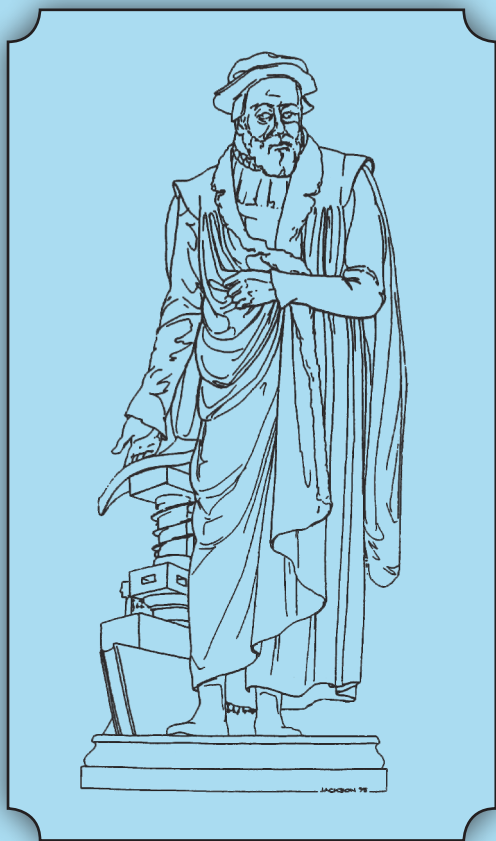


The Tyndale Society Journal



No. 46
Winter 2015/2016

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.

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- Many social events, lectures and conferences
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- Access to a worldwide community of experts
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Editor for Tyndale Society Journal No.46:

Neil Langdon Inglis

**We invite your contributions for the next Journal
by 15 May 2016 please (see *p. 10*)**



Especially Welcome...

contributions for: 'How I Met William Tyndale'

Editorial

Neil Langdon Inglis

Editor - TSJ No. 46

Greetings everyone!

In May 2015, I traveled to Hanover, Maryland, a town near Baltimore Airport, to attend a seminar on UFOs and the screening of a documentary on the life of UFO abductee Travis Walton (I journey far and wide to report on events of interest to my readers). But the major development of concern to Tyndalians that weekend last Spring had nothing to do with little green men. Rather, I watched my first episode of “Wolf Hall” in my hotel room.

Keith Michell (who played Henry VIII in “The Six Wives of Henry VIII”) passed away in November 2015. This was a blow to me as I loved the serial and had been particularly fond of Wolf Morris’s interpretation of the part of Thomas Cromwell. How could anybody replicate Morris’s special blend of creepiness and magnetism? You can imagine how I approached “Wolf Hall” with trepidation. I need not have worried. Morris’s performance is theatrical, stagier, whereas Mark Rylance’s take on the role is more naturalistic, more method-oriented. There is room for both interpretations, and Cromwell fans are not forced to display treasonable disloyalty in choosing between them.

The very best news of all of course is that “Wolf Hall” dares to mention the name of William Tyndale and speaks it proudly. One character refers to “the Bible in English” with tears in his eyes. WT is no footnote here! Whatever you think of Hilary Mantel’s works, the name recognition they have provided for William Tyndale is greatly to be welcomed. Here is a perfect illustration of how far the world of Tyndale has evolved during the lifetime of our Society.



Keith Michell (l) as Henry VIII and Wolf Morris (r) as Thomas Cromwell in BBC's 1970 drama series: "The Six Wives of Henry VIII"



Detail from Petrus Alamire's 1516 illustrated score catalogued as MS Royal.8.g.vii in the British Library.

©British Library.

At the Tyndale Society, we watch out for developments in the Tyndale period that span all walks of life, be they theological, cultural, architectural, or historical. The fast-moving discoveries in this field are of abiding interest to Tyndalians. For example, King Henry's briefing book on the legal aspects of his divorce proceedings was discovered recently. And, in a musical vein, I found the following item in the Daily Telegraph¹:

Choral music not heard since the time of Henry VIII has been brought to life for the first time in 500 years. The manuscript, a book of 34 religious songs, was given to Henry VIII as a lavish gift from a French diplomat in his early reign. Containing songs referencing Henry and his then-bride Catherine of Aragon, it is considered the most "luxurious" surviving diplomatic gift of its kind. It remained in the Royal Collection after the king's death, and was later given to the nation by George II and has remained in the vaults of the British Library ever since.

Given to Henry VIII around 1516, it was tailor-made for the Royal couple and produced in the workshop of Petrus Alamire, a scribe and musician who went on to spy for the king. The elaborately illuminated book, catalogued in the British Library as "Royal 8 G VII", has now been turned into 34 pieces of music, sung by choir Alamire.

Dr David Skinner, a Cambridge fellow, has examined the manuscript to bring the music back to life with ensemble choir featuring nine singers and period instruments. Dr Skinner said the whole score "has certainly never been performed live in its entirety before", adding: "I think that our version is pretty close to what might have been heard in around 1520."

The collection has been recorded, and is available for sale under the title: *The Spy's Choirbook*.



Tyndale is on the march these days, and can be spotted in a variety of media settings around the globe. I particularly appreciated the following comment from a Catholic author.²

So it is with us. When Christ truly indwells in our hearts, we cannot help but communicate our joy to others. The 16th-century English scholar and biblical translator William Tyndale vividly described the human response to the Word: “Evangelion (that we call gospel) is a Greek word, and signifieth good, merry, glad and joyful tidings, that maketh a man’s heart glad, and maketh him sing, dance, and leap for joy.” As Christmas draws near, let us sing, dance and skip like lambs as we share with others the good news of Christ’s coming.

But in finding these web stories for our readers’ delectation, we must be on our guard. The news reports brought to my attention by Google Alerts contain choice garblings.

Society Chairman Mary Clow responded vigorously to an article in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* describing an exhibition that included:

‘a life-size model of High Priest and Bible translator William Tyndale’.

To: The Editor, Yorkshire Evening Post

Dear Sir, For heaven’s sake tell me that ‘William Tyndale, High Priest’ (Yorkshire Evening Post, 12 October) is a typo? William Tyndale single-handedly translated the Bible for the first time from the original languages of Greek (NT) and Hebrew

(OT) into English. For this he was accused of heresy and burned at the stake in 1536. His phrases are part of everyday speech - ‘eat, drink and be merry’, ‘like a thief in the night’, ‘filthy lucre’ - and his work forms 80% of the King James Bible. Like all scholars in early Tudor times he was a priest, but ‘High Priest’ NO.

You should respect a great English hero and get it right!

Yours faithfully

Mary Clow, Chairman, The Tyndale Society

It turned out that the exhibition included **ancient Egyptian artefacts**, and the ‘High Priest’ lacked a comma...

Dispelling misconceptions thus remains a key responsibility for Tyndalians. We all have our part to play—why not make this a resolution for the New Year?

Over Thanksgiving week I visited a dear friend in Cowley Road, Oxford. Due to personal issues, I was two months too late for the 2015 William Tyndale conference. Fortunately, my wonderful colleagues in the Society have stepped up and done a handsome service in describing this watershed event, rich in fine papers and scholarship. Needless to say, this issue is very much a team effort, and we could not have pulled the edition together without the hard work of our stalwart members on the ground. Watch out for papers and reports from Ian Mortimer, Brian Buxton, Eunice Burton, and Valerie Offord among others. Warmest thanks and New Year wishes go out to them, and to all our Society members around the world.

Neil L. Inglis
lordstarlink@gmail.com

- 1 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/music-news/11126604/Choral-music-not-heard-since-era-of-Henry-VIII-has-been-played-for-first-time-in-500-years.html>
- 2 <http://www.americamagazine.org/content/good-word/leaps-and-bounds>

Submission Guidelines

Tyndale Society Journal No. 47

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:47
28 St Paul's Crescent, Botley, Oxford OX2 9AG, UK.**

**Deadline for submission of articles for the next issue:
15 May 2016**

Tyndale's Legacy in English History

Ian Mortimer

The author would like to record his gratitude to Pat Whitten and Jill Maslen for inviting him to give this talk at the Tyndale Society's Conference 2 October, 2015, when the title was:

The only writer in English history more influential than Shakespeare

Historical agency is a problem for historians – largely because people who are *not* historians don't see that there is a problem. If you're a TV producer, a commissioning editor, a teacher or simply a member of the public, you want a neat story about the man or woman who made this or that happen, without any caveats on the magnitude of his or her achievement. If you are a historian, you know that things are never that simple. To what extent was the individual in question not acting alone but helped? How was he influenced? And how can you draw a line between the direct consequences of a great man's actions and the indirect ones? Consider the cases of Johannes Gutenberg, Christopher Columbus and Martin Luther. None of these men 'changed the world' – to use that frequently abused cliché – for the simple reason that it was beyond the ability of any one individual to change the whole world before the late twentieth century. But each of them made a significant difference that allowed millions of others collectively to change the world. In this sense, almost all the significant consequences were indirect. What level of indirect influence should we measure when assessing somebody's place in history?

This question of indirect influence has particular resonance when we consider William Tyndale and all the early translators of the Bible. Their legacy



Christopher Columbus, Johannes Gutenberg, and Martin Luther.

is as much due to the need they satisfied as it is to their own initiative, courage and linguistic skills. If, for example, William Tyndale had been born a little over half a millennium earlier, and had translated the gospels into English in the late tenth century, his legacy would probably have been no greater than that of the anonymous author of the Wessex Gospels, now in the British Library. It is not just *what* he did that matters; *when* he did it is of vital importance. Not only would the limitations of a pre-printing age have stymied his and others' attempts to circulate his translations, the Norman Conquest would have swept away the demand for such a work. Similarly, we must ask, if Tyndale had not been born at all, would *none* of the consequences of printing the English Bible have come about? This is hardly likely to have been the case. Many examples of vernacular Bibles in other languages were available on the Continent by 1526. By then, the Germans had not only had a printed Bible in their own language for sixty years, in the form of Mentelin's translation of 1466, they had also accrued thirteen further editions in High German over those decades, not to mention four more in Low German.¹ The Bible was first printed in Italian in Venice in 1471; a French New Testament appeared about 1474, a Czech New Testament in 1475, and a Dutch New Testament in 1477. A complete Catalan Bible hit the stationers' shelves in 1478 and a complete Czech one in 1488.² Ideas arising from vernacular Bibles would still have circulated internationally, whether or not Tyndale had lived. The timeliness and the conditions of the translators' actions, their need for a receptive audience, the cultural impact of their work and that of fellow translators, and the sense that they were fulfilling a demand, not creating it, all make the very concepts of causation, agency and legacy much more complicated than the tellers of popular history in TV and magazines want to admit.

Clearly, we need to consider a much richer series of involvements rather than a simplistic cause-and-effect model. Tyndale did make things happen. He made huge things happen. But so did discussion of his work by others. Those he inspired were also agents of change. The mere mention of his name was a potent sound, for while he was alive it symbolised a scholar, a reputed heretic, a benevolent intellectual and a devotee. After he died, it was all these things and that of a martyr as well. He and the majority of the translators were remarkable innovators and instigators, yes, but they were extraordinary catalysts and facilitators too. They had direct influence on tens of thousands of their contemporaries, and indirect influence on tens of millions – even men and women who had never heard their names. And as a result they changed European culture more profoundly than any fifteenth- or sixteenth-century

kings and indeed more than any other men – with the sole possible exception of the explorers of the same epoch. In fact these two groups mirror each other, in that one group explored the external world and overturned the paralysing concept that ancient writers knew all there was to know about geography, mathematics, and astronomy, while the other group – the Bible translators and their theologising contemporaries – explored the inner world and overturned the similarly stultifying concept that the medieval Church authorities knew all there was to know about Man’s relationship with God. And when it came to interpreting the nature and form of Creation, both groups turned the world on its head.

In this lecture I am going to try to describe Tyndale’s place in English history by picking out five areas where the pioneer Bible translators and commentators had a direct or a significant indirect effect on the culture of their contemporaries. These five are: the elevation of Scripture; the sense of responsible citizenship; increased levels of literacy; the standardisation of the English language; and the primacy of the vernacular. In discussing these points I am not saying that Tyndale was wholly and solely to credit for all these changes but rather that the work started by Tyndale either directly influenced society or correlated so closely with other prevalent ideas that it supported and strengthened them, and therefore cannot be separated from them.

1. The elevation of Scripture

There can be little doubt that William Tyndale paved the way for the Biblical culture of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is not to say that no one had paid much attention to the Bible before. The fact that the first printed book in 1455 was a Bible underlines its importance. The plethora of editions that followed in the fifteenth century are further testimony to its popularity. However, we need to remember that the Bible was neither as ubiquitous nor as pervasive in the fifteenth century as it was in the sixteenth. It was not exactly ‘the private property of the clergy’, (to quote Christopher Hill) but it was the preserve of the highly educated and the wealthy who either could read Latin themselves or could employ a clerk to read to them.³ Bible reading in the fifteenth century was also predominantly an urban phenomenon – partly because leading churchmen naturally tended to congregate in cities and university towns, and partly because of availability. While you could buy a manuscript Bible direct from a copyist in Oxford or London, your best hope of finding one in a rural area was to borrow a copy, or to buy a second-hand one from a deceased gentleman’s estate. Probate inventories reveal a paucity

of books among the people of rural England – even in the third quarter of the sixteenth century – and that goes for yeomen as well as labourers.

You get a sense of what this unscriptural culture was like standing in a pre-Reformation church that retains its wall paintings or its stained glass. The medieval religious experience was primarily a sensory one in which men and women approached God through images, smells, sounds, colour and – above all – mystery. Given the amount of darkness in rural workers' daily lives, in unglazed, shuttered houses, or working in fields of familiar dull hues, it would have been a transformative experience to enter a church of coloured walls, made sweet-smelling with herbs, incense and beeswax candles, well-lit with blue and red light, and ringing with the sounds of bells and the music and rhythms of the Latin Mass. And above all these images, high up above the nave, the Rood stood as the ultimate symbol of the Christian faith: centrally placed, for all to see. You didn't need a Bible to relate to the dying Christ when you could see him there, bleeding, before your very eyes.

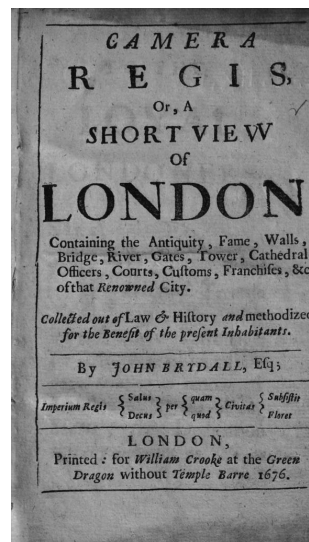
Reference to such imagery makes the process of worship sound like a very reactive one: confronted with images and smells, the illiterate peasant prayed by being induced to think holy thoughts. However, we should not see imagery working purely in this reactive way. Medieval worship was just as much about pro-active performance. Indeed, many more psalters and antiphonals survive from medieval libraries and churches than Bibles. And images – in church and elsewhere – could facilitate such performances. I recently visited the well-preserved manor house of Cothay, on the Devon-Somerset border, which was built in the 1460s. This house has two purpose-built guest chambers at the lower end of the hall. Both of these have preserved considerable portions of their original wall paintings. But while the paintings in the great hall of the house (the most public area) are entirely secular, those in the guest chambers are entirely religious. These were not there to cause a religious response in the guests – this was a manor house, not a church – nor were they there publicly to underscore the manorial lord's piety; rather they were there to provide an outlet for a pre-existing desire to worship. These two strands – the sensory ritual and worship through performance – represent two of the key parameters of religious engagement in England before 1500.

