MS 824, ff 265-v).
[4] TT E.119(22), *A most exact relation of a great victory obtained by the poor Protestants in Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 3.
[5] Hugh Bourke to Luke Wadding, 9 Sept. 1642, H.M.C., *Report on the Franciscan manuscripts*, p. 186.
[6] Examinations of William Elliott, William Older and Charles Cant, 3 Nov. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, ff 299-301).
[7] Lords justices to the earl of Leicester, 23 July 1642, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* ns, i, 174.
[8] Examinations of Walter Heath and Christopher Finch, 12 Apr. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, f. 510v).
[9] TT E.126(26), *Speciall Passages and certain information from severall places collected for the use of all that desire to be truly Informed.. From Tuesday the 1 of Novemb to Tuesday the 8 of Novemb 1642* (London, 1642), pp 113-4: deposition of William Langdon, 19 Oct. 1642 (T.C.D., Cork Depositions, iv, MS 825, f. 159).

21	*William of Youghal*[10]		December 1642	Wexford pirates			
22	*Trade of London*[11]	Henry Houlding	December 1642	2 Irish men of war and other Dunkirkers		Portugal	London
23-26	4 English ships[12]		1642	Wexford frigates			
27	*Love's Increase*[13]	John Webb	March 1643	New Ross	Seized	Milford	New Ross
28	*Adventure of London*[14]	Paul Dodd	March 1643	*St Francis of Dunkirk*	Captain Durchan	Lisbon	London
29	Ship in Dublin harbour[15]		March 1643	Dunkirker		Dublin	Milford
30	Unnamed ship[16]		March 1643	Dunkirker		Dublin	Milford
31	*William of London*[17]	William Cowell	April 1643	*Francisco of Dunkirk*	Captain Anthony		
32-33	2 Milford barks[18]		April 1643	Wexford pirates		Milford	Dublin
34-38	4-5 barks[19]		April 1643	Wexford			

[10] Deposition of John Clune, 21 Dec. 1642 (T.C.D., Cork Depositions, vol. iii, MS 824, ff 251-v).
[11] Examination of Jacob Frassor, 3 Oct. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, ff 631v-33).
[12] Edmond Duier to Luke Wadding, 16 Oct. 1642, H.M.C., Report *on the Franciscan manuscripts*, p. 204.
[13] Lords justices to William Lenthall, 3 Apr. 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* ns, i, 259.
[14] Examinations of Paul Dodd and Alexander Cooper, 2 Aug. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, ff 603-4v).
[15] Lords Justices to Ormond, 24 Mar. 1642/3 (Bodl., Carte MS 4, f. 559).
[16] Lords justices to William Lenthall, 23 Mar. 1642/3, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* ns, ii, 256.
[17] Lords justices to William Lenthall, 23 June 1643, ibid, pp 290-1.
[18] TT E.101(6), *Speciall passages and certain informations from severall places, collected for the use of all that desire to be truly informed. Number 39* (London, 1643), pp 315-7.
[19] Ibid, pp 315-7.

				pirates			
39	Fishing boat[20]		May 1643	Men of war			
40	*Marygould*[21]		May 1643	Dunkirker of Dungarvan	Captain Garrett	Chester	Bilbao
41	Apsum ship[22]		July 1643	*St Patrick of Wexford*	Captains Pruneas and Hayes		
42	Dover ship[23]		July 1643	*St Patrick of Wexford*	Captains Pruneas and Hayes		
43	English hoy[24]		July 1643	*St Patrick of Wexford*	Captains Pruneas and Hayes		
44	Fishing boat at Orfordness[25]		July 1643	*St Patrick of Wexford*	Captains Pruneas and Hayes		
45	Foreign ship[26]		July 1643	*St Patrick of Wexford*	Captains Pruneas and Hayes		
46	Scottish bark[27]		July 1643	*St Patrick of Wexford*	Captains Pruneas and Hayes		
47	Dublin merchant ship[28]		July 1643	Wexford pirates			
48	Alderman Wakecleff's ship[29]		November 1643	Wexford rebels			

[20] Deposition of John Bartlett, May 1645 (T.C.D., Dublin Depositions, vol. ii, MS 810, ff 52-v).
[21] Deposition of John Sellar, 29 May 1643 (T.C.D., Waterford Depositions, MS 820, ff 298-v).
[22] Examination of Mark Roch, 12 July 1643, Powell & Timings (eds), *Documents*, p. 81.
[23] Ibid, p. 81.
[24] Ibid, p. 81.
[25] Ibid, p. 81.
[26] Ibid, p. 81.
[27] Ibid, p. 81.
[28] Deposition of Daniel Hutchinson, 6 Oct. 1643 (T.C.D., Dublin Depositions, vol. ii, MS 810, f. 238).

49	*Christopher*[30]		1643	Wexford rebels			
50	Unnamed prize[31]		May 1644	*St Francis*	Captain Doran	Amsterdam	Dublin/Carrickfergus
51	Corn vessel[32]		May 1644	*St Francis*	Captain Doran		
52	Scottish vessel[33]		May 1644	*St Francis*	Captain Doran	Scotland	Scotland
53	London ship[34]		May 1644	*St Francis*	Captain Doran	Amsterdam	London
54	*Mary and Dorothy of London*[35]	Edward Chamlett	May 1644	*Francis of Wexford*	Captain Addurrant	Amsterdam	London
55	Merchant ship[36]		May 1644	Irish man of war			Yarmouth
56	*Gift of God of Aberdeen*[37]		June 1644	*St Francis*	Captain Doran	Scotland	Zeeland
57	*Margaret and Phoebe of Colchester*[38]		August 1644	Wexford frigates			
58	Scottish ship[39]		August1644	Fleet to			

[29] TT E.252(8), *A perfect diuranll of some passages in parliament and from other parts of this Kingdom, from Munday the 13 of November, till Munday the 20 of November. Anno 1643* (London, 1643), p. 142.
[30] Owned by Sir Christopher Lowther. Will of Sir Christopher Lowther, 14 Feb. 1643/4, D. R. Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers of Sir Christopher Lowther, 1611-1644* (Surtees Society, 1977, Gateshead), p. 230.
[31] Bellings to Ormond, 22 May 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 10, ff 730-v).
[32] Ibid, ff 730-v.
[33] Ibid, ff 730-v.
[34] Ibid, ff 730-v.
[35] Examinations of Thomas White, Robert Whitty and John Ecupp , 1 June and 26 July 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5 HCA 13/59, ff 300-1, 401-v).
[36] TT E.252(33), *A perfect Diurnall of some passages in parliament, and from other parts of this kingdome, from Munday the 13 of May to Munday the 20 of May 1644* (London, 1644), p. 332.
[37] Ormond to Muskerry, 9 Oct. 1644 (Bodl. Carte MS 12, ff 458-v); Charles I to Muskerry, 31 Dec. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 13, ff98-v).
[38] Warwick to the Commissioners of the navy, 21 Aug. 1644 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1644*, p. 557).
[39] Ormond to Antrim, 22 July 1644, Carte, *Ormond*, vi, 179.

				Scotland			
59	Small boat[40]		September 1644	Irish frigate	Palle Roche		
60	Unnamed prize[41]		September 1644	Irish frigate	Palle Roche		
61	Unnamed prize[42]		September 1644	Irish frigate	Palle Roche		
62	*Neptune of Yarmouth*[43]		September 1644	Irish frigate	Palle Roche		
63	*Unicorn of Dundee*[44]	Patterson	October 1644	*Hare*	Captain Roach		Dundee
64	*Hopewell of Boston*[45]	Edmond Adams	October 1644	Irish man of war		Boston	Rotterdam
65	London ship[46]	Taylor	December 1644	Irish man of war		London	Rotterdam
66	Small ship with Taylor[47]		December 1644	Irish man of war		London	Rotterdam
67	*Philip and Jacob*[48]	Philip Shiles	1644	Limerick	Seized	Caribbean	Barnstaple
68-89	22 English and Scottish ships[49]		May 1645	Dunkirkers			

[40] Letter of Francis Green and petition of William Coneham & Chulese Money , 15 and 28 Sept. 1644 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1579-1656, HCA 30/855, ff 552-3v).
[41] Ibid, ff 552-3v.
[42] Ibid, ff 552-3v.
[43] Ibid, ff 552-3v.
[44] Examinations of John Hill and Oliver Winter, 29 Oct. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5 HCA 13/59, ff 546-v).
[45] Examination of Mathew Adams, 29 Oct. 1644, ibid, ff 542-3.
[46] TT E.21(11), *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer sent abroad to prevent misinformation. From Tuesday the 3 of December to Tuesday the 10 December 1644* (London, 1644), pp 671-2.
[47] Ibid, pp 671-2.
[48] Petition of Philip Shiles, 20 Aug. 1646 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1579-1656, HCA 30/855, f. 635).

90	*Blessing of Leith*[50]		May 1645	Dunkirk frigates		Leith	Zeeland
91	*Prosperous of Bristol*[51]	Edward Lugg	December 1645	Berehaven	Stayed	St Christopher	Bristol
92	English bark[52]		May 1646	Wexford frigate	Peter Peterson		
93	Parliamentary ship[53]		June 1646	Wexford frigates			
94	Small English frigate[54]		June 1646	Wexford			
95	*Andrew of Ayr*[55]	John Shaw	July 1646	Irish			
96	*William and Sarah*[56]	John Church	August 1646	Irish man of war	Nicholas Health	Portugal	London
97-98	2 English ships[57]		August 1646	Antrim's frigates		Canaries	
99	*Elizabeth of Weymouth*[58]		September 1646	Pirate	Captain Ruchor	Weymouth	St Malo
100	Scotch bark[59]		1646/7	*Mary and*	John Rossitor		

[49] TT E.284(19), *The True Informer: containing a perfect collection of the proceedings of parliament and true information from the armies. From the whole week past, ending Saturday May 17 1645* (London, 1645), p. 27.
[50] Examinations of Gregory Bell and John Trotter, 11 June 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[51] Examinations of Robert Smith and John Brown, 6 May 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248).
[52] Charles I to Ormond, 9 July 1646 (Bodl. Carte MS 18, f. 23).
[53] Valentine Savage to Sir Philip Percival, 26 June 1645, H.M.C. *Egmont*, i, part i, 295.
[54] Mathew Wood to Ormond, 22 June 1646 (Bodl., Carte MS 17, f. 559).
[55] Certificate for John Shaw, 7 Aug. 1646, Nott (ed.), *The deposition books of Bristol*, p. 152.
[56] Examinations of James Blatt and John Church, 16 and 18 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[57] TT E.350(16), *The Scottish Dove sent out and returning, from Wednesday the 12 of August till Wednesday the 19 of August 1646* (London, 1646), p. 7.
[58] Order of committee of the lords and commons, 12 Nov. 1646 (T.N.A., Various, 1579-1656, HCA 30/849, f. 611).
[59] Deposition of James Dalton, 8 Jan. 1653/4 (T.C.D., Wexford Depositions, vol. ii, MS 819, ff 200v-1).

				John of Wexford			
101	*William and Thomas of Dover*[60]		1646/7	*Mary and John of Wexford*	John Rossitor		
102	English bark[61]		1646/7	*Mary and John of Wexford*	John Rossitor		
103	*Sampson*[62]	Robert Plunkett	January 1647		Captain Darcie		
104	*Hopewell of London*[63]	Richard West	February 1647	*Mary of Antrim and Mary of the Isles*	William O'Doran and Michael Hay	Portugal	London
105	*Jennett of Leith*[64]	John Redough	February 1647	*Patrick of Waterford*	William Wadding	Leith	Island of Lewis
106-109	4 coal and corn vessels[65]		March 1647	Irish rebels			
110	*Orange Tree of Rotterdam*[66]	Albrecht Arienson	June 1647	Irish	Captain Turner	Norway	Scotland
111-	30 Irish and Scottish		June 1647	Irish frigates			

[60] Ibid, ff 200v-1.
[61] Ibid, ff 200v-1.
[62] Examination of Robert Plunkett, 2 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[63] Examinations of Michael Wright and Richard West, 16 Sept. 1647, ibid; order of the confederate court of admiralty, 30 Apr. 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[64] Depositions of David Young and John Nessett, 27 Apr. 1647, Nott (ed.), *The deposition books of Bristol*, pp 216-7.
[65] Devon committee to Sir John Bampfylde, 12 Mar. 1646/7, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 235.
[66] Examinations of Richard Waters and Robert Plunkett, 30 Aug. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

140	barks[67]						
141	Ship coming from Milford with coal[68]		June/July 1647	*Dolphin of Wexford*	Beachie	Milford	
142	Ship with ballast and no crew[69]		June/July 1647	*Dolphin of Wexford*	Beachie		
143	Ship with ballast going to Milford[70]		June/July 1647	*Dolphin of Wexford*	Beachie		Milford
144	*Nonsuch of Lyme*[71]		July 1647	Irish man of war		Lyme	France
145	Portsmouth ship[72]		October 1647	3 Irish frigates			
146-148	2-3 ships[73]		October 1647	3 Irish frigates			
149	Scottish ship[74]		October 1647	3 Irish frigates			
150	*Adventure of Lyn*[75]		December 1647	Irish man of war			
151	*Cisne*	John Rombault	November 1647	*Irish privateer*		San Sebastian	Dover

[67] Sir Charles Coote to the committee of the lords and commons for the affairs of Ireland at Derby House, 11 June 1647 (Bodl., Carte MS 67, f.133).
[68] Examination of James Morrice and others, 30 July 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Examination of John Turner, 23 July 1647(T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[72] Committee of the admiralty to Willoughby, 9 Oct. 1647, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, pp 292-3.
[73] Ibid, pp 292-3.
[74] Ibid, pp 292-3.
[75] Examinations of William Fullen and William Dyer, 16 Feb. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

152	Bark from Lowe[76]		December 1647	*Angel Keeper of Waterford*	William Hoville		
153	*Charity of Hamburg*[77]	Jackim Haveman	1647	2 Irish frigates		St Andrews	Amsterdam
154	Lime dogger boat[78]		January 1648	*Angel Keeper of Waterford*	William Hoville		Lime
155	Holland pink[79]		January 1648	*Angel Keeper of Waterford*	William Hoville		London
156-158	2-3 ships[80]		February 1648	2 Irish men of war			
159-161	3 English ships[81]		February 1648	22 gun Irish frigate			
162	Dover ship[82]		February 1648	22 gun Irish frigate			
163	*Hopewell of Scarborough*[83]	William Shyrings	March 1648	Irish frigate	Captain Hall	Rotterdam	Scarborough
164	Newcastle bark[84]		March 1648	Irish frigate	Captain Hall	Holland	Newcastle

[76] Examination of William Hoville, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[77] Examination of Arens Dirricke Wolfe, 25 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62); committee of both houses, 24 Jan. 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1647-60*, p. 5).
[78] Examination of William Hoville, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[79] Ibid.
[80] Thomas Rainsborough to Lenthall, 17 Feb 1647/8, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 287.
[81] Ibid, p. 287.
[82] Ibid, p. 287.
[83] Committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty, 16 Mar. 1647/8 (B.L., Navy papers 1645-1657, Add 9305, f. 13).
[84] Ibid, f. 13.

165-166	2 Dutch ships[85]		March 1648	2 Irish frigates		Holland	England
167	East county hoy[86]		March 1648	*Angel Keeper of Waterford*	William Hoville		Norfolk
168	Newcastle ship[87]	Rowland Pithey	March 1648	*Angel Keeper of Waterford*	William Hoville		Newcastle
169	Scarborough ship[88]		March 1648	*Angel Keeper of Waterford*	William Hoville		
170	Yarmouth fishing boat[89]		March 1648	*Angel Keeper of Waterford*	William Hoville		Yarmouth
171	Unnamed English ship[90]	Richard Dawes	March 1648	*Waterford man of war*		Ireland	France
172-178	7 small barks[91]		April 1648	*Wexford frigates*		Liverpool	Dublin
179	*Peter of Rotterdam*[92]	Cornelius Theremen	May 1648	*Mary and John of Wexford*	John Rossitor	Rotterdam	Bristol

[85] Committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty, 7 Mar. 1647/8, ibid, f. 5v.
[86] Examination of William Hoville, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Answer of George Dawes, 1 Apr. 1651 (T.N.A., Answers, 1650-2, HCA 13/124).
[91] Committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty to Colonel Rainsborough, 28 Apr. 1648 (B.L., Navy papers 1645-1657, Add 9305, ff 52v-3).
[92] Examinations of Cornelius Theremen and Swart Swartson, 5 July 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 109v-110).

180	*Hope of Amsterdam*[93]	Swart Swartson	May 1648	*Mary and John of Wexford*	John Rossitor	Amsterdam	Bristol
181	Gabbard[94]		May 1648	Wexford man of war			Drogheda
182	Ship near Dublin[95]		May 1648	Wexford frigates			
183	Unnamed ship[96]	Captain MacGill	May 1648	Wexford man of war		Dublin	Chester
184	Unnamed ship[97]	Thomas Bayly	June 1648	Irish man of war			
185	*Mayor of Dartmouth*[98]	John Machnon	June 1648	Irish man of war		Wales	Dartmouth
186	Unnamed ship[99]		July 1648	Irish frigate			
187	*Robert*[100]	William Gryson	July 1648	*Mary and Francis*		Scotland	
188	Hoy[101]	Luke Trunke	August 1648	*St Peter of Waterford*	Joseph Constant		

[93] Examinations of Cornelius Theremen and Swart Swartson, 5 July 1648, ibid, ff 109v-110.
[94] TT E.522(31), *Perfect occurrences of every Daie journal in Parliament and other moderate intelligence. From Friday May the 19 to Friday May 26 1648* (London, 1648), p. 528.
[95] Ibid, p. 528.
[96] Ibid, p. 528.
[97] Answer of Thomas Bayly, 17 May 1650 (T.N.A., Answers, 1650, HCA 13/123).
[98] Examination of Humphrey Sheere, 16 June 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, f. 117).
[99] Examination of Robert Hutchins, 22 August 1648, ibid, ff 149v-50v.
[100] Examination of Thomas Thompson and William Browne, 14 July 1648, ibid ff 202-v.
[101] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-50 (Bodl, Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v).

189	*Fisher of Serdam*[102]	Aldred Kempson	August 1648	Irish man of war			Amsterdam
190	*Arke of Poole*[103]		August 1648	*Michael of Wexford*	Richard Beech	Milford	Poole
191	*Hope of Hamburg*[104]		August 1648	*Michael of Wexford*	Richard Beech	Bordeaux	Bristol
192	*Richard of Bristol*[105]	Henry Readmun	August 1648	*Michael of Wexford*	Richard Beech	St Sebastian	Bristol
193	*Three Blackmores of Flushing*[106]	William Matalimin	August 1648	*Michael of Wexford*	Richard Beech	La Rochelle	Plymouth
194	Prize[107]	Mark Fawson	September 1648	*Mary of Antrim*	Anthony Vandermarche		
195	Ship[108]	Cornelius Baldon	September 1648	*Mary of Antrim*	Anthony Vandermarche		
196	Busse[109]	Derrick Browne	September 1648	*St Peter of Waterford*	Joseph Constant		
197	*Magdalen* [110]	William Cotton	September 1648	Irish man of war			
198	*Fortune of*		September	Waterford		Kirkcaldy	Camphire

[102] Examination of Jacob Johnson, 11 Aug. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1648, HCA 13/249).
[103] Examinations of John Jobson, Henry Readmun, Henry Hamlett, Edward Hammell, John Bourke, Peter Arnesen and Harmen Bruen, 7, 9, 10 and 25 Aug. 1648, ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-50 (Bodl, Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v).
[108] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[109] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[110] John Arthur to Lenthall, 9 Sept. 1648, H.M.C., *Portland*, i, 497.

	Kirkcaldy[111]		1648	man of war			
199	*Unity of Yarmouth*[112]		September 1648	*St Peter of Waterford*	Joseph Content		
200	*Jonathan of Southampton*[113]	Joseph Briars	November 1648	*Mary and John of Wexford*	John Rossitor	Barbados	Southampton
201	London ship[114]	Captain Stone	November 1648	2 Irish men of war			
202	*Amity of Southampton*[115]		November 1648	2 Irish men of war		Newfoundland	Southampton
203	Salt ship for London[116]		December 1648	*Mary Virgin of Wexford*	William Doran		
204	Bristol/Weymouth corn ship[117]		December 1648	*Mary Virgin of Wexford*	William Doran		
205-206	2 ships near Dover[118]		December 1648	Irish			
207-220	14 English ships[119]		December 1648	Irish pirate			

[111] Allegations concerning the *Fortune*, 1648 (T.N.A., Allegations, 1638-1782, HCA 24/176).
[112] Interrogatory for the *Unity*, nd (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1644-55, HCA 23/30); order by Joseph Constant, 26 Sept. 1648 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1596-1662, HCA 30/855, f. 412).
[113] Deposition of William Page, 1 Dec. 1648, Thompson (ed.), *The book of examinations and depositions of Southampton*, pp 2-3.
[114] Depositions of Thomas Lynterne and Woods Rogers, 3 Jan. 1648/9, ibid, pp 5-6.
[115] Allegations concerning the *Amity*, 1648 (T.N.A., Allegations, 1638-1782, HCA 24/176).
[116] Examinations of Jacob Bowers and Patrick Root, 6 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[117] Ibid.
[118] TT E.476(15), *The Perfect Weekly Account concerning certain speciall and remarkable passages from both houses of parliament. From Wednesday the 6 of Decemb. to Wednesday the 13 of Decemb. 1648* (London, 1648), p. 305.
[119] TT E.477(14), *The Moderate Intelligencer: impartially communicating martial affaires to the Kingdome of England. From Thursday December 14 to Thursday December 21 1648* (London, 1648), p. 2042.

221	English or Scottish ship[120]		1648		Antonio Nicholas Vanderkipp		
222	*William & Henry of London*[121]	John Clarke	1648	Irish man of war		Canaries	
223	*Providence of Southold*[122]	Robert ____	1648	Irish man of war			North Yarmouth
224-259	36 vessels[123]	mostly English	1647-9	*St Peter of Waterford*	Joseph Content		
260	*Allen*[124]	John Best	January 1649	Irish man of war		Barbados	London
261	Bark from Lowe[125]		January 1649	*Mary of Antrim*	Antonio Undermerch		
262	Hull ship[126]		January 1649	*Mary of Antrim*	Antonio Undermerch		
263	Dutch ship[127]		January 1649	*Mary of Antrim*	Antonio Undermerch		London
264	*Peter of London*[128]	Joseph Bowers	January 1649	*Mary Virgin of Wexford*	William Doran	Galicia	London
265	500 ton corn ship[129]		February 1649	Wexford ship			Bristol

[120] Deposition of Melcher Strafford and James Dalton, 3 and 8 Jan. 1653/4 (T.C.D., Wexford Depositions, vol. ii, MS 819, ff 256-8).
[121] Interrogatory for the *William and John*, nd (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1649-53, HCA 23/15).
[122] The case of a ship in the service of the Commonwealth seized at Callebegges, 1648 (Marsh's Library, MS Z.3.1.1 (67).
[123] Examination of Joseph Content, 11 July 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[124] Examinations of John Bland and William Pitt, 17 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[125] Examination of Antonio Undermerch, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Examinations of Jacob Bowers and Patrick Root, 6 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[129] William Cann to Lenthall, 5 Feb. 1648/9, H.M.C. *Portland*, i, 510.

