

LEWIS HUGHES
THE MILITANT MINISTER OF THE BERMUDAS
AND HIS PRINTED WORKS

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PART I—THE MAN

HUGHES' EARLY CAREER

HUGHES as a family name is of Welsh origin. The parish registers of England, published by the Harleian Society, contain many of that name who were doubtless of English birth. The Christian names of those therein given are various, but, curiously enough, that of Lewis, the name borne by the subject of the present paper, is noticeably rare, so rare that whenever it does appear it seems to refer to but a single individual, as it occurs on dates, which if arranged chronologically, could well fall within a single lifetime.

But as we shall see, Lewis Hughes, as far as records are concerned, was like another priest, Melchisedec of old, who was "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life"; for the records containing the date of his birth, the place where he was born, those of his early life and education, and of his death and burial, if they still exist, have thus far eluded our search.

The earliest record that has come under our observation is that of a Lewis Hughes, of St. Sepulchres Parish, London, who was married to Katheryn Cornewall of the Parish of St. Vedast, Foster Lane, on the seventeenth day of November, 1594.¹ If this was our

¹Harleian Society, *Pub.*, no. 30, (1903).

Lewis Hughes, he was then probably not far from twenty-five years of age.

He appears to have been a young man of great promise and of brilliant prospects, for the next we learn of him is what he himself tells us when he says he was vicar of the important parish of Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London.¹ The registers of that parish show that he officiated there from June 1600 to October, 1602.²

The parish of Great St. Helen's in Old London, was within Bishopsgate. There is a record that proves that that church, the "Westminster Abbey of the City," was in existence before the year 1010.³ It was repaired in 1631, under the direction of Inigo Jones, the famous architect and deviser of the settings of Ben Jonson's celebrated Masques. The church, which escaped the Great Fire of 1666, is remarkable for its many beautiful monuments, among them that of Sir John Crosby, the founder of Crosby Hall, and a modern stained-glass memorial window with a portrait of Shakespeare.⁴ Records of the parish assessments prove that Shakespeare resided within its bounds in 1598.⁵ His interest in Crosby Hall, which is near the church, is shown by the fact that he refers to that fine old city mansion by name three times in his *Richard III*.⁶

Unfortunately, for our purpose, the vestry records between 1578 and 1676 are lost; but the Rev. John Edmund Cox⁷ gives the name of Lewis Hughes as vicar in 1600 and that of his successor, Richard Ball, in 1603. He also states that the warden's accounts of 1603 show a disbursement of 5 shillings to a preacher when Mr. Lewis (as Hughes was often called, even later in

¹*Certain Grievances*, 1641, p. 14.

²Harleian, Soc., *Pub.*, 31 (1904).

³Besant's *London City* (1910), 182 ff.

⁴Lee, Sydney, *Life of William Shakespeare* (1916), 540 n.

⁵Thornbury, *Old and New London*, 2: 154 a; cf. also Lee, *Life of Shakespeare* (1916), 274.

⁶Act I., sc. 2, l. 213—Act I., sc. 3, l. 345; Act III., sc. 1, l. 190.

⁷*Annals of St. Helen's* (1876), p. 54.

Bermuda) was in prison; and, another for 3 shillings, six pence, given to Mr. Morley for preaching, "Mr. Lewis being suspended."

During the autumn of 1602 there occurred a case of alleged witchcraft in which Hughes took an active part. This, unfortunately for him, resulted in permanently blighting his prospects of further preferment. Though the event attracted much attention at the time and gave rise to several publications, he himself gave no account of it until nearly forty years later. His description, though somewhat long, is best given in his own words. This appeared in his *Certaine Grievances* (1641), p. 9, where he leads up to the subject by stating the omissions purposely made by those supposed to be witches when repeating the Lord's Prayer and the Articles of Christian Faith, and is as follows:

"*Gent.* What do you think of the Priest and Clarke, when they do Church a woman?

"*Min.* I will not tell what I think, but I will tell you what some doe say.

"*Min.* [*Gent.*] What doe they say?

"*Min.* They say that the Priest is like a witch.

"*Gent.* Why doe they say that he is like a witch?

"*Min.* Because he doth as a witch doth, when fhee faith the Lords Prayer, and the Articles of the Chriftian faith.

"*Gent.* What doth a witch when fhee faith the Lords Prayer?

"*Min.* Shee leaves out these words, *but deliver us from evil*, and so doth the Priest, when he doth church a woman.

"*Gent.* What doth a witch when she faith her Creede?

"*Min.* When she cometh to the second article (*and in Iesus Christ, his only sonne*) she shifts over these words (*our Lord*), so the Priest reading the Lords Prayer, when he comes to the last Petition, *leade us not into temptation*, he skips over these words, *but deliver us from evil*, and also the conclusion, *for thine is the Kingdome, the power, and the glory for ever*.

"*Gent.* Why will not a Witch say these words, *but deliver us from evil*?

"*Min.* Because the Devill will not let her, till shee hath bewitched so many as he would have her.

"*Gent.* Why will not the Devill let her?

"*Min.* Because he knoweth, that by the evill that's prayd against in that Petition, is meant him, and the sin whereunto he tempteth, therefore he will not have the witch to say those words, because when she faith them, she prayeth to be delivered from him, and from the witcherie whereunto he tempteth her."

Hughes then goes on to give the case of Mother (Elizabeth) Jackson and her connection with Mary Glover, as follows:

"*Gent.* Are you sure that a witch, when shee faith her Creede, doth leave out these words (*our Lord*) and that when she faith the Lords Prayer she will not say, *deliver us from evill?*

"*Min.* I am sure that one Mother *Iackson*, arraigned and condemned at *Newgate*, for bewitching one *Mary Glover*, a Marchants daughter in *Thames Street*, Doctor *Bancroft* then [being] Lord Bishop of *London* did informe Judge *Anderson*, then Lord chiefe justice, that the said Mother *Iackson* was wronged, and that the maid did counterfeit, whereupon, the Lord chiefe Justice gave order to Sir *Iohn Crooke*, then Recorder of *London*, to make triall of them in his Chamber at the Temple. The Maide being sent for, came with her Mother and divers of her neighbours, and about an hower after the Witch was sent for, and was brought in disguised like a Countrey market-woman with a muffler to hide her face, and an old hat, and a short cloake spattered with mire. As soone as she was come into the Chamber, the maide suddenly fell downe backwards on the floore, with her eyes plucked into her, her tongue plucked into her throat, her mouth drawn up to[ward] her eare, her bodie stiffe and fenceleffe, her lipps being shut close, a plaine and audible loud voice came out of her nostrils saying, *hang her, hang her*. Then the Recorder called for a candle and a sheete of paper, and held the paper flaming to her hand, and called for another sheete and held that also to her hand, till her hand did blister, the blister did breake, and water came out,

and dropt downe on the floore; the maide lying ftill, and fenceleffe as a dead body with the voyce comming out of her noftrels, faying, *hang her, hang her*. Then the Recorder called for a long pinne, which hee held in the candle till it was very hot, and thruft the head of it into her noftrills, to fee if that would make her neefe, or wink or bend her browes or ftirre her head, which fhee did not, but lay ftill as one dead and fenceleffe. Then I told the Recorder, that I had *often prayed with the maid*, [as a parishoner, perhaps!] and that when I did conclude with the Lords Prayer, the maid (as foone as I faid *but deliver us from evill*, was toft up, and fhaken, as if a maftive dogge fhould take a little curre into his mouth, and shake him. Then the Recorder did bid the witch fay the Lords Prayer, which fhe did, till fhe came to thefe words, *but deliver us from evill*, which fhee did skip over, and would by no means be brought to fay them, then fhe was bid to rehearfe the Articles of the Christian Faith, which fhe did, till fhe came to thefe words (*our Lord*) and would by no means bee drawne to confeffe that Iefus Chrifft was our Lord. I told the Recorder alfo, that when the maid was in her fenceleffe fits, if the witch did but lay her hand upon her, fhe was toft and throwne towards her: therupon the Recorder caufed the maid to bee taken up and laid upon a bed, and cloathes to be laid upon her, efpecially upon her head, becaufe fhee fhould not fee nor heare, then he made fignes to the women to ftand round about the bed, and that the witch fhould ftand among them, and that every one fhould lay hands upon her foftly, which they did, and the maid did not ftirre, till the witch laid her hand upon her, then all the cloathes were throwne off, and the maid toft towards her. Whereupon the Recorder looking upon the witch faid, Lord have mercy on thee woman, and fent her to *Newgate*; then as foone as fhe was gone, the voice that came out of the maids noftrells ceafed, and the maide came to her felfe, and went home with her mother.

“About three weekes or a moneth after the Witch was condemned, the maid continuing every fecond day, in moft ftrange and fearfull fits and torments—the Recorder hearing of it, did blame me and all the Minifters of *London*, and told me, that we might all of us be afhamed to fee a child of God in

the clawes of Sathan, without any hope of deliverance, but such meanes as God had appointed, fasting and prayer.

“Within a few days after, it pleased God to make me an instrument to draw five ministers and other good Christians, to set a day apart, and to joyne with me in that holy exercise, and continued therein from morning till after candlelighting; then on the suddaine, after a fearfull conflict, which did much amaze some, and caused them to cry with a confused noise, Iesu helpe, Iesus save, the maid did start up out of a little wicker chaire where shee sat, and with her strength did lift me up with her, I kneeling behind her, and holding her in mine armes, and did cast white froth out of her throat round about the chamber, and on a suddaine fell down into the chaire, as one truly dead with her head hanging downe, and her necke and armes limber, which before were stiffe, as a frozen thing; then suddently life came into her whole body, and her eyes which were pluckt into her head, and her tongue which was puld into her throat, came into their righ[t] place, then shee looked with a chearfull countenance round about the chamber, and with a loud voyce did speake, saying. *O he is come, He is come, the comforter is come, the comforter is come, I am delivered, I am delivered.* Her father hearing these words, wept for joy, and with a faultring voice said, O, these were her Grandfathers words (Doctor *Taylor*) when he was at the stake in *Smithfield*, and the fire crackling about him.¹ Then she kneeled downe and offered a sweet evening sacrifice of thanks and praise unto God for her deliverance, till her voyce grew weake, then the ministers did speake to her [to] cease, and to let one of them to end the day with thanksgiving, and in regard that I had begun the day with prayer, they spake to me, to make an end with thanksgiving. That done, care was had of her, to put her to some minister for one year, lest Sathan should assault her againe, and by common consent she was put to me, and I tooke her for my servant, for one yeare, and tooke her and her mother and sister and lodged them at my house in great *Saint Helin*, which then was my living.

¹Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs*, vol. 3 (1631), p. 427, col. 2, puts the same words into the mouth of Robert Glover, who was burned at Coventry, September 12, 1555.

“The next day I went to Sir *John Crooke*, to shew him what God had done for her, who did advise me to goe to the Bishop before he was misinformed, and to shew him the passages of the day from the beginning to the ending, and not to go of myself, but from him, and tell his Lordship that he did fend me; I did so, but could have no audience, and for my paines I was called Rascall and varlot, and sent to the Gatehouse, where he kept mee foure moneths, and did set forth a booke¹ wherein he called me and the rest of the ministers, that did joyne with me in that holy action, Devillfinders, Devillpuffers, and Devill prayers, and such as could tare a devill in a lane, as soone as an hare in *Waltham Forrest*. All the rest, being men and women of good esteeme and credit, he called, a rout, rable, and swarme of giddy, idle, lunatick, illuminate, holy spectators, of both sexes and, specially a fifternitie of nimps, mops, and idle holy women, that did grace the devill with their idle holy preference².”

Hughes's own narrative is given quite fully by George Sinclair [Sinclair] in his *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*.³ and by R. B., Richard or Robert Burton (a pseudonym of Nathaniel Crouch, a London bookseller) in his *Kingdom of Darkness*, London, 1688⁴, and again in 1695.⁵ Sinclair's work was frequently augmented and reprinted.⁶ It was so popular that the earliest edition (1685) must have almost been read out of existence, as but 3 or 4 copies are known. Of later editions that of 1871 is considered the best. Sinclair, who was a Professor of Philosophy in Glasgow, as his title-page informs us, believed “that there are Devils, Spirits, Witches, and Apparitions.”

Edward Duffield Neill,⁷ who possessed a copy of Hughes's narrative, gives a synopsis of it and says:

¹This book we have not been able to locate or identify.

²We wonder if his Lordship went to Billingsgate for these choice epithets!

³Edin., 1685.

⁴Plomer, *Dict. of Booksellers and Printers*; 1668-1725 (1922), p. 88.

⁵Hazlitt, *Bibliog. Collections*, 3d series (1887), p. 26.

⁶cf. Ferguson, in *Edin. Bibliog. Soc., Papers*, vol. 3, pt. 2, Dec., 1897, no. 22.

⁷*Virginia Vetusta* (1885), pp. 185, 186.

“Like many other good men of his age he was a believer in witchcraft.”

Professor George Lyman Kittredge, in his *English Witchcraft and James the First*, comments upon the case.¹

Philip Bliss² gives an account of a similar case in which James I. was much interested. This account he quotes from Guidott's Preface to his edition of Dr. Edward Jordan's *Natural Baths and Mineral Waters* (1669). The King employed Dr. Jordan to investigate the case of Anne Gunter and report if he thought she was a cheat. It has been said³ that the King became interested in Mary Glover's case. We fail to find any evidence that such was the case or that he took any initiative or active interest in it. Although the name of King James appears nowhere in the records and narratives of the Glover case he must have been cognizant of it through Dr. Jordan, in whom he had such confidence that he committed the Queen to his care.⁴ Dr. Thomas Guidott in the introduction to the third edition of Jordan's *Natural Baths and Mineral Waters* (1669), gives an account of that author's career.

It was the Bishops and the College of Physicians, rather, who manifested a pronounced interest in the Glover case and not the King. Had the King done so it is impossible to believe that Hughes would not have mentioned the fact.

Richard Burton in his *Kingdom of Darkness* (Lond., 1688) and Francis Hutchinson in his *Historical Essay on Witchcraft* (Lond., 1718) were both misled in assigning the date 1642 to the Mary Glover case. This was no doubt due to the fact that Hughes gave no account of it until 1641-42, and they supposed it to have been of contemporaneous occurrence. Records

¹*Studies in the Histories of Religions*; ed. by D. G. Lyon and G. F. Moore (1912), pp. 29, 30.

²Wood, Anthony à, *Athenæ Ozonienses*; new ed., with additions (1815), vol. 2, col. 550.

³Notestein, Wallace, *History of Witchcraft* (1911), pp. 188, 189.

⁴Wood, *Athenæ Ozonienses*, 2, (1815), col. 550.

and writings, however, conclusively prove that the event occurred during the later part of 1602.

