

# The Tyndale Society Journal



No. 32  
*January 2007*

## About the Tyndale Society

*Registered UK Charity Number 1020405*

Founded in 1995, five hundred and one years after Tyndale's birth, and with members worldwide, the Tyndale Society exists to tell people about William Tyndale's great work and influence, and to pursue study of the man who gave us our English Bible.

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## Tyndale Society Publications

### Reformation

Editors: **Prof. John N. King**, *Humanities, English & Religious Studies, The Ohio State University, 164 West 17th Ave (Rm421), Columbus, OH 43210-1370, USA. Phone: 1+614 292 6065/fax:7816 email: king.2@osu.edu*

**Prof. Andrew Hadfield** *email:a.hadfield@sussex.ac.uk*

Commenced Publication 1996 • 1 issue a year • ISSN: 1357 - 4175

### The Tyndale Society Journal

Editor: **Mrs Valerie Offord**, *Le Grouet, 31 route de Pré-Marais, 1233 Bernex, Switzerland; Phone/Fax: +41(0) 22 777 18 58, email: valerie.offord@bluewin.ch*

Editorial Assistant: **Mrs Judith Munzinger**, *email: jmunzinger@compuserve.com*

Commenced publication 1995 • 2 issues a year • ISSN: 1357-4167

Cover Illustration by Paul Jackson • Design by Paul Barron Graphics • Copyright of all material remains with the contributors.

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### Submission of articles for the journal

Please send items to the Editor at the address on the inside front cover of this issue. Submissions can be made on paper (post or fax) or electronically (floppy disk for PC or email). Electronic submissions should be in the form of a word-processor document file (preferably Word, although we can deal with some versions of WordPerfect), and a version in plain text or Rich Text format. For email submissions, the document or Rich Text files should if possible be sent as attachments and the body of the message should contain the article as simple plain text. However, in case of difficulty with email attachments, it is acceptable to send the article solely as plain text in the body of the message. The deadline for submission of articles to the next issue is **Friday 8 June 2007**.

Please note that neither the Tyndale Society nor the Editor of this Journal necessarily share the views expressed by contributors.

## Editorial

Valerie Offord

*'Try me, good King, but let me have a Lawful Trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my Accusers and Judges..'* Anne Boleyn to Henry VIII, Tower of London 6 May 1536

This past year bereavement has meant that poignant and difficult letter writing has featured prominently in my personal life so maybe this was why the recent publicity surrounding the auction of Catherine of Aragon's letter to the Pope leapt off the page and caused me to ponder on the significance and form of letters through the ages.

In bygone days everyone tried to write and to express themselves in the very best way they knew how, whereas today it is unimportant whether they write well or badly. Phone texts and email are a form of shorthand and, if the points raised are not clear, the recipient can instantaneously request clarification.

In Tudor times clarity and a good argument were vital. Take that letter Catherine of Aragon penned on 8 February 1534 - a letter so important that it precipitated one of the defining moments behind England's split with the Pope and the Catholic Church. Catherine in a desperate attempt to cling on to her marriage to Henry VIII wrote, in Spanish, to her nephew the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, to asking him to use his influence to persuade Pope Clement VII to resist Henry's attempts to invalidate their marriage. In her letter she said *'there is no need for my relating to Your Highness the sufferings that I and my daughter (Mary) undergo, as well in the treatment of our lives, as in the surprises and affronts which every day the King's Council puts upon us, for our troubles are matters of universal notoriety...'* The auctioneer in New York remarked that *'It is so rare to have someone of such high standing write in her own hand, not using a secretary. Her handwriting is very clear and her diction so poignant. She had a very good command of her emotions. It is a very powerful letter on so many levels.'* Pope Clement by upholding the marriage, as we all know, helped change the course of English religious history for ever.

Letters from prison and exile form a long and variegated Christian literary tradition reaching from the Apostle Paul to the present day. The English Reformation period saw an extraordinary flowering of these missives, as Tyndalians are acutely aware. The translators, printers and compilers of the Geneva Bibles, so lucidly discussed by Prof. Francis Higman in his paper *'The Genevan Context of the Geneva Bible'* (delivered at the **Fourth Oxford Tyndale Conference 2005**) were prolific letter writers. In January 1555 one of the Marian exiles, Thomas Lever, wrote an upbeat letter from Geneva to Henrich Bullinger,

possibly the most prolific letter writer of all the Reformers, in Zurich *'I live here entirely free of public duty. I follow Calvin's sermons and public instruction sessions... I devote the remainder of my time to the publication of a little book in English: it is at the printers and if God wills will soon be sent to England'*. Thus Prof. Higman's theme comparing the cross-fertilization, translation, production and development of Bibles in Geneva is aptly corroborated in a letter.

*'History as Handmaiden'* by Corey Maas is a revised version of his presentation at the **Oxford Tyndale Conference**. Brian Buxton's research on the Poyntz family is ongoing and his paper *'Godly Hospitality'* comprises the fruits of his latest original research. It is probably true to say that Brian's research was largely triggered by a letter written by Thomas Poyntz from Antwerp in 1535 to his brother John in North Ockendon (a transcription was published in the *Journal* No 27 July 2004) asking him to plead the cause in England of William Tyndale, about to be condemned to death on the Continent. Thomas wrote *'Because this poor man William Tyndale stayed in my house three quarters of a year, I know that the king has never a truer hearted subject to his grace this day living'*. In this paper Brian reveals his latest findings in the Tyndale/Poyntz saga with his investigations of the St Dunstan in the West link. Come to the **London Study Day 'Not so Wicked Mammon II'** on Monday 30 April when Brian will be guiding us to follow this research more fully. It is a great privilege that all three authors agreed to have their interesting papers printed in the *Journal*.

If you cannot attend meetings, this issue contains some excellent reports on the **Lichfield Conference** May 2006, the **Lambeth Lecture** September 2006 and the **Gloucester Cathedral Lecture** October 2006. We were unable to find a reporter for Alec Ryrie's **Hertford Lecture 'The English Bible and Protestant Piety'**. The editor would be grateful if someone would write her a letter (not necessarily in Tudor language) agreeing to carry out this task for the autumn 2007 **Thirteenth Annual Hertford Lecture**.

The latest recruit to our talented band of book reviewers, Max von Hapsburg, has added a distinctly European flavour to this section of the *Journal*. Neil Inglis defected on this occasion to the ranks of exhibition reviewers and any enthusiasm generated for *'In the Beginning: Bibles before the Year 1000'* will have to be assuaged by buying the guide as the exhibition closed in Washington in early January!

Lady Jane Grey, the luckless nine days queen, wrote to her sister Catherine from the Tower of London *'I have sent you a book which although not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worthy than precious stones. It is the book, dear sister, of the laws of the lord...It will teach you to live and*

*learn you to die...*' Jane never lived long enough to sit for a portrait, or did she? Angela Butler discusses in *Press Gleanings* a recent discovery which may just alter the general view that she did not.

You will find extensive details of the **Worcester and Gloucester Conference 'Tasting the Word of God'** within these pages. Our chairman, Mary Clow, has spent more time than you can possibly imagine organising this and other events. Make sure you sign up for them: for not only will they be most informative and enjoyable but also Mary will be delighted to be inundated with registrations. She is working hard on ways to salve the disappointment caused by the cancellation of the **American Conference** in Virginia scheduled for September 2007.

Regarding the *Sightings of Tyndale Competition* the editor would like to apologize for its gender bias and assure you, dear readers, that the new one in this issue requires neither a male friend nor a male photographer!

As always this issue would not have seen the light of day without the great efforts, contributions and co-operation of so many. I must thank especially our chairman, Mary Clow, for burning the midnight oil so that as many details as possible of our meetings could be included here. My thanks to Judith Munzinger, my devoted editorial assistant, who returned jetlagged from her Christmas trip to Australia to finish the excellent proof reading started before she left. I thank Elizabeth Brown for deputizing in Judith's absence, Angela Butler for her editing, and my ever-helpful in house computer guru for sterling work on the numerous illustrations.

It is to be hoped that any student reading this will now feel bold enough to tackle an essay entitled *'The Art of the Letter Writing – its many facets through history'*. I doubt that, in this age of multiple-choice examinations, essay writing figures large in modern curricula. As someone musing on the lost art of letter writing remarked, it is often fun to turn to such low-tech tools as pen and paper to bring a semblance of sanity to our lightspeed technological culture. Letters are definitely still a part of your editor's life. Keep them coming!

In the manner of the letters of Honor Lisle, the wife of Viscount Lisle, Lord Deputy of Calais from 1533 until 1540

By Yours  
Valerie Offord

From Geneva the i day of January

*'...do not let your mind be troubled over anything that shall happen to me in this world.*

*Nothing can come but what God wills. And I am very sure that whatever that be,  
however bad it may seem, it shall indeed be the best'*

Thomas More to his daughter Margaret Roper, Tower of London 3 May 1535

## The Genevan Context of the Geneva Bible

*A paper delivered to the Fourth Oxford Tyndale Conference September 2005*

Francis Higman

*Emeritus Professor of Reformation history University of Geneva Switzerland and author of numerous publications on Calvin, French religious printing and the French Reformation*

It is rash, nay, presumptuous, for me to dare to add something to the remarkable study of the Geneva *New Testament* of 1557 and the Geneva *Bible* of 1560 offered by our Chairman in his magnificent *The Bible in English*.<sup>1</sup> At best I can only pretend to add a brief footnote to his brilliant presentation. To whet the appetite, and to hint at the polemical undercurrent of my subject, let us quote our authority:

The forcible replacement from 1611 of the remarkable, accurate, informative, forward-looking, very popular Geneva Bibles at the time of their greatest dissemination and power, with the backward-gazing, conservative King James' Version was one of the tragedies of western culture. (p. 442)

Professor Daniell does not use words lightly, and he has amply justified these characterizations in the preceding argument. The trouble is, of course, that other commentators have qualified the Geneva Bible and its annotations as 'unacceptably Calvinistic' (p. 305).

Now it is not my intention to go over the debate about whether or not the marginal materials in the Geneva Bible teach Calvin's theology, or Calvinist theology. What I would like to do is (a) give a reminder of the 'Genevan context', socially and intellectually, in which the English-language Bible was prepared and edited in 1560, (b) outline the characteristics of French-language Bibles being produced in Geneva in the 1550s, and compare the French products with the English-language Geneva Bible of 1560, and (c) add a brief note on the needs, in both England and France, which these Bibles were designed to meet.

### The Genevan context

Daniell describes Geneva in the 1550s as 'a city humming with Bible activity'; for example, he lists the 'scholar-printers in Geneva - Robert Estienne, Conrad Badius, Jean Crespin, Jean Girard, Nicholas Barbier, Thomas Courteau, Jean Rivery', who printed 22 French Bibles and New Testaments in the 1550s. Not all of these printers were equally scholarly but, as we shall see, some of them were outstanding. One correction to Daniell, however, the Geneva Academy was founded in 1559, not 1555 (Daniell p. 279), so too late for the

'Marian exiles' to benefit from the institution. This is actually unimportant; Calvin had been lecturing on the Bible ever since 1541 (indeed already in 1536-8). There were regular weekly *congrégations* for Bible study run by the pastors but open to the public. Bèze was not all that far away, in Lausanne, and produced his monumental critical edition of the Latin New Testament in 1557 (printed by Robert Estienne). Louis Budé, son of the great Guillaume Budé, worked closely with Calvin and published a prose French version of the *Psalms* just before his death in 1551 (re-edited several times subsequently).<sup>2</sup> Claude Badius, educator and humanist, ex-Rector of the College in Nîmes, worked with Bèze on editing biblical texts. And let us not forget the massive production of biblical commentaries, in Latin and in French, by Jean Calvin himself - almost all the books of the New Testament between 1540 and 1554, Genesis, Isaiah and the Psalms between 1551 and 1557, plus his *praelectiones* on the Minor Prophets (1559). And perhaps most striking of all, there was his vast series of sermons in the form of verse-by-verse commentary.<sup>3</sup> During the stay of the Marian exiles, he was preaching on Sundays (twice) on 2 Timothy and Titus (up to 13 October 1555), then 110 sermons on 1 Corinthians (from 20 October 1555 to 21 February 1557), then 66 sermons on 2 Corinthians (from 28 February 1557 to 7 November 1557), then on Galatians (43 sermons from 14 November 1557 to 8 May 1558), then on Ephesians (48 sermons from 15 May 1558). On weekdays during the same period, he preached every day of the week, one week in two. When the Marian exiles arrived, he had just started his series on Deuteronomy (200 sermons beginning on 20 March 1555), then he went on to Isaiah (343 sermons beginning on 16 July 1556), then Genesis (123 sermons beginning on 4 September 1559).<sup>4</sup>

The city was certainly a congenial setting for the remarkable group of English 'learned men' who lived and worked there between 1555 and 1559: Miles Coverdale, Christopher Goodman, Anthony Gilbey, Thomas Sampson, William Cole, William Whittingham - among others. Several Fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, a Professor of Divinity, a future Dean of Christ Church. They were eminently equipped to rub minds with one of the finest concentrations of biblical scholars in the century.

A reminder also that, socially, the city was in full effervescence. Up to 1553, Calvin, far from being the theocratic dictator that most people believe him to have been, was very insecure - indeed, twice in 1553 he said from the pulpit that he thought he was giving his last sermon in Geneva, since he expected the City council to throw him out.

By 1555 that had all changed, rapidly and radically. New elections had produced a council much more favourable to Calvin. And, perhaps more sig-

nificantly, the city was (again) short of money, and discovered a way of refilling the coffers: sell the right to become a *bourgeois* to the increasing flow of people arriving in town, many of them with well-lined purses. Splendid. But in fact the majority of this ‘increasing flow of people arriving in town’ were religious refugees, converts to evangelical Christianity, in particular through Calvin’s teaching. So Calvin’s support in the population suddenly increased. And, crucially, the *bourgeois* of Geneva, unlike the mere *habitants* like Calvin himself, had voting rights. So the colour of the city councils changed to a majority favourable to Calvin. Henceforth Calvin’s main problems were with his own health, not with the city authorities.

So it was to a very upbeat pro-Calvin Geneva that the refugees came, a place propitious for serious scholarship in the field of biblical studies. Among the English refugees in Geneva, there were seven who obtained the *bourgeoisie* in 1557 or 1558, including six closely involved in the Geneva Bible project.<sup>5</sup>

### Genevan Bibles in the 1550s

Apart from the sheer numbers of editions of the scriptures, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and most importantly in French, the Bibles printed in Geneva in the 1550s developed certain practices which had immense and enduring impact. These features pass from one edition to another in a cumulative process.

- All French-language Bibles printed in Geneva from 1540 (Jean Girard’s so-called *Bible à l’épée* because of the sword motif in Girard’s printer’s mark) were in roman type; in this they were followed by Lyon, Antwerp, Louvain, Paris and elsewhere.

- Robert Estienne, Royal Printer,<sup>6</sup> moved from Paris to Geneva in about 1550, bringing with him his immense scholarship, his high-quality roman and italic printing characters by Garamond, plus the *grecs du roi*, and his great skill as a printer. Robert Estienne had been printing scholarly editions of the New Testament and of the complete Bible from 1528 on, in Latin and in Greek; it was the trouble that these editions caused him from the Faculty of Theology in Paris that led to his migration to Geneva. One particular edition has to be mentioned: the *Biblia* he printed in 1540, a magnificent folio edition on extra large sheets of paper, with in particular a collection of woodcut illustrations, notably of the architecture, and the implements and utensils of the Tabernacle, and of the Temple. When Estienne moved to Geneva, he brought these woodcuts with him, and used them in a folio French-language Bible in 1553. These woodcuts are groundbreaking reader aids. It is here that we first find that characteristic which David Daniell notes in connection with the 1560 English Geneva Bible: ‘the intention is edification rather than titil-

lation: unlike other Bibles of the time (and later), there are no jolly pictures of a half-clad Potiphar’s wife reaching out to hold a fleeing Joseph, of David watching Bathsheba bathing, or a naked Susannah being spied on by lascivious elders.’ To take just two examples (which are going to become familiar): in the Lefevre Bible of 1530 (Antwerp, Martin Lempereur), there was an illustration of the forecourt of the Tabernacle of no great interest. But Estienne printed a magnificent full-page illustration of the forecourt of the Tabernacle [Fig.1] with a wealth of detail. Likewise, the 1530 Lempereur Bible gave a picture of Noah’s ark. [Fig.2] But this does not take much account of the shape or of the precise dimensions of the ark as given in Gen. 6. Estienne’s version is quite different [Fig.3]: all the details given in the text are incorporated and noted by the letters. Estienne’s illustrations were immediately taken up by numerous Genevan editors and printers in the years following 1553, copied and recut to correspond to other formats.

- Before going further, let us note also in the illustration of the ark, that this is the first French Bible to give verse numbers. These were first introduced by Estienne in his 1551 Greek/Latin New Testament, then in 1552 in a Latin/French New Testament, and now, in 1553, in his complete French Bible.

- There is an Index of proper names in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Latin, with an explanation of their meaning; a lexicon of several key words with explanation of their meaning (a sort of theological wordbook of the Bible); an index of subjects treated (a mini-concordance): these are found from Olivétan’s 1535 Bible onwards, progressively developed and refined.

- From 1532 onwards Estienne regularly printed, as an introduction to his Bibles in Latin and (from 1553) in French, his two-page summary of the contents of scripture, which was immensely successful.<sup>7</sup> This summary was about the only element of the ‘Genevan’ material not to pass directly into the 1560 English-language Bible - it had to wait until 1579 before being printed in a series of Bibles by Christopher Barker.

- Another preface, ‘à tous amateurs’, extolling the value of the scripture and stressing the need for obedience to it, appears in almost all Bibles printed in Geneva from 1546 until late in the following century; it is not signed, and until very recently was attributed to Jean Calvin; Frans van Stam has recently demonstrated that it should rightly be attributed to Pierre-Robert Olivétan, not Calvin.<sup>8</sup>

- The story of summaries of each book of the Bible, and of each chapter, is highly complicated. But during the 1550s these elements became standard Genevan practice. Estienne, and Philibert Hamelin, printed chapter summaries of the New Testament grouped together at the end of their respective

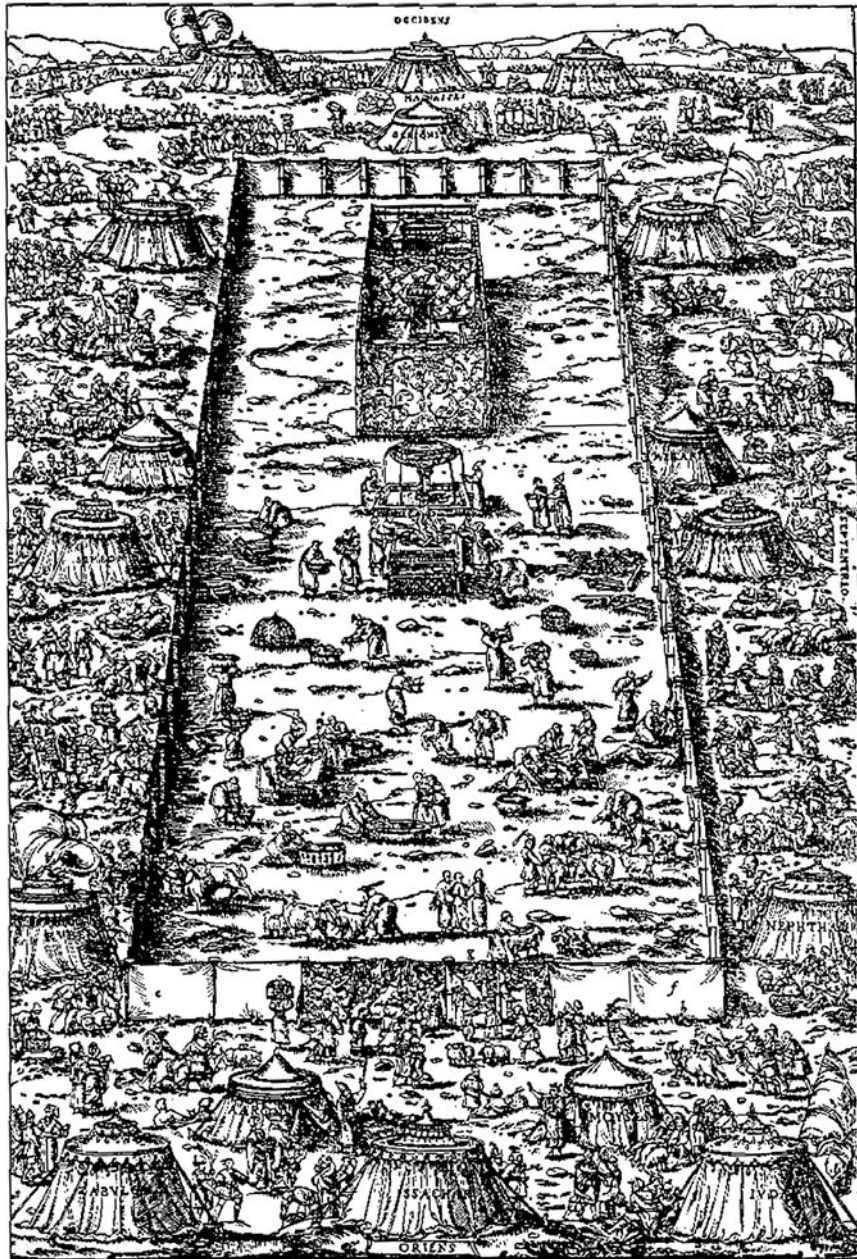


Fig.1 Forecourt of the Tabernacle from the Estienne French Bible 1553.