266	Post bark[130]		February 1649	Wexford pirates			
267	*Mary of Colchester*[131]	George Marten	February 1649	Jersey man of war		France	London
268	*Elizabeth of London*[132]	Robert Phelps	February 1649	Irish man of war	Hugh Kelly	Dublin	London
269	Rotterdam ship[133]		March 1649		Captain Darcy	West Indies	Rotterdam
270	Ship at Margate[134]		March 1649	Irish pirate			
271	Dogger boat[135]	John Thomlinson	March 1649		Nicholas Holt		
272	Flee boat[136]	Thomas Rabton	March 1649		Nicholas Holt		
273	Galliott[137]	Richard Dixon	March 1649		Nicholas Holt		
274	Boyer[138]	Hans Van Roeyden	March 1649		Jacques Le Croy		
275	Catch[139]	William Elton	March 1649		Jacques Le Croy		

[130] Council of State to Moulton, 26 Feb. 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 20).
[131] Examination of George Marten, 15 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, f. 276).
[132] Examination of Robert Phelps and Robert Holloway, 29 Mar. 1648, ibid, ff 375v-6v.
[133] Examination of Patrick Strafford, 29 Mar. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[134] Colonel Popham, Mar. 1648, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 12.
[135] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-50 (Bodl, Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v).
[136] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[137] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[138] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[139] Ibid, ff 110-11v.

276	*Pleasure*[140]	Hugh Jones	March 1649	*St John of Wexford*	Patrick Wadding	Cork	Bristol
277	Vessel on the Welsh coast[141]		April 1649	*Patrick of Wexford*	Ignatius Brett		
278	Vessel with coal[142]		April 1649	*Patrick of Wexford*	Ignatius Brett		
279	Dutch hoy[143]		April 1649	*Mary of the Isles*	Captain Doran		
280	Hoy[144]	Dixon	April 1649		Claude Collett		
281	Coal ship[145]	David White	April 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
282	Coal ship[146]	John Bussell	April 1649	*Cornelius of Wexford*	Clement Ryder		
283	Coal ship[147]	John Hoard	April 1649	*Cornelius of Wexford*	Clement Ryder		
284	Flee boat[148]		April 1649	*Cornelius of Wexford*	Clement Ryder		
285	Vessel[149]	William Simms	April 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		

[140] Samuel Rhodes to Ormond, 19 Apr. 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 155, f. 68).
[141] Examination of Ignatius Brett, 22 Apr. 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[142] Ibid.
[143] Michael Bolan to Ormond, 30 April 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 24, f. 562).
[144] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-50 (Bodl, Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v).
[145] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[146] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[147] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[148] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[149] Ibid, ff 110-11v.

286	*Blessing of Rochester*[150]	John Slade	April 1649	Irish man of war		Rochester	Newcastle
287	*Robert frigate*[151]		May 1649	2 Irish men of war			
288	*Increase*[152]	Robert Tatnell	May 1649	Irish			
289	*Patrick of Waterford*[153]	Stephen Rich	May 1649	Irish			
290	Unnamed ship[154]		May 1649	Irish			
291	*Endeavour of Southampton*[155]	Henry Bird	May 1649	Irish man of war	William O' Howille	Caen	Southampton
292	Galliott[156]	John Herveroin	May 1649		Abraham Brent		
293	Flee boat[157]	Claud Grootson	May 1649		Claude Collett		
294	Flee boat[158]	Martin de Hull	May 1649		Claude Collett		
295	Catch[159]	Alexander Lugg	May 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		

[150] Allegations concerning the *Blessing*, 5 May 1649 (T.N.A., Allegations, 1638-1782, HCA 24/176).
[151] Deane and Blake to William Willoughby, 12 May 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 138).
[152] Council of State proceedings, 16 May 1649, ibid, p. 143.
[153] Council of state to collectors for prize goods, 18 May 1649,ibid, p. 147.
[154] Ibid, p. 147.
[155] Deposition of Daniel Gotier, 23 July 1649, Thompson (ed.), *The book of examinations and depositions of Southampton*), p. 20.
[156] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-50 (Bodl, Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v).
[157] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[158] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[159] Ibid, ff 110-11v.

296	Hoy[160]	Wolkart Hondwekson	May 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
297	Pink[161]	Edmond Rube	May 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
298	Ship[162]	John Dolkers	May 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
299	Vessel[163]		May 1649		Piere le Motte		
300	Fishing boat[164]		May 1649		John Cusack		
301	*Fortune of Amsterdam*[165]		May 1649	Various privateers	Anthony Nicholas Vanderkipp and consorts		
302	*Martin of Flushing*[166]		May 1649	Various privateers	Anthony Nicholas Vanderkipp and consorts		
303-305	3 ships[167]		May 1649	*St John of Wexford*	Patrick Wadding		
306	Scotch prize[168]		May 1649	*St John of Wexford*	Patrick Wadding		
307	Ship in River		May 1649	*St John of*	Patrick Wadding		

[160] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[161] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[162] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[163] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[164] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[165] Anthony Nicholas Vandzippe to Ormond, 14 Oct. 1649 (Bodl. Carte MS 156, f. 253).
[166] Ibid, f.253.
[167] Examination of Patrick Wadding, 7 May 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[168] Ibid.

	Severn[169]			*Wexford*			
308-323	15-16 vessels[170]	mostly English	May-July 1649	*St Peter of Waterford*	Joseph Content		
324	Flee boat[171]	William Janson	May 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
325	Fisher boat[172]		June 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
326	Coal ship[173]		June 1649		Claude Collett		
327	Dogger boat[174]	Peter Haws	June 1649		Hantman Eldson		
328	Vessel[175]		June 1649		Jacob David		
329	Hollander[176]		January - July 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
330	Hollander[177]		January - July 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
331	Hamburg ship[178]		January - July 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		England
332	Collier[179]		January - July 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		

[169] Ibid.
[170] Examination of Joseph Content, 11 July 1649, ibid.
[171] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-50 (Bodl, Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v).
[172] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[173] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[174] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[175] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[176] Examinations of Daniel van Vooren and Derrick Hendes, 25 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.

333	Collier[180]		January - July 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
334	Yarmouth fishing vessel[181]		January - July 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
335	Yarmouth fishing vessel[182]		January - July 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
336	Fishing vessel[183]		January - July 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
337	Southwell vessel[184]		January - July 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
338	*Richard and Elizabeth of London*[185]		July 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
339-358	18-20 Newcastle merchants and colliers[186]		July 1649	*2 pirates*			
359-388	30 English northern ships[187]		c. July 1649	*Mirrour of Dunkirk and others*	Thomas Plunkett		London
389	*St Martin of Amsterdam*[188]		July 1649		Claude Collett		

[180] Ibid.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Robert Coytmor to Popham, 26 July 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 23.
[187] TT E.564(8), *A great victory obtained by Prince Charles, his ships upon the north coast of England* (London, 1649), p. 5.

390	Hoy[189]	John Futzus	July 1649		Claude Collett		
391	Vessel[190]		July 1649		Claude Collett		
392	Catch[191]	John Poyes	July 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
393	Pink[192]		July 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
394	Vessel[193]		July 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
395	Yarmouth fisher boat[194]		July 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
396-400	5 vessels[195]		July 1649		Diego Leyne		
401	Coal ship[196]		July 1649		Jean Pearce		
402	Catch[197]		July 1649		Thomas Corvall		
403	Vessel[198]		July 1649	*Mary of the Isles*	William O' Doran		
404	Dover pink[199]		After July	*Cornelius of*	Clement Ryder		

[188] William Boswell to Ormond, 17 July 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 25, f. 43).
[189] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-50 (Bodl, Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v).
[190] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[191] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[192] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[193] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[194] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[195] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[196] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[197] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[198] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[199] Examination of Peter Toland, 3 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).

			1649	*Wexford*			
405	Yarmouth pink[200]		After July 1649	*Cornelius of Wexford*	Clement Ryder		
406	Coal vessel[201]		After July 1649	*Cornelius of Wexford*	Clement Ryder		
407	English fisher boat[202]	John Harrington	August 1649		Claus van Hoost		
408	English vessel[203]	Jonas Acten	August 1649		Claus van Hoost		
409	Yarmouth fisher boat[204]		August 1649		Claus van Hoost		
410	Vessel[205]		August 1649	*St John of Waterford*	Daniel Van Vooren		
411	Flee boat[206]		August 1649		Nicholas Martin		
412	Flee boat[207]	George Timerman	August 1649		Nicholas Martin		
413	Vessel[208]		August 1649		Nicholas Poast		
414	Flee boat[209]	John Rues	August 1649		William D'Horne		
415-	8 ships[210]		August 1649				

[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid.
[202] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-50 (Bodl, Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v).
[203] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[204] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[205] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[206] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[207] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[208] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[209] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[210] Council of state to Popham, 14 Aug. 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 278).

422							
423	Flee boat[211]	Turden Robinson	September 1649		Claude Collett		
424-428	5 prizes[212]		September 1649		Michael Everard		
429-434	6 corn vessels[213]		September 1649	Sea rovers			
435	*Leache of Flushing*[214]		September 1649	*Delight of Waterford*	Richard Keating		
436	*Charity of Bullen*[215]	John Quallie	September 1649	*Delight of Waterford*	Richard Keating		
437	English fisher boat[216]	Adam Miles	October 1649		Michael Ruduicke		
438	*Barbara of Sunderland*[217]	Richard Curtis	October 1649	*Cornelius of Wexford*	Clement Ryder	Sunderland	Bristol
439	*Charity*[218]		November 1649	Irish pirate			
440-441	2 Unnamed prizes[219]		November 1649	*Mirrour of Dunkirk*	Thomas Plunkett		

[211] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-50 (Bodl, Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v).
[212] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[213] Humble petition of the inhabitants of the Isle of Thanett to the council of state, 25 Sept. 1649 (B.L., Original papers relating to the navy office, 1644-1699, Add 18,986, f. 3).
[214] Note by Richard Keating, 7 Sept. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[215] Examination of Hugh Keltin and John Quallie, 12 and 15 Sept. 1649,ibid.
[216] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-50 (Bodl, Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v).
[217] Examinations of Peter Toland, John Barwick and James Dixon, 3 and 8 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[218] Admiralty committee proceedings, 17 Nov. 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 397).
[219] TT E.584(2), *A great fight in Ireland between the Lord Lieut. Cromwels forces and the Lord Inchequeens army neer Washford* (London, 1649), p. 6.

442	*St Jacob of Rotterdam*[220]	Jacob Derrickson	1649	Irish man of war		Rotterdam	Bristol
443	*Glote of Yarmouth*[221]		1649	Irish man of war		Yarmouth	Rochelle
444	*John of Hamburg*[222]		1649	Wexford man of war	Richard Roche		
445	*Hope of Sunderland*[223]		1649	Irish rebels			
446	*George of Colchester*[224]		c. 1649	Irish man of war		France	London
447	*Arke*[225]		c. 1649	Irish		Canaries	
448	*Samaritan*[226]		c. 1649	Irish rebels			Aire
449	*Fortune*[227]		c. 1649	Irish ship			
450	*Star*[228]		c. 1649	Irish rebels			
451	Catch[229]	James Gents	January 1650		William Durent		
452	Catch[230]	Michael Moody	February 1650		Nicholas Holt		

[220] Examinations of John Allen, Jacob Derrickson and Abraham Vandekouter, 7, 14 Mar. and 20 Apr. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 290v-1, 349-v, 412).
[221] Examinations of John Allen, 14 Mar. 1648/9, ibid, ff 349-v.
[222] Examinations of John Wyles, James Cauvanagh and Bryan Can, 25 May 1649, ibid ff 502-v.
[223] Interrogatory for *Hope*, 1649 (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1649-53, HCA 23/15).
[224] Interrogatory for *George*, nd, ibid.
[225] Interrogatory for the *Arke,* nd, ibid.
[226] Interrogatory for the *Samaritan*, nd, ibid.
[227] Interrogatory for the *Fortune*, nd, ibid.
[228] Interrogatory for the *Star*, nd, ibid.
[229] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof are not yet satisfied, 1648-50 (Bodl, Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v).
[230] Ibid, ff 110-11v.

453	Bark[231]	John Anchor	March 1650		Claude Collett		
454	Coal ship[232]	John Hall	March 1650		Jacob Jansen		
455	French bark[233]		March 1650		William Michelson		
456	Holland flee boat[234]		March 1650		William Hamill		
457	Hoy[235]	Peter Randeson	March 1650		William Hamill		
458	Flee boat[236]	Cornelius Momuise	March 1650		William Hoschot		
459	Pinnace[237]	Richard Wilkinson	April 1650	5 ships	Nicholas Holt		
460	Catch[238]		April 1650		Daniel Van Vooren		
461	Pinnace[239]	Nicholas Thibell	April 1650		Daniel Van Vooren		
462	Pinnace[240]	Henvik Danke	April 1650		Daniel Van Vooren		
463	Dogger boat[241]		May 1650		Jacob Jansen		
464	Fisher boat of		June 1650		Ignatius Brett		

[231] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[232] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[233] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[234] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[235] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[236] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[237] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[238] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[239] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[240] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[241] Ibid, ff 110-11v.

	Yarmouth[242]						
465	Flee boat[243]	Richard Barrett	July 1650		John Baker		
466	Pinnace[244]		July 1650		John Baker		
467	Prize[245]		July 1650		John Baker		
468	Flee boat[246]	Marteen Reynolds	July 1650		Peter de Laet		

[242] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[243] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[244] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[245] Ibid, ff 110-11v.
[246] Ibid, ff 110-11v.

Appendix C2: Parliamentary prizes in Ireland, 1641-49[1]

No.	Prize	Master	Date	Ship	Captain	Bound From	Bound To
1	*Elizabeth of Limerick*[2]		December 1641/January 1642	Falmouth	Stayed	Dunkirk	Limerick
2-4	3 frigates with arms[3]		January 1642	Parliamentary ships			
5	*Christopher of London*[4]	Robert Coldwell	January 1642	Dartmouth	Stayed	Nantes	Dublin
6	Irish ship[5]		January 1642	English ship		Cadiz	Ireland
7-8	2 ships[6]		February 1642	St Ives	Stayed	Bilbo	Ireland
9	Bark[7]		February 1642	Dartmouth	Stayed	France	Ireland
10	*Lydia*[8]		January 1642	Falmouth	Stayed	Bordeaux	Cork
11	*Mayflower of Farley*[9]	Thomas Scott	January 1642	Dartmouth	Stayed	Newhaven	Drogheda
12	*Patrick*[10]	Walter Hayes	January 1642	Dartmouth	Stayed	Dunkirk	Dublin
13	*John of Drogheda*[11]	Richard White	February 1642	Holyhead	Stayed		
14	*Peter of Wexford*[12]	John French	February 1642	Holyhead	Stayed		

[1] The description of unnamed ships is that given in the original source.
[2] Examinations of David Kelly and Peter Dyer, 10 June 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1643-4, HCA 13/246); examination of Andrew Harold, 29 Apr. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, ff 20-1).
[3] B.L., *The Diurnal occurrences in Parliament from the 17 of Jan. to the 24* (London, 1642), p. 3.
[4] Examination of John Talbot, 24 Sept. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, f. 235).
[5] Nicolo Sagredo to Doge, 31 Jan. 1642 (*Cal. S.P. Venetian, 1640-42*, p. 116).
[6] TT E.135(5), *A true relation of certaine passages which Captaine Basset brought from the west parts of Cornewall* (London, 1642), pp 1-3.
[7] Ibid, pp 1-3.
[8] Examination of Peter Nesfield, 14 Apr. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, ff 5v-6v).
[9] Examination of Thomas Scott, 21 Apr. 1642, ibid, ff 11v-12.
[10] Examination of Mathew Dormer, 28 Apr. 1642, ibid, ff 18v-19v.
[11] Examination of William Bolde, 21 June 1642, ibid, ff 158v-9.

15	*Olive*[13]		February 1642	Yarmouth	Stayed	France	Ireland
16	Corn bark[14]		March 1642	Duncannon fort	Stayed		
17	*Catherine of Wexford*[15]		March 1642	Dartmouth	Stayed		
18	*Gift of God of Wexford*[16]	Patrick Synod	March 1642	St Ives	Stayed	Bilbao	New Ross
19	Herring prize[17]		March 1642	Duncannon fort	Stayed		
20	French ship[18]		March 1642	Swan	John Bartlett	France	New Ross
21	*John of Le Croisic*[19]		March 1642	*Fellowship of Bristol*	Thomas Powell	Le Croisic	Wexford
22	London ship[20]		March 1642	Duncannon fort	Stayed	Calais	Ireland
23	Wine and salt bark[21]		March 1642	Duncannon fort	Stayed		
24	*Notra Dama of Carma*[22]		March 1642	*Employment*	Captain Ashley		Baltimore
25	Small ship[23]		March 1642	Plymouth	Seized	France	Ireland
26	Unnamed ship[24]		March 1642	*Swan*	John Bartlett	France	Ireland

[12] Examination of William Bolde, 21 June 1642, ibid, ff 158v-9.
[13] TT E.137(18), *The apprehending of Captayne Butler at Portsmouth* (London, 1642), pp 1-2.
[14] TT E.143(23), *A continuation of the Diurnal occurances and the proceedings of the English army against the rebels in Ireland* (London, 1642), p.2.
[15] Inventory for Catherine, 31 Mar. 1642 (T.N.A., Decrees for appraisements and sale of ships, 1641-54, HCA 4/4).
[16] TT E.142(17), *A true and perfect relation of the Apprehension of 5 Fryers, one Pilgrim and three Souldiers* (London, 1642), p. 3; examinations of Thomas Fforstall and Patrick Carr, 27 Sept. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, ff 239v-40v).
[17] Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', p. 260; TT E. 143(23), *A continuation of the Diurnal occurances and the proceedings of the English army against the rebels in Ireland* (London, 1642), p.2.
[18] Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', p. 262.
[19] Ibid, pp 262-3; account for victualling house at Kinsale, 15 Apr. 1642 (T.N.A., various papers, 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 263).
[20] TT E.143(23), *A continuation of the Diurnal occurances and the proceedings of the English army against the rebels in Ireland* (London, 1642), p.2.
[21] Ibid, p.2.
[22] Account for victualling house at Kinsale, 15 Apr. 1642 (T.N.A., various papers, 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 263v).
[23] TT E.201(24), *A continuation of the true diurnall of passages in Parliament from March 7 to March 1* (London, 1642), p. 66.

27	*Petty Saroyre of Le Croisic*[25]		April 1642	*Mary of Bristol*	William Chappell	Le Croisic	Galway
28	*Francis of Rotterdam*[26]		April 1642	*Fellowship of Bristol*	Thomas Powell	La Rochelle	Limerick
29	Unnamed ship[27]	Edward Gould	June 1642	*Fellowship of Bristol*	Thomas Powell		Limerick
30	French ship[28]		July 1642	*Employment*	Captain Ashley		
31	*St John of Hamburg*[29]	John Henson	July 1642	*Ruth*	Robert Constable	Limerick	Bristol
32	Bilbao ship[30]		September 1642	Sea Adventure		Bilbao	Galway
33	Prize from Sligo[31]		September 1642	Sea Adventure		Sligo	France or Bilbao
34	Biscay ship[32]		September 1642	Sea Adventure		Biscay	Ireland
35	French ship[33]		September 1642	Sea Adventure		St Malo	Limerick
36	*Peter of* ___[34]	Richard Newport	October 1642	Chester	Seized	Nantes	Dublin

[24] Lords justices to earl of Leicester, 19 Mar. 1642, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 98-9.
[25] Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', p. 267; account for victualling house at Kinsale, 15 Apr. 1642 (T.N.A., various papers, 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 263v).
[26] Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', p. 267; A relation of ye rebellion in and about Limerick with ye taking of ye castle there from 20 Oct 1641 to 26 July by Dr Henry Jones, Oct. 1641-July 1642 (T.C.D., 1641 depositions, MS 840, f. 94); account for victualling house at Kinsale, 15 Apr. 1642 (T.N.A., various papers, 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 264).
[27] The relation of the siedge of the castle of Limerick, 1641-2, (B.L., A collection of papers formerly belonging to Edmund Borlase, M. D., Sloane MS 1008, f. 126).
[28] Edwards (ed.), 'The ship's journal of Captain Thomas Powell', p. 280.
[29] Answer of Robert Constable, 9 June 1643 (T.N.A., Answers, 1642-4, HCA 13/118).
[30] TT E. 242(15), *A true relation of the passages of Gods providence in a voyage for Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 20.
[31] Ibid, p. 20.
[32] TT E.119(22), *A most exact relation of a great victory obtained by the poor Protestants in Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 10.
[33] TT E.122(28), *The late and truest intelligence from Ireland* (London, 1642), pp 5-6.
[34] Petition of Daniel Wybrants and others, Oct. 1642 (T.N.A., various papers, 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 303).

37-38	2 Wexford barks[35]		November 1642	Bristol	Stayed	Wexford	France
39-40	2 French ships[36]		November 1642	Unnamed navy ships		Dunkirk	Ireland
41	Irish bark[37]		December 1642	*Crescent*	Thomas Plunkett	Crookhaven	
42	Unnamed ship[38]		1642	Isle of Wight	Stayed	Dunkirk	Ireland
43	*Jane of Farley*[39]	Robert Montgomerie	1642	St Ives	Stayed	Nantes	Dublin
44-48	5 ships[40]		1642	*Black Marine* and *Royal Lyon*		Spain	Ireland
49	*Margaret of Wexford*[41]		January 1643	*Lily*	John Lambert	Wexford	France
50	*Magdalen*[42]		March 1643	*Swan*	John Bartlett		New Ross
51	*Fortune of Dunkirk*[43]	John Lambert	May 1643	*John of Plymouth*	Peter Peterson	Nieupoorte	Ireland
52	Irish boat[44]		May/June 1643	*Jocelyn*	Robert Clarke		
53	Hamburg ship[45]		August 1643	*Expedition*	Joseph Jordan	La Rochelle	Ireland
54	*Rowland of Bremen*[46]	John Peterson	August 1643	*Expedition*	Joseph Jordan	La Rochelle	Wexford

[35] Petition of the sheriffs of Bristol, 12 Dec. 1642, ibid, f. 274.
[36] TT E.128(4), *True newes from our navie, now at sea* (London, 1642), p. 7.
[37] Thomas Plunkett to House of Commons, 13 Dec. 1642, , H.M.C., *Portland*, i, 78.
[38] TT E.135(2), *Exceeding good newes from the Isle of Wight* (London, 1642), pp 1-2.
[39] Examination of Anchy Scott and John Talbot, 1 July and 24 Sept. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, ff 172v-3v,235-v).
[40] TT E.116(16), *Joyfull Newes from Sea: or good tidings from my Lord of Warwick* (London, 1642), pp 2-3.
[41] Examinations of Christopher Turner and John Hayes, 27 Mar.1643 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1643-4, HCA 13/246).
[42] Lords justices to Sir Edward Nicholas, 13 Mar. 1642/3, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, ii, 242.
[43] Examinations of John Lambert, William Vase and Francis White, 12 May 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1643-4, HCA 13/246).
[44] Answer of Robert Clarke, 19 Nov. 1650 (T.N.A., Answers, 1650, HCA 13/123).
[45] TT E.65(29), *Severall letters of great importance and good succcesse* (London, 1643), p. 1.
[46] Ibid, p. 1; examinations of Gilbert Snebye, John Peterson and John Johnson, 9 Sept. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, ff 617-19v).

