

ASPECTS

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“AN ORPHEUS IN NEWFOUNDLAND”?

Sir William Vaughan, John Oldmixon, DW Prowse and Trepassey

BY WILLIAM GILBERT

“SIR WILLIAM VAUGHAN, DCL ... FOUNDED HIS WELSH COLONY IN TREPASSEY HARBOUR, NAMING IT ‘CAMBRIOL COLCHOS’ AND ‘GOLDEN GROVE’ AFTER THEIR ANCIENT SEAT, AND ‘VAUGHAN’S COVE’ AS WE MAY SEE IT MARKED ON MASON’S MAP OF 1617. VAUGHAN SENT OVER HIS FIRST BATCH OF EMIGRANTS IN THIS YEAR, AND IN 1618 WHITBOURNE, IT APPEARS, CAME OUT WITH ANOTHER DETACHMENT ... POOR SIR WILLIAM VAUGHAN, AFTER REMAINING OUT IN NEWFOUNDLAND SOME YEARS AND SPENDING HIS TIME WRITING HIS REMARKABLE WORKS, THROUGH WANT OF MEANS WAS FIRST COMPELLED TO SELL A BLOCK OF LAND TO LORD FALKLAND ... AFTER MAKING THIS SALE, VAUGHAN DISPOSED OF THE REMAINING NORTHERN PORTION OF HIS BIG TERRITORY TO LORD BALTIMORE.”

—DW Prowse, 1895

While it is true that Sir William Vaughan received a grant of land on the southern Avalon Peninsula from the Newfoundland Company extending south of a line running from Caplin Bay (Calvert) on the Southern Shore west to Placentia Bay, and that he sent out colonists in 1617 and 1618, the idea that he established a colony at Trepassey, spent time, and even wrote some of his books there, seems entirely to have been drawn from the misinterpretation of a few key documents.

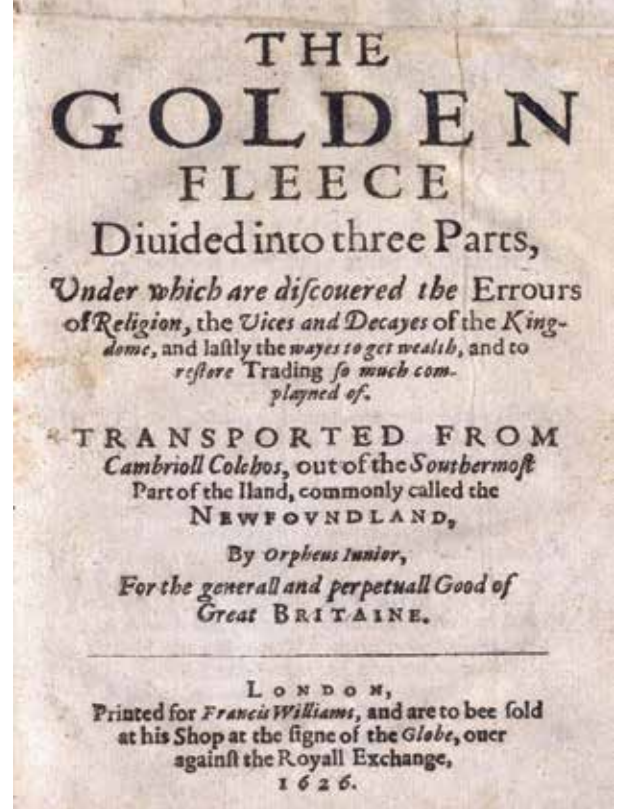
In his book *The Golden Fleece*, published in 1626, Vaughan states that “I transported two seuerall Colonies of men and women into those parts.”² And in *The Newlanders Cure*, published in 1630, he says that “About thirteene yeares past [that is about 1617], being interested by Patent in the *South part of New-found Land*, from our late King of happy memory: I transported thither certayne colonies of Men and Women at my owne Charge.”³ Nowhere does Vaughan mention sending out any other colonists or establishing a colony at Trepassey. In *The Newlanders Cure*, Vaughan names the two places his colonists tried to establish themselves: Aquaforte “where my people wintered,” and Renewes, where “my Colony remained one Winter.”⁴

