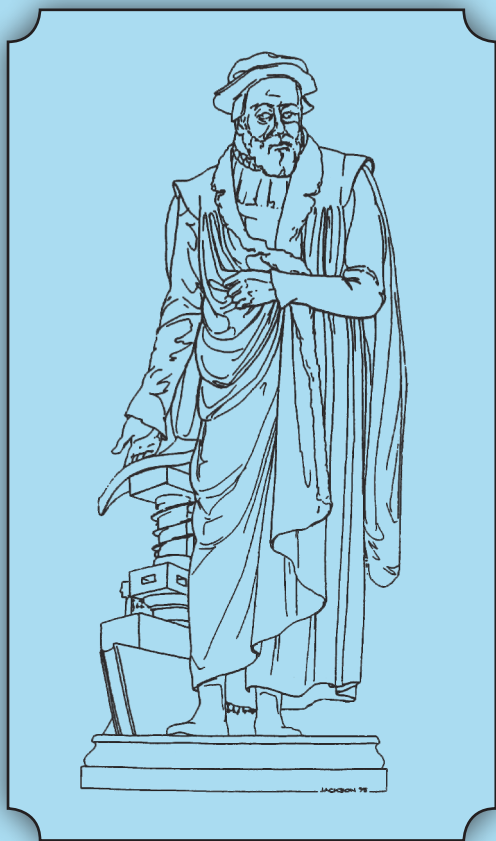


The Tyndale Society Journal



No. 45
Summer 2015

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

- 2 issues of the *Tyndale Society Journal* a year
- Many social events, lectures and conferences
- Exclusive behind-the-scenes historical tours
- Access to a worldwide community of experts
- 50% discount on *Reformation*.
- 25% advertising discount in the *Journal*

For further information visit: www.tyndale.org
or see inside the back cover of this edition of the Tyndale Society Journal.

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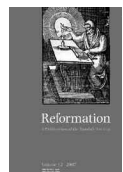
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Editor for Tyndale Society Journal No.46:

Neil Langdon Inglis

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



Especially Welcome...

contributions for: 'How I Met William Tyndale'

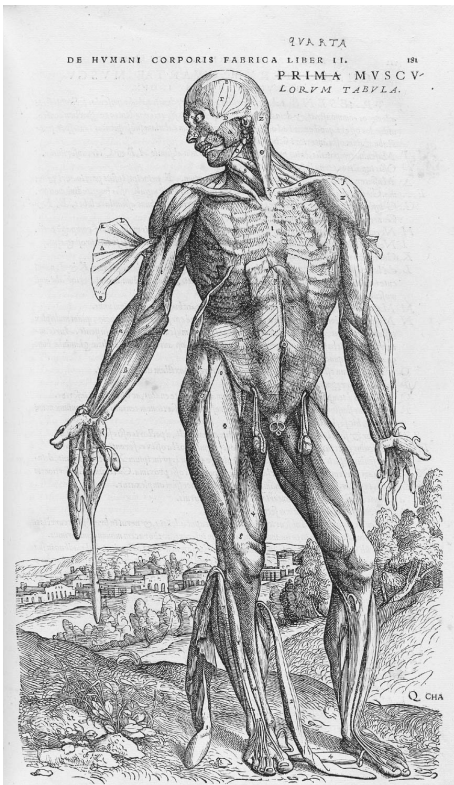
Editorial

Neil Langdon Inglis

Editor - TSJ No. 45

PHILADELPHIA. Since becoming editor of the Tyndale Society Journal, I view history through a Tyndalian lens. On a recent trip to Philadelphia in the dead of winter, I visited the Mutter Museum of Medical Oddities, affiliated with the Philadelphia College of Physicians. Just as certain films are not “first-date movies,” the Mutter is not a “first-date museum,” as I observed when a courting couple passed by some interesting specimens bottled in formaldehyde, and the boyfriend fainted. A wheelchair was produced (this was perhaps not the first such episode in the museum’s history) and the girlfriend reassured worried onlookers, “He finds it a bit stuffy in here...” Of course!

But the real reason for my visit was in the exhibit room, where the Mutter



has been commemorating the 500th anniversary of the birth of anatomist Andreas Vesalius (1514-64), the contemporary of Michel Servet; both men studied medicine at the University of Paris. Vesalius’s titanic work on human anatomy “De Humani Corporis Fabrica” is one of the pillars of civilization--every bit as much as the Tyndale Bible. One can stretch the parallels too far (“Fabrica” is written in Latin), yet it too is a text not for bookshelves but for widespread day-to-day use. This is confirmed by the page on which Vesalius’s woodcut demonstrated the numerous tools he used or developed to perform the first-hand work on which researches were based.

Dissection was gaining a foothold in medical schools in the late 1400s, although professors were slow to grasp the full implications of the

Page 181 from Vesalius' *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*

© US National Library of Medicine nlm.nih.gov

new techniques. This was a time-bomb on a long fuse, but it took Vesalius to mark a complete break with the world of Galenic medicine that had reigned for over 1000 years. Ancient, fanciful dogmas were held up to the light of scientific observation, and found wanting; henceforth, the actual structure of real human bodies was the only thing that counted. Vesalius had a protector (a Paduan judge who was interested in his work), but took grave risks, working as his own resurrectionist at the Cemetery of the Holy Innocents as snarling dogs prowled hyena-like around him. Traditionalists were quick to pounce on Vesalius's findings; one argument put forward by desperate adversaries (my personal favorite) suggested that human bodies were simply different in Roman times compared to 1540s Europe, thus accounting for the discrepancies between Galenic and Vesalian anatomy. Sometimes a brave person must step forward to blaze the trail, no matter how many risks taken or enemies made. William Tyndale understood this only too well.



Neil's late father Brian Inglis, presenting 1960's Granada history show 'All our Yesterdays'

One of the rewards of middle age is to take a fresh look at cultural treasures rashly dismissed in youth. I recently watched the mid-70s Granada Television series "The World at War" with immense admiration and respect, when I had refused to see it on its release, considering this an act of betrayal of my late father Brian Inglis's earlier documentary series on WWII "All Our Yesterdays", a top-rated weekly in the 1960s. Silly me; the two shows were quite different, with AOY being raw and impressionistic, a "first cut of history" relying on newsreel footage. "TWAW" is polished and reflective, and yet it was clearly influenced by, and pays subtle tribute to, its predecessor. The world was big enough for both programs.

In the same way, I have been exploring the documentaries of Michael Wood, on the Trojan War, and his particular specialty, the Anglo-Saxon world. What a delight! I do not know whether Wood is a Tyndalian, but I sense his outlook is similar to ours, for he is sharing his passion and knowledge and bringing

attention to aspects of English history that are vitally important but not well-taught in English schools. For Wood, consulting an illuminated manuscript from the 900s is the highest joy. Wood is alive to the special resonances in inconspicuous geographical locations; he can point to a copse descending a hillside, inform you that it has stood there since pre-Norman times, and in an instant, you can imagine a decisive battle taking place at that very spot. History comes alive.

The present deserves a fair and impartial hearing, just as much as the past. I grew up with the BBC series *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, featuring Wolfe Morris as the terrifying yet charismatic Thomas Cromwell. As *Wolf Hall* mania sweeps the globe, two new actors have stepped forward to re-interpret the role of Cromwell, Mark Rylance in the TV production and Ben Miles on stage. *Wolf Hall* is relevant to Tyndalians because author Hilary Mantel may be turning her attention to Tyndale in her next project; and according to press accounts, Mantel pays the closest scrutiny to the manner in which her characters are portrayed. The days in which Thomas Cromwell was confused with Oliver Cromwell are long gone. Might comparable celebrity await William Tyndale? The TSJ will be there to report on this story as events unfold; and in this issue, Society member David Ireson analyzes *Wolf Hall* on TV and stage (and note Mary Clow's review of the book in TSJ38) with particular reference to the differences between these dramatised versions and the book.

We do not know how Mantel will approach Tyndale, but a clue is to be found in her unflattering treatment of Tyndale's nemesis, Sir Thomas More. As you might expect, not everyone is happy. In the Internet and blogosphere, Thomas More's defenders have put both feet in the ring to defend their hero, on the grounds that the man was a "saint." But sainthood is in the eye of the beholder, as historian Jasper Ridley made clear in the title of his book comparing Wolsey and More (*Statesman and Saint*--which was which?). And while journalist Mary Kenny was inclined to leap to More's defense, even she had to concede that the familiar portrayal of More in Robert Bolt's "A Man for All Seasons"—depicting TM as a man of unimpeachable integrity—was only part of the truth.



Inquisition studies are the latest historical field to succumb revisionism. Partly this reflects the academic community's dislike of Victorian triumphalism and its us-against-them rhetoric which is out of fashion on college campuses. At the same time, these current intellectual fashions stem from the scholar's

desire to be different for the sake of being different. While listening to a recent audio-book, I learned (believe it or not) that the national Inquisitions in the Middle Ages were renowned for their leniency, their commitment to due process, their assiduous record-keeping. “Only” 2000 executions occurred during the period of peak Inquisition activity in Spain--a special case, as the Inquisitors were particularly concerned about dissembling Jews, the “conversos” who retained secret allegiance to Jewish customs while paying lip service to Catholicism. The audio-course presented these insights as sparkingly original, without realizing that similar views are expressed in Inquisitorial apologetics from the 19th century (by such authors as the Spaniard Menéndez y Pelayo). Absent from contemporary PC scholarship is any sense of the horror of religious fanaticism and what it meant to be a terrified victim on the receiving end. Even if one leaves the executions to one side, the sheer waste of time and energy and the vicious confiscation of the defendants’ personal assets are passed over with a yawn. The message here is that the Inquisition’s depredations “were no big deal,” and that its victims “had it coming.” It takes no great ingenuity to figure out how this school of history would treat William Tyndale.



One of the pleasant duties of the TSJ editor is to congratulate our contributors on their current projects and achievements. Lauren Johnson, who wrote on Queen Jane Seymour in TSJ44 has a blog post on “A Life of Catalina, Katherine of Aragon’s Moorish Servant” (<http://englishhistoryauthors.blogspot.com/2015/03/a-life-of-catalina-katherine-of-aragons.html>). Society stalwart Ralph Werrell has a new book published, for which details may be found after this editorial, where you will also find vital information about the October 2015 Tyndale Society Conference, a can’t-miss event for Tyndalians. Register now! We are especially privileged to carry a review by Guido Latré of Brian Buxton’s new book on Thomas Poyntz, representing the fruits of Brian’s researches into the life of this unjustly forgotten man (and early Tyndalian!).



In this issue, many of our regular contributors are featured. Ramona Garcia has written on a subject of considerable importance not previously addressed in this publication, the manufacture of chocolate in the Victorian era; read her

paper to find about more about the Tyndale connection! Literary and other reviews are prominently featured in TSJ45, with contributions from Brian Buxton, Eunice Burton (on the *Sweating Sickness*), and Lucy Nicholas, who assesses a new edition featuring King Henry's love letters to Anne Boleyn, a matter much on our minds in the *Wolf Hall* era (see David Ireson's paper). Two new contributors discuss their first encounter (and intensely personal relationship) with WT. Among her sterling contributions to this issue, Society President Mary Clow reports on a vitally important current news story about William Tyndale (for further details, see inside).

Bill Cooper reviews *The Morning Star*, a 1980s biopic about John Wycliffe from the same team that brought us *God's Outlaw* about William Tyndale. What struck me in particular about *Morning Star*, in addition to its recreation of period atmosphere on the slenderest of budgets, was the performance by Peter Howell in the lead role. In preparing for this part, the actor would have had virtually nothing to go on, and yet somehow, he manages it—he brings Wycliffe to life with the greatest humanity. Here is an opportunity for Tyndalians to tip their hats to a fine actor, who passed away quite recently, in April 2015.

Neil L. Inglis
lordstarlink@gmail.com



Neil Inglis

9th International Tyndale Conference – Oxford 2015

October 1-4 Hertford College, Oxford



Why this event?

This Conference is for all those interested in William Tyndale - his writings, his translations and his influence on the European Reformation. Apart from Tyndale's theological and non-translation work, it will also examine his wider legacy and the incalculable effect of his linguistic contribution on our law, history and culture. A prophet without honour in his own land (a Tyndale phrase) he is now the subject of a major re-assessment, not only as a religious reformer, but also as father of the modern English language.

In 1506, aged about 12, William Tyndale came to Oxford's Magdalen School. He then moved on to what is now Hertford College. Here he studied Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric for the Trivium (Bachelor's degree). While at Oxford Tyndale found the prevailing Scholastic study environment irrelevant and uninspiring. The sophistry of "predicaments, universals, second intentions, quiddities, haecceities and relatives" particularly irked him as being self-serving and inaccessible. Consequently he set out to write in plain English.

The independent works of William Tyndale

Tyndale is best known as a brilliant bible translator, working from the original Greek and Hebrew to a printed version in modern English. But the conference will examine Tyndale's views on education, culture and theology. His 'independent' writings - his prologues, introductions, glosses, comments and polemical works - emphasise how he felt that people genuinely interested in the Word of God were kept away from it by the Church. In his Obedience he was critical of those who considered themselves custodians of the Scriptures. The conference will cover the moral, philological and spiritual insights he

borrow from or share with others, as well as those that make him different.