55	*Fortune of Wexford*[47]	Derricke Dennison	November 1643	*Sampson*	William Ashley	Wexford	St Lucar
56	Flushing ship[48]		1643	*Providence*	Captain Brookes	St Christopher	St Malo
57	*John of London*[49]		1643	*George Bonaventure*	Robert Zachery	Dungarvan	
58	*Alice of Londonderry*[50]	Thomas Gardner	March 1644	*Fellowship*	William Penn	Londonderry	Chester
59	*Fortune*[51]		March 1644	*Providence*	William Swanley	Holyhead	Dublin
60	*Sarah of Dartmouth*[52]	William Ashford	March 1644	Unnamed shallop	Richard Swanley	Nantes	Waterford
61	*Solomon of Waterford*[53]	Dominick Bodkin	March 1644	*John of London* and *Increase of London*	Lewis Boulden		
62	Troop transport[54]		April 1644	*Lyon*	Richard Swanley	Dublin	Wales
63	Dublin bark[55]		April1644	*Jocelyn*	Robert Clarke	Dublin	Newry

[47] Examination of Gabriel Hughes, 23 Jan. 1644/5 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5 HCA 13/59, f. 616).
[48] Examination of Edward Aldridge, 10 June 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, ff 570-v).
[49] Examinations of William Freeland, William White, Edward Norman, 4 May and 17 June 1643, ibid, ff 476v-8v,538v-9v; examinations of Robert Zachery and Richard Patten, 11 Aug. 1643, ibid, ff 607-v.
[50] Examination of Maurice Butler, 16 Oct. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 176-7).
[51] Examinations of John Gibson and James Carr, 23 June 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5 HCA 13/59, ff 342-v).
[52] Examination of William Ashford and Richard Pendaruis, 8 Aug. 1644, ibid, ff 424-v.
[53] Examinations of Lewis Boulden and Christopher Langley, 25 Jan. 1644/5, ibid ff 617v-8v; prize act book, 20 Jan. 1644/5 (T.N.A., Prize act books, 1643-6, HCA 3/230).
[54] TT E.49(3), *Mercurius Aulicus, Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the rest of the Kingdome. The eighteenth weeke, ending May 4 1644* (Oxford, 1644), pp 965-6.
[55] Sir John Temple, 5 May 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 14, f. 476).

64	*Henry of Dover*[56]	Henry Tedt	April 1644		John Man	Dublin	Dover
65	*Three Kings of Amsterdam*[57]	Gerard Frederick	May 1644	*Honour*	Edmund Seaman		Norway
66	*Peter of Jersey*[58]	Thomas Hackett	May 1644	*Fellowship and Truelove*	Captains Penn and Coachman	Limerick	Jersey
67	Merchant ship[59]		May 1644				
68	*Jennett of Belfast*[60]	Thomas Garven	May 1644	*Magdalen and Lorne*	Captains Hosier and Hodges	Bordeaux	Carrickfergus
69	*Diligence*[61]	Thomas Salt	May 1644	*Lyon*	Richard Swanley	La Rochelle	Kinsale
70	*Mary and Dorothy*[62]	Edward Chamlett	May 1644	*Paramour*	Captain Middleton	Amsterdam	London
71	Small frigate at Dublin[63]		June 1644	*Jocelyn and Honour*	Captains Clarke and Seamen		
72	*Swallow of Youghal*[64]	Walter Quint	June 1644	*Spy*	John Babb	Youghal	Bristol
73	*John of Dunkirk*[65]		July 1644		Randall Harling	Dunkirk	Waterford
74	*Pelican of Rotterdam*[66]		August 1644	*Leopard*	Richard Swanley	Rotterdam	Dublin

[56] Examination of John Pensocks, 10 Apr. 1644 (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1641-8, HCA 23/14).
[57] Interrogatory for the *Three Kings*, 1644 (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1628-66, HCA 23/29).
[58] Examination of Gervase Coachman and David Talbott, 8 May 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5, HCA 13/59, ff 187-v).
[59] TT E.252(33), *A perfect Diurnall of some passages in parliament, and from other parts of this kingdome, from Munday the 13 of May to Munday the 20 of May 1644* (London, 1644), p. 332.
[60] Examinations of Thomas Parker and Thomas Garven, 11 and 12 May 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5, HCA 13/59, ff 204-v, 208v-9v).
[61] Examination of Thomas Salt, 14 Oct. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[62] Examinations of Thomas White, Robert Whitty and John Ecupp , 1 June and 26 July 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5 HCA 13/59, ff 300-1, 401-v).
[63] Answer of Robert Clarke, 19 Nov. 1650 (T.N.A., Answers, 1650, HCA 13/123).
[64] Examination of Walter Quint, 29 June 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1643-4, HCA 13/246).
[65] Examinations of Walter Hay, Peter Bousoame, George Woulfe and Luke Marshall, 5 Aug 1644, ibid.
[66] Examination of Thomas Raye, 8 Aug. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5 HCA 13/59, ff 414-v).

75	Small boat[67]		September 1644	*Green Dragon*	Captain Greene		
76	*Neptune of Yarmouth*[68]		September 1644	*Green Dragon*	Captain Greene		
77	*Mary of Dublin*[69]	William Boy	September 1644	*Jocelyn*	Robert Clarke	Dublin	Chester
78	*Gift of Liverpool*[70]	Thomas Blake	September 1644	*Jocelyn*	Robert Clarke		
79	*Hare of Dublin*[71]	Martin Grosse	September 1644	*Jocelyn*	Robert Clarke	Dublin	Beaumaris
80	*Mary of Waterford*[72]	John Grant	October 1644	*Blessing*	Francis Ashmore	Waterford	Le Croisic
81	*Hopewell of Boston*[73]	Edmond Adams	October 1644	*Crescent/ Honour*	Captains Darcy and Seaman	Boston	Rotterdam
82	*Thomas and Ralph of Dublin*[74]	Symon Knox	October 1644	Liverpool	Seized	Dublin	Liverpool
83	*Unicorn of Dundee*[75]	Patterson	October 1644	*Blessing*	Francis Ashmore		
84	*Martha and Mary*[76]	John Cooke	October 1644	*Crescent*			
85	*North Holland*[77]	Claus Franson	October/November	*Duncannon*	Samuel Howett	La Rochelle	Waterford

[67] Letter of Francis Green and petition of William Coneham and Chulese Money , 15 and 28 Sept. 1644 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1579-1656, HCA 30/855, ff 552-3v).
[68] Letter of Francis Green and petition of William Coneham & Chulese Money , 15 and 28 Sept. 1644, ibid, ff 552-3v.
[69] Examination of Michael Churchey, 25 May 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[70] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1650, HCA 13/63, f. 267v).
[71] Examination of Michael Churchey, 25 May 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62); examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1650, HCA 13/63, f. 267v).
[72] Examinations of Richard Miller and Thomas Jolles, 29 Oct. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5 HCA 13/59, ff 546v-7).
[73] Examination of Mathew Adams, 29 Oct. 1644, ibid, ff 542-3.
[74] Examination of George Gilbert and Thomas Webb , 14 and 26 Oct. 1644, ibid, ff 518-9, 534v-5v.
[75] Examinations of John Hill and Oliver Winter, 29 Oct. 1644, ibid, ff 546-v.
[76] Examination of Richard Swanley, 3 Oct. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[77] Examinations of Claus Franson, Cornelis Johnson, 27 Feb. and 12 Mar. 1644/5 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248); Examinations of Samuel Howett, Henry Elliott and Abraham Montham, 22 and 24 Nov. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).

			1644	*frigate*			
86	*Nicholas of Galway*[78]	John de Symon	November 1644	*Dove*	Captain Ackland	Nantes	Galway
87	*Reformation*[79]		November 1644	*Lyon*	Richard Swanley	Bristol	West Indies
88	Another ship[80]		November 1645	*Jocelyn*	Robert Clarke		
89	*Content*[81]		December 1644	*Truelove*	Gervase Coachman	England	Dublin
90	*Fortune of Dunkirk*[82]	Garret Peterson	December 1644		Captain Thomas	Dunkirk	Ireland
91	*Nostra Dama of Le Croisic*[83]	Allan Tangue	December 1644	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett	Le Croisic	Cork
92	Scottish ship[84]	Thomas Boyd	December 1644	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett	France	Carrickfergus
93	*Griffith of Dublin*[85]		1644	*Lyon*			
94	*Bhyfried of Topsham*[86]		1644	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
95	Boat with iron[87]		1644	*Jocelyn*	Robert Clarke		Chester
96	Corn boat[88]		1644	*Jocelyn*	Robert Clarke		

[78] Examination of Thomas Tully, 21 Nov. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5 HCA 13/59, ff 565-v).
[79] Examination of John George and Ezechiell Saunders, 6 Aug. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[80] William Datbie to William Brereton, 7 Nov. 1645, H.M.C., *Portland*, i. 305.
[81] TT E.25(1), *A letter from Captaine Richard Swanley, to the right honourable earl of Warwick* (London, 1645), pp 5-6.
[82] Examination of Gerret Peterson, 1 Jan. 1644/5 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1645, HCA 13/247).
[83] Examinations of Owen Dalie, Allan Tangue, Connor O'Connor 31 Dec. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1643-4, HCA 13/246).
[84] Scottish commissioners to Lenthall, 23 Mar. 1646/7, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 235.
[85] Prize act book, 29 Nov. 1644 (T.N.A., Prize act books, 1643-6, HCA 3/230).
[86] Prize act book, 14 Apr. 1644, ibid.
[87] A list of prizes taken by Robert Clark in the *Jocelyn* in parliament's service, 22 Nov. 1644 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1650-3, HCA 15/5).
[88] A list of prizes taken by Robert Clark in the *Jocelyn* in parliament's service, 22 Nov. 1644, ibid.

97	*John of Dungarvan*[89]		1644				
98	*John of Strangford*[90]	George Simpson	1644	*Lorne*	William Hodges		
99	*Katherine of Southampton*[91]		1644	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
100	*Mary of Lyccee*[92]		1644	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
101	*Paul of Rotterdam*[93]	William Simmerill	1644		Captain Swanley	Amsterdam	Dublin
102	*Peter*, Welsh bark[94]		1644	*Jocelyn*	Robert Clarke		
103	*Providence of Chester*[95]	William Hall	1644	*James of Youghal*	Capt. Morgan	Dublin	Rochelle
104	Provisions bark[96]		1644	*William and Thomas*	Caption Rigby		
105	*Rainbow of Topsham*[97]		1644	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
106	Ross ship[98]	Paul Duffe	1644	Unnamed privateer			Wexford
107	*Sampson of*		1644	*Crescent*	Peter Whitty	Flushing	Dublin

[89] Prize act book, 24 Aug. 1644 ibid.
[90] Prize act book, 13 May 1644, ibid.
[91] Prize act book, 14 Apr. 1644, ibid.
[92] Prize act book, 14 Apr. 1644, ibid.
[93] Examinations of William Simmerill and John Jacobson, 6 Apr. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5 HCA 13/59, ff 117-v).
[94] A list of prizes taken by Robert Clark in the *Jocelyn* in parliament's service, 22 Nov. 1644 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1650-3, HCA 15/5).
[95] Examination of William Hall, 7 May 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[96] A list of prizes taken by Robert Clark in the Jocelyn in parliament's service, 22 Nov. 1644 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1650-3, HCA 15/5).
[97] Prize act book, 14 Apr. 1644 (T.N.A., Prize act books, 1643-6, HCA 3/230).
[98] Supreme Council to Ormond, 6 Feb. 1643/4, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, iii, 97-8.

	Flushing[99]						
108	Small boat with silver[100]		1644	*Jocelyn*	Robert Clarke		
109	*St Ambrose of Dunkirk*[101]		1644	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
110	*Swan of Farley*[102]		1644	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
111	*Unicorn of Portsmouth*[103]	Boate	1644	*Jocelyn and James of Youghal*	Captains Clarke and Morgan	France	Chester
112	Unnamed ship[104]		1644	*Jocelyn and William and Thomas*	Captains Clarke and Rigby	Portsmouth	Chester
113	*William and Thomas*[105]		1644	*Jocelyn and James*	Captains Clarke and Morgan		
114	*Adventure*[106]		1644-5	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
115	Bark from Barnstaple[107]		1644-5	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		

[99] Examinations of Dirrick Johnson and John Peterson, 29 Aug. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5 HCA 13/59, ff 434-6); order of the committee for the admiralty, 21 June 1645 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 533).
[100] A list of prizes taken by Robert Clark in the *Jocelyn* in parliament's service, 22 Nov. 1644 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1650-3, HCA 15/5).
[101] Prize act book, 2 May 1644 (T.N.A., Prize act books, 1643-6, HCA 3/230).
[102] Prize act book, 16 Feb. 1643/4, ibid.
[103] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1650, HCA 13/63, f. 267v).
[104] A list of prizes taken by Robert Clark in the *Jocelyn* in parliament's service, 22 Nov. 1644 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1650-3, HCA 15/5).
[105] Thomas Smith and John Hill to the Committee of the navy, 4 May 1645 (*Cal. S.P. Dom, 1644-5*, p. 454).
[106] Answer of Gregory Clement, 9 Feb. 1653/4 (T.N.A., Answers, 1652-5, HCA 13/126).
[107] Answer of Gregory Clement, 9 Feb. 1653/4, ibid. (T.N.A., Answers, 1652-5, HCA 13/126).

116	Bark from Lowe[108]		1644-5	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
117	*Blessing*[109]		1644-5	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
118	*Blue Angel*[110]		1644-5	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
119	*Charles of Nantes*[111]		1644-5	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
120	*George of Dartmouth*[112]		1644-5	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
121	Irish vessel[113]		1644-5	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
122	*Mary of Foy*[114]		1644-5	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
123	*Philip of Bideford*[115]	Samuel Whitson	1644-5	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
124	*Resolution*[116]		1644-5	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
125	*Sarah*[117]		1644-5	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		

[108] Answer of Gregory Clement, 9 Feb. 1653/4, ibid.
[109] Answer of Gregory Clement, 9 Feb. 1653/4, ibid.
[110] Answer of Gregory Clement, 9 Feb. 1653/4, ibid.
[111] Answer of Gregory Clement, 9 Feb. 1653/4, ibid.
[112] Answer of Gregory Clement, 9 Feb. 1653/4, ibid.
[113] Answer of Gregory Clement, 9 Feb. 1653/4, ibid.
[114] Answer of Gregory Clement, 9 Feb. 1653/4, ibid.
[115] Answer of Gregory Clement, 9 Feb. 1653/4, ibid.
[116] Answer of Gregory Clement, 9 Feb. 1653/4, ibid.
[117] Answer of Gregory Clement, 9 Feb. 1653/4, ibid.

126	*Rebecca of Appledore*[118]	William Harwood	January 1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett	La Rochelle	Barnstaple
127	*Lyon of Ilfracombe*[119]	William Larke	January 1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		Barnstaple
128	*Hope of Bideford*[120]	Henry Amery	January 1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett	La Rochelle	Barnstaple
129	*Hope of Dungarvan*[121]	John Hower	January 1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett	Dungarvan	St Malo
130	Dutch ship[122]		January 1645	Duncannon fort			
131	*Content of Loos*[123]	John Paris	January 1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
132	*James of Bristol (Reformation)*[124]	William Hughes	February 1645	*Lion/ Discovery*	Captains Swanley/ Plunkett	Barbados	Bristol
133	*Thomas of Ely*[125]	John Todd	February 1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett	Bordeaux	Carrickfergus
134	*Robert of Barnstaple*[126]	William Ellis	February 1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		Barnstaple
135	*Sarah of Barnstable*[127]	William Bilke	February 1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett	La Rochelle	Barnstaple

[118] Examinations of Edward Dyer and William Smart, 14 June 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[119] Examinations of Edward Dyer and William Smart, 14 June 1645, ibid.
[120] Examinations of Edward Dyer and William Smart, 14 June 1645, ibid.
[121] Examinations of Edward Dyer and William Smart, 13 June 1645, ibid.
[122] Richard Swanley to Ormonde, 12 Jan. 1645, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, iv, 121.
[123] Examinations of Edward Dyer and William Smart, 13 June 1645, ibid.
[124] Deposition of James Lassolds, 2 Jan. 1645/6, Nott (ed.), T*he deposition books of Bristol*, pp 98; Inchiquin to Ormond, 25 Sept. 1645 (Bodl., Carte MS 15, ff 679-80v).
[125] Examination of William Smart, 2 May 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[126] Examinations of Edward Dyer and William Smart, 14 June 1645, ibid.

136	*St Peter*[128]		February 1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett	Ostend	St Sebastian
137	*Cross of le Croisic*[129]	Michael Tangue	March 1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett	Limerick	Le Croisic
138	*Golden Salmon*[130]	Charck Peterson	March 1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett	St Martins	Ireland
139	Dunkirk frigate[131]		March 1646	Falmouth	Stayed	Dunkirk	Ireland
140	*Charity of London*[132]	Edwards Clements	May 1645	*Pleyades* and *Alice and Priscilla*	Captains Page and Mitchell	London	Dublin
141	*Angel of Amsterdam*[133]	Adrian Franson	June 1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett	La Rochelle	Dublin
142	*Blessing of Amsterdam*[134]	Charles Cant	June 1645	*Lion*	Richard Swanley	Amsterdam	Dublin
143	*Blessing of Leith*[135]		June 1645	*Garland and Expedition*	Joseph Jordan	Leith	Zeeland
144	*Flying Cart of Wyer*[136]		June 1645	*Peregrine*	Peter Tatnell	France	Chester

[127] Examinations of Edward Dyer and William Smart, 14 June 1645, ibid.
[128] Examination of Lord Inchiquin, Feb. 1645/6, ibid.
[129] Examinations of Allan Tangue, 13 June 1645, ibid.
[130] Examinations of Jacob Proust and Jacob Peters, 16 and 23 Apr. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5 HCA 13/59, ff 720-2, 724-5).
[131] Bellings to Ormond, 14 Mar. 1646, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, v, 271.
[132] Examination of William Prouse , 17 Jan. 1645/6 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[133] Thomas Smith and others to the committee of the admiralty, 14 June 1645 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1644-5*, pp 590-1); Prize act book, 5 May 1645 (T.N.A., Prize act books, 1643-6, HCA 3/230).
[134] Examination of Charles Cant, 15 July 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1645, HCA 13/247); examination of Hubert Crumphout, Richard Ashmore, Elias Amia and Charles Cant , 15 and 17 Sept. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[135] Examinations of Gregory Bell and John Trotter, 11 June 1645, ibid.
[136] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1650, HCA 13/63, ff 267v-8).

145	*Anne of Rotterdam*[137]	Henry Johnson	September 1645	*Globe*	Richard Willoughby	Wales	Holland
146	*John of Rotterdam*[138]	Jacob Jacobson	September 1645	*Rebecca and Roebuck*	Captains Rich and Clifden	St Martins	Dublin/Wexford
147	*Unity of Minehead*[139]	Michael Webber	September 1645	*Susan of London*	Capt. Babb	Minehead	Cork
148	*Eagle of Bideford*[140]	Richard Quince	October 1645	*Duncannon*	Samuel Howett		
149	*Flower of Ilfracombe*[141]	Edmund Yee	October 1645	*Duncannon*	Samuel Howett		
150	*Mermaid*[142]		October 1645	*Warwick frigate*		West Indies	Bristol
151	*Providence of Donaghadee*[143]	John Mullin	October 1645	*Rebecca*	Stephen Rich	Dublin	Liverpool
152	*Speedwell*[144]	Christopher Small	October 1645	*Duncannon*	Samuel Howett		
153	*Peter*[145]		November 1645	*Pleyades and Alice & Priscilla*	Captains Page and Mitchell	Scotland	Wexford
154	*Swan*[146]	John Bartlett	November 1645	*Jocelyn*	Robert Clarke		

[137] Examinations of Edward Wilkinson and John Boide, 10 July 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1650, HCA 13/63, ff. 284v); examination of Henry Johnson, 8 Sept. 1645 (T.N.A., Prize claims, 1649-53, HCA 30/495).
[138] Examinations of William Wraye and Jacob Jacobson, 24 Oct. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[139] Examination of Michael Webber, Jana Lilleys and Gerrie Thomas , 7 and 10 Oct. 1645, ibid.
[140] Examination of Richard Swanley, 20 Oct. 1645, ibid.
[141] Examination of Richard Swanley, 20 Oct. 1645, ibid.
[142] Examinations of Thomas Drew and Isane Beeogine, 29 Jan. 1645/6, ibid.
[143] Examinations of John Mullins, Jeames Jemson and Willima Henrie, 30 Jan. 1645/6 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248).
[144] Examination of Richard Swanley, 20 Oct. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[145] Examinations of William Smith, Thomas Wadland and Nicholas Trugean, 10 Feb. 1645/6 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[146] Examinations relating to the Swan, 6 Nov. 1645, H.M.C., *Ormonde*, ns, i, 101-4.

155	*White Lamb*[147]	Garret Lambert	November 1645	*Jocelyn*	Robert Clarke	Holland	Dublin
156	Unnamed ship[148]		November 1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		Ireland
157	*Prosperous of Bristol*[149]	Edward Lugg	December 1645	*Hunter*	Captain Faulkiner	St Christophers	Bristol
158	*Orange Tree of Amsterdam*[150]	Garret Cornelison	December 1644	*Magdalen*	John Hosier		Waterford
159	*Ann of Waterford*[151]		1645	*Bonaventure* and *Robert*			
160	Coal bark[152]		1645	*Rebecca*	Richard Stephens		Dublin
161	*Dolphin of St Malo*[153]		1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
162	Dublin gabbard[154]		1645	*Peregrine*	Peter Tatnell		Dublin
163	*Farewell of Chester*[155]		1645	*Samuel*	William Williamson		Chester
164	French bark[156]		1645	*Rebecca*	Richard Stephens	France	Wexford or Waterford

[147] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1650, HCA 13/63, f. 267v).
[148] TT E.309(6), *The Weekly Account. From November 5 to November the 12 1645* (London, 1645), p. 5
[149] Examinations of Lanuncelott Groute and Fernando Colsen, 13 May 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 199v-200v).
[150] Examinations of Thomas Black and Thomas Jones, 24 Jan. 1645/6 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[151] Prize act book, 24 July 1646 (T.N.A., Prize act books, 1646-9, HCA 3/231).
[152] Examination of John Hall, 18 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1650, HCA 13/63, ff 269-70).
[153] Prize act book, 12 Dec. 1645 (T.N.A., Prize act books, 1643-6, HCA 3/230).
[154] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1650, HCA 13/63, f. 268).
[155] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650, ibid f. 268
[156] Examination of John Hall, 18 June 1650, ibid, ff 269-70.

