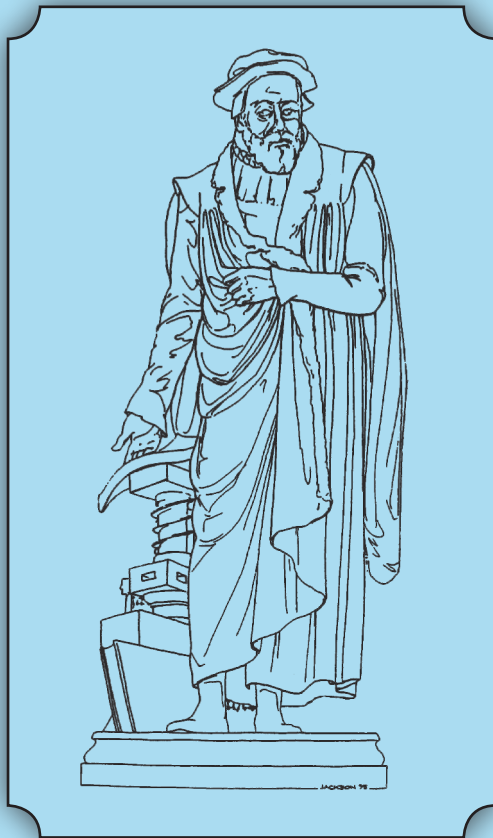


The Tyndale Society Journal



No. 44
December 2014

About the Tyndale Society

Registered UK Charity Number 1020405

Founded by Professor David Daniell in 1995, five hundred and one years after Tyndale's birth. The Society's aim is to spread knowledge of William Tyndale's work and influence, and to pursue study of the man who gave us our English Bible.

Membership Benefits

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- Many social events, lectures and conferences
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- Access to a worldwide community of experts
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or see inside the back cover of this edition of the *Tyndale Society Journal*.

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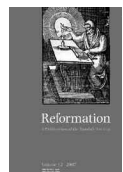
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Neil Langdon Inglis

**We invite your contributions for the next Journal
by 15th February 2015 please (see *p. 14*)**



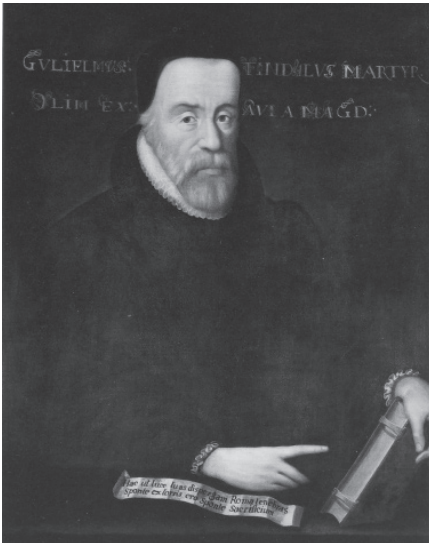
Especially Welcome...

contributions for: 'How I Met William Tyndale'

Editorial

Neil Langdon Inglis
Editor - TSJ No. 44

ONE OF THE LESSONS I have learned as TSJ editor is that the Tyndale world is ever-changing, and that we have to change with it. We dare not take for granted that our hard-won achievements will be preserved. Word reaches us that the Tyndale portrait in the Hertford dining hall in Oxford—well-known to society members—has been taken down. It is right to celebrate the achievements of women academics but must this be done at WT’s expense? Could not another, preferably prominent, place be found to display him? He has known oblivion for too long. As Andrew Hope reminds us, Tyndale was the first to suggest that women could be priests (*Ed.: see box item after editorial*). One does no justice to long-silenced female voices by tossing a blanket over Tyndale’s portrait. Our understanding is that Hertford’s new policy will be reviewed in one year. We hope so as far as Tyndale is concerned.



*Clockwise from left:
Tyndale Portrait in Hertford College; The Hall
before © Tim Soar; and after © Rob Judges*



*Note from Mary Clow: The Tyndale Society contradicts legends, however beloved: this portrait is not of William Tyndale. Costume experts identify the ruff as of a later period, and there is no way that Tyndale, a hunted man living in poverty, would have had his likeness taken. Most probably it is of John Knox, author of *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*.*

On my August 2014 visit to the UK, my first in four years, the theme of portraiture was very much on my mind when I made a long-awaited return to the Tudor Room at the National Portrait Gallery: Britannia.com take up the story.¹

The only known contemporary portrait of Lady Jane Grey, Queen of England for nine days, is not her at all, experts at the National Gallery have concluded. The verdict - based on detailed study of jewels in the full length painting - means there is now no record of what England's shortest reigning monarch looked like. With no public announcement or fanfare (...), the gallery has reidentified the portrait, thought to be by a Tudor artist known only as Master John, as being of Catherine Parr, sixth and last wife of Henry VIII, painted some time during the 1540s. The picture has been displayed as Lady Jane Grey since the mid-1960s, when it was bought from a house in Northamptonshire long associated with the Parr family. Until the acquisition it was presumed to be of Catherine Parr.



The Streatham Portrait – Lady Jane Grey or Catherine Parr?

National Gallery

We trust that this remarkable portrait will stay on the walls where all may study and appreciate it.

On this same trip, I had the opportunity to meet up with Society President Mary Clow and to visit the Royal Albert Hall for a Proms concert (A Pastoral Symphony by Vaughan Williams).

From 20th century English music, we will now make a jump to Beethoven. Some years ago, I had the privilege of hearing Stephen Hough perform the 5th concerto for piano (“Emperor”) with the National Symphony Orchestra in Washington DC, and in particular remember his triumphant navigation of the treacherous *Rondo*. But what I did not know until recently is that Hough is a

Tyndale fan. In the following blog post from 2012, Hough (a quintessential Renaissance man) discusses a motet composed by Tyndale's contemporary Robert Wylkynson.²

This motet was written in the first decade of the 16th century when reform and restlessness were already fermenting. Robert Wylkynson probably died and certainly left his post as Master of the Choristers of Eton College in 1515. Just down the road in Oxford, in the very same year, the man who has as much claim as any to be the 'inventor' of the English language, William Tyndale, was ordained priest. His translation of the Bible, 80% of which was used verbatim in the more famous King James Bible nearly a hundred years later, is the foundation of English. He died, strangled and then burned, near Brussels, accused by Rome of heresy, in 1536.

This Apostles' Creed (rarely set to music because the Mass uses the longer Nicene Creed) is for thirteen male voices in a 13-part canon. It has been suggested that the composer was trying to depict the twelve apostles as if echoing the words of Christ. Thirteen though is a strange, unlucky number, and the voices' tumbling confusion might have a more sinister inspiration. Are these men elbowing each other out of the way to catch a glimpse of the Divine Vision or are they expressing unbelief and theological uncertainty? It is impossible to understand the words as each clause stumbles over the next: in fact it is virtually unprayable.



I need help with the Tyndale Society blogspot (<http://thetyndalesociety.blogspot.com>) and would like to delegate this task to a Society member (prospective bloggers should write to me at lordstarlink@gmail.com). What sort of news items are we looking for? Readers today expect blogs to be refreshed with a constant stream of fresh material. Google notifications help, but you can't just re-post them automatically. For instance, announcements concerning "William Tyndale High School," though important to students, parents and teachers, can be safely dispensed with. Any materials from conspiracy/hate sites are unacceptable and must not be given further currency. But stories that bring a smile to our face are always welcome! For example, what do William Tyndale and John Lennon have in common? In which article or column might you expect to find their names adjacent to one another?³

Sculptor Lawrence Holofcener, who is an actor, playwright and painter as well, is perhaps best known as the sculptor of "Allies," the life-size bronzes of

Winston Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt standing on Bond Street in London. The piece was unveiled by Princess Margaret in 1995 and has become a landmark.

Other life-size sculptures by Holofcener include Thomas Paine in Bordentown, N.J., and, in the U.K., John Lennon, William Tyndale, William Penn, Thomas Chatterton and a young Churchill for the London Churchill Hyatt.*

* See illustration on homepage at: www.tyndale.org

I would of course prefer to see serious articles; there now follows a typical example, which describes the immense cultural contribution made by one of Tyndale's fellow Reformers. As befits Tyndale's global presence, this post is from Africa, and recounts the life of the pioneering map-maker Gerardus Mercator.⁴

In Louvain, where Mercator lived, there were many Lutherans. By 1536, Mercator sympathized with Lutheranism, and it appears that his wife later became a Lutheran. In February 1544, Mercator was arrested together with 42 other citizens of Louvain on the accusation of writing "suspicious letters". However, it must also have been because the publication of his map on the Holy Land had aroused the suspicion of Tapper and Latomus, two theologians from the University of Louvain. Both men had presided over the trial of Bible translator William Tyndale, who had been executed in Antwerp in 1536. Perhaps Tapper and Latomus were concerned that Mercator's map of the Holy land, like Tyndale's translation of Bible encouraged Bible reading. (...) Mercator was released after seven months of imprisonment, but all his belongings were confiscated. In 1552, Mercator moved to Duisburg, Germany, where he found a more tolerant religious climate. Mercator's legacy is still part of our daily lives. For example, whenever we consult an atlas or switch on a Global Positioning System, we are benefiting from the labours of Mercator, a remarkable man who all his life sought to know the time and place of God's creation.



Gerardus Mercator

© uh.edu

Google alerts for Thomas Cromwell raise a different set of issues. You have to sift through the various offerings with care—especially if you are more interested in historical biography than in historical fiction. By way of illustration, one recent alert informed me of a new biography of TC by Tracy Borman. Prof. MacCulloch’s penetrating review⁵ reminded me that he has of course made his own invaluable documentary contributions to Cromwell studies,⁶ and is slated to bring out his own biography in the near future, destined to take its place alongside his magnificent treatment of the life of Thomas Cranmer. Cromwell attempted to go into bat for Tyndale at least once, and the relevance of Cromwell biographies for the Tyndale community is self-evident.



In this issue we break new ground and publish a Tyndale paper by student contributors. Kelly Smith and Tylee Eck (from Idaho Falls ID) entered a regional history competition, decided to write on Tyndale, and in their tenacious quest for information about Tyndale were soon to establish contact with Revd Ralph Werrell. I could not have attempted anything so complex or sophisticated an assignment at the age of 13 and wish to take this opportunity to introduce TSJ readers to these Tyndalians of the future—and the present. I know you will join me in congratulating them on their spirited, admirable, and splendidly successful initiative; the world will be hearing more from Tylee and Kelly, of that you may be sure. Knowing that collaborative school projects are by no means the norm around the world, I was curious to learn more about their working practices, and they responded thusly.

Dear Neil:

We have known each other for years and have attended school together. We are best friends and have shared many projects. We both split the work evenly and even got together often to work on it. We started with websites and then began to receive more complex sources like Dr. Werrell. Thank you for this amazing opportunity! We hope you will send us copies and we hope to hear from you soon!

Ramona Garcia, whose expertise in mining the Web’s resources is second to none, continues with the theme of youth in her exploration of Victorian efforts to teach the Tyndale story to children (Tyndale was not consigned to oblivion in the Victorian era).

Author and blogger Lauren Johnson

© twitter.com

We would also like to offer a warm welcome to Tudor author and blogger Lauren Johnson, author of “The Arrow of Sherwood,”⁷ and currently researching a work exploring daily and political life in ‘1509’, the year that Henry VIII took the throne (out 2016). Lauren takes a fresh look at the frequently underestimated figure of Jane Seymour.

Lucy Nicholas of Tel Aviv University has submitted a superb paper on theologian Roger Ascham. Reading the article reminded me how consumed I am by the Tyndale world—I know this because I found myself anxiously checking Wikipedia to determine whether Ascham died a violent death. Apparently not! He was an expert on archery as well.

And now for a special treat. At the TSJ we have keenly felt the loss of Anne Richardson, our unique and remarkable contributor. What better tribute than to have “Anne West” speak in her own words, in an excerpt from a magisterial paper on Tyndale and Erasmus. Anne’s long-time friend and colleague Dr Anne O’Donnell SND (“Anne East”) provided expert assistance in preparing the material for re-publication.

Event reports by Eunice Burton and David Ireson round out a bumper issue, along with book reviews by TSJ stalwarts Brian Buxton and Ralph

Werrell. The ever-popular “How I Met Tyndale” feature is back. And whatever you do, don’t miss the Letters column; you will see Ralph Werrell in action again, displaying his kind and learned assistance so readily extended to newcomers who approach us with questions.

I came late to the 1980s biopic of William Tyndale, “God’s Outlaw” (available on Amazon at ⁸). There are fine performances all round (especially by Roger Rees in the title role), but I wish to draw TSJ readers to the eery and compelling impersonation of John Frith by Paul Shelly. I found that in real life, Shelly was the brother of Francis Matthews—namely, the voice of Captain Scarlet, foe of the Mysterons, those persecutors of the future. Bill Cooper, who regards “God’s Outlaw” as a personal favorite and has studied it in detail over the years, has some thoughtful and zesty observations to share which will add greatly to your enjoyment of this Tyndalian classic.



Neil Inglis

Neil L. Inglis

- 1 www.britannia.com/history/ladyjane/portrait.html
- 2 blogs.telegraph.co.uk/culture/stephenhough/100066583/the-man-who-invented-the-english-language-and-a-chaotic-ecstatic-moret/
- 3 timesfreepress.com/news/2014/mar/09/the-bard-in-bronze/.
- 4 nigerianobservernews.com/09052014/features/features7.html#.VCoBBigZxhM
- 5 www.theguardian.com/books/2014/sep/03/thomas-cromwell-untold-story-tracy-borman-review
- 6 www.bbc.co.uk/history/people/thomas_cromwell
- 7 www.amazon.com/The-Arrow-Sherwood-Lauren-Johnson/dp/1783030011
- 8 www.amazon.com/Gods-Outlaw-Story-William-Tyndale/dp/B0001FR0JS (as always, check region before purchasing). Also available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwDCDE5ICkQ>.

THE QUIDDITY by George Herbert

<i>My God, a verse is not a crown,</i>	<i>It cannot vault, or dance, or play;</i>	<i>It is no office, art, or news;</i>
<i>No point of honour, or gay suit,</i>	<i>It never was in France or Spain;</i>	<i>Nor the Exchange, or busy Hall:</i>
<i>No hawk, or banquet, or renown,</i>	<i>Nor can it entertain the day</i>	<i>But it is that which, while I use,</i>
<i>Nor a good sword, nor yet a lute.</i>	<i>With a great stable or domain.</i>	<i>I am with Thee : and Most take all.</i>

London: Walter Scott, 1886. 64.

William Tyndale, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*

Edited Henry Walter. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press for The Parker Society, 1850.

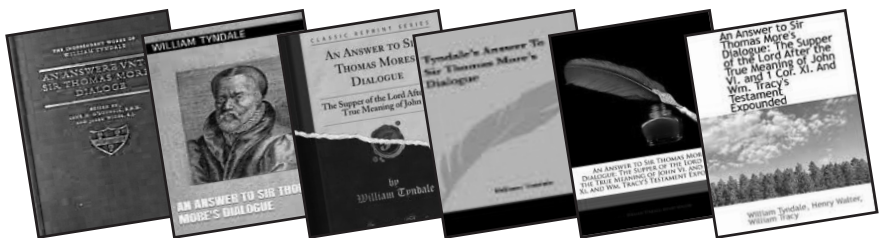
(quotations contributed by Andrew Hope)

Tyndale, *Answer*, p.18

But two things are without law, God and necessity. If God, to shew his power, shall shed out his grace more upon youth than upon age at a time, who shall let him? Women be no meet vessels to rule or to preach, for both are forbidden them; yet hath God endowed them with his Spirit at sundry times, and shewed his power and goodness upon them, and wrought wonderful things by them, because he would not have them despised. We read that women have judged all Israel, and have been great prophetesses, and have done mighty deeds. Yea, and if stories be true, women have preached since the opening of the new testament. Do not our women now christen and minister the sacrament of baptism in time of need? Might they not, by as good reason, preach also, if necessity required? If a woman were driven into some island, where Christ was never preached, might she there not preach him, if she had the gift thereto? Might she not also baptize? And why might she not, by the same reason, minister the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and teach them how to choose officers and ministers? O poor women, how despise ye them! The viler the better welcome unto you. An whore had ye lever than an honest wife. If only shaven and anointed may do these things, then Christ did them not, nor any of his apostles, nor any man in long time after: for they used no such ceremonies.

pp29-30

They will haply demand where it is written, that women should baptize? Verily, in this commandment, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," it is written that they may and ought to minister not only baptism, but all other sacraments also in time of need, if they be so necessary as they preach them.

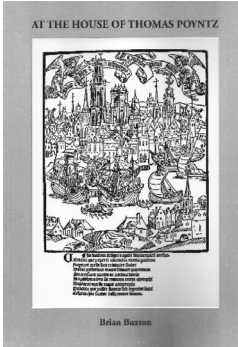


Tyndale's 'Answer': rarely out of print

At the house of Thomas Poyntz

The betrayal of William Tyndale with the consequences for an English Merchant and his family

Brian Buxton



In the autumn of 1536 William Tyndale, 'the father of the English Bible', was strangled and burnt as a heretic in Brussels. The previous year he had been arrested in Antwerp at the house of an English merchant, an Essex man, Thomas Poyntz. The book sets the background to Thomas Poyntz within a long established family from North Ockendon and then tells of the key role he took in attempts to save Tyndale's life and the suffering he endured as a result over the next twenty years until he inherited the family lands in Essex. He narrowly escaped

burning himself but could be said to have suffered a living martyrdom. The concluding chapter considers the plot which destroyed Tyndale, looking at the various possible answers to the question *Who killed William Tyndale?*

Published by the author 2013. Reprinted with amendments 2014.

