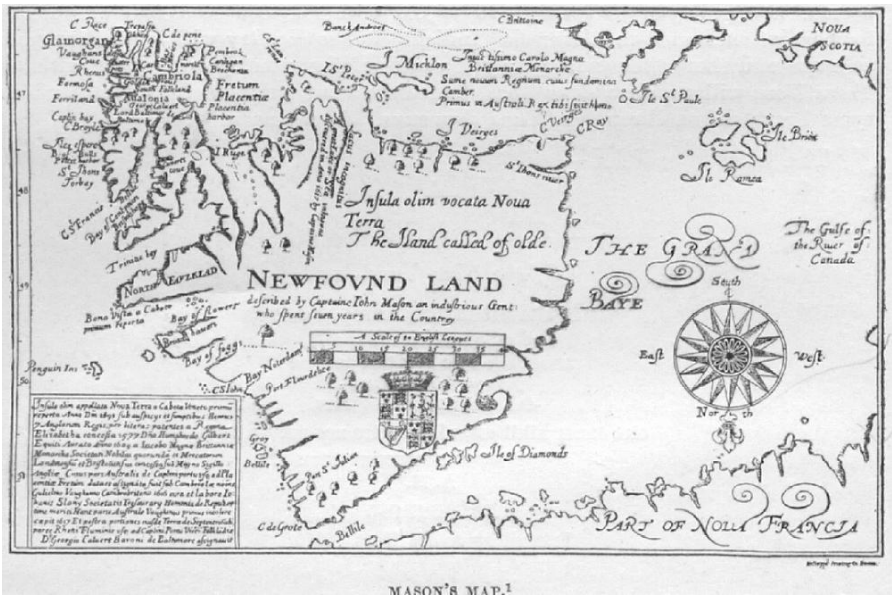
Early Modern Newfoundland

essays, researches and writings on William Vaughan, Richard Whitbourne and other 17th century personalities and issues associated with Newfoundland's settlement



by

Tor Fosnæs

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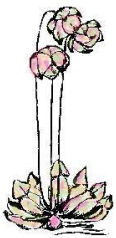

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Cover: John Mason's map from Vaughan *The Golden Grove* 1626.

Introduction

As a founding member of The Sir William Vaughan Project, and later The Sir William Vaughan Trust, I was for a while immersed in all things Vaughan and all things Wales.

As research and interviews progressed I produced a series of papers, essays, reports, whatever you want to call them, I say writings, on subjects that interested me. This collection is now available here, in one volume, for anyone who may be interested.

Two other recent digital books, *The Dao of Newfoundland; Mason's 1620 Discourse* and *A Quick Study of Historic Newfoundland Maps,* are available for download from http://www.mobilewords.pro

There are seven items here:

The Vaughans and their time

A collation of easily found references to Sir William's family and times. More is known about other family members than William, yet he was a prolific author and doctored to the most influential families and individuals. Nearly a century after his death the first biographical notes appeared and for the next three centuries these were the bases for all other Vaughan information.

In the yeere 1615: Sir Richard Whitbourne's letter

A copy of what appears to be a letter from Whitbourne to the Lord Admiral is examined. Whitbourne wrote about his report of inquiry and its status; Whitbourne's 1620 *Discourse* on Newfoundland is used to support the letter's origin.

Butter Pot: the first landfall

A note on the importance of landfalls in dead reckoning navigation, in this case the three most prominent hills on the coast of the Avalon Peninsula, Butterpot, Red and Green; with illustrations and an example from James Yonge's *Journal* entries of the 1660s.

THE MISTS OF TIME: What happened to William Vaughan?

To modern researchers looking in William Vaughan is incredibly frustrating. It is almost like he wanted to efface himself or, as some describe, he was such an odd bird that his contemporaries and descendants simply ignored him. Either way, this article looks at what happened using Oldmixon and A'Wood biographical notes on Vaughan, and later efforts based on those two early writers. A prequel to the opening article, *The Vaughans and their times.*

Newfoundland's Welsh family names recorded in *Family Names of the Island of Newfoundland,* Seary, *1976*

If Vaughan planted Newfoundland with Welsh settlers, and if they managed to hang on for any time, their names may have become part of Newfoundland family names. So went the thinking. Seary's monumental compilation of family names was explored for obvious Welsh names in Newfoundland. I am indebted to Ryan Lewis, fellow founding member of the Sir William Vaughan Trust for assistance in creating the footnotes for this article.

Berry census of 1675 Renews to St. John's; a Welsh perspective

A half century after Vaughan and Calvert planted Newfoundland, settlers were well ensconced. The Berry census has a wealth of information about who and where they were. Other efforts to enumerate the settlers by Russel and Wynborn support and augment Berry's findings.

The Muster Order: a chance find in an old book

Owned by Thomas Lloyd, Herald Extraordinary of Wales, the book, a 1604 edition of *The Passions of the Mind in Generall* by Thomas Wright, contains what might be a note on the back flyleaf in William Vaughan's own hand.

The Vaughans and their time

Attempting to discover whatever is discoverable about William Vaughan is daunting. Archives, books, and research notes yielded precious little other than the bare facts about him first presented by Anthony A'Wood (1690's) and John Oldmixon (1741), each written within a century of his death. In the following mentions of William and his family members, the source reference is followed by reviewer comments in this typeface, quotes from sources are indented from the left.

A great acknowledgement is owed to the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth for their scans of all back issues of more than 50 Welsh journals found at welshjournals.llgc.org.uk.

The Welsh scholars making detailed reference to William Vaughan are, of course, Sir Francis Jones, E.R. Williams, A.G. Prys-Jones and G. Dyfnallt Owen in Sir John E. Lloyd's *History of Carmarthenshire*. The table places them by topic and in chronological order and can serve as an index of sorts.

William Vaughan – p 3	Vaughan Family – p 15	Golden Grove – p 26	Pre-Tudor times – p 30	Other Related – p 31
A'Wood 1690-1692 Oldmixon 1741	Robt. Vaughan 1662 Thomas 1940 Rees 1947	F. Jones 1962, 1987	Howells 1959 R.R. Davies 1968	Nicholas 1872 Lloyd 1935 F. Jones 1937

Haselwood 1812 Chalmers 1812-1817 Williams & Rees 1852 E. Williams 1924 Owen 1938 Prys-Jones 1961 F. Jones 1963	E.D. Jones 1959 Poppy 1980-1981 Hughes 1999 R. Vaughan >2000 GeniWeb >2000 Thrush & Ferris 2010			Prys-Jones 1972 J. Davies 1994 Mancall 2007

William Vaughan – column 1

William Vaughan, Anthony A'Wood, in Athenae Oxonienses (1690-91; 1721) 1:528

> SIR WILLIAM VAUGHAN, Son of Walt. Vaughan of the Golden Grove in Caermarthenshire Esq; and younger Brother to Sir John Vaughan the first Earl of Carbury, was born at the Golden Grove, became a Commoner of Jesus Coll. in Mich. Term, an. 1591, age 14, took the degrees in Arts, and entred on the Law Line, but before he took a degree in that Faculty, he went to travel, and performing some exercize in order thereunto in Vienna, did proceed Doctor there, and at his return was incorporated at Oxon in the same Faculty, an. 1605. In which, tho' indifferently learned, yet he went beyond most Men of his time for Latin especially, and English, Poetry. Afterwards spending much time in rambling to and fro, did take a long journey for the honour and benefit of his Nation, and became the chief undertaker for the Plantation in Cambriol, the Southernmost part in Newfoundland, now called by some Britanniola, where with pen, purse, and Person did prove the worthiness of that enterprize. …
>
> There is no doubt but this our ingenious Author hath other things extant, but such, tho' with great scrutiny, I cannot yet discover: nor can I find any thing else relating to the Author only that he was living at Cambriol beforementioned in sixteen hundred twenty and eight. I find one Will. Vaughan, a physician, who among several other things hath published a book, entit. Directions for Health, natural and artificial, derived from the best Physicians, as well modern as ancient, &c. Printed several times, as in 1617.

The History of Newfoundland *Containing An Account of its Discovery, Settlement, Encrease, Inhabitants, Climate Soil, Product, Trade and present State*, in *The British Empire in America containing The History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress and State of the British Colonies on the Continent and Islands of America*. Vol. I. John Oldmixon, various subscribers, London, 1741.

> In the Year 1615, Dr. William Vaughan of Carmarthen, purchas'd a Grant of the Patentees for part of the Country, as well to the Southd in a mere

> century; William was John's brother and Walter's second son] The Doctor was a poet as well as a Physician, and Author of several Writings in Verse and Pr

A'Wood is quoted by Oldmixon as to Vaughan's colony being called "Cambriola, Little Wales, now call'd by some Britanniola, Little Britain". Vaughan studied and wrote in Newfoundland in 1626 and 1628, according to A'Wood, Vaughan having governed his plantation by deputies until then. Oldmixon made no further mention of Vaughan until the arrival of Calvert.

> It is probably these two Gentlemen, Sir George Calvert and Dr. Vaughan, both of Oxford, Calvert of Trinity, and Vaughan of Jesus, the Welsh College, were Inhabitants of this Island as the same time.

Calvert "procur'd one [Patent] for that Part of the Island which lies between the Bay of Bulls, in the east, and Cape St. Mary's in the South, which was erected into a Province, and called Avalon, as before mention'd." Oldmixon included all of Vaughan's patent in Calvert's permit, again a position not now commonly held. He went on to say, in effect, there is no record of this deal:

> How this Grant could be made without the Consent of the former Proprietors, [the Newfoundland Company] we cannot comprehend, for he settled himself within their limits, and he either agrees with them for it, or King James invaded the Company's Property [something that did take place in 1637 when by Royal decree all Newfoundland plantation grants were forfeited to the Crown and passed to Kirke].

Oldmixon wasn't aware of transfers or purchases between Vaughan and Calvert, perhaps because such records had already disappeared from the public record, if they ever existed. Others have mentioned the loss of Court records in the late 17th century fires that ravaged London. He described the now well known facts of Calvert's tenure at Ferryland.

Relating the efforts of Edward Wynn at Ferryland and Daniel Powell at Caplin Bay, on Calvert's behalf, he wrote,

> These two Adventurers, Capt. Wynn and Capt. Powell, being Welshmen, one may suppose they were the more ready to visit this Land on Account of their Countryman Dr. Vaughan, whose settlement must have gone on after Whitburn's Voyage, if, as Mr. Wood writes, he himself resided here, and was here living in 1628.

Faulkland attempted a failed colony under Francis Tansfield in 1623, according to Oldmixon.

> Sir George Calvert, made Lord Baltimore, was so well satisfied with the Account given him of his Plantation of Avalon, that he removed thither with his Family, built a fine house and strong Fort at Ferryland, and dwelt there several Years; as did Dr. Vaughan, on the other Side of the Island. The Bristol Plantation was in being still, and Conception, Trinity, St. John's,

> Cape de Raz and other Stages were every Year frequented by great Numbers of English Adventurers in the Fishing Trade.

He recounted the Kirke-Calvert dispute, in summary, the English use of Newfoundland's east coast is detailed, noting English use did not extend past Cape Bonavista until late in the 17th century with the settling of Greenspond.

> On that which was the French Side [i.e., French use] are the Bays of Trepasey, St. Mary's, Borrell and Placentia, which extend their Arms towards the North or opposite Coast.

"The other side of the Island" and the note about Trepassey Bay being on "the French side" indicated Oldmixon wasn't particularly aware of Vaughan's plantation locations now known to be at Renews (1617) and Trepassey Harbour (after 1622). Nor indeed geography, although it is possible he thought the Avalon was an island and not a peninsula. The location of *Borrell* [it is a common Spanish surname], isn't clear; for if it is meant to sit between St. Mary's and Placentia Bay it may be the Salmonier area, the now (St. Catherine's portion of St. Mary's Bay, including Colinet Islands, where the French had long-standing salmon fishing enterprises) or maybe Holyrood Bay.

These two sources were the standard William Vaughan sources for generations of historians to follow, Mr. Vaughan was already slipping from the record.

Biography for Sir William Vaughan, Joseph Haslewood, in *British Bibliographer*, 2 (1812) 265-66.W

> William Vaughan, Cambro-Briton, as he styles himself, was son of Walter Vaughan, of the Golden-Grove, in Carmarthenshire, Esq. In July, 1591, he was a scholar at Westminster, and, according to Wood, became a Commoner of Jesus College, in Michaelmas term of the same year, then aged fourteen. The fruits of his scholastic attainments began to appear uncommonly early. By the extract, from his Address to the Reader, presently given, dated in 1599, it will be found he prepared for printing an easy paraphrase of Persius, in English and Latin, above seven years before, and when he could only be in his fifteenth year. In 1597-98, the publications enumerated by his biographer *[probably A'Wood]*, also bespeak a prematurity of genius not usually discovered in one scarcely escaped from the teens. However, the dates are partially confirmed, as in the Golden Grove, he relates "in the yeere of our Lord 1589, I being as then but a boy, do remember." — And that work, which first appeared as early as 1600, shews an extensive reading of both ancient and modern writers, and an acute observation of the passing world. He shortly after 1600 visited Vienna, and, his biographer says, after performing some exercise, "did proceed Doctor there, and, at his return, was incorporated at Oxon. in the same faculty, Anno 1605." Some of his works were dedicated to his royal master Charles the First, and he speaks of Sir William Alexander, William Burton, John Florio, and others, with the familiarity of close acquaintance. He is supposed to have been living at Cambriol, Newfoundland, 1628.

William Vaughan, Alexander Chalmers, in *General Biographical Dictionary* (1812-17) 30:267-68.

> WILLIAM VAUGHAN, a Latin poet and moral writer, was the son of Walter Vaughan, of the Golden Grove, in Carmarthenshire, esq. and younger brother to Sir John Vaughan, first earl of Carbery, and patron of bishop Jeremy Taylor. He was born at Golden Grove in 1577, and became a commoner of Jesus College, Oxford, in 1591, where he took his degrees in arts. The fruits of his scholastic attainments began to appear uncommonly early, as he was only in his fifteenth year when be prepared for printing an easy paraphrase of Persius in English and Latin; and his publications which appeared in 1597 and 1598 bespeak a prematurity of genius. After taking his degrees in arts, he applied to the study of the law, but before he proceeded in that faculty, set out on his travels, and at Vienna performed the necessary exercises for a doctor's degree, in which he was incorporated at Oxford in 1605. He afterwards appears to have meditated a settlement in Cambriol, Newfoundland, where he was living in 1628, but the time of his death is not mentioned. His Latin poems are, 1. the Song of Solomon, and some of the Psalms, translated, Lond. 1597. 2. Varia Poemata de Sphaerarum ordine, 1589, 8vo. 3. Poemeta continent; Encom. Roberti Comitis Essex, 1598, 8vo. 4. Cambrensium Caroleia, &c. a poem on the nuptials of Charles I. 1625 or 1630, 8vo. His English works are, The Golden Grove, moralized in three books, 1608, 8vo, which seems to have suggested to bishop Taylor the title of one of his most popular works; and The Golden Fleece, 1626, 4to: both works of the moral kind, and replete with observations on the manners of the times, and the principal personages. A particular account of both is given in the [British] Bibliographer, vol. II. by which it appears that Vaughan had translated a part of Boccalini's Advices from Parnassus, and had published Circles called the Spirit of Detraction, conjured and convicted, and Commentaries upon, and paraphrase of, Juvenal and Persius, all in early life.

Chalmers has the protector of Jeremy Taylor incorrectly as John, the first Earl of Carberry, when it was in fact his son Richard, the second Earl during the Civil War, years after his father's passing.

A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*, from the earliest times to the present, and including every name connected with the ancient history of Wales,* Rev. Robert E. Williams, William Rees, Llandovery and Longman and Co., 1852.

This monumental work, now found on the Forgotten Books website, has the usual information for William (P. 514) taken from A'Wood, including his many literary works. Cambriol is noted as "the most important … event of his life."

Some Studies of Elizabethan Wales. E. Roland Williams. The Welsh Outlook Press. Newtown. 1924.

An excellent look at Tudor Wales. Concentrates on the rise of piracy and the players. Chapter XIV Cambriol: A Forgotten Colony gives the story of William Vaughan

in nine pages. Williams puts Vaughan in Newfoundland from 1622 to 1625 or 1626 and again from 1628 to 1630 without source, but probably A'Wood.

Agriculture by G. Dyfnallt Owen, in *Economic and Social Life*, Chapter IV, Section i. in *A History of Carmarthenshire*, Vol. II. was reviewed in the Sir William Vaughan Trust Bulletin as *The Vaughans in Lloyd's A History of Carmarthenshire*. It is here abridged.

The Vaughan references by Owen start on pp. 268-269 with a direct quote of William Vaughan:

> "But nowadayes, yeomanry is decayed, hospitalite gone to wracke and husnbandrie almost quite fallen," wrote William Vaughan of Golden Grove in 1608, and he goes on to adduce his reasons for indulging in such a pessimistic generalization on the deplorable state of agriculture and the retrogression of rural communal life in Wales at the beginning of the17th century. The reason is that landlords, "not content with such revenewes as their presdecessours received nor yet satisfied that they live like swinish epicures quietly at their ease, doing no good to the Commonwealth and do leave no ground for tillage, but do enclose for pasture many thousand acres of ground within one hedge, and husbandmen are thrust out of their owne, or else by deceit constrained to sell all they have. As so by hook or by crook they must needs depart away, poor seely soules, men, women and children. –In note: *The Golden Grove, moralised in Three Books*: 1608-book iii, chapter 23.
>
> As a member of the Carmarthenshire gentry, Vaughan was too much of an idealist for his conception of the reciprocal obligations and duties of tenant and landlord to be accepted and practised by his contemporaries. But, he realised that the source of the countryside's wealth, and the true foundation of its material advancement lay in the preservation of a contented tenantry and in the maintenance of a progressive system of agriculture. To him, that system consisted of a well-balanced distribution of arable and pastoral farming; any cessation in the cultivation of the soil, or on the other hand, any substantial decrease in the number of live stock he considered to be detrimental to the true interests of the rural inhabitants. And there is little doubt that a real apprehension of a possible decline in agriculture, coupled with despair and indignation, lies in this terse indictment of rural condition in Wales in 1608.
>
> For the causes of this apparent decay in rural operations in Carmarthenshire one must turn to the history of the shire under the Tudor regime, and here it is interesting to note that Vaughan refers to certain events of primary importance shown latterly to have contributed towards the transformation which overtook rural life and habits during the 16th century. The first, as he remarks, was the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the appropriation of their lands by the Crown, and the resultant exploitation and impoverishment of the tenants by the alien landlords who purchased or leased them."

Owen explained that the traditional relationship between monks and tenants was based on mutual understanding of their individual roles and a genuine interest in agricultural methods and balances. The advent of alien lay landlords destroyed the old intimacy which had existed on monastic lands, and substituted a more rigorous discipline and materialistic outlook for the human and paternal attitude of the monks.

Later, Owen wrote, on p. 275,

> "Thus the Carmarthenshire tenantry was subjected on all sides to the active hostility and subterfuge of landlords and land speculators alike, and as Vaughan points out, the law did not help them very much to defend their interests. On the contrary, it aggravated their financial difficulties, and it was this aspect of litigation that incensed him. Not only did he rebuke the disputatious element amongst the tenantry, but he remonstrated against the tyranny of the courts of law at large and the rapacious methods of their officials."

And, in a footnote, he again quoted Vaughan:

> Vaughan, *The GOLDEN FLEECE*, PART II, C. 6, "Nowadayes we reare up two legged Asses which doe nothing but wrangle in Law the one with the other, By this meanes we consume our precious time not to be redeemed. By this ungracious brood we become impoverished."

Owen went on to explain how the situation was counterproductive throughout the 16th and well into the 17th century. No mention is made of the fact that the Vaughans were indeed part of the very landowners who took over monastic lands, not the least of which was Golden Grove itself. William's brothers were all part of the very system he decried and the system which gave him his opportunities.

For the 17th century, Owen opened with an explanation of the new social life (pp. 285-286); the Vaughan family are used as exemplars.

> The class of gentry was already separated from the yeomen and less important farmers, and formed an order apart. They possessed prejudices, privileges, and notions that tended to make them more and more exclusive, and enabled them to assume social importance in the same way as they had obtained the political power of the older aristocracy. They had long shown that they were favourably impressed by the materialistic conception of their superior position in rural society which had percolated over the border into Carmarthenshire, and had not hesitated to put precept into practice. Now, they began to assimilate or subordinate their old culture to that which prevailed in contemporary England. They studied at the older English universities, participated in court life and functions, imbibe those ideas which were alien to the mental outlook of their countrymen, and in time became so completely anglicised in language and thought that they could find no sympathy for the aspirations and ideals of the lower rural classes, which essentially remained Welsh in spirit and tongue.

> The disappearance of mutual understanding and respect between the landlord and his native dependents sometimes took a violent form, as in the case of the second Lord Carberry of Golden Grove, who on one occasion, maltreated his tenants in a particularly inhuman fashion, by cropping their ears, cutting out their tongues, and dispossessing them of their land.

Owen pointed out that William was the antithesis of this new lordly behaviour and such was his affection and concern for the tenantry that he proposed colonization to the New World as a solution.

Richard, William's nephew and the 2nd Lord Carberry, figures later in the Welsh positions of the civil wars and the reference to his cruelty was made in 1672 causing him to resign as President of Wales, a prestigious appointment he had held for a decade. He was a supporter of the arts, a protector of the great cleric Jeremy Taylor during the civil war, and President of the Royal Society, none of which square with bogeyman tales about lopping off ears and noses.

Poor Cambriol's Lord: Sir William Vaughan (1577-1641) Colonial Pioneer, Writer and Agricultural Reformer, A.G. Prys-Jones, in *The Carmarthenshire Historian*, 1961

> SIR William Vaughan, brother of the first Earl of Carbery, was born at Golden Grove, the family seat-the early Tudor Mansion which stood in beautiful surroundings in the Vale of Tywi, south of Llangathen. This was demolished in 1827 and replaced by a Gothic-styled residence after the first Earl of Cawdor had inherited the Vaughan Estates.
>
> The story of the wealthy and influential Vaughans, who dominated Carmarthenshire political life during the 17th century will be given in another article.
>
> William Vaughan, the most eccentric, original, far-sighted and idealistic of them all, was a graduate of Jesus College, Oxford, where he studied classics and law. Later he travelled extensively abroad, visiting France, Italy and Austria. For a time he was a student at the University of Vienna, where he obtained the degree of Doctor of Laws. He was an able classical scholar and also took much interest in the study of agricultural methods and medicine. Like many well educated men of his time he wrote in Latin as well as English. One of his books, entitled "Golden Grove", was a sort of commentary on current moral, economic, political and literary matters. It contains numerous quotations from classical, mediaeval and contemporary writers, together with severe criticism of the evils of his times.
>
> Amongst other things, he denounced stage plays as being foolish and wicked! Another book was called "The Golden Fleece". Much of this was written during his stay in Newfoundland. It advocated colonisation as a remedy for the backwardness of agriculture and the lack of commercial enterprise which he thought he saw everywhere. Interesting information about Newfoundland, is also given in this rambling volume. For both of these books he used the pen name "Orpheus Junior . . . Alias Will

Vaughan". A further work was a Latin poem which he wrote to celebrate the marriage of Charles I. His writings are curious and wandering in style. They include allegories of a fantastic nature. But embedded among his mountains of words are many acute observations and much wise advice.

Squire of Tor-y-coed.
Vaughan married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of David ap Robert, Llangyndeyrn, and settled there at Tor-y-coed, a home which he quaintly spelled "Terra-Coed".

He was thoughtful and philosophic in temperament, and there is a strong strain of religious feeling in his writings. In 1608 his house was struck by lightning. He had a very narrow escape from death, but his wife was killed. On another occasion his life was preserved when he might easily have died by accident. These escapes affected him deeply. So much so, that he came to believe that his life had been saved by God for some special purpose. At times he appears to have suffered from a mild form of religious mania.

Agricultural Decay and Too Many Law Suits.
William Vaughan was greatly disturbed by the poverty and the lack of agricultural enterprise which prevailed in his county and country. In one of three volumes of "Golden Grove" he wrote: "Nowadays, yeomanry is decayed, hospitalitie gone to wracke and husbandrie almost quite fallen". For this sad state of the countryside he blames the greed and ruthlesness of landlords and land speculators. These people, he said, were not content with the revenues their predecessors received, nor satisfied that they were able to "live like swinish epicures at their ease". They did no good at all for their country. Instead they left no ground for tenants to till, enclosing "many thousands of acres within one hedge. The husbandmen are thrust out of their own, or else, by deceit, constrained to sell all they have".

He also deplored the increase in legal cases. When tenants went to law to defend their rights, as they did so often, they were made still poorer by crippling expenses and the waste of time involved in attending courts. Corrupt officials and tyrannical courts of law increased their misery. "Nowadays," he wrote, "we reare up two-legged asses which doe nothing but wrangle in law, the one with the other. By this meanes we consume our precious time not to be redeemed. By this ungracious brood we become so impoverished".

If law-suits were done away with, he said, men would be able to get on with their farming "diligently at home, fall to small enclosures, plant orchards, marle their lands and not scratch the earth with weak Heyfers or Steeres. They might then keepe strong oxen to plough withall, which now they are enforced to sell for their Lawiers' use".

He added that the food resources of rural Wales were so meagre in proportion to the population that thousands died annually of famine. He knew, he wrote, of a parish where hundred people had failed to survive during each of the past few years, mainly owing to lack of food, fire and proper clothing. He pointed out, too, that although Wales possessed much

more sea-board than Devonshire, and a far greater extent of land, the inhabitants of that county were immensely superior to those of Wales in shipping and trading.

Colonisation the Remedy.
One can imagine the growth of Sir William Vaughan's conviction of his destiny. His life had been miraculously spared to become a Welsh Moses, leading some of his own people out of agricultural poverty, depression and bondage into a new land of milk, honey and freedom.

His remedy for the deplorable conditions which he described so vividly was colonisation. In his enthusiasm, he saw himself as the inspired founder of another Wales overseas.

Here he could put into practice his ideals of fair dealings and friendly co-operation between landlord and tenants, and find scope for his progressive ideas of agricultural planning, and methods. Under his guidance and direction he hoped to "leave this monument to posterity, that a Cambro-Briton hath founded a new Cambriol, where he made the deaf to hear and the woods to move."

A New Wales.
The promise of a "New England" already existed in John Smith's re-settlement of Virginia in 1607, and the real New England colonies were soon to be established by the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620. Vaughan's friend, Sir William Alexander, was planning to set up a "New Scotland" in Nova Scotia, now the most easterly mainland province of Canada. So why not a "New Wales"?

But where was this to be founded? Vaughan considered St. Helena, the Bermudas, Virginia and other places. Finally, he decided upon Newfoundland. At the time there seemed to be sound reasons for this choice. It was the "next land to Ireland" and with fair winds and good weather, could be reached in a fortnight. This reduced the cost of transporting emigrants to 10s. a head, as opposed to £5 for the Virginia passage. More important still, earlier pioneers in Newfoundland had brought back most favourable reports of the island's fertility and of its vast resources of timber and potential mineral wealth. Moreover, the native Indians were few and by no means hostile. There were also possibilities of developing a fur trade. Additionally, the great fishing grounds of the Grand Banks lay close at hand. It was a basic part of Vaughan's plan that agriculture, fishing, lumbering and the development of small industries should be integrated and worked at by the colonists according to seasonal changes.

Cambriol.
In 1616 Sir William obtained a sub-grant of land from the "Company of Adventurers to Newfoundland". This was a commercial enterprise headed by Sir Francis Bacon, to whom James I had granted authority to colonise the island. Vaughan's territory lay on the south coast of the curiously shaped eastern part of Newfoundland. It included Cape Race. Naming this area Cambriol as a compliment to his native land, he felt certain that here was

the new country "reserved by God for us Britons". John Guy of Bristol, himself a Newfoundland pioneer, had hailed the venture in verse:-

> "New Cambriol's planter, sprung from Golden Grove,
> Old Cambria's soil up to the skies doth raise,
> For which let Fame crown him with sacred bays".

In 1617 Sir William sent a number of Welsh colonists of both sexes to Cambriol, at his own expense. He had intended to sail with them to settle permanently there. But ill-health prevented him from leaving Wales. During 1617 he met Sir Richard Whitbourne, a man of considerable experience in colonisation, and offered him the governorship of Cambriol. Whitbourne accepted, and in 1618 he departed to Newfoundland with another group of emigrants. Two ships undertook the voyage, one carrying the settlers, the other engaged on a fishing expedition, but also conveying stores and equipment needed by the colonists. Unfortunately the fishing vessel was waylaid by one of Raleigh's captains who had turned pirate. The loss of this ship and its cargo was a severe blow.

When Sir Richard and his newcomers arrived, they found that the original settlers had made very poor progress. Little had been achieved in any direction. The new Governor, in fact, decided that the earlier emigrants had been thoroughly lazy and shown much lack of pioneering initiative. So he sent all but six of them home again.

This loss of manpower compelled Vaughan to hand over the northern part of Cambriol to Lords Falkland and Baltimore, two other pioneers who agreed to look after it until things improved. In 1622 Vaughan himself sailed to the colony with more settlers and supplies. During the three or four years he stayed there it appears that he spent more time in writing "The Golden Fleece" and other works than in galvanising his colonists into hard work. He returned to England to arrange for the publication of these books, and went back again to Cambriol in 1628.

The Colony's Troubles.

