

The Tyndale Society Journal



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About the Tyndale Society

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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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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 2 November 2007**. Please note that neither the Tyndale Society nor the Editor of this Journal necessarily share the views expressed by contributors.

The costs of this issue have been partly underwritten by Valerie and Robin Offord in memory of Valerie's parents, Ronald and Dora Wheatley. Despite having to leave school at the age of 14 years, they valued the importance of books and learning and placed them firmly in the context of a Christian life.

Editorial

Valerie Offord

There is a device which stores information on a numbered sequence of pages, no wires or batteries are needed and so simple to use that even a child can operate it. It works by optically scanning the information and transferring it directly to the brain. For any of you still in the dark the acronym of this major technological breakthrough a bio-optic organised knowledge device is BOOK.

It is a brilliant invention and one sign of that is the fact that the basic design has altered very little over several hundred years. Books sold in Tyndale's time are very similar to those sold today which is truly astonishing when you consider how much most other consumer durables have changed in production and design. Some readers will, no doubt, quibble that marginal notes have been replaced by footnotes - set up in a flash by sophisticated computer programmes. Indexing, by the same virtue, has improved beyond measure and dust jackets have been added. The latter is possibly a retrograde step as the art of binding and embellishing a book cover has been abandoned. However, the loss of a book in a suitcase on a flight through Heathrow is not the drama it would have been when lost in a 16th century shipwreck. Mass production is so easy - take the print run of Harry Potter compared with that of the Bible produced by Rowland Hall in Geneva in 1560.

However, there is one major difference between the book trade in the 16th century and nowadays and that lies in the area of organisation. In Tyndale's time printing was a highly risky business - financially and in terms of personal safety. One has only to look at the close shave endured in the workshop of the Cologne printer, Peter Quennell, as Tyndale dramatically fled from the premises with the pages of his newly printed Bible. Printers were imprisoned, fined and even killed for choosing the wrong type of publication. An Antwerp printer, Christopher Endhoven, who specialised in printing Bibles and liturgical works, ended up in an English jail where sadly he died. His widow, Catherine, successfully and astutely managed to channel the business into more profitable and less controversial projects. On the other hand, another Antwerp inhabitant, Christopher Plantin, became highly successful, He was, in effect, a commissioner of works, printer, translator, illustrator, publisher and bookseller all under one roof. Luck, business acumen and a wise choice of friends had a lot to do with the success of a printing concern in those days. To a certain extent these same criteria apply today but the wrong choice of copy does not usually provoke a prison sentence or worse.

In England the Worshipful Company of Stationers, who this year are cel-

celebrating their 450th Anniversary, succeeded to a large extent in regularising the trade. The Company was founded in 1403 with the aim of controlling the activities of text writers, bookbinders, illuminators and booksellers who operated from workplaces (stationarius) round the walls of St Paul's Cathedral. Over the years and with the invention of printing this City of London Livery Company, whose official status was ratified by a charter from Queen Mary in 1557, became a very powerful force indeed - possibly too powerful. For instance, it controlled copyright - not a bad thing at first. But in the eyes of some a source of difficulties later on. John Bodley, the driving force behind the production of the *Geneva Bible*, received its copyright from the Stationers' Company in 1561 and, as we all know, it was one of, if not the most successful Bibles ever. The *Geneva Bible* was in the hands of those founding families when they landed to start a colony in Jamestown, Virginia in 1607 - exactly 400 years ago. John Bodley and his Geneva publisher, Rowland Hall, lived in London on their return from exile in Geneva in 1560 but it seems that Bodley did not exercise his copyright in spite of it being renewed in 1568 (it was never ratified according to the Stationers' Company records).

Members of the Tyndale Society can be further enlightened this autumn on these subjects by Prof. Andrew Pettegree when he gives the 450th Anniversary Lecture at Stationers' Hall entitled '*The Stationers' Company and the Development of the English Printing Industry*' on 18 October.

This issue of the Journal is very much concerned with the printed word and the fate of those who died upholding their beliefs which they had committed to print. At the Worcester Conference '*Tasting the Word of God*' much time was devoted to the life and works of Bishops Latimer and Hooper who were both martyred for their adherence to Protestant beliefs. Unfortunately, for reasons outside our control, we have only been able to publish one of the excellent papers given on that occasion but Eunice Burton has written a full and excellent report on the whole event.

The Battle for the Bible was depicted most forcefully in a film shown on BBC4 this past Easter. Members will have a further chance to see it in a barn in Wendover, Buckinghamshire this September. In this issue you can also read Rod Liddle's article about this programme to which some of our Tyndale officers notably Prof. David Daniell, Dr Guido Latré and the late Sir Rowland Whitehead contributed; the Tyndale Bible shone through with flying colours. Dr Randall Pannell in the lead article comments on the translation by Tyndale of an Old Testament Prophetic Book, Jonah. If your interest in Bibles is not satiated by all this then read the review by Bill Cooper of Laurence Vance's recent book entitled '*King James, His Bible and its Translators*'.

The Mercers' Company, a City of London Livery Company like the Stationers', featured prominently in our *London Study Day* in April. Eunice Burton has contributed a detailed report of this event, which was so ably led by Brian Buxton. Her report skilfully incorporated the notes from Brian's excellent hand-out prepared especially for the event. Eunice has also summarised the talk '*Tudor Protestantism and the Use of the Vernacular*' given that evening by Dr Felicity Heal which unfortunately could not be printed here for copyright reasons.

Our book reviewers have worked hard on a variety of subjects from psalters and books of hours through bible translation and from a continental reformer, Sebastian Castellio to a study on William Cecil and Episcopacy. There are thoughts and comments by Brian Buxton on the Holbein exhibition and a short piece on *Sacred*, the British Library's very successful current exhibition on the Abrahamic faiths. Neither is the continent of Europe neglected with short articles in *Press Gleanings* on the Reformation Museum in Geneva and its recent acquisition of a rare document about Calvin.

A glance at *Dates for Your Diary* makes one realise that many people put in long hours of work to keep the Society vibrant. In addition to our now customary and prestigious **Lambeth** and **Hertford Lectures** and the **Annual Carol Service** at St Mary Abchurch there are conferences and events planned through to 2009. We owe a debt of thanks to our energetic chairman, Mary Clow, for most of these new initiatives.

This issue has seen Eunice Burton's reporting duties go into overdrive. We are immensely grateful to her for all this behind the scenes work and not forgetting the fortune she has spent on feather quills and sheaves of paper! Brian Buxton is fast becoming the expert on 16th century London merchants and we always benefit from the fruits of his ongoing research. His recent discovery of the entry in their archives of the account of Robert Packington's death by shotgun proved exciting.

I am enormously grateful to Judith Munzinger for her persistence, despite numerous peregrinations, in eliminating the Oxford comma and rogue italics from this issue. Angela Butler, my Press Gleanings synthesizer, has decided, frustrated at not being able to carry out research on the net, that she needs to change, at least, her software and possibly her computer!

So please, dear readers, come to as many events as you can. Encourage your friends to join the Society, contribute articles and book reviews, solicit adverts to boost our income so that the Journal does not have to diminish in size or compromise its standards. Moreover, alert the editor to all events even remotely associated with Tyndalian thoughts and ideas.

May your book contracts prosper and your copyrights remain intact.

Why Begin with the Book of Jonah? Tyndale's First-and-Only Translation of an Old Testament Prophetic Book

Randall J. Pannell

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As a student of the Old Testament, Hebrew canon, a couple of issues have grabbed my attention regarding William Tyndale's English translation of the Old Testament (OT). One issue regards the unfortunate circumstance that the Hebrew texts available to Tyndale followed the LXX/Vulgate arrangement of the Hebrew Canon. Unfortunately, this circumstance has hampered informed exegesis of the non-historically arranged Hebrew canon. In following the pseudo-chronological arrangement of the Greek and Latin versions of the OT, Tyndale, inadvertently, no doubt, introduced into English a false perception as to the appropriate manner to approach and to interpret the OT canon.¹ Ironically, he followed and thus perpetuated some of the very scriptural "misinformation" that he was attempting to correct and to overcome by his English translation. This is an issue that will be left for another day.

The second issue, addressed herein, relates to the translational sequence of Tyndale's rendering of the prophetic books in the OT. Tyndale translated and published the Pentateuch in 1530, followed by a translation of the books from Joshua to 2 Chronicles which were published posthumously in 1537. Tyndale proceeded to translate the prophetic books of the OT and in 1531 published his first (and only) translation of a prophetic book - Jonah.² The translation was apparently followed by his Prologue to Jonah in 1532.³

Due to his capture for heresy in 1536 and his untimely death, the book of Jonah became the one and only prophetic book (as far as we know) that Tyndale translated into English. Certainly Tyndale did not intend that Jonah be the only prophet that he would translate. Circumstances brought this about.⁴ However, what caused Tyndale to choose Jonah as the book with which to begin his translation of the prophets? The answer may be as simple as the fact that Martin Luther also began his translation of the prophetic corpus of the OT with Jonah.⁵ Perhaps as in the case of the translation of the New Testament (NT), Tyndale seems to have followed or been influenced by Luther again.⁶

Luther's influence on Tyndale is irrefutable. However, it is not clear as

to the extent or the particularities of that influence regarding the OT in general, and the book of Jonah in particular.⁷ Luther's translation of Jonah appeared along with the book of Habakkuk in 1526 - the same year Tyndale's NT was published.

Why did both Tyndale and Luther begin their translations of the OT prophetic material with the book of Jonah? If the significant criterion were the magnitude of the theological importance for the NT, then one might have anticipated that Luther and Tyndale would have begun their prophetic translations with one of the books considered more essential to a Christian: biblical theology such as Isaiah, sometimes called the "fifth gospel", or Jeremiah. Certainly other prophets occupy greater preeminence in the NT. Thus Christian usage of the OT prophets would not suggest a starting point of Jonah.

As Jonah is a brief book, perhaps the selection criterion might have been a matter of length or of translational "ease". However, there are shorter prophetic books than Jonah. The books of Joel, Obadiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, or Haggai might have been "easier" or more convenient books with which to begin a translation of the prophets. Regarding translational ease, the translation of Jonah was not the first OT translation of Tyndale and Luther into each of their respective languages. It is doubtful that length or ease was at all involved.

A better direction of search is to be found in the apparent motives of Tyndale and Luther in selecting Jonah.⁸ The question of "why begin with Jonah?" is best deciphered in Tyndale's and Luther's respective expositions of the book of Jonah. Fortunately, both Tyndale and Luther have left additional comments regarding the book of Jonah and their distinctive understandings of the book's significance.

The primary sources of inquiry are Tyndale's somewhat lengthy Prologue to the Book of Jonah, and Luther's Lectures on the Minor Prophets.⁹ These sources reveal that the decision to begin their prophetic translations with Jonah obviously was more than a mere sequential matter. It is rather a matter of purpose and motive. Given influence on Tyndale by Luther, we may never be able to decide with certainty why Tyndale chose to begin with Jonah beyond the scope of Luther's having done so. However, in looking at Tyndale's understanding and the significance of the import of Jonah's message vis-à-vis that of Luther, we can discern significant distinctions. What emerges from a consideration of their respective comments regarding the significance of the message of the book of Jonah, is that Tyndale demonstrates a clear independence of Luther.

Tyndale may very well have chosen to begin his prophetic translations with Jonah because Luther had done so.¹⁰ Yet Tyndale saw in the book a very different message than did Luther. Within the German and English contexts, Jonah afforded both Luther and Tyndale a convenient vehicle for their particular theological and reformational beliefs. Inasmuch as the direction of translational influence begins with Luther, we will look first at his perspectives.

According to the Introduction to Luther's lectures on Jonah, his lectures were produced in the midst of his conflicts with the Enthusiasts in 1525.¹¹ Hilton Oswald comments:-

Although Luther considered his opposition to the Enthusiasts an inescapable duty, he also realized that the polemics this opposition entailed constituted a real danger to him . . . in their preoccupation with the polemics involved they would grow away from the normal occupation of studying the Scriptures systematically. Luther [counteracted] this danger by busying himself with a program of work in the Word itself, . . . he deliberately chose Jonah. . .¹²

Luther points out in the preface to his commentary:-

I have . . . chosen to expound the holy prophet, for he . . . represents an excellent, outstanding, and comforting example of faith and a mighty and wonderful sign of God's goodness to all the world.¹³

Luther sees in Jonah a great testimony to a God who would be very difficult not to trust with all one's heart "when he contemplates this story and beholds how easily God's power and grace are able to preserve Jonah in the midst of the deep sea".¹⁴

Oswald believes that Jonah's witness was especially necessary during the time when the winners of the Peasants' War blamed the Gospel for inciting the uprising in the first place and the losers blamed it for bringing about their defeat and subsequent oppression. He states that for Luther, "the miraculous success of the preaching of Jonah at Nineveh" would bring needed encouragement to preachers "whose Word was suspect as the cause of the harm all around".¹⁵ For Luther, it was as if God were saying, "Behold, this is what I can do with one word". Jonah is an "object of great comfort" for all who "administer the Word", no matter "how badly it appears to be devoid of fruit and profit". Luther is greatly impressed with "the great things" Jonah accomplished in "a single sermon".¹⁶

It is apparent that Luther chose Jonah as the most fitting point of departure among the prophets to express the great power of the word of God when preached, even reluctantly. Jonah for Luther is a metaphor for the irresist-

ible evangelistic power of God's gospel word. Luther calls the conversion of the city of Nineveh with one sermon by a single man "as great a miracle as [Jonah's] rescue from the belly of the whale, if not an even greater one . . . Jonah by the word of God also tore the city . . . from the belly and the jaws of the devil, that is from sin and death".¹⁷ It impressed Luther as "ridiculous and completely impossible" that the people of such a great city were converted "so quickly by a foreign preacher" and by means of "such simple words", and "without any attendant miraculous signs". For Luther, Jonah stands as a great vanguard against the "scorners of God's Word" of his own day and for its power to convert and transform the hearers of that Word.¹⁸

While Luther's work on Jonah represented a move away from polemics, it seems different for Tyndale. The opening words to Tyndale's Prologue belie an immediate polemical tone:

As the envious Philistines stopped the wells of Abraham and filled them up with earth, to put the memorial out of mind, to the intent that they might challenge the ground: even so the fleshly minded hypocrites stop up the veins of life which are in scripture, with the earth of their traditions, false similitudes and lying allegories: and that of like zeal, to make the scripture their own possession and merchandise; and so shut up the kingdom of heaven which is God's word neither entering in themselves nor suffering them that would.¹⁹

As is well known from these opening words in his "Prologue to the Prophet Jonah", Tyndale's principal concern was "the fleshly minded hypocrites [who] stop up the veins of life which are in the scripture". This tirade is what Moy-nahan calls Tyndale's "snap and fizz against the pope and clergy" and was contained in Tyndale's marginal notes.²⁰ Tyndale's view of Jonah seems to connote something other than it did for Luther. It functions as a vehicle for a different sort of concern.

J.E. McGoldrick has described Tyndale as "primarily a critic of clerical ignorance and ecclesiastical corruption - an Erasmian scholar who saw instruction from the scriptures as the best means to promote popular piety and church reform",²¹ This endeavour to effect "popular piety" and "church reform" are at the heart of Tyndale's obvious passion regarding the scripture and the need for its availability. Being variously described as "intensely a man of the Bible" and a "martyr for the Bible", it is no small wonder that the aforementioned and obvious "shutting up" of the scriptures by the Catholic clergy was of epic consequence.²² Jonah's reluctance to go and preach the efficacious word to the Ninevites seems for Tyndale very much like the English clergy's withholding and resisting the dissemination and accessibility of the

word of God with the English populace via either translation or exposition into the popular vernacular. Jonah, the disobedient prophet who fled from the divine mandate, resembles the “fleshly minded hypocrites” with whom Tyndale constantly had to contend.²³

Tyndale’s writings on the efficacy of scripture are also noteworthy at this point. Tyndale writes that the scripture contains three things: (1) “the law to condemn all flesh”; (2) the gospel or “the promises of mercy” for all that repent and acknowledge their sins at the preaching of the law and consent in their hearts that the law is good, and submit themselves as followers (lit. “scholars”) to learn to keep the law and to believe the mercy that is promised them; and (3) “the stories and lives of those scholars” – how chance fortified them, “by what means their schoolmaster taught them and made them perfect”, and how he “tried the true from the false”.²⁴ Having succinctly presented these three facets of scripture’s essential testimony, it is clear that Tyndale regarded the scripture as essential to both personal piety and church reform. In his Jonah Prologue, Tyndale assaults the “hypocrites” as (1) coming to the law with their “glosses” in order to “make no more of it than of a worldly law which is satisfied with the outward work and which [even the mediocre] may also fulfill”; (2) mingling “their leaven” with “the gospel” and saying that God receives us “no more to mercy”, but of mercy receives us to penance – “holy deeds that make them fat bellies and us their captives, both in soul and body”; and (3) reading “the lives, stories and gests of men which are contained in the bible, as things no more pertaining unto them than a tale of Robin Hood” in order to establish their own kingdoms, to magnify the saints above measure, and to rob “wretched sinners of all their comfort”.²⁵ In other words, these hypocrites are striving to thwart the divine mandate and desire to expose those who are ignorant of God’s word to its life-giving efficacies.

As Tyndale continues with his application of what the scripture contains, it becomes immediately clear that the book of Jonah serves as a poignant illustration of Tyndale’s own perspective and passion regarding the Bible and its availability to the scripturally destitute.²⁶ In this, Tyndale’s and Luther’s perspective surely coincide. Speaking of the “gospel”, Tyndale writes:-

“And of the gospel or promises which thou meetest in the scripture, believe fast that God will fulfill them unto thee, and that unto the uttermost jot, at the repentance of thine heart, when thou turnest to him and forsakest evil, even of his goodness and fatherly mercy unto thee, and not for thy flattering him with hypocritical works of thine own feigning. So that a fast faith only without respect of all works, is the forgiveness both of the sin which we

did in time of ignorance with lust and consent to sin, and also of all the sin which we do by chance and of frailty, after that we are come to knowledge, and have professed the law out of our hearts. And all deeds serve only for to help our neighbours and to tame our flesh that we fall not to sin again, and to exercise our souls in virtue; and not to make satisfaction to God-ward for the sin that is once past.²⁷

As in the case of Luther, the book of Jonah is an ideal biblical illustration of and a powerful metaphor for Tyndale’s definition of the gospel.

The Ninevites manifest the great value of repentance in the Kingdom of God. They are also superlative models of those who “sin in time of ignorance” for whom there is an abundant forgiveness. This ignorance is, no doubt, in part because of Tyndale’s contemporary clergy’s withholding the word of God from the populace.

. . . the heathen Ninivites, though they were blinded with lusts a good, yet were . . . uncorrupt and unhardened; and therefore, with the only preaching of Jonas, came unto the knowledge of their sins, and confessed them, and repented truly, and turned every man from his evil deeds, and declared their sorrow of heart and true repentance with their deeds, which they did out of faith and hope of forgiveness.²⁸

If only the word could be preached to Tyndale’s countrymen. They, too, could and would surely, in Tyndale’s view, come to the same repentance.