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Submission Guidelines

Tyndale Society Journal No. 45

Editor: Neil Langdon Inglis

Please send all article submissions
(via email where possible) to Neil at:

lordstarlink@gmail.com

Articles may be supplied either via *Word Document*, or as *plain text* in the message body of your email. Alternatively, we can accept *typewritten copy* (for scanning in) or clear, *hand-written copy* submissions.

Artwork and photographs may be supplied electronically either via email or on CD-R (*minimum resolution for all digital images: 300dpi*). Alternatively, these can be supplied in *hard copy* form, for scanning.

All type-written/hand-written copy, digital artwork on CD-R/hard copy artwork for scanning should be sent to:

**Gillian Guest, Tyndale Society Journal No:44
28 St Paul's Crescent, Botley, Oxford OX2 9AG, UK.**

**Deadline for submission of articles for the next issue:
15 February 2015**

Tyndale's Quiddities*

"They nosel them in sophistry"

The Independent Works of William Tyndale and his Theology

9th International Tyndale Conference - Oxford

1st – 3rd October 2015, Hertford College, Oxford

Call for Papers

This conference will examine every aspect of Tyndale's thinking on education and theology in his time, as evidenced through his 'independent' writings: his prologues, introductions, glosses, comments and polemical works. In his *Obedience*, Tyndale writes about how those who show a genuine interest in the Word of God, are kept away from it by the Church. The Church authorities, he argues, needlessly impose the learning of philosophical distinctions before allowing anyone proper access to the Bible: 'What wonderful dreams have they of their predicaments, universals, second intentions, quiddities, haecceities and relatives.' The terms he refers to here belong to the scholastic and nominalist vocabulary of those who considered themselves as custodians of the Scripture. In their discourse, the Latin word *quidditas* refers to what any particular substance or being has in common with others, whereas *haecceitas* refers to its 'this-ness', i.e. what makes it unique. Although both these Latin concepts were used by Tyndale (and Erasmus before him) with a certain degree of irony, they can be applied to his own writings when we examine the philological, moral and spiritual insights he borrows from and/or shares with others, as well as those that make him different.

Papers that deal with these issues and their historical context are welcomed.

Abstracts of maximum 150 words to be sent for the attention of :

Professor Guido Latré, University of Louvain-la-Neuve tynconf@gmail.com
by 15th February, 2015.

*What is a *QUIDDITY*??

*'If the monastery had been disagreeable to the young monk, studies at Europe's most famous university (Paris) were equally distasteful... The meaningless, mechanical ceremonies of the monastery had been an offence to his deep spirituality. Now, he found their intellectual counterpart, the sterile **quiddities** and subtle formalities of Scotus and Ockham, an object of genuine scorn.'*

The Essential Erasmus by John P. Doolan, 1964; Penguin Meridian 1983.

Tyndale's quarrel with Erasmus

A Chapter in the History of the English Reformation

by Anne Richardson

Excerpts chosen by Neil L. Inglis

References updated by Anne M. O'Donnell, SND.

(from the original publication in Fides et Historia XXV:3 (Fall 1993) 46-65)

[p. 46] Tyndale and Erasmus never actually quarreled. They were more than a generation apart in age. Although their dates of birth are uncertain, scholars have claimed 1494 for Tyndale (Mozley, 1) and 1467 for Erasmus (See Nauert). Tyndale was judged by a contemporary to be fluent in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French and English (Mozley, 67), a total that did not include the German and Flemish he certainly knew and the Welsh he possibly knew. Erasmus never mastered enough English to read Tyndale's books or Thomas More's replies to them. He could never have known of the profound compliments Tyndale paid him, nor seen these turned backhanded in the middle of Tyndale's career, as Tyndale parted company with his powerful inspiration. (...)

[p. 47] So little is known of Tyndale's life that it is impossible to say when Erasmus entered it. It seems likely that the *Praise of Folly*, an immediate hit on its appearance in 1511, was his introduction to Erasmus. This point of entry seems more probable because the passages from the *Folly* Tyndale loved enough to imitate concern the absurdities of scholastic theology that he encountered in his Oxford years—studies he apparently did not pursue beyond the M.A. in 1515.

The *Enchiridion militis Christiani* was first published in 1503, but it did not attract much attention until it was re-published with a new preface in 1518. It occasioned Tyndale's greatest involvement with an original work by Erasmus. About 1522, while a tutor at Little Sodbury Manor, Gloucestershire, Tyndale translated the *Enchiridion* into English. So far as we know, it was his first literary effort.

The mock-encomium and the devotional handbook were not so important to Tyndale as Erasmus' translation of the New Testament from Greek into Latin. [p. 53] The first edition of 1516 included prefatory words of encouragement, the *Paraclesis*, which was reprinted in Erasmus' New Testaments of 1519, 1522, 1527 and 1535. Reading the *Paraclesis* against the facts of the existing religio-political situation may have set Tyndale on his course of imitating the embattled, defiant historical Jesus. Such seems to be Tyndale's demeanor in a

scene at Little Sodbury recorded by Foxe:

And...Master Tyndale happened to be in the company of a learned man, and in communing and disputing with him, drove him to that issue that the learned man said, "We were (sic) better be without God's law than the pope's." Master Tyndale, hearing this, answered him, "I defy the pope and all his laws," and said, "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plow shall know more of the scripture than thou doest" Foxe online; spelling modernized here.

Tyndale was echoing a famous passage in the *Paraclesis*:

I would that even the lowliest women read the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles. And would that they were translated into all languages so they could be read and understood not only by Scots and Irish but also by Turks and Saracens. Surely the first step is to understand in one way or another. It may be that many will ridicule, but some may be taken captive. Would that, as a result, the farmer sing some portion of them at the plow, the weaver hum some parts of them to the movement of the shuttle, the traveler lighten the weariness of the journey with stories of this kind (Olin, 97).

As Stephen Greenblatt has observed of Tyndale's allusion to the *Paraclesis* (*Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 6), there is a world of difference between the master's cheerful wish and the disciple's militant statement of purpose. That difference has to do with the unique situation Tyndale faced as prospective translator under the jurisdiction of the Oxford constitution of 1407, which banned vernacular scripture. Under that ecclesiastical law, those who wrote, read, recited, sold or owned even a small part of the Bible in English incurred the severe penalties of excommunication. They were excluded from the company of the faithful, and from all religious services. They were barred from pleading in any ecclesiastical or secular court. They were denied Christian burial. If they did not submit to the Church's correction and embrace a suitable penance after forty days, they risked incarceration and prosecution for heresy. Tyndale was to forge this situation into the thrilling [p. 54] exordium of *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, entitled, "William Tyndale, *alias* William Hychins unto the reader," an immortal rendering of what it is to be an Erasmian in a culture in which the Bible is a subversive book (Tyndale's Preface; Parker Society, *I*, 131-62; cf. Daniell, ed., 3-25). There was a chink in the grim façade of the Oxford constitution: a translator could avoid outlawry by obtaining his bishop's license for his translation. However, no one had ever succeeded with this expedient.

The prominent position of the classics in the *Enchiridion* may have posed another problem for Tyndale. Erasmus' book shows itself a work of Christian humanism by the many references to classical literature, mythology, and philosophy that adorn its pages, and a fortiori by the propaedeutic role Erasmus assigns the pagan poets in the study of the scriptures. Erasmus even flirts with the idea that the classics, if Christian allegories are read into them, can act as a surrogate for the scriptures:

As a matter of fact, a poetic tale read allegorically may perhaps be more fruitful than an account from the sacred books where you content yourself with only the rind....[I]f you should read of the infants contesting with each other in the womb, of the birthright sold for a mess of pottage, of a father's blessing preempted by trickery, of Goliath struck down by David's slingshot, of Samson's shaven hair—without allegory it means less than if you were to read some poetical fiction. What does it matter whether you study the books of the Kings or judges, or the history of Livy, if you look at the veiled meaning in neither? In the history are many things that may improve general morals; in the other there are some things downright absurd, taken literally, and if understood only at the surface level, detrimental to morality. Consider, for example, the villainy of David—adultery procured by murder—Samson's desperate infatuation, the clandestine coupling of Lot with his daughters, and a thousand other instances of this kind (Ch. 14, "The Fifth Rule"; Himelick, 105, 106; cf. CWE 66, 68).

If we read the passage too hurriedly, it seems as if the clever writer is actually proposing Livy as a more polished alternative to the Old Testament books. In 1503 Erasmus was still outgrowing aspirations to be a classic Christian poet on the order of Prudentius or Mantuan. As was his hero Jerome, he was powerfully drawn to the classics, and it appears as if that addiction created a lifelong tension. Not until the *Ciceronianus* in 1528 did Erasmus formally repudiate the blandishments of classical poetry in favor of a specifically Christian rhetoric and poetic—and there, possibly, he protested too much.

It is unlikely that Tyndale could, in 1522 or ever, have endorsed Erasmus' enthusiasm for pagan literature. In his *Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* in 1531 he obliquely defended Terence and Virgil against the crabbed tastes of the schoolmen (*Answer to More*, Parker Society, 3, 75, online), but this is the one positive remark on the topic of the classics in the entire works. He mentions perhaps eight other classical writers, never with enthusiasm. In *The Obedience of the Christian Man*, he dismisses [p. 55] scornfully "all the moral virtues of

Aristotle, Plato and Socrates” (“The obedience of subjects,” Parker Society, 1, 184; cf. Daniell, ed., 45). If it can be argued that the set, Plato, comprehends the set, Socrates, then to name the latter seems a gratuitous swipe at Erasmus. For Socrates figures in the *Paraclesis*, with Diogenes and Epictetus, as distinctively Christlike (Olin, 101); and the character Nephalius in *The Godly Feast* says he feels tempted to apostrophize the pagan philosopher, “Saint Socrates, pray for us!” (*Colloquies*, CWE 39, 194).

In another passage Tyndale summarizes his understanding of the beliefs of Aristotle. This is done not only, it would seem, to score a humanist point against scholastic Aristotelianism but also to invalidate for Christians the world view of the pagans:

Aristotle’s doctrine is that the world was without beginning and shall be without end, and that the first man never was, and the last shall never be. And that God doth all of necessity, neither careth what we do, neither will ask any accounts of what we do. Without this doctrine, how could we understand the scripture that saith God created the world of nought, and God worketh all things of his freewill and for a secret purpose; and that we shall all rise again, and that God will have accounts of all that we have done in this life? (Tyndale’s Preface; Parker Society, 1, 154-55; cf. Daniell, ed., 20-21).

He adds a gibe at what he takes to be Aristotle’s arrogantly optimistic dictum that people can obey the law through their free will.

We are so accustomed to assume all great humanist figures were



Erasmus: did he quarrel with Tyndale?

humanists that Tyndale's independence from the powerful movement – even as he joins it in repudiating scholastic theology – comes as a shock. Although he anticipates the Enlightenment in what might be called (anachronistically) a “humanist” emphasis upon humanity's right to think and criticize, he fails the rigorist criterion of devotion to the classics upon which modern scholars of humanism insist. His anti-classicist attitude, as it propagated itself through the Elizabethan puritan movement, may have remotely inspired *Paradise Regained*, IV, 343-347, in which the Son of God rejects the bait of pagan literature:

*Remove their swelling Epithets thick laid
As varnish on a Harlot's cheek, the rest
Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,
Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling...*

[p. 56] However, Tyndale's commitment to intellectual freedom (Richardson, “Tyndale and the Bill of Rights”) did not allow him to declare the pagan writers off limits to his readers; with a good grounding in scripture, he said, borrowing a metaphor from the *Enchiridion* (Ch. 3, “Weapons of Christian Soldiering,” Himelick, 55; cf. “The armour of the Christian militia,” CWE 66, 36):

If they go abroad and walk by the fields and meadows of all manner doctors and philosophers they could catch no harm. They should discern the poison from the honey and bring home nothing but that which is wholesome

Tyndale's Preface; Parker Society, 1, 156; cf. Daniell, ed., 22

There were further implications for Tyndale in Erasmus' contrast of Livy's polished *Ab urbe condita libri* with Old Testament narratives. Was the Old Testament, as Erasmus said, prickly and problematical, a trial to the devout reader's credulity? It is uncertain whether Tyndale concurred in this complaint in the early 1520s when, most likely without exposure to Hebrew, he had access to these Old Testament stories only in the Vulgate and in the antiquated Wycliffe versions. Almost certainly, he kept Erasmus' censure in mind as a caveat when he made his own translation of the Torah (Pentateuch) in 1530 and later completed translation through 2 Chronicles. Gerald Hammond has pointed out that in these translations Tyndale Hebraizes his English by adopting Hebrew word order and idioms.

The effect of this is to create a poetic universe around the Old Testament figures in which, as in a dream, their fabulous actions make sense. At the same time, Tyndale succeeds in imparting the raciness of English idiom to the

dialogue of the Old Testament scenes, making the fabulousness all the more real. For example, Erasmus includes in one of his lists of Old Testament events incredible without the aid of allegory, the temptation of Eve by the serpent (Ch. 14, “The Fifth Rule”; Himelick, 105; cf. CWE 66, 68).



Temptation dialogue from Tyndale's Genesis

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But here is a portion of the temptation dialogue in Tyndale's 1530 Genesis:

But the Serpent was subtler than all the beasts of the field which the Lord God had made and said unto the woman: Ah Sir, that God hath said ye shall not eat of all manner trees in the garden. And the woman said unto the serpent, of the fruit of the trees in the garden we may eat, but of the fruit of the tree that is in the midst of the garden (said God) see that ye eat not, and see that ye touch it not: lest ye die. Then said the serpent unto the woman: tush ye shall not die.

For “Tush ye shall not die,” the King James Bible has the less vivid expression, “Ye shall not surely die.”

In Tyndale's version, the prince of darkness is a gentleman (*Lear*, Act 3, Scene 4) brisk and *comme il faut*. His idiomatic way of making light of Eve's scruples gives the scene a touch of humor. The result of such poetic realism was to make of the Old Testament a sixteenth-century page-turner to be read as real history, not as a sequence of resistant lumps to be leavened by means of allegory. All Renaissance Old Testaments, with the exception of the Catholic Douai version of 1609-1610, are ultimately dependent on such Tyndalian art. It can therefore be said that [p. 57] Tyndale's solution to the problem of incredulity raised by Erasmus inaugurated the remarkable and in some respects unique appeal of the Old Testament to the English world over the centuries. As preserved (albeit somewhat modified) in the Geneva Bible, Tyndale's texts were sources of imaginative power to such as Shakespeare and Milton. They provided strength and beauty to the King James Bible. Such power was generated not by a docile acceptance but rather by a thoughtful defiance of Erasmus' views.

In all his discussions in the *Enchiridion* of the experience of reading

scriptures, Erasmus emphasized allegory as a technique of choice for arriving at meaning. This emphasis grew out of his enthusiastic encounter with the writings of Origen (See Godin). Tyndale, who may have found allegorical exegesis attractive in 1522, was later to inculcate “Origen and they of their time” for evaporating the literal meaning from biblical passages they considered absurd or unedifying. According to Tyndale’s *Obedience*, those exegetes who followed Origen “forgot the order and process of the text.” i.e., the “circumstances” or context, precious to Erasmus and Tyndale alike, and supposed “that the scriptures served but to feign allegories upon” (“The Four Senses of the Scripture,” Parker Society, 1, 307; cf. Daniell, ed., 160).

The strategic text for Erasmus as an interpreter of the Bible was 2 Corinthians 3:6, as translated by Tyndale. “For the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.” Erasmus clearly believed “the letter” to be the literal sense, or (to invoke Origen’s triad of body, soul and spirit) (Ch. 8, “Spirit, Soul, and Flesh”; Himelick, 78-81; cf. CWE 66, 51-53), the “carnal” sense which would perplex his fellow Christians. In *Ratio Verae Theologiae* (1518), Erasmus developed the position that passages which, if read literally are nonsensical, can be said to have only an allegorical meaning.

“Sometimes the literal meaning is obviously false; occasionally it is even ridiculous and absurd, if it is accepted on face value. With a salvific design the Divine Wisdom has placed it in such a way that, if something is offensive in the historic context, we should consider that a more hidden meaning is present” (Tr. Conroy, 296).

By 1528 Tyndale had grappled with cruces in his translation of the New Testament with an air of convincing realism and had probably embarked on his work of making the fabulous credible in Genesis. Gaining confidence from these experiences, he proposed and defended in the *Obedience* under the rubric of the “Four Senses of Scripture,” a literalist style of exegesis” (Richardson, “Scripture as Evidence in *Obedience*,” *Moreana*, 92-95, and nn. 40-44). “The scripture hath but one sense which is the literal sense,” he declared and; “God’s” literal sense is spiritual”. “Letter,” he argues (citing *littera* in the Vulgate) means not “the literal sense” but “the letters graven in the tables of the Law” (Parker Society, 1, 304, 309; cf. Daniell, ed., 160, 162) that “kill” us by “uttering” our sin. He connected the Church’s incessant search for allegorical meanings in violation of the literal reality of both Testaments, with its tyrannical suppression of vernacular scripture. Thus, without naming Erasmus, he took a seriously anti-Erasmian position in his energetic discussion [p. 58] of allegory. In doing so, he put a pro-literal reading of the Bible on a solid basis, especially for those

who were to gravitate to the puritan field later in this century. He thus supported the kind of piety which gave the events of the Bible direct relevance to life.

(...) [p. 58 continued] By whatever means Tyndale learned Greek, he was not perfect in it when he translated from Erasmus in 1526. His first complete New Testament has for John 1:1: "In the beginning was that word, and that word was with God, and God was that word."