Fig.2 Noah's Ark from the Lempereur Bible 1530, Antwerp.

editions in 1552; they were subsequently inserted at the head of each chapter (Bible by Jean Crespin, 1553), and the same year Bibles by Jean Girard and Robert Estienne (not necessarily the same summaries each time). 'Arguments' giving the gist of each book of the New Testament first appeared in a Conrad Badius edition in 1554, and for the Old Testament in a Jean Crespin Bible in 1555.[Fig.4]

- Marginal notes form another complicated story. Olivétan, in the first 'Protestant' French Bible in 1535, provided a few linguistic notes indicating a possible different translation of a given word, or giving an alternative translation based on a different source. A second form of notes is cross-referencing, in particular places where an Old Testament passage is quoted in the New. Such annotations can easily be extended in subsequent editions. And

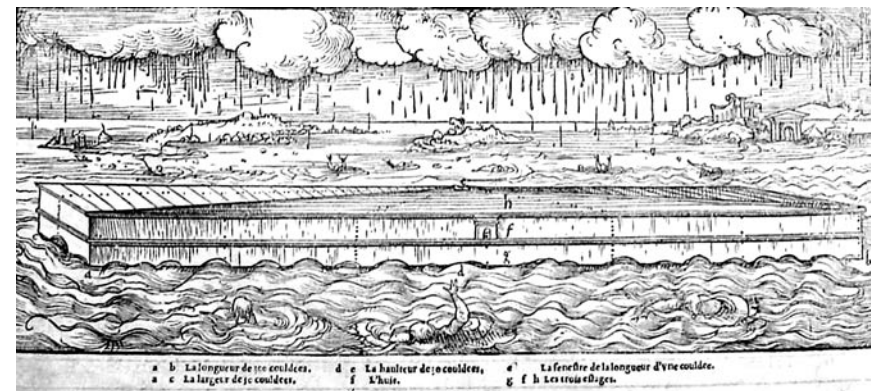


Fig.3 Noah's Ark from the Estienne French Bible 1553

LE PREMIER LIVRE DE MOYSE, dit GENÈSE.

ARGUMENT.

Le premier livre comprant l'origine... de toutes choses principalement la creation de l'homme...

1z Il institua un nouvel ordre... CHAPITRE I.

4 C'est vers moi... 10b 18-4... 11a 17-4... 12a 17-4... 13a 17-4... 14a 17-4... 15a 17-4... 16a 17-4... 17a 17-4... 18a 17-4...



1 Dieu donc fit le ciel & la terre. Or la terre estoit sans forme & voidie: & les tenebres estoient sur les abyssines: & l'Esprit de Dieu estoit espendu par dessus les eaux.

11 Et Dieu dit, Que la terre produise verdure, herbe produisant semence selon son espèce, & arbre faisant fruit, lequel auoit sa semence en soy-mesme sur la terre. Et Dieu vit que cela estoit bon.

To turn back a few pages, here is the title page of this Bible. [Fig.5]:

THE BIBLE WHICH IS

All of holy Scripture, namely the old and new Testament: NEWLY REVISED, WITH ARGUMENTS

for each book, new and very useful annotations in the margin, by which one can without great effort gain true understanding of the Scripture, with a summary of important doctrine.

There are also several illustrations and cartographic maps of great usefulness, the use of which is explained in the following epistle.

The Barbier / Courteau printer's mark illustrates 1 Cor 3.7: 'So then nether is he that planteth anie thing, nether he that watreth, but God that giveth the encrease' [English Geneva 1560 version]. You will note that the name 'Geneva' does not appear (an elementary precaution: all books printed in Geneva were banned in France from 1551).

Taking the title page hint, let us look at the short 'epistle', entitled 'The Printer to the readers, concerning the usefulness of the arguments, annotations, pictures and maps newly made and added to this Bible.' The Word of the Lord, he says, is the sole source of truth, therefore it is necessary for all to study it. But many cannot, either because there is no local source of teaching, or because they do not have the necessary language skills and access to the books that would be necessary. To remedy this situation, 'I have prepared for them a help and means which answer their need. Firstly, in order to understand more clearly what they are reading, there is an 'argument' for each book, containing in brief what is treated in it, and the objective it is aiming at; moreover, there are marginal notes, taken from the most reliable authors and most faithful commentators on the Holy Scripture, both the Old and the New. By means of which it will be very easy, without great effort and with pleasure, to find the true understanding of the difficult passages of the



Fig.5 Title page of the Barbier/Courteau French Bible 1559

Fig.4 Genesis chapter 1 illustrating the format used in Geneva Bibles from Jean Crespin Bible 1555

also - and this is particularly true of Genevan Bibles printed in the 1550s and 1560s - notes designed to help the reader in understanding the teaching contained in the text become more frequent and more developed.

• In a 1559 octavo French Bible to which we will return shortly there are several other reader aids: maps and chronological tables.

I have written elsewhere about this extraordinary edition, printed by Nicolas Barbier and Thomas Courteau in Geneva.9 To me it is the culmination of a trend which had been in progress throughout the 1550s at least; the level of reader aids here achieved will be continued - sometimes in the small format as in 1559, more often in quarto or folio format.

Fig.4 shows the beginning of Genesis in the Barbier/Courteau edition. The text is not legible in this illustration; but the roman type, verse numbering, ornamented capital to mark the beginning of a book, the Argument, chapter summary, marginal notes and cross-references are all visible.





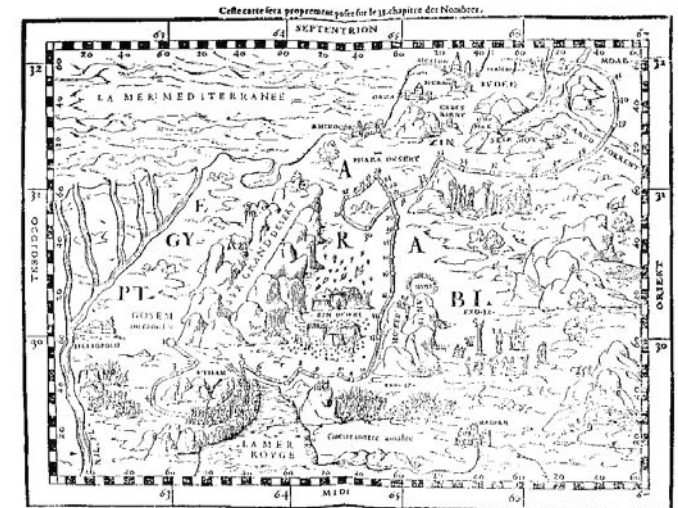
Fig.6 Noah's Ark from the Barbier/ Courteau French Bible 1559



Fig.7 Forecourt of the Tabernacle from the Barbier/Courteau French Bible 1559

said Scriptures, as if one had long laboured in the study of the aforementioned authors and commentators. Moreover, the pictures of Noah's Ark [Fig.6], the Tabernacle, the Forecourt [Fig.7], the altars, the Bread Table, the priests' clothing, Solomon's Temple and its utensils, put vividly before your eyes what is more difficult to imagine and consider simply by the text. Moreover, there are four geographical maps<sup>10</sup> of great usefulness and consolation: the first [Fig.8] shows the route for the exodus of the Children of Israel from Egypt, the path that they followed for forty years in the Arabian deserts, and the forty-two resting places or stations mentioned in Numbers chap. 33. The second map shows the division of the Holy Land between the tribes of Israel defined by Joshua, as written in the book of Joshua. The third belongs to the New Testament, and gives a description of the Holy Land, naming the places mentioned by the four Evangelists, and a few seaports, in order not to overload the said map and make it obscure. It makes clear the paths followed by Jesus Christ and his disciples, in Judea, Samaria and Galilee, all according to the text of the said Evangelists. The fourth is related to the Acts of the Apostles, and shows that of the earth between Italy in the west and the country of the Medes in the east,

Fig 8. Route of the exodus of the Children of Israel from Egypt from the Barbier/ Courteau French Bible 1559



with the countries, regions, islands, cities and places mentioned in the said Acts. One can clearly see here the journeys of Saint Paul and the other Apostles, according to the narrative in the said book. These maps are made with great skill, noting the degrees of longitude and latitude of the places there mentioned. There is a further figure [Fig.9] for the said book of Acts, in which are indicated the dates of the voyages and journeys of Saint Paul, and the dates at which he wrote his Epistles.<sup>11</sup>

Années	Années	DISCOURS PAR ORDRE DES AN-	Années
De la nati-	De la cõ-	nees apres la cõuersion de saint Paul, montrant le temps de	De l'em-
uité de	uerfio de	la peregrination d'iceluy, & des epistres esclrites aux Eglises.	pire de
IESVS	S. Paul.		Tybere.
Christ.			
35	1	Paul perfectionné, Act. 9. Est consacré à Damas, & 10	
36	2	De Damas va en Arabie prêcher l'Euangile. Vers 20. & 21. où on le veut prendre, mais il s'échappe par le moyen 11	
37	3	des fideles qui l'auillent en bas en une corbeille par des fenestres, Gal. 1. Act. 9. 12	
38	4	De là il vient en Ierusalem pour voir saint Pierre, Gal. 1. Cor. 15. 13	
39	5	Les Iuifs le voulant mettre à mort il fut mené en Celsæ, où il est enuoyé en Syrie, & en Tarsis de Cilicie, Act. 15. 14	
40	6	Galatens premier chap. 15	
41	7		
42	8	En apres il est mené en Antioche par Barnabas, & là les disciples sont premierement nommez Chrestiens. 16	
43	9		
44	10	La famine predicte par Agabus sous Claude Cesar, Act. 11. 17	
45	11	Saint Laques le maitre occis par Herodes, Act. 12. 18	
46	12	Paulus Proconful en Cypre, començé par saint Paul, Act. 13. 19	
47	13	Saint Paul prêché l'Euangile en Antioche de Pisidie, qui est le commencement de Galatie, Act. 14. 20	
48	14	De là il vient en Iconie où il demeure quelque temps, Act. 14. 21	
49	15	Il guarit vn boiteux en Lyfite & y est baptisé, Act. 14. 22	
50	16	Ayant ordonné des Anciens en l'Eglise, & vûs sur la plûs & Pamphile, il retourne à Antioche. 23	
51	17		
52	18	En ce temps est celebré le concile des Apostres en Ierusalem où saint Paul a assisté, & de là retourne en Antioche, où saint 24	
53	19	Pierre vint aussi, & S. Paul luy refusa en face, Act. 15. 25	
54	20	Saint Paul va en Syrie & Cilicie avec Silanus pour començer les Eglises: Il vint à Derbe & Lyfite, où il prend pour adioint 26	
55	21	Timotheus puis va en Macedone, & enseigne en la ville d'Amphipolis, Act. 17. & 26. 27	
	22	Il enseigne à Athenes Act. 17. Et de là écrit aux Theffaloniens.	

Fig.9 Journeys of St Paul from the Barbier/Courteau French Bible

This Bible is not primarily for public reading - the print is too small, and the clutter of references and notes is a distraction. It is very clearly for private study. And as such it constitutes a complete compendium of theological education and ecclesial practice according to the Geneva Church. One other particularity of this 1559 Bible: after the biblical text, with all these cumulated reader aids I have listed (except Estienne's *Sommaire*), we find the metrical psalms (the 87 available at that date), with their melodies; the liturgy of the Genevan Church; and Calvin's *Catechisme*. And another thing: it is an octavo, almost pocket-sized. And that means it was cheap: a folio Bible cost about 30 sols at the time, a quarto Bible about 16 sols, and the lowest price for an octavo Bible was 3 sols, one tenth of the price of a folio edition.<sup>12</sup>

My argument was - and is - that this Bible, and editions similar to it, must be seen in the context of the desperate lack of pastors for the burgeoning Reformed Church in France. The first congregation structured according to the Genevan Church order was founded in Paris in 1555. Seven years later, a (perhaps optimistic) survey found there were 2,150 churches in the kingdom. According to the rules, each of these congregations had to have at least one pastor. Where were some 2,000 pastors going to come from? (Remember

that the pastoral company of the Genevan Church had just sixteen members at this period!) I regard this edition as the earliest example of an Open University publication designed for distance learning.

### The English Geneva Bible in Genevan Context

And where is all this leading, you may ask? Readers of David Daniell will have guessed. His description of the 1560 Geneva Bible - and indeed in part that of the 1557 Geneva New Testament - shows that we are on familiar ground [Fig.10]. P. 295: 'What arrived in April 1560, and was rapidly developed, was the first complete study guide to the Bible in English, intended to illuminate at every point.' P. 296: 'Two things

Fig.11 Genesis chapter 1 format of the Geneva English Bible 1560



Fig.10 Frontispiece of the Geneva English Bible 1560

immediately strike a reader who opens any page of most Geneva Bibles produced in Geneva or London over almost a hundred years: the clarity of the roman type in its little numbered paragraphs, that is, the verses; and the fullness of the surrounding matter. [Fig.11] Headings crown each page, italic summaries are at the head of each chapter, and inner and outer margins have notes in small roman or italic, all keyed to the text by small letters or signs.'

P. 301: 'The numbering of verses allowed accuracy in location. From the first, 1560, edition, and right through until the mid-seventeenth century, there were Tables at the back of the volume, the title of the first neatly illuminating for us how new the system was: « A brief Table of the interpretation of the propre names which are chiefly founde in the Old Testament, wherein the first number signifieth the chapter, the seconde the verse » (cf. Robert Estienne's French Bible, 1553: 'Interprétation des noms...') 'The second regular table, filling fifteen pages in three columns, is « of the principal things that are contained in the Bible »' (cf. Jean Girard's 1540 Bible and other, later editions: 'Indice des principales matières...') 'The first edition, and others, had a chronological table « from Paul's conversion, showing the time of his peregrination, and of his Epistles written to the Churches »' (a faithful translation, except for two omitted words, from the Barbier/Courteau 1559 Bible). P. 302: 'Almost every chapter begins with a brief

summary, numbered to verses, longer in the New Testament. Each Old Testament [book] begins with a quite extensive précis, « The Argument ».[...] Books begin with an ornamental letter. There are maps, one at the beginning [Fig.12] large, across a double page, and full of detail, followed, or enclosed, by a two-page « Description of Canaan and the bordering Countries ».’ (I interrupt the quotation from Daniell to mention a very important point: this map is not simply a copy of the French version of the same. Careful examination reveals that the English map includes several place names absent from the French. That is to say, the English Geneva Bible team has reworked the map, adding new information not present in the original.) To return to Daniell’s description: ‘Some pages later a half-page map of a large area north of the Gulf [Fig.13], with a long note, explains « The Situation of the Garden of Eden ».’ Ah, here we break new ground: this ‘Eden map’ had not previously featured in a Bible in any language. Its source is the French translation of Calvin’s commentary on Genesis (1553); in 1560 it appears in the English Geneva Bible and two French Genevan editions. Thereafter in numerous versions.<sup>13</sup>

To continue: ‘In Exodus and elsewhere, where what is being described is particularly baffling, like the fittings of the Tabernacle or the clothing of the priests, woodcut illustrations are inset.[...] In 1560, the first edition had twenty-six engravings.’ (p. 302) This deserves a longer commentary. Most if not all of these illustrations (the possible exception being images in the book of Ezekiel) are copied, directly or indirectly, from the set first published in the Latin *Biblia* of Robert Estienne (Paris, 1540), the same blocks being reused

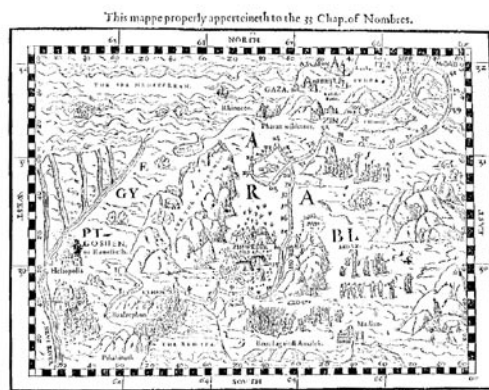


Fig.12 Map of Canaan and the bordering countries from the Geneva English Bible 1560

in Estienne’s French *Bible* of 1553. Just one example: we have seen the representation of Noah’s Ark in the Estienne Bible. In the 1559 French Barbier / Courteau this was copied on a very small scale [Fig.6]. The 1560 English Geneva Bible takes more space [Fig.14], and simplifies the shape of the Ark; but the filiation is clear (that tree on the right was not in the Estienne version, but was in the Barbier/Courteau). One

could go on. But the point I am trying to make is a simple one: the English Geneva Bible of 1560 belongs firmly in that family of Bibles which evolved during the 1550s incorporating the latest biblical scholarship (new editions in Latin, Greek, Hebrew), new commentaries (notably Calvin, but also Bucer, L. Budé, Leo Jud...), adding the reader aids like maps and tables, and filling out the marginal notes, cross-references, philological information, and the notorious ‘doctrinal notes’.

About which, I suppose, something needs to be said - although David Daniell’s judicious evaluation, and that of David Alexander, goes beyond anything of which I am capable. Thus Dr Alexander:

Recent commentators have been unable to find these notes oppressively sectarian or tendentious. To be sure, they represent a particular outlook and there can be no mistaking their puritanism; yet the notes which teach points of theology held in Calvinism or which betray a puritanical disposition of



Fig.13 The situation of the garden of Eden from the Geneva English Bible 1560

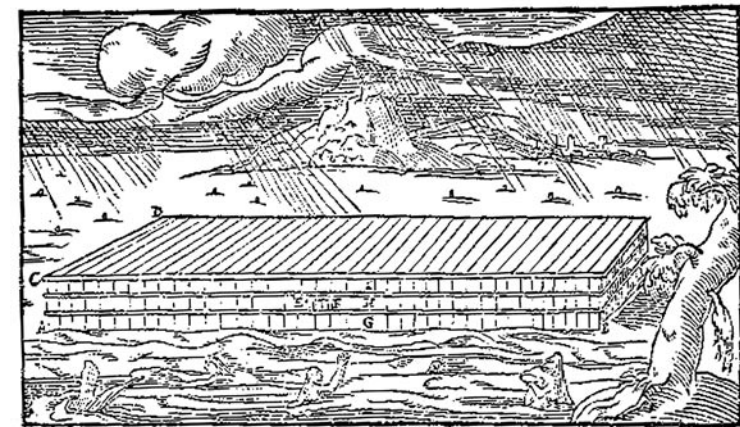


Fig.14 Noah's Ark from the Geneva English Bible 1560

mind in their authors cannot be fairly said to represent more than a small fraction of the total number. More notes, by far, are concerned to enable the reader more easily and perfectly to understand some of the complexities and obscurities of the word of God.<sup>14</sup>

To take again the passage in Gen. 6 about the preparations for the flood, and a couple of representative comments. Gen. 6.9: 'But Noah founde grace in the eyes of the Lord.' Does that mean that Noah was a good guy, that indeed what he did was pleasing to the Lord, so in a sense works matter? Barbier-Courteau 1559 gloss: 'Dieu luy fut propice et favorable', in other words, the initiative came from God, not from Noah. The 1560 Geneva Bible says: 'God was merciful unto him'. Which comes, theologically, to the same thing. And it does not seem to me particularly Calvinistic.

In Gen. 6.6, we read (in the English Geneva 1560): 'Then it repented the Lord that he had made man in the earth, and he was sorie in his heart'. This automatically evokes a comment to point out that God is immutable, therefore the idea of God 'repenting' needs explanation (again, this is a problem not only for 'Calvinists'!). The French-language Barbier-Courteau Bible in 1559: 'Dieu ne se repent point, et ne se deult point: mais le S. Esprit s'accommode à nostre rudesse par tel propos, nous voulant declarer au vif comment le peché desplait à Dieu.' No problem. I just note in passing that the expression 's'accommode à nostre rudesse par tel propos' is very familiar to students of Calvin in particular (though not exclusively): Calvin, conscious of the overwhelming otherness, transcendence, of God, is very aware of the need for God to 'accommodate' or adjust what he says to man to fit man's understanding (hence the Communion, the metaphoric and imaged language of scripture, etc.). The English 1560 Geneva Bible comments: 'God doeth never repent, but he speaketh after our capacitie, because he did destroy him, and in that, as it were, did disavowe him to be his creature.' 'After our capacitie' takes up the 'accommodation' theme. But the 'disavowe him to be his creature' does not come straight from the French. Not here... But Calvin was preaching on this passage in Saint-Pierre, Geneva, on Friday 17 November 1559 (Sermon 33), and he remarks: 'Ce mot [« Dieu se repent »] emporte autant, comme s'il disoit que Dieu *nous desadvoue pour ses creatures*'.<sup>15</sup>

This is not an isolated coincidence. David Daniell quotes the English 1560 Geneva marginal note to Gen. 8.11 ('And the dove came to him in the evening, and lo in her mouthe was an olive leafe that she had pluct: whereby Noah knewe that the waters were abated from of the earth'): for Noah, the dove's olive leaf 'was a signe that the waters were muche diminished, for the olives growe not on the hie mountaines'. In his sermons on Genesis, on 16

December 1559, in Sermon 40, Calvin had reached this text. He says: 'Dieu a donné à ce pigeon ceste branche d'olive, qui est un arbre, comme nous savons, qui ne fleurit point aux hautes montaignes, et qui n'a point aussi grande hauteur. C'estoit donc un signe asseuré à Noé, que les plaines et les lieux bas, et mesmes les lyeux fertiles où croissent les oliviers, que ces lieux là estoient desja dessechez et la terre descouverte.'<sup>16</sup>

The Genevan family likeness is clear. This is not to say that the comments are 'Calvinistic'.