Some of the Conference speakers will be presenting their findings from current research and from newly discovered archive material. The recently unearthed Erasmus Enchiridion manuscript translation, probably by Tyndale, will feature in the discussions. And permission has been granted for special exhibitions of Tyndale-related material to be held simultaneously at both Hertford College and the adjacent Bodleian Library.

Tyndale Society 20th anniversary

The Tyndale Society was founded by Prof. David Daniell and others in 1995, so this year marks its 20th anniversary. As a special occasion for TS the speaker list includes many well-known academic specialists in this field - historians, theologians and experts in the literature or language of the period - all to be enjoyed in the peaceful surroundings of historic Hertford College. The main programme is supplemented by three 'Ploughboy' sessions, setting the scene for the man and his times.

There will be a gala dinner on the Friday evening. On the Saturday evening, the renowned English Chamber Choir will perform a concert of mainly 16th century music. For those staying over until Sunday, a special service will be held in Hertford College Chapel, followed by a tailor made tour of 'Tyndale's Oxford', designed to interest Conference participants.

Programme Highlights

The Conference will run over four days, starting 15:00 on Thursday 1st October for registration and allocation of accommodation. The full conference package will include all meals for those staying in college. Details of other booking options are given on the booking form attached separately.

Friday (2nd October) and Saturday (3rd October) will have full Conference sessions throughout the morning and afternoon. Starting at 9:30 the morning session will be followed by a buffet lunch, and the afternoon speakers will finish at 17:30. An evening meal will then be served in hall. On Friday morning our keynote speaker is Dr Ian Mortimer. A well-known and innovative historian, his latest best-selling book, *Centuries of Change*, highlights the crucial role of bible translations into the vernacular in shaping not just the Reformation but world history generally.

On Saturday Prof. Brian Cummings will open the morning session. Celebrated for his work on the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, he gave 2014's Shakespeare Birthday Lecture in Washington DC and the Clarendon Lectures in Oxford in 2012-13. Brian is now based at York University, where

he is Anniversary Professor.

Three Ploughboy sessions have been proposed. David Ireson will set the scene with 'Tyndale and the English Reformation'. Andrew Hope will explore 'Tyndale and the English Bible in a European Context, and both will participate in a final session covering 'After Tyndale and Henry VIII up to the Prayer Book Rebellion'. Andrew Hope will also conduct the tour of 'Tyndale's Oxford' on Sunday 4th October.



Speakers

There will be a full cast of specialist speakers on both days including expected contributions from:

Andrew Hope - Reformation historian - postgraduate research at Oxford University; taught at Oxford and Reading universities - special interest William Tyndale (author of several papers in this field).

Dr Gergely Juhasz - lectures in Theology and Biblical Studies at Liverpool Hope University. Greg's main research interest is early modern English (Tudor) Bibles, especially those printed in Antwerp.

Dr Guido Latré - Professor of English Literature and Culture, Louvain - research focus early English bibles from Antwerp - he won the Churchill Medal for his work on English in a European context.

Dr Anne O'Donnell, SND - Professor Emerita, Catholic University of America; Founding Editor of the Independent Works of William Tyndale, her research on Erasmus' Enchiridion is of topical interest.

Dr Mark Rankin - Professor of English at James Madison University, Virginia. Special fields include the impact of printing on the English Reformation, Tyndale and other 16th century religious related texts.

Prof. Cathy Shrank - School of English, Sheffield University. Her publications are mainly on 16th century literature pre Shakespeare - her focus is 16th century humanism and national identity.

Revd Dr Ralph Werrell - specialist in Tyndale's intellectual and theological background in the Lollard tradition. A founder member of the Tyndale Society, he is an expert on Tyndale's range of influences.

Dom Henry Wansborough - a Benedictine monk at Ampleforth Abbey, UK. Editor of The New Jerusalem Bible, and scripture translator; has written numerous books, including The Story of the Bible.

Two wrong things everyone knows about Tyndale....

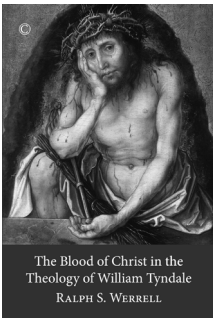
A frequently repeated error about Tyndale is that he died for translating the Bible into English. It would not have taken three theologians 15 months to convict him of heresy had that simple charge been enough. In fact, scripture in the vernacular was not forbidden at that time in continental Europe, only in England, in reaction to the translations of Wycliffe more than a century before.

The law that brought about Tyndale's capture, imprisonment and burning was the 1531 Edict of Augsburg, promulgated by Charles V to criminalize followers of Luther throughout his Empire. The young Mary of Hungary, only recently installed as Regent of the Netherlands, was suspected of Lutheran sympathies. Charles, her over-lord, personally wrote to Antwerp, underlining the importance of rigorous enforcement of the penalties. Particularly banned were suspect *notes, glosses or prologues* to Bibles.

It was for these, and his other independent, non-translation writings, that Tyndale was declared a heretic. In these writings he expressed deeply held beliefs, honed over decades of close Bible study, that had developed into his own unique theology, substantially differing from Luther. (The other popular error about him is that he was merely 'the English Luther'.)

Ralph Werrell, founder member of the Tyndale Society, has explored and discussed Tyndale's theology in a series of books, with the third and final volume now published. Dr Werrell proves that Tyndale's ideas were developed independently, based on a wide range of earlier theology, and – in particular – from Wycliffite thought. He shows the way in which Old Testament sacrifice featured in Tyndale's thinking, explaining his many references to the Epistle to the Hebrews, linking as it does Christ's sacrificial blood with the sacrifices of the Old Testament. Tyndale believed that Man died spiritually through Adam's disobedience, and was restored to life by Christ's blood.

The Blood of Christ in the Theology of William Tyndale examines the differences between the covenant theology of Tyndale and both Luther's theology of the Cross, and Calvin's forensic justification. The undeniable originality of Tyndale as England's first Reformation theologian is brought into brilliant clear focus.



The Blood of Christ in the Theology of William Tyndale

Ralph S. Werrell (2015) James Clarke ISBN 9780227174876 obtainable @ £20 from: James Clarke & Co Ltd, PO Box 60, Cambridge CB1 2NT, UK, or direct from: rswerrell@hotmail.com Revd Dr Werrell, 2a Queens Rd, Kenilworth, CV8 1JQ, UK

Submission Guidelines

Tyndale Society Journal No. 46

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:46
28 St Paul's Crescent, Botley, Oxford OX2 9AG, UK.**

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

To: Mr William Tyndale, Vilvoorde Castle, Belgium

*In the beginning was the Word,
But the words, variously, were in Latin,
Greek and Hebrew, not to mention Aramaic.
And that, as you saw it was the problem.*

*Why, you wanted to know, should not
The husbandman, who driveth his plough, sing
Them out loud in the fields, or the weaver
Warble them as he works at his shuttle?*

*As I write this to you in late
September 2010, I wonder
How often next year it'll be acknowledged
That great swathes of the Authorised Version*

*Had been cribbed directly from you.
In one of his more frosty seasons Thomas More
Described your work as 'the most pestiferous
And pernicious poison' and I suspect*

*That Lancelot Andrewes and his
Committee men will get all the credit
For 'the apple of his eye' for 'a land flowing
With milk and honey' and 'the salt of the earth'.*

*Arrested in Antwerp and found
Guilty of heresy, you were sentenced
To be burned at the stake, and only at the last
Minute did the hangman, as an act*

*Of mercy, step up to tighten
The cord and garotte you, before he lit
The fire. Oh yes, blessed are the merciful
For they shall... How did you put it? I forget.*

*from Some Letters Never Sent by Neil Curry
Enitharmon Press, London 2014.*

ISBN 10: 1907587764/ISBN 13: 9781907587764

Some Letters Never Sent



First an apology. I will be taking a somewhat circuitous route. I can see no other way.

The book from which this poem to William Tyndale is taken is called *Some Letters Never Sent*, and like the verse epistles of the Roman poet Horace (whose work I love) it is made up of letters to people who have been of significance to me in one way or another. They are a varied bunch, including the Venerable Bede and Timothy, Gilbert White's tortoise. One early letter is to Basil Cottle, my tutor in Middle English at the University of Bristol. He was an inspirational teacher, a man of immense intellectual energy and enthusiasm and it was he who first told me that so many of the most memorable expressions in the King James Bible were borrowings – one might say plagiarisms – from an earlier translation, of which I had never heard, one by William Tyndale: *the twinkling of an eye, my brother's keeper, the salt of the earth, the parting of the ways*. So vivid and yet so simple and so poetic.

A huge jump in time now takes me to a biography of Sir Thomas More, I think that of Peter Ackroyd. It was such a shock. I had come to see More as he was portrayed in Robert Bolt's film. *A Man For All Seasons*: kindly and compassionate, a much-loved family man of immovable faith, a faith for which he went to a dignified martyrdom. And as played by Paul Scofield, he

was also a man with a very beautiful voice. I did not know that he could also be so foul-mouthed and brutal, that he was all in favour of burning heretics on the grounds that as they were destined to burn for ever in hell, they might as well start here on earth. And I learned of the vehemence and passion with which he hunted down William Tyndale. Why?

So I had to read about William Tyndale and I was caught by that wonderful phrase about the ploughboy. “I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the scripture than thou dost.” It made me think of John Clare. Tyndale’s words did come true. Simple words, but in their day so revolutionary and, as it turned out, so dangerous. He was a man of such heroism and determination and what a writer. But what a terrible and gruesome death he went to.

As the anniversary of the Authorized Version came closer there was more and more written about him and I recall a wonderful exhibition of early Bibles in the John Rylands Library in Manchester. Soon I had all I needed except for paper and pencil. That’s how I write. Next comes ink and only much later does it appear on my PC screen, as it then assumes the authority of print – looks like the work of someone else and so not to be messed about with.

But how did the first words get onto the paper? That is the mystery. Once, being asked again that age-old question: “Where do you get your ideas from?” I started to explain that one moment an idea is there which hadn’t been there the moment before. And then, to my surprise, I heard myself say, “It’s like falling asleep; you can’t catch yourself doing it.” What more need I say? What more can I say? I did warn you at the outset.

Neil Curry

Some Letters Never Sent is published by Enitharmon Press, London.



Tyndale at the Huntington

Nestling under the San Gabriel Mountains in South California, high above the Los Angeles sprawl, lies the Huntington library, with its accompanying gallery and botanical gardens. Located in the old San Marino estate near Pasadena, the gardens are stunning - with desert, Japanese, Chinese, rose and other themes covering some 120 acres. It is perhaps a surprising home for one of the world's great collections of books and early manuscripts. But that is what it is.

With an emphasis on English and American history and literature, the Huntington Library holds some seven million items, including 400,000 rare books and over a million photographs, prints and other ephemera. It has one of 11 vellum copies of the Gutenberg Bible known to exist, the Ellesmere manuscript of Chaucer ca. 1410, and letters and manuscripts by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin. It is the only library in the world with the first two quartos of *Hamlet*. Huntington is also among the leading world institutions for studying the history of science and technology. And it has one of the few known copies of William Tyndale's 1534 New Testament.

How did this treasure trove come to be? It is a story of money, collecting passions and some unconventional family arrangements. So forgive me for delving a little into the background.

Henry Edwards Huntington (1850-1927) was a railroad magnate and collector of art and rare books. Born in Oneonta, New York, Huntington settled in Los Angeles, where he owned the Pacific Electric Railway as well as substantial real estate interests. Henry looms large in LA's late 19th and early 20th century history. He was the nephew of Collis P. Huntington, one of The Big Four, who created the Central Pacific Railroad (later called Southern Pacific), one of the two railroads that built the transcontinental link in 1869. Huntington worked for several years with his uncle before building his own transit network. By 1910 his trolley systems covered 1300 miles of Southern California.

Arabella Yarrington "Belle" Huntington (c. 1851-1924) was the second wife of Collis P. She was once known as the richest woman in America. Among her principal loves was art, and she started the Huntington Art Gallery, now housed in her former home, with its collection of 18th century portraits.

After Collis P's death in 1900, Henry took over some of his uncle's interests. In 1910 he divorced his wife, Mary Alice Prentice, a daughter of his Uncle Collis by his first marriage. After Mary Alice's death in 1913, and warming to the general theme of keeping it in the family, Henry wed Aunt Belle. It



Henry & Arabella Huntington



© *Huntington Library*

apparently shocked San Francisco society. But it united the two parts of the Huntington fortune. Henry had four children with Mary Alice but none with Arabella (by this time they were both in their sixties).

The Huntington, as it is known, was built up by this wealthy pair from about 1913, effectively in only 10 years or so, as Belle died in 1924. Henry and his advisers bought prodigiously, especially after the end of World War I. It was a time when European books and manuscripts could be acquired relatively cheaply. But still their spending was lavish

What of the 1534 Tyndale New Testament and how did it come into the Huntington's possession? It is not quite a complete or perfect version. All before leaf 2, and 2E1 and 8, are in facsimile. It also has an additional title page, "The newe Testament, imprinted at Antwerp by Marten Emperowr, M.D.XXXIIII". It seems other copies of the dozen known to exist may also have the extra page. This is the octavo edition, freed from George Joye's 'amendments'. It is on public display, not buried in a vault, and is available for use by recognised scholars.