Germain Marc'hadour remarks on "*cette cascade de démonstratifs*" whereby Tyndale, an apostle of the literal sense, tried to be faithful to what he took to be an emphatic, demonstrative sense of the Greek definite article. When Cuthbert Tunstall professed to find over 3,000 errors in [p. 59] the 1526 translation, perhaps he was right about a few. But Tyndale, if he was an autodidact, was a canny, disciplined one. His completed masterpiece, the 1534 *New Testament*, has for John 1:1: "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God," a sentence on which the King James translators were not tempted to improve.

(...)

[p. 65] The reception of Tyndale's writings after his death in 1536 has not been charted to the extent it deserves. The revised *Short-Title Catalogue* shows that before the great Daye-Foxe 1572 edition of the works of Tyndale, Frith and Barnes, there were eight editions of the *Obedience*, seven of *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, six of the *Exposition of Matthew* and three of *The Practice of Prelates*. In the first year of Edward VI's reign there was an explosion of these printings of Tyndale's books, signaling Protestant confidence in a friendlier universe after the reactionary 1540s. For Tyndale's polemics continued to offer readers the more daringly anticlerical teachings of Erasmus enlivened by his piquant dissent from Erasmian compromise. Tyndale's conviction of justification by faith, perhaps for him not so much a Lutheran import as a deeply internalized marriage of folly to "feeling", kept alive the experience of persecuted apostolicity in a continuum from Lollardy to the Elizabethan puritan movement. Indeed, it has been suggested by an anonymous reader of this essay that the alienation of the pupil from the master can be witnessed as "a vital moment – the separation of a proto-Puritan impulse from general Erasmian reform in sixteenth-century England." This is true. The Erasmian strain in English reform took the shape, *inter alia*, of an elaborate project to translate Erasmus' *Paraphrases* on the New Testament (Latin original, Epistles, 1517-1521; Gospels, 1522-1523; Acts, 1524. English translation, 1548-1549), a monument to the belief, expressed in *Enchiridion*: readers cannot progress

beyond the rind to the fruit of the Bible, without expert help. Tyndale, the scholar-outlaw, dared to retrieve for his people a book of truth which they could read without help, openly discuss with others, and in solitude make entirely their own. His quarrel with Erasmus, whose course from rapture to bitterness profoundly stretched his mind, may eventually be judged more effectual than his public controversy with Thomas More in turning sixteenth-century England into a Protestant nation. Surely the energies of the quarrel, and the abundant fresh thought it fathered forth (Hopkins, "Pied Beauty," line 10), created a lively heritage for any age.

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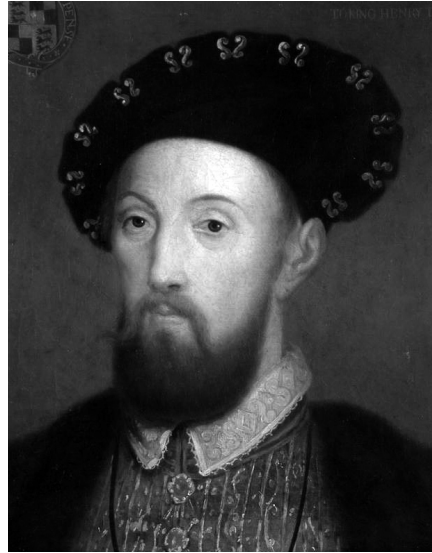
'Bound to Obey and Serve'
The Queenship of Jane Seymour, 1536-7

Lauren Johnson

Jane Seymour is remembered as a tragic but fundamentally passive figure who furthered no cause, expressed no opinion, and died too early to make her mark on history. This portrayal is far from the whole story. In part, she is a victim of the turbulent era in which she ruled. Her eighteen months as Queen Jane fell during a crucial period of Henry VIII's reign: the religion of England was in a state of flux, the succession in crisis, and the King faced the most serious rebellion England had seen in forty years. But both before and during her troubled queenship, Jane was associated with a conservative faction at Court whose agenda she consistently strove to promote. Her regal motto may have been *Bound to Obey and Serve*, but her behaviour was far less submissive.

In 1536, Henry VIII's Court was a hotbed of faction. Religion and politics had become dangerously entangled, with a cluster of lower status 'new men' advocating religious reform around Queen Anne Boleyn, and a conservative, traditionally religious 'Marian' faction of nobles focused on Henry's eldest daughter Princess Mary. The death of Mary's mother, Catherine of Aragon, in January 1536 had done nothing to lessen the conservatives' ardour for her cause. If anything, with the obdurate Catherine gone there were hopes that Mary could now be restored to the line of succession – the legal loophole *bona fida parentum* allowed for a child conceived 'during the good faith of its parents' to be considered legitimate, without the danger of declaring Catherine and Henry's marriage a true union.

Amidst this religious and political turmoil, Jane Seymour emerged as a rival for the King's affections, and from the very beginning she was identified with a conservative conspiracy to restore Princess Mary. Eustace Chapuys, the ambassador for the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, was well placed to observe Jane's ascent to the throne. Marian in his own sympathies, many of his informants in early 1536 shared his view. The earliest whisperings of a new royal romance came to him care of Gertrude, Marchioness of Exeter, and Henry Pole, Lord Montagu. The Marchioness's sympathy for Mary was well known – Chapuys described her as 'the sole consolation of the Queen (Catherine) and Princess (Mary)' after their fall from grace.¹ The Marchioness, her husband the Marquess, Lord Montagu and his relatives of the Pole family were among the foremost members of this conservative faction. Aware of the



Political intrigue at Henry VIII's Court: (L) Jane Seymour (R) Sir Nicholas Carew,

Photos courtesies: (L) London Borough of Sutton Museum and Heritage Service, (R) tudorplace.com.ar

King's waning affection for Anne Boleyn, they moved to promote Jane, hoping that a more sympathetic queen would help them achieve their aims with the King. Chapuys reported in April 1536 that Jane had been 'well taught for the most part by those intimate with the King, who hate the concubine' (Anne Boleyn).² Acting on their advice, Jane was to lay the groundwork by which Anne would be removed and Mary restored. She was to make the King aware that 'his marriage is detested by the people, and none consider it lawful'³ – but only when trusted noblemen like the Poles and Exeters were in attendance to support her opinion.

Most prominent among Jane's advisers was Sir Nicholas Carew, in whose home Jane lodged while the King secretly paid court to her. On 29 April 1536, Chapuys claimed that Carew 'continually counsels Mrs. Semel [i.e., Jane] and other conspirators... and only four days ago he and some persons of the chamber sent to tell the Princess to be of good cheer'.⁴ Another intimate of the King whose religious conservatism had put him in opposition to the Boleyns was Sir Francis Bryan. A public spat with Anne's brother George had severed any ties to the family, and it was Francis who brought Jane the news that Anne had been condemned in May 1536.

Some have asserted that Jane was just a puppet whose strings were being pulled by Carew and his allies: 'demure, quiet and without an idea in her

head'.⁵ This does some disservice to Jane's evident abilities. At a crucial moment for the Marian faction, she succeeded in winning the heart of the King and maintaining his interest until she was queen – all the while furthering the cause of her supporters. Whoever wrote the script for her, she was the one who played the crucial role.

During her courtship, Jane demonstrated an ability to walk the dangerous line between advancing a political agenda and promoting herself as Henry's ideal, submissive woman. When presented with a royal purse loaded with coins, Jane was all feminine virtue, weeping as she returned it to the King with an implicit acceptance of his attentions only once they were married. 'She had no greater riches in the world,' she said, 'than her honor, which she would not injure for a thousand deaths.' The Marchioness of Exeter gleefully reported this to Chapuys, noting that as a result, Henry's love for Jane had been 'wonderfully increased'.⁶ But only a few weeks later, Jane was bold enough to attempt a more overtly political move, appealing for Mary's restoration to the line of succession. When Henry angrily rebuffed her, she skillfully converted her appeal from the political realm into the maternal, casting her concern as the natural instinct of a future wife and mother. She claimed that 'in soliciting the Princess's reinstatement she thought she was asking for the good, the repose and tranquility of (the King), of the children they themselves might have, and of the kingdom in general'.⁷ With Anne Boleyn imprisoned and Henry about to be free to marry whomever he wished, it was a dangerous time to risk angering the King. But although this overture was rejected, Jane was not. She and Henry married less than a month later.

Maintaining this balance between female submission and regal political promotion was to be Jane's greatest challenge as queen. It is unlikely that she ever forgot the fate her predecessor had suffered after losing the King's affections, and Jane was careful to cultivate an appearance and court that were above reproach. Her attendants were made to dress modestly, not in the revealing French fashions of Boleyn's court. She chose a motto and badge that emphasised self-sacrifice and duty above personal inclination: she was 'bound to obey and serve', a phoenix willing to be destroyed to bring forth the next generation. (The old Seymour symbol of a peacock was quietly put aside for its unwanted connotations of pride, a vice that had been laid at Jane's door even before she was queen.) Jane's portrait, which survives to this day, presents the model of the perfect Tudor woman: hands delicately clasped before her, eyes gazing into the distance rather than boldly meeting those of the viewer, a demure gable hood covering her hair and a jeweled badge at her breast

emphasizing her piety. Contemporary commentators spoke of her gentleness and pacific inclinations.

However, behind this consciously constructed image lay a woman of fervent opinion. And it was in danger of driving a wedge between her and the King. At Jane's first meeting with the ambassador Chapuys, she promised him that she would 'take care of the Princess' affairs',⁸ despite the earlier warning from her husband not to meddle. Henry overheard something of the pair's conversation and cut it short, protesting that his wife was new to diplomacy and did not know what she said. Later that summer, Jane was still championing Mary's restoration, against a backdrop of royal mistrust that had seen Henry eject the Marquis of Exeter from his Council and left even the unflappable Thomas Cromwell fearing himself compromised. In such circumstances, Jane's defiance of the King's will was brave, if ineffective. When Mary was finally reconciled to her father it was not because Jane had succeeded but because Mary had submitted, bowing to the inevitable and signing a declaration of her own illegitimacy.

A promised coronation for Jane never materialised and with no sign of pregnancy she was in a vulnerable position by autumn 1536. It was at this worst possible moment that rebellion broke out in the North of England, a 'Pilgrimage of Grace' that saw tens of thousands gather under standards bearing the five wounds of Christ, insisting on the reversal of the King's religious policies and removal of his advisers 'of low birth and small reputation'.⁹ Both politically and religiously, Jane's sympathies were with the rebels' cause. While her old allies like Carew, Exeter and Bryan were sent north to suppress the rising, Jane stayed with the King. When she learnt of the insurrection, Jane fell on her knees and begged him to do as the rebels demanded – to end the dissolution of the monasteries and 'restore the abbeys'. Henry's response only made obvious how precarious Jane's situation was by then. He told her 'to attend to other things, reminding her that the last Queen had died in consequence of meddling too much with state affairs'.¹⁰

It was a fortunate coincidence that just as the last rebels were executed and the Pilgrimage of Grace firmly crushed, Jane was revealed to be pregnant. For the duration of her pregnancy we get little sense of her political influence. Perhaps the King's warning had worked. The absence of Chapuys's informative missives during this crucial period is keenly felt. It seems likely that Jane was aware of her own vulnerability until she had a son. Anne Boleyn had also expected to give birth to a royal heir, and her downfall had followed her failure to do so. The months between the quickening of the child and his eventual birth must have been anxious.

When Jane did give birth to the long-awaited royal heir, Prince Edward, in October 1537, her relief must have been almost as great as the King's. At the baptism the conservative faction was conspicuously at the forefront of the ceremony. Nicholas Carew stood at the font while Lord Montagu uncovered the basin and the Prince was carried to the chapel in the Marchioness of Exeter's arms. Princess Mary stood godmother to her infant half-brother.

But at this moment of her greatest triumph, when her future as queen seemed assured, Jane died of puerperal fever contracted during the birth. A month after Edward's birth, his mother was buried in St George's Chapel, Windsor, in a place of honour before the high altar. Posthumously, she was remembered as the model of both feminine and regal behaviour, her image living on long after she was gone. But the faction that she had promoted suffered in her absence. Dominating the Privy Chamber, they represented too great a threat to Thomas Cromwell's authority and within two years of Jane's death most of those who had helped her to the throne were dead or imprisoned. Sir Nicholas Carew was executed in March 1539, two months after the Marquess of Exeter and Lord Montagu had met their fates at Tower Hill. Exeter's wife, so crucial in providing Chapuys with news of Jane's courtship by the King, was imprisoned in the Tower of London for eighteen months and attainted as a traitor in July 1539. Sir Francis Bryan was fortunate to escape imprisonment, but he did so at the expense of his family – he sat on the jury that condemned his brother-in-law Carew.

In the vast dynastic painting that now hangs in Hampton Court Palace, Henry VIII sits with his hand paternally resting on Edward's shoulder, flanked by his two daughters. Although it was painted nearly a decade after Jane's death, it is she who sits at his side as the mother of his future line – silent, pale, and staring submissively away from the onlooker. It is easy to forget that for all Jane's promotion of herself as the woman 'bound to obey and serve' her husband, she was a woman with her own opinions, agendas and supporters. The mother of Henry VIII's cherished heir deserves to be remembered as a queen in her own right.

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- 2 Letters and Papers, volume 10, no. 601.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid, no. 752.
- 5 David Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics* (Vintage, 2002), p.88.
- 6 Letters and Papers, Volume 10, no. 601.
- 7 Ibid, no. 908.
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- 9 Letters and Papers, Volume 11, No. 705.
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Roger Ascham and *Sola Scriptura*

Lucy R Nicholas
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Roger Ascham (1514/5-1568) is a figure familiar to many scholars of the sixteenth-century.¹ He is perhaps best known for his contributions to English prose such as his *Scholemaster* (on pedagogy) and *Toxophilus* (on archery) both written in the vernacular and impressive for their elegance and fluency.² His dedication to the cause of education as a teaching fellow of classical languages and literature at St John's College, Cambridge, and his role at Court as tutor to princess Elizabeth are also widely acknowledged in historical accounts.³ However, Ascham's involvement in theological reform and the bitter conflicts of the Reformation has been completely overlooked. There are, for example, his religious tracts written in Latin which I would maintain have been unjustly neglected. The purpose of this article is to draw attention to one of these, his *Apologia pro Caena Dominica* ('Defence of the Lord's Supper'), an anti-Mass tract composed at Cambridge University towards the end of 1547 in the first year of Edward VI's six year Protestant reign.⁴ Of particular interest is Ascham's

strict approach to *sola scriptura* as underpinned by his training in the languages of Latin and Greek, disciplines he had excelled in as an undergraduate. Ascham, a man almost exclusively associated with the secular world of humanism, was in fact a staunch advocate of Biblical purity and primacy in the mould of some of its earliest pioneers like Tyndale.

Edward VI's accession to the throne was a watershed moment for those who hoped for a more profound and rapid religious reformation. Many in Cambridge University also shared such hopes. In the Autumn of 1547 a series of disputations on the subject of the Mass were held at St John's College and the University Schools. The *Apologia* was written by Ascham in the immediate aftermath of these disputations and represented a very one-sided account of the debates. In this tract, Ascham argued forcefully for the restoration of a spiritual, faith-based communion and the abolition of a corrupt and idolatrous Mass. The true sacrament, he asserted, was and could only be one that was fully anchored in the Word of God, devoid of human accretion. Of course, such claims were not particularly novel or radical: the primacy of Scripture was a universal *sine qua non* of the early modern period and a core conviction of the Reformation generally, Scriptural supremacy acting as a touchstone as much for conservatives as Protestants. However, what was striking about Ascham's *Apologia* was the extent to which he put his principles into practice. This entire work was an act of *sola scriptura* par excellence. It showed how *sola scriptura* could be fully actualized through constant and dogged adherence to the original words of Scripture, philological proofs and independent navigation. From the outset, Ascham affirmed his absolute faith in the capacity of the Word of God to define the correct doctrine of the Eucharist:

*What is it to hear Christ? To hear his Word. This thing will remove all controversies. Hear what Christ says: 'He who hears my words is from God; he who does not hear, is not from God'. It is on account of this that we recognise the spirit of truth and the spirit of error. Therefore, those who rely upon the Word of God follow the spirit of truth.*⁵

For Ascham the sole basis and guide for the celebration of the Eucharist was Scripture, which he claimed was perfectly clear and comprehensible in its message and meaning. In his attempts to discredit the Mass and, in particular, the re-enactment of the sacrifice by priests, he paid considerable attention to the precise words of institution, quoting and analysing in sequence:



Roger Ascham with Lady Jane Grey

John Cassell's Illustrated History of England

*Let us listen to the words of the supper. 'While they were at supper'. Here you have no advantage for this is common to everyone. 'Jesus receiving the bread'. Now this is your business. But I fancy that to receive bread is not the same as to sacrifice. For he who receives has not yet offered it. ... What follows? 'He broke it and gave it'... This 'to break' is their 'to sacrifice'. For on this point they clearly depart from Christ and turn away from him, or rather, they distort everything with a view to their own private sacrifice.'*⁶

Ascham considered that with the application of linguistic scholarship the truths of Scripture could be accessed. More than many contemporaries who wrote on this doctrine, Ascham defined the terms of the Eucharistic dispute as a strictly semantic test. From the small pool of those who had knowledge of Greek, Ascham really did return *ad fontes* to Scripture and undertook a rigorous survey of the original words of the New Testament. Page after page of his *Apologia* was given over to a meticulous dissection of the actual meaning of individual Greek terms in order to illustrate the truth about the sacrament as he saw it. This entailed, for example, listing a number of Greek terms that could feasibly validate the Mass sacrifice:

That sacrifice which our priests arrogate to themselves alone and which they

define within certain limits comes under one of these headings, or (in my opinion) it doesn't have a place in Scripture: 'hilasmos' (a propitiation), 'thusia' (a sacrificial offering), 'prosphora' (an offering), 'dōra' (gifts), 'leitourgia' (public service), 'presbuterion' (presbytery), 'diakonia' (ministration), 'oikonomia' (administration), 'episkopē' (supervision), 'presbeuein' (to pay honour), 'spendesthai' (to pour a libation), 'hierateuein' (to be a priest).⁷

He then carefully explored the nuances and connotations of each of these words in various parts of the New Testament in order to demonstrate that a Catholic interpretation could not be supported, for example:

Does (the term) 'hilasmos' (propitiation) contain your priesthood? Christ prohibits this. For the propitiation is attributed in Scripture to Christ alone. John says in his Epistle 'And he himself is a "hilasmos" for our sins, and not only for our sins but also for the sins of the whole world' ... 'But those who don't listen to the voice of the Lord (will) go after their own inventions'. John again says in chapter 4 'He sent his Son as a "hilasmos" for our sins'. And in Paul to the Romans: '... Whom God hath set forth to be a "hilasmos" through faith in his blood'. And in the Psalm '...that he is a "hilasmos" for you.'⁸

And the scrutiny pursuant to each term went on for several pages.

