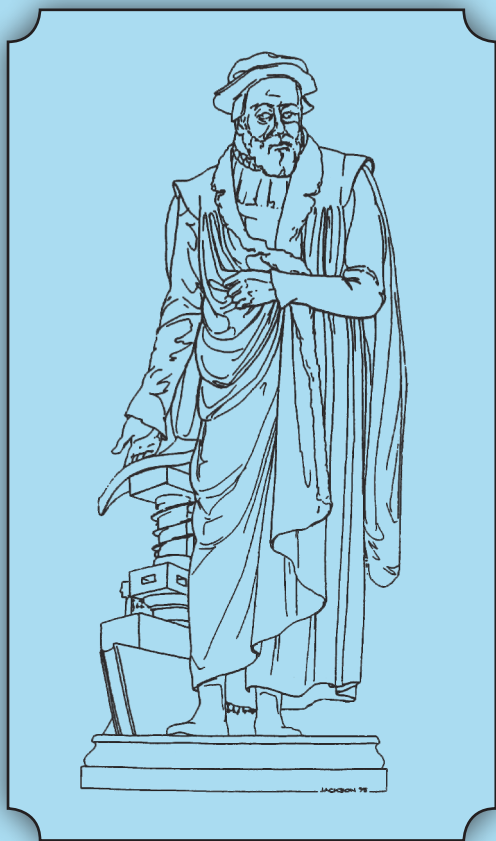


# The Tyndale Society Journal



No. 47  
*Autumn 2016*

# About the Tyndale Society

*Registered UK Charity Number 1020405*

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

## Membership Benefits

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

For further information visit: [www.tyndale.org](http://www.tyndale.org)  
or see inside the back cover of this edition of the Tyndale Society Journal.

## Trustees

Mary Clow; Dr Paul Coones; Charlotte Dewhurst; Rochelle Givoni; David Green;  
Dr Guido Latré; Revd Dr Simon Oliver; Dr Barry T. Ryan; Jennifer Sheldon.

## Patrons

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; Rt. Rev. and Rt. Hon. Lord Carey of Clifton;  
Lord Neill of Bladen QC; Prof. Sir Christopher Zeeman, former Principal, Hertford College,  
Oxford; Mr David Zeidberg.

## Advisory Board

Sir Anthony Kenny; Anthony Smith, Emeritus President, Magdalen College; Penelope Lively;  
Philip Howard; Dr. Anne O'Donnell, Catholic University of America;  
Professor John Day, St Olaf's College, Minnesota;  
Professor Peter Auksi, University of W. Ontario;  
Dr David Norton, Victoria University, Wellington; Gillian Graham, Emeritus Hon. Secretary.

## Other Tyndale Society Publications

### Reformation

Editor: Dr Mark Rankin  
James Madison University, 921 Madison Drive,  
MSC 1801  
Harrisonburg VA 22807, USA  
email: [rankinmc@jmu.edu](mailto:rankinmc@jmu.edu)

Commenced Publication 1996 • 2 issues a year • ISSN:1357 - 4175

**Contents**  
**The Tyndale Society Journal ♦ No.47**  
*Autumn 2016*

<b>David Daniell</b>	17 February, 1929 - 1 June, 2016	5
<b>Editorial</b>		11
<b>Poem</b>	Printer's Devil by Jason Smith	15
<b>Features</b>		
Dom Henry Wansbrough	Prologues to the Epistle to the Romans	16
Ruth Magnusson Davis	Whosoever shall hurt one of these little ones	25
Brian Buxton	William Tyndale, chantry priest	31
Susan Bordo	Howard Brenton's Revision of Our "Default" Anne	37
Ramona Garcia	Mammon for Monuments	45
<b>Reports</b>		
Mary Clow	A fragment of Greek papyrus	50
John Hellstern	Erasmus Conference	51
<b>Reviews</b>		
Ralph Werrell	William Perkins & the making of a Protestant England	53
Brian Buxton	The Murderous History of Bible Translations	57
<b>What Are you Reading?</b>		
Eunice Burton	The Great Humanists	59
Mary Clow	Conversations with Scripture	60
<b>How I met William Tyndale</b>		
Marilyn Hamlin Palasky		62
<b>Dates for Your Diary</b>		63

<b>Membership/Subscription Form – UK, EU &amp; ROW</b>	64
<b>Membership/Subscription Form – USA &amp; Canada</b>	65
<b>Key Contacts</b>	66

Please note that neither the Tyndale Society nor the Editors of this Journal necessarily share the views expressed by contributors. Copyright of all material remains with the contributors.

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

Cover illustrations by Paul Jackson • Cover design by Paul Barron Graphics

Design & Print: Dave Steele, SouthTownDigital.com

**Editor for Tyndale Society Journal No.48:**

**Neil Langdon Inglis**

**We invite your contributions for the next Journal  
by 15 January 2017 please (see *p. 10*)**



*Especially Welcome...*

*contributions for: 'How I Met William Tyndale'*

## David Daniell

17 February, 1929 - 1 June, 2016



David Daniell had many gifts.

He had a gift for organisation and for planning. When the family were going through his papers they found a note from David saying: "Note for my memorial service: I want mention of my non-conformist Yorkshire mill-village upbringing."

So. David grew up in Sutton-in-Craven, a Yorkshire mill-village where his father was Baptist minister. They were happy days, and David enjoyed reminiscing with his sister Frances about those times.

The family moved and David went to Darlington grammar school. As well as being a gifted pupil he also had a practical knack -- he enjoyed building radios, and when he did his National Service he was selected to be a Radar Fitter for the RAF in Cornwall. It was a role he greatly enjoyed in a landscape he always loved.

After National Service David went to Oxford, where he did two degrees. He first studied English, being taught by, among others, C.S. Lewis and J.R.R.Tolkien. He also studied Theology at Oxford, and then -- showing his sense of adventure and his gift for languages -- David went off to study Reformation theology at a University in Germany for a year.

He then followed his father's footsteps and became a Baptist Minister, in Oxfordshire. But after a few years he found he didn't have that calling.

So he became a teacher. He and his wife Dorothy, whom he'd married in 1956, moved to the new town of Hemel Hempstead and David took up a post teaching English at Apsley grammar school, where he taught for over a decade. He then moved on to teach for many years at University College, London, where he rose to become Professor of English Literature. Many people remember David's gift for passionate, witty, and inspiring teaching.

David brought those same qualities to his scholarship. His first book -- a study of John Buchan, author of *The Thirty Nine Steps* -- is still remembered.

Then came David's Shakespeare scholarship, which included a fine edition of Julius Caesar and a valuable book on The Tempest. And of course David will also be remembered for his biography of bible translator William Tyndale, and for editing Tyndale's translations. David's Tyndale scholarship connected deeply with many people, around the world.

David loved the community of The Tyndale Society, for whom he served as Chairman for happy years. Just a week before he died he was delighted to hear news of the Society from its current chairman, Mary Clow.

To the end David had a gift for being interested in people. In his last few years he received excellent care at Alexandra Care home and he was always interested in the lives of his carers.

Finally we remember David as a proud and loving family man: father to Chris and Andy, father-in-law to Ali, grandfather to Matt and Jamie.

He was also a proud and loving husband to his wife Dorothy, and before their illnesses they were pleased to attend this church. Dorothy sadly died in 2010 but she was always close to his thoughts, and we remember her too today as we remember David.

David had many gifts, and he made a great life from them all.

*Eulogy by Andy Daniell.*

*Read at the Service of Thanksgiving on June 27, 2016.*



### **Some informal tributes from all over the world:**

#### **Marie-Claire Phélippeau, Amici Thomae Mori, France.**

Let him be rewarded for all the good he has done in his life. We are extremely thankful to him and to all who have followed in his path.

#### **Dom Henry Wansbrough OSB, Ampleforth Abbey, UK**

... one of the few people of whom everyone, even those who disagree with him, speak with warm respect.

#### **Ruth Magnusson Davis, Canada**

He managed to endear himself to many of us who read his works ...he makes the history of the Bible so readable, and his spirited defence of Tyndale, was courageous.

**Keith Salway UK**

The words sparkle, wit and the like add to the picture of a great man. What wonderful company he was when in his prime and how much we owe him. What a memorial he has in his pioneering work. His most important books were the NT and OT Tyndale Bible editions.

**Denis Self, USA**

As I have continued to learn about William Tyndale, I am smitten by the volume and quality of the work of Dr. Daniell regarding William Tyndale. I am very grateful for Dr. Daniell's faithful labors.

**Brian Johnson. UK**

He was such a courteous, gentle man. I am sure William Tyndale is very happy to have had a modern champion of the calibre of David Daniell.

**Debs Pollard, Canada**

He has greatly impacted my life, together with the Tyndale Society.

**Diana L. Severance, Dunham Bible Museum, Austen, Texas.**

I wonder if Tyndale was waiting for Daniell when he reached the other side. What a joyous meeting that will be.

**David Ireson, UK**

Our sadness is also for a lost member of a family...our Tyndale family. He was so important in all our lives.

**Valerie Offord, Switzerland**

A distinguished intellectual who put Tyndale so firmly on the historical and religious map... He was such a good friend to both Robin and myself. His faith in my ability launched me on a research path which has been a source of enormous satisfaction and pleasure to me. Without his enthusiastic encouragement I would/could never have achieved so much in the field of research. I regard him as a true mentor and catalyst in widening the horizons of my historical career.

**David Norton, Wellington, New Zealand**

He was a man of stature who achieved things that matter, especially with his work on and for Tyndale. We all owe him debts.

**Robin Browne, Michigan, USA**

He made a tremendous contribution to our knowledge and made the name of Tyndale known to generations across the World. You, who knew him so well, will surely miss him.

Gillian Graham Dobson *was a founding member of the Tyndale Society and, as she describes in her personal recollections, a vital member of the outstanding group whom David Daniell brought together in the early 1990's to initiate the movement which became the Tyndale Society:*

David Daniell was such a knowledgeable, enthusiastic, forceful character, and how brilliantly he endorsed "our man Tyndale". Recently I saw *The Tempest*, (performed mostly under water (!) in an astonishingly unaltered Victorian theatre-cum-swimming pool in Great Yarmouth - Ariel was for a time topless, slipping in and out of the water, disappearing, like a seal!), and I remembered *The Tempest* was one of DD's special subjects. He would have had an erudite view on such an unusual production...

I have happy memories of my time helping the William Tyndale Quincentenary Trust. David Daniell was always immensely supportive and aware of the labours undergone to try to make the world aware of William Tyndale in the years leading up to the events he managed to "impose" around a specific Quincentenary date of October 6th 1994.. (The memorial to Tyndale in Westminster Abbey shows quite another date than that insisted on by DD) - awkward. I remember Sir Anthony Kenny saying - (at the British Library, in the jubilation the committee felt that the BL had been persuaded to buy the (at that time) only known WT Bible for a million pounds...) - well, AK said that DD's/ WTQT's insistence on following through with a SPECIFIC CHOSEN DATE was a lesson which should have been learned by Oxford University itself, - there had been so much quibbling and disagreeing amongst Oxford academics about specific dates when Oxford as a University had been founded, that NO conclusion could be reached, and therefore NO national/international massively significant University achievements could be celebrated at all..

I reached my interest in Tyndale via Michael Till, once Dean of King's College Cambridge, later Vicar in Fulham, (where his family became my very good friends) and he went on to become Archdeacon of Canterbury and Dean of Winchester Cathedral. When I complained to Michael Till that I found it almost impossible to read the Bible, he thought I'd enjoy reading the Tyndale 1534 version of the New Testament. Magically, I was able to borrow an Isaac Foot 1938 Cambridge University Press reprint - (and much much later managed to acquire my own prized copy of it). And I was hooked. The spelling. The brilliant language. The sound of a country? Gloucestershire? accent in the spelling. Such delights.

Then, not long after, I found David Daniell's own newly published Tyndale/



NT. I sent off for it. It arrived, and I confess I was somewhat disappointed, though delighted to have it. I wrote a "fan letter" to David Daniell, chiding him for having "tidied up the chaos", modernised the spelling and numerals. - I can't remember exactly what I said. No reply. After that I saw Sir Edward Pickering's plea, in *The Times*, for those interested in WT to put their heads above the parapet. I wrote and asked to be kept informed of any proposed event. But was peremptorily sent for, by Ted Pickering, to meet him in St. Bride's Church in Fleet Street. We talked about our admiration for all things WT. (I told him I'd run the Airey Neave Trust in the House of Commons, and was working still with Leonard Cheshire International in Africa). I left after half an hour, surprised to have been appointed Honorary Secretary to what would become the William Tyndale Quincentenary Trust.

I have a page or two of WTQT writing paper, still Reg. Charity No. 1020405: Patrons: Ted Hughes OBE, Baroness James of Holland Park, Dame Iris Murdoch, Lord Runcie of Cuddesdon, Dame Veronica Wedgwood OM. Executive Sub- Committee: Sir Edward Pickering (Chairman), Professor David Daniell, Canon John Oates, Mrs. Gillian Graham (Hon. Secretary). When I finally met David Daniell himself, he chided me for having been the Only letter writer to have taken him to task as I had, amongst many who had congratulated him unreservedly... I think he forgave me, though I do continue to revel in the Original Spellings.

I have so many happy memories meeting & learning from DD, - widely diverse & proliferating events - theological, educational, historical, musical, academic; visits to Belgium & Vilvoorde, conferences in Oxford, where DD reigned with supreme specialist knowledge of his subject, amongst so many fascinated by the huge subject, and anxious to learn. I was the Miserable Inkstained Scrivener for only a short while - and I am quite sure it was David Daniell who was responsible for my being listed still, to my real pride, with the Advisory Board in the Tyndale Society Journal, as Emeritus Hon. Secretary.

David Daniell, invariably supported by his lovely wife, Dorothy, was a mighty character, achieved greatness with all his writing, and is remembered with admiration AND affection. How lucky were his students of Shakespeare at UCL. How splendid it is that the fledgling WTQT has grown so vastly and become established so widely internationally as The Tyndale Society.

**SAVE THE DATE: *Saturday, 18th February, 2017***

An afternoon to remember David Daniell  
in celebration of his Life and thanksgiving for his Work.  
Details later.

## Submission Guidelines

# *Tyndale Society Journal No. 48*

**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:48  
28 St Paul's Crescent, Botley, Oxford OX2 9AG, UK.**

**Deadline for submission of articles for the next issue:  
15 January 2017**

# Editorial

Neil Langdon Inglis

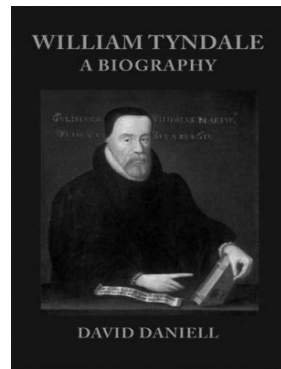
*Editor - TSJ No. 47*

On the day I learned that David Daniell had passed on, I came across a brochure on the 1996 William Tyndale conference at Hertford, as well as a letter from David thanking me for my paper, in which I had spoken on Tyndale's lessons for modern-day translators. How vividly I remember that day, and the anxious evening of preparation that preceded it (it was my first Tyndale conference, and thus a major landmark). I worked hard to prune my speech but however hard I tried, it always clocked in at 20 minutes and 15 seconds – fifteen seconds too long. Somehow I was able to reduce it down to “the pith and marrow of the thing.” That was the day I cited a Thomas More biography that insisted on referring to TM as “The Saint,” so much so that any child of the 1960s in the audience might suppose the biographer were referring.. to Roger Moore, not Thomas More.

I spoke with David again at the Point Loma CA seminars at the turn of the century, at which time I learned that David had written on Shakespeare for *The Spectator* during my father Brian Inglis's editorship (1959-62). At a Library of Congress event in Washington DC from around that time, I also had occasion to meet the delightful Dorothy, a very special person indeed.

The last 20 years of my life are interwoven with The Tyndale Society. In the early 2000s, I visited Geneva to attend a Tyndale seminar (I had worked at the World Trade Organization one year previously and was also in town to catch up with WTO colleagues). David Daniell gave a splendid address at a church in downtown Geneva. I vividly remember his description of how the Serpent in Genesis went around “spreading confusion;” and then (if memory serves), DD proceeded to analyze the parables.