Mary Glover was quite likely a member of Hughes' parish, for he says he often prayed with her. It was but natural, therefore, that he should take especial interest in her case. He seems to have become convinced at the end of the second conference that she had been bewitched. When he went to the Bishop he was imprisoned in the Gatehouse and later suspended from his charge.¹

On the 13th of November, 1602, the case of Elizabeth (or Mother) Jackson, who had been imprisoned on suspicion of witchcraft and of having enchanted Mary Glover was brought to the attention of the College of Physicians, of Pall Mall, East London. Two witnesses at her trial thought she was a witch, but many of her neighbours testified to her good character. In consideration of these facts the College decided that some of its members should go and see the girl.²

As a result of this visit, Dr. Edward Jorden, one of the members, published a work entitled "*A Briefe Discourse of a Disease called the Suffocation of the Mother (in medical Latin: Sufficatio hysterica or uterina)*."³ The full title of Jorden's work is: "A Briefe Discourse of a Disease called the Suffocation of the Mother, Written vpon occasion which hath been of late taken thereby, to suspect possession of an euill spirit, or some such like supernaturall power. Wherein is declared that diuers strange actions and passions of the body of man, which in the common opinion are

¹Professor Kittredge, in a letter to the present writer, says: "What Hughes reported to the bishop was that he found the girl possessed of a devil and that he and his associates had cast it out by their prayers. He did not indicate that he regarded the witch as guiltless, for it was a current belief that demoniacal possession might result from a witch's actions. The bishop's wrath was caused by the acts of Hughes and others in undertaking to exorcise devils. Such practices on the part of Roman Catholic priests (see Harsnet's Declaration of Popish Imposters) and of the Puritans and dissenters (see the Darrel Tracts) were not favored by the administration in the reign of Elizabeth and James I."

²Eighth Report of Royal Commission on Hist. MSS., Report and Appx., pt. 1.

³Oxford Dict., Suffocation.

imputed to the Divell, have their true naturall causes, and do accompanie this disease. By Edward Iorden. Doctor of Physicke. London, by Iohn Windet, 1603." The Preface is dated "2. Martii, 1602," and the work is dedicated "To the Right Worshipfull the President and Fellowes of the Colledge of Phisitians in London," who presumably sponsored it.

All the symptoms observed in Mary Glover's case, such as insensibility, convulsions, contractions, distortions, the periodic return of such, their appearance upon the presence of some particular person, and their alleviation by fasting and prayer are taken up in order and discussed. It is shown, as stated in the title of the work, "that diuers ftrange actions and pafsions of the body of man [such as those just named], which in the common opinion, are imputed to the Divill, have their true naturall causes, and do accompanie this disease." Hence, arising from a diseased condition and not from the "pofession of an euil spirit or some such like supernatural power," these symptoms are amenable to medical treatment. Or, to use his own language, such "fymptoms do yield vnto natural causes, and are both procured and also eased by such ordinary means, as other diseases are, and therefore they must needs be naturall."

Such being the case, Mother Jackson could not have been responsible for Mary Glover's condition. The Court, in passing sentence, condemned her to appear four times in the pillory and be confined in jail for one year.¹

Professor Kittredge says, regarding this punishment, that it "was quite in accordance with the law, since she had practiced witchcraft (it was believed) which had injured the health of the victim, but had not resulted in death. That being the case, the witch could not be executed."

Jorden's work is an early attempt to treat the subject of witchcraft from a rational and scientific point

¹Notestein, *History of Witchcraft*, 395.

of view, and in this he had the support and encouragement of the College of Physicians. It did not convince "divines, lawyers, artificers," etc., whom it was intended to confute; for, other works sustaining contemporary views on the subject followed. Such were John Swan's *True and Brife Report of Mary Glover's Vexation*, Lond., 1624; and Stephen Bradwell's *Mary Glover's Late Woefull Case*, 1603.¹ Jordan's work, however, helped somewhat to clarify the situation. Many yet believed that, notwithstanding, some of the symptoms in a given case might be attributated to natural causes, others were due to the instigation of the Devil. Some, more obdurate, still maintained that all aberrations or abnormal symptoms were due to the latter cause.

With the final disposition of the case of Mary Glover and Mother Jackson and the suspension of Hughes from his preferment at Great St. Helen's, he drops from sight only to reappear a decade later in the Bermudas.

HUGHES IN THE BERMUDAS

The romantic incidents connected with the discovery and settlement of the Bermudas never fail to awaken a lively interest in the early history of those charming islands. The attention of the English nation was for the first time seriously awakened to them by the shipwreck of Sir George Somers on July 28, 1609. His enforced stay there until May 10 of the following year, his escape therefrom, and safe arrival in Virginia with his entire party, are among the most thrilling of the many adventures connected with the early settlement of the New World. His subsequent return to the islands, death there, and the return of Captain Matthew Somers to England with the remains of his uncle, together with his glowing accounts of the unusual natural resources and attractions of the

¹A MS.; Sloane, no. 831, in the British Museum.

islands aroused intense enthusiasm, and an eager desire to colonize them. Unfortunately, in the course of time, these reports were found to be exaggerated and the colonists, under the misrule of the Somers Island Company and their Governors, found the Islands anything but an Eldorado.

The first attempt to establish a settlement there was undertaken by some members of the Virginia Company¹ who had purchased from it all the pretended right of the Company to the Somer Islands,² as they were then called. This right was only an assumed one as the Company's Charter of April 10, 1609, extended only to "all the Islands lying within one hundred Miles along the coaste."³ Realizing the advantages of possessing these Islands, the Company procured from King James, on March 13, 1612, an extension of its previous charter so as to include "All . . . those Islands . . . beinge within three hundred leagues" of the coast,⁴ thus including the Bermudas.

Shortly after, on November 25 of the same year (1612), the Company sold to Sir William Wade, Knight,⁵ and some 120 others, for £2000, "All those Islands . . . formerly called by the name of Bermudas or the Bermuda Islands and now called the Somer Islands."⁶ These, Wade and his companions surrendered to the Crown on the 23d of November, 1614.⁷ On the 29th of the following June, a Charter was granted to them under the name of "The Governour and Company of the City of London for the Plantacon of the Somer Islands."⁸

¹Butler, *Governor Nathaniel, Historye of the Bermudaes* (Hakluyt Soc., Pub., 65), Lond., 1882, p. 17.

²Lefroy, J. H., *Memorials of the Bermudas*, vol. 1 (1877), 54, 56.

³Williams, W. F., *Historical and Statistical Account of the Bermudas* (1848), 194; Lefroy, 1: 84.

⁴Williams, 17, 195; Lefroy, 1: 84.

⁵Lefroy, 1: 84.

⁶*Ibid.*, 1: 85.

⁷*Ibid.*, 1: 85.

⁸*Ibid.*, 1: 87, 93-98; Williams, 193-221.

Extraordinary interest, as we have seen, was aroused in England by the relation of Captain Somers, who returned in November, 1611. The following spring a small ship, the *Plough*, was fitted out and about fifty people found who were prepared to settle in the Bermudas. Richard Moore, a ship's carpenter by trade, was chosen as Deputy Governor. All the governors of the Islands, under the Company, held their offices by the appointment of persons termed governors, in England, selected by the Lords Proprietors. Consequently, Mr. Moore and his successors, were styled Deputy-Governors.¹

Moore arrived in the Bermudas on July 11, 1612, with a commission issued by the Virginia Company,² dated April 27, appointing him for a term of three years. The Rev. George Keith, a Scotchman,³ was the minister engaged by the Company to accompany the settlers under Governor Moore, to be his principal councillor, and to look after the religious welfare of the first body of emigrants. He was one of the six assistants named in the Governor's commission to assist him in the performance of his duties.

Another minister destined to occupy a much more prominent position in the affairs of the colony, was the Rev. Lewis Hughes.⁴ Hughes was one of the first two ministers appointed to go to Bermuda. He probably arrived there during the administration of Governor Moore. He does not seem to have been one of the passengers on the *Plough*, in which the first settlers embarked, for in his *Plaine and True Relation*, in addressing his congregation, he says: "You that were sent in the first ship called the *Plowe*," and again "You that came in the first ship with Mr. Moore, being about 60 persons," etc. Had he been one of the original number it is more than likely that he would have said

¹Williams, 19 n.

²Lefroy, 1: 58-63; Williams, 222-230.

³Lefroy, 1: 706.

⁴*Ibid.*, 1: 705.

“We” instead of “You,” hence we may reasonably conclude that he came at a later date.

No mention is made of him in the Governor’s Commission. By virtue of his position he naturally took a prominent part in the affairs of the the colony.

Moore, during his term of office, laid the foundation of eight or nine forts, built a church, trained the men in arms in order to defend the settlement if attacked, and in other ways endeavoured faithfully to comply with the requirements of the Company.¹ During his administration we hear nothing of Hughes. Probably finding little if anything to criticise in the Governor’s acts he threw no obstacles in his way but busily employed his time in the duties of his sacred calling. It was during this period (on or before December 21, 1614) that he wrote *A Letter, Sent into England from the Summer Islands*, which was published in London the following year. It seems more than probable that Hughes “Sent” the manuscript of this work by Moore, when he returned to England, and that he was instrumental in causing it to be published. For a description and synopsis of it *See* Part II.

On the other hand, Mr. Keith, the Scotch preacher and one of the assistants appointed to aid the Governor in the performance of his duties, attempted to create disaffection among the colonists because of Moore’s insistent efforts to carry out the instructions of the Company, but he soon came to grief. For the Governor, hearing that the minister had abused him publicly in the pulpit, called all the people together and, in the presence of Keith, asked them if his accusations were true. With a unanimous voice they affirmed the contrary. Keith finding he had missed his mark fell on his knees and openly confessed that he had done wrong. The Governor raised him to his feet, forgave him, with tears in his eyes, and urged him to thenceforth use his reverend place with more modesty and charity.²

¹Williams, 21.

²Butler, 24.

Keith left the Bermudas in 1617, and went to Virginia in the ship *George*, taking with him his wife, and son John aged six years.¹ He settled at Elizabeth City and there entered one hundred acres, by patent, and for some time a creek in the neighborhood of Elizabeth City, now Hampton, was called Keith's. His wife appears to have died in 1624.²

Though but a ship's carpenter, Moore displayed by his sagacity, prudence, and firmness, qualities which fully justified his choice for the position.³ On the expiration of his term of office in 1615 Moore returned to England. Before doing so, as the Company had failed to appoint his successor, he made choice of six persons; Captain Miles Kendall, Captain John Mansfield, Thomas Knight, Charles Caldecot, Edward Waters, and Christopher Carter, who were to exercise month by month, in turn, the functions of Governor, and to call to their assistance certain others, twelve in number, whom he also nominated for that purpose. This arrangement was to continue until they had further directions from England.⁴ As afterwards transpired, not one of these men was in any way fitted for or capable of filling such a position.

The first act of the appointed governors was to cast lots to determine the order in which they should serve.⁵ Caldecot was chosen to serve for the first month. At the end of his uneventful term, he sailed for the West Indies with Knight and Waters (two of the others named as monthly Governors) to procure plants, goats, and young cattle for the Islands.⁶ Of the six governors appointed by Moore, there then remained but three, Kendall, Mansfield, and Carter.⁷

¹Neill, Edward Duffield, *Virginia Vetusta* (1885), 172.

²Neill, E. D., *Notes on the Virginia Colonial Clergy*, (1877), 7.

³Williams, 25.

⁴Lefroy, 1: 77; Butler, 44.

⁵Lefroy, 1: 80.

⁶*Ibid.*, 1: 80.

⁷Butler, 59.

Mansfield succeeded Caldecot. Governor Moore, during his term of office, had kept his men so hard at work erecting fortifications, constructing buildings, and planting, that Keith, the minister, as we have seen, upbraided the Governor publicly for his severity and cruelty, even going as far as to make use of mutinous and turbulent words.¹ Mansfield (perhaps influenced by Keith's action) on assuming power, pursued an opposite course, and, in effect, virtually declared a perpetual holiday. In consequence all labor ceased and much disorder and drunkenness prevailed.²

Mansfield's next act was to conspire with a disloyal faction to draft a petition, ostensibly from the people, to the triumvirate of Governors. In this the Governors were entreated not to deliver up the government to any person or persons whatsoever, even though they were sent by the Company with all possible authority, until six months after the arrival of the frigate in which Caldecot had sailed to the West Indies for supplies.³ Much effort was made to put the petition in proper shape to submit to the people. Knowledge of this coming to Hughes, whom of all others they desired to keep in ignorance,⁴ he suddenly resolved to do all he possibly could to thwart the efforts of the cabal in their irregular and unwarrantable action. He therefore appeared unexpectedly at a meeting in which the final revision of the petition was under consideration. The conspirators, although finding themselves discovered, still persisted in their course. Hughes attached to himself the scribe who had copied the petition, represented to him its illegal character, and induced him to turn it over to him.⁵ With this in his possession he went to the Governor and told him plainly what he had done, declaring that the petition was nothing less

¹Butler, 24.

²*Ibid.*, 48, 45.

³Williams, 26.

⁴Butler, 49.

⁵*Ibid.*, 49.

than an act of mutiny against the legitimate Governor who was shortly expected to arrive from England.¹ The Governor persisted in his course. The next Sunday Hughes, in the presence of all parties, showed the unlawfulness and danger of the matter and implored them to renounce and forsake it. To give force to his argument he read certain letters from the Governor of the Company in England, written a good while before, in which he deplored the sufferings of the colonists and assured them that they were not sent over to live like slaves but as freemen.²

No sooner had Hughes ended his appeal than the Monthly Governor rose and summoned those present to stay and hear his answer. He reproached Hughes for reading the letters which he termed "windye and wordye promises."³ He then accused Hughes of having approved the petition the day before. Whereupon Hughes again stood up and defended his attitude in the matter. The Governor then in anger left the church. And so for a time the controversy raged, each endeavoring to win others to his support.

The Governor, finally provoked by fresh censures of Hughes, summoned him to appear personally before him the next day in the church.⁴ When so assembled Hughes, instead of waiting to be arraigned, turned the tables upon the Governor by taking him to task and warning the people against him. The Governor, gaining his feet, was about to carry out his plan of acting as judge of the matter when a sudden gust of wind with rain and extreme noise broke up the assembly.

That same afternoon a jury was empanelled and sworn to try the Minister for contempt of the Governor's authority, and for making a seditious and dangerous speech. The jury retired, and almost

¹Butler, 50.

²*Ibid.*, 50.

³*Ibid.*, 51.