It seems that Vaughan’s colonists were ill-prepared for what awaited them. Richard Whitbourne, who Vaughan sent out to oversee his colony in 1618, provides some important details. In his *A Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-Land*, first published in 1620, Whitbourne reported that the colonists “had remained there the whole year, before I came neere, or knew any one of them, and ... they had not applied themselves to any commendable thing, no not so much as to make themselves an house to lodge in, but lay most shamefully in such cold and simple rooms all the winter, as the Fishermen had formerly built there for their necessary occasions, the yeere before those

men arrived there.⁷⁵ Efforts were further undermined when one of the two ships carrying provisions for the colony was intercepted by one of Sir Walter Raleigh's captains who, having turned pirate following Raleigh's failed Guiana expedition, "took the master of [the ship], the Boatswaine, and two other of the best men with much of her victuals ... whereby our intended fishing-Voyages of both our Ships were overthrown, and the Plantation hindered."⁷⁶

Given the apparent incompetence of most of the colonists, and the damage done by the pirates, Whitbourne shipped many of them home and "gave others leave to depart, all excepting sixe onely; to whome I gaue directions for building an house, and imploing themselues otherwise then formerly they had done, vntill they heard from the Gentleman [Vaughan] that sent them thither ... they liued there pleasantly all the next winter."⁷⁷ Elsewhere in his discourse, Whitbourne tells us that he left the six colonists at Renewes.⁸ Gillian Cell suggested that Whitbourne found the colonists in Aquaforte and moved the six that remained to Renewes and, given Vaughan's statement that his colonists spent one winter in Aquaforte and one winter in Renewes, this seems the most likely interpretation.⁹

In a letter written to Sir Percival Willoughby from Cupids on October 16, 1619, Thomas Rowley stated that by then the Welsh colonists had left the Island.¹⁰ The only near-contemporary written evidence to suggest that Vaughan's colonizing efforts continued beyond 1619 is a statement by Richard Eburne, contained in his *A Plaine Path-Way to Plantations*, published in 1624. In it Eburne says that "Master William Vaughan of Tarracod in the county of Camarthen, doctor of the civil law, hath also done the like and hath within these two or three years last sent thither diuers men and women that do inhabit there and prosper well."¹¹ This seems to be the original source of the claims that Vaughan's colonizing efforts continued into the first half of the 1620s including the statement by Cell in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* that "About 1621 or 1622 Vaughan re-established his colony at Trepassey Bay; in 1624 it was said to be prospering but of its later fortunes we know little."¹² Aside from the reference to Trepassey, if we take Eburne's claims, made in 1624, that the Vaughan's colonists "prosper well" and that they had arrived "these two or three years last" as accurate, that is exactly the conclusion



The title page of William Vaughan's *The Golden Fleece*, published in 1626

one would reach. However, it appears that Eburne was simply following and elaborating on a passage from the 1620 edition of Whitbourne's *Discourse*, which reads "The Worshipfull William Vaughan of Tarracod, in the County of Carmarthen, Doctor of the Ciuill law, hath also vndertaken to plant a Circuit in the *New-found-land*; and hath in two severall yeares sent thither diuers men and women, and he is willing to entertaine such as will be Aduenturers with him vpon fit conditions."¹³ As vicar of the parish church of Hengstridge in Somerset, Eburne would have had access to the first edition of Whitbourne's book, which the Privy Council had ordered be distributed to all the parishes in the country.¹⁴ However, Eburne obviously had not read the 1623 edition of the *Discourse* in which Whitbourne rewrote the passage as follows:

The Worshipfull William Vaughan of Tarracod, in the County of Carmarthen. Doctor of the Ciuill law hath vndertaken to plant a Collony of his Maiesties Subiects in New-found-land, & did send thither in two seuerall yeeres a great number of idle people, that in all that time had not done there any labor for the foresaid Doctor, to the value of a penny, whereof I did acquaint him at my returne from that Countrey, So as he sent for them all home again and now hee is prouiding again, to send [some] thither this next year ...¹⁵

Whitbourne also states that there was no settlement at Trepassey. Although he points out that a colony in that strategic location would provide a safe haven and relieve “your Maiesties subiects sailing to and from Virginia, New England and the Bermuda Islands” the 1620, 1622, and 1623 editions of his *Discourse* all refer to Trepassey simply as a place “some Ships vse yerely to fish.”¹⁶ Whether Whitbourne believed Vaughan would send out more colonists, we probably will never know, but it seems from Vaughan’s own writings that none were sent.