A mishap followed when I arrived late for a Society dinner – the map obtained at my hotel was not drawn to scale, I miscalculated the amount of time required to reach my destination, and I had an exhausting climb up a hillside before I reached the restaurant. There, I sat next to DD, who mentioned in passing that I might be a good TSJ editor at some



*David Daniell's 1994 biography of Tyndale*

© Yale University Press

point in the future. I gulped – I did not think this possible, let alone advisable – but David believed in me, as a ploughboy and newcomer to the society.

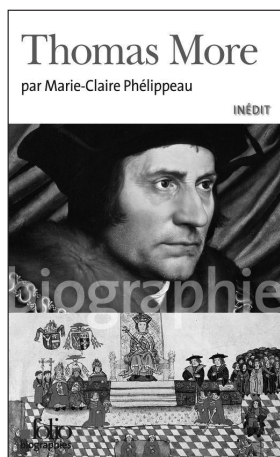
But my greatest David Daniell moment came back in the 1990s when I read his biography of Tyndale, and in particular, when my eyes fell upon his comparison of the Lollard and Tyndale translations of the opening words of Genesis. At that very moment the entire intellectual direction of my life changed. What greater tribute can I offer?



For all my chiding of Thomas More in the opening paragraph of this editorial, the fact is that the Tyndale Society enjoys cordial relations with the Thomas More community. I recently had the good fortune to read Thomas More, a new biography by Marie-Claire Phélippeau, the first of its kind in French, and destined to become a landmark publication in the French-speaking Thomas More community (Gallimard, Folio-Biographies, 271 pp., 8.70 €).

Marie-Claire is Editor-in-chief of *Moreana*, the international journal dedicated to Thomas More studies that was begun in 1963. She served as Professor of Language and Literature at Lycée Joffre in Montpellier (Hérault), France, and completed her doctorate at the University of Sorbonne in Paris.

I had a delightful chat with Marie-Claire and her husband Hubert Baudet in New York at the home of Society President Mary Clow at the time of the Tyndale-More debates in 2014. We had many stories to share as editors of our respective publications. Marie-Claire's new book exemplifies the finest in



*Thomas More, a new biography by Dr. Marie-Claire Phélippeau*  
© Gallimard, Folio-Biographies

modern scholarship and is written in elegant French. Best of all, the references to Tyndale are glowing (my own translation from page 125 follows).

*When England at last discovered William Tyndale's text, authorized decades later, it was a source of poetic enchantment. In a language both chiseled and concise, Tyndale successfully captured the beauty of Biblical words, an inspiring message (...) It could well be that the English language, with its freedom from Latinate heavy-handedness, was especially well-equipped to bring forth these flights of inspiration and captivating word associations. And it may also be that the translator, inspired by his subject and the magnitude of his task, was able to cut to the essentials and labor expeditiously, day and night, hidden away in humble lodgings, where he summoned forth luminous language previously swathed in ancestral shadows.*

Lest we forget, this is a book, not about Tyndale, but about Tyndale's greatest adversary. Marie-Claire confronts head-on the heresy-hunting and other distasteful aspects of More's personality. Even so, it must be said that as More falls from favor, is jailed, and ponders his demise, his biographer almost (if not quite) succeeds in suspending the Tyndalian reader's disbelief. Transient flickers of sympathy begin to dart across one's mind. The villain of the piece is Thomas Cromwell (more Leo McKern than Mark Rylance, more hatchetman than statesman). As the story draws to its inexorable close and More forfeits his few remaining privileges within the Tower, you are drawn at last inside the man's head and heart (and there is a heart). When the end comes you are brought closer to an understanding of how and why More matters so greatly to his large band of international admirers.



As regular readers of this editorial know, I do much of my best work on the TSJ at the Holy Cross (Benedictine) monastery in West Park, New York, located near the town of Poughkeepsie, and overseeing the timeless and majestic Hudson river. People who have never visited the monastery, but who have read my descriptions, inquire after



*Holy Cross (Benedictine) monastery in West Park, New York*

© [stgeorges-maplewood.org](http://stgeorges-maplewood.org)

Abbess Hildegard, the monastery cat, who has gone to her reward. But there are new arrivals, including Sister Mouse (a voluble feline who is said to stroll in front of the monks in the corridors of their dormitories and to glance backwards as if requesting their guidance).



At TSJ we are interested in multidimensional representations of Tyndale's life story, including statues and memorials, and regular columnist Ramona Garcia has devoted considerable attention to this topic in her papers for us. In contemplating this matter further, I have observed how communities of followers and admirers, time and again, face similar challenges when seeking to memorialize a cultural icon. Only last week I was invited to the unveiling of a bust of scientist Nikola Tesla in Rahway, New Jersey. Fund-raising is a

perennial problem, as the Washington Post makes clear, in an article on the late singer Patsy Cline (1932-1963).

*Dead celebrities and pop icons present a formidable challenge to their home towns: People talk about opening museums or re-creating some part of the past as a living exhibit, erecting a billboard or painting a tribute on the water tower, but the money is never quite there; fans show up for annual pageants or singing and costume contests (Winchester's yearly ode to Patsy occurs over Labor Day weekend, near her birthday); and certain obsessed devotees knock on people's doors and ask to see some scrap of arcana.<sup>1</sup>*

Getting from the stage of good intentions to the point of unveiling a viable memorial is a long haul; nonetheless, the Cline museum is now open (and is, according to another WaPo feature, on the lookout for Cline memorabilia, her trademark jackets, and so forth).

Sometimes the money is available but political will is lacking. A web story from 2014 reported incessant bickering over the fate of journalist H.L. Mencken's house, in dire need of renovation, even as three million dollars lay idling in a bank account set up for this purpose.<sup>2</sup> Consensus on the right strategy can be hard to achieve – and some of Mencken's political views have not aged well. However, careful curating can help to place a man's beliefs in the context of his time (as our friend Marie-Claire has done so expertly with More). And is it not better to memorialize than to silence a person whose contributions to civilization outweigh their lapses in judgment; and is it not preferable to see all dimensions of their complex personality displayed in the round, warts and all?



Marie-Claire's use of the word "chiseled" (*ciselé*) (which could also be rendered as "clipped" or "terse") reminded me that many actors today lack chiseled diction. Not long ago, I strained to follow the dialogue in a radio play on the invention of radar in WWII (turning up the volume didn't help). I will be charitable and single out for praise one lone exception, one (and only one) actor who stood firm against the tide of babble; David Hayman, cast against his usual type, delivered his lines in crystal-clear Received Pronunciation, as actors in England were once expected to do. I am not alone in sounding the alarm. My high school contemporary the actress Imogen Stubbs (who appeared with Hugh Grant in "Sense and Sensibility" in 1995) took up the cause in the

pages of The Guardian in 2013.<sup>3</sup>

"It was so drummed into us at drama school that 'it's unforgiveable not to be clear and heard'," [Stubbs] said. (...) RADA – whose alumni include Peter O'Toole, Vivien Leigh and Ralph Fiennes and which today attracts 3,000 applicants a year for 28 places – had to scrap its longstanding sight-reading test of a Dickens passage from its auditions because it was "so painful" to hear.

I am confident that the words of Tyndale, when they were first read aloud (quietly but wondrously), were also spoken clearly. Why muffle the word of God with mumbling? It makes no sense at all.



Our latest issue features a paper on Howard Brenton and Anne Boleyn, by newcomer Susan Bordo, which will be relished by our readers. Other contributors include Dom Henry Wansbrough, and regulars Ruth Magnusson Davis, Eunice Burton, Ralph Werrell, Ramona Garcia, Brian Buxton, John Hellstern, and Mary Clow. As ever, our work is touched by the guiding hand of David Daniell, without whose timely intervention I (and others) should never have learned of WT's existence. Thank you, David, and God bless you.

Neil L. Inglis  
lordstarlink@gmail.com

1 <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/1 content/article/2004/07/07/AR2005033108115.html>

2 <http://thedailyrecord.com/2014/07/03/iconic-h-l-mencken-house-falls-into-disrepair/>

3 <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2013/jun/22/mumbling-actors-theatre-chiefs>



### **Printer's Devil** *by Jason Smith*

(Editor's Note: this poem refers to the notorious mis-prints in some early Bibles.)

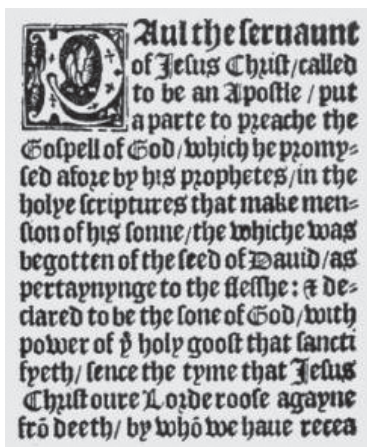
Hellbox: a receptacle for discarded cast metal sorts.

Thousands of cast metal letters are handled  
By coarse, cracked and ink-stained fingers that  
Punch the paper with a lasting impression  
Upon our very hearts, minds and souls.  
Then, it's off to the tavern to share  
Scandalous tales about *the great ass of God*  
That declares adultery is now obligatory!  
Throw them all into the hellbox ...  
These unlettered, leaden and broken types!  
To be melted down and recast into  
A form and order that is, most verily,  
The true word and will of God.

## Prologues to the Epistle to the Romans

Dom Henry Wansbrough OSB

Quotations from Tyndale's Preface not contained in Luther's work,  
i.e. added by Tyndale, are here printed in bold.



Since my primary field of research is the Bible, and my primary interest in William Tyndale has been as a translator of the Bible, it is appropriate that I should consider this topic. Furthermore, as a Roman Catholic, with a deep devotion to Thomas More, I have long been drawn to investigate Tyndale's *Preface to Romans*, because he had already received such virulent criticism from More in his *Dialogue concerning Heresies* (1529), written, of course, at the request of Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, who had originally turned down Tyndale's request to join his household as translator. More was led to claim that Tyndale was far, far worse a heretic than Luther. He adds weight by quoting John Fisher, the saintly Bishop of Rochester, who was in that era one of the most important theologians in Europe, that he had found 'in Tyndale worse yet in many things than he saw in Luther himself'.<sup>1</sup>

More claimed that 'in his wicked Book of Mammon and after his malicious Book of Obedience.... he showed himself so puffed up with the poison of pride, malice and envy that it is more than a marvel that the skin can hold together' and 'in many things he hath far passed his master, running forth so mad for malice that he frets as though he heard not his own voice. He barketh against the sacraments much more than Luther', etc.<sup>2</sup> The detailed criticisms More makes on this occasion do not touch the *Preface*, but do raise the question whether Tyndale was so thoroughly imbued with Lutheranism as More



suggests. Was he simply copying or expanding Luther's *Preface*?

I must begin by rehearsing two excellent pieces of work on the subject, Ralph Werrell's article in *Reformation and Renaissance Review*,<sup>3</sup> and the more recent MA thesis of András Mikešy, *Martin Luther and William Tyndale on Paul's Epistle to the Romans*.<sup>4</sup> Both these authors have exploded the myth that Tyndale simply copied Luther.<sup>5</sup> The figures are conveniently given by Mikešy: Tyndale translated 93% of Luther, but, more significantly, added a great deal of his own material and theology. In the 1526 edition he added a further 3,519 words or 38% of the full text; in the expanded 1534 edition, to accompany his revised translation of the New Testament, Tyndale added 5,000 words, or 46%, very nearly half of his whole *Preface*.

### Tyndale mollifies Luther

Mikešy points out two important changes made by Tyndale. The first is where Luther pits his own authority against the Church Fathers:

‘Unless you understand these words in this way, you will never understand either this letter of St Paul or any book of the Scriptures. Be on guard, therefore, against any teacher who uses these words differently, no matter who he be, whether Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Origen or anyone else as great as or greater than they.’

Tyndale calms the passage down to ‘Take heed, therefore, for whosoever understandeth these words otherwise, **the same understandeth not Paul**, whatsoever he be’<sup>6</sup>. He omits, therefore, all criticism of the Church Fathers, and generalises his critics to anyone, whoever he may be.

The second occurs where Luther warns:

‘Paul also includes a salutary warning against human doctrines which are preached alongside the Gospel and which do a great deal of harm. It is as though he had clearly seen that out of Rome and through the Romans would come the misleading, annoying Canons and Decretals along with the entire brood and swarm of human laws and commands that is now drowning the whole world and has blotted out this letter and the whole of the Scriptures, along with the Spirit and faith. Nothing remains but the idol Belly, whose servants St Paul here depicts these people to be. God deliver us from them.’

For this Tyndale simply says, ‘**Compare therefore all manner doctrine of men unto the scripture and see whether they agree or not. And commit**

**thyself whole and altogether unto Christ'**. He omits all reference to Rome as a source of misleading doctrine. Mikey suggests that these two strongly-worded passages were omitted by Tyndale because at the time of writing 'open criticism of the ecclesiastical establishment would not have served his purpose', since he was still hoping that his translation of the New Testament would be accepted in England. It could, of course, also be that Tyndale at this stage simply did not wish to use such violent language about established Catholic teaching.

### Literary Features

I hope it is not out of place in this theological context to include some literary features of Tyndale's *Preface*, in particular two such features, *copia* and vividness of expression. Time and again Tyndale used two fairly synonymous words where one would have sufficed. In 1512 Erasmus had dedicated a booklet to the new foundation of his friend Dean Colet of St Paul's School, *De utraque verborum et rerum copia* which soon became a standard textbook for literary studies. In any case, we know from the ploughboy quotation that Erasmus was a model for Tyndale, and this has been abundantly proved by the examples quoted by Ralph Werrell in *The Roots of William Tyndale's Theology*, p. 65-69. At the beginning of the revival of classical learning it should not be surprising that Tyndale would employ this *copia* which is so highly praised by orators such as Quintilian. So he pairs expressions and words: 'fulfilled and satisfied', 'love and affection', 'new heart and lusty courage', 'miserable estate and wretchedness', 'the ground of the heart and love from the bottom thereof' - it is a regular feature on every page.

The other feature is typical of the pithy writer who has the serpent in the Garden of Eden say "Tush! Thou shalt not die" and has formed so many standard phrases in the English language ('turn a blind eye', 'the powers that be'). He speaks of hypocrites who 'break forth, even as an evil scab or a pock', 'the pleasant rain of the Gospel'. He condemns philosophers who 'dispute all their lives about words and vain opinions, pertaining as much to the healing of a man's heel as the health of his soul' (*Prelates* 2/291). In a splendid piece of evolved imagery he recommends a Christian, 'Tie to thy ship this anchor of faith in Christ's blood with the cable of love, to cast it out against all tempests, and so set up thy sail and get thee to the main sea of God's word' (*Exposition of Matthew* 2/15). His writing is always delightfully vivid and forceful. Again and again he enriches Luther's solemn Preface with lively and even mischievous imagery. **'Christ made not this atonement that thou shouldst anger God again... neither cleansed he thee that thou**

18

**shouldest return (as a swine) unto thine old puddle again’.**

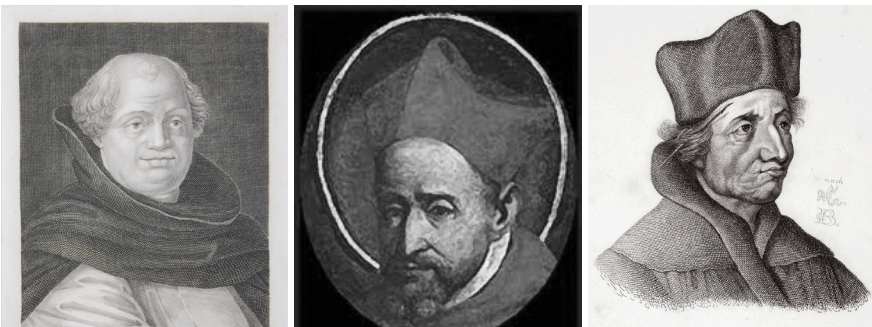
### **A different theological viewpoint**

Much more important, however, are the different theological starting points between Luther and Tyndale. I see Luther’s theological outlook at this early period as being entirely dominated by his initial teaching on indulgences. He began his protest by the 95 Theses which all circle around the misuse of the Catholic teaching on indulgences. I understand these theses as debating points, the sort which might be thrown up by a young and self-confident - not to say, flamboyant - university teacher to provide interesting debates - almost a ‘dare’ - points to provide interesting and instructive debate. I regard the subsequent history as a tragedy: by a successive series of confrontations and examinations he was driven to sharpen his positions and his criticism of the practice of indulgences as it was occurring, and indeed everything and all habits of thought associated with it. No small part was played in this by the rivalry between the Dominican and Augustinian schools which was a repeated feature of his examinations. It was an unfortunate accident that one after another of Luther’s examiners was a Dominican.