165	Gabbard[157]		1645	*Rebecca*	Richard Stephens	Carrickfergus	Dublin
166	*Hope of Serdam*[158]		1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		
167	*Mighell of Le Croisic*[159]		1645				
168	*Phoenix of Flushing*[160]	John Bosman	1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett	La Rochelle	New Ross
169	*Providence of Chester*[161]		1645	*James of Youghal*	Thomas Morgan		
170	Unnamed ship[162]		1645	*Rebecca*	Richard Stephens	Chester	Dublin
171	Unnamed ship[163]		1645	*Jocelyn*	Robert Clarke	Wales	Dublin
172	Welsh bark[164]		1645	*Peregrine*	Peter Tatnell		
173	*Samuel*[165]	William Wright	1645	*Peregrine*	Peter Tatnell		Dublin
174	Isle of Man boat[166]		1645	*Peregrine*	Peter Tatnell	Isle of Man	
175	Unnamed vessel[167]		1645	*Samuel*	William Williamson		

[157] Examination of John Hall, 18 June 1650, ibid, ff 269-70.
[158] Prize act book, 5 May 1645 (T.N.A., Prize act books, 1643-6, HCA 3/230).
[159] Samuel Howett to the committee of the navy, 10 Sept. 1645 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1645-7*, p. 293).
[160] Examinations of John Bosman, Ingle Johnson and Patrick Mottley, 6 Dec. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248).
[161] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1650, HCA 13/63, f. 268v).
[162] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650, ibid, f. 269.
[163] Examination of Richard Fry, 28 June 1650, ibid, f. 279.
[164] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650, ibid, f. 268.
[165] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650, ibid, f. 268.
[166] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650, ibid, f. 268.
[167] Examination of Richard Dermot, 17 June 1650, ibid, f. 268v.

176	Unity[168]	John Mills	1645	*Discovery*	Thomas Plunkett		Barnstaple
177	Post bark[169]		February 1646	*Swan*	Robert Clarke	Wales	Dublin
178	Unnamed prize[170]		April 1646	*Discovery*	Captain Grigges		
179	*Blessing of Newsham*[171]		May 1646	*Swan*	Robert Clarke		
180	*Flora of Amsterdam*[172]	Cornelius Lowers	May 1646	*Mermaid*	Reeve Williams	St Martins	Amsterdam
181	*St Charles*[173]		May 1646	*Discovery*	Thomas Grigges	Dunkirk	Limerick
182	*Frog*[174]		June 1646		Capt. Younge	Maldives	Dublin
183	Unnamed bark[175]		June 1646	*Samuel*	Mathew Wood		
184	*Salt Kettle of Flushing*[176]	Jacob Sension	July 1646	*Truelove, Peter, Blessing, Sampson and William and John*	Captains Coachman, Cornelius, Winnal, Line and Hall	Limerick	La Rochelle
185	*Flushing of Flushing*[177]		August 1646	*True Love;*	Captains	Limerick	

[168] Examinations of Edward Dyer and William Smart, 14 June 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[169] Robert Clarke to the committee of the admiralty, 13 Feb. 1646, (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, p. 437).
[170] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 174.
[171] Answer of Robert Clarke, 19 Nov. 1650 (T.N.A., Answers, 1650, HCA 13/123).
[172] Examinations of Claud de Witt, John de Witt, Jacob Johnson, Chrisian Anderson and Lambert Lubert, 22 and 29 May 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248).
[173] Examinations of Gabriel Brooke and William Davis, 13 May 1646, ibid,; ecxamination of William Smart, 22 June 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[174] Examinations of Paul Henderson and Garret Johnson, 1 June 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[175] Mathew Wood to Ormond, 22 June 1646 (Bodl., Carte MS 17, f. 559).
[176] Examinations of Jacob Sension, Peter Guimarke and Nicholas Verdelet, 4 Aug. 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248).

				Peter; Blessing; Sampson; William & John	Coachman, Cornelius, Winnal, Line and Hall		
186	*William and Sarah*[178]	John Church	August 1646	*Constant Warwick*	John Gilson	Portugal	London
187	*Sampson of Flushing*[179]	Remens Croose	August 1646	*True Love; Peter; Blessing; Sampson; William & John*	Captains Coachman, Cornelius, Winnal, Line and Hall	Limerick	
188	Small ship[180]		August 1646	*Fellowship*	William Penn		Guinea
189-190	2 English ships[181]		August 1646	Unnamed parliamentary ships			
191	*Elizabeth of Weymouth*[182]		September 1646	*Welcome pink*	John Greene	Weymouth	St Malo
192	*Fortune of Ostend*[183]	Derrick Mault	October 1646	*Hunter*	Captain Downes		
193	*John of London*[184]	William	October 1646	*Hunter*	Captain	Barbados	Galway,

[177] Examinations of Jacob Sension and Remens Croose, 17 Dec. 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[178] Examinations of James Blatt and John Church, 16 and 18 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[179] Examinations of Jacob Sension and Remens Croose, 17 Dec. 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60)
[180] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 218.
[181] TT E.350(16), *The Scottish Dove sent out and returning, from Wednesday the 12 of August till Wednesday the 19 of August 1646* (London, 1646), p. 7.
[182] Order of committee of the lords and commons, 12 Nov. 1646 (T.N.A., Various, 1579-1656, HCA 30/849, f. 611).
[183] Examination of William Arthur, 2 Oct. 1646 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[184] Examinations of Thomas Winter and Richard Shone, 14 and 15 Jan. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 1-3v); examinations of Richard Webster and Thomas Winter, 9 Sept. and 15 Oct. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

		Mabbett			Downes		Limerick or Tralee
194	Coal boat[185]		October 1646	*Globe*	Richard Willoughby	Dublin	
195	Dublin boat[186]	John Talbott	November 1646	*Globe*	Richard Willoughby	Dublin	Drogheda
196	*St Patrick of Waterford*[187]	George Collins	December 1646	*Assurance*	William Penn	Waterford	Bilbao
197	*Postillian of St Malo*[188]	Jacques Condier	December 1646	Ilfracombe	Seized	Galway	St Malo
198	*Katherine of Wexford*[189]	Hendrick Johnson	December 1646	*Pilgrim of Dartmouth*	Miles Piles	Wexford	St Malo/Nantes
199	*Catherine of Waterford*[190]	Edward St Lawrence	December 1646	*Assurance*	William Penn	Waterford	St Malo
200	Unnamed prize[191]		1646	*Warspit and Increase*	Captains Southwood and Faulkner		
201	*Burdeaux of Flushing*[192]	Cloys Cloyson	January 1647	*Assurance*	William Penn	West Indies	Waterford
202	*Falcon*[193]	John Boone	January 1647	*Globe*	Richard	Dublin	Wexford

[185] Ormond to Richard Willoughby, 22 Oct. 1646 (Bodl., Carte MS 19, f 241).
[186] Ormond to Richard Willoughby, 12 Nov. 1646 (Bodl., Carte MS 19, f 354).
[187] Examinations of Walter Thompson and John Barrow, 13 Dec. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62); examinations of George Collins, Thomas White and Ignatius White, 21 Dec. 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248).
[188] Examination of Anthony Lynch, 19 Jan. 1646/7 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[189] Examinations of Bernard Pursell and Hendrick Johnson, 28 Dec. 1646, ibid.
[190] Examination of Edward St Lawrence, 28 Jan. 1646/7 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248).
[191] TT E.340(19), *A Sea-fight: two ships taken by Captain Southwood and Captain Faulkner* (London, 1646), pp 1-2.
[192] Examinations of Walter Thompson and John Barrow, 13 Dec. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[193] Willoughby to Dumolin, 1 Jan 1646/7 (Bodl., Carte MS 20, f. 11); examination of Robert Thorp, 17 Oct. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

					Willoughby		
203	*John Baptist of Limerick*[194]	Thomas Gambold	January 1647	*Catt*	Thomas Wells	Limerick	St Malo
204	*St Francis*[195]	Robert Darcie	January 1647	*Hart*	John Bowen	Galway	
205	*St James of Newhaven*[196]	John Le Hurve	January 1647	*Assurance*	William Penn	Nantes	Galway or Limerick
206	*St Patrick of Ross*[197]	Francis Shepard	January 1647	*Nonsuch*	William Thomas	New Ross	St Malo
207	Unnamed prize[198]		January 1647	*Nonsuch*	William Thomas		
208	*Middelburg of Middelburg*[199]	Daniel Lerper	January 1647	*Catt*	Thomas Wells	Middelburg	Limerick
209	*Oliva of St Malo*[200]	Peter William	February 1647	*Recovery/Catt*	Robert Dare/Thomas Wells	Limerick	St Malo
210	*Hopewell of London*[201]	Richard West	February-July 1647	*Assurance*	William Penn	Portugal	London
211	*Jennett of Leith*[202]		February 1647	*Recovery*	Robert Dare		Waterford
212	*Mary of Galway*[203]		February 1647	*Recovery*	Robert Dare	Galway	Bilbao

[194] Examinations of James Morrice and James Nagle, 3 Feb. 1646/7 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[195] Examination of Robert Plunkett, 2 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[196] Examination of John Le Hurve, 7 Feb. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[197] Examination of Thomas Rogers, 29 Jan. 1646/7, ibid.
[198] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 234-5.
[199] Examinations of Thomas Wells and John Thompson, 25 Oct. and 1 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[200] Deposition of Peter William, 5 Mar. 1646/7, Nott (ed.), *The deposition books of Bristol*, pp 198-9; examination of Thomas Wells, 9 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[201] Examinations of Michael Wright and Richard West, 16 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[202] Depositions of David Young and John Nessett, 27 Apr. 1647, Nott (ed.), *The deposition books of Bristol*, pp 216-7.
[203] Examinations of John Mackarte and John Birkes, 26 Mar. and 26 Apr. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248).

213	*Hope of Hamburg*[204]	Derrick Ramson	May 1647	*Adventure*	Thomas Bedell	Waterford	Dieppe
214	*Saviour of St Malo*[205]	Simon Clark	May 1647	*Assurance*	William Penn	St Malo	Limerick
215	Troop transport[206]		June 1647	*Assurance*	William Penn	Wexford	Waterford
216	Twiner's frigate[207]		June 1647		John Crowther		
217	Wexford man of war[208]		June 1647		John Crowther		
218	*Orange Tree of Rotterdam*[209]	Albrecht Arienson	June 1647	*Hunter*	Richard Waters		Wexford
219	*Dolphin of Wexford*[210]	William Beachie	July 1647	*Garland*	Henry Bethell		
220	Drogheda gabbard[211]		July 1647	*Swan*	Robert Clarke		
221	*Patrick of Waterford*[212]	Francis Oliver	July 1647	*Adventure*	Thomas Bedell		
222	*Red Fortune of Amsterdam*[213]	John Peterson	July 1647	*Assurance*	William Penn	Galway	Amsterdam
223	*Nonsuch of Lyme*[214]		July 1647	*Constant Warwick*	John Gilson		

[204] Examinations of Derrck Ramson, Powells Devertsen and John Blake, 22 May 1647, ibid.
[205] Examinations of Walter Thompson and John Barrow, 13 Dec. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62)
[206] Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 245.
[207] TT E.397(12), *The Moderate Intelligencer: impartially communicating martial affaires to the Kingdome of England. From Thursday July 1 to Thursday July 8 1647* (London, 1647), p. 1164.
[208] Ibid, p. 1164.
[209] Examinations of Richard Waters and Robert Plunkett, 30 Aug. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[210] Examination of James Morrice and others, 30 July 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[211] Answer of Robert Clarke, 19 Nov. 1650 (T.N.A., Answers, 1650, HCA 13/123).
[212] Examination of Francis Oliver, 24 July 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[213] Examinations of Walter Thompson and John Barrow, 13 Dec. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[214] Examination of John Turner, 23 July 1647(T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).

224	*Mary Consolation of Waterford*[215]	William Horne	August 1647	*Constant Warwick*	Capt. Gilson		
225	*Oak of Huysden*[216]	John Ariens	August 1647	*Adventure*	Captain Ball/Bedell	Waterford	Amsterdam
226	*St Peter of Flushing*[217]	Colard Budard	December 1647	*Greyhound*	Capt. Coppin	Ostend	Dublin or Waterford
227	*Adventure of Lyn*[218]		December 1647	*Providence*		Rotterdam	Lyn
228	*Margaret of Southampton*[219]	Philip Douerme	December 1647	*Adventure*	Thomas Bedell	St Malo	Bristol
229	*Charity*[220]		1647	*Tenth Whelp*	Captain Lawrence		
230	*John of Newhaven*[221]	Thomas Roberts	1647	*Assurance*	William Penn		
231	*Francis of St Malo*[222]	James Patarran	January 1648	*Assurance*	William Penn	St Malo	Galway
232	*Mary of Wexford*[223]	Pierce White	February 1647/8	*Dragon*	Anthony Young	Wexford	St Malo
233	*Elizabeth of Wexford*[224]	Peter Peterson	February 1648	*Dragon*	Anthony Young	Wexford	Bilbao
234	*Mary and Joseph of*	William	March 1648	*Tiger*	James Peacock		

[215] Examinations of William Barrett and John Herne, 27 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[216] Examination of John Ariens and Claes Dirrickson, 2 Sept. 1647, ibid.
[217] Examinations of Colard Budard and Richard Keating, 8 and 30 Jan. 1647/8, ibid.
[218] Examinations of William Fullen and William Dyer, 16 Feb. 1647/8, ibid.
[219] Examinations of Philip Douerme and Philip Fauedge, 7 Jan. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[220] Committee of both houses, 24 Jan. 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1647-60*, p. 5).
[221] Prize act book, 27 Mar. 1648 (T.N.A., Prize act books, 1646-9, HCA 3/231).
[222] Examination of Edward Browne, 5 Feb. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[223] Examination of David Wherey, 3 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 245)
[224] Examination of Peter Peterson, 8 Feb. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).

	Wexford[225]	Wadding					
235	*Angel Keeper of Waterford*[226]	William Hoville	March 1648	*Adventure*	Captain Bedell		
236-238	3 ships[227]		March 1648	Irish guard			Limerick & Galway
239	*Oyster Hoyle of Rotterdam*[228]	Bartolmeus Vannole	March 1648	*Constant Warwick*	Robert Dare	Amsterdam	Galway
240	Yarmouth fishing boat[229]		March 1648	*Adventure*	Thomas Bedell		Yarmouth
241	*Prince Christian*[230]	Adrianson Peterson	April 1648	*Expedition*	Joseph Jordan	Ross	Middelburg
242	*Charles frigate*[231]	Robert Clarke	April 1648	Arrested			
243	*Hope of Amsterdam*[232]	Swart Swartson	May 1648	*Elizabeth*	Jonas Reeve	Amsterdam	Bristol
244	*Mayor of Dartmouth*[233]	John Machnon	June 1648	Parliament ships		Wales	Dartmouth
245	*Patrick of Galway*[234]	John Lobe	June 1648	*Constant Warwick*	Robert Dare	Bilbao	Galway

[225] Examination of William Wadding, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., various papers, 1625-48, HCA 30/855, f. 335).
[226] Examination of Arthur Gunn and Anthony Cole, 4 May1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 199-v); examination of William Hoville, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[227] TT E.432(17), *The Moderate Intelligencer: impartially communicating Martial affaires to the Kingdome of England. From Thursday March 9 to Thursday March 13 1648* (London, 1648), p. 1210.
[228] Examination of Bartolmeus Vannole, 26 Mar. 1648 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 616).
[229] Examination of William Hoville, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[230] Examination of John Archdeacon, 13 Apr. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, f. 37v).
[231] Examination of Robert Clakre, 19 Feb. 1648/9, ibid, f. 279.
[232] Examinations of Cornelius Theremen and Swart Swartson, 5 July 1648, ibid, ff 109v-110.
[233] Examination of Humphrey Sheere, 16 June 1648, ibid, f. 117.
[234] Examination of John Lobe, 29 June 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).

246	Unnamed ship[235]		July 1648	*Adventure* (privateer)	William Fishman		
247-250	4 Scotch barks[236]		July 1648	*Swan*	Robert Clarke	Ireland	Scotland
251	*Robert*[237]	William Gryson	July 1648	*Constant Warwick*	Robert Dare	Scotland	
252	*Three Blackmores of Flushing*[238]	William Matalimin	August 1648	*Assurance*	William Penn	La Rochelle	Plymouth
253	*Richard of Bristol*[239]	Henry Readmun	August 1648	*Dragon*	Anthony Young	St Sebastian	Bristol
254	*Hope of Hamburg*[240]		August 1648	*Assurance*	William Penn	Bordeaux	Bristol
255	*Charity of Flushing*[241]	Adrian Block	August 1648	*Constant Warwick*	John Gilson	La Rochelle	Ross
256	*Fisher of Serdam*[242]	Aldred Kempson	August 1648	*Assurance*	William Penn		Amsterdam
257	*Fortune of Kirkcaldy*[243]		September 1648	*Nicodemus and Greyhound*		Kirkcaldy	Camphire
258	*Rumble Haven of*	Boren	September 1648	*Warwick frigate*	John Edwyn	Limerick	Horne

[235] Examination of Robert Hutchins, 22 August 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 149v-50v).
[236] Answer of Robert Clarke, 19 Nov. 1650 (T.N.A., Answers, 1650, HCA 13/123).
[237] Examination of Thomas Thompson and William Browne, 14 July 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 202-v).
[238] Examinations of John Jobson, Henry Readmun, Henry Hamlett, Edward Hammell, John Bourke, Peter Arnesen and Harmen Bruen, 7, 9, 10 and 25 Aug. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1648, HCA 13/249).
[239] Examinations of John Jobson, Henry Readmun, Henry Hamlett, Edward Hammell, John Bourke, Peter Arnesen and Harmen Bruen, 7, 9, 10 and 25 Aug. 1648, ibid.
[240] Examinations of John Jobson, Henry Readmun, Henry Hamlett, Edward Hammell, John Bourke, Peter Arnesen and Harmen Bruen, 7, 9, 10 and 25 Aug. 1648, ibid.
[241] Statement by the council of Flushing, Feb. 1648/9, ibid.
[242] Examination of Jacob Johnson, 11 Aug. 1648, ibid.
[243] Allegations concerning the Fortune, 1648 (T.N.A., Allegations, 1638-1782, HCA 24/176).

	Horne[244]	Cornelison					
259	*Unity of Yarmouth*[245]		September 1648	*Fortune*	Edmund Clerk		
260	Irish ship[246]		October 1648	*Mermaid*	Reeve Williams		
261	*Amity of Southampton*[247]		November 1648	*Dragon*	Anthony Young	Newfoundland	Southampton
262	*John Baptist of Waterford*[248]	Laurence Baron	November 1648	*Hart*	John Bowen	Ostend	Wexford or Waterford
263	*Margaret of Minehead*[249]	Michael Webber	1648				
264	*Mary Protection of Ross*[250]		1648				
265	*Providence of Southold*[251]	Robert ___	1648	Seized in Killybegs			North Yarmouth
266	*Ambrose and Charles*[252]	John Richards	January 1649	Cork	Seized		Chester
267	French vessel[253]		January 1649	*Tiger*	James Peacock	France	Dungarvan
268	*Gift of God of Cork*[254]	John Hill	January 1649	*Dragon*	Anthony Young	St Martins	Cork
269	*Katherine of*	William	January 1649	*Assurance*	William Penn	La Rochelle	Waterford

[244] Interrogatory for the *Rumble Haven*, nd (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1649-53, HCA 23/15).
[245] Interrogatory for the *Unity*, nd (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1644-55, HCA 23/30); order by Joseph Constant, 26 Sept. 1648 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1596-1662, HCA 30/855, f. 412).
[246] TT E.526(17), *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies journall in Parliament. From Fryday Octob. The 13 to Fryday October 20 1648* (London, 1648), p. 669.
[247] Allegations concerning the Amity, 1648 (T.N.A., Allegations, 1638-1782, HCA 24/176).
[248] Examination of Laurence Barron, 21 Nov. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 209v-10).
[249] Interrogatory for the *Margaret*, nd (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1649-53, HCA 23/15).
[250] Prize act book, 1648 (T.N.A., Prize act books, 1646-9, HCA 3/231).
[251] The case of a ship in the service of the Commonwealth seized at Callebegges, 1648 (Marsh's Library, MS Z.3.1.1 (67)).
[252] Examination of John Richards, 30 May 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, f. 494).
[253] James Peacock to Warwick, 6 Feb. 1648/9, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 303.
[254] Examination of Daniel Dayly, 15 Mar. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 352v-3v).

	Wexford[255]	Wadding					
270	*London of Flushing*[256]	Cornelius Crouning	January 1649	*Nonsuch*	Richard Willoughby	La Rochelle	Waterford
271	*Margaret of La Rochelle*[257]	Dominick de Punnowby	January 1649	*Assurance*	William Penn	La Rochelle	Limerick or Galway
272	*Mary of Antrim*[258]	Antonio Undermerch	January 1649	*Tiger*	James Peacock		
273	*Peter of London*[259]	Joseph Bowers	January 1649	*Phoenix*	Thomas Harrison	Galicia	London
274	*St Clara of Waterford*[260]	Emmanual Gonzales	January 1649	*Dragon*	Anthony Young		
275	*St John of Dieppe*[261]	George Macfarson	January 1649	*Assurance*	William Penn	Dieppe	Limerick
276	Unnamed bark[262]		January 1649	*Assurance*	William Penn		
277	*Angel Gabriel*[263]		February 1648	*Adventure*	Thomas Bedell	Amsterdam	Limerick
278	*Hunter*[264]	Thomas Plunkett	February 1649	Bristol	Seized		
279	*Thomas of Wexford*[265]	Edward Artan	February 1649	*Dragon*	Anthony Young	Wexford	St Malo

[255] Examination of William Wadding, 25 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1649-53, HCA 23/15).
[256] Examinations of Nicholas Gulterele, Garrret Johnson and Peter Elinge, 31 Mar. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 365-6v); examination of Alexander Sherlocke, 11 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1649-53, HCA 23/15).
[257] Examinations of Peter Morow and Dominick de Punnow, 12 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[258] James Peacock to Warwick, 6 Feb. 1648/9, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 303; examination of James Gott, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[259] Examinations of Jacob Bowers and Patrick Root, 6 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[260] Examinations of Henry Johnson and Moovan Derickson, 31 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1649-53, HCA 23/15).
[261] Examinations of George Macfarson and Thomas Fonntaine, 12 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[262] Examination of Henry Sanders, 10 Mar. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, f. 343v).
[263] Examinations of James Fanning and Marcus Rich, 10 Feb. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1648, HCA 13/249).
[264] Council of state to mayor of Bristol, 27 Feb. 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, pp 23-4).