In 1624 Vaughan was in Britain where much of his time was taken up with a suit before the Exchequer court.¹⁷ In 1626, seven years after Rowley reported the departure of Vaughan’s men and two years after Eburne published his book, Vaughan stated in *The Golden Fleece* that “I transported two seuerall Colonies of men and women into those parts with full intent to follow after, and to lead the remnant of my life in this new *Plantation*. . . . [but] my minde [is] loath to depart from my natiue soile.”¹⁸ And, in the dedication to *The Newlanders Cure*, written to his brother, John Vaughan, the Earle of Carbery and Baron of Molingar, he states that after sending out his first colonists he found “the Burthen too heauy for my weake Shoulders, [and] assigned the *Northerly proportion* of my *Grant*, vnto the Right Honourable the Lord *Viscount Faulkland*, late *Deputy of Ireland*, a *Noble Gentleman*, of singular *Wisedome*, *Vertue*, and *Experience*: And vpon your motion to my *Lord Baltimore*.”¹⁹

In the first part of *The Golden Fleece*, Vaughan relates a conversation he claims to have had with Sir William Alexander in the spring of 1626. In 1622 Alexander had sent out a group of colonists in an unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony in Nova Scotia.²⁰ According to Vaughan, Alexander spoke to him saying

But as yet neither of vs [has] arriued at the Haven of our expectations. Onely, like a wary *Politician*, you [Vaughan] suspend your breath for a time, vntill you

“SINCE VAUGHAN HAD NOT YET SUCCEEDED IN TRANSPORTING HIMSELF OR HIS COLONISTS TO NEWFOUNDLAND, HE SENT OUT HIS BOOKS “LIKE NOAHS DOUE” TO INSPIRE HIS FELLOW BRITONS TO TAKE UP THE CAUSE.”

can repaire your losses sustained by some of Sir *Walter Raleighs company* in their returne from *Guiana* [in 1619], while your Neighbours the *Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Falkland*, and my *Lord Baltimore*, to whom you assigned the *Northerly part* of your *Grant*, doe vndergoe the whole burthen, supporting it with a braue resolution, and a great deale of expense, which otherwise you were obliged to performe.²¹

It is also worth noting that in his *An Encourgement to Colonies*, published in 1624, Alexander lists Cupids Cove, Harbour Grace, Ferryland, and Lord Falkland’s colony at Renewes, as the four places where settlements had successfully been established in Newfoundland.²² Unlike Eburne, Alexander had first-hand knowledge of the situation in Newfoundland. His colonists spent the winter of 1622-23 in St John’s and spent part of the summer of 1623 in Conception Bay before returning to Britain with some of the migratory fishermen.²³ In *The Golden Fleece*, Vaughan quotes Alexander as saying that some of his colonists had also “rested themselues too long . . . at my lord of *Baltimore’s Plantation*” although Alexander makes no mention of this in his book.²⁴ Surely, if Vaughan had established a colony at Trepassey, or anywhere else, Alexander would have mentioned it, but he does not.

In another part of *The Newlanders Cure* Vaughan states that

for myself, during such time as I remayne in this Kingdome, for the set[t]ling of my priuate Fortures, which for ought I see, I must chiefly relye vpon to supply me there, until the *Plantation* be better strengthened . . . I sent forth, (like *Noahs Doue*) my late works, called *The Golden Fleece* and my *Cambrensius Caroleia* [published in 1625], to stirre vp our *Ilanders Mindes* to assist and

support for a time our *New-found Ile*,
which rightly may be st[y]led *Great*
Britaines Sister, or *Britanniol*²⁵

In other words, since Vaughan had not yet succeeded in transporting himself or his colonists to Newfoundland, he sent out his books “like Noahs Doue” to inspire his fellow Britons to take up the cause. While he remained an avid promoter of British settlement in Newfoundland until at least 1630, and was obviously well connected to many of the people involved in settlement schemes on the Island, the evidence indicates that Vaughan’s own colonizing ventures were limited to his efforts in 1617 and 1618 and, later, his promotional writings.

