

## *Edward Winslow (O. V. 1606-11)*

*King's Scholar and Printer*

BY GEORGE G. WOLKINS

IN 1950 it seems agreed the *Mayflower* voyage was important for two reasons: first, it carried out a project of separatists, acting from a new motive, but clinging to English ideas; and second, there was the signing of the compact.<sup>1</sup> Any Pilgrim subject might lack a freshness for antiquarians; none the less, encouraged by our president's maxim, "No fact or surmise about the Pilgrims is negligible,"<sup>2</sup> this is an essay to help supply missing links in the life of Edward Winslow before he appeared in Leyden. All the world knows the settlement at Plymouth sprang practically as a unit from Nottinghamshire Puritans who took refuge in Holland; it is not always recalled that Master Edward Winslow was originally from Worcestershire.

All the accounts, so far as available, state dutifully that Winslow was born in Droitwich, October 18, 1595; but of his youth, of the years that lapsed between birth and emergence in Leyden in 1617, there has been a silence as impenetrable as the unsolved disappearance of Master Charley Ross.

Nathaniel Morton in *New-Englands Memoriall* gave currency to a legend that Winslow, "travelling into the Low-Countreys, in his Journeys fell into acquaintance with

<sup>1</sup> See Keith Feiling, *A History of England*, London, 1950, p. 634.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison in *Mass. Hist. Soc., Proceedings*, LXI, 34.

the Church of Leyden in Holland."<sup>3</sup> Through 1646, Morton is little more than an abridgment of William Bradford's *Of Plimmoth Plantation*. Until William Brewster's death in 1643, Bradford had his reasons for not writing of the printing-press in Choir Alley, but certainly Morton had no occasion to be coy about Winslow.<sup>4</sup> In the *Dictionary of National Biography* an assistant editor guessed that Winslow went to Leyden "attracted possibly by the fame of the university there," having "left his salt boiling";<sup>5</sup> and in the *Dictionary of American Biography* we are asked to believe that "Apparently while traveling on the Continent . . . Winslow came to know of John Robinson's Separatist congregation at Leyden and joined them."<sup>6</sup> Usually the years 1596 to 1617 are deliberately ignored; when, in June, 1919, Winslow Warren submitted a paper, he dismissed those years in two lines: "We have no knowledge of his boyhood training other than the unauthenticated tradition of his education at Cambridge."<sup>7</sup>

In 1905, Edmund F. Slafter, urging Charles Deane's suggestion of a memoir of Winslow for the Prince Society, was asked, "Why didn't Deane pursue Edward Winslow; he liked exploring Pilgrim history?", the benign reply came: "There are gaps; nothing is known of Winslow's youth"!

Of the quality of Winslow's schooling there is ample indirect evidence. James Savage testified Winslow was "a great man in all circumstances."<sup>8</sup> Alexander Young noted that in the church of Plymouth:

the ruling elder . . . used frequently to call upon some of the gifted brethren to pray and give a word of exhortation . . . the chief of whom

<sup>3</sup> Cambridge, Mass., [1669], p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> See William Bradford, *Of Plimmoth Plantation*, Ford ed., II, 348.

<sup>5</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, LXII, 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 393-4.

<sup>7</sup> Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, LII, 326.

<sup>8</sup> John Winthrop, *History of New England*, Boston, 1825, I, 78, n. 3.

were Gov. Edward Winslow, Gov. Bradford . . . men of superior talents and parts, and of good school-learning.<sup>9</sup>

John A. Doyle gives his praise: "One of the ablest and most highly-educated men among the Plymouth settlers, Edward Winslow, has left three pamphlets containing much valuable material."<sup>10</sup> Dwelling on one of the episodes described, Doyle added that Winslow's "clear and graphic account . . . is among the most interesting of the records of native life left to us by the early settlers."<sup>11</sup> *Good Newes* and *Hypocrisie Unmasked* are listed in the bibliography of Murray's *Oxford English Dictionary*, along with the William Bradford *Of Plimmoth-Plantation* and the John Winthrop *Journal*. Even the casual reader of the Winslow texts must agree that here was no slovenly pen, unschooled, or unpractised; and that he who put ink to paper was a man of parts, of a proconsular type.

From what process came these accomplishments? Why was it this man of many-sided talent went from Worcestershire to join in Leyden a congregation of religious zealots from quite another part of England? What was the background of this recruit who had a way with him to manage men and situations? These are some of the questions. Thanks to thoughtful, kindly friends here and in England, there are some answers now at hand.

The "radial charts" of thousands of Winslows stem from Kenelm who died in 1607 in Kempsey, in the parish of St. Andrew, leaving a recorded will, and styling himself a "yeoman."<sup>12</sup> Here were two farms, "enclosures," or "messuages," neither of them inherited by Kenelm, one in the north of the parish, "Clerkenleap," and the larger, perhaps

<sup>9</sup> *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, second ed., p. 419, n. 3, probably quoted from Morton.

<sup>10</sup> *The English in America (The Puritan Colonies)*, I, 15 n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>12</sup> British Record Society, *The Index Library, Worcester Wills, 1601-1652*, II, 29, no. 92. See addenda, *infra*, for the text of the will and inventory.

120 acres, in the extreme south, "Kerswell," the name that Edward, the Pilgrim, gave his own farm on the shore of Green's Bay, New Plymouth. Some aura of squirearchy seemed to attach to this larger farm, even though the grandsire held it for only a short time, about long enough for his descendants to say he had held it; he bought of one baronet and sold to another.<sup>13</sup> The compiler of the *Winslow Memorial*,<sup>14</sup> two massive volumes, cited by D. N. B. as a source, gives sundry names of putative aristocratic connection, but without authority; in fact under the same cover there is the text of a letter from a vicar of St. Andrew's stating there was no evidence of arms or pedigree. Treadway Nash, careful historian of Worcestershire and a vicar of St. Peter's, Droitwich, at first included "Winslows" among families prominent in St. Andrew's parish history; but in a supplement he took care to make correction by changing plural to singular, indicating that, truthfully, the grandsire and tenant of land had been the only one noticed.

It is Edward, the father, who must be dealt with in any epic of Edward, the son; the more studiedly, perhaps, because the evidence is piecemeal. The father grew up in the beginnings of the Elizabethan reign, a time when it was held the country was over-populated. Many farms were too small. Richard Hakluyt was among those disturbed by "The Realme swarming at this day with valiant youthes."<sup>15</sup> John Heming went from Droitwich to London to become actor-manager of the Globe Theatre, but Edward Winslow, Sr., apparently laid his course for Droitwich, about five miles and a half the other side of Worcester, site of salt wells that

<sup>13</sup> *Victoria History of Worcestershire*, III, 432; Nash, *Collections for the History of Worcestershire*, II, 20.