On the other hand, Jonah himself typifies the actions of the “elect” – for Tyndale, those deeds which serve “to help our neighbours” - which would serve to “tame the flesh of the elect” that they would not continue to sin, as well to “exercise [the] soul in virtue”.²⁹

Tyndale elaborates his characterization of scripture by the following application regarding the “stories and lives of the scholars” -

“And all other stories of the bible, without exception, are the practising of the law and of the gospel, and are true and faithful examples and sure earnest that God will even so deal with us, as he did with them, in all infirmities, in all temptations, and in all like cases and chances. Wherein ye see on the one side, how fatherly and tenderly and with all compassion God entreateth his elect which submit themselves as scholars, to learn to walk in the ways of his laws, and to keep them of love. If they forgot themselves at a time and went astray, he sought them out and fetched them again with all mercy: If they fell and hurt themselves, he healed them again with all compassion and tenderness of heart. He hath oft brought great tribulation and adversity upon his elect: but all of fatherly love only to teach them and to make them see their own hearts and the sin that there lay hid, that they might afterward feel his

mercy. For his mercy waited upon them, to rid them out again, as soon as they were learned and come to the knowledge of their own hearts: so that he never cast man away how deep soever he had sinned, save them only which had first cast the yoke of his laws from their necks, with utter defiance and malice of heart”.³⁰

Herein, Tyndale also views Jonah as an example of the “elect”. In the story we see God’s dealing with Jonah so as to teach Jonah the scholar how “to walk in the ways of his laws”. Certainly Jonah is one who “forgot himself at a time and went astray”; however, God “sought him out and fetched him with all mercy”. God’s attitude within the book seems, in Tyndale’s mind, to be a “fatherly love” that led to the bringing of “great tribulation and adversity” upon the elect so that Jonah was made to “see his own heart and the sin that lay there hid” that Jonah “might afterward feel his mercy”. Interestingly enough, and in light of Tyndale’s disdain for the “hypocritical papacy and priesthood” of his day, Jonah’s defiance in Jonah 4 seems to suggest the possibility of God’s “casting away” those who would “cast the yoke of [God’s] laws from their necks, with utter defiance and malice of heart”.³¹

Tyndale makes the following summary:

“Which examples how comfortable are they for us, when we be fallen into sin and God is come upon us with a scourge, that we despair not, but repent with full hope of mercy after the examples of mercy that are gone before? And therefore they were written for our learning, as testifieth Paul in Rom. xv. to comfort us, that we might the better put our hope and trust in God, when we see how merciful he hath been in times past unto our weak brethren that are gone before, in all their adversities, need, temptations, yea and horrible sins into which they now and then fell.

And on the other side ye see how they that hardened their hearts and sinned of malice and refused mercy that was offered them and had no power to repent, perished at the latter end with all confusion and shame mercilessly. Which examples are very good and necessary, to keep us in awe and dread in time of prosperity, as thou mayest see by Paul 1 Cor. x. that we abide in the fear of God, and wax not wild and fall to vanities and so sin and provoke God and bring wrath upon us.

And thirdly ye see in that practice, how as God is merciful and long suffering, even so were all his true prophets and preachers, bearing the infirmities of their weak brethren, and their own wrongs and injuries, with all patience and long suffering, never casting any of them off their backs, until they sinned against the holy ghost, maliciously persecuting the open and manifest truth: contrary unto the example of the pope, which in sinning against God

and to quench the truth of his holy spirit, is ever chief captain and trumpet blower to set other a-work, and seeketh only his own freedom, liberty, privilege, wealth, prosperity, profit, pleasure, pastime, honour and glory, with the bondage, thralldom, captivity, misery, wretchedness, and vile subjection of his brethren: and in his own cause is so fervent, so stiff and cruel, that he will not suffer one word spoken against his false majesty, wily inventions and juggling hypocrisy to be unavenged, though all Christendom should be set together by the ears, and should cost be cared not how many hundred thousand their lives”.³²

It was only after this polemical tirade against those who are “sinning against God”, quenching “the truth of his holy spirit”, and guilty of “bondage, thralldom, captivity, misery, wretchedness, and vile subjection of [the] brethren”, that Tyndale is willing to commend the reading of the book of Jonah. Tyndale seems intent that the reader recognize in Jonah the obvious parallels between the book’s message and struggles of Tyndale’s day. Then after framing the book thusly, he followed with a brief commentary on the manner of reading the book -

“Now, that thou mayest read Jonas fruitfully and not as a poet’s fable, but as an obligation between God and thy soul, as an earnest penny given thee of God, that he will help thee in time of need, if thou turn to him and as the word of God the only food and life of thy soul, this mark and note”.³³

With regard to the nature and the purpose of the book of Jonah, Tyndale does not seem to follow blindly or exactly Luther. Even though Tyndale may well have followed Luther in translating Jonah first among the prophets, his understanding of the value and import of Jonah’s translation is distinctive from Luther’s.

This seems to shed some additional light on the exact relationship between Luther and Tyndale and the nature of the influence Luther exerted on Tyndale. As McGoldrick says in the preface to his study on Luther’s English connection with the Reformation-thought of Tyndale, he describes Tyndale’s theology as more that of an “Erasmian humanist” rather than Lutheran.³⁴ In commenting primarily on the Eucharist and infant baptism, McGoldrick believes “it is probably not appropriate to identify Tyndale simply as an “English Lutheran”, although he goes on to say that he is convinced that “Tyndale agreed with Luther in almost every [other] area of doctrine ... and ... very often stated his position in terms which were characteristically Lutheran”.³⁵ Tyndale was quite capable of independent thought and belief despite Luther’s powerful influence. Tyndale’s perspective on Jonah seems to underscore this fact.

Notes and References

¹ It is doubtful that there was available to Tyndale a Hebrew text ordered according to the Massoretic Text. B. Moynahan notes, however, that Tyndale's "grasp of Hebrew was remarkable for a man who had learnt it while a fugitive" (*If God Spare My Life: William Tyndale, The English Bible and Sir Thomas More – A Story of Martyrdom and Betrayal* [London: Little & Brown, 2002], 178).

² Regarding a Tyndale chronology, cf. Moynahan, *If God Spare My Life*, 188-89. Moynahan writes that Tyndale printed his translation of the Pentateuch at Antwerp in 1530, although a false colophon claimed that it was "emprinted at Marlborow in the lande of Hese" to "throw his pursuers off the scent" (p. 188); cf. F.F. Bruce, "Preface", in *The Work of William Tyndale*, edited and introduced by G.E. Duffield (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), v-vi; G. Hammond, "William Tyndale's Pentateuch: Its Relation to Luther's German Bible and the Hebrew Original", *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 351-85.

³ Cf. *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, "Tyndale, tin'dal, William".

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 223-41.

⁵ The notion that Tyndale's selection of Jonah was influenced by his relationship with Luther and his biblical translations from a sequential perspective seems obvious and is "beyond doubt" and is not debated herein. Up and through the translation of Jonah, Tyndale followed Luther exactly in the sequence of the biblical books he translated. "[Tyndale] was certainly a great admirer of Martin Luther, and it is affirmed that he and Luther met in person at Wittenberg. Be this, however, as it may, of this there is no doubt, that Tyndale drew much of his inspiration from Luther, and that in his work as a translator he followed exactly in Luther's footsteps, as far at least as the order of his work is concerned. Both issued the New Testament first, then the Pentateuch, then Jonah" (Isaac H. Hall, "History of Revision", in the Revised New Testament published in 1881 [<http://www.theexaminer.org/history/chap3.htm>])

⁶ On Luther's theological influence, cf. J.E. McGoldrick, *Luther's English Connection: The Reformation Thought of Robert Barnes and William Tyndale* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Pub. House, 1979) regarding a Lutheran influence in translation, cf. Hammond, "William Tyndale's Pentateuch: Its Relation to Luther's German Bible and the Hebrew Original", 351-85. Note that some also would consider Erasmus may have influenced Tyndale in such a way as to be significant herein: cf. Wansbrough, "William Tyndale-A Martyr for the Bible?", 189-91; also McGoldrick, *Luther's English Connection*, vii. McGoldrick also observes that Erasmus inspired others to produce a vernacular translation of the Bible with Luther utilizing Erasmus' Greek-Latin NT in his *Deutsche Bibel* and with Tyndale employing the same to render his NT in English (p. 5).

Heinz Bluhm describes Luther's influence on Tyndale in the matter of translation (at least of the NT) as "beyond doubt", while stating,

Tyndale was clearly indebted to Luther, but he was not bondage to him. Tyndale knew Greek himself and in all likelihood translated from the original. It was only natural that he should have consulted Luther's version. By 1524, when it was believed that Tyndale went to Wittenberg to meet Luther and Melancton, Luther was an international figure both as a religious leader and a translator. It would have been just as unthinkable for Tyndale to proceed without consulting Luther's Bible as for Luther, several years earlier, to have proceeded without looking at Erasmus' new Latin translation, published as part of his edition of the Greek New Testament. Erasmus and Luther were international figures. A scholarly translator in the early decades of the sixteenth century could not and did not ignore Erasmus and Luther. It has been convincingly shown that Tyndale used Luther's introductory material, his marginal notes, and his arrangement of the individual books of the New Testament. Thus Tyndale was under the general influence of the Wittenberg master.

... To summarize: Tyndale apparently approved of the general tenor and spirit of Luther's version. He followed Luther's method, which as to translate clearly and idiomatically ("Martin Luther and the English Bible: Tyndale and Coverdale", in *The Martin Luther Quincentennial*, ed. G. Dünnhaupt [Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985], 114).

... In Tyndale it is mainly the general tenor rather than the specific individual phrases that show the debt to Luther (*ibid.*, 116).

... Tyndale was so impressed with Luther's theology and the quality of the prefaces and marginal notes in his translation that he printed them practically verbatim in his own New Testament in English. Beyond

this *prima facie* evidence of dependence on Luther, he followed the latter in striving for a clear and idiomatic rendering, and I using some of Luther's favorite literary and stylistic devices (*ibid.*, 123). See also Julius F. Seebach who writes in regard to the New Testament,

Translations like the English version by Tyndale, begun under independent conditions, felt the powerful influence of Luther's version. It is believed that during the time Tyndale was laboring at his version in Hamburg he visited Luther at Wittenberg, and received much valuable help; it is beyond doubt that the words and phrases of the English Bible were intimately fashioned by the prior work of Luther, as a comparison of the versions clearly shows. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that Tyndale's version was at first usually called "Luther's Testament in English". ("Luther's Bible – The Open Door to the Modern Age", in *Luther's Bible and the Reformation* [New York: American Bible Society, 1917], 20). Cf. McGoldrick, *Luther's English Connection*, vii; H. Bluhm, *Martin Luther: Creative Translator* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1965), 169; James L. Cheney, *The Sources of Tyndale's New Testament Bible* (Halle: 1883); L. Franklin Gruber, *The First English New Testament and Luther* (Burlington, IA: 1928); Albert H. Gerberich, "Luther and the English Bible" (Johns Hopkins dissertation; Lancaster, PA: 1933); J. F. Mozley, *William Tyndale* (London: 1937); H. G. Haile, *Luther: An Experiment in Biography* (New York: Doubleday, 1980), 207, 329, 337; George Drach, "The Influence of Luther's Translation of the Bible on the Translation of the Scriptures for the Mission Field", in *Luther's Bible and the Reformation: Five Papers Reprinted from the Bible Society Records of June, July, August, September, and October, 1917* (New York: American Bible Society, 1917), 17-18; J. F. Seebach, "Luther's Bible – The Open Door to the Modern Age", in *Luther's Bible and the Reformation: Five Papers Reprinted from the Bible Society Records of June, July, August, September, and October, 1917* (New York: American Bible Society, 1917), 20.

Contrast Cf. *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, ed. S.M. Jackson, "Tyndale, tin'dal, William", <http://www.ccel.org/s/schaff/encyc/encyc12/html/ii.vv.x.htm> -- "The sweeping statement found in almost all histories, that Tyndale translated from the Vulgate and Luther, is most damaging to the reputation of the writers who make it; for, as a matter of fact, it is contrary to truth, since his [Tyndale's] translations are made directly from the originals". Also Hammond, "Tyndale's Pentateuch", 351. Hammond makes note of several instances where Tyndale's OT (i.e. Pentateuchal) work is distinctive and even superior to that of Luther (note esp. p. 376).

On an historical note, there is a fair amount of belief that Luther and Tyndale actually met. Cf. R. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1977), xiii-xiv; *Bibliotheca Augustana*, William Tyndale ca. 1494-1536, http://www.fn-augsburg.de/~harsch/anglica/Chronology/16thC/Tyndale/tynd_intr.html.

⁷ See John L. Flood, "Martin Luther's Bible Translations in the German and European Context", in *The Bible in the Renaissance: Essays on Biblical Commentary and Translation in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. R. Griffith (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), 60; Luther's Works, "Prefaces to the Old Testament" LW 35:227-51, Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, <http://www.wls.wels.net/students/coursematerial/Reformationhistory/LutherReadingProject/Chapter%2028%20-%20Sola%20Scriptura/Prefaces%20to%20the%20Old%20Testament%200-%20LW%2035,%20227-251.doc>; P. Smith and C. M. Jacobs, trans. & ed., *Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters: Volume II 1521-1530* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1918), 210 (# 606).

⁸ Cf. H. Wansbrough remarks that Tyndale's "fundamental motives" for bringing the Bible to the people are "challenging" ("William Tyndale-A martyr for the Bible?", in *Understanding, Studying and Reading: New Testament Essays in Honour of John Ashton*, ed. C. Rowland & C. H.T. Fletcher-Louis [JSNT, Sup. Series 153; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998], 188).

⁹ William Tyndale, "The Prologue to the Prophet Jonas", in *Tyndale's Old Testament Being the Pentateuch of 1530, Joshua to 2 Chronicles of 1537, and Jonah*, trans. William Tyndale, modern-spelling edition & introduction by David Daniell (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 628-40 (cf. also in *The Work of William Tyndale*, ed. G.E. Duffield, intro by F.F. Bruce [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965], 85-102); cf. Tyndale's "Prologue Showing the Use of Scripture", in *Tyndale's OT* [Daniell], 7-11; and "A Pathway into the Holy Scripture", in *The Work of Wm. Tyndale* [Duffield], 3-24.

Martin Luther, *Lectures on the Minor Prophets II: Jonah and Habakkuk*, Luther's Works, 19, ed. O.C.

Hilton, trans. M. Bertram (St. Louis: Concordia Pub. House, 1974).

¹⁰ As previously noted, the notion that Tyndale's selection of Jonah was influenced by his relationship with Luther and his biblical translations from a sequential perspective seems obvious and is "beyond doubt". Up and through the translation of Jonah, Tyndale followed Luther exactly in the sequence of the biblical books he translated. Beyond this however, the exact scope and degree of Lutheran influence on Tyndale is another matter. Cf., Gerald Hammond writes – "what remains in dispute is the degree of Tyndale's independence" ("William Tyndale's Pentateuch: Its Relation to Luther's German Bible and the Hebrew Original", *Renaissance Quarterly* 33,3 [Autumn 1980]: 351).

¹¹ Hilton C. Oswald, "Introduction to Volume 19 [of Luther's Works]", ix.

¹² *Ibid.*, ix-x.

¹³ Luther, *Lectures on the Minor Prophets II: Jonah and Habakkuk*, 36.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Oswald, "Introduction", x.

¹⁶ Luther, *Lectures on the Minor Prophets II: Jonah and Habakkuk*, 36-37.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 36-37.

¹⁹ Tyndale, "Prologue to the Prophet Jonas", 628. Cf. Tyndale's "The Practice of Prelates", one of his "most polemical works" (in *The Work of William Tyndale*, edited and Introduced by G.E. Duffield, 381-92).

²⁰ Moynahan, *If God Spare My Life*, 191.

²¹ McGoldrick, *Luther's English Connection*, 42.

²² Bruce, "Preface", vi; Wansbrough, "William Tyndale – A Martyr for the Bible?"

²³ Note Tyndale's many other negative characterizations of the religious leaders of the day – "Forasmuch now as thou partly seest the falsehood of our prelates, how all their study is to deceive us and keep us in darkness, ... these enforce to keep us still" ("Four Senses of the Scripture", in *The Work of William Tyndale*, edited and Introduced by G.E. Duffield, 36); "they [who are] all agreed, to drive you from the knowledge of the scripture, and that ye shall not have the text thereof in the mother-tongue, and to keep the world still in darkness"; "enemies of all truth [who] quench it again" ("Preface to the Five Books of Moses", in *The Work of William Tyndale*, edited and Introduced by G.E. Duffield, 31, 32).

²⁴ Tyndale, "Prologue to the Prophet Jonas", 628.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ What is not clear is whether Tyndale has derived his perspective from the book of Jonah or has selected Jonah to be illustrative of his philosophy. Given the fact that Tyndale is no novice at this point of his career, the latter seems much more likely.

²⁷ Tyndale, "Prologue to the Prophet Jonas", 629-30 [emphases added].

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 637.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 630.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, [emphases added].

³¹ *Ibid.*, 629.

³² *Ibid.*, 630-31.

³³ *Ibid.*, 631.

³⁴ McGoldrick, *Luther's English Connection*, vii.

³⁵ *Ibid.* McGoldrick even concludes that Tyndale's "conversion" from an Erasmian churchman to Protestant reformer "took place ... under the direct personal influence of Martin Luther" (p. 43). Cf. Hammond, "Tyndale's Pentateuch", 351.

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Who are we? We are what the English Bible has made us

Rod Liddle

There is an interesting debate doing the rounds at the moment: should we allow faith schools in Britain? The debate has been occasioned by our tortuous and interminable wrangling with all things Islamic; it has suddenly occurred to us that allowing children to be inculcated into an ideology which may be antithetical to our national culture is a dangerous and divisive thing. And during the course of filming a two-hour documentary for Channel 4 about the translation of the Bible into English, I was struck by the strange, almost perverse nature of this debate. It seems to be polarised: you are either for faith schools or you are against them. It is almost a given that if you oppose Muslim faith schools, you must, with even-handedness, oppose Church of England faith schools. Needless to say, there is no similar debate in Saudi Arabia, Iran or Pakistan; there, of course, they feel no instinctive compulsion to level the religious playing field. Each of those nations, no matter how recently they may have been conjured up by the sweep of a foreign pen, is wholly aware that its national culture is drawn from Islam. The same is true, to a less rigorous degree, in the more devoutly Roman Catholic countries.

And so two apparently paradoxical thoughts occur; firstly, that Britain is a Christian country, that almost every area of public life is rooted in Christian teachings and that this history of ours cannot simply be swept away or disavowed, as some would seem to hope. And secondly, that this British even-handedness towards competing religions is quintessentially Christian and, crucially, English Protestant. By this I do not mean the screeching Protestantism of the likes of Ian Paisley, but Protestantism in its more literal meaning - a creed which sprang from the common people, which was forced to demand tolerance for its own adherents. And which, through its commitment to individual interpretation, has tended to be rather open to those who disagree with its constantly shifting tenets.

Just recently my colleague Charles Moore carried out a swift, ad-hoc audit of some of those things which might disappear were we to decide that Christianity had outlived its usefulness in Britain; looking around him in the central lobby at the House of Commons, he counted 17 direct references to Christ 'in as many seconds'; to expunge Christianity from British life, he continued, one would also have to rename most of our capital's railway stations, tear down our national flag (and the Royal Standard) and melt down our coinage, rename our Oxbridge colleges, change our public holidays.

And of course, he is right. But luckily, the defenestration of a Christian God simply cannot happen, because far more important than the flags and the coins of the realm and what have you, Protestant Christianity is the very essence of what it is to be British: it gave us our language, our national identity and, with both of these things, a template for how we think and reason. You cannot easily uproot all that.

The influence of Protestant Christianity upon our language and thus literature is impossible to overstate. When the Gloucestershire scholar William Tyndale went up to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1510 the English language - in so far as one could ascribe to it a homogenous existence - was held in such contempt that it was banned from the college altogether, excepting feast days. As a result of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament in 1534, it became a national language, complete and concise, with a sense of cadence and rhythm, of direct purpose, which has endured to this day. Without William Tyndale it is doubtful that there would have been a William Shakespeare - doubtful that there would have been an England.

In 1510 England was an authoritarian outpost of the Catholic Church - a country where, uniquely, it was illegal to read the Bible in the national language. Instead, commoners were dependent on the Church for their religious succour - which naturally invested the Church with enormous power. Hence, therefore, the Church's disinclination to allow the Bible into the grubby paws of ploughmen and, indeed, '*lowly women*'. Control the language and you control the people. Tyndale, of course, rejected all that; the people must be able to read the Bible for themselves, otherwise they could not be saved. For Tyndale - as for Wycliffe before him - it was a purely theological opposition which nonetheless had immediate social and political repercussions. His translation of the Bible - the King James Bible is regarded as being 90 per cent the work of Tyndale - passed power downwards from the priests and bishops to the people, both by the mere fact of its existence and in the language it used.