280	*Roebuck of Wexford*[266]	Patrick Stafford	March 1649	*Tiger's Whelp and Expedition*	Captains Houlding and Jordan	Brest	Wexford
281	Ship at Margate[267]		March 1649	*Nicodemus*			
282-283	2 unnamed ships[268]		April 1649	*Charles*			
284	*Blessing of Rochester*[269]	John Slade	April 1649	*Hector*	John Stoakes	Rochester	Newcastle
285	*Concord of Flushing*[270]		April 1649	*Elizabeth*	Jonas Reeves	La Rochelle	Waterford
286	Irish man of war[271]		April 1649	*Nonsuch*	John Mildmay		
287	*Guinea*[272]	Captain Allen	April 1649	*Charles*			
288	*Patrick of Wexford*[273]	Ignatius Brett	April 1649	*President*	Nathanial Ferns		
289	*Rose Crane of Amsterdam*[274]		April 1649	*Tiger*	James Peacock	Galway	Flushing
290	*St Francis of St Malo*[275]	Anthony Vient	April 1649	*Leopard*		St Malo	Cork
291	*Swallow of*	Francis	April 1649	*Tiger*	James Peacock	Flushing	Dungarvan

[265] Examination of Edward Artan, 8 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[266] Examination of Patrick Strafford, 29 Mar. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[267] Colonel Popham, Mar. 1648, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 12.
[268] Council of state to Popham, 1 May 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, pp 119-20).
[269] Allegations concerning the *Blessing*, 5 May 1649 (T.N.A., Allegations, 1638-1782, HCA 24/176).
[270] Council of State to the collectors of prize goods, 14 Apr. 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, pp 86-7; interrogator for the *Concord*, nd (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1649-53, HCA 23/15).
[271] Colonels Blake and Deane, 5 May 1649, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, pp 305-6.
[272] Council of state to Popham, 1 May 1649 (*Cal. S. P. Dom., 1649-50*, pp 119-20).
[273] Examination of Ignatius Brett, 22 Apr. 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[274] Examinations of Jace Jacobson and Cornelius Peterson, 21 May 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[275] Examination of Anthony Vient, 25 Apr. 1649 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1538-55, HCA 30/869).

	Flushing[276]	Martyn					
292	*Trinity of Waterford*[277]	Adam Browne	April 1649	*Nonsuch*	John Mildmay		
293	Waterford frigate[278]		April 1649	*Adventure*	Andrew Ball		
294	Waterford man of war[279]		April 1649	*Adventure*	Andrew Ball		
295	*Little Mary and John of Wexford*[280]	William Wadding	May 1649	*Tiger's Whelp*	Anthony Houlding		
296	*St John of Wexford*[281]	Patrick Wadding	May 1649	*President*	Nathanial Ferns		
297	*Patrick of Waterford*[282]		May 1649	Irish guard			
298	20 ton vessel[283]		June 1649	*Truelove*	Gabriel Sanders		
299	Galway ship[284]		June 1649	*Tiger*	James Peacock		
300	Ship near Bristol[285]		June 1649	Unknown			
301	Irish bark[286]		June 1649	*Elizabeth*	Jonas Reeves	Kinsale	Waterford
302	Irish vessel[287]		June 1649	*Nonsuch*	John Mildmay		

[276] Examinations of Richard Cox and Samuel Allen, 12 Apr. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 400v-1).
[277] Colonels Blake and Deane, 5 May 1649, McNeill, *Tanner letters*, pp 305-6; interrogatory for the Trinity, nd (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1649-53, HCA 23/15).
[278] Colonel Popham, 2 May 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne Popham*, p. 304.
[279] Colonel Popham, 2 May 1649, H.M.C., ibid, p. 304.
[280] Examination of William Wadding, 4 June 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[281] Examination of Patrick Wadding, 7 May 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[282] Council of state to collectiors for prize goods, 18 May 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 147).
[283] Examination of Gabriell Sanders, 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[284] TT E.530(35), *A perfect Diurnall of some passages in Parliament. And the daily proceedings of the Army under his Excellency the Lord Fairfax. From Munday June 4 to Munday June 11 1649* (London, 1649), p. 2654.
[285] Ibid, p. 2654.
[286] TT E.531(6), *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies journall in Parliament: proceedings of the council of State: And other moderate intelligence. From Fryday June the 22 to Fryday June the 29 1649* (London, 1649), p. 1089.

303	Irish vessel[288]		June 1649	*Elizabeth*	Jonas Reeve		Wexford
304	*Patrick of Ross*[289]		June 1649	*Tiger's Whelp*	Anthony Houlding		
305	*St John of Waterford*[290]	Daniel van Vooren	July 1649	*Greyhound*	John Coppin		
306	Bark[291]		July 1649	*Tiger's Whelp*	Anthony Houlding		
307	Wexford vessel[292]		July 1649	*Tiger's Whelp*	Anthony Houlding		
308	*St Peter of Waterford*[293]	Joseph Content	July 1649	*Phoenix*	Thomas Harrison		
309	*St Teresa*[294]	Francis Darcy	July 1649	*Garland and Nonsuch*		Kinsale	Wexford
310	*Mary of Drogheda*[295]		July 1649	*Truelove*	Gabriel Sanders		
311	*Mary of Harste*[296]	John Hitcham	July 1649	*Tiger*	James Peacock	Bullen	Kinsale
312	*Mary of St Malo*[297]	Julian Christian	July 1649	*Guinea frigate*	Walter Woods	New Ross	St Malo

[287] Ibid, p. 1084.
[288] TT E.530(41), *A perfect Diurnall of some passages in Parliament. And the daily proceedings of the Army under his Excellency the Lord Fairfax. From Munday June 11 to Munday June 18 1649* (London, 1649), p. 2500.
[289] Examinations of Robert Sansun and John Nager, 22 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[290] Examinations of Daniel van Vooren and Derrick Hendes, 25 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[291] TT E.532(1), *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies journall in Parliament: proceedings of the council of State: And other moderate intelligence. From Fryday July the 20 to Fryday July the 27 1649* (London, 1649), pp 1195-6.
[292] Ibid, pp 1195-6.
[293] Examination of Joseph Content, 11 July 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[294] Blake to Popham, 10 July 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne Popham*, p. 21.
[295] Examination of Gabriell Sanders, 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[296] Examination of John Hitcham, 21 July 1649, ibid.
[297] Examinations of Julian Christian and James Contrier, 15 July 1649, ibid.

313	*Robert of Kinsale*[298]	John Smith	August 1649	*Elizabeth*	Richard Stayner	Newhaven	Kinsale
314	*Charity of Bullen*[299]	John Quallie	September 1649		Captain Blange		
315	Wexford ship[300]		September 1649	*President*	Captain Ferns		
316	12 gun frigate[301]		October 1649	Taken at Wexford			
317	20 gun ship on stocks[302]		October 1649	Taken at Wexford			
318	20 gun ship, nearly ready[303]		October 1649	Taken at Wexford			
319	34 gun ship, nearly ready[304]		October 1649	Taken at Wexford			
320	*Allen of Waterford*[305]	John Best	October 1649	*Concord*	Samuel Howett	Waterford	Bristol/St Malo
321	*Barbara of Sunderland*[306]	Richard Curtis	October 1649	*Tiger*	Captain Peacock	Sunderland	Bristol
322	*Mary Conception of Wexford*[307]	Christopher Turner	October 1649	*Wexford*	Seized		
323	*King David of Rotterdam*[308]	John Taylor	October 1649	*Elizabeth*	Jonas Reeve	St Martins	Waterford
324	*White Falcon of*	Marten	October 1649	*Elizabeth*	Jonas Reeve	St Martins	Glasgow

[298] Examinations of Erasmus Rows and William Hamilton, 9 Aug. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[299] Examination of Hugh Keltin and John Quallie, 12 and 15 Sept. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i),
[300] TT E. 575(7), *Letters from Ireland relating to the several great successes it hath pleased God to give unto the parliaments forces* (London, 1649), p. 15.
[301] TT E. 576(2), *A letter from the lord lieutenant of Ireland to the honourable William Lenthall Esq.* (London, 1649), pp 4-5.
[302] Ibid, p. 7.
[303] Ibid, p. 7.
[304] Ibid, p. 7.
[305] Examinations of John Best and William Pitt, 18 and 25 Oct. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[306] Examinations of Peter Toland, John Barwick and James Dixon, 3 and 8 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[307] Examinations of Christopher Turner and Peter Victor, 30 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/251, part i).
[308] Examination of John Lampere, 30 Oct. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).

	Edam[309]	Remesons					
325	Dutch ship[310]		October 1649	*Elizabeth*	Jonas Reeve		
326-365	40 good vessels[311]		October 1649	Wexford harbour			
366	*Charity*[312]		November 1649	*Paradox*	Benjamin Blake		
367	*Mary of St Nazaire*[313]	John Bernard	November 1649	*Garland*		St Nazaire	Waterford
368	*St Nicholas*[314]	Celeyn Reynolds	November 1649	*Satisfaction*	William Brandley		
369	*Mirrour of Dunkirk*[315]	Thomas Plunkett	November 1649	Waterford harbour			
370	*2 unnamed prizes*		November 1649	Waterford harbour			
371-373	*3 unnamed vessels*		November 1649	Near Duncannon			
374	*Fortune of Amsterdam*[316]	Richard Cornelson	December 1649	Kinsale	Stayed	Texell	Scilly Isles
375	Unnamed prize[317]		1649	*President*	Nathanial Ferns		
376	*John of Hamburg*[318]		1649	*Greyhound*	John Coppin		
377	*Hope of*		1649	*William ketch*			

[309] Examinations of Marten Remesons, John Johnson and Patrick Bell, 23 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248).
[310] Examination of John Lampere, 30 Oct. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[311] TT E.575(35), T*he taking of Wexford* (London, 1649), p. 5.
[312] Admiralty committee proceedings, 17 Nov. 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 397).
[313] Examination of John Bernard and John Deneire, 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/251, part i).
[314] Inventory for the *St Nicholas*, 5 Nov. 1649, ibid.
[315] TT E.584(2), *A great fight in Ireland between the Lord Lieut. Cromwels forces and the Lord Inchequeens army neer Washford* (London, 1649), p. 6.
[316] Examination of Richard Cornelson, 21 Dec. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/251, part ii).
[317] TT E.576(6), *A brief relation of some affaires and transactions, Civill and Military, both forraigne and Domestique October 9 1649* (London, 1649), p. 10.
[318] Examinations of John Wyles, James Cauvanagh and Bryan Can, 25 May 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 502-v).

	Sunderland[319]						
378	*Margaret and Elizabeth of Waterford*[320]	Jacob Peararfiut	1649	*Greyhound*	John Coppin		
379	*Mary Fortune of Youghal*[321]	Abraham Tarredue	1649	*Bristol*	Seized	Youghal	
380	*Mary Magdalen of Wexford*[322]	Nicholas Rochfort	1649	*Adventure*	Andrew Ball		
381	*St Jacob of Rotterdam*[323]	Jacob Derrickson	1649	*Nonsuch*	Richard Willoughby	Waterford	Middelburg
382	*Fortune*[324]		c. 1649	*Parliamentary ship*			
383	*Samaritan*[325]		c. 1649	*Tiger*	James Peacock		
384	*Star*[326]		c. 1649	*Dragon*	Anthony Young		
385	*Ann of Nantes*[327]		nd	*Adventure*	Thomas Bedell		
386	*Charles of Bristol*[328]	Edward Lugg	nd	*Nicholas*		Cork	Bristol
387	*Golden Falcon*[329]	Ditlosse Miller	nd	*Lyon*	Richard Swanley		

[319] Interrogatory for *Hope*, 1649 (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1649-53, HCA 23/15).
[320] Prize act book, 1649 (T.N.A., Prize act books, 1649-51, HCA 3/232).
[321] Prize act book, 1649, ibid.
[322] Prize act book, 1649, ibid.
[323] Examinations of John Allen, Jacob Derrickson and Abraham Vandekouter , 7, 14 Mar. and 20 Apr. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 290v-1, 349-v, 412).
[324] Interrogatory for the *Fortune*, nd (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1649-53, HCA 23/15).
[325] Interrogatory for the *Samaritan*, nd, ibid.
[326] Interrogatory for the *Star*, nd, ibid.
[327] Sentence for the *Ann*, nd (T.N.A., Sentences in prize court, 1643-50, HCA 34/1, f. 541).
[328] Interrogatory for the *Charles*, nd (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1644-55, HCA 23/30).
[329] Sentence for the *Golden Falcon*, nd (T.N.A., Sentences in prize court, 1643-50, HCA 34/1, f. 110).

388	*Marygould*[330]	John Browne	nd	*Constant Warwick*	John Gilson		
389	*Patience of Ilfracombe* [331]	Nicholas Larke	nd	*Discovery*	Thomas Grigge		
391	*Peter of Wexford*[332]	Ludvic Ceydor	nd	*Rebecca*	Stephen Rich	France	Wexford
392	*St Peter of Amsterdam*[333]	Laurence Johnson	nd	*Discovery*	John Grigge		
393	*Tiger*[334]	Nicholas Iverson	nd	*Fellowship & Truelove*	Penn and Coachman		
394	*William and John of Foye*[335]	William Taylor	nd	*Anne and Percy*	Thomas Smith		

[330] Sentence for the *Marygould*, nd, ibid, f. 456.
[331] Sentence for the *Patience*, nd, ibid, f. 420.
[332] Sentence for the *Peter*, nd, ibid, f. 377.
[333] Sentence for the *St Peter*, nd, ibid, f. 424.
[334] Sentence for the *Tiger*, nd, ibid, f. 88.
[335] Sentence for the *William and John*, nd, ibid, f. 436.

Appendix C3: Prizes retaken from the confederate privateers by the parliamentary navy, 1641-49

Number	Prize	Date	Parliamentary Ship	Retaken from
1	*Mary and Dorothy*[1]	May 1644	*Paramour*	*Francis of Wexford*
2	Merchant ship[2]	May 1644	Parliamentary ship	Irish privateer
3	Small boat[3]	September 1644	*Green Dragon*	Irish frigate
4	*Neptune of Yarmouth*[4]	September 1644	*Green Dragon*	Irish frigate
5	*Hopewell of Boston*[5]	October 1644	*Crescent/ Honour*	Irish man of war
6	*Unicorn of Dundee*[6]	October 1644	*Blessing*	*Hare*
7	*Blessing of Leith*[7]	June 1645	*Garland* and *Expedition*	Dunkirk frigates
8	*William and Sarah*[8]	August 1646	*Constant Warwick*	Irish man of war
9-10	2 prizes[9]	August 1646	Parliamentary frigates	Antrim frigates
11	*Elizabeth of Weymouth*[10]	September 1646	*Welcome pink*	Irish privateer
12	*Jennett of Leith*[11]	February 1647	*Recovery*	*Patrick of Waterford*
13	*Hopewell of*	February-July	*Assurance*	Irish frigate

[1] Examinations of Thomas White, Robert Whitty and John Ecupp, 1 June and 26 July 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5 HCA 13/59, ff 300-1, 401-v).
[2] TT E.252(33), *A perfect Diurnall of some passages in parliament, and from other parts of this kingdome, from Munday the 13 of May to Munday the 20 of May 1644* (London, 1644), p. 332.
[3] Letter of Francis Green and petition of William Coneham & Chulese Money, 15 and 28 Sept. 1644 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1579-1656, HCA 30/855, ff 552-3v).
[4] Letter of Francis Green and petition of William Coneham & Chulese Money, 15 and 28 Sept. 1644, ibid, ff 552-3v.
[5] Examination of Mathew Adams, 29 Oct. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5, HCA 13/59, ff 542-3).
[6] Examinations of John Hill and Oliver Winter, 29 Oct. 1644, ibid, ff 546-v.
[7] Examinations of Gregory Bell and John Trotter, 11 June 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[8] Examinations of James Blatt and John Church, 16 and 18 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[9] TT E.350(16), *The Scottish Dove sent out and returning, from Wednesday the 12 of August till Wednesday the 19 of August 1646* (London, 1646), p. 7.
[10] Order of committee of the lords and commons, 12 Nov. 1646 (T.N.A., Various, 1579-1656, HCA 30/849, f. 611).
[11] Depositions of David Young and John Nessett, 27 Apr. 1647, Nott (ed.), *The deposition books of Bristol, vol. I: 1643-47*, pp 216-7.

	London[12]	1647		
14	*Nonsuch of Lyme*[13]	July 1647	*Constant Warwick*	Irish privateer
15	*Adventure of Lyn*[14]	December 1647	*Providence*	Irish man of war
16	*Charity*[15]	1647	*Tenth Whelp*	Wexford rebels
17	Yarmouth fishing boat[16]	March 1648	*Adventure*	*Angel Keeper*
18	*Hope of Amsterdam*[17]	May 1648	*Elizabeth*	*Mary and John of Wexford*
19	*Mayor of Dartmouth*[18]	June 1648	Parliament ships	Irish man of war
20	*Robert*[19]	July 1648	*Constant Warwick*	*Mary and Francis*
21	Unnamed ship[20]	July 1648	*Adventure* (privateer)	Irish frigate
22	*Fisher of Serdam*[21]	August 1648	*Assurance*	Irish man of war
23	*Three Blackmores of Flushing*[22]	August 1648	*Assurance*	*Michael of Wexford*
24	*Hope of Hamburg*[23]	August 1648	*Assurance*	*Michael of Wexford*
25	*Richard of Bristol*[24]	August 1648	*Dragon*	*Michael of Wexford*
26	*Fortune of Kirkcaldy*[25]	September 1648	*Nicodemus* and *Greyhound*	Irish man of war

[12] Examinations of Michael Wright and Richard West, 16 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[13] Examination of John Turner, 23 July 1647(T.N.A., Examinations, 1645-7, HCA 13/60).
[14] Examinations of William Fullen and William Dyer, 16 Feb. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[15] Committee of both houses, 24 Jan. 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1647-60*, p. 5).
[16] Examination of William Hoville, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[17] Examinations of Cornelius Theremen and Swart Swartson, 5 July 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 109v-110).
[18] Examination of Humphrey Sheere, 16 June 1648, ibid, f. 117.
[19] Examination of Thomas Thompson and William Browne, 14 July 1648, ibid, ff 202-v.
[20] Examination of Robert Hutchins, 22 August 1648, ibid, ff 149v-50v.
[21] Examination of Jacob Johnson, 11 Aug. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1648, HCA 13/249).
[22] Examinations of John Jobson, Henry Readmun, Henry Hamlett, Edward Hammell, John Bourke, Peter Arnesen and Harmen Bruen, 7, 9, 10 and 25 Aug. 1648, ibid.
[23] Examinations of John Jobson, Henry Readmun, Henry Hamlett, Edward Hammell, John Bourke, Peter Arnesen and Harmen Bruen, 7, 9, 10 and 25 Aug. 1648, ibid.
[24] Examinations of John Jobson, Henry Readmun, Henry Hamlett, Edward Hammell, John Bourke, Peter Arnesen and Harmen Bruen, 7, 9, 10 and 25 Aug. 1648, ibid.
[25] Allegations concerning the *Fortune*, 1648 (T.N.A., Allegations, 1638-1782, HCA 24/176).

27	*Unity of Yarmouth*[26]	September 1648	*Fortune*	*Peter of Waterford*
28	*Amity of Southampton*[27]	November 1648	*Dragon*	Irish man of war
29	*Providence of Southold*[28]	Robert ____	1648	Irish man of war
30	*Peter of London*[29]	January 1649	*Phoenix*	*Mary Virgin of Wexford*
31	Ship at Margate[30]	March 1649	*Nicodemus*	Irish privateer
32	*Blessing of Rochester*[31]	April 1649	*Hector*	Irish man of war
33	*Patrick of Waterford*[32]	May 1649	Parliamentary ships	Irish privateer
34	Bark[33]	July 1649	*Tiger's Whelp*	Irish privateer
35	*Charity of Bullen*[34]	September 1649	Captain Blange	*Delight of Waterford*
36	*Barbara of Sunderland/Wells*[35]	October 1649	*Tiger*	*Cornelius of Wexford*
37	*Charity*[36]	November 1649	*Paradox*	Irish privateer
38-39	2 prizes[37]	November 1649	Parliamentary ships	*Mirrour of Dunkirk*
40	*Hope of Sunderland*[38]	1649	*William ketch*	Irish privateer
41	Unnamed prize[39]	1649	*President*	Carlingford
42	*John of Hamburg*[40]	1649	*Greyhound*	Irish privateer

[26] I43nterrogatory for the *Unity*, nd (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1644-55, HCA 23/30); order by Joseph Constant, 26 Sept. 1648 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1596-1662, HCA 30/855, f. 412).
[27] Allegations concerning the Amity, 1648 (T.N.A., Allegations, 1638-1782, HCA 24/176).
[28] The case of a ship in the service of the Commonwealth seized at Callebegges, 1648 (Marsh's Library, MS Z.3.1.1 (67)).
[29] Examinations of Jacob Bowers and Patrick Root, 6 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[30] Colonel Popham, Mar. 1648, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 12.
[31] Allegations concerning the Blessing, 5 May 1649 (T.N.A., Allegations, 1638-1782, HCA 24/176).
[32] Council of state to collectors for prize goods, 18 May 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 147).
[33] TT E.532(1), *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies journall in Parliament: proceedings of the council of State: And other moderate intelligence. From Fryday July the 20 to Fryday July the 27 1649* (London, 1649), pp 1195-6.
[34] Examination of Hugh Keltin and John Quallie, 12 and 15 Sept. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[35] Examinations of Peter Toland, John Barwick and James Dixon, 3 and 8 Nov. 1649, ibid.
[36] Admiralty committee proceedings, 17 Nov. 1649 (*Cal. S. P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 397).
[37] TT E.584(2), *A great fight in Ireland between the Lord Lieut. Cromwell's forces and the Lord Inchequeens army neer Washford* (London, 1649), p. 6.
[38] Interrogatory for *Hope*, 1649 (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1649-53, HCA 23/15)
[39] B.L., *A brief relation of some affaires and transactions, Civill and Military, both forraigne and Domestique October 9 1649* (London, 1649), p. 10.
[40] Examinations of John Wyles, James Cauvanagh and Bryan Can, 25 May 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, ff 502-v).

43	*Fortune*[41]	c. 1649	Parliamentary ship	Irish rebels
44	*Star*[42]	c. 1649	*Dragon*	Irish rebels
45	*Samaritan*[43]	c. 1649	*Tiger*	Irish rebels

[41] Interrogatory for the *Fortune*, nd (T.N.A., Interrogatories. 1649-53, HCA 23/15).
[42] Interrogatory for the *Star*, nd, ibid.
[43] Interrogatory for the *Samaritan*, nd, ibid.

21	*Providence merchant*[25]	Roger Martin	Merchant	54	135	16
22	*Prosperous*		Merchant	108	362	22
23	*Leopard merchant*	Nicholas Gettonby	Merchant	130	435	26-28

[24] Paid for service on the Irish coast through summer. Order for payment, 1644 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/4, f. 60).

[25]Ships 21-3 remained at Milford into the summer months. TT E.3(12), *An exact relation of that famous and notable Victorie obtained at Milford-Haven against the Earle of Carbery his forces; by the Admirall and Vice-Admirall of the Irish Seas* (London, 1644), pp 1-14.