First came the clash with Johann Tetzel, a Dominican, so following theological methods of Aquinas and his philosophical, Aristotelian approach. Anyone who knows anything about Martin Luther knows his slogan that ‘Aristotle is to theology as darkness is to light’. Furthermore, Tetzel was precisely promulgating the indulgence for the building of St Peter’s, and in the coarsest ways, with the slogan

‘As soon as money in the coffer rings,  
a soul from Purgatory’s fire springs’.

No fruitful meeting of minds there.



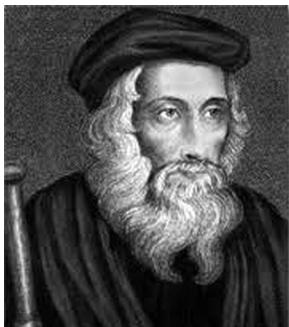
*Luther clashed with Dominicans (l to r): Tetzel, Cajetan and Eck*

*©museum-digital.de, catholiclane.com, evang-spittal.at*

Next came the confrontation with Cardinal Cajetan, another Dominican and the first great commentator on Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*, so again thoroughly imbued with Thomistic-Aristotelian method. It was as though the interrogators were chosen deliberately to exacerbate Luther, though in fact it was simply that Catjetan happened to be in Germany, promoting the Crusade against the Turks.

A third confrontation followed, this time with Johann Eck. Here Luther was provoked into the statement that some of Jan Hus' beliefs were completely acceptable and Christian. Even though Hus was condemned as a heretic 100 years earlier, there seems little harm in claiming that *some* of his beliefs - not *all* - were acceptable.

This whole history seems to have been designed to push Luther into a corner. However, his beliefs at this time seem still to have centred on the indulgence controversy and the impression given by its protagonists that salvation can be earned by human action. To this Luther replied insistently that salvation could be provided only by Christ, and that human participation amounted only to trust or belief in Christ's action, in opening oneself to receive this gift. Every tenet in Luther's early doctrine can be traced back to this belief. So his assessment of the value and importance of each book of the Bible depends on the attention it pays to the salvific actions of Christ; hence the concentration on Romans which centres (especially in Romans 5-8) on the saving work of Christ, and the rejection of James as as 'epistle of straw' because it does not deal at all with the saving work of Christ. Similarly his unyielding assertion that the Eucharist is no sacrifice or good work, but only a commemoration, a testament of promise of remission, is linked to his rejection of the indulgence-traffic, for the offering of Masses was the central negotiation of the business of indulgences. Once we are clear that the business of indulgences was still Luther's principal pre-occupation at this period, we can see



Wycliff was a Lollard but was Tyndale?



©medievalists.net;thenivbible.com

that all his theology hangs together. Was Tyndale following Luther? At the very least we can see that his pre-occupation and his starting-point were different from those of Luther.

Accordingly, Tyndale has a much more positive view of human nature

and its potential. For instance he deliberately omits the rejection of ‘works’. ‘No man can bring himself out of sin into righteousness’ he writes. Positively, his two principal emphases seem to me to be the role of the Spirit and positive joy in the Lord.

Whether Tyndale was a Lollard or not has been hotly debated. Richard Rex, who wrote a definitive book on the Lollards in 2002,<sup>7</sup> is still firmly of the opinion that there is no specific connection between Tyndale and Lollardy. Such matters as championing translation of the Bible into English, anti-clericalism, rejection of transubstantiation, reliance on Augustine were far too widespread to prove specific connection with Lollardy, or indeed with Lutheranism. It would be necessary to prove specific, verbal connection with either. Such a connection has been well established for Tyndale with Erasmus by Ralph Werrell, but not with either Lollardy or Lutheranism. The fact that Thomas More complains that Tyndale is far worse than Luther can be used either to prove or to disprove this; it shows only that Tyndale was an independent thinker. There is no need to attach Tyndale’s ambition to translate the Bible to his reading of the *Polychronicon*. The Bible had, after all been translated and circulated in print all over Europe, in German (1466), in Italian (1471), French (1474) and Dutch (1477), to be closely followed by printed version in Catalan (1478) and Czech (1488). England was disastrously behind the times in this as in other respects, such as sanitation and street lighting.

A snippet of a Lollard sermon on Epiphany could have been written by Tyndale himself: ‘after priveri wiorching of the Hooli Ghost enspiryngne mennes soules, thoru grace thei bersten oute into meritorie dedes.’<sup>8</sup> Without the Spirit we can do nothing, but, once transformed by the Spirit, human nature is full of ‘lust’ and joy in the Spirit. This is, however, hardly specific to Tyndale or Lollardy, but only common pre-Reformation Christian teaching. Again, ‘the spirit looseth the heart, **maketh him free, setteth him at liberty, and giveth him strength to work the deeds of the law with love**’. Tyndale does not say that works win salvation, but that they are the fruit and product of the Spirit; he is talking not about winning salvation but about the effect of the Spirit. A significant difference from Luther is that for Tyndale the Spirit always engenders faith, whereas for Luther faith brings the Spirit.<sup>9</sup> So, in the long inserted comment on John 8 he concludes, ‘**faith is the mother of all goodness and of all good works**’. Human beings, once transformed by the Spirit, are no longer incapable of good, as they remain in Luther, merely deceptively clothed in righteousness. Indeed Tyndale goes so far as to use that forbidden formula ‘good works’: in Romans 12 ‘**Here teacheth he good works**

indeed', and in the same paragraph becomes much more positive, 'These are the **right** works of a Christian which **spring out of faith**. For faith keepeth not holiday **neither suffereth any man to be idle, wheresoever he dwelleth.**'

The positive joy comes so frequently, e.g. hypocritical works are condemned 'which spring not **of love** from the ground **and low bottom** of the heart'. Tyndale insists frequently that the law must be fulfilled with love from the bottom of the heart. The law '**cannot be fulfilled and satisfied but with an unfeigned love and affection so greatly it cannot be fulfilled with outward deeds and works only**'. This comes from 'the spirit **that maketh a man's heart free and giveth him lusts and courage unto the law-ward**'. This teaching is indeed present in Luther, but Tyndale's emphasis is such that he paraphrases 'all that he doth, spring **of love** from the bottom of the heart'.

Most striking is Tyndale's positive teaching on human transformation by the Spirit. He takes care to expand Luther's teaching about renewal through the Spirit, and this is no merely literary feature but deliberate teaching. Luther's original teaching is expanded by Tyndale into '**Right faith is a thing wrought by the holy ghost** in us, which changeth us, turneth us into a new nature and begetteth us anew in God, and **maketh us the sons of God**'. In the same way, when he is explaining the difference between those two tricky concepts, 'flesh' and 'spirit', he expands Luther's passage massively, proclaiming the inanity of works of those '**not renewed in the spirit and born again in Christ**', even giving a list of good works, '**all his deeds, even the very motions of his heart and mind, his learning, doctrine and contemplation of high things, his preaching, teaching and study in scripture, building of churches, founding of abbeys, giving of alms, mass, matins and whatsoever he doeth**'. He thereby implies that these actions are good and praiseworthy in the man renewed in spirit. Luther would never write so positively of these works, especially the last few, such as the giving of alms, mass and matins. In another very long interpolation Tyndale shows that he is fully in agreement with Luther over the natural corruption and consequent incapacity of human nature: '**I may of mine own strength refrain that I do mine enemy no hurt, but to love him with all mine heart, and to put away wrath clean out of mind can I not of mine own strength**'. Nevertheless he differs from Luther in thinking not merely of imputed righteousness, but of a transformation in the Spirit which renders human nature capable of great good. There is all the difference in the world between Luther's and Tyndale's ideas of righteousness: for Luther it remains God's

righteousness and merely ‘counts before God’, for Tyndale it changes the human being ‘For it is God’s gift **and it altereth man and changeth him to a new spiritual nature** and maketh him **free and liberal.**’

## Conclusions

András Mikešy avers that ‘while Luther’s theology is primarily Christological, Tyndale’s seems more pneumatological’. I would adjust that by removing the element of ‘ology’, and substitute that Luther’s theology is centred more on Christ and Tyndale’s on the Spirit. This is perhaps still too narrow, for Tyndale insists here as elsewhere on the importance of **Christ’s blood** (amply exemplified by Ralph Werrell). One of the longest of his insertions is on Romans 4, where one would expect all the stress to be on faith, Abraham’s faith which justified him. Tyndale typically stresses four elements, heart, faith, Spirit and Christ’s blood: ‘a man is justified already before God inwardly **in the heart through faith and through the spirit purchased by Christ’s blood**<sup>10</sup>. He then continues with a warm, almost lyrical passage: ‘**So see we that God only worketh a man’s justifying, salvation and health, yea and poureth faith and belief, lust to love God’s will and strength to fulfil the same, into us, even as water is poured into a vessel**’. This splendid example of Tyndale’s positive enthusiasm is capped on Romans 5, where he gives us the glorious passage, ‘**Where the spirit is, there is always summer and here are always good fruits, that is to say, good works**’.

Again and again Tyndale shows where his interest lies. While Luther is concerned to show that there is no salvation without faith, and that human efforts are unavailing, Tyndale is concerned to show how the transformation of the human heart and motivation occurs through the gifts of the Holy Spirit. It is on these matters that his many interventions bear; he takes far more interest in the development of moral life and spirituality, as in the general discussion of Romans 9-11, which he concludes, after many careful little explanations, with a level, typically imaged passage of his own: ‘for every learning hath her time, measure and age, **and in Christ is there a certain childhood, in which a man must be content with milk for a season, until he wax strong and grow up unto a perfect man in Christ and be able to eat of more strong meat**’.

It is, of course, undeniable that Tyndale learnt from Luther, and particularly that he used Luther’s *Preface* as a starting-point. If, however, he was ever a follower of Luther, he certainly moved on from his master. The speculation is fascinating and persuasive that the *Guillelmus Daltici ex Anglia* who matriculated

at Wittenberg on 27th May, 1524 is an cryptogram of ‘Tindal’<sup>11</sup>. Such use of the work would, in an age of different conventions about plagiarism and copyright, be a fitting homage of pupil to master. But the conclusion is inevitable that he developed his model to express his own views and to express his own original viewpoint about human morality and spirituality which departs subtly but decisively from that of Luther. In this particular work there are no grounds for Thomas More’s strictures about Tyndale’s heresy being far worse than that of Luther. Quite the contrary!

1. Yale Edition of The Complete Works of Thomas More, vol.6, p. 431
2. *ibid.* vol.6, p. 424
3. *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 7.1 (2005), p. 57-68. This came to me after I had drafted this, but it has contributed greatly to the finished article.
4. Pazmany Peter Katolikus Egyetem, Piliscsaba, 2008. I am indebted to Tibor Fabiny, his supervisor, for access to this thesis and to András Mikešy who kindly gave me a copy.
5. An on-line version of Tyndale’s *Prologue*, at <http://www.bible-researcher.com/romansprologue.html> simply states ‘This preface, like others which Tyndale included in his editions, is for the most part a translation of the preface in *Luther’s German New Testament*, signed ‘M.D.M.’
6. For convenience of comparison I quote from the version of András Mikešy, highlighting differences between Luther and Tyndale by using heavy type.
7. *The Lollards* (Palgrave, 2002).
8. Quoted by G.R.Evans *The Roots of the Reformation* (InterVarsity Press, 2012), p. 248.
9. Ralph Werrell, *The Roots of William Tyndale’s Theology* (James Clark & Co, 2013), p.10,121,128.
10. The importance of Christ’s blood in Tyndale’s theology is admirably stressed by Ralph Werrell, p. 83-91.
11. James Mozley, *William Tyndale* (Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn, 1937), p. 52, cited by András Mikešy.

## Tyndale Society Webmaster

The Society seeks someone to take over responsibility for the maintenance of its website ([www.tyndale.org](http://www.tyndale.org)). Richard Carr took on the role on an interim basis some three years ago after completing a major redesign of the site. Richard feels the time is now right for him to hand the task over to another.

Ideally you will have a good working knowledge of HTML (4 or 5) and CSS. The site’s current pages have been hand-coded, not produced using a proprietary web editor. The only software required, therefore, is a good text editor and an FTP client such as FileZilla (open source and free). The site is currently in good order and the work of the webmaster should not prove onerous. The main requirement will be to do some updating from time to time, as requested, and generally look after the technical side of running the site. Hosting is now in the hands of a competent professional and helpful provider. The webmaster is not responsible for creating content for the site.

Richard Carr will give every assistance to achieve a smooth handover to whoever is appointed. If you would like to have a brief exploratory, ‘no strings’, chat with him before deciding to offer your services, call him on 01206-330521.

If you feel able to contribute to the Society’s work by taking on this role, please email the Chairman, Mary Clow: [maryclow@aol.com](mailto:maryclow@aol.com)



## Whosoever Shall Hurt One of These Little Ones:

*Mark 9:42 in Tyndale's New Testament*

R. Magnusson Davis

Canadian Lawyer and Founder of Baruch House Publishing

One evening almost twenty centuries ago, in a house in Capernaum on the shores of Lake Galilee, a special gathering occurred: Jesus was teaching his disciples. Others were present, including children. What the Lord said to the people who were there was recorded by each of Matthew, Mark, and Luke in their gospels.

Commentators have speculated that the house of meeting belonged to the Apostle Peter, and that the children were his. In any event, the gathering would not have been very large, and most certainly comprised Jesus' followers.

During this that I call the Capernaum house discourse, as recorded in the gospels in the 1537 Matthew Bible (which took over Tyndale's translation) and, later, in the Geneva and King James' versions, Jesus spoke about "offending" those he called "little ones." The little ones are those who believe in him, as Matthew and Mark both explain (Matthew 18:6, Mark 9:42). Jesus warned that a person would be better off to have a millstone hung around his neck and be cast into the sea than to "offend" one of these little ones.

What did the Lord have in mind? Modern Bible translations often translate these passages as a warning to anyone who causes a little one to sin, or to stumble, or to fall from the faith. However Tyndale appears to have understood it differently: in his 1526 New Testament, in Mark's Gospel, he referred to anyone who should "hurt" a little one. But he revised his translation in 1534, in the words that were taken into the Matthew Bible and then largely followed in later versions:

<sup>42</sup>And whosoever shall *offend* one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him, that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the sea.<sup>1</sup>

The word '*offend*' is the issue. Tyndale used it in a transitive construction: "whosoever shall *offend* one of these little ones." This old English verb ranks up with '*obey*' and '*rejoice*' in difficulty of resolution. It occurs in constructions that are obsolete, and it can be ambiguous because it had so many different meanings. My analysis of Tyndale's writings indicates that he used '*offend*' to mean, among other things: (1) hurt, harm, injure; (2) do wrong to, trespass against; (3) disturb, make angry; (4) cause to offend; (5) in passive construction: be hurt in the faith, fall away; and also (6) in the remaining modern sense,

cause wounded pride or feelings.<sup>2</sup>

The Greek verb most often translated ‘*offend*’ by Tyndale is ‘*skandalizo*’, and this is the verb used in chapter 9 of Mark. Tyndale also translated this Greek verb by ‘*hurt*’, ‘*fall*’, and ‘*hurt in the faith*’. He seems to have understood both the Greek ‘*skandalizo*’ and the English ‘*offend*’ to share a similar variety of meanings.

That Tyndale sometimes understood ‘*offend*’ in the sense ‘*hurt, harm*’ or, perhaps, ‘*trespass against*’, can be seen in these passages from his extra-scriptural writing:

Now will God receive no sacrifice (that is to wit, neither forgive, nor fulfil any of his promises), except we be first reconciled unto our brethren, whether we have *offended* or be *offended*.<sup>3</sup>

And to be merciful is lovingly to forgive them that *offended* thee, as soon as they knowledge their misdoing and ask thee mercy.<sup>4</sup>

In fact, in 1534 Tyndale used ‘*hurt*’ twice at 1 Corinthians 8:13, to translate ‘*skandalizo*’:

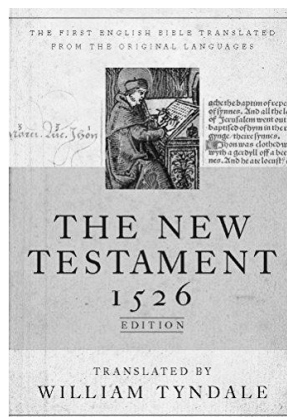
Wherefore if meat *hurt[s]* my brother, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, because I will not *hurt* my brother.