In fairness to the colonists, it must be said that they had to face persistent enemies who wantonly destroyed much of their property, and so wrecked their chances of prosperity. These were pirates, corsairs and privateers who preyed on the islanders. Perhaps worst of all were the ruthless French and other fishermen of the Grand Banks, who hated the settlers because of their encroachment upon their waters. Canada was in the hands of the French. Crops and buildings were set on fire, trees mutilated, havens blocked and fish-drying sheds broken up.

In 1626 Sir William reported that the damage done in pillage and destruction amounted to £40,000 and that, in addition, his colonists had lost a hundred pieces of cannon.

A further blow was the Arctic winter of 1628, though the Cambriol people did not suffer as severely from cold and scurvy as Lord Baltimore's settlers further north. But Sir William was still undaunted. He returned to England in 1630 to settle his own financial affairs. He wrote, that for all he could

see, he would have to rely upon his own resources to support Cambriol until the colony "be better strengthened". At the same time he made great efforts to persuade his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Salusbury of Denbigh, with "some gentlemen of North Wales" to join him in Newfoundland where, he said, they would be greeted with open arms. But though he made them grants of land there, not one Squire responded to his call.

A further instance of Sir William's far-sightedness is be found in the medical handbook which he published in 1630. This was entitled "Newlander's Cure". It contained information and advice designed for colonists on the preservation of health, with curious prescriptions for sea-sickness, scurvy and numerous other ailments. This book makes him a pioneer also in the adaptation of medical knowledge, such as it was then, to the special needs of emigrants.

The Welsh atmosphere of Cambriol is clearly indicated in its title, together with other place names like Vaughan's Cove, Golden Grove, Cardiff, Pembroke, Cardigan, Carmarthen and Brecon. These names appear on John Mason's map of Newfoundland published about 1622.

End of an Enterprise.
It is uncertain whether Sir William returned to the colony after 1630. In view of the persistent depredations of pirates and the fierce antagonism of the men of the French fishing fleets, it was becoming more and more difficult to establish Cambriol as a self-supporting concern. The founder's resources no doubt were becoming severely strained, and he appears to have had no financial backing from any of his fellow countrymen. Finally, the gallant pioneer, now approaching sixty years of age, had to abandon his cherished dream of a prosperous New Wales some time between 1630 and 1637.

In 1637 the Privy Council was officially informed that the efforts of pioneers like Sir William, Lord Baltimore and other "men, ingenious and of excellent parts," had failed. A new monopoly over the whole island was granted to another Newfoundland adventurer, Sir David Kirke, though trouble with the fishermen and the pirates continued throughout the 17th century.

It would be difficult to find a nobler tribute to Sir William Vaughan than that written by Dr. E. Roland Williams: "Whatever Vaughan's shortcomings-and they were many-at least the crime of the unlit lamp and the ungirt loin is not to be laid to his charge. He spared no pains or sacrifices in his attempt to realise his ambition, and his devotion to his ideal burns with a clear light through the mists and fumes of those eccentricities and absurdities which were also part of his character. . . Before Vaughan had been laid to rest in the little church in the valley of Llangyndeyrn in August, 1641, the silent, primaeval wilderness was already erasing, slowly, but relentlessly, all the signs of his strivings and sacrifices".

On the island itself, the Welsh place-names have long disappeared, and apart from the name "Newfoundland," which, some years ago, at any rate,

> denoted a farm or two in the lower Tywi Valley, there is no memorial left of this courageous pioneer. He was a man whom Carmarthenshire should be proud to honour.
>
> Perhaps the strangeness of coincidence has seldom been more curiously illustrated than in the following events. In 1928 and 1929 two aerial pioneers flew across the Atlantic. The second was a woman, Amelia Earhart. Both started from Trepassey Bay in Vaughan's old Cambriol, and both came to Carmarthenshire waters and soil respectively within nine miles of Llangyndeyrn where the body of the pioneering knight, of Tor-y-coed had lain for nearly three centuries.
>
> Moreover, in 1952, Golden Grove, with its fine home farm of some 250 acres, became the Golden Grove Farm Institute under the control of the Carmarthenshire Education Authority. Here students of both sexes from several South Wales counties, attend to study the science of agriculture.
>
> Perhaps no one would have rejoiced more at this last turn in the wheel of time than Sir William Vaughan. That his ancestral surroundings should have become a scientific training ground for young farmers would greatly have commended itself to one who wrote so bitterly about the deplorable condition of agriculture, the tyranny of landlords and the sad decay of rural life in the Wales of his period.
>
> [NOTE: For much of the information included in this article I am indebted to Dr. E. Roland Williams' account of Sir William Vaughan in his "Elizabethan Wales".]

The Vaughans of Golden Grove, Francis Jones, Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, (1963, Part 1), p. 96-145; (1963, Part 2), p. 223-250; (1964, Part 2), p. 167-221; and (1966, Part 1), p. 149-237.

Jones extensive works, along with his five “Cadets of Golden Grove” articles, are by far the most detailed Vaughan information available. While his writing style is complex his information regarding William and the immediate family doesn’t add much to the general knowledge. He traced with meticulous detail the descendancy from 1075 Powys to Hugh, with a ten generation jump. His reading of the importance of the Vaughans of Golden Grove listed their hold on the Carmarthen Parliamentary seats for a century, their public and military careers, their marriages and family networks.

After explaining how Walter secured and increased his Golden Grove tenure Jones plunged headlong into the three Carberrys. In an appendix Jones straightened out the Hugh Vaughan story by showing that Sir Hugh Vaughan of Littleton, Middlesex, was in fact the gentleman usher of Henry VII, the jouster, the governor and he had no connection to Golden Grove. The arms are different, for example. Jones gave this account of the confusion:

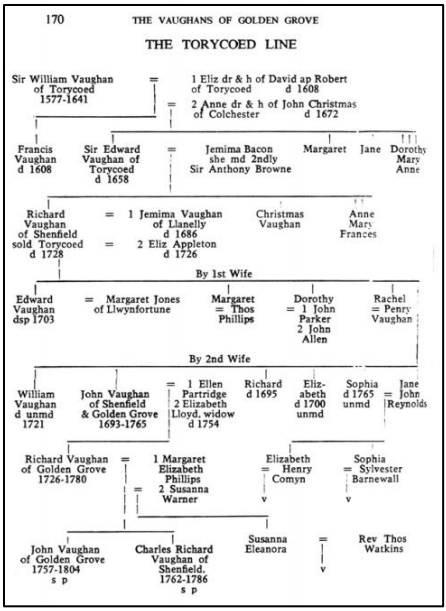
> When the account of the tournament at Richmond was transferred to the Golden Grove genealogy for the greater glory of the second earl of Carbery, the manipulator left Sir Hugh Vaughan's arms severely alone, because the Earl already possessed arms derived through his demonstrable descent from Einion Efell and Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, entered in the records of the College of Arms.

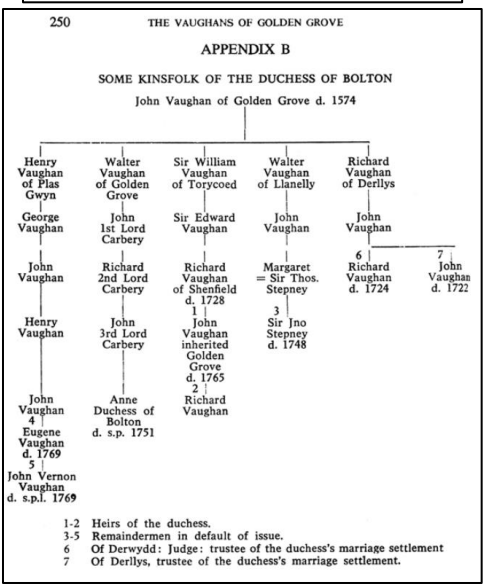
Part II traced Anne, Duchess of Bolton, and her ownership of Golden Grove. At the end Jones gave a family tree showing owners of Golden Grove and the immediate branches (or cadet families) including William.

Part III told William's story (1964, Part 2) but again there is little new or different. Entitled *The Vaughans of Golden Grove III – Torycoed – Shenfield – Golden Grove*, Jones presented a less than flattering look at the Vaughan family in general, a sort of grudging admiration:

> Their path was by no means smooth. Financial difficulties and resultant lawsuits were tribulations that beset nearly every generation. By the end of the seventeenth century their fortunes had sagged, but by the end of the next they had become the most powerful magnates in Carmarthenshire. The line started with a younger son living in a modest state; it ended in possession of the ancestral property of the main line, distributed through fifty Carmarthenshire parishes.
>
> The quite extraordinary features of the Vaughans, and this line in particular, was their capacity for running into debt. Despite their outstanding successes in acquiring heiresses, despite the happy turns of Fortune's wheel which brought additional estates to them with little or no effort on their part and the "golden handshakes" of testamentary scribes, generation after generation seemed incapable of balancing their budgets. Although their assets were often colossal, they scorned to live within their income. The tale is one of bonds, mortgages, actions, writs, extents, and the Fleet. Bum-bailiffs who respectfully touched their hats to the Vaughans also touched them on the shoulder; tradesmen who joyfully accommodated the "quality" gazed wistfully when a Vaughan sauntered towards the counter; and lawyers who fought Vaughan battles in the courts were obliged later to fight their blue-blooded clients for the fees and charges incurred on their behalf. In financial transactions, the Vaughans appear like a frenzied Laocoon group, but in their case it was the writhing serpent which was finally crushed. Their survival as *grands seigneurs*, for survive they did, is in itself a remarkable feat.

Jones told little new about William and his planting efforts, or maybe most historians now rely on and repeat Jones. Jones papers are being actively sought to determine his sources for putting William in Newfoundland. William's son, Edward, is described as playing a part in the negotiation of terms for surrender of the Royalist forces in 1645 after which, Jones claimed, he retired; in 1658 he died at about 40, just 16 years after his father.





Jones family trees for William (left) and the later Vaughans (right), obviously incorrect, has Walter of Golden Grove on the same generation as William when he should be above.

Vaughan Family – column 2

***British antiquities revived**, or, A friendly contest touching the soveraignty of the three princes of Wales in ancient times managed with*

certain arguments whereunto answers are applyed by Robert Vaughan, Esq.; to which is added the pedigree of the Right Honourable the Earl of Carbery, Lord President of Wales; with a short account of the five royall tribes of Cambria, by the same author, Robert Vaughan, Thomas Robertson, Oxford, 1662.

A curious little book which purports to sort out the ancient lineages of Wales in a number of Arguments and Answers with specific reference to the Five Royal Tribes and which shows the direct descent of Richard, the second Earl, from Gwaithvoed vawr, Lord of Powis, in a table.

Gwaithvoed vawr Lord of Powis.	Morvydd da: & coheir of Yayr ddu king of Gwent.
Gwerystan Lord of Powis.	Nest danghter of Cadell ap Brochw. l.
Convyn Lord of Powis.	Aagharad Queen of Wales, da: & heir of Mredith ap Owen king of Wales: the relict of Llywelyn ap
Bledhyn ap Cy•vyn King of Wales.	Haer da: & coheir of Cilli•• Blaidd rudd of (Seissylt. Gest.
Meredith ap Bleddyn Prince of Po|wis.	Hunyth da: of Eynydd.
Madoc ap Meredith Prince of Powis.	Eva da: of Madoc ap Urien ap Egmir ap Lles ap Idaerth Benvras of Maesbroke. ER. Gh.
Enion Evell.	Arddyn da. of Madoc Van ap Madoc ap Enion hael ap Urien of Main Gwinedd. R. C.
Run ap Enion.	Elizabeth da: to Jo. Lord Strange of Cno•kin Gh. ER.
Cyhely• ap Rh••.	Eva da. and heir of Grono ap Cadwgan Saethydd Lord of Henvache Gh. ER.
Ivaf ap Cyhelyn.	Eva da: to Adda ap Awr of Trevor. Gh. ER.
Madoc Coch.	Lleuki da: of Howel goch ap Mared Van &c. to Bleddyn ap Cynvyn. Gh. ER.
Madoc Kyffin.	—the da: of Griffith ap Rees ap Madoc ap Ri|rid Ulaidd. Gh.
David ap Mad. Kyffin.	Catharin da: of Morgan ap Davydd ap Madoc ap David Van ap David up Griff. ap Jorwerth ap Howel ap Moriddig ap Sandde, Gh. RC.
David Va. of Gartheryr.	Gwervyl da: to Griffith ap Rees ap Griffith ap Madoc ap Jorwerth ap Madoc ap Ririd ulaidd. Gh.
Griffith Vaugh.	Tibod da: to Meredith ap Tudur ap Gronw ap How|el y gadair. Gh.

Hugh Vaughan Esq.	Jane da: of Moris ap Owen ap Griff. ap Nicôlas. Gh.
John Vaugh. Esq.	Catherin da. of Harry ap Trahayarn of Bodlysgwm. Gh:
Walter Vaugh. of Golden Grove.	Mary da. of Griffith Rees of Tresnewyth in Carmartbin shire.
John Earl of Carbury &c.	Margaret da. of Sr. Gely Meuric. Kt.
Richard Earl of Carbury, &c.	Alice da. of John Earl of Bridgewater.

Hugh Vaughan is an Esquire here. The book has a lengthy list of subscribers, all of whom were interested in their own family connections to the Five Royal Tribes, none of them the Vaughans of Golden Grove.

Iscennen and Golden Grove, D. Lleufer Thomas, in *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion* (1940), p. 115-129.

Thomas delved back into pre-Tudor times claiming that before 1535 and the Act of Union Iscennen was an old Welsh region connected with Kidwelly and Lancastershire; after 1535 it became part of Carmerthenshire but maintained strong connections with Kidwelly.

> It is, therefore, not surprising that the founder of Golden Grove was a Kidwelly man, one Hugh Vaughan or Fynchan who flourished towards the close of the fifteenth century. He married a daughter of Morris ab Owen of Cwrt Bryn Beirdd near Carreg Cennen, and it was this alliance than perhaps induced him to settle in the northern parts of the lordship of Kidwelly. It was this John [son of Hugh] who built the mansion of Golden Grove: in the pedigrees John is described as the builder. Previous to his advent there was no house of any importance at or near the site, and the name of Golden Grove or Gelli Aur is unknown in Welsh records prior to the time of the Vaughans.

Hugh was a gentleman usher to Henry VII, said Thomas. The first Tudor monarch, and held governorship of Jersey from 1507 to 1532. An account of his governorship written in 1585, Thomas explained, said he was "a son of a Welshman and a tailor by trade."

> … in the pedigree of his family supplied by Sir Hugh's grandson to Lewys Dwnn in 1596, Sir Hugh is described as descended from Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, Prince of Powys. For my own part, I am inclined to prefer the version which makes the poor tailor the founder of the powerful family of the Vaughans.

Thomas told how John Vaughan, the builder, married into the Rhys (Rice) family of Dynevor who were closely connected with Jesus College, and Thomas pointed out this is likely how and why all of Walter's sons were sent there for education. John the builder's grandson, John, served with Essex and was knighted in 1599; he married the daughter of Sir Gelly Meyrick and served as Comptroller to Prince

Charles (later Charles I). He eventually was made the Earl of Carberry as a result of his Irish service. The Vaughan star shined most brightly with this John.

> But though the 1st Earl may have acquired high rank, great power, and considerable possessions, he is, however, a less interesting personality than two of his younger brothers, William and Henry.

Summarizing William's plantation efforts Thomas followed A'Wood and Oldmixon, putting him in Newfoundland "1622 to 1625, and again later about 1628." He explained that in 1630 William was at home settling his private affairs.

> He expected that Sir Henry Salesbury of LLewenny (who had married his half-sister) with some gentlemen of North Wales would in the following spring "proceed to do somewhat" in Cambriol, but whether they did so and whether Vaughan himself returned to the colony or not, his hopes for its future were doomed to disappointment and he probably spent the last few years of his life at Torcoed in Carmanthenshire where he died in 1641.

Thomas went into the varied careers of Henry, William's brother and Richard's uncle, whose military career ended in the failure of the Royalist forces of South-east Wales. Not surprisingly, their family connections, and undoubted local power, saved both Henry and Richard after the Civil War through the Parliamentarian Commonwealth and into the Restoration. Henry died in 1676 (89 years old) after falling from a horse while hunting, Richard in 1686 at 86 years old.

Studies in Welsh History *Collected Papers, Lectures, and Reviews*, J.F. Rees, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1947.

For the first time a more detailed picture of the Vaughan ascendancy is seen as one of many in the general developments of the times. While the allusions to Vaughan are hidden in references to Carberry (or Carbery as Rees used), his background to the *squirearchy* is illuminating.

On pages 46-47 he set up the set up for the changes to Welsh society in Tudor Times.

> Finally while the break-away from medieval tradition, cultural and religious, which took place in the sixteenth century, profoundly affected the outlook of the Welsh people, it should be remembered that with it went other changes, of a more material kind, of which the ordinary man of the period was probably more acutely aware. "The Reformation", declared a contemporary, "made of yeomen and artificers gentlemen, and of gentlemen knights, and so forth upward, and of the poorest sort stark beggars."
>
> He was speaking of England; but Wales did not escape the consequences of the unscrupulous acquisitiveness of the age. The Welsh gentry have been accused of having been place-hunters and land-grabbers, and a formidable volume of evidence to support these charges can be collected from the records of the courts. In every shire families were building up estates as the firm basis of their wealth and prestige. The opportunities were

many and tempting. The secularization of property which followed the dissolution of the monasteries and chantries invited a more enterprising exploitation of the land.

The general introduction of primogeniture contributed to the concentration of holdings in fewer hands. The abolition of the old Welsh tenures meant that equivalents agreeable to the principles of English law had to be found. In doing so, irksome restrictions could be extinguished, customary rights abolished, and the burden of rents and fines increased. But many did not stop at legal chicanery. They entered upon the lands they coveted, seized the documents that would have protected the rights of their tenants, and used their local influence to deprive them of any redress in the courts. Wales did not develop such a varied social hierarchy as England. She was a poorer country, and the relative unimportance of her towns meant that no considerable middle class could establish itself. At the end of the Tudor period there were two well-marked classes the gentry and the peasantry. The future was to depend on the interaction between them.

The final assessment of what Wales gained and lost through Tudor policy is beyond any method known to the historian. That she passed in these years through a revolution of the profoundest significance there can be no question. The foundations of modern Wales Were laid, but the structure subsequently reared on them exhibited many features which would not have commended themselves to the Tudor architects; most notably perhaps, the persistent Opposition to their Church settlement and the survival of the native language and culture.

Rowland Walter married Frances, daughter of Gritlith ap Thomas ap Rees, and did not long survive his father. His widow married one Nicholas Chappell. The son of Rowland and Frances Walter was the William Walter with whom I wish to deal. He married Elizabeth, daughter of john Prothero of Hawkesbrook, Carmarthenshire. She was the niece of John Vaughan, of Golden Grove, the first Lord Carbery. In note: Her mother, Eleanor Vaughan, was a sister of John Vaughan of Golden Grove, 1st Earl of Carbery. John Vaughan was the grandson of Sir Rhys ap Gruffydd and Lady Katharine Howard, for whose tragic story see pp. 32-4 supra.

On pages 85 and 86 Rees gave direct reference to the Vaughans of Golden Grove. In his descriptions of the English Civil War he wrote:

John Wogan's [Wogan was a Parliamentarian leader] letters show that he felt very uneasy about the outlook. In November he told Stamford that they would be able to defend themselves for some short time. A fortnight later he drew the attention of the Speaker of the House of Commons to the dangers which threatened them. On 20th January, 1643, he was driven by the desperate condition of affairs to appeal to the mayor of Bristol to send immediate help. The Earl of Carbery was, he knew, organizing a force for the invasion of Pembrokeshire. It was a severe testing time for those who wished in any event to be on the winning side. Carbery made no definite move until August, when his plans had been favoured by the fall of

> Bristol (26th July). He found little opposition. Tenby surrendered, Haverfordwest was occupied, and only Pembroke held out. In note: Richard Vaughan of Golden Grove, M.P. for Carmarthenshire, 1624-29. He was given command of the forces to be raised for the King in West Wales.

Under the leadership of young Rowland Laughharne of St. Bride's the Parliamentarians drove back the Royalist forces occupying Pembroke.

> Small garrisons, such as Stackpole House and Trelloyne, were forced to capitulate, and a combined land and sea assault on the fort which the Royalists were constructing at Pill (now part: of the modern town of Milford Haven) was brilliantly successful. Laugharne took Haverfordwest and Tenby, and Carbery withdrew from the county.

On page 94 Rees explained how the Royalist-Parliamentary sides were often decided on the basis of expediency and practicality.

> Archbishop John Williams withdrew from England to Conway at the beginning of the war, and there set himself at the head of the local gentry, who were Royalist so long as the King had some prospect of success, but were determined to save their own property when he was defeated. Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery and his kinsmen, formed a similar group of *politiques* in Carmarthenshire. There were out and-out Royalists who were prepared to venture all, of whom Sir John Owen of Clenneney is the best example. In south Pembrokeshire there was the only considerable body of Parliamentarians in Wales. They had as their active leaders John Poyer, Rowland Laugharne, and Rice Powell.

Laugherne and Poyer switched sides in the 2nd Civil War in 1648 and stood for the Royalist forces, eventually defeated in battle they and Colonel Rhys Powell were sentenced to be executed but Laugharne and Powell were imprisoned. An excellent biography is found in the British Civil War website here: bcw-project.org/biography/rowland-laugharne. Other Civil War personalities can be found here as well, including Carberry and Poyer.

A final Carbery/Vaughan note is found on page 125 of Rees:

> Roch Castle, together with other strongholds in Pembrokeshire, was garrisoned for the King towards the end of 1643 by the Earl of Carbery, who, as we have seen, was a kinsman of Elizabeth Walter.

This reference to Elizabeth Walter, a niece of John Vaughan the first Lord Carberry and a daughter of John Prothero, comes about as she was mother to Lucy Walter (b. 1630) who was a mistress to Charles II. Exiled from Roch Castle in the Parliamentary taking of 1644 she was in the Low Countries when she met Charles, then Prince of Wales, in 1646 or 1648. Their son, James, acknowledged by Charles and made Duke of Monmouth was born in 1649. Abandoned in the Low Countries when Charles returned as king, she had an affair with Theobald, 2nd Viscount Taaffe and a daughter Mary. Lucy died in France, at 28 years of age of venereal disease.

Of Sir Henry Vaughan, who Williams and others gave command of the Royalist forces in southeast Wales, and who it seems was ineffectual, and of William's son, Sir Edward, who was a player in the surrender to Parliament of all Wales, no mention is made by Rees. Richard began his occupation of Pembrokeshire the year after his uncle William died.

The gentry of South West Wales *in the Civil* War, E.D. Jones, in *National Library of Wales journal,* Cyf. 11, rh. 2 (Gaeaf 1959), p. 142-146.

Jones presented a tract written about 1661 entitled A true character of ye deportment for these 18 years last past, of ye Principall Gentry within the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan in South Wales. It starts with Richard Vaughan, the 2nd Earl and describes the various gentry by their character based on the roles they played in the two civil wars.

> Richard Earl of Carberry: a person of great parts and Civility: about ye years 1643 & 1644 was Generall over ye said Countys by Commission from his late Majesty of blessed memory Charle ye first. And though in number of souldiers far exceeding his adversarys, yet without any resistance made by him, he was suppressed; some attributeing it to a suspected natural cowardice, others to a design to be overcome. However by his discreet Addresses and ye special means of ye late Lord Cottington he was shortly after enobled with ye titles of Baron of Emlyn & Lord of Carmarthen.

Cottington was lord treasurer and held various ambassadorships to Spain. He was part of Prince Charles retinue to Spain to woo the Infanta along with the young John Vaughan and RIchard. It is probably that relationship that brought him to put forward the redemption of Richard, John's son. The tract goes on to say how Oliver Cromwell sent stags from London to Golden Grove and that Richard's table,

> though a sojourner in London, is free to all Gentlemen yet it is observed yt persons of most use & interest to enlarge his own are most conversant with him. He has sett up and maentaeneth an interest in most Countys in Wales. In a word, a fit person for ye highest publick employment if integrity and courage were not suspected to be too often faeling in him.

Harry Vaughan, John Vaughan and John Vaughan of Derllys, the tract said, "were principled and actuated by their Kinsman ye Earl of Carbery; who ought to bear ye blame of the actions more than they ye actors themselves."

The tract writer damned with faint praise it seems. In the section on Cardigan he castigated Sir John of Trawscoed,

> John Vaughan one y^{t} upon fits will talk loud for Monarchy but scrupulous to wett his finger to advance it, he served Knight for ye Country of Cardigan in ye long Parliament, but quitted it upon Stafford's tryall; being named by his late Majesty one of the Commissioners to attend ye treaty in the Isle of Wight, refused it, personally advised Cromwell to putt ye crown

> upon his own head: … he is of good parts but he putts too high a value upon y^{m}: insolently proud # matchlessly penurious: …

This quote is also found in *A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*. Sir Harry Vaughan presumably also of Trawscoed, doesn't come off much better in the tract author's opinion.

> Harry Vaughan anything for money, a proselyte and favourite of all ye Changes of times, a shrive for his late Majesty: afterwards for Oliver Cromwell: Justice of Peace under both: sworn to severall governments, indifferent to any. The object of charity is limited to his own self: tyrant in power, slave in subjection: mischievous by deceit his true moto is verified in Qui nescit dissimulare nescit vivere.

Pretty scathing stuff. The Latin is taken from Seneca and translates roughly as *one who doesn't know how to lie doesn't know how to live*. Seneca's original; ended with *how to rule*. While John, Richard and Henry are found in Eminent Welshmen, William doesn't appear.

The homes of the Vaughans, Ithel Vaughan Poppy, in *Brycheiniog*, Vol. 19 (1980/81), p. 96-104.

Ms. Poppy listed several homes of various Vaughan families but, alas, not the Golden Grove branch. She repeated family lore and descendent lines occasionally but most of her listings were 19th century additions and rebuilds of older houses. She demonstrated there were many Vaughan families, not necessarily related to the Golden Grove family and there were many Vaughans who contributed greatly to Welsh culture and society.

Notes on the Vaughan families *of Wales*, B.H.J. Hughes, 1999

Hughes listed the Vaughan families by their seats of power; Golden Grove and Torcoed are among 30 or so described. As for the Golden Grove and Torcoed (which Hughes has as Trecoed) the usual information was presented; as well, about William and Cambriol he followed standard sources A'Wood and Oldmixon, and adds nothing new. A plethora of Johns, Henrys and Richards show these were the favourite names of all the Vaughans. He quoted, not ascribed, about William,

> Poet and pioneer, he has been called 'one of the most quixotic figures in national history'. He was a great scholar, travelled widely, and wrote voluminously is a fantastic vein of his own, 'religious almost to a point of mania'.

Vaughans of Golden Grove*, Wales*, Ron Vaughan, as found at www.vaughan-vaughn.org/Welsh/glldgrovev.php, n.d.

> **Chapter 1 Prominent Members of the Vaughan Family of Golden Gr**ove
> In the year 1485, just after the Battle of Bosworth, in which Richard III was beheaded and Henry VII crowned king, a young gentleman by the name of Hugh Fychan came to live in Carmarthenshire. He claimed descent from

Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, a prince of Powys, who was killed in a battle in Ystrad Tywi in the kingdom of Deheubarth in 1075.

An ancient chronicle at Llanbadarn states: "His virtues were those of the ideal prince-clemency, kindness, affability, liberality to the weak and defenceless, respect for the rights of the Church." Hugh Fychan had settled, therefore, in an area that had proved fatal to his ancestor. He married Jane, the daughter of Morris ab Owen from Cwrt Bryn y Beirdd, a very large and ancient mansion near Carreg Cennen Castle. Morris ab Owen was a staunch supporter of Henry Tudor, and was a wealthy, influential landowner, who was in an excellent position to promote the career of his son-in-law.

In 1485, Morris ab Owen became Steward of the lordship of Kidwelly and Receiver of the Iscennen and Carnwyllion commotes, and at the same time, through the influence of is father-in-law, Hugh Fychan was appointed Forester of Kidwelly. In 1532 more promotions were bestowed upon him for he was appointed Groom of the Chamber at Court and also Keeper and Receiver of the lands in Kidwelly that had been confiscated by the Crown from his relative Rhys ap Gruffyth of Dinefwr as a penalty for acts of treason. Thus, he gradually improved his status in society and was becoming more and more prosperous, mainly through the misfortunes of his kinsman Rhys ap Gruffyth. Hugh and Jane Fychan were the original founders of the powerful and influential Fychan or Vaughan family, who were later to settle at Golden Grove.

They had one son John Vaughan and eight daughters. John Vaughan, the only son and heir of Hugh Vaughan, followed in his father's footsteps. He obtained the leases of more and more lands in Carmarthenshire, including many lost by the Dinefwr family. His wealth multiplied owing to the increasing number of rents he received from the tenants occupying his lands and properties. John Vaughan made a positive contribution to public life in Carmarthenshire and further afield. During his lifetime he served as senior bailiff of Carmarthen (1553), mayor of Carmarthen(1554 and 1563), Member of Parliament for Carmarthen Borough(1558/59), commissioner for lay subsidy, which involved raising money for laymen (1560/1), High Sheriff of Carmarthen (1563), one of the commissioners involved in taking action against troublesome pirates (1565), Justice of the Peace (1565).

Geneaological note *on Jane Loftus of Golden Grove, Offdaly, Ireland*.