Which brings us to a central point about these 'doctrinal' notes. We have been accustomed for at least two centuries to perceiving multiple voices in the Bible - Genesis 1 and Genesis 2 juxtapose two different creation narratives; the Pentateuch is partly from a 'J' viewpoint, partly from 'E', partly from 'P'; the Book of Isaiah is the work of several writers. And so on. We are (most of us) not upset by this. The Epistle of James is now normally seen (I think) as part of a debate within the early Church about works and faith, with different viewpoints being expressed by Paul and James. But in the sixteenth century this would not do. The 'revelation' of the 'Word of God' was seen as much more direct and immediate. Calvin usually introduces quotations by words such as 'The Holy Spirit says by the mouth of Moses / the prophet / the Apostle...' And clearly the Holy Spirit cannot contradict himself (herself?). Hence the need, in Genesis 6, to 'explain away' the idea that God repented of having created man. And hence, above all, the need to show that there is no contradiction between what the Holy Spirit said by the mouth of St Paul, and what the Holy Spirit said by the mouth of St James. More specifically, given the central place of justification by faith in both Luther and Calvin, the problem is to understand what St James meant when, in chapter 2 verse 14, he wrote (in the Geneva Bible version) 'What availeth it, my brethren, thogh a man saith he hathe faith, when he hathe no workes? can the faith save him?' Or again at verse 24: 'Ye se then how that of workes a man is justified, and not of faith onely.' This second verse is easily dealt with. The 1559 French Bible glosses 'justified' by 'Cognu et approuvé juste devant les hommes', and 'faith' by 'Par une nue et vaine cognoissance de Dieu.' And the 1560 English Geneva Bible glosses the same two words: '*justified*: 'Is so knowen and declared to man'; and '*faith*: 'Of that baren and dead faith wherof ye boast'. In fact both are clearly derived from Calvin's commentary on St. James (Latin 1551, French 1550): 'L'homme *n'est point justifié seulement par la foy, c'est à dire par une cognoissance de Dieu nue et vaine. Il est justifié par les œuvres: c'est à dire sa justice est connue et approuvée par les fruits.*' (Which is not quite the same thing as 'approuvé devant

les hommes' or 'known and declared to man'. But at v. 21 the commentary had said: 'declaration ou approbation de justice par les œuvres ou effets, et ce devant les hommes.')

The marginal notes to v. 14 show a different pattern. The 1559 French says simply, on *foy*, 'Il entend une cognoissance de Dieu nue et froide', which more or less copies the commentary: 'une simple et froide cognoissance de Dieu'. The English 1560 note is more extensive, and more didactic: 'S. Paul to the Romains and Galatians disputeth against them which attributed justification to the workes: and here S. James reasoneth against them who utterly condemne workes: therefore Paul sheweth the causes of our justification, and James the effectes: there it is declared how we are justified: here how we are known to be justified: there workes are excluded as not the cause of our justification: here they are approved as effects proceeding thereof: there they are denied to go before them that shalbe justified: and here they are said to followe them that are justified.' This excursus making explicit the Paul / James confrontation is based again on Calvin's commentary on v. 21: 'For when Saint Paul teaches that we are justified by faith, he means only that we obtain this, to be deemed just before God. But Saint James has something else in mind, namely that someone who claims to be faithful demonstrates by his works that his faith is true. It is certain that Saint James did not want here to teach wherein lies saving faith, which is the only point on which Saint Paul insists. So as not to make the mistake which has misled the Sophists, we must note this ambiguity or diversity of meanings, namely that the word *Justification* in Saint Paul means the free attribution of righteousness before the judgement seat of God; and in Saint James, it is a declaration or approval of righteousness by works or effects, and that before men.'<sup>17</sup>

To summarize: these marginal notes are scriptural far more than Calvinist (and bear in mind that Calvin himself was far more scriptural than Calvinist: see the section on 'Calvin not a Calvinist' in Daniell, pp. 307-9). Especially in a period where the coherence of all parts of Scripture was an essential basis for all commentary. And, moreover, the 'Geneva context' was the ONLY complete and coherent Bible study system available at the time. Of course Calvin has much to do with the content of the notes. It would have been very surprising if it had been otherwise. It is simply that the English Geneva Bible produced in 1560 fits seamlessly into the ongoing process of providing study-aid Bibles for pastors and for the laity. Which, as I pointed out, was a desperate need for the French Reformed communities springing up all over France at that moment. And, in a slightly modified context, it was a desperate need at the beginning of the reign of Good Queen Bess. Unlike

the French situation, where Reformed pastors, even those previously priests or monks, made an individual and weighty decision to become Reformed, the English clergy in 1560 was a mix of all sorts, with a majority of parish priests continuing in office but under new rules, plus some (in particular the returning exiles) deeply influenced by the Continental Reformation. The Geneva Bible played an essential role in providing a coherent benchmark theology, the only one available, for this disparate clergy. As Dr Alexander wrote, 'its users were to be found among Anglican divines, Presbyterians, and Separatists'.<sup>18</sup> It has been shown that, even after 1611, many preachers, including bishops hostile to 'all things evangelical', often drew their sermon texts from the Geneva version.<sup>19</sup>

### Epilogue: the aftermath

Despite its immense popularity and success, the Geneva Bible was pushed aside by the King James version of 1611. David Daniell ascribes this mainly to political reasons: 'Even the inception, in January 1604, of the 1611 KJV was a political act by reactionary bishops against Geneva Bibles. As will be seen, the large printing of that 'King James' version in 1611, in spite of its immediate unpopularity, was organized in order to push out the Geneva Bibles.'<sup>20</sup> I certainly do not want to argue with that viewpoint. I just want to add a note about the later evolution of Bibles in both French and English.

In Geneva, the cumulating biblical annotations reached a high point in the early 1560s. And, like the English Geneva Bible, the French editions were highly successful. Imitation being the highest form of flattery, we should remember the case of René Benoist.<sup>21</sup> Benoist was a theologian in the Paris faculty, and ferociously anti-Calvin: at least 46 titles of anti-Geneva pamphlets and books are known from his pen. And yet, in 1566, he published an annotated Bible in French (the first French Bible printed in Paris since 1525). As his theological colleagues were quick to point out, Benoist took most of his translation and his notes from French-language Geneva Bibles. The dispute between Benoist and his peers dragged on for many years, and involved the exclusion of Benoist from the Faculty in 1572, and a condemnation of Benoist's 'translation' by Pope Gregory XIII in 1575. But Benoist was clearly convinced that his Bible editions filled a need, indeed, as he said in his 1568 second edition, he would put the 'heretical' Bible printers and booksellers out of business by replacement with his good Catholic teachings. So the tradition of ample annotation lived on, at least for a while.

But, to my mind, another trend set in shortly after Benoist's action. In 1578 Christophe Plantin published a Bible in Antwerp, known as the

‘Louvain Bible’; he based his text mainly on Benoist, and included ‘arguments’ to each book; but all the notes have disappeared except for scriptural cross-references. As Bettye Chambers remarks, ‘it is this « Louvain Bible » that spawned, or influenced, most of the non-Geneva version editions for the latter part of the century.’<sup>22</sup> In the same year, Sebastien Honorati of Lyon produced a Bible also based on Benoist but without his ‘arguments’ or marginal notes, but with chapter summaries taken from Jean de Tournes. Honorati inserts a brief ‘avertissement’, stating that his Bible is ‘sans gloses, additions ny distractions qui la puissent rendre suspecte.’<sup>23</sup>

And even in Geneva there was a reaction. The major new edition of the Bible emanating from the city is the ‘Bible de la Compagnie des Pasteurs’, produced in 1588, after years of work, in three formats – folio, quarto and octavo; this edition formed the basis of all French-language Geneva Bibles until the end of the seventeenth century. There are plenty of illustrations, and some prefaces; but the marginal notes have been markedly reduced.

The point is simply that, when the KJV ‘translators’ did their work in 1604-1611, the trend against marginal notes had already taken root extensively in French-language Bibles. While this does not refute the charge of ‘a political act’ in the KJV rejection of notes, it does show that, here as in the creation of the Geneva Bible, the new version is to be inserted into a certain context.

#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> David Daniell, *The Bible in English. Its History and Influence* (Yale U.P., New Haven and London, 2003), chapters 16 and 17.

<sup>2</sup> Modern edition by Pierre Pidoux in *Psaumes mis en vers français (1551-1562) accompagnés de la version en prose de Lois Budé* (Geneva, Droz, 1984).

<sup>3</sup> Rodolphe Peter et Jean-François Gilmont, *Bibliotheca Calviniana. Les Œuvres de Jean Calvin publiés au XVIe siècle*, 3 vols. (Geneva, Droz, 1991-2000). *Supplementa Calviniana* (Neukirchen), several volumes by various editors, in progress.

<sup>4</sup> The details are in *Supplementa Calviniana* 2, the introductory essay by Bernard Gagnebin on the history of Calvin’s sermons. Of these sermons, those on 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Isaiah and Genesis survive, at least in part.

<sup>5</sup> The details : William Whittingham, 1 July 1557 ; John Bodley, 31 May 1558 ; John Knox, William Williams, John Baron, Christopher Goodman and Richard Amondsham (the only one not noted as being involved in the Geneva Bible project), 21 June 1558 (thanks to Valerie Offord for providing me

with this information. She also points out that Jean Calvin, Pierre Viret and Theodore de Bèze did not become *bourgeois* until 1559).

<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne Royal Printer. An historical study of the elder Stephanus* (Cambridge University Press, 1954, revised edition The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1986).

<sup>7</sup> Jean-François Gilmont, ‘Le Sommaire des livres du vieil et nouveau testament de Robert Estienne, ou l’étrange périple d’une confession de foi’, in *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 212 (1995), 175-89, reprinted, but without the text of the *Sommaire*, in *Le Livre et ses secrets* (Presses universitaires de Louvain and Geneva, Droz, 2003), 245-263.

<sup>8</sup> Communication in the colloquium on « Les impressions réformées de Pierre de Vingle (Neuchâtel, 1533-1535) », Montreal, 31 August - 2 September 2005.

<sup>9</sup> ‘« Without great effort, and with pleasure » : Sixteenth-Century Genevan Bibles and Reading Practices’, in *The Bible as Book : The Reformation*, ed. Orlaith O’Sullivan (The British Library and Oak

Knoll Press, 2000), pp. 115-122. A French-language version of the same paper appears in *Lire et découvrir. La circulation des idées au temps de la Réforme* (Geneva, Droz, 1998), pp. 573-82.

<sup>10</sup> The remarkable story of maps in Bibles is told in detail by Catherine Delano-Smith and Elizabeth Ingram, *Maps in Bibles, 1500-1600. An Illustrated Catalogue* (Geneva, Droz, 1991).

<sup>11</sup> ‘je leur ay préparé une aide et un moyen fort propre pour suppleer ce qui leur défaut. En premier lieu, pour avoir plus claire intelligence de ce qu’on lira, vous avez un argument sur chacun livre, lequel contient en somme ce qui est traité en iceluy, avec le but et intention où il pretend : et en outre des annotations en marge prises et recueillies des purs auteurs, et plus entiers et fidelles expositeurs des saintes Escritures, tant anciens que nouveaux. Au moyen dequoy il sera fort facile d’avoir sans grand travail, la vraye intelligence des passages difficiles desdites Escritures avec contentement, comme si on avoit long temps travaillé en lisant les auteurs et expositeurs susdits. Item, les figures de l’arche de Noé, du tabernacle, du parvis, des autels, de la table des pains, de la vesture sacerdotale, du temple de Salomon et des vaisseaux d’iceluy, pour représenter au vif devant les yeux ce qui seroit plus difficile à imaginer et considerer par la seule lecture. Plus outre, quatre cartes chorographiques de grande utilité et consolation. La premiere monstre l’issue des enfans d’Israel hors d’Egypte, et le chemin qu’ils ont tenu par quarante ans és desers d’Arabie, et les quarante deux mansions ou stacions mentionnées au chap. 33 de Nombres. La seconde carte contient la division de la terre sainte, faite par Josué aux lignées d’Israel, selon qu’il est escrit au livre dudit Josué. La troisieme est sur le nouveau Testament, contenant la description de la terre sainte, avec les lieux seulement desquels il est fait mention par les quatre Evangelistes, et quelques autres lieux maritimes, afin que ladite carte ne fust par trop chargée, et consequemment pleine d’obscurité. On pourra par icelle voir à l’œil les chemins qui ont esté faits par Jesus Christ et par ses disciples tant en Judée, Samarie qu’en Galilée : le tout selon l’ordre qui est escrit par lesdits Evangelistes. La quatrieme est sur les Actes des Apostres, contenant l’estendue de la terre, depuis l’Italie du costé d’Occident, jusques aux Medes tirant en Orient avec les pays, regions, isles, villes et lieux mentionnez audit livre des Actes. En laquelle carte on pourra voir à l’œil la peregrination faite par saint Paul, et par les autres Apostres, selon le recit qui en est fait audit livre. Et sont lesdites cartes faites par artifice, avec observation des degrez de longitude et latitude des lieux contenus en icelle.

Il y a encore une cinquieme carte pour ledit livre des Actes, en laquelle sont declarées les années des voyages et peregrinations de saint Paul, et le temps auquel il a escrit ses Epistres’ (fol. \*2r-v).

<sup>12</sup> See Heidi-Lucie Schlaepfer, ‘Laurent de Normandie’, in *Aspects de la propagande religieuse*, Geneva, Droz, 1957, p. 180.

<sup>13</sup> Delano-Smith and Ingram, *Maps in Bibles*, pp. 4-8.

<sup>14</sup> David Alexander, ‘The Genevan version of the Bible : its origin, translation and influence’ (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1957), p. 171, quoted by Daniell, p. 306.

<sup>15</sup> Jean Calvin, *Sermons sur la Genèse, chapitres 1.1-11.4*, ed. Max Engammare (*Supplementa Calviniana*, Neukirchener Verlag, 2000, Vol. 11/1, p. 373).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 446.

<sup>17</sup> ‘Car quand saint Paul enseigne que nous sommes justifiez par foy, il ne signifie autre chose, sinon que nous obtenons ceci, que nous sommes reputez justes devant Dieu. Mais saint Jacques regarde bien à un autre but, asçavoir que celui qui se dit estre fidele demonstre par œuvres que sa foy est vraye. Il est certain que saint Jacques n’a point yci voulu enseigner où doit reposer la fiance de salut, qui est le seul poinct sur lequel saint Paul insiste. Afin donc que ne mesprenions en ce qui a abusé les Sophistes, il faut noter ceste ambiguité ou diversité de significations, asçavoir que ce mot *Justification* en saint Paul signifie une imputation gratuite de justice devant le siege judicial de Dieu ; et en saint Jacques, c’est une declaration ou approbation de justice par les œuvres ou effets, et ce devant les hommes’. The same point is developed in the *Institution*, 3.17.12.

<sup>18</sup> Alexander p. 191, quoted by Daniell, p. 311.

<sup>19</sup> Daniell, p. 295.

<sup>20</sup> Daniell, p. 294.

<sup>21</sup> See my article on ‘Les *Advertissemens* des Bibles de René Benoist (1566, 1568), in *Entrer en matière. Les prologues*, ed. Jean-Daniel Dubois and Bernard Roussel (Paris, Cerf, 1998), pp. 463-71, reprinted in *Lire et découvrir*, pp. 563-71.

<sup>22</sup> Bettye Thomas Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles. Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century French-Language Editions of the Scriptures* (Geneva, Droz, 1983), p. 423.

<sup>23</sup> Chambers p. 424.

## History as Handmaiden: Robert Barnes, *sola scriptura*, and historical polemic

Korey D. Maas

Assistant professor of theology and church history at Concordia University, Irvine, California  
and co-author of *Called to Believe Teach and Confess: An Introduction to Doctrinal Theology* Wipf & Stock 2005.

While the principle of “Scripture alone” has long been treated as a cornerstone of early modern evangelical theology and polemic, scholarship throughout the last century has given increasing attention to the reformers’ frequent use of history in theological polemic. The extent to which many reformers make unembarrassed use of historical arguments is striking because, as has been stressed by more than one commentator, evangelical appeals to history were neither inevitable nor logically necessary in the controversies of the 16th century.<sup>1</sup> This is especially true in the case of those reformers who elevated the principle of *sola scriptura* to a place of unquestioned importance in their thought. In fact, in the light of a conservative Roman insistence on the insufficiency of Scripture alone, and a corresponding emphasis on the authority of history and tradition as necessary complements to that of Scripture, any consistent evangelical reliance on historical argument might appear quite out of place. And indeed, some authors have asserted that such dual emphases are inherently self-contradictory. Such, for example, was the conclusion formulated in Pontien Polman’s classic work on the historical element in 16th century religious controversy.<sup>2</sup> More recently, and most pointedly, this conclusion has been stated in question form:

*[I]n a world based entirely on Scripture what place is there for history? Indeed if history, and all other non-scriptural writing, lacks all authority or truthfulness as an unwritten verity what is the point of writing?*<sup>3</sup>

Such conclusions both reflect and perpetuate the long-standing perception that, for the early reformers, ‘opening the word’ necessarily meant ‘closing the chronicles’; relying on Scripture meant—at least for those who followed the logic of their convictions—rejecting history. As it was William Tyndale more than any other English reformer who devoted his life to ‘opening the word to the world’, it is not surprising that some proponents of the above thesis have appealed to his writings in support of their contention. As Tyndale’s works do persuasively illustrate the thesis to be debated in this essay, it is worth briefly highlighting his views and their implications.

For Tyndale, the principle of Scripture alone was unquestionably founda-

tional. Popular works such as *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* demonstrate particularly well what has been described as Tyndale’s ‘inflexible adherence to *sola scriptura*’.<sup>4</sup> So, for example, it is in this work that Tyndale writes:

*Seek the word of God in all things; and without the word of God do nothing, though it appear never so glorious. Whatsoever is done without the word of God, that count idolatry.*

This emphasis on the sufficiency of Scripture especially comes to the fore in Tyndale’s vigorous debate with Thomas More, a debate which ‘centered on the question whether the final authority in matters of church practice and doctrine should be the scriptures or the traditions of the Church’.<sup>6</sup> In the tract which opened this exchange, the *Dialogue against Heresies*, More had scoffed at the idea of Scripture being a sufficient source for defining the Christian faith.<sup>7</sup> Instead, in all of his polemical works, More appeals to the inerrant and infallible authority of the church and her traditions. So frequent and so fundamental is this appeal that one author will describe it as his ‘*deus ex machina*’.<sup>8</sup>

Tyndale’s theological presuppositions of course prohibited any agreement with More’s own position. Thus, in his *Answer unto Sir Thomas More’s Dialogue*, he immediately asks his readers to judge ‘whether their authority be above the scripture; whether all they teach without scripture be equal with the scripture; whether they have erred, and not only whether they can’.<sup>9</sup> As he consistently rejects the traditional answer to such questions, it becomes clear that Tyndale’s belief in the authority of Scripture alone is ‘*the presupposition of everything*’.<sup>10</sup>

Because this is indeed Tyndale’s presupposition, it is no surprise that the great majority of his writings are biblical and exegetical in character. Similarly, those who have attempted to summarise Tyndale’s theological programme have concluded that he ‘sought to and became, above all else, a translator of holy scripture’,<sup>11</sup> and that he was ‘above all else a scholar of the Greek Bible’.<sup>12</sup> As evidence of this one need not only look to Tyndale’s *New Testament* translation, his many prefaces to the biblical books, or his expositions of various portions of Scripture; even his distinctly polemical writings reveal his preoccupation with exegetical argument. David Daniell has observed, for instance, that in his *Obedience of a Christian Man* Tyndale ‘builds his sentences, paragraphs and pages out of the bricks of Scripture’,<sup>13</sup> and that ‘from start to finish it is about the Bible’.<sup>14</sup> Even in his polemical exchange with More, Tyndale spends a great deal of time justifying his controversial translation and interpretation of certain biblical terms. Because this constant return to exegetical arguments is evident in nearly all of his works, it has not illogically been concluded that Tyndale very consciously slights historical arguments in favour of those from Scripture alone. Stating this conclusion most forcefully, Rainer Pineas has

argued that 'Tyndale regarded all nonscriptural study - including the study of history - with suspicion, indulging it only as a necessary evil'.<sup>15</sup>

This is not to say that Tyndale does not make frequent references to history. In fact he does. Again and again he exhorts his readers to 'Read the chronicles of England',<sup>16</sup> and to 'Look in the chronicles'.<sup>17</sup> He tells Thomas More to 'Read the stories of your popes and cardinals',<sup>18</sup> and urges his King to 'look in the chronicles, what the popes have done to kings in time past'.<sup>19</sup> It is on the basis of such exhortations that Glanmor Williams could actually suggest that 'Not one of the others among the first generation of English reformers showed himself to be as historically minded as Tyndale'.<sup>20</sup> Yet this historical-mindedness never prompts Tyndale himself to build an extended theological argument based upon available histories. To the contrary, although 'he refers to them extensively, he seems to do so almost reluctantly'.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, despite his frequent exhortations to take up the chronicles, at the same time he actively discourages his readers from doing so. He tells them 'not to believe a tale of Robin Hood, or Gesta Romanorum, or of the Chronicles, but to believe God's word'.<sup>22</sup> He openly gives voice to his suspicion of non-biblical sources, saying 'I doubt not but they [the papists] have put the best and fairest for themselves . . . for I suppose they make the chronicles themselves'.<sup>23</sup> Further indicating Tyndale's actual discouragement of reading history is the fact that his references to ecclesiastical history are 'made with a vagueness which we shall find to be characteristic of his references to history generally'.<sup>24</sup> That is, only very rarely does he reveal which particular histories his audience might read with benefit. It has been pointed out that in the entire corpus of Tyndale's writings only one work of ecclesiastical history is referred to by name; likewise, only once does he name a source of secular history.<sup>25</sup>

There seems, then, some warrant for judging the evangelical principle of *sola scriptura* to have been - both in theory and practice - antithetical to a sustained theological engagement with non-biblical historical sources. The question, however, must be whether Tyndale is representative of his fellow evangelicals in this regard. Certainly he was not unique. But comparison with at least one of his contemporaries might provide some small evidence in support of an alternative thesis. For some early English evangelicals, perhaps a legitimate theological use of history was derived from - and put to use in defence of - the principle of Scripture alone.