As we all know, Tyndale and the translators challenged these parameters in the most persuasive way. He *demonstrated* the desirability of reading the Word of God. Even though many copies of his New Testament translation of 1526 were destroyed, the mere news that such books existed marked a conceptual shift. If you could not obtain a copy of the New Testament in English, the impetus was nevertheless there to look for other works by Tyndale, and thus

to search for religious inspiration and guidance in Scripture, not wall paintings, images, relics or icons. Tyndale was conscious of this. He openly mocked the worship of saints and their statues. He also declared that nothing had greater authority in the Church than Scripture. In so doing, he carried with him many of those in society who had had a pro-active response to religious symbolism. It is easy to convince people you have something worth saying when they already have a desire to hear it.

The elevation of Scripture over the course of a single generation introduced a series of profound cultural shifts in England. For example, it involved the prioritisation of original source material in matters of debate. The return to Greek and Hebrew sources – so proudly proclaimed on the title page of the Great Bible of 1539 – helped establish a philosophy that, in order to get closer to the truth of events, you need to use texts created closer in time to the occurrence of those events. At the same time, scholars were urging a return to secular classical sources as part of a humanist education. Tyndale and his fellow translators thus brought religion – a subject for everyone to study – within this same intellectual framework of interpreting original source material. Previously, the idea of assimilating a set of primary sources and studying them for meanings closer to the events they describe had not occurred to medieval writers. But by the seventeenth century, source material had become all-important to every single historical commentator. You could say that, through religion, Tyndale popularised the humanist education of the Renaissance scholar. Of course, this does not mean the results were always perfect. Some less-than-scholarly writers prioritised their sources purely on the strength of their antiquity, with no regard to their reliability. Instances of natural philosophers who resisted the scientific method because the results contradicted the writings of Aristotle and other ancient writers are well known. Similarly, I happened to be reading John Brydall's *Camera Regis* (1676) recently, in which he declared London to be 'far older than Rome' due to the fact that it was so written in the description of the city by Fitz Stephen, a twelfth-century writer, who was probably the oldest source available to Brydall.⁴

For most people, the important point about the elevation of scripture was not about a humanist education but about the development



Brydall's *Camera Regis* (1676)

of their own personal relationship with God. Before 1526, most people experienced religion collectively – through listening to a sermon in church, or as a group of children being catechised. Confession was one of the few opportunities for an individual religious activity, and that must have been quite intimidating. For medieval men and women, it needs to be remembered, acted collectively in almost every aspect of life. They worked alongside each other, and bonded for almost every purpose – whether as a member of a parish, tithing, manor, hundred jury or member of a town guild. The three main factors that broke up this collective way of life were: first, the Black Death, which freed up capital and gradually allowed economic opportunities for individuals; second, the invention of the looking glass, which allowed people increasingly to see themselves objectively, and thus to understand their individual limitations; and third, the translation of the Bible. For the man who wanted to better his life, or to live a more godly one, the Bible was an additional channel of revelation, on top of the parish priest's sermons. Of course, the Bible swiftly took over from the priest: if you could read, and you had a Bible, you could study and interpret the word of God for yourself. You could determine your own path to redemption; you did not need the intervention of a cleric. You could start to think individually, rather than collectively. But that's not even half of it: you *had* to start thinking individually, for you yourself were responsible in the eyes of God for your interpretation of the holy word. As a result, from the mid-sixteenth century, we find a new sense of individualism sweeping across society.

One of the most obvious manifestations of this new individualism was the personal diary. Such documents were unknown in the Middle Ages. Then, around 1550, the earliest English proto-diaries emerged as single-viewpoint chronicles, like those of King Edward VI and the London merchant taylor, Henry Machyn. Over the remainder of the sixteenth century the personal diary as we know it developed. The focus shifted from a record of a person as he experienced the will of God – in which God was still the central force in the narrative – to one in which the author was the centre of his own narrative. The ordinary individual became a fitting subject to study in his own right, and the personal life became a fitting subject to describe – very much as the Renaissance saw the human figure as a fitting subject of study from the time of Donatello's freestanding sculpture of the nude *David*. In addition to the quip 'No Tyndale, no Shakespeare' you can add 'No Tyndale, no Pepys'. The vernacular Bible encouraged a new way of thinking about the self, and one of its outlets was self-referential journal writing.

The elevation of Scripture to a position of prime importance, with its indirect consequence of the encouragement of individual thinking, inevitably led to political opposition. By permitting non-Latin speakers direct access to the gospels, and by exposition of the basic principle that even kings should be loyal to Christ, ordinary men and women found that there was a degree of tension between the Scriptures and the king's commands. Naturally, when there was a conflict, it was widely assumed that the law of God should take precedence. As the Puritan writer, William Perkins, put it, 'Princes must be obeyed in so far as they command in Christ; but Christ must be obeyed without exception'.⁵ Those who could read the Bible could quote it back at their political leaders, thereby making challenging political points with impunity – or at least with a boldness that they would have rarely mustered in the fifteenth century. In addition, the vernacular language of the quotations meant that such criticisms resonated far and wide.

One can go further than this, and say that the elevation of Scripture recalibrated moral understanding, and thereby impelled many long-established orthodoxies to be doubted. For example, if you had access to a Bible and could read it, and found it inconsistent with the law of the land, you too could state your criticism of that law on the evidence of a Biblical verse, and expect it to carry weight. In other words, even if you were a political nobody, you too could maintain that you were in the right unless someone could prove you wrong. We take this form of argument for granted but we forget that, prior to having the ability to quote the Bible in your defence, you needed some authority on which to base any claim you might have made to the truth. How could an ordinary fourteenth-century man or woman ever question a point of natural physics, or morality, or divine intention? Such people were intellectually disempowered. However, if you could justify your reasoning with a Biblical quotation, the onus fell on your opponent to prove you wrong. I am sure that everyone here remembers Luther's speech at the Diet of Worms in April 1521. As he put it,

Unless I am convinced by Scripture and plain reason – I do not accept the authority of the popes and councils, for they have contradicted each other – my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and I will not recant anything for to go against conscience is neither right nor safe. God help me. Amen.

As Luther implied, previously the *authority* of the Church was the reckoning as to whether an argument was acceptable or not. It was not a matter of truth

or falsehood; it was the word of the critic against that of the authority. From the sixteenth century, the arguments of both the critic and the authority were subject to a higher authority, namely Biblical validation. Of course, those in authority could, and did, simply disregard the Bible but it was very much to their detriment if they were seen to put mortal power before divine approbation. This was especially the case as many northern European monarchs saw fit to employ similar forms of reckoning in their opposition to the authority of the pope.

All the above consequences of the elevation of scripture – the return to original sources, greater individuality, the empowerment of opposition and the recalibration of moral understanding – were bound to divide people. Multiple interpretations of the meanings of Biblical texts inevitably clashed; it is no wonder that the paths of Zwingli, Luther, Calvin and the Anabaptists diverged. The determination to read Greek and Hebrew sources opened the path to Christian fundamentalism – and fundamentalism is always divisive, setting common practice against a holier-than-thou approach justified by ancient sources. In England this developed into Puritanism. It is salutary to reflect that the consequences of the translations had negative as well as positive results. For if Tyndale paved the way to a Biblical culture he also permitted religious zealots to criticise features of religious life that were *not* in the Bible, such as the structure of the Church, the use of religious vestments, anthems, wedding rings and so forth. While it sounds all very positive to say ‘No Tyndale, no Shakespeare’ and ‘No Tyndale, no Pepys’ and thereby spread some of those men’s glory back on to Tyndale, it is somewhat more disturbing to think ‘No Tyndale, no Puritanism’. If you pick up a copy of *The Anatomy of Abuses* (1583) by Philip Stubbes, a very popular book in the late sixteenth century, you will read just how vitriolic and splenetic the Puritans were against their fellow men – how full of unholy bile! Stubbes railed with the greatest self-righteousness and scorn against every form of self-indulgence there was – from the pride of men to the quality of their shirts, their wearing of ruffs and jewellery, and what they chose to eat – and would cheerfully have seen every person who cherished the slightest luxury cast into Hell. And while his intolerance was extreme, he was not alone. Twenty years earlier, in 1563, England had come



within a hair's breadth of becoming a Christian Fundamentalist state, when the parliamentary Bill to enact a full Puritan agenda failed by one vote. The excessive Puritan demands of the seventeenth century – such as the death penalty for adulterers – also have their root in this Biblical culture to which Tyndale introduced the English. Some individuals were executed for immorality as a result.⁶ There were real victims of Puritanism, and they were people, not just sculpted images.

The elevation of Scripture thus was of prime importance in the development of English culture. It resulted in the destruction of a sensory manner of understanding faith and an image-oriented way of performing devotion. It spread humanist ideas in the guise of spiritual understanding, and imbued a greater sense of individuality in people. It encouraged the questioning of long-accepted traditions, opposition to authority, and diversity of opinion. It also ultimately led to extremist religious views and degrees of persecution. But as we will see, it also led to an increased responsibility among legislators, magistrates and governors of all sorts. It is for this reason I put it first and foremost of all the consequences of Tyndale's work, even above literacy. For if the people of England had learned to read by working their way through another popular book, say, Thomas Tusser's *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry* (1557), they would not have experienced the above-mentioned changes, which, being religious, were fundamental. Just as importantly, people didn't need to be able to read to experience the cultural changes that emanated from the elevation of Scripture in society. As the literate and respectable people around them embraced a Biblical culture, it was very difficult to maintain that the old traditions, imagery and ecclesiastical hierarchy still retained their power – in defiance of the word of God.

2. An agency for responsible citizenship

The Biblical culture that emerged after the appearance of Tyndale's New Testament of 1534, and grew rapidly with successive editions of English-language scripture and commentary, impressed upon men and women a greater degree of responsibility for their fellow human beings. As one commentator put it in 1607, 'the Bible taught magistrates how to govern and teachers how to teach'.⁷ It also taught many people who did not fall into either of these two categories – from masters of households and their dutiful wives to medical men anxious that the healing power of God should work through them, and yeomen hopeful that early frosts would not wreck their harvests. Generally, it can be said to have codified how members of society should aim to please

God by helping one another, on a more egalitarian basis than before, following the teachings of Christ.

It is not hard to find evidence of the new emphasis on responsible citizenship. The increase in charitable giving and the foundations of schools from around 1540, for example, has to rank high in any such list. But perhaps the clearest measure of responsibility is to be seen in the gradual development of the Poor Law over the course of the sixteenth century. In 1531 it was ordained that vagabonds should be whipped and returned to their place of birth; those who were unable to work were to be licensed to beg in their native town or parish. In 1547 the law became harsher in that vagabonds were to be enslaved for two years; children were to be put into service; the aged poor were to be put to work and voluntary collections were held for the impotent poor. The enslavement of Christians was too much for most people and this element of the law was repealed in 1550. In 1572 all the earlier statutes were repealed and magistrates empowered to assess and provide for the impotent poor while vagabonds were to be whipped and burned through the ear. Finally the 1598 Act introduced what we today call the Old Poor Law. Overseers of the Poor in each parish were required to set children from impoverished families to work or to bind them as apprentices, to relieve the impotent poor and to tax the local populace to finance the system. This legislation might not have been as dramatic as the defeat of the Spanish Armada but it stands as one of the greatest achievements of Elizabethan England. Very few Englishmen and women died in the terrible famines that affected Europe in the seventeenth century. In the famines of 1696-1710, when two million people in France starved to death and ten percent of Scandinavia starved, and ten percent of adult Scotsmen either starved or were forced to emigrate, the English did not suffer any increase in mortality.

You could say that the various Poor Law Acts eventually succeeded in their principle aim, which was to alleviate the suffering of the desperately needy. However, we need to remember that that was not the initial aim at all. Initially the legislation was aimed at threatening the down-and-outs into a more desperate obscurity. Why did this change? Over the century, the population grew from about 2.3 million to over 4 million, without there being any provision for the extra people to work or live, so the problem of unemployment became more acute and more obvious. But society also became more aware of its responsibilities. Increasing numbers of Bible readers could see that, like Daniel in the lions' den, who was saved by the angel because he was 'blameless', the impotent poor did not deserve their fate. Social problems which previously had been ascribed to

the will of God were no longer seen in that light; they were increasingly seen as the consequences of the failure of members of society to follow the teachings of Christ and support their fellow men. When famine killed thousands in 1594-7, matters were brought to a head. A Christian sense of duty directed the legislators. The charitable relief of the poor – in which the giving was primarily to benefit *the donor's* soul – was replaced by a tax, a social duty for the benefit of the sufferers. Paul Slack has argued that ‘the crucial factor was a new conception of what governments could and should do for the poor, inspired by humanism’.⁸ I agree, but would add that you cannot separate this humanism from the sense of responsibility engendered by the Bible. Humanism may well have inspired this new concept of government but it was the post-Tyndale Biblical culture that empowered it, and supported it, and caused it to have this moral dimension. Even before the 1598 Act had been passed, certain Puritan-dominated towns and cities had devised their own systems of poor relief: the Norwich Census of the Poor of 1570 is an example of one such measure that has come down to us. As Slack himself admits, ‘it is difficult to find a municipal scheme [of poor relief] unsupported by Puritan or godly rhetoric’.⁹ Herein lies one of those areas where the translation of the Bible had an enormous beneficial effect: a society that was familiar with Christ’s teaching and set its values accordingly was not one in which pure hierarchical concerns and punishments of the weak could be tolerated.

3. Increased literacy

It is probably true to say that the cultural change most commonly associated with the translation of the Bible is the increased level of literacy in England. The plain fact is that you cannot learn to read by picking up a book in a language you do not understand. Therefore the availability of the Bible in the vernacular was hugely significant. If you had such a book in your own language, you could teach yourself to read, or someone in your family could teach you. You did not need to go to school to become literate. And while a printed Bible might still cost 3s or more, that was far cheaper than the 2s *per week* you might have to pay in school fees for a boy to learn Latin so he could read a Latin Bible. Moreover, the fact it was the *Bible* in English was crucial. The Bible was the book that most people wanted to read. Had the English – like the Portuguese and the Russians – not had the Bible in the vernacular until the eighteenth century, levels of literacy would have remained far lower in subsequent centuries (as they did in those two countries). On top of this, the work of the translators, through the elevation of Scripture, enhanced the standing of the Bible and thus accentuated the importance of reading it. You

could say that Tyndale derives credit twice over: first, for helping make the Bible such a desirable text for people to read themselves, and second, for permitting English speakers access to it, and thus *facilitating* that learning process. This is why he is rightly recognised as a great man, and, I might add, the reason why I am speaking on this subject today. William Tyndale was simply the greatest teacher the English-speaking world has ever had.

Having said this, it is important to keep things in proportion. Not every non-Latinist was illiterate in 1500 and not everyone was literate in 1600. Teaching the English to read was a long, slow process. The first great push towards a more literate culture had come at the very end of the twelfth century, when the kings of England and France both instigated a new bureaucratic regime in which a copy of every letter despatched was enrolled. The legacy in documentation was colossal and proportionately influential. In the thirteenth century, bishops started enrolling all their official Acts and letters likewise in registers. Most significantly, after the return of Edward I from the Holy Land in 1274 and the creation of the Hundred Rolls, which sought to establish the extent of royal lands, lords of manors similarly sought to enshrine their rights (and limit those of their tenants) in manorial extents, court rolls, rentals and customnals. By 1400 every manor court needed a clerk; every parish needed literate churchwardens as well as clergymen; every judge and every sheriff needed a bureaucracy; every guild required a recorder; every lord needed a literate treasurer or keeper of his wardrobe; and many wealthy townsmen found it necessary to keep accounts. Lists of *literati* started to be kept. By 1500, male literacy was about ten per cent in England.¹⁰

As we are all aware, the year 1539 is crucial in the development of English literacy because that was when the government ordered a copy of the Great Bible – heavily based on Tyndale’s work – to be placed in the choir of every church in England. Indeed, the preamble of the Great Bible carried the following line:

Here all manner of persons, men, women, young, old, learned, unlearned, rich, poor, priests, laymen, lords, ladies, officers, tenants, and mean men, virgins, wives, widows, lawyers, merchants, artificers, husbandmen, and all manner of persons, of what estate or condition soever they be, may in this book learn all things.