The volume's provenance is the Huth library, from where it was acquired in 1968. Henry Huth was a Victorian merchant banker and well known bibliophile. Though born in the UK he spent a lot of time overseas. In 1849 he settled in London and started his library. He used to call daily at booksellers on his way back from the City, a habit he continued to the day he died. He made numerous purchases at the important Daniel and Corser book sales.



Frontispiece and title page of Tyndale's 1534 *New Testament*

Confining himself to no particular subject, he bought anything of real interest provided the book was perfect and in good condition. Imperfect books he called 'the lepers of a library.'¹

His varied collection was especially rich in voyages, Shakespearean and early English literature, and in early Spanish and German works (he was of German descent). Huth had some valuable bibles, too. Without being numerous, these included nearly every edition prized by collectors, and the manuscripts and prints were among the most beautiful of their kind.

Apart from its bibles (among the top three collections in the USA), Huntington also has first or early editions from the 1530s of *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, *the Practice of Prelates*, and of the various rhetorical answers to (or exchanges of insults with) Sir Thomas More. It also holds an early (1530s) English edition of the Erasmus *Enchiridion*, as well as numerous other rare volumes and manuscripts from the early Reformation. Several of the more valuable titles were acquired in 1922, during Henry Huntington's lifetime, from the Chicago Historical Society.²

The Huntington Library is generously funded with almost \$500m in its coffers. It has just bought Hilary Mantel's manuscripts, a point of interest for

fans of Tyndale and his period represented in modern literature. The curators have put much thought into the 'flow' round the library - how you move from manuscript to print, with clear timelines and display. It is not only an extraordinary collection, but one of the most pleasing celebrations of the English language.

In 1997 the British Library's exhibition 'Let there be light: William Tyndale and the making of the English Bible' toured the US with stops at the Library of Congress, New York Public Library, and appropriately, the Huntington. In a talk accompanying the Washington event David Daniell stressed that "as a conscious craftsman with an ear for the rhythm and poetry of the English language, Tyndale has not just been neglected but denied." ³

However, when in 1994, the presumed 500th anniversary of Tyndale's birth, the British Library bought for just over £1million what it called "the most important printed book in the English language"⁴ it may even have sold it short. The context is perhaps worth explaining.

When Tyndale was at Oxford perhaps only 1% of the European population owned a book. While the proportion of people in England who could read may have been nearer 15%, the popular media of the early 16th century were the pulpit and the marketplace, not the printed word. To quote historian Ian Mortimer from his *Centuries of Change*, "The key event that changed this was the publication of the Bible in the local vernacular. There simply was no other book that people were so eager to read for themselves. They wanted to study the word of God personally, without the intervention of a priest, in order to improve their standing on Earth in the eyes of their fellow men as well as God, and increase their chances of going to Heaven after death. They also wanted to understand it for the benefit of their families and friends, so they could advise them how to live a holy life. The Bible was thus the ultimate self-help book." ⁵

Dr Mortimer is in no doubt of the critical role of Tyndale in boosting literacy. "The importance of this huge surge of people learning to read by studying the Bible in their own language cannot be overstated. Prior to about 1530, about half the books published in England were in English and half in Latin, but in the 1530s, the proportion printed in English shot up to 76%." ⁶

It all served to place more emphasis on the written word, and reinforce the role, if not always the rule, of law. Mortimer says this in turn changed the relationships between kings and their subjects. In England, as in other countries, a colossal amount of information came to be required by the state. The growth of a national bureaucracy, the rise of the professions and any number of social developments - including notably the changing role of women

- can all be traced to this new literacy.

Of course on a wider view the political, economic, social and cultural effects of a more literate world are incalculably far reaching. In particular the power and influence of the English language in international politics, trade, finance, communications, science and technology has turbocharged human progress, and given the English speaking world a privileged position which we often take for granted. Tyndale's role in breaking the suffocating power of the medieval church alone signals his greatness. But as father of the modern English language, too, his towering contribution is clear.

Indeed, Tyndale's influence on our global culture has been so pervasive it is hard to comprehend its true scale. As David Daniell has pointed out, Tyndale's New Testament is probably *the* most influential text in history. With Tyndale also bridging today's gap between the religious and the secular, his must surely prove a lasting legacy.

Patrick Whitten

Notes:

- 1) *Henry Huth* - Wikipedia 2014
- 2) *Tyndale 1534* - Huntington Library Catalogue 2014
- 3) *'Let there be Light: William Tyndale and the making of the English Bible' Exhibition* - Library of Congress Bulletin July 1997
- 4) *Sacred Texts* Dr Moira Goff: British Library online gallery, April 2007
- 5) *Centuries of Change p.132* Ian Mortimer 2014 Bodley Head
- 6) *Centuries of Change p.133* Ian Mortimer 2014 Bodley Head



Two men, two books:

More's *Utopia* and Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christian Man*:

Mary Clow

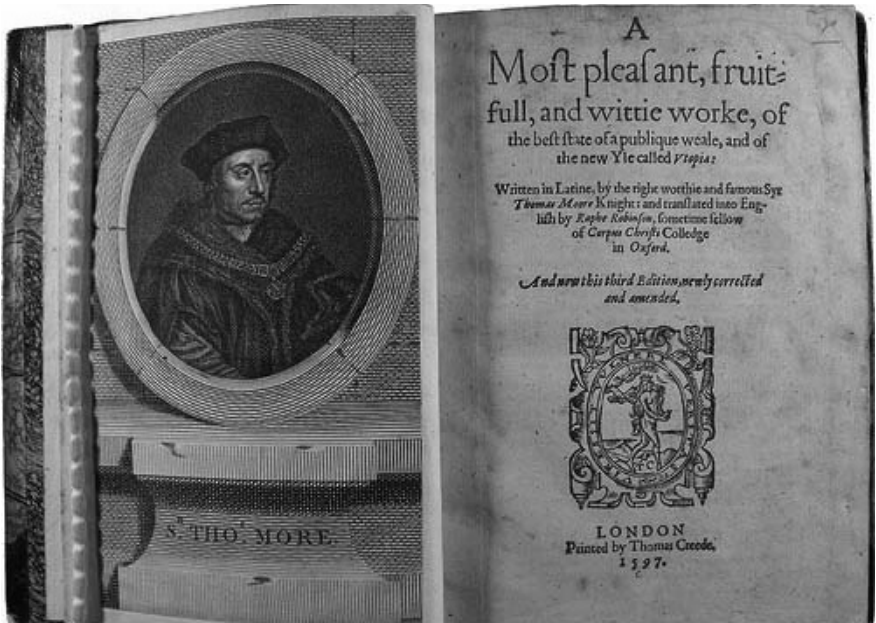
At different periods in the early 16th century two Englishmen lived in the powerful city-state of Antwerp. They were not contemporaries, and they were each there for a very different reason: the curious similarity lay in that at the time each was 37-years old and felt moved to write a book.

Thomas More was a successful lawyer and humanist, spending his free time with like-minded friends, particularly the 'Peter Gilles' who appears in *Utopia* to introduce the story to his listener 'More'. Both are presented as fictional characters, though More would have been widely recognized by his readers, and the real-life Gilles was also a well-known lawyer, and More's close friend. Another humanist and intimate of More was Erasmus, who edited *Utopia* and published it in Leuven in 1516. It became an international best-seller with many editions, much translated into many languages, giving them all the new word of its coinage and title. *Utopia* was written in Latin, and not translated into English in More's lifetime. When asked why, he is supposed to have replied that no-one who knew only English would understand *Utopia*.

The second book, written also in Antwerp, was published there in 1528 by a printer who because of the contents and author felt it necessary to conceal his own identity and location. It was in modern English – the first book-length prose in the language we use today. Smuggled into England, it was banned and burned, but we know the King read it, which suggests it was passed around among the powerful. Its author had a price on his head and was living in exile. *The Obedience of a Christian Man* was the work of William Tyndale.

These two apparently dissimilar works share a unifying purpose beyond their coincidences. Using wit, hyperbole, cunning, sharp observation, absurdity, mockery and finally, appeal to reason, both books are critiques of the England of their times.

Thomas More had grown up in the climate of intense late mediaeval Catholicism that was pre-Reformation England, probably the most Catholic country in Europe. He was attracted towards the religious life, but made by his father to go into the law, which under the Tudors was the career route for rising

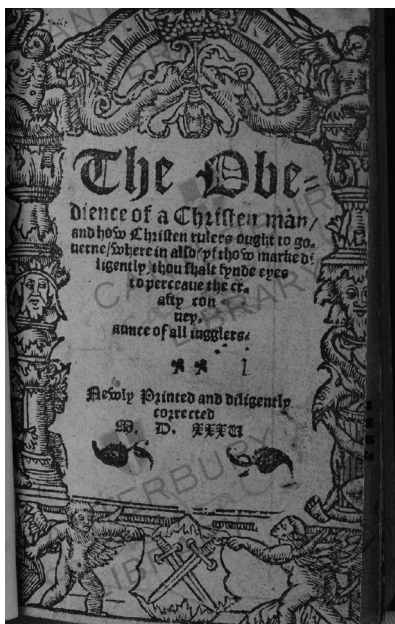


More's 'Utopia'

© University of Glasgow Special Collections gla.ac.uk/

men. At the time of writing *Utopia* in 1515-16, More was a mature man at the height of his powers, well-connected both at home and in Europe, educated, equally well-read in the classics and in the 'New Learning', a family man.

All this was typical of the new men who were changing the old balance of power. Wealth was no longer predominately in the hands of land-owning nobles with their private armies. The young Henry VIII may have chosen to spend his time hunting and jousting like a mediaeval aristocrat, but his family were in fact *parvenus* who had seized the crown on slim grounds, and his father had built on that base by careful husbandry and exercising tight control. Power was centered increasingly within the walls of the City of London, where More was completely at home. He knew the twisting lanes that criss-crossed stinking little rivers that ran into the tidal Thames, where ships waited for high water to unload rich cargo. Growing up on Milk Street, a stone's throw from the enormous hulk of Old St Paul's (far larger than Wren's masterpiece), More would have known by sight all the important personages of his day. Milk Street runs into the great thoroughfare of Cheapside, the processional route equally for Royalty to the City or the condemned to Smithfield. Evidence of the brutal executions was daily forced upon passers-by who walked past rotting heads on gates and bridges.



Tyndale's 'The Obedience of a Christian Man'
 © www.canterbury-cathedral.org

What a contrast was life in Antwerp, a city ruled by humanists where reason was supreme. More, kicking his heels in enforced idleness while negotiations stalled, was among friends, able to indulge in fantasy. All his life in private he enjoyed games, wordplay, foolery in his own home. In *Utopia* he explored the furthest reaches of reason and pretended support for such fancies as – euthanasia; equality and openness between the sexes; freedom of religion even. Secure in his position, firm in his personal faith, confident that nothing radical would change in Church and State, More could tease, amuse, shock and challenge his like-minded contemporaries. Deeply significant is the date of the composition of *Utopia*: Luther's 95 theses that would change the world were more than a year into the future.

Tyndale's book of 1528 was written after Luther, but also after his own first translations of the New Testament had been burned in England. Much of his intense anger and the vitriol he throws at the Church in *The Obedience of a Christian Man* must be explained on that basis. Tyndale's faith was centered on the Bible as the origin of all belief, with the conviction that everyone had the capability to understand its truths. When his translation was accused of 'two thousand errors', he simply asked it be corrected – if any man could.

The Obedience is really two books, and while Tyndale tries to connect them with a final summing up – *A Compendious rehearsal of that which goeth before* – they remain separate. The second, longer book attacks and demolishes Church practice and doctrine and probably was the evidence that had him condemned as a heretic. The Pope receives a special outpouring of rage and mockery, likening him to the evil imp of English folklore, Robin Goodfellow. "The Pope" is used as shorthand for the religious authorities and the doctrine of 'lever the Pope's word than by the word of God', echoing the bitter exchange at Little Sodbury. Far from the urban sophistication of More, Tyndale is a countryman, embedded in the life of the rural poor. His metaphors are full of animals, wild and farmyard: foxes and badgers, pigs and geese. The abuses of

the clergy are those suffered by villagers at the hands of ignorant priests who, at baptism, *'play the popinjay...there ought to be no mumming in this matter'*, or extort the last few possessions from grieving widows.

However, the original thinking of *The Obedience* comes in the first short book, only 50 pages, that gives Tyndale's unique commentary on the England of his time. Here he breaks down social relationships into 4 categories in ascending order: children to elders, wives to husbands, servants to masters, subjects to kings. His tone is severe, authoritarian, reflecting a vast respect for power and a call for subservience.

If it is true that, through Anne Boleyn, Henry approved this book and commented "This is a book for me and all kings to read", it must have been this passage that pleased him, perhaps presented selectively, read aloud? The whole work would certainly not have met royal approval for Tyndale now turns his theme on its head, in favour of the weak against the powerful:

*Fathers, rate not your children, lest they be of desperate mind.
Husbands love your wives.
Give your servants kind words, food, raiment and learning.
Let landlords be content with their rent and old customs.
Let kings give themselves altogether to the wealth of their
realms...remembering that the people are God's and not
theirs... The most despised person ... is the king's brother and
equal with him in the kingdom of God.*

And the rule of life that Tyndale found in the Gospels and translated so it might be the rule of his fellow Englishmen:

*Seek Christ in your children, in your wives, servants and
subject. Father, mother, son, daughter, master, servant, king and
subject be names in the worldly regiment. In Christ we are all
one thing, none better than the other.*

More and Tyndale were put to death within months of each other, both condemned for beliefs they held against the powerful of their day.