In testing this thesis, it is worth examining the thought of Tyndale's contemporary, the English preacher and polemicist Robert Barnes, as there is a great deal that associates both the persons and the thought of these two men. No sooner had Tyndale's *New Testament* come off the press than

Barnes became one of its distributors in England.<sup>26</sup> As exiles, both would matriculate at the University of Wittenberg;<sup>27</sup> and in the early 1530s both were familiar faces to the printers and English merchants of Antwerp.<sup>28</sup> Both were there courted by Cromwell's agent Stephen Vaughan, who hoped to engage them in the defence of Henry's divorce.<sup>29</sup> Conversely, those on the other side of the theological divide also found reason to associate the two. Thomas More, for instance, in his *Confutation* of Tyndale, includes a protracted diatribe against Barnes's theology.<sup>30</sup> Likewise, with Tyndale's arrest by Henry Phillips in 1535, it soon became known that Phillips had been commissioned to take Barnes at the same time.<sup>31</sup>

Ultimately more significant than any personal association, however, are their doctrinal affinities, especially their shared doctrine of Scripture. Modern commentators have with near unanimity concluded that, like Tyndale, Barnes viewed the Bible as 'the only infallible source of religious knowledge',<sup>32</sup> and that he was 'an unswerving exponent of the Protestant principle of *sola scriptura*'.<sup>33</sup> 20th century observers are not alone in having reached such conclusions. Already in the 16th century there were those who pronounced similar judgements. When Miles Coverdale defended his former prior against the posthumous attack of John Standish, he noted that Standish had been especially vexed by the fact that Barnes 'would never willingly grant anything but what was in Scripture'.<sup>34</sup>

In his own writings Barnes will insist that the church 'beleve and reseve alonly [God's] word', without which 'we cane do nothings but erre'.<sup>35</sup> This conviction becomes especially apparent in his comments upon the alternative authority of human reason. Common, for example, is his contrast of 'blind presumtuious / & damnable' reason with the 'very grounde' and 'suer ancore' of the 'invincible scripturs'.<sup>36</sup>

Given Barnes's high regard for Scripture, however, it is immediately striking that he makes so little use of it. As William Clebsch has bluntly stated, 'he made no original study of the Bible'.<sup>37</sup> Clebsch is not mistaken; in none of Barnes's writings does an original, or even an extensive, interpretation of Scripture appear. Quotations abound, but detailed analysis is rare indeed.

This evident unwillingness to engage in any sustained examination of, or commentary upon, the biblical texts sets Barnes apart from many of his evangelical counterparts. It also sheds light on the intentions which motivate his writing. Because he believes Scripture to be the sole authority for the establishment of Christian doctrine, yet nevertheless offers little in the way of biblical analysis which might support specifically evangelical dogma, it



would appear that Barnes's intentions lie elsewhere. And indeed, in Barnes's major works, his *Sententiae ex Doctoribus Collectae*, his two *Supplications* to Henry VIII, and his *Vitae Romanorum Pontificum* (all written in the first half of the 1530s) - it is the historical argument which comes to the fore as Barnes's favoured polemical and theological device.

Given the prevalence of the view previously noted - that '*Not one of the others among the first generation of English reformers showed himself to be as historically minded as Tyndale*' - it has been but a small step to the subsequent assumption that Barnes's programme was simply an imitation of Tyndale's. So it is with reference to Tyndale that John King asserts that Barnes and other Englishmen merely '*followed their master*'.<sup>38</sup> This judgement is also shared by Katherine Firth, who suggests that '*Tyndale's Practice of Prelates established a pattern of English argument from history that remained virtually unchanged throughout the decade*', and concludes that '*Robert Barnes made use of the same approach*'.<sup>39</sup> Whether these assumptions are more than superficially true, however, is the question now at hand.

By way of preface, it is important to emphasise that Barnes's high view of Scripture was predicated upon his belief in its divine origins and nature. To borrow a distinction made by Anthony Lane, its place of primacy was dictated by '*a theological, not merely a humanist, principle*'.<sup>40</sup> That is, Barnes does not simply elevate Scripture to the position of highest authority because it is the most ancient of the historical sources relevant to Christianity. Were this his justification, it would be much easier to account for the frequency with which he appeals to other historical sources such as fathers, councils, and chronicles. In the event, however, Barnes posits a qualitative difference between 'Scripture' and 'history'. The fact that he does so, emphasising Scripture's divine origins and inerrant nature while at the same time calling most frequently upon the testimony of history, undermines Pontien Polman's contention that Protestant polemicists were forced to soften their stance on infallibility in order to make use of historical argumentation.<sup>41</sup>

A similar conclusion must also be qualified with reference to Barnes. Polman saw in the Protestant appeal to history not only an implicit doubt concerning Scripture's infallibility, but also its sufficiency. He argued that the evangelical use of history was in some respect inevitable as reformers felt the need for an extra-biblical authority which might serve to curb the plethora of private interpretations of Scripture.<sup>42</sup> A generation ago Leslie Fairfield voiced a similar judgement, describing the Protestant turn to history as part of a search for a normative period in the church's past which, though extra-biblical, could be used as a standard to measure the church's doctrines and

ceremonies.<sup>43</sup> This is undoubtedly true with respect to a number of those who made polemical use of the historical record. John Bale, who serves as Fairfield's primary point of reference, took such a view, which, Fairfield is careful to point out, differs greatly from that of Barnes. Though both, especially in their histories of the papacy, drew largely from the same sources, Fairfield notes that they '*differed radically in their attitude to the pre-Constantinian Church*'.<sup>44</sup> Barnes, for example, was quite content to make mention of Pope Felix I instituting offices for the dead, or Calixtus I making lavish expenditures for the adornment of churches.<sup>45</sup> Bale, on the other hand, insists that the earlier historians who had recorded such information were nothing other than liars and blasphemers. His reason for doing so, Fairfield explains, was his desire '*to show that the pre-Constantinian Church had not been marred by the kind of superstition which he and the English Church had rejected*'.<sup>46</sup> Fairfield's corresponding comment on Barnes's method is telling: '*Since the Bible was his only norm, he quite happily copied all the material he could find in Platina and the others which showed the early popes inventing rites and pious observances*'.<sup>47</sup>

Rather than hindering any appeal to history, then, it would appear that Barnes's insistence on *sola scriptura* both motivated such a method and in fact enhanced his use of it. Again, comparison with Bale is instructive. Fairfield rightly emphasises that his disagreement with Barnes '*did not arise from any greater critical sense on Bale's part*'.<sup>48</sup> What he does not go so far as to state is that the very opposite might be the case. It seems, however, that it is indeed. Bale's deductive approach to history at least partially explains what Rainer Pineas has noted: Barnes '*is far more accurate than . . . Bale in the polemical use of history*'.<sup>49</sup> Unencumbered by the need to portray the early church as the doctrinally pristine institution of a golden age, Barnes was free to deal more honestly with his sources than other prominent evangelical polemicists.

Given his frequent employment of historical argumentation, however, Barnes's judgement regarding the sufficiency of Scripture alone must be carefully defined. This is all the more necessary as it is this point which has elicited the most confusion concerning the evangelical principle of *sola scriptura*. An extreme example is the caricature of this principle as the belief that all extra-biblical information is by its very nature false. Commenting, for example, upon the *Confutation of Unwritten Verities*, an anonymously edited work compiled from the notebooks of Thomas Cranmer, one author summarises the evangelical conception of *sola scriptura* by saying, '*Unwritten verities, truths not found in Scripture, are untruthful except when exposing the lies of papists*'.<sup>50</sup> This, however, is not quite fair to the point being made in the

*Confutation*; the claim was simply that unwritten verities have no authority to establish doctrine.<sup>51</sup> Barnes likewise claims no more than that Scripture alone is to be judged authoritative in determining doctrines which command the assent of the church.<sup>52</sup> Extra-biblical literature is not of itself to be impugned; only when it is judged normative or binding in doctrinal matters are its conclusions condemned.

Barnes's firm distinction between the natures of Scripture and history corresponds to a similar distinction made between the proper uses of each. It is significant that these clear demarcations distinguish Barnes from those contemporaries - both conservative and evangelical - who attempted to forge a mutually interdependent relationship between history and Scripture. Illustrative of the conservative attempt is the firm conviction of Johann Eck and others that the church and her tradition *are 'the highest court of appeal in cases where the Scripture is susceptible to different interpretations'*.<sup>53</sup> That is, history relates to Scripture as a necessary interpretive aid: history interprets Scripture. Without recourse to the church's history - the opinions of its fathers, the pronouncements of its popes, councils, and lawyers, and the traditional rites of its congregations - Scripture will remain in part unclear.

More subtle, yet no less significant, was the manner in which many evangelicals, especially those of a historical bent, were also beginning to define the interdependent relation between Scripture and history. Simply stated, they proposed the converse of the conservative position. Scripture is not to be interpreted in the light of history, but history is to be interpreted in the light of Scripture. This inclination to make Scripture explain history is particularly evident in the growing number of chronicles and histories produced by reformers both in England and on the continent. The tendency of evangelical chroniclers to organise their works according to the prophetic schemes of Daniel or Revelation, for example, has quite sensibly been described as a *'coin of common intellectual currency'* in the 16th century.<sup>54</sup> The historically driven polemic of the English reformer John Bale is, once again, particularly noteworthy. Commenting on the scheme employed in Bale's history of the popes, Fairfield has rightly observed that *'this very pattern (derived from the Bible rather than the historical data) reinforced his inclination to interpret his evidence in light of the revealed Truth'*.<sup>55</sup>

Barnes certainly did not remain ignorant of or unaffected by common apocalyptic notions. Yet, by refusing to impose such beliefs upon his historical method - even where one would logically expect it, in his history of the papacy - he is able to avoid some of the problems inevitably raised by attempting to establish an interdependent relationship between Scripture

and history. For example, he avoids the potential tensions highlighted by Thomas Betteridge, who has suggested that

*the appearance of apocalyptic imagery in a work of history radically undermines the truthfulness of the historical text by introducing an inherently ahistorical, if not anti-historical, truth into its midst. In other words, once an event becomes apocalyptic it implicitly becomes not of history and, in a sense, drops out of a historical discourse; it becomes scriptural.*<sup>56</sup>

By so often making historical argumentation his choice of polemical method, but by refusing to relate history too closely to the nature and purpose of Scripture, Barnes steers a middle way between evangelical and conservative contemporaries. Against conservative claims such as those made by Eck, he is able to demonstrate that a simple belief in what the 'historical church' teaches and proclaims is insufficient and unsustainable in the light of that church's many self-contradictions and reversals of opinion. Objectionable doctrine is thereby undermined while the necessity of *sola scriptura* is at the same time re-affirmed; and this, for Barnes, seems to be enough.<sup>57</sup> He therefore stops short of those evangelicals who, sharing his belief in *sola scriptura*, attempt to make it so wide-ranging a principle as to find Scripture the sole norm and authority even outside the realm of dogma. In Barnes's thought, Scripture and history each have their limits. History cannot be judged normative as a basis for establishing doctrine or for interpreting Scripture. But conversely, neither can Scripture be judged normative as an interpreter of history.

Clearly Barnes shares with his evangelical contemporaries a high view of Scripture, a view which leads them to conclude that it alone is to be granted authoritative status in the establishment of doctrine. As is also clear, however, this common view does not lead every author to a common conception of the relationship between Scripture and history, either in theory or in use. As Bruce Gordon has rightly emphasised: *'there was no one Protestant view of history, but several, and each acquired its voice and character from the local circumstances out of which it arose'*.<sup>58</sup> By way of conclusion, then, questions must be asked about *'the local circumstances'* out of which Barnes's own historical-theological programme arose.

In spite of his frequent travels in Germany and his consistent adherence to the doctrine of the Lutheran reformers, there is little doubt that Barnes's programme took shape in the context of those events related to the reform of the church in England. It was to the English King that three of his four published works were dedicated. Much of the time he spent even in the company of the German reformers was at the behest of, and in the employ of, the English Crown. And despite the King's hope that his ambassador would per-

suade the German Lutherans to accept a theological settlement based upon mutually agreeable compromises, it would seem that Barnes, like his mentor Thomas Cromwell, was in fact secretly promoting England's full acceptance of those reforms already implemented in Saxony. It is to England especially, then, that one must look for the context in which Barnes's programme was developed. And the distinctly historical bent of this programme might partially be explained by this context, as it has been noted that it was especially among English reformers that '*reforming rhetoric pressed historical precedent with a singular intensity*'.<sup>59</sup>

This fact can perhaps be traced to the tone set in one of the earliest polemical works of the English reformation. Responding to Luther's treatise on the '*Babylonian captivity*' of the church, Henry VIII himself presented an historical challenge. If grievous error had been introduced since the time of the apostles, he argued in his *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, then surely someone should '*recall this to our memory from the histories*'.<sup>60</sup> In presenting this challenge Henry had especially in mind that dogma concerning papal authority. And this authority, as he understood it, necessarily included the liberty to promulgate Christian doctrine and regulate ecclesiastical practice. If such authority were no divine right, if it had been usurped in the course of the church's history, then there should be no lack of evidence for such an assertion. Thus it has been reasonably argued that '*The problem which, above all others, forced the participants in the Reformation ecclesiastical controversies to appeal to the record of human experience was that of authority*'.<sup>61</sup> It was precisely to this problem that Barnes would turn his attention in his published works. In his earliest, the *Sententiae ex Doctoribus Collectae*, he turned not only to Scripture, but, as the title suggests, also to fathers, councils, and canon law in order to demonstrate that many doctrines and rites of the contemporary church had been clearly rejected or condemned by the very authorities this church championed as normative. The two editions of his *Supplication* would argue the same point in more detail, once again referring not only to Scripture, but also to traditional authorities and available chronicles.

Although arguably effective from a polemical point of view, this concentrated emphasis on historical authorities was not without its own theological problems. Perhaps the foremost of these was simply the question of how much the historical record itself could be considered authoritative, and on what basis. The answer of Tyndale, as previously noted, was that the extant sources, especially the chronicles, were so flawed by the dubious motives of their authors that they warranted only suspicion. Barnes refused to adopt this conclusion, however, preferring instead to assume the veracity of the

historical record without forcing it into a specifically biblical paradigm. Like Tyndale, he would not permit even incontrovertible historical evidence to displace or complement Scripture in establishing doctrine; but to a far greater degree than Tyndale, he recognised that it could be a formidable weapon in the refutation of doctrinal claims based upon non-scriptural authority. He saw that historical arguments certainly had their limitations; but, if persuasively presented, they could be '*highly effective at stiffening the morale of the converted and the half-converted*'.<sup>62</sup> To Barnes, who in the early 1530s was presenting his case to a King already embroiled in controversy with Rome, Henry himself could only appear to be one of the '*half-converted*' to whom a historical argument might appeal. And indeed, in the light of the historical research sponsored by the King in preparation for his break with Rome and assertion of imperial authority, there is little doubt that such arguments were in fact appealing.

As Henry's anti-papal position became increasingly unqualified, culminating in the 1534 rejection of all papal authority, Barnes grasped the opportunity to focus his historical-theological polemic even more sharply. He was, in fact, virtually invited to do so. Shortly after the Oath to Succession had been administered, all English clergy were exhorted to preach '*against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome*'.<sup>63</sup> In June of 1535, in the months immediately preceding the completion of Barnes's *Vitae Romanorum Pontificum*, the clergy were commanded to '*publishe and shewe to the people how the Pope hath usurped and taken upon him contrarie to Christes faythe*'.<sup>64</sup> There is some indication that there was a real need for persuasive arguments concerning the rise of the papacy as an institution and the false doctrine which emanated from it. Even Stephen Gardiner, frequently portrayed as a willing participant in the rejection of Roman primacy, would later claim that this was an unpopular move, that '*Parlament was with most great crueltie constrained to abolish and put away the primacie from the bishops of Rome*'.<sup>65</sup> If this was indeed the case, Barnes would have had good reason to believe that the carefully documented *historical* argument outlined in his *Vitae* might make a significant contribution to the *theological* debate.

Because he consciously and consistently employed history in a discussion of matters which were pre-eminently doctrinal, Barnes is perhaps best described as an early proponent of '*confessional*' history. His history was, as well, a very distinctly '*apologetic*' history. That is, his use of historical argumentation served to prove no particular doctrine, but only to undermine any based upon an authority other than Scripture. His programme '*consists primarily in the dissolution of the stability of Rome*'.<sup>66</sup> Developed in the early years

of the English reformation, when the ‘*dissolution of the stability of Rome*’ was the primary goal of theological and political reformers alike, this programme was particularly appropriate.

As Barnes surely understood, however, theology, like nature, abhors a vacuum. If the traditional authorities upon which Roman stability was built were effectively discredited, something would have to take their place. The evangelical conviction, of course, was that the replacement would be Scripture - and Scripture alone. Viewed in this light, it can be concluded that for at least one early evangelical reformer, opening the chronicles to the church was nothing other than prolegomena to opening the word to the world.

#### Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Alec Ryrie, ‘The Problem of Legitimacy and Precedent in English Protestantism, 1539–47’, in *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, vol. 1, *The Medieval Inheritance*, ed. Bruce Gordon (Aldershot, 1996), 78, and Thomas Betteridge, *Tudor Histories of the English Reformations, 1530–83* (Aldershot, 1999), 41, 81.
- <sup>2</sup> Pontien Polman, *L'élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Gembloux, 1932), 539.
- <sup>3</sup> Betteridge, 97.
- <sup>4</sup> James McGoldrick, *Luther's English Connection* (Milwaukee, 1979), 72.
- <sup>5</sup> William Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scriptures*, ed. H. Walter (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1848), 103.
- <sup>6</sup> R. Pineas, ‘William Tyndale's Use of History as a Weapon of Religious Controversy’, *Harvard Theological Review* 55 (1962), 123.
- <sup>7</sup> See his prolonged treatment of the issue in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 15 vols, ed. C.H. Miller et al. (New Haven, 1963–97), 6/1.113–62.
- <sup>8</sup> J.F. Mozley, *William Tyndale* (London, 1937), 231.
- <sup>9</sup> William Tyndale, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, The Supper of the Lord . . . and Wm. Tracy's Testament Expounded*, ed. H. Walter (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1850), 9.
- <sup>10</sup> E. Flesseman-van Leer, ‘The Controversy about Scripture and Tradition between More and Tyndale’, *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 43 (1959), 144.
- <sup>11</sup> W.A. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants: 1520–1535* (New Haven, 1964), 137.
- <sup>12</sup> David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven and London, 1994), 262.
- <sup>13</sup> Daniell, 226.
- <sup>14</sup> Daniell, 243.
- <sup>15</sup> R. Pineas, ‘William Tyndale's Influence on John Bale's Polemical use of History’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 53 (1962), 85.
- <sup>16</sup> Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises*, 338.
- <sup>17</sup> Tyndale, *An Answer*, 138.
- <sup>18</sup> Tyndale, *An Answer*, 129.
- <sup>19</sup> Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises*, 335.
- <sup>20</sup> Glanville Williams, *Reformation Views of Church History* (London, 1970), 30. Again on the next page he states that ‘of this first generation it is clearly Tyndale who matters most’.
- <sup>21</sup> Pineas, ‘Tyndale's Use of History’, 122.
- <sup>22</sup> Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises*, 328.
- <sup>23</sup> Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises*, 338.
- <sup>24</sup> Pineas, ‘Tyndale's Influence’, 79.
- <sup>25</sup> Pineas, ‘Tyndale's Influence’, 79, and ‘Tyndale's Use of History’, 122. Both references appear in the *Practice of Prelates*; the one is to Platina's lives of the popes, the other to Higden's *Polychronicon*. See William Tyndale, *Expositions and Notes on Sundry Portions of the Holy Scriptures, Together with The Practice of Prelates*, ed. H. Walter (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1849), 267 and 294.
- <sup>26</sup> *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* (hereinafter, LP), 23 vols, ed. J.S. Brewer et al. (London, 1862–1932), 4/2.4218.
- <sup>27</sup> P. Smith, ‘Englishmen at Wittenberg in the Sixteenth Century’, *English Historical Review* 36 (1921), 422–3. It must be admitted, however, that the evidence for Tyndale's matriculation does remain disputed.
- <sup>28</sup> See, e.g., Anthea Hume, ‘English Protestant Books Printed Abroad, 1525–1535: An Annotated Bibliography’, in *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 8.1063–91.
- <sup>29</sup> Cf. BL Cottonian MS Galba B.X, fos 46–7 (LP, 5.65); PRO SP 1/65, fo. 169 (LP, 5.153); PRO SP 1/68, fos 51–2 (LP, 5.533); BL Cottonian MS Titus B.I, fo. 373 (LP, 5.532).