These words look very much like an exhortation from the government for everyone to hear the Bible in English, if not to read it. The immediate results of this philanthropic initiative seem to have shocked the government. The first

Act of the Parliament of 1543 began with a withdrawal from this position. This Act declared Tyndale's translation false and stated that:

There shall be no annotations of preambles in Bibles or New Testaments in English. The Bible shall not be read in English in any church. No women or artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen of the degree of yeomen or under, husbandmen, nor labourers shall read the New Testament in English.¹¹

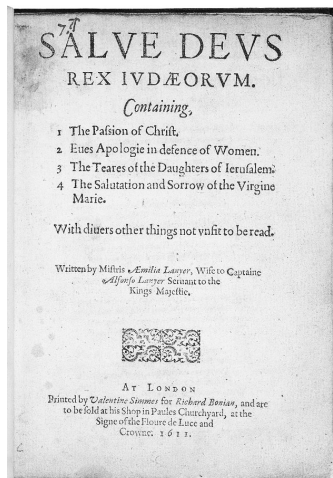
Even though this Act was only on the statute books for four years, and did not actually remove Tyndale's work from public view, it reveals the ambiguity of the government's attitude to the populace learning to read. The very fact that it was considered necessary suggests that a large number of people were looking into the Bible for themselves, which itself attests to Tyndale's success. In the end, the Act was repealed in the first year of Edward VI's reign. Two years later the *Book of Common Prayer* was published, which also incorporated sections of Tyndale's denigrated translation, lifted from Miles Coverdale's New Testament. And so too did the New Testament of the Geneva Bible of 1560. When David Crystal read the King James Bible and counted therein a total of 257 idioms in daily use, he discovered only eighteen were original to the team that put that work together: almost all the rest were the work of Tyndale.¹² There was no separating the spread of Biblical culture from Tyndale, and no stopping that spread from having an instructive effect on the people of England.

The educative ghost of Tyndale was not alone, however. The wider context to this debate was what used to be called 'the Tudor revolution in government' – a massive increase in the nation's bureaucracy at all levels from the 1530s. Everyone in society could see the changes at work, with parish registers being created, and churchwardens' accounts kept in greater numbers, and an immense amount of other written business, from the enrolment of the proceedings of quarter sessions and archdeaconry and consistory courts, especially with regard to wills, bonds, administrations, caveats and probate accounts, to local records of the overseers of the highways and licences for schoolmasters, surgeons, physicians and victuallers. An Act of Parliament could hardly distract everyone from the fact that England was swiftly becoming a society which required written records by the million, and anyone who wanted to get ahead in society needed to be able to read and write. The English Bible and the rise in bureaucracy added up to two powerful reasons to want to read. Many would have started with chapbooks, or similar black-letter scripts. But thanks to

Tyndale and the elevation of Scripture, even those who did not learn to read by fathoming their way through a New Testament sooner or later would have felt it necessary to put their reading skills to the ultimate good use and read the Bible for themselves. By the end of the century male literacy in England was in the region of 25%. By the time of the Civil Wars a million Bibles had been printed in England, and male literacy had reached 30%. Benevolent testators increasingly left legacies to the poor of their parishes not in the form of cash or physical sustenance but Bibles. By the accession of George I, male literacy was 45%.¹³

So much for male literacy. What about the women? If anything, this is an even more dramatic increase, for the simple fact that there were very few schools for girls in the fifteenth century. Few families that could afford to educate their daughters saw an advantage in doing so. There *were* literate medieval Englishwomen, of course, but the well-known works of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe conceal how few there were. While letters by women appear in all four major letter collections from the fifteenth century – those of the Pastons, the Celys, the Stonors and the Plumptons – in the case of the Cely family there is just one letter written by a woman before 1500, and the Plumpton correspondence has just two. W. B. Stephens notes the female signature literacy was almost non-existent in 1500 but had risen to 10% by 1600 and to 25% by 1714. And since the situation with regard to the lack of schooling for girls did not greatly change over the course of the sixteenth century, this indicates that the first tranche of literate women – ten per cent of the female population – was either privately educated by tutors (in the case of the wealthy) or family members, or taught themselves to read. And many of those who followed the latter course would have learned to read by picking up the Bible.

The reason why the rise in female literacy was so important is that it gave women a voice for the first time. In England – and, interestingly, in Northern Italy – women started to create a literature by women for women. By the end of the sixteenth century there was a book of religious devotion by women for women. There was poetry by women for women, and in 1603



Poetry by a woman for women: Salve Rex Iudaeorum (1603) by Emilia Lanier

copies of *Salve Rex Judaeorum* by the astounding Emilia Lanier hit the booksellers' tables in St Paul's churchyard. This work tackled the prejudices thrown against women from time immemorial head-on, in a manner just as articulate as her humanist-educated sisters in Italy. There were, for the less literary sorts, self-help books for women containing advice, from the correct arrangement of a banquet to medical recipes and directions for self-beautification. And these were just the publications that brought female readers together with female authors. Literate women were now also able to engage with debates in books written by men. Men could no longer presume that, in writing, they were communicating with an almost entirely male audience. Women could now teach other women to read, and thus to discuss current ideas. In the wake of the debate in the 1540s about whether ordinary people should be allowed to hear the Bible read in English, John Standish wrote that 'women have taken upon themselves the office of teaching'.¹⁴ For the first time in history, knowledge and debate were no longer an exclusively male privilege.

The notion that women could contribute to intellectual debate and create and extend new discussions of their own, was just one of many new ideas that emerged from a greater level of literacy in society. Intellectual innovation simply abounded in almost every part of life. Some original thinking in the fields of science, literature, medicine and exploration was of the greatest importance; other innovations seem utterly devoid of merit to us except as curiosities of the superstitions of the period, such as Thomas Hill's tome entitled *The Most Pleasant Art of the Interpretation of Dreams* (1576). However, at the time every volume had merit in this sense: the more books there were, the more ideas were circulated in written form, and the more men and women saw advantages in learning to read. More literate people meant more books could be sold, and thus it became commercially viable to print large print runs of medical and legal books, as well as geographical, historical and theological treatises. To pick on just one subject, by the end of the sixteenth century, hundreds of printed medical self-help titles were available, and many of these had multiple readers. Probably every literate person in England had access to one. Moreover, these books were not just available in the way manuscripts had been; they made information available in a far more accurate form. Medieval copyists had great difficulty with the texts of scientific treatises which they did not understand, frequently miscopying the original and misleading the reader. But they had even greater difficulties with scientific illustrations, which at best could be mere impressions of the original. Over the course of the sixteenth

century the growing publishing industry brought the woodcut to a fine art, allowing excellent scientific engravings to be reproduced accurately for the benefit of anatomists, herbalists, astronomers and geographers, amongst others. In the first three decades of the sixteenth century, a total of 1,828 books were published in England of which about half were in English. In the last three decades, 9,788 were published, of which 85% were in English. And the tipping point was the 1530s, which saw the number of titles in the vernacular increase from 47% to 76%.¹⁵ It goes without saying that Tyndale cannot be given credit for all this but it also goes without saying that, had there been no English Bible, and had the male literacy rate of England remained around the ten per cent mark, you would have seen barely a fraction of the scientific, astronomical and navigational discoveries which mark England out in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The proportion of theological publications highlights the agency of the English Bible most emphatically. The publication of Holy Scripture in English underpinned the entire publishing industry, and thus the greater part of the intellectual life of the country.

There is one last element to this that I want to suggest, and it concerns law and order. Social historians have been aware for several decades now that homicide rates in Britain and Europe declined rapidly from about 1500. Roughly speaking, the rate of violent deaths in England declined from about 23 per 100,000 people in the late Middle Ages to 7 per 100,000 in the sixteenth century, 6 per 100,000 in the early 17th century and 4 per 100,000 in the late seventeenth century.¹⁶ This remarkable change demands an explanation. Norbert Elias's *The Civilising Process* does not go far enough in this respect, for it does not illustrate the deterrent that prevented people from fighting and killing each other. Instead the answer lies in the legal system. Greater literacy in society meant a far more efficient means of long-distance communication and a far more systematic application of the law. It meant that those with evidence to give could write it down, and that written character gave it the quality of certainty, as opposed to a more unpredictable verbal response. In addition, the bureaucracy of the Tudor government meant that everyone in society was named, and everyone knew they had an individual presence that was acknowledged by society, so they could not simply disappear. Increasingly people knew that, if they did not give evidence in court, they too might feel the weight of the law bear down on them. The growing sense of responsible citizenship meant that employers wanted their servants and employees to be the ears and eyes of the community, to do God's work. The sense that all were equal in the eyes of God came to be reflected in the application of the law

itself. Whereas in the Middle Ages the practice of maintenance had allowed important lords to shield their servants and retainers from the law, now the justices proceeded against all. Lawyers no longer needed to fear lords' private armies as these had been abolished by an Act of Henry VII in 1504. Finally, in line with the arguments of Thomas Hobbes, the eradication of clerical obscurantism permitted a clearer and more exact analysis of the truth of things.¹⁷ All these factors except the abolition of private armies can be associated with the cultural consequences of the translation of the Bible and the rise of Biblical culture. Tyndale did not cause any of them but indirectly his educational work supported and amplified them, and thereby strengthened the arm of the law. And the ultimate consequence was a greater certainty on the part of both the victim and the felon that those who did wrong would be brought to justice and dealt with, and that in itself started to act as an overarching deterrent.

4. Standardisation of the English language

It is a point that does not need labouring here that Tyndale was not just a brilliant scholar, he was a communicator of unsurpassed genius. Had he simply been the former, there is no doubt that the spirit of his work would have lasted but it would have been revised, rephrased and refashioned, as the English language lurched its way into a standardised national tongue. But his genius for communication meant that his scholarship was barely touched. Rather, it was merely edited and reissued, reaching its most popular form in the King James Bible, as noted above. The rhythms and simplicity of his language have meant that the Bible has become the familiar drumbeat of both English prose and poetry. I suspect that the reason why the learned doctors who were responsible for the King James Bible did not alter much of his work was not simply because they could not improve upon it but because they had grown up with it, and had grown to love it, and recognised in it a force that bound the English together. It is noticeable that attempts in modern years to simplify and modernise the Bible have tended to alienate traditionalists rather than attract new members of a congregation.¹⁸

For those of us who read original source material across the threshold of the 1534 New Testament and the 1539 Great Bible, the difference is startling. Fifteenth century English is not difficult to read but it is not harmonious. Every sentence is an irregularly shaped peg that does not fit smoothly into the round hole of our understanding. Apart from the odd line of Chaucer, there is little that has stood the test of time. But English from the reign of Elizabeth

contains only a few rough edges. Most educated people today can quote at least a hundred lines of post-Tyndale sixteenth-century literature. Tyndale not only bound the people of his own century into a common linguistic system, he bound English speakers of all ages into it. Today, we can easily understand more than ninety per cent of Shakespeare's work and we can fathom most of the remaining ten per cent without huge difficulty. In marked contrast, Shakespeare would not have understood anything like ninety per cent of the work of a writer who had died four hundred years before his time. In fact, he would probably have had some difficulty understanding the Midlands dialect of just two hundred years before his time – let alone the diverse dialects from the more distant parts of the country. Of course, the standardisation of the printing press has helped enormously with creating a lasting, unchanging English, but even in this respect, the commercial viability of printing cannot be isolated from the spread of Biblical culture, the mass publication of theological works, and the rise of literacy in the wake of Tyndale. Moreover, if the English of the later sixteenth century had been an unkempt and unshaped language, it would have continued to change. What Tyndale did was what any good author intending to appeal to the common man and woman should do: to keep things simple, yes, but also to aim for the literary note that resonates, in which the sound of the words and the metre of the language are pleasing, and come together to support the meaning with poetic force. On top of that, I note that Tyndale had an enormous facility – like Shakespeare – to pick up on the common association and connotations of words, creating extra poetic meaning through the juxtapositions of these associations. For example, on the face of it, the words 'earth' and 'salt' have little correlative power; however, when put together as 'the salt of the earth', the connotations of the desirability, flavour and dietary importance of 'salt' interlock with the connotations of the commonness and fundamental grounding of all things in 'earth' and create an interwoven layer of meanings over and above the literal one. Add the single-syllable rhythm of the phrase and you have a line that is not just Tyndale's, it is universal in its poetic resonance.

5. The concept of the primacy of the vernacular.

To the modern mind it is simply a matter of common sense that, if most people speak English and few speak Latin, it is better to publish a book in English. But that comparative presumes that you *want* more people to read it, and that it is 'better' that more people – regardless of their background – can and do. As we have already seen, that was certainly not the case in 1500, and

even in the 1540s it was still in doubt, as the 1543 Act of Parliament quoted above shows. Nevertheless, you could say that, by that date, the writing was on the wall, so to speak. The availability of the Bible in the vernacular prioritised English over Latin, and thus prioritised what people had in common over what divided them.

Given the many hierarchies with which society was infused – such as property tenure and villeinage, levels of income and education, legal rights, sumptuary laws, the limited electoral franchise, rectorial tithe payments and restrictive self-government and trading practices in towns and cities – this was utterly revolutionary. Although Edward III had ordered in 1362 that in court people were free to plead in their own tongue, and that this included English, ‘the tongue of the nation’, the evidence given in court was still written down in Latin. For those in a position of authority, Latin was one of the means by which the social hierarchy could be maintained. Tyndale saw things differently – or, to be more precise, he saw the reality of the situation and decided that it had to be reversed. It is an extremely important point that he did not elevate Scripture through advocating that more English people should learn Latin – which one might have expected of a man who was such a brilliant linguist – but that the Bible should be available in the tongue of the people. The lowest common denominator came first.

As with the elevation of Scripture, this shift inevitably had some negative consequences as well. One of these was an increasing tendency towards tension between the classes. The principal motivations for the earliest class wars in Europe (the Jacquerie of 1358 in Paris, the Ciompi of 1378-82 in Florence and the Peasants Revolt of 1381 in south-eastern England) were the political failures of the ruling class; the rebels did not on the whole seek to eliminate the hierarchies prevalent in society, they merely questioned the legitimacy of political leaders’ actions. But with the translation of the Bible in the vernacular, more and more thinking people in society could see a disparity between the equality of people in the eyes of God and the inequality of their place on Earth. Unsurprisingly, it was in Germany, which had had the Bible in the vernacular for the longest time, where this erupted into violence, in the Peasants War of 1524-5. Thomas Müntzer, a key character in that war, was an early advocate of the philosophy that all things should be held in common. The idea that all men should be socially and economically equal took off from there, and although neither Luther nor Tyndale espoused such a view, it was for many people a logical extension of what they had read for themselves in the Bible.

As we are all aware, England did not see a Peasants’ War in the sixteenth

century. But war is not the point; it is the vision that matters: the idea that the things we have in common, which bind us together, should take precedence over things that are exclusive, divisive and set us apart. This is certainly one of the most important ideas of the last thousand years. It not only contributed powerfully to the sense of responsible citizenship that I mentioned above, it allowed for those in authority to be held to account – to be open to scrutiny – and to feel they are obliged to answer to the people as a whole, not just the aristocracy and the educated elite. Obviously in prioritising a national vernacular path over an international language of elitism, nationalism itself was boosted, especially over the long-term. By the early eighteenth century only the bastions of elitist education and the property-restricted franchise were standing in the way of collective, nationalistic idealism, and from 1789 these too started to crumble. Over the nineteenth century, political leaders had ‘to reform in order to preserve’, to quote Lord Grey when he was justifying the Great Reform Act. While the forces that led to greater democracy are many and complex, and it would be wrong to claim they were a direct consequence of the publication of the Bible in the vernacular, it would be equally wrong to ignore the fact that the work of Tyndale and Luther and their collaborators in their respective countries was one of the most important factors that led to the widespread moral position in the West that one man is worth the same as any other. If you wanted to put this in headline-grabbing terms, you’d say that Tyndale and the Bible translators opened the door that led eventually to the abolition of slavery, the election of representative governments and the recognition of women’s rights in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Conclusion

The above five areas of influence collectively constitute a positive story of cultural development. You might recall that John Humphrys claimed for BBC Radio Four the title of ‘*the* civilising influence in this country’ when collecting the Sony Radio Academy prize for the station in 2003: it would be hard to find a better contender than Tyndale for the title of ‘*the* civilising influence in this country’ over the last five hundred years. Yes, there have been some undesirable consequences, from Christian fundamentalism to class tensions, but, on the whole, no one has done as much to educate the English-speaking people, and to make them see that what binds them together should be given priority over what separates them, and to encourage them to act in a godly, benevolent and peaceful manner towards their fellow human beings.