⁴*Ibid.*, 54.

immediately after returned with a verdict of guilty; although one of the jurymen was heard to say "This is the foreman's verdict only, not ours."¹ The Governor then sentenced Hughes to be committed to prison, and directed that the other minister, Keith, who was induced to take the side of the Governor, should serve in his stead. Dissatisfaction was expressed and Keith was declared to be no minister, "whereupon the Gouvernour concludes, with this Kingly or rather pope-like catastrophy [sic]: 'Why then (quoth he) we will make him a minister, and then you shall see he will please you.'"² The Governor, seeing that his actions were beginning to be disliked, failed to carry out his sentence against Hughes and permitted him to go free. Not long after Mansfield attempted to set the two ministers at variance, and was so successful that they almost came to blows.³ Keith then presented a petition to the Governor asking for justice against Hughes. The next day Hughes was a second time brought to the bar and tried. But he answered for himself so well that he was again set free.⁴ Mansfield's first month was followed by the quiet and uneventful two months of his colleagues. As was to be expected Mansfield's second month was as stormy as the first, except for a brief period during which the *Edwin*, with supplies from England, was in port. Then, the Governor, fearing that letters unfavorable to his conduct might be sent back by the return voyage, feigned to be reconciled with Hughes and so far imposed upon his amiability as to actually secure letters of commendation from him, so that, as a contemporary writer put it, "the edge of that weapon [was] turned, and the blowe not only diuerted but strikeing for him."⁵

¹Butler, 55.

²*Ibid.*, 56.

³*Ibid.*, 57.

⁴*Ibid.*, 57.

⁵*Ibid.*, 59.

No sooner had the *Edwin* sailed, and all fear of tale-bearing passed, than the Governor resumed his former excesses until finally matters reached such a point that the better class of the people went to Hughes with a determination to call in question the government, as then carried on, and to secure his aid in bringing it back to the form left by Governor Moore; namely, of having six Governors, each in their respective months, and twelve assistants; and, furthermore, that no business should be transacted without the consent of three of the said Governors and six of the assistants.¹ This, the former practice, was later confirmed by letters from the Company in England.

Meanwhile Daniel Tucker had been appointed Governor by the Company and sailed for the Islands in the *George*.² On his arrival, Mansfield, persuaded by his counsellors that the colony in general was in love with his government and clemency,³ determined to prevent the landing of the newly appointed Governor. Hughes, hearing of this, secretly secured a boat and was carried aboard the ship and informed the new Governor of the plot.⁴ The latter then sent a message ashore in order that his presence and authority might be known. Eventually the new Governor landed, in spite of all opposition, entered the church, caused his commission to be read, and was received and accepted as Governor.⁵

Governor Tucker was a man of an entirely different disposition from his predecessors. On assuming office in May, 1616 he found the affairs of the settlement in great confusion. The inhabitants, by reason of the unrestricted liberty they had enjoyed during Mansfield's administration, were indisposed to labor or to submit themselves to authority. Tucker's first act

¹Butler, 60; Lefroy, 1: 81.

²Butler, 70; Williams, 231-256.

³Butler, 71.

⁴Butler, 72; Lefroy, 1: 107.

⁵Butler, 75.

was to set the people to work. His orders were at first disregarded and obedience refused. During the second month of his command, in order to strikingly impress the people with his authority, he issued warrants for the holding of a Court of Assize at St. George.¹ John Wood, a Frenchman, was tried for uttering many distasteful and mutinous speeches against the Governor, found guilty, and hanged.² Tucker's authority, thus firmly established, he proceeded to discipline the colonists by subjecting them to hard labor under overseers, acting as taskmasters.³ Nor was he content to leave this supervision entirely to others. His brutality in enforcing his commands was such that it was said of him:

“He hath bin seene, in one morneinge before breakefast to cudgell with his owne hands not fewer than fortie of his poore workmen euen for very smale and slight neglects, in so much as that it grewe at last to be a receiued generall obseruation amongst them, that when in a morneinge his hatt stode on the one side, and such a couloured sute of cloathes was worne, ther was no comeinge nere him at all that whole daye after.⁴ So tyrannical was his treatment that several attempts were made to escape from the islands. Several of these attempts met with failure, those trying to escape never having been seen or heard of afterward. Nor was this to be wondered at as the nearest mainland, Cape Hatteras, is 575 nautical miles distant and the vessels employed for escape were small and inadequately provisioned.

There was, however, a very remarkable exception. Five men under pretense of building a boat for the special use of Governor Tucker induced him to aid them. He was so much flattered with this unusual display of generosity on the part of those from whom

¹Butler, 77.

²*Ibid.*, 78.

³*Ibid.*, 76.

⁴*Ibid.*, 79.

he had every reason to expect hostility, rather than friendship, that he supplied them with everything they required. When the time arrived for the completion of the boat he sent to Somerset for it but found that the boat and her builders had disappeared. After seven weeks, in this boat of about two tons burden, when their provisions were nearly exhausted, they miraculously reached Ireland.

These men, Richard Saunders, chief mariner and plotter of the escape, William Godwin, a ship carpenter, Thomas Harrison, a joiner, James Barker, a gentleman, and Henry Puitt,¹ were not without a sense of humor. Before leaving they found time to write several farewell letters to their friends. Among these was a facetious one from Barker to Hughes from whom he had borrowed "a fayre sun diall, with the points of the compasse in it." This he carried away with him as he had planned when it was borrowed. By way of excuse the letter went on to say, "that as he [Hughes] in his sermons speakinge of the paye that the merchants owed them, would continually perswade them to patience, and tell them, that if the sayd merchants payed them not God would; so he for his part must be bold to quote his own words unto him, concerning his compasse diall, which he confest he had somewhat unmannerly taken from him; that he hoped one day to give him a due content for it, but if not, God would."²

During Governor Moore's administration one Master Bartlett had been sent out by the Company to "suruaye the ilands, and to prie into the gouernours actions." Moore discovering the latter part of his instructions, and, especially noting that in the projected survey no provision had been made for himself, told Bartlett "that the daye of plantation was yet to early, to allowe any such dispersion of the people from the partes of defence," whereupon Bartlett soon after sailed for home.³

¹Lefroy, 1: 134; Butler, 79.

²Butler, 81; Williams, 30.

³Butler, 29, 36.

Richard Norwood, a surveyor, sent over during Governor Moore's administration, probably after Bartlett's return to England, to survey the Islands and divide them into Tribes, was directed by Tucker to carry out the instructions formerly given to Bartlett. When Norwood planned to lay out the Islands into the stipulated number of shares of twenty-five acres each, he found that there would remain two hundred and seven (207) acres more than was necessary for the eight tribes of fifty shares each, into which the Company had required the Islands to be divided.

Tucker, when appointed Governor, had been promised by the Company three shares of land at the end of his term of office.¹ With a purpose of having these situated in the choicest spot he requested Norwood to let him know where the most fertile land was situated. Norwood had begun his survey at the east end of the Islands and laid out seven tribes until he came to the "western-most part of what at present is called Southampton tribe."²

There he found "a fatte and lustye soyle," which answered Tucker's requirements. The Governor then instructed Norwood to begin the survey of the eighth tribe "at the farthermost end of the iland called Ireland, and so goe on toward the East."³

Tucker had perceived, in advance, that if this was done it would of necessity leave a considerable portion of fertile land unsurveyed. This amount was equivalent to about eight shares and contained the very best soil in the Islands.

The survey, as directed by the Company, having been completed, the Governor sent a plot of it to England, intimating to the Company that the surplusage of the unsurveyed ground, termed the Overplus, was in "quantitie (as the Surueyour thought) of

¹Butler, 103.

²*Ibid.*, 104.

³*Ibid.*, 105.

some three shares, ouer and above the due contents of euey tribe."¹

This statement was evidently made with the expectation that the Company would bestow the entire Overplus upon him by way of reward and in fulfillment of its promise upon his appointment as Governor.

Not content with having thus attempted to hoodwink the Company, the Governor, contrary to the advice and opinions of his friends, resolved to take immediate possession of his anticipated gift and proceeded to build a "very substantiall and braue caedar house vpon this peece of delicate ground, the which he had thus already in the strength of his hopes deuoured for his owne."² To accomplish this he felled much timber, had it towed to St. George, there squared and framed, and then floated to the Overplus. The most skillful workmen were pressed into the work and the Governor, neglecting the general business of the colony, went thither and would sometimes remain absent from the town and forts for two or three months at a time,³ while looking after this, his private enterprise.

The Governor's administration was of such a selfish and brutal character that it met with the disapproval of Hughes who manifested his displeasure in outspoken terms. Tucker, when the Islands were overrun with rats, proposed to burn over the whole Islands in order to destroy them. Hughes was opposed to this course and openly preached against it. In every way, then as always, he proved a thorn in the flesh of the corrupt governors.

It can readily be imagined, from what we already known of Hughes, that he would not stand idly by and see the members of his flock brutally treated while the Governor was thus gratifying his greed at the expense of the colonists. The oppressed inhabitants naturally

¹Butler, 105.

²*Ibid.*, 109.

³*Ibid.*, 110.

complained of their hardships to their compassionate minister. Not long after he touched upon the subject in a sermon. This so greatly enraged the Governor; that, on Hughes appearance at the next town-meeting, he took him aside and told him he was well aware of his tricks and railings against his buildings. "But take you heed (quoth he) of and looke well to your selfe; for if you serue me so but once more, I shall tie your neck and heeles together vntill your back crack, and so helpe you to repentance." Hughes, not to be intimidated by such violent language, replied: "You knowe well ynough . . . that I feare not your threatening, and therefore you may vse them to such as doe: for my part I will freely performe the duties of my function, and when I have done will answer it also, as well (if not better) than you shall doe yours."¹

The Governor, being of a vindictive nature, bore this reply of Hughes in mind and sought, not only while in Bermuda, but even after his return to England to injure Hughes in every way he could, even purposely going to a certain Bishop and complaining to him of Hughes irregularities in not conforming himself, in the Sumner Islands, to the Book of Common Prayer.²

The Governor's misrepresentations regarding the quantity of the Overplus land and his unwarrantable action in taking possession of it, together with his diversion of the resources and labor of the colony in building upon it, could not, in the course of events, fail to come to the knowledge of the Company. Notwithstanding the Governor's gross malfeasance of office, the Company could not renounce its promise to give him three shares upon the expiration of his term of office, neither could it afford, by repudiating its promise, to discourage the expectations of their new Governor by leaving the old one dissatisfied.³ The matter was finally adjusted by dividing the Overplus into seven

¹Butler, 112.

²*Ibid.*, 112.

³*Ibid.*, 131.

parts, three of these, together with the house, were allotted to Tucker, two apportioned to Sandys Tribe, and the remaining two set apart for the glebe of Southampton Parish.¹

From what precedes it will be seen that Lewis Hughes possessed a keen sense of justice and mercy. As a loyal subject of the Company and as a minister of God's word he felt it to be his duty to denounce in no uncertain terms any and all disloyalties to God or man that came to his knowledge.

Neill says that he "was a man of a good deal of narrowness, but also of much zeal and force."² During the administrations of Moore and Butler, who both appear to have had the best interests of the colony at heart, we hear nothing of Hughes. When Mansfield, and Tucker endeavoured to further their selfish interests at the expense of the Company and of the settlers then we see him actively resisting their rapacious efforts.

His conscientious scruples were not alone confined to the conduct of others. He lived in an age when beliefs regarding creeds and liturgies varied greatly and were held by their respective advocates with intense tenacity. Inclined toward Presbyterianism (which he succeeded in introducing into the Islands),

¹Butler, 132; Lefroy, 1: 143, 201.

Bermuda was the first portion of the Western Hemisphere to be mapped from an actual survey. The first printed map of the Bermudas, based upon Richard Norwood's survey, was published by Abraham Goos. It is entitled *Mappa AEstivarum Infularum alias Bermudas . . . A Mapp of the Sommer Ilands once called the Bermudas*, and is dated *Amstelodamenfis*, 1622. A copy of this map, probably issued separately as there is no printed matter on the back, is in the Library of Congress. The map in this state is extremely rare. It measures 13 inches high by 20¼ inches wide. At the bottom are "The names of the now Adventurer[s], viz. this yeare 1622" with the number of shares of each and the numbered location on the map. So accurate a surveyor was Norwood that the shares he "laid out are the foundations of all divisions of property in Bermuda to this day" (Lefroy, 1: 230).

This map next appeared, so far as we are aware, in John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, London, G. Humble, 1631, pp. 41-44. The map occurs between pp. 41 and 42. In a cartouche at the lower left-hand foot is this inscription: "are to be fold by George Humble in Pops-head Alley againft the Exchange—Ano. 1626." On the back is printed "The Defeription of the Sommer Ilands, once called the BERMUDAS. Lefroy, at the end of volume 1 of his *Memorials*, gives a facsimile of the map in this state.

²*Virginia Vetusta*, 185.

as were Sir Nathaniel Rich, and Robert Rich his bosom companion, Hughes, though he had taken holy orders in the Church of England, saw much in its liturgy that met with his decided disapproval. Three ceremonies in particular, concerning which, at the time, there was much difference of opinion, even in England, he believed should be dispensed with. These were (a) the use of the surplice, (b) the sign of the cross in baptism, and (c) the administering of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to communicants while kneeling. The latter especially, was considered by Presbyterians, with whose views Hughes coincided, as savoring too much of the Roman Catholic practice and was therefore expressly forbidden by the Presbyterian Discipline.¹ If Hughes was independent and outspoken in the expression of his opinions we should remember that he was not more so than those whose views differed from his own, and who were no doubt as eager to force their beliefs on others as was he. It was the spirit of the age.

Considerable light is thrown upon this phase of Bermuda history by the Manchester Manuscripts, or family documents of the Duke of Manchester. These contain numerous papers relating to the Bermudas from 1615-1634, including a considerable number of letters from Hughes to Sir Nathaniel Rich, a Presbyterian and one of the Directors of the Bermuda Company. Hughes was the especial friend and bed-fellow of Robert Rich, the brother of Sir Nathaniel.

On May 19, 1617, in a letter to Sir Nathaniel Rich, Hugh says, "The ceremonies are in no request, nor the Book of Common Prayer, I use it not at all. I have by the help of God begun a Church Government by Ministers and Elders. I made bold to choose four Elders for the town publicly by lifting up of hands, and calling upon God, when the Governor was out of the town, in the Main [as the principle Island was called]. At his return it pleased God to move his heart to like

¹Lefroy, 1: 685.

well and to allow of that we had done, and doth give to the Elders all the grace and countenance that he can. . . . I have sent Mr. Bampford the manner of the public service of God that I do use here, and have entreated him, with the help of such other godly ministers as he thinks fit, to peruse and amend it where they think good, and to send it again by the next ship.¹

Governor Tucker, in a letter to Sir Nathaniel Rich, dated March 10, 1617/8, in speaking of Hughes said that he believed Hughes "to be an honest and religious man, but bent upon establishing a form of prayer according to his own tradition to the exclusion of the Book of Common Prayer. He was forced to permit this because the minister was of 'so peevish a disposition' that if thwarted he would leave the colonists without any religious service at all."²

A complete Liturgy for use in the Summer Islands, consisting of 17 pages of manuscript was sent over by Hughes, and is in the Duke of Manchester's Manuscripts.³

In a letter to Sir Nathaniel Rich of December 15, 1618, he gives his reasons for not using the Book of Common Prayer, his opinions of the Elders, etc.⁴ At that time he was suffering from an injury to his arm, caused by a fall, and, as there was no means of curing it in Bermuda, he was anxious to return to England to have it properly treated "before it grew past cure."⁵ At a later date, in letters to Rich, he says "he did not condemn the Church of England or rail against its bishops, though he could not subscribe to every article of its faith⁶ And on February 12, 1619/20, he stated "that the Governor [Butler] had introduced a transla-

¹*Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts; Appendix—Part II.,* (1881), no. 209.