Of course the “hurting” in view in 1<sup>st</sup> Corinthians was, as the context makes clear, harm done to a fellow believer by occasioning him to offend, in particular by acting against conscience.

But as for the proper sense of ‘*offend*’ at Mark 9:42, a significant clue is that in his 1526 translation, Tyndale used the word ‘*hurt*’:

<sup>42</sup>And whosoever shall *hurt* one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were cast into the sea. (From Hendrickson’s facsimile edition of Tyndale’s 1526 New Testament: spelling modernised RMD.)

‘*Hurt*’ has not changed its meaning in any significant way. The sense must be, therefore, that whoever harmed one of Jesus’ little ones would be better off being drowned than staying such a



Hendrickson’s facsimile edition of Tyndale’s 1526 New Testament.

© Hendrickson Publishers Inc.

course. To harm a little one could of course include causing him to sin or fall away in the faith, but the context, where Jesus has just been speaking of offering comfort, calls for the sense of hurting by maltreatment.

In the parallel accounts at Matthew 18:6 and Luke 17:2 concerning the Capernaum house discourse, Tyndale translated '*skandalizo*' by '*offend*' in 1526, which shows that he was using '*offend*' and '*hurt*' interchangeably in this context.

Why did Tyndale change '*hurt*' to '*offend*' in 1534? I would speculate that he simply wanted to be consistent. He wanted to use the same word in all three Gospels.

Some might suggest the new word signified a new understanding. However this would be to say that Tyndale had first understood the same teaching in different ways in the three Gospels, which is most unlikely. He must have understood the same teaching the same way; namely, that '*skandalizo*' referred in this context to maltreating a believer.

### **To Help Brings Reward; to Hurt, Retribution**

Restoring '*hurt*' at v.42, consider it in fuller context from Tyndale's 1534 translation:

<sup>40</sup>Whosoever is not against you, is on your part. <sup>41</sup>And whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink for my name's sake, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward. <sup>42</sup>And whosoever shall *hurt* one of these little ones that believe in me, it were [would be] better for him, that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the sea.

Simply put, whoever comforts or cares for one of Jesus' little ones will be rewarded, but whoever hurts him (or her) will suffer punishment. This flows logically and naturally.

But others have interpreted it differently:

The NIV©1973: <sup>41</sup>I tell you the truth, anyone who gives you a cup of water in my name because you belong to Christ will certainly not lose his reward. <sup>42</sup>And if anyone causes one of these little ones who believe in me to sin, it would be better for him to be thrown into the sea with a large millstone tied around his neck.

In other words, whoever comforts or cares for one of the little ones will be rewarded, but whoever causes him or her to sin will be punished. This does not flow naturally. This point was not lost on the NIV revisers, who actually began a new paragraph at v.42 in order to make sense of the text, as will be seen below.

Today's English Version sees it a little differently again:

The TEV©1971: <sup>41</sup>Anyone who gives you a drink of water because you belong to Christ will certainly receive his reward. <sup>42</sup>If anyone should cause one of these little ones to turn away from his faith in me, it would be better for that man to have a large millstone tied around his neck and be thrown into the sea.

However, it is my submission that Tyndale correctly understood *'skandalizō'* in Mark 9:42, and in the parallel verses in Matthew and Luke, to mean *'harm, hurt, maltreat'* – not *'cause to sin'* (though that is one way to hurt a believer), nor *'cause to turn away from his faith in Jesus'*. He is not alone in this understanding; *The Message* ©1996 (admittedly a controversial source) nonetheless followed the theme of maltreatment at v.42, "If you give one of these simple, childlike believers a hard time, bullying or taking advantage of their simple trust, you'll soon wish you hadn't." I have not investigated any further, but presumably Peterson had some precedent for this rendering. Tyndale, of course, given the times he lived in, would have had more in mind than just bullying of the little ones.

### **If Thy Hand Offend Thee, Cut it Off**

The difficulty of understanding *'skandalizō'* in Mark 9 does not end at v.42. *'Skandalizō'* is repeated three times thereafter, and each time Tyndale again put *'offend'* in an apparently transitive construction.<sup>5</sup> V.43 reads, "Wherefore if thy hand *offend* thee, cut him off", and so it continues regarding the cutting off of offending feet and the plucking out of offending eyes.

In these "cutting off" verses, Tyndale must have understood *'skandalizō'* to mean something different than at v.42. I believe here it means *'cause to offend'*.<sup>6</sup> He wrote regarding the cutting off metaphor:

This is not meant of the outward members. For then we must cut off nose, ears, hand and foot; yea, we must procure to destroy the seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and feeling, and so every man kill himself. But it is a phrase or speech of the Hebrew tongue, and will that we cut off occasions, dancing, kissing, riotous eating and drinking, and the lust of the heart, and filthy imaginations, that move a man to concupiscence.<sup>7</sup>

This was not a commentary on Mark, but refers to Matthew 5, where Jesus was teaching about adultery. Still, it tells us how to understand *'offend'* in this context.

In the Capernaum house discourse in Mark 9, and also in Matthew 18 and

Luke 17 as I understand it, Jesus is teaching about offences against believers. He is warning his own disciples – yes, his own followers, for only they were present in the Capernaum house – to be careful that they do not maltreat one of his little ones. “Take heed to yourselves” he said to them (Luke 17:3). If they find hand or foot raised against a believer, they should “cut it off.”<sup>8</sup>

Therefore it appears that in Mark 9, Tyndale understood ‘*skandalizo*’ in two different senses: (1) ‘*hurt*’ at Mark 9:42, and (2) ‘*cause to offend*’ in the cutting off verses that follow.

### **Making Sense of Mark 9**

Other translators have, however, understood ‘*skandalizo*’ one way only throughout the Capernaum house discourse. But interestingly, to understand it the same way throughout actually destroys semantic continuity, forcing a division in the text such as in the NIV©1973:

*Whoever is not against us is for us*

...<sup>41</sup> I tell you the truth, anyone who gives you a cup of water in my name because you belong to Christ will certainly not lose his reward.

*Causing to sin*

<sup>42</sup>And if anyone causes one of these little ones who believe in me to sin, it would be better for him to be thrown into the sea with a large millstone tied around his neck. <sup>43</sup>If your hand causes you to sin, cut it off. It is better for you to enter life maimed than with two hands to go into hell, where the fire never goes out....

In order to anticipate the semantic shift, the NIV inserted a subtitle into the text. But even with this, v.43 does not flow naturally from v.42. Compare Tyndale, and notice how he begins v.43:

<sup>42</sup>And whosoever shall *offend/ hurt* one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him, that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the sea; <sup>43</sup>*wherefore* if thy hand offend thee, cut it off. It is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands, go into hell, into fire that never shall be quenched

Tyndale joins the whole together with a meaningful conjunction at v.43:

*'wherefore'*, or *'therefore'*. This translates the Greek *'kai'*, a Greek conjunction that the NIV passed over, evidently understanding it to have no significance here. In any case, *'wherefore'* connects the verses such that we cannot divide the text like the NIV did. Thus Tyndale may have understood Jesus to be saying, in effect, “Whoever hurts a believer will suffer for it; *therefore* if *you* find *yourself* hurting a little one, stop! It would be better to cut off your hand than to raise it against one of my disciples. Let not your hand cause you to offend.”

Admittedly, the passage remains challenging. But this is an interpretation that makes sense, and which maintains cohesiveness in the text.

- 1 Extracted from Daniell, David, *Tyndale's New Testament*, Yale University Press (New Haven and London 1995), a modern-spelling version of Tyndale's 1534 New Testament. New Testament quotations are from this version unless otherwise indicated. Words, punctuation, or grammar may be minimally updated for clarity's sake, and verse numbers added.
- 2 The online Oxford English Dictionary confirms these meanings as formerly extant, and can be consulted for confirmation of other observations made herein regarding English words. The online OED is only available to subscribers.
- 3 Tyndale, William, *Exposition of Matthew i,vi,vii.* (hereafter “*Exp'n of Matthew*”) from *Expositions and Notes on Sundry Portions of The Holy Scriptures Together With The Practice of Prelates*, (Parker Society, Ed. Henry Walter, 1849; Wipf and Stock Publishers edition of 2004), p. 48.
- 4 *Exp'n of Matthew*, p. 23.
- 5 I say “apparently” because of the possibility of it being an obsolete dative construction.
- 6 It seems that *'offend'* was similar to other verbs that were in centuries past constructed in a manner that is completely foreign to us now. Thus *'it offends me'* = *'it causes me to offend'* just as *'it repents me'* = *'it causes me to regret'* and *'it fears me'* = *'it causes me to fear'*, and *'it remembers me'* = *'it causes me to remember.'*
- 7 *Exp'n of Matthew*, pp. 50-51.
- 8 Jesus was perhaps also warning that offences would come from within; however discussion of this issue is beyond the scope of this paper.

# William Tyndale, chantry priest

Brian Buxton

This material is extracted from an article *William Tyndale in Gloucestershire* which first appeared in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* Volume 131 2013 pp.

189-198 and is reproduced by permission of the society. A note clarifying four references has been added at the end of the article now that this material is separated from the full original.

The use of 'William Tyndale M' (M = martyr) is to distinguish him from others of that name.

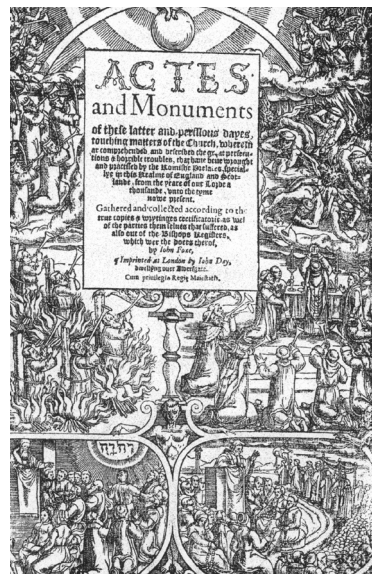
How William Hychyns, presumed to be William Tyndale M, came to study at Oxford is unknown, as also the date of his admission there. He received his B.A. in 1512 and his M.A. in 1515. He is last mentioned in the registers of the University of Oxford in 1516, the year following his becoming Master of Arts and being ordained priest in London. Thereafter he has seemed to disappear from view until his arrival at Little Sodbury Manor six or so years later. <sup>1</sup>

John Foxe in his account of Protestant martyrs, *The Acts and Monuments*, first wrote of Tyndale going to Cambridge and taking a degree there, but in later editions simply wrote of his being at Cambridge for further study until his going to Little Sodbury Manor. <sup>2</sup>

Whilst it must be possible that Foxe picked up a genuine tradition that Tyndale did visit Cambridge no record of this has ever been found, there is no record of his having taken a degree there, and neither Tyndale himself, nor anybody writing about him, apart from Foxe, mentioned such a visit.

If he did not visit Cambridge, or only made a short visit, where else could he have been? The fact of his going to London for his ordination as a priest might suggest that he had hoped for an appointment there. However, again, no evidence of such has been found. Thus, is it possible that he had actually returned to his native county?

As was mentioned in the first part of this article, B.W.Greenfield noted a priest named William Tyndale recorded as at Frampton-on-Severn in 1518 and one at Breadstone in 1522. He assumed that these two references were to one man. However, he, followed by all other writers who mentioned this,



John Foxe suggested Tyndale studied at Cambridge in his *Protestant martyrs, The Acts and Monuments*! © ihc.ucsb.edu

discounted the possibility that this was William Tyndale M because the priest at Breadstone is said to have died c1523.

Much more recently Dr Richard Rex of Cambridge University has raised the possibility that this man was William Tyndale M. He suggests that the record noting the priest's death may have been an error, thus allowing for a new interpretation of the evidence.<sup>3</sup>

The first reference, relating to Frampton-on-Severn, is not mentioned by Rex, nor was it mentioned by Overy & Tyndale, although it had been noted by Greenfield and Cooke. It is in a document of 1536/7 which refers back to a lease made in 1518 between Clifford Priory, Herefordshire, a house of the Cluniac Order which held the advowson [*Ed.: the right of a patron to propose a candidate for a benefice or church office*] of the church of Frampton-on-Severn, and three men from Frampton, 'William Tyndall', described as 'chaplain', 'James Clyfford', and 'Thomas Haynes'. The lease was of the various lands, rents, tithes etc possessed by Clifford Priory in Frampton.<sup>4</sup>

The Clifford family had been settled at Frampton-on-Severn since shortly after the Conquest as it is still today. *The Military Survey of Gloucestershire 1522* shows Clifford and Haynes to have been by far the two wealthiest men in the parish as reflected in their assessment for tax purposes on goods, whilst Clifford's valuation on land for tax purposes was the second highest in the parish after the Lord of the Manor and way above other landholders. It may seem surprising that a priest should be able to afford to participate in a lease with these two men.<sup>5</sup>

Clifford Priory appointed a Vicar of Frampton-on-Severn but there was also a Chaplain responsible for Our Lady's Chantry in the parish church. Presumably this was the post held by William Tyndale.

It is in the *Military Survey* of 1522, mentioned above, that there is the first reference to a priest named William Tyndale at Breadstone. There is no proof that this was the same priest as at Frampton-on-Severn but that must be a possibility. Certainly there is no priest of that name recorded at Frampton in 1522 which suggests that he had moved on. Breadstone lay within the parish of Berkeley but had its own chapel to house a chantry founded in the fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

A further reference to this chantry appears in the register of Bishop Ghinucci of Worcester, not clearly dated but quite probably February 1524. This records the appointment of a new priest '*per mortem Dni Will Tyndale alias Hewchyns*'. The presentation was by Sir Adrian Fortescue.<sup>7</sup>

The giving of the alias 'Hewchyns' makes this even more interesting but



'per mortem' poses the problem. In fact there are three potential problems about identifying this man with William Tyndale M which need to be considered.

Firstly, if this man did die by February 1524 then clearly he was not William Tyndale M but the suggestion of Rex that this is an accidental or deliberate mistake by a clerk could make good sense. The exact date and circumstances of the arrival of William Tyndale M at Little Sodbury Manor, and the duration of his stay there, are unknown. Nor is it known whether his time at Little Sodbury followed on from a previous appointment or whether it overlapped, as Rex suggests it may have done, with an appointment at Breadstone. Thus he sees that a departure from Breadstone may have been messy, without a formal resignation, which could have led a clerk to add 'per mortem' either in error or for convenience. The clerk, working some forty miles away in Worcester, may have been confused by the disappearance of this priest without his having any new appointment in the diocese and so may have assumed his death. It is impossible to be sure either way as to the accuracy of the entry but such an error is certainly feasible.

The second issue posed by official records is the presence of a William Hychyns as warden of the chantry or college at Breadstone in 1498 and the possibility that he was the same man recorded there in 1522 and 1524. In material relating to a vacancy in the See of Worcester found in the register of Archbishop John Morton there is a list of clergy and churchwardens summoned to a visitation in the parish church of St. James, Dursley, on 9<sup>th</sup> November 1498. These included '*Dne Willmus Hechyns guardianus de Bredstone*'.<sup>8</sup>

In order to make the way open to accept the later priest at Breadstone as being William Tyndale M it would be desirable to show that the William Hychyns of 1498 had resigned or died by the 1520s. Unfortunately this cannot be done. Rex points out the significant gaps in the Worcester registers which must hide many resignations, deaths and appointments, not least the gap in entries between 1517 and 1522 when the later William Tyndale could have been appointed. In a list made for tax purposes in 1513 Rex noted no priest in the Berkeley area by the name of Hychyns or Tyndale, only a William Higgins, just conceivably a variant spelling of Hychyns but this name not linked with Breadstone. However, Rex does not mention in the same list a William Hychyns recorded at Little Comberton in the Pershore Deanery. Could this be the man from Breadstone having moved on? Also, of course, if the Tyndale at Frampton-on-Severn and Breadstone are the same man then this suggests a vacancy at Breadstone around 1520. Once again no certainty exists but the possibility of a new appointment to Breadstone in c1520 is not ruled out.<sup>9</sup>

The third problem is probably the first that would occur to those familiar with the later writing of William Tyndale M. Could a man who spoke out so strongly against the idea of purgatory and intercessions for the dead have ever been a chantry priest whose foremost role was a concern for the souls of the founder of their chantry and all other Christian souls?