Tyndale, returned, *ad fontes*, to the scripture through Erasmus's 1516 rendition of a Greek Bible (with Latin translation). You can argue which was the more revolutionary: Tyndale's contentious use as a translator of such terms as congregation (rather than church) or love (rather than charity, from the Greek agape) which so infuriated Thomas More and threatened the Catholic Church - or the fact that his facility with this low-born lingua franca, English, was so acute and attuned to the common man that it became, almost immediately, respectable and later ubiquitous. It is not simply Tyndale's knack of coining the memorable phrase - although that was, in itself, remarkable: he gave the English language, among a ream of phrases, '*daily bread*', '*you cannot*

serve God and Mammon', 'Let there be light', 'There were shepherds abiding in their fields'. It was the simplicity and directness of the language, the eschewing of Latin- or French-derived terminology, a Bible written in words of usually one and at most two syllables; the template for what we know as 'good plain English'. Scroll forward 400 years and George Orwell's essay 'Politics and the English Language' seems scarcely more than a plea to return to the language of William Tyndale, where words are beautifully precise creatures designed to elucidate, describe and explain rather than to obfuscate. Short words, short sentences: 'Aske and it shal be given to you..Seke and ye shal find. Knocke and it shal be opened unto you.' Words which are immediately intimate and purposeful; sentences in which the verb sits in full majesty in the centre (rather than, as in Latin, at the end). Anglo-Saxon words drawn from the dialect of the farm labourer in Tyndale's native Gloucestershire; 'mizzen', for example, for drizzle. As the historian David Daniell puts it, Tyndale made a language for England. And with the language came a flourish of rhetoric, of style and beauty.

And then there is the ecumenical politics. It is no accident that the Church of England today is often seen by critics as ineffectual, too ready to succumb to compromise, to appease those who seek social change, to reinterpret the Scriptures. A Church which seemingly does not understand theological rigour, which will bend with the wind in order to accommodate the latest social trend, where some of its bishops sometimes seem scarcely to believe in God, let alone be too doctrinaire about how one should worship Him. Well, perhaps. But that is surely a natural consequence of it having sprung from a movement which loathed and distrusted heavy-handed centralised authority; which felt that God's word was the property of the people rather than the Church, and was thus open to a multitude of divergent interpretations. Those Anglicans who fled, tail between their legs, to the sterner bosom of Rome when the issue of women priests raised its head were perhaps misguided. It was not one more step of a flailing and compromised Church towards a quite unacceptable, modish modernity - it was a logical progression that had been foreseen by Tyndale himself, back in the 1530s. In his *Answer to Thomas More's Dialogue*, Tyndale wrote:

If a woman were driven into some island, where Christ was never preached, might she not preach him, if she had the gifts thereto? Might she not also baptise? And why might she not by the same reason minister the sacrament of the body and the blood of Christ and teach him how to choose officers and ministers? O, poor women, how despise ye them.'

In a sense, the placid tolerance of the Anglican Church is at its most bizarre when afforded to Thomas More, the very man who attempted - both literally and figuratively - to strangle the Reformation at its birth. Here was a man

who persecuted, with a peculiarly vindictive obsession, Protestant heretics such as Tyndale, and put a few hundred to their excruciating deaths. And yet he has been afforded the equivalent of canonisation by the Anglican Church. 'Aaah,' said Rowan Williams, the Archbishop of Canterbury, when I put this point to him while making my documentary. 'But he had many other qualities. Of course, not everything he did was right. But we cannot judge him simply on those things alone.' And Dr Williams then smiled one of those familiar, beatific, Anglican smiles, having offered a defence which would have been laughed out of court at Nuremberg.

Even on this narrow issue, though, the Church of England is perhaps in tune with the times. Thomas More is more or less revered today (as the Man for All Seasons and so on) and there are plenty of revisionist historians who will tell you that the Reformation was a period of brutality which should never have taken place, and that Tyndale et al. were most definitely heretics then and are heretics still today. That the schism effected by the likes of Tyndale and Thomas Cranmer was a disaster for England, the Church and for God; that the destruction of the monasteries was an act of unimaginable nihilism; that sooner or later the Catholic Church would have authorised an English version of the Bible devoid of all that contentious stuff Tyndale put in it. Again, the Anglican answer may be a beatific smile and a gently murmured 'perhaps'; in a sense, though, it is not the point.

We have been defined by what has happened, not by what should or might have happened. That strange British blend of obstinacy and a lack of deference to authority, of enormous tolerance of different points of view, of different creeds and faiths, is traceable directly to Tyndale - sitting at his desk in exile in Antwerp, about to be betrayed by agents, shortly to be strangled and then burned to death at the stake. From Antwerp, his New Testament crossed the North Sea, secreted in other less godly but more legitimate manuscripts. They arrived in England, where they were either seized and burned by the authorities or read and read again, a thousand times over.

You can erase the crosses from the walls of the House of Commons; you can melt down the coins and tear up the flags. But you cannot quite erase history or change what history has - for better or for worse - made us.

This article, which first appeared in the Christmas edition of *The Spectator* 16/23 December 2006, is reproduced with permission.

Arthur, Prince of Wales, and the English Reformation

Thomas E. Martin, Jr.

A paper delivered to the Worcester Tyndale Conference, March 2007

Raphael Holinshed, an English historian whose *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* were first published during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I and about whom little else is known, left this account of the marriage of Lady Katharine of Spain to the son of King Henry VII - Arthur, Prince of Wales. Protestant apologetes for the annulment of the subsequent marriage of Henry VIII to the same Katharine attempted to show that her prior marriage had been both ceremonially completed by day and physically consummated on the wedding night, and that, therefore, her later marriage to Henry was an unlawful union between one who was truly a widow and her first husband's brother.

In 1501 *upon the twelfth of November she was conveyed from Lambeth through London with all triumph and honour that might be devised to the bishop's palace, the streets being hanged and pageants erected after the manner as is used at a coronation; which solemnity Edward Hall describeth with the sumptuous shows then glittering in the beholder's eyes.*

I pass over (saith he) the wise devices, the prudent speeches, the costly works, the cunning portraitures, practiced and set forth in seven goodly beautiful pageants, erected and set up in diverse places of the city. I leave also the goodly ballads, the sweet harmonie, the musical instruments, which sounded with heavenly noise on every side of the streets. I omit further the costly apparel both of goldsmith's work and embroideries, the rich jewels, the many chains, the stirring horses, the beautiful bards and the glittering trappers, both with bells and spangles of gold. I [disregard] also the rich apparel of the princess, the strange fashion of the Spanish nation, the beauty of the English ladies, the goodly demeanor of the young damsels, the amorous countenance of the lusty bachelors.

Whilst this lady sojourned for her recreation in the bishop's palace of London, being in the meantime visited of the king, the queen, and the king's mother, there was erected in the body of St. Paul's church a long bridge made of timber, extending from the west dome of the church to the step at the entering into the choir, which was six foot from the ground. On the said bridge or stage, even directly before the consistory of the church, was a place raised like a mount for eight persons to stand upon, compassed round about with steps to ascend and descend, which was covered with fine red worsted, and in likewise were all the rails of the said stage. On the north side of this mount was a place decked and trimmed for

the king and queen, and such other as they appointed to have. In the south side of the same mount stood the mayor and the magistrates of the city.

When all things were prepared for and set in order, upon the 14th of November then being Sunday, the aforesaid lady was led the said mount, and there prince Arthur openly espoused her, both being clad in white, both lusty and amorous, he of the age of fifteen and more, and she of the age of eighteen, or thereabouts, the king and queen standing privily on their stage. After the matrimony celebrated, the prince and his wife went up into the chair, and there heard a solemn mass sung by the archbishop of Canterbury, associate with nineteen prelates mitered. And after the mass finished, the bride was led homewards to the bishops palace by the Duke of York, being a goodly young prince, and the legate of Spain. Next after followed the lady Cicely, sister to the queen, supporting the train of the spouse.

But to speak of all the solemn pomp, noble company of lords and ladies, and what a sumptuous feast and plentiful was kept, with dancing and disguisings, words might sooner fail than matter worthy of rehearsal. Howbeit every day endeth and night ensueth, and so when night was come, the prince and his beautiful bride were brought and joined together in one bed, where they lay as man and wife all that night. Now when the morning appeared, the prince (as his familiar servitors, which had then neither cause nor reward to lie or feign, openly told the tale) called for drink, which he before times was not accustomed to do. At which thing one of his chamberlains marvelling, asked the cause of his drought. To whom the prince answered merrily, saying, 'I have this night been in the midst of Spain, which is a hot region, and that journey maketh me so dry: and if thou hadst been under that hot climate, thou wouldst have been dryer than I.

Shortly after the king and the queen, with the new wedded spouses went from Bainards Castle by water to Westminster, on whom the mayor and community of London in barges gorgeously trimmed gave their attendance. And there in the palace were such martial feats, valiant jousts, vigorous tourneys, and such fierce fight at the barriers as before that time was of no man had in remembrance. Of this total triumph Lord Edward, duke of Buckingham, was chief challenger, and lord Thomas Greis, marquesse Dorset chief defender, which with their aids and companions bare themselves so valiantly that they got great praise and honor, both of the Spaniards and of their own countrymen. During the time of these jousts and triumphs was received into London an earl, a bishop, and diverse noble personages sent from the king of Scots into England, for conclusion of the marriage between the lady Margaret and him, which earl by proxy, in the name of King James his master, affied and contracted the said lady. Which affiance was published at Paul's cross, the day of the conversion of saint Paul, in rejoicing whereof Tue Deum was sung, and great fires made through the city of London.

These things being accomplished, the ambassadors as well of Spain as Scotland took their leave of the king, & not without great rewards returned into their countries. When the ambassadors were departed, he sent his son prince Arthur again into Wales, to keep that country in good order, appointing to him wise and expert counsellors ...”¹

Notice the detail and extent of the description of Arthur’s marriage to Katharine as distinguished from the scant description of the wedding by proxy of Margaret. See how the age of Arthur is enlarged to ‘fifteen and more’ and that of Katharine is narrowed to ‘eighteen or thereabouts.’ Even the story of Arthur’s boast on the morning after his sexual prowess raises suspicions since Katharine later vowed that her marriage to Arthur had never been consummated and Holinshed’s report of Arthur’s words sound contrived from the lips of a Prince merely requesting water from servants. Yet Holinshed was a defender of Elizabeth, and her reign hung by the thread of her father’s rectitude in marrying her mother Anne Boleyn after having obtained annulment of his marriage to his first wife Katharine.

Arthur, Prince of Wales, was born 20 September 1486. His father, King Henry VII, had accomplished what others before him could not - he silenced the opposing armies of the Wars of the Roses and created a dynasty which was to last over a hundred years. He did this in part by winning a decisive military victory on the Leicestershire fields at Bosworth, but also in part by marrying a cousin who brought with her a better hereditary claim to the throne than did his own ancestry.

Ever since the death of Edward III in 1377, Edward’s children and grandchildren had struggled over the dynastic claims of the Plantagenet family to the English throne. Edward III’s eldest son, whose romantic and mysterious name of ‘Black Prince’ continues to mesmerize children and adults alike, died before his father². Therefore, his only son Richard had become king. This man was Richard II, whose first wife Anne of Bohemia was beloved by her adopted nation but whose untimely death without issue twelve years later resulted in her entourage returning to Bohemia, carrying English Lollard ideas with them, planting seeds of religious dissent from which, a generation later, were to spring the views of the Czech reformer John Hus.

Richard II died in 1399, the last year of the 14th century. His entire reign was marked by political intrigue. His uncle, John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, was regent for his nephew in his minority but sought to confirm the crown in his own heirs. To counter this, upon reaching majority the ultimately childless Richard II elevated his other two uncles, to Duke of York and Duke of Gloucester. In doing this, however, he set the stage for intra-

family wars which would follow his death.

To make a long, complicated story short, the descendants of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and those of the Duke of York struggled for control until Lancaster’s great granddaughter, Margaret Beaufort, married one Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and gave birth to a son who would prevail in the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485.

What also resulted was also the end of feudal England. By the 16th century, the thought that English dukes, barons, and earls might raise opposing armies, propagate war with each other, and freely switch alliances from year to year was almost unthinkable, partly because soldiers had died, but also partly because the treachery and unrest of the Hundred Years War had left England war weary.

Holinshed tells us that ‘*when [king Henry VII] had thus settled things to his own [satisfaction] and pleasure [in 1502] there suddenly happened to him a lamentable chance. For that noble prince Arthur, the king’s first begotten son, after he had been married to the lady Katharine his wife the space of five months, departed out of this transitory life, in his castle of Ludlow, and with great funeral obsequy was buried in the cathedral church of Worcester.*

His brother the duke of York was stayed from the title of Prince [of Wales] by the space of a month till to women it might appear whether the lady Katherine wife to the said prince Arthur was conceived with child or not. (It is reported that this lady Katharine thought and feared such dolorous chance to come: for when she had embraced her father, and taken her leave of her noble and prudent mother, and sailed towards England, she was continually so tossed and tumbled, hither and thither with boisterous winds, that what for the rage of the water, and contrariety of the winds, her ship was prohibited diverse times to approach the shore and take land.).³

Henry VII had gained the legitimacy to hold the throne of England which he needed by a wise marriage to Elizabeth of York, eldest daughter of Edward IV. He intended to accomplish his dynastic aspirations by using the same tool of marriage for his son Arthur. By the Treaty of Medina del Campo in 1489, Arthur had been betrothed to the Princess Katharine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. This was an effort to circumvent the claims of the king of France, and also to gain entry into the family of continental nations, literally and figuratively.

When Henry VII died on 22 April 1509 at Richmond Palace, Surrey, his eldest surviving son Henry became king. Princess Katharine had been in a kind of limbo for seven years, being forbidden to return home to her family in Spain because Henry VII did not want to return her dowry, but not allowed

to marry anyone in England because it was thought she should marry Prince Henry who then was not yet ready to settle down into married life.

However, on 11 June 1509 Prince Henry married Katharine pursuant to an indulgence obtained from the pope, allowing the marriage between the widow and her late husband's brother. On 24 June 1509 Henry VIII was crowned king of England, and Katharine became his queen.

Holinshed reports: *'After the funerals of the said late king were once ended, great preparation was made for the coronation of the new king, which was appointed on midsummer day next ensuing. During the time of which preparation the king was advised by some of his council to take to wife the lady Katharine, late wife to his brother prince Arthur, lest she having so great a dowry as was appointed to her, might marry out of the realm, which should be to his hinderance. The king being hereto persuaded, espoused the said lady Katharine the 3rd day of June, the which marriage was dispensed with by Pope Julius, at the suit of her father King Fernando.'*⁴

And so the stage was set. The marriage of Henry VIII to his first wife had been accomplished. Any qualms of conscience about the prohibition of remarriage between a widow and her kin, specified in Leviticus 20:21 or elsewhere, were dispensed with both ecclesiastically and personally by the King. After the seven year wait Katharine was joined to her new husband and bore him a daughter and three sons, all of whom, alas, died in infancy and in rapid succession. Next she bore a daughter who survived, Mary who would become queen, but then another daughter who died. As years passed, it became evident that Katharine was to have no more children and leave no male heir.

Was this end of the male succession a fulfilment of the curse of Leviticus 20:21? By 1533, the king could wait no longer to find out, and had the marriage annulled, after which he immediately remarried to Anne Boleyn who was pregnant with his second daughter to survive infancy, Elizabeth who also would become queen.

Quite apart from whatever religious convictions she may have had, Mary Tudor, daughter of Katharine, was compelled to be a loyal Roman Catholic or she could not have been queen since her birth would have been illegitimate were Protestant Archbishop Cranmer's annulment of it correct!

And, quite apart from whatever religious convictions she may have had, her half-sister Elizabeth, daughter of Anne, was compelled to be a Protestant or she could not have become queen since her birth would have been illegitimate due to her father's first wife Katharine being alive when Elizabeth was born to Anne Boleyn!

Just as the arrow drawn at random in I Kings 22:34 turned the destiny of a nation, so the untimely death of Arthur Prince of Wales was destined to turn the tide of world history as the English throne espoused the Protestant Reformation for reasons not of their own.

Endnotes

¹Holinshed, Raphael, The First and Second Volume of Chronicles Comprising the Description and Historie of England ... Ireland, [and] Scotland, [2d ed., 1587], internet 9 March 2007, (some editorial changes regarding punctuation, etc., have been made and this work hereinafter is cited as Holinshed), pp. 788-789.

²Tradition tells that the dark armour he wore caused him to gain this appellation.

³Holinshed, pp. 790.

⁴Holinshed, pp. 800-801.

The author of this paper Hon. Thomas E. Martin has served as a Magisterial District Judge for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for fifteen years. He is a member of the bar of the United States Supreme Court. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Alliance of Confessing Evangelicals in Philadelphia.

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London Study Day April 2007

Not so 'Wicked' Mammon II

Report by Eunice Burton

On a warm, sunny spring day about 35 members and friends of the Tyndale Society met at St Paul's Cathedral for a walk 'in the company of the Tudor Chroniclers'. Led by Brian Buxton, this was a sequel to his walk in March 2006 (see report in the *Tyndale Society Journal* no 31 August 2006).

We paused at the site of St Paul's Cross, marked by an octagonal stone pattern in the Cathedral pavement and remembered the past famous occupants of the covered pulpit there, especially those preaching Reformation doctrine such as Robert Barnes during Lent 1540. It was here too that so-called heretical books were burned e.g. Martin Luther's by Cardinal Wolsey in 1521 and Tyndale's first *New Testament* in English by Bishop Tunstall in 1526. Brian Buxton read from *Edward Hall's Chronicles 1548-50* the account of the burning of Robert Barnes, Thomas Garrett and others in Smithfield, without trial, charge or defence at the instigation of Bishop Gardiner on 30 July 1540.

'The thirtieth day of July were drawn on hurdles out of the Tower to Smithfield, Robert Barnes, Doctor of Divinity, Thomas Garrett, and William Jerome, Bachelors in Divinity, Powell, Featherstone and Abell. The first three were drawn to the stake ... and were burned: and the latter three were hanged, beheaded and quartered. Here must ye note, that the first three were men that professed the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and were preachers thereof. But whereof they were so cruelly executed I know not, although I have searched to know the truth. But this I find in their attainder, for ye must understand, that after they had preached at St Mary Spital, Barnes, for learning his lesson no better was committed to the Tower, where he was kept, and never called for examination, till his rod with which he should be beaten withal was made, which was a sharp and great fire in Smithfield: and for company was sent with him Garrett and Jerome, which all drank of one cup. And, as I said before, this much I find in their attainder, that they were detestable and abominable heretics, and that they had taught many heresies, the number whereof was too great in the attainder to be recited, so that there is not one alleged, which I have often wondered at, that the heresies were so many, and not one was alleged as the special cause of their death. And indeed, at their death, they asked the sheriffs, whereof they were condemned, who answered, they could not tell, but if I may say the truth, most men said it was for preaching against the doctrine of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who

chiefly procured their death, God and he knoweth, but great pity it was that such learned men should be so cast away without examination, neither knowing what was laid to their charge, nor ever called to their answer.'

Hall's account gives a sense of the confusion felt by some as to what exactly was happening in the area of religion. John Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments 1563* drew particular attention to this execution in Smithfield, on the same day, of three reformers and three conservatives in religion. He wrote that this event:-

'brought the people into a marvellous admiration and doubt of their religion, which part to follow and which to take, as might so well happen amongst ignorant and simple people: seeing two contrary parties so to suffer (the one for popery, the other against popery) both at one time.'

We then crossed Cheapside and passed Honey Lane where All Hallows Church had stood (it was destroyed in the Great Fire). It was known as a centre for the distribution of forbidden books and Brian Buxton read Foxe's account of Thomas Garrett's bringing Tyndale's *New Testament* for sale in Oxford when he was curate at All Hallows. He suffered martyrdom with Robert Barnes in 1540:-

'In the year of our Lord God 1526.... Master Garrett curate of Honey Lane in London, came into Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin treating of the Scripture, ...and Tyndale's first translation of the New Testament in English, the which books he sold to divers scholars in Oxford, whose names for his memory, he wrote in a small booke of accounts'

We turned into Ironmongers Lane and toured the Mercers' Hall with the archivist of the Mercers' Company, Mr Gary Haines. He reminded us that the present hall is the third, former halls having been destroyed in the Great Fire and World War II and that the Mercers' Company is the premier Livery Company in the City of London and discussed the significance of the 'maiden' in the Coat of Arms. We remembered Sir Richard Whittington and saw the portraits of various benefactors whose accumulated wealth enabled almshouses and schools to be built and generous grants to charity to be given. The mercers exported wool and imported silks and fine cloths, some of which were made into garments by the mercer's wife and family to be sold. Admission to the Company is from father to child or by fee if there is no associated trade: the last apprentice was admitted for an eight-year training course in 1888. The Mercers' Company is the only Company to have a chapel attached to its Hall and a 16th century statue of the Post-Resurrection Christ, found under the Chapel in 1954, is exhibited in the Hall. Other highlights were seeing the bust of Dean John Colet, friend of Erasmus, a full



Merchant mark of Sir Thomas Kitson, merchant adventurer of London and Suffolk. Alderman 1534-40 and Master of the Mercers' Company 1534.