Aside from the statement in Eburne discussed above, the belief that Vaughan maintained a colony in Newfoundland after 1619 can be traced back to two other sources. The earliest is a short biographical note on Vaughan contained in volume II of Anthony A Wood’s *Athenae Oxonienses*, (1691). Wood wrote that “Afterwards spending much time in rambling to and fro, [Vaughan] 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 enterprise.” After listing several of Vaughan’s books, Wood goes on to say, “There is no doubt but this our ingenious author hath other [published works] extant, but such, tho’ with great scrutiny, I cannot yet discover; nor can I find any thing else related to the author, only that he was living at Cambriol before-mentioned in sixteen hundred twenty and eight.”²⁶

The second source is the second edition of John Oldmixon’s *The British Empire in America*, (1741); Oldmixon had published an earlier edition in 1708. In both editions, the first chapter is “A History of Newfoundland.” In the 1708 edition, Oldmixon simply states that “Dr W Vaughan of Carmarthenshire, purchas’d a Grant from the Pattentees for part of the Country to make a settlement, which however he never effected . . . and in the Year 1618. [Richard Whitbourne] went thither as Dr Vaughan’s Deputy; tho whom he was to govern, we don’t find any where mentioned by himself or other Writers.”²⁷ However, by the time of the second edition Oldmixon had expanded

considerably upon his original narrative, saying that Vaughan acquired his grant in 1615 and suggesting that he may have been living in Newfoundland between 1626 and 1628 and possibly earlier.²⁸

Oldmixon is very clear about the evidence on which he based these claims. His source for the year 1626 is the statement on the title page of *The Golden Fleece* that the book had been “Transported From Cambrioll Colchos, out of the Southernmost Part of the Iland, commonly called the NEWFOVNDLAND by Orpheus Iunior.”²⁹ His source for the year 1628 is Anthony A Wood’s statement, quoted above, that Vaughan “was living at Cambriol before-mentioned in sixteen hundred twenty and eight.” Assuming these dates to be reliable, Oldmixon expands on the story saying not only that Vaughan may have been in Newfoundland between 1626 and 1628 but that he “govern’d *Cambriol*, as he call’d it, by his Deputies before he arriv’d there himself ,” and “studied [in Newfoundland] as well as at Oxford and elsewhere.”³⁰ He also speculates that, Edward Wynne and Daniel Powell, colonists involved in Baltimore’s colony at Ferryland “being Welshmen, . . . were the more ready to visit this land on Account of their Countryman, Dr Vaughan, whose settlement must have gone on after Whitbourne’s Voyage, if, as Mr Wood writes, he himself resided here [in Newfoundland], and was living here in 1628.”³¹

In this we see the origin of much the garbled narrative: Vaughan’s colony starting in 1615; the colony continuing into the late 1620s; Vaughan living in Newfoundland and writing his books there. Of course, these are not statements of fact. Rather, they are speculations based on the possibility that Vaughan’s colony continued after 1619 and that Vaughan may have been in Newfoundland between 1626 and 1628. Oldmixon himself seems not entirely convinced of the truth of this and relates it more as a good story than objective fact. At one point he says that “were it not a trouble, one might remark, that neither the Vicar’s Lion, nor the Pilot’s Mermaid, is more Prodigy, than an Orpheus in Newfoundland, tho’ there was one actually there, *if the Poet Vaughan was so*” [italics mine].³² Prodigy during this period meant omen or monster; the “Vicar’s Lion” is a reference to a portent John Prince, in *The Worthies of Devon*, said was seen around Humphrey Gilbert’s ships before he was drowned;³³ and the “Pilot’s Mermaid” is a reference to the “Marmaid, or Mareman” Richard Whitbourne claimed to have seen in St John’s

harbour in 1610.³⁴ Oldmixon quotes Prince's and Whitbourne's accounts at length earlier in the chapter but presents both more as fantasy than reality.