Sola scriptura was properly achieved where those who had the linguistic ability to examine in detail what the words of Scripture really said and meant allowed those words to determine directly their own theological conclusions. Tyndale had done this a generation earlier with the Greek terms *ekklesia* and *presbuteros*, words whose original meaning transformed his conception of the Church and its hierarchy.⁹ Ascham was now doing the same in respect of the doctrine of the Eucharist disagreements over the detail of which, such as the issue of the presence, would contribute in no small degree to the permanent division of Christendom. Although Ascham included no explicit reference to the presence in his tract, his independent reading of the original words of Scripture was leading him in a distinctly Swiss direction. His investigation into the use of the Greek word 'thusia' (sacrificial offering) brought him to Peter who referred in his first epistle to '...a holy priesthood to offer up "pneumatikas thusias" (spiritual sacrifices)'. From this Ascham concluded

that ‘a sacrifice doesn’t comprise a visible offering, but a spiritual victim’.¹⁰ The same was true of his emphasis on ‘commemoration’ and ‘memory’, terms so evocative of the memorialist view of the Zwinglian school. In fact, Ascham was doing nothing more here than cleaving to the words of institution which he carefully and repeatedly rehearsed, insisting ‘I eat the body, I drink the blood; I do everything in remembrance of Christ; I willingly omit nothing which Christ instituted;...I keep myself totally within the bounds of his Word. I am secure in that I do not deviate from the commandment of God’.¹¹ Private Biblical scholarship had led Ascham to formulate with considerable certitude theological convictions which were racing ahead of the official line; at the time Ascham wrote his *Apologia*, Edward VI’s Government had published little in the way of public statements on the Eucharist.¹² Men like Ascham, whose confidence in and commitment to Scripture was so secure, were exercising their own judgement about a doctrine upon which salvation itself depended. The unpredictability of an independent application of *sola scriptura* could not be clearer. Tyndale’s review of the original words of Scripture had once helped to unleash a religious revolution; Ascham was an agent in its continuation and deserves more credit than he has previously been given for his important theological contributions.

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Footnotes

- 1 The only modern biography on Ascham is Lawrence Ryan's *Roger Ascham* (Stanford and Oxford, 1963). See also his ODNB entry.
- 2 *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, ed., J.A. Giles (3 vols., London, 1865).
- 3 Ascham entered St John's College, Cambridge in 1530. Having been awarded his BA (Arts) in 1534, he was admitted as fellow, a post he held until 1554. He served as royal tutor to Elizabeth from 1548-1550, but also helped her with her studies intermittently for many years after, even when she was on the throne.
- 4 The full title of this work is *Apologia pro Caena Dominica contra Missam & eius Praestigias* ('A Defence of the Lord's Supper against the Mass and its Magic'). Ascham's other religious works are: *Themata Quaedam Theologica* ('Certain Theological Topics'); and *Expositiones antiquae in epistolas Divi Pauli ad Titum et Philemonem ex diversis sanctorum Patrum Graecae scriptis commentariis, ob Oecumenio collectae & Cantabrigiae Latine versae* ('Ancient Expositions on the letters of St Paul to Titus and Philemon from the diverse commentaries of Holy Fathers written in Greek, collected by Oecumenius and turned into Latin at Cambridge'). All three were printed and bound in the same volume and published in 1577/8 by Edward Grant (STC 825). References to the *Apologia* in this article are to this version. For a translation of the *Apologia*, see L.R. Nicholas 'A translation of Ascham's *Apologia pro Caena Dominica* and contextual analysis' (King's College, London, PhD thesis, 2014).
- 5 *Apologia*, p.19.
- 6 *Apologia*, pp.78-9.
- 7 *Apologia*, p.88.
- 8 *Apologia*, pp.89-90.
- 9 For a more detailed review of Tyndale's translation of Greek terms, see D. Daniell, *William Tyndale: a biography* (Yale and New Haven, 2001).
- 10 *Apologia*, pp.104 and 91. 1 Peter 2:5.
- 11 *Apologia*, p.46 and pp. 81-82.
- 12 The Act of the Communion of Both Kinds was passed during the first parliament of Edward's reign at the end of 1547 (I Edward VI c.1 reinforced by the Order of the Communion, 1548). Otherwise, the first major public changes came only in 1549 (the Book of Common Prayer) and in 1550 (Cranmer's *Defence*).

Dear Mr. Inglis,

We are thirteen year old students in Idaho Falls, ID, USA. For a regional history competition, we put together a project on William Tyndale. While constructing our project, we contacted Dr. Ralph S. Werrell who sent an email to you previously. Below is our written copy and sources.

We would be really happy if you would look it over and possibly have it published in the Tyndale Society Journal. Thank you for considering our work and we hope to hear from you!



*Yours Truly,
Kelly Smith and Tylee Eck*

Battle for the Bible in English

Kelly Smith and Tylee Eck

The Bible is one of the most popular books in the English language with 20 million copies sold every year. The Bible is openly accepted in English society today; however it wasn't always like this.

In the 16th century, the Roman Catholic Church had major control over the people of Tudor England. In order to keep control over the people, the English Bible was outlawed and was replaced by a Latin version. Most people did not understand the Latin language. This was a major advantage for the Roman Catholics as they could falsify God's Word. They told the people that it was a sin to read other religious books that were not Catholic. Children were required to learn God's Word and scriptures in Latin, the parents whose children failed to speak their Latin scriptures were burnt at the stake. This occurred often because most parents could not speak Latin so they failed to teach their children. By translating the Bible into English, William Tyndale fought for the people's right to know the Word of God without the control of the Roman Catholic Church, who believed a translated Bible would cause an uprising.

William Tyndale was born 1494 in North Nibley, Gloucestershire, England. In 1504 at age 10, Tyndale mastered Latin, and attended Wotton under Edge Grammar School. In 1506 at age 12, he enrolled at Oxford University. English

was a forbidden language at Oxford and anyone caught speaking it was thrown out of the school. Tyndale proved to be an excellent linguist, in so far that a fellow student commented, “He was so skilled in eight languages- Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, German and English- that in whichever he speaks you may have thought that was his native tongue”. This skill aided Tyndale throughout his life. Tyndale did not think highly of his college professors, calling them “ignorant mules”. He obtained his Bachelor’s degree then may have moved to Cambridge University - certainly he was inspired by Desiderus Erasmus who had taught there. While at Cambridge, Tyndale met several fellow martyrs and became inspired to translate the Bible into a language that most could speak. In 1515, Tyndale achieved his Master’s degree, and obtained priesthood in 1521.

After his priesthood, Tyndale became known for preaching English sermons in front of priests and bishop houses. He was suspected of being a heretic, a person that translates God’s Word, but avoided arrest. As he was accused, Tyndale saw the ugliness of the clergy, and he was convinced that the Bible should be available to everyone. He devoted his life to translating the Bible. In 1524, Tyndale sought the help of Cuthbert Tunstall, the bishop of London, in order to get his translation accepted. Tunstall turned his ideas down. This angered Tyndale, causing him to say his most famous quote “If God spare my life ere many years I will cause the boy that drives the plough to know more of the scripture than you do”. From there, Tyndale strived to complete his work.

Tyndale fled to Cologne, Germany in 1525 so that he could conduct his work without interruption. Martin Luther, an Augustin monk born in 1483, translated the Bible in German and became a basis for Tyndale’s starting works. While in Germany, Tyndale lived with a group of merchants including Miles Coverdale who created the Coverdale Bible after Tyndale’s death. The citizens of Cologne described Tyndale as a “reclusive, obsessive hobbit of a man”. In 1526, Tyndale’s New Testament was printed and smuggled by his associates. In order to not arouse suspicion, Tyndale’s associates would put the Bible into bales of hay and then would throw them through windows of houses. This translation became very popular with the English people but not with the authorities of England. The copies were banned and burnt in the streets. A bounty for Tyndale was released in 1527. Thomas More, a favorite of King Henry VIII, become obsessed with Tyndale and killed several of his close friends in order to locate him.

Through all of his trials, Tyndale published two religious books that express the Bible’s sociality respects. These books were known as Obedience of a

Christian Man and Parable of a Wicked Mammon. The books caught the attention of a powerful ally in the English monarchy. Anne Boleyn, the second wife of King Henry VIII, attempted to convince her husband to support an English Bible. However, The King was bitter towards Tyndale as he discredited Henry's first divorce to Catherine of Aragon and refused. Thomas More published his book Dialogue in an effort to embarrass Tyndale in 1529. That same year, Tyndale lost many copies of his work due to a shipwreck off the coast of Holland. This, however, did not discourage Tyndale. In 1531, he challenged Thomas Moore by publishing his book, Answer to Sir Thomas Moore's Dialogue. This book explained Tyndale's studies on the Word of God and proved Thomas Moore and the church wrong. In 1535, an elaborate trap was set for Tyndale. Henry Phillips followed Tyndale to a prior engagement. He led him down a narrow alley where soldiers were waiting for him.

Tyndale was taken to Vilvoorde Prison in Germany, where he spent 500 days in horrible conditions. From prison, Tyndale sent a letter to the Governor of Vilvoorde in which he wrote that even though he was in prison, he will remain in good spirits because he believed he did what God told him. He also requested clothes for warmth. His trial was held in Vilvoorde and he was officially charged with heresy and sentenced to death. Tyndale's execution date was set for October 6, 1536. Tyndale was burnt at the stake and his last words were "Lord open the King of England's eyes" After Tyndale's death, King Henry VIII ordered a Bible to be made for the people of England. This event changed Christianity for the better. As voyagers sailed across the sea to the Americas, the spread of Christianity increased and the Bible became more common. This also produced a wide variety of Christian based religions. Despite the difference of beliefs, the Bible has connected these branches. Tyndale's writings changed the face of literature as well. Many modern day literature books use similar techniques. Despite all of Tyndale's troubles, his greatest contribution to the rights and responsibilities of the people was producing the Holy Bible that allowed the freedom of religion to ring today.

Note: the writers give 10 pages of bibliography showing the sources of their research, including an interview via email with Rev Dr Werrell.

With respect for the wonderful spirit of the authors we have not edited out all the imaginative touches of this article.

Tyndale For Tots*

Ramona Garcia

“Tyndale for Tots” demonstrates how three nineteenth-century religious periodicals conveyed the contemporary relevance of William Tyndale for the younger English audience. “The Editor’s Annual Address to His Young Readers” in *The Children’s Magazine and Missionary Repository* (1858), “Tyndale” in *The Baptist Youth’s Magazine, and Missionary Intelligencer* (1861), and “William Tyndale and the First English Testament” in *The Messenger for the Children of the Presbyterian Church of England* (1877) illustrate how the sixteenth-century Biblical translator, William Tyndale, shaped their nineteenth-century England.²

“The Editor’s Annual Address to His Young Readers” in *The Children’s Magazine and Missionary Repository* (1858) declared that Tyndale “was the man who did more for England than any other man who ever lived in it.”³ In this interpretation, Tyndale’s vernacular New Testament laid the groundwork for nineteenth-century England’s prosperity. Tyndale and his Bible set in motion essential elements of England’s current lifestyle: access to the Bible, religious instruction, sermons, the world of ideas in the form of books, and religious liberty. Otherwise, England might not enjoy a reputation for liberty, wealth, and eminence nor a role in providing other countries with access to the Bible.⁴

How must the martyr spirit of WILLIAM TYNDALE, that passed from torturing flames to take its place before the Throne, rejoice to see our happy land now full of Bibles, and sending Bibles to every nation under heaven.⁵

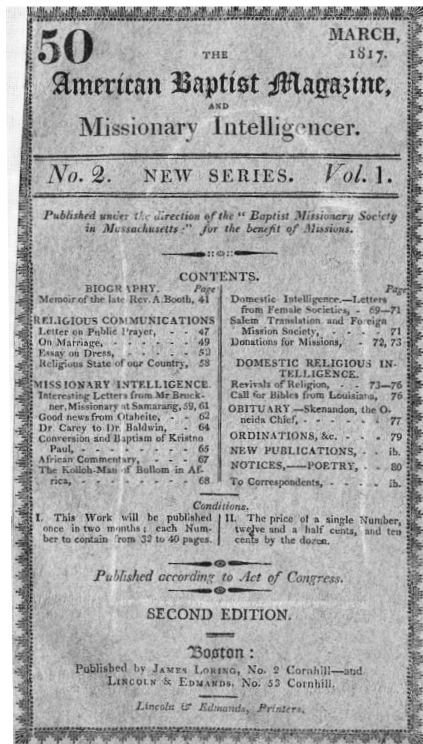
Appealing to its nineteenth-century audience’s patriotism, “Tyndale” in *The Baptist Youth’s Magazine, and Missionary Intelligencer* (1861) claimed “no potentate, prince, poet, or philosopher, ever bestowed on our country a greater boon than he did.”⁶ Lacking protectors, such as his contemporary Luther’s relationship with Frederick of Saxony, or Biblical translation pioneer Wickliffe’s relationship with John of Gaunt, Tyndale’s motivations stemmed from other sources—specifically, love of England served as Tyndale’s inspiration in providing a vernacular Bible even at the price of leaving the country he so loved in order to achieve his goal. Might this stirring tale strike an answering chord in the hearts of nineteenth-century recipients of *The Baptist Youth’s Magazine, and Missionary Intelligencer* whose future might entail missionary

work or service in Britain's far-flung empire? Loneliness and homesickness did not deter Tyndale from his task. Solace in some lonely missionary or colonial outpost might be derived from an appreciation of the work of William Tyndale—a man prepared to leave his native land to serve his native land. Further, wherever army, navy or settlers ventured in the tasks they undertook, encouragement had been taken from the Bible.⁷

*Over what a vast extent of the globe has the English Bible been disseminated. You find it everywhere in the cottage homes of Britain, and not unfrequently in the log hut of the emigrant in the farthest wilds of Australia. The sailor boy reads in the quiet evening hour the copy which his mother gave him, and the soldier, by his watchfire, when thoughts of home come on him, ponders its revelation of the glorious home above.*⁸

“William Tyndale and the First English Testament” in *The Messenger for the Children of the Presbyterian Church of England* (1877) sought to underscore the crucial role children played as an inspiration for William Tyndale. Having secured a position as an instructor for Mr. Welch’s [sic – Sir John Walsh’s] children, Tyndale embarked on his life’s work: providing a vernacular New Testament. Galvanized by the image of the ploughboy who would shortly understand the Scriptures, Tyndale set off from Gloucestershire to London to Cologne to Worms to Antwerp in resolute succession until his travels ceased with his execution in Antwerp in 1536. The sixteenth-century journeys of Tyndale made possible the nineteenth-century journeys of the Bible. In their unending quest for a supportive environment, Bibles now traveled safely through the world as a direct result of Tyndale’s journeys.⁹

What a change these 350 years have wrought! Then we see England thrusting the Bible out of her borders, and following her devoted son into a foreign land until she brings him through the prison to the stake. But the good seed sown by



*Tyndale grows. The enemy in vain tries to destroy it. The Word of the Living God prevails. England is changed. Now we see myriads of Bibles in all languages scattered every year by England throughout all quarters of the globe.*¹⁰

The conclusion was obvious for nineteenth-century juvenile Presbyterians. Their sixteenth-century equivalents—ploughboys—played an essential role in solidifying Tyndale’s legacy of an English Bible. By 1877 that commitment had flowered into an unstoppable worldwide flow of Bibles. No longer powerless, Tyndale’s ploughboys represented the future.¹¹

“The Editor’s Annual Address to His Young Readers” in *The Children’s Magazine and Missionary Repository* (1858), “Tyndale” in *The Baptist Youth’s Magazine, and Missionary Intelligencer* (1861), and “William Tyndale and the First English Testament” in *The Messenger for the Children of the Presbyterian Church of England* (1877) do not simply convey the importance of Tyndale in terms of his impact on England. These pieces show his impact on the world.¹² From an England “now full of Bibles, and sending Bibles to every nation under heaven”¹³ to the “myriads of Bibles in all languages scattered every year by England throughout all quarters of the globe”¹⁴ to “the vast extent of the globe” where Bibles can be seen¹⁵—here indeed is Tyndale’s legacy. And against this panoply, *The Children’s Magazine and Missionary Repository*, *The Baptist Youth’s Magazine, and Missionary Intelligencer*, and *The Messenger for the Children of the Presbyterian Church of England* evoke a Tyndalian world without boundaries, a concept that their juvenile audience living in an imperial Britain might find inspirational. If the sixteenth-century Tyndale had been crucial to creating a vernacular Bible at home, how appropriate that nineteenth-century England should prove instrumental in dispersing the Bible worldwide.¹⁶

* All the sources used for this article were accessed through Google Books.