The first Earl of Carberry's sister Jane was married to Sir Adam Loftus of Rathfarnham Castle, Dublin, who was vice-treasurer of Ireland in 1636. Like other Vaughans, she was long-lived, passing away at 79. This information found at www.geni.com/people/Jane-Loftus/6000000003477076442.

Birthdate:	1589
Birthplace:	Golden Grove, Offdaly, Ireland
Death:	Died May 27, 1668 in Meath, Ireland

	Daughter of Walter Vaughan, of Golden Grove and Katherine Vaughan Wife of Sir Adam Loftus
Immediate Family:	Mother of Letitia Parsons (Loftus); Dr. Dudley Loftus, PhD; Sir Arthur Loftus; Elizabeth Forde and Sarah Dancer Sister of Sgt-Maj-Gen. Sir Henry Vaughan, MP; John Vaughan, 1st Earl of Carbery and Sir William Vaughan

***Vaughan, Sir John (c.1575-1634), of Golden Grove**, Llanfihangel Aberbythych, Carm. and Elm House, Parson's Green, Mdx*, in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1629*, ed. Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Elm House, Parson's Green, Middlesex, was John Vaughan's residence in London. This is by far the most comprehensive and perhaps best sourced story of the long career of John Vaughan, the first Earl of Carberry.

> The Vaughans claimed descent from Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, an eleventh-century prince of Powys and founder of one of the royal tribes of Wales. The family arrived in South Wales in the late fifteenth century, and their support for Henry Tudor secured grants of lands and offices in Carmarthenshire. John Vaughan†, grandfather of this Member, built the family seat at Golden Grove in the vale of Tywi, and expanded his estates with acquisitions from the forfeited lands of Rhys ap Gruffydd. His son, Walter, continued to enhance the family's interests in the county, so that Sir John Vaughan succeeded to an estate estimated to be worth £800 a year. John Vaughan's early political career was associated closely with the fortunes of his father's ally Robert Devereux, 2nd earl of Essex. These ties were fortified in February 1598 when Vaughan married the daughter of Sir Gelly Meyrick, steward of Essex's Welsh lands and his principal man of business. At his marriage Vaughan was described as being 'of Temple Bar', which suggests that he was then completing his studies at the inns of court. Apparently an 'earnest suitor', he expected a portion of £1,500 to pay off considerable debts, and hoped for 'great preferment' by his alliance with Meyrick. Shortly after the marriage, Essex asked Sir John Scudamore†, steward of Kidwelly, to appoint his 'servant' Vaughan as his deputy. In the following year Vaughan accompanied the earl to Ireland, where was knighted - the tradition that he lost this honour after the earl's rebellion in 1601 is groundless, as the man dubbed in 1617 was a namesake. He was inevitably suspected of complicity in Essex's failed rising: it was rumoured that much of Sir Gelly Meyrick's treasure had been transported to Golden Grove shortly before the rebellion. Arrested and briefly removed from the Carmarthenshire commission of the peace, he was fortunate to be discharged quickly on bond, although his wife was included in her father's attainder. In April 1601 he told Sir Robert Cecil† he was coming to London to demonstrate his 'true loyalty' and 'honest innocency', and his election to Parliament for Carmarthenshire later that year was probably also intended

to demonstrate his loyalty. His efforts to achieve rehabilitation were successful, as he was reinstated to the Carmarthenshire bench in June 1602.

Vaughan does not appear to have sought election to the first Jacobean Parliament. As mayor of Carmarthen he was technically disqualified from standing for the borough, while the county seat was taken by Sir Robert Mansell. He busied himself instead in the county, purchasing land and helping secure a new charter for Carmarthen in 1604. Chosen sheriff at the end of the year, he hosted the great sessions at Golden Grove after the plague ravaged Carmarthen.

Vaughan and his relatives ran the lordship of Kidwelly as their own personal fiefdom, generating accusations that they extorted money from the inhabitants. In 1610 he was one of those commissioned by the duchy of Lancaster to discover the causes behind falling rents in the town of Kidwelly, but his explanations were evasive and there were reports that he was to be questioned over 'his carriage to hinder the service'. In 1615 it was discovered that he and some of his brothers had tampered with duchy records in an effort to conceal Crown lands.

Vaughan's local misdeeds were discounted because of preferment at Court, which he earned by assiduous courting of the king's favourite, the earl of Somerset. In October 1614, while in London, Vaughan promised Somerset loyal service in return for the latter's favours as an 'intercessor' with the king. Two months later he used Sir Henry Neville as a conduit to Somerset, enumerating his efforts in the collection of the 1614 Benevolence in the counties of Carmarthen and Brecon, and asking Neville to move Somerset 'to see whether I may be sworn in the place I have desired, not putting the king to any charge until the creation of my gracious master'. To encourage Somerset and the king, Vaughan added a New Year's gift of £100 to the Benevolence receipts, a very substantial sum which aroused comment in London. Vaughan's hopes of preferment were encouraged by the fact that he had recently taken as his second wife Jane, the daughter of Sir Thomas Palmer† of Wingham, Kent, whose brother, Roger, had held a post in the Household of Prince Henry and would do likewise under Prince Charles. Vaughan's lobbying bore fruit in March 1616, when he was appointed comptroller of Charles's Household, a position which provided him with an annual allowance of £428. He clearly relished his new post, describing himself as 'comptroller' even in minor land transactions in Wales. Vaughan acquired a metropolitan residence at Elm House in Parson's Green, Fulham, but spent much of his time at St. James's, where, in 1618, he became involved in a skirmish with bailiffs who were pursuing a debtor. He was rescued by a company of Welsh apprentices who apparently recognized him as a countryman.

Vaughan's election for Carmarthenshire in December 1620, after a *hiatus* of 20 years, may reflect encouragement from Prince Charles. As Sir Robert Mansell had moved to the Glamorganshire seat, Vaughan's path was clear. Although the pre-eminent squire in Carmarthenshire society, he also enjoyed support from his brothers Henry and Walter, and Sir Henry Jones,

the county's second most powerful landowner. Despite his place in the prince's Household, Vaughan played no part in forwarding his master's official business during the Parliament. He was, nevertheless, elevated to an Irish barony during the summer recess, apparently because he accommodated the disgraced lord chancellor, Viscount St. Alban (Sir Francis Bacon) at his house in Parson's Green, for which Bacon acknowledged himself 'much beholden to Your Highness's loving servant, Sir John Vaughan'. The peerage caused difficulties when Parliament reconvened in November. After the House was called, Sir Edward Coke noted that Vaughan was not present, despite having served prior to the adjournment. He insisted that Vaughan, whom he described as 'a worthy gentleman', should remain in the Commons, as his Irish peerage had no more than honorary status in England. Ordered to produce his patent for scrutiny, Vaughan appears not to have done so, perhaps because it was actually enrolled under the great seal of England. This episode presumably explains why Vaughan subsequently relinquished the Carmarthenshire seat to his eldest son, Richard Vaughan.

In 1623, when Charles journeyed to Spain to woo the Infanta, Vaughan assisted in the dispatch of the Prince's retinue, which left Portsmouth on 23 March. He carried a jewel from James to the favourite, the marquess of Buckingham, but his visit was not a success: he spoke of the barrenness of the country, while at one point the prince asked his retinue to turn back so they would not inconvenience the Spanish Court. In England it was reported that he had become a Catholic, while he later complained that the trip had cost him £3,000-£4,000. His letters to secretary of state Sir Edward Conway were filled with protestations of obligation to the king, which suggests that he was dependent on James rather than Charles for advancement. His dispatches also show pride in his Welsh heritage, pledging service 'after the accustomed British fashion', and assuring James that 'by the faith of an ancient Briton' he would 'prostrate my life, estate and all I have on this world to be commanded at his pleasure'.

Vaughan's failure to secure a fresh place at Court after Charles's accession in March 1625 ended his hopes of advancement: in April a London correspondent noted that no-one now spoke favourably of him. He continued to lobby (Sir) John Coke for preferment, albeit without success, and in 1627 he asked Buckingham to support his quest for the comptrollership following the death of Sir John Suckling; the post was given to Sir John Savile instead. He was tipped to receive a pay-off of £400 p.a. in lands, an inadequate sum if his 1628 claim to have spent £20,000 in the prince's service is to be believed, but no such grant is recorded. Pleas of penury seem to have been exaggerated, as he continued to enlarge his Carmarthenshire estates. He purchased the manor of Emlyn (the name of the earldom adopted by his son in 1643), and subsequently the lordship of Kidwelly, Carnwallon and Iscennen. He was elevated to an Irish earldom in 1628, probably through purchase.

> On 29 Apr. 1634 Vaughan made a nuncupative will [a spoken will not written and signed] 'in the time of sickness whereof he died', renouncing previous dowry provisions for his daughter Mary, recently married. His son Richard, the future royalist lieutenant general, was made his executor. He died on 6 May 1634, and was buried in the family vault in the parish church of Llandeilo Fawr a few miles north of Golden Grove.

Please refer to the online version to see the comprehensive notes and sources for John Vaughan.

Golden Grove – column 3

Golden Grove, Francis Jones, in *Ceredigion: Journal of the Cardiganshire Antiquarian Society,* Vol. 4, no. 3 (1962) p. 255-271.

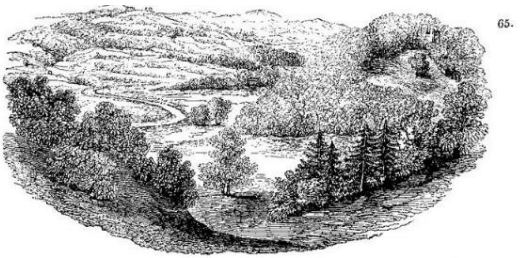
Jones repeats the Vaughan ascendancy from Hugh and explained how the Golden Grove estate was based on the "wreckage of the vast possessions of the unhappy Sir Rhys ap Griffith", who was executed for treason in 1531.

Moving on to Walter Vaughan, Hugh's grandson, Jones said of Walter's 15 children,

> This quiverfull was remarkable for its talents and achievements. Five of the sons swooped like hawks on the heiresses of Carmarthenshire estates, and founded vigourous families of their own at Tor-y-coed. Llanelly, Derwydd, Cwrt Derllys, and Lletherllesty. Five of the brothers served as High Sheriffs, two as Members of Parliaments, three were knighted, one became an earl.
>
> One of the brothers, Sir William Vaughan of Tor-y-coed, a Master of Arts and a Doctor of Laws of the University of Vienna, wrote a number of books highly esteemed by his contemporaries, and in 1616 founded a colony at his own expense in Newfoundland to which he gave the name 'Cambiol'.

Later Jones arrived at the third Earl of Carbery, John Vaughan, born in 1639.

> He was knighted in 1661 and became a courtier and a friend of Charles II. A man of liberal outlook, in his younger days he supported the Quakers, and in July 1664 was arrested at a Quaker meeting in London and thrown into gaol, but was soon released when he pleaded privilege as a Member of Parliament. At one time he tried to mary Guielma Springett, a beautiful Quaker heiress, who, however, turned him down and accepted instead the suit of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania.



Vale of the Towy, and Golden Grove, as seen from Dynevor Park near Llandeilo, sketched by Mrs. Murchison.

Of the final John Vaughan who left his estates to John Campbell (Lord Cawdor) Jones wrote that the will, prepared in 1786, was hotly

contested by the remaining Vaughans. John Vaughan was married to a sickly woman who died in 1796 without children, and the will left everything to Campbell as the third legatee behind John's wife and any children they might have had.

> Lord Cawdor and John Vaughan had been friends since their boyhood days. Both had similar interests – they were Whigs and cooperated in the political struggles that took place in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire. From 1780 to 1784 they had been Members of Parliament together; both were enthusiastic supporters of the volunteer movement; progressive farmers and landlords, they were responsible for introducing improved methods of husbandry to West Wales and patronized the agricultural societies of the day; they were ardent woodsmen, and Cawdor outshone even the fabulous Johnes of Hafo *[now Hafod]* by planting over 8½ million trees between 1801 and 1810; they were well-known sportsmen, and packs of hounds were kept at Stackpole Court and Golden Grove; they were keen antiquaries, extremely knowledgeable about sculpture, painting, music and literature. In sort they were firm friends. And it was to this friend that Vaughan left the property.

The History of Parliament website (www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/vaughan-john-1752-1804) ends his biography with this:

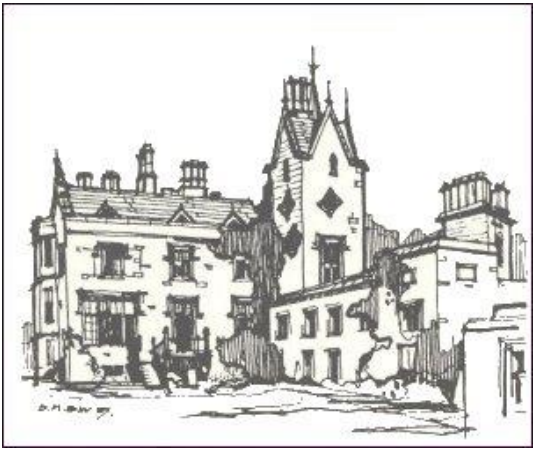
> He died 19 Jan. 1804. He had the reputation of an eccentric. He bequeathed his estates to John Campbell, 1st Baron Cawdor, his companion on the grand tour, but no relation. 'He has left several natural children in the neighbourhood', wrote the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1804, p. 687), 'without the smallest provision for either of them.'

Jones gave a brief account of the Cawdor-built Golden Grove, a thousand yards up the hill from the original, and noted

> The foundations of the present house of Golden Grove were laid in 1827. The former residence was pulled down, and today there is nothing above ground to indicate its site. A few years ago a tractor, chugging merrily trough a glade near the walled garden, suddenly and alarmingly sank into the ground, and in this way the arched cellars of the old 'plâs' were re-discovered. These were the cellars in which the treasure of Sir Gelly Meryick had ben concealed in Elizabethan times.

***Historic Carmarthenshire Homes** and their Families*, Francis Jones, Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and the Cultural Services Department of Dyfed County Council, 1987.

The Vaughans of Golden Grove were exactly that, the *Vaughans of Golden Grove*. There were so many Vaughans with the same first names in Wales that it is was necessary to distinguish them by their residence. The residence becomes, *de facto*, the family. Jones gave an excellent summary of Golden Grove in its three incarnations. His 450 years brought it up to 1935 when the Earls of Cawdor transferred the house and grounds to public use. The Cawdor's other seat was Stackpole Court, Pembrokeshire.



Golden Grove, the 1800's building

For four and a half centuries Golden Grove was one of the most important of Carms. residences, its families amongst the most distinguished. The Vaughans descended from the ancient Princes of Powys, settled in Carms. about 1490, and the first mansion was built at Golden Grove at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. John Vaughan, grandson of the builder was knighted and in 1628 created Earl of Carbery. The 3rd (and last) Earl died in 1713, leaving an only child and heir, Lady Anne Vaughan, who married the Duke of Bolton. On her death without issue in 1751, the Golden Grove estate passed to a distant cousin, John Vaughan, whose grandson John Vaughan, Lord Lieutenant of Carms. died without issue in 1804 leaving the estate to his friend Lord Cawdor now represented by the 6th Earl Cawdor. There have been three successive mansions at Golden Grove.

1. The first was built about 1560-65 by John Vaughan, to which additions were made in later years. As it was assessed at 30 hearths in 1670, it must have been a particularly large house. Jeremy Taylor who found refuge at Golden Grove in Commonwealth times, wrote several books here, and one of the title pages has an engraving, showing a large house amongst trees which is said to have been Golden Grove, but there is no firm proof of this. On folio 223 of Dineley's Progress of the Duke of Beaufort, 1684, there is a sketch of 'Golden Grove, and Dinevour Castle ruines', but the former, a large house amongst trees, is not very clear. Lord Ashburnham's journal for 5 July 1687 contains this entry – 'We saw Lord Carbury's fine seate called Golden Grove; it is in a bottom near this river (Tywy), very well wooded, and seems to be a fine wholesom place' (Carms. Miscellany, ed. A. Mee, 1892). In 1717 Golden Grove is said to be 'in a very large Park which is delicately wooded'. This mansion stood until 1729 when it was largely destroyed by a disastrous fire.

2. After the fire most of the mansion was in ruins. But in the years 1754-57, a new residence was built alongside the old, from which certain surviving items such as floors were incorporated in the new. John Vaughan was responsible for the rebuilding, the work being supervised and directed by his son Richard. When the latter inherited, in 1765, a few more additions were made, and a good deal of decorations to the interior was carried out by the famous Polletti family, plasterers, of Carmarthen. In 1770 a painting was made of the mansion, which shows a large house of two storeys, each with a range of seven windows, and an attic storey with seven dormer windows; the entrance doorway is flanked with two pillars; a large 'wing' of the same height extends to the rear. In 1782-87, a detailed terrier made of the demesne (1,021 acres) contains a ground plan of the mansion – main block (as shown in the painting) with two long wings extending to the rear. Joseph Gulston who called there in 1785 was not too impressed – 'Mr. Vaughan's, about 2 miles from Llandeilo (is) but a small house . . . You first come in a hall, and then a dining room on one side and a drawing room on the other, dressing room etc. All the Pictures are put into a Lumber Garret. Good Gardens'. Another caller was equally censorious. Malkin wrote in 1804 – 'I confess myself not a little disappointed on arriving at the place. . . The house approaches almost to meanness, and the situation is flat and low . . . Golden Grove appears an object of more magnitude, more capable of impression, than when looked down upon from the eminence on either side of the river. It conveys the idea of a fine and desirable estate, and the lands appear rich and well cultivated: but it is neither splendid as a residence, nor interesting as an object of picturesque attraction'. The mansion continued to be used until 1826, after which it was pulled down.

3. In 1826 the 1st Earl Cawdor started to build a new mansion higher up on the slope, about 700 yards south-west of the older one. The architect was the eminent Wyattville whose plans have been preserved. The work was completed in 1834. With their other seat, Stackpole Court (Pembs.), Golden Grove continued to be the Welsh seat of the Earls Cawdor. During World War II it was occupied by the U.S. Air Force. In 1952 a lease of the mansion and surrounding land was granted to the Carms. County Council who used it as an Agricultural Institute. The lease is still in being. In 1976 the 6th Earl Cawdor sold most of his large estates in West Wales and it is now owned by the Electricians' Pension Fund, but the grantor retained his right to the reversion at the termination of the lease of 1952. The mansion is well maintained, as also are the ornamental grounds, particularly the attractive arboretum.

Grid Ref SN 5966 1984

Sources: Carms. R.O., Cawdor Colln.; Allen, S. Wales and Mon., illus.; Francis Jones, 'The Vaughans of Golden Grove, I, The Earls of Carbury', Trans. Cyrnmr., 1963, 96-145; 'The Vaughans of Golden Grove, II, Anne Duchess of Bolton, Trans. Cymrnr., 1963, 223-250; 'The Vaughans of Golden Grove III: Torycoed, Shenfield, Trans. Cymrnr., 1966, 167-192, and 149-137; Trans. Cyrnmr., 1964, part II.

The reference to Stackpole Court comes about through the latter day Vaughans' connection to the Campbells of Cawdor, who married into Welsh society and settled in Pembrokshire in the late seventeenth century. Campbells served as Members of Parliament for Pembrokshire; Golden Grove estates were left by the last John Vaughan to his "Oxford friend" John Frederick Campbell, later first Earl of Cawdor, in 1804.

Pre-Tudor Times – column 4

The Elizabethan Squirearchy of Pembrokeshire, B.E. Howells, in *The Pembrokeshire historian: journal of the Pembrokeshire Local History Society*, No. 1 (1959), p. 17-40.

Howells used Sir John Perrot as an example of the acquisitive nature of the squires, increasing and closing lands obtained through marriage, lease, purchase or theft.

> The determination of lords to exploit their manorial rights to the full seems to have been partially responsible for the growth of antiquarianism during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries/ By probing into ancient records, the more learned squires could often adduce evidence to bolster up their claims for a stringent exploitation of feudal and manorial dues and services which had often fallen into abeyance during the later middle ages.

Here we see harbingers of the Vaughan claim to descend from the Princes of Powys and perhaps to William's revulsion at the overwhelming presence of legalities in Welsh affairs. Perrot, Howells explained, was one of the more dashing and siuccessful soldier-adventurers, who based his progress on being a man at arms with Essex in Ireland and slowly becoming the right hand man of the Devereaux family.

> By the time of the Essex conspiracy he was a prominent landowner with ands scattered thtoughout a number of counties, an unscrupulous and able adventurer who was feared far and wide by the tenantry of South Wales, a man substantial enough to marry of his daughter to Sir John Vaughan of Golden Grove.

After Perrot's death in 1592, Howells told, power slipped over to Sir Gelly Meyrick and the house of Essex. Meyrick's methods were brought to a halt when he was executed for his participation in the Essex rebellion, and

> His death left something of a power vacuum in Pembrokeshire politics and crippled the power of one of the most unruly elements in local society.

Howells also gave examples of "good" squires who contributed to society through sound judgement and careful management and responsible leadership, a "group of men who formed the backbone of local government in Pembrokeshire as well as elsewhere in Tudor Britain." Without mentioning the Vaughans in particular as being good or bad, Howells concluded,

> With their social traditions, coats of arms. And genealogical tables which were often a little longer than they should be, the Tudor squires of Pembrokeshire were, as a group, consciously setting themselves apart from their social inferiors, and as a distinct group their descendants survived throughout the centuries which followed, governing the countryside and living largely from the rents of those same estates which had been rounded off to a large extent by the end of Elizabeth's reign and which, in many cases, were only to dissolve within the memory of living men.

Walter Vaughan married Lettice Perrot, Sir John's sister; John Vaughan, Walter's son married Margaret Meyrick, daughter of Sir Gelly Meyrick, demonstrating how closely allied the Vaughans were with the center of Royal power in Wales and Ireland.

Owain Glyn Dŵr *and the Welsh Squirearchy*, R. Rees Davies, in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, (1968, Part 2), p. 150-169.

Glyn Dŵr was the last native Welshman to hold the title Prince of Wales. Leading a rich and powerful alliance of Welsh nobles, he rebelled against the Anglo-Norman rule of Henry IV. Unsuccessful, he avoided capture and faded quickly into myth and legend at his death in 1415. He was reputed to have magic on his side and he entered local mythology along with Cadwaladr, Cynan and Arthur as the hero awaiting the call to return and liberate his people. What he did do, according to Davies, was set up the rise of the Welsh squirearchy, of which the Vaughans were an important but not isolated part.

Davies emphasized the almost obsessive concentration on Welsh genealogy and family ties as the overriding political force in the rebellion. Glyn Dŵr himself wasn't the first or last to use the lineage of the Princes of Powys as a reason to claim ascendency to power; although in his case it was a century or more closer to the actuality. The native squires and squireens who supported Glyn Dŵr were all related through marriage. Many acted independently, swashbuckling, Davies said, around their own holding, stealing and taking others lands without remorse. They were following an age old tradition that dated from the Normal conquest of the late 12th century. Lawlessness, or at last the lawlessness that comes about without a central government being in charge, ruled Wales until the early 1500's.

Other Related – column 5

Annals and Antiquities *of the Counties of Wales and County Families of Wales containing a record of all ranks of the gentry, their lineage, alliances, appointments, armorial ensigns, and residences, with many Ancient Pedigrees and Memorials of Old and Extinct Families …* , Thomas Nicholas, Longmans, Green Reader, London, 1872.

Nicholas runs through the standard descendant pattern, fairly detailed from Hugh onward, based on A'Wood, but introduces nothing new.

History of Carmarthenshire, edited by Sir John E. Lloyd, History Society of Carmarthenshire, Volumes I and II, London 1935 and 1938.

Printed on handmade paper these massive tomes cover 10,000 years of archaeology and geology. Vaughan references are few and far between in Volume II. Sir William is noted as decrying the state of the peasantry, impoverished and abused in his times and being happy and productive under the age of the Welsh Princes and monastic overrule from 1200 to 1500. The Norman conquest of Wales and the subsequent development of Cambro-Norman society is interesting and sets up many Tudor and post-Reformation developments. Owen's section on Agriculture (page 4) deals with William Vaughan specifically.

The Squires of Hawksbrook, F. Jones, Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, (1937), p. 339-355.

The Protheros of Hawksbrook, Carmarthenshire, who traced their ancestors back to the ancient lines of Princes, were linked to the Vaughans through two marriages: John Prothero (The Astronomer) and Eleanor, sister of John, the first Earl of Carberry, and John Prothero's sister Elenor and a John Vaughan, probably not directly related. John Prothero was friend and supporter of Herriot and Lower and supported their scientific efforts; he was also brother-in-law to William. The Prothero family also had strong links to Pembrokeshire, in particular at Tenby.

The Story of Carmarthenshire *Volume Two: from the sixteenth century to 1832*. A. G. Prys-Jones. Christopher Davies. Swansea and Llandybie. 1972.

Explains how the Vaughans and other family "squirearchies" grew out of the post-Norman Welsh Princes period of warlords and internecine warfare. The passing on of inheritances, to all the children (male and female) in the old Welsh tradition, caused much family struggle as some tried to gain ascendancy of the whole of the predecessor's estate. Devotes a section to William Vaughan, and states he did spend time in Newfoundland but without sources.

History of Wales, John Davies, Penguin, London. 1994.

Davies shows how Wales was the western end of a great Briton (Celt) culture that included most of southern England and most northern parts of France. It survived, by absorption, the Roman conquests of the first century, adapted and modified Roman culture through the next 400 years, and descended into legend and myth through the next 600 years, struggling against the Teutonic (Dane, Angle, Saxon) invasions, until the Norman conquests of 1100 to 1200. The Teutons, like the Romans, ran into a near impassible border in the north and south giving rise to the great Briton kings Alfred and Arthur whose line was mixed with the Teutons and eventually defeated by the Normans.

Of interest are his explanations of how prehistoric Celtic invasions came from the west, a practice followed later and found more effective than coming overland.

The Tudor ascendency of Henry VI, and the subsequent shattering of the Plantagenet Richard III at Bosworth Field, was achieved by coming from the west, through Wales.

Little mention of Vaughans is made and in the description of William's colonization scheme Davies calls him Robert! Davies' accounts of the post-Roman period up to the 15th century are well worth a read; many events and personalities leading up to the time of the Vaughans helps understand where once they stood and why.

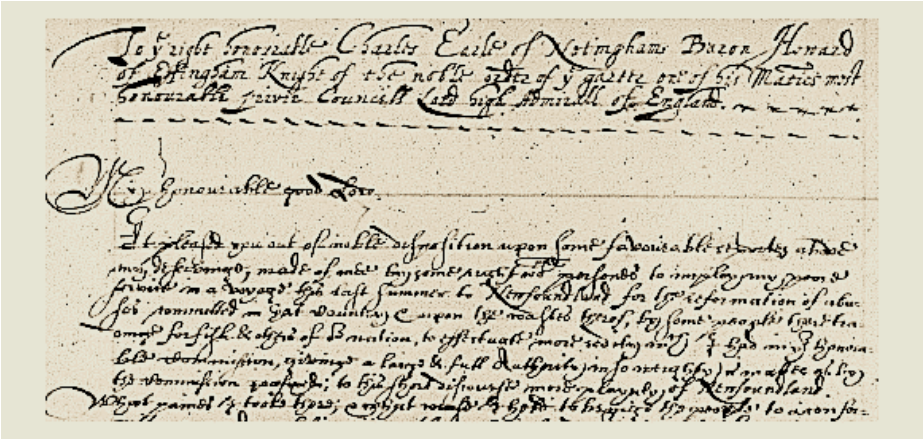
Hakluyt's Promise*: an Elizabethan's obsession for an English America*. Peter C. Mancall. Yale University Press. New Haven and London. 2007.

A detailed life of Richard Hakluyt and his books on English travel of the 16th century. Not much on Newfoundland. It does set up the context and motivations for English possession of New England, and the basis for this in the Irish plantations of the late 16th century.

Notae Bene

The *tenantry* are tenants considered as a group; see squirearchy below.
A *cadet* family is that springing from the younger sons of nobles who couldn't inherit due to the rules of primogeniture.
A *politique* is a group in power that puts the success and well-being of their state above all else.
A *sheriff* is a person given legal responsibilities for a shire or county; it comes from old Anglo-Saxon English and is in use is all English speaking countries around the world, with much variance in the duties and obligations fixed to the office; notably sheriffs are traditionally elected officials.
A sheriff's political or legal office and the jurisdiction is called a shrievalty.
The *squirearchy* is the landed gentry considered as a group or class.
A *squireen* is an Anglo-Irish term for a small squire; a half-squire, half-farmer; a petty (small land holding) squire.

In the yeere 1615: Sir Richard Whitbourne's letter



The Sir William Vaughan Trust Incorporated is an historical research organization with primary objectives around the early 17th century plantation efforts of Sir William Vaughan in the Trepassey area of Newfoundland's Southern Avalon Peninsula. To further its objectives The Trust has initiated documentary and archival research in Wales, Ireland and England; assembled a broad range of contemporary documentation; and begun an archaeological testing program in Trepassey Harbour.

In November 2013, R.M. Lewis, a Director of The Trust and a staff member of the Queen Elizabeth II Library at Memorial University of Newfoundland, found a letter in the Christ Church Oxford archives among papers of John Salusbury (d. 1612). Upon closer examination, it appears the letter is a copy (unsigned, undated, except for the writer's reference that he visited Newfoundland *last summer*) of a letter by Richard Whitbourne that accompanied his report to the Lord High Admiral of the first ever, judicial inquiry conducted in Newfoundland, in 1615.

