

The Vaughans and their time: reviews of literature on the life of Sir William Vaughan and his family

by Tor Fosnæs

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 topped by three asterisks, reviewer comments are in this typeface, quotes from sources are in type of this size, 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 greatest 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 Pps. 1 - 10	Vaughan Family Pps. 10 - 18	Golden Grove Pps. 18 - 20	Pre-Tudor times Pps. 20 - 21	Other related Pps. 21 - 23
A'Wood 1690-1692 Oldmixon 1741 Haselwood 1812 Chalmers 1812-1817 Williams & Rees 1852 E. Williams 1924 Owen 1938 Prys-Jones 1961 F. Jones 1963	Robt. Vaughan 1662 Thomas 1940 Rees 1947 E.D. Jones 1959 Poppy 1980-1981 Hughes 1999 R. Vaughan >2000 GeniWeb >2000 Thrush & Ferris 2010	F. Jones 1962, 1987	Howells 1959 R.R. Davies 1968	Nicholas 1872 Lloyd 1935 F. Jones 1937 Prys-Jones 1972 J. Davies 1994 Mancall 2007

WILLIAM VAUGHAN

William Vaughan, Anthony 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 Newfound-land, 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 before-mentioned 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 South 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 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 he 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 Comitum Essex*, 1598, 8vo. 4. *Cambrensiu 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 Boccacini'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, Llandoverly 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 nowadays, 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 the 17th century. The reason is that landlords, "not content with such renewes 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 ruthlessness 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 to 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 jousting, 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.

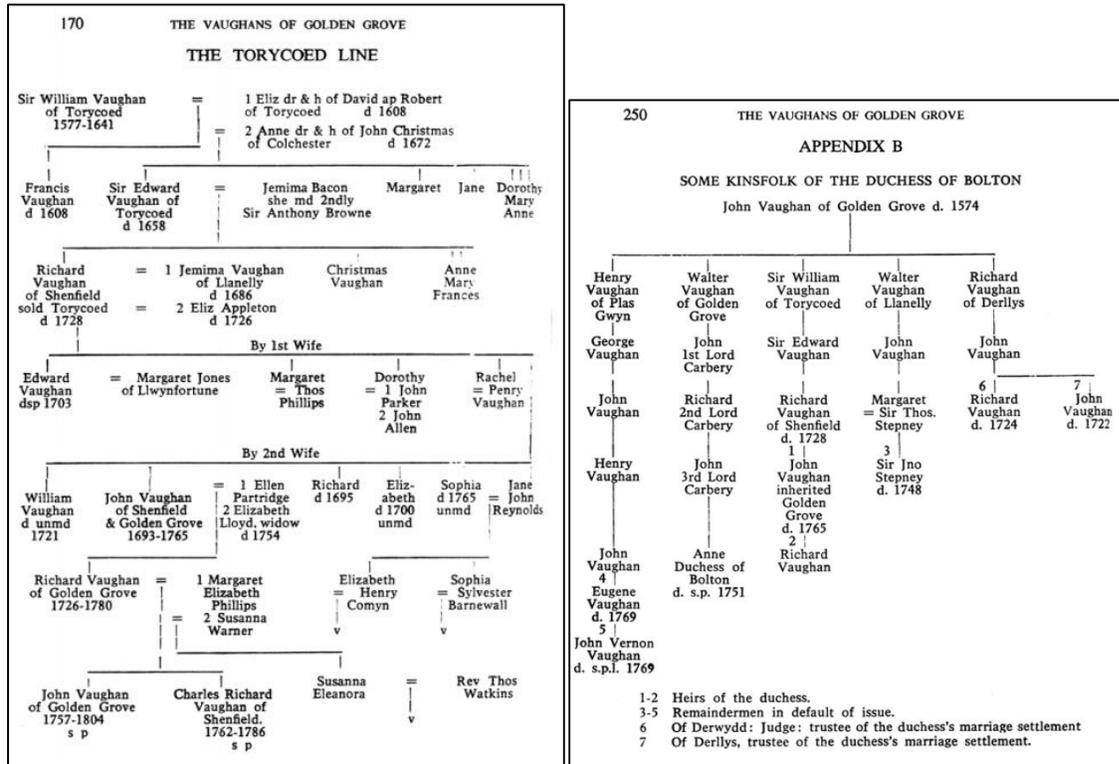
Part III told William’s story (1964, Part 2) but again there is little new or different. Entitled *The Vaughans of Golden Grove III – Torycoed – Shenfield – Golden Grove*, Jones presented a less than flattering look at the Vaughan family in general, a sort of grudging admiration:

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, it has Walter on the same generation as William when he should be above and underneath John

VAUGHAN FAMILY

British antiquities revived, or, A friendly contest touching the sovereignty of the three princes of Wales in ancient times managed with certain arguments whereunto answers are applied 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 daughter of Cadell ap Brochw. I.
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 Powis.	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 Rilrid 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 Car martbin 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 Carmarthenshire 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 Carmarthenshire 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 Southeast Wales. Not surprisingly, their family connections, and undoubted local power, saved both Henry and Richard after the Civil War through the Parliamentary 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 Parliamentary 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 Laugharne 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 Clennenev 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.

Laugharne 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 in 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 Grove

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 his 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).

Genealogical 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 he 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 original or online version to see the comprehensive notes and sources for John Vaughan.

GOLDEN GROVE

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 vigorous 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'.



Valle of the Tony, and Golden Grove, as seen from Dynevor Park near Llandeilo, sketched by Mrs. Murehison.

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 marry Guielma Springett, a beautiful Quaker heiress, who, however, turned him down and accepted instead the suit of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania.

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

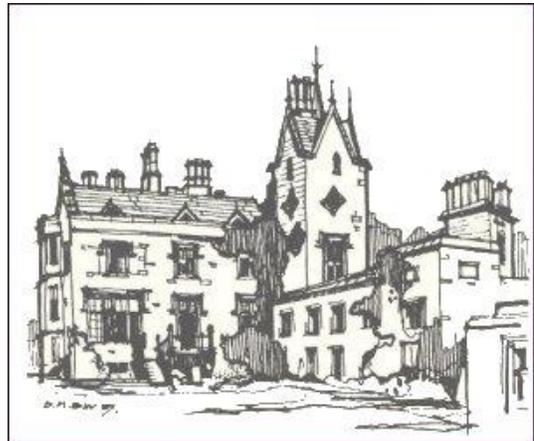
The foundations of the present house of Golden Grove were laid in 1827. The former residence was pulled down, and today there is nothing above ground to indicate its site. A few years ago a tractor, chugging merrily through a glade near the walled garden, suddenly and alarmingly sank into the ground, 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 been 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 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.

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 ruins', 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.



Golden Grove, the 1800's building

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 (Pemb.), 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 Carm. 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. Cymnr., 1963, 96-145; 'The Vaughans of Golden Grove, II, Anne Duchess of Bolton, Trans. Cymnr., 1963, 223-250; 'The Vaughans of Golden Grove III: Torycoed, Shenfield, Trans. Cymnr., 1966, 167-192, and 149-137; Trans. Cymnr., 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 Pembrokeshire in the late seventeenth century. Campbells served as Members of Parliament for Pembrokeshire; 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

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 successful 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 lands scattered throughout 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 off 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 ascendancy 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 Norman conquest of the late 12th century. Lawlessness, or at least the lawlessness that comes about without a central government being in charge, ruled Wales until the early 1500's.

OTHER RELATED

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 ascendancy 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.

Notate 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 in 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.