

# The Tyndale Society Journal



No. 30  
*January 2006*

## About the Tyndale Society

*Registered UK Charity Number 1020405*

Founded in 1995, five hundred and one years after Tyndale's birth, and with members worldwide, the Tyndale Society exists to tell people about William Tyndale's great work and influence, and to pursue study of the man who gave us our English Bible.

Members receive 2 issues of the *Tyndale Society Journal* a year, invitations to social events, lectures and conferences, and 50% discount on subscriptions to *Reformation*.

To join the Society or to request more information please contact our Membership Secretary (details on inside back cover of this Journal).

For more information about the Tyndale Society visit: [www.tyndale.org](http://www.tyndale.org)

### Trustees

Prof. David Daniell, Sir Rowland Whitehead, Bt, Mr Peter Baker, Ms Rochelle Givoni, Ms Mary Clow, Ms Charlotte Dewhurst, Rev. David Ireson, Prof. Simon Oliver, Dr Barry Ryan, Ms Jennifer Bekemeier

### Patrons

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Rt. Rev. and Rt. Hon. Lord Carey of Clifton, Baroness James of Holland Park, Lord Neill of Bladen QC, Prof. Sir Christopher Zeeman, Mr David Zeidberg.

### Advisory Board

Sir Anthony Kenny, Pro Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, Prof. Sir Christopher Zeeman, former Principal, Hertford College, Oxford, Mr Anthony Smith, President, Magdalen College, Oxford, Mrs Penelope Lively, Mr Philip Howard, The Times, Sister Anne O'Donnell, Catholic University of America, Washington DC, USA, Prof. John Day, St Olaf's College, MN, USA, Prof. Peter Auksi, University of Western Ontario, Canada, Dr Guido Latré, UCL and K.U. Leuven, Belgium, Prof. David Norton, University of Wellington, New Zealand, Mrs Gillian Graham, Emeritus Hon. Secretary.

## Tyndale Society Publications

### Reformation

Editor: Prof. Andrew Hadfield, *School of Humanities, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9QN, UK. Phone: +44(0)1273 877627 Fax: +44(0)1273 873797*

*email: a.hadfield@sussex.ac.uk*

Commenced Publication 1996 • 1 issue a year • ISSN: 1357 - 4175

### The Tyndale Society Journal

Editor: Mrs Valerie Offord, *Le Grouet, 31 route de Pre-Marais, 1233 Bernex, Switzerland; Phone/Fax: +41(0) 22 777 18 58, email: valerie.offord@bluewin.ch*

Editorial Assistant: Mrs Judith Munzinger, *email: jmunzinger@compuserve.com*

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

Cover Illustration by Paul Jackson • Design by Paul Barron Graphics • Copyright of all material remains with the contributors.

## Contents

The Tyndale Society Journal ♦ No. 30

*January 2006*

Instructions for submission of articles		4
Valerie Offord	<i>Editorial</i>	5
<b>Articles</b>		
Simon Oliver	<i>William Tyndale and the Politics of Grace</i>	8
Donald Millus	<i>The Wycliffite De Ecclesia et Membris Ejus: English Prose and Tyndalian Concerns</i>	21
<b>Reports</b>		
Eunice Burton	<i>Eleventh Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture</i>	28
Eunice Burton	<i>Fourth Oxford Tyndale Conference</i>	32
Ann Manly	<i>Conference Concert by the English Chamber Choir</i>	47
<b>Letters to the Editor</b>		
Victor Perry, Neil Inglis, William Cooper.		49
<b>Review articles</b>		
David Daniell	<i>Some Recent Books by Rowan Williams</i>	51
Michael Smythe	<i>A Fatal Confusion Revisited</i>	57
<b>Book Reviews</b>		
Neil Inglis	<i>The Emergence of Standard English</i>	63
William Cooper	<i>The Books of King Henry VIII and his wives</i>	65
Alexandra Walsham	<i>Patterns of Piety</i>	67
<b>North American News</b>		
Jenny Bekemeier	<i>Report</i>	69
John Hellstern	<i>Census of First Edition King James Bible</i>	70
<b>London Walk and Study Day</b>		
71		
<b>Exhibition Reviews and News</b>		
Derrick Holmes	<i>The Cambridge Illuminations Exhibition</i>	72
Donald Millus	<i>Thomas More Play</i>	75
<b>Annual Tyndale Lecture Gloucester Cathedral</b>		
76		
<b>Press Gleanings</b>		
Compiled by Valerie Offord		
	<i>Archbishop of Canterbury's speech for Rt Rev. John Sentamu</i>	77
	<i>Innovation from Australia</i>	80
	<i>Gosnold addendum</i>	80
	<i>The 100-Minute Bible</i>	81