<sup>14</sup> D. P. Holton, *Winslow Memorial*, I, 2-25, *passim*. Apparently there is no evidence that Governor Winslow, at any time, pretended that there had been a grant of arms.

<sup>15</sup> See E. E. Rich, "The Population of Elizabethan England" in *The Economic History Review*, series 2, II, 247, *et passim*.

had been worked time out of record. Droitwich, on the Salwarpe flowing into the Severn, having, in 1563, we are told, 151 families, is a splendid example of what the economists call "lingering custom."<sup>16</sup> The brine of an underground river came to the surface in springs that had been allotted under the Saxons, and probably under their predecessors; the king, Westminster Abbey, and several nabobs had shares in the gain: Leland said the burgesses were "poor for the most part," that the just rate of every furnace was to make four loads of salt yearly, that the pans were of lead, about six feet long, four feet wide, and a foot deep; and to keep down the supply there was boiling only from midsummer to Christmas.<sup>17</sup> The salt industry, its antiquity, its entanglement with law and privilege, its bearing upon individual rights, etc., etc., could be a fascinating sub-topic; but we must proceed. H. R. Hodgkinson, Esq., of Chadstowe, Droitwich, was of very considerable help in pointing out useful notices in publications of the Worcestershire Historical Society and in very kindly interesting himself in making accessible the Droitwich records; through him also the services of Miss Edith S. Scroggs of London, a most competent investigator, were made available. This inquiry seems to have prompted removing the Droitwich corporation records to the County Record Office in Worcester; the Town Council acted courteously and with promptness; but exhaustive searching failed to establish that Edward Winslow, Sr., enjoyed the status of burgess. In the Court Book there are noticed disputes over trifling matters: "4 measures of malt," "peas worth 6s," and other claims of small value, the earliest of these records appearing in the 43rd year of Elizabeth (1601), but by the Exchequer, Lay Subsidies, Edward, Sr., is placed in Droitwich three years earlier,

<sup>16</sup> *Victoria History of Worcestershire*, III, 78.

<sup>17</sup> Leland, *Itinerary*, 1836, IV, part 2, 106-12, *passim*.

having been assessed on 20s a tax of 4s;<sup>18</sup> in late James I and in early Charles I he was still being assessed on 20s, not displaying, so far as such evidence goes, any pronounced success as "salt victualler."

The entries in the register of St. Peter's de Witton, Droitwich, have been known since William S. Appleton reported them in 1867,<sup>19</sup> but when examined closely they seem to throw additional light on the Governor's father as a member of the Established Church; he was not only a member, but he was determined there should not be the slightest aspersion on the regularity of his membership or on his loyalty to the Church of England. There are two records of his marriage to Magdalen Ollyver: one in the register of St. Bride's in Fleet Street, London,<sup>20</sup> and another in St. Peter's, Droitwich, the latter entry having been interlined with a sharp quill, apparently at a later date. The growth of Separatism, the strength of recusancy, need not be rehearsed here, but it is perhaps relevant to point out that in the St. Peter's registry for that era the Winslow baptisms are the only ones recorded with dates of birth accompanying,<sup>21</sup> as if to make it clear that here was a loyal Anglican who brought his children to be baptized within the three days desirable, an Anglican whose religious life could have been

<sup>18</sup> See addenda, *infra*, for further details in the Court Book in respect to claims. In that period, too, there was recourse to court action in transfers of tenancy or title as a means of recording the transaction. Such actions at law had a certain fictitious character; the purchaser posed as plaintiff and the one who sold was defendant; and the consideration named was sometimes nominal and sometimes actual. Apparently a court proceeding of this sort was a normal method of recording leases and deeds.

Exchequer, 179; Lay Subsidies, 201/237, 40 Eliz.; 201/254, 42 Eliz.; Lay Subsidy List labelled "41 Eliz.," while cover is marked "39 Eliz.," indicating the grant was in the latter year and the levy in the former. In 35-36 Eliz., Droitwich is missing from the Subsidy Roll for Halfshire Hundred. E 179, 201/287, Assessment for Subsidy, late James I, is very faint and badly rubbed; read with difficulty under ultra-violet lamp.

<sup>19</sup> *New England Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XXI, 210.

<sup>20</sup> Certificate of the Reverend Arthur Taylor, Vicar. See Nash, *op. cit.*, II, 448.

<sup>21</sup> Mrs. W. A. Trippass, St. Peter's Vicarage, thoughtfully invited attention to these peculiarities; they could hardly have been inscribed without the active cooperation of the vicar, implying that he and Edward Winslow, Sr., were on friendly terms.

suitably under any local Vicar of Bray.<sup>22</sup> In 1613, in a letter to the clerk of the peace, a charge is made against "licensed victuallers of Droitwich that they neither frequent the church themselves nor warn their guests to do so in the time of divine service . . . as good subjects ought to do."<sup>23</sup> It may also be mentioned there are today "In the south-east window of the south transept . . . of St. Peter's some 14th-century black and white glass, including a pelican in her piety."<sup>24</sup> If this can be related to the personal seal that Edward, Jr., used forty years or so later, we can imagine that what Sir Osbert Sitwell calls "something of the reflective air of the pelican" was impressed upon his mind as a child dutifully conforming to the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer.

Of the Olivers of Droitwich, of whom it is assumed the Governor's mother came, the name occurs often in records and muniments, in orthographic form rivalling the family name "Percy" which Treadway Nash professed to find spelled in twenty-three ways! Edward, Sr., would not have had to go from Droitwich to London to seek for a bride a daughter of the house of Oliver.

But upon this church-going, salt-victualling Edward, Sr., of unblemished Anglicanism, there fell what we may regard—in the state of religious opinion in the England of that time—a heavy blow. The key to this is among the Talbot MSS., a certificate by the Bailiffs of Droitwich, Borough seal attached, a document acquired by the British Museum as recently as in 1937. It concerns the salt-vats as used in 1602-05; it recites that twenty-five of the boileries had been held by Robert Wintour, Esq., late attainted of high treason; that "Edward Wynslow" had been among the

<sup>22</sup> *English Melodies*, London, 1910, p. 154.