References to the report, by Whitbourne, in his 1620 Discourse set the context for the assertion the letter is his, aside from the fact that no John Salusbury material or reference to any other judicial inquiry in Newfoundland exists. Sir Henry Salusbury, John's son, bought a narrow strip of land from Henry Carey, Lord Falkland, who purchased it from William Vaughan, who bought it as part of his larger purchase from the London and Bristol Company (the Newfoundland Company); an area from the north shore of Fermeuse Harbour to the Aquaforte Harbour southern boundary of Calvert's Ferryland holding (also bought from Vaughan) across the width of the Avalon Peninsula to Placentia Bay. A conveyance related to the Salusbury-Carey transaction is the subject of a planned paper.

Whitbourne was an ardent proponent of settling Newfoundland for a variety of reasons related to improved trade and increased profits for the English fishing enterprise, which, he says in his Discourse, dated from 1540, and for the general good of the English Crown and people. Similar Discourses were made by Mason, Eburne and Vaughan between 1620 and 1626. Mason and Whitbourne were contemporaries, proprietary governors, and both zealously promoted planting Newfoundland.

Whitbourne (b. 1564? d. 1628) first sailed to Newfoundland as an apprentice in 1580 [16 years old] and probably as an officer in 1583 [19 years old] when he witnessed Sir Humphrey Gilbert's claiming ceremony in St. John's harbour. At the time of his commission from the Lord High Admiral he would have been 51 years old. He published his Discourse at age 56 and died at 64.

This paper details the document properties, location and provenience; and through the similarities with Whitbourne's Discourse shows it may well be Whitbourne's words. The cover image shows the greeting and first paragraph of the document, which is written in the common (secretary hand) writing style of the time.

The letter and Whitbourne's 1620 Discourse

The Discourse explicitly references Whitbourne's 1615 Commission of Inquiry (the quotes are converted to modern spelling). Excerpts from the Discourse are from Gillian Cell, Ed., Newfoundland Discovered English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610–1630, Hakluyt Society, Second Series: 160, October 2011.

> In the year 1615. I returned again to New-found-land, carrying with me a Commission out of the high Court of Admiralty, under the great Seal thereof, authorizing me to impanel Juries, and to make inquiry upon oath, of sundry abuses and disorders committed amongst Fishermen yearly upon that Coast, and of the fittest means to redress the same, with some other points, having a more particular relation to the Office of the Lord Admiral.
>
> What was then there done by virtue of that Commission, which was wholly executed at my own charge, hath been at large by me already certified into the high Court of Admiralty. Nevertheless, seeing the same hath been [over-slipped] ever since, and not produced those good effects which were expected, I will, in some convenient place of this Discourse, set down a brief collection of some part of my endeavours spent in that service; not doubting but it will be as available for the furtherance of our intended design, as any other reason I shall deliver. (p. 112)

Cell, page 112, in footnote wrote, *I have found no documents verifying this often-repeated statement of Whitbourne's*, regarding the report.

Whitbourne, in the passage above, stated his report was *overslipt*, in other words, ignored. He concluded the report's validity still stood for the furtherance of settlement and plantation, an indication he believed it was still on file and, in his expectation, a part of the new Lord Admiral's brief at the time of writing the Discourse, in 1619, three years after the report submission.

Whitbourne explained he recorded 170 attestations (presentments) taken under oath by ship captains in the course of his inquiries; there were, by his estimate, 250 English ships engaged in the Newfoundland fishery in 1615. In a later section of the Discourse, he wrote,

> Now having thus commended the Country of *New-found-land,* in my opinion, it ought not to be one of the least motives, whereby to further this Plantation, the setting of some better order and government amongst the Fishermen, and all other of our Nation that yearly trade there, then now there is; so that there may be a reformation of such abuses as are there yearly committed; wherein it is well known, that I have already used my best endeavors, when in the year 1615, at which time I had a Commission with me for the purpose under the broad Seale of the Admiralty, and did therewith set forth, to follow that service from the Port of Exeter, in the County of Devon, on the 11th day of May 1615, in a Bark victualed and manned with 11 men and boys at my own charge, and I did then arrive at the Coast of *New-found-land,* in the Bay of Trinity; upon Trinity Sunday, being the 4th of June, and anchored the same day in the said Harbour of Trinity; and there, in the name of the holy and individual Trinity, began to the use of your most Sacred Majesty, by virtue of that Commission, to send forth a Precept, to call the Masters of those English ships, that were then riding at Anchor, and also the Masters of some other English ships that were near thereunto, and so began to hold the first Court of Admiralty in your Majesty's name, that ever was (as I believe) held in that Country, to the use of any Christian Prince, and proceeded therein according to course of Law, as the tenor of my Commission did warrant me therein; and also in other Harbors of the said Coast I did the like; Part of which abuses there committed, I have already touched: so likewise I will briefly insert a part of the several presentments of such injuries, that were then delivered unto me, as aforesaid, under the hands and seals of those 170 Masters of English Ships, to the use of your Majesty: which presentments were, upon my return from the said voyage, delivered by me into your Majesty's high Court of the Admiralty, and then by those Masters of ships there impanelled, such abuses as follow, they did acknowledge, and order, that henceforth with your Majesty's allowance might be redressed, &c. (p.???)

The Letter

Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, was 79 years old in 1615 and had served England as Lord High Admiral for 30 years; within two years he was being investigated for corruption and ineptitude, he retired at 83 in 1618-1619. Whitbourne's report may have been lost in the shuffle or as Whitbourne himself wrote, *Neuerthelesse, seeing the same hath been ouerslipt euer since, and not produced those*

good effects which were expected… Howard's successor, The Duke of Buckingham, may well have overlooked or dismissed the old man's files.

> To the right honourable Charles Earle of Nottingham Baron Howard of Effingham Knight of the noble order of the garter one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council Lord High Admiral of England. x x x x x
>
> My honourable good Lord
>
> It pleased you out of noble disposition upon some favourable reports above my deserving, made of me by some righteous persons to employ my poor service in a voyage this last summer to Newfoundland for the reformation of abuses committed in that Country & upon the coasts thereof, by some people there trading for fish & others of our nation, to effectuate more readily which I had my honorable Commission, giving a large & full Authority in so weighty a matter as by the commission proposed; to this short discourse more plainly of Newfoundland.
>
> What pains I Tooke there; & what course I held to bring the people to a conformity & good conclusion, is here summarily in second presentments of Juries by which those impaneled set down at the [blank] of the relation of the voyages upon mine own purse went the charges which hath been very dear to me as it may be well understood; & all the account I advanced unto Your Lordship of my travel, is that which Harbors after long & [1. leefsome or leesome = pleasant] voyages when they [2. enterime or entermete = to concern or occupy oneself with something] themselves, present unto Your Majesty being nothing else but a bundle of papers to no great purpose.
>
> My passing of this compendious relation Your Lordship shall not only find what I have herein done, but from hence may a supposition or reflection be made so what further in so high & material a business may be done to the general good of the whole Kingdome, if by the King's Royall Authority leave may be given not only nobly to set forward; but also resolutely to go through with it.
>
> Strange it is in my poor judgment that men should recoil in a work so good for it is known that divers worthy Gentlemen, & others that have seen the Country have all at their coming home bestowed Praise & Worthy Commendations upon it, yet none other than it deserves, & those hearty wishes that it might be so inhabited & a plantation there settled, which yet notwithstanding to the great grief of many goes by but slowly forward: What should [we] therein [3. fear]? If honor & profit be the principal master at every end in this world for temporal blessings [shoot]; why then do we bend our whole endeavor and aim thence towards this Newfoundland where are both to be had; What is there in most Countries for any man's use which there is not to be gotten? What is there wanting in that place which man can do? Shall I speak one of wisest praisers of the Country & in that shut up all the rest? Give me then leave to say this much to your Lordships that the Newfoundland is environed round with the sea, a climate so

wholesome for mans' health that I think few parts of the world are comparable to it, the quality [thereof] is an instance, that last year when there lay 250 English ships 5000 [deletion] Persons at least in them, besides many sails both of French & Portuguese, who all came thither to employ their ships & their fishers in fishing, And that I sailed to be free amongst them about 150 leagues, yet could I not see nor heard of any man or boy in either of these nations that died during the whole voyage nor not so much as anyone to go sick. How excellent a plantation were this therefore my good Lord to be inhabited by Christians, as to whence goes the plantation as it now stands, If I may, with your Lordship's pardon, freely deliver mine opinion I think it had no sound nor settled foundation, neither as it is, can it subsist or grow without more & more substantial props to be added to support it.

Many honorable & worthy persons who at first were hot in pursuit of so noble & honorable a business, it is to be doubted unless they be worthily seconded by others that they will both repent them of their charge already laid out & also wax could & weary in disbursing more; & so may the country by the remissness of our nation be left or taken from them & lost to the spoil or usurpation of some other Prince, whose subjects will reap the harvest of our labour. Therefore by your honourable personage upon so weighty an importance to his Majesty. Your Lordship would be pleased to make known to His Highness the honour benefit & enlargement of this dominion; by exchanges [custom] by mariners & shipping etc. besides infinite commodities to his people which all arise out of this Country it is no question to be made but for so general a good his wisdom would both allow of so necessary a work & it might be by your Lordship's assistance & Authority be moved & go forward, But if neither the King's Majesty will hearken after a project of this nature; & that Yr. Lordship be carried in opinion from it, yet I beseech yet I beseech [sic] his highness to pardon this my presumption which out of my soul's devotion & service to my sovereign & my Country I tender on my knees & most humbly entreat Your Lordship to call my boldness an honest zeal for I have desired rather to bear the burthen of poverty then of the rich.

The transliteration of the letter was undertaken with the assistance of *A Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words especially from the dramatists collected by Walter W. Skeat, Erlington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge, 1878-1912* edited with additions by A.L. Mayhew, M.A., Wadham College, Oxford. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1914. Oxford University Press, London.

Butter Pot: the first landfall

Butter Pot is a hill located "behind Fermeuse", say Fermeuse-men, or "behind Renews", say Renews-men. It is about almost equidistant from the heads of both harbours, between 4 and 5 statute miles. At 931 feet above sea level, it eclipses American Man at Bay Bulls by 35 feet. It is visible from about 30 nautical miles to sea; with refraction and an elevated vantage point (up the mast) taken into account, it might be possible to see Butter Pot at 35 nmi.

Butter Pot was a tactical point of spring-time trans-Atlantic crossings at the 47th parallel; get across as quickly as you can, pray for clear weather so you can see Butter Pot; once seen, adjust course for desired port. Butter Pot is about 2000 nautical miles due west of the Bay of Biscay in France. By Yonge's time, Butter Pot was a preferred landmark for more than a century.

Seventeenth century navigation was quite adept at determining latitude; so, for example, leaving the Azores, ships would sail northwest until they hit the 47th parallel, then turn westward to follow it to Newfoundland. Problem was in spring, from the False Bank (Flemish Cap) to the Newfoundland coast, there was ice to be navigated around, stormy northeast wind which drove ships well south of the 47th parallel, and fog, which precluded checking latitude. They fell back to the lead line and good luck.

Sounds pretty simple; but there were complexities; for example, once you can see Butter Pot (if you ever see Butter Pot through the spring fogs) you need a second reference to determine how far you are north or south of Butter Pot; smaller hills along the central Avalon plateau would have come into play as the ship neared the coast. In particular, Red Hill at 720 feet and the Green Knob (Green Hill) at 625 feet (about 20nmi to 25 nmi of visibility each) and American Man (about 30 nmi) would have been used.

***Table 1*: 17 hills above 500 feet asl visible from the ocean and their extreme visible range** (where d in nautical miles = $1.22\sqrt{h}$ *0.869.

Hill	**Height** (ft)	**Visibility** (nmi)
Butter Pot	931	31.8
American Man	896	31.7
Captain Orlebars Cairn	791	29.8
Williams Hill	722	28.5
Red Hill	720	28.4
Jonclay Hill	695	27.9
Big Lookout	648	26.9
The Green Knob	625	26.5
Long Ridge	600	25.9
Peters River Hill	600	25.9
Long Hill	571	25.3
Bread and Cheese Hill	561	25.1

Cahills Rock	550	24.9
Long Hill	550	24.9
The Neck	550	24.9
Brigus Ridge	500	23.8
White Hill	500	23.8

***Figure 1*: visibility range from sea for American Man** (red); **Butter Pot** (yellow) and **Red Hill** (green).

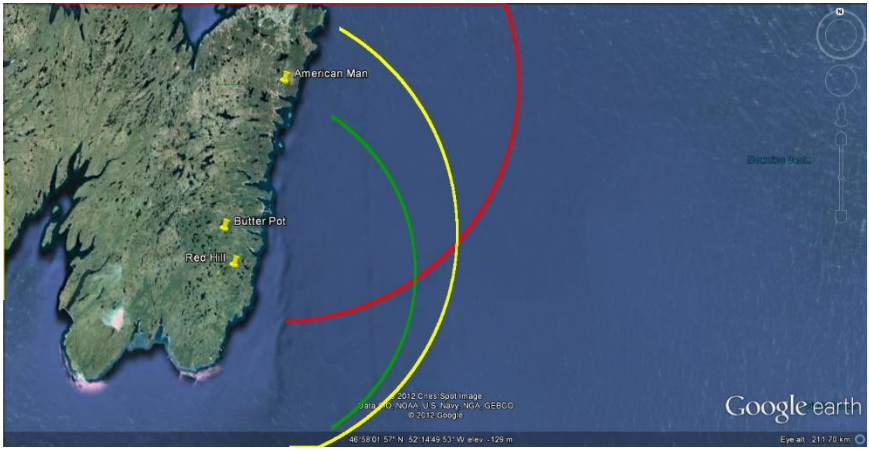


***Figure 2*: American Man, Butter Pot and Red Hill from Canada Topographic maps 1K14 and 1N07**; 1:50,000 scale; each blue square is 1 kilometre on a side; heights in metres

A perfect example

James Yonge signed on the *Reformation* for his first voyage to Newfoundland in 1663 and set out from Plymouth on 24 February, three days before his 16th birth-day. He reported setbacks which delayed them for 8 days (05 March); they made *the False Bank of New Found Land* [the Flemish Cap] 22 days later (27 March) in extreme cold and surrounded by icebergs.

Fog bound, they blew around for a week before finding strong signs of land; a large flightless bird that carried its young on its back (Yonge's *penguin; our* auk)

and seals (Yonge called them *amphibious dogs*). On 3rd April they spotted land at about 8 leagues (24 miles) but without other landmarks to go by they were still uncertain of where they were.

The land they saw was two *hommitts* (probably Butter Pot and Red Hill) which, before the near shore was seen, looked like islands, *and these they call the Butter Pots.* Nearer the shore, Cape Race, *a low point* appeared as another island to the south. Yonge reports they came near to *Cape Bollard* which he described as four leagues from Cape Race and four leagues from *Renoose*. They recognized *Glam Cove*, a haven for Renews boats when they were *put to leeward*. The *Reformation* entered Renews Harbour the next morning and set about establishing their fishing enterprise.

The latitude of Renews Head is 46 54.0; Cape Ballard is 46 47.1; Cape Race is 46 40.7; Modern maps show about 15 kilometres (8.5 nautical miles; 10 statute miles) of latitude between Renews Head and Cape Ballard and between Cape Ballard and Cape Race, not far off Yonge's estimate of 4 leagues (12 miles). Clam Cove is 4 miles south of Cape Ballard.

Yonge again visited Newfoundland ports from Renews to Torbay in 1664, 1669 and 1670. These three other voyages were bound for St. John's and they made landfall at Cape Spear or Sugar Loaf. Mariners had good control over their latitude but were stumped on longitude, relying on sounding lead and a known landfall; Flemish Cap (False Bank) was 120 leagues (360 miles) east and a week out. Yonge reported hailing other vessels and trading navigation information. His ships were *Reformation* Master William Cock 1663; *Robert Bonadventure* Master Wm. Mitchell (a Quaker) 1664; and *Marigiold* Master Christopher Martin, 1669 and 1670.

Of passing interest are Yonge's take on auk and seals. He was 16 and could not have had any detailed knowledge of, or appreciation for, either species. It was only 50 years before (1610) that Whitbourne reported a mermaid in St. John's harbour. Given the economic importance of the auk, hunted to extinction two centuries later, and the continuing exploitation of seals, was it only Yonge's youthful naiveté? Or, was 17th century English society simply not yet attuned to the potential uses of these species?

Other creatures encountered offshore Newfoundland included *noddies* (terns), *strange coloured gulls*, *boneta* (bonita tuna), *dolphins*, *flying fish*, *squids*, a *shark*, and *whales*.

Of passing interest in any geographic study of the early modern period is, of course, John Mason's map presented in Vaughan's works. The survey was undertaken in 1615 or 1616 and the map first appeared in 1620 and again in 1625. It has obvious Vaughan annotations in what seems to be an attempt to relate the new Cambriol in Newfoundland with the Carmarthenshire of Wales.

Carmarthenshire, east-west through Carmarthen is about 40 miles, and perhaps a little further north and not on a line of latitude, about 50 miles. From Carmarthen to the southwest to open water in the Bristol Channel about 20 miles. North-south the shire is about 25 miles.

An east-west line through Daniel's Point in Trepassey Bay is about 55 miles from the Atlantic coast to Placentia Bay; and 28 from the Atlantic to St. Mary's Bay. Southwest to Cape Freels, the western head of Trepassey Bay, is about 15 miles to open water. North-south through Daniels Point the southern portion of the Avalon to the latitude of Renews is about 35 miles. An east-west line spanning Renews to Placentia Bay is 55 miles; to Colinet Island in St. Mary's Bay 33 miles.

Roughly, Mason has Renews to Placentia Bay at 16 leagues (48 miles), a fair estimate for the time. His north-south distance is distorted, shorter than it should be and his St. Mary's Bay is completely out of proportion.

By placing the Carmarthenshire neighbouring shire names on Mason's map Vaughan was attempting to scale his plantation in terms his contemporaries could see.

What We Call Things; a coastal toponomy of the Irish Loop. Mobilewords Limited, Mobile, 2011. Some information in this essay comes from this book.

The Journal of James Yonge 1647-1721, F.N.L. Poynter, Editor. Longmans Green, London, 1963. Pages 53-60, 66-68, 112-120, and 124-136 detail his passages to and his time spent in Newfoundland, including detailed descriptions of fishing enterprises, business and trade information, medical observations and treatments. Yonge was credited with a number of surgical and therapeutic innovations including "skin flap" limb amputations and methods to prevent gangrene.

THE MISTS OF TIME: What happened to William Vaughan?

Introduction

Modern scholars and researchers find it inexplicable that so little remains of the worldly presence of Sir William Vaughan (1577-1642), of his time a prolific writer with published books in many editions. He provided quality knowledge of scurvy and its cure; set the standard for herbal medicines and their use and yet these things, while accepted at the time as being wonderful, apparently quickly faded after his passing. His praise of Newfoundland and its colonial potential was, along with Whitbourne, Eburne and others, one of the seminal treatises on Newfoundland geography and natural history which, in its basic facts, still stands some of the tests of time.

There are a few minor references extant, to be sure. His name and arms on a scroll of Carmarthenshire worthies; his wife's tomb and memorial; and a lingering presence in Newfoundland settlement history, oft repeated and oft distorted. Curiously, this is not a function of just the 20th or 21st century; Prowse in the 19th apparently glossed Vaughan to suit his own historical purpose and, as will be seen below, a late 17th century and an early 18th century references to Vaughan are also of dubious accuracy.

In private conversation, one Vaughan researcher said, "It is almost like Vaughan wanted to be NOT remembered" which is borne out by his insistence on an unmarked grave. He was popularly suspected of complicity in the death of his first wife, an heiress from whom he gained his farm and home near Carmarthen, so much so, a decade later he published a book on slander and libel. For his times his publishing record is amazing and unique.

A lawyer, physician, writer, colonial entrepreneur, academic, intellectual and scholar, Vaughan was the second son (which means he had nothing from his father Walter's estate) and had to "make his own way". His wife's death from being struck by lightning deeply affected him and he adopted a spiritual and religious view of everything; his writings borrow equally from the classic Greek philosophers and the Christian canons.

An interesting early reference to Vaughan is provided by John Oldmixon in his The British Empire in America published in 1741. Oldmixon borrows from Anthony A'Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* (1690-91; 1721) for some biographical information. Biographies of Oldmixon and Wood from Wikipedia are included in References and sources. What is telling is the already inaccuracies surrounding Vaughn barely 60 years (A'Wood) to 100 years (Oldmixon) after his death.

The History of Newfoundland *Containing An Account of its Discovery, Settlement, Encrease, Inhabitants, Climate Soil, Product, Trade and present State* (27 pages).

In, *The British Empire in America containing The History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress and State of the British Colonies on the Continent and Islands of America. Vol. I. by John Oldmixon*, 1741.

Map extract from *A New Map of NEWFOUNDLAND, NEW SCOTLAND The Isles of Breton, Anticosti, St. John's &c. Together with the Fishing Bancks*. By H. Moll Geographer From archive.org/stream/britishempire-ina01oldm#page/n59/mode/2up

Extract from Mason's Map, as published in *The Golden Fleece* by William Vaughan in 1626 (below; rotated to north up orientation).

Oldmixon's *The History of Newfoundland* starts with Moll's map of the Island, possibly made for the publication and one of several in the book. In these extract, there are many inaccuracies. Moll and Mason (1626) both put Cape Pine (Mason

calls it C. de Pene) west of Trepassey Bay but Mason appears to have it at Cape St. Mary's. Mason has St. Mary's Bay large and wide whereas Moll minimizes it but does have C. St. Maria in the correct location. Trepassey Bay in Mason is geographically correct and almost to scale but Moll doesn't even come close. Moll's other problems include missing Renews and Fermeuse; including a Goose I. in the Witless Bay-Tor's Cove archipelago, the largest of which are Gull Island and Great Island; and including Collier south of Placentia Bay (if meant to be Colliers of Conception Bay). Mason's Isle Ruge and Moll's I. Rud are apparently Red Island which was apparently well known by 1600.

Other Moll Placentia Bay names bear scrutiny, Verte I., Lompa I. (both unknown) and Martir (Mortier) are north of Burin R. Platine I. (Flat Island) and C. Iudas [Judas] (Jude Island) are not present on Mason indicating the newness (since 1713) of the whole of Placentia Bay to English interests. In Fortune Bay, Fontalony may be Jacques Fontaine.

The History

Oldmixon claimed in Introduction:

> All the Account of its Trade and present State was communicated to him [Oldmixon in the third person] by one who dwelt there as a Merchant [unnamed] several Years. What has been added to this Edition has been taken from publick Memoirs, and consequently are the most authentick.

He made Sebastian Cabot the discoverer of Newfoundland which thereby refuted any French or Biscayan claim to Newfoundland. Oldmixon said English trade to Newfoundland started shortly after its 1497 discovery. The cannibalism portrayed below may be apocryphal and intended to depict just how strenuous survival in the New World once was.

> Mr. Thorn and Mr. Elliot, two Adventurers of our Nation, traded here, and one Mr. Hore attempted a settlement here, the first of its kind by Europeans in North America, but was reduced to such Streights, that many of his Company were killed and eaten by their Fellows. Those who surviv'd were so changed, that Sir William Butts of Norfolk did not know his Son at his return …

Butts (1486-1545) was a founder of the College of Physicians in London and a personal physician to Henry VIII. Butts' son couldn't have been a worthy character, Oldmixon concluded, to have been sent or permitted to go on such a desperate adventure, "in so barbarous and desolate a Country as Newfoundland."

The events took place about 1542. The English then abandoned Newfoundland, Oldmixon said, until Gilbert took possession in 1583. He put Richard Whitbourne, in command of an unnamed ship of 250 tons [extremely large for the times] out of Southampton, at the ceremony.

> In the Year 1615, Dr. William Vaughan of Carmarthen, purchas'd a Grant of the Patentees for part of the Country, as well to the South, as to the East, which shews us that the French had no Right or Title to it. Dr. Vaughan was the son of Sir Walter Vaughan, of Golden Grove, younger son to Sir John Vaughan, the first Earl of Carberry. [how can things have gone so far off track in a mere century; William was John's brother and Walter's second son] The Doctor was a poet as well as a Physician, and Author of several Writings in Verse and Prose.

A'Wood is quoted as to Vaughan's colony being called "Cambriola, Little Wales, now call'd by some Britanniola, Little Britain".

Vaughan studied and wrote in Newfoundland in 1626 and 1628, according to A'Wood, Vaughan having governed his plantation by deputies until then. Oldmixon made no further mention of Vaughan until the arrival of Calvert.

> It is probably these two Gentlemen, Sir George Calvert and Dr. Vaughan, both of Oxford, Calvert of Trinity, and Vaughan of Jesus, the Welsh College, were Inhabitants of this Island as the same time.

Calvert "procur'd one [Patent] for that Part of the Island which lies between the Bay of Bulls, in the east, and Cape St. Mary's in the South, which was erected into a Province, and called Avalon, as before mention'd." Oldmixon included all of Vaughan's patent in Calvert's permit, again a position not now commonly held. He went on to say, in effect, there is no record of this deal:

> How this Grant cou'd be made without the Consent of the former Proprietors, [the Newfoundland Company] we cannot comprehend, for he settled himself within their limits, and he either agrees with them for it, or King James invaded the Company's Property [something that did take place in 1637 when by Royal decree all Newfoundland plantation grants were forfeited to the Crown and passed to Kirke.

Oldmixon wasn't aware of transfers or purchases between Vaughan and Calvert, the current thinking, perhaps because such records had already disappeared from the public record, if they ever existed. Others have mentioned the loss of Court records in the late 17th century fires that ravaged London. He described the now well known facts of Calvert's tenure at Ferryland.

Relating the efforts of Edward Wynn at Ferryland and Daniel Powell at Caplin Bay, on Calvert's behalf, he wrote,

> These two Adventurers, Capt. Wynn and Capt. Powell, being Welshmen, one may suppose they were the more ready to visit this Land on Account of their Countryman Dr. Vaughan, whose settlement must have gone on after Whitburn's Voyage, if, as Mr. Wood writes, he himself resided here, and was here living in 1628.

Faulkland attempted a failed colony under Francis Tansfield in 1623, according to Oldmixon.

> Sir George Calvert, made Lord Baltimore, was so well satisfied with the Account given him of his Plantation of Avalon, that he removed thither with his Family, built a fine house and strong Fort at Ferryland, and dwelt there several Years; as did Dr. Vaughan, on the other Side of the Island. The Bristol Plantation was in being still, and Conception, Trinity, St. John's, Cape de Raz and other Stages were every Year frequented by great Numbers of English Adventurers in the Fishing Trade.

He recounted the Kirke-Calvert dispute, in summary, the English use of Newfoundland's east coast is detailed, noting English use did not extend past Cape Bonavista until late in the 17th century with the settling of Greenspond.

> On that which was the French Side [i.e., French use] are the Bays of Trepasey, St. Mary's, Borrell and Placentia, which extend their Arms towards the North or opposite Coast.

"The other side of the Island" and the note about Trepassey Bay being on "the French side" indicates Oldmixon wasn't particularly aware of Vaughan's plantation locations now known to be at Renews (1617) and Trepassey Harbour (after 1624). The location of Borrell [it is a common Spanish surname] isn't clear, for if it is meant to sit between St. Mary's and Placentia Bay either it doesn't exist or it must be Holyrood Bay (now St. Vincent's and St. Stephen's); the name did not survive.

Starting at Cape Race and going north, he listed places and the number of houses and families, although he missed everything south of Ferryland. Bay Bulls is out of sequence; Brigas Bay and Bells Inn may refer to Brigus South and LaManche [or Caplin Cove, now Burnt Cove] as they are south of Toads [Tors] Cove and Mummable [Mobile] Bay. Witless Bay isn't mentioned. Also interesting is that Cape Broyle, Ferryland and Bay Bulls (with 62) outnumber St. John's and Brigas, Mummable and Petty Harbour are equals at six. In other studies, Mobile had a fairly stable population for a century from 1835, at just under 200 and it was noted in the 1921 nominal census as primarily an agricultural community, its farming economy much larger than its fish production.

Oldmixon's tally of Avalon houses and families

Ferryland	30	Kittavitty	20
Cape Broil	12	Torbay	4
Bay of Bulls	20	Holyrood*	
Brigas Bay	6	Salmon Cove*	12*
Bells Inn	3	Havre de Grace*	
Toads Cove	2	Carbonear	30
Mummable Bay	6	* totaled or 12 each?	
Petty Harbour	6		
St. John's Town	60		

Oldmixon blamed bad winter weather for putting an end to most settlement enterprises. The early Discourses praising Newfoundland's wondrous benefits, he decried.

> All which being intirely false, shews us that the first Patentees and Adventurers to America play'd the Cheat to draw in Purchasers and Partners, as our Jobbers do to raise Stocks and increase the Numbers of Bubbles; for 'tis obvious that most of the Patentees got in only to sell out; but the Market was too far off for them to make a Hand of it. Mr. Guy and Capt. Whitburn were, as we may perceive, willing the Island should be inhabit- ed, by the fair Description they gave of it; for 'tis in Truth one of the most uncomfort- able Places in the habitable World.