2 The Editor’s Annual Address to His Young Readers, *The Children’s Magazine, and Missionary Repository*, Edited by Joseph Foulkes Winks, Volume XXI (London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. and Leicester: Winks & Son, 1858): 3-6; Tyndale, *The Baptist Youth’s Magazine, and Missionary Intelligencer*, Edited by Joseph Foulkes Winks, Vol. 37 (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. and Leicester: Winks & Son, 1861): 157-161; William Tyndale and the First English Testament, *The Messenger for the Children of the Presbyterian Church of England* (London: Published for the Publications Committee, by Hodder & Stoughton, 1877): 91-94.

3 The Editor’s Annual Address to His Young Readers, *The Children’s Magazine, and Missionary Repository* (1858): 3.

4 *Ibid.*, 3-6.

5 *Ibid.*, 4.

6 Tyndale, *The Baptist Youth’s Magazine, and Missionary Intelligencer* (1861): 157, see also 157-161.

7 *Ibid.*, 157-161.

8 *Ibid.*, 160.

9 William Tyndale and the First English Testament, *The Messenger for the Children of the Presbyterian Church of England* (1877): 91-94.

- 10 Ibid., 94.
 11 Ibid., 91-94.
 12 The Editor's Annual Address to His Young Readers, *The Children's Magazine, and Missionary Repository* (1858): 3-6; Tyndale, *The Baptist Youth's Magazine, and Missionary Intelligencer* (1861): 157-161; William Tyndale and the First English Testament, *The Messenger for the Children of the Presbyterian Church of England* (1877): 91-94.
 13 The Editor's Annual Address to His Young Readers, *The Children's Magazine, and Missionary Repository* (1858): 4.
 14 William Tyndale and the First English Testament, *The Messenger for the Children of the Presbyterian Church of England* (1877): 94.
 15 Tyndale, *The Baptist Youth's Magazine, and Missionary Intelligencer* (1861): 160.
 16 The Editor's Annual Address to His Young Readers, *The Children's Magazine, and Missionary Repository* (1858): 3-6; Tyndale, *The Baptist Youth's Magazine, and Missionary Intelligencer* (1861): 157-161; William Tyndale and the First English Testament, *The Messenger for the Children of the Presbyterian Church of England* (1877): 91-94.



WILLIAM TYNDALE

The Practice of Prelates

... mark the ensample of an ivy tree:

first it springeth out of the earth, and then awhile creepeth along by the ground till it find a great tree.

Then it joineth itself beneath alow unto the body of the tree, and creepeth up a little and a little, fair and softly. And at the beginning, while it is yet thin and small, that the burden is not perceived, it seemeth glorious to garnish the tree in the winter, and to bear off the tempests of the weather. But in the mean season it thrusteth roots into the bark of the tree, to hold fast withal; and ceaseth not to climb up, till it be at the top and above all. And then it sendeth his branches along by the branches of the tree, and overgrowth all, and waxeth great, heavy and thick; and sucketh the moisture so sore out of the tree and his branches, that it choaketh and stiflenth them. And then the foul stinking ivy waxeth mighty in the stump of the tree, and becometh a seat and a nest for all unclean birds, and for blind owls which hawk in the dark, and dare not come at the light.

William Tyndale, 1530.

See *Letters* p. 63

Event Reports And Conferences

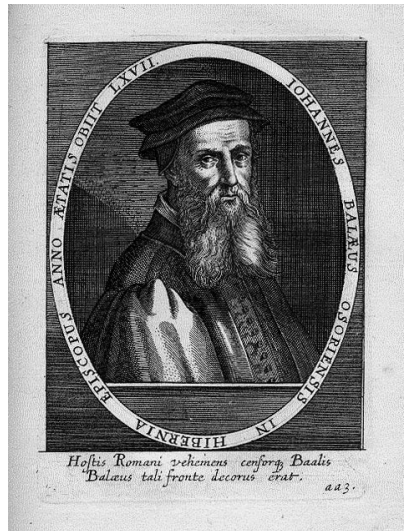
Study Day at Ipswich on 10th May 2014

Report by Eunice Burton

On a blustery, showery spring day thirty members and friends of the Tyndale Society met at Ipswich, Suffolk, for a Study Day convened by Brian Buxton. The venue was St. Peter's by the Waterfront, a redundant Anglican church now used as a heritage centre and music venue – but a most appropriate site as it had earlier formed the chapel of Cardinal College, a school for boys established by Cardinal Wolsey in the early 16th century to prepare students to go on to his Oxford college of the same name (see Lecture 1).

Brian Buxton welcomed us and proposed that we studied the lives of three men (Cardinal Wolsey, John Bale and Thomas Bilney) who had played significant roles during the English Reformation and who also had had links with Ipswich. In addition we should assess the importance of the medieval port of Ipswich regarding trade with Europe, as an example of the east coast ports whose trade gave opportunities for the spread of the new learning to England together with the acquisition of books with proscribed ideas.

Mary Clow, Chairman of the Tyndale Society, spoke briefly about the aims of the Tyndale Society to further historical scholarship and interest in William Tyndale.



John Bale

luminarium.org

Lecture 1, Thomas Wolsey as Educationalist, was given by Dr. John Blatchly, a noted local historian and retired Head of Ipswich School, which had evolved from Wolsey's college. He regarded Thomas Wolsey (c1470—1530) as 'Ipswich's most famous son' and felt he had been much maligned, as mediating between Katherine of Aragon, Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn was impossible. Wolsey's father, Robert Wolsey, was described as a butcher and grazier but he was also a churchwarden, while the family of Thomas' mother, Joan Daundy, included

wealthy merchants: amongst them his uncle Edmund Daundy was a patron of St. Laurence's Church, Ipswich, and he donated fifteen almshouses in Lady Lane. It was Edmund who advised regarding Thomas' education and admission to Magdalen College, Oxford, at the age of 10. Thomas graduated B.A. at the age of 15. Subsequently he trained for a career in the church and was ordained priest in 1498. He rose in the hierarchy, being appointed chaplain to Henry VII in 1507, then created Bishop of Lincoln, Archbishop of York (although never enthroned) and finally a cardinal in 1516. Wolsey played an increasingly important part in the government of Henry VIII, being Lord Chancellor from 1515-1529, and he is included in the famous painting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520. However, his ambitions made him unpopular. He fathered an illegitimate child, Thomas Winter, who was given a coat of arms similar to his father's when Wolsey created his own armorial.

In order to finance the building of two colleges (at Oxford and Ipswich) Wolsey dissolved eight minor monasteries in East Anglia, thus setting the precedent for the major dissolution from 1534. He bought land to the north of St. Peter's chapel to create the Cardinal College of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Ipswich and incorporated the chapel, with eight singing men and eight choristers, into his college. The school offered free tuition for fifty boys and a master from Eton was employed to teach grammar. The full complement of staff included porter, bell ringer, barber, cook etc. and this pattern was recommended for all schools in England. A contemporary brass shows a schoolboy carrying a small book satchel. The watergate to Cardinal College still exists but without its pinnacles. The college building was demolished by Henry VIII following Wolsey's fall from power and death. The expensive stone was used in the construction of Whitehall Palace but the brick was discarded. The Oxford College was commandeered by the king to become Christ Church College.

Dr. Blatchly finally drew attention to some features of St. Peter's, two in particular linked with Wolsey's scheme. The rare 12th century 'Tournai font' was re-mounted by Wolsey who was bishop of Tournai, and the Tudor canopied niches flanking the west door, now bereft of the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, were part of his elaboration of the church when it became the college chapel.

At the conclusion of his paper, John Blatchly led a short walk up St. Peter's Street to view the statue of Wolsey as educationalist by David Annand (2011) which stands in front of Curson Lodge, a building Wolsey would have known as an inn. He drew attention in particular to the inscription indicating Wolsey's enlightened attitude to schooling 'that pleasure should mingle with study so that the child may think learning an amusement rather than a toil'. Later there was an opportunity to view the watergate of Cardinal College.

Lecture 2, The Bibliographic Ego of John Bale, was delivered by Dr. Oliver Wort, author of *John Bale and Religious Conversion in Reformation England* (2013).

John Bale (1495-1563) was born in Suffolk. His life from the age of 12 was roughly divided into two parts, the first as a Carmelite friar and the second as a Protestant preacher. He is remembered both as an historical playwright and as a polemical priest.

John Bale initially joined the Carmelites in Norwich, was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1529 and returned to the order, becoming prior at Maldon, in 1533 at Ipswich and then at Doncaster. He appears to have left the Carmelites in 1536 following his conversion to the reformed faith. His reading of scripture convinced him that Christ crucified was the sole means of salvation and he repudiated Roman Catholic doctrines that claimed otherwise. His marriage to Dorothy sometime around 1529-1533 was kept secret, although he regarded it as a sign of liberation from the cloister. His tirades against the Catholic Church ('the antichrist', 'the mystery of iniquity') and a problem with a grey friar led to an examination before a tribunal at York, although Thomas Cromwell was sympathetic and saved him from sentence. In 1540 he left England for Germany but returned during the reign of Edward VI when he was made Bishop of Ossory in Ireland. His second exile was to Wesel when Mary Tudor was queen. He considered that popery still existed in Elizabeth's England but he did return as a Canon of Canterbury.

Dr. Wort suggested that John Bale's writings revealed his character in that he made himself the principal figure in every situation but he was also a pioneer - in writing the biography of King John, his autobiography (four times), translating works about Martin Luther into English, and coining new words such as prerogative. The *Vocacyon of Johan Bale* (1553) was the first printed autobiography in English and related to the time he spent in the 'heathen' Roman Catholic Church. As more of the true theology in God's word was revealed to him over twenty years so he revised his autobiography three times. One of his plays, *Comedy Concerning Three Laws*, specifically denounced veneration of the shrine of Our Lady of Grace in Ipswich.

Bale also had a vivid imagination and he considered himself the St. Paul of the 16th century, listing the similarities in their missionary endeavours. Just as St. Paul was called to preach to the heathen, so was he; St. Paul was persecuted, so was he; both were imprisoned, exiled, shipwrecked, but experienced God's comfort in tribulation; the power of St. Paul to heal physically (Acts 19) John Bale likened to the power of his preaching to result in new birth. These claims were regarded as presumptions and heretical, showing that Bale could not be a true disciple and he



Clockwise from Top left: John Blatchly describes the statue of Wolsey as educationalist; Nicholas Amor describes the waterfront; David Ireson discusses his model of a cog with Peter and Jennifer Moody; St.Peter's by the Waterfront and the watergate of Cardinal College; Interior of St. Peter's by the Waterfront and 12th century 'Tournai' font; Speakers at lunch. Facing camera from left, Andrew Hope, Oliver Wort and, fourth from left, Nicholas Amor.

was accused of autobiographical fiction. The Marian apologist James Cancellar exposed him as an 'enemy of truth' and the two exchanged vituperative correspondence, culminating in Bale's unpublished *A Returne of James Cancellar's Raylynge Boke upon his Owne Heade* (1561 now in Lambeth Palace Library). His opponents goaded him by addressing him as 'Friar Bale' long after he had renounced his former identity and the 17th century Anglican historian Thomas Fuller referred to him as 'Bilious Bale', an unrelenting polemicist as ready to sting as a wasp!

Dr. Wort felt that posterity must judge if John Bale's claims were creditable, bearing in mind the human cost of the Reformation. (Subscribers to *Reformation* will have noticed the two special editions on John Bale, Volume 18 Number 1 and Volume 19 Number 1, the latter including an article by Oliver Wort).

Lunch was arranged at a café on the waterfront after which the third speaker, Dr. Nicholas Amor, led a walk along the quayside emphasising in his comments the historic importance of Ipswich as a port. Participants viewed a large merchant's complex, which would have had warehouses on the quayside frontage with living and business accommodation at the rear. On the return walk to St. Peter's the group passed St. Mary at the Quay, another of the three medieval dockside churches.

Back at St. Peter's there was an opportunity to examine a fascinating **model of a Cog ship made by Rev. David Ireson**, Ploughboy Trustee of the Tyndale Society, which replicated in meticulous detail the construction, rigging, sail, stern rudder, holds, cargo (including sheep) and living quarters, complete with brick stove, chimney and stern toilet! The two castles deterred the entry of pirates and were decorated with colourful wooden shields. David Ireson provided a valuable hand-out *The Cog and the Wool Trade between England and Antwerp during the Reformation Period*.

Lecture 3, Ipswich: A Late Medieval Port, was given by Dr. Nicholas Amor, author of *Late Medieval Ipswich: Trade and Industry* (2011) who described the trading routes from Ipswich to Iceland, the Low Countries and Spain (there was not yet direct trade with North America), noting the similarities between the ports of Colchester, Harwich and Maldon and how the variations in trade coincided with the political and economic climates, the status of the merchants and with ship design. The main goods exchanged were wool, cloth and wine. The years from 1390 (the time of Chaucer) were peaceful, the Hundred Years War with France was in abeyance and English merchants were trading with the Hanseatic merchants in Cologne. By the 15th century there was a bullion crisis (shortage of silver coinage) and during Henry VI's reign Burgundy and Gascony were lost to France with consequent effect on the wine trade. Edward IV and

Henry VII were sympathetic to merchants and the wool trade prospered as North Sea shipping was safe and secure, Staple Ports were created including Calais (still English). However, as the East Anglian ports silted up trade there diminished.

Dr. Amor then spoke about key exports and imports. (a) Raw wool. Suffolk wool was of poor quality as a harsher climate was necessary to stimulate thick layers but rural clothmakers in Europe still used it, much being received by smuggling. There was less smuggling of better quality East Midlands wool. Trade fluctuated greatly but export of the wool of 230,000 sheep was typical of good years and payment was received in bullion from Flanders. (b) The cloth trade overtook the wool trade and was centred in Suffolk. Cloth was exported in varying widths in named varieties. Spain wanted cloth dyed and finished but the Low Countries preferred plain and unfinished cloth to be sold on to the Hanseatic merchants of Cologne. (c) The import of wine from France fell during the second half of the 15th century when Gascony, which had the monopoly, was lost, but England was exporting 'red' and 'white' beer by 1530.

Dairy products exported included cows and many merchants were also farmers. Import of dyes (red madder and blue woad) transferred to the London market but there was a brisk exchange in furniture, mirrors, trinkets, tennis balls and haberdashery. There is no recorded trade in books or religious tracts until 1530 when Henry Tooley imported 20s worth of unspecified books for sale by the Ipswich bookseller Reginald Oliver.

Time restraints prohibited Dr. Amor speaking about ship design, although sharing the model of the Cog was a great compensation.

Lecture 4 Thomas Bilney (c. 1495 – 1531), was delivered by Andrew Hope, Reformation historian, who traced the life of Bilney from the time he left Cambridge to pursue a preaching career. Bilney appears to have been a 'self taught' scholar, interested in the social implications of Reformation ideas but it is possible that his family had 'inherited' such notions from Lollardy which was still quite prevalent in East Anglia. His preaching was considered to be tainted with heresy. He regarded man's conscience to be the result of the infilling of his body by the Holy Ghost (I Corinthians 3 & 6) for how else could a man make objective, moral decisions that were not in his own best interest? He considered that the Roman Catholic Church had usurped the place of the Holy Ghost by denying individual conscience. Thomas More had stated that Christendom had only a communal conscience. Bilney denounced sacraments as a source of merit for salvation and in the summer of 1527 at Christchurch, Ipswich, he had inveighed against relics, pilgrimages and festivals, such as were invoked by the cult of Our Lady of Grace of Ipswich. Thomas More, already in controversy with William Tyndale on this topic, rallied to the

defence of Our Lady of Grace and Bilney was arrested in December 1527 and examined by Thomas Wolsey. Bilney's strictures exceeded those of many reformers. For, example he eschewed music in worship. Bilney was 'quiet' for three years, struggling to define his position and More said he had recanted permanently, but in 1531 he travelled to Norwich and deliberately preached an inflammatory sermon. This resulted in his arrest and conviction for heresy and he was burned in Norwich on 19th August 1531. Bilney regarded his martyrdom as being 'the burning of the stubble after the harvest', the harvest being his contemporaries at Cambridge, such as Hugh Latimer, who became influential reformers.

Mary Clow closed the conference, thanking the speakers and Brian Buxton for giving us such a stimulating, thought provoking and enjoyable study day.

I am grateful to Brian Buxton for his assistance in preparing this report.

Footnote from Brian Buxton

The Victoria & Albert Museum has an appeal to raise the sum required to purchase 'Wolsey's Angels'. These four figures were commissioned by Wolsey from the Florentine sculptor Benedetto da Rovezzano to stand at the four corners of his tomb. Following his disgrace the tomb was never built and the angels ended up on the gateposts of Harrowden Hall, Northamptonshire. The tomb chest stands beneath the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, housing the remains of Nelson. The angels are currently on display at the V & A. See <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/w/wolsey-angels-appeal/>.

Brian Buxton

The Bible in Shakespeare*

Dr Hannibal Hamlin at St Mary Abchurch, City of London

Friday, May 30th, 2014.

Report by Mary Clow

On a beautiful spring evening we gathered in this Wren church – familiar from the annual Tyndale Carol Service – to hear Dr Hamlin's witty and erudite presentation of his book. Surprisingly this is the first full-length critical study of the integral presence of the Bible in almost every speech of Shakespeare.

Using a wide range of examples from many of the plays, Dr Hamlin discussed how an early modern audience would have been quick to hear echoes of biblical text in the most unlikely places, principally because those stories through constant repetition at compulsory church attendance, were so familiar to ordinary people who were not submerged in the media buzz today. When he invited questions, a lively exchange took place with the audience, and his theme was perfectly proved by quotations from football commentary.

*published by Oxford University Press (see TSJ43 p.51)

“Real Bible Study”: On Seeing the Wood for the Trees...