Cost of adverts	82
<b>Ploughboy Notes</b>	
David Ireson <i>Some personal reflections</i>	83
<b>Sightings of Tyndale</b>	
Peter Wyton <i>The Ploughman's Printer</i>	85
Victor Perry <i>Tyndale at Emmanuel</i>	85
<b>Lichfield Tyndale Conference 2006</b>	86
<b>Items for Sale</b>	88
<b>Society Notes</b>	
Rochelle Givoni <i>Report</i>	89
David Daniell <i>Letter to members</i>	90
Deborah Pollard <i>Website news</i>	91
<b>Requests from the editor</b>	92
<b>Dates for Your Diary</b>	93

### Submission of articles for the journal

Please send items to the Editor at the address on the inside front cover of this issue. Submissions can be made on paper (post or fax) or electronically (floppy disk for PC or email). Electronic submissions should be in the form of a word-processor document file (preferably Word, although we can deal with some versions of WordPerfect), and a version in plain text or Rich Text format. For email submissions, the document or Rich Text files should if possible be sent as attachments and the body of the message should contain the article as simple plain text. However, in case of difficulty with email attachments, it is acceptable to send the article solely as plain text in the body of the message. The deadline for submission of articles to the next issue is **Friday 9 June 2006**.

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

## Editorial

Valerie Offord

*Feast of the Epiphany 2006*

*Beholde, there cam wyse men from the est to Jerusalem saynge: where is he that is borne kynge of the Jues? we have sene his starre in the est, and are come to worship hym.*  
(From The Gospell of St Matthew in William Tyndale's New Testament 1526)

Epiphany has become associated in the western Christian Church with the quest of the Magi (seers, sages, wise men, kings) journeying from the east following a mysterious star to become the first gentiles to do homage to Christ. It is therefore a feast of mysterious adventurous journeying both in the intellectual and physical sense.

Little is known of these Magi, literally wise men and specifically the three wise men of the East, who brought gifts to the infant Jesus. In fact, they are mentioned only in one Gospel that of St Matthew. The idea that they were kings first appears in Christian tradition in the writings of Tertullian. It was generally accepted from the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards and although the New Testament account says nothing of their number it has become by tradition three - Melchior, Gaspar and Balthazar. They brought with them their three solemn gifts of mystic meaning: gold as the emblem of royalty, frankincense in token of divinity, and myrrh in prophetic allusion to the persecution unto death which awaited the man of sorrows. In the Middle Ages these wise men/kings were venerated as saints and the Milanese claimed to possess their relics brought from Constantinople in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. In 1162 Barbarossa took them to Germany and they are now enshrined in Cologne Cathedral. Whether they existed or not it all makes a fascinating travel story and adds to the excitement of Epiphany which was originally a celebration in honour of Christ's baptism and in the fourth century ranked with Easter and Pentecost as one of the three principal festivals of the church.

In many ways the activities and writings of our Society has reflected this spirit of searching for the truth through intellectual journeying, investigation and reflection. The title of the **Fourth Oxford Tyndale Conference** '*Opening the Word to the World*' echoed the quest for the truth so earnestly sought by the original wise men. A group of sages travelled in hope from the ends of the earth and gathered at Hertford College, Oxford this past September to deliberate on and expound their research on a wealth of 16<sup>th</sup> century biblical topics. The excellent detailed report of that happening by Eunice Burton is to be found in this issue. You will also find two of the many

excellent papers delivered at Oxford published in full – *William Tyndale and the Politics of Grace* by Rev. Dr Simon Oliver and *The Wycliffite' De Ecclesia et Membris Ejus': English Prose and Tyndalian Concerns* by Prof. Donald Millus. Ann Manly has written an account of the adventurous musical concert given by our friends, the English Chamber Choir, in Hertford College Chapel.

Talking of music Canon Lucy Winkett launched us into uncharted territory when she delivered in spell-binding style the **Eleventh Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture** entitled *From iPod to Evensong: Listening to the Music of Scripture*. Again this has been ably written up by our hard-working reporter, Eunice Burton.

Has joining the EU finally opened the eyes of researchers in England to lands overseas? Prof. Diarmaid MacCulloch, never guilty of this 'tunnel' vision, broadened the ideas of many English Reformation scholars by discussing the significance of reformation thought and events on the continental mainland of Europe, most particularly in Zurich, Unfortunately his **Eleventh Annual Hertford Tyndale Lecture** *The Latitude of the Church of England* is to be printed elsewhere (on the continent!) but he has promised a synopsis for a future issue of the *TSJ*.