Oldmixon's Newfoundland history concluded with a description of French-English hostilities of the late 17th century and the depredations conducted on the English Shore leading to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

Oldmixon's biographical references to Vaughan come from Anthony A'Wood's, *Athenae Oxonienses* (1690-91;1721) 1:528 (repeated here in its entirety). From spenserians.cath.vt.edu/BiographyRecord.php?action=GET&bioid=33020

> SIR WILLIAM VAUGHAN, Son of Walt. Vaughan of the Golden Grove in Caermarthenshire Esq; and younger Brother to Sir John Vaughan the first Earl of Carbury, was born at the Golden Grove, became a Commoner of Jesus Coll. in Mich. Term, an. 1591, age 14, took the degrees in Arts, and entred on the Law Line, but before he took a degree in that Faculty, he went to travel, an performing some exercize in order thereunto in Vienna, did proceed Doctor there, and at his return was incorporated at Oxon in the same Faculty, an. 1605. In which, tho' indifferently learned, yet he went beyond most Men of his time for Latin especially, and English, Poetry.
>
> Afterwards spending much time in rambling to and fro, did take a long journey for the honour and benefit of his Nation, and became the chief undertaker for the Plantation in Cambriol, the Southernmost part in Newfound-land, now called by some Britanniola, where with pen, purse, and Person did prove the worthiness of that enterprize.
>
> He hath written, Pium, continens canticum canticorum Solomonis, & Psalmos aliquot selectiores, una cum quibusdam aliis poematis e Sacrae Scripturae fontibus petitis. Lond. 1597. oct. Elegia gratulatoria in honorem illustriss. Herois Caroli Howard Comitis Nottingham. 23. Oct. 1597. meritiss. creati. Printed with the former. Varia Poemata de Sphaerarum ordine, &c. Lond. 1589. oct. Poemata continent. Encom. Roberti Comitis Essex. Lond. 1598. oct. The Golden Grove moralized, in 3 Books. A work very necessary for all such, as would know how to govern themselves, their houses, or their country. Lond. 1600. and 1608. oct. This Book which is written in prose, was commended to the World by some Poets, or at least pretenders to Poetry, then (1600.) living in the University, as Dr. Joh. Williams Marg. Professor, Will. Osbourne one of the Proctors, Hen. Price Bac. of Div. of S. John's Coll. Griffin Powel of Jesus, Joh. Budden LL.D. Nich. Langford and

Tho. Came Masters of Arts, Gabr. Powel B.A. Sam. Powel, Tho. Storer, and Jo. Rawlinson Masters of Arts, Charles Fitzgeffry of Broadgates, Tho. Michelbourne, &c.

The Golden Fleece, divided into three parts; under which are discovered the errors of Religion, the vices and decays of the Kingdom, &c. Lond. 1626. qu. in prose. Transported from Cambriol. Colchos out of the Southernmost part of the Island call'd New-found-land by Orpheus jun. alias Will. Vaughan.

There is no doubt but this our ingenious Author hath other things extant, but such, tho' with great scrutiny, I cannot yet discover: nor can I find any thing else relating to the Author only that he was living at Cambriol beforementioned in sixteen hundred twenty and eight. I find one Will. Vaughan, a physician, who among several other things hath published a book, entit. Directions for Health, natural and artificial, derived from the best Physicians, as well modern as ancient, &c. Printed several times, as in 1617. oct. Lond. 1626. qu. the sixth edit. and there again 1633. &c. Another book also he wrote called The Newlanders Cure, with Rules against the Scurvey, Caught, &c. Printed 1639. oct. &c. Whether this physician was originally of Oxon. I cannot tell, notwithstanding we have had several of both his names and time.

Chapter IV Economic and Social Life Section i. Agriculture by G. Dyfnallt Owen in *A History of Carmarthenshire From the Act of Union (1536) to 1900*. Edited for the London Carmarthenshire Society by Sir John E. lloyd, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A. Vol. II The London Carmarthenshire Society. Cardiff. 1939. And Vol. I *From Prehistoric Times to the Act of Union (1536)*. London Carmarthenshire Society. 1935.

pp. 268-269 “But nowadayes, yeomanry is decayed, hospitalite gone to wracke and husnbandrie almost quite fallen,” wrote William Vaughan of Golden Grove in 1608, and he goes on to adduce his reasons for indulging in such a pessimistic generalization on the deplorable state of agriculture and the retrogression of rural communal life in Wales at the beginning of the17th century. The reason is that landlords, “not content with such revenewes as their presdecessours received nor yet satisfied that they live like swinish epicures quietly at their ease, doing no good to the Commonwealth and do leave no ground for tillage, but do enclose for pasture many thousand acres of ground within one hedge, and husbandmen are thrust out of their owne, or else by deceit constrained to sell all they have. As so by hook or by crook they must needs depart away, poor seely soules, men, women and children.”

– The Golden Grove, moralised in Three Books: 1608-book iii, chapter 23.

As a member of the Carmarthenshire gentry, Vaughan was too much of an idealist for his conception of the reciprocal obligations and duties of tenant and landlord to be accepted and practised by his contemporaries. But, he realised that the source of the countryside’s wealth, and the true foundation of its material advancement lay in the preservation of a contented tenantry and in the maintenance of a progressive system of agriculture. To

> hi, that system consisted of a well-balanced distribution of arable and pastoral farming; any cessation in the cultivation of the soil, or on the other hand, any substantial decrease in the number of live stock he considered to be detrimental to the true interests of the rural inhabitants. And there is little doubt that a real apprehension of a possible decline in agriculture, coupled with despair and indignation, lies in this terse indictment of rural condition in Wales in 1608.
>
> For the causes of this apparent decay in rural operations in Carmarthenshire one must turn to the history of the shire under the Tudor regime, and here it is interesting to note that Vaughan refers to certain events of primary importance shown latterly to have contributed towards the transformation which overtook rural life and habits during the 16th century. The first, as he remarks, was the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the appropriation of their lands by the Crown, and the resultant exploitation and impoverishment of the tenants by the alien landlords who purchased or leased them.

Owen explains that the traditional relationship between monks and tenants was based on mutual understanding of the individual roles and a genuine interest in agricultural methods and balances. The advent of alien lay landlords destroyed the old intimacy which had existed on the monastic lands, and substituted a more rigorous discipline and a more materialistic outlook for the human and paternal attitude of the monks.

> p. 275 Thus the Carmarthenshire tenantry was subjected on all sides to the active hostility and subterfuge of landlords and land speculators alike, and as Vaughan points out, the law did not help them very much to defend their interests. On the contrary, it aggravated their financial difficulties, and it was this aspect of litigation that incensed him. Not only did he rebuke the disputatious element amongst the tenantry, but he remonstrated against the tyranny of the courts of law at large and the rapacious methods of their officials. [Footnote] Vaughan, The GOLDEN FLEECE, PART II, C. 6, "Nowadayes we reare up two legged Asses which doe nothing by wrangle in Law the one with the other, By this meanes we consume our precious time not to be redeemed. By this ungracious brood we become impoverished."

Owen goes on to explain how the situation was counterproductive throughout the 16th and well into the 17th century. No mention is made of the fact that the Vaughans were indeed among those very lay landowners who took over monastic lands, not the least of which was Golden Grove itself. William's family were all part of the very system he decried and yet which gave him his opportunities.

In the section on the 17th century Owen opens with an explanation of the new social life; again William's family were exemplars.

> pp. 285-286 The class of gentry was already separated from the yeomen and less important farmers, and formed an order apart. They possessed prejudices, privileges, and notions that tended to make them more and

> more exclusive, and enabled them to assume social importance in the same way as they had obtained the political power of the older aristocracy. They had long shown that they were favourably impressed by the materialistic conception of their superior position in rural society which had percolated over the border into Carmarthenshire, and had not hesitated to put precept into practice. Now, they began to assimilate or subordinate their old culture to that which prevailed in contemporary England. They studied at the older English universities, participated in court life and functions, imbibe those ideas which were alien to the mental outlook of their countrymen, and in time became so completely anglicised in language and thought that they could find no sympathy for the aspirations and ideals of the lower rural classes, which essentially remained Welsh in spirit and tongue. The disappearance of mutual understanding and respect between the landlord and his native dependents sometimes took a violent form, as in the case of the second Lord Carberry of Golden Grove, who on one occasion, maltreated his tenants in a particularly inhuman fashion, by cropping their ears, cutting out their tongues, and dispossessing them of their land.

Owen points out that William was the antithesis of this new lordly behaviour and such was his affection and concern for the tenantry that he proposed colonization to the New World as a solution.

A History of Wales. John Davies. Allen Lane The Penguin Press. London. 1990, 1993.

Only two Vaughan references, one on page 286 to the long Parliamentary service to Carmarthenshire by the Vaughan family of Golden Grove and on page 255 a quick reference to the settlement of Newfoundland "between 1616 and 1632" by "Robert Vaughan of Llangyndeyrn [he got the name wrong although the index gives William for this page].

Taken from Wikipedia:

> **John Oldmixon** (1673 – July 9, 1742) was an English historian. He was a son of John Oldmixon of Oldmixon, Weston-super-Mare in Somerset. He was brought up by the family of Admiral Robert Blake in Bridgwater and later became involved in trade through the port of Bristol.
>
> His first writings were poetry and dramas, among them being Amores Britannici; Epistles historical and gallant (1703); and a tragedy, The Governor of Cyprus. His earliest historical work was The British Empire in America (1708), followed by The Secret History of Europe (1712-1715); Arcana Gallica, or the Secret History of France for the last Century (1714); and other smaller writings.
>
> More important, although very biased, are Oldmixon's works on English history. His Critical history of England (1724-1726) contains attacks on Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon and a defence of Bishop Gilbert Burnet, and its publication led to a controversy between Dr. Zachary Grey and the author, who replied to Grey in his Clarendon and Whitlock compared (1727).

On the same lines he wrote his History of England during the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart (1730). Herein he charged Francis Atterbury and other editors with tampering with the text of the History. From his exile Atterbury replied to this charge in a Vindication, and although Oldmixon continued the controversy it is practically certain that he was in the wrong. He completed a continuous history of England by writing the History of England during the Reigns of William and Mary, Anne and George I (1735); and the History of England during the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth (1739).

Among his other writings are, Memoirs of North Britain (1715), Essay on Criticism (1728) and Memoirs of the Press 1710-1740 (1742), which was only published after his death. Oldmixon had much to do with editing two periodicals, The Muses Mercury and The Medley, and he often complained that his services were overlooked by the government.

Taken from Wikipedia:

Anthony Wood or Anthony à Wood (17 December 1632 – 28 November 1695) was an English antiquary.[He] was the fourth son of Thomas Wood (1580–1643), BCL of Oxford, where Anthony was born. He was sent to New College School in 1641, and at the age of twelve was removed to the free Lord Williams's School at Thame, where his studies were interrupted by Civil War skirmishes. He was then placed under the tuition of his brother Edward (1627–1655), of Trinity College, and, as he tells us, 'while he continued in this condition his mother would alwaies be soliciting him to be an apprentice which he could never endure to heare of.'

He was entered at Merton College in 1647, and made postmaster. In 1652 he took up ploughing and bell-ringing. 'Having had from his most tender years an extraordinary ravishing delight in music,' he began to teach himself the violin and took his BA examinations. He engaged a music-master and obtained permission to use the Bodleian, "which he took to be the happiness of his life." He received the MA degree in 1655, and in the following year published a volume of sermons by his late brother Edward.

Wood began systematically to copy monumental inscriptions and to search for antiquities in the city and neighbourhood. He went through the Christ Church registers, "at this time being resolved to set himself to the study of antiquities." Dr. John Wallis, the keeper, allowed him free access to the university registers in 1660; "here he layd the foundation of that book which was fourteen years afterwards published, viz. Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon."

He also came to know the Oxford collections of Brian Twyne to which he was greatly indebted. He steadily investigated the muniments of all the colleges, and in 1667 made his first journey to London, where he visited William Dugdale, who introduced him into the Cottonian Library, and William Prynne showed him the same civility for the Tower records. On 22 October 1669, he was sent for by the delegates of the press, "that whereas

he had taken a great deal of paines in writing the Hist. and Antiq. of the Universitie of Oxon, they would for his paines give him an 100 li. for his copie, conditionally, that he would suffer the book to be translated into Latine."

He accepted the offer and set to work to prepare his English manuscript for the translators, Richard Peers and Richard Reeve, both appointed by Dr. Fell, Dean of Christ Church, who undertook the expense of printing. In 1674 appeared Historia, et antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis, handsomely reprinted "e Theatro Sheldoniano" in two folio volumes, the first devoted to the university in general and the second to the colleges. Copies were widely distributed, and university and author received much praise. On the other hand, Bishop Barlow told a correspondent that "not only the Latine but the history itself is in many things ridiculously false" (Genuine Remains, 1693, p. 183).

In 1678 the university registers which had been in Wood's custody for eighteen years were removed, as it was feared that he would be implicated in the Popish Plot. To relieve himself from suspicion he took the Oath of Supremacy. During this time he had been gradually completing his great work, which was produced by a London publisher in 1691-1692, 2 vols. folio, Athenae Oxonienses: an Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford from 1500 to 1690, to which are added the Fasti, or Annals for the said time. Wood contemplated publishing a third volume of the Athenae, printed in the Netherlands. The third appeared subsequently as "a new edition, with additions, and a continuation by Philip Bliss" (1813–1820, 4 vols. 4to). The Ecclesiastical History Society proposed to bring out a fourth edition, which stopped at the Life, ed. by Bliss (1848, 8vo; see Cent. Mag., N.S., xxix. 135, 268). Bliss's interleaved copy is in the Bodleian.

On 29 July 1693 Wood was condemned and fined in the vice-chancellor's court for certain libels against the late Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon. He was punished by being banished from the university until recanting, and the offending pages burnt. The proceedings were printed in a volume of Miscellanies published by Edmund Curll in 1714. Wood was attacked by Bishop Burnet in A letter to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (1693), and defended by his nephew Dr Thomas Wood, in a Vindication of the Historiographer, to which is added the Historiographer's Answer (1693), reproduced in the subsequent editions of the Athenae. The nephew also defended his uncle in An Appendix to the Life of Bishop Seth Ward, 1697. After a short illness Anthony Wood died, and was buried in the outer chapel of St John Baptist (Merton College), in Oxford, where he had superintended the digging of his own grave only a few days before.

He received no recognition from the university he had worked for his whole life. He never married, and led a life entirely devoted to antiquarian research. He was always suspected of being a Roman Catholic, and invariably treated Jacobites and Papists better than Dissenters in the Athenae, but he died in communion with the Church of England.

Wood's original manuscript (purchased by the Bodleian in 1846) was first published by John Gutch as The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford, with a continuation (1786–1790, 2 vols. 4to), and The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford (1792–1796, 3 vols. 410), with a portrait of Wood. To these can be added The Antient and Present State of the City of Oxford, chiefly collected by A. à Wood, with additions by the Rev. Sir J. Peshall (1773, 4to; the text is garbled and the editing very imperfect). The Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford, composed in 1661-66 by Anthony Wood, edited by Andrew Clark, was issued by the Oxford Historical Society (1889– 1899, 3 vols. 8vo). Modius Salium, a Collection of Pieces of Humour was published at Oxford in 1751, 12mo. Some letters between John Aubrey and Wood were published in the Gentleman's Magazine (3rd ser., ix. x. xi.).

Wood bequeathed his library (127 manuscripts and 970 printed books) to the Ashmolean Museum, and the keeper, William Huddesford, printed a catalogue of the manuscripts in 1761. In 1858 the whole collection was transferred to the Bodleian, where 25 volumes of Wood's manuscripts had been since 1690. Many of the original papers from which the Athenae was written, as well as several large volumes of Wood's correspondence and all his diaries, are preserved in the Bodleian.

Taken from Wikipedia:

Sir John Edward Lloyd (who wrote as J. E. Lloyd) (5 May 1861 – 20 June 1947), was a Welsh historian, the author of the first serious history of the country's formative years, A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest, 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911; Second edition 1912; Third edition 1939.

Another of his great works was Owen Glendower: Owen Glyn Dŵr, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. For his achievements in the field, he was knighted in 1934. Under his editorship, the first edition of the Dictionary of Welsh Biography was compiled, though not published until after his death (1950). [His editorship of the *History of Carmarthenshire* in two volumes, 1935 and 1939, isn't mentioned].

Postscript

Oldmixon's *History of Newfoundland* contains much of his predecessors' Discourses; he quotes Whitbourne liberally, including his lists of animals and trees (fir and spruce abounded as good as any in Norway, Oldmixon said).

Overall, however, he stressed the injury and losses experienced by a century of Newfoundland traders. Regardless of all the terrestrial wealth available, cod was the only real reason people went to Newfoundland, he said.

Of the settlement of what is now Nova Scotia, Oldmixon told another case of cannibalism, this time by the natives who murdered one Verazann, a Florentine, who was the victim and the feast. Sebastian Cabot already discovered what the French

called Acadia, Oldmixon pointed out, proven by his bringing captured natives back to England.

Oldmixon related Captain Samuel Argal [now Argall] raided Acadia from New England in 1613-1614 before he settled as Governor of Virginia; Argall was also the captor of Pocahontas and the man who singly established the treaty with the Powhatan Confederacy led by Wahunsonacock, her father.

William Alexander's plantation expedition to plant Nova Scotia set out in 1622 but being late in the year they stopped at Newfoundland for a winter, before going on to Cape Breton the following summer, Oldmixon related, eventually setting up at Lukes bay, one of three harbours in the vicinity of Cape Sable in Acadia. Alexander's colonial enterprise was on again-off again over the next few years as Acadia changed hands between the French and English monarchies. Cape Breton Island was an important strategic position, commanding the St. Lawrence River, Oldmixon said, and this was lost to England when the island was turned over to the French, just as Newfoundland was turned over to the English, under the Treaty of Utrecht.

Newfoundland's Welsh family names recorded in *Family Names of the Island of Newfoundland,* Seary, *1976*

William Vaughan

There is growing interest, as evidenced by the Sir William Vaughan Project, in the early modern Welsh presence in Newfoundland, and in particular, the settlement enterprises (plantations) of William Vaughan. He was a Welsh gentleman, writer, lawyer, functionary, and businessman; born to a rich and influential Welsh family in 1577, Vaughan was knighted late in life and died in 1642. He published one of the seminal *Discourses* on Newfoundland's virtues as a generator of English enterprise, as a base for international defences, and as a rich natural resources repository - *The Golden Fleece*.

Vaughan was supposedly in New Cambriol (now Trepassey Harbour) about 1625 and perhaps spent a couple of years organizing and managing his settlement's affairs; there is no evidence as yet discovered to support this assertion. The Trepassey effort was Vaughan's third, two failed attempts in the Aquaforte and Renews area, further north along the Southern Avalon's eastern coast, dated between 1616 and 1618. [1]

E.R. Seary

Edgar Ronald Seary was the author of two influentially important books regarding the history of Newfoundland and Labrador. He was educated at Sheffield University and was a fellow there; in 1933 he lectured at Mannheim, Germany, and trained interpreters for diplomatic and consular service.

He arrived in Newfoundland in 1954 to head up Memorial University's English Department. [2] In 1967 he co-authored *An ethno-linguistic study of the Avalon Peninsula* with G.M. Story and W.J. Kirwin. In 1971 he published *Place Names of the Avalon Peninsula of the Island of Newfoundland* and in 1976, *Family Names of the Island of Newfoundland*. [3]

Findings

Seary's *Family Names* was studied for Newfoundland family names with a Welsh origin. Seary's *Introduction* [4] has Newfoundland names originating in North Wales at 18; south Wales at 20 and Monmouth at 22; of these 60, Seary has 50 with a noted Welsh origin (see Table 1).

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[1] For more details on Vaughan visit www.swvp.ca, including links to *The Golden Fleece*

[2] Edited from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/E.R._Seary

[3] *Family Names of the Island of Newfoundland*, E.R. Seary, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1976.

[4] Seary, 1976, p.xliv

The findings are summarized in Table 1. Further analysis and commentary growing out of the study are presented following the table.

Of course no definite Welsh origin can be ascribed to the first people of any family name, but given that first appearances of 19 out of the of 50 names occur in the 17th century, it is easy to speculate they might have had Vaughan connections; they were at least Welsh working Newfoundland plantations, the only permitted settlement in the 17th century.

Table 1. Seary's family names of Newfoundland with recorded Welsh origins

	NAME	Origin	Location	Date	Comments
1	**Anthony**	EWI	Trinity	**1682**	
2	Arnold	EWI	Bay Bulls	1752	
3	Bowen	WEI	St. John's	1755	
4	Breckon	EW	St. John's	1953	
5	Coffin	EIW	St. John's	1752	Kyffin is Welsh variation
6	**Davies**	EWI	Musketa Cove	**1675**	(Bristols Hope)
			Carbonear	**1677**	Davies is the Welsh version of Davis
7	Edmonds	EW	Bonavista	1786	(Edmunds)
8	**Edwards**	ESIW	Carbonear	**1675**	
9	**Evans**	WEI	St. John's	**1664**	
10	Griffin	WEI	Upper Bacon Cove	1794	
11	Griffiths	WEI	St. John's	1703	
12	Howell	EWIC	Harbour Grace	**1681**	
			Carbonear	**1684**	
13	Hughes	EWIC	St. John's	1812	
14	**Hussey**	EIW	Port de Grave	**1688**	
15	Isaacs	EWS	Trinity	1794	(Isaac)
16	**James**	EWSIC	Harbour Grace	**1681**	Welsh James recent
17	Johns	EW	unspecified	1706	
18	**Jones**	EWIC	Ferryland	**1676**	
19	Lewis	EWIF	Grand Bank	1757	
20	Lloyd	EWI	Harbour Grace	1826	
21	**Maddick**(s)	EWI	Fermeuse	**1675**	(Maddock, Maddox)
22	Morgan	EWSI	St. Marys	1720	
23	Morris	EWSI	Trinity	1810	from Carnarvon
24	Myrick	EW	St. John's	1820	(Meyrick); marriage
25	Owens	WEI	St. John's	1766	
26	Parry	EW	St. John's	1730	
27	Peters	EWSI	St. John's	1705	killed by French
28	Peterson	EWI	Ferryland	1804	
29	Phillips	EWSIC	St. John's	1703	
30	**Powell**	EWIC	Carbonear	**1641**	
31	Price	EWIC	St. John's	1786	
32	Priddle	W	Parsons Harbour	1854	New Harbour
33	**Pritchard**	EWI	Salvage	**1676**	
34	Pritchett	EW	Greenspond	1815	
35	Probert	EW	St. John's	1954	
36	Prosser	EW	St. John's	1751	
37	Pugh	EW	Hearts Content	1871	

38	Rees(e)	WE	St. John's	1797	
39	Rice	EWI	Bear Cove	1810	White Bay
40	**Richards**	EWC	Port de Grave	**1692**	
41	**Roberts**	EWI	St. John's	**1657**	
			Ferryland	**1675**	
42	Ro(d)gers	EWSIC	St. John's	1759	Soldier
43	**Rolands**	EWIC	Petty Harbour	**1675**	(Rowlands)
44	**Ryder**	EWI	Bay Bulls	**1681**	
45	**Stephens**	EWIC	Keels	**1681**	(Stevens)
46	**Thomas**	EWSIC	Harbour Grace	**1682**	Edward from Wales in Cupids 1850
47	Vaughan	WEI	Small Point	1820	Conception Bay
48	Walter(s)	EWC	Trinity	1757	
49	Watkins	EWI	Little Harbour	1814	Twillingate
50	**Williams**	EWIC	Fermeuse	**1675**	

NOTES to Table 1:

a. Multiple instances are recorded only if from the 17th century;
b. Dewland is given Welsh origins by Seary but was not present in Newfoundland;
c. Seary noted as irony; the Welsh alphabet has no "J" yet Jones is one of the most popular Welsh names.

Table 2. Welsh names in Newfoundland areas by century

	Century				
REGION	**17th**	**18th**	**19th**	**20th**	**TOTAL**
Conception Bay	8	1	3		12
Northeast Coast	4	3	4		12
South Coast		1			1
St. John's	2	13	2	1	18
Southern Shore	4	2	1		7
TOTAL	18	20	10	2	50

NOTES to Table 2:

1. Conception Bay includes Bristol's Hope, Carbonear, and Harbour Grace, and a couple of smaller locations; Northeast Coast includes Trinity Bay, Bonavista Bay and Notre Dame Bay locations;
2. South Coast includes one instance at Grand Bank; Southern Shore includes Petty Harbour to St. Mary's Bay; and St. John's is St. John's only.

Welsh names in Wales by order of frequency in 1976 [5] are Table 3 (Jones is the second most common name in modern Wales that is also found in Newfoundland). Welsh names present in Newfoundland by order of frequency [6] are Table 4 (Williams is the twenty-seventh most common Newfoundland name). About 3000 Newfoundland family names are listed in Seary; their national origins [7] are Table 5.

[5] Seary, 1976, p. lxiv
[6] Seary, 1976, pp. 524-537
[7] Seary, 1976, p. xliv

Table 3. Shared Welsh names in Wales		Table 4. Shared Welsh names in Newfoundland		Table 5. National origins of 3000 Newfoundland family names	
NAME	**ORDER**	**NAME**	**ORDER**	**Nation origin**	**Peercent**
Jones	2	Williams	27	English/Welsh	71%
Williams	3	Roberts	32	Irish	40%
Davies	5	Morgan	44	Scots	18%
Evans	8	Davis	60	Channel Islands	10%
Roberts	9	Jones	63	French	9%
Hughes	19	Lewis	64		
Edwards	20	Ro(d)gers	88		
Lewis	21				

Welsh names in Ferryland (Colony of Avalon records, 1600-1710)[8] that also appear in Seary are Table 6.

Table 6. Ferryland's Welsh names

NAME	DATES of FIRST APPEARANCE		
Davies	1628		
Davis	1647	1694	
Evans	1622	1650	
Jones	1676	1696	
Powell	1622		
Rice	1709		
Roberts	1663	1681	1708
Stephens	1707		
Stevens	1628	1651	
Williams	1696		

NOTE to Table 6:

a. Rice and Stephens appear post-1700; two (Evans and Powell in 1622) appear between Vaughan's plantation efforts; and two (Davies and Stevens in 1628) are contemporary with New Cambriol.

Ascribed origins

Table 1 gives the national origin of names coded as E (England), I (Ireland), W (Wales), S (Scotland), C (Channel Islands), and F (France). Of the 50 with a Welsh origin Seary has one from Wales only (W); seven are recorded with the Wales component first (WE and WEI). The rest show shared origin; all with England; 10 with Scotland; 32 with Ireland.

Historicity

[8] http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/history/documents/names_a_d.html and subsequent pages

Only one Welsh Newfoundland name has a traditional link to Vaughan [9]. A Williams family of Bay Bulls claims descent from Vaughan's settlement, having moving northwards along the coast from Trepassey to Bay Bulls, and recorded there in 1675.

Six other family names, recorded as first appearing on the southern Avalon in 1675 (4), 1676 (1), and 1681 (1), may have a Vaughan connection. Like the Williams of Bay Bulls in 1675, so too, Davis, Jones, Maddicks, Roberts, Rolands and Ryder may have out-migrated from Trepassey to other parts of the Avalon.

Four Welsh names recorded by Seary with a lengthy 17th century duration are Table 7.

Table 7. Welsh names with long duration

NAME	LOCATION	YEARS
Howell	Carbonear	91
Hussey	Port de Grave	74
Powell	Carbonear	121
Richards	Port de Grave	90

Other sources

An on-line table of Common Welsh Surnames[10] provides another 31* Welsh names present in Newfoundland as recorded by Seary. Table 8 shows these, their origin (from the website), Seary's ascribed origin, and his place and date of first appearance.