- <sup>30</sup> See *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 8.831–992.
- <sup>31</sup> See BL Cottonian MS Galba B.X, fo. 119 (LP, 8.1151); PRO SP 1/92, fo. 115 (LP, 8.854).
- <sup>32</sup> N.S. Tjernagel, ed., *The Reformation Essays of Dr. Robert Barnes* (London, 1963), 107.
- <sup>33</sup> McGoldrick, 70.
- <sup>34</sup> Miles Coverdale, *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, ed. G. Pearson (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1846), 414.
- <sup>35</sup> Robert Barnes, *A supplicatyon made by Robert Barnes* (Antwerp, 1531), fo. 70r.
- <sup>36</sup> Barnes, *Supplicatyon*, fos 86r, 36v, 125v, 95r.
- <sup>37</sup> Clebsch, 74.
- <sup>38</sup> John N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton, 1982), 4.
- <sup>39</sup> Katharine Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530–1645* (Oxford, 1979), 29.
- <sup>40</sup> A.N.S. Lane, *John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers* (Edinburgh, 1999), 36.
- <sup>41</sup> Polman, 539.
- <sup>42</sup> See Polman, 73–6, where this argument is made with reference to Calvin. Betteridge, 95 and 97, makes similar observations concerning Bale.
- <sup>43</sup> Leslie Fairfield, *John Bale: Mythmaker for the English Reformation* (West Lafayette, 1976), 100–01.
- <sup>44</sup> Fairfield, 103.
- <sup>45</sup> Robert Barnes, *Vitae romanorum pontificum* (Wittenberg, 1536), sigs C7r, C2v.
- <sup>46</sup> Fairfield, 104.
- <sup>47</sup> Fairfield, 103–04. Barnes's willingness to do so, combined with the fact that his history extends only into the twelve century, might also necessitate the qualification of Polman's suggestion that the reformers were primarily interested in later history, where they believed the introduction of error was most obvious. See, e.g., Polman, 185–6.
- <sup>48</sup> Fairfield, 105.
- <sup>49</sup> R. Pineas, ‘Robert Barnes' Polemical Use of History’, *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 26 (1964), 67.
- <sup>50</sup> Betteridge, 94.
- <sup>51</sup> They are ‘not able to prove any doctrine’ and have no authority ‘to make articles of our faith’. Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, ed. J.E. Cox (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1846), 22, 36.
- <sup>52</sup> See, e.g., Barnes, *Supplicatyon*, fo. 66r–v.
- <sup>53</sup> Irena Backus, *The Disputations of Baden, 1526 and Berne, 1528: Neutralizing the Early Church* (Princeton, 1993), 42–3.
- <sup>54</sup> Robert Kolb, *For All The Saints: Changing Perceptions of Martyrdom and Sainthood in the Lutheran Reformation* (Macon, GA, 1987), 22.
- <sup>55</sup> Fairfield, 105.
- <sup>56</sup> Betteridge, 15–16.
- <sup>57</sup> Thus Pineas's observation that on those occasions where Barnes does attempt positively to state his position on particular doctrines, he simply resorts to the ‘rather pedestrian allegation’ of biblical authority. R. Pineas, *Thomas More and Tudor Polemics* (Bloomington, IN, 1968), 140.
- <sup>58</sup> Bruce Gordon, ‘The Changing Face of Protestant History and Identity in the Sixteenth Century’, in *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, vol. 1, *The Medieval Inheritance*, ed. Bruce Gordon (Aldershot, 1996), 6–7.
- <sup>59</sup> W.P. Haugaard, ‘Renaissance Patristic Scholarship and Theology in Sixteenth-Century England’, *Sixteenth Century Journal* 10 (1979), 51. See also A.G. Dickens and J.M. Tonkin, *The Reformation in Historical Thought* (Oxford, 1985), 59.
- <sup>60</sup> Henry VIII, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* (Rome, 1521 [facs. Ridgewood, NJ, 1966]), sig. b4r: ‘in memoriam nobis rem redigat ex historiis’.
- <sup>61</sup> A.B. Ferguson, *Clio Unbound: Perception of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England* (Durham, NC, 1979), 132.
- <sup>62</sup> Ryrie, 81.
- <sup>63</sup> Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (London, 1993), 30.
- <sup>64</sup> Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors*, 2 vols, ed. W.D. Hamilton (London, 1875–7), 1.30.
- <sup>65</sup> John Foxe, *Actes and monuments of matters most speciall and memorable*, 2 vols (London, 1583), 2.1485.
- <sup>66</sup> Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, tr. W.A. Hansen (St Louis, 1962), 491. Elert here speaks of Lutheran historiography in general, and draws heavily on that of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. On the basis of the above, however, it seems that in the early years of the reformation this description is also well suited to Barnes's particular programme.

This essay is a revised version of a paper delivered to the Fourth Oxford Tyndale Conference (Hertford College, Oxford, 15–18 September 2005), the theme of which was ‘*Opening the Word to the World*’.

## Godly Hospitality: Tyndale, Poyntz and St. Dunstan's in the West

Brian Buxton

*'I heard the foresaid Sir William preach two or three sermons at St. Dunstan's in the West'.  
Humphrey Monmouth to Thomas Wolsey, 1528.*

*'Received for the burial of one Mr Poynes which died at Mr Sponer's 6s 8d'.  
Churchwarden's Accounts of St. Dunstan's in the West, 1562.*

The church of St. Dunstan in the West, Fleet Street, in the city of London, features in the story both of William Tyndale and of Thomas Poyntz. Although attempts have sometimes been made to link these associations there seems at present no evidence for doing so.

In the 16th century St. Dunstan's parish lay on the western edge of the built up city. Maps of the period show fields to the north and west. It was probably quite a desirable area in which to live, the business and amenities of the city in one direction and countryside in the other. The church may have had Saxon antecedents, being dedicated to a 10th century Archbishop of Canterbury. In view of some of what follows it is of interest to note that St. Dunstan is the Patron Saint of goldsmiths, having himself exhibited skills in metalworking. A statue of him stands in Goldsmiths' Hall in Foster Lane. <sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately the church that Tyndale and Poyntz knew was demolished early in the 19th century. It already jutted out from the building line on the north side of Fleet Street and a plan to widen the road made this situation more problematical. As with the nearby Temple Bar at a later date, it was decided that St. Dunstan's had to go. The present octagonal building was consecrated in 1833. The building is in an early Gothic Revival style, octagonal in shape and with a notable tower of Ketton stone. The statue of Queen Elizabeth I on the outside does date from her lifetime and originally was part of the Lud Gate. Inside a very few memorials remain from the old church but it is possible to pick out a few to citizens of 16th century London. <sup>2</sup>

On his arrival in London in 1523 it seems that William Tyndale preached in St. Dunstan's, at least on a few occasions. To judge from Humphrey Monmouth's account it was here that he first encountered Tyndale. Imprisoned in 1528, during one of Wolsey's campaigns against heresy, this London merchant wrote a Petition in answer to Articles laid against him. Accused of association with Tyndale, and possession of his writings, Monmouth claimed that he had



*Statue of St Dunstan in  
Goldsmiths' Hall*

heard 'Sir William' preach two or three times at St. Dunstan's. He also wrote of having destroyed notes made by Tyndale for sermons at the church.

Monmouth had spoken to the young preacher and enquired about his intentions. This must have been soon after Tyndale arrived in London for he explained to this interested stranger that he was looking to find a place in Bishop Tunstall's household. If he mentioned his hope that Tunstall would support him in translating the Bible Monmouth made no mention of this, perhaps careful not to implicate himself too deeply with somebody who was by 1528 seen as a dangerous heretic. A little later, after finding no support from the Bishop, Tyndale had visited his new friend and sought help which Monmouth gave by admitting the young man as a guest in his household for several months.

Tyndale may have preached at St. Dunstan's at the invitation of an acquaintance, or somebody to whom he had an introduction, or he may simply have sought an opportunity for occasional work. After all, presumably he had to pay for his board and lodging. The Vicar of the time, Thomas Green, was somewhat older than Tyndale and so unlikely to have been a contemporary at any stage of his academic studies.

Tyndale's writings make no mention of his having preached at St. Dunstan's. Monmouth wrote of just two or three occasions, although in defending himself to Wolsey he could have been seeking to minimise his contact. However, in addition, it would seem from Monmouth's report of the conversation, that Tyndale explained that he had no living but was hoping for a long-term position with Tunstall. Thus, he would not have been looking for anything more than temporary work in a city church. This all suggests that his involvement with St. Dunstan's was not a formal position. Had the latter been the case, or even if he had had a strong contact at St. Dunstan's, he would presumably not have needed Monmouth's help after being rejected by Tunstall. The very full financial records of St. Dunstan's at this period have some references to payments to clergy but there is no mention of Tyndale.

Monmouth's Petition is best known through the summary of it given in *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe in the 16th century* and the fuller version given in *Ecclesiastical Memorials* by John Strype in the 18th century. The original document seems to have disappeared but the copy used by Foxe and Strype is today in the British Library. In the Harley catalogue the group of papers of which this is one are described as: *A book in folio containing more of the papers of Mr John Fox and bought of Mr Strype*. The Harley collection was assembled by the First and Second Earls of Oxford in the 18th century. This particular manuscript is quite legible and clearly refers to Tyndale as

having preached at St. Dunstan's in the West.<sup>3</sup>

It was almost forty years after Tyndale had preached at St. Dunstan's that Thomas Poyntz died in May 1562 and on the 5th he was buried in that church. The church register records the burial, and the Churchwardens' Accounts states: 'Item received for the burial of one Mr Poyntz which died at Mr Sponer's 6s 8d'. There is a reference in the accounts to the 'covering' of his grave but there is no record of there ever having been an inscribed gravestone.<sup>4</sup>

Eight years earlier Thomas' sister-in-law Anne, wife of his brother John, had also been buried at St. Dunstan's. Records of the old church describe a gravestone bearing the arms of Poyntz and Sibley. This may well be the stone for which Mr Sponer is recorded as paying.<sup>5</sup>

In the account of Queen Mary's coronation procession Anne is described as 'mother of the maids' and it is clear from her will of May 1554 that she was serving at court at the time of her death. How this situation came about is uncertain. There are records of John and Anne sending gifts to Mary when she often lived in Essex as a princess. Possibly friendship with Anne Petre, second wife of Sir William Petre and a friend of Queen Mary, may be the explanation. Living at Ingatestone she was a near neighbour of the Poyntz family and had earlier been married to another neighbour, John Tyrell of Herongate.<sup>6</sup>

The question arises as to why Anne and Thomas were buried at St. Dunstan's rather than in the family chapel at North Ockendon in Essex. Already the name of Mr Sponer has appeared twice and here seems to lie the answer. Thomas Sponer was a very active man and information about him can be gleaned from a range of sources.<sup>7</sup>

He was apprenticed as a goldsmith in 1509 to John Mundy who, like Thomas Poyntz's father, had been an apprentice of Sir Edmund Shaa. Sir Edmund was a Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company, and Alderman and Mayor of London. It was no doubt Shaa who arranged the marriage of John Mundy to his granddaughter and of William Poyntz to his niece.

Sponer was made free of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1517, the very same year in which Thomas Poyntz was admitted to the Grocers'. He was presumably a practising goldsmith as in 1547 he was paid 15d to mend a chalice for St. Dunstan's. Ten years later he was Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company.

Tax records show him living in St. Dunstan's parish by 1541. From 1551 to 1553 he was Churchwarden. He appears several times in the account book over the years. From 1558 until his death in 1565 he supplied communion wine to the church, possibly as a sideline or through his son-in-law,

John Hill, who was member of the Vintners' Company.

For at least three years Sponer was a representative of the Ward of Farringdon Without on the Common Council of the City of London. In his own immediate neighbourhood he is recorded as contributing to a collection in 1560 for the purchase of buckets and ladders against the eventuality of fire!

Thomas Sponer had long standing contact with the Poyntz family. As far back as 1527 his name appears in the Inquisition Post Mortem on the estates of William Poyntz, Thomas Poyntz's father.<sup>8</sup>

It is possible that it was their links with the Goldsmiths' Company that explain the origins of the friendship between Sponer and the Poyntz family. However, it is clear from the wills of John and Anne Poyntz, in both of which Thomas Sponer is appointed overseer, that the connection was, by that later date, more than just a friendship. Although not explicitly stated, the use of the phrases 'my sister Sponer' by John, and 'my brother Sponer' by Anne – phrases used in wills of the period to refer to a sister-in-law or a brother-in-law – lead to the conclusion that Thomas Sponer's wife, Elizabeth, was Anne's sister. So it would appear that, out of long standing friendship and family ties, Thomas and Elizabeth Sponer may have given hospitality and comfort to Anne and Thomas at the last and supervised their burial in their own parish church of St. Dunstan in the West.<sup>9</sup>

However, in the case of Thomas it is just possible that he may have had some further interesting contacts in St. Dunstan's parish which would give additional reasons for his spending time there. Amongst citizens of London who have been identified as supportive of the new religious ideas were two significant men who lived in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, Henry Bull and Henry Elsing.

Henry Bull made his living as a physician in the parish of St. Dunstan's. Earlier in his life, when a student at Oxford, he had known John Foxe. When Foxe began to collect material together for his Acts and Monuments, more commonly known as Foxe's Book of Martyrs, it appears that Bull assisted in this collection and the subsequent editing. It has been suggested that Foxe and Bull would almost certainly have met to compare notes in late 1559 or early 1560 when both were in London. Brett Usher, who made this suggestion, considered that: '*Whenever it took place, the meeting will have provided a useful opportunity for checking out the recent doings and current whereabouts of a number of old friends and acquaintances.*'<sup>10</sup>

The detail Foxe provides of the events surrounding, and subsequent to, the arrest of Tyndale, together with a specific statement in the 1570 edition, make it fairly certain that he was using the memories of Thomas Poyntz. A

sub-heading at the start of this section reads; '*The order and maner of takyng of Tyndall, testified by Poyntz his host.*' However, there is no record of when, or to whom, Poyntz told his story. Conceivably he met either Bull or Foxe, or both, in St. Dunstan's parish.

Possibly here he met others also who would surely have been interested in talking with a man who a quarter of a century earlier had been so close to Tyndale in his last months of freedom, had done so much to try and assist him, and had suffered so much as a result. We have no account of the religious beliefs of Thomas Poyntz but the few clues we do have suggest that he was sympathetic to the reformers. The very fact that he was willing to take Tyndale into his house suggests this. In a letter to Thomas Cromwell in 1539 he wrote of having suffered for the '*honour of God and the truth of his word*', and in the letter written to his brother in 1535 he reckoned that the death of Tyndale would be a '*a great hindrance to the gospel*'.<sup>11</sup>

One person whom he may well have known in that part of London, in addition to Bull, was Henry Elsing, baker of Fleet Street. He and Thomas Poyntz shared a common experience in that both had known a guest being arrested at their house who was later to be burnt. In 1535 William Tyndale had been taken from Thomas Poyntz's house, whilst in 1553 John Bradford was taken from the house of Henry Elsing in Fleet Street. Bradford was to spend two years in prison before being burned at the stake.

In Elizabeth's reign Elsing was closely connected with St. Dunstan's and his name, and his signature, appear several times in the Churchwardens' Accounts. Twice he was churchwarden, the second time in the very year that Thomas Poyntz died so that their names face each other on the first two pages of the accounts for that year.<sup>12</sup>

Elsing was well known as one who gave hospitality to men of reforming convictions, even in the dangerous days of Mary's reign. One of this group was Thomas Sampson. At the end of Edward's reign Elsing had stood surety for Thomas Sampson's first fruits – that is, the first year's income which was paid as a tax – when he became Rector of All Hallows' Bread Street. Sampson later wrote of John Bradford: '*Oftentimes have I sitten at dinner and supper of the Lord Jesus, I mean Master Elsyng.*'. In the August of 1553 Bradford with him, in the house of that godly harbourer of many preachers and servants was taken from Elsing's house.<sup>13</sup>

When Bradford lay in prison he wrote a letter of encouragement to Elsing whom he felt sure would soon himself be taken. He said that he had '*heard of the hazards*' Elsing faced 'for the Gospel's sake' and he expected that the time of his '*suffering and probation was at hand*'. In fact Elsing was not taken then,

or later, despite his hospitality to those now branded as heretics.<sup>14</sup>

Another who was to be burnt, John Philpot, wrote in a letter to a friend from his prison: '*Commend me to M. Elsing and his wyfe, and thanke them that they remembred to prouide me some ease in prison...*'<sup>15</sup>

Whether Thomas Poyntz was part of a group who met in the Fleet Street area, in particular at the house of Henry Elsing, and whether this adds to the explanation for the place of his death and burial, there is no evidence to determine. It seems a plausible speculation but it can be no more. What is clear is that Poyntz and Elsing shared in common one thing at least - they had both given hospitality and encouragement to leaders of the new religious thinking, and they had done this at great risk to themselves and their families.

Men such as Tyndale and Bradford relied upon a network of supporters without whom their work would have been that much more difficult, if not impossible, and their lives might well have been cut even shorter. Whilst the names of the key figures of these times of religious change are well remembered those who supplied them with hospitality, protection and facilities for their work are generally forgotten. There must have been great numbers of men and women like Humphrey and Joan Monmouth, Thomas and Anna Poyntz, and Henry and Alice Elsing, who gave these kinds of support, often at great danger to themselves.<sup>16</sup>

### Author's Note

This article is a revised version of the second part of a paper given at the London Study Day at the church of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe in March 2006. Since then it has proved possible to clarify further the link between members of the Poyntz family and the parish of St. Dunstan in the West. The article can also be read as an update of Chapter 11 in the booklet: 'Thomas Poyntz: His support for William Tyndale and the consequences of this for himself and his family'.

### Abbreviations

BL = British Library; GL = City of London Guildhall Library; NA = National Archives.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Photograph reproduced by permission of the Goldsmiths' Company.

<sup>2</sup> For information on St. Dunstan's, its history, present activities and opening times see: [www.stdunstaninthewest.org](http://www.stdunstaninthewest.org).

<sup>3</sup> (a) Petition of Humphrey Monmouth to Thomas Wolsey in answer to Articles presented against him: BL Harley 425 folios 10-12. (b) For more information about Humphrey Monmouth see

Hope, A. in The Tyndale Society Journal No.31 August 2006 p.28ff.

<sup>4</sup> Burial Register of St. Dunstan's in the West: GL MS 10342-5; Churchwardens' Accounts: GL MS 2968/1 for receipt of the burial fee and place of death.

<sup>5</sup> (a) Churchwardens' Accounts: GL MS 2968/1 for receipt of the burial fee and provision of a stone. There was no burial register until 1558. (b)

Madden, F. et al Ed. *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* Volume IV 1837 for details of the stone.

<sup>6</sup> (a) Coronation of Queen Mary 1553: NA SP11/1/15. (b) Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary: BL Royal 17Bxviii; Madden, F. *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary* (London: William Pickering 1831). (c) Ingatestone Hall Provision Accounts for 1548 & 1552: Essex Record Office D/DP/A12 & 13. Anne Poyntz is recorded as sending a present of two carp to Ingatestone in September 1548, and being entertained there in August 1552.

<sup>7</sup> The material about Thomas Sponer is from the following sources: Minutes of Goldsmiths' Company Court at Goldsmiths' Hall; Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Dunstan's in the West: GL MS2968/1; Farringdon Without Precinct Inquest Minutes & Presentments (St. Dunstan in the West): GL MS3018/1; Tax Records: NA E179 (Lists of names for St. Dunstan's parish in 1537 & 1540 are extensive but Sponer does not seem to be mentioned. There are two or three illegible names on each list); Inquisition Post Mortem on the estates of William Poyntz 1527: NA E150/310/2; Will of John Poyntz 1547: NA PROB11/31; Will of Anne Poyntz 1554: NA PROB11/37.

<sup>8</sup> William Poyntz Inquisition Post Mortem Chelmsford 1527: NA E150/310/2.

<sup>9</sup> The possibility that Elizabeth Sponer was a natural sister of John can almost certainly be discounted by a careful reading of his will. When he does refer to a natural sister he gives her Christian name: 'my sister Margaret Barley'. He does the same with his brothers Thomas and Edmund. Will of John Poyntz 1547: NA PROB11/31. Another example of the use of the phrase 'my brother.' can be found in the will of Sir John Shaa when he makes reference

to William Poyntz, his brother-in-law. Will of Sir John Shaa 1504: NA PROB11/14.

<sup>10</sup> Brett Usher, Foxe in London 1550-1587 in John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments [...]. The Variorum Edition*. [online] (hriOnline, Sheffield 2004). Available at: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/foxe/>. [Accessed: 10.04.2005]. Brett Usher acknowledges a debt to Susan Wabuda's article Henry Bull, Miles Coverdale, and the making of Foxe's Book of Martyrs in *Studies in Church History* Vol. 30 (Oxford 1993).

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Poyntz to Thomas Cromwell 1539: NA SP1/156/105; Thomas Poyntz to John Poyntz 1535: BL Cotton Galba B.x60.

<sup>12</sup> Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Dunstan's in the West: GL MS2968/1.

<sup>13</sup> Townsend, A. *The Writings of John Bradford* Vols. I & II (Cambridge: The Parker Society 1848 & 1853). The quotation appears in Vol. I p.36 and in Vol.II p.xxix.

<sup>14</sup> Townsend, A. *The Writings of John Bradford* Vol. II (Cambridge: The Parker Society 1848 & 1853). The letter to Elsing from Bradford in prison appears on pp. 67-72.

<sup>15</sup> John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments [...]. The Variorum Edition*. [online] (hriOnline, Sheffield 2004). Available at: <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/foxe/>. [Accessed: 07.02.2006] 1570 p.2008.

<sup>16</sup> For Monmouth's marriages see Hope, A. in The Tyndale Society Journal No.31 August 2006 p 29

## Exhibitions concerning the history of the City of London

For members wishing to deepen their knowledge of the history of the City of London there are two free exhibitions worth noting.

At the British Library in London *A Life in Maps* is on daily until 4 March 2007 and includes maps of the 16th century city.

At Goldsmiths' Hall, Foster Lane, EC2, there will be an exhibition entitled *Secrets of the Goldsmiths' Company* in the foyer from 5 to 31 March 2007 illustrating the history of the company with silver, manuscripts and artefacts. For details of opening check [www.thegoldsmiths.co.uk](http://www.thegoldsmiths.co.uk) tel. + 44 (0) 20 7606 7010.



**Tyndale's Turk**  
by Barry Rogerson

Report by Nicholas Sanderson

*November 2006.*

The Archbishop of Canterbury introduced Barnaby Rogerson, a writer on Islam and, in particular, the author of *The Prophet Muhammad* and *The Heirs of Muhammad*, who delivered the Twelfth Lambeth Tyndale lecture. The subject matter of the lecture reflected the desire for a greater understanding of Islam following confrontation in the Middle East and the growth of Muslim communities in Northern Europe.

In Tyndale's time, the Turk was, for most of his English contemporaries, a distant threat, the loss of Rhodes in 1522, the disaster at Mohacs in 1526 and the siege of Vienna in 1529 were chiefly important for the effect that they had on relations in western Europe between the Empire and France rather than posing an immediate threat to England. It was almost inevitable in the 16th century, when there were no Muslims in Northern Europe and comparatively few Englishmen travelled in Muslim lands, that the knowledge of Islam would be limited. Ignorance is less excusable today. Mr Rogerson assisted our understanding of Islam by introducing us to the Prophet as a man in his roles as warrior, quietist leader of his followers and mystic. This report is, in essence, a reflection on some of the issues that emerged from the lecture with what, I hope, is a Tyndalian slant.

Inevitably, the tendency is to contrast how Islam arose through a single revelation of God to the Prophet and the creation of the Koran through divine act, with the way in which the Bible evolved. If we contrast, crudely, the three "books" that the peoples of the book follow, the Torah is in Hebrew and every Jew is expected to learn Hebrew to understand it, the New Testament, written in Greek, is translated, first into Latin (the Vulgate) which translation acquires the characteristics of a sacred text, and then into the vernacular, while the Koran, written in 7th century Arabic is not translated because the text of the Koran is holy. The Koran is, however, learned by heart as a religious exercise. It is learned as holy writ in Arabic, because that is what was dictated to Muhammad by the Angel Gabriel and recited by him. The Muslim ploughboy will know the texts of the Koran by heart, but he may not know what they mean, the memorising of them and their repetition is,

of itself, the fulfilment of a religious duty.