<sup>23</sup> *Victoria History of Worcestershire*, II, 56.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 86.

tenants, "rent, number and distribution unknown," and that one boilery, until the third year of James I in the tenure of Edward Wynslowe "or his sub-tenants," had been sold by the said Wyntour to one "Thomas Gower, gent."<sup>25</sup> Here we have Edward Winslow, Sr., in the fall of 1605, a tenant, sub-tenant, "occupier," entre-prenuer, or what-not, a circumjovial satellite of one of the more prominent conspirators against Protestant king and parliament. Winter bowed to the Tower executioner January 30, 1605/6, for his share in Gunpowder Plot, and we may assume the elder Winslow was in a sufficiently distracted frame of mind to lean the more heavily on his church connection; there was the unsavory pursuit and capture of his tenant-in-chief, and presumably there would be no escape from the antipathies of neighborhood groups.<sup>26</sup> For bringing to light this association of Edward, Sr., with Robert Winter we are indebted to the Reverend W. Sterry-Cooper, M. A., Vicar of Elmbridge and former Vicar of St. Peter's, who interested himself in the career of Governor Winslow; in an article in the *Droitwich Guardian*, March 18, 1944, he urged putting up a memorial in Victoria Square, staging a "Pilgrim Father" pageant; and in that way he hoped to help tie together with English people the great numbers of Americans there because of the war. Mr. Sterry-Cooper's enterprise had salutary effect: a neat bronze plaque in St. Peter's Church was unveiled at a special service, October 21, 1945; the Bishop of Worcester and other dignitaries were in attendance; there was an address by Lieut. Commander Agar, U. S. N. R., "Personal Assistant to the American Ambassador"; and the Stars and Stripes and Union Jack were placed on either

<sup>25</sup> *Additional Charters*, British Museum, 73,567. See addenda, *infra*, for text of this document and of "Interrogatories, Overbury vs. Talbot, et al."

<sup>26</sup> See Nash, *Worcestershire*, I, 491. Also Traill, *Social England*, IV, 32, and *D. N. B.*, XLIX, 211, under Thomas Winter, or Wintour. In connection with Ambrose Rookewood there is a reference in *Winthrop Papers*, I (1929), 91, n. 42.



side the plaque, covered at first with the flag of St. George. The remarkable contemporary fact is, however, that in the American press, while later there were notices of the Commander's engagement to marry, to his explanation of shipping delays to eager English wives of American service-men, to his resignation as Director of United States Information Service, to his prospective return on December 14; there was found never a word about St. Peter's or Droitwich, or its outstanding colonial Anglo-American statesman of century seventeen.

With Edward Winslow, Sr., we have now got as far as the aftermath of Guy Fawkes Day, November 5, 1605. By that time Edward, Jr., was beginning his eleventh year, and somewhere he must have got his a. b. c. and other rudiments, but where, as Miss Mary Bateson would say, is "wrapped in doubt." Worcestershire was as well supplied with schools as any county.<sup>27</sup> "Maister Thomas Wylde" endowed a free school in Worcester, the Royal Grammar School, "for the bringing up of youth in their A. B. C. matins and evensong & other teaching which should make them ready for the King's Grammar School."<sup>28</sup> A nephew of this Thomas Wylde, contemporary of Edward Winslow, Sr., of important family dignity, owner of one-fourth of the advowson of St. Peter's, Droitwich, and much concerned, we may take it, with maintaining its place in the community, was at least likely to have helped find schooling for the promising Edward, Jr.<sup>29</sup> John Wylde, the son, was but five years older than young Edward, and John Wylde became chief-baron of exchequer and member of the Council of State. There was a Droitwich Free School, indifferently conducted in

<sup>27</sup> *Victoria History of Worcestershire*, IV, 473-9.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 480-3, *passim*.

<sup>29</sup> Nash, *op. cit.*, II, facing p. 330 is a genealogical chart of the Wylde family; see also pp. 330-5, *passim*, for Wylde who attained distinction.

1601, and there was also Hartlebury Grammar School,<sup>30</sup> near the Bishop of Worcester's country-house, a school where in 1565 the statutes required "at least one afternoone in everie week" they should "teache the scholers to write and cast accompts," a noticeable feature for an Elizabethan school. Accounts of Hartlebury School, printed for the Worcestershire Historical Society, show no entries, save that Edward, Sr., was paid small sums in respect to an action in chancery, either for giving evidence or for serving on a commission to take evidence; it may be either.<sup>31</sup> It was in 1607-08 and 1608-09, and it may have signified a bit of patronage on the part of his high-toned church acquaintances. While we can't name the school where Edward, Jr., was taught a. b. c., or, in fact, whether he attended such a school, it is amply set up he was trained for "college" in the limited sense of the word in England at that time. "College" was a word that survived in local use from the Benedictine friars of the Middle Ages whose care of their juniors was among the offices of Worcester Cathedral, and for whom provision was made in Chapter House, Refectory, and Dormitory, all parts of the Cathedral establishment. It is fully shown, also, that to offset his father's untoward association with a Gunpowder plotter, there were powerful influences that could be used in the boy's favor. The father, it seems evident, made continuing effort to raise his social status to that of "gentleman," but in the few documents, his name, where it appears, is not consistently followed by the word "gentleman." One sketchy historian of Droitwich described him: "technically not a gentleman."<sup>32</sup> It recalls Du Maurier's

<sup>30</sup> *Victoria History of Worcestershire*, IV, 529. See also addenda, *infra*, for excerpts from "Accounts of Hartlebury Grammar School, 1551-1750."

<sup>31</sup> *The Old Order Book of Hartlebury Grammar School, 1556-1752*, Oxford, 1904, pp. 33-5. See also *Victoria History of Worcestershire*, IV, 526. There are detailed entries in addenda, *infra*.

<sup>32</sup> W. T. Whitley, *The Story of Droitwich*, 1923, pp. 114-20.

dictum: "Two generations constitute gentility." Little Billee, we recall, "held to a middle-class creed; it keeps you out of bad company, which is to be found above and below."<sup>33</sup>

It remains to offer proof of the schooling given Edward, Jr., within the bounds of Worcester Cathedral, a part of the Governor's life completely unknown to a phalanx of writers on Pilgrim history. Each lance-bearer in the army has mentioned birth at Droitwich, salt-boiling, travelling on the continent, "the grand tour," "aristocratic essence," "attracted to Leyden . . . by the fame of the university there," but silence on the Governor's career prior to age twenty-two could be called profound, if not "vociferous."