Merchant mark of Sir Richard Gresham. Lord Mayor of London 1537 and Master of the Mercers' Company 1532, 1538 and 1548.

length portrait (unusual as not of Royalty) of the young Thomas Gresham (the Mercers' Company gives a substantial annual grant to support Gresham College Lectureships) and 16th century books detailing the Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company.

Various mercers of interest to the Tyndale Society were mentioned especially Robert Packington. For more detail on this topic see the notes printed elsewhere in this issue compiled by Brian Buxton entitled *The Mercers' Company and the Reformation*.

We moved from Cheapside to a rather sordid, narrow street, Pancras Lane, where St Pancras Church stood prior to the Great Fire. It had contained a memorial to the mercer Robert Packington who was shot (probably the first murder by handgun) at 4am on 13 November 1536 in Cheapside as he left his house to go to church. The murderer was never identified but Packington's death was suspected to be related to his criticisms of the clergy, support of Reformed views and importing of Bibles in English from the continent. Robert Barnes preached his funeral sermon. Brian Buxton read an account of the murder from *Edward Hall's Chronicle*: -

'Robert Packington, a man of good substance and yet not so rich as honest and

wise, would rise at 4am for mass at St Thomas'. On a great misty morning such as has seldom been seen – even as he was crossing the street from his house to the church – he was suddenly murdered with a gun which of the neighbours was plainly heard, and by a great number of labourers at the same time standing at Soper Lane end he was both seen go forth of his house, and also the clap of the gun was heard but the deed doer was never espied... forasmuch as he was known to be a man of great courage and one that could both speak and also would be heard and that the same time he was one of the burgesses of the Parliament for the City of London and had talked somewhat against the covetousness and cruelty of the clergy he was had in contempt of them and therefore most likely by one of them thus shamefully murdered as you perceive that Master Hunne was....'

John Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments 1563* claimed to have heard that John Incent, at the time of his death Dean of St Paul's confessed to having paid an Italian to kill Packington.

Our final lap was via Queen Street and Upper Thames Street to Steelyard, now a riverside passage beneath Cannon Street Station near Southwark Bridge. Here the German merchants of the Hanseatic League unloaded goods from Europe which included banned books by Martin Luther and Tyndale's *New Testament* in English. In 1526, the Augustinian friar Robert Barnes and several merchants recanted their heresy before Cardinal Wolsey in St Paul's but Barnes repented of this and was eventually martyred in 1540. Brian Buxton read Foxe's account of the recantation:-

'In the month of February, on a Sunday the Cardinal with great pomp came to the Cathedral Church of St Paul's, on whom a great number of bishops, abbots and doctors gave their attendance.

There he sat in his pontificals, under his cloth of estate, of rich cloth of gold, and there one Friar Barnes, a Friar Augustine, bore a faggot for certain points of heresy, as the bishop said, and two merchants of the Steelyard bore faggots for eating flesh on a Friday....'

In a later and fuller account of the scene in St Paul's - 'so full that no man could get in' - Foxe mentioned five merchants of the Steelyard, rather than just two, and he suggested that possession of Luther's books was one of their offences, rather than simply eating meat on Friday.

Robert Barnes was an Augustinian (Austin) Friar who had studied at Louvain under Erasmus. He was critical of the clergy from an early stage and became increasingly influenced by Protestant theology. He recanted any heresies he had spoken at St Paul's in 1526 after which he was ordered to live at the Austin Friars house in the city from which he distributed copies of Tyndale's *New Testament*. Later, at Wittenberg, he became friendly with

Martin Luther. Conservatives in England, notably Thomas More, disliked him but, through the influence of Thomas Cromwell, he was used on a number of diplomatic missions to Protestant states. In 1540 he and Bishop Stephen Gardiner preached opposing theologies of justification at St Paul's Cross. Barnes was arrested, recanted but immediately went back on this, and was burned at Smithfield in July of that year.

We then dispersed, many returning to St Paul's along the Thames Walkway for tea and the evening lecture.

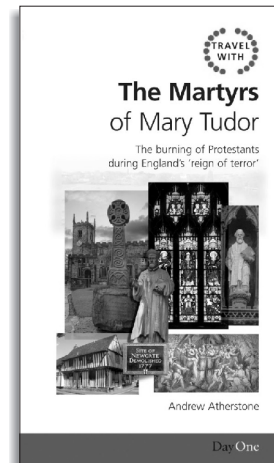
Editor's note

This report by Eunice Burton is based on a pamphlet written and researched by Brian Buxton for the participants of the London Study Day entitled 'A Walk to the Steelyard in the Company of some Tudor Chroniclers'.



William Caxton c.1422-1491. Governor of the Merchant Adventurers of Bruges.

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The Mercers' Company and the Reformation

Notes provided by Brian Buxton for participants in the tour of the Mercers' Hall

In a time of religious change and turmoil there were mercers who identified with each side of the arguments, as well as many who simply kept a low profile and followed the official line. However, as one of the livery companies involved in trade with the continent it is not surprising that the names of several mercers are found amongst those who were sympathetic to the new ideas. These brief notes identify a few of the more well known.

Henry Brinklow held strong views on the need for free access to the Bible, and he argued that the poor should benefit from the dissolved religious houses. He wrote two books expounding his views in the 1540s. He died in 1546 and his widow married Stephen Vaughan who had been involved in the attempts to bring Tyndale back to England in the early 1530s.

John Coke was Secretary of the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp from 1521-1527. He was in contact with 'brother William' Tyndale in 1533. He remained an active member of the company throughout a long life.

Thomas Keyle belonged to the 'Christian Brethren', a radical religious group established in London the 1520s. One activity of this group was the publication and distribution of 'heretical' texts. From 1534 to 1544 he was an almsman of the company but there is no record of whether his poverty resulted from his religious activities.

William Lock was head of a family who had been long time mercers with a shop in Cheapside. He had four wives and nineteen children! One of his daughters, Rose Lock-Hickman (1526-1613), wrote an account of the family's religious life. She told of her mother reading the children religious tracts brought in from the continent, whilst warning them not to speak about this outside the home. She also mentioned her father obtaining French translations of Biblical texts for Anne Boleyn. William was Sheriff in 1548. He died in 1550 and was buried in the Mercers' Church.

Robert Packington was a brother of Augustine, known for his part in a curious episode involving Bishop Tunstall and Tyndale's New Testament, and, according to Rose Hickman, he himself was involved in importing English Bibles. He was active in city and parliament, and was known for his outspoken criticism of the clergy. He was shot dead in Cheapside on 13 November 1536, only weeks after Tyndale's execution. Whether the shooting had a religious motive is unclear.



Cheapside, the broadest street in the city of London.

George Robinson raised religious issues with both Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell. He seems to have been a strong critic of the old ways.

Amongst other Mercers of this period was **Walter Marsh**, Governor of the Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp at the time of Tyndale's arrest and criticised by Thomas Poyntz for his inaction in this matter.

Some were admitted to the company in order to obtain their influence and these included Tyndale's great theological adversary, **Sir Thomas More**.

Although **Robert Barnes** was not a Mercer it is clear that he was in close contact with members of the company, as, for example, a letter in 1535 from George Collins in Antwerp to another Mercer named George (Robinson?) warning of a threat to Barnes as a part of the plot which led to Tyndale's arrest, and his preaching at Robert Packington's funeral in 1536.

References:

Huelin, G. *Think and Thank God* (The Mercers' Company 1993) pp.1-6;
Marshall, P. *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England* (Ashgate 2006) pp.61-79 for the shooting of Robert Packington;
Sutton, A. *The Mercery of London, Trade, Goods and People, 1130-1578* (Ashgate 2005) pp. 384-394.

Tudor Protestantism and the Use of the Vernacular

by Dr Felicity Heal

Report by Eunice Burton

June 2007

Following the afternoon walk led by Brian Buxton and the tour of the Mercers' Hall (see reports in this issue) some of the group returned to St Paul's Cathedral for Choral Evensong. Then a large audience gathered in St Faith's Chapel in the Crypt to hear a lecture '*Our own tongue should be written clean and pure: Tudor Protestantism and the Use of the Vernacular*' given by Dr Felicity Heal, fellow and vice-principal of Jesus College, Oxford.

The meeting was chaired by one of the Tyndale Society Trustees, the Revd Dr Simon Oliver of Lampeter University (previously Chaplain of Hertford College, Oxford), and we were welcomed by the Revd Lucy Winkett, Canon Precentor of St Paul's Cathedral, who delivered the Tyndale Society Lambeth lecture in 2005. She was proud to announce that the library at St Paul's contained a Tyndale New Testament and contrasted the situation today with Tudor times when Tyndale's New Testaments and Reformation Books were burned at St Paul's Cross, being regarded by Bishop Jewel as '*most pernicious and perfidious poison*'. She welcomed the similar vision that had been seen in India, paying tribute to the pioneer teacher Pandeta Mary Ramabar (1858-1922).

'Our own tongue should be written clean and pure'

Dr Heal began by expressing her debt, and that of all historians of religion in Tudor Times, to William Tyndale for his work which had influenced her thought and his use of language: her particular interests were the social history of religion in this period, the Reformation in Britain and Ireland, the social and political implications of translation and the use of the language of religion.

Quoting Brian Cummings' article in '*Word, Church and State*' published for the Tyndale Quincentenary, she agreed that the two cruxes of Reformation theology were '*the singular authority of God's word and the necessity of promulgating God's word in the common language of every man*'. This lecture was concerned with Tyndale's activity as a Bible translator - sola scriptura - and evangelism.

Tyndale's ability to make certain topics self evident and devoid of contentiousness was sometimes found to be difficult to accept by his equally 'Protestant' contemporaries, who engaged in debates about words in relation

to the Word with consequent effects for the propagation of the Gospel. Tyndale never doubted that the Divine was able to speak with equal authority in all languages and to all people, and could not accept that any should be denied Scripture in their mother tongue. His specific mission was to make the Word available in English, and in 1528 he famously claimed that '*the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with English than with the Latin*' - so English was both naturally and divinely ordained to be an evangelical tool to make the truth of the Gospel accessible. He adhered tenaciously to the literal rather than the allegorical sense and his confidence in the use of language matched his profound belief in the nature of the text. He did not disguise the difficulty of making ancient tongues speak with proper authority in English and was humble enough to invite amendment of any English word deemed deficient: in 1531 he promised Henry VIII that he would cease publication if another were appointed by the King to translate the New Testament.

Dr Heal discussed the structural problems of translation noting that by 1534 Tyndale was demonstrating that Greek, Hebrew and English each had different structures resulting in their own systems of meaning which affected the English text. Difficult passages needed to be explained by textual notes and obscurity could be made plain by examining the context, as Augustine had advised. The use of a glossary was advised to enlighten and give scriptures its full shape and compendiousness.

Most learned discourse and literary exchange was in Latin at this time, emphasizing the perceived inferiority of the vernacular. Sir Thomas Elyot was often apologetic about English considering that good ideas were expressed with incomparably more grace in Latin, and the poet Sir Thomas Wyatt felt that men might regard his translation of Plutarch as superfluous and lacking a great deal of grace. But Sir Thomas More defended spoken English as '*plenteous enough to express our minds*', but did not fully approve of the written vernacular while Andrew Boorde judged English to be base compared to Castilian, Italian and French although '*amending*'. The preference for the learned tongues could be attributed to poor teaching of the young: William Thomas, clerk to Edward VI's Council, complained that '*the child hath no sooner learned his ABC but straightways his master putteth a Latin grammar in his hand*'. Boorde recognised two registers of speech, the language spoken by the learned and 'naughty' (i.e. unsophisticated) by the people. Classical learning was defended by Roger Ascham, tutor to Princess Elizabeth, as he saw imitation of the wisest and best minds to be the essence of the superior individual, so that a confident knowledge of Cicero became a mark of social

distinction in Tudor England.

But there emerged a generation of lexicographers and grammarians, thoroughly trained in the classics, but engaged by the structure of their own tongue and the increasing 'copiousness' (Tyndale 'compendiousness') of the English language. Richard Sherry considered English fit to stand comparison with the best and his view was endorsed by Sir Thomas Smith, Thomas Wilson and John Cheke. National pride contributed - Richard Mulcaster, Elizabethan schoolmaster, claimed that '*the English tongue cannot prove fairer than it is at this day*' and the translators of Protestant texts e.g. Anthony Scoloker postulated that the ancient prophets and patriarchs became '*familiar unto us and are become Englishmen*'.

Some considered the issue to be the development of the potential in the English language but Mulcaster said that English of necessity had to borrow from other tongues '*to garnish itself*'. Ingenious adaptations from the Latin were made by Elyot, and William Thomas justified this as Italians had borrowed from the Latins who had borrowed from the Greeks. But 'borrowing' must not result in strange words which '*make things dark and hard*' (Ascham), while Thomas Wilson denounced 'inkhorn terms' in his *Art of Rhetorique*. The humanist Sir John Cheke expressed the view '*that our own tongue should be written clean and pure*' and new words should be introduced with '*bashfulness*'.

The grammarians also sought to standardize orthography and to introduce new phonetic systems of writing especially when preparing the written word for print: we must use '*altogether one manner of language*' (Thomas Wilson). Tyndale had felt that translation should be clear and direct; the limitations however were seen when Sir John Cheke translated the gospel of Matthew and a fragment of Mark into an English without foreign borrowings and Latin syntactical structure - the result was terse and bold, the anglicisations self-conscious e.g. 'hundreder' for centurion. Was his intention to demonstrate 'pure' English rather than reach ordinary men and women? He even proposed to establish, with Archbishop Cranmer, a definitive scriptural text in Latin to become the basis of a new English translation. There was a parallel case from the Low Countries when the contemporary Jan Utenhove published a New Testament in a 'cleansed' language which was aimed to standardize the diverse Provincial dialects, but the attempt proved a disaster.

In the 16th century questions regarding the authoritative status of the language of translation became common. The Elizabethan Bishops' Bible, an orthodox response to the Genevan translation, tended to latinize word order and language when in doubt. By 1542 conservative Bishop Gardiner had been offered

the opportunity to provide a new translation of the Bible, with the intention to re-latinise the text so underlining traditional terminology. The Catholic impulse was to oppose translation per se, as there was no divine command to have the word of God in vulgar and barbarous tongues, which included all except Hebrew, Greek and Latin. The Douai-Rheims Bible (1610), based on the Vulgate but utilising many other texts, was designed to recapture the scriptures for Catholic orthodoxy and claimed a purity of language setting it apart from the everyday. In 1612 the King James Authorised Version was criticised as lacking proper translations of arcane words of doctrine.

In Wales, the humanist William Salesbury took pride in the growing copiousness of the vernacular, but felt it was not so '*fully replenished with elegance, graces and eloquence*' as the bards believed. He noted the congruence of the British and Hebrew tongues which he described as '*sister-like*' (cf. Tyndale) and a similar claim regarding the sensitive similarity between the Gaelic and Greek languages was made by William Daniel who translated the New Testament into Irish. Salesbury adjusted his native language to the forms of the original languages, losing clear communication thereby, so that only a minority understood the word of his New Testament. It was a generation later when William Morgan produced a distinguished translation, sensitive to both language and the needs of a congregation.

The reformers resolved with Tyndale that ordinary people must be able to understand the Word of God and Cranmer reiterated this in the Preface to the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, in the *42 Articles* and in the *Homily on the Use of Scripture*, recommending a language '*as the people understand*'. So the plainstyle, '*sermo humilis*', developed and was used in both sacred and secular translations, so that '*men of all shires of England may the more easy perceive the meaning of the book*'. This followed Cicero's advice to speak as the common people did, but to think as wise men do.

Tyndale's linguistic style was a heightened version of common speech in English word order, with short sentences using proverbial wisdom. The generation after Tyndale did seek to evangelise in spite of its preoccupation with authoritarian issues and elegance of speech, as is seen in Latimer's '*Sermon on the Plough*' whose cadences are carefully crafted for powerful effect, but the message is uncompromising.

The Reformers and their printers shared the assumption that plainness equated to standardisation of language. John Hart argued that works printed in Newcastle or Bodmin might best be expressed in dialect, but if printed in London the best agreed speech of London should prevail. By Elizabeth's reign, the written language of London was setting the standard.

The gap between the spoken and written word was accepted, but the Catechisms bridged that gap, being couched in plain, common English for countryfolk. It is uncertain how much the spoken word from the pulpit deviated from the printed, sometimes due to lack of clerical goodwill (clinging to older rites) and incompetence: but Robert Crowley trusted in divine intervention ‘*God will make it plain to thee*’.

In the Scottish Reformation, under the leadership of John Knox, the *Bible* and *Book of Common Order* were published in Southern English, while the *1560 Confession of Faith* was published in Edinburgh, using the Scottish dialect form. This was later regularly read in the Kirks with the Geneva Bible and the people were reputed to understand. However, much translation was done by the preacher into spoken Scots. The same applied to Gaelic Scotland, Ireland and the Isle of Man where there was almost total dependence on the spoken word to transmit Scripture.

But there was disagreement as to how much the minister should concede to ‘*the common tongue*’, the willingness to adapt being more in the early years of religious change than in the late Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, when the urge to evangelise was less. Richard Carew praised English for its ‘*copiousness*’ i.e. the many variations of dialect and rhythm ‘*yet all write English alike*’. But plainness and simplicity should make no concessions to the vulgar or to ignorance.

Although the purpose of well chosen words was to enable all sorts and conditions of men to understand the message of the Gospel, this was but the beginning of the exercise - the message needed to penetrate the hearts and enter the lives of the people i.e. to ‘*edify*’. George Owen, the 16th century antiquary, reflecting on the Morgan Bible said it ‘*must needs work great good inwardly in the hearts of the people*’. Morgan had used easily understood, descriptive language, such as Welsh men finding a great treasure they were unable to dig out or attending a sumptuous feast but precluded from partaking. Previous crucial worries became less important as the intellect took second place to the spirit, and Tyndale’s purpose to ‘*edify Christ’s body*’ (the congregation of believers) and not solely read the Scriptures was regarded as paramount.

Dr Heal concluded with a quotation from Tyndale’s *Prologue to the Reader in the Exposition to the first Epistle of John*:-

‘Forasmuch as the scripture is the light and life of God’s elect, and that mighty Power wherewith God createth them and shapeth them after the similitude, likeness and very fashion of Christand forasmuch as the scripture is so pure of itself that it can corrupt no man but the wicked only, which are infect beforehand therefore are they faithful servants of Christ ...which have given themselves up

into the hand of God, and put themselves in jeopardy of all persecution, their very life despised and have translated the scripture purely and with good conscience, submitting themselves and desiring them that can to amend their translation or (if it please them) to translate it themselves after their best manner...

‘However, though God hath so wrought with them that a great part is translated: yet, as it is not enough that the father and mother have both begotten the child and brought it into this world, except they care for it and bring it up, till it can help itself: even so it is not enough to have translated though it were the whole scripture into the vulgar and common tongue, except we have also brought again the light to understand it by, and expel the dark cloud which the hypocrites have spread over the face of scripture, to blind the right sense and true meaning thereof.’

Questions and comments followed thick and fast on topics such as

- i. the flexibility of Shakespeare’s spoken language.
- ii. if the translation of the Bible had been aimed at the educated classes with no need to edify the common person, the translations would have occurred but with stricter adherence to Latin structure and in a less evangelical form.
- iii. Early Church fathers controlled interpretation in a way not seen today, but I John is still considered difficult in the vernacular – even with reliance on the Holy Spirit’s guidance.
- iv. Henry VIII’s support of Bible translation weakened because of fear of insubordination.
- v. William Tyndale understood the complexities of translation and was prepared to take risks in a way that today’s academics would not for fear of damaging their reputations.