In *North American News* Jennifer Bekemeier reports that the American Office has experienced a membership growth of over 18% in the past year and encouragingly many of the delegates and speakers at the Oxford Conference were from America. Another Virginia Conference is planned for September 2007. Perhaps we in Europe should start planning our vacations around it!

The voyage of intellectual discovery is pursued by David Daniell in his review article on the some of the recently-published books of our patron, Archbishop Rowan Williams. Another book review of James Carley's *The Books of King Henry VIII* reminds us that another king in the 16<sup>th</sup> century closely studied his vast collection of books, as the frequent marginalia in his own hand testify. According to the reviewer, William Cooper, *'this has to produce a profound change in the way many of us have been taught to think of Henry'*.

In *Press Gleanings* we have printed the Archbishop of Canterbury's speech on the confirmation of the election of Rt. Rev. John Sentamu as Archbishop of York. It was delivered on 5 October, the eve of William Tyndale's martyrdom. In *Ploughboy Notes* David Ireson shares his personal reflections on what it means to be an evangelical liberal. Our readers have spotted a poem on Tyndale and yet another stained glass window to feature in our regular column *Sightings of Tyndale*.

There are many interesting events planned for this year and next so please

consult *Dates for Your Diary* and contact the organisers to sign on for them. As a Society with no paid staff we have to rely on this column as our means of communication – extra mailings cost money. The London Study Day should be most rewarding. It had been planned before the inspiring lecture given by Andrew Hope on *The Publication History of William Tyndale's English New Testament* – the rather prosaic title belies the fascinating detective story that was unravelled on that occasion. The Study day will involve walking to some significant London sites, and we will certainly be more aware of the publishing network (as opposed to the smuggling of books) to which Andrew drew our attention in his paper.

This Journal only appears thanks to the support given to the editor by the Society's readers and sympathisers. My special thanks go to Judith Munzinger who, as always, has acted as wise counsellor and guardian of good spelling and correct punctuation: to our publisher, Paul Barron, who has yet again turned bad layout and ideas into pleasing copy; to Robin Offord, who seamlessly undertook the replacement of my computer software and hardware, thus significantly reducing the bi-annual panic level; to our ever efficient events reporter, Eunice Burton; and to a newcomer to our team, Angela Butler. She was completely enchanted by her proof-reading duties for the James Carley book review and immediately contacted him and his family whom she knows well! Incidentally she also remarked that she found the copy of the *TSJ* a deal more stimulating than the United Nations articles she used to deal with professionally. So take heed - interesting copy motivates the workforce.

This first issue of the New Year witnesses the retirement of our distinguished, enthusiastic and erudite chairman, Prof. David Daniell, who has led us so successfully towards enlightenment over the past ten years. We thank him for the journey he undertook with the Society and note that he will continue to accompany us as emeritus chairman. We welcome wholeheartedly Mary Clow who has nobly agreed to take on the chairmanship. May the Society, as the sages of old, continue to explore and journey along new routes in search of the truth.

*Fairer than the sun at morning was the star that told his birth  
To the lands their God announcing seen in fleshly form on earth.*  
(Aurelius Clemens Prudentius 348-410)

## William Tyndale and the Politics of Grace<sup>1</sup>

The Rev. Dr Simon Oliver, University of Wales

*A paper given at the Fourth Oxford Tyndale Conference, Hertford College, Oxford September 2005*

It will be pleasing to everyone at this conference that William Tyndale is increasingly well known to the public as the first to translate and print the Bible in English. That being said, while I was Chaplain of Hertford College I usually heard him described with horrible inaccuracy by tour guides as simply ‘the first to translate the Bible’. St Jerome and others might have a view on that.

The beauty and erudition of Tyndale’s translation are now widely recognised as forming a seminal contribution – perhaps the seminal contribution – to the development of literature in English, and theology and liturgy in the English-speaking world. He is perhaps also well-known for bringing the worst out of Sir Thomas More.

In addition to his achievement in translating and publishing the scriptures in English, Tyndale also wrote around 40 short works which one might regard as theology-proper, whether they be explicitly concerned with particular doctrines – the sacraments or the nature of Christian obedience, for example – or whether they address theological issues through commentary on, and exposition of, a particular book or passage of scripture. Yet it is only very recently that Tyndale the theologian has drawn any significant attention. Is there any merit in paying more attention to Tyndale’s contribution, or is he only derivative in his theologising, merely expanding what are essentially Lutheran ideas? Might we think of Tyndale as simply the first tentative expression of a modern or puritan theological outlook that was to flourish much later in the Reformation and the Enlightenment?