What is truly astonishing about this achievement – and has been ever since

Friday 6 October 1536 – is that he died for it. While the verdict for which he was eventually strangled and burned was that of heresy, there can be little doubt that it was his position as a translator of the Bible that led to the English plotting his arrest.¹⁹ Even contemporaries saw the injustice of his execution. His death carries all the poignancy of that of Anne Frank, whose diary we read through the perspective of knowing she was betrayed and died in a concentration camp. Tyndale's later life saw a similar correlation of concealment, fervent hope and brutal extermination in a prison. But Tyndale's death goes beyond mere poignancy, and even beyond martyrdom. For a martyr dies for his or her own faith; Tyndale suffered and died as part of a collective quest for understanding and greater fellowship amongst men. This is why his martyrdom bestrides English history like that of no other man or woman. There were many martyrs in the course of English social development, from Thomas Becket in 1170 to the suffragette Emily Davison in 1913, but none who consciously sought to improve the lives of his fellow men and women on so many levels, in both this world and the next. The person in the street today does not have the means to appreciate quite how much of our way of life is due to the vision of this great man.

1. David Daniell, *William Tyndale, a biography* (1994), p. 92.
2. Daniell, *William Tyndale*, p. 93.
3. Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (1993), p. 7.
4. John Brydall, *Camera Regis* (1676), p. 13.
5. Hill, *English Bible*, p. 63.
6. I have often read that the Adultery Act of 1650 was not enacted. However, Susan Bounty of Bideford was hanged for adultery at the Exeter Assizes in 1654. See Devon Archives Service, QS1/9.
7. Hill, *English Bible*, pp. 30-1
8. Paul Slack, *The English Poor Law 1531-1782* (1995), pp. 14-15.
9. Slack, *Poor Law* p. 24.
10. Richard W. Kaeuper, 'Two early lists of literates in England: 1334, 1373', *English Historical Review*, 99 (1984), pp. 363-9; W. B. Stephens, 'Literacy in England, Scotland and Wales, 1500-1900', *History of Education Quarterly* 30, 4 (1990), pp. 545-71.
11. 34 & 35 Henry VIII, cap 1.
12. David Crystal, 'King James Bible: How are the Mighty Fallen?', *History Today*, 61, 1 (January 2011).
13. Hill, *English Bible*, p. 18 (for 1 million Bibles). See Stephens, *Literacy*, p. 555 for later literacy levels.
14. John Standish, *Discourse where it is debated whether it be expedient that the Scriptures should be in English for al men to read at wyll* (1554), quoted in Hill, p. 16.
15. These figures were the results of searches on the British Library catalogue. More detailed statistics are given in Ian Mortimer, *The Time Traveller's Guide to Elizabethan England* (2012), p. 104.
16. Manuel Eisner, 'Long-term trends in violent crime', *Crime and Justice*, 30 (2003), pp. 83-142 at p. 99.
17. David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II* (2 vols, Oxford, 1962), ii, p. 742.
18. Although 59% of the UK population claimed to be Christian in the 2011 census, only 1.2% regularly attended a Sunday service.
See: <https://www.churchofengland.org/media/1737985/attendancestats2011.pdf>.
19. As cogently argued by Andrew Hope at this conference.

Erasmus Manuscript Saved for the Nation

On 29th September, 2015, a British Library press release announced that, thanks to grants from the National Heritage Memorial Fund, the Friends of the British Library, the Friends of the National Libraries, and an anonymous donor, they had acquired:

‘MS 89149... ‘the only known manuscript of a contemporary English translation of Erasmus’s most popular work, the *Enchiridion militis Christiani*.’
(See TSJ45 p.31)

Days later, our Oxford conference closed with Brian Cummings’ keynote paper *Tyndale and Erasmus*. Dr Cummings had been asked to examine the manuscript and advise on its importance to determine whether it should be released for export by the purchaser (Yale University). He had resoundingly supported the export ban.

The British Library press release continues: ‘Dated 1523, the manuscript was written ten years before the English translation of the *Enchiridion* first appeared in print in 1533. Two contemporary accounts testify that the religious reformer William Tyndale (d.1536) translated the *Enchiridion* into English in 1522 or 1523. To date, there has been no secure evidence that Tyndale’s translation survived but its relationship to the text of the English translation printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1533 has long been a matter of scholarly debate. The proximity of the date of the Northumberland manuscript to Tyndale’s putative *Enchiridion* now tantalisingly suggests a potential identification with his ‘lost’ translation.’

Dr Cummings gave us more details. Particularly intriguing are the many marginal notes, which he described as ‘subtle, sophisticated, sometimes a commentary on the text’. A Tyndalian usage of the word ‘counterfeit’ stood out in the phrase ‘I mean to the following or *counterfeiting* of Cristes living’ compared to Tyndale’s (1526) 1Cor.4:16 ‘I desire you to *counterfeit* me’. Tyndale used the word 3 times, but it does not appear again in English until after his death. Scholars of course proceed with caution. *Ploughboys* can respond in recognising Tyndale’s voice:

Is not thy religion preposterous and out of order. Honorest thou the bones of Paul hid in the shrine, and honorest thou not the mind of Paul hid in his writing. Magnifest thou a piece of his carcass shining through a glass, and regard-est thou not the whole mind of Paul.’

Complete, free digital coverage of MS89149 is available at: britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/digitisedmanuscripts

9th International Tyndale Conference, Oxford, 1st – 4th October 2015

**Tyndale’s Quiddities:
The Independent Works of William Tyndale and his Theology**

‘They nosel them in sophistry’

Report by Eunice Burton & Brian Buxton

The south of England experienced an unusually prolonged period of warmth and sunshine in autumn 2015, which enhanced the beauty of Oxford’s ancient buildings as Hertford College welcomed speakers and delegates to the 9th International Tyndale Conference, held to celebrate 20 years of activity of the Tyndale Society. The participants were truly international (from the USA and Japan, as well as Europe), and we especially enjoyed meeting 18 student delegates from the University of Louvain, studying under Dr Guido Latré. Many discussions took place over coffee and tea in the Quad: old friendships were renewed and new ones made.

People arriving early on Thursday afternoon took the opportunity of visiting the magnificent new **Weston Wing** of the **Bodleian Library** to see a small exhibition of Tyndale’s printed works entitled **Tyndale’s Linguistic Legacy**, celebrating William Tyndale’s contribution to the English language. Dinner was held in Hertford College. Whereas at our conference in 2005 young John Donne had looked down on us disdainfully from a copy of his



Weston Wing of the Bodleian Library

Photographer John Cairns, © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

portrait of 1595 (artist unknown) in the dining hall, now photographs of modern Hertford achievers decorated the panelling, one including as background Tyndale's stained glass depiction in the college chapel.

After dinner **David Ireson, Ploughboy Convenor**, set the scene in the first **Ploughboy Session** with an audio-visual presentation, **Tyndale and the English Reformation**. This introduced the key characters, from the Venerable Bede, John Wycliffe, William Tyndale (c1494-1536), Henry VIII & Ann Boleyn, Desiderius Erasmus, Thomas More, Thomas Cromwelland demonstrated the influence of the written word from manuscripts (Jerome's Vulgate) to the printed Bibles of the 15th century, thanks to Gutenberg, de Keyser and Caxton. An important anti-Lollard ruling was noted – in 1408 the Constitutions of Oxford forbade the translation of the scriptures into English.

On Friday 2nd October we were officially welcomed by **Mary Clow, Chairman of the Tyndale Society**, and **Guido Latré, Vice Chairman**. Mary recalled the memorable 10th anniversary conference in September 2005 at Hertford College, when **David Daniell**, founder of the society, chaired the proceedings (see Tyndale Society Journal No. 30 January 2006): he was now too unwell to join us but warm greetings and good wishes would be sent to him.

The opening lecture was given by the eminent historian **Ian Mortimer, FRHistS, FSA**. His original title had been **Tyndale's Legacy in English History** but he felt that the challenging question **Is any writer in English History more influential than William Shakespeare?** more appropriate. Under five headings, Dr Mortimer gave a masterly and lucid of how Tyndale's lifeswork fulfilled an existing demand but did not create it. (See full text p.11).

After coffee, **Tibor Fabiny** from the **Károli Gáspár University, Budapest, Hungary**, spoke on 'Newfangliness' or the 'Common Confession of Faith'? **Theology in Tyndale's Two Biblical Commentaries**. *Newfangliness* was the term used by Thomas More when deriding Tyndale's unorthodox dogmas. In evaluating the Reformation, Professor Fabiny answered the question *'what is heresy and orthodoxy?'* by referring to the theology contained in Tyndale's commentary on the 1st Epistle of St. John (1531) and the Prologue to St. Matthew chapters 5–7 (1532/3). Were the Reformers



Ian Mortimer

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heroes or destroyers opening the gates to extremism and atrocities? Their sermons gave pastoral instruction. Key words such as *'sacrifice'*, *'propitiation'*, *'satisfaction'*, were compared in Greek, the Vulgate, Wycliffe, Tyndale, the Geneva and King James versions. From the Prologue to St. Matthew a long extract was read which suggested that just as the scribes and pharisees obstructed the teaching of Christ, so people were still being prevented from knowing Christ by false interpretations from the church. The conclusion was a reading from *The Two Regiments*, a play by John Bale (1495-1563) – there is a Regiment of the Gospel and a Temporal Regiment of family and servants but Christ is lord over all – as Christ loves us so we should love one another.

The next lecture was by **Thomas Betteridge of Brunel University, London**, who spoke on **Tyndale and the Drama of the Reformation**. Professor Betteridge also referred to John Bale. Theatre and drama crossed boundaries in creating identities. Medieval drama and morality plays demonstrated conversion and change in lifestyle, but did not cause dissent as did the Reformation's liberation of identity; he cited a wide range of medieval to recent literature, regarding sin, prayer, the Passion, conversion and diversity in interpretation. Professor Betteridge recommended that redundant language be stripped back to reveal the truth, as exemplified by Tyndale, and that the sound must be secondary to the meaning. The presentation can emphasise communication by weaving the message into the text as in George Herbert's *Easter Wings*.

The afternoon session opened with a paper by **Gergely Juhász of Liverpool Hope University** on **Tyndale as Translator of the Hebrew Bible** based on Tyndale's translation of, and Prologue to, the Book of Jonah (1531). He suggested that Tyndale had started to study Hebrew while in England and that his choice of Jonah was related to his personal experience of shipwreck. Luther had studied Hebrew for 20 years before producing the German Pentateuch in 1524 and the Minor Prophets in 1528. Tyndale's attitude regarding *'good deeds'* was different from Luther's: Tyndale stressed that scripture was designed to write God's law into the heart of man and grace was obtained through the application of the Holy Spirit. Jonah's unwilling warning to the people of Ninevah



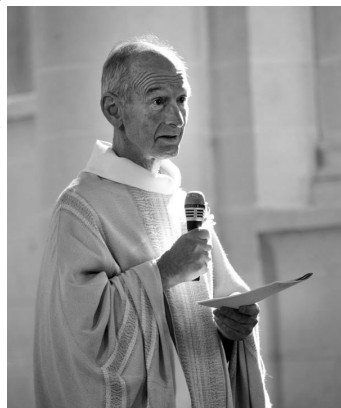
Ian Gergely Juhász

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resulted in their repentance, trust in God's mercy and survival. As accounts in other contemporary Bibles were examined, it was evident that Tyndale's approach was theological rather than philological.

A panel discussion was arranged entitled **Tyndale, Luther and More**, concerning the accusation by More that *'Tyndale was a worse heretic than Luther'*. **Ralph Werrell, Hon. Research Fellow, University of Birmingham**, and author of three books on the theology of William Tyndale, opened with a comparison of Tyndale's and Luther's views on the sacraments and church ornaments. He demonstrated that Tyndale's views accorded more with Wycliffe's – if Tyndale were a Lollard there was some basis in More's accusation. Tyndale saw no difference between transubstantiation and consubstantiation, denied the benefits Luther saw in auricular confession and exposed the falseness of purgatory theologically rather than on financial grounds. Luther was indifferent to church ornaments, seeing some value in pictures taken from scripture, and had no sympathy with iconoclasts, while Tyndale was more critical. Regarding scripture, Luther thought the Book of Maccabees worthy of inclusion within the Hebrew scriptures and criticised the inclusion of the Epistle of James, while Tyndale rejected any idea that the Holy Spirit had revealed additional truths to the church, not recorded in scripture.

Henry Wansbrough, OSB, from Ampleforth Abbey, **Professor of Biblical Studies in Liverpool Hope University**, replied, acknowledging the debt the Roman Catholic Church owed to Tyndale and stating that Tyndale was neither Lollard or Lutheran, but unique. Father Wansbrough based his opinion on Luther's and Tyndale's treatment of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, especially referring to Chapter 4. While both agreed on the evil nature of man and his need for redemption, Tyndale understood Paul's reasoning to a greater extent. Luther described the justified believer as clothed with Christ's righteousness and having a new spiritual nature. Tyndale said that forgiveness through the Atonement did not give man licence to revert to his old sins, and that his subsequent good works resulted from a life transformed by the Holy Spirit and were done in gratitude and love to God. Luther's emphasis was on Christ and Tyndale's on the Holy Spirit. Unfortunately, lack of time precluded the anticipated discussion.



Henry Wansbrough

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During the tea break we were able to visit the **Old Library at Hertford College** to view **an exhibition of printed works by William Tyndale and other relevant authors**, together with a minute book taken from the College Archive Collection.

Then **Anne O'Donnell, SND, Professor of English Emerita** at the **Catholic University of America, Washington DC** presented **The Translation of Key New Testament Words in the Vulgate, Wycliffe and Tyndale**. This paper took a number of New Testament references and showed how they were translated in various versions. Particular emphasis was placed on comparing Wycliffe's translations from the Vulgate with Tyndale's translations from the Greek text. Comparisons were also made with later translations – Rheims, King James and the New Revised Standard Version. In some instances all versions were more or less the same, e.g. Romans ch.14 v.15 was translated by Wycliffe as *'now thou walkest not aftir charite'* and by Tyndale, followed by King James, as *'now walkest thou not charitably'*. In other cases there were significant differences, e.g. Titus ch.1 v.5 was translated by Wycliffe, followed by Rheims, as *'and ordeyne preestis by citees'*, whereas Tyndale in 1526 reads *'ordeyne seniours in every citie'* but in 1534 this becomes *'ordeyne elders in every citie'*. Other examples where variations are found include Hebrews Ch.12 v.17 where most versions use *'penance'* or *'repentance'* but Tyndale, in 1534, says *'he founde no meanes to come thereby agayne'*, and in translating St. Luke ch. 1 v.27 Wycliffe and Tyndale use *'grace'* but King James uses *'highly favoured'*. Many of the words and phrases adopted by Tyndale coincided with those chosen by Wycliffe.

The final lecture was given by **Jeannette Mitterhofer (Zurich)** on **Tyndale and Zwingli's Understanding of the Lord's Supper**.