More's book has never been out of print. Tyndale's is a Penguin Classic.

Based on a paper given in 2014 at the Renaissance Society of America conference in New York.

Marketing Strategies From The World Of Mammon:

The Marketing of Francis Fry's Facsimile Edition
of Tyndale's *New Testament*

Ramona Garcia

*"WE regret to record the death of Mr. FRANCIS FRY, F.S.A., at the age of eighty-three, best known to the general public as the head of a celebrated firm of cocoa and chocolate manufacturers, but honoured by bibliographers on account of his reprints, and by the collection which he has formed of the different editions of the Bible, numbering about 1,200. His most noted reproduction was Tyndale's New Testament, which appeared in 1862."*¹

In offering British readers an opportunity to purchase his facsimile edition of William Tyndale's 1526 *New Testament* did Francis Fry adopt marketing strategies used by his family's firm in selling chocolate and cocoa?² If so, early lessons in marketing may have been gleaned from J.S. Fry & Sons' prospectus in the *Paris Universal Exhibition for 1855: Catalogue of the Works Exhibited in the British Section of the Exhibition* in which the firm made three claims in marketing its chocolate. First, their chocolate was "free from all noxious ingredients." Second, "the inferior portions of the nut are carefully

THE FIRST NEW TESTAMENT

PRINTED IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

(WORMS, 1525 or 1526)

TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM TYNDALE

REPRODUCED IN FACSIMILE

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

FRANCIS FRY, F.S.A.

BRISTOL

PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR — 1862

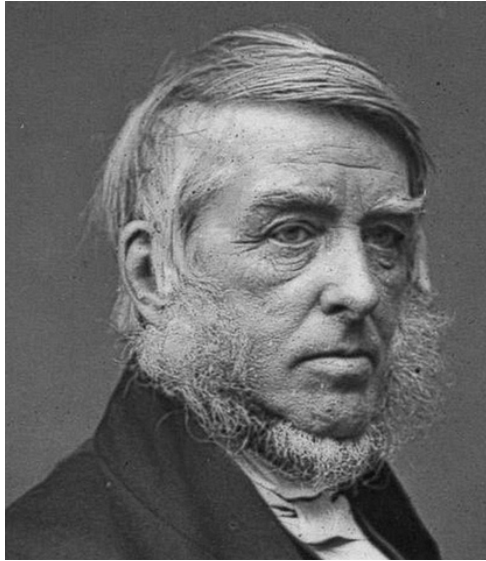
Prospectus for Fry's Facsimile of Tyndale's 1525/1526 New Testament, The Prophete Jonas (London: Willis and Sotheran, 1863). *Google Books.*

excluded.” Third, their chocolate combined “*in the most concentrated and agreeable form, all the virtues which are so justly attributed to the pure vegetable product of the Cocoa Tree.*”³ Fry learned a valuable lesson in marketing one’s product. Whether chocolate and cocoa or bibles, it was not enough to emphasize the quality of the product offered -- you had to provide the steps taken for quality control.⁴

Seven years later, in 1862 Francis Fry provided a detailed prospectus for his facsimile of Tyndale’s *New Testament*. This prospectus offered evidence that Fry transferred marketing skills from the business world (or the world of mammon) in persuading people to buy his 1862 facsimile edition of William Tyndale’s 1526 *New Testament*. Quality control began by basing his edition on “*the only known copy of the first edition of Tyndale’s New Testament*” housed at Bristol’s Baptist College. Fry outlined in detail the steps taken in turning out the finished product to assure prospective customers that the item being offered meets the highest standards of excellence, thus meriting a place on their book shelves. First, “*tracing on transfer paper, placing this on lithographic-stones, and then printing it in the usual way*” resulted in an edition which greatly resembled the sixteenth-century edition. Second, all 692 pages of the 1862 facsimile edition were painstakingly inspected against the 1526 edition, thereby producing an exact correlation between these two editions. Third, the paper used for the 1862 edition was not mass produced but rather “*hand-made*” so that the paper resembled that used in the sixteenth-century edition.⁵

Another lesson learned from selling chocolate and cocoa was that consumers liked choice. The *Paris Universal Exhibition for 1855: Catalogue of the Works Exhibited in the British Section of the Exhibition* listed the assortment of chocolates and cocoas that constituted the Fry product line for mid-nineteenth-century British consumers including: “*FRY’S CHOCOLATE POWDER, CHOCOLATE or COCOA PASTE, SOLUBLE CHOCOLATE, and BROMA*”; “*FRY and SONS’ GRANULATED and DIETETIC COCOAS*”; “*HOMŒOPATHIC COCOA*”; “*COCOA NIBS*”; “*FRY’S PATENT COCOA*”; “*new varieties of FRENCH CHOCOLATES*”; “*Chocolat à la Française*”; and “*FRY’S CHOCOLATE PASTILLES, CHOCOLAT DE VOYAGE, and other BON BONS.*” These mouth-watering confections could not fail to tempt customers. More importantly, preceded by the Fry name, these confections demonstrated the importance of establishing brand recognition and inspiring brand loyalty.⁶

What better brand recognition could Fry employ for creating a demand



Francis Fry

www.geni.com

for his facsimile than the name of Tyndale, the man who “gave to his countrymen the *New Testament*, which was the first printed in the English language.” For Fry this was very much a case of a niche clientele in that his facsimile would be limited to 177 *New Testaments*. Utilizing a sense of exclusivity Fry created a sense of urgency as a means to motivate high-end or up-market customers to purchase his facsimile edition. Only a select few will have the opportunity to own this piece of history. Offering the assurance that “*the work has been effaced from the stones*,” Fry, within these parameters, knew customers demand choice. Options included the larger or “quarto” format or the smaller or “octavo” format; facsimiles “on large paper, on old paper and on vellum”; and facsimiles in which “*the wood-cuts, capitals, etc, 2606 in number*” were reproduced in color as in the original sixteenth-century edition.⁷

How quickly was Fry able to sell his facsimile of Tyndale’s *New Testament*? Three years later in 1865, notices appearing in various issues of *Notes and Queries* informed customers that they could still purchase Fry’s facsimile. This availability was not surprising since the £8 price tag would probably put the acquisition of this *New Testament* out of the reach of the ordinary person.⁸ According to the website www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare that £8 price tag in 1865 would translate to £667.40 for 2013.⁹ Only the

smaller or octavo edition was for sale.¹⁰ Perhaps all twenty-six “quarto” or larger editions had been sold.¹¹ What is interesting to note is that the April 22, 1865 issue of *Notes and Queries* not only contained a notice for the facsimile edition but also for “FRY’S CHOCOLATE.” Whether bibles or chocolate were on sale, Fry had learned the crucial importance of keeping the product in the public eye.¹²

But brand recognition should work both ways in this discussion of Francis Fry. For in terms of his personal brand, Francis Fry, a Quaker, was committed to the great humanitarian cause of his century—ending slavery. What better brand recognition or legacy could a man have.¹³

(Endnotes)

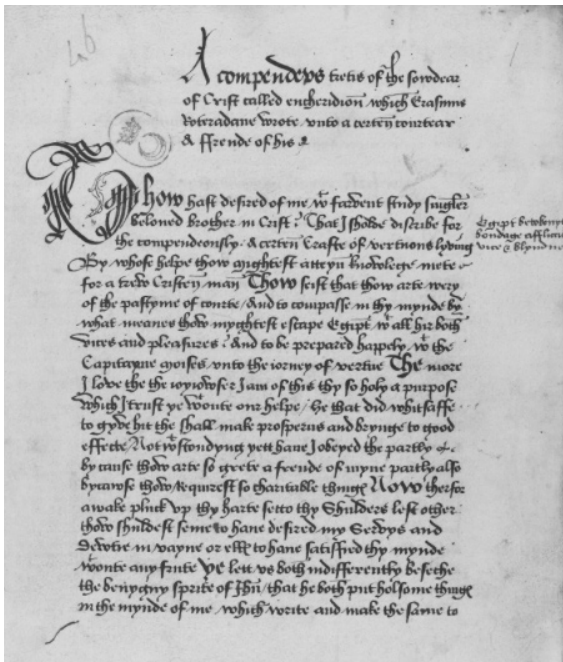
- 1 “Obituary Memoirs,” *Walford’s Antiquarian Magazine and Bibliographical Review*, Volume XI (1887): 50. This source accessed through Google Books.
- 2 [J.S. Fry & Sons Prospectus], *Paris Universal Exhibition 1855: Catalogue of the Works Exhibited in the British Section of the Exhibition* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1855). This source accessed through Google Books; [Prospectus for Fry’s Facsimile of Tyndale’s 1525/1526 *New Testament*], *The Prophete Jonas* (London: Willis and Sotheran, 1863). I found this prospectus in Fry’s facsimile of *The Prophete Jonas* on Google Books. This source accessed through Google Books.
- 3 [J.S. Fry & Sons Prospectus], *Paris Universal Exhibition 1855: Catalogue of the Works Exhibited in the British Section of the Exhibition*.
- 4 [J.S. Fry & Sons Prospectus], *Paris Universal Exhibition 1855: Catalogue of the Works Exhibited in the British Section of the Exhibition*; [Prospectus for Fry’s Facsimile of Tyndale’s 1525/1526 *New Testament*], *The Prophete Jonas*.
- 5 [Prospectus for Fry’s Facsimile of Tyndale’s 1525/1526 *New Testament*], *The Prophete Jonas*.
- 6 [J.S. Fry & Sons Prospectus], *Paris Universal Exhibition 1855: Catalogue of the Works Exhibited in the British Section of the Exhibition*.
- 7 [Prospectus for Fry’s Facsimile of Tyndale’s 1525/1526 *New Testament*], *The Prophete Jonas*.
- 8 *Notes and Queries*, Third Series, Volume VII: January 7, 1865; February 11, 1865; February 18, 1865; March 4, 1865; and April 22, 1865. These sources accessed through Google Books.
- 9 Lawrence H. Officer and Samuel H. Williamson, “Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1270 to Present,” MeasuringWorth, 2015. www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/.
- 10 *Notes and Queries*, Third Series, Volume VII: January 7, 1865; February 11, 1865; February 18, 1865; March 4, 1865; and April 22, 1865.
- 11 [Prospectus for Fry’s Facsimile of Tyndale’s 1525/1526 *New Testament*], *The Prophete Jonas*.
- 12 *Notes and Queries*, Third Series, Volume VII: January 7, 1865; February 11, 1865; February 18, 1865; March 4, 1865; and April 22, 1865.
- 13 Theodore Fry, *A Brief Memoir of Francis Fry, F.S.A. of Bristol* (Not Published, 1887): 56-57. This source accessed through Google Books.

*A Compendus Tretis Of The Sowdear Of Crist Called Encheridion Which
Erasmus Roteradame Wrote Unto A Certen Courtear & Frende Of His*

Tyndale's 'Lost' Erasmus ?

At midnight on April 13th a temporary export bar expired and, in a last-minute scramble, was extended for 3 months. Unless £242,500 can be raised this summer to match the auction price obtained at Sotheby's last year, a foundation manuscript of the English language will vanish overseas to a yet undisclosed destination. Virtually still unexamined by scholars, this lost original is astonishingly the *first prose literature in Modern English*. It is the work of a linguist whose genius set down the basis of Modern English by his passion to show that his despised native tongue – 'too crude for Holy Writ' said Sir Thomas More – was the match for any other. His name of course is William Tyndale.

As Tyndalians know well, very few personal facts can be certain about



Part of a page from the manuscript of Tyndale's translation of a work by Erasmus - *The Handbook of a Christian Knight* (1523).

Photograph: Sotheby's

Tyndale's early life except that for 2 years in the 1520's, he lived at Little Sodbury Manor, Gloucestershire as the tutor to the two young sons of Sir John and Lady Walsh. The Walshes were well-connected and, while orthodoxly Catholic, apparently not unsympathetic to the reformation movement. Probably hoping to earn sponsorship and further protection, Tyndale - as a gift for Lady Anne - translated from the original Latin into English a European bestseller: *The Handbook of the Christian Knight* by Erasmus. The book was never published by Tyndale, but after his exile anonymous, revised versions appeared, possibly under the direction of Thomas Cromwell. Tyndale's original text was thought to be lost.

Tyndale took a copy of the manuscript with him when he moved to London, unsuccessfully seeking permission to translate the bible. He was supported and given lodging by a prominent merchant, Humphrey Monmouth, who was sufficiently impressed by him to risk charges of heresy himself. Monmouth was so taken with the idea of having the famous Erasmus publication translated into English that he personally commissioned several manuscript copies to be made, which he gave to pious friends.

It seems almost certain that the present document is one of these.

The volume was found in the library at Alnwick Castle, where it had a modern binding and a false catalogue entry. The only date given for its presence there is 1872, possibly the date of the binding. 145 leaves of paper, size large 4to, are written in a scribal hand, most probably a professional, with marginal notes in a different script (possibly by the same paid scribe at the same time). The most impressive feature of the manuscript is its pristine appearance. The letters seem as dark as when first written and the immaculate pages are virtually unturned. It is an unread work, to be rediscovered.