In 1540-42 the monastery in Worcester was suppressed, and the Worcester Cathedral Grammar School, the King's School, or the Free School, variously so called, was founded with an endowment that came through action of Henry VIII; it was probably based on leases that had previously supported the monastery. The prior and thirty-three monks gave place to a maximum of forty boys, or King's Scholars, "to be taught both grammar and lodgicke in the Greke and laten tongue, every of them 66s 8d by the yere."<sup>34</sup> "The Statutes," we are told, "drawn up in 1541, are in the same general terms for all the cathedrals of the New Foundation" and "It is thought that the hand of Archbishop Cranmer . . . can be traced." In general, in the king's schools, or at least on the king's endowment, no boy was to be admitted if his father owned land and goods to the value of more than £300, but there is evidence this restriction was not too narrowly observed. There are two scholarly authorities: A. F. Leach, one of H. M. Inspectors for Schools, in his section of the *Victoria County History of Worcestershire*, 1924, although

<sup>33</sup> *Trilby*, part 1, p. 187.

<sup>34</sup> John Noake, *The Monastery and Cathedral of Worcester*, 1866, chapter 7, *passim*.

prepared more than ten years earlier, and in his *Documents Illustrating Early Education in Worcester*, circulated by the Worcestershire Historical Society, 1913; and for special reference, engaging and put together with care, *A History of the King's School*, Worcester, by Alec Macdonald, M. A. (O. V.), Assistant Master, London, 1936. The work of both shows sound historical sense, and their texts are not only well documented but are a delight to read. The cathedral muniments in the Edgar Tower were "ransacked" to some purpose; and through the courtesy of Sir Ivor A. Atkins, Chapter Librarian, there has been access for aims of this inquiry to Mr. Macdonald's annotated transcript of the names of fifty or more boys who were King's Scholars at any time in the five years, 1606-11, more than half of them noted in the D. N. B., in Nash, in Foster,<sup>35</sup> and more than a few in Oxford and Cambridge lists. The inexplicable omission is the name of Edward Winslow—Winslow who was a King's Scholar for five years. If the book of admissions for that period is reliable—and it is hard to see how the contemporary record can be impeached—and if we have the right boy—the find is of some importance. Here the entries were not interlined with a sharp quill; they were made in the daily course of business:

Edward Winslowe was admitted the second of Aprill 1606 in the place of John Welles to beginne his schollership at the feast of the annunciation last.<sup>36</sup>

John Dymocke was admitted into the place of Edward Wynslowe the 20th daie of Aprill [1611] ex relacione Mr Bright<sup>37</sup>.

This nugget was brought to light by the Reverend W. Sterry-Cooper, M. A., in 1944, in the same letter to the

<sup>35</sup> Joseph Foster, *The Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage of the British Empire*, 1879-83.

<sup>36</sup> Worcester Cathedral Muniments, Liber Thesaur, A. xxi, and Admission Book of the Scholars, 1590-1645. Leach's *Documents* has "Edward Winstowe."

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, A. xxviii. The year, 1611, was carefully confirmed in the Chapter Library after Mr. Macdonald's death in December, 1949.

Droitwich *Guardian* in which he urged a suitable memorial. The Reverend Mr. Sterry-Cooper was vicar of St. Peter's; from many inquiries of American visitors, calling themselves "descendants" who "wanted to see" the baptismal record, he knew of Winslow; and in conversation with his friend Macdonald of the School, the latter came to see the significance of Winslow entries. This, however, was after the Macdonald history had been published, and it was through the continuing kindness of Mrs. W. A. Trippass, wife of the present vicar of St. Peter's, and the courtesy of Mr. Macdonald more than a year ago, that precise references came to hand. The amazing thing is, from an American viewpoint, that two investigators like Leach and Macdonald, transcribing painstakingly the law-hand of the last years of Queen Bess, should regard "Edward Winslow" as just another John Wash or Thomas Bell; and yet his name, too, is in the *D. N. B.*

During the period Winslow was King's Scholar, there were fewer than usual in the School, but it was during what is called its "Golden Age;" Henry Bright was the famous "head," 1589 to 1627; from Worcester Bright had gone up to Brasenose as "plebeian"; and as master he earned resounding compliment. Thomas Fuller cited him, communicating "in this city in the Marches the lustre of grammar learning to youth both of England and Wales."<sup>38</sup> In 1607, ending Winslow's first year, Master Bright's vogue was so great, there is a hint the Bishop thought Master Bright too much inclined to take pay pupils: the Bishop recommends the Dean and Chapter "To choose schollers free lie et pauperes ac amicorum ope destitutos,"<sup>39</sup> and for Winslow's last year there was given "the sum of 4s" to "a woman for sweeping the Schoole all the last yeere,

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Fuller, *History of the Worthies of England*, 1890, III, 376.

<sup>39</sup> Poor boys and boys destitute of the help of their friends.

for which the Schollers being but few could not give her sufficient satisfaction."<sup>40</sup> These items stress not only the small number on endowment but the use of the King's School for "poor boys," a feature for which Leach pays high tribute to Henry VIII.<sup>41</sup> Macdonald has a chapter, "*Numerosa Pubes Literaria*,"<sup>42</sup> pupils of Henry Bright; and we have such names as Sir John Vaughan<sup>43</sup> and that of Samuel Butler,<sup>44</sup> who, although not a King's Scholar on the charitable foundation, was trained there and is therefore not less entitled to "O. V." after his name; and we have William Fitzgerald, printer of William Harvey's book on circulation of the blood.<sup>45</sup> "O. V." is an abbreviation of "Old Vigornian," adapted from the Latin form of the School's name, "Schola Vigorniensis." In King's School at the same time with Winslow were Hannibal<sup>46</sup> and Francis Potter,<sup>47</sup> respectively President of Trinity, Oxford, and F. R. S., maker of quadrants, John Doughtie,<sup>48</sup> prebendary of Westminster, and Roger Manwaring,<sup>49</sup> dean of Worcester, an extreme Arminian, Bishop of St. David's, chaplain to Charles I, in hot water with the Long Parliament, and called "an abject tool of power." A fantasy of some appeal might be a prologue featuring Edward Winslow, later the devoted disciple of John Robinson, a kind of vicegerent of independency, stepping around the tomb of King John in the surplice of an acolyte, lighting tapers and doing reverence to "expressive figures" of the Virgin and Saints, and joining in chants that

<sup>40</sup> Cathedral Muniments, A. xxvi; *Victoria History of Worcestershire*, IV, 242.

<sup>41</sup> *The Schools of Medieval England*, p. 277.

<sup>42</sup> Chapter 8, p. 112.

<sup>43</sup> 1603-1674, Chief Justice of Common Pleas.

<sup>44</sup> 1612-1680, author of *Hudibras* (1663-68).