Based on all the other evidence, including, most tellingly, Vaughan's own writings, the assertion that Vaughan was actually in Newfoundland in 1626 seems highly unlikely. In *The Newlanders Cure*, Vaughan states that he spent most of 1625 in London. "During the last and greatest pestilence 1625," he wrote, "I frequented the city from the beginning, to the latter end."³⁵ And in *The Golden Fleece* he tells his readers that he was in London in April of 1626.³⁶ Does it seem likely that Vaughan traveled to Newfoundland sometime after April 1626, wrote the entire text of *The Golden Fleece*, returned to Britain, and had a completed version ready for publication before the year was out? Far more likely that, as Cell has suggested, given the fantastical nature of *The Golden Fleece*, in which real people such as John Guy and John Mason mix and converse with the Greek gods Apollo and Athena while surrounded by Muses, Graces and Nymphs in the "Hall of the Court of the Audience at Parnassus," Vaughan's statement about the book's place of origin was simply another poetic flight of fancy: Vaughan, a latter-day Orpheus, transports the new golden fleece from the new Colchos in Newfoundland just as Jason transported the golden fleece of old from the Colchos of antiquity.³⁷

While one might be more inclined to believe Anthony A Wood's statement that Vaughan was in "Cambriol" in 1628, Wood is not a reliable source when it comes to Vaughan. His *Athenae Oxonienses*, contains, as the title page says, biographical sketches of "all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford" between 1500 and 1690. The entries are arranged chronologically either by the date of the subject's death, or, where that could not be determined, the date of the last known published reference. The most recent work listed by Wood for Vaughan is *The Golden Fleece* (1626). Yet, Vaughan is one of fourteen writers assigned by Wood to the year 1628. Wood does include *The Newlanders Cure* (1630) but he wrongly ascribes it to another William Vaughan, "a physician who among several other things hath published a book entit. *Directions for Health, natural and artificial, derived from the best Physicians, ... Whether*", says Wood, "this physician was originally of Oxon [Oxford] I cannot tell."³⁸ Unbeknownst to Wood, Sir William not only published *The Newlanders Cure* but went on to publish

two other works, *The Church Militant* and *The Soules Exercise*, before his death, at 66, in Llangyndeyrn, Wales, in August 1641.³⁹

Wood's source for the year 1628 is Robert Hayman's *Quodlibets, Lately Come Over From New Britaniola, Old Newfoundland*, published that year. Another Oxford man involved in the early colonization of Newfoundland, Hayman was governor of Newfoundland's Bristol's Hope colony, established in Harbour Grace in 1617. *Quodlibets*, the first book of poetry written in English in the New World, was composed by Hayman in Harbour Grace and contains two verses dedicated to Vaughan and one dedicated to Vaughan's wife, Anne. Wood's statement that Newfoundland is "called by some Britanniola" is taken from the book's title and his description of Vaughan's activities comes directly from one of Hayman's dedications to Vaughan, which refers to him as the "chiefe vndertaker of the Plantation in Cambrioll, the Southermost part of Newfoundland, who with penne, purse, and Person hath and will proue the worthines of that enterprise."⁴⁰ Unfortunately, Wood seems not to have gone beyond the dedications to read the poetry. Had he, he would have realized the poems had been written not to celebrate an established colony but to encourage Vaughan to proceed with his plans to establish one.⁴¹

Prowse drew heavily on Oldmixon and lists in his bibliography both the 1708 edition, which he mistakenly attributes to Herman Moll, and the 1741 edition, properly attributed.⁴² Prowse also added to the story by locating the colony in Trepassey. Oldmixon was unclear about the location, and historians writing earlier in the 19th century preferred Ferryland. In 1819 Anspach wrote that Vaughan "soon after proceeded himself to Newfoundland and is said to have made Ferry-Land the seat of the muses. It does not appear, however, that he continued long there, or derived any permanent advantage from this undertaking."⁴³ In 1888, Bishop Michael Francis Howley stated that Vaughan's "plantation was intended to be set up at Ferryland" but goes on to say that "Whether any actual settlement was made on the spot is not quite certain."⁴⁴

As had Oldmixon, Prowse took the reference to *The Golden Fleece* being "transported" from Newfoundland literally but went one step further, connecting that statement with certain place-names on John Mason's map of Newfoundland. Mason's map, first published in Vaughan's *Cambrensiū Caroleia* in 1625, and in *The*

Detail from John Mason's map of Newfoundland, first published in 1625, showing the Welsh place-names on the southern Avalon.