Tyndale and Zwingli shared much identical theology regarding the service being a memorial and the falsity of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, but their approach was different. Tyndale stressed that the Old Testament covenants were confirmed by Christ's passion, and that forgiveness of sins was obtained, not through partaking of the Lord's Supper, but through faith in the sacrificial death of Christ: the passover lamb was commemorated. Zwingli enjoyed the symbolism of the many grains in bread and grapes in



Ann O'Donnell

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bunches becoming one body. Both agreed that the resurrected Christ cannot exist in bread and wine, but to Zwingli the service was a joyous celebration of love which affected one's daily life and behaviour. The benefits to Tyndale were meditation on Christ, thanking God for the experience of Christ's presence by faith, and the binding together of believers in love: he advocated a daily sacrament. The service is a reminder of the ascended Christ's promise to be with his church always (Matthew chapter 28 verse 20).

This was followed by the second **Ploughboy Session**. **Andrew Hope, historian from Oxford**, spoke on **Tyndale and the English Bible in a European Context**. He outlined Tyndale's life and his association with Humphrey Monmouth, a London merchant with reformed views, who had been to Jerusalem. Thomas More's writings accused Tyndale of meeting Luther, but Tyndale's ambiguous response was that he was not 'confederate' with Luther: there is a suggestive entry in the Wittenburg Registry of May 1524 – was 'Daletyn' a disguise for Tyndale? Such an alias was common then: Hugh Latimer signed himself 'Imerlat'. Tyndale had a strained relationship with George Joye who '*revised*' Tyndale's New Testament without consultation. Andrew Hope then examined the assertion that the Reformation was destructive to religious art, referring to the books of Eamon Duffy. The Renaissance produced new ideas about art and literature as well as God and worship. While the Continent gloried in treasures such as Grunewald's altar piece at Colmar, England's portraiture and landscape artists flourished. Reciprocity was evidenced by the Italian priest Polydore Vergil (1470-1555) holding high office in the English church and writing an authoritative history of England.

The evening concluded with a candlelit Gala Dinner in hall at which a special '20 year celebration cake', baked by **Patrick Whitten** and **Jill Maslen**, was enjoyed.

Saturday began with a fascinating lecture by **Guido Latré, Professor of English Literature and Culture at Louvain University**, entitled **The Law and the Gospel: The Iconography of the Coverdale (1535) Title Page**. The title page was designed by Holbein the Younger and contained many hidden allusions. At the base is an illustration of a king giving a book to a bishop – or, is he receiving it from the bishop?



Guido Latré

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This was explored with examples through the centuries, but especially with regard to Henry VIII, and also the inference of spreading the word. Detailed examination of the smaller panels showed a pattern in juxtaposition of Old Testament incidents such as Moses on Sinai with the law on the left and New Testament Gospel equivalent on the right, eg Adam and Eve in Eden and Christ treading on an adder – the *'Book of the Law'* and *'The Book of Grace'*. Examples from other Bibles and Psalters were shown, all demonstrating the same pattern, some with an additional allegory area. The central title and dedication was designed in the shape of a chalice. Dr Latré gave an intriguing glimpse into the concealment of messages in Renaissance art, which is usually unrecognised by our superficial attention today. The lecture concluded with an assessment of Henry VIII's responsibilities in spiritual and religious domains.

Next was a paper by **Elizabeth Bell Canon, Assistant Professor of English at Missouri Western State University, on Buried Treasure: What makes the Tyndale Corpus Different?** Her opening dictum was *'a language which does not change will die'* and there followed a technical account of computer corpus analysis of Tyndale's work with examples of innovations and archaisms. This study was not intended to detract from the beauty and importance of Tyndale's language but to reveal the patterns in his works and his particular lexical and syntactic choices.

After coffee **Andrew Hope, historian from Oxford, asked Why was Tyndale Executed?** and concluded that the charge was heresy and not Bible translation. Tyndale was examined by three theologians from Louvain whose knowledge of English was poor, but the records of his defence have not survived. His accusation, arising from England, was of resisting the Papacy, and it used the intellectual tools of logic and theology, not grammar and the meaning of words. Tyndale had requested a Hebrew Bible while in prison, so such study was within the law. Despite appeals from Thomas Cromwell and others, Tyndale was condemned and martyred by the secular authorities for his reformed views.

There followed parallel sessions, making hard choices.

Szidónia Majoros from the Károli Gáspár University in Hungary, spoke on Body-related Illustrations in Tyndale's Parable of the Wicked Mammon which she divided into the three groups of Biblical personalities and events, everyday experiences of the readers, and fruit trees and fruit. The views of Luther and Tyndale on *'the flesh'* were compared, stressing the inability of sinful man to become spiritual by his own efforts.

The parallel session was given by **Kaoru Yamazaki**, lecturer in **European Cultural History at Seijo University, Tokyo, Japan** on **Schoolbooks as Tools for Religious Education in the English Reformation**. This paper focused on *Lily's Grammar*, a primer for the learning of Latin. Its origins go back to William Lily (c1468-1523) who was Master of St. Paul's School in London, appointed by the school's founder, John Colet, c1512. This famous grammar, in use until the 19th century, developed gradually with several hands involved, including examples by Erasmus. After Lily's death, Wolsey chose it for his college in Ipswich, and later Henry VIII and Edward VI ordered its use in all schools, thus the title *The King's Book*.

The afternoon session began with a paper from **Clare Costley King'oo**, Associate Professor in the Department of English at the University of Connecticut, on **Reading Tyndale's *Obedience in Whole or in Parts***. The title was not indicative of the contents, as the book was addressed to the nobility and educated rather than the ploughboy: it gained the approval of Henry VIII. The striking title page was described: it included pictures of King David, and one of Bathsheba bathing. The emphasis was on the responsibilities of those in authority: while Christians should obey legitimate authority, injustices in society need to be rectified.

Another hard choice between parallel sessions followed.

For the final **Ploughboy Session**, **David Ireson** gave a powerbook presentation with illustrations on **After Tyndale and Henry VIII up to the Prayer Book Rebellion**. He traced the progress of events through the later years of Henry VIII's reign but paid particular attention to the events of 1549, now in the reign of Edward VI. As Tyndale's translation had depended on printing to achieve its purpose of making the scriptures available in English, so printing facilitated the spread of the reformed message, not least through the Prayer Book of 1549. The religious legislation of that year, combined with social concerns amongst the ordinary people, caused uprisings. Detailed attention was paid to the '*Prayer Book rebellion*' in Devon and surrounding areas, particularly to the heavy handed and bloody suppression of the rebels by Lord Russell.



In the parallel session **Thomas Pfannkoch**, postgraduate student at Texas A & N

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University, USA, contended, in a paper entitled **Tyndale's Polyvocal Hermeneutic**, that Tyndale advocated a community of readers understanding a text together, whereas Luther was univocal, believing that a single interpreter caused less confusion to an unlearned congregation. A difficult text, as in Romans, must be examined in context. Illiterate people are not passive, but listening, and critical listening results in interpretation. Tyndale insisted on patience and the sharing of gifts to help the unlettered. Luther's interpretations were characterised by systematic logic but Tyndale's by compassion.

The late afternoon session consisted of two lectures. **Mark Rankin, Associate Professor of English at James Madison University, Virginia, USA and editor of *Reformation***, spoke on **The Iconography and Influence of Tyndale's *Practyse of Prelates* (1530)**. In defending the marriage of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon Tyndale raised controversy but captured the imagination of John Foxe who expanded the ideas expressed: Foxe especially liked the metaphor of the papacy being an ivy vine which while strangling the tree became a refuge for owls and birds; and the theme of clerical resistance to secular authority. This book had a far reaching influence.

The final lecture of the conference was a thought-provoking comparison of **Tyndale and Erasmus** by **Brian Cummings, Anniversary Professor of English and Related Literature at the University of York** – a fitting finale to an exciting programme. He compared their treatment of the themes of the *Enchiridion*, especially relating to interpretation and allegory. Particular reference was made to a newly discovered manuscript of 1523, probably a copy of Tyndale's translation, just purchased by the British Library. St. Paul had insisted that prayer and preaching should be done '*with understanding*' by the church (I Corinthians chapter 14). Luther had asserted that scripture was always clear when it needed to be. So should scripture be read in a different way from secular literature? Reading scripture increased our knowledge of Christ, using both 'literal' and 'mysterious' senses. Pagan fables captured the ear and stung the mind but the scriptures separated soul from body and heart from mind: it is the Holy Spirit who reveals hidden truths – Tyndale insisted that interpretation is not the prerogative of the church.



Brian Cummings

The conference was formally closed by

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Guido Latré who thanked Mary Clow, and the efficient team of organisers, particularly Rochelle Givoni, Jill Maslen and Pat Whitten, and all the speakers for giving us such an instructive and inspiring conference. **Mary Clow** thanked Guido for his special contribution and hoped to see us again at the Carol Service in London on 16th December.

We then relaxed as the **English Chamber Choir**, under its conductor **Guy Protheroe**, entertained us with **Music of Tyndale's Time**, which included works by Antonius Divitis, Mattheus Pipelare, John Sheppard and John Taverner, and concluded with the Tyndale Society's signature anthem *If Ye Love Me* by Thomas Tallis.

On Sunday morning **Revd David Ireson** led a service from the Book of Common Prayer 1549, **An Ordre for Mattyns Dayly through the Yere**. The Collect commemorated Tyndale's death on October 6th, 1536.

Some of us regretfully departed immediately for home, while others joined **Andrew Hope** for a guided walking tour of **Tyndale's Oxford**.

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Tyndale's Linguistic Legacy: Exhibition

Blackwell Hall, Weston Wing, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1-2 October, 2015

Report by Dominic Hewett, Hertford College

To mark the Tyndale Society's 20th Anniversary conference, Alice Roques, Hertford College Librarian, and I curated a display of Bodleian material, entitled 'Tyndale's Linguistic Legacy'. As the title implies, our exhibition focused on Tyndale's approach to translation and his contribution to the English language, through an exploration of how phrases coined by Tyndale have been used in literary contexts throughout the centuries.

The first text, Tyndale's *The Obediēce of a Christen Man*, opened on the famous passage in which Tyndale defends the nobility of "our tounge" against charges that it is unsuitable to convey the word of God – "It is not so rude as they are false lyers". He goes on to explain that the original Hebrew of the Old Testament translates far more neatly into English than into Latin: "the properties of the Hebrue tounge agreeth a thousand tymes more wyth the Englishe, then wyth the Latyn".

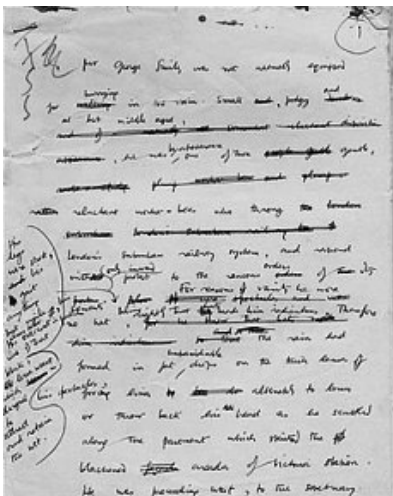
Next was the introduction, 'W.T. unto the Reader', from a 1536 version of Tyndale's *New Testament*. In a fiery response to critics like More, Tyndale asks the reader to consider the complexity of translating the New Testament from

Ancient Greek, especially considering the fact that Jesus would have spoken Aramaic, a dialect of Hebrew. He explains to readers that the Greek “preterperfect tense and present tense is oft both one, and the future tense is the optative mode also, and the future tense is oft the imperative mode in the active voice, and in the passive ever.”

In 1604, the little-known pamphleteer Samuel Rowlands published *Looke to it; For ile stabe ye*, a book of poems by the character ‘Death’ to various groups of sinners, from ‘Tyrant Kinges’ to the ‘Swaggring Ruffian’, and the ‘Odious Quareler’. In his poem to ‘God-lesse Athists’, Death criticises their sinful conduct using Tyndale’s phrase: “eate, drinke, be merrie, take delight”. Tyndale’s idiom was already being played on for dramatic effect (and therefore presumably in common parlance) less than 100 years after his death.

A century later, the playwright John Durant Breval, one of the many men disliked by Alexander Pope, wrote a comedic farce entitled *The Play is the Plot*, in which he uses an idiom coined by Tyndale: “a Wolf in Sheep’s cloathing”. It’s significant that not only has Tyndale’s phrase appeared in the context of comedy, but in the genre of secular drama, as opposed to Rowlands’ religious verse. This indicates that Tyndale’s contributions to the English language have spread from religious contexts.

A variant of the same phrase can be seen in Mary Shelley’s 1823 novel *Valperga*: “But if, instead of sheep, they were to be wolves, and turn rebels to their masters?” This slight adaptation demonstrates the way in which the idiom has been acknowledged as a popular metaphor and reworked.



Page from manuscript of Le Carré’s, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*

Our final exhibit was the handwritten manuscript for John Le Carré’s classic thriller, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*. In this modern-day tale of treachery and deceit, Le Carré uses the Tyndale phrase “fall from grace”, a usage which does not even necessarily acknowledge its Biblical origin. This mirrors how, in the modern day, many of Tyndale’s idioms have been absorbed fully into everyday language.

Alice and I would like to convey our thanks to the Bodleian Rare Books and Exhibitions staff, especially Jennifer Varallo, who helped prepare the display and allowed us to hold it in the Bodleian.

To my Tyndale Friends

Marie-Claire Phélippeau, Amici Thomae Mori

Although a Thomas More scholar and fearing I might be regarded as the black sheep sneaking into the Tyndalian community, I was glad to accept my friend Mary Clow's invitation to participate in the 9th International Tyndale Conference. But I was soon relieved to see that I was welcome and able to share common views with many of the participants. I readily joined the first Ploughboy Session, led by David Ireson, happy to get to know more about William Tyndale.

It was quite an experience to be living in an Oxford college for a few days in the sunny and crisp autumn weather. We were able to have coffee breaks in the quad of Hertford College, formerly Hertford Hall as Andrew Hope explained when he took us for a delightful walk in the streets and maze of medieval and Renaissance Oxford.

I rediscovered a place where both Thomas More and William Tyndale had been students, and was reminded of how harsh Oxford life was for 16th century young men, who had no heating in their dormitories and had to run around before going to bed in order not to freeze to death.

The beauty of Hertford College could be enjoyed every day, whether in the large hall where we had our meals, or in the chapel where the speakers gave their papers, or in the Old Library which held a special exhibition of old books, like a 1495 edition of William of Occam or a 1551 Bible. A bunch of Louvain students who joined us on the Friday confessed how impressed they were to attend that Conference in the College chapel.

There were a few grand moments: the first one was the gala dinner on Thursday 2nd, during which we celebrated the 20th anniversary of the Tyndale Society with Champagne, no less, a wonderful meal and a delicious cake made specially by Jill and Patrick Whitten, generous members. The second was the final concert by the English Chamber Choir who sang 16th century music *a capella* in the perfect environment of the chapel.

Now to come to the main object of this conference: the Call for Papers was titled "Tyndale's Quiddities – "They nosel them in sophistry": The Independent Works of William Tyndale and his Theology". The topic was wide enough to accommodate history, literary and theological research and we enjoyed inspiring papers in these three fields. I personally relished the discoveries of

Ian Mortimer on the influence of William Tyndale in shaping the modern world and fostering the feeling of man's own sense of individuality. Just as the appearance of the looking-glass forced people to contemplate themselves, Tyndale, thanks to his translation of the Bible into the people's language, encouraged them to think for themselves.

Of course the theology of Tyndale was at the centre of discussions, and I wish to retain from Dom Henry Wansbrough OSB that, contrary to what we too often read on the Internet, Tyndale did not copy Luther. He was neither a Lutheran nor a Lollard but centered his devotion on the Spirit and Faith rather than the Church.