<sup>45</sup> See Lawrence C. Wroth, *A History of the Printed Book*, *passim*.

<sup>46</sup> 1592-1664.

<sup>47</sup> 1594-1678.

<sup>48</sup> Or Doughty, 1598-1672.

<sup>49</sup> 1590-1653.

were prominent in cathedral worship. For certain of these boys "the eye of faith could already descry the episcopal gaiter," but it would have taken clairvoyance of a high order to forecast Winslow's destiny as trader for beaver pelts and moose skins in far reaches of the New England wilderness or holding high rank among supporters of congregational polity.<sup>50</sup> In conscience it must be conceded that for Winslow these were years from eleven to sixteen, and that in his view, in later years, he and his Pilgrim associates had not left the church; they *were* the church.

The scope of this inquiry is young Winslow and not the King's School, but there may be merit in repeating a few passages from the school statutes, in slightly modified translation from the Latin text:

That piety and good letters may in our church for ever blossom, grow, flower and in their time bear fruit for the glory of God and the advantage and adornment of the commonwealth, we decree and ordain that there shall always be in our church of Worcester, elected and nominated by the Dean or in his absence the Vice-dean and Chapter, to be maintained out of the possessions of the church, 40 boys, poor and destitute of the help of their friends, of native genius as far as may be and apt to learn. We do not, however, wish that they shall be admitted as poor boys of our church before they have learnt to read and write and are moderately<sup>51</sup> learned in the first rudiments of grammar, in the opinion of the Dean, or etc. and the Head Master;

<sup>50</sup> "There is nothing to suggest that Bright's teaching was narrowly sectarian. Of the numerous men he educated for the Church we find as many in the Presbyterian ranks as in the High Church party. . . ."—Alec Macdonald, *A History of the King's School, Worcester*, London, 1936, p. 99.

<sup>51</sup> Inviting attention to Mrs. Henry Wood's novels, *The Channings* (1866) and *Mildred Arkell* (1868), dealing with life in King's School, Worcester, in the nineteenth century, Macdonald (pp. 194-5) seems to agree with the novelist that the curriculum had been classical to such an extent that boys who had not been well-grounded in English grammar and spelling on entrance would be handicapped, "knowing nothing of English grammar, except what they could pick up of it through their acquaintance with Latin." May it not be proper, then, to remark, in this connection, that Winslow, the Potters, Manwaring, Samuel Butler, and other pupils of Henry Bright named in the text, judging from what they wrote, knew their English grammar and orthography? According to the Statutes (Macdonald, p. 46): "In the First Form they shall learn thoroughly by heart the rudiments in English, they shall learn to put together the parts of speech, and to turn a short phrase of English into Latin; and gradually to approach other easy constructions." Henry Bright's record is not that of a teacher who would ignore such requirements.

And we will that these boys shall be maintained at the expense of our church until they have obtained a moderate knowledge of Latin and have learnt to speak and to write Latin. The period of four years shall be given to this, or if it shall so seem good to the Dean or etc. and the Head Master, at most five and not more.

We will further, that none shall be elected a poor scholar of our church who has not completed the ninth year or has passed the fifteenth year of his age, unless he has been a chorister of our church of Worcester. . . .

Lastly, whatever they are doing in earnest or in play, they shall never use any language but Latin or Greek.<sup>52</sup>

This is relevant; we begin to understand the preparation for the expository style of *Mourt's Relation*, of *Good Newes*, the lucid reasoning of *Hypocrisie Unmasked* and *The Danger of Tolerating Levellers*, the chaste syntax of letters to John Winthrop; we sense the courage, presence, address—and the acquaintance—which made him diplomatic agent for the Bay Colony as well as for Plymouth, and won for him a place in the circle about Cromwell. It accounts for his attainments in 1611, at sixteen; and is it to be supposed he would turn to the salt pans of Droitwich? There was the father's untoward experience, his keenness to advance his son; after eight centuries, or more, Feckenham Forest had little but small trees for fuel; and it was Leland's observation that in Droitwich "the People that be about [the furnaces] be very ill-coloured."<sup>53</sup> We are told "only about forty Englishmen in a hundred could read,"<sup>54</sup> and no less an authority than Sir Sidney Lee tells us "friends and neighbors of Shakespeare at Stratford, who passed their days as grocers or butchers in the town, were in the habit of corresponding with one another in copious and fluent Latin."<sup>55</sup> What was still the great wonder for men of trained intelligence? It was the efficacy of moveable type. As soon as the printing press was perfected, its employment spread

<sup>52</sup> Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>53</sup> Leland, *Itinerary*, 1836, IV, part 2, p. 112.

<sup>54</sup> Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, New York, I (1907), p. 295.

<sup>55</sup> *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 257.



with astonishing rapidity.<sup>56</sup> For Winslow's years from sixteen to his twenty-second we have data of only fragmentary worth, but there are items not to be disregarded. In that sixteenth year, 1611, John Babington gave books to certain of the King's Scholars;<sup>57</sup> Thomas, one of the boys, was assigned writing a catalogue,<sup>58</sup> and on national scale appeared that year the new translation of the Bible, the King James Version. A local historian, Dr. W. T. Whitley, for some years a Baptist clergyman in Droitwich, compiler and editor of the works of John Smythe, the Se-Baptist, got out a small brochure, *The Story of Droitwich* (1923), in which is made at least one assertion of some interest, namely, that Edward Winslow, Jr., went to London and became a printer. Tending to sustain this commonplace remark—it seemed pointless without documentation—we have evidence from Stationers' Hall<sup>58a</sup> that "an Edward Winslowe was bound apprentice on the 23rd October 1615 and that he did not take up either the Freedom or the Livery of the Company. He is listed the son of Edward Winslowe of Clifton in the county of Worcester and bound to John Beale<sup>58b</sup> for 7 years." Twenty years—the age of Edward, the Pilgrim, in 1615—"seems perhaps rather late,"<sup>58c</sup> and we have no facts for the lapse between April 20, 1611, and October 23, 1615, the knife-edge years in the youth of so able a man. Attributing Edward, the father, to Clifton presents no special difficulty, albeit we should crave record of a hearth tax or of a church membership. Clifton-upon-Teme is a hamlet on the high road from Worcester to Ten-

<sup>56</sup> See Wroth, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>57</sup> Noak, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58a</sup> R. T. Rivington, President and Clerk, November 17, 1950.

<sup>58b</sup> See H. R. Plomer, *Dictionary of Printers*, 1907, pp. 17-8. Also W. A. Jackson, January 5, 1951.