The colophon reads

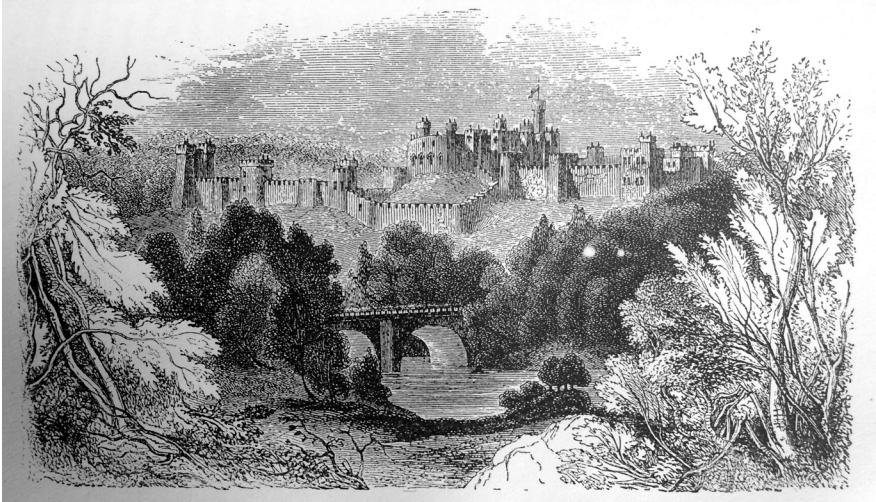
*translated oute of the latten into englishe in the yere of our lord
god mvcxxiii (i.e. 1523)*

Dr Anne O'Donnell, SND, Emerita Professor of English, Catholic University of America, and founder-member of the Tyndale Society, edited *Erasmus: Enchiridion Militis Christiani: an English Version* for the Early English Text Society (published OUP 1981). From a minimal comparison of the fragmentary sample reproduced in Sothebys catalogue with the 1533/34 editions, Dr O'Donnell finds variations mostly of spelling and grammar, with more substantial differences in the marginal notes. She quickly suggests several

tests which would establish if this is indeed the unique manuscript that circumstantial clues lead us to suppose.

Sothebys originally put a top estimate of £70,000 on this volume. As Dr Gabriel Heaton explained: “For a work by Tyndale we do not have comparisons to go on” (the British Library paid over £1 million for the 1526 New Testament). In the event, the price nudged a quarter-million. How cruelly ironic if this monument of our language, preserved through centuries by resting unvalued, should now vanish again and be hidden from scholarship because of its new-found monetary value!

Dr O’Donnell points out that it is in this work that is found the first recorded use of that good English word *preposterous*.



The volume was found in the library at Alnwick Castle, where it had a modern binding and a false catalogue entry.

There is an intriguing connection between William Tyndale and Alnwick. In 1386 the Rectory of St Dunstons was bestowed by the Crown on the Northumberland Abbey of Alnwick to compensate for property lost to Scottish raiding parties. Although the rich City of London merchants who were parishioners of the ancient mediaeval church did not always appreciate the priests appointed by these austere ‘White Canons’, the valuable patronage continued until the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536. St Dunstons in the West was the church where Tyndale preached.

Tyndale's ploughboy

Erasmus wrote of the farmer and the weaver *singing* the scriptures as they worked... Skilled, grown men, fathers and husbands, faithful Mass-goers, so familiar with the *Latin chanting* they heard in church that they could repeat it.

Tyndale's challenge at the Walshes' table that he would cause the *ploughboy* to *know* the scriptures was quite different, and deliberately provocative. His learned hearers had read their Erasmus, and found no fault with his pious wish of Catholic orthodoxy, but Tyndale was suggesting that an ignorant boy might know the meaning of the words – and in what language was he taught them? Dangerous talk.

So, who was Tyndale's ploughboy?

Every year in the Chiltern Hills we celebrate Plough Sunday at the four villages that make-up the Hilltop Parishes. These were once tiny hamlets, clearings in a forest that Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and powerful half-brother to William, took as part of his landgrab at the Norman Conquest. Odo stayed in Normandy where he commissioned the famous tapestry, and nothing else happened for centuries here except a lot of the forest was cleared for farming. Nowadays there are more commuters than farmers as we sing together: *We plough the fields and scatter.*

And so, on one Sunday in January, a 19th century plough is brought into the Chancel. The choir peer over its worn handles, and communicants squeeze past on their way to the altar rails. Tom Pearce, the Verger, gives a short talk about the old days of farming, based on his boyhood memories of stories from his beloved grandfather.

Old Pearce was taken out of school to help support the family. He was always hungry, cold and half-asleep from rising before dawn to get out at first light and make the most of the short, winter days. The plough was pulled by two big horses, with their own idea of where they wanted to go.

The *ploughman* was well behind, concentrating on keeping the shear in the soil and the furrow straight. For this he had to be strong, fully grown with enough body weight to hold down the handles. There was no rein to control the horses.

That task belonged to the *ploughboy*. He had to hang onto the bridle of one horse and keep it walking on the unploughed field while its pair plodded along in the furrow – one up, one down in uncomfortable tandem. Naturally the hoses pulled to walk together, and instinctively when they saw the hedgerow

ahead they wanted to swing round too soon, leaving ground unploughed. The boy had to control them, hanging onto the bridle and sometimes himself falling knee-deep into the furrow, while the ploughman behind cursed and shouted when he failed.

So this muddy, scrawny, sweaty kid was going to *know* the scriptures?

“If God spare my life...”

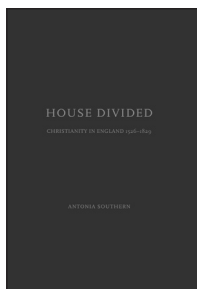


Medieval plowing with oxen (from a 14th century manuscript)

Philip Van Ness Myers, Mediaeval and Modern History, 1905,



Reviews



House Divided, Christianity in England from 1526 to 1829

Antonia Southern

Academica Press 2014.

ISBN-13: 978-1936320394 ISBN-10: 1936320398

Antonia Southern's broadly informative *House Divided, Christianity in England from 1526 to 1829* recounts a complex history of conflict in an attractively straightforward prose. Nonetheless, the cascade of details, wide-ranging in both topic and chronology, can at first seem a little overwhelming, even with the obvious thematic guidance offered by the book's title. This same plenitude of facts may also contribute to the occasional lapse, as in the date that Katherine of Aragon wed the young Henry VIII, or a missing footnote—is it in his journal that James Woodforde confessed to having been a smuggler? I want to know!

But despite the copious detail and ambitious scope of the project, Southern's very workable strategy for shaping this material soon emerges more clearly. First, pay attention to the epigraphs that head each chapter: they are not there merely to swell a progress or start a scene. These two, sometimes three, carefully selected passages usually suggest a kind of conceptual frame for understanding the quarrels that are described in a particular chapter. In just this way, for instance, the discussion of the Laudian emphasis on the connection between uniformity in religious practice and secular obedience is anticipated by the views of Cornish MP Sir John Eliot, who essentially equates religion (although not necessarily in the manner espoused by Laud) with obedience, and the appealing comment by John Selden that “every man has his religion; we differ about the trimming.”

In addition, a consistent pattern of exposition underlies each chapter of this book, and that too becomes an effective guide. Southern first presents us, in almost every case, with the animosities of this troubled history; then goes on to evoke the possibility of a turn toward greater tolerance, often citing a particular proponent of that tolerance along the way; and finally admits, rather unhappily, that the unifying potential of this moment went unfulfilled, and the “house” remained divided. Nonetheless, determined to remind us of the existence of the gentle even within this often fierce history, Southern characteristically closes those same chapters with a nod to some act or word of benevolence, whether that

be in George Herbert's assertion in "The Elixir" that "All may of thee partake" or minister Edmund Calamy's advocacy of forgiveness and shared blame in 1714. But the skies never fully clear: Herbert's pastoral kindness is summoned partly as a kind of counter to the brutality of the punishment of William Prynne, just a page before; and Calamy's generosity is meant as a consolation for an era in which official toleration remained uncertain.

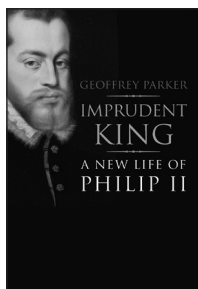
Oh my! These relentless antagonisms, whether bloody or merely bigoted, reminded me all too strongly of the ongoing hostilities between Sunni and Shia, and even the violent certainties of terrorist organizations like al-Qaeda. Will we ever learn? Maybe we will, in time. Southern's determination to find in her history a more hopeful testimony not only gives greater shape to a potentially taxing abundance of material, but also provides *House Divided* with an unexpected appeal. Although we must sometimes make do with the pragmatism of the Elizabethan Settlement or the "liberty to tender consciences" promised in but unfulfilled through the *Declaration of Breda* (1660), Southern never fails to remind us that human history, even this human history, has always contained at least the promise of toleration.

Thus Southern's heroes—and yes, it is fair to call them her heroes—are those men who demonstrated not a lack of religious enthusiasm but rather a charitable and forbearing faith. Some, men such as Puritan minister Richard Baxter or philosopher John Locke will be well-known to Southern's readers. Others, such as Arthur Golding, Sir John Harington (to whom Southern has devoted an earlier volume), or Francis Bacon, may be known to us largely in the context of other debates and issues. (Southern's comments on Bacon's *Considerations touching the pacification of the Church of England* [1603] were of particular interest to me.) But in the end, the real stars of Southern's narrative are the somewhat lesser known figures such as Arthur Dent, author of *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* (1601); Richard Overton, writing as "Young Martin Mar-Priest" in opposition to "Mr. Persecution" in 1645; Richard Price, author of the sermon *A Discourse on the Love of our Country* (1789); and eighteenth-century clergymen William Jones and James Woodforde, somewhat ordinary men who were tolerant and faithful to the people of their respective parishes. Southern even seems rather fond of Andrew Perne, known as "old Father Palinode," whose willingness to conform (which is sometimes mocked) the author describes as forward looking and ecumenical. Altogether, it is this series of biographical snapshots (and their generosity) that best characterizes the pleasures of *House Divided*.

Antonia Southern's narrative is deeply informed and intelligently wrought—

all those details *do* come together in the end. In fact, in *House Divided*, Southern integrates a wide variety of materials—biographical, political, textual, and theological—into a surprisingly singular history. For the first time, for instance, I came to see the sixteenth-century English rebellions as coherent parts of a larger cultural and religious history rather than periodic disruptions. More important, I finished this book admiring its erudition and glad that it had found its way onto my bookshelf.

Dr. Mary Jane Barnett, Georgetown University, USA.

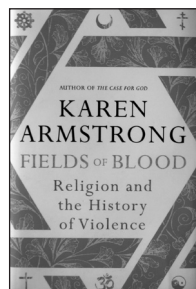


**The Imprudent King:
A New Life of Philip II**

Geoffrey Parker
Yale University Press, 2014, 438 pp.
ISBN 9780300196535 (Hardback)

Fields of Blood

Karen Armstrong
The Bodley Head, 2014, 499pp.
ISBN 9781847921864 (Hardback)



When John Foxe wrote of the three hundred burnings for heresy in England between 1555 and 1558 he described the period as ‘the horrible and bloody time of Queen Mary’. Foxe must take much of the responsibility for the posthumous reputation of Mary. So often have these burnings been remembered whilst those of her father’s reign and the executions of Catholics for treason under her sister have seemed less seared on the national memory. Foxe’s heading also fails to recall that the period of persecution was not simply the ‘time of Queen Mary’ but was the time of the joint monarchy of Mary and her husband Philip, otherwise King Philip II of Spain, yet Philip gets only one passing mention in Foxe.

Philip’s religion, and its influence on his actions, is one of the significant topics discussed in *Imprudent King* by Geoffrey Parker, Andreas Dorpalen Professor of European history at The Ohio State University. This comes soon after his magisterial work *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (Yale 2013). As with Henry Kamen, author of the previous major biography, *Philip of Spain* (Yale 1997), Parker has spent a lifetime researching this monarch and he has had the advantage of being able to draw upon material recently discovered in the New York vaults of the Hispanic Society of America.

Philip ruled his many lands through the second half of the sixteenth century and was arguably the most powerful political figure of his time. Despite this,

judgements of him, both by his contemporaries and later historians, have been very varied. Henry Kamen observed of Philip: 'All his great protagonists – Elizabeth of England, William of Orange, Henry of Navarre – became legendary heroes in the memory of their own people. They did so in part because of their opposition to Philip. Philip alone failed to leave his mark'.¹ The variability of verdicts from later historians is exemplified in Parker's preface where he takes issue with Kamen's suggestion that that 'Philip was never at any time in adequate control of events, or of his kingdoms, or even of his own destiny'.² Despite all this, there were those in his time who would have almost accorded sanctity to Philip. The useful range of images in Parker's book includes one of a painting by Murillo of a friar receiving a vision of Philip ascending from Purgatory to Paradise four years after his death, but then it was queried as to why, if he was so holy and so many prayers had been said for him, it had taken all of four years for him to emerge from Purgatory.³

Key issues which help to explain this uncertain picture of Philip, his person and his rule, and which arise repeatedly throughout Parker's biography, include the extent of his dominions, his micromanagement of affairs, and his religious convictions.