In this lecture, I would like to suggest that Tyndale is not just a first intimation of the mature ‘Reformation Theology’ and that he merits far more than passing consideration as a theologian. I will follow other Reformation commentators such as Carl Trueman<sup>2</sup> in describing how Tyndale is quite different from the prolific theologian whose works he translated and upon whom he is often thought to be very dependent, Martin Luther. I would like to suggest that, in certain important respects, Tyndale is very traditionally and genuinely Augustinian in his theological writings. The Catholic tradition which he so roundly rejects is not that of St Augustine or even, in some respects such as the doctrine of grace, St Thomas Aquinas. The tradition Tyndale rejects is, ironically, the same tradition rejected by Thomas More and Erasmus, namely the nominalist and voluntarist scholasticism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which

so dominated the Catholic schools. In this later medieval period, Tyndale was right to note that quarrels over Aristotle had overtaken knowledge and exposition of the Church’s book, the Bible. It was a constant complaint from humanist reformers – and Thomas More – that the prevalence of plodding dialectic had eclipsed the obvious need for rhetoric, translation and commentary.<sup>3</sup> Christian teaching had been reduced to highly technical debates amongst a theological virtuosi. Moreover, the Christian life was characterised by a voluntaristic ethic which had been articulated clearly as long ago as the very early fourteenth century in the works of Duns Scotus, one which emphasised the power of the human will, exercised through good works, to make the way to salvation.

In examining how Tyndale responds to this situation, I do, however, want to keep in careful focus the style and intent of his theologising. In particular, one should note at the outset that Tyndale was absolutely focussed and consistent in his priorities throughout his career; his theologising and his work as a translator are of a piece. Tyndale wrote short theological tracts which are, of course, in the vernacular and generally of a length which would fit them for pocket-sized printed editions. Tyndale’s tracts are clearly structured and simply written. They expound biblical ideas and themes and they have a crucial purpose: to teach the reader how to approach and read scripture. One of the central criticisms which Tyndale and other reformers made of the late medieval church is that it did not know how to read the text of scripture. Verses were dissected out of context down to the finest minutiae. Along with others influenced by humanism, Tyndale argued that it was the sense of an entire text – a letter or a gospel, and in the end the whole body of scripture, rather than isolated verses – which the Christian should glean, and Christ is the essential key to reading both the Old and New Testaments.<sup>4</sup>

So the hermeneutics of the Bible – how to read and interpret scripture – is a principal concern of Tyndale’s theology. It is therefore unsurprising that perhaps his most significant work is an intense reflection upon a particular passage of the Bible, what we now call the parable of the unjust steward in Luke 16. *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* was written in 1528. As we will see, by careful reading of various scriptural texts, Tyndale unfolds a theological ethics and doctrine of grace, and we can detect much else besides. It was intended not for the theological virtuosi, but for the ploughboy.

With this clear pastoral intention in mind, I should like to address three themes which are prominent in Tyndale’s theological writings: justification, ethics and covenant. In particular, I would like to point to the way in which justification, ethics and covenant combine to form a view of our salvation in which we are enabled to partake of God’s work of drawing us to himself.



In other words, grace is not something that is 'done to us', but a work in which we participate. What I hope we will see is that Christian theology is an entirely practical rather than theoretical science for Tyndale, and that he is concerned with the kinds of people we should be. The form of that participation in the salvific work of God, I will suggest is, for Tyndale, proclamation. The scriptures proclaim, our deeds proclaim, the sacraments proclaim the justifying grace of faith by which alone we are saved from the evil and violence which scars our humanity. So having discussed the way in which justification, ethics and covenant are combined to form an image of the Christian partaking in what is fundamentally Christ's work of salvation by faith, I will examine briefly the way in which this informs Tyndale's politics of grace, namely his understanding of the nature of the Christian commonwealth. I begin with the issue which, partly under the influence of humanism and a greater focus on the individual, came to characterise theological reflection in the first decades of the sixteenth century: soteriology - the doctrine of salvation - and particularly the justification of the individual Christian.

### Justification

In describing what is at once distinctive and quite traditional about Tyndale's understanding of justification, it will be helpful to draw some comparisons with Martin Luther, upon whom Tyndale, in this area of Christian doctrine, is thought to be heavily reliant. This is a necessarily truncated and oversimplified description of Luther's complex view.