Golden Fleece the following year, includes a number of place-names that were clearly inspired by Vaughan's writings and Welsh toponyms. Vaughan's remaining grant, after the northern portion had been divided between Falkland and Baltimore, is labeled Cambriola. Golden Grove, a reference to the Vaughan's ancestral home, is located between Fermeuse and Rhenus (Renews). South of Renews are Vaughans Coue and Glamorgan. On the western side of the Avalon, at the entrance to Placentia Bay, are Pembrok, Cardigan, and Brechonia (Brecon). In Trepassey Bay (Trepassa), located at either Portugal Cove South or Biscay Bay, is Cardiffe, and at the entrance to Trepassey Bay is the name Colchos. It is likely that these place names were added to the map by Vaughan as a way of staking his claim to the area. None of them, it seems, had any independent existence outside of Mason's map and Vaughan's books.

So strong was the influence of Prowse's history that before long most people came to believe that Vaughan had established a colony at Trepassey. In 1911, JD Rogers credited Prowse as his source and followed him even in his ambivalence as to the exact location of the colony, saying "Mason's map placed Vaughan's head-quarters at Trepassey (which he called Cambrioll Colchos), a cove south of Renews (which he called Vaughan's Cove), and a spot between Renews and Aquaforte (which he called Golden Grove)" (italics mine).⁴⁵ By the mid-20th century, school children in Newfoundland and Labrador were reading that, in 1616, Sir William Vaughan "bought part of Guy's grant and made a settlement at Trepassey. His colonists were from Wales. From the beginning Vaughan had trouble with his men, and very little work was done in the way of making homes or tilling the soil. After a short time the whole project was abandoned and the settlers were left to fare for themselves."⁴⁶

In reality, most of the purported evidence cited to advance the case for a Welsh colony at Trepassey comes from people simply accepting Prowse's assertion as fact and either elaborating on it or arranging the evidence to fit it. This is true even of Cell's piece on Vaughan written for the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* in 1966. However, in the case of Cell, one can see how further research led her to reevaluate her earlier assumptions. By the time she released her groundbreaking work, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland, 1577-1660*, three



years later, her views had changed. In it she says that Vaughan "chose the area around Renews, and not, I believe, Trepassey Bay, as the site of his colony. In fact it is difficult to understand why DW Prowse ... fixed so definitely upon Trepassey as the location of Vaughan's colony when the evidence is so vague." Later in the same work she states that "the precise nature of his [Vaughan's] involvement in Newfoundland after this date [1619] is somewhat dubious. It has been generally believed that he was actively supporting a colony in Trepassey Bay during the 1620s, [and] that he himself visited it in 1622 or shortly thereafter." However, she goes on to say "in *The Newlanders Cure* Vaughan refers to his activities of 1617 to 1619, but gives the impression that, since then, his involvement has been confined to encouraging others through his writing."⁴⁷ In *Newfoundland Discovered*, published 13 years later, Cell is even more definite, stating:

So William Vaughan's brief and unfortunate attempt at colonization came to an end. There is no evidence that he ever sent out any more settlers to Renews or any other site. In his writings he refers only to the two groups of men and women whom he dispatched in 1617 and 1618, as well as to his hopes of reviving the

venture and even visiting the island in person. There is no evidence that he ever achieved either of these goals, whether because of ill health, as [Robert] Hayman suggests, or because of the financial difficulties to which Vaughan himself refers.⁴⁸

One story that sometimes arises in relation to Vaughan and Trepassey is that George Calvert (Lord Baltimore) and Vaughan were in Newfoundland at the same time and spent time together while on the Island. This too seems to have had its origin in the 1741 edition of Oldmixon's *History of the British Empire*, in which the author speculates that "It is probable 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 the Island at the same time."⁴⁹ Fortunately we have more than just Oldmixon's speculations to go on in this matter. We have several documents written by Calvert during his stay in Newfoundland between 1628 and 1629 and, while none of them mention a Welsh colony, they do mention Trepassey. In a letter written to Charles I from Ferryland on 25 August, 1628, Calvert refers to Trepassey simply as "a harbor to the Southward where they [the French] vse to fish."⁵⁰ And in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, written the same day, Calvert states that Trepassey was the French privateer De La Rade's first port of call when he arrived in Newfoundland that summer. In both that letter and a statement written in December 1628, Calvert says that, having been forced to defend the English fishery and plantations against the raids of French privateers that year, he sent his ship, the *Benediction*, accompanied by the *Victory* of London, to Trepassey where they captured six French vessels that had been fishing there all that summer and were preparing to return home.⁵¹ Surely had there been a colony at Trepassey some mention would have been made of it. As for Vaughan, according to Shaw in *The Knights of England*, he was in Ireland during the