²*Ibid.*, no. 229.

³*Ibid.*, no. 234.

⁴*Ibid.*, no. 239.

⁵Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, 191.

⁶*Eighth Report of the Royal Commission*, no. 264.

tion of the Geneva 'form of ministering the Sacraments and of Marriages.'"¹

Early in 1620, Governor Butler found time to give attention to the church affairs of the colony. He discovered that neither of his two ministers (Hughes and Keith) would subscribe to, or use, the Book of Common Prayer, or Liturgy of England; and not only so, but that they could not agree between themselves regarding the form of administration of the Sacraments and Marriage. All this was having a bad effect upon the people. He at last recollected the Liturgy used in the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey which was permitted by His Majesty.²

There is a manuscript copy of this Liturgy in the Ellesmere Manuscripts (34 A17) in the Huntington Library. Lefroy in his *Memorials of the Bermudas*, 1: 679-683, reprints, from William Berry's *History of the Island of Guernsey* (Lond., 1815), chapters 8-14, viz., Of the Preaching of the Gospel, Of Baptism, Of the Lord's Supper, Of Fasts and Thanksgiving, Of Marriage, Of the Visitation of the Sick, and Of Burial. While the exact wording of the two versions is not identical they are in every essential respect the same. Berry gives a complete history of the Church in Guernsey,³ and prints the Liturgy in full.⁴

Nothing in either is said regarding the use of the surplice, nor is anything said in the Chapter on Baptism regarding the making of a cross upon the child's forehead. As these were not obligatory the minister, it would seem, was left free to use his own discretion regarding them. The chapter of the Lord's Supper, on the contrary, reads: "The people shall communicate in order, *and that sitting*, as is most conformable to the first institution, *or else standing*,⁵ as is accustomed in

¹*Eighth Report of the Royal Commission*, no. 265.

²Butler, 171.

³Berry, William, *History of the Island of Guernsey*, (1815), chap. 18, pp. 238-268.

⁴*Ibid.*, 245-255.

⁵The italics are ours.

some places; the men first, and afterwards the women.¹

The second section of the chapter, Of the Preaching of the Gospel, directs that "Before the sermon there shall be read a chapter out of *the canonical books of Scripture only, and not of the Apocrypha.*"²

Each church was declared independent, in the following words: "No church shall pretend any superioritie nor dominion over the other for all are equall in power, having one only head, to witt, Jesus Christ." Hughes objection to the rule of Bishops, was thus removed. It will thus be seen that several objections urged by Hughes against the use of the Book of Common Prayer were annulled.

Butler finally called in the two recalcitrant Ministers, and after conferring with them succeeded in getting them to agree to the adoption of the Liturgy used in the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey. Whereupon he himself translated it into English from a French Bible that he had brought over with him, and caused the elder Minister, Hughes, to begin its use at the administration of the Lord's Supper, at St. Georges, on Easter Sunday, 1620.³

The occasion was observed with due formality. The Governor, together with many of his Council and a large congregation were present, and by way of introduction Hughes delivered from the pulpit a discourse in which he gave the ground and causes of its adoption. This form was generally observed throughout the Islands during the remainder of Butler's government.

Before August 1619, Samuel Lang, a minister, with his wife, arrived at Bermudas, but soon a disagreement arose between him and Hughes as to the forms of worship. Governor Butler wrote that Hughes was more reasonable than Lang. To reconcile differences the Governor introduced a translation of the revised Prayer Book of Jersey and Guernsey.

¹Lefroy, 1: 680.

²The italics are ours.

³Butler, 171.

In 1619 the liturgy of the Church of England took the place of the Geneva forms which had been in use, in these isles, but the sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, and wearing the surplice were not required."¹

About 1619 the leading members of the Virginia Company, who also held a controlling interest in the Somer Island Company, became divided into two hostile factions. On the one hand were the Earl of Warwick, Sir Nathaniel Rich, (Hughes' friend) and Alderman Johnson. They supported Sir Thomas Smith who had been Governor or Treasurer of the Company for the previous twelve years. On the other side were the Earl of Southampton, Lord Cavendish, and Sir Edward Sackville. These favored Sir Edwin Sandys who had been elected as Smith's successor.

Hughes naturally took the side of the faction led by the Earl of Warwick and Sir Nathaniel Rich. An account of his association with Governor Butler, as viewed by their opponents, is given at considerable length, under date of May 7, 1623, in *The Records of the Virginia Company*, edited by Susan M. Kingsbury, published by the Library of Congress, 1906, vol. 2, pp. 406-408.

The manuscripts longest in the State Paper Office represent, in the main, the interests of the second of these factions, or those of Sir Edwin Sandys. The Manuscripts in the Duke of Manchester's Collection, to which we shall have frequent occasion to refer (now also in the Public Record Office), represent, in far greater detail, the case of Sir Thomas Smith.²

So bitter were the controversies carried on in the Court of the Company that passengers who came from England to the Bermudas described it as a "cock-pit," where each party sought to cross the other rather than to act for the best interests of the colony.³

¹Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, 192.

²*Hist. MSS.*, p. 4b.

³*Ibid.*, p. 7b, no. 284.

Governor Butler, referring to this unhappy state of affairs in a letter to Sir Nathaniel Rich, dated Oct. 23, 1620, says: "If most of the Orders made by the Court during the past three years were reversed, and no more made for three years to come, it would be the better for the islands, the inhabitants of which were entitled to their own experience." To effect a reconciliation between the chief members of the factions it was even suggested that they should "at some church in London receive the Communion together in confirmation of mutual accord."¹ "It is not certain whether this proposition was adopted, but if it was it is quite certain that no permanent benefit followed."²

Because of these dissensions the colonists suffered great hardships. Supply ships were sent to them but once a year "with 'scarce a quarter' of the necessaries required."³ Besides, the inhabitants were forbidden to trade with other vessels, and so were obliged to pay the cutthroat prices charged by the magazine ship.⁴

Food supplies, owing to uncertain crops, were often lacking, and starvation not infrequently stared them in the face. Insufficient clothing often left them bare, and this privation and suffering was largely brought about because the members of the Company were more intent upon profitable returns from their investments than in the upbuilding and well-being of the colony. The dissatisfaction of the colonists is expressed in a letter by Hughes in which he said: "I have heard men of good understanding and sober carriage say that they had rather beg their bread in England than live here, where their lives, goods, and libertie doth depend on the will of one man that hath no government of his passions."⁵

¹*Hist. MSS.*, 5a, no. 281.

²Some account of the "original great cause of the dissensions of the Companies" may be found in *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, edited by Susan Myra Kingsbury, vol. 2 (1906), pp. 400-409. Hughes name is mentioned twice by the opposition, naturally, in an unfavorable way.

³*Hist. MSS.*, no. 267.

⁴*Ibid.*, no. 284.

⁵Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, p. 188.

Hughes returned to England in 1620 to secure more ministers, and to lay before the Company an account of the grievances of the people. A copy of these signed by Hughes is to be found in Lefroy's *Memo-rials* (1:232-233.). The principal grievances of which the people complained were, lack of ministers; the want of necessities such as shoes, clothing, nets and boats and their supplies; the high prices charged by the Company's supply ships without the liberty of purchasing from others; the imposition on tobacco in addition to taxes levied for public uses; the lack of guns, gunners, and ammunition to protect themselves in case of invasion by enemies; and the lack of necessary artizans.

Tucker was in England at the time Hughes was there, having returned to square himself with the Company. He stirred up Sir Edwin Sandys, to accuse Hughes of railing against Bishops, the Church, and the Book of Common Prayer. Hughes, in defending himself from these aspersions, as in his letter to Sir Nathaniel Rich, written about this time (to which we have already referred), said he "did not condemn the Church of England or rail against its bishops, though he could not subscribe to every article in its faith.¹ The Company were evidently satisfied with his reply to these charges but declined to contribute to the expenses of his voyage.

It was during this visit to England that his *Plaine and True Relation of the Goodnes of God Towards the Summer Ilands* was published. According to a letter to Sir Nathaniel Rich, written in March, 1618, it appears that the manuscript was already prepared for publication and that it accompanied the letter. For, after describing its contents, Hughes goes on to urge Rich "to reade it and if [he] thought it worth printing to give it to some printer that will have a care to print it."² Three years elapsed, however, before it found its

¹*Hist. MSS.*, no. 264.

²Neill's *Virginia Vetusta*, 187.

way into print. For a description and synopsis of it *See Part II.*

In 1621 Hughes returned to the Bermudas, and the following year was appointed one of the governing board which Governor Butler nominated on his departure.¹ Exactly when Hughes left the Bermudas is uncertain. That he left before October 1623 is clear from a letter by Governor Woodhouse to the Company.² Professor Kittredge in writing of George Stirke, his successor, is of the opinion that Hughes did not leave Bermuda on the expiration of Governor Butler's term of office, but "remained there (as sole minister) until Governor Bernard arrived."

The practice of the Genevan forms of worship during Butler's administration, and the general nonconformity of Hughes and Lang, go far to explain their being superseded, on the appointment of Governor Bernard, in 1622, by an entirely new corps of ministers, viz.; Nathaniel Bernard, Joseph Wright, Robert Staples, and George Stirke." Governor Bernard arrived in November 1622.³ In the list of ministers present at the General Assembly in May 1623 the names of Bernard, Staples, and Stirke appear⁴ but not that of Hughes. That his withdrawal took place before April, 1623 is extremely probable.⁵

Thus closed the second period of Hughes' career and that concerning which we have the fullest information.

HUGHES' LATER CAREER

The career of Hughes after his return to England is somewhat obscure. The Summer Islands Company, in pursuance of its niggardly policy, seems to have withheld a great part of Hughes' salary for several

¹Butler, 171.

²Lefroy, *Memorials*, 1: 299; 340-351.

³*Ibid.*, 1: 722.

⁴*Ibid.*, 1: 317.

⁵Kittredge in Colonial Society of Mass., *Transactions*, v. 13, p. 18.

years. He petitioned the Privy Council for relief, for on February 23, 1625 that body required the Virginia Commissioners to report upon the matter.¹ This was printed in a small pamphlet, a copy of which is preserved in volume 12496 in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. (See Part II, No. 3.)

On the 16th of July, 1625 the records show that a marriage license was issued by the Bishop of London to Lewis Hughes, clerk, and that he was married on that date to Anne Smith, widow of John Smith, Citizen and Draper of London, at St. George, Botolph Lane, London.²

Sometime between 1625 and 1628, as we shall see under a later date, he appears to have been preaching in the Gaol of the White Lion.

At a meeting of the Privy Council held at Hampton Court on the 28th day of September [1628], a warrant was issued "for dischargeing of John Burley, John Gates, Francis Perin, Prudence Matthewes, Elizabeth Holland, and Damoris Adderton and to cause them to bee delivered to L[e]wis Hughs Minister, to be sent into Virginia, by virtue of a Commission directed to the llords and others of the Privie Councell dated 20 of September 1628. remaying in the Counsell Chest."³

From Nov. 30, 1631 to April 10, 1637 Hughes officiated at no fewer than 16 marriages at All Hallows, Bread Street. He may possibly have held some minor position in that parish.⁴

Two years later, Oct. 31, 1633, Thomas Cook, of the Parish of St. George Southwark, petitioned the Council, stating that Lewis Hewes [Hughes], a nonconformist minister, was about five years since [1628?] complained of by the petitioner by petition to the Bishop of Winchester, who, after conference with

¹*Calendar of State Papers; Colonial Series; 1574-1660* (1860), p. 278.

²Harleian Society, *Publications*, vol. 26—*Marriage Licenses; 1611-1828* (1887), vol. 2.

³*Acts of the Privy Council of England; Colonial Series.* Vol. I, A.D. 1613-1680, Hereford, 1908, p. 131 ¶217.

⁴Harleian Soc., *Publications, Registers*, vol. 43 (1913).

Hewes, dismissed him from preaching in the Gaol of the White Lion. That Hewes has ever since unjustly prosecuted the petitioner for felony and other supposed misdemeanors, whereof he was acquitted, and Hewes convicted of conspiracy against the petitioner. That since that time Hewes, unable to moderate his malice, has presented various petitions to that Board against the petitioner, the latter whereof being referred to the Attorney General detains his certificate thereon, and is ready to present another petition. He prays the Council to take some order with Hewes for his course against him.

Whereupon it was then ordered that in case the said Hewes detains the certificate of the Attorney General, as alleged, and does not deliver in the same by the 8th of November, he stand committed to the Fleet.¹ There can be little doubt but the Lewis Hewes, here mentioned, was the same person as the subject of this paper.

John Walker, in 1714, in his "Attempt towards Recovering . . . the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, who were Sequestered, Harrassed, etc., in the Late Times of the Grand Rebellion" states that Lewis Hughes, A.M., who had the Rectory of Shipperton, in Middlesex, was imprisoned for words against the Parliament. He was presented to this living December 14, 1638, and may have been afterwards sequestered. He died as is supposed, under the Usurpation sometimes at least before July 30, 1660.

May it not be that when available records fail to reveal Hughes' whereabouts at any particular time that he may have been ministering in other provincial parishes?

By an Order of the Committee of Plundered Ministers made May 10, 1645. (Add MSS. 15669, p. 71), the Rectory of Westbourne, Sussex, was

¹*Calendar of State Papers; Domestic Series in the Reign of Charles I.; 1633-1634, p. 262.*

sequestered from Doctor Christopher Swale to the use of Lewis Hughes, a "godly and orthodox divine." By the same Order Hughes was referred to the Committee of the Assembly of Divines for examination.¹

"Rev. Lewis Hewes or Hughes was made rector of Westbourne, Sussex, September 18, 1645 (MS. Baker, xxvii. 426), the preferment may have been a reward for his sufferings in 'the good old cause,'" thus says John E. B. Mayor, Cambridge.²

On May 6, 1646, the House of Lords, heard the Petition of Lewis Hughes for One Hundred and Ten Pounds per Annum in lieu of the Rectory of Westbourne, resigned by him to the Sussex Committee. This Petition showed that the Rectory of Westbourne, in the County of Sussex, being sequestered from Doctor Swale, by the Committee for Plundered Ministers, was conferred upon him, whereupon he took Possession, and preached there; and finding the congregation to be very great, having Five Villages belonging to it besides the Town, he did therefore offer to the Committee of Sequestration sitting at Chichester, That, if they would allow him competent maintenance during his [blank in the original], he would resign all unto them: Whereupon, Mr. Cawley (one of the Committees) did promise that the Petitioner should have One Hundred and Ten Pounds per Annum truly paid him, if he would give it under his Hand; which he did. Then Mr. William Prinne did obtain it for his Brother, by informing this House that it was void; and that the First Fruits and Tithes that thence should accrue to the Estate were lost, and other Duties undischarged; the Petitioner having paid, in Taxes, Duties, and Reparation, One Hundred and Fifteen Pounds."