Philip inherited from his father, Charles V, in addition to Spain itself, a range of other territories to which he added lands by acquisition and conquest. In Europe there were the Netherlands which was to cause Philip much heartache, territories in central Europe, Naples, Sicily, and eventually Portugal. In addition there were areas of North Africa and then, of course, the vast new lands in the Americas. Parker describes all this as 'the first global empire in history', scattered across many thousands of miles of land and sea and with little in common between the various peoples, their history and culture, and certainly no common language. There was no precedent as to how to govern in this situation and, as Parker suggests, there had to be improvisation and experiment, trial and error.⁴

An obvious management tool in this situation would have been delegation but this was not something which came easily to Philip. That new material still comes to light is the result of his constant writing of letters and memos, day and night, which has left behind hundreds of thousands of documents. One thing all seem to agree on is that Philip drove himself hard in seeking to micromanage every aspect of his empire. Parker quotes a papal nuncio as saying: 'His majesty wants to see and do every single thing himself, yet that would not be possible even if he had ten hands and as many heads'.⁵ Thus, 'the same document that commented on water diviners or locating toilets

might also contain a decision vital to the fate of the monarchy'.⁶

Then there was Philip's religion which was central to his decision making (often with the advice of a group of theologians). He spent many hours in prayer, heard mass daily, went on retreat in Holy Week and collected over 7000 relics in the Escorial palace alone, but Philip took his relationship with God one step further. He believed that he had a special calling from God to defend the Catholic faith and that God would always be with him, show him the way and ensure success. Parker describes as 'stunning presumption' his words to a sick minister: 'I hope that God will give you good health and a long life, since they are engaged in God's service and mine, which is the same thing'.⁷ He was resigned to God's will when things went badly, or he saw the situation as a test or a punishment. Two consequences of this belief were a reluctance to change his plans when a scheme was not working out or when his advisers tried to point him in other directions (of which the spectacular failure of his schemes for Elizabethan England provides a notable example), and a conviction that he must fight heresy.

His attitude to heresy has relevance to England where Parker writes that he 'ardently supported' the burning of the three hundred who died between 1555 and 1558 and he quotes the king as boasting of the burnings during his reign in England.⁸ As this reign came to a close concerns arose over Lutheran literature and Bibles found in Spain and a heresy hunt began there. Curiously one of its first suspects was Bartolomé de Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, who had played a guiding role in the re-Catholicization of England. The inquisition banned 700 books and burnings took place. When the king attended an *auto de fe* in Valladolid one victim is said to have protested to Philip and received the reply: 'I would carry the wood to burn my own son if he was as wicked as you'.⁹ Hearing of the massacre of the Huguenots in France on St. Bartholomew's day 1572 Philip laughed with pleasure.¹⁰ Twice he planned an invasion of England to replace Elizabeth I with the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots.

There were moments when he seemed more open to accept the reality of religious differences. He had been present for a year at the Diet of Augsburg in 1551 and had enjoyed friendly relations with Lutherans there.¹¹ In the Netherlands he was not unsympathetic to humanist scholarship. He financed a polyglot Bible printed by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp with text in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac.¹² In Rotterdam he paid for a statue of Erasmus. He gave orders for prayers to heal the religious divides and encouraged Pope Pius IV to re-convene the Council of Trent in the hope that it might be able to help in this regard.¹³ Yet when he had a good chance of a working agreement with his opponents in the Netherlands at Breda in 1575, he let the

opportunity pass, refusing to accept some degree of religious toleration.¹⁴

The Netherlands proved persistently difficult for Philip and here it was religion that often seemed at issue and yet the situation was in reality more complex. The causes of successive periods of unrest, and the response of Philip to these, provide an example which leads neatly into a consideration of Karen Armstrong's *Fields of Blood: Religion and the History of Violence*.

Karen Armstrong has become one of the most widely read and respected writers on religion over the past thirty years and has carved out a unique position of authority for herself in this field. Much of her writing has been an attempt to clarify matters over which there is often popular misconception, in this case that 'religion has been the cause of all major wars in history'. Armstrong notes that she has 'heard this sentence recited like a mantra by American commentators and psychiatrists, London taxi drivers and Oxford academics'.¹⁵

Of Philip II in the Netherlands, Armstrong explains his determination to obliterate Protestantism as the result of a belief that it was 'a political as well as a religious threat'.¹⁶ Here she is in agreement with both Kamen and Parker who each recognise the complexity of the situations which led to religious persecution. The opposition faced by Philip, and to which he reacted, derived from a range of causes. In 1561 a series of proposals for a reorganisation of the church was opposed by the magistrates of cities such as Antwerp who objected to the introduction of the inquisition which they feared would keep Protestant merchants away.¹⁷ Within a few years there was increasing threat of rebellion by Philip's Protestant subjects. On the surface this might seem motivated by religion but rebellion was also made the more likely as the result of the bad winter in 1564/5 and interruptions to trade with the Baltic, both of which factors led to great hunger and unemployment.¹⁸ A second revolt in 1572, led by the Prince of Orange, was encouraged by social unrest arising from disastrous weather conditions and plague. At the same time the Baltic trade issue continued and England had introduced a trade embargo following discovery of a plot to kill Elizabeth, a plot with which Philip was involved. At this time one of Philip's advisers considered that: 'For the Prince of Orange and many of those who follow him, religion was (and still is) the major issue but I do not believe that it is true of most people here. Rather they rebelled because of the taxes and the outrages they suffered at the hands of your troops'.¹⁹ Philip plotted to control England which would then return to the Catholic fold and cease to be a threat to the stability of the Netherlands. In these, as in situations faced by Philip in other of his territories, the factors which led to a rebellion and subsequent oppression were a mixture of religion, economics and politics.

Armstrong's study is designed to illustrate the multitude of factors which lead to violence in society, whether war between or within nations, or simply social oppression by one group of another. She does not discount religion as one factor in some situations but shows the roots of violence as far more complex with a study of examples from prehistoric times to contemporary conflict, from Gilgamesh of Uruk five millennia ago to present day jihadists in the Middle East.

In the Reformation period and its aftermath the catastrophe of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) is sometimes seen as a war caused by religion, fought between Catholics and Protestants. Armstrong reminds her readers that it was far from as simple as that. It was at root a war between the Hapsburgs and those who had no wish to see this powerful family take over Europe. 'The princes of Europe resisted Hapsburg imperialism, but there was never a wholly solid 'Catholic' or 'Protestant' response.'²⁰

Armstrong accepts that this war was 'exacerbated by the sectarian quarrels of the Reformation' but she also describes it as one of the birth pangs of the modern nation state.²¹ As nation states emerged with clear boundaries, and often a national religion, there was an even greater danger of conflict.

Disentangling the causes of specific conflicts certainly helps to show that religion has generally only been one of a range of issues and Armstrong gives many examples. That it should sometimes be a factor in these situations is perhaps inevitable in so far as it has a social manifestation. On the other hand she recalls the many attempts from within religion to lead the peoples of the world to a more peaceful co-existence. However, she takes her argument much further back to find the roots of conflict in the beginnings of human society.

Conflict, violence and oppressions she sees as an inevitable result of the development of society from one of hunter-gatherers to one of settled agricultural communities. The latter required more organisation, not least because there was a surplus of food. Thus leaders had to emerge who so easily came to be a powerful group, oppressing the majority in their own self-interest. Each society sought the best land, climate and resources, in particular water, and thus a situation arose with a potential for conflict between communities. Inevitably as these conflicts developed they became confused with ethnic and religious differences.

Of course, a discussion of the relationship of religion to violence in society requires an agreement as to the meaning of the term 'religion'. Armstrong suggests the ways in which the term is used today would be found strange in earlier centuries, not least the attempt of post-Reformation western society to

separate religion and politics, and she suggests that today there is no universally agreed way to define religion. Certainly this is a word which is commonly used without definition as if it had a simple meaning understood by all. Often in the media interviewers ask their guests if they are religious, invariably receiving a negative response. Neither interviewers nor respondent make any attempt to define what they mean by using this term. Careless use of the term can help to lead to false statements about 'religion', not least in its relationship to violence.

Armstrong opens up significant areas for consideration in relation to a very important topic and provides a wide ranging set of examples around which to base her exposition. In an age when so many look for glib excuses to reject 'religion' this book can only be a valuable contribution to debate.

Both books considered here are by experts in their field and both can be highly recommended. Each has plenty of sound content whilst still being very readable.

Brian Buxton, Suffolk, UK

Notes

- 1 Kamen p. 320.
- 2 Parker p. xvii & Kamen p. 320.
- 3 Parker plate 45 & p. 362.
- 4 Parker p. 4.
- 5 Parker p. 76.
- 6 Parker p. xv.
- 7 Parker p. 85. Kamen p. 233 describes this as 'a stock phrase, not so different from similar appeals to God made by other rulers' but he adds that Philip became 'more obsessive about this idea in later years'.
- 8 Parker p. 49. The attitude of Philip and his advisers to the treatment of heresy in England is still debated. John Edwards in *Mary I England's Catholic Queen* (2011) points to Foxe's omission of Philip in his accounts and comments 'although the Spaniards are mentioned briefly in more modern literature on the subject, they are still generally held to have been either irrelevant or a force for moderation'. This is the line taken by Kamen pp. 61/62.
- 9 Parker p. 132. Kamen pp. 81/82 doubts the authenticity of this remark and notes that Philip never attended a burning.
- 10 Parker p. 86.
- 11 Parker p. 40.
- 12 See www.chethams.org.uk for more detail and illustrations from the copy of the Bible in Chetham's Library, Manchester, UK.
- 13 Parker p. 86.
- 14 Parker p. 225.
- 15 Armstrong p. 1.
- 16 Armstrong p. 223.
- 17 Parker p. 142.
- 18 Parker p. 144.
- 19 Parker p. 215.
- 20 Armstrong pp. 230-232. There is a chapter on this war in Parker's *Global Crisis* (2013) p. 211ff which draws out the religious, political and economic causes of its beginning and long continuation. Whereas Armstrong's survey centres on religion and violence, that of Parker has a special interest in climate and conflict.
- 21 Armstrong p. 361.



**At the House of Thomas Poyntz:
The Betrayal of William Tyndale with the
Consequences for an English Merchant
and His Family.**

Brian Buxton

Lavenham Press; Suffolk, 2013

ISBN 978-0-9926736-0-4

Whereas medieval writers relied heavily on the aristocracy for patronage, Renaissance authors depended much more on their own income from the sale of their books, and on the sponsorship and protection of bankers and merchants. Tyndale's story is no exception to this rule. In Antwerp, he found not only an ideal route for smuggling the loose leaves of his Bible translations into England, but also a flourishing community of Merchant Adventurers. They represented the largest foreign contingent in this international seaport, and offered the Bible translator a relatively safe place to stay. One of them in particular, a member of the Grocers' Company named Thomas Poyntz, offered him accommodation and protection at his own peril.

Together with his Flemish wife, Anna van Calva, Poyntz managed a lodging house for English merchants in Antwerp. The English who stayed in it enjoyed practically the same protection as those living in what was called the 'English House' in Bullincstraat, right opposite the old stock exchange. Tyndale biographies often claim that Tyndale spent most of his Antwerp years in this much larger establishment, which was one of the main centres for the English trade on the continent in Tyndale's days of exile.¹ We have no clear evidence, however, that this was the case. Staying in a more private house may well have been a safer option for Tyndale throughout his stay in Antwerp.

What we do know for certain, however, is that Tyndale took up lodgings in the house of Thomas and Anna in the summer of 1534, and stayed there until May 1535, when he was arrested by arms-bearers of Charles V. Poyntz was not at home at that moment, but he must have made attempts to have his guest released as soon as he heard what had happened. The first hard evidence of his efforts to free Tyndale is a letter he wrote on 21 August 1535 to his brother John Poyntz, who lived at the family home at North Ockendon in Essex.

Thomas Poyntz relentlessly pursued the matter of getting Tyndale out of the Vilvoorde prison, but without success. Tyndale would be strangled and burnt at the stake in September 1536,² and Thomas Poyntz himself would end up in prison, incur huge debts and see his family life wrecked for many years because

of his intervention on behalf of the Bible translator.

The story of Poyntz's courage and calamities is now told at length in a book by Brian Buxton. This work is the result of careful scholarship. Buxton has consulted an impressively large number of letters, documents and archival materials to give us the first full account of this remarkable merchant. He has carried out a thorough investigation of Poyntz's family tree, his mercantile activities and his political connections. At the same time, we are also given an account of the role played by figures like Henry Phillips, who arranged for Tyndale to be arrested in Antwerp.

Buxton tells the story of the merchant with a great deal of empathy, especially in the episodes that relate how the Poyntz family was divided and how Thomas was 'brought unto misery.' Nevertheless, the biographer remains scrupulously objective, and carefully distinguishes historical fact from speculation. This is especially clear in a very informative postscript that deals with the various hypotheses that have been put forward regarding who gave the orders, either in England, or the Low Countries, or in both, to have Tyndale arrested. On the English side, the names of Stephen Gardiner and even Thomas More have been suggested, but Buxton comes to the wise conclusion that at this stage, we simply do not know who put the fatal plot in motion.