Table 8. Welsh surnames recorded by Seary with non-Welsh origins

		ORIGINS			
	NAME	WEBSITE	SEARY	PLACE	DATE
1	**Adams**	a biblical name common as a surname in England before Wales. Adda is the popular Welsh version. **Adda, Athoe, Atha, Batha, Bathoe.**	EI	Ferryland	1675
2	**Austin**	an English surname derived from Middle English name Augustine; common in Powys and southeast Wales in the 15th C. Records show an Austen ap David in 1574 Montgomeryshire. Mainly found along the coast of south Wales from Carmarthen to Chepstow. **Austen.**	EIS	Trinity	1803
3	**Baskerville**	from Britain during the Conquest with Normans from Boscherville; long used on the border of England and Wales. **Basketfield.**	E	Heatherton	1950

[9] Seary, 1976, p.512

[10] http://www.amethyst-night.com/names/welshsurs.html

4	**Bateman**	first used as a personal name; from the name Bartholomew, often shortened to Bate or Batte. The *man* addition means "servant of".	EI	Trinity	1805
5	**Bennett**	probably originated with the 6th C. St. Benedict.	EISC	St. John's	1675
6	**Bonner**	13th C. records show the personal name ab Ynyr, from the Latin name Honorius. Eventually, it changed to a surname rhyming with "honor". **Bunner, Bunna, Binner, Bunnell, Binnell.**	ESI	Hearts Content	1871
7	**Brace**	from Welsh *bras* "fat".	E	Quidi Vidi	1753
8	**Brooks**	from an English surname meaning "one who lives at the brook". It is found mainly along the English border. **Brook, Brooke.**	ESI	Bay Bulls	1681
9	**Charles**	from the Latin name Carolus or possibly the Old English *ceorl* "man". Not popular until the Stewart kings took power, but appears in 15th C. records.	EI	St. John's	1825
10	**Christmas**	originally a male personal name given to a boy born near or on Christmas day.	E	St. John's	1950
11	**Curry***	*[Seary records a Welsh birthplace]*	ESI	Britannia	1831
12	**Daniel**	a biblical name and a form of the Welsh name **Deiniol**, and the name of a 6th C. saint. Possibly adopted under the English spelling in the post-Reformation era. **Daniels.**	ESI	St. John's	1784
13	**David**	a biblical name adopted by early Welsh Christians; also the name of the patron saint of Wales, **Dewi** (David). The Latin version **Davidus** led to the Welsh versions **Dewydd** and **Dewi**, but **Dafydd** is use more. **Dackins**, **Dafydd**, **Dai**, **Dakin**, **Davies**, **Davis**, **Daykyn**, **Deakyn**, **Dei**, **Dew**, **Dewi**, **Dewydd**, **Dyas**, **Dykins**, **Dyos**.	EI	Musketto Cove	1675
14	**Deere**	derived from the Old English personal name **Deora** "dear".	ES	Hearts Content	1681
15	**Ellis**	derived from the Welsh personal name **Elisedd**, which is frequently in old records. The final "dd" was dropped, producing Elisa, Elise, and Elisha. **Bayliss, Bellis, Elis, Ellice, Eliza, Ellisa, Helis.**	ESI	Fermeuse	1677
16	**Francis**	brought into England in the early 16th C., it was already in use in Wales in the 15th	EIC	St. John's	1730
17	**Gibbs**	an English surname from the dim. of **Gilbert**. Gibbon appears as a personal name in the 15th C. The variant Gibby	ESI	Port de Grave	1783

		may derive from the Welsh name Cybi. **Gibb, Gibbon, Gibbons, Gibby, Gibba.**			
18	**Gough**	derived from the Welsh word *goch* or *coch* "red", "one with red hair or a red complexion". **Gogh, Goch, Goff, Goudge, Goodge, Gooch.**	EI	Torbay	1774
19	**Haines**	possibly derived from the personal name **Einws**, or the adjective name Hen (Old).	EIC	Trinity Bay	1782
20	**Hatfield**	from an English placename and surname, it first appears in Montgomeryshire c. 1576. **Hatfeld, Hattefeld.**	E	Tors Cove	1871
21	**Hoskin**	of English origin. The variant Hoesgyn is listed in the 15th C.**Hoesgyn, Hodgkin, Hoiskin, Hoskins, Hoskyn, Oiskins, Poiskin.**	EI	Trinity	1760
22	**Jeffreys**	derived from the personal name **Geoffrey**, it was brought by the Normans. Thomas Jefferson's family had ties with 17th C. Wales. **Gregory, Jefferson.**	EIC	Bay de Verde	1677
23	**Mason**	an English surname brought to Wales with immigrant families. **Masson.**	ESI	St. John's	1794
24	**Matthews**	from the biblical name Matthew; popular in medieval Wales. **Mathew, Mathews, Matthew, Mathias.**	EIC	Bay Bulls	1680
25	**Miles**	a Germanic name brought to England with Norman invaders and was popular in the Middle Ages. **Milo.**	EI	Bonavista	1787
26	**Mills**	"one who works or lives by a mill"; a placename common in southern England. **Mill, Mille, Mylle.**	EI	Argentia	1730
27	**Newell**	an English surname deriving from **Nevill, Nowell,** or **Noel**.	EI	English Harbour	1675
28	**Oliver**	personal name from England by the Norman invaders, and probably a form of Olaf. It appears as a surname in Wales in the 15th C. **Bolver, Bolvier.**	ESICF	Bay Bulls	1681
29	**Parker**	"keeper of the deer park"; an English surname found along the border.	ESI	Petty Harbour	1703
30	**Reynolds**	derived from Germaic personal name Reynold, which came with the Normans. The Welsh version is Rheinallt. **Reynold, Rheinallt, Rynallt, Rynalt.**	EI	Carbonear	1770
31	**Tibbot**	from the personal name **Theobald**, originally French Thibaud; brought by the English. **Tibbett, Tibbetts, Tibbitt, Tibbitts.**	F	Placentia	1780
32	**Young**	English surname that began as a nickname meaning "junior". **Yong, Yonge, Yongue.**	ESI	Upper Island Cove	1690

NOTE to Table 8:

a. Two (Curry/Currie and Davis) do not have Welsh origins according to Seary, but early traditions refer to a Curry born in Wales appearing in the 19th century. Davis and Davies were both present in Conception Bay North in 1675, and in Renews that year is recorded a Davy Davis. Davies is the Welsh form of Davis; in Newfoundland both spellings are found. *Davis* is a derivative of the Biblical *David.* Seary records a Welsh settler Davies, born in Cardiff, at Pools Island in 1870.

*The website doesn't record Curry/Currie as a Welsh name.

Table 9. Welsh names from Table 8 and their first appearance in Seary

	Century				
REGION	**17th**	**18th**	**19th**	**20th**	**TOTAL**
Conception Bay	3	2	1		6
Northeast Coast	2	2	4		8
South Coast		2			2
St. John's	1	5	1	1	8
Southern Shore	5	1	1		7
West Coast				1	1
TOTAL	11	12	7	2	32

Other sources

John Weston notes few Welsh names are based on place names [11]. Three with Newfoundland currency are *Barry* (from *Barry*, a place name in Glamorgan); *Carew* (from Caerno [English Carew] in Pembrokeshire); and *Nash* (from *Nash*, a place name in Pembrokeshire). Seary's entries on these names is Table 10.

Table 10. Welsh names from place names present in Newfoundland but not of Welsh origin in Seary

NAME	ORIGIN	Seary origins	PLACE	DATE
Barry	EIS	from French *barri* (rampart), Irish *O Beargha*; Scots *Barry* (place name)	Bay de Verde	1730
Carew	EI	from the Welsh place name *Carew*, Pembrokshire	Musketta	1779
Carey	EIC	from many English and Irish names, including Carew	Isle Grole	1710
Nash	EI	from *dweller by the Ash tree*	unascribed	1752

[11] *Data Wales: A note on Welsh place names as surnames*, John Weston, online Data Wales site, 2002, 2007 http://data-wales.co.uk/placenames.htm

Weston references [12] *Welsh Surnames* (T.J. Morgan and Prys Morgan, University of Wales, 1985) as *essential reading* for anyone *with more than a passing interest* in Welsh family names. Weston quotes Morgan and Morgan statistics that 39 family names cover 95% of the Welsh population. He notes purely Welsh names declined in popularity by the 17th century. He has Welsh names deriving from four primary sources:

1. from Christian names popular in England
2. from Welsh names that originally included *ap* (son of)
3. from Celtic sources
4. from surnames of England. [13]

Vaughan is used as an example of a Welsh name influenced by English custom in a border area. Deriving from *fychan* (meaning little, as in, younger son) *Fychan* appears in Cardiganshire as early as 1250. In English records it first appears in Bredwardine, Hereford, about 1415, when it became the preferred surname of *Rhosier (Roger) Fynchan* a son of *Rhosier Hen (meaning old)*.

Welsh language pronounces *f* as a *v*; hence Avon, a popular river name in the UK, comes from the Welsh *afon* (river) and *Fychan* sounds like *Vaughan*. Welsh pronounces *ff* as a plain *f*; hence *Cardiff* is said as it is. A Wikipedia article on Welsh toponymy [14] notes fortified Roman towns were called by them *castra* which the Welsh called *caer* (fortified enclosure), giving rise to many place names formed from this word; *Carmarthen*, the town near William Vaughan`s ancestral home, is one.

A Wikipedia article on Welsh surnames[15] gives 48% of Welsh family names as patronymic in 1292; examples include *Upjohn* from *ap John*; *Powell* from *ap Hywell* [see Cabonear duration table above for Powell/Howell]; and *Bowen* from *ap Owen*. The articles goes on to explain that the *Stock* of Welsh surnames is *very small*; Jones, Williams, Davies, Evans and Thomas, half the top ten names of 2000, all originated in England in the 14th century.

This article concludes with statistics that 35% of current Welsh names are purely Welsh. Some 16.5 million people in the United Kingdom (5.3%), United States (3.8%), New Zealand (4.7%), and Australia (4.1%) have Welsh originating names.

Ancient antecedents

[12] *Data Wales: A note on Welsh surnames*, John Weston, online Data Wales site, 2002, 2007 http://data-wales.co.uk/names.htm.
[13] Ibid.
[14] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Welsh_toponymy
[15] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Welsh_surnames

The list of Welshmen at the siege of Caerphilly Castle in 1327 provides an excellent understanding of how Welsh patronymics operated. In Table 10, the Vaughan and Howell/Powell information are extracted from the webpage.[16]

Without any direct Newfoundland reference, Table 11 information is interesting. It is possible, for example, that the Howell/Powell families of Carbonear, noted in Table 7, were two generations of one family.

Table 11. Welsh patronyms and their meanings from a 1327 source

Names from an old document	Welsh spelling	Notes & English versions
Lewelin ap Howel Vauhan	Llywelyn ap Hywel Fychan	Llywelyn, son of Hywel the Younger.
Lewelin ap Gronou ap Howel	Llywelyn ap Goronwy ap Hywel	ap Hywel became Powell.
Jereward Wachan (Vauhan)	Iorwerth Fychan	Iorwerth the younger
Jereward Vauhan	Iorwerth Fychan	or "Edward Vaughan".

Settler recruitment [17]

Recruiting New World settlers in 17th century Europe was difficult, the exception being the religious-based emigrations to New England. Most tradespeople, merchants, farmers, and other skilled persons had jobs and were fairly well off; setters were therefore recruited from impoverished, rural populations. The various *Discourses* list ideal settler types but decry the ultimate choices as necessarily being the unskilled, often criminal, poor looking for a better future. That the drudgery of fishing, lumbering and somehow surviving a harsh climate and harsher work were preferable to life back home often tells a tale of desperation rather than pioneering élan.

Wales suffered, according to Vaughan [18], from a lack of ships; Welsh maritime trade was rudimentary, limited to small boats involved in the wine, wool, and foodstuffs trade with the Netherlands and the Atlantic coast of the Iberian peninsula. Most all Newfoundland bound ships left from Bristol, the catchment basin for Wales, Devon, Cornwall, and the hinterlands of Western England and Scotland. Undoubtedly, many names Seary lends an English origin could well have been Welsh. [19]

Others are exploring the business and family connections between New World plantation promoters. Most were Jesus College Oxford boys and life-long friends; most at one time or another were at Court. These great enterprises bought and sold one another's properties and resources on both sides of the Atlantic. Vaughan bought the Southern Avalon from Guy's charter, and sold parts of it to Baltimore (Calvert) and Falkland (Cary); Ferryland was later usurped by Kirke, leading to nearly a century of

[16] http://data-wales.co.uk/names_1327.htm
[17] Taken from various sources recorded at www.swvp.ca
[18] *The Golden Fleece*, William Vaughan, London 1626; see replica at www.swvp.ca.
[19] See documentary sources at www.swvp.ca.

court cases and legal wrangling. A new settlement enterprise followed at Bristol's Hope; nearby Carbonear and Harbour Grace were offshoots of Guy's Cupers Cove plantation.

The Calvert/Kirke affair was investigated in Newfoundland in 1656 and settlers were interviewed about their understanding of events two decades before. They came with Calvert and were still there. As Ferryland settlers spread out, probably as natural growth of the plantation process, there is a possibility Vaughan's people might have moved on from Trepassey motivated either by war and or economic downturn.

Berry census of 1675 Renews to St. John's; a Welsh perspective

The census, conducted by Commander John Berry, was part of his mission to drive all settlers out of Newfoundland on behalf of the West Country merchant fishing monopolists. Once completed, however, Berry turned back to England with recommendations that settlement be allowed.

Table 1 counts Ferryland entries for Lady Kirke and P. Kirke with 25 men, 5 boats, 1 stage, and 1 vat each. Later data from 1676 appears to show the latter numbers are correct. Table 2, using Table 1 data, shows the percentages for each region.

Planters' wives, children and servants (population) are not shown. Total tonnage for ships is just over 6900, in all bearing 311 guns. Men, boats, stages and vats are assigned to each of boatkeepers, planters and ships. A note about spelling is required; as the information is taken from a transcription of 17th century handwriting many variants may be incorrect transliterations. Abbreviations are common in Berry and often these abbreviations show a variety of forms.

Table 1: Aggregate data for Cape Race to St. John's

Area	Boatkeepers	Men	Boats	Stages	Vats
Renews-Bay Bulls	3	32	6	2	2
Petty Harbour – St. John's	24	218	48	22	12
	Planters	Men	Boats	Stages	Vats
Renews-Bay Bulls	35	318	65	28	22
Petty Harbour – St. John's	24	228	56	26	24
	Ships	Men	Boats	Stages	Vats
Renews-Bay Bulls	57	1649	201	51	45
Petty Harbour – St. John's	30	698	126	29	26

Boatkeepers predominated north of Bay Bulls, the southern shore predominated all other categories being almost even in stages and vats, as shown in Table 2. It also indicates the concentration (density) of the Petty Harbour and St. John's industry, two locations versus the Southern Shore's 13 locations.

Table 2: Percentages of Berry counts by region

Type	Renews to Bay Bulls	Petty Hr. to St. John's
Boatkeepers	11.1	88.9
Planters	58.6	41.4
Ships	65.5	34.5
Men	63.0	37.0
Stages	50.6	49.4
Boats	53.3	46.7
Vats	51.9	48.1

Definitions from *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* [http://www.heritage.nf.ca/dictionary/d7ction.html]

Boatkeeper: man who operates inshore fishing craft.

By-boat: a fishing craft, usually undecked, of variable size, design and rig, owned and used in the inshore cod-fishery by men migrating annually as passengers to Newfoundland, the craft being left on the island on their return to the West Country of England; a by-boat keeper refers to someone who stayed on the island and tended these craft.

Planter: a settler in Newfoundland as opposed to a migratory English fisherman; merges in certain contexts with: a fisherman and owner of fishing premises, boat or small vessel who, supplied by a merchant, engages a crew to work on the share system.

Sack ship: a vessel engaged in carrying supplies and migratory fishermen from Britain to Newfoundland, dried cod from the island to Mediterranean markets, and wine or sack, etc, thence to British ports

Table 3: Berry's Planters' names between Cape Race and Bay Bull; possible Welsh names in bold italics

Renews	**Fermeuse**	**Ferryland**	**Caplin Bay**
Hooper	Pichard	Gushue	Pollard
Pooley	Mador	Kirke	
Cotton	Weland	***Hopkins***	
Hudley	Ring	***Roberts***	
Lane	Baker	Ford	
Davis	Miller	Deble	**Brigus**
	Lee	***Thomas***	Coome
		Adams	Dodridge
		Dentch	

Lord's Cove (Tors Cove?)	**Baline**	**Witless Bay**	**Bay Bulls**
Raulston	Coone	Malone	Stone
	White	Smith	Maye
		Martin	Dale
			Prince

Ship's ports of origin, laded destinations and names

Table 4: 174 ships and masters from 18 ports (one not ascribed)

Port	Ships	Destination
Barnstable [Barnsstable]	5	A market 2 Bilbos 1 Rochelle 1 Straights 1 Weymouth
Bidiford	25	A market 13 Bilbos 1 Burdeaux 2 England 2 Lisbone 1 Straights 1 Virginia 1 Not ascribed 4
Bristoll [Bristall]	9	Bilbas 3 Canary 1 Portugall 1 Streights 3 Not ascribed 1
Buxsom (unknown)	1	England
Dartmouth [Dartmo]	40	A sack 1 Allicant 1 Anne 2 Avers 1 Bilbos 2 England 14 France 1 Lisbone 1 Malago 1 Portugall 2 Sask (sack?) 2 Sevill [Sevill] 2 Streights 8 Not ascribed 2
Falone (unknown)	1	Marcelles
Gernsey (Channel Island)	1	Bilbas
Hampton (London?)	4	Barcelonia 1 Lisbone 1 Malaya (Malaga ?) 1 Streights 1
Jansey [Jermsey] (Channel Island)	4	Bilbos [Bilbas]
London	21	Burdeaux 1 Lisbone 3 Lisorne 1 Portugall 1 Sask (sack?) 1 Sevill 1 Streight [Streights] 12 Not ascribed 1
Plymouth [Plymo]	21	Burdeaux 2 England 4 Hants 1 Lisbone 1 Malago 1 Plymouth 1 Port a Port 1 St. Lucas 1 St. Sebastian 1 Straights [Streights] 5 A market 2 Not ascribed 1
Poole	8	Avens 1 England 3 Streight [Streights] 2 Not ascribed 2
Shorum (Shoreham, Kent?)	1	Not ascribed
Tinmouth (Teignmouth)	3	Cadiz 1 England 2
Tompson [Topsom] (Topsham)	18	Avers 1 Bilbos 5 Canary 2 England 3 Nants 1 Portugall Sack 1 Sask (sack ?) 3 Streights 2
Weymouth [Weymo]	8	Bilbas 1 Cadiz 1 England 1 Malaga 1 Marsellis Sack 1 Streight 1 Not ascribed 1
Yarm (Yarmouth)	1	Streights
No ascribed origin	1	Sask (sack?)

Table 5: 28 laded destinations include five generalities and 22 ports

Destination	Ships	Destination	Ships	Destination	Ships	Destination	Ships
ALLICANT	1	CADIZ	2	MARSELLIS	2	SIVILL	3
ANNE	2	CANARY	3	NANTS	1	ST LUCAS	1
AVENS	1	ENGLAND	30	PLYMO	1	ST SEBASTIAN	1

AVERS	2	FRANCE	1	PORT A PORT	1	STREIGHTS	39
BARCELONIA	1	LISBONE	7	PORTUGALL	5	TO A MARKETT	17
BILBOS	18	LISORNE	1	ROCHELL	1	VIRGINIA	1
BURDEAUX	5	MALAGA	4	SACK/SASK	9	NOT Ascribed	13

Names and their likely reference

Allicant = Alicante, Spain: Anne = Unknown: Avens = unknown unless Valencia, Spain: Avers = Aveiro, Portugal: Bilbos = Bilbao, Biscay Bay, Spain: Lisorne = Livorno, Italy (?): Marcellis = Marseilles, France: Nants = Nantes, France: Port a Port = Opporto, Portugal (?): Rochell = La Rochelle, Biscay Bay, France: Sivill = Seville, Spain: St. Lucas = Sanlúcar de Barrameda, near Cadiz, in Spain; St. Sebastian = San Sebastian, Basque region, Spain. Lisorne could be a transcription error for Ligorne [Leghorn] the English name for Livorno, also possibly a mis-spelling of Lisbone.

Table 6: Ships' names with duplicates noted by their number

AMITY	EXCHANGE 3	LYON 3	ROSE 2
ANN & GRACE	EXON MARITT	MAIRMAID 2	SALLIMANDER
ANNE	EXPEDITION	MALAYS MAST	SAMLL & ELLIZ
ARKE	FIDELITY	MARGRET	SAMSBELL
BALTIMORE	FRIENDS AGREEMT	MARY 8	SAMSON
BATCHELOR 3	GABRIELL	MARY ROSE	SARAH 3
BENJAMIN 2	GEORGE 2	MAYFLOWER 2	SCANDERBERG
BILBAS MART 2	GRACE	NEPTUNE 2	SEAFLOWER
BLACKAMORE	GUSTANUS	NEW VALENTINE	SERAPHINE
BLACKSWANN	HANGNA	NEWLAND MART	SOCIETY
BLESSINGS 2	HANNA	NEWMAN	SOLOMON
BLOSSOM	HAPY RETURNE	NICHOLAS	ST JMS MARITT
BONAVENTURE	HAWKE	NIGHTINGALE	ST PETER
BRISTALL KETCH	HESTER	NONSUCH	SUCCESS
BUXSOM MART	HOPE	OLIVE BRANCH	SUNFLOURE
CHARLES 2	HOPEVILLE	ORANGE	SUSANNA 2
CONCORD	HOPEWELL	PARRAGON 2	SWALLOW 2
CONSENT	HUMBER	PATIENCE 2	THO & ELIZAB
DAVID	INGRAM	PATRICIA	THS & ANN

DEERINGER	JAMES	PEARLE	THS & MARY
DELIGHT 2	JANE	PEBURNE	TOBIAS
DESIRE	JMS	PELLICAN	TRUE DEALING
DIAMOND	JMS & BARBRY	PHENIX 2	TRUE INTENT
DOLPHIN 2	JMS & FRANCIS	PROSPEROUS 2	TRUE LOVE
DORCAS	JMS & LAWRENCE	PROVIDENCE 4	UNITY 4
DOROTHY 2	JOHN 6	PRUDENCE	WILLINGMIND
EAGLE	JONAS	REALL FREND	WM & GEORG
EBENEZER	JUDITH 2	RESOLUTION	WM & SARAH
EDWD & GRACE	KATHARINE 2	RESTAURACON	WM & THOMAS 2
ELIZABETH 3	LEOND & JMS	RICH & SARAH	YOUNG MENS DELIGHT
ENDEAVOUR 3	LOYALTY	ROBERT	

Masters' names

Berry's ships' masters includes six of possible Welsh origin: Bowden, Edwards, Perriman, Powell, Lloyd, and Williams.

Ships' data

There are no direct correlations between ship size (displacement in tons) and other enterprise parameters, for example guns carried, number of boats or men, etc. although it makes sense that larger vessels would have greater capacity and more room for more guns, men and boats. Also Berry didn't distinguish between his ships listed and any infrastructure they left on shore in the fall; if they used boatkeepers, etc. The 173 ships (one was cursorily listed without any data) averaged about 80 tons ranging from <25 tons to 250 tons and were on station between Cape Race and Bonavista.

What is interesting is that Whitbourne in 1615 polled 174 ships for testimony. Undoubtedly there were fluctuations in effort over the years but these two enumerations neatly bracket what might be thought of as an average effort throughout the period. *English enterprise in Newfoundland 1577-1660*, by Gillian T. Cell, 1969, University of Toronto Press, details such data and provides further delineates historic fishing data for the 17th century.

Table 7: Ships' data

Totals for 173 ships listed by Berry, Cape Race to Bonavista					
Burden	**Guns**	**Men**	**Boats**	**Stages**	**Trainvats**
13938	673	4183	644	135	124

Tables 8 and 9: Ships' displacement and guns carried

Displacement in tons	# of Ships	# of Guns
25	3	4
25 <50	36	11
50 <75	60	104
75 <100	20	75
100 <125	29	206
125 <150	7	72
150 <175	9	101
175 <200	2	26
200 <225	4	32
225 <250	1	6
250	2	36
	173	673

Guns carried	# of Ships	Total guns
1	6	6
2	8	16
3	6	18
4	12	48
5	5	25
6	13	78
7	3	21
8	9	72
9	5	45
10	10	100
12	5	60
14	7	98
16	3	48
18	1	18
20	1	20
None	79	0
	173	673

Later data - 1676

Captains Russell and Wynborne surveyed the English Shore and listed, in *Journal of the Lords of Trade and Plantations for 1676* (thanks to Ryan Lewis for this information), names and other enterprise information. Russell listed his page in four columns, Men's Names, Boats, Serv^{ts}, Wife and Children. They are labelled Inhab (for inhabitants. Russell surveyed Bonavista to Petty Harbour while Wynborne surveyed Trepassey to Bay Bulls. Wynborne made summaries of the collective data.

In all, the Trepassey to Bay Bulls list of 40 planters and 65 inhabitants (including wives and children) operated 69 boats with 304 servants and 42 children; the Hoopers of Renews had 8 children; made 150 *cantles* (quintals) per boat. Here for quick reference is

the Berry table of names and places (left) and Russel/Wynborne (right) followed by notes. Possible Welsh names in ***bold italics***.

Table 10: Russel and Wynborne lists of name added to Berry

Renews		**Fermeuse**		**Ferryland**		**Caplin Bay**	
Hooper Pooley Cotton Hudley Lane Davis	***Pool*** Codner Hooper	Pichard Mador Weland Ring Baker Miller Lee	Miller Ring Hilliard Hadlie ***Williams***	Gushue Kirke Hopkins Roberts Ford Deble Thomas Adams Dentch	***Jones*** ***Roberts*** Kirk (3) ***Hopkins*** ***Pool*** Lee Dorderige	Pollard	Pollard Kirke Gord ***Adams*** Dench Dibbley
Tors Cove		**Bauline and Brigus**		**Witless Bay**		**Bay Bulls**	
Raulston	Realson Brown Wey- mouth	Coone White	Cooms (2) Kent	Malone Smith Martin	Martin Smith Moor (Moon) Rile White Spark	Stone Maye Dale Prince	Pearcce (2) Dale May Stone

Trepassey - Berry described with three men named Perriman (Perroman) and a Pooley as "planters inhabiting to the southward" of Cape Race. This could be anywhere in Trepassey Bay. Geo. And Tho. Perrington are listed in 1676 with four boats and 20 servants but no wives or children. George Perriman is named as a planter of Trepassey in 1679 by P. Pope in *Outport Economics: Culture and Agriculture in Later Seventeenth-Century Newfoundland*, in NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES 19, 1 (2003). An 1845 sale announcement of Jackson's property noted Perryman's Plantation was granted in 1699 for 999 years! Also, note Berry listed one ship's captain as Perriman.

Renews - Codner is a Torbay name of modern times; Berry had Hooper but Cotton/Codner and Pool/Pooley might be equivalents.

Fermeuse has Miller and Ring both years.

Ferryland has Hopkins, Kirk(e) and Roberts in common, and another Pool. Wynborne had three Kirkes (Lady, David, and George) with 11 boats, which supports Berry's count the year before as 10 boats between two Kirkes (Lady and Phillip) vs. one each for the other three planters (Earl, Lee, and Doderige). The Kirke/Hopkins enterprises had 64 servants.

Caplin Bay has Pollard in common and five new ones, including Kirke.

Brigus and **Bauline** may be considered as one area with Coone (Coome) in Berry, in 1676 two Cooms are in Brigus with no one in Bauline. Doderidge went back to Ferryland and Kent appears in Brigus. At Bauline the Cooms that moved out was replaced with White.

Tors Cove (called Lord's Cove in Berry; may be a mistake in transcription for Toad's Cove) has Raulston/Realson joined by Brown and Weymouth. Raulston had 27 servants.

Witless Bay has Martin and Smith in common; Malone (Maloney in modern times?) disappeared and was replaced by four new names including a White and a Rile (might be modern name Ryall).

Bay Bulls has three names in common but one Prince was replaced by two named Pearce.

Wynborne provides a summary sheet for People (including wives, children and servants), Boats, Quintals of Fish, Stages and Oil vats, abridged here. 10,743 quintals of dried fish is about the equivalent of about 2 million pounds of wet fish.

Table 11: Trepassey to Bay Bulls summary data from Wynborne

Place	People	Boats	Quintals	Stages	Oil Vats
Trepassey	22	4	1200	1	1
Renews	52	6	960	3	3
Fermeuse	28	3	390	3	3
Ferryland	129	21	2884	8	8
Caplin Bay	22	3	390	1	1
Brigus	26	5	710	3	3
Toads Cove	28	5	750	1	1
Bauline	19	3	320	2	2
Witless Bay	37	5	759	3	3
Bay Bulls	68	10	2380	5	5
Total	431	65	10743	30	30

Wynborne's summary for his and Russell's surveys for the whole the English Shore totalled 1657 people and 271 boats.

Later data - 1697

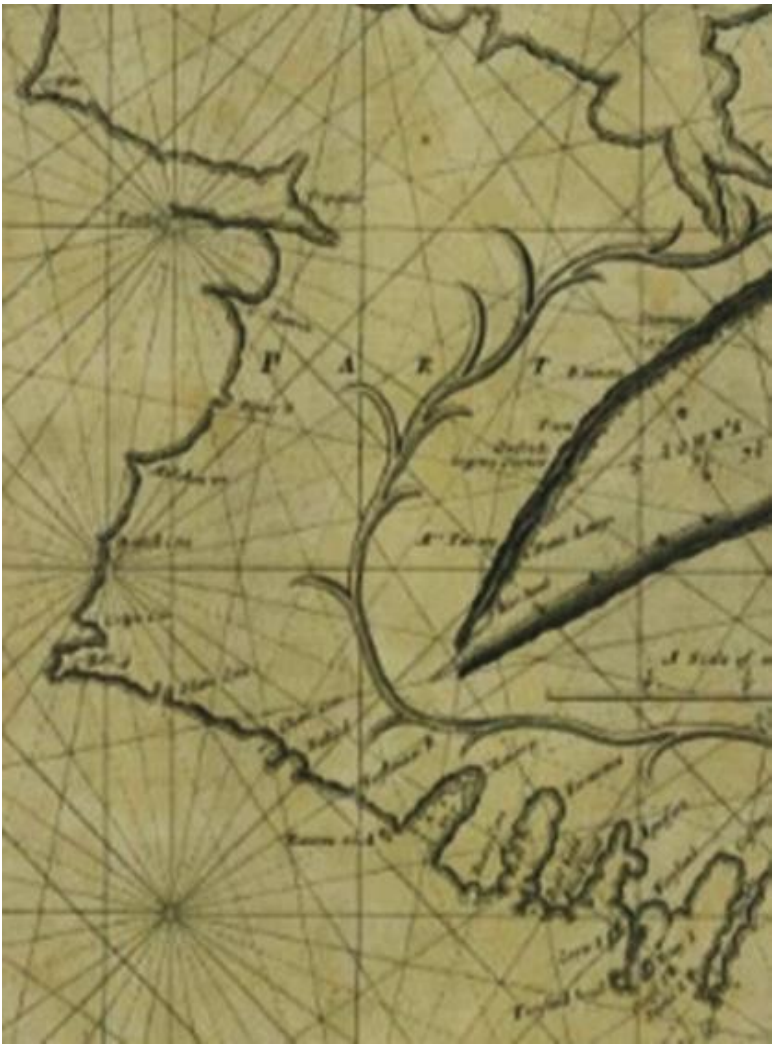
Twenty-two years after Berry, Pere Baudoin counted French conquests. While it doesn't show the number of visiting ships, perhaps there were few that year or they were driven off by the French invasion, it appears an accurate representation of *planters*. Trepassey is not included in Baudoin's count.