Tasting the Word of God

Report by Eunice Burton

May 2007

Worcester, famous for its porcelain, was the venue for the Tyndale Society Conference entitled *Tasting the Word of God* in March 2007. Some arrived a day or two early - the group from USA - to explore Oxford, and we noticed the flooding of the surrounding countryside where the River Severn had burst its banks due to recent heavy rain. Sunshine during the Conference soon restored normal scenery, but there were modifications to the coach tour on Thursday, 8 March to the milieu of Tyndale's youth. Starting at Gloucester Cathedral, we toured the cloisters with their intricate fan tracery, and were told of the courageous life of John Hooper (once a Cistercian monk at Cleve Abbey, and later consecrated Bishop of Gloucester in 1551 and Worcester in 1552) whose Reformed views and refusal to acknowledge Papal Supremacy resulted in his martyrdom by burning on 9 February 1555 at Gloucester by order of Mary Tudor: We paused at his memorial in St. Mary's Square.

The scenic route took us past the Tyndale Memorial high on the distant hill near North Nibley to Berkeley Castle with its associations with the Walsh and Tyndale families: the gardens were already showing spring flowers and nearby was the church where John Trevisa is buried. Then lunch at the Black Horse Inn, North Nibley, which has been suggested as a possible birthplace of William Tyndale. A visit to North Nibley church followed - the font is 15th century and William Tyndale might have been baptized there. We travelled through country lanes to Wootton-under-Edge where Tyndale possibly attended the Grammar School created by Lady Catherine de Berkeley in the 14th century and finally reached Little Sodbury Church, originally the chapel of Little Sodbury Manor, where Tyndale was tutor to the sons of Sir John Walsh. It was while there that he began to translate the New Testament into English and made his famous "Ploughboy" speech. The Manor chapel was demolished and rebuilt as the parish church of St. Adeline which we visited, rich with references to Tyndale's memory. During a delicious tea, generously supplied by church members, Rev. Dr Simon Oliver of Lampeter University (previously Chaplain to Hertford College, Oxford) delivered an appreciation of William Tyndale as a theologian, dealing with his views on justification

by faith.* But Tyndale took a subjective view of the work of the Holy Spirit. Salvation should lead to sanctification and a desire to do good, e.g. forgiveness of 'many sins' led the woman who anointed Jesus' feet to 'love much'. A study of Tyndale's 'ethics' developed into consideration of his "Covenant" theology and view of 'The Politics of Grace', i.e. that the secular realm lies within God's ordination and economy, for us to use our gifts and wealth for the betterment of the whole human family.

We then returned to Worcester for a buffet supper at the Fownes Hotel where we relaxed among old and new friends.

The papers on Friday 9 March were delivered in the Guesten House in the Cathedral Close. Following her welcome Mary Clow, Chairman of the Tyndale Society, conveyed greetings and good wishes from Prof. David Daniell who was unable to join us. First we heard Rev. Philip Arthur (UK) on *The Life and Work of William Tyndale*, beginning with

(a) *The Making of an Exile*. He summarized what is known of Tyndale's early years and education, his time as tutor to the young sons of Sir John Walsh at Little Sodbury Manor when he also preached locally, the influence of 'Humanism' and his translation of the classics, his gift for languages and wish for an accurate vernacular Bible.

In (b) *The Need for a Vernacular Bible* we heard about the early translations into Anglo-Saxon (Old English) from the Latin Vulgate (Lindisfarne Gospels, etc.), but by Tyndale's time Anglo-Saxon was no longer spoken - French was used for government and English was only useful for addressing servants and horses by Edward III's reign! There were many manuscript Lollard Bibles (from the Vulgate) but the Middle English was 'heavy' in style (Coloss. 2, vv. 13-15 was read as an example, followed by Tyndale, 1526). Catholic revisionists produced devotional 'Books of Hours', often beautifully illustrated. This presented a challenge to Tyndale and his felicity with languages enabled him to produce his English New Testament (from the Greek) in 1526, initially working in Cologne, due to opposition from the 'Catholic' church in England. It was finally printed by Peter Schoeffer in Worms, in octavo size so easily concealed, and the text was devoid of notes and illustrations.

In (c) *The Worms New Testament 1526* was examined re style of language. Tyndale used mostly monosyllables, but added a sense of weight by placing a polysyllable at the end of a sentence, e.g. 'Let not your heart be troubled' (John 14, v.1.) and other examples. He graphically wrote of 'the poor, the maimed, the lame and blind' and many of his phrases exist as proverbs ('the

*This paper was based on a lecture given at the 4th Oxford Conference in September 2005 and the full text was published in the *Tyndale Society Journal* No. 30, January 2006.

signs of the times, *fight the good fight* etc.). Although 80 per cent of the King James (Authorised) Version is unacknowledged Tyndale, where it has been modernised, we often find that Tyndale's original words are more pleasing to our ears, e.g. 'love' not 'charity' in 1 Cor. 13.

In (d) *Persecution & Polemics*, the burning of the 1526 New Testament at St. Paul's Cross, the publication of *The Obedience of the Christian Man* in 1528 and the controversies with Sir Thomas More were detailed. Our speaker felt that if Tyndale had not been deflected by such debates, he might have completed the translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew - what a treasure has been "lost"! He contrasted the amusing clever, devious, malevolent mind of Thomas More with that of Tyndale enriched by Bible truth, quoting David Daniell.

In (e) *The Hebrew Tongue* - after completing the 1526 New Testament, Tyndale mastered Hebrew (his 8th language) and by January 1530 had published 'Genesis' with the memorable opening *In the beginning God created heaven and earth* '... , and later, *Then God said, 'Let there be light and there was light.*' The whole Pentateuch was completed later in 1530. Tyndale felt there was a special affinity between the Hebrew and English languages, and Hebrew could often be translated word for word, so he coined words when nothing in English expressed the true meaning, e.g. *'mercy seat'* and *'scapegoat'*. He used verbs of action, e.g. the Lord *'trounced'* Sisera and David *'clouted'* his enemies, (1 Sam. 22), and suggested intimacy in *'the Lord talked with Moses'*. As his understanding of the Hebrew Old Testament increased, Tyndale revised his New Testament translation accordingly, especially the epistles of Paul.

In (f) *Forty pieces of Silver*, the betrayal of William Tyndale in Antwerp on the pretence of a loan of 40 shillings, the sacrificial efforts of Thomas Poyntz on Tyndale's behalf and Tyndale's imprisonment, his degrading from his priesthood and martyrdom were movingly described. The poignant letter from Tyndale to the governor of Vilvoorde prison requesting warmer clothes and his Hebrew Bible was lost in the archives for three centuries and came to light again in the 1930s! In all his sufferings and frustrations, Tyndale was patient and submissive to the Will of God, and in *'giving his body to be burned'* (1 Cor. 13), he exemplified his love for Christ, the Word of God and the people of England.

The second paper, printed in full elsewhere in this issue, was given by Judge Thomas Martin (USA) on *Arthur, Prince of Wales and the Reformation* and he encouraged us to visit the magnificent Prince Arthur Chantry containing his tomb in Worcester Cathedral.

The third paper, given by the Rev. Mostyn Roberts (UK), was entitled *William Tyndale's Obedience of the Christian Man*, and he endorsed Prof. David Daniell's opinion that this was Tyndale's most important book after his *New Testament* of 1526. It was published in Antwerp on 2 October 1528 and was called by Tyndale his *'book of the justifying of faith'*. He stressed that faith alone justifies, but faith is the mother of good works, so he was concerned for the ethical consequences of salvation by grace. In the book, Tyndale worked out the duties of rulers and ruled in Christian Society, i.e. the political effect of Scripture. The speaker described the pastoral nature of the preface, encouraging the reader to persevere through tribulation for the sake of the Gospel, and the three larger sections, (a) God's law of obedience for all people, (b) a section advising rulers how to rule, and (c) a discussion of true and false 'signs', viz. Baptism and Holy Communion as true, as opposed to false sacraments and the worship of saints. Tyndale concluded that only the literal sense was a true sign.

Mostyn Roberts then analysed the *Obedience* to demonstrate the centrality of the Bible to the work. It is (i) *An Apologetic Book* in defence of the Bible. Tyndale referred to the Peasants' War in Germany, for which Luther had been blamed, but showed that it was the false doctrines of the Papacy which were responsible and that the Bible did not advocate seditions. The Pope taught defence by violence, but the true Christian left vengeance to God. It is (ii) *A Polemic Book*, attacking opponents of the Bible. Tyndale was especially opposed to those who obscured the Scripture and he exposed clerical failings, e.g. extortionate demands for money, prayers in Latin not understood by the people, inadequate preaching and false sacraments, showing that confession, penance, confirmation etc. held out no promise of faith. He limited the use of allegory, stressing the literal interpretation in teaching. It is (iii) a *Political Book*, considering the ethical and practical implications of the Bible in the light of the struggle for authority in Europe between the Pope, the King/State and the Bible. The Reformers saw the Bible as God's Word supreme over all life but establishing the legitimacy of the ruler (appointed by God) over the usurped political authority of the Church. The implication for the people was obedience or passive resistance (*'it is better to have a tyrant than no King'*), but the ruler was accountable to God for the well-being of the people. The implication for the Church was to condemn its ambition and greed, and deny its autonomy within the State. Thus the two great principles of the English Reformation were enunciated - the supremacy of Scripture in the church and the supremacy of the King in the State. It is (iv) a *Pastoral Book*, being addressed to the 'little flock' in the style of a Pauline epistle: they

were the people of God, conversant with the English New Testament (an illegal book) and were encouraged to be bold in tribulation in the knowledge that God would strengthen and comfort them. Many Scriptural examples were cited, showing that God's providence acted from conception to birth, childhood and adult life, and God would never desert His people. It is (v) an *Evangelical Book*, confirming the saving efficacy of the Bible, as it proclaims the Gospel message of salvation through justification by faith and not by works, as falsely propounded by the Pope. Tyndale's contention was that good works follow faith and this was not contrary to Reformation thought. His understanding of justification was summarised as having its source in the Grace of God, its appropriation is by faith alone, its meritorious ground is the obedience of Christ, it consists of forgiveness of sins and acceptance by God, its fruit is obedience (good works), it is declared before men by these good works but they contribute nothing towards salvation. But the ethical implications must be pursued. Obedience to God proceeds from a changed heart, consequent upon knowledge of the Bible and faithful preaching, both in one's own tongue. Tyndale's *Obedience* is rooted in the Bible in all aspects and should be read not only as great literature but as a source of empowerment in our lives.

After lunch, groups formed, some visiting the Cathedral library which has a fine collection of medieval manuscripts dating from the 10th century. Uniquely some were "schools" manuscripts dealing with physics, mathematics, astronomy, medicine and law as well as theology, and there were early printed books. A special display for the Tyndale Society included a 14th century copy of an *Anglo-Saxon Canon* (4 Gospels in parallel), Bede's *De Arte Metrica*, the 13th century *Worcester Antiphoner* and a *Wycliffe New Testament*. Others of us visited the Cloisters prior to the library and were shown the stained glass, commemorating national and local events, which began in 1916 as a World War I Memorial and was completed in 1950. Each light contained many familiar figures and we recognised Wycliffe, Erasmus, Wolsey, Henry VIII, Prince Arthur, Edward VI, the Marian Martyrs and many others. Then into the Cathedral to see Prince Arthur's Chantry and some to the Chapter House to view the Quaker Tapestry, which depicted, in a series of embroidered panels, the contribution made by Quakers to the learning and social life of England and the world during the past 350 years.

After tea, Mary Miles M.B.E., a Worcester historian, gave a paper entitled *Historical Background* when she outlined the story of Christianity in England from Roman times through the Dark Ages to Anglo-Saxon Monasteries, Norman Cathedrals and the Reformation. After Henry VIII's break with

Rome, the monarch became Supreme Governor of the Church of England, and Roman Catholics were excluded from the succession and royal marriages. At the same time, clergy were subservient to the secular law and English replaced Latin in Worship. Individual autonomy was recognised, the Navy and trade expanded, exploration and commerce increased, which all aided the spread of Reformation truths. The English Reformation had a noticeable effect on culture; for instance in music, plainsong was heard less than secular tunes, leading to the glories of Bach and Handel and the development of hymns in worship, e.g. by the Wesleys. In church architecture, rood screens were removed and the pulpit became prominent. The Victorian era brought feminism, with a great contribution from Christian women to right social wrongs, and also reforms, revivals and missionary conferences. Questioning of traditional tenets, growth of spiritualism among the bereaved had led to our current loss of faith, although the Black churches still flourish. But our society is 'sick' and many feel another Reformation is needed today.

We were welcomed formally at the Cathedral Choral Evensong, and in the evening attended a Society Dinner at The Old (Bishop's) Palace. Peter McLaren, a Reader in the Diocese, reminded us that John Hooper had been Bishop of Worcester and he would have entertained his guests in the Hall in which we dined. (The extract Peter read is printed in full at the end of this report.) After the meal Stuart Owen (UK) spoke on *Richard Baxter; The Vision Realised*. A century after the events we had studied in the Tudor Period, Richard Baxter (1615-1691) was a noted writer and preacher, especially during the Commonwealth. It was this generation of Puritan theologians who systematized the doctrines that the early reformers had died for so courageously. His life was dogged by ill-health and he is not known to have visited Worcester, but ministered so successfully in Kidderminster that five galleries were added to the church to accommodate the ever-increasing congregations. Principally he taught that the Bible was relevant to all, convincing the minds and moving the hearts of his hearers; his preaching was backed up by faithful parish visiting and ensuring a knowledge of the Catechism. But his preaching, advocating moderation, also had urgency (he spoke '*as a dying man to dying men*') and he is remembered for his books, *The Call to the Unconverted* and *The Reformed Preacher*. He was deprived of his living following the Restoration in 1660 and was in London at the time of the Plague and the Great Fire. Persecution for his views followed, and he was imprisoned for treason. A plea to the Bishop of London failed, and Baxter was declared guilty and a 'rogue' by Judge Jeffreys with his selected jury, but was released with a fine of 500 marks. He lived to see the Glorious

Revolution of 1688. Baxter's life-story is relevant to us today with our widespread ignorance of the Bible. We need to rediscover that God's Word is a firm foundation for individuals and society, and have the determination and courage to serve our generation as Richard Baxter served his.

Saturday 10 March began with a lecture by Dr Robert Letham (USA and Wales) entitled *Tyndale's Heirs? The Bible in the Westminster Assembly of Divines*. Although there was no direct connection between William Tyndale and the Westminster Assembly (1643-1649), Dr Letham claimed that the Divines shared Tyndale's commitment to the supremacy of Scripture and could rightly be termed his 'heirs'. Tyndale's theology was that the Scriptures originated from God, their scope was 'to flow unto Christ' and their purpose to lead us to Christ. They must be comprehended under the rubrics of Law and Gospel: the Law condemns, but cannot change us, whereas the Gospel delivers us by presenting Christ's substitutionary death. Therefore it was imperative that the Scriptures were available to everyone in his/her tongue, as they were the arbiter of doctrine when interpreted by the Holy Spirit.

The 39 Articles of the Church of England (1562, 1571):- Articles 6, 7 & 8 were examined. Article 6 stated that the Holy Scriptures contained all that is necessary for salvation, and listed the 66 books of the Old and New Testaments, but excluded the Apocrypha. Article 7 demonstrated the congruence of law and gospel (i.e. the Old and New Testaments) and Article 8 showed that the basis of the 3 Creeds (Nicene, Apostles' and Athanasian) was Holy Scripture, so they therefore should be accepted, and also the criteria set out by Councils when based on Scripture.

The Westminster Assembly (1643-49) is often identified with Scottish Presbyterianism, but it was an English Assembly set up during the Civil War, composed mainly of Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Independents, and called to defend the doctrine of the Church of England as expressed in the 39 Articles of Religion. The resulting Confession confirmed the authenticity of the Articles, and was ultimately recognised as the basis of Presbyterian Faith. During constant debates, Tyndale's conviction of the authority, necessity and sufficiency of Scripture for Salvation was upheld. The Assembly introduced a nuance, not incompatible with Tyndale's principles, that the original texts in Hebrew and Greek were 'immediately inspired by God' and had been kept pure through the ages, so can be accepted in matters of dispute, while some things may be lost in translation. Scripture can be self interpreting by comparison of a difficult passage with others to clarify its meaning. Dr Letham's conclusion was that Tyndale's views came to expression in the doctrine of the Church of England and were developed further by

the Westminster Assembly, so these Divines could be called 'Tyndale's heirs' as they had faithfully maintained his legacy.

The second paper was delivered by Dr Carl Trueman (UK now USA) on *John Hooper: Continental Theology, English Tensions*. John Hooper was born in 1500 in Somerset and was one of the first generation of English Reformers. Few details are known of his early life, but he was a monk at the Cistercian Abbey at Cleves, his devout, hardworking and sincere personality being attracted to that Order. He accepted a benefice in the gift of Sir Thomas Arundel, but then read the publications of the Continental Reformers, especially those of Zwingli and Bullinger in Zurich, and became conversant with the differences between Luther's and Zwingli's reforms. He was examined by Bishop Gardiner at the request of Sir Thomas Arundel, and was found to be intractable. After debate with Dr Richard Smith in Oxford regarding the Act of the Six Articles, Hooper fled to Paris. By 1544 he was settled on the Continent, having met Bucer in Strasbourg, and Bullinger in Zurich, and married a Belgian lady, Anne de Tserclas, in Basle in 1547. By 1549 he felt called to return to England where the Protestant King Edward VI reigned, and was able to supply intelligence on Emperor Charles V which was of interest to Lord Protector Somerset. He supported French and Dutch exiles in London in setting up a 'stranger church' which did not use the Book of Common Prayer of 1549. He was an outspoken preacher, including controversial doctrines such as predestination, and survived the fall of Somerset in 1549. He preached the Lenten Sermons of 1550 before the young King and was offered the See of Gloucester. A problem arose when he adamantly refused to wear the traditional vestments for the consecration, but eventually compromised in 1551 when threatened with the death penalty! But, when in leadership, his practice was less radical than his idealistic visions and he became a good Protestant administrative bishop, stressing piety and church order, but realistic regarding the introduction of 'Zurich Reforms'. In 1552 Gloucester was merged with the See of Worcester and Hooper became Bishop of both dioceses. He spent the next 2 years visiting every parish with a list of 55 Injunctions and often preaching 3 times a day until his family feared for his health. On the death of Edward VI, Hooper opposed the succession of Lady Jane Grey as unconstitutional, but was soon imprisoned by Queen Mary and deprived of his bishopric following a spurious charge of owing money to the Queen. After examinations by Bishop Gardiner, the restored Cardinal Pole and Bishop Bonner, Hooper was condemned to die as a heretic in Gloucester. He refused offers of pardon if he would recant, and died a prolonged martyr's death by burning on 9 February 1555.

Dr Trueman examined Hooper's contribution to the English Reformation, dealing with his objection to vestments as idolatrous and comparing his interpretation of predestination with the views of Luther, Melancthon, Bullinger and Calvin. Hooper feared fatalism and accepted human responsibility, e.g. Cain and Abel, quoting Melancthon, '*God is not the cause of sin, nor would have man to sin*': he stressed Covenant, Salvation by Grace, not works, through the action of the Holy Spirit in the heart. Some of Hooper's more radical views were due to the influence of the Continental Reformers and he held some 'maverick' ideas such as divorce being necessary if marriage breakup was irretrievable. He was opposed by Bishop Ridley regarding issues of power in the Church of England (rather than theological differences), as Ridley and Cranmer had advocated orderly reform through Parliament.

Hooper received no support over the implementation of a Continental type of Reform in England from Calvin (who spoke no English) or Bullinger. They did not want to get involved in the politics of distant England, while Knox in Scotland felt his stance over idolatry was not radical enough!

After coffee, Andras Mikeesy (Hungary) gave an expanded version of his lecture *Tyndale & Luther on the Epistle to the Romans* which was first delivered at the Oxford Conference in September 2005 and reported briefly in the *Tyndale Society Journal* No. 30, January 2006. The Prologues written by Luther in 1522 and Tyndale in 1526 and 1534 were compared, and the question of plagiarism in the days before copyright discussed. In fact, 'copying' could be considered complimentary! Sir Thomas More accused Tyndale of copying Luther's heresy when he made Luther's work available in English by translation. Tyndale used the same title page, but whereas Luther's Prologue represented 80% of Tyndale's 1522 Prologue, it was only 50% of that of 1534. Tyndale had expanded the work by 1500 words, using illustrations relevant to an English audience and glosses of correction consequent upon his knowledge of Hebrew. Seven per cent of Luther's work was not translated as deemed 'unimportant', dealing with aspects of Catholic doctrine, while Tyndale concentrated on Scripture. The three texts were projected in parallel and the slides coloured to show graphically what was each author's work and the insertions and definitions added by Tyndale, and his stylistic changes and adjustment to a more logical order.