William Tyndale M left no timeline to tell us how his beliefs developed. What we do know is that he was ordained as a priest in 1515 and must then have been willing to say and hear masses with prayers for the departed. When he left Little Sodbury in c1523 and went to London it was to seek an appointment in the household of the Bishop of London where he could work on his translation of the New Testament. Had he been successful he could hardly have opted out of the mass, even if by then he had personal reservations. Maybe he had to compromise his conscience as so many must have done through the years of the Reformation, but that we cannot know.

In the early 16th century it was often a long haul before a priest attained a benefice and many years would be spent in lesser appointments, of which serving as a chantry priest would be one very common type of post. It is important to recognise that such posts did not simply require the priest to say masses for the dead.

The founder of the Breadstone chantry decreed that two chaplains were to 'celebrate divine services every single day in the said chapel for his salubrious state, while he is alive, and for his soul, when he is dead, and the soul of Isabel, formerly his wife, and the souls of his ancestors and heirs and of all the



*Church of St Mary the Virgin, Frampton-on-Severn.*

© [stmarys-framptononsevern.org.uk](http://stmarys-framptononsevern.org.uk)

faithful deceased'. This wording might suggest a limited role for the priests but, serving a chapel some two miles from the parish church of Berkeley, they would no doubt act as parish priests to the people of that community, and possibly teachers of children as well.<sup>10</sup>

For Frampton-on-Severn there is an insight into the role of the priest just a few years after the time of William Tyndale. In the reign of Elizabeth I a case was heard in the Court of Requests concerning the 'Scole Howse' at Frampton. Evidence was called from an elderly member of the community who recollected that in the 1530s the 'morowe masse' priests or 'sowle or seint Mary priests' lived in the house and he attested that he himself had been scholar under one of these men. Clearly schoolmastering was part of that priest's role.<sup>11</sup>

Some chantry foundation documents spelled out in detail additional duties of the priest, maybe acting in effect as curates or assistant priests in a parish church or, as at Breadstone, in effect serving a chapelry as parish priest.

In a recent study of wills in Bristol it has been argued by Clive Burgess that those who left bequests to found chantries and to say masses for their souls were not simply self-interested. He argues that this was their way of giving additional staffing to the liturgical and pastoral needs of the parish. He suggests that 'we should recognise chantry priests as generous donations'.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, taking into account these various considerations it may not be so difficult to envisage the young William Tyndale M as serving the role of chantry priest in Frampton-on-Severn and then in Breadstone. In the first he would presumably have been working alongside a more experienced parish priest and then in the latter he would have had greater personal responsibility and independence.

Whilst there remains uncertainty here, not least because of the recorded death in 1523, if the priest at Frampton-on-Severn and Breadstone was William Tyndale M then that would explain where he was during the 'missing years' of 1516 to 1523. He would be found back in his home territory holding just the kind of posts normally occupied by young clergy at this time.

Of course, if the possibility of an error in the Worcester register is rejected, and if the priest at Breadstone was the same man as was there in 1498, then the Tyndale at Frampton-on-Severn was presumably a different person and his identity requires some explanation. He seems to have moved on by 1522. If he did not take up an appointment at Breadstone then perhaps this was William Tyndale M. Instead of teaching the children of Frampton maybe he was teaching the children of Sir John Walsh at Little Sodbury and perhaps the children of neighbours as well.

## And so to Little Sodbury

This is one of the very few periods in his life for which we possess a detailed account. John Foxe places him there as tutor to Sir John's children but, as much as anything, this may have been an arrangement which provided Tyndale a quiet base for study and translation. Foxe recounts his arguments with the local clergy and his declaration that he would seek to ensure that the ploughboy knew the scripture better than they did. After a few months, the pressure on both him and his host growing, he departed Gloucestershire for London. Finding no support for his translation work from the Bishop of London, within the year he was abroad. Soon he was no longer an obscure Gloucestershire priest but on his way to becoming, for some, a revered figure of the Reformation, the 'father of the English Bible', whilst to others he was the 'arch heretic' of Stokesley's letter. As he turned his face away from Gloucestershire, for what proved to be the last time, martyrdom was on the horizon.

### For clarification note –

Note 1 Andrew J. Brown *William Tyndale on Priests and Preachers* (1996).

Para. 5 B.W.Greenfield *Notes relating to the family of Tyndale of Stinchcombe and Nibley in Gloucestershire* ..... (1878).

Para. 7 J.H.Cooke On the Tyndales of Gloucestershire *Transactions of the BGAS* (Volume 2 1877/78 pp. 29-46).

Para. 7 C.Overy & A.C.Tyndale The parentage of William Tyndale ..... *Transactions of BGAS* (Volume 73 1954 pp.208-215).

### Notes

- 1 Brown (1996) p. 26ff for details of entries in the Oxford registers..
- 2 *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or TAMO (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011). Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org>.
- 3 Richard Rex *New Light on Tyndale and Lollardy Reformation* Vol. 8 2003 p.148ff.
- 4 TNA SC6/HENVIII/7319 for details of the lease.
- 5 R.W.Hoyle ed. *The Military Survey of Gloucestershire 1522* (B&GAS 1993) p.183.
- 6 Hoyle (1993) p.146. J.Maclean Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* Vol. 8 1883/4 p. 306 for details of the chantry.
- 7 WA BA2648/716.093/9(i) f.41. I am grateful to the staff of Worcestershire Record Office & History Centre for their helpful efficiency when I visited to view the Worcester registers.
- 8 LPL The Register of Archbishop John Morton Volume 1 f177v. I am grateful to the staff of Lambeth Palace Library for their very helpful responses to several distance queries.
- 9 Some Worcester material for 1521 is also found in the Register of Archbishop William Warham but it has no reference to Breadstone. WA BA2648/716.093/8(i) for tax list.
- 10 TNA E211/342 for the foundation charter from which the quotation is translated.
- 11 TNA REQ2/120/6 for Frampton-on-Severn. Another example of an educational foundation linked with a chantry was the grammar school at Wotton-under-Edge, which some have suggested Tyndale may have attended, for which see David Green Lady Katherine's School in *The Tyndale Society Journal* No.16 2000 p.11ff & Bridget Wells-Furby *The Berkeley Estate 1281- 1417* (B&GAS 2012) p.35.
- 12 Clive Burgess Chantries in the Parish *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*. 2011 Vol 164 No 1 The Medieval Chantry in England pp 100-129. For a more general comment on the purpose of chantries see Eamon Duffy *The Stripping of the Altars* (Yale University Press 1992) pp.139/141. For a comment on the purpose of chantries as reflected in evidence from Gloucestershire see Maclean (1883/4) pp.230 - 231.

## Howard Brenton's Revision of Our "Default" Anne

Susan Bordo

Susan Bordo is the author, among other books, of  
*The Creation of Anne Boleyn*, now available in both U.S. and U.K. paperback.

*"I do not hesitate to say that whoever could help [in turning the King against Anne Boleyn] would do a meritorious work, as it would prove a further security for the person of the Princess, a remedy for the heretical doctrines and practices of the concubine--the principal cause of the spread of Lutheranism in this country -- as well as be the means of clearing the King from the taint of a most abominable and adulterous marriage."*

Eustache Chapuys, Imperial Ambassador to Charles V, letter of April 1, 1536

*"Her mind brought him forth the rich treasures of love of piety, love of truth, love of learning... And amongst other proofs of her love to religion to be found in others, this here of me is to be added. That shortly after her marriage, divers learned and Christianly disposed persons resorting to her, presented her with sundry books of those controversies that then began to be questioned touching religion, and specially of the authority of the pope and his clergy, and of their doings, against kings and states. And amongst other there happened to be one of these, which, as her manner was, she having read, she had also noted with her nail as of matter worthy of the king's knowledge."*

George Wyatt, on Anne's introducing Henry VIII to Tyndale's *The Obedience of A Christian Man*, in Wyatt's *Life of Queen Anne Boleigne*, circa 1590

*"Are you really a religious woman, a convinced reformer? No one will ever know. It's probable that you picked up your ideas at the French Court, where the intellectual as well as the moral climate is freer. There's nothing to gain for you in being a faithful daughter of Rome. The texts you put in Henry's way are self-serving, in that they suggest the subject should be obedient to the secular ruler, not to the Pope".*

Hilary Mantel, notes on character of Anne Boleyn, for the stage production of *Wolf Hall* and *Bring Up The Bodies*, 2014

*"Anne was in love with Henry but also in love with the most dangerous ideas of her day. She conspired to make England Protestant forever... She did not know the future, of course. But she helped detonate a religious upheaval which culminated a century later in the Civil War, the breaking of divine royal power and the establishment of our Parliament. I wrote the play to celebrate her life and her legacy as a great English woman who helped change the course of our history."*

Howard Brenton, preface to his play *Anne Boleyn*, 2010

“Susan, you’ve got to stop reading and do some traveling. Go to England! Visit some sites, interview some people. See if you discover anything fresh and new.” It was 2009, and that was my editor speaking. I’d been researching Anne Boleyn for several years, and I was getting increasingly frustrated with the tired old stereotypes of Anne that seem to dominate Tudor scholarship and historical novels.

“*Incredibly vain, ambitious, unscrupulous, coarse, fierce, and relentless.*” The quote comes from Paul Friedman’s 1884 biography. But nasty Anne is not a fossil of a previous century. Fans of Philippa Gregory will find her reincarnated as the sister from hell of *The Other Boleyn Girl*. In David Starkey’s 2004 *Six Wives*, she is a vicious, vengeful harpy who «hardened» Henry’s heart and judgment and who «rejoiced» when her enemies were «hunted down.» She has even slithered her way into the higher literary reaches of Hilary Mantel’s *Wolf Hall* and *Bring Up the Bodies*, where she appears as a predatory, anxious schemer with “a cold slick brain behind her hungry eyes.” Manipulative. Calculating. Ambitious. Cold-hearted. A social climber who lured Henry into abandoning his faithful, devout wife of 15 years and would stop at nothing to become queen.

I knew from my own research that this depiction of Anne is largely the creation of a many-centuries-long telephone game that turned politically motivated lies into inflammatory gossip and alchemized that gossip into “history.” The main architect of the prototype: Eustace Chapuys, ambassador of Emperor Charles V at the court of Henry VIII from 1529 through the



*Rare contemporary image of Chapuys*

© [luminarium.org](http://luminarium.org)

sixteen tumultuous years that followed. Chapuys was not a historian. His official job was to report court goings-on to Spain, and to skillfully adjudicate between Henry and Charles. But his personal mission was to protect Katherine of Aragon and the Catholic cause from the turmoil brought about by The King's Great Matter and -- as Chapuys saw it -- the suspiciously "Frenchified" interloper who had inspired the divorce proceedings and everything awful that Henry did thereafter.

Chapuys hated Anne with a venom that he didn't even try to disguise, disgustedly referring to her in his official communications as "the concubine" and "that whore" -- or, with polite disdain, "The Lady." Elizabeth was "the little bastard." Everything dishonorable in Henry's behavior, including his shabby treatment of Princess Mary (which actually persisted after Anne's execution), was the fault of Anne's "perverse and malicious nature," "the wickedness of this accursed woman." Worst of all, the concubine was an evangelical who promoted the English-language bible and other reformist projects and disputed the authority of the pope. For Chapuys, to be anti-papal was to be pro-devil; from "heretic" to "witch" was a short step.

Chapuys' account of Anne's ascendancy and fall, despite its clear biases, has had a major influence on later authors, including some very highly respected historians. His wasn't the last word -- when Elizabeth came to the throne, Anne became the unsung heroine of the Protestant Reformation, and for the Romantics, particularly in painting, she was depicted as the sorrowful, hapless victim of a king's tyranny. But Chapuys' Anne remains, as I've called her, our "default Anne": like Freddy Kruger in the "Halloween" movies, Anne the ambitious, aggressive, unscrupulous vixen just keeps popping up again and again.

Over the centuries, however, one feature of Chapuys' Anne has tended to drop out of the depictions -- her affiliation with the cause of reform. As the Reformation became understood as a glorious historical turning point rather than a "schism" that brought heretics into power, it became harder to marry the old narratives about Anne's selfish, grasping motivations with the idea that she was fighting for the noble cause of religious reform. You might think this would occasion a reconsideration of Anne's character -- and for some historians, it was. But for many, Anne's religious activities were simply wiped away, completing the erasure (e.g. of her letters, portraits, emblems) that Henry attempted when he executed her. Her 19<sup>th</sup> century biographers, while giving Henry major strokes for his challenge to the papacy, say nothing at all about Anne's promotion of Tyndale's bible (which she even kept open in her bedroom for her ladies-in-waiting to read), her attempts to intervene on behalf

of imprisoned reformists, or her role in the appointment of evangelical bishops and deans. Accounts of Anne introducing Henry VIII to Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man* (Henry's purported reaction: "This is a book for me and all kings to read") are neither refuted nor supported; they are simply ignored. In these histories, Anne's role in the Reformation became merely that of the bewitching face that launched Henry's desire for a divorce.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Anne/reform connection has been a subject of open debate. While Eric Ives' scrupulous *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, along with several other historians of the Tudor era and Tyndale biographers such as David Teems and David Daniel credit Anne with significant intellectual and spiritual influence over the development of Henry's ideas about church and state ("She was the experimenter," writes Teems, "untangled and unbound from the old religion") others are more skeptical, and some are downright enraged at the "fashionable" characterization (as George Bernard calls it) of Anne as an evangelical and patron of reformers. While such debate is legitimate, especially given the polemical nature of both pro and anti-Anne writing of her own time, it astounded me to discover that Bernard's 700 page book, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*, published in 2005, makes no mention whatsoever even of the issue of Anne's reformist leanings. Not a sentence.

On the literary front, Hilary Mantel's highly praised novels *Wolf Hall* and *Bring Up the Bodies* refer here and there to Anne's "reputation" for piety, but are sneeringly skeptical (that is, depict Cromwell as skeptical) of the sincerity of her beliefs, a rendering of Cromwell's early attitude toward Anne that is historically questionable but is, after all, a work of (brilliantly inventive) fiction. Even in a fictional work, however, the failure to include Anne's fatal falling-out with Cromwell over the use of church money is baffling, and when Mantel has Cromwell reflecting on his "daily, covert crusade" to have Henry put an English-language bible in every church, it seems extremely odd that she wouldn't at least have him nod to Anne's efforts on this score. It seems that nothing must interfere with Mantel's relentless portrait of a woman with nothing but personal ambitions at stake – our "default" version of Anne, once again. The plays based on her novels give at bit more credence to Anne's evangelical beliefs, by having Cranmer vouch for her, while the books describe Cranmer as "entranced" and duped. The UK version of the BBC series has her telling Cromwell she's "read" Tyndale, but then, adding insult to injury, has her turn to Cranmer for validation of her understanding: "The subject must obey his king as he would God. Do I have the sense of it?" In the U.S. version,



Anne's reference to Tyndale is left out *completely*. At first, I thought this deletion was to simplify English history for Americans, who apparently need to have everything dumbed-down to hold our attention. But Tyndale is mentioned in several other scenes, always in secret discussions in dark places between Cromwell and groups of subversive men. No women need apply to this Reformation!

Mantel says in her notes on Anne Boleyn that “no one will ever know” if she was a convinced reformer. But this is to ignore a substantial stock of evidence. We know, from her books, that she was an avid reader of the radical religious works of the day (many of them banned from England and smuggled in for her), both in French and in English. Her surviving library includes a large selection of early French evangelical works, including Marguerite de Navarre's first published poem (“Miroir de l'âme pécheresse”, 1531), which was later to be translated into English (as “Mirror of the Soul”) in 1544 by Anne's 11 year-old daughter, Elizabeth. Anne's library also included Jacques Lefevre d'Étaples' French translation of the Bible, published by the same man (Martin Lempereur) responsible for publishing Tyndale's New Testament, and numerous other French evangelical tracts. Significantly, James Carley, the curator of the books of Henry and his wives, notes that all the anti-papal literature that Henry collected supporting his break with Rome dates from *after* he began to pursue Anne. So it is highly likely that it was indeed she who introduced them to him.