Very Revd Jeffrey John, Dean of St. Alban's

Exeter, April 2nd 2014

Report by David Ireson

As the saying goes we look down into a well 2,000 years deep, and at the bottom see our own reflection; every age creates its own interpretation of the Bible. This problem was addressed by Dean Jeffrey John with an outstanding lecture. He urged us to make the effort to read the documents and books as the first Christians did. This, he said, can only help enrich and deepen faith and understanding.

We know, of course, that before Tyndale the Church insisted it alone had the authority to interpret the Bible. When he made the text available in English, Tyndale believed all, even the ‘ploughboy’, should be able to hear or even read *and interpret* Scripture for themselves. Jeffrey John’s inspired and engaging lecture explored this question brilliantly: Do we need the Church, its scholars and its commentaries to guide us today, or can we still read the Bible just as it stands?

In contemporary Britain, many dismiss the possibility that the Bible might hold any further relevance. Those children who hear Bible stories at home or in school all too often still rely upon their child’s understanding into their adult lives. When growing up in a secular and scientific world Bible stories make little sense. Unfortunately many of us have lost the ability to see truth in myth and story.

The Dean pointed out that those who sit in the pews on a Sunday are fed with ‘chunks’ from the Bible; the classic problem of not being able to see the wood for the trees. He imagined the reading of Numbers 15.31+:

“When the Israelites were in the wilderness, they found a man gathering sticks on the sabbath day. Those who found him gathering sticks brought him to Moses, Aaron, and to the whole congregation. They put him in custody, because it was not clear what should be done to him. Then the LORD said to Moses, “The man shall be put to death; all the congregation shall stone him outside the camp.” The whole congregation brought him outside the camp and stoned him to death, just as the LORD had commanded Moses.”

Who, proclaiming this reading in church, would wish to end with: “This is the Word of the Lord”? Similarly, how can we proclaim to the congregation this passage from Psalm 109?

“Do not be silent, O God... wicked and deceitful mouths are opened

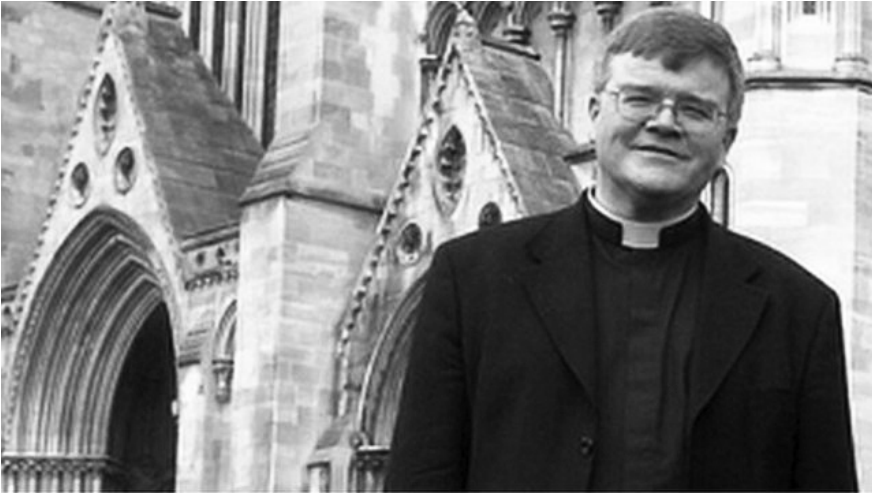
against me... and attack me without cause... When he is tried, let him be found guilty; let his prayer be counted as sin. May his days be few... May his children be orphans, and his wife a widow. May his children wander about and beg... May the creditor seize all that he has; may strangers plunder the fruits of his toil. May there be no one to do him a kindness, nor anyone to pity his orphaned children. May the iniquity of his father be remembered before the LORD, and do not let the sin of his mother be blotted out... may his memory be cut off from the earth... let curses come on him..." *This is astonishingly followed by:* "With my mouth I will give great thanks to the LORD; I will praise him in the midst of the throng. For he stands at the right hand of the needy, to save them from those who would condemn them to death."

Jeffrey John went on to quote from the pastoral epistles. Elsie, a member of the congregation, read a passage in his church which was written long before women were accorded any equality with men. She could only end with: "This is *not* the Word of the Lord" adding, "it was just Paul being silly!" Revd John pointed out that the letters to Titus and Timothy were written long after Paul had died. Paul himself expressed things differently: Galatians 3.28: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus."

The "Word" is Christ himself. To take each word of the Bible literally simply does not make sense. We simply cannot pick and choose 'chunks' from the 84 'books' of the Bible without having first made the effort to explore its evolution from an oral tradition to the texts written by authors who did not write for us but for the community they belonged to at least 2,000 years ago. In the kaleidoscope of places and people, each author's ideas and purposes were constantly edited and changed.

Although few have had the time to study the Biblical criticism of the last couple of centuries (eg form, redaction and literary criticism) we must at least ask questions and not take texts at face value. We will find many contradictions and need to understand why. Jeffery John cited the Lenten penitential Psalm 51. First used during the Exile period when animal sacrifices in Jerusalem were not possible we read:

"O Lord, open my lips, and my mouth will declare your praise. For you have no delight in sacrifice; if I were to give a burnt offering, you would not be pleased. The sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken spirit; a broken and contrite heart, O God, you will not despise." *However this same Psalm ends with these extraordinary contradicting words, obviously added once the people had returned to Jerusalem:* "Rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, then you will delight in right sacrifices, in burnt offerings and whole burnt offerings; then bulls will be



Very Revd Jeffrey John, Dean of St. Alban's

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offered on your altar.”

Any attentive reader can discern how texts we have now were originally put together by editors drawing on several accounts they had in their possession. This becomes clearer when one compares Chapters 1 and 2 of Genesis. There are two quite different stories of creation. Allowing sufficient time one could discover, as scholars did over a hundred years ago, that the first five books of the Bible, the Pentateuch, were created from four main sources (labelled J/P/D/ and E). You might even come to realise that the Book of Isaiah was the work of three authors, if not a committee.

Turning to the New Testament, differences in the four Gospels are worth examining. Each was written for distinct communities with different experiences. These are reflected in the approach and concerns of each of the four Gospel writers. There is a huge difference between the deep simplicity of Mark's account and the theological treatise which became John's Gospel. One starting point might be to compare the Resurrection accounts and the words attributed to Jesus many decades after the event. It is interesting to see how Matthew omitted or changed passages of Mark when he wanted to write for a Jewish Christian community. Mark Chapter 7 has Jesus clearly saying that all foods can be eaten, whereas Matthew still holds that only kosher food may be consumed. We can find contradictions in the ways in which retaining the Law, the many laws of Old Testament times, are referred to in the Gospels and the Epistles. There were different agendas. How we now relate to Jesus himself while seeking to relate to the

Church laws of today is equally worth some discussion.

The Dean looked at the difference between Mark and Matthew regarding divorce and shared a fascinating insight into how to read the Book of Jonah. The latter is a deeply theological work, not simply a mythical story about a prophet who is swallowed by a whale. Far more important is the truth that God's love and concern extends to the Gentiles (in this case the people of Nineveh) and not just the Chosen Race.

Jeffrey John's most read book is "The Meaning in the Miracles" published in 2001 (Canterbury Press, ISBN: 9781853114342) and his whole lecture was expressed in the same vein. The child in us sees Jesus healing the sick and performing wonders, but the Gospel writers wanted to focus on Jesus breaking through the prejudices and taboos of his time. He wanted to proclaim that the sick, the poor, the lame, deaf and blind were *not* sinners who could be treated as outcasts. Even today the seeds of prejudice, hatred and violence are just below the surface of our lives and break out all too often. The issue of women priests and bishops makes the point strongly enough. Jeffrey finished his lecture exploring symbolic meanings. The symbolic meaning given to numbers... 7, 12, 40, 4,000, 5,000, even the meaning of the 153 fish mentioned in John 21, all these can wash over a church congregation. Without some effort to leap over the 2,000 year chasm, much of the meaning of Scripture is lost.

Today there are still many Christians who want to take every word of Scripture literally. They are sincere and their integrity cannot be questioned. At the same time they seem to be at odds with those Christians of a more liberal or radical persuasion and at times it seems as though the divisions between evangelical and liberal could deepen or destroy the ecumenical imperative all churches subscribe to. Jeffrey John was not dismayed in the least. He feels that evangelical Christians are more likely to read the Bible daily whilst many Sunday worshippers are content with their diet of Sunday 'chunks'.

Dean John said that in our secular world we need to have greater courage in proclaiming the Gospel. At the same time we need to discover that to use a commentary can deepen our faith and understanding. He exposed many misunderstandings in his lecture, many contradictions and problems, but, in fact, exploring these issues ultimately helps many to become ever more committed disciples of Jesus the Christ.

Biblical quotations from the RSV version.

The Sixteenth Century Society Conference

October 16-19, 2014 New Orleans, USA

The Tyndale Project: an Up-Date

Report by Mary Clow

This was a wonderful opportunity to get together with the editorial team of the re-established *Tyndale Project*, nearly all of them present and participating in this conference. I was able to hear firsthand of their progress so far on the preparation of critical editions of all the theological writings of Tyndale.

Members will remember that in 2000 the Catholic University of America Press published Tyndale's *An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, edited by Anne M O'Donnell SND and Jared Wicks SJ (see quotation on p.12).

After that the Project was in abeyance and so far this is the only volume to appear. Of course the doughty Parker Society edition of the 1850's is a vital resource (and see quotation on p. 43), but with footnotes often in Latin untranslated it is not ideal for modern requirements and for attracting scholars to close reading of Tyndale. The editorial group commented emphatically that accessibility of material leads to wide study, attention which Tyndale's writings strongly merit. Also to be reckoned with in the Parker edition are the sensibilities of the editor, the Revd Henry Walter, viz

"The next illustration has been omitted as turning upon a subject too indelicate for profitable contemplation".

The tone of Tudor writing could prove too earthy for the Victorian vicar.

These cobwebs will be blown away when the works reappear under the guidance of Susan Felch, of Calvin College. It has been decided that all 6 or 7 volumes are to be worked on simultaneously, and although they will not all be published together, there will be no long delay. In the team are familiar Tyndalians Tibor Fabiny of Karoli Gaspar University, Hungary; and Gergely Juhasz, now at Liverpool Hope University. J. Christopher Warner of Le Moyne College, NY has joined, with Cathy Shrank of Sheffield University, UK and Clare Costley King'oo, a graduate of Hertford College, Oxford, presently at University of Connecticut. Finally founder member of the Tyndale Society, Anne M O'Donnell, SND, Professor Emerita of Catholic University of America, acts in an overall capacity: it is Sister Anne's generosity through the Marie A O'Donnell Fund that enables the Project's revival. Also on the team but not there in New Orleans were Brian Cummings of York University, and

Mark Rankin of James Madison University, Virginia, who is already working on *The Practice of Prelates*. Both will be speakers at our 9th International Tyndale Conference, as will Dr O'Donnell and Dr Juhasz .

All present took part at the Roundtable discussion *Editing Evangelicals: The Case of William Tyndale*.

Susan Felch spoke of how important it is to see writing in context, how to situate Tyndale, his language and ideology in the light of his antecedents, to be textually and culturally aware of where he stands when he writes; in 1528 he was in a different place than in 1534."Editors are the custodians of the backward gaze".

Cathy Shrank agreed. Tyndale was not 'a destructive powder keg', he existed in the intellectual context of Henrician England. He was genuinely shocked by his rejection by More, the friend of Erasmus. She repeated that critical editions are vital for writers to achieve recognition. This is a great time for the Project when so many digital tools and resources are available.

Chris Warner told how using the technique of transparencies laid over each other to show variants, a new, unknown edition of Tyndale's 1 John had been discovered - for 65 years hiding, mis-catalogued, in a library.

Greg Juhasz described Tyndale's surroundings and how important it was to take account of them. In his scholarship he was isolated, but working in Antwerp at the printers his daily reality was of multiple editions in many languages being produced all around him.

Tibor Fabiny held that early Tyndale was influenced by Luther, but later he moved towards the Swiss theologians. "Translation is also hermaneutics!"

This neatly summed up the twin themes of the 9th International Tyndale Conference - Oxford in October, 2015: *Quiddities* - Tyndale's independent writings and his theology.

Mary Clow



Sixteenth Century Society Conference
<http://www.sixteenthcentury.org/conference/>

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



Ed.: Mr. Prater has raised some interesting questions about the TSJ's book review policy. In this spirit, I invite TSJ readers to share their thoughts on this topic—and to send in book reviews, or contributions to our “What Are You Reading?” column.

Dear Neil,

In your TSJ43 Editorial you mention that the journal has developed a multidimensional perspective in recent years. This is to be welcomed, but I am concerned that sometimes book reviews deal with material that is irrelevant to the historical period, contrary to the evangelical spirit of Tyndale and is not within what I see as the scope of the journal. Below I comment on two reviews in TSJ43 that deal with liberal approaches to the bible and the life of Christ.

Though they lived in a pre-critical period, Tyndale and the other Reformers were true scholars and examined as far as they could the history and background of the biblical material. Luther and Calvin as exegetes were not inflexible like biblical fundamentalists. If they lived today they would probably support a healthy approach to biblical criticism, not holding on the one hand to a rigid theory of scriptural inerrancy or on the other to the liberal ideas floating around today.

David Ireson reviews a recent work by Marcus Borg. Not long ago I had occasion to look into the background beliefs of this prolific writer. If we start with the basic question of the nature of God, when asked about his belief in God he replied to the effect it was certainly not in a supernatural God. For him God seems to be a word describing the human search for meaning, with the somewhat vague explanation “that which is”. For John Dominic Crossan (a co-author and co-member of the extremely liberal Jesus Seminar) God is the process of evolution. Such views amount to a variant of pantheism. Of course, distinctive Jewish and Christian beliefs, especially those to do with the death of Christ and the atonement, fall by the wayside. The essence of the New Testament is not faith based on historical events, but truth through myth with no place for miracles. Perhaps this is what Ireson is referring to in his final sentence: “We no longer have to cringe and expect the secular world to accept the absurd”. Obviously, the gospels are not objective history. Their material is selected and arranged from various oral and written sources with a view to spreading the message of good news, the kerygma.

Borg's dating of when the gospels and letters were written is influenced by

liberal views regarding the “development of the core ideas of Christianity”. Personally, I see no advantage in constructing a chronological sequence based on favoured theories of NT scholarship, rather than taking the historic canonical sequence.

The second review is by Mary Clow of *Zealot: The Life and Times of Jesus of Nazareth* by Reza Aslan, which she describes as “a comprehensive study of the historical Jesus”.

There is a long history of writing on the person and life of Jesus of Nazareth. Already in the rationalist period of the 18th century the German professor of Semitic languages Remarius (1774) wrote that “Jesus was a failed Jewish revolutionary...” – which is also the basis of Aslan’s thesis.

The 19th century saw the development of a critical approach to the Gospels with various attempts at producing a life of Christ, notably Strauss (1835). Regarding Strauss’ two-volume work, A.M. Hunter (1950) sums up the contents thus: “No one before him had so thoroughly set about dissolving the Gospel history into myth and legend.” Most critical scholars rejected the historical value of John’s Gospel and many of the liberal works saw the person of Jesus as purely human. Yet they still tried to make him attractive, like Renan (1863). Some regarded him as the greatest religious teacher or as the first true believer in God the Father. But as Hunter points out, the liberal view of Jesus cannot explain Christianity. William Temple once commented, “Why any man should have troubled to crucify the Christ of Liberal Protestantism has always been a mystery”.

Liberal scholarship reached an impasse and in this situation Albert Schweitzer’s *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1910) appeared, emphasising the place of the eschatological, while other scholars of that period searched for material from sources of comparative religion.

The last 50 years or so has also seen a widespread rejection of the canonical gospels while giving priority to 2nd and 3rd century apocryphal writings, arguing that these books were as early as the NT books, especially the Gospel of Thomas, which Crossan dates to the A.D. 50’s! This has led to some rather debatable views, e.g. Jesus had children by Mary Magdalene. Crossan published two books on the life of Christ: *Jesus – A Revolutionary Biography* and *The Historical Jesus – The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant*. He puts forward the view that Jesus was a Cynic. Note the latter term denotes a hippie-type movement that began in Greece in the 4th century B.C. Without proof Aslan similarly describes Jesus and his followers as “illiterate peasants from the backwoods of Galilee”.

Another example of Aslan’s preferred use of non-biblical sources is to state

contrary to Mark's Gospel (ch. 6, v. 1-2) that there was no synagogue in Nazareth. Archaeology can be a useful tool in verifying the scriptures, but it seems dangerous to me to argue, in effect, from silence. Further, much of what Aslan says, e.g. regarding Jesus and Paul (put forward as the real founder of Christianity!) is simply one view – the radical liberal view. Mary Clow's finds that "Dr Aslan's arguments are convincing, his historical facts irrefutable and his background information ... invaluable." Apparently Aslan took the trouble to read in depth John P. Meier, author of a magisterial life of Christ called *A Marginal Jew*. But this "comprehensive study" of Aslan ignores many of the works of lifelong scholars in the field such as the conservative Craig A. Evans, author of *Fabricating Jesus – How Modern Scholars distort the Gospels*, IVP, 2006, who has also written a penetrating review, pointing out many factual errors, of Reza Aslan's *Zealot*: <http://goo.gl/brgFE>

For me to top the charts in non-fictional writing in the biblical context doesn't say much. Usually such books tend to be sensational and anti-Christian, e.g. Dan Brown's *Da Vinci Code*. Aslan's book is not quite in that literary genre, but it could mislead an unformed readership.

How refreshing I am finding Pope Benedict XVI's straightforward Jesus of Nazareth.

My desire in writing to you as Editor is that you should consider the relevance of a book review to Tyndale and his times, the Reformation period as a whole, together with bible translation and its impact on the English language.