In the literary fields, there were interesting lectures on Tyndale's various works as well as fascinating iconographic studies of 16th century books. Two linguistic papers presented what makes the specificity of Tyndale's language. Finally, Brian Cummings challenged us into considering ambivalence in



Hertford College, Celebrating the 20th anniversary of the Tyndale Society , Andrew Hope guides the group through Tyndale's Oxford. Behind him, Brasenose College, the Radcliffe Camera, and the Bodleian. Coffee break in the Quadrangle and champagne in Hall.
Photos by Marie-Claire Phélippeau

Erasmus and Tyndale, and into rethinking the sixteenth-century way of reading the Bible, especially following the recent discovery of a manuscript of Erasmus' *Enchiridion* translated into English, which may have been Tyndale's work.

As usual, one makes new friends during these Conferences; one discovers common interests, common places visited sometimes at the same time. It was the case when I mentioned to Andrew Hope that my first stay in England at age 17 was in Kent, at Staplehurst. He was then living a few miles from where I was staying!

And it was a great pleasure to meet with old friends – Mary and Rochelle from England, Sister Anne from America, Kaoru from Japan, Guido from Belgium – to laugh at fond memories and to make promises of new meetings. The Conference had run smoothly, provided inspiring moments and been a marvellous occasion for personal and intellectual exchange.

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A Room with a View

Personal Reflections on the 9th International Oxford Tyndale Conference

Valerie Offord

Struggling with my baggage out into the street, through the massive heavy quadrangle doors and up the stone stairs to my accommodation in Hertford College, I began to rue my decision to opt for a student room without facilities. Turning the key in the latch revealed a room filled with light and a view the tourists chattering below in the street armed with digital photographic devices would never experience. There was the Bridge of Sighs glimmering in the autumn sun. How privileged I was to be able to gaze out at an internationally known architectural feature of Oxford University framed by my study window. All thoughts of en suite rooms were instantly banished.

The Bridge of Sighs links the two quadrangles of the College and, conscious of the battery of cameras below, I crossed it for a swift formal registration at the Lodge. I then stepped across



The bridge of sighs
Photos by Marie-Claire Phélippeau

the road to the Blackwell Hall of the newly opened, state-of-the-art Bodleian Weston Library. My study of the beautifully displayed original Tyndale texts, extracted from the library's vast early book collection, rapidly turned into an international seminar and reunion of the Tyndalian faithful. Other visitors were a little taken aback to hear a Belgian, a Japanese, a Swiss, an American and a Hungarian all conversing in a babel of English accents around the exhibition. And so it continued throughout the conference – friends united, new friendships sealed, contacts established and much laughter - a well-known trademark of all Tyndale Conferences.

The opening evening was taken up by dinner in Hall, followed by an informative and entertaining 'ploughboy' talk by David Ireson on *Tyndale and the English Reformation*. All this enabled the delegates to settle down and relax after their journeys, intermingle and discover the interdisciplinary nature of their fellow participants, which has always been a mark of Tyndale conferences – theologians and priests of many complexions, linguists, historians, lawyers, bankers, broadcasters, writers peppered with the odd surgeon and gardening expert.

The following morning meant a quick dash in my black hooded cape across the Bridge of Sighs to the nearest modern 'facilities' (early morning digital photographers are probably still scratching their heads on how they managed to capture a ghost of bygone days on their snapshots) and a convivial breakfast. Then we all tramped past the Tyndale window into Hertford College Chapel where the Conference began in earnest. The wide ranging and thought provoking introductory lecture *Tyndale's Legacy in English History* by the historian, writer and broadcaster, Ian Mortimer, proved to be the start of a long, varied and interesting day.

An influx on Friday of Guido Latré's students from Louvain and Ghent not only lowered the average age of participants by a considerable amount but also pushed the Swiss contingent into a pathetic second place in the 'most numerous small European nation' representative stakes. Rumours circulated on the method their ingenious professor had employed to tempt so many to attend. It was generally thought that the study of two English novels and two Shakespeare plays would be traded off for a modest account of some aspect of Tyndale's writings. The students were well versed in the subject matter, scholarly, multilingual, interested and wonderfully polite: in all, excellent ambassadors for their country and a joy to have amongst us.

Others have described in more detail the numerous, erudite and varied papers presented during the course of the Conference, but I would particularly like to mention one. I sat enthralled through the lecture by Guido Latré devoted to *The*

Law and the Gospel: The Iconography of the Coverdale 1535 Title Page. It was a master class in lecturing on a very restricted and unfamiliar subject with clarity and without losing focus or sacrificing any of the intellectual rigour required to place it in its true historical context. It has to be said that Coverdale, erstwhile Augustinian friar, bishop of Exeter and then married priest, is a man to watch – I think this much travelled scholar’s contribution to Bible translation in the first half of the 16th century will soon be more fully recognised by researchers.



Engraving from a 1533 portrait of Coverdale from the 1837 edition of the Letters of the Martyrs

If I may be allowed to make a remark of my own, Coverdale’s legacy has been far reaching. Apart from his own Coverdale Bible (1535) he was conversant with the Tyndale Bible, partially responsible for the Matthew Bible (1537), extensively involved in the editing and production of the Great Bible (1539) and his role in the production of the Geneva Bible (1560) has almost certainly been understated. From documents in Geneva there is concrete evidence that he joined the Marian exiles there in 1558. On the 24th October 1558 the State Register of Geneva noted the arrival of Miles Coverdale; the Livre des Anglois (the parish register of the Exiles) recorded that on the 29th November 1558 Eleazer, the son of John Knox was baptised and ‘Miles Coverdal’ acted as the witness and again on the 16th December of the same year that ‘Miles Coverdalle’ was elected a Senior of the English Church. This would have been a crucial time in the production of the Geneva Bible, which was being organised and financed by John Bodley, a rich Exeter merchant. The two men were undoubtedly well acquainted, as Miles Coverdale had been Bishop of Exeter from 1551 until 1553. John Bodley, an astute businessman, together with the other group of intellectuals would have realised what an asset to their project Coverdale’s presence, with his track record in Bible translation and production, would be.

By Saturday evening the shortcomings of the College Chapel as a lecture hall had been mastered by most delegates and we comfortably installed ourselves on our cushions (lovingly fabricated by Jill Maslen of the organising committee) in our favourite seats to hear a concert, especially conceived and tailored for our Conference, entitled *Music of Tyndale’s Time* expertly performed by the prestigious English Chamber Choir under the direction of Guy Protheroe. The informative programme notes, incidentally a Conference paper in themselves, by Ann Manly were much appreciated (see p.51). Among other

pieces were works composed by Tyndale's contemporaries Antonius Divitis and Mattheus Pipelare. They both worked in and around Antwerp so it is highly probable that Tyndale would have been familiar with their music particularly their settings of the Mass. The choir also performed a recently recovered work of John Sheppard, organist and master of choristers at Magdalen College, Oxford from 1543 to 1548 entitled *Media vita in morte sumus* (In the midst of life we are in death). Although the author of this sentence is unknown it was later incorporated into the Book of Common Prayer as one of a series of funeral sentences. It was a wonderful, pertinent concert based on detailed informed research which will not be lost.

Sunday morning, reluctantly leaving my sunlit room with a view, I hastened one the last time to Hertford Chapel for a short service based on *The 1549 Book of Common Prayer*. Then, as a final farewell activity, the delegates divided into two groups for a walk around Oxford. The ebullient Guido, ever mindful that the Euro train waits for no man, raced off with his students for an ambitious circuit of Oxford's main sites. The rest of us, armed with maps of 16th century Oxford which proved surprisingly useful, and accompanied by that local mine of information, Andrew Hope wended our way through the throngs of visitors and Oxford students returning for the new term. Andrew concentrated on those sites connected with Tyndale and the Reformation. We were helped to visualize All Souls as it was in 1510 when Tyndale was a student in Oxford. We learnt that Lincoln College was founded specifically to train priests to refute Lollardy, and Andrew informed us that there is written evidence that Tyndale was present at meetings held on 1 February and the 8 March 1516 in the 14th century wing of St Mary's University Church.

An event which I might call *A Lunch with a View*, in the warm autumn sunshine on the roof of the Ashmolean Museum in the company of Tyndalian friends, was, for me, a perfect ending to a lively and enjoyable conference. Many thanks to Tom and Bonnie Martin, members from the USA, who generously treated us to this delicious last experience.

Valerie Offord, Bible Sunday, October 2015.

Editor of the Tyndale Society Journal 2000-2007 and currently its European Representative

The Tyndale window was donated to Hertford College by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1985 and, after restoration, dedicated by the Bishop of Oxford in 1994. The portrait of Tyndale is based on the oil painting in the possession of the College. A small panel at the bottom of the window shows Tyndale examining page proofs in a typical 16th century Antwerp printer's shop.

Future event In his closing remarks Guido Latré announced that plans were under way to hold a further Tyndale Conference centered on the unique Plantin-Moretus Printing Museum in Antwerp, Belgium.

Conference Impressions

Nicholas Sanderson

Attending the 9th International Tyndale Conference in Oxford was for me, a return to the past, (of 40 years ago), of being a student in Oxford, staying in a student room, eating in Hall, talking to friends, dozing in lectures and now having to write an essay.

The main impressions the conference left with me were the combination of the linguistic and the international which were encapsulated in something that Ian Mortimer said in his lecture on *Tyndale's Legacy in English History*. He remarked that restricting intellectual discourse to Latin was a major bar to the popular understanding of the Bible, which could only come through its translation into the vernacular. The other side of that equation was that Latin as the universal language of educated discussion enabled Knox to talk to Calvin, Tyndale to talk to Luther and the debate on theological issues to be conducted between those living and brought up in different countries across Europe and for the ideas of the reformers to spread without linguistic barriers.

The equivalent to Latin today is English, partly as a result of American influence, but also because of its flexibility and its ability to evolve and absorb words from other languages. Tyndale, in writing a language used by, or intended for the use of the ploughboy, was instrumental in this. England has no equivalent of the Academie Francaise, just the Oxford English Dictionary recording new words. The presence of the students from Louvain at the conference reinforced this impression: they represented the new generation in Europe, expecting to operate in English in both their work and leisure. If you want to get on in Europe (and the rest of the world) you have to speak and write English. The counterpart to this trend is that English is becoming detached from its domestic roots. Anglican congregations in England increasingly do not have nostalgia for the King James Version or the Book of Common Prayer and, in the case of our church in London, a significant minority in the congregation are not English, comprising Scandinavian and German Lutherans.

If I have criticism of the conference it is because I am not an academic and do not attend academic conferences. I am also not as familiar with the subject matter of many of the talks as some in the audience. It would have helped me to have, if not the full text of the various lectures distributed at the beginning of their delivery, at least a fairly detailed summary. Some of the speakers did this, but not all. Not having a text made it difficult to refer back to what had been said and I for one have lost the skill for taking contemporaneous notes in lectures, if I ever had it. I look forward with anticipation to the publication

of the texts in *Reformation*. The tight timetable also left less time for discussion and questions than I would have wished since the interaction between those attending is something one can only get at a conference, as opposed to hearing what is said in the talks.

I thoroughly enjoyed attending the conference, meeting old and new friends and learning a lot from the lectures. It was an excellent break from my daily work, which includes advising banks on how to provide finance that is compliant with the requirements of *Sharia*, which is, I suppose, not so different to my predecessors advising merchants on compliance with (or avoidance of) the Church's usury laws. I am very grateful to those who organised and ran the conference even, in some cases, at the cost of not being able to attend the lectures.



Music of Tyndale's Time

with some contemporary interpretations

Programme Notes by Ann Manley Protheroe

Concert by The English Chamber Choir Hertford College Chapel, 3 October, 2015

The programme explored the sound world in which Tyndale lived and prayed. **Thomas Tallis** plays an important role in this turbulent period, and his works in Latin were composed in Tyndale's lifetime. The choir sings his *O nata lux* (*O light of light*) a 10th century anonymous verse, followed by contemporary Scottish composer **James MacMillan's** *O radiant dawn*, based on another Tallis antiphon. The later **Tallis** psalm setting for Archbishop Parker is the basis for the *Tallis Canon* of **Bob Chilcott** (b.1955).

Antonius Divitis and **Mattheus Pipelare** both came from Louvain and their settings of the Mass were sung in Antwerp: we hear a *Gloria* and a *Credo*.

John Sheppard's *Media vita..* (*In the midst of life we are in death*) is a crowning achievement of English music at this time, with words by an author unknown later incorporated into the Book of Common Prayer. Written in 6 parts and lasting over 20 minutes, it employs a wide range of voices and expression, daring harmonies and extreme dissonances.

Tyndale is most likely to have been familiar with the final piece by **John Taverner** (c.1490-1545), organist at Wolsey's Cardinal College which became Christ Church, Oxford. *Dum Transisset Sabbatum* was sung on Easter Day and tells of Mary Magdalen at the tomb of Jesus.

As an encore, the choir closed with the piece that, since they memorably sung it for us in Antwerp Cathedral, has become the Tyndale Society anthem: *If ye love me* by **Thomas Tallis**.

Reports on Event 21st May, 2015

Congratulations William Tyndale!

Brian Buxton

The 500th anniversary of William Tyndale's ordination to the priesthood was marked on the 21st May 2015 by a visit of some 17 members to the City of London Guildhall Library to see, amongst other manuscripts, the register of the bishop of London with the ordination recorded under the name of William Hychyns.¹

In the medieval church there were seven steps to the priesthood, each marked by a symbolic ceremony – doorkeeper, reader, exorcist, acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon and priest. It is unusual to find the lower orders recorded and so the first reference to Hychyns is in the register of Richard Mayhew, bishop of Hereford, which records his ordination as sub-deacon in June 1514 at Whitbourne parish church. Presumably there must have been some family connection with an area then in the Hereford diocese. It seems likely that he had no intention of being ordained to higher orders in Hereford as he was immediately issued with *letters dimissory* which allowed this elsewhere. Thus, he chose London as his place of ordination as deacon and priest.

The register of Richard FitzJames (bishop of London 1506-1522) records his ordination as deacon in old St. Paul's Cathedral in March 1515. The presiding bishop, John Young, an assistant bishop curiously titled bishop of Gallipoli, would have laid his hands on the head of the candidate, placed a stole over his left shoulder, and presented him with a copy of the gospels. He would then have been able to assist a priest in the services of the church and to administer holy baptism.

Only a few weeks later, on Easter Eve, 7th April, Hychyns was ordained priest by the same bishop but now in the collegiate church of the hospital of St. Thomas of Acre (where now stands the Mercers' Hall on the corner of Ironmonger Lane and Cheapside), of which Young was master. The entry in the register of Richard FitzJames reads (translated from the Latin) :

*William Hychyns, bachelor of arts, of the diocese of Hereford, by letters dimissory, to a title of the priory of the blessed Mary Overie in Southwark in the diocese of Winchester.*²

In this, more elaborate, ceremony the candidate would again receive laying

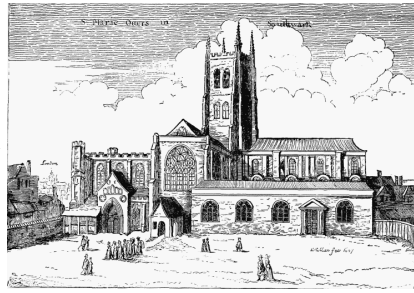
on of hands and would then be vested with stole and chasuble, anointed on his hands and then presented with paten and chalice to indicate his right now to celebrate mass. Whatever Tyndale may later have thought about the priesthood, he was now fully a part of it and presumably a willing participant in its rites and ceremonies.

Already a Bachelor of Arts from Oxford, Hychyns would receive his Master of Arts degree in July. His choice of London for these ordinations, together with his title at Southwark priory, may suggest London family links but as yet nothing is proven on this.³

According to the rules of the time a candidate for the priesthood should have been at least in his 25th year. Thus the modern trend to push Tyndale's birthdate back from 1494 to 1491. It is difficult to know quite how strictly these rules were applied, particularly when there were no birth or baptism certificates. Sometimes dispensations were issued allowing ordination at a younger age but as yet no such has appeared for Hychyns.