WE HAVE SEVERAL DOCUMENTS WRITTEN BY CALVERT DURING HIS STAY IN NEWFOUNDLAND BETWEEN 1628 AND 1629 AND, WHILE NONE OF THEM MENTION A WELSH COLONY, THEY DO MENTION TREPASSEY.

summer of 1628 where he was knighted on 27 July.⁵²

Despite the facts, the belief that Sir William Vaughan, an eccentric Welsh knight, established a Welsh colony at Trepassey and spent time there studying and writing his books will probably be with us for a long time. Like Princess Sheila and the Masterless Men, such stories appeal to the popular imagination and there will always be those who will not let the facts get in the way of a good story. While Vaughan's attempts to establish colonies in Newfoundland were failures, he is certainly one of the most

colourful characters associated with early settlement on the Island, was well connected within the circle of early colonizers, retained his interest in the Island for many years, and seems to have had a genuine affection for this place even if that affection was directed more towards the Newfoundland of his heart and imagination than the harsh realities of the North Atlantic cod fishery. Vaughan also deserves to be remembered for his writings on early Newfoundland, which, if nothing else, add a bit of extra flavour to what at times can be pretty bland fare. **NQ**

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1 DW Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Record*, (London and New York: McMillan and Co., 1895) pp 110-111.

2 William Vaughan, *The Golden Fleece*, (London: Francis Williams, 1626), Third Part, p 6. "Several" in early modern English meant "separate" or "different". Vaughan is saying here that he "transported two separate colonies" to Newfoundland. Given that this statement was written in 1626 and that he was trying to emphasize his contribution to the colonizing effort, had he sent out any other groups of colonists prior to 1626, he surely would have mentioned it.

3 William Vaughan, *The Newlanders Cure. Aswell of those Violent Sicknesses which distemper most Minds in these latter Dayes . . .*, (London: NO for F Constable, 1630) "Epistle Dedicatory."

4 *Ibid*, Part I, pp 68-69.

5 Gillian T Cell (ed), *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610-1630*, (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1982) pp 134-135. This volume contains the complete text of the 1622