Yours sincerely,
Gerald Prater

Dear Sirs:

Re: *Tyndale's Congregation*, Article by Ian Thain in TSJ# 43

Mr. Thain in the above article assumed that Jesus was speaking Greek with his disciples in the discourse that is recorded in Matthew 18 at verse 17, when Jesus was in Capernaum:

"If he hear not them, tell it unto the **congregation**. If he hear not the **congregation**, take him as a heathen man, and as a publican" (Matthew 18:17).

In this verse, Tyndale twice translated the Greek word '*ecclesia*' by 'congregation.' Mr. Thain writes:

Somewhat awkwardly for a translator, Jesus had employed a word which had neither correspondence in Jewish thought nor background in Jewish tradition. There were several Hebrew and Aramaic words he could have used which

described various kinds of assembly familiar to the Jews, but he didn't use any of them. Instead he used a word, and used it twice, which came not from Moses but from Periclean Athens...

But do we really know that Jesus was speaking Greek here? Matthew's gospel may have been written in Greek, but does this mean that Jesus "employed a word...from Periclean Athens"?

The setting for Jesus' teaching in Capernaum is generally believed to have been a family home, possibly Peter's. It was therefore not a large or international gathering. Jesus was with his disciples and followers, including young children (whom, we are told, he embraced; see Matthew 18:2). Jesus and his disciples were Jews, or of Jewish descent. Noted historian Alfred Edersheim tells us that when our Lord lived and ministered:

The language spoken by the Jews was no longer Hebrew, but Aramaean [Aramaic], both in Palestine and in Babylonia. (From Alfred Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1977), p.10).

It is and always has been generally accepted that Aramaic was the language primarily spoken by Jesus and his disciples. He may also have spoken Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. But in a family setting in Galilee, is it likely he discoursed in the language of "Periclean Athens"? When the Gospel writers quote Jesus directly, they always have him speaking Aramaic: for example, *Abba* (which means 'father' or 'papa' in Aramaic); *Eli, eli lama sabachthani* (Matthew 27:46, Jesus' cry on the cross); *Boanerges* (Mark 3:17, a Greek transliteration of an Aramaic phrase); *Talitha koum* (Mark 5:41, Aramaic for "little girl, get up!").

The evidence is compelling that the language Jesus used most was Aramaic. In any case, we certainly cannot assume that Jesus actually used the Greek word '*ecclesia*.' It was most likely Matthew who used it when he was writing his gospel, to translate what Jesus had said.

Ruth M. Davis
British Columbia

Ian Thain responds to RMD's letter

Sir,

Ruth Davis raises an important question, for a definitive answer to which we shall probably have to await the Second Coming. But may I be permitted here to mention some of the reasons for supposing that Jesus and those around Him actually spoke Greek much more frequently than has usually been supposed?

1. Of approximately 1,600 extant Jewish monumental epitaphs in ancient Palestine dating from 300 B.C. to 500 A.D., some 70% are in Greek; 12%

are in Latin; and only 18% are in Hebrew or Aramaic.¹ At the very least this suggests that those who wrote and read the inscriptions were perfectly familiar with Greek.

2. The region in which Jesus and His mother lived during the Ministry is known in scripture as “Galilee of the Gentiles”.² It would hardly have been known as that if the predominant language and culture there had been Aramaic. Even before the time of Alexander,³ and certainly afterwards, the language of Galilee was that of international commerce, namely Greek. Jerusalem may have regarded Galilee as a religious backwater but economically it thrived. Capernaum was not bashful about its world status.⁴
3. By the third century BC Jews in Egypt could barely read Hebrew at all, so the scriptures were translated into Greek – the Septuagint. It was from this translation that the evangelists quoted when they drew attention to the Messianic prophecies which had been fulfilled by Jesus, not from the Hebrew scriptures.⁵ They would hardly have done so, and the LXX would hardly have been circulated at all, if the people of The Land had spoken only Aramaic and Hebrew. Greek must have been familiar to everybody.
4. Some of the disciples had Greek names.⁶ Hellenistic pagan imitation had been deplorably widespread amongst the Jews.⁷ And even Augustus, who had forbidden the use of Greek for speeches in the Senate, nevertheless had a Greek tutor, quoted from the Greek poets, and seriously applied himself to speaking Greek well.⁸ On the apparently few recorded occasions when Jesus did speak Aramaic His words are preserved verbatim; but as the remainder of what He said was recorded in Greek, is it not reasonable to suppose that Greek was the language He actually spoke? Some of His words, such as “hypocrite”, were thoroughly Greek and had no counterpart in Aramaic. And if, in the extremity of His agony on the Cross, His very last word (*tetelestai, it is finished*) had been spoken in Aramaic, would not that Aramaic have been recorded by those who heard Him?
5. In the interesting and informative work quoted by Ruth, Edersheim asks “*Can we believe that, in a Hebrew service, the Messiah could have risen to address the people in Greek, or that he would have argued with the Pharisees and Scribes in that tongue, especially remembering that its study was actually forbidden by the Rabbis?*”⁹ But with all due respect to the very eminent scholar we must answer his question “Certainly we can!” In fact Jesus deliberately went out of His way to *break* the rules invented by those same Scribes and Pharisees. Space unfortunately forbids a full discussion here of this important topic.
6. The writer to the Hebrews makes it clear to them that the Incarnation was an epochal event. Their long-awaited Messiah had arrived, there had been a

simultaneous change of the priesthood and therefore there had been a corresponding change of law.¹⁰ Suddenly the promises to Abraham embraced even the despised gentiles. So... what better way to force upon stiff Hebrew necks and stubborn Hebrew hearts the profundity of that change than to use the gentiles' own language to proclaim it? And of course the NT itself was written in Greek. There have been claims that Matthew was written in Aramaic, but if so not a single copy has survived whereas there are thousands of NT manuscripts in Greek. Hebraisms in the Greek there certainly are, and Prof. Daniel has shown us that Tyndale was the first to spot them,¹¹ but the gospel in Aramaic? Not that I know of.

7. Finally, all the letters of Hebrew and Greek have numeric values¹² and the study of Gematria – reckoning up the numeric value of scriptural words and phrases - has now become something of an industry.¹³ In addition to making available the precision of thought and expression required by a Paul, the remarkable mathematical patterns displayed by the Greek scriptures, matching as they do both those in the ancient Hebrew and those in the natural world around us, defy coincidence and compel belief that the timely availability of the Greek language cannot be regarded as other than an act of Divine providence. Having therefore prepared Greek specifically to contain and propagate the gospel, would not its Author have used it for that very purpose in the days of His flesh?

Yours sincerely,
Ian H. Thain

References

- 1 P.W. Van Der Horst, *Biblical Archaeology Review*, Sept.-Oct. 1992.
- 2 Matt. 4:15
- 3 Alexander is popularly (but incorrectly) supposed to have died in 323 BC. This common 82-year error is due to the widespread use of the pagan and uninspired 'Canon' of Ptolemy to date events in ancient history.
- 4 Matt.11:23
- 5 e.g. The famous 2nd Cainan in Luke's genealogy (Lk. 3:36,37). That Cainan is not in the Hebrew.
- 6 Andrew and Philip are indisputably Greek.
- 7 1 Maccabees 1:15
- 8 Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, Augustus, para. 89
- 9 Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, original edition Vol 1, p 130.
- 10 Heb.7:12
- 11 Daniel, Prof David, *William Tyndale – A Biography*, Ch 11.
- 12 Latin used only a few of its letters for this purpose (see the interesting result of summing them on the writer's site in the lower part of the page at <http://www.thain.com/bible/chronology/israel/rulers/rulers-of-jerusalem.htm>).
- 13 See various works by Bullinger, Panin, and in modern times the websites of the mathematician Vernon Jenkins at <http://www.whatabeginning.com> and <http://www.otherbiblecode.com>, etc.

Ed.: We had one exchange of emails with a reader that truly exemplified the cordial and approachable atmosphere we strive for here at the TSJ. The discussion below also epitomizes the fact that we learn something new every day.

James Randall Hutcherson:

Hi Neil,

My name is Randy Hutcherson. I have been looking for a poem by William Tyndale that describes a tender little vine that climbs onto a tree then overtakes it. I found this address that invited inquires. Do you know of this work and where I might find it?

Neil Langdon Inglis:

We're on the case, Randy.

Can you give us a bit more detail about where you heard of the poem -- the context in which the query arose?

James Randall Hutcherson:

Neil, thank you for responding. I have been doing personal research for some time now based on Revelation 17-18 and specifically Revelation 18:24 KJV. At one point I had run across a poem attributed to William Tyndale that painted a picture of the papacy that at first was described as a tender little vine that started climbing into a tree. It grew larger and larger until it overtook the whole tree. In its vines nested all sorts of nasty critters. Revelation 17 describes this entity as sitting on seven hills among other clues that it provides. (...) I can't seem to find the poem again. I thought you may be able to point me in the direction of a book that might include this work. I hate to bother you really but I appreciate any help you may give. Thank you, Randy.

Ed.: At this point I shared Randy's query with my Tyndale Society colleagues, and Ralph Werrell responded.

Ralph S. Werrell:

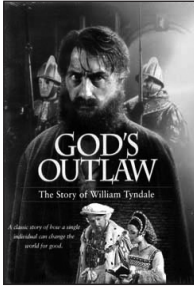
Dear Neil,

Following my reply to your last e-mail, I am also sending this reply to James Randall Hutcherson.

What you are after is the section, "A proper similitude to describe our Holy Father." *Practice of Prelates*, Parker Society, *Works of William Tyndale, Expositions of Scripture and Practice of Prelates*, p.270: where Tyndale is writing about the way ivy grows and destroys the tree it is climbing.

see quotation p. 43

Reviews (Film And Books)



God's Outlaw.

DVD. Grenville Film Productions.

ISBN 1-56364-737-0. Amazon. £7.30.

In the 28 years since its production (1986), I must have watched this film 30 or 40 times, perhaps more, and it still sends a tingle down my spine. Everything about it is perfect. Actors, settings, costumes, and especially the script, all merge seamlessly together to produce the work of art that is *God's Outlaw*. Even its historical detail is utterly faithful to the record. Actually, let me qualify that, because there is one solitary gaffe where the actor Arthur Cox, playing Peter Quentell the printer of Cologne, reads from Tyndale's 1526 1 Corinthians 13, even though Quentell actually only printed as far as Matthew's Gospel and perhaps some of Mark's before his workshop was raided and the printing halted. But Cox reads the chapter (from the Worms edition) in so perfect a voice that this is readily forgivable.

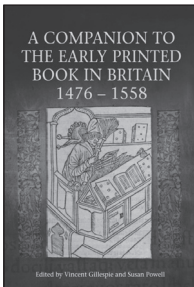
The film opens with Friar Stafford (Derek Ware) of Coventry cowing a little girl who has had the temerity to recite before him the Lord's Prayer in English. It is a menacing scene in which the danger of being a 'heretic' in those days is made all too apparent. The story then unfolds with William Tyndale (the excellent Roger Rees) deciding at Little Sodbury manor house to translate the New Testament from Greek into English. There follows his rebuff at the hands of the then Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall (played so well by George Waring) which then moves the scene to the Continent. A surprise was the casting of diminutive Keith Barron to play the gargantuan Henry VIII. In one scene, Wolsey (Willoughby Goddard - himself wider than he was tall) has to kneel before the king so as not to appear what he was in real life, the taller of the two. Perspective and camera angle were strained almost to breaking point, but the scene is well executed nonetheless. Then, towards the end, we are introduced to the two villains of the piece, Bishop Stokesley of London (performed to perfection by Jerome Willis) who commissions the other villain, Henry Phillips (interpreted with chilling excellence by Stuart Harrison) to hunt down William Tyndale to his death.

This film is a monumental delight for Tyndalians everywhere. I know of only two attempts apart from this to portray William Tyndale. One is a modern animated story, and the other was an attempt made back in 1934 by the Religious Film Society to celebrate Tyndale's revision of 1534, starring Alan

Wheatley (later the Sheriff of Nottingham in the early Robin Hood series). This film, alas, was never released, though the Tyndale Society was treated some years ago to a special viewing at the British Library of the only print in existence. In short, *God's Outlaw* comes highly recommended. The only caveat is that if you buy this from Amazon in the UK, make sure that the disc you order is for Region 2. The American import (Region 1) is unplayable on UK machines.

PS. I must end with a question. When, oh when, will the Royal Shakespeare Company release the dvd of their Tyndalian production, *Written on the Heart*? This is long overdue (you can buy the stageplay on Amazon), and there are thousands of Tyndalians who would snap it up, especially those of us who could not make it to the theatre.

Bill Cooper



A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476-1558

Edited by Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell

D.S. Brewer (an imprint of Boydell & Brewer) 2014

(385pp)

ISBN 9781843843634

Living in an age when text on a screen is competing for our attention against traditional hard copy text we may find ourselves able to empathise with those who lived in the age of change to printed text from the handwritten manuscript. Then, as now, opinion varied as to the desirability of each and as to what future would emerge. Then, as now, the triumph of the new technology was a much slower process than many foresaw at the beginning. It is to this age (as reflected through the British book trade) that the present volume is a companion, very readably covering a wide range of topics in some sixteen essays, each by an expert in the relevant field.

The importance of the printed book in the dissemination of ideas during the course of the Reformation is a commonplace assertion. In the **Introduction** to this volume Vincent Gillespie begins by quoting John Foxe:

For as the first decay and ruine of the Church, before began of rude ignoraunce, and lacke of knowledge in teachers: so to restore the Church agayne by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man, the arte of Printyng... (The Acts and Monuments Online 1570 edn. 7.1006)

However, as Gillespie immediately comments:

Like all totalising narratives, John Foxe's polemical narrative of the invention of printing as a providential preliminary to the wholesale reformation of the church can only work by omitting much that is inconvenient in the story (p.1).

Later in this book, Tyndale Society member Andrew Hope writes about **The Printed Book trade in Response to Luther: English Books Printed Abroad**. He prefaces his discussion of the trade in reformed literature, not least the translations and writings of William Tyndale, with a reminder, in this case of the importance of the printed book to the late medieval church. He notes:

Late medieval religion may have been a religion of performance, but it was words that were performative. A book trade rapidly developed to satisfy this liturgical need (p.272).

Lucy Wooding develops this line in a chapter on **Catholicism, the Printed Book and the Marian Restoration** where she writes:

For the first fifty years of its existence in England, the printing press served to uphold the pre-Reformation church, and as the Reformation unfolded, the Catholic use of print would prove just as versatile and influential as that of its Protestant counterparts (p.307).

One of the greatest interests in this volume is the picture it provides of this unfolding use of the printed book for a wide range of purposes within Christian Britain before, during and after the Reformation period. Slowly the country acquired its own printers, initially depending primarily on imports from Europe which were often much cheaper and perfectly satisfactory in an age when Latin was still the language of the church and scholarship. The productions discussed in these essays include church service books and spiritual works for private devotion, school textbooks, classical literature, theology and philosophy, canon law, and the polemical works from all sides of the religious debate. Increasingly English emerged as an acceptable language for serious publications, and was found not least in the early Biblical translations from the imports of William Tyndale's New Testament onwards.

The increasing belief in the importance of opening up spiritual material to audiences broader than those proficient in Latin led to an important role for translators. Brenda B. Hosington writes about **Women Translators and the Early Printed Book**. Whilst noticing that of the thousand or so translations made in the period covered by the present volume only forty were by women, she draws attention to the significance of several of these individuals, generally royal or otherwise well placed in society, and considers their motivation and that of the publishers and printers with whom they worked.

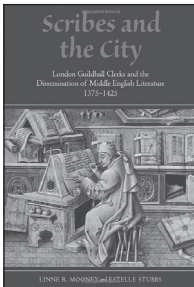
The essays in the "Companion" are very varied in subject matter. Apart from those already mentioned, others consider the types of books produced by

different printers, which were bought by various groups in society - merchants, clergy, religious and scholars, practicalities such as sourcing paper and bookbinding, and censorship with special reference to Thomas More.

This is a very wide ranging volume which provides a valuable insight into the arrival and early use of the printed book in Britain.

Perhaps inevitably, given that it is a compilation by sixteen different scholars rather than the planned work of one author, there is a degree of repetition. For biographical information the reader is often referred to **The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography** (2004).

Brian Buxton
Kesgrave, Suffolk UK



Scribes and the City: London Guildhall Clerks and the Dissemination of Middle English Literature, 1375 – 1425

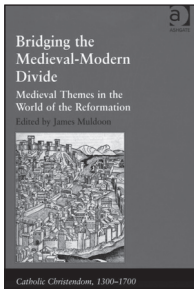
Linne R. Mooney and Estelle Stubbs

York Medieval Press (Boydell & Brewer) 2013

ISBN 978-1-903153-40-6

Readers with an interest in this area may also like to note another recent publication, a fascinating comparison of surviving manuscripts of works by Geoffrey Chaucer, John Gower, John Trevisa, William Langland and Thomas Hoccleve, with a view to identifying the scribes responsible. Whilst this is ongoing work, the researchers seem to make a good case for claiming that many literary manuscripts originating in London were copied by clerks in the employ of the City who presumably earned extra by working on these projects in their spare time. This volume is produced to a high standard and, being in large size format of 31 cm x 24.8cm, the fifty three images of manuscripts are very easy to read. This is a superb piece of detective work which brings to life the world of book production in the age before print and from which the scribes emerge as real, identifiable individuals.

Brian Buxton
Kesgrave, Suffolk UK



Bridging the Medieval-Modern Divide:

Medieval Themes in the World of the Reformation.

Edited by James Muldoon.