Early in his career, Luther had believed that a precondition for our being justified before God is that we perform good works. Following Augustine, it became clear to Luther that, after the Fall, the performance of good works to bring about our justification is simply not within our power. None of us can bring about our own release from those habits of thought and practice which diminish our shared humanity. After his study of *Romans*, Luther came to see that God can impute to us the righteousness necessary for our justification. Rather than God rewarding individuals according to their wholly inadequate merits, God gives righteousness to us in Christ as a free gift. This gift is what we call grace. This shift in emphasis in Luther's thought - from the righteousness of God which condemns us because it only reveals our sinful frailty to a righteousness which is given to us in the form of faith because God is love - this shift took place some time around 1515, the year in which Tyndale graduated from Magdalen Hall, one of the two institutions which became Hertford College. This was to become the mantra of the reformation: justification by faith alone, faith being understood as an unearned gift. Therefore justification

through or by faith, our salvation, is an initiative of God, not humanity.<sup>5</sup>

So far, so Augustinian. But Luther was to add a twist. Perhaps something which concerned Luther was that, even after the gift of justifying faith had been received by the believer, that person could lapse and fall away from God's righteousness. Against the Calvinists, both Luther and Tyndale agree on this point: justification has no unconditional security. This led Luther to develop the idea, expounded particularly in his *Romans* lectures of 1515-16, that Christ's righteousness, although given, remains alien to the human. It is imputed to the believer rather than, as Augustine had taught, becoming part of the believer's very person. We remain sinners who are clothed with Christ's righteousness. When looking upon ourselves, we perceive a sinner, but God looks upon us and sees the garments of his goodness, and thereby a justified sinner. Thus, for Luther, that imputed righteousness could be lost. This allows Luther to account for the persistence of sin within the righteous believer, while also providing a means by which one might describe the progress of the Christian life in terms of a deepening, gradual righteousness which more slowly becomes part of our identity.

In the hands of later reformers, Luther's doctrine was to become known as 'forensic justification' because it has certain legal overtones. The justification of the sinner involves God's pronouncement of judgement in the heavenly court. The process of being made righteous, known as sanctification, is then quite separate from that pronouncement. For Augustine, the whole is singular: we are quite simply sanctified by God. For Luther, our righteousness, at least at the outset, is merely an appearance, so we are treated by God as if we were righteous.

Turning now to examine Tyndale's view as this is expounded particularly in his later work *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, we will see that his understanding of faith and justification is much closer to Augustine than Luther. *The Parable of Wicked Mammon*, the first tract to be printed bearing Tyndale's name, is a work that is usually thought to be based very heavily on Luther's 1522 sermon for the ninth Sunday after Trinity. In fact, the legalistic overtones of Lutheran imputed justification are quite clearly not of a kind with Tyndale's understanding of the gratuitous grace of sanctification.

The parable of the unjust steward upon which *The Parable of Wicked Mammon* reflects tells of a manager who is accused of squandering the property of a rich man. The manager faces the sack, so he calls the rich man's debtors and reduces their debts dramatically, thus making friends for himself before he is thrown into unemployment by his master. The manager is commended for his shrewd actions, namely his works. From this and many other passages, Tyndale gleans an understanding of the relationship between faith

and works, and he does so by focussing very directly on the works of the manager in Christ's parable. This was a central theological question of the time: does the emphasis on *sola fide* negate the need for us to perform good works? Or is there some way of articulating the relationship between the two which does not entail that our salvation or justification is dependent upon our ability to perform good works?

Here is the essence of Tyndale's view in his own words.

*'This is therefore plain, and a sure conclusion, not to be doubted of, that there must be first in the heart of a man, before he do any good work, a greater and a preciouer thing than all the good works in the world, to reconcile him to God, to bring the love and favour of God to him, to make him love God again, to make him righteous and good in the sight of God... Or else how can he work any good work that should please God, if there were not some supernatural goodness in him, given of God freely, whereof the good work must spring? even as a sick man must first be healed or made whole, ere he can do the deeds of an whole man.'*

*(The Parable of the Wicked Mammon, p.50)*

Tyndale is not concerned with the imputation of goodness, but with the sanctification, namely the transformation, of the whole person. Notice the analogy with health: one cannot 'impute' health; rather, health constitutes the renewal of the essence or constitution of the whole person. Justification is imparted to us by God, not merely imputed, in such a way that it works not as something alien to human nature, but rather as the perfection of that nature. Such a notion is strikingly reminiscent of Aquinas's infused grace in the *prima secundae* of his *Summa Theologiae*.

This part of Tyndale's doctrine is not Christological in form, but pneumatological. It is the inner working of the Holy Spirit which brings about over time the sanctification of the believer.<sup>6</sup> The Spirit has a two-fold assurance, namely of sorrow over sin and desire to do the good, and these are both 'felt' by the believer. *'When a man feeleth that his heart consenteth unto the law of God'*, says Tyndale in *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, *'and feeleth himself meek, patient, courteous, and merciful to his neighbour, altered and fashioned like unto Christ; why should he doubt but that God hath forgiven him, and chosen him, and put his Spirit in him, though he never crome his sins into the priest's ear.'* As Donald Dean Smeeton points out, such a confidence in the subjective witness of the Holy Spirit is most certainly not Lutheran or Calvinist.<sup>7</sup> It might even remind us of the subjective and experiential outlook of much later liberal protestant theology which was to arise at the end of the nineteenth century.