Tyndale was a 'polyglot' in an age of Humanism and needed to find the exact word to express a meaning, so used synonyms and doublets such as 'I hope and trust', 'freedom and liberty' in place of a German word. By way of explanation, Tyndale included Biblical images of 'sweet promises'. This was not inconsistent with Luther, but Tyndale emphasized 'love' more, e.g.

'loving heart', 'unfeigned love', while agreeing that deliverance from man's fallen nature could not be achieved in his own strength - these should be regarded as an elaboration of Luther's thought rather than shifts away from it. Luther accepted the importance of the Holy Spirit in enabling us to keep the Law but Tyndale assigned to the Holy Spirit a more diverse role - by activating faith in the heart not only justification resulted, but also good works were prompted by the new loving heart. Luther's view of the work of the Holy Spirit was objective, external, moralistic and concerned with salvation, whereas Tyndale's was subjective, internal, ethical and involved in renewal of life. Tyndale's treatment of Luther's text was consistent with 'creative liberty'!

The afternoon sessions were held in the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral. First Dr Carl Trueman gave his second lecture of the conference on *Hugh Latimer: Preacher of the English Reformation*. Latimer was born in 1485 and his early life was conventional, studying at Cambridge and gaining degrees B.A. (1511), M.A. (1514) and B.Theol. (1524). He was exposed to Reformation ideas and the writings of Luther and Melancthon, but initially he repudiated these. Thomas Bilney (martyred in 1531) guided him to faith and implanted social concerns, so that he accompanied Bilney when visiting prisoners, and joined the group meeting at the White Horse Inn in Cambridge. The aim of his preaching was to proclaim the centrality of Christ and promote Christian living: he attacked the corruption in the Catholic Church, e.g. veneration of images and sale of Masses to avoid Purgatory, and influenced public opinion. His growing reputation as an eloquent preacher attracted the attention of Thomas Cromwell and Anne Boleyn, and in 1534 he delivered the Lenten Sermons before Henry VIII. In 1535 he was created Bishop of Worcester, two years after Cranmer's appointment to Canterbury. He advocated the education of children, was more interested in practical reforms than theological argument, supported the vernacular Bible and urged his clergy to read it and preach from it. Communicants had to be able to recite the Lord's Prayer in English. In 1539, when it seemed that Henry VIII was leaning again towards the Catholic faith, he resigned from his Bishopric. He preached 'Protestant' sermons during the reign of Edward VI, some of which have been criticized for their sensational content replacing exegesis. In 1550, Latimer retired to the household of the Duchess of Suffolk, but preached at the funeral of Edward VI in 1553. Shortly after, Queen Mary's Council charged him with sedition and he was imprisoned in the Tower with Ridley, Cranmer and Bradford. In spite of enfeebled health, he refused to recant his reformed views on the Mass and was condemned to

die by burning in Oxford, together with Ridley, on 16 October 1559. Foxe's account has ensured that Latimer's dying words have been immortalised to challenge the church until today – 'Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's Grace in England as I trust shall never be put out!'

We were then visited by 'Bishop Hugh Latimer', impersonated by actor Simon Ward in medieval academic robes, who reminisced about his days in Cambridge when Bilney had described him as 'zealous without knowledge' and had instructed him in the Reformed Faith. He then 'preached' extracts from Latimer's authentic sermons on God's love to all, His willingness to give bread and not stones and the necessity to be diligent and importunate in prayer. He explained how the law of Moses called us to love God and our neighbour. He regarded the Paternoster as the 'sum of all prayers' as by adoption we are the sons of God and can rightly call Him 'Our Father' assured of His good intentions towards us. 'Our' includes all men, rich men and beggars, so we must not despise the poor. God is in Heaven, mighty and powerful, but able and willing to help us here on earth.

We returned to the Guesten House for tea and informal farewells, agreeing that this had been yet another stimulating, instructive, and enjoyable conference.

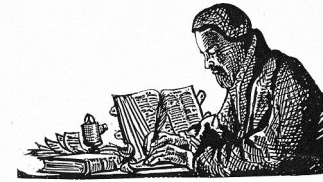
During the course of the formal dinner in the Bishop's Hall at the Worcester Conference Peter McLaren read out the following very apt quotation from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* about John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester:-

As for the revenues of both his bishoprics, he pursued nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice, I was, as I remember, in his house in Worcester, where, in his common hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meats, and beset full of beggars and poor folk: and I, asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was, to have to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess, with hot and wholesome meats; and when they were served (being before examined by him or his deputies of the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith and the ten commandments), then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before.

Ladies and Gentlemen, to that same common hall I welcome you tonight.

Reference

Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* Whitaker House, USA 1981 (ISBN 0883680955).



Letters to the Editor

Hi Valerie

I liked the piece on Hans Holbein the Younger in *TSJ issue no 31*. It reminds me of a verse I read years ago. If I can remember it exactly, which is unlikely, it went like this: -

The artist, Hans Holbein the Elder,
Had a model named Griselda,
From which came, (says a scandalmonger),
The artist, Hans Holbein the Younger!

....ingenious! I don't know who wrote it though.

Bill Cooper,
Email: 8 September

Dear Valerie,

The following articles about Tyndale may be of interest to members: -

Gerald Snare *Reading Tyndale's Bible Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* vol.35.2 Spring 2005.

Philip Howard *William Tyndale. Martyr for the Common Tongue Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* vol. CXI 1993.

Ralph Werrell *Tyndale's Disagreement with Luther in the Prologue of the Epistle to the Romans Reformation and Renaissance Review*, vol.7.1, April 2005.

I am also currently writing three articles for the *Churchman* on *Little known facts about William Tyndale's Theology*. I gave a paper at the Society

for Reformation Studies Conference in Cambridge this year entitled *The possible influence of Erasmus on William Tyndale* which I am submitting to their journal *Reformation and Renaissance Review*.

Yours,
Ralph Werrell,
April 2007

Editor's note: It is always interesting to receive news of our members' activities.



Extracts from a communication to our chairman on the Worcester Conference

I had the privilege of attending the Tyndale Society Worcester Conference *Tasting the Word of God* which was held in Gloucester and Worcester from 8-10 March 2007. It proved to be a most enjoyable and stimulating occasion, blessed with fine spring weather.

Knowing something about Tyndale, I set off to join the group at Gloucester Cathedral. I had expected to meet other British people, but was surprised to find a large contingent of Americans from the Reformed Church, who also admired Tyndale.

The conference fulfilled its title in so many ways, not least in the food! It had been a wonderful experience, meeting theologians, historians, linguists, ministers and others, who all admired William Tyndale and his work and shared an interest in the Reformation. My horizons had definitely been widened, my understanding deepened and I had met so many interesting, friendly people.

Thanks to the work of David Daniell, Emeritus Professor of English in the University of London and Chairman Emeritus of the Tyndale Society, we can still read Tyndale's work today. *The 1534 New Testament and 1536 Old Testament* in modern spelling versions have been printed by Yale University Press; *The Obedience of the Christian Man* was published by Penguin Classics and the British Library produced a facsimile of the *1526 New Testament* with original spellings in 2000. David Daniell has

also written a *Biography of William Tyndale* and a history of *The Bible in English*, both published by Yale University Press. Tyndale can still speak to our present, as he did to our past.

In a recent television documentary on *The Bible Revolution*, which examined the lives of John Wycliffe, William Tyndale and Thomas Cranmer, and the impact of the English Bible on the Reformation in this country, the Archbishop of Canterbury made this telling comment: '*I don't think it would have been possible to have the Church of England as we know it, without William Tyndale.*'

Vicky Roe, May 2007



Day One Travel Guide - *Travel with Tyndale*

I am currently working on a Travel Guide for Day One Publications on the life of Tyndale to be published sometime in 2008/9. These popular and attractive Travel Guides present a short (26,000 word) biography, travel information for places connected with Tyndale, and around 150 pictures.

My own research and usual sources will provide most of the information, but if any readers have knowledge or possession of information, references or pictures that they believe may be of interest to me, I would be grateful to hear from them. This may include references to Tyndale, memorials or statues in places not generally known, and items that may not have hitherto appeared in print.

If you have anything that you would be willing to share, please visit my website and leave me a message on the 'Tyndale Message Board' Thank you in advance for any help you can offer.

Brian H Edwards, July 2007
www.brianedwards.org.uk

Book Reviews

Hans R. Guggisberg (translated and edited by Bruce Gordon,) *Sebastian Castellio, 1515-1563: Humanist and Defender of Religious Toleration in a Confessional Age* St Andrews Studies in Reformation History series, Ashgate ISBN: 0 7546 3019 6 (Copyright Bruce Gordon, 2003).

Rolling through the French countryside by train recently on our way to Lyons, my wife and I paused for a stop at Vienne, the town where Michael Servetus practised medicine in the 1540s. I imagined myself caught in a time warp, carried back some five hundred years into the past.

The biography I am holding in my hands also conveys the heady environment in Lyons in the first half of the 1500s, when young intellectuals were flocking to the city. Some went for education. Others were drawn to the printing presses then setting up shop (including the firm of Johann Trechsel) who were in need of learned men to work on scholarly publications. It was a time of intellectual ferment. Yet dark clouds were forming: burning at the stake resumed there in 1540.

One student of ancient languages at the Collège de la Trinité in Lyons, later moved to Geneva to join Calvin's circle, and eventually settled in Basle. This was the Frenchman Sebastian Castellio, the subject of this biography, written in German by Hans Guggisberg (Professor of Early Modern History at the University of Basle from 1970 to 1995) and translated and edited by Dr Bruce Gordon (Reader in Modern History and Deputy Director of the St Andrews Reformation Studies Institute). Without the English version, I could not have read this book, and no-one should cavil when I say that the translator deserves much credit for its success.

The execution of Servetus in Geneva in 1553 was the last straw in Calvin's relationship with his protégé, which had begun fondly but steadily deteriorated for some years. Castellio's book, *De haereticis an sint persequendi*, a lonely plea for toleration of heretics, was published the following year. Though written under a pseudonym, it would have fooled no-one. Calvin released his own *Defensio orthodoxae fidei* shortly afterwards, and rebuttals and counter-rebuttals flew back and forth thereafter. The ten years until his death in 1563 were to prove uncomfortable for Castellio, an impecunious academic in Basle - a city which, although never entirely at ease with its adoptive son, afforded him a degree of protection and a very modest livelihood.

Castellio deserves better than to be a footnote in history books. A formidable scholar, he prepared a Greek-Latin edition of Homer in 1561, taught

many generations of students, and raised a large family. He was an active, courageous, though moderately discreet Reformer, in touch with many like-minded contemporaries. Which brings us to Castellio's Tyndale connection, for Castellio prepared a Bible translation, not just in Latin, but also in French. This was by no means the first such translation (French Reformers saw a role for the vernacular). Note the intended audience of French ploughboys:

'The objective of rendering biblical texts comprehensible, clear and simple similarly distinguished Castellio's French translations. While in the Latin translations he sought to liberate the text from traces of Hebrew and Greek, in the French texts it was all evidence of Latin style and vocabulary that he sought to avoid, since it was for the reader who had no Latin that he had undertaken this work. What the French text shared with the Latin one was the intention that it should be simple, for it was directed at the common people in the cities and rural areas.'

No good deed ever went unpunished during the Reformation or since; yet it was Castellio's evolving thought on toleration (not his translations) that earned him maximum opprobrium.

By 'toleration' we do not mean the 20th century 'Rodney King' variety (named after the man who appealed for calm - 'Can't we all just get along?' - during the 1992 LA riots) but a particular posture based on careful theological study. Great humility was called for when contemplating the imposition of the supreme penalty. Castellio and his supporters who favoured ending the stake for heretics - usually while distancing themselves from the specifics of the heretics' beliefs - invoked the following quote from St. Paul in support of their arguments:

'Therefore do not pronounce judgment before the time, before the Lord comes, who will bring to light the things now hidden in darkness and will disclose the purposes of the heart' (1 Corinthians 4:5).

While hunting for Biblical citations, advocates of toleration searched the juvenilia of reactionaries for youthful signs of moderation toward heretics (Martin Luther being one, and Calvin himself), and flung this hypocrisy back in their enemies' faces. Critics of Calvin saved the gravest slur for last; they implied that in persecuting heretics, the Geneva regime was either imitating - or consciously currying favor with - the Vatican.

As you will have gathered, *Sebastian Castellio, 1515-1563* is a work of exceptional scholarship. It is densely footnoted but pleasing to the eye. Nothing is omitted; gaps of speculation mainly apply to Castellio's childhood.

Does the fact it was originally written in German pose a problem? As a translator myself, I cannot bear to read translations, because I see the cogs whirring. *Sebastian Castellio* is a commendable exception. The translator's

explanation is in the preface: “The reader of the German original will quickly note that this is not a literal translation of the original. I have taken some liberties in order to convey to an English audience the intellectual energy and humane scholarship of Hans Guggisberg’s biography...’ I too pray this fine book finds the audience it deserves.’

In reading, do not overlook the footnotes; they are full of gems. It turns out that Roland Bainton - best known for his Servetus biography - prepared an English translation of Castellio’s most famous work (*Concerning Heretics, Whether they are to be persecuted* New York 1935, repr. 1965). Another tantalizing title for bibliophiles is the *History of Classical Scholarship, 1300-1850* Oxford, 1976 by Rudolf Pfeiffer. Trivia-lovers will note that Castellio’s grave was opened for reasons ‘which are no longer known’ (although we can guess) and enjoy the fact that “heretic” is “Ketzer” in German. Oh yes, and the term “Calvinista” made its first appearance in September 1555!

But what really caught my eye was the news that Reformation revisionism has found its way to Germany: ‘Recent scholarship has determined that the number of men and women killed during the persecutions of Anabaptists is significantly lower than was thought by Castellio and his contemporaries.’

Author and translator are convincing on the standards and practices of the time, such as the insistence on dedicating books to eminent men (Henry II of France in the case of Castellio’s French Bible translation). Why the use of pen names? Castellio became “Martinus Bellius” in *De haereticis* partly to escape detection; but there is an elaborate game - a Kabuki mask phenomenon - at work also.

‘Castellio likewise felt himself directly touched by the *Theologia Deutsch* [an anonymous mystical text of the 15th century] and undertook to make the text better known through a translation into Latin. His translation was printed in Antwerp in 1556, appearing, as Luther’s had, under a pseudonym (Johannes Theophilus).’

The whole issue of “toleration” itself is something of a minefield for 21st century readers. We may find ourselves approaching the subject through anachronistic lenses.

‘Castellio himself rarely used the word ‘tolerantia’, for the word was not then nearly so widely used as it would be in the seventeenth century. Instead, Castellio tended to use such terms as ‘caritas’, ‘pax’, ‘clementia’, ‘benignitas’, ‘lenitas’, ‘continentia’, and so on. In other words, Castellio used terms which to the modern reader appear to be preconditions of or consequences of tolerance rather than a description of tolerance itself. However, it cannot be denied that when Castellio used these terms he meant something quite similar to our modern understanding

of toleration; that is, what [has been] rightly described as ‘the support and - positively meant - acceptance of another.’

From our modern-day perspective this is unexceptionable, but from a Reformation vantage point it must have seemed anything but obvious. Consider the views of one of Castellio’s chief critics:

‘[Theodore] Beza stated that the Church required the protection of the worldly authorities just as the eye needs the help of the hand and feet. Therefore, the punishment of heretics is an important function of the secular rulers, for when heretics gather others around them and form new religious groups, the Church is in great danger. Heretics are essentially to be treated as robbers or murderers.’

And that was that. Castellio was courageous in bucking the tide, but also fierce when he had to be. In disputation he gave as good as he got; in one manuscript he highlighted passages of invective that could be cut by an editor later without disturbing the logical flow.

In short then, this book is the life story of one of the unjustly overlooked Reformation figures, and provides further proof - if any were needed - that such stories represent inexhaustible treasure.

Neil L.Inglis, June 2007.

The Luttrell Psalter: A Facsimile. (with an introduction by Michelle P. Brown) Oxbow Books, 2006. ISBN 712349340

In its nigh 700 years of history, the *Luttrell Psalter* has always been regarded as one of the most valuable and interesting of England’s great books. Commissioned by Sir Geoffrey Luttrell in 1320, it is not only a superb copy of the Psalms, but is as important a book on the social history of the early 14th century as can be found. This is because Sir Geoffrey ordered his book to contain detailed pictures, not of saints and angels (though these do appear), but of the people who worked on his estates - the ploughmen, the shepherds, the millers, musicians, jugglers, cooks, threshers, reapers, and the clothes, tools, accoutrements and animals with which they worked. Thanks to Sir Geoffrey’s obvious affection towards his workers, we can look through a window, as it were, at faithful portraits of those who lived and worked - and died - back then. Indeed, so skilfully are the faces drawn, that it is suspected by many that those portrayed would readily have recognised themselves and each other from the pages. It is a snapshot of England’s Lincolnshire countryside as it was just before the Lollards appeared on the scene, and if the Bishop of Lincoln’s registers of a generation later are to be believed - which they are - then some of the children and grandchildren of those people who appear in the *Luttrell*

Psalter were to become the first Lollards, reading their Psalms not in Latin, as Sir Geoffrey had to, but in English. It is a development of which Sir Geoffrey would probably have approved, radical as he was.

The British Library is to be congratulated for allowing this facsimile to be made. It is a superb piece of craftsmanship. Digitally reproducing the *Psalter*'s more than 600 pages (a technology which has ensured that you are looking at a true facsimile of the page and not just a colour photograph), and finding and developing the inks to match so exactly those of the original, has taken more than a year. The paper too was specially made to replicate the ancient vellum, and to open the facsimile really is just like reading the original. Indeed, such is the labour, time and expense that has gone into its production, that I strongly suspect - though I don't actually know - that its issue price of £295 is merely cost price or even less. It is impossible to convey the quality and importance of this edition in just a few sentences. Preceding the facsimile itself is an invaluable 64 page commentary and guide by Michelle Brown, taking the more industrious reader through the *Psalter* page by page. This is immensely informative and should be gone through by everyone who is fortunate enough to obtain a copy. The British Library has also published two books whose contents supplement the facsimile very well indeed, namely, *The World of the Luttrell Psalter*, and *Medieval Rural Life in the Luttrell Psalter*. These also are recommended - and a snip at £9.95 and £7.95 respectively.

Bill Cooper, December 2006.

Caveat procrastinator! The British Library anticipate that demand will be very high for this book, and it is likely that the edition will soon sell out. If you don't relish the idea of making your way to the Library, and then carrying the book - which weighs 12lbs! - all the way home, then it can be ordered from: British Library Bookshop, 96 Euston Road, London NW1 2DB, England (tel: +44 (0)207 412 7735) or online at www.bl.uk.

Eamon Duffy *Marking the Hours: English people and their prayers, 1240-1570* Yale University Press, £19.99 ISBN 0300117140

In 1500, Elizabeth Sekett, a domestic servant, lost her book of hours. A pauper woman, Avis Godfrey, was accused of stealing it, but told the court she'd picked the book up in Pudding Lane. To us, probably, the surprising thing is that a servant should possess a book of hours, which we picture as a gloriously illuminated, fabulously expensive manuscript codex. Yet, with

printing, the price of a modest book of hours had come down to 3d or 4d.

Up to 1530 we know of 760 separate editions of books of hours, 114 from England alone. But, even before printing, "production line" stationers' scribes produced books of hours - with miniatures turned out like paintings on eighteenth-century china - that suited the pocket of townspeople like the funny old mystic Margery Kempe of Lynn, Norfolk (who died in 1438).

Nineteenth-century collectors valued these books more for their appearance than their contents, sometimes carelessly mistaking them for missals. So, what did the books of hours contain? Everyone, aristocrat, burgess or pleb, used the same book, with variations. It gave the eight monastic hours (matins, lauds, prime, and so on) simplified, in honour of the Virgin Mary, plus vespers, matins and lauds for the dead (the Dirige), the seven penitential Psalms, the litany of the saints, the 15 gradual Psalms (119-133), and a collection of short prayers to the saints, with devotions added according to the taste of the client if it was a commissioned manuscript, or to the judgement of the bookseller-publisher.