Ashgate: 2013

<http://www.ashgate.com/isbn/9781409447634>

It has been assumed in academia that there was a wall between the late medieval and early modern world. This has resulted in the idea that William Tyndale's reformed theology necessarily began with Martin Luther – it could not have arisen from Wyclif and the late medieval period. Recently this assessment has been challenged. *Bridging the Medieval-Modern Divide* clearly shows the interdependence and continuance of these two periods. In his preface James Muldoon writes: “The theme of this volume is that medievalists and modernists have much to learn from one another if they would only communicate more often instead of occasionally shouting at each other across the divide.” The book consists of an Introduction, eight chapters, and an Afterword written by academics from different disciplines.

I cannot summarise this book better than by quoting from the Afterword: “The essays in this collection argue that the lines dividing medieval from modern history have been drawn too starkly and should be reconsidered. Treating diverse themes, the authors maintain either that the Middle Ages was more modern than has previously been thought, or that the early modern period depended more heavily on medieval precedents than has usually been recognised. Taken together, they complicate, vitiate, and generally blur what has been one of the most starkly defined chronological boundaries in historical writing.” (p. 225.)

After the Introduction: *Bridging the Medieval-Modern Divide* (James Muldoon), we are plunged into eight chapters which explode our modern concepts of the middle ages, showing how much we depend today on medieval thinking.

Medieval Roots of the Modern Image of Islam (Meriem Pages) and *Toleration in Medieval Europe* (Cary J. Nederman), refute the notion that medieval Christianity was a closed concept affecting the Christian community. Pages ends her article “only by disassociating past from present can we come to grasp the nature of the relationship between these two medieval societies. In doing so we may find that we have also gained important insights into the relationship between the Middle East and the West today.” (p. 42.)

Nederman writes about tolerance and, although there are differences between the middle ages and the modern, the issues involved are not at all clear

cut; and we should consider “the ‘family’ but not identical theories of toleration.” (p. 13.)

In *Atheism in Late Medieval Travel Writings*, it is harder to discern whether a gap between Medieval and Modern has been bridged; however, Margaret Kim shows that “what has changed is not knowledge of the possibility of atheism but judgements about what constituted atheism and what it signified.” (p. 14.)

George Dameron, in *Purgatory and Modernity*, argues that “Belief in Purgatory permitted the taking of interest on loans, as it allowed the merchant or the banker to accumulate profits (based on the taking of interest, or usury) without the fear of certain damnation.” This “helped transform the European economy.” (p. 96.) Thus, Dameron can conclude, “Some of the strongest roots of economic behaviour and cultural discourse therefore lay not in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but in the thirteenth and fourteenth. Purgatory is not dead; it is not even past.” (p. 105.)

Next, we turn to *The Revival of Medieval Biblical Exegesis in the Early Modern World. The Example of Carolingian Biblical Commentaries* (by Burton Van Name Edwards). These ninth century Bible commentaries seemed to have got ‘lost’ in the medieval period, for “Beginning in the mid-twelfth century, traditional biblical theology was supplanted by the rise of scholasticism.” (p.115.) This approach was changed by humanists, such as Lorenzo Valla. With the Reformation the Carolingian Biblical commentaries were being printed and circulated.

Continuity or Radical Change considers the ways the poor were cared for. The main difference between the medieval and modern periods lay the fact that in Reformed countries, the work done by the Church through monasteries had been taken over by the civil authorities. There had been changes in the Roman Catholic church as well. Yet author Jeannine Olson finds that there was a bridge joining the two historical periods.

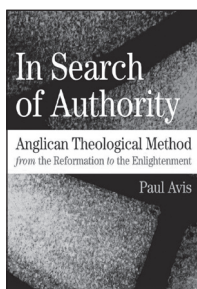
James Muldoon, in *Rights, Property, and the Creation of International Law*, opens up a vast link between the middle ages and the modern. With the discovery of the Americas, the Papal Bull ‘*Inter Caetera*’ divided the New World between the Spanish and the Portuguese. This principle was repeated by James I, in “The First Charter of Virginia” (1606).

The final chapter, *A Divine Precept of Fraternal Union*, deals with the maxim “*quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur* (QOT): that which concerns all must be approved by all.” (p. 205.) Bruce Braisington takes us back to “the writ of Edward I calling the ‘Model Parliament’ of 1295 for evidence of QOT as a guiding principle in English law and politics.” (p 206.) He clearly illustrates

the importance of QOT in both medieval and early modern England right through to the American *Declaration of Independence*. “Edward I has been rehabilitated and his maxim is now part of American law.” (p. 222.)

I found the book to be one that you pick up and start at the beginning, and it grips you so that it is impossible to lay down until you have reached the last page. The wall erected between the medieval and the modern periods of history is, like the Berlin Wall, demolished, allowing for medievalists and early modern academics alike to freely cross over the boundary without fear of being accused of trespassing on other’s property. It is a book that I feel ought to be read by anyone working on one side or the other of the ‘Divide’. My only complaint is that there was not another chapter ‘bridging the medieval-modern divide’ between medieval and Reformation theology.

Ralph S. Werrell



In Search of Authority: Anglican Theological Method from the Reformation to the Enlightenment.

Paul Avis.

ISBN 978-0-5670-2648-4.

Bloomsbury T&T Clark; London, 2014

In the “Preface”, Avis lists a large number of questions about Christianity and the Church, and this book is seeking to answer some of these; at the end of the book, Avis admits that questions remain, and I concur.

Avis’ treatment of the Reformation starts with Luther and Calvin before passing to John Jewel, the “Pioneer of Anglican theological method”, who is considered at length. We are not told why the Henrician and Edwardian Reformers are passed over. In “The centrality of Scripture” we move to a more positive treatment of the English Reformation: although the importance of Scripture from Wyclif is ignored, and replaced by a dependence on Thomas Aquinas; and Reformation English influence gives way to European. Cranmer’s contribution is recognised and we are told that 80% of the Book of Common Prayer text is taken from Scripture. Avis also points out the importance of the Bishop’s Book (1537); the First and Second Books of Homilies; he mentions Jewel, Tyndale, Whitgift, Whitaker and Field.

We move to ‘History and Tradition’. Avis starts with the Continental Reformers before passing to the English. He shows the importance of the early Fathers from the early years of the English Reformation; Tyndale, Frith and Barnes quoted or referred to them. Edward VI ordered Cathedrals to have

libraries containing patristic works amongst others. New principles emerge: the Church can alter its structure and its worship provided it does not over-rule Scripture; we also learn of the authority of the monarch as supreme head. We end the discussion of the Reformation with ‘Richard Hooker’s Theological Method’, when Avis examines Hooker’s impact on the Church of England.

I believe Avis places too much emphasis on Continental influences, and forgets the strength and depth of English scholarship both before and during the Reformation.

There are then three chapters on ‘Classical Anglicanism’. ‘Method, Scripture and tradition’, focuses on Francis Bacon and his input to the Anglican heritage. ‘The authority of reason and the validity of tradition’, brings us to Thomas Hobbes and Herbert Thorndike. ‘Doubt, risk and probability’ introduces us to Montaigne, Charron, Pascal, Descartes and Spinoza: the ‘Liberal Anglicans’, John Hales, Jeremy Taylor, Clarendon and Thomas Browne: and finally to Pierre Bayle.

The last three chapters are concerned with the ‘Anglican Enlightenment’. The first chapter considers this particular aspect of the Enlightenment, and the input of Hume and Gibbon. The ‘Founders of the Enlightenment’ is concerned with John Locke, Isaac Newton; and the deists, Lord Herbert of Cherbury and John Toland. Finally, ‘Exponents of the Anglican Enlightenment’ examines William Law, John Wesley, Joseph Butler and Edmund Burke.

I have spent more time reading the Reformation chapters for personal reasons, but in the later ones I agree with Avis much more. The strength of Avis’ work lies in the details he gives us of the influence of the major players. He mentions that some of them were ‘High Church’, which some readers today might take to mean that they had leanings towards Rome, rather than its usage at the time. The weakness of this book is the fact that there are many others who influenced the “Anglican theological method” but in a different way to those Avis has considered: but a broader focus would have considerably enlarged his work and required two volumes instead of one.

Ralph S. Werrell





How I Met William Tyndale

Philip G. Hannum

As a lad growing up in Southern New Jersey, as a Methodist in the 1950s, I learned of my debt to Tyndale when I joined the Church and was given my first Bible. Though not a *plough boy*, I was not raised in a setting where Greek, Aramaic and Hebrew were read or spoken - absent Tyndale - I might as well have been a 16th Century illiterate *plough boy* as regards the Holy Writ.

My language was English. At public school in 1961 we studied Shakespeare and I read Dickens, Hardy and Tyndale, but we were never informed, in church or school, that Tyndale's pure intent would be the grounds for a Continental *contract* being placed upon his head and his ultimate garroting and burning while tied to a stake.

Fast forward to 1994 when my faith grew deeper along with my study of the 66 book Bible and I joined the Gideons and distributed the fruits of Tyndale's efforts in English, Spanish, Chinese, Thai and Japanese. During those days, I read the New York Times book review of David Daniell's biography of Tyndale and resolved to someday purchase and read the book. I read Daniell's biography of Tyndale in the late 1990s and two or three times since, however, I was stalled in my growth and development of my knowledge of Tyndale.

Over the course of the subsequent years, I learned of the burning-at-the-stake of Jan Hus in 1415 (ashes scattered in the *Rhine*) and the disinterment of John Wycliffe's body, its burning and his ashes scattered into the river *Swift*.

Oh, my debt to men like these! Still, I knew relatively little about Tyndale.

Three years ago, I was invited to a one day conference of the Evangelical Fellowship of Virginia Methodists. The conference was well attended and Pastors probably outnumbered Laity by 3 to 1. I asked whether I could put out some Gideon Bibles on a table and permission was granted. The guest speaker was Professor and Bible scholar, Ben Worthington, Amos Professor of New Testament for Doctoral Studies at Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky.

South Jersey English-speaking *plough boy* jolted by Methodist Bible Scholar

As order was called in the Sanctuary and Worthington introduced himself and

his topic, I noted that he was only addressing the clergy in the room. Worthington may not have known that laity were present, but he was addressing Seminary Graduates who had studied some level of Greek and Hebrew. He presented his thesis, which was: that any Biblical instruction for the masses must originate from Clergy empowered to read the original languages. Worthington may have uttered an apology to any Gideons in the room; but he made it very clear that English versions of the Bible are of little or no benefit to anyone. Ben Worthington made his case for presenting the Bible in its original languages and he did not address the implications regarding how his comments served to evaporate the thoughts and contributions of Hus, Wycliffe, Luther and, especially the *plough boy's* friend, William Tyndale.

While the presentation was certainly an affront to Tyndale, I found myself less aligned with the Methodist speaker and firmly in the camp of Tyndale - and others - who resisted the notion of a particular-language-middleman. A Priest, to use Tyndale's brevity, and by any standard a concept more aligned with other faiths than Protestantism.

I should have stood up and objected to Worthington's implications...and my mind was framing my arguments...but I checked myself because I was an invitee. I thought of my Christian standing and imputed righteousness and how, *in any language*, the Bible attributes joint-heir status to all who are indwelt by the Spirit of Holiness and how access to the most Holy place was made available to all believers after the curtain was torn.

Here, Dr. Worthington was reeling back time to a point where a small percentage of elite-original-language readers had the last word in deciding who should read and interpret the Bible; and a Methodist was making the case as to why I needed a middle-man, or Priest. From the perspective of Francis Asbury as recorded in his biography by Darius Salter, the English-speaking frontier Pastor would strongly disagree with the Professor from Asbury Seminary.

In less than one hour, from my perspective, Worthington rolled back Christianity to pre-1967 Latin Mass delivered by Priests to a more distant past which predated Wycliffe and the Lollards and probably even the Waldensians (who emerged in 1170 AD). He figuratively made me a *plough boy*, made me Biblically illiterate, and informed me of my need for a middle-man to "show me the way." In essence, Worthington made the case for a language-based *gatekeeper* Christianity in which the masses need modern Bible translators/interpreters.

How inspiring!

Following the meeting, I drove the 90 miles to my home in Northern

Virginia at a greater speed than the drive to Richmond. With all deliberate speed, I was going home to check the Internet to find and join a William Tyndale Society, if one existed. I arrived safely and found the Society, its Journal and Reformation... I joined immediately.

Gradually, I am - thanks to the efforts of the Scholars in this Society and its publications- learning more about Tyndale and his love for the Word as well as illiterate *plough boys* and I am ever mindful of Tyndale when I distribute a Bible or the Jesus video/DVD in any language.

As for the self-anointed gatekeepers to Christianity; **in any language** the Grace extended by Christ to the thief on the cross was sufficient on that day and the repentant return of the Prodigal - to the Father - stand out as simple lessons which defy any effort to make a complicated mystery in need of a language specialist for the translation...besides, Tyndale has already performed that act of Grace for our enjoyment.

Philip G. Hannum
Fairfax, VA



Dates for Your Diary

2014

Wednesday, 17th December 12:30 pm

Tyndale Society Annual Service of Lessons & Carols

St Mary Abchurch, Abchurch Lane, City of London

A traditional service of Lessons read from Tyndale's Bible interspersed with Carols by the Congregation led by The English Chamber Choir.

All members and friends are welcome.

Reception afterwards

2015

Thursday, 1st October – Saturday, 3rd October

9th International Tyndale Conference, Hertford College, Oxford.

Tyndale's Quiddities: "They nosel them in sophistry"

The Independent Works of William Tyndale & his Theology

This conference will examine every aspect of Tyndale's thinking on education and theology in his time, as evidenced through his 'independent' writings: his prologues, introductions, glosses, comments and polemical works.

It will take place at Hertford College (the modern successor to 'Hart Hall' where Tyndale was educated) over two-and-a-half days. Registration will commence in Spring 2015 with a range of choices available from Full Conference with residence to Day Rate only. Details will be on our website and in the next issue of this Journal. The conference also welcomes the 'ploughboy'. It is planned to have some more informal Roundtable sessions with shorter contributions from Tyndale members and independent scholars, and we invite proposals with subject and theme for these (tynconf@gmail.com). Non-academic activities include a walking tour of Reformation Oxford led by an historian who really knows where the bodies are buried... and a concert by the English Chamber Choir who are researching music contemporary with Tyndale and beyond, both well-loved and surprising, to sing to us.

Please note the dates in your diary for 2015.

Joining the Tyndale Society Frequently Asked Questions:

What is the Tyndale Society?

The Tyndale Society is a registered charity which exists to tell people about William Tyndale's great work and influence, and to stimulate study of the man who gave us our English Bible.

Who can be a Member?

Membership of the Tyndale Society is open to all who share an interest in the life and work of William Tyndale.

Where are Members based?

Our membership is worldwide, with a large proportion of members based in the UK and the USA and some as far afield as Japan and Australia.

What are the categories of Membership?

Individual Membership (£22.50/\$45 per year)
Reformation Membership (£45.00/\$90 per year)

What will I receive when I join?

All members receive: Two issues of the *Tyndale Society Journal* per year
Regular invitations to conferences, lectures and social events
Invitations to tour historical sites not generally open to the public
25% Discount on advertising in the *Tyndale Society Journal*

In addition, Reformation (US 'Scholarly') Members receive:
Two issues of *Reformation* per year (representing a 50% discount)

What Payment Methods are Accepted?

Standing order, Cheque payment in £ (GBP) or \$ (US Dollars)
PayPal in any currency

So how do I apply to become a Member?

Fill in the form opposite or overleaf (depending on country) and send it to:

UK/EUR/ROW: Gillian Guest, Membership Secretary,
28 St Paul's Crescent, Botley, Oxford OX2 9AG, UK.

USA/CANADA: Myriam Weiler, Cairn University,
200 Manor Avenue, Langhorne, PA 19047, USA.

email: tyndale.society@aol.com



The Tyndale Society (UK/EU/ROW)

Membership 2015

Please complete & return to: Gillian Guest, The Tyndale Society,
28 St Paul's Crescent, Botley, Oxford OX2 9AG, UK.

Member Name: _____

Address: _____

Town: _____ Postcode _____

Telephone Number: _____

Email Address: _____

Standing Order Mandate To: **The Branch Manager**

Bank/Building Society Name: _____

Branch Address: _____

Post Code: _____

Name of Account Holder: _____

Account No: _____ Sort Code: __ / __ / __

Please pay: **The Tyndale Society, National Westminster
Bank, Branch Sort Code: 60-70-03 Account No: 86110683**

EITHER £22.50 PER YEAR (For Single Membership)
OR £45.00 PER YEAR (Membership including Reformation)

Amount in words: _____

Commencing on: _____ (Day/Month/Year)

And Continuing **every year** on the same date until Further Notice
(cancelling any previous instructions regarding this payee)

I am a UK taxpayer intending tax to be reclaimed under the Gift Aid
scheme for Charity No. 1020405 (delete if necessary)

MEMBER SIGNATURE: _____ DATE: __ / __ / __

Alternatively, I attach my cheque payment in the sum of: _____



The Tyndale Society (US/Can)

Membership 2015

Please complete & return to: Myriam Weiler, Cairn University,
200 Manor Avenue, Langhorne, PA19047, USA.

Member Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____

State: _____ Zip Code: _____

Telephone Number: _____

Email Address: _____

Please select your chosen membership category:

'BASIC' MEMBERSHIP

with bi-annual *Tyndale Society Journal* (US Dollars) \$45 **PER YEAR**

OR

'SCHOLARLY' MEMBERSHIP

(plus annual *Reformation*) (US Dollars) \$90.00 **PER YEAR**

I enclose my check payment in the sum of: (US Dollars) \$ _____

SIGNED: _____ DATE: ___/___/___

Tyndale Society Officers:

Chairman Emeritus	Professor David Daniell
Chairman	Mary Clow maryclow@aol.com
Vice-Chair USA	Dr Barry T. Ryan
Europe	Dr Guido Latré
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