Does such a subjective understanding of the working of the Spirit in us not present Tyndale with some real theological problems? When someone claims

to know through feeling that the Spirit is working within them, how could this have any significant meaning or implication for other Christians? Surely experience is too conditioned and variously interpreted to bring individuals into one corporate body, either political or ecclesial?

I will return to this question shortly, but in order to see why Tyndale's understanding of justification by faith does not end in isolated subjectivism, we must turn to his theological ethics, which flows directly from his doctrine of justification.

## Ethics

Like Luther, Tyndale regards faith which justifies as the precondition of good works. This is expressed most vividly by Tyndale in his discussion of Jesus' anointing by the woman at the house of Simon the Pharisee, told in *Luke* 7. The last verse of that passage reads: *'Wherefore I say unto thee: many sins are forgiven her, for she loved much.'* Tyndale explains in great detail that Jesus does not intend by this that, because this woman has loved much in anointing Jesus, her sins have been forgiven. Rather, what this means is that, because the woman's sins have been forgiven, she has received the grace which enables her to love much. It is not that in anointing Jesus the woman has worked to earn her forgiveness, but that her forgiveness has transformed her into a person of gracious love capable of such action as the anointing of Jesus.

This is the essence of Tyndale's ethics, and the contrast with the voluntarist ethics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and indeed with ethics in its more modern guise, is stark. For the voluntarists, good human actions tend to receive more praise if they involve an effort of will or the overcoming of temptation. This is how we tend popularly to think of good actions today: such works must involve some hint of heroism, some suggestion of cost or sacrifice, some reaction to the need or lack of another.

Not so with Tyndale. Following a much deeper tradition which reflects the Christian appropriation of Greek virtue ethics, Tyndale believes that, motivated by the gift of faith, our good works flow from us naturally and easily. In the *Prologue to Exodus*, he puts it thus: *'...that is, all good works and all gifts of grace spring out of him naturally, and by their own accord. Thou needest not to wrest good works out of him, as a man would wring verjuice out of crabs: nay they flow naturally out of him as springs out of rocks.'*

Tyndale does not suggest that, once we are justified by faith, we no longer need to combat sin. Our sanctification by the Spirit deepens as our nature is transformed. But the more our nature is transformed by God's justification of us in faith, the more easily and naturally will good works flow from us. The

contrast with modern ethics is striking. For Tyndale, ethics is not a matter of what we should do in a given situation, as if we only reflect on moral 'quandaries'. No: the ethical question is 'what kind of people should we be', not 'what should I do in situation 'x'?' This is a matter of the nature and character of the justified Christian, not a matter of casuistry or the abstract discussion of moral dilemmas. Neither is the good person the one with the most power to resist temptation. C. S. Lewis expressed this very well when he wrote that *'The whole purpose of the 'gospel', for Tyndale, is to deliver us from morality.'* In other words, Tyndale is not interested in 'morality', or moral philosophy, which is separated from reflection on the remainder of human nature and society, or the nature of God and the specifically Christian life. Christianity does not harbour 'values' or 'principles' or 'morality' which can be understood outside justification by faith.

We should now have some sense of how justification by the grace of faith, the work of the Spirit and ethics fit together in Tyndale's theology. But it remains unclear what prevents the life of faith from becoming a subjective experience of the working of the Spirit in the life of an individual. What, for Tyndale, is the basis of the church and the commonwealth?

Returning to *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, we can glean some kind of answer. The grace of God given in faith is understood by Tyndale as a gratuitous pure gift. It is not a mere reaction to our sin or earned by us, but its effect is to overcome the division between humanity and the divine. This is, however, not the only gift of God. In fact, gift is the basis of Tyndale's doctrine of creation: all things, our very selves, nature and all, are ultimately gifts of God. In order to remain as such, they must flow through us and be passed on to others. The gifts of God are indiscriminately and abundantly given, so we have no 'rights' over this rather than that. As Rowan Williams points out, this establishes a debt not between God and humanity, but between persons.<sup>8</sup> Why? Because the gifts I receive are not mine to hoard, and they're not mine by right, but they belong as well to others as to myself. I owe it to others to pass on my gifts in whatever form, for example by passing on knowledge by teaching. The use of these gifts, and in particular that of wealth, is Tyndale's concern in *The Parable of Wicked Mammon*. Like the gift of faith which overcomes the division between God and humanity brought about by sin, so 'wicked mammon' should be put to use in overcoming the division between ourselves caused by our sinfulness towards each other, and in particular the division of rich and poor caused by human greed. We are to use wealth to build friendships, and particularly with the poor, in the same way that the infinite wealth of God overcomes the division between himself and the pov-