<sup>58c</sup> R. T. Rivington, cited.

bury, and although within the shire was and is in the diocese of Hereford. Bitter feeling against one even so tenuously associated with Gunpowder Plotters may have driven Edward, Sr., to till the soil at some distance from Droitwich, perhaps a dozen miles. The lay subsidy roll, 1603, showed "Edwardus Wynslowe" assessed "in terris xxs," eleven persons being assessed this, the lowest figure, in Droitwich;<sup>58d</sup> there is no document or record as yet disclosed that would place positively in Clifton the father of Governor Winslow, and there is also the uncertainty of freeing an Edward, Jr., from his apprentice bond in season to reach Leyden in 1617. If John Beale, the master, had not released such an apprentice and the latter had bolted, would not the ambassador have shown at least a casual interest in the young printer? Or was there some long, aristocratic arm to keep the king's agent inactive? Could this apprentice be the Edward Winslow who in some manner was recruited by William Brewster? There are several hinges to be examined, if indeed the hinges exist. But in Leyden, in 1617, we get records; a little light backward is shed. Rendel Harris, one-time instructor in palaeography in Clare College, Cambridge, later librarian of the John Rylands Library in Manchester, explored the fortunes of *The Pilgrim Press*. His neat little volume, issued in 1922 with the help of Stephen K. Jones and Dr. D. Plooiij, supplementing scholarly work of Arber<sup>59</sup> and the Dexters,<sup>60</sup> he introduced by the apt observation, "There are still some fresh things for the historian to do, and some former things for him to do better."<sup>61</sup> Rendel Harris' search concerned the underground "printing-house" in Leyden and displays proof that

<sup>58d</sup> Worcs. Hist. Soc., 1901, pp. 6-7.

<sup>59</sup> *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1606-1623*, 1897.

<sup>60</sup> H. M. Dexter and Morton Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 1905.

<sup>61</sup> Rendel Harris, *The Pilgrim Press*, 1922, Introduction, p. 1; see also W. E. Griffis, *New England Magazine*, new series, XIX, 559-75.

twenty imprints of controversial cast, in folio, quarto, octavo, and small octavo, all anti-Established Church and therefore forbidden, so far as English Church influence extended; all were issued through under-cover channels, in three years, to promote, as it is said, freedom of conscience. The advanced liberal views of John Robinson and his associates, independent congregations urging the wider teaching of primitive Christianity, were not in accord with the pattern of state churchism favored in London: King Jamie wanted no opposition to cherished designs for uniformity of church order throughout two kingdoms, and his ambassador was pressed hard to have Brewster's printing-shop done away with altogether. One title, Thomas Cartwright's *A Confutation*, 1618, a folio, ran to 838 pages. And who shared in this enterprise, facing together the risks of defying English authority? There was Thomas Brewer, "the Kentish gentleman of means";<sup>62</sup> there was William Brewster whose career there is no need even to outline; there was John Reynolds, who, we are certain, was a printer by trade—"Bound: 20 March 1606," "Free: 3 April 1615"—in the Stationers' Company "Lists of Apprentices"<sup>63</sup>—and the fourth member of this firm, engaged in printing texts, English, Latin, Hollandish, was Edward Winslow, entered on the betrothal books of Leyden as "Printer of London."<sup>64</sup> Rendel Harris gives the opinion Winslow was probably "Brewster's instructor in printing . . . as he is clearly a person of a different quality from Reynolds,"<sup>65</sup> but we should say, rather, that Winslow was in position to show

<sup>62</sup> Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>63</sup> The Court Book (Liber C), Proceedings are missing between 22 March 1615 and 3 August 1616. There is no entry for March, 1606. The P. R. O. Calendar of Rolls for 8th to 15th regnal, and the indexes of the Document Books and Crown Warrants for 1611-17 were searched, but no warrant was found.

<sup>64</sup> Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Brewster the successive processes, so far as Brewster desired to know or practise them. Brewster was at least thirty years Winslow's senior; and in managing the press, what it should print, how it should remain hidden, Brewster's was the guiding hand. In all the activities of the English ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton, "no attempt appears to have been made to catch Reynolds, or to entrap Winslow." What is more likely than that Brewer engaged Winslow in London at the same time that he engaged Reynolds? Wasn't there needed a printer who could set Latin text? With five years of training under Master Henry Bright, wouldn't Winslow be of help in the printing venture? And would he have been drawn to Leyden, under the special circumstances, there to be in contact with John Robinson and Elder Brewster, with almost imponderable historical consequences, had he not had some experience as a printer? Most of the evidence and all of the suppositions fit into a groove.

That Winslow, trained in the Church of England, for five years instructed in a cathedral school where High Church ritual was a daily observance, morning, night, and on occasion oftener—that he should adhere so wholeheartedly to the Separatist congregation in Leyden need be no cause for wonderment. For three years he was in continuing contact with and influenced intimately by Robinson,<sup>66</sup> Brewster, Bradford, God-fearing men of intellectual and moral power who were themselves driven by great purposes. It all forms a dramatic episode.

More than fifty years later, Roger Williams, reviewing his sufferings in Plymouth and in Salem, recalling that Winthrop had privately urged him to steer his course toward Narragansett, "where land was 'free' of patent and there were plenty of Indians," wrote to Major Mason:

<sup>66</sup> Bradford, *op. cit.*, I, 42, and Winslow, *Hypocrisy Unmasked*, Club for Colonial Reprints, p. 94, for the regard in which Robinson was held.

I first pitch't and begun to build and plant at Secunck, now, Rehoboth, but I received a letter from my antient friend Mr. Winslow, then Governour of Plymmouth, professing his care and others love and respect to me, yet lovingly advising me, since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds and they were loth to displeas the Bay, to remove but to the other side of the water, and then he said I had the country free before me.

And at another time, in a season of privation and want in the Williams settlement:

It pleased the Father of Spirits to teach in any Hearts (dear to himself) with Some Relentings. Amongst such . . . Mr. Winslow . . . kindly visited me at Providence, & put a piece of Gold into the hands of my wife for our Supply . . . [Mr. Winslow] that great & pious Soule.<sup>67</sup>

## WILL OF KENELME WYNSLOWE

WORCESTERSHIRE WILLS, 1607

BIRMINGHAM PROBATE REGISTRY

In the name & feare of God—Amen. the xiiiith daye of Aprill in the yere of our Lord—1607. I Kenelme Wynslowe of the Cittye of Worcester, yeom. being of perfect sound memory, willing and fit in bodye doe make and declare this my last will and Testam[ent], in maner & forme following vizt.