"It was Ordered, That this Petition be shewed to the Committee for Sussex, who are to pay to the Petitioner

¹Sawyer, Frederick E., in *Notes and Queries*, 5 ser., vol. 12; 516; cf. Dallaway (James), *Hist. of West Division of Sussex*, 1: 105.

²*Notes and Queries*, 5 ser., v. 12, 215.

the said One Hundred and Ten Pounds per Annum, or else shew Cause to this House to the contrary."¹

An echo of Hughes' connection with Westbourne is found, under date of September 2, 1654, in the "Petition of Margaret, widow of Edward Rood, minister, to the Protector, in which she says: 'On a reference by Parliament to the Committee for plundered ministers, they ordered me half the moiety of a parsonage granted Mr. Hughes, a godly minister, but I was deprived of it by Mr. Prynne," etc."²

In 1647 the name of Lewis Hughes, A.M., Machynlleth, in Wales, occurs among those of the Parochial Clergy in Walker's List of some of the Loyal and Episcopal Clergy who were dispossessed of, Driven from, or did otherwise lose . . . their preferments etc., for their loyalty . . . during the time of the Grand Rebellion.³

By this time Hughes must have been over seventy years of age. What is more reasonable to suppose than that, after the many contentions and bitter disappointments he had experienced, he should seek a position in some obscure provincial parish in the hope of there passing in quietness and peace his remaining days.

So evanescently closed the career of Lewis Hughes which began with such promise at Great St. Helen's.

We have traced the career of Lewis Hughes as fully as the scanty and scattered records concerning his life permit. And what do we find? He may appear to us as superstitious and credulous but we must remember he was a creature of his day and generation. His opinions and beliefs, like our own, were deeply tinctured with the spirit of the time in which he lived and he was

¹*Journals of the House of Lords* (1646-1647), vol. 9, p. 166; cf. Shaw (W. A.) *Hist. of the Eng. Church*; 1640-1660, 2 vols., 1900, vol. 2: 340.

²*Calendar of State Papers; Domestic Series*, 1654; London, 1880, p. 358.

³Walker (John), *Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, . . . who were sequestered . . . in the Late Times of the Grand Rebellion*. (1714), p. 278.

fearless in expressing them. But in it all he manifested sterling traits of character. Distinctive among these was a keen sense of justice, to which was joined a sympathetic nature and a lively conscience. That he was a man of superior gifts is shown by the confidence he inspired when he was appointed vicar of Great St. Helen's and as a friend in the family of Sir Nathaniel Rich.

Ever confident of the righteousness of his views, he fearlessly faced and combatted cruelty and wrongdoing. A partisan by nature, his acts were prompted by such pure and disinterested motives that he inspired the respect of all right-minded men.

His contentions with the corrupt Governors, Mansfield and Tucker, so far from alienating the officers of the Summer Islands Company produced the opposite effect, for we find him later, during the governorship of Butler, still maintaining office as a sworn and trusty Counsellor¹ and winning his praise.² Viewed as a whole the life of Lewis Hughes reveals to us a man of consistent character, but, unhappily, a victim of turbulent times.

In religious matters as well as in civil, he ever stood ready to champion his convictions, particularly in his publications, as we shall presently see in the description and analysis of them which follows.³

¹Butler, 248.

²*Hist. Mss.*, no. 284.

³My thanks are due to Dr. Wilberforce Eames, for various suggestions which have resulted in adding much to the interest and value to this paper. Mr. Victor H. Paltsits has also given me valuable assistance, as have also Dr. Worthington C. Ford, Dr. George Parker Winship, and Mr. Clarence S. Brigham. I am also under great obligation to the librarians and assistants of the New York Public Library, Union Theological Seminary, the Boston Public Library, Harvard College Library, and others, for the aid they afforded me in my researches.

PART II—HIS PRINTED WORKS

A STUDY of the writings of Hughes is interesting and instructive, disclosing as it does the subjects in which he was vitally interested: the Churchman and Nonconformist, and the points in which they were at variance. In his works we discover not only the beliefs regarding which they differed, but the reasons for their divergent opinions stated in plain and unmistakable language. Nonconformists objected to many things in the Book of Common Prayer and the Catechism that they thought savored too much of the doctrine and practice of Catholicism as manifested in the government and practices of the Church of Rome.

Perhaps in the writings of no other author can we find these reasons more lucidly and concisely stated and in language that no one can misinterpret. The purport of Hughes' writings discloses, more fully than his recorded acts, the deliberate purpose of his life. Shorn of the impulsiveness which may be attributed to his acts they show the intense purpose of his character.

The acceptance by him, in Bermuda, of the Liturgy of Guernsey and Jersey was a pure compromise. It was more Congregational than Presbyterian in its form of church government. In the introductory passage, already quoted, we see the independence given to every individual church from the interference or control of any other, and such a thing as superior authority absolutely abrogated. In this respect it lacked the characteristics of Presbyterianism. It was, on the contrary, essentially the Congregationalism of New England in which every church maintains absolute independence of action, but associates itself voluntarily with others in Consociations and Associations, but purely for advice and council.

The lines of cleavage between the Church of England and pure Protestantism are here shown and

Hughes' style of stating them are amply illustrated in the quotations that follow.

To summarize; he considered the Church of England of his day to be a Reformed Catholicism rather than a Complete Protestantism. In the latter he fully believed and for it he was constantly contending.

The descriptions and analysis of his works which follow are arranged in chronological order.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I.

A LETTER SENT INTO ENGLAND FROM THE SUMMER ISLANDS.

LONDON, by I. B. for William Welby, 1615.

The Only Edition.

Small quarto.

COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: A, B, each 4 leaves (the first blank and genuine, in the Huntington copy); total, 8 unnumbered leaves.

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: [1 blank leaf], [A1];—[title, as reproduced; See No. 1], recto of [A2];—[blank], verso of [A2];—[text, with heading] | [conventional head-piece] | The coppie of a Letter written by | Lewes Hughes, *Preacher of Gods Word* | in the *Summer Ilands*, to his friends | in *England* | [signed] | Yours as his owne; | *Lewes Hughes*. | [dated] | *From the Summer Ilands this 21. of December. 1614.* | , recto of A3 to recto of [B4];—[blank], verso of [B4].

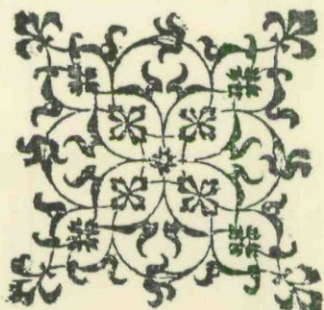
Head-lines: | *The Coppie of a Letter, sent* | , on verso pages, and, | *from Summer Ilands.* | , on recto pages.

Copies of the original edition (Bibliog. Soc., *Short-Title Cat.*, no. 13919) are quite scarce. There are examples in the British Museum (702, d. 15. (1).); Bodleian Library; New York Public Library (Lenox copy); and Huntington Library (Church copy, No. 367 A).

Much of this tract is reprinted in Lefroy's *Memorials of the Bermudas*, 2: 577-580. See also Brown (Alex.) *Genesis of the*

A LETTER,
Sent into England
from the SVMMER
ILANDS.

Written by M. Lewes Hughes,
Preacher of Gods Word there.
1615.



Printed at London by I. B. for William Welby,
and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Swanne.
in Pauls Church-yard. 1615.

**A PLAINE
AND TRVE RELATION,
OF THE GOODNES OF GOD
towards the Sommer Ilands, written
by way of exhortation, to stirre vp
the people there to
praise God.**

**VVHEREVNTO ARE
ADDED CERTAINE QUESTI-
ONS AND ANSWERS CONCER-
NING THE KEEPING HOLY OF THE
Saboth day, and publicke exercifes of
*Religion, written in the Summer Ilands
for the benefit of the
people there.***

By **LEVVES HUGHES** Minister of
Gods word.



AT LONDON:
Printed by *Edward All-de*, dwelling neere Christs
Church. 1621.

United States. 2: 759; and page 929 of the same where there is a facsimile of Hughes' autograph signature.

This is one of the earliest books written in America giving an account of a settlement of the author's own countrymen. It is therefore one of the earliest books of American Literature. Captain John Smith's *True Relation of Virginia* (1608) and his *Map of Virginia, with a Description of the Countrey*, etc. (1612) preceded Hughes' *Letter*, but Hughes, so far as we can learn, was the *Second Writer who may be classed as an American Author*, and the work, here described, the third to appear in print, is entitled to occupy that place in our early literature.

Moses Coit Tyler considered Smith's *True Relation of Virginia* as being "unquestionably the earliest book in American literature."¹ The work here described, written under precisely similar circumstances, may justly be claimed as the third book to be so considered and Hughes next to Smith as an early American author. That Hughes has not long since been acclaimed as such is no doubt due to the rarity of this, his first production.

In it Hughes gives an account of Sir George Somers' shipwreck; the arrival of Governor Moore, his fortifying the two harbors at *Gurnats head* and *Davies Point*; the difficulty of approach to or invasion of the Islands; a list of some 20 fish, descriptions of the birds, climate, and soil; and a long list of what prospective settlers should bring with them. He closes with the following advice to those planning to settle there:

"And aboue all things haue a care to leaue their fins behinde them, and come hither as it were into a new world, to lead a new life; and for the comfort of their foules let them bring Bibles, and other good bookes: and pack vp all their smal stuffe in barrels; the barrels wil afterwards ferue them for many good vses."

"Idle perfons, and fuch as are giuen to filching, doe liue heere in great misery; fo also doe all whorifh women in great difgrace, hated and loathed of all honeft people, which make them weep, and figh with teares to wifh themselves in *England* againe, and for their comfort, to coole them a little, they are now & then tawed at a boates taile vp and downe the harbour:

¹*History of American Literature*, I. 1607-1676; vol. 1 (1878), p. 21.

fo were a couple ferued together, a man and a woman that came in the fhip that came in, and fo haue diuers others."

II.

A PLAINE AND TRVE RELATION OF THE GOODNES
OF GOD TOWARDS THE SOMMER ILANDS.

LONDON, by *Edward All-de*, 1621.

The Only Edition.

Small quarto.

COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: A, B, C, D, E, F, each 4 leaves; total 24 unnumbered leaves.

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: [title, as reproduced; *See No. 2*], recto of [A1];—[blank], verso of [A1];—[text, with heading] | [conventional head-piece] | A PLAINE AND TRVE | RELATION OF THE GOODNES OF | GOD TOWARDS THE SVMMER | Ilands, written by way of exhortation, to | ftirre vp the people there, to | praife God. | , recto of A2 to recto of C1;—[epistle to the reader] | [conventional head-piece] | To the Reader. | *CHristian Reader, let this little tafte | that I haue giuen thee of the good- | neffe of God towards the Summer | Ilands, fatiffie thee for the prefent: ere it be | long thou fhalt haue a larger relation thereof, | written by Captaine Nathaniel Butler, | now Gouvernour of the faid Ilands.* | [single rule] | [single rule] | [catchword] | QVESTI- | , verso of C1;—[questions and answers, with heading] | [conventional head-piece] | QVÆSTIONS AND AN- | SWERS CONCERNING THE | heeping holy of the Sabaoth day, and | publick Exercifes | of Religion. | , recto of C2 to verso of [F4];— | [single rule] | FINIS. | [single rule] | , verso of [F4].

The head-line on the recto of E1 reads | Of the Lords Super. |.

Copies of the original edition (Bibliog. Soc., *Short-Title Cat.*, no. 13920) are of great rarity. There are examples in the British Museum (702. d. 15. (4)); Duke of Devonshire's Library (?); and Huntington Library (Church copy, no. 384).

This pamphlet, published during Hughes visit to London, gives an interesting account of his early experiences in the

Bermudas. In a letter written to Sir Nathaniel Rich in March, 1618 he describes the contents of this work as already written.¹

In the epistle "To the Reader" Hughes says "thou fhalt haue a larger relation thereof, written by Captaine Nathaniel Butler, now Gouvernour of the faid Ilands." The "larger relation," here referred to, is doubtless "The Historie of the Bermudaes or Summer Islands," the manuscript of which is in the British Museum (Sloane MSS., No. 750). This remained inedited until 1882, when it appeared as publication, No. 65, of the Hakluyt Society, edited by Gen. Sir J. Henry Lefroy. Butler was Governor of Bermuda from 1619-1622. Lefroy thought Captain John Smith was the author of this work, but its fullness of detail would indicate that it was written *in situ*.

It has since been otherwise identified as the work of Captain Butler. The manuscript is in the same handwriting as Sloane Manuscript, no. 758, which is signed by him. This fact was unknown to Lefroy who apparently never saw the work here described.²

Captain John Smith was never in Bermuda. Butler visited Virginia in 1623 soon after his governorship ended and while the redoubtable Captain must have been busy on the manuscript of his *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles*, which appeared in print the following year. Smith and Butler must have met and very much of the information contained in the Fifth Booke of Smith's *Historie* was no doubt obtained from Butler either *viva voce*; or, Butler may have even permitted him to make extracts from his manuscript. Smith never visited Bermuda but there is every reason to believe he had access to Butler's manuscript as many passages in his *Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, seem to be copied verbatim from it.

"The Questions and Answers concerning the Keeping Holy of the Sabbaoth Day," appended to the *Plaine and True Relation*, may be the "Doctrine of the Sabbath" which, in 1618, Hughes requested Nathaniel Rich to have printed. Be that as it may, Hughes was very much disturbed by the "abominable

¹Neill, *Virginia Vetusta*, (1885), p. 187.

²*Athenæum*; no. 3400. Dec. 24, 1892, p. 891; Verrill, *The Bermuda Islands*, 552n.

drunkenness, loathsome spuing, swearing, swaggering, and quarrelling [that took place] while the [supply] ship was in harbour with any wine or strong waters in her." The people, indulging in such conduct as might be expected, were also much given to profaning the Sabbath. Again in January 1619|20 Hughes, in a letter to Sir Nathaniel Rich, expressed anxiety that his pamphlet on this subject might be printed and distributed.¹

By a proclamation for the observation of the Sabbath Day, issued by Governor Butler March 20, 1619|20, a Sabbath breaker was liable for the first offence to two dayes imprisonment in irons and a fine of ten pounds of tobacco; for the second offence to 14 days imprisonment and 20 pounds of tobacco. Values at that time were reckoned in tobacco; its value being at the rate of two shillings and six-pence a pound.