erty of our human nature as he makes of us friends. The work of the Spirit, which earlier we characterised as potentially subjective and individualising, is in fact for Tyndale the work of making us supremely aware of the gratuity of God and our gifted nature in such a way that we are moved to acts of generosity which overcome the division of wealth and poverty (whether spiritual or material) so forming the bonds of common-wealth and Church. The work of the Spirit, then, does not turn us towards interiority, towards our own subjective experience. Quite the reverse: the work of the Spirit, stirring in us our sense of giftedness and debt to each other, points us outwards, to relations with each other, to friendship with the poor.

This sense of the intimacy of God's work in us is then reflected in the intimacy of our relations with those closest to us. However, this belies a particular reading of a crucial feature of Tyndale's theology, arising with increasing clarity in the later part of his career: the theology of covenant. Although a detached legalism might be missing from Tyndale's understanding of the grace of justification, the notion that God's promise to humanity and humanity's promise to God has the character of contract has been seen by a number of readers of Tyndale. What, then, is the role of covenant within the theology of free and gratuitous sanctifying grace, given by Christ and stirred by the Spirit, which I have thus far described?

### Covenant

Covenant theology come to occupy a prominent place within early 16<sup>th</sup> century theological reflection, particularly amongst the reformers. Tyndale was one of those English reformers who placed covenant at the heart of his Biblical hermeneutics and theology. The Bible is God's testament which contains *'both what he would have us do and what he would have us to ask of him.'* There is a sense of God, as it were, 'limiting' himself by covenantally binding himself to us with certain promises.

To what extent, if at all, did Tyndale regard the covenant between God and humanity as a kind of conditional 'if/then' pact? To what extent did he fall into the voluntaristic trap of believing that justification in the end depends upon our ability to meet our side of a contracted bargain? Despite the fact that Tyndale's discussions of covenant almost always revolve around the Beatitudes, some have suggested that when he came to translate the Pentateuch towards the end of his career he did indeed understand covenant as entailing a contractual requirement upon us to meet the demands of the law.

Yet it is possible to glean a quite different sense of Tyndale's covenant theology, one which is more conducive to the remainder of this thought as I have



described it thus far. There is no doubt that, following the scriptural texts, Tyndale believed there are conditions and demands which constitute the Christian life. Yet those conditions have a definite theological purpose which has little to do with contracts and pacts. What Tyndale wanted to avoid was the view, later labelled antinomian, which regarded salvation as having no practical ethical demands or requirements, particularly as regards the keeping of biblical law. Such a view would suggest that God imposes salvation upon people, taking them up into heaven despite themselves, and simply decreeing grace upon persons. That antinomian view would stand at the opposite end of the spectrum to salvation by works. The whole thrust of Tyndale's doctrine of justification, *pace* Luther, and likewise his theology of covenant, is that God does not impute, impose or force salvation upon us, but enables us to participate in our own justification. So justification is not 'alien' or 'forensic', for this implies that God only and always justifies us despite ourselves. Rather, justification through an imparted grace which transforms our nature enables us to be fully partakers of the work of our salvation. The grace of God enables our good works to be genuinely our works. We might even put it like this: our works are indeed part of our salvation, but it is God who makes it possible for us to perform those works. There is an intimacy between God and humanity in this work, an intimacy which Aquinas called co-operative grace. And so too with Tyndale's understanding of covenant. God makes a covenant with humanity which illicitly interests, responds and obeys. This is described by Tyndale as an invitation to co-operative communion rather than a unilateral declaration or *pactum dei*.

But this needs to be made clearer. Exactly how does a non-contractual promise enable us to take part in our justification? There are, I think, three aspects of Tyndale's thought to which we might very briefly point. First, although very early in his career Tyndale inherited from Luther a rather legalistic view which draws an analogy between the promises made by someone in their will to dispense their goods in a certain way and Christ dispensing the promise of his benefits, Tyndale in his later works writes of God's covenant in intimate, familial terms. In *The Parable of Wicked Mammon*, Tyndale writes, '*the scripture speaketh as a father doth to his young son, Do this or that, and then will I love thee; yet the father loveth the son first, and studieth with all his power and wit to overcome his child with love and with kindness, to make him do that which is comely, honest, and good...*' This anticipates later works and covenant theology articulated through the image of the family. It hardly resembles the contracts of masters, servants, landlords, tenants, creditors, debtors. Familial images do, however, express the covenant relationship between God and his people in a

way that would be immediately clear to Tyndale's readers.