Generally speaking, this biography is stronger when it considers English sources than the ones from the continent, as was to be expected from an English historian. For his consultation of Low Countries sources, Brian Buxton graciously recognises some help he was given by Paul Arblaster, who as a bilingual historian (English and Dutch) has published on the Antwerp context of Tyndale's work. Nevertheless, one gets the impression that there is a lot of work still to be done in order to elucidate Poyntz's activities in the context of the Dutch-speaking town where Tyndale was his guest. But all in all, the two geographical sides of the Poyntz puzzle fit together quite convincingly already in Buxton's detective story.

Among the strongest pages are those that analyse Poyntz's letter to his brother John from a stylistic perspective. Here Buxton shows not only his talent as a historian, but also as a literary scholar. He carefully analyses the wording and compares it with phrases Tyndale uses in his *Obedience*. It appears that Thomas Poyntz echoes several of these in his letter. The phrase 'crafty juggling,' for instance, which is associated with the papists in Tyndale's polemical work, is echoed in Poyntz's letter, and so are several others. Tyndale's great emphasis on duty and obedience likewise appears to be a strong element in the development of Poyntz's arguments in favour of the Bible translator's liberation.

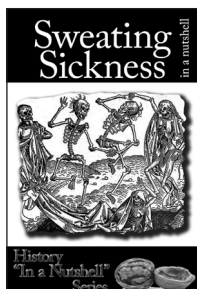
This book may at first sight seem to deal with just one little man from a family that, with some minor exceptions, did not move in the highest circles of power in the realms of Henry VIII and Charles V. Nevertheless, this seemingly modest biography disentangles with great skill the complex relationships between the worlds of tradesmen, churchmen, politicians and philologists at a time and in a place that shaped the beginnings of the modern English Bible translations. It thus deepens our practical insight into the mechanisms of the European Renaissance, and is to be strongly recommended.

Guido Latré, Belgium.

Copies can be obtained from the author at 26 Dodson Vale, Kesgrave, Ipswich, Suffolk IP5 2GT. Please enclose a cheque for £14.50 (in. p&çp) made payable to E.B.Buxton. Alternatively request a PayPal invoice from brian.buxton2113@btinternet.com.

Notes

- 1 Paul Arblaster, in Paul Arblaster, GergelyJuhász and Guido Latré, *Tyndale's Testament*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2002, pp. 80-81 (item 26).
- 2 Arblaster, pp. 176-177.



Sweating Sickness in a Nutshell

Claire Ridgway

MadeGlobal Publishing (2014) 44pp

ISBN 9781500996222

In this concise publication, Claire Ridgway, a respected biographer of Anne Boleyn, depicts a strange illness known as 'sweating sickness' or 'English sickness' which occurred in Tudor times and was distinct from the plague and other fevers such as malaria and influenza. Five episodes are recorded, the first in September 1485 being followed by outbreaks in the summers of 1508, 1517, 1528 and 1551: it has not recurred in England but was reported in the 19th century in Europe.

The sickness was characterised by the sudden onset in a previously well person of a severe fever associated with profuse, foul smelling sweat, headaches, breathlessness, muscular and abdominal pain, leading to delirium and frequently to death within 24 hours. The victims were typically young men living in communities such as the homes of the nobility, colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and monasteries. Hundreds died daily and the disease caused terror because of the high contagion risk, short duration and excessive mortality

rate. The last epidemic was documented by Dr. John Caius of Cambridge (1510-1573), who gave advice on prevention (especially increasing cleanliness of the body and houses) and treatment: the latter was mainly herbal in an age of superstitious remedies, together with prayer. The cause has remained a mystery, but a virus with insect or rodent host is suspected.

Members of the Tyndale Society may like to speculate on connections between sweating sickness and aspects of the Reformation in England. Some suggestions are offered –

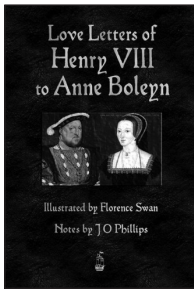
- 1 Thomas Linacre, c1460 - 1524, Humanist theologian and court physician to Henry VIII had studied at Padua and was expert in Greek. Erasmus was in London 1509 – 1514 and consulted Linacre about his painful and recurrent kidney stones with success, and was also instructed by Linacre in the Greek language: this study culminated in the publication of a Greek text of the New Testament, later used by William Tyndale, which went alongside a Latin text, more accurate than the Vulgate.
- 2 In 1508 Thomas More and Cardinal Wolsey corresponded regarding the ‘severe depredations among the young gentlemen of Oxford and Cambridge’ due to the sickness and while there were many deaths among King Henry VII’s servants in the London palaces, the royal family was spared. In 1517 Henry VIII sought isolation in a distant residence while his servants in London succumbed. Cardinal Wolsey was ill but recovered, while many of his household died, as did 400 students in Oxford in 1 week. The effect of such loss of potential talent cannot be estimated.
- 3 In the 1528 outbreak, both the clergy and the king’s court suffered greatly and both Thomas Boleyn and daughter Anne contracted the disease but survived. Henry VIII had been wooing Anne since 1526, although was not able to marry her until 1533 when finally divorced from Queen Katherine. What if Anne, sympathetic to William Tyndale, had not survived?
- 4 The 1528 outbreak spread from English Calais to Germany, Austria and Scandinavia. From 1525 Tyndale was in Cologne, and then Worms, overseeing the printing of his translation of the New Testament, before moving to Antwerp by 1531, and was apparently in good health.

Eunice Burton FRCS, Essex, England. .

References:

Essays on the life and work of Thomas Linacre, F.Maddison, M.Pelling & C.Webster eds. (Oxford University Press 1977)

My Dear Erasmus David Bentley-Taylor (Christian Focus 2002)



The Love Letters of Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn

Indo-European Publishing (2012)

Paperback £7.68

ISBN 978-1-60444-737-8

'Although sleep pressed upon my closing eyelids, and the moon, on her horses, blushed in the middle of the sky, nevertheless I could not leave off watching your play; there was too much fire in your two voices' (Propertius, *The Elegies*, Book 1, 10.7-10).

Other people's love affairs, as the Roman poet Propertius long ago suggested, are endlessly fascinating. This is especially the case when the romance being conducted involves royalty and, moreover, is shrouded in tabloid scandal. The billets doux from England's most famous Tudor king, Henry VIII, to Anne Boleyn are a voyeur's dream. An edition of 18 letters published by Renaissance Classics is now available in a slim and attractively produced pamphlet. They capture in the most immediate way the King of England's courtship of Anne, and span the years 1527-1528 when the love-struck pair hoped that an annulment from the Pope of his first marriage to Catherine of Aragon might still be possible.

Henry VIII's love letters are often discussed in terms of the intimacy they convey and the powerful, even obsessive, attraction they reflect. There is no denying that they offer a rare glimpse into the heart of Henry. A genuine tenderness emanates from the epistles, perhaps best captured by the secret language systems and diagrams included at the close of many of them, such as the code 6. N. A. 1 de A. o. na. v.e.z., and the manipulation of their initials, either those of Anne ('AB') in a heart, or their two initials entwined, for example, H. (A B) R. Henry's sexual longing for Anne is also present, his passion often being articulated in physical terms: he repeatedly anticipates physical contact, writing at one point 'I think it long since I kissed you', at another '[your] pretty dukkys I trust shortly to kiss' (the pamphlet leaves it up to the reader to divine the precise meaning of 'dukkys') and desiring, God willing, that she may enjoy some of his 'flesh'. Henry's repeated promises to be faithful only to her and his evident determination to satisfy any and all of her whims completely give the impression of a man disarmed.

Yet these letters offer more than a window into the emotions of a figure whom many consider was England's most important single ruler. They also chart the way Henry wooed. Indeed it is his kingly role as much as anything else that defines and dictates the modes of his endearments. Rather fittingly for a monarch, the theme of power underpins many of his references, albeit in surprising ways: Henry reverses the true nature of their relation to one another (as sovereign and

subject), instead referring to himself as 'servant' and elevating Anne Boleyn to the governor or mistress of his heart. One can sense too the thrill of pursuit that fuelled his infatuation. Gifts of love alluded to in two of the letters comprised game killed in the hunt, in one case a hart and in another a buck. Henry even admitted that when Anne ate the meat he wanted her to 'think of the hunter'. Here was a figure who was accustomed to and expected conquest. Largesse was another important motif. Henry lavishes his affections, in abstract and concrete terms. In the ninth letter, he informs Anne that he is sending his physician to her (she had contracted the sweating sickness) and then incorporates his own act of benevolence into the discourse of love: 'I hope that he [viz. the physician] shall soon make you well. I shall then love him more than ever. I beseech you to be guided by his advice in your illness. In doing so I hope to see you again soon'. Perhaps what comes across most of all is Henry's sense of impatience. This is conveyed not just in his expressions of restive expectancy about seeing Anne, but also in terms of how much time he is actually willing to devote to putting pen to his passions. This number of epistles is impressive, but none of them are particularly long. In fact, in the majority, descriptions of his agony are abruptly curtailed with words such as 'No more at present for lack of time...' or 'and thus, for lack of time, sweetheart, farewell'. This was a purposeful, but efficient suit by a man who also had a kingdom to run.

As vivid the collection of letters is, this volume (unlike other editions of the same letters) falls short in a number of important respects. Most pressing is the lack of any notes whatsoever to assist the reader. No attempt is made to date the letters. There is nothing to inform us that a large proportion of these letters were in fact written in French (a fact which raises its own questions about, for instance, the function of French in the context of their amour and what may have been lost in translation). The reader is given no information whatsoever about their location (they are actually housed at the Vatican Library) and how they got there (historians believe they were stolen from Anne and sent to Rome as a means to tarnish her reputation during the negotiation for Henry's divorce from Catherine). In the absence of any introduction, important circumstantial facts about the two lovers must be inferred from the texts. It is, for example, evident that Anne Boleyn was not at Court when Henry composed these letters; it would have been useful to have been told that in fact she had moved to Hever Castle once the news of the King's attachment had begun to generate obloquy and the sweating epidemic started to take hold. There are also some editorial decisions that need explaining. Why, for example, in a collection of letters which are otherwise all written by Henry, is only one of them (the eighth) from Anne? This letter from Anne is not in fact addressed to Henry,

but to Cardinal Wolsey urging him to expedite the legate's return with news concerning the divorce. Given the inclusion of this, it would also have been helpful to know that only one of Anne's love letters to Henry survives (one from 1526), but that letter has not been included in this edition. This volume comprises a primary source and nothing more, and the reader is entirely left to read and interpret the letters as they want.

And so we return to Propertius. We may find, like the blushing moon in his verse, these very private letters cause a certain amount of embarrassment as we read them, and yet we continue to 'watch their play' for they are quite frankly irresistible. There is certainly fire in Henry's voice, but perhaps there was, after all, as the poem puts it, 'too much fire'. One cannot read this collection of letters without also recalling the monumental consequences of Henry's capricious desires for Anne. Within just six years, Anne, by then his wife, would be sent by her husband to the executioner's block. All references to her existence would be erased, and almost certainly her letters to him. More importantly, Henry's pursuit of Anne was one of the driving forces behind England's break with Rome, and ultimately led to the complete redefinition of the English church and to the deaths of many more in the name of religion. These letters are a powerful reminder of the lethal nature of a king's love.

Lucy R. Nicholas, Tel Aviv, Israel.

And the Oscar goes to ... William Tyndale

And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.'

The 2015 Oscar for Best Actor was awarded to the English actor Eddie Redmayne for his portrayal of Nobel Prize-winning physicist Professor Stephen Hawking, in the film *The Theory of Everything*.

In an early scene Stephen takes Jane, a fellow student at Cambridge, to a May Ball. When it transpires that he does not dance, they walk away from the ball and, looking up at the velvet sky, she recites Genesis, Chapter 1, verse 2. Naturally, he kisses her. Jane is a believing Christian, whereas Hawking declares himself most determinedly a man of science, believing only what can be proved.

Later, after his astonishing advances in the understanding of the universe, he is humbled by how little can be proved.

The words Jane quotes are, of course, from the King James Bible: Tyndale's version is sparer by 8 words, only dark and empty before the 'Big Bang'.

Mary Clow

Progress

Written by Joanna Carrick,
Artistic director of the Red Rose Chain theatre company
and presented at the company's Avenue Theatre, Ipswich, UK,
3rd to 28th February 2015.



Elizabeth I (Elsie Bennett) and Robert Dudley (Daniel Abbott)

© IpswichStar.co.uk

The search for heresy and the punishment of those convicted is a familiar part of the unfolding story of religion in Tudor England. Thanks to John Foxe such activity in the reign of Queen Mary is the most familiar. The lasting emotional consequences for individuals and communities of these searches, betrayals, imprisonments, recantations, and burnings, come to the fore in Joanna Carrick's second Tudor period play for the Red Rose Chain. Her first centred on the rise and fall of Anne Boleyn and was presented both in Ipswich and at the Tower of London.

For *Progress* Joanna Carrick sets the scene in Ipswich during a period of hectic preparation for the visit of Queen Elizabeth in 1561. Extensive background research means that the characters represented are for the most part real individuals of the period. They are imagined caught up in the tensions of a time when the burnings of 1555-1558 were still vivid in people's minds. The tailor, Peter Moone, is torn apart with guilt that he recanted, only to see others burn, and takes into his household a girl who remembers clearly seeing her mother led to the flames. Nicholas Mundy, unstable and often drunk, spends time cursing Queen Mary, whilst all point an accusing finger at a local

official who made sure he kept in line with current state policy even if it meant betraying his neighbours.