By examining what was written by their owners in margins, flyleaves and blank spaces, Eamon Duffy brings alive the prayer-life of the English men and women who used these books of hours, or primers as they were sometimes known. Some of the additions look to us like vandalism, but were intended as useful customisation to suit the owner's spiritual life, with reputedly reliable prayers copied in like recipes.

Annotations might reflect family attachments, as with the simple moving note on a liturgical calendar page, opposite 27 November: *'My mother departed to god'*. Or they might act as ties between relations, as with the note written (in a style resembling that in a modern autograph book) to her uncle by Catherine Parr, the future queen, under a page decorated with an image of her patron St Catherine of Alexandria: *'Oncle wen you do on thys loke/Pray you remember wo wrote thys in your boke'*.

Prof. Duffy finds in some of the prayers in English added to the Latin body of these books *'a characteristic late-medieval combination of penitential abasement and confidence in salvation.'* Indeed, one cannot help coming away with the impression that late-medieval believers were no less mature in the conduct of their spiritual lives than the art with which their books were adorned was admirable.

The spiritual outlook of these books has in recent times been sometimes comically misrepresented. In a chapter called *'Sanctified whingeing?'*, Duffy examines the ideas of Jonathan Hughes, the author of *The Religious Life of Richard III* (1997), developed from a suggestion by the historian John

Bossy that books of hours give off a 'dense smog of self-centredness, malice and sanctified whingeing'. From the denunciatory language of many of the Psalms contained in these books Dr Hughes judged that 'it is likely that merchants in using such prayers had in mind their competitors, creditors and craftsmen'.

Since these Psalms are still used in Christian worship, it is easy to appreciate Duffy's amusement at the reductionist notion that they were used by grocers as formulae of commination against rival tradesmen. Duffy is more inclined to think that 'the deliverance prayed for, and the enemies prayed against, are likely to be conceived of as spiritual, and the rescue hoped for otherworldly'.

Far from being an 'egocentric' and abrasive expression of social hostility', as the last generation of historians interpreted them, these Psalms of complaint (which figured most prominently in the communally recited Office for the dead) served to cement communitarian values. Duffy gives the example of John and Joan Greenway who commissioned a sculptured memorial for themselves in Tiverton Church, with their own images shown kneeling with their books of hours. This memorial was not placed in their own private chantry, but publicly above the south door, where marriages and the first part of baptismal ceremonies were performed in a fully social way.

Historians seem intent on pinpointing the growth of "the self" or "individualism" - at the Renaissance, or with printing, or Protestantism. This seems to me a futile quest, since it is hard to think of a book more focused on the individualised self than the Confessions of St Augustine (who died in 430), which never became unfamiliar to Christians in the succeeding thousand years or more.

Duffy notes that Holbein's drawing for the family portrait of the household of Sir Thomas More in the late 1520s shows them, young and old, holding uniform copies of a printed book. More's daughter-in-law is helping his father find his place. The book is not some humanist edition of a classical work, but a book of hours. The family is about to recite prayers communally.

Duffy spends a chapter on More's own, modestly printed book of hours, which he took with him to the Tower, and in which he wrote a moving prayer in English. Certainly it was written by a man in isolation, but Duffy picks out the prayer's connection with similar compositions that emerged from the contemporary culture of devotion. 'If we go to the prayers of the late-medieval laity', Duffy concludes, 'we find not growing individualism, social anomie, and alienation, but the signs of individual participation in a varied but coherent public religious culture related to the public practice of religion.'

Once again, the author of *The Stripping of the Altars* has given us a newly convincing picture of a misunderstood period of religious practice. The colour

illustrations are beautiful, fascinating, properly explained and perfectly integrated into the exposition. It is a delightful book that will change perspectives.

This book review by Christopher Howse first appeared in *The Tablet* 17 November 2006.

G.W. Bernard *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the remaking of the English Church* Yale University Press ISBN 0300109083

Historians of Tudor England have for some time accepted the English Reformation as an act of State, the result of successive Acts of Parliament dictating the religious beliefs and behaviour of the English people. How and why that act of State was implemented in England has proved more contentious, and Bernard sets out to show that the King was the sole initiator of religious change in the 1530s and '40s.

The book is based on years of intensive research, although, despite a thorough engagement with his primary sources, Bernard often appears to dismiss the arguments of his fellow scholars out of hand. That Henry's personal impact on the Reformation was significant is unquestionable, but, from the start of this long and erudite text, Bernard makes clear his intention to show that it was Henry VIII himself who was behind religious policy of his reign, and not his advisers. In arguing this case, Bernard overturns much established orthodoxy in the story of Henrician religion, and challenges many current arguments.

His dismissal of the idea that there was any factional politics during Henry's reign is quite astonishing. So is his determination to play down indications of Protestant sympathies among Henry's closest advisers in the 1530s and 1540s. Men such as Cranmer, Cromwell, and Gardiner are shown simply as King's men, who made no attempt to influence their monarch. Bernard does not consider how far they would have been skilled in persuading their egotistical King that he had initiated a policy that, in fact, had come from them; nor does he discuss how far Henry's attempts at reform would have got had he not filled his inner circle with sympathisers of Continental reformed religion in the 1530s.

A manifest refusal to countenance any non-religious grievances for the 1536 Pilgrimage of Grace also takes Bernard out on a limb. Certainly, religion held the rebels together, but to claim that every single rebel joined up for the sake of the Catholic faith is going a little too far, particularly as Bernard claims later in his book that immediately before the Reformation the English people were not Catholic, merely Christian.

Bernard rightly emphasises the importance of the Pilgrimage in the story of the dissolution of the monasteries, and gives a comprehensive account of the events and decisions that led to the final suppression.

He provides an intriguing and often original insight into Henry VIII's thought processes, and effectively demonstrates the extent to which he kept his contemporaries guessing. Bernard also reiterates, however, just how difficult it is for historians to comprehend fully Henry's actions and policies.

This book will surely become a must-read for anyone with an interest in the English reformation. Yet I wonder how many will be convinced that Henry VIII was the sole architect of that Reformation. The scope for renewed interest in the Henrician Reformation is enormous.

This review by Emma Watson, University of York, first appeared in the *Church Times* 2 June 2006.

Brett Usher, *William Cecil and Episcopacy, 1559-1577* St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, Ashgate, 2003 ISBN 9780754608349.

Brett Usher's study of Cecil and the bishops falls into two parts, of which this is the published first. It was stimulated, he says, by the desire to find out why John Aylmer, a rising Protestant star of Edward's reign, failed to obtain a bishopric until half way through Elizabeth's. By the end of this volume he has explained why.

The trail, he found, led through the exchequer records and a close analysis of the episcopal appointments of the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign, especially the setting up of her initial bench of bishops, depleted by death as well as by refusal to accept the 1559 Settlement. Investigating the processes by which the bench of bishops was replenished involved much work on the bishops' official relationships with the Exchequer. Usher has identified a series of hidden agendas which the exchequer accounts (amazingly, to those who prefer not to work among them) illuminate. The essential thesis is that Cecil was an undoubted puritan and friend to the evangelical clergy, reformist and continental in affiliation, and yet almost invariably able to get his way with the Queen, despite her antipathy to Knox and all Genevans. Usher argues that there were two contrasting agendas: Cecil's for reform, seeking Geneva-style superintendents among the returning exiles, and Elizabeth's own preference for those who had stayed at home and quietly conformed, as she had done herself. Hence the unexciting choice of Parker as primate, and the sixteen-year brake he was able to exert on the pace of reform. By the

time Grindal got to Canterbury it was already too late, and his style led to his speedy downfall in 1577.

Usher draws a distinction between the Crown/episcopate relations of the first part of the reign, and the rapacious attitudes of Northumberland in Edward's reign, or of Elizabeth's later years. Initially, Cecil had wanted superintendents with a modest income, whereas Elizabeth wanted prelates. The negotiations of 1559-61 which eventually staffed the bench often resulted in pastors being obliged to be reluctant prelates, but at least they were properly funded. Cecil's original Act of Exchange, which would have drastically reduced the incomes of most sees, was a dead letter before the first Elizabethan bench was fully appointed. In many cases the Crown waived both First Fruits and the *sede vacante* profits, partly for poor sees and partly for those who were in favour: that is, generally, in Cecil's favour. The bishops succeeded in scaling down the Government's original demands, and continued to regard Cecil as their greatest support.

In 1560-62, Cecil and Leicester jostled for patronage of bishops and Cecil's influence was briefly eclipsed. When, Elizabeth's infatuation abating, Cecil won through, he still had to deal with his sovereign's natural caution and her Archbishop's natural conservatism. Hence some most conservative appointments, when Cecil's preferences lay elsewhere, not to mention the difficulties raised by candidates themselves: Usher highlights the problems of getting Horne to accept Winchester, Sandys to replace Grindal at London, or of finding anyone prepared to take on Carlisle at all.

Replenishing the bench during the next decade took place mostly under Cecil's aegis; hence the choice of evangelicals for the Northern Province after the rebellion of 1569. All was reasonably plain sailing until the mid-1570s, when the rise of Hatton and the fall of Grindal made the *modus vivendi* of the first half of the reign impossible to continue. Usher promises that the next volume, tracing the convoluted remainder of the reign, will be a period to be eagerly explored, when the Supreme Governor's exercise of her supremacy was generally disastrous for the reformed Church of England.

Usher has fleshed out the thesis of Andrew Pettegree's *Marian Protestantism*, producing a detailed analysis of the bench of bishops to support his basic contention. To my mind, the author has achieved the all but impossible, in making exchequer records sound positively exciting, and in demonstrating what a wealth of evidence they can contain about church/state relations, even the intentions of the Crown and its ministers. His style is light and amusing, thought trawling through the accounts cannot always have been so. For anyone who wants to know more about the Elizabethan bench of bishops,

and how honest men faced up to the conflicting demands of appointing – or even of being – pastors and prelates, this is the book to read. By the end of it, we can see why Aylmer’s promotion came so late, and it is becoming all too plain why the Elizabethan church remained ‘*but halfly reformed*’.

Margaret Clark, Ludlow, May 2007.

Vance, Laurence M. *King James, His Bible and its Translators*. Vance Publications, Pensacola, USA. 2006 172pp. ISBN 0 9763448 1 5.

This rather surprising book is actually a collection of essays, fifteen in all (and all by the same author), on the King James Bible. Moreover, the essays all explore not other men’s books on the subject (a mighty relief that, if I may say so), but the primary sources themselves, delving into letters, diaries, visitations and so on. Each essay approaches the KJV from a different angle, which means that by the end of the book, the reader has very much circumnavigated the subject. The headings themselves of the several essays make compelling reading: *King James and the Throne of England; The Hampton Court Conference; The Learned Men; The King James Translators at Work; The 1611 King James Bible; Editions of the Authorized Version; Chapters, Verses, Words*; and so on. It is, in short, a fulsome treatment, containing a great deal of information in a small space - the very essence, in fact, of good essay writing. Look not for waffle in these pages. You will find none, I assure you.

Nor is Vance’s book stuck in a 1611 rut. Each essay flows naturally into the next, by progression of time as well as subject, until towards the end of the book you have discussions on modern successors of the KJV, though with each discussion ending in a none-too-covert defence of the KJV.

Interestingly, although Vance does discuss important word changes in the KJV, he does not discuss a subject that is dear to my own puritanical and waspish heart, namely the question of why (in 1 Corinthians 13 in particular) Tyndale’s and Coverdale’s *love* (translated from the Greek *agape*) was subverted and replaced in the KJV by Jerome’s *charity*. As was known by all on the KJV Committee, *charity* is entirely a mistranslation of *agape*, yet it has grand ecclesiastical ramifications. Charity is a monetary commodity (where love is not), and can therefore be bought and sold on the market of good works and merit. Instead of Tyndale’s *love* covering a multitude of sins, it is the Roman *charity* that ‘does it’ for the faithful, who thus must earn their salvation by good works. It was, in short, a deliberate return to the ways of the Latin church. But why? And at whose instigation? As Vance says, though in a

happier context, “*Much research remains to be done about these ‘learned men’*”.

The ‘learned men’ in question laboured under a set of fifteen rules, the fourteenth of which states quite clearly that, “*These translations [are] to be used, when they agree better with the [Hebrew and Greek] text than the Bishops’ Bible [which uses charity instead of love], viz. Tindall’s, Matthews’, Coverdale’s, Whitchurch’s, Geneva [all of which use love instead of charity]*”. The rule is clear, yet was ignored, and ignored by men who would not have been unaware of the important differences between the two words, nor their immense ramifications. To be fair, it is a matter which lies outside the parameters that were set for Vance by his subject, and so its omission in this book is perfectly in order... but I do wish that he had said something on the matter even so! It is, after all, and in the opinion of many, the one great flaw in the KJV.

But this notwithstanding, Vance has brought to bear a prodigious intellect on a subject that will never diminish in its importance in the history of the Bible in English. And he has done his work well. The essays are followed by a very comprehensive bibliography. (An index was superfluous, because as each essay deals in turn with just the one subject but from different perspectives, then the names and places of those involved in the production of the KJV are repeated throughout). In short, the book is a must-read for any who are interested in the subject.

Those who wish to further explore on-line the work of Vance Publications in this area can go to www.vancepublications.com, where they will find a surprisingly broad resource library available many of them reprints of now-almost-impossible-to-obtain works on the English Bible.

Bill Cooper, June 2007.

To order this book see details in the advertisement on page 83.

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450th Anniversary Lecture

at Stationers' Hall

The Stationers' Company and the Development of the English Printing Industry

delivered by

Professor Andrew Pettegree

BA, MA, DPhil (Oxon.), FRHistS

Thursday 18 October 2007 6.15pm for 6.45pm

Professor Andrew Pettegree is the Director of the Reformation Studies Institute at the University of St Andrews and the leading authority on the Reformation and Printing and Publishing in the 16th century. He has agreed to deliver this special lecture to mark the occasion of the 450th Anniversary of the granting of The Stationers' Company Royal Charter by Queen Mary in 1557.

Tickets for Tyndale Society Members cost £10 each

The ticket price includes a pre-lecture drinks reception (6.15 – 6.45pm), entry to the lecture, to the display of some of the treasures from the archive and a post-lecture canapé reception. The evening will conclude at 8.30pm.

The Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers is one of the Livery Companies of the City of London. The Stationers' Company was founded in 1403 to control the activities of text writers, bookbinders, illuminators and booksellers who operated from fixed workplaces (stationarius) round the walls of St Paul's Cathedral. Printing gradually displaced manuscript production and by the time the Company received its first charter from Queen Mary in 1557 it was, in effect, a Printers' Guild.

The charter gave the company considerable control over the process of printing. Its provision required all books to be examined by a government inspector and a warden of the Company and to be entered in its registers and thus provided substantial protection against the dissemination of seditious and heretical

literature. The entries in the registers provide the origins of copyright and are the single most important source of early book trade history in the country. The registers and the Company archives, held in the Company's Hall in Ave Maria Lane, London, have survived intact to this day and they are still consulted by scholars from all over the world.

The Tyndale Society is grateful to the Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers for supporting it by awarding an annual prize for the best article submitted to its academic publication *Reformation*. This prize was instigated by the late Sir Edward Pickering, hon. Freeman and Liveryman of the Stationers' Company, vice-chairman of Times Newspapers Ltd, and founding member and patron of the Tyndale Society.

BOOKING FORM for the 450th Anniversary Lecture, Stationers' Hall, 16 October 2007

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The special concessionary rate for readers of the Tyndale Journal is £10 per person

Payment enclosed (UK cheques only): £ _____

Please send the form and your cheque made payable to 'The Tyndale Society' by 1 October to: Karen Wortley, Tyndale Society Membership Secretary, Barnyard, Purdy Street, Salthouse, Norfolk. NR25 7XA. UK

Holbein in England

Brian Buxton

The faces of some of those whom we encounter in following the story of William Tyndale came vividly to life in the magnificent exhibition, *Holbein in England*, at Tate Britain during the autumn of 2006. This was the largest exhibition in Britain for more than half a century of the work of the German artist Hans Holbein the Younger who, arriving in England at the same time as Tyndale's New Testament, 1526, soon established himself as the brilliant portrait painter of the good and the great. Whether through his simple drawings in chalk or pen and ink, or through his finished oil paintings, Holbein depicted his sitters as they really were, some seventy of them in this exhibition. As the leading Holbein scholar Susan Foister writes in her introduction to the catalogue: '*Holbein's intensely vivid and immediate portraits place before us recognisably individual and even contemporary-seeming faces...*'¹ Whatever rich clothing, jewels or other artefacts he may have included to identify the significance of his subjects, their faces looked down from the walls of Tate Britain with all the individuality of appearance we would have noted had we met them in the streets of London or Westminster, or in the chambers of Whitehall, Greenwich or Hampton Court.

One critic felt that: '*To enter the Tate's brilliant new show is to walk into Henry's court and instantly to feel its suspicious gaze.*'² Perhaps it is all too easy for us to interpret the serious faces of Holbein's sitters as a reflection of those uncertain times, rather than simply current fashion, but serious they are. Only one face in the exhibition was smiling, that of Lady Guildford. She faced her husband, Sir Henry Guildford, Tyndale's first contact with Bishop Tunstall when he arrived in London in 1523. Tyndale's former employer Sir John Walsh had suggested Guildford as an introduction to the bishop whose support Tyndale sought. Guildford doesn't look an over helpful sort in his portraits and he does not seem to have greatly put himself out for Tyndale.

Early in the exhibition were the portraits of Erasmus, the scholar with his books and papers, writing or deep in thought. His Greek New Testament was the basis for Tyndale's translation. In one portrait his hands rest on a book with an inscription referring to his '*Herculean labours*', possibly an allusion to his New Testament.

It was Erasmus who recommended Holbein to Sir Thomas More. Tyndale's



*Drawing of Jane Seymour 1536-7
by Hans Holbein*

adversary commissioned a now lost family portrait for which the exhibition showed sketches of the family group and of a number of its members. Here are faces which may have been glimpsed by the likes of George Constantine as they were interrogated by More at his Chelsea home. This was a grand family, able to command many hours of Holbein's time. Of course his greatness did not save More from dying for his convictions, in particular for his refusal to accept the royal supremacy of the church. Similarly, Bishop John Fisher, whose weary face was shown in one of Holbein's sketches.

The tightrope so many had to walk at this time, with the danger of moving quickly from high favour to disgrace, is evidenced in the fate of More. A very different man was Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse and a great favourite of Henry. The head Holbein drew with such skill in coloured chalks



Portrait in pen and ink by Hans Holbein of Edward, Prince of Wales in 1538.

the visitor to the Tate came to the heart of this exhibition, as if they had at last arrived in the Presence Chamber of a Tudor palace. Here was the king himself, supremely in the small but detailed and glittering image from the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection in Madrid. For this, according to the catalogue, Holbein used powdered gold in his paint and ultramarine pigment normally only used in miniatures as *'this image was clearly intended to be handled and gazed at closely'* – almost like a religious icon.⁴ Another vision of Henry as he must have seemed to those around him was the portrait of the enthroned, regally robed and crowned monarch, dwarfing the kneeling members of the Barber-Surgeons Company offering their gratitude on receiving a new charter. The members look apprehensive, their eyes fixed on Henry. Perhaps they fear lest in some unwitting way they have upset him and that he might, as Thomas Cromwell so often wrote of him, *'not a little marvel'* and they might *'incur his further displeasure'*.⁵

Henry would have fully approved his portrait being flanked by those of a submissive looking Jane Seymour, the one wife who gave him what he most wanted, a son, and by the infant Edward himself, in the portrait presented by Holbein to Henry as a gift at New Year 1539. Although clearly a baby, Edward is posed quite formally in advance of his years, his right hand raised almost as if in blessing, all rather reminiscent of some paintings of the Christ child.

These, and portraits of other of Henry's wives, are a reminder of how his dynastic and personal concerns were interwoven with the beginnings of the

was to be held up to the crowd as that of a traitor when he fell in 1539. Carew was declared guilty of high treason in the same Act of Attainder which named Henry Phillips, the betrayer of Tyndale and Poyntz, both caught up in Henry's final purge on the family and contacts of Cardinal Reginald Pole. The Act declared that they had *'done divers detestable and most abominable treasons to the fearful peril and danger of your most royal person'*.³

After passing through several rooms, each filled with courtiers and other distinguished figures,

English Reformation. Members of the Tyndale Society who were present at the conference in Worcester this spring and who visited the chantry chapel of Prince Arthur in the cathedral may have wondered what might have been the future of the church in England, and of William Tyndale, if Arthur had lived to become king rather than his brother Henry. Holbein shows the king who has made himself, and thus his son after him, not only temporal but also spiritual ruler of his people. The difficulty for Tyndale, as for so many others, was not quite understanding from day to day what the king intended in his spiritual capacity.