Note the relative portions of the enterprises between the Southern Shore and the Petty Harbour - St. John's nexus. Berry had 63%-37% for men, Baudoin 57.5%-43.5%; Berry had 53.3%-46.7% for boats, Baudoin has 33.5%-66.5%. In light of the French invasion, Southern Shore ships' boats might have been down. The St. John's boats in Berry (230) are also considerably more than Baudoin (125).

Table 12: Census Of Population, etc. of Newfoundland from Pere Baudoin's Journal of 1697 www.oocities.org/heartland/hills/7206/1697census.htm

PLACES	MEN	FISHING BUSINESSES	BOATS	QUINTALS OF FISH CAUGHT
RENEWS	120	7	8	4,000
FERMEUSE	40	7	8	4,000
AQUAFORTE	25	4	5	2,500
FERRYLAND	106	12	16	8,000
CAPELIN BAY	12	2	2	1,000
CAPE BROYLE	5	1	1	500
BRIGUS SOUTH	15	3	3	1,500
COLMARE (TORS COVE)	30	3	5	2,500
WITLESS BAY	15	2	3	1,500
BAY BULLS	120	13	20	10,000
TOTAL	**488**	**54**	**71**	**35,500**
ST. JOHN'S	300	59	125	6,270
PETTY HARBOUR	60	14	16	8,000
TOTAL	**360**	**73**	**141**	**14,270**

Southwood's 1675 southern Avalon

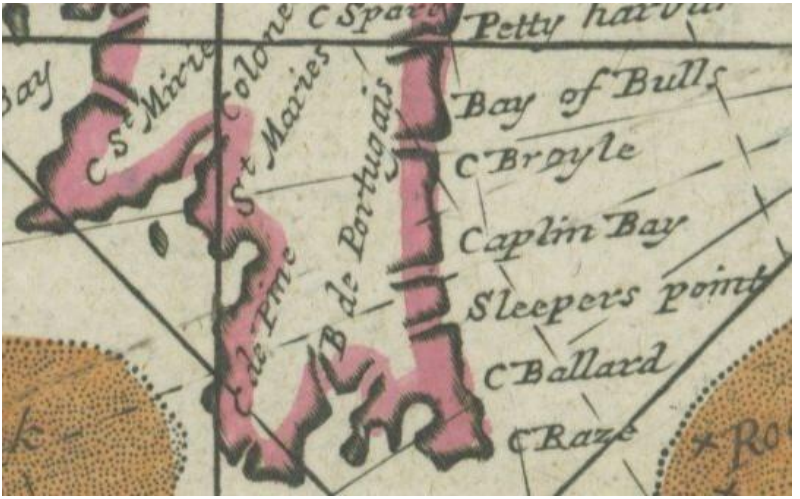


The orientation is non-standard with south to the left and east to the bottom. Also, see *What We Call Things: a coastal toponomy of the Irish Loop*, Mobilewords, 2012 for more details of historical and modern nomenclature for this area.

Southwood's names from top left

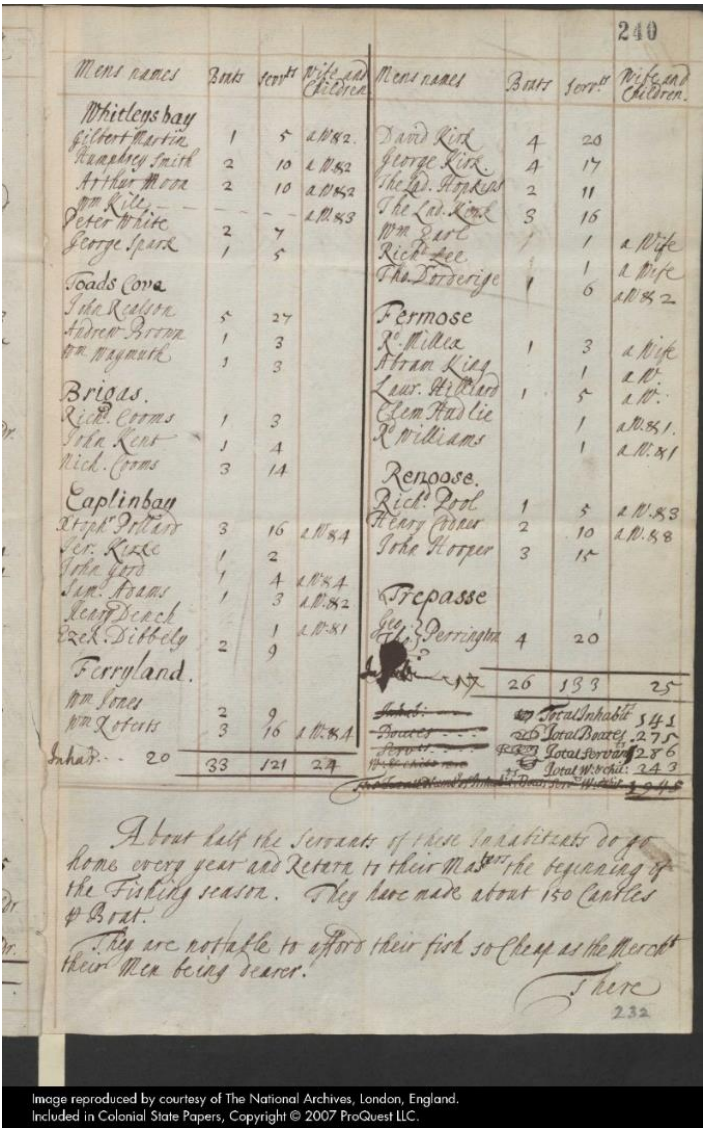
C Pine	Bears Cove	Freshwater B
Trepassey	Fermowes	Neddick
Powles	Bull head	La mancha
C Mutton	Black head	Baline Cove
Biscay B	Aguafort	Whales back
Mistaken Pt	Feryland	Goose I
Bristoll Cove	Crow I	I de Spear
Criple Cove	Feryland head Bouy I	Todes Cove
C Raze	Goose I	Momables B
Glame Cove	Stone I	Witless B
Chaine Cove	Capling B	Green I
C Ballard	C Broyle	Gull I
Freshwater B	Old Harry	B Bulls
Ranows rock	Brigus by south	Bull head
Ranows		Spout
		Petty harbor

Section from *Atlas maritimus, or the sea-atlas; being a book of maritime charts...*
London: J. Darby, for the author [John Seller], 1675
collections.mun.ca/Alias/AChartOfTheCoastOfNewfoundlandToCapeCod.tif



This section is at a larger scale than Southwood and consequently shows fewer details. C de Pine is out of place appearing here as the east point of St. Mary's Bay. Trepassey Harbour is mis-named as B de Portugais (Portugal Cove South is further east). Sleeper Point is the south point of Clear Cove opposite Port Kirwan in Fermeuse Harbour. One interesting point worth noting is that Southwood and

Seller both show Trepassey Harbour much as did Mason a half century before, probably direct copies.



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Mens names	Boats	Serv.ts	Wife and Children
Whitleys bay			
Gilbert Martin	1	5	2 W 82.
Humphrey Smith	2	10	2 W 82
Arthur Moor	2	10	2 W 82
Wm Riley	—	—	2 W 83
Peter White	2	7	
George Spurr	1	5	
Toads Cove			
John Reason	5	27	
Andrew Brown	1	3	
Wm Maynuth	1	3	
Brigus.			
Rich. Coomes	1	3	
John Kent	1	4	
Rich. Coomes	3	14	
Caplinbay			
Steph. Pittard	3	16	2 W 84
Ser. Rozee	1	2	
John Gard	1	4	2 W 84
Sam. Adams	1	3	2 W 82
Henry Peach		1	2 W 81
Ezek. Bibbely	2	9	
Ferryland.			
Wm Jones	2	9	
Wm Roberts	3	16	1 W 84
Inhab.ts 20	33	121	27

Mens names	Boats	Serv.ts	Wife and Children.
David Kirk	4	20	
George Kirk	4	17	
The Lad. Hopkins	2	11	
The Lad. Kirk	3	16	
Wm Gurl	1	1	1 Wife
Rich.d Lee	1	1	1 Wife
The Forderige	1	6	2 W 82
Fermose			
R.d Miller	1	3	1 Wife
Abram Kitt		1	1 W.
Laur. Hibbert	1	5	1 W.
Clem Rudlie		1	1 W. 81.
R.d Williams		1	1 W. 81
Renoose.			
Rich.d Prol	1	5	1 W. 83
Henry Corner	2	10	2 W. 88
John Harper	3	15	
Trepasse			
Geo. Perrington	4	20	
	17	26	133 25

About half the Servants of these Inhabitants do go home every year and Return to their Mast.rs the beginning of the Fishing season. They have made about 150 Quintles p.r Boat.

They are notable to affords their fish so Cheap as the Merch.ts their Men being dearer.

There

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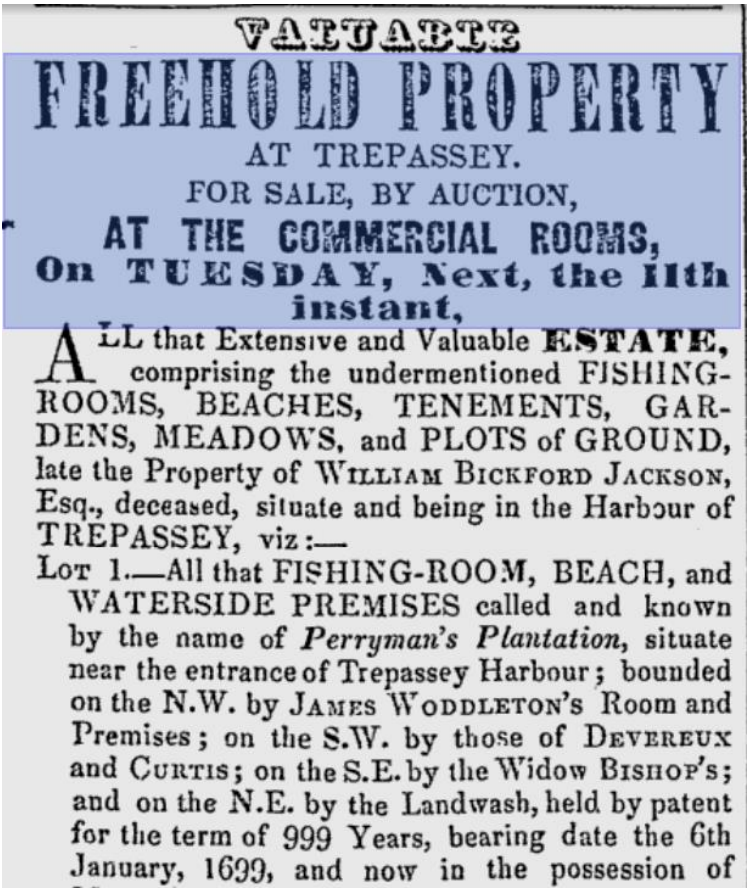
Page 240 of the 1676 report to the Lords of Trade and Plantation by Russell and Wynborne.



VALUABLE

FREEHOLD PROPERTY

AT TREPASSEY.

FOR SALE, BY AUCTION,

AT THE COMMERCIAL ROOMS,

On TUESDAY, Next, the 11th instant,

ALL that Extensive and Valuable **ESTATE**, comprising the undermentioned FISHING-ROOMS, BEACHES, TENEMENTS, GARDENS, MEADOWS, and PLOTS of GROUND, late the Property of WILLIAM BICKFORD JACKSON, Esq., deceased, situate and being in the Harbour of TREPASSEY, viz:—

LOT 1.—All that FISHING-ROOM, BEACH, and WATERSIDE PREMISES called and known by the name of *Perryman's Plantation*, situate near the entrance of Trepassey Harbour; bounded on the N.W. by JAMES WODDLETON'S Room and Premises; on the S.W. by those of DEVEREUX and CURTIS; on the S.E. by the Widow BISHOP'S; and on the N.E. by the Landwash, held by patent for the term of 999 Years, bearing date the 6th January, 1699, and now in the possession of

From the Public Ledger, 07 November 1845

Reports to the Lords of Trade and Plantations regarding Newfoundland in 1675 and 1676 www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol9/pp271-293

Sept. 12. H.M.S. Bristol, Bay Bulls, Newfoundland.

666. Sir John Berry to Sir Robt. Southwell. To the same effect as his preceding letter. Incloses accounts of the fishing ships and inhabitants, and list of the ships bringing wine and brandy, above half of which is sold to the fishing ships' crews, who come unprovided, trusting to those ships that yearly bring great quantities, and sell cheap, there being no duty. It will be easy to prevent all this clamour about pulling down stages and seducing men to stay in the country if every commander be bound in 500*l.* to return all his crew (mortality excepted), and to take down all stages and preserve them in some convenient place to serve next season; for if there be not some course taken, in a few years wood will be very hard to bring out, and the sea and ice destroy many stages. *Endorsed*, "Read at the Committee, 4 Dec. 1675. Read again at the Committee, 13 April 1676. Read again the 8th Augt. 1676 in presence of Sir J. Berry." *Encloses*,

666. i. "A list of ships making fishing voyages with boatkeepers who come passengers on their own account; and what ships bound to foreign markets; from Cape de Race to Cape Bonavista;" with the harbours' names, and distance apart; latitude; masters' names; ships' names of whence; burden; guns; men; boats; stages; trainfats; and whither bound; amounting in all to 28 boatkeepers, 172 ships, 13,106 tons burden, 675 guns, 4,309 men, 688 boats, 160 stages and 139 trainfats.

[NB:
a. Cape Race to Bonavista excludes Trepassey and St. Mary's bays.
b.Whitbourne in 1615 called 170 ship's captains to his inquiry.]

666. ii, "A list of the planters' names with an account of their concerns from Cape de Race to Cape Bonavista;" with the harbours' names; planters' names; children, male and female; men; boats; stages; trainfats; and head of cattle; amounting in all to 146 planters, 187 children 1,253 men, 277 boats, 127 stages, 51 trainfats, and 548 cattle.

666. iii. "A list of those that have furnished the inhabitants and ships' crews with brandy, wines, &c., in the year 1675," with the names of the masters, ships, and ports whence they came, all English. *Together*, 15 *pp*. [*Col. Papers, Vol*. 35, *Nos*. 17, 17 I–III.]

www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol9/pp435-446

Aug. 8. Whitehall. **1015.** Journal of the Lords of Trade and Plantations. Sir John Berry and Captain Davies attended to give account of the present condition of Newfoundland, with their opinions concerning the removal or encouragement of inhabitants there. Sir John Berry's letter of 12th September last again read (*see ante, No*. 666), and Sir John asserts all is true, and Captain Davies is of the same opinion for encouragement of a Colony for security of the fishing trade, or else the French would take the advantage to make themselves masters of all the harbours and fishing places, or would entice the English to settle amongst them. That the abuses complained of are wholly occasioned by the West country adventurers. That the masters of ships at their departure pull down their stages for firing on board their ships, and leave their men merely to save charges of returning them to England. Captain Davies says he had orders some few years past to carry guns thither for strengthening the harbours, but by reasons of the war with Holland those designs were laid aside. Further consideration deferred till next winter, since no ships go for Newfoundland till next spring, when the West countrymen are to be summoned to give answer, and, in the meantime, Sir John Berry to see their former reasons for removal of the Colony. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. CIV., pp*. 193, 194.]

Some of the same old complaints first brought to light by Guy and Mason and Whitbourne some 60 years before were the subject of John Downing's petition of 1676.

www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol9/pp494-507

[Nov. 24.] **1160.** "A brief narrative concerning Newfoundland" signed by John Downing. Patents granted to Lord Baltimore and others. His father sent over with the King's Commission in 1640. Found fifty-six guns mounted in the several forts. All nations in amity with his Majesty might freely buy and catch fish, build houses, and have fishing room on shore in any part of the Island as freely as any English subject, provided he paid his impost. By the patent, inhabitants were not within six miles to destroy the woods or to convert the rooms fit for drying fish to other uses. A generation of men have been practising the ruin of the inhabitants ever since any people settled there, that they might be the better established in the seat of oppression. Describes their position in 1674 and in 1675 under Sir John Berry and

Captain Russell in 1676, and how the woods have been fired sometimes carelessly by "the fire they light tobacco." Filling the harbours with ballast and stones is done by ships. As to the furnishing the inhabitants with wine and brandy. Commonly eight vessels come every year from New England with provisions and clothing. Relief given by the inhabitants to shipwrecked men, and those with scurvy and other sickness who mostly "get their cures and become able to do service." Danger of forcing men to quit their houses and employments. Account of the French and their strength in Newfoundland. Placentia fortified with ordnance and a garrison of soldiers, also St. Peter's. Encouragement offered by the French King to his subjects to inhabit Newfoundland. Relation of John Aylred, merchant of Waterford, concerning Placentia; 250 French families there "which, according to our families, may be above 2,000 men," 400 soldiers in garrison in the King's pay, not less than 200 sail of ships. It is said Newfoundland is sufficiently guarded by fogs and ice after the fishing ships go till the arrival of the English fishermen. English ships commonly all gone in September, and by patent are not to sail out of England till March. Ships from England, Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal, and New England come in November and December. Some arrive beginning of March. The best fishing in May. Ice comes on the coast in February and March, sometimes in April, some years none to be seen; the ice is not made here, but breaks up the summer before in some cold straits and winds, and currents bring it on this coast. *Endorsed*, "Rec. 24th November 1676, from Mr. Downing." 3½ *pp*. [*Col. Papers, Vol. XXXVIII., No*. 70.]

[NB:
A half a century after Whitbourne's, Vaughan's and others' Discourses they were starting to understand the Arctic ice pack and its movements.]

www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol9/pp507-514

Dec. 5. Whitehall

1169. Journal of the Lords of Trade and Plantations. Paper containing "The state of the business of Newfoundland and the fishery" read. Ordered that Mr. Pepys be written to for copies of the returns made to the Admiralty concerning Newfoundland by Captains Russell and Wyborne, who went convoys thither last year, and their Lordships will remember to chide them for not having made answer to the heads of enquiry put into their hands. Ordered that Messrs. Parrot and Ryder, agents for the West Country Adventurers, attend next meeting and give account of the West Country charter, and

whether the additional rules allowed by the King for the regulation of the fishery are sufficiently settled. Sir John Berry's observations to the papers given in against a colony read, and to be further considered. [*Col. Entry Bk., Vol. CIV., p*. 261.]

[Dec. 5.] **1170.** "The state of the business of Newfoundland and the fishery" referred to above, and endorsed "Rec. 5 Dec. 1676." This copy is full of corrections in the handwriting of Sir Robert Southwell, secretary to the Lords of Trade and Plantations. The title has also been altered to "An Account of the Colony and Fishery of Newfoundland and the present state thereof," which is certainly more accurate than the above title. Another copy of this document without endorsement appears to be a fair copy of the above, but it is evident further alterations were made in the original after this fair copy was made. 9 *pp. Two copies*. [*Col. Papers, Vol. XXXVIII., Nos*. 73, 74.]

Here is where the Russell-Wynborne report was acknowledged. www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol9/pp507-514

Dec. 7. Whitehall. **1175.** Journal of the Lords of Trade and Plantations. Letter received from Mr. Pepys of the 6th instant, enclosing several papers sent to the Lords of the Admiralty by Captains Russell and Wyborne, convoy for the fishery of Newfoundland, viz., List of papers concerning Newfoundland and the fishery:—

i. Account of ships fishing between Trepassa and Bay of Bulls by Captain Wyborne, 1676 (*two copies*).

ii. Account of ships making fishing voyages in Newfoundland in 1676.

iii. Account of fishing ships by Captain Russell, 1676.

iv. Account of the French trade in Newfoundland (*two copies*).

v. Account of the French ships in Newfoundland, 1676, by Captain Wyborne.

vi. Account of sack ships between Trepassa and Bay of Bulls, 1676.

vii. Account of sack ships between Bonavista and St. John's, 1676, by Captain Russell.

viii. Account of sack ships with their number of men, guns, and tons, 1676.

ix. Account of the English inhabitants in Newfoundland between Bonaventure and Petty Harbour, 1676, by Captain Russell.

x. The names of English inhabitants, their habitations, number of boats, men, wives, children, and servants from Bonaventure to Trepassa.

xi. Total account of the inhabitants, their boats, fish, cattle, &c., from Trepassa to Bay of Bulls, 1676, by Captain Wyborne. 431 people, 9,743 kintals of fish worth 6,347*l*. 11*s*., and 75 cattle.

xii. Abstract of the above papers made by order of their Lordships, from which it appears (by Captain Russell's account) that the number of English ships that went this year to fish is 126, the number of men belonging to these ships 4,556, the number of boats belonging to the ships 894, and the fish "made by them" 178,800, worth 112,618*l*. sterling. The number of French ships 102, with 18 boats to each and five men per boat, 9,180 with 2,040 guns. In "another account" of the number of English ships, &c., the figures vary, but not considerably. Total of English inhabitants, 1,657. This abstract is endorsed "Recd. from Mr. Pepys, 6 Dec. 1676." [*Col. Papers, Vol. XXXVIII., Nos*. 78–91; *also Col. Entry Bk., Vol. CIV., pp*. 262, 263.]

http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol10/pp346-356

[April 29.] **980.** Proposals of William Downing and Thomas Oxford, acting for the inhabitants of Newfoundland, to the King and Privy Council. St. John's is a harbour so strong by nature that 25 great guns and 200 small arms would make it safe; more small arms would be required to defend the Que de vide Creek, which is important. Carbonere, in the Bay of Conception, 12 leagues from St. John's, should be fortified with 15 great guns and 80 small arms. Salvadje, 40 leagues north of St. John's, requires 10 great guns and 50 small arms. Ferry Land, 13 leagues south of St. John's, 17 great guns and 100 small arms. Formous, 16 leagues south from St. John's, 88 great guns and 60 small arms. Which of these harbours besides St. John's shall be fortified is left to their Lordships. A selected Government should be established to protect the country against foreign enemies, and in particular the French, and against the oppression of the west country owners. The inhabitants will be willing to do their duty alike by the King and the fishermen. *Endorsed*, "Recd. 29 April 1679." [*Col. Papers, Vol. XLIII., No*. 51.]

[NB:
a. Que de Vide this probably a literal sopelling of the sound of Quidi Vidi as now still said.
b. Interesting to note the Fermeuse recommendation was the largest of all.]

Welsh connections

The Tudors were Welsh, and throughout their reigns they surrounded themselves with friends and relatives; most Court appointments and favours were made to Welsh, the people at the top of the power structures were Welsh.

By this time of William Vaughan's prime, he was in the middle of a power structure that included his immediate family and his neighbours and friends. The notes below give an overview of the connections. Readers are encouraged to search for the names to get the details of their lives and times; it is a lot like a soap opera except betrayals usually led to the scaffold or the block; rising to a height of wealth and power usually meant a fall to poverty and disgrace. Royal favour was fickle under the Tudors, when someone basked in its glory there was no stopping them, when in its shadows there was no way back.

Ralph Verney's daughter Anne married Nicolas Poyntz whose son John mentored Henry Salusbury who married William Vaughan's sister Elizabeth and was an investor with Carey and possibly Vaughan; his father John Salusbury was a courtier, writer and associate of Raleigh and Chapman

George Calvert was a schoolmate of William who bought Ferryland from him; Henry Carey was a Newfoundland Company partner and an associate of John Vaughan in Ireland, who bought land in Newfoundland from William; Carey married Elizabeth Tansfield, daughter of Sir Lawrence Tansfield, a founding partner of the London and Bristol Company along with John Guy and Francis Bacon; another schoolmate of William Vaughan was William Alexander who planted Nova Scotia.

John Vaughan, William's brother, served Robert Devereaux and Prince Charles and was Lord Burleigh's man in Wales; he married Margaret Meyrick daughter of Sir Gelli Meyrick, the most powerful Welshman of Elizabethan times until he fell from grace. John was made Lord Carberry for his service to Elizabeth in Ireland under Henry Carey, who was made Lord Falkland and Lord Protector of Ireland for his part in planting Ireland. The patterns for planting and settling in Ireland became the template for planting and settling the New World; the various "companies" originated in the Londonderry Company and other Irish ventures.

Anne Carew, the daughter of Sir Nicolas Carew, knight of the Garter, married Sir Nicolas Throckmorton; their son, Nicolas Throckmorton (aka Carew after 1611) employed William Vaughan as his personal physician. Nicolas' sister Elizabeth married Walter Raleigh. Raleigh's half-niece Amis Raleigh married Robert Hayman, poet and contracted governor at Bristol's Hope plantation acting for John Guy and the Newfoundland Company.

John Guy was an associate of John Mason and Richard Whitbourne and therefore associated with William Vaughan; Whitbourne was working for Guy when he contracted

to Vaughan for governor ship of Cambriol. Mason was working for Guy when he produced his map based on his survey of the Avalon Peninsula which Vaughan used to plan his plantation.

William Cecil (Welsh, Sytsilts) of Monmouthshire was Elizabeth's chief of staff and the most powerful man in the country. He married Mildred Cooke whose sister Anne was mother to Francis Bacon. Cecil was patron to Bacon and Humphrey Gilbert at Court. Cecil was a founder, with Robert Dudley, of the alchemical Society of New Art, Gilbert's half-brother Walter Raleigh was an associate of George Chapman and Edmund Spenser; all three founded the School of Night, a philosophical writings and experimentation group. Gilbert's and Raleigh's mother was Katherine Champerdown who was a niece to Kat Ashley, the young Princess Elizabeth's tutor.

Raleigh was an associate and student of John Dee, the Welsh astronomer, mystic, and geographer; he taught Raleigh, Hues and others celestial navigation. Dee was an associate of Gerardus Mercator and with Mercator one of the leading geographers of Europe. Dee was a reputed wizard and a close advisor in astrology and the paranormal to Elizabeth's court and the Queen herself.

Francis Bacon was a partner in the Bristol and London Company and the later Newfoundland Company along with John Guy. His half-brother Nicolas paroled Henry Howard, 1st Earl of Northhampton, a founder of the London and Bristol Company, therefore a partner of Guy and others. Henry Howard was uncle to Frances Howard who was a child bride of Robert Devereaux, 3rd Earl of Essex and woo later married Phillip Sydney, the poet favourite of Elizabeth; Sydney was also a protégé of Burleigh (Cecil).

Sir Francis Walsingham was Elizabeth's spymaster who with Robert Dudley and Burleigh (Cecil) were her devoted and most trusted advisors. Frances Walsingham, his daughter, married Robert Devereaux, the 2nd Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's favourite and possibly lover; she was widowed by his execution as a traitor.

Robert, the 2nd Earl, was son of Walter Devereaux and Lettice Knollys, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys and Catherine Carey, a daughter of Mary Boleyn, Anne's sister, and Henry VIII. Lettice married secondly Robert Dudley who with Burleigh (Cecil) and Walsingham, advised Elizabeth.

William Vaughan's step-mother, Walter's 2nd wife, was half-sister to Sir Thomas Perrot, the creator of Welsh astronomy along with Lower, his son-in-law and Thomas Heriot. Heriot visited Roanoke and learned North American aboriginal languages; Heriot was an associate of Raleigh and Dee. Sir Thomas Perrot married Dorothy Devereaux, sister of Walter the 1st Earl of Essex; she later married Henry Percy, 9th Duke of Northumberland, mentor and supporter of School of Night and friend of Walter Raleigh's. Percy was a mentor and supporter of arts and culture, astronomy and esotericism; he established Hues, Heriot and Lower as a "brain trust"; they were reputedly the three smartest man in the early modern world.

Giordano Bruno, the Italian philosopher and heretic, was an associate of Raleigh and School of Night; Bruno influenced Francis Bacon and Mentored John Florio an associate of Matthew Gwynne an associate of William Vaughan, a fellow physician, poet and alchemist. Gwynne was associated with Sir William Paddy, personal physician to James I. Another physician associate of William Vaughan was Robert Flood whose father was Elizabeth's war treasurer and Member of Parliament.