First I comend my soule to the eternal God and my bodye to be buryed in comelye sort of Buriall after my Deceasse. Item: To Katherine my ever loving wife I ordaine and appoint her to be the sole executrix of this my presentment, well appointing and charging her nott to alter the presentment thereof—(being duly sworne) without the consent of my eldest Sonne—whom I require to be a guide and comforter to her. And further I desire that my several items of lynnyn be given to my grandchildren to such extent as my wife aforesaid shall think fitt. Such items

<sup>67</sup> Letter of June 22, 1670, text in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, I, 275. Also printed in Narragansett Club *Publications*, VI, 333. See also Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, series I, VI, 203.

nott to be divided untill after her Decease, to be used by her for her life, this together with all and singular my Goodes and Chattells.

These being witnesses present. to this,  
etc.

by me—

Kenelme Wynslowe.

[Written in a *very* shaky hand]

John Gwayne.  
Edward Covery.

X.

Richard Haldane—his mark.

An inventory indented of all and singular the goods and chattells of Kenelme Wynslowe late of the Cittye of Worcester, deceased— Taken and praysed by John Gwaynt and Richard Haldane of the cittye aforesaid; the xxxth daye of May—1607.  
Ann. Regni, etc.

	[£	s.	d.]
<i>In the kytchen</i>			
Item. Eight pans, bottles and Maltirons—		vi.	viii.
four brass pots and four pewter dishes—		ix.	vii.
three opittes, an iron grate, pair of Andyrans, a pair of tongues, bellowes, frying pan, table, other iron, two stooles.		xiii.	iiii.
<i>In the Cellar and Buttery.</i>			
Item. Four earthern pottes with liquor.		v.	
Four barrells for milke.		xx.	
Tubbs and other earthen ware—of divers sort.		xii.	

[The Inventory here is much stained but there appears no writing beneath the damage.]

*In the Chamber over the Buttery.*

A trundle bedsted with the mattress.	vi.	viii.
Bed and clothes in the same chamber.		xii.
Three tablecloths, table-napkins and other lynnens.	vi.	xiii. viii.
A table board, and frame, with three stooles.	vi.	viii.
Bottles and glasses—	ii.	vi.

*In the Inner Chamber*

Bedsteede with blanketts and canvasse to the same.	xiii.	iiii.
--	-------	-------

*In the Chamber over the Hall.*

Bedsted and a trundle bed—		xx.
Mattresse and corde, blanketts, pillowes—		
Covering and other furniture to the same bed-sted	iiii.	— —
A presse and five canvasse blankett in the same.		
A sword and dagger	v.	
A bow and thirteene arrowes.	v.	ii.
hempen flaxen. yarne	ii.	
A brushe and a pair of yrons, finely wrought.	vi.	
Wearing apparell, his purse and money in the same.	vii.	iii. iiiii.

*In the Stable*

Item. haye.		iii.
“ One Mare wth twoe saddles and bridles.	iii.	vi. viiii.

*In the backside*

Item. Three ladders.		ii.	
A tubb for powltre, with the same.		xii.	
Fyer wood.			xvi.
—			
Twoe Timber Trees at Kempseye.		xii.	
The lease of a Howse for this p'sente yere.		xxiii.	viii.
The lease of his dwellinge howse.	xiii.		
	£ xlii.	iiii.	iii.
	£ 42	4.	3. <sup>68</sup>

## DROITWICH MSS.: COURT BOOK

26th May, 43 Elizabeth.

Edward Winslowe, gent., complains agst. Roger Ornyon in plea of debt on demand of 13*s.* 4*d.* His attorney John Jackson says that defendent bought from plaintiff 4 measures of malt at 3*s.* 4*d.* per measure, 13*s.* 4*d.* in all, but deft., though often asked, has not yet paid and denies that he is liable because malt has gone bad and he has lost 2*s.* 6*d.*

20th July, 44 Elizabeth

E. W. agst. Roger Ornyon, deft. R. O. lawfully indebted to E. W. in various sums, agreed between them. In court at Droitwich in Feb., 44 Eliz., deft. was found in arrears with payments for which plt. had often asked him; he says he has paid, but plt. denies it.

26th April, 1 James I

E. W. agst. Robert Haynes, debt of 25*s.* 10*d.*, but decided not to proceed.

<sup>68</sup> Through the courteous cooperation of E. H. Sargeant, Esq., F. L. A., County Archivist, Geoffrey W. Beard, Esq., of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society, very kindly supplied the transcript of both will and inventory. Mr. Beard's comment: "The will is written with a fiendish hand!"



12th July, 6 James I

E. W., gent., v. Walter Pardoe, debt of 11*s.* 5*d.* Deft. had bought peas worth 6*s.* and would not pay when requested, so action at common law was begun, in which one Saunders was also concerned.

ADDITIONAL CHARTERS, 73567 [British Museum].

Villa de Droytwich OMNIBUS Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc presens scriptum pervenerit Thomas Alexander et Robertus Barrett generosi Ballivii ville predicte salutem in Domino sempiternam. SCIATIS quod inspeximus opera Puteorum (Anglice the workes of the Salt Pyttes) infra villam predictam Ut eadem Anno Regni Domine nostre Elizabethe nuper Regine Anglie &c. xliiiiito., annisque Regni Domini nostri Jacobi Regis Anglie &c. Primo ac Secundo ibidem usitata fuerunt, In quibusquidem temporibus Robertus Wyntour armiger nuper de alta proditione attinctus per se aut tenentes sive firmarios suos nec habuit aut tenuit de aliquo statu aliquas Bullarias, aque salse infra eandem villam preter viginti et quinque Bullarias, quequidem xxvque. Bullarias aque Salse iacentes et existentes in Upwich infra Villam de Droitwich predictam et et ad tunc fuerunt in separalibus tenuris Edwardi Barrett, junioris, Roberti Barrett, Philppi Lench, Johannis Alexander et Edwardi Wynslowe vel subtenentium suorum; Ac postea scilicet [blank in Ms.] die Augusti anno Regni dicti Domini nostri Jacobi nunc Regis Anglie &c. tertio aut decirciter prefatus Robertus Wyntour unam Bullariam prefatarum xxvque Bullariarum aque salse ad tunc in tenura prefati Edwardi Wynslowe vel subtenentium suorum vendidit et barganisavit cuidam Thome Gower generoso et heredibus suis prout in rotulo operum Puteorum predictorum

nobis constat et apparent. IN QUIBUS omnium et singulorum testimonium nos prefati Ballivii Sigillum Officii Balliviorum ville predicte hiis apponi procuravimus; Datum ultimo die Septembris anno Regni dicti domini nostri Jacobi Dei Gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Sext ac Scotie xliido. Regis fidei defensoris &c.