The effect of having a "holy text", whether the Koran or the Vulgate, which is not generally available to be understood by those for whom it is 'scripture', but is regarded as holy of itself apart from or in addition to the information and message that it contains, is to keep the power of interpretation to the learned, whether they be Islamic scholars or the church. Tyndale's aim was to enable all men to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the Holy Scriptures which have been written for our learning without the need for interpretation. This approach was possible in the case of the New Testament which has a status fundamentally different from that of the Koran. When the Bible, or a particular version of it, has acquired the status of a holy text, per se, as the Vulgate, the King James Version or the textus receptus have on occasion then it acquires, potentially, similar characteristics to the Koran, being treated as the unerring word of God. While the text may be examined, as the text of the Koran is, to understand the words used, which are not straightforward, it precludes the application of the historical critical methods such as are applied to both the Torah and the New Testament. The best known approach of this type is, perhaps, the identification of the different strands of tradition in the Torah. It is ironic that while Jesus Christ is regarded as part of the Godhead by Christians but Muhammad is human, the text of the Koran is revered as the verbatim word of God, while the Christian scriptures are accepted as the works of men, albeit inspired and communicating God's message.

Mr Rogerson's talk also highlighted how Islam is rooted in the culture of 7th century Arabia but is now the religion of many nations. The development of Islam through time and across cultures should probably be the subject of a further talk. We may need to buy Mr Rogerson's book on *The Heirs of Muhammad* to learn part of the story. Tyndale's Turks were not the same as the original converts to Islam, and the Muslims living in Western Europe today are different again. Issues arising from the way in which religions rooted in a book and in a particular culture and time develop are not confined to Islam. The present difficulties in the Anglican Church have their basis in similar questions. 1st century Christianity forbade homosexuality but permitted slavery, but we are now celebrating the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade following a campaign led by Christians whose understanding of their faith led them to regarding slavery as against the will of God. Christianity changed as a result of the cultural milieu in which it began, and has continued to change. An important question is whether Islam has changed from its origins, and if so in what way, and the extent to which it has, or is capable of changing in the future. The revelation through

Muhammad was ‘once for all’, just as Christ’s presence on earth as man was “once for all”, pending, in each case, the end of the present world. A comment was made that the Muslims of Western Europe are key to an understanding between Christianity and Islam. The question with which I was left at the end of the lecture was whether Islam, with its “holy text” and reliance on the particular culture in which it was born, is capable of “evolving” to meet the cultural expectations of the secular consumer culture of Europe, the Far East and America. Will the children of the Muslim communities find secular consumerism too attractive and desert Islam which will have less and less to say to them? Christianity has “evolved” and has lost much of its mass appeal in Europe. Is this a guide, or a warning, to Islam as to the future?

If one of the measures for the success of a lecture is to leave its audience wanting more, then Mr Rogerson certainly succeeded.

**Barnaby Rogerson** is a well-known expert on North Africa and the Lands of the Ottoman Empire. He is the author of and has edited a wide variety of books on these subjects. His recent books include *The Prophet Muhammad: A Biography* Little, Brown 2003 (ISBN 0349115869), *The Heirs of the Prophet Muhammad: The Two Paths of Wisdom* 2006 (ISBN 0349117578). In 2005 he edited with Rose Baring *Meetings with Remarkable Muslims* (ISBN 0955010500)

#### Editor’s note

I am grateful to Mr N. Sanderson for this report of the Lambeth Lecture. Unfortunately it has not proved possible to print an edited version of the lecture which Mr Barnaby Rogerson kindly made available to the Tyndale Society. However, any interested members and those who were not able to be present at Lambeth Palace, can apply, by sending a sae envelope to the Tyndale Society secretary in the Oxford office, for a print out.

The Tenth Annual Gloucester Cathedral Lecture October 2006

## The Journey to Santiago

Report by David Green

The Tenth and last of the Annual Gloucester Cathedral Tyndale lectures was given in the Parliament Room of the Old Deanery, Gloucester Cathedral on 5 October by Dr Steven Blake. Dr Blake is a local and social historian who, until his recent retirement, worked for 30 years at Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum. He chose as his subject his other great passion, medieval pilgrimage, and lectured on *The Pilgrim Roads through France to Santiago de Compostela*.

Dr Blake gave us a detailed history of the St. James’s pilgrimage from its early years in the 10th century to the present day in a talk beautifully illustrated by slides.

In the Middle Ages the pilgrimage to the Santiago shrine was often thought to be ‘the greatest journey’, rivalling those to Rome or Jerusalem, and one full of excitement and danger. Our lecturer spoke from personal experience of this pilgrimage since he has walked large parts of the pilgrim routes from France to Santiago de Compostela.

He recounted the curious legends and the real happenings along the stony ways from Paris, Le Puy, Poitiers, Vezelay and Arles as well as the roads which also included the longer routes from further east and even the less comfortable sea voyages from England. However, it was the art, literature and architecture generated by these pilgrim trails which really caught his interest and attention.

Regrettably participation at Gloucester Cathedral lectures has declined over the past two years for several reasons. Attendance this time was only fair and it is felt that Gloucester events will take a fresh pattern in months to come, perhaps in warmer weather and taking in some of the other Tyndale sites in the county in addition to the cathedral.

On a personal note it has been a pleasure to organize this stimulating event over the past 11 years. It was always timed to take place on the actual date of William Tyndale’s martyrdom on 6 October and failing that on the closest feasible date to that historic event.

A full rendering of Dr Blake’s lecture is available from David Green, 22 Foss Field, Winstone, Gloucestershire, GL7 7JY, UK tel.+44 (0) 1285 821651.

## The Bible and Theology

Report by Eunice Burton

November 2006

The first Conference convened by the West Midland Ploughboys took place in the Cathedral Visitors' Centre at Lichfield in May 2006. Some members arrived the preceding day in order to explore the historic city at leisure and join in the Cathedral Ascension Day Eucharist. The Conference began on Friday afternoon with a tour of the Cathedral, noting the early associations with St. Chad from Lindisfarne: highlights were the exhibition of the 8th century Lichfield Gospels in the Chapter House and a visit to the library above, with its 13th century tiled pavement. The treasures there included the Duchess of Somerset's collection with copies of Wyclif's Bible, Erasmus' New Testament in the original binding, the Great Bible, Geneva Bible and Dr Johnson's father's Bible, and a 13th century manuscript of the Justinian Canon with 15th century marginal amendments.

At the welcome meeting, **Mary Clow**, chairman of the Tyndale Society, congratulated Dr Ralph Werrell (Conference Chairman) on the publication of his book *The Theology of William Tyndale* which was being launched at the Conference: a formal message of good wishes was sent to Professor David Daniell who was prevented from attending by illness. The first session was entitled *The Fellowship of Tyndale Theologians* when **Dr Ralph Werrell** proposed that theologians researching Tyndale's writings should form a group to encourage each other and advise on aspects of study to prevent duplication of work. Outlining the background to his book, he expressed gratitude for the interest of Archbishop Rowan Williams who had written the foreword. Then **David Ireson** demonstrated the new PowerPoint Ploughboy Production, *Introduction to William Tyndale*, asking the questions, 'How can the Wounds of the Reformation be healed?' and 'What unites us?' The production gives the historical background, e.g. the Wyclif Bible and Lollardy, the importance of the Wool Trade and refers to the Parish of Morebath, whose priest served for 50 years and recorded the effect on his parish of the religious upheavals between 1520 and 1574 (cf. Eamon Duffy). The influence of printing is noted, when 10% were literate and reading aloud common, leading to the life of William Tyndale in England and Europe, his translation of the English New Testament from Greek, his conflict with Sir Thomas More and his eventual betrayal and martyrdom. His

dying prayer was answered when Henry VIII ordered a copy of the Great Bible to be placed in every church in 1539. (This is a very valuable publicity tool for the Tyndale Society!) Finally there was a Tyndale Society dinner at the George Hotel, when delegates made and renewed friendships.

The Saturday programme was opened by **Linda Adams** (USA) who gave a *Visual Presentation of Early Bibles*, illustrating the significance of the transition from manuscript to printed page with examples of early Bibles and Psalters from the Brigham Young University Library Special Collection. Then **Prof. Anne Hudson** (Oxford) gave the keynote lecture on *The Premature Reformation* which was published in *Tyndale Society Journal*, No. 31, August 2006.

A second keynote paper was given by **Prof. Donald Smeeton** (USA) on *The Tyndale-More Debate and its significance in Post Modern Culture* (a change from the advertised topic/title). He detailed how words such as 'elder' and 'congregation' (instead of 'priest' and 'church') in William Tyndale's translation were challenged by Sir Thomas More as contrary to orthodox theology and threatening to political and social stability, and how dialogue regrettably became diatribe! Prof. Smeeton postulated that issues significant then are relevant today, and considered three aspects:-

### (a) *The Use of English*

Although More used Latin for dialogue with Tyndale, he was not against translation into English, as Hebrew, Greek and Latin were vernacular languages conveying the Biblical message, but he insisted that ecclesiastical protection was necessary to preserve the unlearned, so the English Bible needed a 'Latin guard' - otherwise there was the danger that a secular society would triumph.

### (b) *Fear of an Empowered Laity*

Remembering the vocal anticlericalism of Lollardy, More, while admitting the corruption among clergy, felt the remedy was more and better educated priests, and not the reduction of power of the clerical class, as priests detect mysteries in scripture not perceived by the laity: God communed with Moses while the people stayed below and did not meddle, i.e. Moses was the mediator - the hierarchy of the church was threatened by the congregation/church debate. Tyndale argued that priests should not have professional monopoly of interpretation: if Christ is the foundation, the ploughboy can gain understanding from the Bible. The Post-Modern World is characterized by freedom of information.

### (c) *Unease with a Subjective Approach*

Tyndale maintained that the reader could apply scripture to his life under the authority of the Holy Spirit, as faith brings pardon and the Holy Spirit sets

us at liberty, sanctifying our nature and transforming our lives (resulting in gifts to the poor), whereas More accepted the role of the Holy Spirit in applying the Sacraments, empowering the church and maintaining its unity, but he feared descent into chaos (cf. *Utopia*). Dialogue is deemed essential for free communication in today's society.

A lively discussion followed the lecture. Was Tyndale's approach responsible for the licence of today, both secular and in the church when '*The Holy Spirit told me....*' excuses all action? The necessity of rules to prevent chaos, e.g. the Creeds of the Early Church: human rights alone can be destructive, but recognition of responsibilities (to "the Turk". W.T.) constructive: Tyndale's repetition with a similar word is to give emphasis e.g. love and charity (Doublets).

The afternoon session opened with **Dr Ralph Werrell** speaking on *The Theology of William Tyndale* as an introduction to his book. He dealt with Tyndale's views on Creation, The Fall, The Covenant (between the Persons of the Trinity), The Blood of Christ, The Holy Spirit and The Covenant Revealed, The Covenant Signs, The Covenant People and The Covenant Broken (Roman Catholic Church), emphasizing where Tyndale's theology differed from Luther's, and the conditional covenants between God and humans, 'If you keep my commandments, then I will (bless you)'.

After tea, **Prof. Tibor Fabiny** (Hungary) spoke on *Tyndale and the Typological Interpretation of Scripture*, pointing out that the term 'allegory' was used in Tyndale's day and that he stressed that the figurative was rooted in the literal sense. Tyndale criticized Bishop John Fisher's interpretation that Moses and Aaron represented Christ and the Pope and regarding 'signs', maintained that it was not the blood of the Passover lambs that saved the Israelites in Egypt, but the mercy of God. Allegory can distort the original meaning and signs are often understood best in retrospect, e.g. circumcision and baptism. One must be aware of arbitrary interpretation, typological imagination and the counterfeit, but the Reformers understood themselves in the light of Scripture and the age in which they lived.

**Mr Peter Raes**, author of two books on Danish and Icelandic Bibles and a distinguished member of the Danish Bibliophile Club, spoke very briefly about *Early Icelandic and Scandinavian Bibles*. He brought with him a remarkable collection of Bible Leaves, mainly Danish and Icelandic, which he offered for sale to delegates and generously donated the proceeds to the Tyndale Society to help defray the conference expenses.

The evening session comprised three short papers: -

(i) **Robin Everitt** (U.K.) spoke on *The Bible in Hymnology*, from monastic chants to the deep theology in the hymns of Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley,

and in the Olney Hymns of William Cowper and John Newton - full of Biblical allusions thanks to William Tyndale. Psalms were sung in metrical versions as well as chanted, and often the tune enhanced the words (c.f. *Abide with me*) and hymns were a unique means of touching the depths of the human psyche.

(ii) **Mary Clow** (London and Chair of the Tyndale Society) described in *The Strange Story of the Secret Bible: Wyclif in Scots* how Murdoch Nesbit (15th century) had a copy of Wyclif's Bible which he translated into Scots and this was preserved in manuscript form through generations of his family, in spite of cruel persecution of the Covenanters, up to the 18th century. Some protection had been given by the Campbells who rescued "papers" when the Nesbit home was destroyed, but the manuscript was catalogued as an "Old Wyclif Bible" and its true nature not discovered until 1890! William Cooper, a Tyndale Society Member, is working on the text and hopes to publish it in the original spelling - c.f. his Tyndale New Testament (1526) in original spelling, British Library, 2000.

(iii) **Doris Dant** (USA) gave a paper on *An Unconventional Embodiment of Tyndale's Legacy* in which she compared the contemporary language of *The Message* by Eugene Peterson (2002) to the colloquialisms of William Tyndale. Recognizing the present crisis of faith, Peterson has paraphrased and plagiarised Tyndale's language to present the "true meaning" in American storytelling style, but his goal is to engage people's interest in the Scripture. Tyndale's translation has stood the test of time (500 years), but Ms Dant doubted if the popularity of *The Message* would exceed 20 years because of its clichés and inherent interpretation with the translation. The evening ended with dinner at the George Hotel.

On Sunday morning, **Dr Ralph Werrell** gave a further paper entitled *William Tyndale's Debt to John Trevisa*. Trevisa was a contemporary of John Wyclif, an Oxford Scholar and Chaplain to Lord Berkeley: Caxton stated that he had translated the Bible (presumably part of Wyclif's) and the preface to the Authorised Version of 1611 credited him with translation of the Gospels. Tyndale lived in this area of Gloucestershire a century later and he read Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* as a boy. Did this give William Tyndale the inspiration to become a Bible translator too?

In the *Polychronicon* a Knight and a Clerk (priest) discuss the translating of the Bible into English, and the Clerk argues against it. Trevisa's aims in translation were to be intelligible, idiomatic and accurate, and this sometimes necessitated rearrangement of the syntax to give greater clarity. He often used 'doublets', translating one Latin word with two English equivalents to express fuller meaning, and Tyndale's writings contain many examples of this. Trevisa

criticised monks and friars, and believed that penance and Purgatory were not means of Salvation in place of repentance. Tyndale taught that the Spiritual and Temporal Regiments were the creation ordinance and the salvation of Mankind, contrary to commonly held beliefs. Trevisa's Knight disputed the claims of the Pope for power in the temporal realm saying he was subject to the temporal authority of Kings and their laws, but in the Spiritual realm Kings were subject to Bishops - but both were subject to the law of Christ: later Tyndale used identical arguments. Both stressed that the role of the clergy was to preach and minister to the spiritual needs of the church and 'not to serve tables' (Acts 6).

**Panel discussion** included other aspects of authority (political and familial), personal riches (excess should be given to the poor - W.T.), the 'mansions' of John 14 represent 'expanse' rather than luxury, and the medieval habit of memorizing scarce books.

We then attended Sung Eucharist in the Cathedral and had lunch in the College Hall. The afternoon guided tour of Lichfield included the Precincts, Erasmus Darwin's Herb Garden, the Market Place and Dr. Johnson's house. After tea at the College Hall we regretfully dispersed, having enjoyed an informative and stimulating conference.



## Letters to the Editor

Dear Valerie

This is first of all a thank you for the August number of the Journal, which I have found one of the best (and I have been having the Journal since the beginning). For me at least it struck just the right note, and I speak as one who is neither a career academic nor a ploughboy, one of those who did not pursue a university life after graduating, but did a whole range of other things, and so fall between the two.

But I want especially to say how thrilled I was with Bill Cooper's article about [www.greatsite.com](http://www.greatsite.com), which I explored immediately – and now I possess a facsimile 1560 Geneva Bible! I faxed my order on Thursday evening, and received the Bible on Monday morning. Splendid and amazing!

Your grateful Tyndalian,  
Elaine Bishop  
18 September 2006

Dear Valerie,

A few personal jottings and observations on *TSJ* issue no 31 August 2006 I have received an email from Mark Langley of Sola Scriptura Publishing saying that he is thinking of putting more Parker Society volumes on to CD.

*Lichfield Conference Keynote paper*

Anne Hudson leaves me wanting more, asking 'What next?'

*London Study Day*

Brian Buxton and Andrew Hope are fascinating enlighteners. However, Andrew implies that Tyndale met the Poyntzes in London: Brian in his monograph on Thomas Poyntz says that there is no evidence that Tyndale and Poyntz 'had any acquaintance' before they met in Antwerp. We must ask them.

*Reviews*

Could not all reviews give the full bibliographical information like that

## Worcester Conference

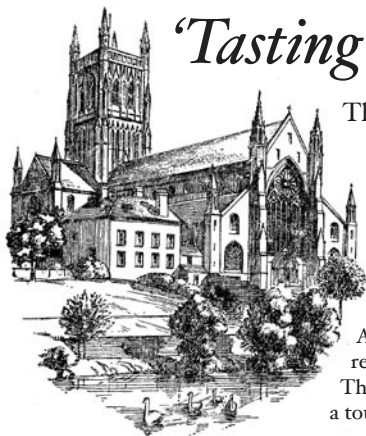
# 'Tasting the Word of God'

Thursday 8 March to Saturday 10 March 2007

Keynote speaker Dr Carl Trueman,  
Associate Professor at Westminster Theological  
Seminary, Philadelphia.

Further details please contact Mary Clow.

An opportunity to learn about the lives of the reformers Latimer and Hooper, bishops and martyrs. The programme will include a visit to Gloucester and a tour of Tyndale sites in the area.



in the review of Mark Taplin? It is sometimes said that histories of the Reformation ignore what happened in south, east and north Europe. A popular book that does not is R. Tudor Jones *The Great Reformation* published in 1997, which (of course) also has a chapter devoted to Wales.

*Dates for Your Diary*

*Summer event 2007 Hadleigh, Suffolk Day - The Story of Rowland Taylor - Reformer and Martyr.*

There is a section on Rowland Taylor in the Day One Travel Series publication *The Martyrs of Mary Tudor* with photos and map. The volume on *Spurgeon* in the same series has a photo of the Colet-Tyndale window in Emmanuel College Chapel, better than the ones I took because it was taken straight on. Either the photographer was up a ladder or had a sliding front camera, or did some computer jiggery-pokery!

Grace and peace,  
Vic Perry  
16 September 2006

Outstanding issue of TSJ:

The latest received copy of the TSJ (August 2006) makes me want to come back to England and live! From start to finish, it is an outstanding issue, from your Editorial on the Warrington Bible collection and overview of the issue, to Anne Hudson's excellent insights into Wycliffe's theology, to every other short article on persons and places visited in England. Likewise, the events of the remainder of 2006 and coming in 2007 tantalize the desire to be there for all of them!

However, not being able to be a part of each event in England, it is a blessing to have some capsule form of those events and lectures in the Journal. Also, the book reviews provide me with many of the books I choose to order and read.

Thank you for this and every other issue of TSJ.  
Dr John R. Hellstern  
Co-Founder, The Living Word National Bible Museum  
15 September 2006  
Website: <http://home.earthlink.net/~johnhellstern>

## NEH Summer Seminar for College Teachers

### *The Reformation of the Book: 1450-1700*

John N. King and James K. Bracken of The Ohio State University will direct a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar for College and University Teachers on continuity and change in the production, dissemination, and reading of Western European books during the 250 years following the advent of printing with movable type. In particular, they plan to pose the governing question of whether the advent of printing was a necessary precondition for the Protestant Reformation. This seminar will also explore the related problem of whether the impact of printing was revolutionary or evolutionary. Employing key methods of the still-emerging interdisciplinary field of the History of the Book, our investigation will consider how the physical nature of books affected ways in which readers understood and assimilated their intellectual contents. This programme is geared to meet the needs of teacher-scholars interested in the literary, political, or cultural history of the Renaissance and/or Reformation, the History of the Book, art history, women's studies, religious studies, bibliography, print culture, library science (including would-be rare book librarians), mass communication, literacy studies, and more.

The seminar will meet from 18 June until 20 July 2007. During the first week of the programme, we shall visit Antwerp, Belgium, in order to draw on resources including the Plantin-Moretus Museum. It preserves the world's only surviving early modern printing and publishing house. During four weeks in Oxford, where we shall reside at St. Edmund Hall, we plan to draw on the resources of the Bodleian Library and other institutions. In addition, we shall make an overnight trip to London in order to visit other rare book collections.

Those eligible to apply include citizens of USA who are engaged in teaching at the college or university level and independent scholars who have received the terminal degree in their field (usually the Ph.D.). In addition, non-US citizens who have taught and lived in the USA for at least three years prior to March 2007 are eligible to apply. NEH will provide participants with a stipend of \$3,600.

Full details and application information are available at <http://people.cohums.ohio-state.edu/king2/Reformationofthebook/>. For further information, please contact [rankin.86@osu.edu](mailto:rankin.86@osu.edu). The application deadline is March 1, 2007.



## Book Reviews

Luc Racaut and Alec Rylie, (eds.), *Moderate voices in the European Reformation in the St Andrews Studies in Reformation History Series*, Ashgate, 2005 ISBN 0754650219

It is generally accepted that modern concepts of tolerance have limited value in the study of 16th century religion. In conclusion to this volume, Mark Greengrass recalls Heiko Oberman's insistence on a 'social history' of toleration, namely that moderate voices be placed within their proper historical background. This collection of essays, largely dominated by French and English case-studies, represents a very effective response to Oberman's request, illustrating very particular forms of moderation in terms of methods and objectives.