III.

[THE PETITION OF LEWIS HUGHES TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL REGARDING THE WRONGS SUFFERED BY HIM IN THE SERVICE OF THE SOMERS ISLANDS COMPANY.]

[LONDON, 1625?]

Small octavo.

COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: A, 8 leaves (the first blank and genuine), B, 8 leaves (the last blank and genuine; total 16 unnumbered leaves.

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: [1 blank leaf];—[dedication] | [conventional head-piece] | TO THE RIGHT | HONORABLE THE | Lords and others of his Maje- | fties moft Honourable | privie Councill. | , recto of A2 to recto of B3;— | *The Demandes of me Lewis Hughes for | the time that I have spent in the service of | the Sommer Ilands Company and | in fwing for my wages.* | , verso of B3 to recto of [B7];—[signed] | LEWES HUGHES. | , recto of [B7];—[blank], verso of [B7];—[blank leaf], [B8].

¹*Hist. MSS.*, No. 262.

This is a small printed pamphlet, probably unique, which is included in volume 12496 in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum.

It would seem that Hughes lost patience in waiting for the Company to pay him a great part of his salary due for several years' ministry and took this step in order to secure its payment. The earliest date given is about 1613, not long after his arrival in the Bermudas.¹

This is an account of the wrongs Hughes suffered "in the service of the Summer Islands Company in much misery," which the Governor had done something to relieve. He describes what occurred when the Governor had gone to England, leaving "the government in the hands of six men to govern monthly"; the usurpation of John Mansfield, and his attempt at rebellion against the new Governor; the unjust acts of Capt. Tucker and his persecution of Hughes; a plague of rats; the forts built by Nathaniel Butler; his going to England to state to the company the grievances of the people and the accusations brought against him; his return to the islands and his unhappy situation; and finally his demands for compensation.

On the 23d of February, 1625 the Privy Council took action regarding a letter to the lords and other Commissioners for Virginia and the Summer Islands, as follows: "Whereas Lewis Hughes, minister of gods word, haveing humbly complayned by Petition to this Board, against the late Company of the Summer Islands, for detayneing from him a great part of his wages, and salary due to him, for severall yeares, dureing which he did exercise his Ministerie in those Islands. We referred the further Examination thereof, to such fitt persons, both Diuines and others, as we thought good. fforasmuch as we fynd by Certificate retourned to the Board vnder the hand of the greatest part of the said Referees, that there is a good Arreire of Salarie due to the Petitioner and that an Imposition of iijd. the pound had been layd by the Company vpon everie mans Tobacco there, pretending the same to be fore the better

¹Andrews, C. M., and Davenport, F. G., *Guide to Manuscript Material for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, etc.*, Washington, Carnngie Institution, 1908, p. 87.

maintenance of their Ministers (which imposition had been accordingly levied and accounted, to the Company here, amounting to about 2000 *l.* sterling). [The Commissioners, or any three of them are required] to examine the truth thereof and accordingly to make Certificate in writing to this Board [p. 665. ¶2.] [C. S. P. I. p. 72]."¹

On the 28th of February 1625 [five days after the above date], the Privy Council received "A letter on the behalfe of Lewis Hughes Minister, directed to the Master of the Rolls, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Charles Montague, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Mr. Alderman freeman, and Thomas Gibbs Esq^r, or any three of them; of the same Tenor of the letter entred the 23th of this Moneth directed to the llords and others Commissioners for Virginea on behalf of the said Lewis Hughes [p. 687. ¶ 2]."²

Dr. Worthington C. Ford proposes to include a facsimile of this obscure pamphlet (as well as those portions of the Manchester Manuscripts, now in the Public Record Office, that contain the correspondence of Hughes and others relating to the Bermuda Islands) in the series of facsimiles relating to American history now being distributed to a few subscribing libraries.

IV.

CERTAIN GRIEVANCES WELL WORTHY THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF PARLIAMENT.

Printed Anno Dom. 1640.

The First (A Surreptitious) Edition.

Small quarto.

COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: A, B, each 4 leaves; C, 2 leaves; total 10 numbered leaves: [ii] + 18 pages.

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: [title, as reproduced; *See no. 4*], recto of [A1];—[blank], verso of [A1];—[text with heading] | [conventional head-piece] | TO THE RIGHT | HONOV-

¹*Acts of the Privy Council of England. Colonial Series: vol. I., A.D. 1613-1680; Hereford, 1908, p. 83, ¶134; See also Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series; 1574-1660, vol. 79 (1860) p. 278.*

²*Ibid.*, p. 83, ¶ 36.



705

TO THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE, THE
Lords and others of his Maje-
sties most Honourable
privie Councell.

Right Honourable,

IT is well seene, that all such in this Land, as feare not Gods Judgements, are loath to be judged by your Honours : It is also very apparent, that were it not but for your Honours, there would bee no end of oppression and wrong, nor any living in this Land, neither for Poore nor Rich; and that therefore, all the Kings louing and true hearted Subiects, both high and lowe, haue cause continually to pray for your Honours, next to our gracious King and his Royall Issue.

Giue me (your poore Suppliant) leaue to declare the wrongs vnder which I haue a long time groaned; hauing spent many yeares in the seruice of the *Summer Islands Company* in much misery
A 3 especially

C. 9

~~112~~
CERTAINE

pa. 6

GRIEVANCES
WELL WORTHY THE
SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE, AND HIGH COURT OF
PARLIAMENT.



Printed Anno Dom. 1640.

RABLE, | AND HIGH COURT OF PARLI- | AMENT NOVW
ASSEMBLED. | , recto of A2 to verso of [C4].

Signed | LEVVES HVGHES. |, verso of [C4]. Line 12, page 1, reads: | and dayly doe . . . |.

Copies of this edition are in the British Museum (698, °. 9. 7); Trinity College Library, Dublin (BB. KK. 49. no. 13); and the Huntington Library.

This is a pamphlet directed against the Church Service. It was published without the consent of the author, for, in a later edition (our no. v.) we read (p. 31):

"*Gent.* There was a little Booke written of late, and dedicated to the Houfe of Parliament, that had moft of thofe things in it that you have fpoken of, concerning the Service Booke and the Bifhops.

Min[ifter] There was fo, but the Author whereof is much grieved every time that he doth think upon it becaufe it was difperfed without his confent, and printed falfe, by putting in & leaving out words, fo as it was not fit to be prefented to the Houfe of Parliament."

In the edition here described the caption is addressed "To the . . . High Court of Parliament Now Assembled." The author prefaces his work by saying that the King gives him leave to put the Parliament in mind "of fome errours in the publicke Worfhip and Service of God," that is to say the Book of Common Prayer, so that many refrain from coming "'till the Service be all read." He then goes on to specify some of its many errors. Among them; "Another Errour, is, the bowing of the Body, and putting off the Hat, when the Name *Jesus* is read. . . . To put off the Hat, and bow the Body at the *Name of Jesus*, is to make an Idoll of it."

"Another Errour is, *kneeling*, when we receive the *Communion bread*, which caufeth the Papifts to fay, that we are Idolaters, and do make an Idoll of it, becaufe we do *kneel*, and do not believe the *reall prefence* as they doe."

Regarding baptism he says (p. 5), after recounting the preliminaries of the ceremony: "After that the Minifter hath received thofe feigned anfwers [of the Godfathers and Godmothers], he *Baptifeth* the *Infant*, and he marketh him on the forehead with a Croffe, which doth offend many, becaufe

they take it to be the *marke of the Beast*, mentioned in the 14th of the *Revelation*, where it is written, *that if any man worship the Beast, or receive his marke on the forehead, or his hand he shall drinke of the wine of the wrath of God.*"

The Catechism annexed to the Administration of Baptism is next called in question (p. 6).

The New Orders of the Bishops are then taken up. He objects (p. 11) that they "doe take upon them to fet up *Altars*, and to *consecrate Priests*, and to give them power to forgive finnes, as appeareth by those new Orders, and by the Book of *consecrating Priests*, where it is written, *that when a Bishop doth consecrate a Priest, he must lay his hand upon him, saying, whose finnes thou forgiveft, they are forgiven.*"

Hughes criticises (p. 12) the prohibition of the reading of certain canonical books and passages in the church services. "Inftead of those holy Books, above an hundred and thirty Chapters of the *Apocripha* are appointed to be read, in some of which are horrible *blasphemies* . . . and ridiculous lying Fables."

Hughes thoroughly believed, as did the Puritans of his day, in the intervention of God in human affairs. He closes his book by narrating (p. 15) "The fearefull Judgements that *God* hath shewed upon Churches, . . . ever since the Service Book, was first established by *Act of Parliament* (and especially, since the new Orders were made.)" Then follow details of the damage to churches and worshippers caused by lightning to the Parish Church of Withcombe [Widecombe] in Devonshire, on the 21st of October, 1638, and to the Parish Church of Anthony in Cornwall, on Whitsunday, 1640. An account of the latter seems to be given in "The Voyce of the Lord in the Temple [i. e. the Church of Anthony, in Cornwall]," 4to, Lond., T Paine for F. Eggesfield, [1640]. Bibliog. Soc., *Short-title Cat.*, no. 24870.

The affair at Withcombe, or Widecombe, attracted much attention at the time. "The tower of the Church of "Withycombe in the Dartmoores" is justly celebrated for its fine proportions, and the fabric itself has had more written about it than any other of the Dartmoor churches, on account of its association with the great thunderstorm of October 21, 1638.

On a wooden tablet we may read the details of it, in rhyme, said to be written by one Hill, the village schoolmaster, who it has been supposed was related to Roger Hill, one of those who perished in the storm."¹ Two accounts of the storm were printed: "A True Relation of those Sad and Lamentable Accidents, which happened in and about the Parifh Church of Withycombe in the Dartmoores, in Devonfhire, on Sunday the 21. of October last, 1638. 10 ll., Lond., by G. M[iller] for R. Harford, 1638; and "A Second and Most Exact Relation . . ." with the same imprint (22 ll.). To this latter is appended "The Addition to the former Relation," pp. 13-17. Copies of both of these Relations are in the British Museum and Bodleian Library.²

John Taylor, the Water Poet, composed a long poem (208 lines), entitled "A True Relation in Verfe, of the ftrange accident which hapned at Withycombe in Devon-fhiere," which was appended to "Newes and ftrange Newes from St. Chriftophers of a tempeftuous Spirit, which is called by the Indians a Hurry-Cano or Whirlewind," Lond., by I. O[kes] for Francis Coules, 1638. Copies of all three of these, the last of which is doubtless unique, are in the Huntington Library.

Of "The Two Widecombe Tracts, 1638," a line-for-line reprint was made by James G. Commin, of Exeter, in 1905; with an introduction containing much interesting information respecting them. Cf. also *Devon Notes and Queries*. (v. 3., pp. 233-235), where other accounts of this event are referred to by W. P. Courtney.

Every unusual occurrence in those days was considered as a Divine interposition or judgment of God. Such, in the Bermudas, were so considered by Hughes when an intoxicated man died in his sleep. The sinking of the *Warwick* showed "how much God was offended" as did many other untoward events, including the appearance of a "strange disease." The fate of a man who fell overboard from another ship was "a good warning against gadding abroad upon the Sabbath day," and a " 'good warning' to all drunkards had been given by taking

¹*Devon Notes and Queries*, vol. 2, 167.

²Bibliog. Soc. *Short-Title Cat.*, Nos. 25607-25609.

one away sleeping in his drunkenness.'” On the other hand John Dutton, a hard-hearted churl, who would not sell *aqua vitæ* under 10 s. a gallon, was “compared to Ahab and Cain” and “It was to be hoped that God would ‘root such caterpillars out’.”¹

V.

CERTAINE GRIEVANCES WELL WORTHY THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF PARLIAMENT.

Printed Anno Dom. 1640.

The First (A Surreptitious) Edition—Another Issue.

Small quarto.

COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: Same as number IV.

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: Same as number IV.

Line 12, page 1, reads: | and daly doe, . . . |; and with many other variant readings, as described below.

Copies of this variation are in the British Museum (873. e. 39.) and the Huntington Library.

This is a Bibliographical Puzzle. Whether it should be called Another Edition or Another Issue is uncertain as it presents features peculiarly its own.

Certain pages appear to have been printed from the same setting of type as in the previous number while others are a *very* close line-for-line reprint, so close, in fact, that differences can only be discovered by a most scrutinizing comparison, in which nicked and fouled letters, spacing and alignment, capitals instead of lower-case letters and vice versa, show a resetting of the type.

No differences can be detected in pages 7, 10, 11, and 14-18. Those found in the remaining pages are as follows:

Page 1, line 12	dayly	daly
27	Errour	errour
page 2, line 1	son	fonne
10	hell	Hell
18	at	as
23	condemn	condemne

¹*Hist. MSS.*, 8b, Nos. 252, 262, 287.

CERTAIN E
GRIEVANCES
WELL WORTHY THE
SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE, AND HIGH COURT OF
PARLIAMENT.



Printed Anno Domini. 1640.

26

	25	Errour	errour
	34	Primitive	Primitive
	35	"	"
	40	ftians . . .	Chriftians . . .
	41	Errour	errour
page 3, line	21	Countrey	Country
	25	hearken	herken
	27	the	the
	29	him	him
	30	or mingling . . .	mingling . . .
	32	drive	deive
	33	to the Salt	to Salt
	36	coming	comming
page 4, line	10	the	thy
	13	Wo-	wo-
	19	from	from
	26	Purification:	Purification:
page 5, line	8	works	warks
	35	erronious	erroneous
	40	blood	bloud
page 6, line	1	blood	bloud
	3	that	that
	37	Chrift	Chrift
	38	therefore	therefore
	"	Euangelift	Evangelift
	39	Geneologie	Genealogie
	40	Iofeph,	Iofeph:
page 8, line	6	neas	neas
	34	was an hundred . . .	an hundred . . .
	37	Gofpell	Gofpel
cat]ehword		Many	Ma
page 9, line	5	No new	noe new
	11	Epiftle:	Epiftle,
	17	Chrift:	Chrift,
	27	profefors	projeffors
	28	his	his
	"	preachers	Preachers
	30	confufion	confufion
page 12, line	3	by mifapplying	bymi fapplying
	17	unfpeakable	ufpeakable
	19	coming	comming
	33	gall of a Fish	gall of Fish
	35	appointed	appointed
	38	two	two
	39	to the Angel.	up the Angel.
	41	Blafphemies,	blafphemies,
		plainly	plainely

page 13, line 2	Blafphemies	blasphemies
7	Orders	orders
14	Preaches	Preachers
21	throughout	throughout
"	. . . domi-	. . . Domi-
24	declining	declyning
26	. . . Revenews,	. . . Revenewes
29	Service	Seruiice
36	him	them
39	ftis . . .	his . . .
40	. . . Rev.	. . . Reu.