(Seal of arms)

(Translation)

Town of  
Droitwich

To all Christ's faithful people to whom this present writing shall come, Thomas Alexander and Robert Barrett, gentlemen, Bailiffs of the said town, greeting in the Lord everlasting; know ye that we have inspected the works of the salt pits in the said town as they were worked in the 44th year of the reign of Elizabeth late Queen of England, etc., and the 1st and 2nd years of King James, in which times Robert Wyntour, Esq., late attainted of high treason, neither had nor held by himself or by tenants or farmers in an estate any boileries of salt water in said town except twenty-five lying and being in Upwich in said town then still in several tenures of Edward Barrett, Jr., Robert Barrett, Philip Lench, John Alexander, and Edward Wynslowe or their undertenants; And afterwards, that is to say the [blank] day of August in the third year of our said King James or thereabouts said Robert Wyntour sold and bargained one of said 25 boileries still in tenure of said Edward Wynslowe or his undertenants to one Thomas Gower, gentleman, and his heirs, as is known and clear from the roll of works of the said pits. In witness whereof we have had the seal of office of Bailiwick of said town affixed. Last of September, sixth year of the reign of King James of England, France, and Ireland, Sixth of Scotland, etc.

## INTERROGATORIES, OVERBURY vs. TALBOT ET AL

(Exchequer 134, 6 James I, Hilary 13.)

Interrogatories in case between Thomas Overbury gent., now knight, plt., v. John Talbot, esq., Gertrude Wyntour, widow, Edward Barrett, sen., Edward Barrett, jun., Philip Lenche, gent., Robert Barrett & Thomas Gower, gent., def.

1. Do you know parties, and town, village or borough of Droitwich? Did you know Robt. Wyntour of Huddington, late attainted of high treason?
2. Do you know pit of salt water in Overwyche in D., and pit in Lower or Netherwyche?
3. How many Bullaries of salt water or fats<sup>69</sup> walling had said R. W. in D. at time of his apprehension for treason or at any time within 2 years before his death, who now own or work them and take profits? How many fats walling or bullaries had R. W. in Upper Wytche and how many in Lower?
4. Did R. W., at time he was apprehended, receive rents, issues and profits of 25½ bullaries in D., and how many were taken out of pits in Upper Wytche, and how many in Lower?
5. What is (A) a seale, (B) a crybbe, both used in making salt at D.? How many seals had R. W., was it 25½? How many cribs? What was his estate therein? Who now hold salt fats, who are tenants of cribs and seals? How many fats walling and bullaries, how many seals and cribs did each of R. W.'s tenants hold of him at time of his death or within one year before?
6. Was R. W. seised of any salt fats, etc. in Lower Wytche, did he receive rents, etc., or any part of them? Who now

<sup>69</sup> "A vessel of large size for liquids; a tub, a dyer's or brewer's vat," *New English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1895, IV, 92, (2).

receives rents, and who now holds R. W.'s fats, etc., in Lower Wytche? What was his estate therein?

7. Were you present when R. W. gave John Talbot, esq., his father-in-law a pair of gloves, were they accepted? Did R. W. tell J. T. that this was in accordance with an indenture covering right to sell fats in D.?
8. Did R. W. sell to Richard Saunders 8 of his salt-fats, with cribs and seals? How could Saunders know which crib & seal belongs to his fats? Is there a seal to each fat? Is there a crib or part of one to each fat?
9. Does everyone having salt-fat in D. have seal and crib also? How does each know his own? How many cribs & seals had R. W., and had he seal and crib for each fat?

Walter Mowle, gent.

2. Knows 2 several pits of salt water in D., one at Overwich, one at Netherwich.
5. A seale is house wherein water is boiled; a crib is place or room where salt is put after boiling.
9. "Every salt-fat in D. hath not a several seal belonging to it for the boiling of salt . . . every several owner of fats there boileth diverse fats in one seale according to the number of fats whereof he is possessed. And in like sort they do lay their salt made of diverse fats into one crib according as he is possessed of fats, or as he listeth to use the same."

John Allen, gent—

3. & 4. At time of his arrest, R. W. had various bullaries or fats, does not know exact no., thinks about 12; Edward Barrett, sen., Philip Lenche and John Alexander now have them: fats are in Upperwich.
5. Definition as above R. W. said to have owned 2 or 3 seals in D., which Edw. Barrett sen. & jun. had last year & still have.

8. & 9. Knows of no sale except 2 fats to Saunders; otherwise as above.

George Harris

2. Says 3 fats in D., one in Upper, 2 in Lower.
3. & 4. "Edw. Barrett, sen. & jun., Philip Lenche and Edward Winslow, gent., were occupiers of diverse fats in D. that were reputed to be fats of said R. W. at time when he was apprehended for treason," but knows not what rent he received or exact number of fats.
5. "One seal may boil manie fats, and one crib may hold salt that is boiled in many fats."
8. & 9. Saunders bought 2 fats or wallings from Wintour, but no seal or crib. Saunders had paid £100 as part price, but he had been arrested before deal was completed.

Roger Norberry.

2. As above.
3. & 4. Edward Barrett, sen., Philip Lench & John Alexander occupiers of fats said to be of R. W. at time of his arrest; exact number unknown, about 20; Lench now has 4, Alexander 3, Barrett remainder. R. W. used to receive rents.
8. & 9. Heard that Wintour sold 2 fats to Saunders, does not know about seal or crib. Salt of divers fats boiled & stored together, "every fat hath not a several seal and crib belonging to it."

EXCERPTS FROM  
ACCOUNTS OF HARTLEBURY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

1551-1750<sup>70</sup>

1606/7. [Reference to action pending in Chancery,  
William Manning *v.* School]

<sup>70</sup> Worcestershire Historical Society, Oxford, 1904.

1607/8.	Spent at Witch in going to Mr. Winslow about our writings at 4 several times upon myself & others		14d.
	Paid to Mr. Winslow	22s.	
	[Other references to Commissioners and their expenses]		
	Paid to Mr. Winslow that we owed him	10s.	2d.
	Spent in going to him		2d.
1608/9.	To Edward Winslow for his charges coming to be sworn at our Commission	2s.	6d.

[Other references to same affair, not Winslow separately; fees, dinners, etc.; commission held at Stow, 1608.]

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