The event at Guildhall also provided an opportunity to see other manuscripts giving glimpses of the unfolding Reformation. These included the audit book of the Pewterers' Company with a hand written note by John Gough commenting on the fall of Wolsey 'a great persecutor'; two sets of churchwardens' accounts listing purchases resultant upon the religious legislation at the beginning of the reigns of Edward VI and Mary; items relating to Thomas Poyntz; and the will of Roger Tyndall, three times master of the Armourers' Company, and just possibly a relation of William.

The session commenced with an introduction to the history of the Guildhall Library by the senior librarian, Dr. Peter Ross, followed by an introduction to the London Metropolitan Archives (where some of the material is normally housed) by Ms. Wendy Hawke.⁴



View of St. Mary Overy.
(Hollar, 1647) © british-history.ac.uk

1. For a detailed analysis of the issue of the surname see Andrew Hope *Who was William Tyndale?* Tyndale Society Journal No. 38 Spring 2010 p.10ff.
2. London Metropolitan Archives DL/A/A/005/MS09531/009 f180v & 181r.
3. There is no absolute certainty about the meaning of a 'title' at this point in time. Most candidates gave as a title the name of a religious house. It may be that some kind of certificate was issued to vouch for the candidate as suitable for ordination, possibly as regards his financial security.
- 4 For a full lecture by Dr. Ross on the history of the Guildhall Library see <http://www.gresham.ac.uk/professors-and-speakers/dr-peter-ross>.

Visit to the British Library Conservation Centre

by Jill Maslen

Millions of books, many needing repair and treatment, and a small team of conservators - a classic example of unlimited wants in search of scarce resources. So how do they do it? In May members of the Tyndale Society spent an interesting afternoon finding out.

The British Library is home to an estimated 150 million items - not all books. There are maps, stamps, papyrus, textiles, globes and more paintings than in the National Gallery (mostly rather dull portraits apparently). The British Library Conservation Centre is a purpose-built facility at the back of the library building. Light and airy with large workbenches for each of its 30 conservators, it has a feeling of almost surgical cleanliness and order. Dr. Cordelia Rogerson, who heads the conservation team, led us through the security doors and past a display of conservation tools and one of the unluckiest books in the Library's collection. A firm of London bookbinders, Sangorski & Sutcliffe, was commissioned to create a luxurious binding for the *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. The front cover was tooled with three golden peacocks, their jewelled tails surrounded by heavily gilded vines. Known as the Great Omar, the finished volume was dispatched on the Titanic in 1912 and went down with the ship. A second copy was produced but destroyed during the London Blitz. The sumptuous binding that delighted our eyes was a third version, made by a determined member of the firm after he had retired, using the original design.

The British Library, understandably, cannot run to quite such extravagant measures. Indeed, the conservation workforce has been much reduced after recent cuts, making it vital to prioritise projects efficiently. Curators of the various BL collections and their teams submit bids detailing the conservation they would like carried out. These are evaluated by the Conservation Centre and the number of working hours per item calculated according to the urgency and extent of repairs needed. Once these estimates have been made the collection curators working with the conservators decide on priorities and the amount of work to be undertaken. Many items simply need to be repaired to the extent of being fit for purpose, while others get the Rolls Royce treatment. Alongside the scheduled work, running repairs often have to be carried out. This means quick stabilisation of items identified during the day by staff or Readers as needing urgent attention. These can then be returned promptly to

circulation. Upwards of 3,500 items pass through the Centre each year.

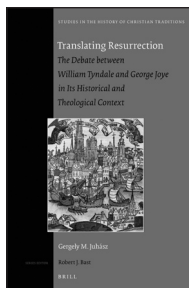
Rick Brown, a senior conservator, showed us a number of items recently worked on, including a book of royal letters from the Cotton Collection. Manuscript letters from monarchs begin with one from William the Conqueror, on parchment, probably written by a scribe. Then follow letters from Henry VIII and Elizabeth I (with her unmistakable signature), giving us an insight into the magnitude of the conservator's task. Sometimes individual letters have to be extracted from such a volume as another organisation has asked to borrow them for special exhibitions. They are carefully cut from the binding and inserted into special frames for transportation and on return expertly re-inserted into the volume - amazingly delicate work. Of course, items leaving the Library have to be insured, which then poses the problem of valuation. Dr Rogerson explained that this was a somewhat arbitrary process, with the unique Lindisfarne Gospels valued at £70 million, while a copy of the Magna Carta, which exists in several versions, was insured for £100 million. The most requested loan was a copy of Captain Cook's Journals with Joseph Banks' drawings.

Rick Brown told us a little about how leather was chosen and the importance of selecting the most suitable skins, showing us a Hebrew volume with a beautiful new binding, carefully matched with the old. Book spines often need repair and new material has to be tucked under the old leather of the front and back covers with meticulous precision. Leather and parchment respond well to handling with clean, dry bare hands, as the oils from the skin help keep them supple. If the Conservation Centre is featured on TV, the conservators receive outraged complaints from viewers accustomed to seeing the white-gloved experts on the popular Antiques Roadshow.

Lewis Carroll's original manuscript version of *Alice's Adventures Under Ground*, subsequently revised and published as *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, excited everyone's interest - perhaps a measure of our TS members' vintage. In late 1864 Carroll gave Alice the handwritten manuscript, with his own, rather weird illustrations, dedicating it as 'A Christmas Gift to a Dear Child in Memory of a Summer's Day'. One wonders what he would have made of a group of elderly Tyndalians poring over it with rapt attention.

In answer to a question about how the smuggled loose leaves of Tyndale's New Testament would have been bound when they reached London, Rick Brown gave our group a quick lesson in stitching and attaching covers, showing it to be quite a simple process. It seems unlikely that much time would have been spent giving these books fancy bindings before they found their way into the hands of England's new Protestants.

Book Reviews



Translating *Resurrection*: the debate between William Tyndale and George Joye in its historical and theological context

Gergely M. Juhász

ISBN 978 90 04 24894 6

Brill, Leiden, 2015. xviii & 550 pages

Rightly or wrongly, George Joye has been given a bad image because of his translation of ‘resurrection’ as ‘the life after this’. The resulting quarrel with William Tyndale over this translation has meant that Joye’s positive input to the English Reformation has largely been ignored.

Juhász’s title does not do justice to the scope of this book, which covers much more than the disagreement between Tyndale and Joye, and it soon becomes apparent that Juhász has a bias in favour of Joye. The extended footnotes are valuable, and I soon found that it paid to read many of these whilst reading the text (perhaps some of these footnotes might have been included in the text of the book).

Chapter 1 starts with a history of the time when “the whole world was in turmoil.” (p.11.) There is a brief outline of Tyndale and Joye, after which Juhász introduces Joye’s ‘Apology to Tyndale’. Joye had upset Tyndale over his revision of Tyndale’s 1526 New Testament, in which Joye sometimes changes ‘resurrection’ to “the lyfe after this”. Joye “was motivated by the conviction that the original term in the Bible in those places did not refer to the bodily resurrection but to the survival of the soul.” (p. 24.) However, we are still left with thinking Tyndale over-reacted to Joye’s change of words. It is not until Chapter 4 that the real difference between Tyndale and Joye is revealed, although it could have been introduced in the section, “... The Debate on the Doom of the Dead between George Joye and William Tyndale” (p. 12). The first chapter ends with a discussion of those academics who have written about the English Reformation and the history of the English Bible: where “Joye’s name is mentioned almost exclusively in connection with his debate with Tyndale and, as a rule of thumb, in a negative light.” (p. 33f.)

Chapter 2 considers the pre-Reformation views of post-mortem existence. Juhász starts with a consideration of various texts in the Hebrew Bible,

followed by those from the New Testament. Although Juhász argues clearly that those biblical passages support Joye's argument for 'the lyfe after this', there are many Bible scholars and theologians who do not agree with his interpretation. He then considers the writings of the Church Fathers, and the chapter ends with the theologians of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Juhász mentions four "intertwined tendencies": the fate of souls in Purgatory; the veneration of saints and relics; scholastic theology influenced by Aristotle, heterodox movements and religious radicals; and official proclamations in the 13th century. Questions about the resurrected body changed to the survival of the soul and post-mortem purgation, which could be shortened through prayers and indulgences. Thomas Aquinas is considered at length. Juhász briefly mentions those movements and people who did not accept some or all of the Church's post-mortem teaching.

Chapter 3 deals with the views of the early Reformation period. Juhász points out that the early Reformers rejected scholastic theology. He starts with Wessel Gansfort, who "was not a Reformer", but his works "influenced Luther and other Protestant writers." (p. 125.) Juhász next considers Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étapes, before passing on to Luther and other Continental Reformers. He writes about the English Reformers, William Roye, Simon Fish and William Tracy; before turning to the English Catholics, John Fisher and Thomas More, and then considering John Frith's position and the Anabaptist view of post-mortem existence. Juhász ends this chapter "The reader probably feels lost among such a wealth of literature;" (p. 282), and the fact that there were so many different understandings of post-mortem existence. He considers the writings of Roye, Fish and Tracy "have a common heritage and source of inspiration of the early English Protestants." (p. 285.) Why did Juhász not consider other early English reformers, some of whom supported Joye's position?

Chapter 4, "The Tyndale-Joye Debate in Antwerp" was over the state of the soul between a person's death and the resurrection. Theologians thought there were two possible views, first, that the soul was alive and active in heaven, and, second, that the soul slept until the resurrection. Tyndale and Joye differed over the state of the soul after death, and this was the cause of the breakdown of the relationship between Tyndale and Joye. Juhász believes academia has unfairly supported Tyndale against Joye.

From the beginning of this chapter we realise Juhász's bias against Tyndale. He starts by considering Tyndale's 1526 New Testament; and states that Tyndale should have known Cardinal Ximenes Greek "encompassed a significantly better Greek text" than that of Erasmus, even though that was not known in the early

sixteenth century; and also “Tyndale followed Luther’s version in wording and theology.” (p. 288.) An example of this is that Tyndale translated “presbyteros with the English ‘senior’ instead of the usual ‘priest.’” (p. 289.)¹

Tyndale had fled from Cologne rescuing a few pages of his 1525 New Testament. As a fugitive, he again translated the New Testament, which was printed in 1526. Tyndale realised it needed some corrections, for instance, he told Thomas More that ‘elder’ was a better translation than ‘senior’.

Joye set about correcting Tyndale’s translation, “Joye, however, went beyond the mere amendment of misprints. Meticulous scholar that he was, he took the biblical text and put it side by side with Tyndale’s translation.” Not knowing sufficient Greek, Joye had to turn to a Latin text, “As a basis of comparison he chose the Vulgate.” (p. 325.)

Joye’s critical alteration was that he changed Tyndale’s ‘resurrection’ “in twenty-two places as ‘the lyfe after this’ or a similar expression.” and “it resulted in what is now usually called the ‘Tyndale-Joye Debate.’” (p. 326.) Because Joye’s title page was identical to the title page of Tyndale’s 1526 New Testament, Tyndale feared that people would believe he was the author of Joye’s revision, which Tyndale believed could not be supported by Scripture.

Joye believed that when a person died, their soul went to heaven. However, Tyndale believed that “Scripture does not say anything about the question of what happens to the souls in the meantime except that ‘they rest in the lorde and in their faith.’ ‘What God doeth with them is a secret laide vp in the treasury of God’” (p. 303f.) In spite of Tyndale’s clear statement to the contrary, Juhász writes “in his *Obedience* (1528) Tyndale was still careful not to give away that he followed Luther and believed the souls of the dead to be inactive” (p. 301.) He later states that Tyndale’s “harmony with Luther’s position on most theological subjects all suggest that Tyndale did in fact believe that the souls sleep ‘out of’ heaven.” Therefore, Tyndale, when he wrote that if we state what happens to the soul after death it is “the presumptuous imaginations of his awne brayne”, (p. 305.) he was attacking Joye, rather than it being a general criticism of anyone who made a statement about the state of the soul after death.² Juhász ignores Tyndale’s denial of soul sleep when he replied to Thomas More, “What God doth with them, that shall we know when we come to them.”³

Juhász admits “Tyndale believed that what happens to the souls of the dead is God’s secret.” Also, “In his commentary of the First Letter of John, Tyndale repeated his agnostic stance about the fate of the soul after death.” (p. 303.) However, Tyndale’s “harmony with Luther’s position on most theological

subjects all suggest that Tyndale did in fact believe that the souls sleep ‘out of’ Heaven.” (p. 305.) If Juhász is right, it makes the argument between Tyndale and Joye to be on an equal footing, instead of it being an argument over Scripture truth.

Tyndale criticized Joye for changing “resurreccion into lyfe after this lyfe”, and also that “arbitrary change to the translation of a certain word might bring the whole question of translation into jeopardy.” (p. 332.)

Juhász then criticizes “scholars of the ‘conservative consensus’” who attacked Joye, even over matters where Tyndale had not done so. (p. 334.) He then comes to the end of this debate between Tyndale and Joye:

“Tyndale’s attack on Joye in his revised NT edition has always been regarded as an understandably angry and therefore justified rebuke to Joye. However, an unbiased study of Tyndale’s accusations, contrasted with the available facts and with Joye’s report, presents us, as has been established in this section, with a different picture. To some degree Tyndale’s anger is indeed understandable. It is perfectly reasonable that he distanced himself from an anonymously published NT edition that could be mistaken for his soon-to-appear new edition: the edition was based on his own work but was seriously altered in a crucial point, which Tyndale considered to be an utter mistranslation. On the other hand, that Tyndale in all likelihood deliberately presented Joye (without actually saying it in so many words) as a heretic who denied the bodily resurrection, endangered Joye’s life and impaired his reputation for centuries.” (p. 341f.)

In that quotation Juhász has introduced his own ideas against Tyndale to strengthen his argument for Joye.

Juhász then turns to Joye’s second New Testament (1534/5). Joye proposed to write a defence to clear his name, but mutual friends brought Joye and Tyndale together “and moved them to come to an agreement.” (p. 342.) However, Joye in his New Testament (1535) had an additional postscript. As a result Tyndale in his NT (1535) did not write an apology to Joye, but he left out the offensive “Yet once more to the Christian Reader”. A month later, Joye published his *Apologye*. The rest of this chapter is spent considering the *Apologye*.

In the final chapter we have Juhász’s Conclusion. The arguments, which have been considered in the course of this book, have left us still with the question, ‘What happens to the soul when our body dies, and before the Resurrection of

the body?’ unanswered. But Juhász does not accept Tyndale’s claim that it is one of God’s secrets. Juhász does not accept Tyndale’s agnostic attitude, he states the two positions taken by Reformed theologians, he claims the first, the traditional position, was followed by Zwingli, Melanchthon, Bucer and Bullinger: but the second, soul sleep, was followed by Luther, Tyndale and Frith. (p. 427.)

Juhász has looked at alternative ideas “for an interim state of the soul between death and bodily resurrection at the end of the world. Tyndale, in contrast, while claiming ignorance on the subject of the post-mortem fate of the soul,” must have had his own solution to the problem. (p. 430f.) However, Juhász does not accept Tyndale’s solution, that it is one of God’s secrets not revealed to man.

Finally there are the Appendices. First, Joye’s letter to Hugh Latimer (1533); followed by a letter from John Coke to Brother William (1533). The two main Appendices are “Joye’s Address ‘Unto the Reader in his second New Testament’ then, finally, the texts where Joye changed “Resurrection” to “Lyfe after This”; here we have the passages in Erasmus’ Greek and Latin; the Vulgate; Tyndale; and Joye.

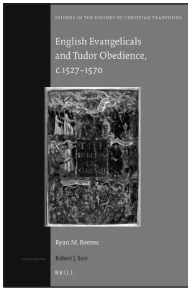
Juhász has made a very thorough research into teachings on the state of the soul between a person’s death and the Resurrection from the Bible to the Middle Ages, before considering the Reformation. We are then in a position to understand the dispute between Tyndale and Joye. I would like to have seen the post-mortem theology of some other medieval and reformation theologians.