Pages 15-18, containing "The fearful Judgements" as manifested at Withcombe, or Widecombe, and at Anthony, appear to be printed from the same type in both editions or issues.

May not the two issues of this work be a clue to an obscure custom practiced by cautious printers in bringing out a work by a little-known author, or by one for whose work there appeared to be an uncertain sale? Is it not likely that printers, in such cases produced only the number of copies for which they expected a ready sale and kept the type standing in case others should be found to be needed? It would then be a very simple matter to run off enough additional copies to supply the unexpected demand. Copies successively brought out by printers from the same setting of type would of course, absolutely defy detection unless in some such anomalous case as the present one. The proceeding is perfectly analogous to that carried on by publishers to-day, and for the very same reasons, when they bring out successive impressions from electrotype plates. The reason for such a practice is obvious in its saving of paper and presswork.

The method pursued by the printers of Captain John Smith's *Generall History of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles*, (1624-1632) and of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667-1669) was quite different. In these cases large editions were printed. A limited number of copies were first bound and placed on the market. When these were exhausted, the dates on the engraved title-page of the former were changed, and new title-pages of the latter printed, until the original impressions were finally disposed of.

But in the present case how can we account for the fact that some pages were entirely reset and others not? This may

possibly be accounted for in two ways. In the first place some of the pages originally set may have accidentally been pied and so had to be set up again. In the second place it may have happened that new work came into the office which required the use of the type held in page form and that the original type used in such pages was distributed and used for the new work. The minute differences in the pages reset and the almost perfect resemblance is doubtless due to the fact that the compositor was given a printed page for copy and that he followed it with slavish exactness.

VI.

CERTAINE GREEVANCES WELL WORTHY THE
SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF PARLIAMENT.

Printed in the Yeare 1640.

The Second (or Author's First) Edition.

Small quarto.

COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: A, 4 leaves (the first, blank in British Museum copy), B, C, D, E, each 4 leaves; F, 2 leaves; total 22 numbered leaves: [ii] + 40 pages.

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: [1 blank leaf], [A1];—[title, as reproduced; *See* no. 6], recto of [A2];—[blank], verso of [A2];—[text, with heading] | [type-ornament head-lines] | A | DIA-LOGVE OR | CONFERENCE BE- | TWEENE A COVN-TRY | Gentleman, and a Minister of Gods | word, about the Booke of | Common Prayer. | , recto of A3 to verso of F2;—[signed] | LEVVES HEVVES. | [type-ornament rule] | FINIS. | [type-ornament rule] | , verso of F2.

Of this work there are copies in the British Museum (E. 206. (12); Trinity College Library, Dublin (BB. kk. 49, no. 14); Boston Public Library (* * H. 32. 31); and the Huntington Library.

Thomason notes that he received a copy of this edition in [Dec.], 1640.¹

The editors of the *Thomason Catalogue* say that "Thomason's

¹*Thomason Catalogue*, 1: 5.

dates are not infallible. They must as a rule be taken to represent only the approximate date of actual publication."¹

This edition contains in substance nearly the same matter as that found in the preceding one, but is here given in dialogue form.

Hughes seems to have delighted in the catechetical style of writing. The "Gentleman," mentioned in the title, says Lefroy (2: xiv.), was William Snelling.

VII.

CERTAIN GRIEVANCES, OR THE ERROVRS OF THE SERVICE-BOOKE; PLAINELY LAYD OPEN.

Printed [by Mathew Simmons] in the Yeare 1641.

The Third Edition.

Small quarto.

COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: A, B, C, D, E, each 4 leaves; F, 2 leaves; total 22 numbered leaves: [ii]+42 pages.

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: [title-page, as reproduced, See No. 7], recto of [A1];—[blank], verso of [A1];—[text, with heading] | [type-ornament head-piece] | THE | ERRORS OF THE | SERVICE BOOKE, LAID | OPEN BY WAY OF A DIA- | logue betweene a Country Gentleman, | and a Minister of Gods word. |, recto of A2 to verso of [E4];—| FINIS | Lewes Hughes. |, verso of [E4].

Of this edition there is a copy in the British Museum; press-mark E. 171. (24.); and in the Harvard College Library (Gay 641.132). Edward Duffield Neill possessed a copy in 1871.² Its present location is unknown. None of Hughes' works are among the books he left to Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.

Thomason notes the receipt of his copy under date of [Sept.,] 1641.³

From a statement made on one of its pages, the author, in the time of Bishop Bancroft, was a London clergyman, and Great St. Helen's was his living.⁴

¹*Thomason Catalogue, Preface, v. 1: p. xxii.*

²*See his English Colonization of America, p. 318 n.*

³*Thomason Catalogue, 1: 29.*

⁴*Notes and Queries, 5 ser., 1: 367.*

CERTAIN E 12
G R E E V A N C E S ;
V V E L L V V O R T H Y
T H E S E R I O V S C O N S I D E R A -
T I O N O F T H E R I G H T H O -
N O R A B L E A N D H I G H C O V R T
O F P A R L I A M E N T .

Set forth by way of Dialogue, or
Conference betweene a Countrey Gentle-
man, and a Minister of Gods word; for the satisfi-
fying of those that doe clamour, and maliciously
revile them that labour to have the
errors of the Booke of Common
Prayer reformed.

By L E V V E S H E V V E S, *Minister*
of Gods Word.



Printed in the Yeare 1640.

24

CERTAINE
GRIEVANCES,
OR
THE ERROVRS OF THE
SERVICE-BOOKE;
PLAINELY LAYD OPEN,
WITH SOME REASON^s WHERE-
FORE IT MAY AND OUGHT TO
be removed; well worthy the serious confi-
deration of the Right Honorable
and High Court of
PARLIAMENT.

Set forth by way of Dialogue berweene a
Countrey Gentleman and a Minister
of Gods Word.

ISAIAH I. verse 12, 13.

*When ye come to appeare before me who hath required this
as your hand?*

Bring no more vaine oblations, I am wearie to beare them.

By LEVVES HEVVES, Minister
of Gods Word.

Printed in the year 1641.

This is the first edition in which Hughes gives an account of his connection with the witchcraft case of Mary Glover; already considered at length in Part I.

The attention of Parliament was aroused by, and action taken on, the appearance of this, the Third Edition of Hughes' *Certaine Grievances*. On the 19th of November, 1641, he was ordered by the House of Lords to be sent for to attend it and "see if he will avow the making of a Book, intituled, *The Grievances or Errors of the Service Book*; and that the Company of Stationers do take care to find out the printer of the same.¹

On the 10th of December "Mathewe Symonds, a Printer, was brought in and asked whether he *printed a book*, intituled, *Certaine Grievances, or Errors of the Service Book*; and who delivered him the copy thereof. The said Symonds confessed he printed such a Book, but it was printed divers times before by others; and that one Lewis Hughes the Author did bring it to him; but who did license it he did not know."

A Committee of fifteen headed by "The L. Archbp. of Yorke," was appointed to take the matter into consideration and to meet on Monday of the following week. It was ordered that both Symonds and Hughes should be committed to the Fleet unless they found bail to appear at the hearing.² As no further notice of the matter appears in the *Journals*, the matter appears to have been dropped and no objections raised to subsequent editions.

The appearance of *A Confutation of M. Lewes Hughes his Dialogue*, "Published by Authority," (Our no. 14), which Thomason notes as received the previous month, Nov. 1641, may have had something to do with the apparent abandonment of the investigation instituted against Hughes and his printer.

Furthermore, if the exact wording of the Preface to the First or Surreptitious Edition was written by Hughes himself and is to be taken literally, "The King" gave "him leave to put Parliament in mind 'of some errours in the publicke Worshipp and Seruice of God,' that is to fay the Book of Common Prayer." If such was actually the case the House of Lords

¹*Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. 4 (1628-1642), p. 447.

²*Ibid.*, p. 469.

could hardly do otherwise than drop further proceedings on being informed that the author was authorized, and therefore justified, in his act by a power superior to its own to bring the subject to its attention in print.

VIII.

CERTAIN GRIEVANCES, OR, THE POPISH ERRORS
AND UNGODLINESS OF THE SERVICE-BOOK
PLAINLY LAID OPEN.

Printed in the year. 1642.

The Fourth Edition.

Of this edition, we are only able to locate a fragment, consisting of sheet A, four leaves, as follows: [title-page, as reproduced; *See* No. 8], [A1];—dedication | [head-band] | TO | THE RIGHT | HONOURABLE | AND HIGH COVRT | OF *PARLIAMENT*. | [the last word in italic capitals], A2-A3 | [preface] | [type-ornament head-band] | TO THE CHRISTIAN | READER. |, [A4].

The fragment, above described, is in the Harvard College Library (Gay 942. 184).

IX.

CERTAIN GRIEVANCES, OR, THE POPISH ERRORS
AND UNGODLINESS OF THE SERVICE-BOOK
PLAINLY LAID OPEN.

LONDON, *Printed by T. P.*, 1642.

The Fifth Edition.

Small quarto.

COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: A, A (repeated), B, C, D, E, F, each 4 leaves; G, 2 leaves; H, 4 leaves; total 34 numbered leaves: [x.]+58 pages.

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: [title-page, as reproduced, *See* No. 9], recto of [A1];—[blank], verso of [A1];—[dedication, with heading] | [conventional head-piece] | TO | THE RIGHT | HONOURABLE | AND HIGH COVRT | OF

A CERTAIN
GRIEVANCES,
OR,
THE POISH ERRORS AND
Ungodlinesse of so much of the
SERVICE-BOOK
as is Antichristian.

Plainly laid open, by way of Con-
ference between a Countrey Gentle-
man and a Minister of Gods Word.

Whereunto are annexed, most strange and
fearful judgements of God, shewed upon Churches
in time of Divine Service, yea, when they were kneeling
at the Lords Table, which ought to stirre up all that do
truly fear God, and his judgements, and that do love God
and the King, and the peace and prosperitie of this King-
dome, to pray heartily, that God will put into the heart
of our gracious King, and into the hearts of all the No-
bilitie, Knights, and Burgeses of the High Court of
PARLIAMENT, not to deferre too long the re-
forming of what is amisse, in the publike worship and
Service of God; lest in the mean while, the wrath
of God be kindled, and come forth as a
consuming fire.

Whereunto also are added, the Reasons why the Ser-
vice-book was refused of the Church of Scotland.

*When you come and appear before me, Who hath required
this at your hands? Isa. 1. 12.*

Printed in the year. 1642.

99 1/2

CERTAIN *N. 197*

GRIEVANCES,

OR,

THE POPIISH ERRORS AND
Vngodlineffe of the

SERVICE-BOOK.

*P. 17. of y. witch. 91. of the temp. of at witherom
P. 4. of ye like at Anthony in Cornwall*

PLAINLY LAID OPEN,

WITH SOME REASONS WHERE-
fore it may and ought to be removed, well worthy
the serious consideration of the Right Honorable
and High Court of PARLIAMENT.

The fifth time imprinted, corrected, and much
enlarged.

By *Lewes Hughes* Minister of Gods Word.

Whereunto is annexed most strange and fearefull judge-
ments shewed upon Churches in time of
Divine Service.

Set forth by way of Dialogue between a Cointrey Gen-
tleman and a Minister of Gods Word.

Here is also adde I certain Reasons wherefore the
Church of SCOTLAND refused the
Service Book.

ISAIAH I. verse 12, 13.

*When ye come to appeare before me, who hath required this at
your hand?*

Bring no more vain oblations, I am wearie to bear them.

L O N D O N :

Printed by T. P. 1642.

PARLIAMENT. | [ending] | Amen. | LEWES HUGHES. |, recto of A2 to verso of [A3];— | [address to the reader] | [type-ornament head-piece] | TO THE CHRISTIAN | READER. | [ending] | . . . and mercy, | LEWES HUGHES. |, recto and verso of [A4];—A (repeated), probably blank, missing in British Museum copy;—[text, with heading] | [type ornament head-piece] | THE | ERRORS AND VN- | GOD-LINES OF THE SERVICE | difplaid and laid open, by way of a Dia- | logue between a Countrey Gentleman, | and a Minifster of Gods Word. | [ending] | . . . con- | fuming fire. | [two single rules] |, recto of A2 (repeated), to recto of G2;—[blank], verso of G2;—[heading] | [type-ornament head-piece] | REASONS | WHY THE | SERVICE BOOKE | was Refufed of the Church of | SCOTLAND. | [ending] | . . . established. | FINIS. |, recto of H to recto of [H4];— [blank], verso of [H4].

* Copies: British Museum (press-mark 702.d.8 (22); and Trinity College Dublin (Gall. 3. c. 12. no. 6).

Pages 51-57, contain "Certain Reasons why the Service-Booke was Refufed of the Church of Scotland."

Hughes *Certaine Grievances* were levelled against the fourth *Book of Common Prayer*, which resulted from the conference held at Hampton Court in January 1604. That conference was called by King James to settle the dispute between the Presbyterians and the court clergy. The alterations then made were adopted by Royal authority, with the general assent of the Convocation. "These alterations were not very numerous nor of great importance, but such as they were they all went in the direction of catholicizing rather than puritanizing the Prayer Book; the one exception being the substitution of some chapters of the canonical scriptures for some chapters of the Apocrypha, especially of the book of Tobit."¹

The call for five editions of *Certaine Grievances* within the space of two years, and, above all, the action of the House of Lords regarding the third edition, point towards the fact that then, as now, the subject of a revision of the Prayer Book was of more than of passing interest. Hughes certainly contributed

¹*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., 22: 261.

his share, and no small one, toward bringing about, three years later (1645), the total suppression of the Prayer Book (which continued for fifteen years) and the establishment in its place of "The Directory for the Public Worship of God in the Three Kingdoms." At the Restoration in 1662 the present *Prayer Book*, as determined upon by the Savoy Conference, was adopted. Its revision¹ is at present (1928) a burning question among our English friends.

X.

THE COVENANT OF GRACE AND SEALES THEREOF;
PLAINLY OPENED.

LONDON, by *Tho. Payne* for *N. Bourne*, 1640. Also with engraved title-page, as reproduced.

The Only Edition.

Duodecimo; but, with chain-lines vertical and water-mark in the middle of the leaf.

COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, each 12 leaves; total 120 leaves.

Leaf F12 is represented by a stub. The text continues without break on the recto of leaf G; but the number 37 is omitted in the enumeration of the paragraphs. The head-lines read | THE COVENANT |, on verso pages, and | OF GRACE. | on recto pages.

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: [Engraved title-page, by W. Marshall, with title surrounded by four sections: top, Adam and Eve; middle-left, Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac; middle-right, David playing on the harp; bottom, the Four Evangelists; the whole as reproduced; See No. 10], recto of [A1];—[blank], verso of [A1];—[letterpress title-page, as reproduced; See No. 10], recto of [A2];—[blank], verso of [A2];—[Epistle to the reader], | [type-ornament head-piece] | To the Reader | [signed] L. H |, A3;—[text], A4 to recto of K9;—Imprimatur [signed] *Tho. Wykes*. February 25, 1639; [with type-ornament lines above and below], verso of K9;—[blank], K10-K12.