All these strains come out as the citizens prepare a play, John Bale's *King John*. Those members who attended the Ipswich study day last May will recall Oliver Wort's paper on Bale, a Suffolk man and for a short time head of the Carmelite house in Ipswich. In his play Bale took John as an example of a king who had stood up to the pope, as English monarchs were now doing.

The presentation by the Red Rose Chain was of the high standard for which it has become known. By maintaining a good pace, alternating brief scenes of the players' preparations with eavesdropping on Elizabeth's conversations with Robert Dudley and leading citizens, and by introducing humour, the attention of the audience was kept throughout. All in all this was quality entertainment but with serious issues to go away and think about.

Apart from presenting conventional plays the Red Rose Chain engages in valuable projects within the community. These include work with schools on personal and social issues and drama activities with groups of individuals who have had challenging lives. See www.redrosechain.com.

Brian Buxton, Suffolk, England.



Cast L-R David Redgrave, Elsie Bennett, Daniel Abbott, Robert Jackson, Lucy Telleck, Tom McCarron.

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Tudor History in Dramatic Imagination:
Hilary Mantel's *Wolf Hall* and *Bring up the Bodies*
adapted for stage & TV

At the Swan Theatre, Stratford, I had the privilege of experiencing six hours of drama in one day: the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) production of Hilary Mantel's *Wolf Hall* in the afternoon and *Bring up the Bodies* in the evening. Months later I watched the same two books televised by the BBC in six hour-long episodes. That is twelve hours transported back to the 16th Century to explore the life of Thomas Cromwell and the Tudor court. By the end of 2015 we may see published the last book in the trilogy *The Mirror and the Light* which will record the end of Cromwell's life. This final volume is predicted to be as weighty as the first two (653 and 485 pages respectively) and will doubtless be on stage and on screen soon afterwards.

If you are coming to this production for the first time, I strongly suggest you purchase the RSC script with Hilary Mantel's guidance notes to 32 of the actors.¹ Because there are so many characters to study as you read the books, these detailed word portraits are very helpful, and Hilary Mantel certainly has a way with words:

Thomas Cromwell: *"You are the man with the slow resting heartbeat, the calmest person in any room, the best man in a crisis"*.



Damian Lewis as Henry VIII with Mark Rylance as Thomas Cromwell in BBC's 'Wolf Hall'

© BBC Giles Keyte

King Henry VIII *"You are both callous and vulnerable... a charmer... early in your reign you put more effort into hunting and jousting than to governing, with a bit of light warfare thrown in. You prefer to look like a king than to be a king, that is why you let Thomas Cromwell run the country for you... You expect to get your own way, not just because you are a king but because you are that sort of man. When you are thwarted, your charm vanishes. You are capable of carpet-chewing rage."*

Thomas More: *"You would keep a tribe of Freudian analysts in business for life... your barriers are rigid and your core is frozen... You are a scholar and a wit, a great communicator... if you lived now, you would write a column for one of the weekend newspapers... you are an excellent hater... your detestation comes spilling out in an uncontrollable flood of scatological language... You are not a martyr for freedom of conscience. You are the old-fashioned kind of martyr, dying for your faith."*

Anne Boleyn: *"You are elegant, reserved, self-controlled, cerebral, calculating and astute... quick tempered and, like anyone under pressure, you can be highly irrational... You carry the projections of everyone who is afraid of sex or ashamed of it... Unlike Katherine, you don't take it quietly when Henry looks at other women... Reputation management is not your strong point... Are you really a religious woman, a convinced reformer? No one will ever know."*

"No one will ever know?" Tyndale is sometimes referred to but can hardly enter into direct dialogue with members of the Tudor Court. Only Howard Brenton in his own play *Anne Boleyn*, (presented at the Shakespeare Globe in 2010) does have Tyndale return from Antwerp to Farnham Forest for a two or three minute conversation with Anne Boleyn, before, presumably, rushing back to Flanders... This artistic licence allows the playwright to suggest that Anne read Tyndale's New Testament:

TYNDALE: *So you read my translation?*

ANNE: *Of course.*

TYNDALE: *It's a banned book, greatly burnt. Dangerous to have in the English Court, under the eyes of Wolsey.*

ANNE: *His Grace the Cardinal doesn't see everything. There are many copies of your Testament at Court, behind walls, in secret panels.*

TYNDALE: *So the True Word is worming in the woodwork of English palaces? I praise the Lord.*

ANNE: *As I do.*

The stage and television versions both interpret Hilary Mantel's books faithfully, sometimes with the same dialogue. When Anne Boleyn gives birth - not to the longed-for son but to a daughter - Henry reacts in blunt, chilling words: "*Call her Elizabeth. Cancel the jousts*". On this occasion the impact of the moment is caught best in the television close-up. But that is not to say that the BBC series surpasses the stage production every time. It doesn't. The stage play moves along briskly. The changes of mood and pace, and a deal of unexpected humour, kept my attention fixed on the action for every minute of the six hours. Cromwell (Ben Miles) on stage for most of the time gave a most extraordinary performance.

The BBC production suffers from being cut into six episodes and the pace and drama are measured. Again Cromwell is in nearly every scene, but Mark Rylance certainly took to heart Hilary Mantel's stage direction: "*You are the man with the slow resting heartbeat, the calmest person in any room, the best man in a crisis*". The most powerful moments on the TV screen come when Cromwell says nothing. By the end of the first episode we start to expect Cromwell to answer a question with a look, the raising of an eyebrow or just silence. It works powerfully in this medium, but would be lost to all except those closest to the projected stage of the Swan Theatre, Stratford. The stage play has magnificent costumes and attention-holding pace. The TV production has its own magnificence, being filmed in actual Tudor palaces, rooms and even prison cells. You feel you are actually there. Apparently, the props were to have included simulated tapestries in fresh bright colours, but since we are used to seeing tapestries as they have survived to the present day, it was decided to use faded originals instead. The new generation of digital cameras can work by candlelight. It cost the BBC £20,000 to buy enough candles for the production. Extraordinary. Being used to the Hollywood costume dramas we were all brought up on, this caused some controversy. I come down on the side of favouring the candles, or in some cases 'candle', because that is how it must have been. I admit it was sometimes difficult to see who was who. There was also the problem of identifying which noble lord and which bishop was which. The television Duke of Norfolk (Bernard Hill), heading the Catholic faction, was easy enough to place by his foul language, shocking but authentic for the period.

When the BBC series ended Mark Rylance and director Peter Kosminsky reflected upon their seventeen weeks of filming, and then upon the relevance Tudor history has on our experience today. It seems there were criticisms of the portrayal of Cardinal Wolsey and Sir Thomas More, 'Catholic' figures in the

story, and the way Cromwell treated them, and also Anne Boleyn. Hilary Mantel's five years of research into Cromwell's life built up a picture of his early years...the bullying of his father, his survival from the age of 14 travelling around Europe gaining experience of the agonies of war, the ways of Florentine bankers, association with the wool and cloth merchants of Antwerp. He came through the storms of experience bruised but far from broken. With competence and confidence he shaped a future for himself drawing upon his acquired knowledge of human behaviour.

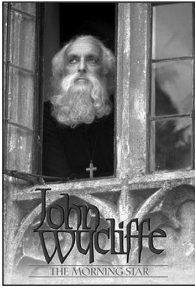
Cromwell knew the importance of remaining loyal to those with whom he had established a relationship. It was this loyalty to Wolsey which caught Henry's attention. Henry came to depend upon close friendship and support from More, Wolsey, Cranmer and Cromwell. He still imagined his Tudor dynasty to be fragile and insecure. These men were to be challenged to support both the King and his dynasty. All four of them came to grief. The critics should study the book. Hilary Mantel does not portray Cromwell as callous or cruel. He hated war and violence and with persistent determination tried to persuade Wolsey, More and Anne Boleyn to escape dreadful suffering and death. He had the courage to face up to Henry on several occasions. In the end he watched More and Anne face execution with shock and grief. Having steered his way into Henry's business when the waters were calm, the storms began and the waves started to break over so many, Cromwell could not turn back. In the TV version Henry meets Cromwell coming away from witnessing Anne's beheading. He greets Cromwell with a bear hug... the silent shocked expression on Cromwell's face again speaks volumes. The course he set himself on is now fixed and relentlessly heading to the rocks.

Hilary Mantel's historical writings have a fearful resonance today. Read *Wolf Hall* and *Bring Up the Bodies* (both deservedly won Man Booker Prizes) and hope that the stage or television versions will come your way.

David Ireson, Devon, England.

Notes

- 1 *Wolf Hall* and *Bring up the Bodies* adapted for the stage by Mike Poulton, Published by Nick Hern Books Fourth Estate, London.



John Wycliffe: The Morning Star
DVD. Gateway Films. 1984.

Reviewed by Bill Cooper

Here is a film to adorn the library of any Tyndalian. Directed by Tony Tew who also gave us *God's Outlaw* (a biopic of William Tyndale and reviewed in TSJ44), it tells the story of the Reverend Dr John Wycliffe, hailed by all as the 'Morning Star of the Reformation'. It was under Wycliffe that the English people were able - for the first time in their

history - to read the Bible in English, and it was under his itinerant bands of Lollard preachers that the poorest in the land were able to learn the Scriptures and throw off the yoke of superstition and idolatry that the Church had laid upon them for hundreds of years past. By way of highly evocative settings, costumes and an excellent script, the film takes us back into 14th-century England. Of course, the settings, script and costumes would have achieved nothing without equally splendid acting, first prize for which must surely go to Peter Howell who plays Wycliffe. His was by no means an easy part to play. We know almost nothing about Wycliffe himself, yet Howell carries it off perfectly, portraying Dr Wycliffe as he must surely have been. To counter Wycliffe's gentle spirit, Robert James lays on for us a wickedly scheming Bishop Courtenay, as does John Moreno an evil-intentioned Benedictine monk. The film maintains one of the gentlest paces that I have ever seen in a movie whilst losing none of its high drama, and that is difficult to achieve when modern wisdom dictates high-speed mayhem. There are no explosions, earthquakes, asteroids or even machine guns. I used this film to great effect some years ago at a house-meeting in Harlow in which the subject was the History of the English Bible. Then, in the afternoon, I showed *God's Outlaw* to equally great effect. Both films are an excellent education tool as well as a delight to watch, and top marks must go to Tony Tew and his team for delivering such quality productions. They are highly recommended.

John Wycliffe: The Morning Star is readily available on DVD from Amazon and elsewhere.



How I Met William Tyndale

Tawn O'Connor

As an English major in college, I felt obligated to place a King James Bible—a great work of literature which I *should* someday read—on my shelf. When I began to wonder if the God of the Bible did in fact exist, I opened the book and was shocked from my complacent agnosticism. Its words leaped from the page, spoke directly to me, and changed my life.

In 1997, I read an article about the Tyndale exhibit at the Library of Congress, in which Dr. David Daniell stated that the King James Bible is 83% Tyndale's work. Who was this William Tyndale, I wondered, who died so that I could have a Bible in the English language? I wanted to know more about the human cost in blood, sweat, tears, and suffering that put this book in my hands.

My husband, daughters, and I made it to “Let There Be Light” the day before it closed. I marveled at the small Bible whose pages Tyndale himself might have handled as they came from the press!

Then I saw Tyndale's letter from prison.

How had it survived? This “simple and patient letter” (Brian Moynahan's phrase), written in Tyndale's own hand, was steeped in the language and spirit of the Bible he translated. I felt I was reading a letter the Apostle Paul might have composed. Here was Tyndale, shivering with cold, denied his own warm clothing, and wracked with coughing: “I ask to be allowed to have a lamp in the evening; it is indeed wearisome sitting alone in the dark.”

What humility in the face of injustice! “I will be patient, abiding the will of God, to the glory of the grace of my Lord Jesus Christ; whose Spirit (I pray) may ever direct your heart.” Tyndale's letter reached across the centuries and touched my heart.

Later, I joined the Tyndale Society. I also took bookbinding classes that led me to Bible repair—mostly, those humble study Bibles that have little intrinsic value, but are priceless to their owners because of handwritten notes next to Scripture verses that – once again – leap off the pages and embed themselves in a reader's heart.

My feelings about William Tyndale are not scholarly, but personal. I look forward to meeting him again, in heaven, one day.

Tawn O'Connor, Maryland, USA.

Dates for Your Diary

2015

Thursday, 21st May 11:00 a.m. – 3:00 p.m.

Reading the Past & Conserving the Future

At the City of London Guildhall Library mark the 500th anniversary of the ordination to the priesthood of William Tyndale by viewing the entry of this event in the register of Bishop Richard FitzJames. In addition, inspect several other manuscripts reflecting the progress of the Reformation in London, including a contemporary comment on the death of Thomas Wolsey. Learn about Roger Tyndale, a possible relation of William, but interesting in his own right as a follower of the new religion in the time of Elizabeth.

Then visit the British Library to learn more about its role in conserving our written heritage.

Members £10. Non-members £12.

Thursday, 1st October – Sunday, 4th October

9th International Tyndale Conference, Hertford College, Oxford.

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.

Wednesday, 16th December 12:30 pm

Tyndale Society Annual Service of Lessons & Carols

St Mary Abchurch, Abchurch Lane, City of London

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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.

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

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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.

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