Far from being self-serving, the promotion and protection of the cause of



© Showtime

Anne Boleyn: scheming social climber of Showtime's 2007 TV series, 'The Tudors' (above) or pious intellectual heavyweight of Howard Brenton's 2010 'Globe' stage production, 'Anne Boleyn' (left)?

© NHB Modern Plays

reform was a dangerous business for Anne to engage in, because it was such a divisive issue (to put it mildly) and men's careers (and sometimes heads) would hang or fall depending on which side was winning. Anne took a risk in showing Tyndale and Frith to Henry. It was a gamble that initially paid off, as he immediately saw that they were on the side of Kings rather than Rome when it came to earthly authority. But even if Henry had no objection to Anne's tutelage, others did, and their objections – a potent mix of misogyny and anti-Protestant fervor – created a political/religious “wing” of anti-Anne sentiment that could be exploited by Cromwell when he turned against Anne.

That, at any rate, is the narrative that Howard Brenton, relying heavily on the (extremely reliable) scholarship of Eric Ives, tells in his vibrant, witty and openly revisionist *Anne Boleyn*. One of the reasons I was eager to follow my editor's advice to “get off your scholarly butt,” see some sites and interview some people was the opening, in the summer of 2010, of that play. Brenton had been kind enough to send me a typescript of the play before it opened, so I knew how delightfully it departed from the conventional wisdom (if it can be called that) about Anne. Brenton's Anne, in striking contrast to Mantel's, is a fiercely dedicated Protestant with a wicked sense of humor who opens the play in her bloodstained execution dress, taunting the audience about the contents of an embroidered bag that looks suspiciously large enough to be carrying a head. “Do you want to see it? Who wants to see it? Do you? You?” Surprise! What she pulls out first – before revealing the head – is Tyndale's Bible.

This early announcement of Tyndale's importance to the play is not only a revision of dominant views of Anne, but puts Tyndale himself front and center. And as he told me in an interview the next day, Brenton didn't even begin from a particular interest in Anne. Asked to write a play for Shakespeare's Globe Theatre in London celebrating the 400th anniversary of the King James Bible, at first Brenton was stumped. “Then I remembered that Anne Boleyn had a Testament, a Tyndale Testament, and, of course, the King James Bible is largely based on Tyndale. I thought that was interesting, and then the play spun itself from that,” he recalled.

Brenton may have initially been more interested in Tyndale's Bible than in Anne. But if you begin with Anne the reformist rather than Anne the home wrecker you get a very different sort of story, and soon he had discovered that “it is as if there were a Joan of Arc, driven by a religious vision, within the more familiar figure of Anne the dazzling sexual predator.” This was a figure whom he came to admire for her courage: “The Tudor court was unbelievably dangerous and yet she got to the very center of it, and the only way out was

either bear a male child or death. There was no other way out. There was no retreat, and that I thought was an extraordinary existential place to end up, and I thought the recklessness of it, the courage that took, was amazing.”

Brenton’s Anne – the first popular depiction since her early Protestant defenders to present her as a heroine of the Reformation – is openly inventive. Unlike Mantel’s fictional narrative, which has been increasingly confounded with telling the story of “the real Cromwell,” Brenton’s play contains many scenes – from the opening itself, which has Anne returning from the dead with her own head, to the ending, which has Anne playfully addressing her 21<sup>st</sup> century audience – that are clearly imaginary, including a dead-of-night meeting in the woods with Tyndale himself. But, like Mantel, Brenton’s “re-materialization” of Anne (as one critic described it) is out to challenge one-sided but formidable historical stereotypes of his protagonist. Among the play’s most original “re-materializations” of Anne was allowing her to be both flirtatious, bold, and spiritual at the same time. More typically in both historical and fictional depictions, Anne equals worldly pleasure and Katherine equals piety. But in fact Anne, having spent her formative years at the French court, where women could be both pleasure-loving and bold yet have strong religious commitments – Francis’s iconoclastic sister Marguerite, who was a strong influence on Anne during her teen-age years is the best example – put it together differently than the English. Brenton’s Anne can worship at the altar of “the word” one moment and wish that “the bitch [Katherine] would piss off to a convent” the next. She can lecture King James (the play weaves back and forth through time between his reign and Henry’s) about God’s will, but when he asks if she was “such an insufferable holy cow” when she was alive, she replies, “Oh no, I had a lot of fun!”

Brenton’s sexy but spiritual Anne was “eye-opening” to many critics – which possibly says more about the intransigence of temptress stereotypes than the “radical” nature (as one critic described it) of Brenton’s revision of history. Even in the rave reviews, the “received wisdom” kept popping up in the descriptions of Anne. She “used her sexual stranglehold over Henry VIII to pursue the idea of religious reform,”; “advances herself in court – and Henry’s heart – by dedicating herself to the spirituality of William Tyndale’s low church, while simultaneously allowing a drooling, still-Catholic Henry to inch ever further up her leg over seven long years”; “Her irresistible wickedness is a fiery companion to Anthony Howell’s fiercely lusty Henry as she tempts, resists and subsists to his advances over seven years.” But Brenton had no interest in portraying Henry as “drooling” or Anne as having a “sexual

stranglehold” over him. In fact, we talked at some length about those stereotypes and their indebtedness to the puritanical strain of Protestantism that had not yet developed in Anne’s own time.

“I do think that even in England, the mind/body split, or the soul/body split, the fallen body, all that, which came out of Calvin, really, was only beginning to make its way into the reformist faction at this time. Come the turn of the century, it had taken hold, and it was warfare between the different sections of Puritans, really. But I thought, well, maybe it hadn’t really got hold by the time of this play. And that’s reflected in Anne’s version of Protestantism.”

In other words: Yes, Anne was sexual, but our reading of this as “wicked” is a puritanical leap that would have baffled Anne.

Judging from the reviews, for many in the audience Brenton’s Anne was their first acquaintance with Anne the religious reformer, and with the role in her fall that was played by her disputes with Thomas Cromwell. Brenton’s view (strongly informed by Ives): “Originally, he [Cromwell] was in league with her and the collaboration was perfect for his purposes, with her access to the royal pillow. Absolutely wonderful, brilliant arrangement! He was thrilled to realize the extent of her religious fervor. But then of course, it all went wrong.... [Anne] was going to tell the king that she was horrified at what was happening, the misuse of the money from the dissolution of monasteries [and] Cromwell then moved against her. It was so sudden. It took him three weeks! In three weeks, you’ve got all the witnesses, the trial. And she was gone.”

Brenton’s play, however, refuses to end with Anne’s defeat. In the last scene, she speaks to the audience, the godless “demons of the future.” “You’re so strange to me, as I must be strange to you,” she says. “Beware of love,” she tells the audience as she says her good-byes. But she doesn’t mean it. “No, don’t! We must all die, so die greatly, for a better world, for love.” But the preachy mood passes too. “Good-bye, demons. God bless you all,” she says. And then, ever the elusive flirt, she blows us a kiss.

*Ed.*: For further commentary on contemporary portrayals of Anne Boleyn, the reader is directed to “Tudor History in Dramatic Imagination: Wolf Hall and Bring up the Bodies by Hilary Mantel” in *TSJ*45.

**Mammon for Monuments:**  
*Raising funds for the Tyndale Memorial Column at Nibley Knoll  
and the Tyndale Memorial Statue in London*

Ramona Garcia



THE TYNDALE MONUMENT ON NIBLEY KNOLL,  
GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Nineteenth-century England's appreciation for William Tyndale resulted in not one but two memorials in his honor: the Tyndale Memorial Column at Nibley Knoll in 1866 and the Tyndale Memorial Statue in London in 1884.<sup>1</sup> The Tyndale Memorial Column was "a tower, 26 ft. 6 in. square at the base, and 111 ft. high."<sup>2</sup> The Tyndale Memorial Statue was a "statue, which represents Tyndale in his doctor's robes."<sup>3</sup> A tower and a statue within the space of eighteen years definitely reflected an interest in Tyndale, but what strategies came into play to convince people to part with their money for the creation of these two memorials?<sup>4</sup>

Tackling the challenge of raising money for the Tyndale Memorial Column at Nibley Knoll, an anonymous but "esteemed correspondent" brought "Circular – Proposal to Erect a Column to the Memory of William Tyndale" to the attention of *The British Friend: A Monthly Journal* in January 1861. The circular offered the assurance of a firm foundation in the form of land generously provided by Sir Maurice Berkeley. If the names on the committee roster with

their titles, military rank, residences, and parishes inspired confidence, then the bank lending its name – the Gloucestershire Banking Company – bolstered trust in the fiscal underpinnings while streamlining fundraising since both committee members and bank served as conduits for the receipt of donations. The circular not only established a shared sense of nationality between the sixteenth-century Tyndale, “*so great a benefactor to his country,*” and nineteenth-century readers but also underscored a sense of obligation that spanned the centuries, an obligation that the Tyndale Memorial Column provides a unique opportunity to fulfill.<sup>5</sup>

Broad based in scope the circular would resonate among the British population as a whole, but our “*esteemed correspondent*” added his own plea which he hoped would strike a chord with Quakers. This personal plea in many ways proved even more persuasive than the circular. Noting that £1,200 was needed, amounts as low as £1 and as high as £10 had already been received. Potential donors could rest easy in that this project would come to fruition. They would not be throwing their money away. They would also have the satisfaction of others viewing the result of their financial commitment as the memorial “*will be seen over a large extent of country, including portions of the Midland Railway.*” Furthermore, the proposed memorial would serve as a visual reminder of Tyndale that would have served its purpose if it convinced even a single person to look to Tyndale as a role model. Not averse to using a bit of friendly persuasion, our “*esteemed correspondent*” noted that William Penn, one of the most famous members of the Society of Friends, bestowed the ultimate accolade of “*Worthy Tyndale*” upon the Bible translator. What better way for Quakers to demonstrate appreciation for “*Worthy Tyndale*” than by forwarding the cause of the Tyndale Memorial Column.<sup>6</sup>

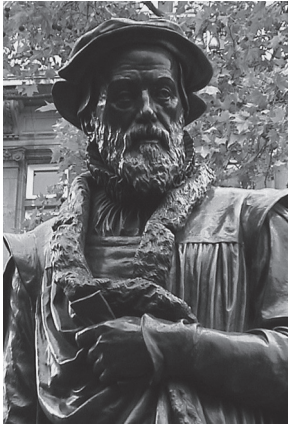
Sometime between 1861 and 1862 the amount needed for the Tyndale Memorial Column increased by £800. Evidently the £1,200 estimate in *The British Friend* (January 1, 1861) was no longer sufficient. *Notes and Queries* (March 22, 1862) provided a revised estimate of £2,000. Four years later, “The Tyndale Monument” in *The Illustrated London News* (November 17, 1866) not only celebrated the completion of the Tyndale Memorial Column but also listed the final price as £1,550. If the revised estimate was £2,000 then the project seemingly came in under budget by £450. Nevertheless, according to *The Illustrated London News* the project was £300 in arrears. Despite having set a £2,000 goal, it seems likely that only £1,250 had been collected. The celebratory tone of *The Illustrated London News* ended in a plea for help in paying off the £300 still outstanding. Or perhaps the £2,000 had been raised, and the real reason for the project finishing in the red could be traced to problems plaguing the memorial which due to structural problems<sup>7</sup> “*after it had reached more than fifty feet in height, had to be taken down.*”<sup>8</sup>

Targeting Wesleyan-Methodists, John MacGregor in "The Tyndale Memorial Statue" in *The Wesleyan-Methodist Sunday School Magazine* (Dec 1882 -Jan 1883) opens a window onto strategies for raising money for the statue of William Tyndale that over a century later still graces the Westminster Embankment in London. Assurances were offered of the groundwork already laid. The Metropolitan Board of Works provided the land for the statue which will be located in the heart of that great metropolis, London. The actual construction of the statue rested in the capable hands of the world-renowned sculptor, J.E. Boehm. Providing "a nucleus for contributions," ten men committed £100, "or such quota of that sum as may be required when the accounts are closed," for a total of £1,000 that would go a considerable way towards defraying the total cost of £2,400. Borrowing from the Victorian music hall, the underlying message was *we've got the land, we've got the man, we've got some money too.*<sup>9</sup>

Deploying a sophisticated strategy, MacGregor, an Honorary Secretary of the Tyndale Memorial Committee, described definite and potential sources of support from Biblical societies, Sunday School societies, universities, and the Quakers. The British and Foreign Bible Society, the Scottish National Bible Society, the Hibernian Bible Society, and the American Bible Society provide a nineteenth-century GPS illustrating the spread of Tyndale's translation as well as for tracking prospective donors. The Sunday School Union and Church of England Sunday School Institute offered a means for tapping into the current generation of ploughboys, or children. That "Tyndale had himself been a student" not just at Oxford but also at Cambridge created a spur for eliciting money from these two preeminent seats of learning. The active interest of the Quakers, "whose forefathers helped Tyndale bravely in more troublous times," served as a further prod to Wesleyan Methodists to get on board the bandwagon.<sup>10</sup>

*"With these encouraging tokens of sympathy from various classes and denominations, what may we not expect from 'the largest Protestant body in the World,' the Wesleyan Methodists. . . . I feel sure that if the Methodists help this cause it will be successfully advanced. "*<sup>11</sup>

In other words, if the Wesleyan Methodists are for us, who can be against? As an added incentive, commitments of £100 or more were to be memorialized on the very monument as "the name of the contributing body (but not of individuals) should be inscribed on the pedestal of the statue." Ultimately, the very act of giving was to send a resounding message of appreciation not only for Tyndale but also for his vernacular Bible, a message which, with the completion of the Tyndale Memorial Statue, would resonate beyond the donor's lifetime.<sup>12</sup>



Tyndale Statue in Whitehall Gardens, London Embankment together with plaque recording sponsor organisations

© londonremembers.com; stories-of-london.org

Capturing the excitement of the completion of Tyndale’s statue in London, “The Tyndale Memorial Statue, 1884” in *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries* (July 1884), contains the one word that must have gladdened the heart of the Tyndale Memorial Committee in relation to the £2,400 price tag, and that word was “paid.” The goal had been to raise £2,400, and in this the committee had succeeded. One strategy, the promise to include the name of any religious or secular organization, town, or region on the statue’s base, had borne financial fruit in terms of pounds, shillings, and pence to the tune of £1,600 or two-thirds of the £2,400 price. MacGregor’s strategy of casting a wide net and allowing individuals to pool their resources had reaped enormous dividends. *The Quiver* (1884) sheds light on those willing to invest £100. The £100 incentive proved particularly irresistible for geographic entities – whether cities -- Birmingham and the Court of Common Council of the City of London – or regions – Cheshire, Dorset, Lancashire, and Kent. Demonstrating the north, south, east, west range of support, these geographic entities provided £600 or one-quarter of what was needed. The appeal to Oxford and Cambridge did not fall on deaf ears with each university giving £100 apiece. Professional associations also stepped up to the plate with the British and Foreign Sailors Society and the Honourable Company of Grocers each providing £100. The Sunday School Union also responded to the call with £100. Not surprisingly, the first name on the statue’s base was the British and Foreign Bible Society which had gotten the ball rolling<sup>13</sup> as the “Committee for the erection of Tyndale’s monument was organised in 1879, at a meeting held in the Committee-room of the British and Foreign Bible Society.”<sup>14</sup> But what about that all-important publication, *The Quiver*? Even *The Quiver* rose to the challenge with £100.<sup>15</sup>

The one constant in the fundraising campaigns for the Tyndale Memorial

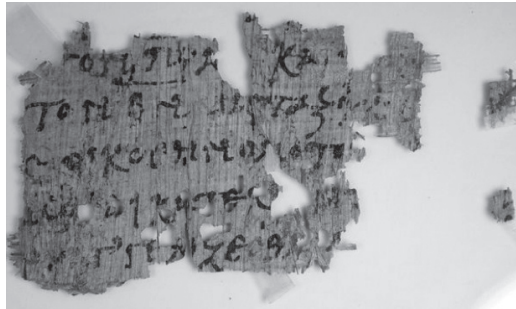


Column and the Tyndale Memorial Statue was William Tyndale, himself. What more powerful incentive for motivating donors than Tyndale's life and his English language Bible.<sup>16</sup> The price for the Tyndale Memorial Column was £1,550.<sup>17</sup> The price for the Tyndale Memorial Statue was £2,400.<sup>18</sup> But Tyndale's translation was priceless. Tyndale paid with his life. Prospective donors were being asked to pay with coin of the realm. So the conclusion here is that *ye can serve Tyndale with Mammon*.<sup>19</sup>