In 12th century France, moderate voices were expressed in order to accommodate changing circumstances. Alex Kess shows that the reformist Meaux circle was tolerated partly for dynastic reasons. Francis I employed the Du Bellays as diplomats because he needed to secure alliances with German (even Protestant) princes, in order to weaken Emperor Charles V. Following Francis I's death, Henry II appeared to abandon this moderate approach with the outright persecution of French Protestants. Elaine Fulton points out that the Austrian Habsburgs were even more pragmatic and tolerated Protestantism albeit for different reasons, especially due to the proximity of the Ottoman threat. And yet even the supposedly tolerant Emperor Maximilian II maintained a substantial Catholic presence at court and while he publicly distanced himself from the Jesuits he privately facilitated their missions. The Habsburgs would never relinquish their Catholic roots, like their Valois neighbours. The growth of French Calvinism provided a new and different opportunity for moderation. Elizabeth Tingle argues convincingly that the civic authorities in Nantes sought to provide a measure of toleration in order to avoid confessional rivalry. Although councillors disliked heresy, it was tolerated for some time. By reducing the amount of religious conflict, municipal authorities could more easily safeguard local privileges, prevent interference from the royal government and maintain the economic well-being of Nantes. Protestantism was tolerated in Nantes (as a private creed) as late as 1585, after which it was gradually persecuted.

It has been argued that the peculiarly anti-Roman nature of French Catholicism, as embodied by Gallicanism, made it more open to moderation. However, Alain Tallon rightly reminds us that the French Church and

monarchy's condemnation of papal intervention was certainly not part of a broader ecumenical project. Whilst the Gallican Church sought greater autonomy, it was equally unwilling to tolerate schism. The fourth French example comes from Alison Carter's study of the prolific Catholic author René Benoist, who was Dean of the theological faculty in Paris from 1598 to 1608. While Benoist's voice appears to be moderate for he chose (controversially) to translate the Bible into French (using the Genevan Bible as his guide), throughout his edition heretical words and Protestant annotations were replaced with Catholic words and interpretations. According to Benoist, if the laity could not be prevented from reading Scriptures in the vernacular, it would be far safer to provide them with a Catholic version in their native language. To that effect, by apparently minimizing the scale of the confessional gulf (i.e. use of vernacular Scriptures), Catholics could seek to convert Protestants. In a different religious context, Kenneth Austin's study of the biblical scholar Immanuel Tremellius reflects an attempt to convert Jews by persuasion rather than conversion. Tremellius, a former Jew and well-informed on the use of Hebraica, firmly believed that Jewish aversion to Christianity was founded on ignorance and thus, as a Calvinist, he sought to convert them by addressing them on an intellectual and spiritual plane that they would have understood and appreciated. Rather than condemning them, he pursued (in Austin's words) '*a policy of studied neutrality*'.

As Ethan Shagan notes, the English Church is closely identified with the mantle of 'moderation' during the Reformation era. Tensions between conservatives and reformers tended to be subordinated to political negotiation between the English government and its subjects. The Church of England's emphasis on law rather than dogma '*allowed for the possibility of civil order without spiritual unanimity*' (Shagan). In a similar fashion, Michael Riordan explains how the exclusion of the conservative John Norris from Edward VI and Elizabeth I's central government and of the reformed Thomas Weldon from Mary's administration did not preclude their participation in local government. As Riordan emphasises, the fact that Norris and Weldon were '*allowed to serve unsympathetic regimes suggests that governments, as well as subjects, could subject religious motivations to political considerations*'. Compromising religious policy for the sake of political expediency was not the exception but the rule (according to Riordan). This view is reinforced by Louise Campbell, who highlights the caution with which the 1559 Elizabethan Settlement re-introduced Protestantism. However, this alleged moderation represented neither a *via media* between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism nor a lukewarm form of Protestantism. In Campbell's carefully quali-

fied words, religious moderation was 'a way of dictating the pace of change, the direction of which could only be towards Protestantism'.

The final type of moderation retains a more polemical goal, that is, the uniting of different Protestant groups against Roman Catholicism. In England, for example, Protestant confessions sought reconciliation on the basis of adiaphora, 'things indifferent' that were neither positively commanded nor absolutely forbidden by Scriptures. Despite being granted a certain degree of autonomy by Catholics, the Hungarian Reformed Church made irenic appeals to Lutherans by highlighting the compatibility of the 1530 Augsburg Confession with that of the 1566 Second Helvetic Confession. By focusing on adiaphora, Hungarian Calvinists tried to minimize the confessional differences in order to establish a united Protestant Church, necessitated by growing Catholic militancy. Although Graeme Murdock concludes that these religious overtures ultimately failed, they nonetheless provide an intriguing approach to moderation

Much like Ole Grell and Bob Scribner's excellent *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (published a decade ago), Luc Racaut and Alec Ryrie invite us to set these voices of moderation within their particular local, social and political contexts. The net result is a series of fresh and penetrating insights on early modern attitudes towards tolerance.

Max von Habsburg, Oundle School, November 2006.

**Mark Konnert, *Local Politics in the French Wars of Religion: the towns of Champagne, the Duc de Guise, and the Catholic League, 1560-1595*** in the St Andrews Studies in Reformation History Series, Ashgate, 2006 ISBN 075465593

Given that both northern France and the political elites have dominated the attention of early modern French historians, it may seem unadventurous that Konnert's research is focused on the northern province of Champagne, a power base of the Guises who were one of the three major aristocratic families that vied for power during the French civil wars. Yet, Champagne's military significance needs to be carefully qualified. While it remained a frontier province throughout the civil wars and frequently experienced the passing of mercenary armies, it never represented a major theatre of combat. Moreover, although Champagne contained major landholdings of the Guises, it is intriguing to discover that the province's municipal authorities were not automatically subservient.

Political developments in Champagne were deeply influenced by the lack of a substantial growth of Calvinism. Although the Huguenots did make some inroads in Troyes, their attempted coup in 1562 was a failure. The Huguenots were mainly unsuccessful in the other major cities within the province, though interestingly town councils tended to expel only foreign, not native, Huguenots. It is thus hardly surprising that the St. Bartholomew's Day massacres (1572) evoked little reaction in the province on account of its insignificant Huguenot community. In Châlons, there was no massacre to speak of and Catholics even protected Huguenots. Furthermore, the fourth civil war that followed barely affected Champagne. The fifth war had a greater impact due to the passage of mercenaries and the recurrent demands for men, money and supplies, yet the province otherwise remained relatively untouched by warfare.

The absence of a menacing Protestant presence also explains why the formation of a Catholic League in 1576 went almost unnoticed in Champagne. With the exception of Sens and Chaumont, the response of most towns was underwhelming. Civic authorities anticipated noble domination of the League and feared the financial repercussions that accompanied membership. With little military activity in the province between 1577 and 1584 and with no significant Huguenot presence, the League was rejected in Troyes, Châlons and Reims. Once the Protestant Henri de Navarre became heir to the French throne in 1584, the Catholic League was revived throughout France. Guise took charge of securing the province and chose Châlons as his military headquarters. By later maintaining his garrison of 'foreign' soldiers here and by his mistreatment of native Huguenots in the city, Guise served to alienate the city. Even in the staunchly Catholic Reims, Guise was granted only a small garrison and was refused the keys to the city. In short, the League was characterised by a small and committed group of activists, who received little widespread support. On the surface, this is bizarre given that the province was supposed to represent a major Catholic stronghold.

The limited support for the League was especially highlighted by each town's reactions to the royally-inspired (by Henri III) murders of the Guises in 1588. Remarkably, the towns of Châlons, Sainte-Menehould and Langres acted decisively in favour of the royalist cause. Equally striking is the fact that those towns like Troyes and Reims who joined the League cause did so after a period of initial hesitation. Konnert convincingly shows that opting for the League did not represent wholehearted and unambiguous support; it was instead a reflection of the dissatisfaction with the royal government. In any case, their adherence to the League was not long-lasting and by 1594/



1595 all towns within the province had submitted to Henry IV (Navarre).

In summary, Konnert illustrates how the allegiances of Champagne towns were determined more by regional and especially local politics, than by warfare. He shows that municipal autonomy (especially the defence of towns) was one of the determining factors guiding political decisions in the cities. Policies were dictated by a wide range of factors, including varying attitudes to the royal government, the provincial governor, military commanders, rival cities and the Catholic League. The weakness of Guise patronage networks among the urban elites is indeed striking. As Konnert fascinatingly concludes, parties in national politics were only as strong as their support in the provinces. It is, finally, tempting to suggest that the extent of municipal independence during the wars can largely be attributed to the small Huguenot presence, which allowed town authorities to assert greater autonomy.

Max von Habsburg, Oundle School, November 2006.

**Ralph S. Werrell, *The Theology of William Tyndale*** James Clarke & Co, Cambridge, 2006. ISBN 0 22767985 7

With apologies to St. Thomas Aquinas and his pre-Christian counterpart, Aristotle, (apologies that neither Master William Tyndale nor Dr Ralph Werrell would make) *The Theology of William Tyndale* is a *Summa Theologica* of the martyr and bard of English Bible translation. For those who know Tyndale only through his scholarly and artistic contributions to the translations of the New and Old Testaments, and subsequently to the history of the English language and literature, Werrell's modest work will help define Tyndale's place in Reformation theological history along with Wyclif, Luther, and Calvin.

Werrell, an Anglican priest, delivers almost pure Tyndale, quoting and commenting on his 'controversial' works, including but not limited to *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, *The Expositions of 1 John* - surprisingly and effectively given more attention than is usual - and *Matthew*, his various introductions and prologues to Scripture, and *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*. Of course, Tyndale's Bible translations were, ironically, his most controversial works but I use the term to set off these works of 'polemic Divinity' - Benjamin Franklin's arch phrase - from Tyndale's main work, his Scriptural translations.

An extensive if not comprehensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources will also be useful especially to those readers whose interest in Tyn-

dale began with David Daniell's definitive *William Tyndale: A Biography* and scholarly *The Bible In English*, or Brian Moynahan's popular *If God Spare My Life*. (The turn of the last century was also William Tyndale's turn!)

Werrell takes the patient reader directly to what Tyndale wrote about essential Christian doctrine from the Covenant's eternal formulation by the Trinity, Faith, Law, the preaching of Gospel redemption by 'the blood of Christ' (a theological phrase that Tyndale prefers to 'the cross'), the Sacraments - most of which Tyndale discards as bogus practices meant to ensnare the people, or at least corrupted in the case of Baptism and The Lord's Supper - and the traditional 'Church'.

Tyndale is 'aligned with some of the profoundest themes of patristic and medieval theology' as Dr Rowan Williams, Archbishop of Canterbury, asserts in his useful and enthusiastic foreword. (I do not recall any bishops endorsing Tyndale's works in their first 16th century editions.)

Tyndale had a stubborn streak arising from his convictions but, as Werrell notes with regard to his discussion of the Lord's Supper, Tyndale was also open to compromise so as not to distract from his basic message of justification by faith through the Scriptures followed by love of all one's neighbours, even the Turk. Tyndale, I believe, also left slightly ajar the confessional door, but only if confession were returned to what he terms its 'right use'. However, Werrell insists that 'Whilst Luther believed Confession was important, Tyndale held that it was the work of Satan'.

Werrell makes it clear that Tyndale rejected both the traditional belief of the Catholic Church and that of Luther that the sinner had 'some life remaining in him, however weak and helpless this life might be'. He notes that Tyndale wrote on Ephesians 2, 'The text is plain: we were stone dead, and without power to do or consent to good'. 'In that way', Werrell insists, 'Tyndale had separated his theology not only from that of the Roman Church, but also from Luther and the other Continental Reformers'. And later: 'Although Tyndale's theology had moved much further from the medieval Church than had Wyclif or the Lollards, he was, in many ways, closer to the Wycliffite movement than he was to Luther'. Werrell thus also rejects the influential claims of William A. Clebsch that Tyndale's 'theology changed from a Lutheran to covenant theology in the early 1530's'.

The organized production of manuscript Wycliffite Bibles described by Anne Hudson in her keynote lecture at the Tyndale Litchfield Conference in May 2006, and printed in the *TSJ* No. 31, August 2006 illustrates Tyndale's connection to the proto-Reformation of the late 14th century, in spirit and

content if not directly. Werrell proclaims that the emphasis on *sola scriptura* to understand all Christian teaching 'pre-dated the Reformation as a tool of reform. It was fundamental to Wyclif' as it was to Tyndale who 'accepted the whole Bible as God's word. Luther, famously, called the *Epistle of James* an 'epistle of straw' . . . Tyndale's response to Luther's criticisms in both the *Epistle of James* and the *Epistle to the Hebrews* was that Luther had been biased as he read them'.

Purgatory, the saints - a too human bunch ready to take umbrage at a slight by the living - the Antichrist sometimes appearing as the Pope of Rome, and a too literal understanding of the Lord's Supper were all concerns of Wyclif and the Wycliffites as well as of later reformers. It is interesting to note that Wyclif himself backed off on his critique of the Eucharistic presence as did Tyndale. Wyclif and Tyndale, from different positions among the people of God, both shared a practical sense of not overburdening the faithful or the movement to reform the Church.

What of the government not of the Church and its teaching but of the state? 'Unlike Luther', Werrell concludes in his chapter on 'The Covenant People,' 'Tyndale did not make a separation between the temporal and the spiritual as if they were in watertight compartments. Neither did Tyndale, like Roman Catholicism and Calvin, make the spiritual regiment superior to the temporal'. The author notes that more work has to be done on Tyndale's theology regarding the relationship between 'the temporal and spiritual regiments'. The practical problem of running a state where enthusiastic sectarians are a majority is, of course, still with us.

In his demonstration of Tyndale's consistency and individuality in his theology Werrell has relied on Tyndale's writing, which is always witty and clear. Writing about good writers does not guarantee an improvement in one's own writing, but surely it does not hurt. For example, I will close with one of Werrell's penultimate paragraphs, carelessly set by the publisher and not, unfortunately, the only printing error in this solid book, but a fine example of good theological writing:

*'The stress of Tyndale's theology is on God. It is God the Father who is our Father in a very real sense because one of the keys of Tyndale's covenant theology is the family, God's family. It is by one's entrance into that family, through the new birth, that one becomes a child of God. As a child one has access to our loving Father at any time and for whatever reason, and as loving children we seek always to please our Father in what we do.'*

Donald J. Millus, Coastal Carolina University, November 2006.

## North American News

Report by Jennifer Bekemeier

US Membership Office, December 2006

### 2<sup>nd</sup> International Tyndale Conference in Virginia September 2007

We regret that it has proved impossible to organise this conference as announced in the last issue of the Journal. Nonetheless plans are advancing to organise a substitute, albeit more modest event later in the year.

### John Piper

The Tyndale Society is pleased to learn that its hero is being brought to the notice of a wide audience in America thanks to the efforts of John Piper, the extremely well known American evangelical leader. Piper is the Pastor of Preaching at Bethlehem Baptist Church in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and he has been highlighting the life and achievements of William Tyndale in his recent public presentations.

In February 2006 at the Bethlehem Conference for Pastors entitled 'How Must a Pastor Die? The Price of Caring like Jesus' Piper featured the life of William Tyndale in his biographical message. The website notes that his information is based mainly on Prof. David Daniell's *William Tyndale: A Biography* published by Yale University Press 2001.

### Ronald Mansbridge 1905-2006

The family of the late Ronald Mansbridge (see a full obituary elsewhere in this issue) kindly designated the Tyndale Society as a beneficiary of charitable gifts. We are extremely grateful to them for this generous gesture.

### Cost of advertisements in the Tyndale Society Journal

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## Not so 'Wicked' Mammon II

Monday 30 April 2007, 2 – 8pm



Following our hugely successful *Not so 'Wicked' Mammon* event on 11 March 2006 (see report in the *Tyndale Society Journal* No 31 August 2006), we have organised the following different but complementary study day programme for 2007:-

**2pm Meeting for briefing by Brian Buxton** in the Crypt Cafe, St Paul's Cathedral, London followed by short walk (approx. 10 minutes) pointing out sites en route down Cheapside to Mercers' Hall.

**2.30 - 4pm Visit to Mercers' Hall**, Ironmongers Lane, City of London EC4.

We have arranged for a group (not exceeding 30 participants) to be conducted personally by Gary Haines, the Archivist of Mercers' Hall, through their impressive premises.

The tour of the Hall (which replaced that destroyed in the Blitz) will include the Archives, the Treasury, the Ambulatory, the only surviving chapel in a livery hall today, and the ceremonial rooms.

**4 - 4.30pm Return walk with briefing** by Brian Buxton to Crypt Cafe.

**4.30 - 5pm Tea** (own expense) Crypt Cafe.

**5pm Evensong** in St Paul's Cathedral (optional).

**6.30 - 8pm Lecture** by Dr Felicity Heal, fellow and vice-principal of Jesus College, Oxford in Crypt of St Paul's entitled *'Our own tongue should be written clean and pure' Tudor Protestantism and the Use of the Vernacular*.

**The Mercers' Company** is the premier Livery Company of the City of London, with origins lost in the medieval period when its most famous member was Sir Richard Whittington, a Gloucester man, three times Master and four times Mayor of London. Amongst early 16th century members were John Colet, Dean of St Paul's and friend of Erasmus, and Sir Thomas More, Tyndale's theological adversary. There were also several who were sympathetic to Tyndale and involved in the reforming cause. These latter included John Coke, a known contact of Tyndale, Thomas Kyle, a member of the 'Christian brethren' and involved in distributing forbidden books, and Robert Packington, critic of the clergy, mysteriously gunned down in Cheapside only weeks after Tyndale's execution: Robert Barnes preached at Packington's funeral.

**Price** Visit and lecture £18/ Mercers' Hall visit only £10/ Evening Lecture only £12

**Tickets and further details** obtainable from Mary Clow, 17 Powis Terrace, London W11 1JJ Tel.+44 (0) 207 221 0303 email:maryclow@aol.com

## In the Beginning: Bibles Before the Year 1000

An exhibition at the Sackler Gallery, Washington, DC, USA:

21 October 2006 – 7 January 2007

Report by Neil L. Inglis

Are there authors who can make an abstruse topic sing? I think of Jerry Flint (car industry correspondent for *Forbes*) and Lysiane Gagnon (who covers Quebec separatism for the *Toronto Globe and Mail*). And there are museum exhibits which can bring a dusty subject thrillingly to life. The *In the Beginning* exhibition on ancient Bibles, an Autumn 2006 exhibit at the Sackler Gallery in Washington DC was a prime example.

The guide to the exhibit sets the scene: *In the Beginning: Bibles Before the Year 1000 presents the physical evidence of the development of both Bible and book, from fragile fragments of papyrus and humble early parchment codices to resplendent illuminated manuscripts and sumptuous jeweled bindings. Some have remained in ancient monastic libraries or cathedral treasuries since they were written; others have languished, concealed in desert caves, sealed up in long-forgotten rooms, or buried to await resurrection by archaeologists (...). Each has its own distinctive voice and a tale to tell.*

It's been over a decade since we Tyndalians made our trek to the *Let There Be Light* exhibition at various stages on its epoch-making road trip. Light was one thing noticeably lacking at the Sackler when I visited in November 2006. I found it hard to imagine how a museum show could be quite so sepulchral and darkly illuminated, its exhibits so desperately fragile. As our esteemed TSJ editor pointed out, this meant I had never been to the Bodmer Museum in Geneva, where conditions are far worse.

There were good reasons for the extra precautions. If the more delicate manuscripts bore the marks of flame or water damage, many were lucky to have survived at all (one priceless palimpsest had been tossed in a bog by a Viking marauder in search of more obvious treasure).

The *In the Beginning* exhibit is, among many things, a primer in Dark Ages book technology, showing the various forms of textual transmission during that benighted era (from scroll, to codex, to the more comprehensive pandect). The emerging conventions of Bible production, including short forms designed to distinguish certain especially holy names (the so-called "nomina sacra") are well documented. The pre-Nicene squabbings are much

in evidence as parchments and papyri jostle for advantage in the early centuries of Christianity, at a time when ultimate membership of the Christian canon is by no means assured.

Two of the graphics from the exhibition guide will illustrate the diversity of topics, languages, styles, and geographical sources on display at the Sackler.

(1) *“Greek-Arabic Diglot of the Psalms and Odes. Mt. Sinai. Holy Monastery of St. Catherine, (...) Arabic and Greek; parchment. Sinai (?), eighth-ninth century.”*

(2) *“The Cambridge-London Gospels. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (...), Latin; parchment. Northumbria, northeast England. ca. 725-50.”*

The Diglot, as you would expect, is text only. The cover of the Cambridge Gospels is graced by the astounding image of an eagle, talons extended (‘a powerful image of the eagle of Saint John, symbolizing the visionary nature of his Gospel - flying directly to the throne of God for inspiration and representing the Second Coming.’)

These treasures raise more questions than they answer and, with consensus elusive, the field of Biblical scholarship is torn with bitter feuds. Here the *catalogue raisonné* steers a middle course between fashions and controversies: Mark is indicated as the oldest Gospel (the majority view), and - surprise! - William Tyndale is mentioned briefly and in passing.

It is delightful to play armchair antiquarian and ponder the conundrums these exquisite artifacts pose. One scribe had clearly left space for a disputed and possibly heretical passage at the end of a section, and then - playing it safe, perhaps - decided against it, preferring instead to use extra large, wide print to fill up the remaining available space. Yet another scribe has twisted initial letters pretzel-fashion into ornamental shapes as a way to circumvent the edicts of iconoclasm. On the cover of yet another tome, a quartet of Evangelists invites the reader to enter - but this is an illusion! They are gatekeepers, sending this symbolic message: “We’re complete, no more additions are necessary; and if you can’t read, too bad for you!” Illiterate readers had to content themselves with gaping at iconography.