Winter Guard 1644						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Leopard*[26]	Richard Swanley	State	160	520	38
2	*Swallow*	William Smith	State	150	500	36
3	*Honour*[27]	Edmund Seaman	Merchant	108	359	26
4	*Jeremy*[28]	Augustine Bright	Merchant	82	274	22
5	*Great Lewis*	Thomas Beale	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
6	*Mayflower*	William Cock	Merchant	121	405	28
7	*Duncannon frigate*	Samuel Howett	State	50	80	10
8	*Elizabeth*[29]	John Coppin	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
9	*Magdalen*	Captain Hosier	Merchant	56	185	16
10	*Unknown*	Captain Gregory	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
11	*Charles*[30]	Robert Clarke	Merchant	16	50	6
12	*Fellowship*[31]	William Penn	State	110	300	28
13	*Truelove*[32]	Gervase Coachman	Merchant	75	259	20
14	*Blessing of London*	Thomas Winnall	Merchant	60	200	18
15	*Reformation*	--------	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
16	*Green frigate*	Thomas Farmer	Merchant	20	30	6
17	*Jocelyn*[33]	Robert Clarke	Merchant	59	196	12
18	*James of Youghal*	Thomas Morgan	Merchant	40	100	8
19	*William & Thomas*	Captain Rigby	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
20	*Peregrine*	Peter Tatum	Merchant	74	247	20
21	*Discovery*[34]	Thomas Plunkett	Privateer	130	350	28
22	*Blessing*[35]	Francis Ashmore	Privateer	105	350	26
23	*Hart*[36]	Roger Beere	State	40	80	8

[26] Only a partial list remains for the winter guard for 1644. Powell, *The navy in the English Civil War*, p. 205; Abraham Mootham and other sailors to William Smith, 9 Mar. 1645, Gilbert, *History of the Irish confederation*, iv, 177.

[27] The *Honour* blockaded Ormond in Dublin. Captain Edmund Seaman to Ormond, 27 Oct. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 12, f. 508).

[28] Richard Swanley to Captain Beale, 23 Sept. 1644, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, p. 173; committee of both kingdoms to the committee of the navy, 13 Oct. 1644 (*Cal. S.P. Dom*, 1644-5, p. 220); examination of Samuel Howett, 22 Nov. 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations 1645-7, HCA 13/60).

[29] Richard Swanley to lord Esmond, 15 Feb. 1645 in Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, iv, 145.

[30] Taken into service in October. Listed as a state ship but on hire from Inchiquin. Committee of both kingdoms, 13 Oct. 1644 (*Cal. S.P. Dom*, 1644-5, p. 220).

[31] Penn received a commission in December 1644 as rear admiral for Irish seas. Warwick to William Penn, 31 Dec 1644, H.M.C., *Portland*, i, 64.

[32] The *Truelove*, *Green frigate*, *Reformation* and *Blessing* received pay in this period. Orders for payment, 1644-5 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/4, ff 10, 16, 19, 33).

[33] These four ships continued in service from the summer of 1644. Account book for the Jocelyn, 1644 and 1645 (T.N.A., Instance papers, HCA 15/51650-3).

[34] Seized ships going to Ireland. Examinations of Connor O'Connor and Owen Dalie, 31 Dec. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1643-4, HCA 13/246).

[35] On Irish coast. Examination of John Hill, 29 Oct. 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5, HCA 13/59, f. 546).

[36] Warwick to the commissioners of the navy, 27 Mar. 1645 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1644-5*, p. 635).

Winter Guard 1643						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Leopard*[15]	Richard Swanley	State	150	380	32
2	*Swallow*	William Smith	State	150	515	34
3	*Expedition*	Joseph Jordan	State	100	301	15
4	*Charity*	Captain Danske	Merchant	36	120	6
5	*Crescent*	Peter Whitty	State	50	167	12-14
6	*Providence*	William Swanley	Merchant	100	350	16-18
7	*Leopard merchant*	----------	Merchant	108	362	22
8	*Prosperous*	Nicholas Gettonby	Merchant	130	435	26-28
9-10	*2 Unnamed Liverpool ships*		Merchant	-----	-----	-----

[15] No full list or stations for the winter guard in 1643 exists. The above ships can be identified on the Irish coast or assigned to go there. Swanley in the *Leopard* did not arrive at Milford with *Swallow*, *Crescent*, *Providence* and *Leopard* merchant until early 1644. Winter guard, 1643 (B.L., Lists of naval strength and costs 1642-47, ADD 17, 503); TT E.3(12), *An exact relation of that famous and notable Victorie obtained at Milford-Haven against the Earle of Carbery his forces; by the Admirall and Vice-Admirall of the Irish Seas* (London, 1644), p. 1; TT E.42(19), *A true relation of the proceedings of Colonell Langharne, and others, in the county of Pembroke, against the Earle of Carbery and his forces* (London, 1644), p. 1; TT E. 65(29), *Severall letters of Great Importance and good successe. Lately obtained against the Fellowship of Bristow, by Captain William Smith* (London, 1643), pp 1-7; lords justices to William Lenthall, 28 Oct. 1643, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, p. 100; order of the committee of the admiralty, 10 Nov. 1643 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1641-3*, p. 498).

Summer Guard 1644						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Bonaventure/ Leopard*[16]	Richard Swanley	State	150	380	32
2	*Lion*	Robert Moulton/William Smith	State	170	600	40
3	*Expedition*	Joseph Jordan	State	100	301	15
4	*Providence*	William Brook	State	100	304	16
5	*Crescent*	Peter Whitty	State	50	140	14
6	*Lily*	John Lambert	State	35	80-100	10
7	*Star*	Thomas Cook	State	60	130-200	12
8	*Cygnet*	J. Wield	State	70	160-213	10
9	*8th Whelp*[17]	John Carse	State	60	200	16
10	*Happy Entrance*[18]	Ben Crandley	State	160	539	38
11	*Fellowship*[19]	William Penn	State	110	300	28
12	*Truelove*	Gervase Coachman	Merchant	75	259	20
13	*Honour*[20]	Edmund Seamen	Merchant	108	359	26
14	*Jocelyn*[21]	Robert Clarke	Merchant	59	196	12
15	*James of Youghal*	Thomas Morgan	Merchant	40	100	8
16	*William and Thomas*	Captain Rigby	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
17	*Peregrine*	Peter Tatum	Merchant	74	247	20
18	*Trial*[22]	Captain Brown	State	30	100	10
19	*Spy*[23]	John Babb	State	20	40	6
20	*Mayflower*[24]	William Cock	Merchant	121	405	28

[16] Ships 1-8 were listed as part of the summer guard list for 1644, the list was not complete. Swanley and Smith went to London to receive gold chains for the services in Wales in May. Swanley is listed for the *Bonaventure* but was on the *Leopard*. TT 669 f. 9 (8), *A List of his Majesties Navie Royall, and Merchants Ships*, (London, 1644), p. 1; J. R. Powell, *The navy in the English Civil War*, (London, 1962), pp. 57-76; Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 89; Richard Swanley to Ormond, 15 Apr. 1644 (Bodl., Carte MS 10, f. 223).

[17] Ordered to the Irish seas in April. Committee of both kingdoms, 2 Apr. 1644 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1644,* p. 91).

[18] Part of guard at Milford in July. Warwick to the committee of both kingdoms, 27 July 1644 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1644,* p. 382).

[19] The *Fellowship* and *Truelove* operated together in the summer off Land's End. Examination of Gervase Coachman, 8 May 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1644-5, HCA 13/59 f. 187).

[20] Taken into pay in April 1644 and seizes prizes. Order for payment, 1644 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/4, f. 13).

[21] Ships 14-17 seize prizes along the east coast of Ireland. Account book for the Jocelyn, 1644 and 1645 (T.N.A., Instance papers, HCA 15/5 1650-3); Robert Clarke to John Bartlett, 14 July 1644 (Bodl. Carte MS 11, f. 444).

[22] At Milford Haven. Examination of Charles Cant, 15 July 1645 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1645, HCA 13/247).

[23] Seizing ships on the Irish coast in June. Examination of Walter Quint, 29 June 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1643-4, HCA 13/246).

28	*Pennington*	Thomas Clark	Merchant	40	135	-----
29	*Dolphin*	Edward Dorrington	Merchant	30	100	-----
30	*Peter*	-----	Merchant	35	150	-----

Summer Guard 1643						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Bonaventure*[12]	Richard Swanley	State	170	557	36
2	*Lion*	William Smith	State	170	602	42
3	*Expedition*	Joseph Jordan	State	100	301	15
4	*Providence*	William Brook	State	100	304	16
5	*Crescent*	Thomas Plunkett	State	50	125-167	12
6	*Lily*	John Lambert	State	35	80-100	10
7	*Star*	Thomas Cook	State	60	130-200	12
8	*Cygnet*	J Wield	State	70	160-213	10
9	*Employment*	Thomas Ashley	Merchant	132	440	30
10	*Ruth*	Robert Constable	Merchant	120	400	24
11	*Peter*	Peter Strong	Merchant	81	170	14
12	*Swan*[13]	John Bartlett	State	20	200	12-20
13	*Confidence*	Thomas Bartlett	Merchant	40	100	10
14	*Loves Increase*[14]	John Webb	Merchant	13	-----	-----
15	*Adventure of Dublin*	Captain Hendra	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
16	*Constance of Yarmouth*	Captain Lucas	Merchant	40	-----	-----
17	*William of London*	Captain Cowell	Merchant	34	80	8

[12] Ships 1-11 were assigned to Ireland as part of the summer guard. This list also included the 10 merchant adventurer ships that appear on the winter guard list in 1642. TT 669 f.7 (7) *A List of his Majesties Royall, and Merchants Ships* (London, 1643), p. 1.

[13] The *Swan* and *Confidence* remained in pay from Dublin but were often absent from that port and did not appear on the guard list. Lords justices to William Lenthall, 23 June 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde, ns,* ii, 291.

[14] Ships 14-17 were engaged by the lords justices in Dublin, to be paid by parliament. Lords justices to William Lenthall, 3 Apr. 1643, H.M.C., *Ormonde, ns,* ii, 259; lords justices to William Lenthall, 17 Apr. 1643, *ibid.*, p. 266; lords justices to William Lenthall, 25 Apr. 1643, *ibid.*, p. 27; lords justices to William Lenthall, 29 June 1643, *ibid.,* p. 293.

Appendix D1: Parliamentary Summer and Winter Guards for Ireland, 1642-1649

Summer Guard 1642						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Swallow*[1]	Thomas Kettleby	State	150	380	32
2	*Bonaventure*	Sir Henry Stradling	State	160	557	34
3	*Discovery*	John Brokhaven	Merchant	114	380	-----
4	*Ruth*	Robert Constable	Merchant	120	400	24
5	*Employment*	Thomas Ashley	Merchant	132	440	30
6	*Peter*	Peter Strong	Merchant	81	270	14
7	*Pennington*	Joseph Jordan	Merchant	36	135	-----
8	*Fellowship*	Thomas Colle	Merchant	87	290	-----
9	*Mary*	William Chappell	Merchant	30	103	-----
10	*John*	John Thomas	Merchant	15	50	-----
11	*Hart*[2]	---------	State	40	120	10
12	*Elizabeth*[3]	---------	Merchant	25	80	4
13	*Richard*	---------	Merchant	-----	-----	4
14	*Grace*	---------	Merchant	30	180	8
15	*Crescent*[4]	Thomas Plunkett	State	50	125-167	12
16	*Swan*[5]	John Bartlett	State	20	200	12-20
17	*Phoenix*	---------	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
18	*Confidence*	Thomas Bartlett	Merchant	40	100	10
19	*Jocelyn*[6]	Captain Partridge	Merchant	60	200	-----
20	*Ann Speedwell*[7]	Henry Browne	Merchant	11	-----	-----

[1] The summer guard for 1642 includes any ships taken into service after the outbreak of the rising in October 1641. Ships 1-10 were the assigned summer guard for Ireland. TT 669 f.3 (50), *A List of his Majesties Navie Royall, and Merchant Ships*, (London, 1641/2), p. 1; TT 669 f.3 (52), *A True List of his Majesties Navie Royall*, (London, 1641/2), p. 1

[2] The *Hart* arrived in January 1642. Lords justices to the earl of Northumberland, 3 Jan. 1641/2, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* ns, ii, 58.

[3] The *Elizabeth*, *Richard* and *Grace* arrived in July, the Grace was sent back to England soon after. Captain Kettleby to Northumberland, 4 July 1642, Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers relating to the Irish rebellion*, p. 66.

[4] The *Crescent* arrived on 19 July. Captain Kettleby to Northumberland, 22 July 1642, *ibid*, p. 87.

[5] The lords justices at Dublin hired the *Phoenix* and *Confidence* and took the *Swan* into service. The *Phoenix* sank in Wales in February. Lords justices to Northumberland, 12 Feb. 1641/2, H.M.C., *Ormonde, ns,* ii, 68-9.

[6] The *Jocelyn* took part in trying to relieve King John's castle at Limerick in May and June 1642. The *Jocelyn* appeared as a merchant ship on the summer guard lists for 1642 *A relation of ye rebellion in and about Limerick with ye taking of ye castle there from 20 Oct 1641 to 26 July by Dr Henry Jones* (T.C.D., 1641 depositions, MS 840, f.94).

[7] Inchiquin hired the *Ann Speedwell* for 2 months before it was cast away. Order for payment, 1642 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/1, f.60).

Winter Guard 1642						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Charles*[8]	Richard Swanley	State	250	810	46
2	*Lion*	Thomas Price	State	170	602	42
3	*Lily*	-----	State	35	80-100	10
4	*Swan*	John Bartlett	State	20	200	12-20
5	*Hart*	-----	State	40	120	10
6	*Crescent*	Thomas Plunkett	State	50	125-167	12
7	*Employment*	Thomas Ashley	Merchant	120	400	30
8	*Ruth*	Robert Constable	Merchant	120	400	24
9	*Discovery*	John Brookhaven	Merchant	120	-----	-----
10	*Peter*	Peter Strong	Merchant	81	270	14
11	*Pennington*	Joseph Jordan	Merchant	46	135	-----
12	*Fellowship*	Thomas Colle	Merchant	90	290	-----
13	*Mary*	----------	Merchant	30	-----	-----
14	*Little Mary*	----------	Merchant	30	-----	-----
15	*Mary*	----------	Merchant	42	-----	-----
16	*Charity*	----------	Merchant	36	-----	-----
17	*Rickarden*	----------	Merchant	30	-----	-----
18	*Elizabeth*	----------	Merchant	24	-----	-----
19	*Confidence*[9]	Thomas Bartlett	Merchant	40	100	10
20	*Adventure of Dublin*[10]	John Hendra	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
21	*Zante Merchant*[11]	Thomas Rainborow	Merchant	400	117	-----
22	*Good-hope*	William Thompson	Merchant	400	117	-----
23	*Achilles*	Nicholas Simonson	Merchant	260	78	-----
24	*George Bonaventure*	Robert Zachary	Merchant	240	72	-----
25	*Mary Bonaventure*	George Richardson	Merchant	240	72	-----
26	*Hopewell*	Edward Thompson	Merchant	66	220	-----
27	*Katherine*	Samuel Andrews	Merchant	60	200	-----

[8] The winter guard for 1642 assigned ships 1-18 to the Irish coast. *Lords Journals, v*, 379, 408.
[9] The Confidence remained in service at Dublin but did not appear on the guard list. Lords justices to the commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, 21 Oct. 1642, H.M.C., *Ormonde, ns,* ii, 214.
[10] Taken into service at Dublin in January 1643. Orders for payment, 1643 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/2, f. 14).
[11] Ships 21-30 originally formed part of the 'Sea Adventure' fleet that arrived in Ireland in July. When the army returned to England these ships remained on the Irish coast for part of the winter. They also appeared on the summer guard list for 1643. For a full list of the ships that made up the original 'Sea adventure' fleet see: TT E.239(4) *A relation of the sundry occurrences in Ireland from the fleet of ships set out by the Adventurers of the additional forces by sea* (London, 1642), p. 3; TT E.242(15), *A true relation of the passages of Gods Providence in a voyage for Ireland* (London, 1642), p. 4.

Summer Guard 1645						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Lion*[37]	Richard Swanley	State	170	600	40
2	*Happy Entrance*	William Smith	State	160	520	38
3	*Globe*	Richard Willoughby	State	100	300	24
4	*Anne and Joyce*	Thomas Jones	Merchant	90	300	22
5	*Rebecca*	Stephen Rich	Merchant	75	250	20
6	*Magdalen*	J Hosier	Merchant	56	185	16
7	*Duncannon frigate*	Samuel Howett	State	50	80	10
8	*Dainty Pink*	----------	State	25	60	4
9	*Green frigate*	Thomas Farmer	Merchant	20	30	6
10	*Charles*	Robert Clark	Merchant	26	50	6
11	*Mary and Ann*	Peter Wappal	Merchant	45	150	12
12	*Mayflower*	Roger Phillips	Merchant	121	405	29
13	*Nicholas*	Richard Bray	Merchant	57	250	20
14	*Anne Percy*	Thomas Smith	Merchant	75	255	20
15	*Defiance*	William Brooks	Merchant	50	175	16
16	*Spy*	Andrew Davis	Merchant	20	40	6
17-18	*2 Shallops*	----------	----------	-----	-----	-----
19	*Hector*	Edmund Elliott	State	80	300	20
20	*Lucy*	Elias Jordan	Merchant	64	160	14
21	*George Bonaventure*	John Crampe	Merchant	73	243	20
22	*Fellowship*	William Penn	State	110	300	28
23	*8th Whelp*	John Kearse	State	60	200	16
24	*Jocelyn*	Robert Clarke	Merchant	59	196	12
25-26	2 small pinnaces	----------	State	-----	-----	-----
27	*Trial pink*[38]	Brown	State	30	100	10
28	*Mighell of Le Croisic*[39]	----------	State	-----	-----	-----
29	*Blessing of Amsterdam*	----------	State	-----	-----	-----
30	*Blessing of London*[40]	Thomas Winnall	Merchant	60	200	18

[37] Ships 1-26 were listed for the summer guard, 19-26 were the Scottish squadron. William Penn took command of the *Happy Entrance* after the death of William Smith. Lieutenant Lawrence took over in the *Fellowship* until Penn returned in the autumn. TT 669 f.9 (36), *A List of such of the Navy Royall, as also of the Merchants Ships*, (London, 1645), p. 1; summer guard list 1645, Powell & Timmings, *Documents*, pp 202-3; summer guard list, 17 June 1645 (Bodl, Rawl. C.406 ff 40v-41v).

[38] The *Trial* brought Captain John Crowther to Munster in August to take command of the *Happy Entrance* from Penn. Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 132.

[39] The crew of the Duncannon frigate blown up at Youghal continued to serve before the town on two prizes; the *Blessing of Amsterdam* and *Mighell of Le Croisic*. Samuel Howett to the committee of the navy, 10 Sept. 1645 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1645-7*, p. 293).

31	*Elizabeth of London*	John Coppin	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
32	*Increase*	John Cluchon	State	40	133	14
33	*Reformation*	-------	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
34	*Margrett galliott*	-------	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
35	*Welcome pink*[41]	John Greene	State	45	133	8
36	*Discovery*[42]	Thomas Plunkett	Privateer	130	350	28
37	*James of Youghal*[43]	Thomas Morgan	Merchant	40	100	8
38	*William and Thomas*	Captain Rigby	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
39	*Peregrine*	Peter Tatum	Merchant	74	247	20
40	*Samuel*	William Williamson	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
41	*Pleyades*[44]	Captain Page	Privateer	-----	-----	-----
42	*Alice and Priscilla*	Captain Mitchell	Privateer	-----	-----	-----

[40] The *Blessing*, *Elizabeth*, *Increase*, *Reformation* and *Margrett galliott* all received payments for service over the summer months in Ireland. Orders for payment, 1645 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/4, ff 15-6, 25, 33, 49).

[41] The *Welcome pink* was ordered to the Irish coast in February. Warwick to the commissioners of the navy, 28 Feb. 1645 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1644-5*, p. 631)

[42] On the coast of Ireland seizing prizes. Examination of Jacob Proust, 16 Apr. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5, HCA 13/59, ff 720-v).

[43] Ships 37-40 continued in service along with the Jocelyn from 1644. Account book for the Jocelyn, 1644 and 1645 (T.N.A., Instance papers, HCA 15/51650-3).

[44] The *Alice and Priscilla* and *Pleyades* operated together as privateers off the coast of Dublin. Examination of Thomas Wadland, 10 Feb. 1645/6 (T.N.A., Examinations 1645-7, HCA 13/60).

Winter Guard 1645						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Lion*[45]	Robert Moulton	State	170	600	40
2	*Happy Entrance*	John Crowther	State	160	539	38
3	*Globe*[46]	Richard Willoughby	State	100	300	24
4	*Fellowship*	William Penn	State	110	300	28
5	*Jocelyn*[47]	Robert Clarke	Merchant	59	196	12
6	*Swan*	Robert Clarke	State	20	200	12-20
7	*Defiance*[48]	Peter Whitty	Privateer	-----	-----	----
8	*Peter*[49]	Captain Dacre	Merchant	40	-----	10
9	*Roebuck*	William Liston	State	45	110	14
10	*Charles*[50]	Robert Clark	Merchant	26	50	6
11	*Nicholas*	Richard Bray	Merchant	57	250	20
12	*Mayflower*	Roger Phillips	Merchant	121	405	29
13	*Anne and Joyce*	Thomas Jones	Merchant	90	300	22
14	*Green frigate*	Robert Farmer	Merchant	20	30	6
15	*Magdalen*	John Hosier	Merchant	56	185	16
16	*Ann Percy*	Thomas Smith	Merchant	75	250	20
17	*Truelove*	Gervase Coachman	Merchant	75	259	20
18	*Margett galliot*		Merchant	-----	-----	-----
19	*Hunter*[51]	Captain Faulkiner	Privateer	-----	-----	-----
20	*Discovery*	Captain Grigges	Privateer	130	350	28

[45] The 1645 winter guard did not set out ships for Ireland. Moulton replaced Swanley as admiral for the Irish seas. Crowther remained active on the coast. *Lords Journals, vii*, pp. 584-5; William Batten to William Lenthall, 19 Aug. 1645, H.M.C., *Portland*, i, 255; Sir Philip Percival to Sir Robert King, 20 Nov. 1645, H.M.C., *Egmont*, i, part i, 264.

[46] The Fellowship and the Globe remained involved in the guard for the north coast of Ireland and Milford. William Penn to William Batten, 25 Sept. 1645, Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 140-2.

[47] The *Jocelyn* seized the *Swan* in Dublin bay in November and Clarke received command of the prize. Examinations regarding the Swan, 6 Nov. 1645, H.M.C., *Ormonde, ns,* i, 101-4

[48] The *Defiance* was active seizing in prizes and in relieving Youghal. Sir Philip Percival to Sir Robert King, 20 Nov. 1645, H.M.C., Egmont, i, part i, 264

[49] *Peter* and *Roebuck* go to Cork from Milford in January 1646. Penn, *Memorials*, i, 159.