- Author's Note: All sources used for this article were accessed using Google Books.
- 1 "The Tyndale Monument," *The Illustrated London News*, Vol. XLIX (November 17, 1866): 479, 481; [Beaver H. Blacker], "The Tyndale Memorial Statue, 1884," *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, Part XXIII (July 1884): 612-613.
- 2 "The Tyndale Monument," *The Illustrated London News*, 481, see also 479.
- 3 [Beaver H. Blacker], "The Tyndale Memorial Statue, 1884," *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, 613, see also 612-613.
- 4 "The Tyndale Monument," *The Illustrated London News*, 479, 481; [Beaver H. Blacker], "The Tyndale Memorial Statue, 1884," *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, 612-613.
- 5 "Circular. Proposal to Erect a Column to the Memory of William Tyndale," *The British Friend: A Monthly Journal, Chiefly Devoted to the Interests of the Society of Friends*, Vol. XIX (January 1, 1861): 15-16.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 15-16.
- 7 "Circular. Proposal to Erect a Column to the Memory of William Tyndale," *The British Friend: A Monthly Journal*, 15-16; "The Tyndale Monument," *The Illustrated London News*, 479, 481; *Notes and Queries*, Third Series, Vol. I (March 22, 1862): 240; Joseph Stratford, *William Tyndale: The Bible Translator, Gloucestershire Tracts*, III (Cirencester: C.H Savory, Printer and Publisher, and London: Morgan and Chase, n.d.): 15; "The Tyndale Monument," *The Builder*, Vol. XXIII (July 15, 1865): 511.
- 8 Joseph Stratford, *William Tyndale: The Bible Translator*, 15.
- 9 John MacGregor, "The Tyndale Memorial Statue," *The Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School Magazine* (Dec 1882-Jan 1883): 2 see also 1-3.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 2, see also 1-3.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 2, see also 1-3.
- 13 [Beaver H. Blacker], "The Tyndale Memorial Statue, 1884," *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, 612-613; John MacGregor, "The Tyndale Memorial Statue," *The Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School Magazine*, 1-3; "The Tyndale Statue" and "The Inscription at the Foot of the Tyndale Memorial Statue," *The Quiver: An Illustrated Magazine for Sunday and General Reading*, Vol. XIX (1884): 704.
- 14 John MacGregor, "The Tyndale Memorial Statue," *The Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School Magazine*, 2.
- 15 "The Tyndale Statue" and "The Inscription at the Foot of the Tyndale Memorial Statue," *The Quiver: An Illustrated Magazine for Sunday and General Reading*, 704.
- 16 "Circular. Proposal to Erect a Column to the Memory of William Tyndale," *The British Friend: A Monthly Journal*, 15-16; John MacGregor, "The Tyndale Memorial Statue," *The Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School Magazine*, 1-3.
- 17 "The Tyndale Monument," *The Illustrated London News*, 479, 481.
- 18 [Beaver H. Blacker], "The Tyndale Memorial Statue, 1884," *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, 612-613.
- 19 "Circular. Proposal to Erect a Column to the Memory of William Tyndale," *The British Friend: A Monthly Journal*, 15-16; John MacGregor, "The Tyndale Memorial Statue," *The Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School Magazine*, 1-3.

## A fragment of Greek papyrus

Mary Clow



*evangelicaltextualcriticism.blogspot.co.uk*

‘And he came to Nazareth where he was nursed, and as his custom was, went into the synagogue on the sabbath days and stood up for to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias. And when he had opened the book, he found the place, where it was written... And he closed the book, and gave it again to the minister, and sat down.’

Luke 4, v16. Tyndale’s 1534 NT, also the KJV except it reads ‘where he was brought up’.

Of course this is *not* what happened, as the margin note in the Geneva Bible makes clear: ‘Their books in those days were rolled up as scrolls upon a ruler; and so Christ unrolled or unfolded it, which is here called opened.’ Scrolls, whether made from papyrus, vellum or parchment, were the usual form of books. They could be very unwieldy, sometimes they were enormous, as much as 30 feet long. This of course made cross-referencing difficult, but it was the accepted technology and some libraries continued producing scrolls into the late 18th century.

The change to codex, basically the form of a modern book, seems to have come about via a small group with ‘a maniacal preoccupation with texts’: early Christians. According to Dr Larry Hurtado of St Andrew’s University, Scotland, 97% of surviving early texts are codices. As he says, Christianity is ‘a bookish religion’, and overwhelmingly preferred the new technology. Perhaps the need to compare the synoptic gospels made the accessible codices more attractive?

The Institute for New Testament Textual Research in Munster, Germany

authenticates and registers manuscripts. About 130 Greek papyri have met their strict standards as genuine. Where once such items were of scholarly interest only, there are now collectors willing to pay extraordinary sums: in 2014, Sotheby's sold a 3rd century vellum fragment of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans for \$500,000.

Recently a papyrus scrap 'credit card sized' was offered on e-Bay, starting price \$99. Dr Geoffrey Smith, early-Christian history scholar from the University of Texas at Austin, was astonished. With some difficulty he traced the seller (a UNESCO convention controls the marketing of ancient texts) and was able to examine the papyrus. It turned out to be genuine, 6 lines from the Gospel of St John. Most fascinatingly, it turned out *not* to be from the usual codex, but part of a scroll, the only known Greek New Testament papyrus in this format. Dr Smith presented his findings at the Society of Biblical Literature conference and specialists will now have to revise their theories.

How did this small treasure get onto e-Bay? It was collected over 50 years ago by a professor of early Christianity, who had stashed it in an attic in an old suitcase.

Information from *The International New York Times*, November 23, 2015.

## **Erasmus Conference at Houston Baptist University**

Dr John Hellstern, Texas, USA

Who was Desiderius Erasmus? What motivated him five hundred years ago to publish the first Greek New Testament from Greek manuscripts available to him in his day? What contribution did this scholar from Rotterdam make to our Bible and the centuries of translations ever since?

Coming to the conference, we knew Erasmus as one of the greatest scholars of his day. After the three day conference *Ad Fontes, Ad Futura: Erasmus' Bible and the Impact of Scripture* at Houston Baptist University on February 25-27 2016, we knew Erasmus as a man whose heart was to lead people closer to the Lord Jesus Christ. Erasmus labored to accomplish this by publishing a Greek text of the New Testament and a Latin translation closer to the original Greek manuscripts. That process of recovering the original continues with scholars today as Scriptures in thousands of languages continue to flow from the Greek text.

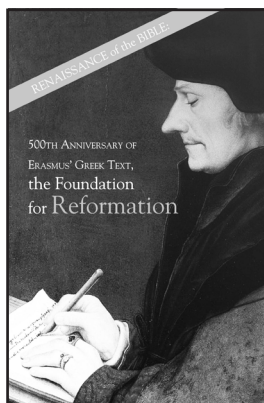
Dr. Timothy George, Dean of Beeson Divinity School, Samford University, addressed: *Erasmus and the Search for the Christian Life*. Dr. Craig Evans, John Bisagno Distinguished Professor of Christian Origins at HBU: *Erasmus and the Beginnings of Textual Fundamentalism*. Dr. Daniel Wallace, Senior Professor of New Testament Studies at Dallas Theological Seminary and Director of the

Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts: *Erasmus and the Publication of the First Greek New Testament*. Saturdays' session closed with a presentation by Dr. Herman Selderhuis, Professor of Church History at the Theological University Apeldorn and Director of Refo500, *The Impact of Erasmus' Biblical Work on the Reformation*.

Sixteen additional papers were presented in break-out-sessions. Attendees had the opportunity to hear papers on related topics, ask questions, and enter into discussion with the presenters. Seventy-five students and guests from several states and cities registered and attended.

Coffee breaks throughout the conference were in the Lyceum of the Dunham Bible Museum. As persons entered the Bible Museum they had the delightful opportunity to view Erasmus' published materials presented in four long cases. Displayed with informative graphics, original works included Erasmus' 1516 First edition New Testament; his 1519 Second edition used by Martin Luther for his New Testament translation in German in 1524; and his 1522 Third edition, used by William Tyndale for his English New Testament translation of 1526. This exhibit titled *Renaissance of the Bible: 500<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Erasmus' Greek Text, the Foundation for Reformation* will continue to run through December 16, 2016.

Perhaps a quote of Erasmus given by Dr. Selderhuis in the concluding lecture sums up Erasmus' contribution to Scripture: *Latin scholarship, however elaborate, is maimed and reduced by half without Greek. For whereas we Latins have a few small streams, a few muddy pools, the Greeks possess crystal-clear springs and rivers that run with gold.* The gold of Scripture began to flow with Erasmus' Greek New Testament five hundred years ago into the thousands of languages into which it has been and is being translated today.

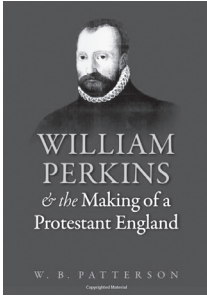


## **Renaissance of the Bible: Erasmus' Greek text, a foundation for Reformation**

An exhibition at the **Dunham Bible Museum** at Houston Baptist University [www.hbu.edu/biblemuseum](http://www.hbu.edu/biblemuseum) runs until December 16, 2016. Commemorating the 500th anniversary of the publication of Erasmus' *Novum Instrumentum*, it features the first three editions - Tyndale used the third of 1522 and was influenced by other Biblical works of Erasmus, also in the show.

For those not able to visit Houston, there is an exceptionally beautiful illustrated catalogue, full of information, which may be requested from [dseverance@hbu.edu](mailto:dseverance@hbu.edu).

## Book Reviews



### **Perkins & the Making of a Protestant England.**

W. B. Patterson.

Oxford University Press, 2014.

ISBN 9 780199 681525.

ix + 219 pages text: plus 34 pages

Bibliography and 11 pages index.

Patterson has a clearly written, understandable style, which does not detract from the academic value of his work. The hardest part lies in those places where he is writing about the various ideas in Perkins' position, between scholars who think he was a Puritan seeking to change the government of the Church of England, and those, like Patterson, who state Perkins was upholding the position of the Church of England. All through the book the footnotes are useful, extensive and valuable.

The 'Introduction' ends with a statement that tells us of the purpose of this book. "It was the power of ideas to shape and transform human beings that most concerned Perkins, and, as this book suggests, he transmitted a vision of the Christian life that was long at the heart of English Protestantism". (5.)

Chapter 1, "The Unsettled Elizabethan Settlement", deals with the religious chaos, caused by all the differences being brought into England, often by those who had been influenced by Continental Christians during the reign of Queen Mary. The English Church basically restored the Edwardian Reformation with John Jewel being one of its main writers, with his *An Apology of the Church of England*. But there were those who wanted to remain Roman Catholic, which included Thomas Harding, Nicholas Sander and Thomas Stapleton.

But there were those who returned from Exile, after Mary died, who had been influenced by Continental Reformers, who wanted a different kind of Reformation in England. Those who would not accept wearing the vestments, and other things retained in the Book of Common Prayer; Thomas Cartwright was one of the leaders of this movement. Others, John Field and Thomas Wilcox, went further, even attacking the *Book of Common Prayer*. There were also Puritans who proposed getting rid of bishops, and introducing a Presbyterian

Church. The Martin Marprelate Tracts, which “wrote to mock, malign, and thus to mar the prelates of the established Church” (21.) There were others who also attacked the Church, such as Robert Browne and Robert Harrison. Against these Richard Bancroft “was the most outspoken of the defenders of the established Church after John Jewel” (27.) The Chapter ends with Richard Hooker and finally William Covell.

In Chapter 2, we are introduced to William Perkins as an apologist for the Church of England. It begins with Perkins’ life, and the importance of his writings. that were published in England and also translated into Latin and seven other languages. Patterson then considers recent academics views of Perkins position, which have differed considerably over his importance. Finally, he writes about those who consider Perkins to have been an “Apologist for the Elizabethan Church of England.” (45.) But Patrick Collinson claimed Perkins was a Puritan who shared the thinking of those seeking to “establish a presbyterian system of government and discipline instead of or alongside the episcopal system in the English Church.” (47.) Patterson then showed that there is much more in Perkins’ writings that supported the position of the Church of England. The Chapter ends,

“It is customary to describe John Jewel and Richard Hooker as the foremost apologists for the Elizabethan Church of England. ... On the basis of the evidence examined here it is accurate to say that William Perkins was the most important and influential contemporary theologian of the Elizabethan Church of England.” (63.)

“Salvation and the Thirty-Nine Articles”, Chapter 3, shows the importance of Perkins’ theology for the English and also the European Reformation. “His was a remarkably clear, coherent, and biblically centred view, and he put it at the heart of his evangelical message.” (65.) Patterson then wrote about the Thirty-Nine Articles; “The articles can thus be assumed to represent the thinking of the key leaders of the Elizabethan Church and State.” (65f.) Perkins points to Article XVII, “Of Predestination and Election”, and its importance for the work of the Holy Spirit in man’s salvation. Patterson then draws our attention to the thinking of John Calvin, who, with Perkins, was in the important second generation Reformed thinkers. He also mentions the fact that translations of Calvin’s works into English “exceeded that for translations into all other European vernacular languages.” (67.) With the Church of England Perkins did not believe God had predestined any to damnation, but “that the cause of the execution of God’s Predestination is his mercy in Christ, in them which are saved; and in them which perish, the fall and corruption of man.” (72.) This leads us to the covenant of grace, and our life in Christ.

The two sacraments are important. Through Baptism “one is ‘engrafted into Christ’ in order to have perpetual fellowship with him.” (75.) Perkins sees

four actions in the Lord's Supper: "God's choosing of Christ as mediator"; "God's sending of Christ"; "the sacrifice of Christ"; and, finally, "the giving of the bread and wine to the communicants, representing the offering of Christ for the salvation of humanity." (75.)

The visible Church contains different people, from believers to unbelievers, the wheat and the tares. The rest of the Chapter tries to sort out the problems of the make-up of the Church. "God's decree had been taken before the fall of Adam" (82.) and man's salvation is the work of the Trinity. "This was, according to Perkins, the teaching of the English Church as stated in the Thirty-Nine Articles." (89.)

Chapter 4. "Practical Divinity and the Role of Conscience" opens the "related topics of moral theology, casuistry, and conscience." (91.) and these were not only important in England but also widely on the Continent. Perkins wrote about practical theology. He "viewed the legal and moral contents of the Bible, in both the Old and the New Testaments, as a guide provided by God for the living of an obedient life." (93.) He believed that the law and the gospel were binding on a Christian's life.

Perkins agreed that one answer to the question, 'What shall I doe to be saved?' was to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, whilst Calvin and Luther saw justification as a 'divine gift apprehended by faith'; Perkins turned to Christ's answers, to the man who asked him that question; "Keep the Commandments." The person replied that he did keep them; Jesus then told him to "sell all that he hath, and giv to the poore." (Mark 10.) (100.)

Patterson continues examining the way Perkins deals with questions relating to the Christian life towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, although some are still relevant today.

Chapter 5, 'Biblical Preaching and English Prose' deals at length with Perkins' sermon on Zephaniah 2:1-2. Before turning to the question of prophesying, which was to help train the clergy to preach, Perkins stressed the importance of knowing the Bible, understanding it so that it could be passed on "to men and women of all conditions of life and in all spiritual states." (120.) The biblical books of special interest were Romans and Psalms; but the most important thing for preparing, preaching, and understanding sermons is prayer, "God must earnestly be sued vnto by prayer, that he would open the meaning of the Scriptures to vs." (123f.)

Chapter 6; "The Quest for Social Justice". The rapid growth of the population of England caused many social problems, many of which were unknown to Perkins. But he did reach out to meet all kinds of need. "Perkins' treatment of economic and social issues reflects specific and immediate

problems, but he saw the subject within a biblical and theological framework, as might be expected.” (138.)