The Muster Order: a chance find in an old book

Transcription†	Comments
To the overseers, constables and the churchwardens[1] and ~~other of his Majestie's officers~~ of the parish of Llangerdiren[2], By virtue of [his] Majesty's Lordes of His Majestie's privy [counsaile] Letter to his majesties Justices directed: these are [straightly] **To will and command you and [every] of you severally [forthwith] upon receipt hereof to cause all [servants]** **Within your parishe persones [which] are able and fitt to Serve from the age of twelve to threescore and [now] [out]* of service to come before us at a place called The Close[d?th][3] in the parish of Llanarthney on Thursday next being the sixt day of Marche[4] there to be Compelled to serve by the year or as [apprentices] to Hayers notryumm pure English** **a cues[5]? to be there before us, for the most all All sellers [or fellons] by ???? license, drunkardes, riotoures, recusants[6], rogues and all such as be of ill fame and torgher [tougher][7] ? a cion in your said parish ~~to apprehend and bring before us~~** **the above said place and day and see not that you make not ???? ??? at your Expense ???????? of this our?? Arrand[8] Throughout you[r] severall divisions?] ????.**	[1] In the Church of England, churchwardens have specific powers to enable them to keep the peace in churchyards; preventing riotous, violent, or indecent behaviour (whether during a service or at any other time); and to control molesting, disturbing, vexing, or troubling, or by any other unlawful means disquieting or misusing clergy. The churchwarden may apprehend a person committing such an offence, and take them before court - wikipedia [2] Llangerdyn is the parish in which Torycoed is located and Vaughan is buried in the churchyard there [3] a farm named Closglas lies .6 miles southeast of Llanarthney; Llanarthney is 12km east of Carmarthen; 13 west of Golden Grove, 14 northeast of Llangerdyn and 10 southwest of LLandeilo; Llangerdyn is about 7 miles from Carmarthen; see image on next page [4] In the Julian calendar 6 March 1605 was a Wednesday [5]Johnson's Dictionary of 1755 defines "cue" as "Humour; temper of mind: a low word" [6]Recusants were Roman Catholics who were allowed to maintain their faith as long as they attended Church of England services and did not follow edicts from Rome or support priests

Dated under our [sealex?] Torycoed ultimo[9] February anno Domini 1605, 1605	[7]does this mean the criminal element were to be apprehended and forced into service? Felons were people whose sentence resulted in the loss of property, landless and disinherited men were perhaps ideal recruits; see below for "fellons/sellers" discussion [8]errand [9]ultimo refers to the previous month, and calling for "Thursday next" 6 March. In fact 6th March 1605 was a Wednesday. England switched to the Gregorian calendar in 1752; 2 September was followed by 14 September

†the transcription was made by Tor Fosnaes, Dr. Peter Pope and Dr. Roberta Buchanan
*there seems to be a distinction between those "in" service and those "not now in" service

Whether the inscription is in William Vaughan's hand is debateable but it is known that he was just returned to England from Vienna in 1604 and he received his LLB from Oxford in June of 1605. It is likely his return and marriage to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of David ap Robert of Llangyndeyrn, was arranged by his brother John of Golden Grove and it is also likely he was appointed a public official of some sort in the bargain. He married, probably in 1604, and took up residence in Torycoed, her home; apparently he was well established there in early 1605. John was High Sherriff of Carmarthenshire in 1605 and was responsible for official musters and other affairs; enlisting or appointing his brother's help would be likely. William was sheriff in 1616.

The draught is written haphazardly with strikeouts and carets; seemingly hurriedly written on the only piece of blank paper he had at the time, the flyleaf, possibly while travelling; the assumption being he would have had at home ample paper for his writings and documents.

The inscription is a draught muster order calling for all fit to serve (in the military) to be assembled at a location where they would be "compelled" to serve, if already out of, or not in, service at the time. Certain people were noted but it isn't clear if they were to be forced into service or if they were exempt, including rogues, recusants, drunkards, rioters, and those of ill fame (see discussion later about eligibility).

"Sellers [under] license", if this script is read correctly might refer to small merchants; it would be seen as counterproductive to make them serve and in the process destroy their business; if the word is read as "fellons" is has entirely another meaning. In 17th century England a felon was someone convicted of a crime that involved him losing his

property, making such a person ideal for army service, being landless and impecunious, albeit potentially unreliable or of low moral character.

Impressment in the British Navy was an ongoing practice from the time of Edward I but wasn't officially sanctioned until 1664 for a period and again periodically throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries. Impressment targeted men between 18 and 45 (unlike the muster ages of 12 to 60 years) and men who had seafaring experience.

The "service" of Vaughan's edict may have been for men to serve in the armies controlling Ireland. The reference to "pure English" may refer to the need for English speaking men as the Ireland-bound Welsh troops were normally under command of English officers. In previous centuries there was military and cultural cooperation between Ireland and Wales when the Anglo-Norman conquerors were the common enemy; this may have been a consideration in choosing conscripts for early 17th century Irish operations to prevent desertion and break the perceived bonds between conquered people; in Ireland by 1600 "the English", no doubt including the Welsh, were the enemy.

William's brother John served in Ireland with Henry Carey and was made Earl Carberry as a reward; John sister married in Ireland and started an extension of Golden Grove there as well.

Note: *Southwest Wales was often termed "Little England" in this period, because of the influx of English language and settlement. "Pure English" most likely refers to language, although it could also be a reference to English settlers.*

A brief history of wars in Ireland from Wikipedia

At https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_wars_1500%E2%80%931799 there are five wars (conducted over 29 years) in Ireland between 1569 and 1653 (84 years; spanning the approximate dates of William Vaughan's life 1577-1642). Starting with Tudor England and continuing through to the Commonwealth, Ireland experienced 84 years of defeats and continual garrisoning of Irish lands, which reality lingered over the next three centuries. The summaries of the wars is taken from Wikipedia.

Dates	Name of War	Winners	Losers
1569-1573	First Desmond Rebellion	Kingdom of England Kingdom of Ireland allied Irish clans	FitzGeralds of Desmond Allied Irish clans
1579-1583	Second Desmond Rebellion	Kingdom of England Kingdom of Ireland allied Irish clans	FitzGeralds of Desmond Spain Papal States Allied Irish clans

1594-1603	Nine Years War (Ireland)	Kingdom of England English government in Ireland	Alliance of Irish clans Spain Scottish Gaelic mercenaries
1641-1653	Irish Confederate Wars	Parliamentarians	Irish Catholic Confederation (allied with Royalists 1648-1650) English and Scottish Royalists (allied with Irish Confederates (1648-1650)
1649-1653	Cromwellian conquest of Ireland	English Parliamentarian New Model Army Protestant colonists	Irish Catholic Confederation English Royalists

The Desmond Rebellions occurred in 1569–1573 and 1579–1583 in the Irish province of Munster.

They were rebellions by the Earl of Desmond – head of the FitzGerald dynasty in Munster – and his followers, the Geraldines and their allies against the threat of the extension of their Anglicised South Welsh Tudor cousins, Elizabethan English government over the province. The rebellions were motivated primarily by the desire to maintain the independence of feudal lords from their monarch, but also had an element of religious antagonism between Catholic Geraldines and the Protestant English state. The result was the destruction of the Desmond dynasty and the subsequent plantation or colonisation of Munster with English settlers. 'Desmond' is the Anglicisation given to the Irish Deasmumhain, which translates to 'South Munster'.

The Nine Years' War (Irish: Cogadh na Naoi mBliana or Cogadh Naoi mBlian) or Tyrone's Rebellion took place in Ireland from 1594 to 1603. It was fought between the forces of Gaelic Irish chieftains Hugh O'Neill of Tír Eoghain, Hugh Roe O'Donnell of Tír Chonaill and their allies, against English rule in Ireland. The war was fought in all parts of the country, but mainly in the northern province of Ulster. It ended in defeat for the Irish chieftains, which led to their exile in the Flight of the Earls and to the Plantation of Ulster.

The war against O'Neill and his allies was the largest conflict fought by England in the Elizabethan era. At the height of the conflict (1600–1601) more than

18,000 soldiers were fighting in the English army in Ireland. By contrast, the English army assisting the Dutch during the Eighty Years' War was never more than 12,000 strong at any one time.

The Irish Confederate Wars, also called the **Eleven Years' War** (derived from the Irish language name Cogadh na hAon Bhliana Déag), took place in Ireland between 1641 and 1653. It was the Irish theatre of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms – a series of civil wars in the kingdoms of Ireland, England and Scotland (all ruled by Charles I). The conflict in Ireland essentially pitted the native Irish Catholics against English and Scottish Protestant colonists and their supporters. It was both a religious and ethnic conflict – fought over who would govern Ireland, whether it would be governed from England, which ethnic and religious group would own most of the land and which religion would predominate in the country.

The war in Ireland began with the Rebellion of 1641 in Ulster in October, during which thousands of Scots and English Protestant settlers were killed. The rebellion spread throughout the country and at Kilkenny in 1642 the Association of The Confederate Catholics of Ireland was formed to organise the Catholic war effort. The Confederation was essentially an independent state and was a coalition of all shades of Irish Catholic society, both Gaelic and Old English. The Irish Confederates professed to side with the English Cavaliers during the ensuing civil wars, but mostly fought their own war in defence of the Catholic landed class' interests.

The Confederates ruled much of Ireland as a de facto sovereign state until 1649, and proclaimed their loyalty to Charles I. From 1641 to 1649, the Confederates fought against Scottish Covenanter and English Parliamentarian armies in Ireland. The Confederates, in the context of the English Civil War, were loosely allied with the English Royalists, but were divided over whether to send military help to them in the war there.

The wars produced an extremely fractured array of forces in Ireland. The Protestant forces were split into three main factions (English Royalist, English Parliamentarian and Scottish Covenanter) as a result of the civil wars in England and Scotland. The Catholic Confederates themselves split on more than one occasion over the issue of whether their first loyalty was to the Catholic religion or to King Charles I.

The wars ended in the defeat of the Confederates. They and their English Royalist allies were defeated during the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland by the New Model Army under Oliver Cromwell in 1649–53. The wars following the 1641 revolt caused massive loss of life in Ireland, comparable in the country's history only with the Great Famine of the 1840s. The ultimate winner, the English parliament, arranged for the mass confiscation of land owned by Irish Catholics as punishment for the rebellion and to pay for the war. Although some of this land was returned after 1660 on the Restoration of the monarchy in England, the period marked the effective end of the old Catholic landed class.

The Cromwellian conquest of Ireland or **Cromwellian war in Ireland** (1649–53) refers to the conquest of Ireland by the forces of the English Parliament, led by Oliver Cromwell, during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. Cromwell landed in Ireland with his New Model Army on behalf of England's Rump Parliament in August 1649.

Since the Irish Rebellion of 1641, most of Ireland had been under the control of the Irish Catholic Confederation. In early 1649 the Confederates allied with the English Royalists, who had been defeated by the Parliamentarians in the English Civil War. By May 1652, Cromwell's Parliamentarian army had defeated the Confederate and Royalist coalition in Ireland and occupied the country—bringing to an end the Irish Confederate Wars (or Eleven Years' War). However, guerrilla warfare continued for a further year. Cromwell passed a series of Penal Laws against Roman Catholics (the vast majority of the population) and confiscated large amounts of their land.

The Parliamentarian reconquest of Ireland was brutal, and Cromwell is still a hated figure in Ireland. The extent to which Cromwell, who was in direct command for the first year of the campaign, is responsible for the atrocities is debated to this day. Some historians argue that the actions of Cromwell were within the then-accepted rules of war, or were exaggerated or distorted by later propagandists; these claims have been challenged by others.

The impact of the war on the Irish population was unquestionably severe, although there is no consensus as to the magnitude of the loss of life. The war resulted in famine, which was worsened by an outbreak of bubonic plague. Estimates of the drop in the Irish population resulting from the Parliamen-tarian campaign vary from 15–25%, to half and even as much as five-sixths. The Parliamentarians also deported about 50,000 people as indentured labourers.

Later 17th century war in Ireland

It would be remiss to end the Irish wars there; the conflict between Catholic and Protestant claimants to the English throne were to culminate in the 1690's Williamite Wars; these firmly fixed the political and social order of Ireland for 300 years.

The **Williamite War in Ireland** (Irish: Cogadh an Dá Rí, meaning "war of the two kings") was a conflict between Jacobites (supporters of Catholic King James II) and Williamites (supporters of Protestant Prince William of Orange) over who would be King of England, Scotland and Ireland. It is also called the Jacobite War in **Ireland** or the **Williamite–Jacobite War in Ireland**.

The cause of the war was the deposition of James II as King of the Three Kingdoms in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. James was supported by the mostly Catholic "Jacobites" in Ireland and hoped to use the country as a base to regain his Three Kingdoms. He was given military support by France to this end. For this reason, the War became part of a wider European conflict known as the Nine Years' War (or War of the Grand Alliance). Some Protestants of the established Church in Ireland also fought on the side of King James.

James was opposed in Ireland by the mostly Protestant "Williamites", who were concentrated in the north of the country. William landed a multi-national force in Ireland, composed of English, Scottish, Dutch, Danish and other troops, to put down Jacobite resistance. James left Ireland after a reverse at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 and the Irish Jacobites were finally defeated after the Battle of Aughrim in 1691.

William defeated Jacobitism in Ireland and subsequent Jacobite risings were confined to Scotland and England. However, the War was to have a lasting effect on Ireland, confirming British and Protestant rule over the country for over a century. The iconic Williamite victories of the Siege of Derry and the Battle of the Boyne are still celebrated by the (mostly Protestant) Unionist community in Northern Ireland today.

The Battle of the Boyne

took place on 1 July 1690 in the "old style" (Julian) calendar. This was equivalent to 11 July in the "new style" (Gregorian) calendar, although today its commemoration is held on 12 July, on which the decisive Battle of Aughrim was fought a year later. William's forces defeated James's army of mostly raw recruits. The symbolic importance of this battle has made it one of the best-known battles in the history of the British Isles and a key part of the folklore of the Orange Order.

The Battle of Aughrim

(Irish: Cath Eachroma) was the decisive battle of the Williamite War in Ireland. It was fought between the Jacobites and the forces of William III on 12 July 1691 near the village of Aughrim, County Galway. The battle was one of the more bloody recorded fought on Irish soil – over 7,000 people were killed. It meant the effective end of Jacobitism in Ireland, although the city of Limerick held out until the autumn of 1691.

Welsh presence in Irish affairs

Rhys Morgan's 2011 thesis, *FROM SOLDIER TO SETTLER: THE WELSH IN IRELAND, 1558-1641*, outlines the medieval connections between Scot, Welsh and Irish Celts bordering the Irish Sea throughout the 11th and 12th centuries, after which the Welsh succumbed to Anglo-Norman advances, becoming in effect English themselves, the Anglo-Normans, in obscurity and isolation in Ireland, became more and more Irish. A perfect example is that of the Earl of Desmond whose Welsh-Norman ancestors invaded Ireland in the 12th and 13th centuries.**

By Tudor times the Catholic-Protestant division became the basis for conquering Ireland, it was too great a threat to have that many Catholics so close to Protestant England. This is demonstrated by the Spanish and Papal States participation up to 1603. Wales was already mostly Protestant and with the strong Tudor connection, the Welsh were an important, and near to Ireland, source of manpower.

Morgan also indicates that Welsh settlement of Ireland was just a short boat ride away, presumably being able to take over existing infrastructure and Irish labour versus building anew as was required in the New World, was easily proposed by gentry wishing to expand their holdings. This attitude was one which Vaughan might have encountered when trying to recruit for his plantation of Newfoundland in 1615. "New English" refers to the 16th century English settlers; "old Irish" to the previous Anglo-Norman conquerors who were, by the, well settled.

Morgan explains:

> The military was the heart of the Anglo-Welsh presence in Ireland between 1558 and 1641. Before 1603 the overwhelming majority of the English and Welsh in Ireland were soldiers. Even after this point, and despite the arrival of thousands of settlers, soldiers remained a large and influential part of the New English community

and

> Welsh officers formed the core of the Welsh presence in the Irish administration, made up the majority of Welsh landowners in Ireland and were vital to the formation of a Welsh community there. Welsh soldiers meanwhile made up a significant proportion of the Welsh-born tenants in the Irish plantations and had a strong influence on how the Welsh were perceived by the rest of the New English in early modem Ireland.

As to the character of Welsh levies in Ireland, Morgan says:

> By characterising the Welsh soldiers as "fine" men, Jeffrey was also challenging the negative image of the pressed soldier that has influenced their representation down to the present day. The second section of this chapter challenges this traditional characterisation of levied soldiers as criminals and vagrants. Through intensive use of material from Welsh archives it is shown that between the first Elizabethan levy in 1561 and the only Caroline levy of 1625, Wales sent many economically useful and socially respectable men to fight in Ireland. This chapter also discusses the effect that this large scale levying of able men had on Wales. It argues that impressment took a serious toll on the local Welsh economy.

As to what constituted the Irish levies, whether voluntary or impressed (Morgan uses this term), he writes:

> Wales was a major source of the men sent to Ireland, primarily due to the logistical convenience of sending soldiers from the principality. The chapter also challenges orthodox understandings of the kind of men who were sent to fight in Ireland by the English and Welsh counties, arguing that our image of common soldiers in the Irish army rests too heavily on negative stereotypes supported by flawed evidence. By utilising the unusually detailed evidence relating to levies that survives for parts of Wales, the chapter maintains that the Welsh soldiers sent to Ireland were normally respectable and economically productive individuals. It is thus argued that these levies not only created a large Welsh presence in

> Ireland, but that they had seriously detrimental social and economic effects on Welsh counties which have been underestimated by historians.

and

> The common soldier in Ireland has not fared well in the opinions of modem historians. It has generally been argued that the authorities levied beggars, criminals and vagabonds as soldiers. By drawing on recent research by military historians, however, this section argues that this conclusion relies too heavily on the complaints of government officials, which exaggerated the soldiers' deficiencies. It is instead suggested that most of those sent from Wales were fit men, largely rural labourers and village artisans. The bulk of the Welsh presence in Ireland was thus made up of ordinary Welshmen and not the dregs of society. This is supported by the fact that they generally made good soldiers in Ireland and, as will be demonstrated in later chapters, many progressed to become settled members of the New English community there.

Morgan discusses the types of men sent to Ireland and deprecates the current and even recent takes that they were criminals, vagabonds, rioters, thieves, etc. The records show, instead, they were honest farm labourers and artisans who would have been better served if allowed to remain at home. Vaughan's complaints about the generally poor state of manpower and low employment perhaps results from this stripping of Welsh manpower and perhaps to the incompetence demonstrated by his first colonists as described by Whitbourne.

> Rogues and criminals were certainly levied and sent to Ireland in the early modem period, but these were a minority.

In his detailed study of Welsh contingents Ireland and their officers, he notes for the 1605 levies:

> These figures also do not include captains who served as volunteers under the two Earls of Essex in their expeditions of 1574 and 1599, which included a large number of Welshmen such as Sir William Morgan and Sir Gelly Meyrick. The table gives figures for foot captains at roughly five year intervals, with annual figures for the period between 1595 and 1605, which saw a high turnover of men and captains necessitated by the Tyrone rebellion and its aftermath.

Between 1561 and 1625 more than 55,000 men were impressed and nearly 20% were Welsh making the proportional burden on Welsh counties dis-proportional to other Western England counties, averaging just below 5% of the Welsh population. Desertion was common, especially desertion before shipping out. The Breconshire levy of 1618 shows 6100 out of a possible 7000 men (between 15 and 60) attended the muster. Categories who were not impressed, he says, were:

> the sick, disabled, clergymen, nobles and members of the trained bands who could not be levied.

Morgan documents how there were many complaints about losing so many men to Ireland and how this posed a threat to the regions from which they were taken but also how many levies were cancelled as political or military threats were raised and then quickly dissipated.

Regarding the discussion of the flyleaf text note about "pure English", Morgan adds this:

> To be led by a stranger was a greater problem for Welsh soldiers than their English counterparts. At least nine out of ten early modem Welshmen could not speak English and an English-speaking captain leading a largely monoglot Welsh company was an acknowledged problem in the English army.

In 1605 many Captains were dismissed, times were peaceful and opportunities lay elsewhere. Morgan illustrates how Irish-Welsh ties were strengthened by those who stayed behind or were not dismissed from service:

> As has been seen, there was a significant reduction in the size of the Irish army after 1603. While soldiers were usually sent back to their home counties on disbandment, captains often remained. Post-war Ireland thus contained a large number of idle captains in receipt of government pensions. In lord deputies Chichester (1604-16) and St John (1616-21), however, these captains had sympathetic patrons. Chichester in particular felt that officers needed to be rewarded for their service. He dramatically increased the opportunities available to captains in the administration by expanding the number of constables and provost marshals. These new posts were ostensibly designed to maintain peace, particularly around Ulster, but they also gave captains a regular wage and the opportunity to establish themselves among the Irish landed elite. Small numbers of Welshmen, such as Robert Mostyn and Sir William Morgan, had held similar positions during the early Elizabethan period, but unlike their seventeenth-century counterparts they rarely went on to build administrative careers.
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> Fortunately for the Welsh captains in Ireland, both Chichester and St John had kinship connections to Wales and were on good terms with leading Welsh soldiers. In 1605 Chichester married Lettice, daughter of Sir John Perrot and widow of Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire.

The Chichester-Perrot connection within a few years was to lead to a connection with the Salusbury family, according to Morgana; Henry Salusbury married Lettice's daughter Elizabeth (presumably from her marriage to Rowland Laughorne), William Vaughan's step-sister. Other sources have Henry marrying Elizabeth Vaughan, a daughter of John Vaughan, and therefore William's niece; either way it was a strong connection between the Vaughan and Salusbury families; the leading families of north and south Wales at the time.

Morgan demonstrates that while a large proportion of soldiers in Ireland were Welsh, the officers were mostly English with a smattering of Welsh nobility, all firmly English as they saw themselves, thereby also identified by the long-suffering Irish as English

interlopers. Many settled into Irish affairs and were accepted as constables, sheriffs, landowners, and leaders; some maintained an Irish identity and allied with the Irish Confederates in the struggles of 1641-1653. Their English counterparts went on to Continental and New World adventures, where the profit and glory opportunities were greater, leaving behind the rancor of the Irish. The historical and cultural commonalities of the Irish-Welsh relationship allowed them to settle into Irish affairs, even though as overlords and in authority.

In his Appendices, Morgan tabulates the number of men from various English and Welsh counties raised for Irish service; there were two levies in 1602 and the next one listed is for 1608; perhaps we can assume that if Vaughan's 1605 muster went ahead it was cancelled.

Morgan uses G.G. Cruickshank's *Elizabeth's army* (Oxford, 1966; pp.29 and 290-291) especially in regard to numbers of levies from England and Wales through the Tudor period. Of greater interest, however, to the discussion herein are Cruickshank's descriptions of the muster process and who was involved.

Cruikshank starts by noting there wasn't an organized system of raising troops in the early 1500's; the feudal army was fading away since a century before, "it would have in any case died a natural death" and "The rights of the Crown and the duties of the citizens were not fully defined in the statute book when Elizabeth came to the throne."

"The older militia – the people's army – still held" but was reserved for local use and defense of the Kingdom unless it specifically volunteered for foreign duty. Participating in the local militia exempted one from service in foreign "overseas or in Scotland" affairs. This may be the reference on the flyleaf draft to "those not now in service". There were three methods of raising troops – mercenaries, enlistment by commission of array (the levy or muster), and recruitment by indentures (whereby an obligation for men and supplies could be substituted by money (p. 5).

Elizabeth raised three bills between 1588 and 1597 in attempts to organize a nationwide troop recruitment process; all failed to pass Parliament and so her reign resorted to the traditional levying on a county by county basis. Her reign wasn't particularly warlike, although it did contain some of the greatest military and naval actions of English history.

In 36 years she raised troops 10 times (pp. 14-16): for action in Scotland (1560); an expeditionary force to France to re-capture Calais and support the Protestant French Huguenots (1562); strengthening the garrisons of Ireland at the time of Shane O'Neill's rebellion (1567) with 3500 casualties; the Rebellion in the North (1569-1570); a force of 300 volunteers to the Low Countries to help the Dutch overthrow their Spanish overlords; later supplemented by 1200 men under Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1572-1573); the Desmond rebellion (1579); a defensive expeditionary force to France (1589); army

of 20,000 (half recruits and half veterans of the Low Countries) to France to control Spain on the French coast and with the Earl of Essex to hold and defend Normandy (1591); Tyrone's rebellion (1595); and, 6000 (half veterans of the Low Countries) to France (1596).

> The government's main struggle, however, was not with the French, the Spaniards, or the rebels in occupied Ireland. It was against its own citizens, whose enthusiasms for military service, never great, diminished in direct proportion to the demands made on them.

The pattern of contribution in Elizabeth's reign was established by Mary and it was based on income.

> The county was the administrative unit for military affairs, as it was for general purposes. The Crown's representative there was the key figure in running the militia and in organizing troops for foreign service. (p. 18)

Justices of the peace and constables were the working mechanisms of musters but between them and Captains there was a fair amount of corruption and bribery allowing people to "buy" their way out of service (p. 21). Apparently suitability for service was second to expediency for men between 16 and 60 (why the flyleaf says 12 to 60 isn't clear).

Certain groups were exempt from appearing at a muster: Lords of Parliament and their servants; members of the Privy Council; clergymen and justices of the peace (but they were financially responsible); recusants were "considered poor risks and had to contribute cash and not serve time in prison" (p. 24).

"Trained bands" refers to militiamen and the militia became refuges for men who didn't want to serve overseas; only occasionally, and if volunteers, did militia units serve in foreign service (p. 26).

> The conscripts were of two sorts. On the one hand, honest men taken away from steady employment; and on the other, the unemployed, rogues, and vagabonds who menaced the peace of the countryside and were a good riddance (p. 26).

Prisoners were not enlisted except in one or two cases of dire emergency. Enlistment of rogues and vagabonds, "disreputable men who probably ought to have been in prison – was quite common (p.26). In 1597, 700 thieves identified in London and its environs were rounded up to serve in Picardy (p. 28).

In Ireland, Irish recruits and levies posed two aspects; while they were likely to desert and join the rebels they served for cheaper wages (p. 34).

Cruickshank's chapter 8 (pp. 130-142) – Musters – gives a good account of how corruption was rife in the muster rolls process; from muster masters on the take, to Captains whose sole purpose was to enrich themselves at the cost of recruits and Crown.

An example given of an Ireland muster; most of the men bought their way out of service by paying the Captain who went to Ireland with a portion of the muster, got soldiers and civilians to "stand in" for the count and then billed the Crown for the full complement's wages, supplies, etc. According to Cruickshank merchants and suppliers were in on the game as well as county and military officials.

Corruption at most levels was penalized by hanging but

> All of this was the theory, evolved in Whitehall, and promulgated to the army with admirable clarity. Indeed, the regulations governing the muster office could not have been better drafted. Had no more than one of the links in the chain of responsibilities which they embraced been dishonest, it would have been glaringly revealed. The Privy Council could have dealt with the offender in isolation. But when the whole of the chain was corrupt – the muster officials, the treasurer-at-war, the captains, the company clerk, the auditor, as well as those on the fringe, the clothing and food contractors – it was quite impossible to run the machine efficiently (p. 136).

Musters were generally to be held annually with a week or two of training and involved both people in service (militia men) and those not in service. The idea was to keep accurate count of future army soldiers, wages, supplies, arms, etc. Practically, this was onerous on the counties, two weeks of non-productive activity meant economies were threatened, commerce interrupted, and other goods and services were delayed; by late 1500's national musters reverted to a four year cycle with local, county preparedness and activities taking place in between (p. 131). Other musters, as needed in times of trouble, were conducted as needed and in counties most like to provide the necessary manpower and funds.

Conclusion

Taken in the contexts provided by Morgan and Cruickshank the draft muster on Vaughan's book flyleaf appears innocent and very *provincial*. It wasn't a part of a general national muster, at least no one else references such an event, so it was probably planned as a normal part of the responsibility of county officials to maintain the records of serviceable men and supplies, in this case the county being Carmarthen and the official John Vaughan. Both Morgan and Cruickshank illuminate the flyleaf text regarding rogues, rioters, recusants, drunks and those of ill-fame and the responsibilities of overseers, constables, and churchwardens in creating the muster roll; Interestingly, the "other of his majesty's officers" is struck out of the draft, implying, perhaps, there weren't any active "officers" in the parish.

Also of interest is that Vaughan control over Carmarthen was waning after the ascension of James I to the throne and these sort of musters might have been a final attempt to demonstrate authority as the Crown's representative on the local scene.

Cruickshank's original question as to why the English never created a unified, organized national army, he answers in his conclusion. After explaining that the corruption of the army system as it developed meant the army was mostly a fiction and a way for people to make money at all levels of the organization he wrote:

Had a major campaign been fought within England the picture might have been difference. The deceits and stratagems practiced at all levels in military organizations might have been swept away; and the manifest need to fight for survival might have created an efficient and honest army. But as it turned out, no Englishman was ever required to give his life 'for his sacred sovereign and dear country' on an English beach. Elizabeth's army was not to be tempered in the fires of total invasion. The opportunity of a finest hour never came (p. 289).

** Maurice FitzGerald, Lord of Maynooth, Naas, and Llanstephan (c. 1105 – September 1177) was a medieval Cambro-Norman baron and a major figure in the Norman invasion of Ireland.

A Welsh Marcher Lord, Lanstephan fought under Robert FitzMartin at the Battle of Crug Mawr in Wales 1136.

Diarmait Mac Murchada (Dermot MacMurrough), the deposed King of Leinster, who had been exiled by the High King of Ireland, sought Cambro-Norman assistance to regain his throne. Lanstephan participated in the resulting 1169 Norman invasion of Ireland. He assisted his younger half-brother Robert Fitz-Stephen in the Siege of Wexford (1169). His nephew, Raymond, was Strongbow's second in command and had the chief share both in the capture of Waterford and in the successful assault on Dublin in 1171. Lanstephan and his son also fought in this battle.

FitzGerald was the second son of Gerald de Windsor, Constable of Pembroke Castle by his wife, Nest ferch Rhys, Princess of Deheubarth and a member of the Welsh royal House of Dinefwr.

N.B.

1. Gerald of Wales, the 12th century travel writer was a nephew of Maurice FitzGerald and accompanied his uncle to Ireland resulting is his book on Irish customs and geography.

2. Llanstephan is a village on the west bank of the Towy estuary about 20 miles south of Carmarthen. It was fortified by the FitzGeralds about 1100 as part of their conquest of Wales.