[50] Ships 10-18 received pay for service in Ireland in this period. Orders for payment, 1645 and1646 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/4, ff 39, 48-50, 53-4, 62, 65).

[51] The *Hunter* and *Discovery* intercepted prizes on the Irish coast. Examination of Robert Smith, 6 May 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248); Examination of John Bosman, 6 Dec. 1645, ibid.

Summer Guard 1646						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Lion*[52]	Robert Moulton	State	170	600	40
2	*Happy Entrance*	John Crowther	State	160	539	38
3	*Fellowship*	William Penn	State	110	300	28
4	*Globe*	Richard Willoughby	State	100	300	24
5	*10th Whelp*	Will Lawrence	State	60	139-186	14
6	*Swan*	Robert Clarke	State	45	200	12-20
7	*Trial*	Brown	State	40	100	10
8	*Charles*	Robert Clarke	Merchant	26	50	6
9	*Green frigate*	Thomas Farmer	Merchant	20	30	6
10	*Margrett galliott*		Merchant	-----	-----	-----
11	*Peter*[53]	Captain Dacre	Merchant	40	-----	10
12	*Roebuck*	William Liston	State	75	110	14
13	*Increase*	Captain Swymmer	State	40	110-133	12
14	*Discovery*	Captain Grigge	Privateer	130	350	28
15	*Anne Percy*	Thomas Smith	Merchant	75	250	20
16	*Blessing of London*	Thomas Winnall	Merchant	60	200	18
17	*Sampson*	J. Line	State	70	300	20
18	*Truelove*	Gervase Coachman	Merchant	75	259	20
19	*William and John*	Captain Hall	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
20	*Peter of Weymouth*	Peter Cornellis	Privateer	-----	-----	-----
21	*Warspit*	Henry Southwood	Privateer	-----	-----	-----
22	*Samuel*[54]	Mathew Wood	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
23	*Nicholas*[55]	Richard Bray	Merchant	57	-----	20
24	*Resolution*[56]	----------	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
25	*Dispatch*	----------	Merchant	18	50	-----
26	*Anne and Joyce*	Thomas Jones	Merchant	90	300	12
27	*Mayflower*	Roger Philips	Merchant	121	405	29

[52] The summer guard list for 1646 does not outline stations for the ships. Ships 1-10 were listed as being on the Irish coast for the summer guard in March 1646. Ships marked with an * can be seen as active during the summer months. TT 669 f. 9 (58), *A List of such ships and friggots of the Navy Royall*, (London, 1646), p. 1; summer guard list, 3 Mar. 1645/6 (Bodl. Rawl. A223, f. 50).

[53] Ships 2-21 all took part in the siege of Bunratty. Penn (ed.), *Memorials, i*, 159-214.

[54] The *Samuel* blockaded Dublin in the summer of 1646. Ormond to Mathew Wood, 23 June 1646 (Bodl., Carte MS 17, f. 580).

[55] The *Nicholas* blockaded Dublin. Deposition of Jonathan Paley, 12 Feb 1645/6 (T.C.D., Dublin depositions, MS 810, f. 307); orders for payment, 1646 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/4, f. 54).

[56] Ships 24-27 all received payments for service in Ireland in the summer of 1646. The *Dispatch* and *Resolution* both served at Bunratty. Orders for payment, 1646 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/4, ff 62, 65, 105-6).

28	*Constant Warwick*[57]	John Gilson	Privateer	-----	250-420	26
29	*Increase*	Captain Faulkiner	Privateer	-----	-----	-----
30	*Mermaid*	Reeve Williams	Privateer	-----	-----	-----

[57] Ships 28-30 served as privateers on the Irish coast and their activity can be seen in prize records. Examination of John Church, 17 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62); TT E.340(19), *A Sea-fight: two ships taken by Captain Southwood and Captain Faulkner* (London, 1646), p. 1; examination of Claus de Witt, 29 May 1646 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1646-7, HCA 13/248).

Winter Guard 1646						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Lion*[58]	Richard Swanley	State	170	600	40
2	*Happy Entrance*[59]	John Crowther	State	160	539	38
3	*Assurance*[60]	William Penn	State	120	342-456	32
4	*Nonsuch*	William Thomas	State	110	389-518	34
5	*Truelove*[61]	Gervase Coachman	Merchant	75	259	20
6	*Blessing of London*	Thomas Winnall	Merchant	60	200	18
7	*Charles*	Robert Clark	Merchant	16	50	6
8	*Discovery*	Thomas Grigge	Privateer	130	350	28
9	*Green frigate*	Thomas Farmer	Merchant	20	30	6
10	*Sampson*	J. Line	State	60	300	20
11	*Globe*[62]	Richard Willoughby	State	100	300	24
12	*Rebecca*	Stephen Rich	Merchant	75	250	20
13	*Swan*	Robert Clark	State	45	200	12-20
14	*Samuel*	Mathew Woods	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
15	*Hunter*[63]	Captain Downes	Privateer	-----	-----	-----
16	*Catt*	Thomas Wells	Privateer	-----	-----	-----
17	*Sampson*[64]	Robert Plunkett	Privateer	-----	-----	-----

[58] The winter guard for 1646 did not list stations for the ships. Parliament reappointed Swanley to the Irish squadron in October. *Lords Journals*, viii, 459, 529.

[59] The Happy Entrance remained on the Irish coast into the winter. Instructions to Richard Swanley, 7 Nov. 1646, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, p. 257.

[60] Parliament ordered the *Assurance* and *Nonsuch* to ply off Ireland in December 1646. Committee of the admiralty to Richard Swanley, 22 Dec. 1646, Penn (ed.), *Memorials, i*, 228.

[61] Ships 5-10 remained on the south coast after the siege of Bunratty. Penn (ed.), *Memorials, i*, 216

[62] Ships 11-14 formed part of the Irish squadron at Dublin and on the east coast. Parliamentary commissioners to Stephen Rich, 31 Dec. 1646 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, p. 571); parliamentary commissioners to Richard Willoughby, ibid, p. 548; Mathew Wood to Ormond, 4 Oct 1646 (Bodl. Carte MS 19, f. 42); Ormond to Richard Willoughby, 12 Nov. 1646, ibid, f. 354).

[63] The *Hunter* and *Catt* took prizes off the coast of Munster in the winter of 1646.Examination of William Arthur, 2 Oct. 1646 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2); certificate by the mayor of Kinsale, 1 Feb. 1646/7, ibid).

[64] The *Sampson* was on the west coast until its seizure by the confederates in January 1647. Examination of Robert Plunkett, 2 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

Summer Guard 1647						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Lion*[65]	Richard Swanley	State	170	600	45
2	*Bonaventure*	John Crowther	State	170	557	36
3	*Nonsuch*	Richard Willoughby	State	120	400	34
4	*Assurance*	William Penn	State	110	350	32
5	*John*	William. Swanley	State	110	367	28
6	*Recovery*	Robert Dare	State	90	300	20
7	*Satisfaction*	Robert Moulton, jn.	State	70	210	20
8	*Increase*	William Ledgard	State	40	133	14
9	*Star*	John Lockier	State	60	200	16
10	*10th Whelp*	William Lawrence	State	60	139-186	14
11	*Swan*	Rob. Clarke	State	60	200	12
12	*Discovery*	John Wills	Merchant	103	344	34
13	*Samuel*	Matthew Wood	Merchant	75	248	20
14	*Sampson*	John Lyne	State	75	252	20
15	*Truelove*	Jervis Coachman	Merchant	77	259	22
16	*Anne & Joyce*	Thomas Jones	Merchant	90	300	26
17	*Anne Percy*	William Handcock	Merchant	75	250	22
18	*Magdalen*	John Hosier	Merchant	56	185	16
19	*Blessing*	Thomas Winnall	Merchant	60	200	18
20	*A ketch*	--------	Merchant	-----	-----	-----
21	*Hunter*[66]	Captain Downes	Privateer	----	-----	-----
22	*Charles*[67]	Robert Clarke	Merchant	16	50	6
23	*Green frigate*[68]	Thomas Farmer	Merchant	20	30	6
24	*Dispatch*		Merchant	18	50	
25	*Adventure*[69]	Captain Ball	State	110	380-510	32
26	*Constant Warwick*[70]	John Gilson	Privateer	----	250-420	26

[65] Ships 1-19 appeared on the summer guard list for Ireland. The *Blessing* and *Magdalen* were assigned as the Irish fishing guard. Merchant ships did not received stations in the list. Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 236-9; Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, pp 274-6.

[66] The *Hunter* seized prizes on the Irish coast in the summer of 1647. William Penn to committee of the admiralty, 16 June 1647, Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 245-6.

[67] The *Charles* was added to the summer guard in June. Committee of the admiralty to the commissioners of the navy, 22 June 1647 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1645-7*, p. 605).

[68] Ships 23-24 received payments for service on the Irish coast over the summer of 1647. The *Truelove*, *Anne and Joyce*, *Anne Percy*, *Charles* and *Blessing* also received payments for their service. Orders for payment, 1647 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/4, ff 87, 92, 104-6, 110, 113, 117

[69] The *Adventure* was a newly built frigate that had arrived on the Irish coast by the summer of 1647. Examination of John Ariens, 2 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

[70] The *Constant Warwick* was active near Land's End in 1647. Examination of John Herne, 27 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).

Winter Guard 1647						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Bonaventure*[71]	John Crowther, VA	State	170	557	36
2	*Assurance*	William Penn, RA	State	110	350	30
3	*Providence*	John Mildmay	State	100	304	16
4	*President*	John Pilgrim	State	80	220	26
5	*Expedition*	Joseph Jordan	State	100	301	15
6	*Swan*	Robert Clark	State	60	200	12
7	*Star*	John Taylor	State	60	130-200	12
8	*Increase*	William Ledgard	State	40	110-133	12
9	*Dragon*	Anthony Young	State	115	414-556	32
10	*Adventure*[72]	Thomas Bedell	State	110	380-510	32
11	*Constant Warwick*[73]	Robert Dare	Privateer	-----	315-420	26
12	*Tiger*[74]	James Peacock	State	115	440-610	32
13	*Nonsuch*	Richard Willoughby	State	120	390-520	34
14	*Hector*[75]	James Penrose	State	80	200-270	22
15	*Charles*[76]	Robert Clark	Merchant	16	50	6

[71] Ships 1-9 were assigned as the winter guard for Ireland. Penn (ed.), *Memorials,* i, 251; *Commons Journals, v*, pp 317-9.

[72] The *Adventure* was operating off the Lizard. Examination of James Fanning, 19 Feb. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1648, HCA 13/249).

[73] The *Constant Warwick* seized prizes off the Irish coast during the winter. Examination of Bartolmes Vannole, 26 Mar. 1648 (T.N.A., Various 1598-1653, HCA 30/855, ff 616-v).

[74] The *Tiger* was off the Lizard and the *Nonsuch* off Land's End in March. Examination of William Wadding, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Various 1598-1653, HCA 30/855, f. 335); committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and cinque ports to Thomas Rainsborough, 2 Mar. 1647/8 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add 9305, f. 3v).

[75] The admiralty ordered the *Hector* home from Dublin in March as the captain had taken ill. Committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and cinque ports to James Penrose, 2 Mar. 1647/8 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add 9305, f. 3v).

[76] The *Charles* remained in pay from July 1647 to January 1648. Orders for payment, 1648 (T.N.A., Admiralty bill books, 1642-53, Adm 18/4, f. 117).

Summer Guard 1648						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Bonaventure*[77]	John Crowther	State	170	557	36
2	*Elizabeth*	Jonas Reeve	State	120	474-643	32
3	*Hector*	John Pearce	State	80	300	20
4	*Dragon*	Anthony Young	State	115	414-556	32
5	*Star*	John Taylor	State	60	130-200	12
6	*Increase*	W. Ledgant	State	40	110-133	12
7	*Truelove*	Henry Lands	State	78	259	22
8	*Expedition*	Joseph Jordan	State	100	301	15
9	*Assurance*	William Penn	State	110	350	30
10	*Nonsuch*	Richard Willoughby	State	120	400	34
11	*President*	John Pilgrim	State	80	220	26
12	*Satisfaction*	Francis Penrose	State	70	210	20
13	*Swan*	Robert Clark	State	60	200	12
14	*Recovery*	Peter Squibb	State	90	300	20
15	*Weymouth pink*	John Bowen	State	50	120-160	14
16	*Antelope*	Edward Hall	State	160	600	36
17	*Swallow*		State	150	500	36
18	*John*	Edward Miott	State	110	367	28
19	*Cygnet*[78]	Abraham Wheeler	State	70	160-213	18
20	*Blessing*[79]	Thomas Reynolds	State	60	200	18
21	*Constant Warwick*[80]	Robert Dare	Privateer	-----	315-420	26

[77] Parliament assigned 19 ships to the Irish guard on 25 April 1648. Ships 1-9 were already on the coast with the rest to follow. An earlier Irish guard list allocated 6 different ships to the guard: *Adventure*, *Pelican*, *Providence*, *Lyon*, *Hind* and *Roebuck*. The *Swallow*, *Antelope*, *Satisfaction*, *Hind*, *Roebuck* and *Pelican* defected to the royalists during the mutiny. Report on the Irish guard, 25 Apr. 1649 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add 9305, f. 49v); summer guard, 15 Apr. 1648 (B.L., Papers relating to the navy, 1612-60, Add 9300, f. 79); Committee of the Lords and Commons for the Admiralty and Cinque Ports, 15 Apr. 1648 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add 9305, ff 41-v); Penn (ed.), *Memorials, i,* 261.

[78] The *Cygnet* is noted as active in the Irish guard in September along with the *Elizabeth* and *Expedition*. Committee of both houses, 21 Sept. 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1648-9*, p. 288)

[79] Parliament assigned the *Blessing* as part of the Irish fishing guard along with the *Truelove* in March. Committee of the Lords and Commons for the Admiralty and Cinque Ports to Henry Lands, 16 Mar. 1647/8 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add 9305, f.11).

[80] The *Constant Warwick* was active seizing prizes. Examination of John Lobe, 29 June 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).

Winter Guard 1648						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Elizabeth*[81]	Jonas Reeve	State	120	474-643	32
2	*Cygnet*	Abraham Wheeler	State	70	160-213	18
3	*Expedition*	Joseph Jordan	State	100	301	15
4	*Assurance*[82]	William Penn	State	110	350	30
5	*Tiger*[83]	James Peacock	State	115	440-610	32
6	*Dragon*[84]	Anthony Young	State	115	414-556	32
7	*Nonsuch*[85]	Richard Willoughby	State	120	400	34
8	*Phoenix*[86]	John Bowen	State	150	410-560	32

[81] The winter guard in October 1648 did not list the stations of each ship. I have taken the appointment of the generals at sea on 26 February 1649 as the end of the 1648 winter guard. Winter guard lists, 13 Oct. 1648 (B.L., Navy papers, 1643-66, Add 9304, f. 8); committee of both houses, 21 Sept. 1648 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1648-9*, p. 288).

[82] William Cann to William Lenthall, 5 Feb. 1648/9, H.M.C., *Portland*, i, 510

[83] Off Land's End in February 1649. James Peacock to earl of Warwick, 6 Feb. 1648/9, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p.303.

[84] Captured prizes on the Irish coast. Allegation concerning the *Amity of Southampton*, 1648 (T.N.A., Allegations, 1638-1762, HCA 24/176).

[85] Captured prizes on the Irish coast. Examination of Alexander Sherlock, 11 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Interrogatories, 1649-53, HCA 23/15).

[86] Captured prizes on the Irish coast. Examination of Jacob Bowers, 6 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).

Summer Guard 1649						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*St Andrew*[87]	Sir George Ayscue	State	260	590-780	42
2	*Lion*	William Penn	State	170	470-630	42
3	*Assurance*		State	110	350	30
4	*A ketch*	-----	State	-----	-----	-----
5	*John*[88]		State	110	270-370	28
6	*Garland*[89]	L. Lidcott	State	170	420-570	34
7	*Triumph*	Edward Hall	State	-----	671	42
8	*Charles*	W. Wildey	State	350	610-810	44
9	*Leopard*	Robert Moulton	State	160	390-520	34
10	*Hercules*		Merchant	105	450	28
11	*Adventure*	Andrew Ball	State	110	380-510	32
12	*Constant Warwick*	Robert Moulton, jn.	State	-----	315-420	26
13	*Nonsuch*	John Mildmay	State	110	389-518	34
14	*Elizabeth*	Jonas Reeves	State	120	474-643	32
15	*Increase*	William Tatnell	State	40	100-133	12
16	*Phoenix*[90]	T. Harrison	State	120	410-560	32
17	*Hector*[91]	Robert Nixon	State	80	200-270	22
18	*Satisfaction*	William Brandley	State	70	220-290	26
19	*Princess Maria*[92]		Merchant	-----	-----	----
20	*Bonaventure*[93]	R. Hackwell	State	170	557	36
21	*Paradox*[94]	Benjamin Blake	State	----	128	12-14

[87] I have taken the 1649 summer guard as running from the appointment of the generals at sea I February to the departure of Rupert in October. Popham sent the *St Andrew*, *Lion*, *Assurance* and a ketch to Dublin on 14 May. The *Lion* was later redirected to Kinsale. Account of a voyage by Popham, 28 Mar. 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne- Popha*m, p. 12.

[88] The *John* had arrived at Dublin by 25 May. Sir George Ayscue to William Penn, 25 May 1649, H.M.C., *Portland*, ii, 67.

[89] R. C. Anderson lists ships 9-15 as the fleet that arrived before Kinsale on 21 May. The *Garland* had previously been at Dublin. The generals at sea did not provide a full list of the vessels they brought before the harbour. On 13 June they were in Milford Haven with the *Triumph*, *Charles*, *Leopard*, *Lion*, *Garland*, *Hercules*, *John* and *Elizabeth*. R. C. Anderson, ' The royalists at sea in 1649', pp 329-33; Sir George Ayscue to William Penn, 1 May 1649, H.M.C., *Portland*, ii, 66.

[90] The Phoenix was on the coast in May. Colonels Deane and Blake to Popham, 22 May 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne-Popham*, p. 17

[91] The *Hector* and *Satisfaction* were used to provide convoys at Milford Haven in August. Colonel Deane to Popham, 7 Aug. 1649, ibid, p. 25.

[92] The *Princess Maria* was sent as a convoy for Milford in August. Narrative by Edward Popham, 14 Aug. 1649, ibid, p. 26.

[93] The *Bonaventure* was at Dublin in September. Colonel Deane to Popham, 7 Aug. 1649, ibid, p. 35.

[94] The *Paradox* was on the coast in September. Colonel Blake to Popham, 26 Sept. 1649, ibid, p. 42.

22	*Swan*[95]	Robert Clarke	State	20	200	12-20
23	*Truelove*	John Sherwin	State	75	75-100	12
24	*Nicodemus*[96]	----------	State	45	90-120	6
25	*President*[97]	Captain Ferns	State	80	220	26
26	*George*[98]	Robert Moulton	State	260	796	46
27	*Mary Rose*	Francis Penrose	State	100	321	28
28	*Dragon*	Anthony Young	State	115	415-556	32
29	*Hind*	John Bowen	State	70	140-200	13
30	*Guinea frigate*	C. Throwgood	State	-----	-----	-----
31	*Concord*[99]	Samuel Howett	State	-----	-----	-----
32	*Tiger's Whelp*[100]	Anthony Houlding	State	-----	-----	-----

[95] *Swan* and *Truelove* were on service in Ireland in April and ordered re-victualled. Blake and Deane to navy commissioners, 18 Apr. 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 99); council of state to navy committee, 26 Apr. 1649, ibid, p. 110.

[96] Ordered to Dublin as part of a convoy in May. Popham to ___, 2 May 1649, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, p. 304

[97] Active on east coast near Dublin. Council of state to collectors of prize goods, 18 May 1649 (*Cal. S.P. Dom., 1649-50*, p. 147).

[98] The *St Andrew*, *George*, *Mary Rose*, *Dragon*, *Hind* and *Paradox* arrived in the Downs from Kinsale in August. They left the *Lion*, *Nonsuch*, *Guinea frigate* and *Elizabeth* there. Narrative by Edward Popham, 14 Aug. 1649, H.M.C., *Leyborne Popham*, p. 32.

[99] The *Concord* delivered bread to the army at Wexford in October. Colonel Deane to council of state, 27 Oct. 1649 (*Cal. S. P. 1649-50*, p. 379).

[100] Formerly the Mary of Antrim. In service on the Irish coast. Examination of Patrick Strafford, 29 Mar. 1649 (T.N.A, Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).

Winter Guard 1649						
No.	**Ship**	**Captain**	**Rate**	**Men**	**Tons**	**Guns**
1	*Lion*[101]	William Penn	State	170	470-630	42
2	*Hector*[102]	John Stokes	State	80	200-270	22
3	*Phoenix*	Thomas Harrison	State	150	410-560	32
4	*Happy Entrance*[103]	Richard Badiley	State	160	539	38
5	*Leopard*	Edward Hall	State	160	520	38
6	*Adventure*	Andrew Ball	State	110	380-510	32
7	*Bonaventure*[104]	Robert Hackwell	State	170	557	36
8	*Garland*[105]	L. Lidcott	State	170	420-570	34
9	*Satisfaction*[106]	Richard Brandley	State	70	210	20

[101] Parliament did not set out a formal winter guard in 1649. The ships in this list have been identified as remaining on the coast of Ireland after the departure of Rupert in October 1649. Colonel Blake ordered Penn and the *Lion* to guard Kinsale harbour. Blake to Penn, 10 Dec. 1649, H.M.C., *Portland*, ii, 67.

[102] The *Hector* and *Phoenix* were noted at Munster ports in January 1650. Colonel Deane to William Penn, 16 and 28 Jan. 1649/50, ibid, p. 67.

[103] The *Happy Entrance*, *Leopard* and *Adventure* were directed to protect trade around Land's End in November. Colonel Popham to Captain Richard Badiley, 14 Nov. 1649 (*Cal. S. P. 1649-50*, p. 393).

[104] Ordered to assist army in Ireland in November. Colonel Popham to Robert Hackwell, 14 Nov. 1649, ibid, p. 393.

[105] At Wexford in November. Examination of John Chigwell, 19 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A, Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/251, part i).

[106] At Waterford in November. Inventory of the *St Nicholas*, 5 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A, Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/251, part i).

Appendix D2: Confederate Privateers by Year

1642

Ship	Captain/Owner
St Francis of Dunkirk[1]	Captain Antonio Nicholas Vanderkipp
St Peter of Dunkirk[2]	Francis Oliver
St Michael the Archangel[3]	Francis Oliver

[1] Owen O'Neill to Hugh Bourke, 18 June 1642, H.M.C., *Report on the Franciscan manuscripts*, pp 150-1.
[2] Examination of William Elliott and William Gilder, 3 Nov. 1642 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1642-44, HCA 13/58, ff 299-300v).
[3] Supreme council to Francis Oliver, c.31 Dec. 1642 (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, p. 376).