- edition of Whitbourne's *Discourse* collated with the 1620 and 1623 editions (pp 101-206).
- 6 *Ibid*, pp 114-115.
- 7 *Ibid*, p 135.
- 8 *Ibid*, p 211.
- 9 *Ibid*, p 23.
- 10 Thomas Rowley to Sir Percival Willoughby, October 16, 1619, Mi X 1/51.
- 11 Richard Eburne, *A Plaine Path-Way to Plantations*. (London: GP for Iohn Marriott, 1624) p 108.
- 12 Gillian T Cell, "Vaughan, Sir William", in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol 1.
- 13 Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, p 106.
- 14 *Ibid*, p 27.
- 15 *Ibid*, p 106, n 6.
- 16 *Ibid*, pp 119-128.
- 17 Cell, "Vaughan"; PRO, E146/113/21 Jac 1.
- 18 Vaughan, *The Golden Fleece*, Part 3, p 6.
- 19 Vaughan, *The Newlanders Cure*, "Epistle Dedicatory".
- 20 Sir William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, (London: William Stansby, 1624) pp 32-36.
- 21 Vaughan, *The Golden Fleece*, Part 1, pp 2-3.
- 22 Alexander, *Encouragement to Colonies*, p 25.
- 23 *Ibid*, pp 32-36.
- 24 Vaughan, *The Golden Fleece*, Part 1, p 3.
- 25 Vaughan, *The Newlanders Cure*, "Epistle Dedicatory".
- 26 Philip Bliss (ed), *Athenae Oxonienses. An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford to Which Are Added The Fasti or Annals of the Said University by Anthony A. Wood, M/A. of Merton College. A New Edition with Additions and a Continuation*, Vol II, (London: T Bensley, 1815) pp 445-446.
- 27 Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America containing The History of the Discovery, settlement, Progress and Present State of all the British Colonies On The Continent and Islands of America. etc.*, (London: John Nicholson, 1708) p 4.
- 28 J Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America containing The History of the Discovery, settlement, Progress and State of all the British Colonies On The Continent and Islands of America... Second Edition, Corrected and Amended* (London: J. Clarke, 1741) pp 7-9.
- 29 Orpheus Junior is the pseudonym Vaughan uses for himself in the book. In Greek mythology, Colchos was the home of the Golden Fleece. In *The Golden Fleece*, Vaughan refers to Newfoundland as "a new Colchos." "This is our Colchos, where the *Golden Fleece* flourisheth on the backes of Neptunes sheepe, continually to be shorne." (*GF*, part 3, p 9) Prowse is unclear about the actual name of his imagined colony saying, in turn, that it was called "Cambriol Colchos," "Golden Grove," and "Vaughan's Cove." Although Vaughan uses the name "Cambriol Colchos" in the title of the *Golden Fleece*, it does not appear on John Mason's map. A variant of Cambriol, "Cambriola," does appear on the map as the name of Vaughan's grant on the southern Avalon. This seems to be a feminine variant of the Latin name for Wales, Cumbria, and is probably meant to imply that Vaughan's grant is the sister country of Wales just as, he says, Newfoundland is "Great Britaines Sister, or Britanniol." "Colchos" appears on the map and is located at the entrance to Trepassey Bay. The only place-name within Trepassey Bay is "Cardiffe" which appears to be located at either Portugal Cove South or Biscay Bay.
- 30 Oldmixon, *British Empire* (1741), p 8.
- 31 *Ibid*, p 10.
- 32 *Ibid*, p 8.
- 33 John Prince, *Danmonii Orientales Illustres or the Worthies of Devon* (Plymouth: Rees and Curtis, 1810) p 418.
- 34 Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, pp 194-195.
- 35 Vaughan, *Newlanders Cure*, "Epistle Dedicatory".
- 36 Vaughan, *The Golden Fleece*, Part I, p 2.
- 37 Gillian T Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland, 1577-1660* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1969) p 85.
- 38 Vaughan, *The Golden Fleece*, Part I, p 2.
- 39 William Vaughan, *The Church Militant* (London: T Paine for H Blunden, 1640); William Vaughan, *The Soules Exercise* (London: T & R Cotes for H Blunden, 1641). There are other, similar mistakes in the *Athenae Oxonienses*, Robert Hayman died in November 1629 during an expedition up the Oyapock River in Guiana (Cell, 1969, p 88). Wood was unaware of this and included Hayman amongst those listed for 1632 because, he says, on 24 January 1632, "issued out a commission from the prerog Court of Canterbury to a certain person, who had moneys owing to him by... Rob. Hayman, lately deceased. So that I suppose he died beyond the seas that year, aged 49, or thereabouts." Vol II, p 545.
- 40 Robert Hayman, *Quodlibets, Lately Come Over From New Britaniola, Old Newfoundland* (London: Elizabeth All-de for Roger Mitchell, 1628) Part II, Verses 86, 87, 88.
- 41 Verse 87 urges Vaughan to "Goe on, wise Sir, with your old, bold braue Nation/ To your new Cambriolls rich Plantation./ Let Dolphins dance before you in the floods,/ and play you, Orpheus Junior, in her woods."
- 42 Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland*. p 668.
- 43 Lewis Amadeus Anspach, *A History of the Island of Newfoundland Containing a Description of the Island, the Banks, the Fisheries, and Trade of Newfoundland, and the Coast of Labrador*. (London: T and J Allman, 1819) p 86.
- 44 MF Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*. (Boston: Doyle and Whittle, 1888) p 82.
- 45 JD Rogers, *A Historical Geography of The British Colonies*, Vol V, Part IV: *Historical Geography of Newfoundland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911) p 60.
- 46 LEF English, *Newfoundland Past and Present*. (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons Canada Ltd, 1950) pp 32-33.
- 47 Cell, *English Enterprise*, pp 83-84.
- 48 Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, p 25.
- 49 Oldmixon, *British Empire* (1741), p 9.
- 50 Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered*, p 282.
- 51 *Ibid*, pp 280, 288-289.
- 52 Wm A Shaw, Litt D, *The Knights of England: A Complete Record from the Earliest Time to the Present Day of the Knights of all the Orders of Chivalry in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Knights Bachelors, etc.*, Vol 2, (London: Sherratt and Hughes, 1906) p 194.