¹*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed., 22: 261; *The Spectator*, April 14, 1928, p. 569.



**THE
COVENANT
OF GRACE AND**
Seales thereof; plainly
opened by way of
Question and
Answer.

Whereunto is annexed, godly
instructions, shewing how to
put every Petition of the
Lords Prayer into practice,
and how to make some spi-
rituall use of the things that
wee shall see or heare.

Set forth for the benefit of
the Inhabitants of the
Summer Islands.
By *Lewis Hughes*, Sometimes
Minister of Gods Word in
the said Islands.

Printed at LONDON by
The. Payne for N Bourne,
dwelling at the South En-
trance of the Royall
Exchange. 1640.

No. 10. TITLE-PAGE OF HUGHES' THE COVENANT OF GRACE; 1640. BODLEIAN LIBRARY COPY.

A
LOOKING-GLASSE
FOR ALL TRVE HEARTED
CHRISTIANS. 4735 aa. 7

Wherein they may see the goodnesse of
God in giving deliverance unto them from their
Popish, cruell, and bloodie enemies, by
rendring vengeance upon them.

Where Poperie and Innovations do begin,
There Treason will by degrees come in.



The day of vengeance is in mine heart, and the year of my Redeemed is come.
Isa. 63. 4.

2.

LONDON:

Printed by T. P. and M. S. in Goldsmiths Alley. 1642.

I owe thanks to Mr. Strickland Gibson, of the Bodleian Library, for the above description.

The only copy we have been able to trace is that in the Bodleian Library (Bibliog. Soc., *Short-title Cat.*, no. 13918). It is bound in contemporary vellum. The leaves measure 106 mm. high, by 56 mm. wide. It was entered in the *Stationers' Register* to Thomas Paine July 7, 1638 and assigned to Nicholas Bourne, "with new additions," June 19, 1639.

This rare piece of Americana, "set forth for the benefit of the Inhabitants of the *Summer Islands*," seems to have escaped all of our American book-collectors.

XI.

A LOOKING-GLASSE FOR ALL TRVE HEARTED CHRISTIANS.

LONDON, *by T. P. and M. S.*, 1642.

The Only Edition.

Small quarto.

COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: A, B, C, each 4 leaves; total 12 numbered leaves: [ii.] + 22 pages.

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: [title-page, as reproduced. See No. 11], recto of [A1];—[blank], verso of [A1];—[text, with heading] | [type-ornament head-piece] | A LOOKING-GLASSE | for all true-hearted CHRISTIANS. | [ending] | . . . Duke of Yorke. | *Lewes Hughes* | [line of type-ornaments] | FINIS. | [line of type-ornaments] |, recto of A2 to verso of [C4].

There is a copy in the British Museum (4735. aa. 7.).

On page 2 Hughes refers to the Comet of 1618 and says he was "then in the Sommer Islands."

XII.

SIGNES FROM HEAVEN OF THE WRATH AND IVDGEMENTS OF GOD.

LONDON, *by T. P. and M. S.*, 1642.

The Only Edition.

Small quarto.

COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: A, B, C, each 4 leaves; total 12 numbered leaves: [ii]+22 pages.

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: [title-page, as reproduced, See No. 12], recto of [A1];—[blank], verso of [A1];—[text, with heading] | [type-ornament head-piece] | SIGNES FROM HEAVEN | OF THE WRATH AND IVDGE- | ments of God, readie to come upon | the enemies and perfecuters of the truth, | and of the true profeffors thereof in this | land, if they be not prevented by | *true Repentance*. | [ending] | Amen, Amen. | *FINIS*. |, recto of A2 to verso of [C4].

There is a copy of this work in the British Museum (1103.e.5)

Much of this matter also appears in "A Looking glass for all True Hearted Christians" (Our No. 11), published the same year.

XIII.

THE ERRORS OF THE COMMON CATECHISME.

LONDON, by *Matthew Simmons*, 1645.

The Only Edition.

Small quarto.

COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: A, B, C, each 4 leaves; D, 2 leaves; total 14 numbered leaves: [ii.]+26 pages.

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: [title, as reproduced, See No. 13], recto of [A1];—[blank], verso of [A1];—[text, with heading] | [type-ornament head-piece] | The Errors of the Common | CATECHISME; | Especially fuch as open a gap to all prophane- | neffe and ungodlineffe. |, recto of A2 to verso of [D2];—[single-rule] | *FINIS*. | [single-rule] |, verso of [D2].

There are copies of this work in the American Antiquarian Society (Pam. vol. 799); and in the Huntington Library.

The substance of this book is substantially the same as that in Hughes' preceding works. He gives, in dialogue form, his objections to various portions of the Catechism and Service Book. Here, as elsewhere, he objects to the cross in baptism, bowing at the name of Jesus, and kneeling on receiving the Communion. He closes (pp. 23-26) by narrating what are

S I G N E S
F R O M
H E A V E N
O F T H E V V R A T H A N D

I V D G E M E N T S O F G O D, R E A D Y
to come upon the Enemies and Per-
secutors of the Truth, and of the true pro-
fessors thereof in this Land, if they be not
prevented by true Repentance.

V V hereunto are annexed examples of
most fearful iudgements of God, upon Churches
in time of *Divine Service*, and upon Sabbath breakers,
and upon such as have reviled the Protestants that are truly
zealous of Gods glory, calling them *Romish-
Leads*, in reproach and derision.

Also, the utter ruin and downfall of the Papists, and
their ghostly Father the Pope and Prelates.

Set forth by LEWES HUGHES Minister of
Gods Word.

*When thy iudgements are in the earth, the Inhabitants thereof ought
to learn righteousness.*

L O N D O N:
Printed by T. P. and M. S. in Goldsmiths Alley.

1 6 4 2.

THE [2.]
E R R O R S

OF THE

Common Catechisme,

Especially, such as do open a gap to
all Prophanenesse and ungodlinesse.

Plainly laid open by way of a Dialogue
between a Minister of Gods Word and
a Countrey Gentleman,

Whereunto are added certain remarkable Judge-
ments from God upon superstitious worshippers.

By LEWES HUGHES, Rector of
westbourn in *Suffex*.

Published according to Order.



LONDON,

Printed by *Matthew Simmons*, 1645.

termed the fearful judgements of God when the churches at Withcombe and Anthony were struck by lightning.

The comet, or "Blazing Starre," of 1618 he considered (p. 8) a special sign from Christ, inasmuch as it blazed upward and not downward and that it appeared towards morning instead of the fore part of the night. "As foon as I saw it," he says "(being then in the *Summer Islands*, where we saw it plainly, because the climate there is not subject to foggie nights, nor dark clouds) the words of our Saviour came into my minde, Rev. 22.16, *I am the bright Morning Starre*, whereat my heart did rejoyce and delight to rife betimes every morning, that I might have my fill of looking on it."

Hughes also refers to this comet on page 2 of his *Looking-Glasse*, q. v. This so far as we can learn was the last of his printed works.

The work next described (No. XIV) was "Published by Authority," to confute the Third Edition of *Certaine Grievances*, Our No. 7).

XIV.

A CONFVTATION OF M. LEWES HEWES HIS DIALOGVE

LONDON, for I. M., 1641.

The Only Edition.

Small quarto.

COLLATION BY SIGNATURES: A, A (repeated), B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, each 4 leaves; a, 4 leaves; B, 2 leaves; total 50 numbered leaves: [iv.] + 84 + 12 pages.

COLLATION BY PAGINATION: [first title-page] | A | CONFVTATION | OF | M. LEWES HEWES | HIS DIALOGVE: | OR, | AN ANSWER | to a *DIALOGVE* or *Conference* | betweene a *Country Gentleman* and a | *Minifter* of Gods Word, about the Booke of | COMMON PRAYER. | Set forth for the *Satisfying* of thofe | who clamour againft the faid Booke, and | maliciously revile them that are ferious | in the use thereof. | Whereunto is annexed a *Satisfactory Difcourfe* concer- | ning EPISCOPACY and the SVRPLISSE. | [single

rule] | *Published by Authority.* | [single rule] | LONDON, | Printed for I[ohn] M[aynard] at the George in *Fleestreet*, | neere Saint *Dunstans Church*, 1641. |, recto of [A1];—[blank], verso of [A1];—[second title-page] | M. LEWES HEWES | His | DIALOGVE ANSVVERED: | Or, | An *Anfwer* to a *Dialogue* or *Confe-* | *rence* betweene a *Country Gentleman* and a | *Minister* of *Gods Word*, about the Booke of | COMMON PRAYER. | Set forth for the *Satisfying* of thofe | who clamour againft the laid *Booke*, and | *maliciously revile* them that are ferious | in the ufe thereof. | [single rule] | Whereunto is annexed a *Satisfactory Discourse* concer- | ning EPISCOPACY and the SVRPLISSE. |. *Published by Authority.* | [conventional ornament] | LONDON, | Printed for I[ohn] M[aynard] at the George in *Fleestreet*, | neere Saint *Dunstans Church*. | 1641. |. recto of [A2];—[blank], verso of [A2];—[text, with heading] | [conventional headband] | AN | ANSWER | TO | A Dialogue or Conference | BETWEENE | A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN | AND | A MINISTER OF GODS WORD, | *About the Book of Common PRAYER*, | [ending] | . . . unfruitfull. | *Soli Deo gloria*, |, recto of A3 to verso of [L4];—[a continuation, with heading] | *A further and finall Addition concerning Episcopacie, to prove | that it is of Divine right, because instituted by Christ and | his Apostles, which this Dialogue writer graunteth, not to be | til 334. yeares after Christ; together with a Corollary con- | cerning a new Edition of the said writers Booke.* | [ending] | . . . com | passe of this. | FINIS. |, recto of a to recto of [B2];—[blank], verso of [B2]. Greek type used in “Addition.”

There is a copy of this work in the British Museum (pressmark, E. 178. (3)).

This work was entered in the Stationers' Register October 6, 1641, to John Maynard “under the hands of Doctor Wykes and Master Parker warden,” under the title, “An answeare to a dialogue or conference betweene a country gentleman & a minister of gods word about the booke of comon prayer.”¹

Thomason gives the date of the publication of this work as [Nov.], 1641.²

¹Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers from 1640-1708, A. D., vol. 1 (1913), 34.

²Thomason Catalogue, 1: 44.

The writer says Mr. Hughes is "a great friend of the Brownists." His Dialogue was almost twenty leaves in 4to. He seems to have written "a little Booke" on the same subject before, but "it was dispersed without his consent."¹

LIST OF HUGHES' WORKS.

1615. A Letter Sent into England from the Summer Ilands.
Copies: B.M.; Bodl.; N.Y.P.; Huntington.
1621. A Plaine and True Relation of the Goodnes of God towards the Sommer Ilands.
Copies: B.M.; Devonshire?; Huntington.
1625. [Demands for Time Spent in the Services of the Sommer Ilands Company.]
Copies: B.M.
1640. Certaine Grievances Well Worthy the Serious Consideration of Parliament. A Surreptitious Edition.
Copies: B.M.; Trinity College, Dublin; Huntington.
1640. The Same. A Different or Variant Issue.
Copies: B.M.; Huntington.
1640. Certaine Greevances, etc. The Second (or Author's First) Edition.
Copies: B.M.; Trinity College, Dublin; B.P.L.; Huntington.
1641. Certaine Grievances, or The Errours of the Service-Booke. Third Edition.
Copies: B.M.; Harvard University Lib.; (Neill copy, untraced).
1642. Certain Grievances, or, The Popish Errors of The Service-Book. Fourth Edition.
Copies: Harvard Univ. Lib. (fragment only).
1642. The Same. Fifth and Last Edition.
Copies: B.M.; Trinity College, Dublin.
1640. The Covenant of Grace and Seales Thereof.
Copies: Bodleian.
1642. A Looking-Glasse for All True Hearted Christians.
Copies: B.M.
1642. Signs from Heaven of the Wrath and Judgements of God.
Copies: B.M.
1645. The Errors of the Common Catechisme.
Copies: Amer. Antiq. Soc.; Huntington.
1641. A Confutation of M. Lewes Hewes His Dialogue.
Copies: B.M.

¹*Notes and Queries*, 6 ser., 1: 345.

Summary:

Number of titles and editions	14
Number of copies traced,	29
as follows:	
British Museum	11
Huntington Library	6
Trinity College Dublin	3
Bodleian Library	2
Harvard University	2
Devonshire (?)	1
Amer. Antiq. Soc.	1
Boston Pub. Lib.	1
N. Y. Pub. Lib.	1
Neill copy (untraced)	1
	—
TOTAL	29

This by no means exhausts the possible location of copies. There should be others in English libraries, and perhaps in this country also, but particularly in those of Cambridge University, Lambeth Palace, Sion College, and other English libraries. This applies especially to those of later date than 1640. Those of that date and earlier are of course very fully, if not completely, located in the Bibliographical Society's *Short-Title Catalogue*.

CHRONOLOGY OF HUGHES' LIFE

Birth, presumably sometime about 1575, though the exact date and place are unknown.

Education, where, when acquired, and how, is also unknown.

- 1594. Married to Katheryn Cornwall, Nov. 17.
- 1600. Vicar of Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London.
- 1602. Involved in the Mary Glover Witchcraft case.
- 1603. Suspended from his Vicarage.
- 1603-1612. Drops from sight.
- 1612. Goes to the Bermudas.
- 1620. Visits England.
- 1621. Returns to the Bermudas.
- 1623. Goes back to England.
- 1625. Marries Anne Smith, Widow, July 16.
- 1625. Petitions Privy Council for arrears of salary due from the Somers Islands Company.
- 1625-1628. Preaches in White Lion Gaol.

1628. Privy Council issues warrant to deliver certain persons, therein named, to be sent by him into Virginia.
1633. Proceeded against by Thomas Cook.
1638. Presented with the living at Shepperton, Middlesex, Dec. 14.
1645. Made Rector of Westbourne, Sussex, Sept. 18.
1646. Awarded £110. in lieu of Rectory of Westbourne.
1647. In Machynlleth in Wales.
- Death, when it occurred and where he was buried are unknown. He died, as is supposed, under the Usurpation sometime at least before July 30, 1660.

EARLY GOVERNORS OF THE BERMUDAS

DURING HUGHES' TIME THERE

Richard Moore	1612-1615
Monthly Governors:	
Caldicot	}
Mansfield	
Carter	
Kendall	
Daniel Tucker	1616-1619
Nathaniel Butler	1619-1622
John Bernard	1622-1623

SUBSEQUENT GOVERNORS

Henry Woodhouse	1623-1626
Philip Bell	1626-1629
Roger Wood	1629-1636
Thomas Chaddock	1637-

etc., etc.

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