One question he considers concerns the riches a person possesses, and assumes that they have been obtained by working for them: “they which haue riches are to consider, that God is not only *their soueraigne Lord*, but *the Lord of their riches*, and that they themselves are *but the stewards of God*, to employ and dispense them according to his will.” (148.)

“Perkins recognises that the poor who are victims of circumstances have a legitimate claim, indeed a right, to the material resources necessary to sustain them.” (156.) He deals at length with the needs of the truly poor, and the support they need from those who have plenty. Finally, Perkins “saw as fundamental the need to recognise human dignity at all levels of society. In a period of severe economic distress such as the mid-1590s, he saw that economic greed, corruption, and shoddy dealing could only lead to widespread disaster. His argument is that honest, focused, socially responsible, and legal economic activity could lead to a more just society.” (166f.)

Chapter 7: “Attacked and Defended”, deals with the Roman Catholics, mainly William Bishop, who attacked Perkins’ writings, and also those who defended Perkins against those attacks.

Chapter 8: “Legacy”. The final Chapter considers the legacy Perkins left to the Church.

Perkins occupies a special place in early modern English religious history. He was not only one of the favourite religious authors of those whom some contemporaries and later and later historians have called Puritans, but he was also profoundly influential among mainstream members of the English Church, both clerical and lay. (215.)

Patterson’s book about Perkins is easy and well worth reading. Although he wrote of Perkins’ theology, “The idea of a covenant of grace is a prominent example. The idea was not new in Perkins’ work, since it had become a part of Reformed thought. Furthermore, it was anchored in the early English Reformation through the writings of William Tyndale.” (208.) But Patterson does not mention the many other places where Perkins’ theology is an echo of Tyndale’s.

Rev Dr Ralph S. Werrell

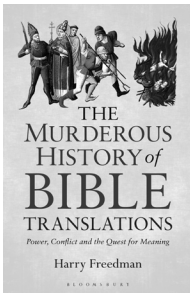
Honorary Research Fellow, The University of Birmingham

1 Perkins, *A Golden Chane*, sig. Vii. verso

2 Perkins, *Prophetica*, 23; *The Arte of Prophecyng*, 28

3 Perkins, *The Whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience*, 528. (The italicised portions are so printed in the text.)





## **The Murderous History of Bible Translations Power, Conflict and the Quest for Meaning.**

Harry Freedman

Bloomsbury Continuum (2016) 248pp £20

Hardback ISBN 978 1-4729-2167-3

Also available as an eBook

Harry Freedman does not easily fit into any academic or career category, having qualifications in psychology, philosophy and Aramaic, and having had varied employment. He has written several books including studies in *The Talmud and the Gospels*, a novel, and advice on getting a job in a time of recession.

His latest publication can be taken more seriously than the attention grabbing title might suggest but, as is made clear in the Introduction, this is not an academic study or presentation of new research. Freedman sums up his purpose as telling ‘the story of those for whom the idea of a Bible that ordinary people could read was so important that they were willing to give up their time, their security, often even their lives’. He admits to leaving out others because ‘they managed to remain free from controversy, or because their story adds little to what has already been said’.<sup>1</sup>

Tyndale Society members will no doubt judge how seriously they can take the book by looking at the chapter incorrectly titled ‘The *Murder* of Tyndale’.<sup>2</sup>

Freedman pays tribute to David Daniell’s scholarship in the matter of Tyndale and acknowledges him as the principal source for his summary of Tyndale’s life and work. Thus his account is generally correct. There are statements given as fact which are in reality possible but uncertain (e.g. that Tyndale spent some time at Cambridge, and that he sought support from the Steelyard merchants). Slightly curiously Freedman suggests that Tyndale was unwise not to have accepted Henry VIII’s invitation to return to England with Stephen Vaughan and some Tyndalians might wish to engage with his statement that ‘Tyndale’s version scarcely approaches the majesty and poetic style of the King James Bible.’, but then both these views are legitimate opinions. Probably the point on which the author lays himself open to criticism in this chapter is that, in his concern to emphasise suffering for a Biblical translation, he does not draw out the fact that punishment was generally for heresy. The issues of a Bible in English and heresy were certainly inter-linked but one may question his comment on the burning of Bilney and Bayfield that the ‘murderous age

of Bible translations had reached its peak.<sup>3</sup>

On balance the newcomer to Tyndale would gain a reasonably accurate picture from Chapter 6 which may encourage Tyndalians to read the sections concerning topics with which they are less familiar.

In the remaining twelve chapters the book introduces the reader to a whole variety of translations into several languages. Some of the examples will be familiar to most of us but others are much less well known. The first of three sections begins with the Septuagint and other Greek translations concluding with Origen's *Hexapla*, followed by Aramaic, Latin, Arabic and Slavic translations. The Medieval section takes the reader from the Anglo-Saxon period to King James via an assortment of translations, some obvious, e.g. those of John Wycliffe, Martin Luther, William Tyndale, but others less known, e.g. translations in Yiddish and Spanish. The final section takes the story on from King James to the present day, drawing attention in particular to attempts at making the Bible more meaningful, by up-dating the language, or more inclusive, with the danger of re-writing passages to suit some view on gender or sexuality.

Freedman has written a book around numerous episodes of Christian, Biblically related, history which have grabbed his attention. Some of these will be very familiar to Tyndale Society members but any reader will almost certainly discover people and translations of which they were previously unaware. This is a book which can be dipped into rather than having to be read from cover to cover.

For readers who are intrigued by an episode and want to follow it up there are notes and bibliography. Unfortunately, whether deliberately or in error, many of the notes cite books without adding the relevant page number(s). Mentioning errors, Cuthbert Tunstall would no doubt be pleased to read that he was *Archbishop* of London! <sup>4</sup>

Brian Buxton

1 p.3.

2 p.101 ff.

3 pp. 101, 104 107, 110, 149 & Note 1.

4 p. 106.

## What are you reading?



### **The Great Humanists : An Introduction**

Jonathan Arnold

I.B.Tauris London & New York 2011

ISBN 978 1 84885 082 8

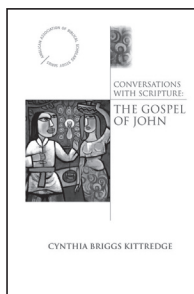
PB £18.99

Dr Eunice Burton

How I wish that this book had been available 70 years ago! I was then a 'wartime child / teenager' living on the south coast of England and experiencing food rationing, clothes coupons, restricted transport, blackout, little radio, no TV, frequent bombing and the ever-present fear of invasion from across the Channel. David Daniell's definition of wartime children was 'they saved every piece of paper, every piece of string, ate all their meals and READ!' I read avidly during those long, dark evenings - mostly the English classics and one of my favourites was *The Cloister and the Hearth* by Charles Reade, 1861. This is the story of the parents of Erasmus: the young Gerard of Tergou, destined for the church, but whose artistic talents are recognised by Margaret Van Eyck, is secretly betrothed before witnesses to the beautiful Margaret Brandt. Malicious enemies force Gerard to flee his country for Italy, and while travelling he is falsely informed that Margaret is dead. So Gerard becomes the priest Clement and he is later granted the living at Tergou. Meanwhile Margaret has had Gerard's son, a child prodigy, who is later known to the world as the scholar and linguist Erasmus. The subsequent meeting of Clement and Margaret demonstrates the many conflicting emotions associated with love, separation through treachery, duty ..... But I wanted to know more about Erasmus: Sunday School prizes, mainly biographies of the Reformers, did not include Erasmus!

Then years in medical school, study for postgraduate degrees, work as a consultant surgeon in the NHS, and interest in medical ethics precluded engrossing 'hobbies' until retirement in 1995. I attended the *Let There be Light* exhibition in London organised by David Daniell and became a member of the Tyndale Society: so, after 50 years, I renewed acquaintance with Erasmus and his peers through the excellent lectures and conferences arranged by the society.

*The Great Humanists* selects leading figures from Italy, France, Spain, Germany, the Low Countries (Erasmus and Agricola) and England (Colet, More, Linacre, Grocyn and Lupset) for detailed study, including tables of dates, events and key works. There is a useful appendix summarising the lives of other notable Humanists, a glossary regarding other eminent scholars, extensive notes, bibliography and a good index. But it was the *Introduction* which I found most helpful as it sets the medieval scene and relates the growth of Humanism to the context of philosophy, scholarship (including the contribution of women), theology and the Reformation in Europe. The lucid style of the writing makes easy reading and it is difficult to put the book down!



**Conversations with Scripture:  
The Gospel of John**

Cynthia Briggs Kittredge  
Morehouse Pub. NY, 2007.  
ISBN 978-0-8192-2249-7

Mary Clow

This short book (only 92 pages of text, plus notes) is more a series of deeply perceptive musings about the Fourth Gospel than a detailed scholarly study. The Very Rev Kittredge is Dean of the Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest in Austin, Texas, and her doctorate is from Harvard University. She began her academic career not in theology but in literature: ‘Part of me still wants to be a professor of poetry’ she confesses in the introduction.

The book is arranged in six chapters covering a sequence of themes: John in History; the Prologue; Signs; the Jewish Tradition; the Beloved Community; Easter in John.

The Prologue receives the most detailed analysis as Dr Kittredge separates the poetic ‘hymn’ from the prose commentary embedded in it: ‘The law indeed was given through Moses: grace and truth came through Jesus Christ’. The theme of the whole Gospel lies here in the identification of Jesus as *Logos*, the Word, reflecting the great tradition of Wisdom literature of the Old Testament, and as Light, echoing the Creation story of Genesis. These identifications occur only in John’s Prologue.

Many other features are unique to John: Nicodemus, the Samaritan woman, the sick man at the pool, the man born blind, Mary, Martha, Lazarus of Bethany, ‘doubting’ Thomas appear little or are unknown to the synoptic

gospels. Most astonishingly, the Last Supper is absent in John. Dr Kittredge sets the institution of the eucharist at the Feeding of the Five Thousand (the only miracle that appears in all four gospels) with its interpretation by Jesus in his sermon on body and blood, given the next day in the Capernaum synagogue (John 6: 26-59).

Tyndalians reading the NRSV translation miss many beloved details (and wince at awkward phrases). The country *lad* with the basket of 5 loaves and 2 small fishes has become an ordinary *boy* (interestingly a *little boy* in the Geneva Bible).

Dr Kittredge refers to his ‘meager lunch’, but surely rather a lot for one child? I had always imagined he was selling his bread, and worried if the disciples paid him correctly. Now I see the homemade barley loaves and fresh-caught fish as gifts brought to Jesus, and therefore making an opening for the miracle, in the way that all the miracles are instigated by a simple reaching out: ‘Ask and you shall find’.

A much more important translation difference is that in Tyndale:

*Jesus took the bread, and gave thanks,  
and gave to the disciples,  
and the disciples to them that were set down.  
And likewise of the fishes, as much as they would.’*

John 6:11 is the same (with slight variations in word order) in the Geneva and KJB. But the NRSV has:

*Jesus took the loaves,  
and when he had given thanks,  
he distributed them...’*

I wrote and asked Dr Kittredge *why* there was this change, unfootnoted. She kindly replied:

‘The NRSV determines that the likely original text did not include the disciples, but the reference was added at a later point to conform to the usage in the synoptic parallels. And it looks like the NRSV editors did not think it was significant enough to list it in the footnotes as usual.’



## How I met William Tyndale

Marilyn Hamlin Palasky

I first 'met' William Tyndale when I heard about him as a man whose life purpose was to put the bible in the pocket of every plowboy. I had my own context for understanding what a book in the hip pocket might mean to someone plowing...

Around 1970, I was a young actress, away from home working in summer theatre in Allenbury, Pennsylvania. My one day off - our 'dark' day in the theatre - was spent touring apple orchards and truck farms, and in one I happened upon a garage sale where for 75 cents I purchased a little copy of *Pilgrim's Progress*. It had a rough leather binding sewn with waxed double thread, and was worn into a concave shape that was quite pronounced. It would fit comfortably in a hip pocket.



My mother had been the baby of 13 children, born on a 100-acre farm near Rowan, Iowa. She told wonderful bedtime stories about her rural childhood, which she wrote out in pencil, with her own illustrations. One chapter told of their white plowhorse Prince, who "*took to laying down in the field when Dad and the boys stopped for lunch and a rest*". Their quiet time became impossibly difficult one day when the old horse absolutely refused to get up, no matter what inducements - previously effective - were offered. In their exasperated need to get on with the plowing, the boys started a fire right next to the reclining animal, thinking the heat would surely get him up. It did not. The smouldering flames had to be quickly stamped out. The beloved horse was retired and from that day forward known as 'Old Smokey'.

When I was introduced to the Tyndale Society I had just earned a doctorate in psychoanalysis with a thesis on "The return of pre-verbal processes in adulthood".

Learning that Shakespeare's English was influenced by Tyndale's bible made me curious to hear what David Daniell had to say about the connection. For me, the practice of modern psychoanalysis is to facilitate a person to put

thoughts and feelings into words, talking things through until the ineffable (pre-verbal) is reached, spoken and experienced. It was thrilling, therefore, to hear David Daniell speak eloquently of Tyndale's vision of going directly to the beginning of 'the Word' so that each human being may know and understand for himself. Later, 'No Tyndale, no Shakespeare' made perfect sense. Tyndale's gift, beginning with the word in our pocket, makes us all plowboys in the field.



## Dates for Your Diary

### 2016

**Thursday, 15th December 12:30-1:30 pm**

Tyndale Society Annual Service of Lessons & Carols  
St Mary Abchurch, Abchurch Lane, City of London  
(nearest Tubes: Bank/Mansion House)

Followed by a Reception. All are Welcome with family & friends.

### 2017

**Saturday pm, 18th February** - *please save the date*

Event to celebrate the life and work of the late David Daniell  
Details of time and place in central London to be confirmed.



# The Tyndale Society (UK/EU/ROW)

## Membership 2016

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

Member Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Town: \_\_\_\_\_ Postcode \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

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

Bank/Building Society Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Branch Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Post Code: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Account Holder: \_\_\_\_\_

Account No: \_\_\_\_\_ Sort Code: \_\_ / \_\_ / \_\_

Please pay: **The Tyndale Society, National Westminster Bank, Branch Sort Code: 60-70-03 Account No: 86110683**  
**EITHER** £22.50 PER YEAR (For Single Membership)  
**OR** £45.00 PER YEAR (Membership including Reformation)

Amount in words: \_\_\_\_\_

Commencing on: \_\_\_\_\_ (Day/Month/Year)

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

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

MEMBER SIGNATURE: \_\_\_\_\_ DATE: \_\_ / \_\_ / \_\_

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

or PayPal to tyndale.society@aol.co.uk





# The Tyndale Society (USA/Canada)

## Membership 2016

Please complete & return to: Lloyd W. Bowers Jr.  
200 East 66th Street, #E905, New York, NY 10065-9175 USA

Member Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_

State: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip Code: \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone Number \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

**Please select your chosen membership category:**

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

**OR**

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

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

SIGNED: \_\_\_\_\_ DATE: \_\_/\_\_/\_\_

or PayPal to [tyndale.society@aol.co.uk](mailto:tyndale.society@aol.co.uk)

## Tyndale Society Officers:

<b>Founder</b>	Professor David Daniell
<b>Chairman</b>	Mary Clow          maryclow@aol.com
<b>Vice-Chair</b>	USA                  Dr Barry T. Ryan
	Europe                Dr Guido Latré
<b>Accountants</b>	Larking, Gowen, Norwich, UK.
<b>Membership Secretary</b>	Gillian Guest          tyndale.society@aol.co.uk

### Key Contacts

<b>Membership UK</b>	Gillian Guest, 28 St Paul's Crescent, Botley, Oxford OX2 9AG, UK. <i>tyndale.society@aol.co.uk</i>
<b>Membership USA &amp; Canada</b>	Lloyd W Bowers Jr 200 East 66th Street, #E905 New York, NY10065-9175, USA
<b>European Representative</b>	Valerie Offord <i>valerie.offord@bluewin.ch</i>
<b>Ploughboy Group</b>	Rev. David Ireson, 50 Camperdown Terrace, Exmouth, Devon, EX8 1EQ +44 (0) 1395 263307 <i>david-ireson@outlook.com</i>
<b>Interim Webmaster</b>	Rev. Richard Carr <i>carr.nelmes@tiscali.co.uk</i> Website: <a href="http://www.tyndale.org">www.tyndale.org</a>





ISSN: 1357-4167