My one criticism is that Juhász does not accept that Tyndale believed the state of the soul after death was God’s secret. The Tyndale/Joye debate would have been the same if Joye had believed in soul sleep. For Tyndale’s quarrel with Joye arose from Joye imposing his own beliefs which were in conflict with Tyndale’s.

This in no way diminishes the value of Juhász’s research, nor the value of this book. I would strongly recommend it to anyone concerned with the English Reformation, or with beliefs about the state of the soul in the period between death and the Resurrection; does it sleep, go straight to heaven, or, as Tyndale said, we don’t know, because the state of the soul after death is not revealed in the Scriptures.

Ralph S. Werrell

1. Cremer, *Lexicon of New Testament Greek*, “it is the name of dignity of an official position, ... the senatus, the elders of the Egyptians.” p. 513
2. Tyndale, *Exposition 1 John*, “And what is done with the souls, from their departing from their bodies unto that day, doth the scripture make no mention; save only that they rest in the Lord, and in their faith. Wherefore he that determineth aught of the state of them that be departed, doth but preach the presumptuous of his own brain; neither can his doctrine be any article of our faith.” PS-2, p. 185
3. Tyndale, *Answer*, Ps-3, p. 180



English Evangelicals and Tudor Obedience c.1527-1570

Ryan M. Reeves.

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Brill, Leiden 2014.

Reeves has provided an important answer to the question, ‘If the Lutheran gospel is a catalyst for political radicalism then why do so many Tudor evangelicals remain so zealously committed to submission and non-resistance?’¹ That question, found in his first sentence, leads us into the subject of political obedience of Christians to the King, and not just when the political climate was pro-reform, but also when it was against reform as in Queen Mary’s reign. This creates for the author an awkward unanswered question which, if he had considered that the English Reformation started with Wyclif rather than with Luther, could have found its answer.

The Introduction opens up the scope of Reeves research and reveals his strengths but also some of his weaknesses. Although there are places where he goes against academic positions, there are places where he has not gone far enough. In writing about Tyndale, Reeves states ‘Such evidence reveals an intriguing relationship between Swiss Reformed political ideas and evangelical teachings on obedience and non-resistance, which undermines the sterile claim that ‘Calvinism’ arrived late in England.’² Although Calvin was unknown before Tyndale’s martyrdom.³ ‘Ironically, then, the new evangelical doctrine of obedience was derived in part from an invasion of foreign Protestantism, and not its exclusion.’⁴

This leads to Reeves’ statement behind his research, ‘So this book deals with the complexities of evangelicals’ teaching on obedience.’⁵ He then passes on to ‘Historians and the Doctrine of Obedience’, before going to the question of resistance. Finally, the Introduction ends with his methodology.

Chapter 1 considers 1528-1540. Reeves starts with Tyndale’s *Obedience of a Christian Man*. As ‘historians have assumed that Tyndale derived his political teachings from Luther’⁶ he starts with the possible connection between Luther and Tyndale. Reeves deals with historians who have written in favour of Luther’s influence, and also of those who have written against it. Finally,

Reeves ends the many arguments about Tyndale's attitude to the Royal Supremacy by reminding us that '*Obedience* was written six years before the Supremacy legislation was enacted.'⁷

On page 34, Reeves considers the use of Psalm 82 by Zwingli and Pellican in Zurich, referring to kings as gods, he claims, 'Tyndale's use of this argument in *Obedience* provides conclusive evidence that Tyndale was influenced (at least in part) by Swiss theology.'⁸ Reeves quotes from *Obedience*, to justify his interpretation, although both before and after that quotation, Tyndale quotes the fifth commandment, 'Honour thy father and mother.' But nowhere does Tyndale make mention of Psalm 82, although Reeves frequently states he did, and says this 'deifies royal power'. The closest Tyndale came was his quote from Exodus 22, but Tyndale stated that this passage relates not just to Christian judges, but to Turkish and heathen judges as well.

The rest of Chapter 1 deals with many of the other early English Reformers, up to Cromwell and Cromwellian politicians, but Reeves believes that the doctrine of obedience sprang from Luther's Two-Kingdoms theory and the Supremacy of Henry VIII. However, the English evangelicals showed an independence over the doctrine of obedience that drew on many different reformed sources.

Chapter 2 deals with the last years of Henry VIII's reign and the Act of Six Articles. In the 1530s Henry VIII had appeared to agree with many of the evangelical arguments, but now the supporters of Catholicism had gained the ascendancy. There was still strong support for obedience, but 'evangelicals never taught that the king could enforce heresy or ungodliness.'⁹ Becon wrote, 'I have ever exhorted you, be obedient to the kynges graces majeste.'¹⁰ Reeves deals at length with Becon's writings during these years.

Bonner and Gardiner tried to root out those who were outspoken evangelicals, whom they subjected to persecution. The evangelicals entered into a new phase in England, 'Their goal was not to undermine their obedience by refusing to comply with the king's demands but to *prove* their obedience by their willingness to receive corporal punishment.'¹¹

There were many attacks on the direction England was going. Some historians have thought this was an attack on the Supremacy, however, Reeves disagrees with this view. 'Evangelicals may attack the direction the government is going, but they were not directed at the Supremacy itself.'¹²

Chapter 3 brings us to the reign of Edward VI when evangelicals were dominant but there were problems that had to be overcome with the rebellions in Cornwall and East Anglia. Reeves considers the effect of the Swiss on the doctrine of obedience in England; and how far was it possible to accept

‘passive disobedience’. This came to a head over ‘John Hooper’s protest over the Ordinal in 1550.’¹³ But obedience overcame all efforts towards including non-resistance in certain circumstances.

Chapter 4 brings about the most trying time for the evangelicals to maintain their position on obedience. Reeves tells us ‘The most common theory alleges that during the Marian exile evangelicals were drawn towards continental radicalism, and that the doctrine of obedience was purged as a result of exile and suffering.’¹⁴

Not only was there the problem regarding obedience and resistance facing the evangelicals remaining in England after Mary returned it to Catholicism, but there were differences between the refugees in Europe. In Frankfurt those led by Knox wanted further reform to be made to the Prayer Book, which later led to the Knox party going to Geneva. There were further problems about political obedience when the Frankfurt government objected to the Prayer Book being used by the refugees.

In Geneva those, like Goodman, wrote on the scriptural teaching about resistance. There were radical texts being published in Geneva, and Goodman ‘modified’ the meaning of scripture to support his idea of resistance to unjust rulers.

After Mary’s death, the refugees returned to England; although some wanted to introduce the possibility of resistance, ‘The majority, however, continued to teach the doctrine of obedience.’¹⁵

Chapter 5 deals with the first 10 years of Elizabeth’s reign, with the rise of moderate and radical Puritanism, and also of those who were conformists. The focus of this chapter concerns ‘Elizabethan evangelicals who either came out of conformity or returned from exile, and their relationship to the Elizabethan church.’¹⁶

Parker and Cecil had remained in England during Mary’s reign, Thomas Becon and John Jewel became the leaders of the evangelicals. And in his *Apology* Jewel wrote ‘we ever in all our words and writings have diligently put the people in mind of their duty to obey their princes and magistrates, yea, though they be wicked.’¹⁷ There were several sticking points in the Elizabethan Settlement, one was the wearing of vestments, and those against them tried to gain support from the continental Reformers.

Non-conformists argued that they were being burdened with sinful commands, but that they were still upholding ‘the evangelical doctrine of obedience and non-resistance while disobeying the queen’s commands.’¹⁸ But generally the doctrine remained intact, and obedience and non-resistance was maintained by evangelicals throughout the Tudor period.

This book is an important addition to our understanding of religion during Tudor times. Reeves is not afraid of disagreeing with academics where he thinks they are wrong. I feel that by not considering the effect of the Wycliffite movement on the English Reformation, and his reliance on the European Reformers, Luther and Zwingli, Reeves was led into some of the problems that he recognises in his book. At the same time his recognition that there was a closeness between Tyndale and Zwingli is important, although he pushed it too far, especially in claiming Tyndale used Psalm 82 in his theology.

This book is a valuable addition to our knowledge of Tudor theology, even though it only deals with the doctrine of obedience. I believe any future English Reformation research will be much weaker without Reeves' scholarship in the background.

Revd Dr Ralph S. Werrell

Honorary Research Fellow the University of Birmingham

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| 1. Reeves, p. 1 | 10. Reeves, p. 77 |
| 2. Reeves, p. 6 | 11. Reeves, p. 86 |
| 3. Calvin's Institutes, was first published, and Tyndale's martyrdom were both 1536. | 12. Reeves, p. 90 |
| 4. Reeves, p. 7 | 13. Reeves, p. 119 |
| 5. Reeves, p. 8 | 14. Reeves, p. 129 |
| 6. Reeves, p. 25 | 15. Reeves, p. 163 |
| 7. Reeves, p. 31 | 16. Reeves, p. 165 |
| 8. Reeves, p. 37 | 17. Reeves, p. 171, quoting Jewel, Works, vol. 3, p. 74 |
| 9. Reeves, p. 66 | 18. Reeves, p. 194 |



Kirk in the Hills, Michigan; (See: How I Met William Tyndale p.65 opposite)



How I Met William Tyndale

Robin Browne

I met William Tyndale in the first week of February, 1998.

Kirk in the Hills, Michigan, overlooking Long Lake, is claimed to be the last cathedral to have been undertaken in America. This magnificent Gothic building, surrounded by beautiful grounds, was modelled after Scotland's Melrose Abbey, and houses to this day the world's largest carillon of bells.

It had been a long tradition that every Friday morning The Men of the Kirk met for fellowship and a hearty breakfast. I recall the occasion seventeen years ago where upon every table an invitation had been placed promoting a series of lectures that Dr David Daniell would be giving at the William Tyndale College, barely twenty miles away. Surprisingly, only two of us attended and those who declined missed an opportunity never to be repeated.

The three lectures, spread over the course of a week, were very enlightening. Students at the College were obviously captivated, as I was, by the admiration Dr Daniell showed for William Tyndale and the vast amount of knowledge that he shared with us. The students and staff made up the majority of the audience in a very packed lecture hall where we listened to many beautiful passages read with such clarity and expression. This was the first time I ever heard the words of Tyndale spoken aloud, a never to be forgotten occasion. I am delighted to say that those evenings really made me enthusiastic about joining the Tyndale Society.

Kirk in the Hills has several Bible study groups that meet regularly during the year. Our group, of about fifteen, usually meets the last Friday of each month when we examine the readings for the upcoming Sunday. Everyone brings their chosen Bible, some the KJV, the Standard Revised Versions, the Life Application Bible, and always the Tyndale New Testament. We often will read aloud the same passage from three different versions; Tyndale is usually to be heard, sometimes there is a great similarity, on other occasions a different choice of words could suggest another interpretation.

I have often wondered if Henry VIII had supported William Tyndale with his efforts in translating the Bible into English by giving him all available help, what would have been the outcome? Had Henry show the same desire as James I to have the Bible translated, how different things might have been. I am no scholar, but may I suggest that perhaps we would not have had the KJV.

Attending Dr Daniell's lectures has had a lasting impact. They aroused my interest, not only in the history of the Bible but also in early Christian life. Since that memorable week I have remained a dedicated admirer of Tyndale's work and unique achievements.

Footnote: Out of interest I looked up how many copies of the William Tyndale New Testament with Dr Daniell's wonderful introduction had been sold: it was well over a million.

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Society Notes



David Ireson

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Revd David Ireson is stepping down as Trustee of the Tyndale Society. After two hectic years as an essential part of the planning team for the Conference, with countless journeys to London and Oxford, he needs more time for his parish and family. As it is they keep him pretty busy on the move, visiting one daughter in the Inner Hebrides and a son in Western Canada - where last year he came within feet of a huge bear: naturally David did not stop photographing.

David will continue as Ploughboy Convenor, producing wonderful illustrated presentations of the Tyndale story and related history. His contribution to the Conference with two outstanding *'ploughboy'* sessions brought the whole event alive.



Obituary

John Blatchly MA, PhD, HonLittD, MBE, FSA 1932 - 2015

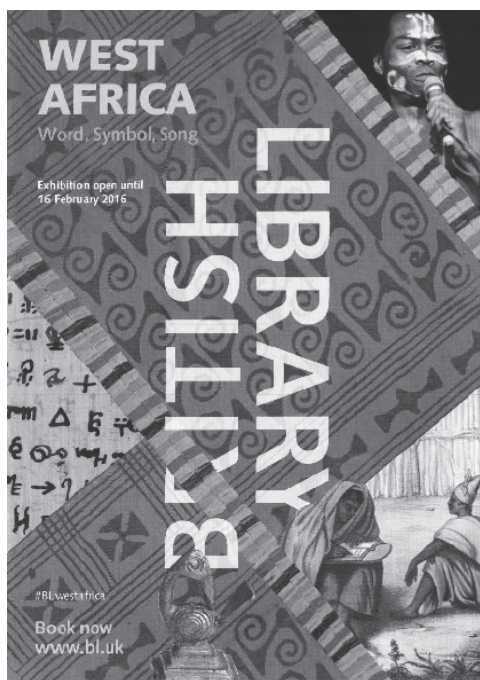
Members and friends who attended the study day at Ipswich in May 2014 will recall the opening lecture given by Dr. John Blatchly on Thomas Wolsey as educationalist, and the subsequent walk he led to Wolsey's statue. Sadly he died on 3rd September 2015.

John Blatchly became head of Ipswich School in 1972 with an academic background in chemistry but he soon established himself as a major contributor to historical study and heritage matters in Suffolk and beyond, something which grew with the years.

From the sixteenth century one of his great concerns was to raise awareness of the most famous son of Ipswich, Thomas Wolsey. As Chairman of the Ipswich Historic Churches Trust John Blatchly oversaw schemes to find new uses for redundant churches, notably St. Peter's which had served as the chapel of Wolsey's short lived school and St. Lawrence of which Wolsey's uncle had been a benefactor and where John spearheaded a scheme to restore the historic peal of bells, 'Wolsey's bells' as he called them as they would have rung out over Ipswich during the future prelate's childhood. The lack of a statue to Wolsey led to another of John's schemes and the unveiling of the statue by David Annand in 2011 inscribed with Wolsey's enlightened educational idea: 'Pleasure is to mingle with study that the child may think learning an amusement rather than a toil'. He worked closely with the new University Campus of Suffolk and an annual 'Wolsey lecture' was established. In 2014 he was made Visiting Wolsey Professor of History.

John Blatchly wrote and edited profusely. His most recent book, *Miracles in Lady Lane* (2013), was researched and written with Diarmaid MacCulloch, Professor of the History of the Church at Oxford and a Suffolk man by birth. The 'miracles' in question were one of the points of dissension between Tyndale and More. As President of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History MacCulloch has written a tribute on the society's website which recalls some of John Blatchly's many campaigns to preserve Suffolk's heritage but concludes with an appreciation of his personal qualities, describing him as '*a man who gave an example of how it was possible to make the world a better and more beautiful place*'. For one who made such a massive and unique contribution this piece is most appropriately headed: 'Suffolk historians lose their great captain'.

Brian Buxton



West Africa, Word, Symbol, Song

West Africa, Word, Symbol, Song is an exhibition of literature and music – from the great African empires of the Middle Ages to the cultural dynamism of West Africa today - at the British Library until 16th February, 2016.

Fascinating stories from the region's 17 nations show how West Africans have harnessed the power of words to build societies, drive political movements, sustain religious belief and fight injustice.

Beautiful manuscripts, historic film and sound recordings, books, photographs, and woven and printed textiles offer a unique insight into a profound and engaging literary culture with centuries-old written heritage existing alongside ancient oral traditions.

One section, *Spirit*, not only deals with the relations between Islam, Christianity and the indigenous religions, but includes material on some of the early translations of the Bible into various West African languages. It explains how early missionaries believed it essential for converts to know the Bible thoroughly and thus they became active in developing education so that the Bible could be read. Reminiscent of Robert Raikes and the origin of Sunday Schools in England and, of course, the work of William Tyndale.



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