The greatest revelation, for me, was that pressure for vernacular material was building from the earliest days of the first millennium. The Bible was a powerful central force in the various streams leading to the development of literacy and local languages and alphabets across Continental Europe, of which Glagolitic (created by Saint Cyril around 862-863 in order to translate the Bible and other texts into Old Church Slavonic) is only one example. The guide mentions another:

*“The earliest written vernacular in the late Roman West was Gothic, invented*

*by Ulfilas (ca. 311-383), “Apostle to the Goths,” one of the migrating barbarian peoples that would shortly supplant the rule of Rome. Ulfilas drew upon the Greek and Roman alphabets to produce a written version of the Gothic language in order to translate the Bible.’*

Not for the last time, the vernacular language posed a threat to Roman authority.

Anglo-Saxon Britain was hardly immune from these trends, often an expression of nationalist impulses in the face of external threats. The Lindisfarne Gospels containing an interlinear Old English gloss inserted by the Monk Aldred in the years 950-60 - the oldest surviving translation of the gospels into English - are perhaps the biggest eye-opener for newcomers. Nor were these a fluke: Latin/Old English glossaries show that translation issues were on scholars’ minds centuries before the 1409 Oxford Constitutions slammed the brakes on English Bibles. The curators put this best themselves:

*‘The origins of the Anglo-Saxon tradition of glossing may be observed in copies of the Latin-Old English glossaries used in the schoolroom during the educational reforms implemented by Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus and his colleague, the North African Abbot Hadrian, at Canterbury during the seventh century. (...) The escalation in the use of their written vernaculars by the English and Irish during the ninth century is perhaps best viewed as an ethnic response to Viking invasion and the establishment of a “state within a state.” Such threats (...) stimulated the production of custom-written vernacular texts, including rousing sermons by Aelfric and Wulfstan designed to hearten and mobilize English resistance to renewed Viking invasion around 1000.’*

Fascinating stuff, and a remarkable show.

Details of the Guide published on the occasion of the exhibition: -

Edited by Michelle P. Brown (various contributors) ***In the Beginning: Bibles Before the Year 1000***, 21 October 2006 - 7 January 2007, organized by the Freer Gallery of Art & the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in partnership with The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

ISBN-13: 978-1-58834-240-9 (hardcover)

ISBN-10: 1-58834-240-9 (hardcover)

ISBN-13: 978-0-934686-03-7 (pbk.)

ISBN-10: 0-934686-03-3 (pbk.)

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## Jaroslav Pelikan

*Sterling Professor of History at Yale University 1972-96  
17 December 1923 - 13 May 2006.*

Members of the Tyndale Society who were at our 2005 Oxford Conference will remember how we announced regretfully that the distinguished historian, who was to have been our keynote speaker, was unable to be with us due to illness: Dr Jaroslav Pelikan has now died, from lung cancer, at the age of 82.

The extraordinary journey of Dr Pelikan's intellectual and spiritual life is reflected in the range and variety of his prolific writings, as much enjoyed by a wide general readership as respected by scholars. His researches ranged across two millennia of Christian history and theology, inspiring not only his 5-volume series *The Christian Tradition: the History of the Development of Doctrine*, but also his immensely popular *Jesus through the Centuries*. The expanded, illustrated version of the latter book won the Theologos Award in 1998 for best academic book. His Gifford Lectures at Aberdeen University were published as *Christianity and Classical Culture*. He edited new translations of Luther in 22 volumes, and also a new edition of Ahmed Ali's translation of the *Qur'an*. These were only some of the 30 books he published.

Jaroslav Pelikan was born in 1923 in Ohio, USA, the grandchild of immigrants from Slovakia on his father's side and Serbia on his mother's. He first followed his father by becoming a Lutheran minister, but ended his life in the Orthodox Church. His academic career took him from the University of Chicago to Yale, where the current Dean of the Graduate School said: *'He was a scholar's scholar'*. He was one of the world's leading scholars of the history of Christianity and medieval intellectual history: but with all his intellectual gifts Dr Pelikan was also known for his love of music, his humanity, literary eloquence and great humour.

Mary Clow, November 2006

## Frederick Ronald Mansbridge

*Publisher, scholar and wit  
11 November 1905 - 1 September 2006*

Anyone who has the whimsicality and wit to launch, in late middle life, a lunch club called 'The Deplorers' to gather together like-minded friends who found too much in the world around them to deplore, is worth remember-

ing. And if, in addition, he has successfully run a business on both sides of the Atlantic for many years, often single-handed, he is quite obviously a remarkable person. That, in a nutshell, might be considered sufficient to justify Ronald Mansbridge's claim to fame. But when you come to look into his life more closely you find more, much more to add to his balance sheet of achievements.

Frederick Ronald Mansbridge was born on 11 November 1905 in Sanderstead, Surrey (U.K.), and died in his one hundred and first year in Weston, Connecticut (USA), on 1 September 2006. He claimed to come from one of England's oldest families but said he disapproved of what he called England's 'stifling class system'. Yet if ever there was an example of the fact that the system is not so stifling after all, Ronald Mansbridge is one. He completed the secondary school cycle in the United Kingdom and then went on to read English at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Soon after graduating from Cambridge one of his early jobs was a post at Barnard College, New York, teaching, logically enough, English. He also, from time to time, read manuscripts for Macmillan in New York. This led to a chance meeting with S.C. Roberts, an English don who had just taken over the Cambridge University Press (CUP) and was looking for someone (obviously a Cambridge graduate) to run a New York branch. Mansbridge was clearly cut out for the job and thus started a career in the publishing business that lasted over 40 years.

Too young to have served in the Great War, Mansbridge tried to volunteer for service in 1939 but was turned down by the British Consulate: he was much more useful to the nation selling Cambridge books! So he remained in the USA, publishing new books, became an expert on biblical studies and did much to introduce the New English Bible in the USA. His business flourished.

But he still had time and energy and ideas to devote to many sidelines in the literary field. He wrote numerous articles for specialist publications; built up a unique collection of early Cambridge University books, the oldest dating from 1680. Through his interest in biblical studies he became passionately interested in the life and work of William Tyndale, admiring the beauty and poetry of Tyndale's translation of the Bible. He made a systematic study and comparison of the texts of the Geneva Bible, the Authorised Version (King James') and Tyndale's translation and concluded that about three quarters of the later versions were taken almost verbatim from Tyndale. Despite his numerous published articles he never himself published a full-length book except for a collection of limericks which made no small stir in the literary world, chiefly for his annotations.

In 1970, after some forty years in the publishing business in the USA (admittedly in publishing British books) he left New York to be managing director of the Yale University Press in London. This brought him back to the starting

point of his literary career. It also meant a total uprooting, setting up a flat in London and a cottage in the country in Kent, at commuting distance from London. After a couple of years, however, he returned with his wife to his home in Weston, Connecticut, continuing his freelance work in publishing on both sides of the Atlantic, and his connections with the big university publishers with which he had made his career.

Mansbridge married twice, first to Georgia Mullan who died in 1988 after a long and happy marriage lasting fifty years. His second wife, Janet, predeceased him by two years, in 2003. He is survived by four children, Jane and Bruce, children of his first marriage, and Barbara and Ruth, the stepdaughters of his second marriage.

Angela Butler, November 2006

The following extract of a letter by Robert Mansbridge written to the editor in his 96th year illustrates his energy, intellectual curiosity and whimsicality:-

*'In the quincentenary year, on a summer afternoon, I set up a table and chairs outside our local library (Weston Connecticut), collared people as they came out and quizzed them about Tyndale. Would you believe it? Not one out of thirty had heard of him! Well, I am thinking of repeating the experiment next month and will see if there is any difference but this time I will give each person a copy of 1 Corinthians ch. 13 with a very brief account of William Tyndale and see whether I can make something out of their reactions.'*

Or on another occasion speaking of the same passage in Corinthians he wrote:-

*'..... My own interest in Tyndale is largely what he did for English prose. I am not much of a Christian these days but if I believe anything, it is what St Paul wrote to the Corinthians especially in the words William Tyndale used, before the wretched King James' men mucked it up with their Latinity.'*

## **Rev. Anthony Trotman**

*1 January 1911 – 15 September 2006*

Anthony Edward Fiennes Trotman was born on 1 January 1911 at Upwey, Dorset, where his maternal grandfather William Gildea was rector. He was the second child and eldest son of the Rev. Francis Earle Trotman and his wife, Marian. His paternal grandfather was also a clergyman: in fact, Anthony was to become the sixth in a line of Trotman clergymen that started with his

great-great-great grandfather Samuel Trotman (born 1723). Anthony, plus his father and two grandfathers, between them contributed over 200 years of service to the Salisbury diocese.

Anthony went to Marlborough College and from there gained a scholarship to Exeter College, Oxford, where he took degrees in classics and history. After Oxford, he went to Shawnigan Lake School on Vancouver Island, British Columbia, Canada, where he was responsible for teaching history throughout the school. He loved Canada, but he could see trouble coming in Europe, so he came home. The only job he could find was at Rockport, a prep school just outside Belfast. Here he met Patricia Webb, whom he would later marry in Belfast in 1944.

During the war he was an artilleryman, serving in the 112th Field Regiment, and was eventually seconded to the 4th Dorsets as observation officer. While he was in the army he received a 'call' to be ordained, but he could do nothing about it until the war was over.

The war ended, Anthony, after a brief return to teaching, felt he should train for the church. He studied at Wycliffe Hall, Oxford; he was ordained deacon in 1948 and priest in 1949 at St Anne's Cathedral in Belfast. He served two curacies in Belfast before moving back to England in order to be a little nearer to his family in Salisbury where his father, then in his eighties, was Vicar of the Close.

In 1952 he became Rector of Corsley with Chapmanslade, at that time the biggest single parish in England, with three churches and two schools. Then in 1959 he became Rector of Chilmark at the specific request of the patron of the living, Lord Pembroke. This included the chaplaincy of RAF Chilmark. In his time, the school was enlarged, the village acquired a playing field, major work was done on the church bells and the church was floodlit.

He retired from the Chilmark living in 1976 and moved back to Salisbury. There, he took services at St Thomas's and at St Mark's. He was also for many years one of the chaplain guides to the Cathedral. However, in 1991 ill health forced him to give up these activities.

Most recently, he was a keen member of the Tyndale Society, attending as many meetings as he could and thoroughly enjoying in 2002 - aged 91 - the 4th International Tyndale Conference in Antwerp, Belgium. He was very proud of the fact that he was a direct descendant of William's brother Edward, who was his grandfather plus nine 'greats'.

He died peacefully early in the morning of Friday, 15 September 2006.

## From basement to display gallery An Amazing Change of Fortune for Mary Queen of Scots

Angela Butler

The *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1993) defines dendrochronology as the science of dating events and environmental variations by means of comparative study of the growth rings in (ancient) timber. This may seem a science of limited practical use but it can have far ranging effects in the highly specialised area of identifying works of art. It is, in fact, inducing The National Portrait Gallery to reconsider the dating of a portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots, which the Gallery bought in a Christie's sale for £50 in 1916. Originally believed to be a 16th century painting it was subsequently dismissed as an 18th century fake. If the dendochronological dating process proves to be reliable, the dating of the portrait may have to be reviewed and the £50 acquisition may turn out to be one of only two portraits painted while the queen was still alive. The other belongs to the Royal Collection and shows her in mourning, probably painted after the death of her first father-in-law, Henry II of France.



The discovery reads like the denouement of a modern detective story. The portrait is small (10 by 7.5 inches) and has been painted on a wood panel. The dendrochronology technique enables (ancient) wood to be dated to within about 30 years, and on this basis the panel of Baltic oak on which the portrait has been painted can be assumed to have come from a tree felled between 1560 and 1592. Mary was beheaded at Fotheringhay castle in 1587. Thus the painting may have been made early in the 32-year span indicated by the dendrochronology.

This is not the only criterion prompting a revision of the dating of the portrait: paint analysis has also shown that the lettering of an inscription, Maria

Scotiae, revealed by X-ray, has been done in lead-tin yellow, a pigment not used after the 16th century. A conservator has been working cautiously for over a year removing layers of old varnish and overpainting in order to return the painting to its original state. The resultant analysis lets one conclude that the work was painted during the queen's imprisonment 1568 -1587. Could it have been a life study?

If this is so, then the discovery is news indeed: most of her near contemporary portraits date from after her death when, on the accession of James I to the throne of England, it was no longer dangerous to admit to owning a memento, a portrait of a Roman Catholic queen who had now become the mother of the new king.

Unfortunately, though the quality of his work is not questioned, the name of the artist is not known and it is not possible to say whether the portrait has been done from life, or copied from a drawing. There still remain, therefore, a number of questions needing to be answered before its provenance can be considered definitive.

This beautiful painting is now on display in the Tudor Galleries at the National Portrait Gallery, London.

### Sources

Nigel Reynolds *Artistic Sleuths claim to have found the lost head of Mary, Queen of Scots* *Times* Thursday 17 August 2006.

[www.timesonline.co.uk](http://www.timesonline.co.uk) Dalya Alberge Mary, Queen of Scots: the first view of only portrait

## Lady Jane Grey?

Angela Butler

August 2006

Whatever your opinions of the artistic values of the pictures - in the National Portrait Gallery, for instance - of the portraits that have come down to us of the kings and queens of England over the centuries, these portraits are nevertheless the only visual records we have of them. Were they good likenesses? Was the artist merely trying to flatter his subject, to curry favour at court? It is immaterial. Good, bad or indifferent, they are often the only record we have of a bygone age or personality.

But when there is no such pictorial record at all, one is left wondering. To the best of current knowledge, there is only one such case: Lady Jane Grey. Admittedly hers was a very short reign, so short that the history books rarely, if ever, describe her as queen: she remains Lady Jane Grey.

She was set on the throne by her scheming uncles and other conspirators among the Protestant nobility in a vain attempt to prevent the coronation of a Roman Catholic, Mary Tudor. Jane Grey was declared Queen and crowned while lodged in the Tower of London. Later in early 1554 Mary, whose claim to the throne had been successfully upheld, had her beheaded. Throughout her nine-day reign in July 1553 Jane had never left its precincts. She might never have existed.

Did anyone paint her portrait? If so, it was kept secret. In any case no portrait ever reached the National Portrait Gallery. Perhaps, during the troubled years of Mary's reign, it may have been too dangerously incriminating to own to such a possession.

And yet: for the past several months art circles, historians, art specialists in 16th century artefacts have been examining a picture which may possibly fill the vacant space in the royal portrait gallery. It came to light in a private house in Streatham where it has been hanging on the walls, unbeknown to the world at large, for several generations. The present owner inherited the house and its contents from her grandfather, a noted collector of 16th century antiques. A prominent London art dealer, Christopher Foley, has been researching the painting for months. In his view, analysis of the pigment and the oak panel on which the portrait is painted have been confirmed as 16th century work; in the upper left hand corner the words 'Lady Jayne', though faint, have been confirmed as having been painted at the same time as the portrait. Costume experts of the Victoria and Albert Museum date the dress and jewellery as being between 1550 and 1555, but the portrait itself is undated. The Royal College of Arms has come up with four possible 'Lady Jaynes'. Allowing for birth dates and marital status, Mr Foley believes that Lady Jane Grey is the best candidate.

Originally deeply sceptical of any such 'finds', Mr Foley though far from enthusiastic about the quality of the artist's work, thinks it may well be a contemporary portrait of Lady Jane Grey.

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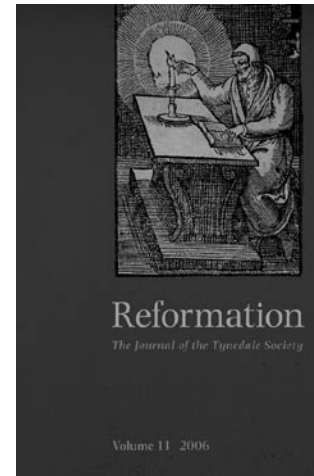
#### Editor's note

Charlotte Higgins, the arts correspondent of *The Guardian*, reported on Saturday 11 November 2006 that this painting has now been purchased for a rumoured £100,000 by the National Portrait Gallery in London.

## ANNOUNCING VOLUME 11

# Reformation

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Volume 11 contains a number of distinguished contributions, covering a range of subjects from authors

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## Competition Result

Where is it?



In *TSJ No 32* (August 2006) we printed the central part of this picture with a challenge to identify its location. With it now shown in a slightly wider view, the reader will be more easily able to believe the winning answer, supplied by Keith Burden, of London EC3. He alone knew that it is to be found in the Gents' WC next to the Embankment Underground Station, Central London, and receives a set of Tyndale calligraphy cards. Well done!

The TSJ extends its thanks to the Editor's husband who, having discovered the picture, took a digital image of it at considerable personal inconvenience.

## Competition

Where was I?



A small prize will be awarded for the most precise correct answer sent to the editor.

Many thanks to Michael Hammond for sending in this photograph

## Requests from the Editor

### Appeal for Book Reviewers

I am always delighted to hear from potential reviewers and to receive suggestions of books suitable for review.

For the next issue No. 33 of the *Tyndale Society Journal* August 2007 (deadline for copy **Friday 8 June 2007**) I should like volunteers to review the following books:-

Laurence M. Vance *King James, His Bible and its Translators*  
Vance Publications, 2006

Stefan Fussel *Gutenberg and the Impact of Printing* Ashgate 2005

Hans R. Guggisberg and Bruce Gordon *Sebastian Castellio 1515-1563*  
Ashgate

Brett Usher *William Cecil and Episcopacy 1559-1577* Ashgate

I regret that the Tyndale Journal cannot afford to pay a fee but you can at least keep the review copy!

### Exhibition Reviewers

Reviews need not be confined to books and I should be delighted to receive more reviews of exhibitions.

### News and Events

Please keep the editor informed of any events taking place or, preferably, about to happen which could be of interest to our readers. Advance notice is better than a report afterwards!

### Advertisements

The type of advert we have in mind is for conferences, bookshops, private requests for buying and selling books, publishers' flyers for books of interest to our readership.

If you would like to advertise in the Journal or can persuade someone else to do so please consult the rates printed in this issue. Remember attracting adverts will boost the Society's income and keep subscription prices down.

For any of these matters please contact the Journal editor

Valerie Offord tel/fax +41 (0) 22 777 18 58 email [valerie.offord@bluewin.ch](mailto:valerie.offord@bluewin.ch)

## Dates for Your Diary

2007

**Thursday 8 March to Saturday 10 March**  
**Worcester Conference 'Tasting the Word of God' with Dr Carl Trueman, associate Professor at Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, as keynote speaker.**

An opportunity to learn about the lives of the reformers Latimer and Hooper, bishops and martyrs. The programme will include a visit to Gloucester and a tour of Tyndale sites in the area.

For further details contact Mary Clow, 17 Powis Terrace, London W11 1JJ  
Tel. +44 (0) 207 221 0303 email: maryclow@aol.com

**Monday 30 April 2pm - 8pm**  
**Not so 'Wicked' Mammon II - A London Study Day with Brian Buxton to examine further the support given to Tyndale and other reformers by the London merchants.**

Meeting point - St Paul's Crypt cafe at 2pm.  
See elsewhere in this Journal for full programme.

Further details from Mary Clow, 17 Powis Terrace, London W11 1JJ  
Tel. +44 (0) 207 221 0303 email: maryclow@aol.com

**Summer event - date and details to be confirmed**  
**Hadleigh, Suffolk Day - The Story of Rowland Taylor - Reformer and Martyr.**

Organiser – Michael Hammond.

Information from Mary Clow, 17 Powis Terrace, London W11 1JJ  
Tel. +44 (0) 207 221 0303 or email: maryclow@aol.com

**20-23 September CANCELLED**  
**2<sup>nd</sup> International Tyndale Conference in Virginia, USA in conjunction with the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations at Jamestown. *How the Bible came to America***

*We regret that it proved impossible to organise this conference as announced.*

To ensure that you have the latest information about forthcoming events consult our website at [www.tyndale.org](http://www.tyndale.org)

## Tyndale Society Officers:

Chairman Emeritus	Professor David Daniell
Chairman	Mrs Mary Clow, maryclow@aol.com
Vice-Chairs	Dr Barry Ryan (America) Sir Rowland Whitehead, Bt, rowlandwhitehead@hotmail.com
Treasurer	Mr Peter Baker, peter.baker@hertford.ox.ac.uk
Secretary to the Trustees	Ms Rochelle Givoni, rochelle@ctl.com

## Key Contacts For Members And Friends:

### Membership/Subscription Information

**UK Office** (all membership queries except US and Canada)  
Mrs Valerie Kemp, Tyndale Society, Hertford College, Oxford, OX1 3BW, UK  
Phone +44 (0) 1865 289152 valerie.kemp@hertford.ox.ac.uk

**US Office** (all membership queries for US and Canada)

Ms Jennifer Bekemeier, Tyndale Society, Regent University, 1000 Regent University Drive, Virginia Beach, VA 23464, USA Phone: +1 757 226 4347 jennbek@regent.edu

### Administration

Mrs Gillian Guest, Administrative Assistant, Tyndale Society, c/o Hertford College, Oxford, OX1 3BW, UK. PMG7515@aol.com

### European Representative

Mrs Valerie Offord, Le Grouet, 31 route de Pré-Marais, 1233 Bernex, Switzerland.  
Phone/fax +41 (0) 22 777 18 58 valerie.offord@bluewin.ch

### UK Contact

Mrs Priscilla Frost  
27 Ditchley Road, Charlbury, Oxon. OX7 3QS, UK.  
Phone: +44 (0) 1608 811818. Fax: +44 (0) 1608 819010. info@oxconf.co.uk

### Publications Committee

Brian Johnson, bandr@johnson373.fsnet.co.uk

### Ploughboy Group

Rev. David Ireson, Ploughboy Group Convenor  
The Vicarage, Brendon Road, Watchet, Somerset, TA23 0HU, UK  
Phone: +44 (0) 1984 631228, David.Ireson@btinternet.com

### Webmaster

Dr Deborah Pollard, d.e.pollard@qmul.ac.uk, www.tyndale.org

ISSN: 1357-4167