Apparently Holbein was somewhat disturbed when he returned to his adopted hometown of Basel in 1529 and found himself compelled to attend Protestant worship. However, the later part of the exhibition showed contributions to the new religion after his return to England in 1531. A painting illustrating the theme of law and grace, depicting a sinner torn between Old and New Testament scenes, and a title page for Coverdale's Bible of 1535, showing Henry presenting the Bible to the bishops, are but two examples of Holbein adapting to the new way. It is likely that some reformed ideas and books were imported into England by the Hanseatic merchants of the Steelyard and several appeared in this exhibition, looking prosperous and well content with themselves, assured enough to import forbidden books without expecting immediate retribution. Their success at this period was reflected not only in the portraits but also in the sketches for Holbein's paintings for the dining hall at the Steelyard and his pen and ink drawing of the pageant of Apollo and the Muses which the Hanseatic merchants presented when Anne Boleyn was reluctantly welcomed into London as Queen in 1533.

Holbein's years in England were a time of change and uncertainty, not least in religion. Many rose and fell, whilst others somehow survived. Holbein was a survivor and through his work we come face to face with a number of those who played a part in the events of that time, including several whose lives touched in various ways on that of William Tyndale. If only Holbein could have left us an image of Tyndale himself, even if it were but a copy of another's work as with his roundel portrait of the German reformer Philip Melancthon!

Endnotes

¹ Foister, S. *Holbein in England* Tate Publishing 2006 p.15.

² Simon Jenkins in *The Guardian* 29 September 2006 p.34.

³ Attainder of the Marquess of Exeter and others 1539: National Archives C65/147.

⁴ Foister, S. *Holbein in England* Tate Publishing 2006 p.96.

⁵ Thomas Cromwell was an obvious absentee from Henry's court at the Tate – but then he often did develop a convenient illness! Holbein did paint Cromwell but the original is now lost, although portraits 'after' or of the 'studio of' Holbein can be seen in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Sacred

Angela Butler

From April until nearly the end of September 2007 the British Library has been hosting a magnificent exhibition of sacred manuscripts illustrating the three great monotheistic religions, the Abrahamic faiths - Judaism, Christianity and Islam - which have so moulded the world we live in today. Simply entitled *Sacred* the exhibition shows works that have been drawn from the Library's own collections, considered to be one of the greatest in the world, supplemented by loans of key texts from other museums. The range of exhibits is immense, running from scraps of papyrus, to a Dead Sea scroll fragment, to a silver set used during the Jewish ceremony of Passover, to finely illuminated books, manuscripts and psalters.

At the heart of the exhibition are the manuscripts which have miraculously survived centuries of wars, pogroms and oppressions. The purpose of the exhibition is to demonstrate, by showing the exhibits thematically as well as in order of time, the way in which the three faiths have evolved and are intertwined. It is part of the Library's long-term plans to feature other major world faiths represented in its collections.

Many of the exhibits are on show in the United Kingdom for the very first time, as is the Dead Sea scroll fragment for instance. It is very rare to be able to study the texts together, to appreciate how translations and even artistic interpretations link the faiths over the centuries, and to see how discrepancies or distinctions, mostly over small details of dress, hygiene or gastronomy, have grown into seemingly unfordable rivers. The emphasis of the exhibition, however, is primarily on the things that should unite the peoples of the Abrahamic faiths rather than on those which divide them.

Unfortunately the show, which includes a variety of activities, concerts, conferences, discussion groups, etc., is nearly over. It is scheduled to close on 23 September 2007. For those who would like to benefit still from the cultural wealth that has been gathered for this outstanding exhibition, an accompanying catalogue illustrates and describes examples of Jewish, Christian and Muslim sacred texts from the Library's collections alongside treasures on loan.

Books of the Three Faiths: Judaism, Christianity, Islam. Available in both hardback and paperback editions, 224 pages, 150 colour illustrations, £25.00 and £14.95. To order from the British Library: Tel + 44 (0)20 7412 7735 or order online at www.bl.uk/shop.

Geneva Reformation Museum wins Council of Europe Prize for 2007

Angela Butler

Speaking at its opening in April 2005, the President of the Council of the Foundation of the International Museum of the Reformation (MIR), Prof. Olivier Fatio, said he was sure that the museum '*would earn the interest and sympathy of the public*'. It has, in fact, done much more. It has carved out a name for itself in the cultural and religious worlds of Geneva, and has acquired recognition well beyond Geneva's frontiers. This was confirmed in December 2006 when the Museum was awarded the Council of Europe's 2007 prize for its noteworthy contribution towards enhancing public knowledge of the cultural heritage of Europe.

The prize has been awarded annually since 1977. Recent recipients of the award have been the Churchill Museum in London, UK (2006), the Museum of Byzantine Culture Thessalonica, Greece (2005) and the Museum of Health Care at Edirne (Turkey 2004). The award comprises a cheque for 5,000 Euros, a diploma and a statuette by the Spanish artist Joan Miro, which the winning museum is entitled to keep for one year before passing it on to the next year's recipient of the prize. This year's award was presented to the Museum on 17 April 2007, in Strasbourg, during the European Parliament's spring session.

In making the presentation the jury praised the Museum for its courageous approach to an especially difficult theme, highlighting in visual terms the slow progress towards religious tolerance in Europe over the past five centuries.

Research Sources

Holy Trinity Church Geneva Newsletter, No. 324 March 2004.

Press Release International Museum of the Reformation, 7 May 2007.

Revue Les Nouvelles du MIR (Musée de la Reforme) no.3 May 2007.

Tribune de Genève, 11 April 2007.

Note

The International Museum of the Reformation, 4 rue du Cloître, 1204 Geneva (tel. 022 310 24 31 or www.musee-reforme.ch) is located in the Maison Mallet, built in 1723 on the site of the former cloisters of the Cathedral of St Pierre, the very place where the citizens adopted the Reformation on 21 May 1536. The Museum is open from Tuesday to Sunday from 10 am until 5pm. and can arrange guided visits for groups. The Tyndale Journal Editor and Holy Trinity Church Archivist, Mrs Valerie Offord, recently qualified as a guide.

Rare Calvin Manuscript for MIR

Angela Butler

July 2007.

A rare manuscript letter, signed by Jean Calvin on 23 January 1545, has been acquired by Geneva's International Museum of the Reformation (MIR). The Director of the Museum Isabelle Graesslé, declared that the acquisition is particularly fortunate in view of the Jubilee celebrations MIR is planning to hold in 2009 for the 500th anniversary of the birth of Calvin (1509-1564).

The letter was put on sale by Christies of London on 3 July 2007. The lot (No.0341) was simply described in the catalogue as:-

'a deposition to the Authorities of Geneva on the circumstances of the attempted suicide of Jean Vachat (Geneva) 23 January 1545, in French, one page... (slight browning in centre folds and margins, traces of former mounting in corners, small paper loss from tears in right hand corners....'

Given the provenance as 'Collection John-Gabriel Eynard', a prominent 18th century citizen of Geneva, Christies estimated that the document would probably reach a figure of between £15,000 and £20,000. This was a surprisingly low estimate considering that it had sold for about £35,000 some four years previously*. However, the price actually realised was £84,000. The name of the purchaser and donor of the manuscript to the Museum has not been revealed.

The age and authenticity of the document were indubitable. What greatly enhanced its market value was its content, which reveals a humane and compassionate side to the great reformer's character which in some measure contradicts, or at least attenuates, the qualities usually attributed to him - sternness, coldness and rigidity.

At the time of the Reformation, irrespective of the currently prevailing religion, death by suicide was considered a criminal offence and punishable as such. Calvin was not a personal friend of Jean Vachat. He had been appealed to, as a last resort, by Vachat's brother, in an attempt to have the stigma of suicide removed from the dying man. In his letter Calvin does not dispute the fact that, overcome by illness and excruciating pain, Vachat had wilfully inflicted on himself knife wounds that he hoped would bring him relief from pain through death. Instead Calvin explains to the Geneva Authorities that

he had remonstrated and prayed with Vachat, and brought him to repent his suicide attempt which was an offence to God, and to agree to sending the barber to dress his wounds in the hope of saving his life.

Calvin did not condemn the man, nor did he deny the criminality of suicide but, confronted with the agony of the man before him, he held out the possibility of redemption through true repentance and offered the hope of divine forgiveness.

It is recorded that Jean Vachat died of his wounds only a few hours after this session with Calvin and, in accordance with customary procedure, the Courts ordered his body to be interred by the hangman in the place reserved for convicted criminals and suicides. In the event, therefore, Calvin's intercession was not successful but, on the appeal of a fellow citizen and in the face of intense suffering, he came and he made the attempt. It is good that evidence of the side of Calvin's nature has been preserved.

*This manuscript was first auctioned by Sotheby's in Paris on 12 June 2003 when it sold for 89,390 Swiss francs (see article by Valerie Offord *Auction of Calvin Manuscripts* in the *TSJ* No. 25 August 2003 pp. 61/62).

Sources

Tribune de Genève Le Musée de la Réforme reçoit un manuscrit de Jean Calvin 10 July 2007.
www.christies.co.uk *Auction of the Albin Schram Collection of Autograph Letters* 3 July 2007.

A Selection of Items for sale

Tyndale Society Journal (March 1995-)

Editor Valerie Offord M.A. Cantab ISSN 1357-4167

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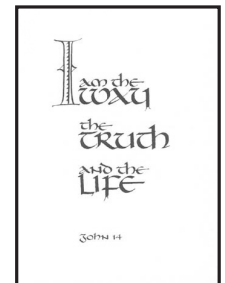
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Email: tyndale.sec@btinternet.com

Sightings of Tyndale

Poem from the Bodleian

Valerie Offord

September 2006.

Hidden away in an obscure file in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is a pamphlet published by W. Billington of Rugby entitled *William Tyndale: A prize Poem recited at Harrow School July 1869* by Walter William Strickland.

Its literary worth does not merit republishing the entire poem but it is interesting to note this very early recognition of Tyndale's work and achievement. The dedication is of passing interest:-

Homo doctus pius et bonus

Who in 1536 was strangled and burnt for no other crime besides that of enabling Christians to peruse a book which is the only authoritative directory of their faith and practise.

Faithful he stood - for did not God command?
Content - for calm resolve inspired his breast;
Joyful - he laboured for his native land;
Patient - he waited for eternal rest.
Nor need of fame nor fortune did he ask
'*Thine be the honour Lord, the labour mine.*'

Reference

Walter William Strickland *William Tyndale: A prize Poem recited at Harrow School July 1869*
W.Billington, Rugby 1869 (Bodleian Library, Oxford).

Society Notes

Compiled by Mary Clow

Retired: Valerie Kemp, our faithful secretary at Hertford College, Oxford, reluctantly due to her husband's loss of sight which has enforced their move away from the area. We all wish her well. Our Hertford College address continues although the 'office' has become 'virtual' so patience please if you do not receive a quick reply by post.

Hired: Karen Wortley as Membership Secretary (worldwide) from a barn in Norfolk. She will handle emails on tyndale.sec@btinternet.com

In recovery: Prof. David Daniell has been told by his specialist that his "heart muscle is rebuilding - but do not let that give you any ideas of making future commitments". Like him we must accept this - and be satisfied with his continuing interest and involvement with us, even at a distance.

In development: Scarlet, daughter of Trustee Charlotte Dewhurst, growing up in California and relishing it.

Born: to Jen Bekemeier, our USA Trustee, on 2 July 2007 - Lydia Grace. Mother & baby doing well.

In mourning: Sir Rowland Whitehead, Vice-Chairman, lost his courageous battle against an aggressive cancer on Saturday 28 July. Prof. David Daniell, our Chairman Emeritus, wrote this short tribute on 3 August: -

'For a dozen years, virtually since its founding, Rowland was a very highly regarded Vice-Chairman of the Tyndale Society. He never missed a Trustees' Meeting, and we all, from the start, valued his energy and imagination. He was in great demand, throughout this country and abroad, as a lecturer on the genius of Tyndale's language on which he was an expert - speaking brilliantly about it in the film 'The Bible Revolution' shown on television last Easter Monday. He helped greatly to make the Society the success it is, bringing to it all his many talents - not least of them being that he was always a joy to be with. He is already very sorely missed, but we rejoice that he is rejoicing in heaven. Our love and prayers are with Isa and their family.'

Tyndale Goes Ducal

Report by Mary Clow

At the invitation of the Gloucester Branch of the Prayer Book Society, the Rev. David Ireson, our Trustee and Ploughboy Group Convenor, gave a presentation on *The Life and Work of William Tyndale* at Badminton, Gloucestershire on 22 June. Appropriately, Badminton is only a few miles from Tyndale's birthplace at North Nibley, and even nearer to Little Sodbury where he was tutor to the Walsh children. Is it romantic to speculate that Sir John & Lady Walsh, with their royal connections, must have known their neighbours, the Fitzroys, 'wrong side of the blanket' descendants of John of Gaunt and hereditary Masters of the King's Horse?

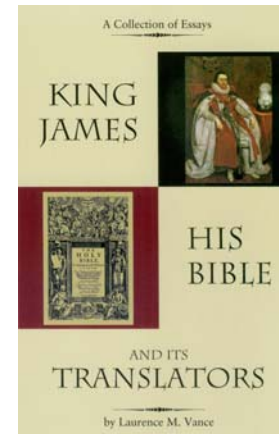
The Fitzroys were later created Dukes of Beaufort, and in the 18th century built the magnificent Beaufort House with its adjoining parish church and estate village. Here, in the Memorial Hall, an enthusiastic audience heard the lecture, excellently given by David Ireson and illustrated with his fast-moving power point presentation. The Hall was hung with display panels giving background information on Tyndale, provided by David Green who had also brought examples of many different bible versions, and these were eagerly examined before the lecture.

Wisely assuming no prior knowledge, David Ireson lightly sketched in the history of the fervent opposition faced by Tyndale to his translation of the bible into English - a story that still shocks and surprises. He received rapt attention and could easily have filled another hour but, on a tight schedule, we had to move to the church where the boys of Tewkesbury Abbey Schola Cantorum sang Evensong in a setting in F for treble voices by Kenneth Long. The church, in elegant classical style - more 18th century drawing room than a religious building - was decorated with huge marble monuments to previous Dukes. As original high-sided box pews were still in place choir and clergy were virtually invisible, only their voices drifted gloriously upwards.

Evensong over, we walked out through rain-washed rose gardens, deliciously scented, to a champagne and canapé reception in the former servants' hall - not a venue for an anti-blood sport supporter as it was hung with a forest of antlers, probably about 100 magnificent trophies of the chase. Tyndale might well have pondered and wondered.

KING JAMES, HIS BIBLE, AND ITS TRANSLATORS

A Collection of Essays by Laurence M. Vance



This collection of fifteen essays on the subjects of King James, his Bible, and its translators is the result of painstaking, original research, with an emphasis on primary sources. The first four relate to the origin and translators of King James's Bible. The next three explore the translators' finished product. Essays eight and nine deal with the nature of the Authorized Version in the context of English Bible history. The last six essays address certain issues that relate to the Authorized Version. These essays are not a rephrasing or a retelling of what can readily be found in a standard work on English Bible history. In fact, some of them are designed to correct the errors and misconceptions that are unfortunately too prevalent in the material written about the Authorized Version. Essays include: "The Hampton Court Conference," "The King James Translators at Work," and "Was the King James Version Authorized?"

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Requests from the Editor

Sponsor an issue?

This issue has been partly sponsored in order to keep its cost to the Society down without compromising on standards or the size of the Journal. If you or your organisation feel able to sponsor an issue in the future, our new secretary Karen Wortley and Mary Clow would be delighted to explore this possibility with you.

Appeal for Book Reviewers

I am always delighted to hear from potential reviewers and to receive suggestions of books suitable for review. I regret that the Tyndale Journal cannot afford to pay a fee but you can at least keep the review copy.

For the next issue No.34 of the *Tyndale Society Journal* January 2008 (deadline for copy **Friday 2 November 2007**) I should like volunteers to review the following books: -

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

Scott McKendrick & Kathleen Doyle *Bible Manuscripts: 1400 Years of Scribes and Scripture* British Library 2007.

G.W.Bernard & S.J.Gunn *Authority and Consent in Tudor England: Essays presented to C.S.L.Davies* Ashgate 2002.

Exhibition Reviewers, News and Events

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

It is very pleasing to have an increased number of advertisers in this issue. We do not have an enormous membership but it is very focused in its interests: all 16th century Reformation related topics (theology, history, martyrology, art, architecture, translation and so on), adverts and flyers for conferences, books both new and second hand as well as private requests for obtaining and selling books.

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 do not hesitate to contact

The Journal Editor, Valerie Offord tel/fax +41 (0) 22 777 18 58 email valerie.offord@bluewin.ch or the Society Administrator, Karen Wortley email tyndale.sec@btinternet.com

Dates for Your Diary

2007

Saturday 1 September from 12 noon till rain stops play

'Tyndale in the Barn' – a light hearted late summer Ploughboy event at Small Dean Farm, Wendover, Buckinghamshire HP22 6PQ. (approx. 1 hour from London or Oxford by road or rail).

Buffet lunch/picnic in the garden – showing in the barn of 'The Bible Revolution' TV programme on the making of the English bible.

Tickets £15 (pets and children free) from: Mary Clow, Small Dean Farm (as above) tel.+44 (0) 1296 622251

Wednesday 12 September 6.30 – 8pm

A presentation at the British Library to be given by Barnaby Rogerson, Lambeth Tyndale Lecturer 2006, entitled *'Sacred Sounds'* in connection with the *Sacred* exhibition currently at the Library until 23 September

Tickets £6 (concessions £4) from the British Library.

Wednesday 26 September 6pm

The Thirteenth Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture, Lambeth Palace, London to be given by the Revd Dr Judith Maltby, fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford on the subject *'Revising the Reformation'*. In the absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Revd Dr Simon Oliver will be in the chair.

Admission by ticket only - £10 lecture & reception only, £35 lecture and dinner afterwards at a local venue (details later). Please apply by post with sae to The Tyndale Society, Hertford College, Catte Street, Oxford OX1 3BW, UK. or by email to: tyndale.society@hertford.ac.uk.

Thursday 18 October 6.15 - 8.30pm

The Stationers' Company Lecture to celebrate the 450th Anniversary of the Granting of its Charter will be given by Professor Andrew Pettegree on *'The Stationers' Company and the development of the English Printing Industry'* in the Stationers' Hall, Ave Maria Lane, London EC4M 7DD.

Members of the Tyndale Society are most welcome. Admission by ticket only special price £10 to include pre-lecture drinks reception, the lecture and post lecture canapé reception. Please apply to the Tyndale Society secretary Karen Wortley for tickets (full details given elsewhere in this Journal).

Thursday 18 October 5pm

The Thirteenth Annual Hertford Tyndale Lecture at the Examination Schools, High Street, Oxford chaired by Dr John Landers, Principal of Hertford College. The lecture will be given by Prof. Peter Marshall, historian of Warwick University.

It will be followed by a reception in the Principal's Lodgings, Hertford College. All members, friends and their guests are welcome.

Wednesday 19 December 12.30pm

Tyndale Society Annual Carol Service, St. Mary Abchurch, Abchurch Lane, London.

It will be followed in the evening from 6pm by the traditional Christmas party with a mystery guest at 17 Powis Terrace, London W11 1JJ (nearest tube stations Notting Hill Gate/Westbourne Park).

Please confirm with Mary Clow tel.+44 (0) 207 221 0303 or email: maryclow@aol.com

2008

Hertford College Chapel Centenary Day

Date with programme and speakers to be confirmed.

Bristol/Iron Acton – Spring/Summer

Two-day event to include excursion by coach to nearby sites associated with Tyndale followed by lectures. Details to be confirmed.

Thursday to Sunday, 3-6 July – Hope University, Liverpool.

'Tyndale, More and their Circles' Major conference see advertisement on page 29 in this Journal.

2009

Further events are in the planning stage for 2009. They include:

Rowland Taylor Conference Cambridge & Hadleigh, UK.

Folger Library Event, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC, USA.

Tyndale Society Officers:

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