1643

Ship	Captain/Owner
St Francis of Dunkirk (also referred to as *Franciso of Dunkirk*)[4]	Captain Durchan/Captain Antonio Nicholas Vanderkipp (owner)
St Michael the Archangel[5]	Captain Francis Oliver
St Patrick of Wexford[6]	Captains Pruneas and Hayes
Unnamed Dungarvan frigate[7]	Captain Garret
Hare[8]	Captain Stafford
Mary Magdalen of Wexford	Captain Gerard Isbravul
Clement of Wexford	Clement Roch

[4] Examination of Paul Dodd, 2 Aug. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations 1642-4, HCA 13/58, ff 603-4).
[5] Supreme council to Father Bourke, 8 Aug. 1643, Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation*, ii, 338-41.
[6] Examination of Mark Roche, 12 Jul. 1643, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, p. 81
[7] Deposition of John Sellar, 29 May 1643 (T.C.D., Waterford depositions, MS 820, ff 298-v).
[8] These three frigates were hired by Ormond in October 1643. A note of the particular vessels and of the owners who are to be contracted for his Maties service, Oct. 1643 (Bodl., Carte MS 7, ff 27-v); deposition of James Dalton, 8 Jan. 1653/4 (T.C.D., Wexford Depositions, Wexford, ii, MS 819, f. 256).

1644

Ship	Captain/Owner
Hare[9]	Palle Roach

[9] William Coneham and others to the committee of the navy, 28 Sept. 1644 (T.N.A, Various 1579-1656, HCA 30/849, f. 552); letter by Francis Green, 15 Sept. 1644, ibid, f 553, opinion of Robert Tweedy, navy commissioner, 15 Sept. 1644, ibid, f. 553v.

1645

Ship	Captain/Owner
Mary of Antrim[10]	Earl of Antrim
San Pedro	Earl of Antrim
San Pietro[11]	Rinuccini
St Ursula	Rinuccini

[10] Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and restoration*, pp 161-2; Ohlmeyer, 'The Dunkirk of Ireland', pp 30-2.
[11] Massari, 'My Irish campaign', pp 155-9, 504; O'Ferrall & O'Connell, *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, iii, pp 55-6.

1646

Ship	Captain/Owner
------	Captain Ruchor[12]
------	Captain Nicholas Health[13]
------	Captain Peter Peterson[14]
Mary of Antrim	Earl of Antrim[15]
Unnamed Antrim frigate	Earl of Antrim

[12] Examinations of John Church and John Blatt, 16 and 18 Nov. 1647 (T.N.A, Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[13] Charles I to Ormond, 9 July 1646 (Bodl., Carte MS 18, f. 23).
[14] Order by the committee of the lords and commons for the admiralty and Cinque ports, 12 Nov. 1646 (T.N.A, Various 1579-1656, HCA 30/849, f. 611).
[15] Val Savage to Sir Philip Percival, 26 June 1646, H.M.C., *Egmont*, p. 295.

1647

Ship	Captain
Mary and John of Wexford[16]	John Rossitor
Patrick of Waterford[17]	Francis Oliver
Dolphin of Wexford[18]	Captain Beachie
Mary Consolation of Waterford[19]	William Horne
Mary of Antrim[20]	William O'Doran
Mary of the Isles	Michael Hay
----------	Captain Darcie[21]
Francis (formerly Sampson)	----------
----------	Thomas Turner[22]

[16] Deposition of George Hampton, 26 Jan. 1643/4 (T.C.D., Wexford depositions, ii, MS 819, ff 205-v).
[17] Deposition of David Young and John Nessett, 27 Apr. 1647, H. E. Nott (ed.), *The deposition books of Bristol, vol. I: 1643-47* (Bristol, 1935), pp 216-7.
[18] Examination of James Morrice and others, 30 July 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[19] Examinations of John Herne and William Barrett, 27 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62)
[20] Order of the commissioners of the confederate court of admiralty, 30 Apr. 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2)
[21] Examination of Robert Plunkett, 2 Sept. 1647 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[22] Certificate by Thomas Turner to Richard French, 1 June 1647 (T.N.A., Interrogatories files, 1644-55, HCA 23/30).

1648

Ship	Captain
Angel Keeper of Waterford[23]	William Hoville
St Peter of Waterford[24]	Joseph Content
Michael of Wexford[25]	Captain Beach
Mary of Antrim[26]	Antonio Vandermarche/William O'Doran
St John of Waterford[27]	Daniel Van Vooren
John Baptist of Waterford[28]	Laurence Baron
Mary and John of Wexford[29]	John Rossitor
Mary and Francis[30]	----------
St Clara of Waterford[31]	Emmanuel Gonzales
Mary and Joseph of Wexford[32]	William Wadding
Mary Virgin of Wexford[33]	William O'Doran
St Francis[34]	Nicholas Holt
Mary of the Isles	Antonio Vandermarche
Cock (St Teresa)	Peter Deferterue
Lord Crafford's frigate	Michael Casey
Cupido	Manuel Buckson
St Cornelius	Francis Oliver
Frigate owned by John Talbott and Michael Stafford (possibly *St Ursula*)	Captain George Bradshaw
----------	Captain Darcy

[23] Examination of William Hoville, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).
[24] Examination of Peter Content, 11 July 1649, ibid.
[25] Examinations of John Jobson and Henry Readmun, 7 and 9 Aug. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1648, HCA 13/249).
[26] examination of Antonio Undermarche, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[27] Commission for *St John of Waterford*, 22 Nov. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[28] Commission for Laurence Baron and the *John Baptist* by the Supreme Council, 23 Feb., 1647/8 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 378).
[29] Deposition of William Page, 1 Dec. 1648, Anderson (ed.), *The book of examinations and depositions*, pp 2-3.
[30] Examination of Thomas Thompson, 14 July 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1648-9, HCA 13/61, f. 202).
[31] Examination of Henry Johnson, 31 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Interrogatory files, 1649-53, HCA 23/15, no. 239).
[32] Examination of William Wadding, 21 Mar. 1647/8 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 335).
[33] Examination of Peter Bowry, 8 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[34] List of captains and frigates who operate from Wexford and Waterford, 1648, H.M.C., *Ormonde,* ns, i, 121.

----------	Captain Turner
----------	Captain Hall[35]

[35] Committee of the Lords and Commons for the Admiralty and Cinque Ports to Peter Tholwell, 16 Mar. 1647/8 (B.L., Navy papers, 1645-57, Add MS 9305, f.13).

1649

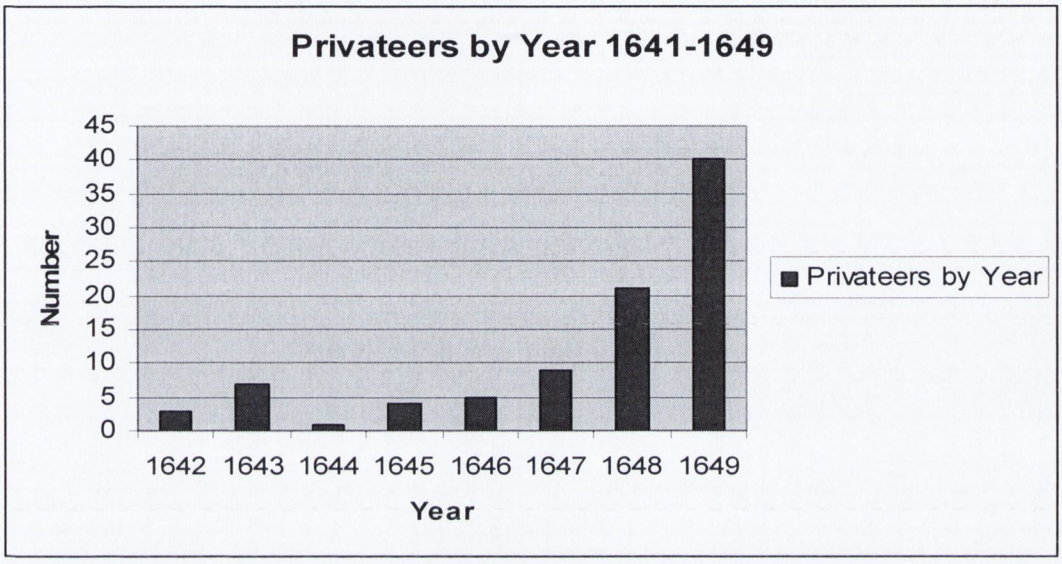
Ship	Captain
Mary of Antrim[36]	Antonio Vandermarche
Little Mary and John of Wexford[37]	William Wadding
Cornelius of Wexford[38]	Clement Ryder
Delight of Waterford[39]	Richard Keating
St John of Waterford[40]	Daniel Van Vooren
St Clara of Waterford[41]	Emmanuel Gonzales
Patrick of Wexford[42]	Ignatius Brett
St John of Wexford[43]	Patrick Wadding
St Peter of Waterford[44]	Joseph Content
St Teresa[45]	Captain Darcy
Mary Magdalen of Wexford[46]	Nicholas Rochfort
Patrick of Ross[47]	----------
Mary Conception of Wexford[48]	Christopher Turner
Peter of Scilly (acquires after losing *Mary Conception* at Wexford)	Christopher Turner
Trinity of Waterford[49]	Adam Browne
Mary Virgin of Wexford (January)[50]	William O'Doran
Mary of the Isles (April)[51]	William O'Doran
St Francis of Wexford[52]	Nicholas Holt
Young Tobias (being adapted as a frigate at Wexford in March)[53]	John Bartlett

[36] Examination of Antonio Undermarche, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[37] Examination of William Wadding, 4 June 1649, ibid.
[38] Commission for the *Cornelius of Wexford*, 9 July 1649, ibid.
[39] Commission for *Delight of Waterford* [Cork], 30 May 1649, ibid.
[40] Examinations of Daniel van Vooren and Derrick Hendes, 25 July 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[41] Examination of Henry Johnson, 31 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Interrogatory files, 1649-53, HCA 23/15, no. 239).
[42] Examination of Ignatius Brett, 22 Apr. 1649 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1592-1650, HCA 15/2).
[43] Examination of Patrick Wadding, 7 May 1649, ibid.
[44] Examination of Joseph Content, 11 July 1649, ibid.
[45] Examination of Richard Teague, 20 July 1649, ibid.
[46] Commission for the *Mary Magdalen*, Mar. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 278).
[47] Examination of Robert Sansum, 22 Nov. 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations 1649-50, HCA 13/62).
[48] Examination of Christopher Turner, 30 July 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/251, part i).
[49] Letter by Blake and Deane, 5 May 1649, McNeill (ed.), *The Tanner letters*, pp 305-6; condemnation of the *Trinity*, 1649 (T.N.A., Sentences in prize court, 1649-52, HCA 34/4, f. 74).
[50] Examination of Peter Bowry, 8 Jan. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[51] Michael Bolan to Ormond, 30 Apr. 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 24, f. 562).
[52] Examination of Peter Rowensen, 2 May 1649, ibid, f. 602.

Lord Crafford's frigate[54]	Michael Casey (listed as captain in 1648)
Frigate owned by John Talbott and Michael Stafford (possibly *St Ursula*)[55]	Captain George Bradshaw (Unnamed frigate in 1649)
St Peter of Galway (formerly *San Peitro*)[56]	Nicholas Martin
Unnamed Waterford man of war at Galway[57]	Captain Williams
Unnamed Irish man of war[58]	Hugh Kelly
Unnamed Irish man of war[59]	William O'Howille
Mirrour of Dunkirk[60]	Thomas Plunkett
St Joseph	Claude Collett
----------	Michael Everard[61]
----------	Diego Leyne
----------	Jacques LeCroy
----------	Thomas Corvall
----------	Jean Pearce
----------	Hantman Eldson
----------	Claus van Hoost
----------	Michael Ruduicke
----------	John Cusack
----------	William D'Horne
----------	Abraham Brent
----------	Piere LaMotte
----------	Jacob David

[53] John Bartlett and John Talbott to Ormond, 20 Mar. 1648/9, ibid, f. 177.
[54] Muskerry to Ormond, 8 Sept. 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 25, ff 488-v).
[55] Michael Bolan to Ormond, 6 Aug. 1649, ibid, f. 165.
[56] Unsigned letter, 6 July 1649 (Bodl., Carte MS 26, f. 454).
[57] John Bartlett to Ormond, 31 Jan. 1649/50, ibid, ff 577-v.
[58] Examination of Robert Holloway, 2 May 1649 (T.N.A., Examinations 1648-9, HCA 13/61, f. 382)
[59] deposition of William Harvey, 23 July 1649, Anderson, *The book of examinations and depositions*, p. 20
[60] TT E.564(8), *A great victory obtained by Prince Charles, his ships upon the north coast of England* (London, 1649), p. 5.
[61] A particular of prizes brought into the ports of Ostend and Newporte the tenths and other duties whereof
are not yet satisfied, 1648-1650 (Bodl., Carte MS 29, ff 110-11v).

Table D2.1 Breakdown of confederate privateers 1641-49[62]



[62] Compiled from the figures in the tables from 1642-49.

Alphabetical listing of confederate privateers 1641-50[63]

Ship	Captain/Owner
----------	Captain Ruchor
----------	Captain Nicholas Health
----------	Captain Peter Peterson
----------	Captain Turner
----------	Captain Hall
----------	Captain Darcy
----------	Michael Everard
----------	Diego Leyne
----------	Jacques LeCroy
----------	Thomas Corvall
----------	Jean Pearce
----------	Hantman Eldson
----------	Claus van Hoost
----------	Michael Ruduicke
----------	John Cusack
----------	William D'Horne
----------	Abraham Brent
----------	Piere LaMotte
----------	Jacob David
----------	Captain Darcie
----------	Thomas Turner
Angel Keeper of Waterford	William Hoville
Clement of Wexford	Clement Roch
Cock (St Teresa)	Peter Deferterue
Cornelius of Wexford	Clement van de Rider
Cupido	Manuel Buckson
Delight of Waterford	Richard Keating
Dolphin of Wexford	Captain Beachie
Francis (formerly Sampson)	----------
Frigate owned by John Talbott and Michael Stafford (possibly *St Ursula*)	Captain George Bradshaw
Hare	Captain Stafford/Palle Roach
John Baptist of Waterford	Laurence Baron
Little Mary and John of Wexford	William Wadding
Lord Crafford's frigate	Michael Casey
Mary and Francis	----------
Mary and John of Wexford	John Rossitor
Mary and Joseph of Wexford	William Wadding
Mary Conception of Wexford	Christopher Turner

[63] Compiled from the tables for 1642-49. Ships that re-appear in different years have only been counted once.

Mary Consolation of Waterford	William Horne
Mary Magdalen of Wexford	Captain Gerard Isbravul
Mary Magdalen of Wexford	Nicholas Rochfort
Mary of Antrim	Earl of Antrim/ William O'Doran/ Antonio Vandermarche
Mary of the Isles	Michael Hay/ Antonio Vandermarche/ William O'Doran
Mary Virgin of Wexford	William O'Doran
Michael of Wexford	Captain Beach
Mirrour of Dunkirk	Thomas Plunkett
Patrick of Ross	----------
Patrick of Waterford	Francis Oliver
Patrick of Wexford	Ignatius Brett
Peter of Silly (acquires after losing *Mary Conception* at Wexford)	Christopher Turner
San Pietro/ St Peter of Galway	Rinuccini/ Nicholas Martin
St Clara of Waterford	Emmanuel Gonzales
St Cornelius	Francis Oliver
St Francis of Dunkirk/Wexford (also *Franciso of Dunkirk*)	Captain Durchan/Captain Antonio Nicholas Vanderkipp/ Nicholas Holt
St John of Waterford	Daniel Van Vooren
St John of Wexford	Patrick Wadding
St Joseph	Claude Collett
St Michael the Archangel	Captain Francis Oliver
St Patrick of Wexford	Captains Pruneas and Hayes
St Peter of Dunkirk	Captain Francis Oliver
St Peter of Waterford (San Pedro)	Joseph Content/ Earl of Antrim
St Teresa	Captain Darcy
St Ursula	Rinuccini
Trinity of Waterford	Adam Browne
Unnamed Dungarvan frigate	Captain Garret
Unnamed Irish man of war	Hugh Kelly
Unnamed Irish man of war	William O'Howille
Unnamed Waterford man of war at Galway	Captain Williams
Young Tobias (being adapted as a frigate at Wexford in March 1649)	John Bartlett

Appendix D3: Confederate sailors, 1641-49

Sailor	Position	Ship/Captain	Place	Age
Thomas White[1]	Mariner	*St Francis*	Wexford	26
Robert Whitty	Mariner	*St Francis*	Wexford	31
Bryan Cann[2]	Mariner	Richard Roche	Galway	27
Peter Scout	Quarter-master	Richard Roche	-	-
James Cavanagh	Mariner	Richard Roche	Wexford	19
John Jobson[3]	Quarter-master	*Michael of Wexford*	-	-
Richard Beach	Captain	*Michael of Wexford*	English	-
Harmen Breun	Quarter-master	*Michael of Wexford*	-	-
Antonio[4] Vandermarche	Captain	*Mary of Antrim*	Flanders	30
Charles Ruyter	Master	*Mary of Antrim*	-	29
James Gott	Lieutenant	*Mary of Antrim*	Waterford	27
William Wadding[5]	Captain	*Mary and John of Wexford*	Wexford	38
John Churn	Mariner	*Mary and John of Wexford*	Wexford	-
Peter Toland[6]	Quarter-master	*Cornelius of Wexford*	Fleming	-
Hugh Keating[7]	Quarter-master	*Delight of Waterford*	-	-
Richard Keating	Captain	*Delight of Waterford*	-	-
Derrick Hendes [8]	Master	*St John of Waterford*	Dunkirk	-
Daniel van Vooren	Captain	*St John of Waterford*	Flanders	-
Patrick French	Mariner	*St John of Waterford*	Irish	-
Patrick Rooth[9]	Quarter-master	*Mary Virgin of Wexford*	-	-
Patrick ___ [10]	Mariner	*Dolphin of Wexford*	Wexford	45
James Morrice	Mariner	*Dolphin of Wexford*	Wexford	45
David _____	Mariner	*Dolphin of Wexford*	Wexford	
Joseph Content[11]	Captain	*St Peter of Waterford*	Dunkirk	30

[1] Examinations of Thomas White and Robert Whitty, 1 June 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-45, ff 300-1).
[2] Examinations of Bryan Cann and James Cavenaugh, 25 May 1649, ibid, ff 502-v.
[3] Examinations of John Jobson and Harmen Bruen, 9 and 10 Aug. 1648 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1648).
[4] Examinations of Antonio Undermerch, Charles Rutyer and James Gott, 5 Feb. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part i).
[5] Age relates to 1648 deposition. Examination of William Wadding and John Churn, 4 June 1649, ibid; Examination of William Wadding, 21 Mar. 1647/8 T.N.A., Various papers, 1598-52, HCA 30/855, f.335).
[6] Examination of Peter Toland, 3 Nov. 1649, ibid.
[7] Examination of Hugh Keltin, 15 Sept. 1649, ibid.
[8] Examinations of Derrick Hendes, Daniel van Vooren and Patrick French, 25 July and 25 Nov. 1649 T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1649, HCA 13/250, part ii).
[9] Examination of Patrick Rooth, 6 Jan. 1648/9, ibid.
[10] Examinations of James Morrice and others, 30 July 1647 (T.N.A., Early instance and prize papers, 1627-50, HCA 15/2).
[11] Examination of Joseph Content, 11 July 1649, ibid.

Anthony Cole[12]	Master	*Angel Keeper of Waterford*	Dunkirk	31
William Hoville	Captain	*Angel Keeper of Waterford*	-	28
Anthony Cole	Mariner	*Angel Keeper of Waterford*	Dunkirk	31
Francis Doude	Merchant	*Angel Keeper of Waterford*	Wexford	27
Arthur Gunnes	Gunner	*Angel Keeper of Waterford*	Sussex	18
John Bockourt[13]	Quarter-master	*St Peter of Waterford*	-	-
Nicholas Rochfort[14]	Captain (1649)	*Mary Magdalen of Wexford*	Wexford	-
Nicholas Rochfort[15]	Lieutenant (1648)	*Mary and Joseph of Wexford*	Wexford	50
John Rossitor[16]	Captain	*Mary and John of Wexford*	Wexford	-
Simon Synnott	Mariner	*Mary and John of Wexford*	Wexford	-
James Welsh[17]	Mariner	*St Francis*	Wexford	-
Francis Oliver[18]	Captain	*St Michael the Archangel*	Flanders	-
Mark Roch[19]	Quarter-master	*Patrick of Wexford*	Wexford	-
George Pruneas	Captain	*Patrick of Wexford*	Dunkirk	-
William Hayes	Captain	*Patrick of Wexford*	Wexford	-
John O'Daniel[20]	Captain/Owner	*Paul of Dunkirk*	Limerick	
Christopher Turner[21]	Captain	*Mary Conception of Wexford*	Wexford	40

[12] Examinations of Anthony Cole, William Hoville, Francis Doude and Arthur Gunnes 27 Mar. 1647/8, ibid.
[13] Certificate by Joseph Content, 26 Sept. 1648 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1596-1662, HCA 30/854, f. 412).
[14] Commission for Nicholas Rochfort, Mar. 1648/9 (T.N.A., Various papers, 1598-1652, HCA 30/855, f. 278).
[15] Examination of Nicholas Rochfort, 21 Mar. 1647/8, ibid, f. 334.
[16] Depositions of James Dalton and Nicholas Welsh, 13 Jan. 1653/4 (T.C.D. 1641 depositions, Wexford, vol. ii, MS 819, ff 65-v, 200-1).
[17] Deposition of John Hay, 13 Jan. 1653/4, ibid, f. 66.
[18] Commission by the Supreme Council, 31 Dec. 1642, Penn (ed.), *Memorials*, i, 92.
[19] Examination of Mark Roch, 12 July 1643, Powell & Timmings (eds), *Documents*, p. 81.
[20] Mathew O'Hartegan to Luke Wadding, 29 Aug. 1642, H.M.C., *Report on the Franciscan manuscripts*, pp 183-4; examination of Delone Johnson, 23 May 1645 (T.N.A., Interrogatories files. 1588-1666, HCA 23/29, f. 153).
[21] The age relates to the 1643 exam. Examination of Christopher Turner, 30 July 1650 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1650, HCA 13/251, part i); examination of Christopher Turner, 27 Mar. 1643 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1643-4, HCA 13/246).

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MS 820 Waterford

MS 824-826 Cork

MS 829 Clare and Limerick

MS 830 Galway

MS 838 Antrim

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4769 A Milles Collection Vol. 15: Letter Book of the Commissioners for Irish Affairs, 1645-48

4771 Milles Collection Vol. 18: Minute Book of the Committee for Irish Affairs 1642-46

4782	Orders signed by the Committee of Adventurers for Ireland, 1642-3
5501	Documents relating to the shipping of wheat, ammunition and troops to Ireland, 1642-48
9300	Papers relating to the navy, 1612-1660
9304	Papers of the Committee for the Admiralty, 1643-58
9305	Minutes and register of the proceedings of the Committee for the Admiralty, 1645-1648
9306	Letter book and warrants of the Commissioners of the Navy, 1646-52
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