Secondly, Tyndale is clear that the merits of Christ could never be the reward for the trifles of human conduct, law keeping or adherence to a contract. Whatever the role of works or the law in Tyndale's theology, they can hardly balance one side of a contractual obligation which results in our salvation. The gratuity of God remains at the heart of his thinking.

Thirdly, according to his work *A Pathway to Holy Scripture*, our deeds 'certify us...of everlasting life, kill the sin that remaineth yet in us...and do our duty unto our neighbour...unto our own comfort also.' Tyndale simply does not assume that our works are somehow of necessity orientated towards a deserved reward from God, as if we were God's contracted employees. But covenant is the ground of trust in God. What does this mean? It means that, just as works proclaim to others the justifying faith that is within us, thus avoiding a kind of isolating subjectivist view of justification, so too works *proclaim to us ourselves* that God fulfils his covenantal promises. As our good deeds in God's sight become more natural, more part of who we are, and flow more freely from our nature, so we become more bold and sure, and we understand that the covenant is active. The covenant is not contractual when applied to good works because such works could lay no claim on God after the fashion of a legal agreement. Instead, the covenant for Tyndale gives to humanity a promissory *assurance*, the dignity, confidence and boldness to trust in God for mercy. In a period of high political anxiety, of diminished trust, of enclosures and inflation of rent by landlords, all of which are attacked in *The Obedience of the Christian Man*, Tyndale's concern in placing the covenantal promises of God at the heart of his theology and reading of scripture must surely be substantially motivated by pastoral concerns.

However, as with many of the Reformers (most obviously Luther and Calvin), Tyndale's theology is not restricted to the life of the individual Christian. His thought is political, and, particularly in *The Obedience of the Christian Man*, Tyndale is concerned with the way in which Christian society should be ordered. Given my comments concerning the interweaving of justification by faith, ethics and covenant, what would a Christian society look like which lived in this way? I would now like to outline briefly the way in which Tyndale's theology issues in what we might call a politics not of debt and account, of contract and law, but a 'politics of grace'.

### The Politics of Grace

As a number of commentators on Tyndale's thought have noted, he did not believe in the so-called Erastian notion of two competing authorities or loci

of power, one secular and the other ecclesial. Why would such a dualistic view make no sense to Tyndale, and why would the obvious alternative, theocracy, fill him with confusion and dread? In one sense the answer to this is simple: *The Obedience of the Christian Man* wholly accepts God's appointment of authority and rule as we find it in the Bible. It is simply the case that God has appointed kings and princes to rule over peoples – this is the Old Testament witness. Yet it is not the case that the service of the temporal political realm is ultimately differently orientated to the service of the church, which is the preaching of God's word and the ministration of the sacraments. Tyndale's description of the duty of rulers is couched in terms strikingly reminiscent of the description of clergy. He writes, *'And he that hath the knowledge whether he be lord or king, is bound to submit himself and serve his brethren and to give himself for them, to win them to Christ.'* *'Let kings...give themselves altogether to the wealth of their realms after the example of Christ: remembering that the people are God's and not theirs: ye are Christ's inheritance and possession bought with his own blood.'*

More fundamentally, Tyndale would not have understood the Erastian position and would reject theocracy because these are essentially two sides of the same coin. They both assume the legitimacy of a separate and autonomous secular realm which somehow lies outside God's economy of grace. In the case of theocracy, for the religious rulers to be enthroned there must be a drained secular space for them to take over, inhabit and rule. It was this pretension to power, with a creeping sense of theocracy in Europe, which Tyndale feared.

For Tyndale there is no secular realm which is the exclusive purview of a rule lying outside God's ordination or economy, and there is no secular realm which might be 'taken over' and drained by the church. Tyndale's vision is, instead, properly evangelical: all authority is ultimately for the proclamation of the word, the grace of justification, given in covenantal form, which sanctifies human lives. Looking back to the image in *The Parable of Wicked Mammon*, we might think of authority – ecclesial and political – as 'wealth' which must be used in the form of proclamation to make of all people friends of God. That proclamation, by which is not meant merely preaching but the outward flow of grace, knows no boundaries of kinship, church or kingdom. This is perhaps best expressed in the striking passage from the heart of *The Parable of Wicked Mammon* which caused such embarrassment to Tyndale's supporters: *'If thy neighbours which thou knowest be served, and thou yet have superfluity, and hearest necessity to be among the brethren a thousand miles off, to them art thou debtor. Yea, to the very infidels we be debtors, if they need, as far forth as we maintain them not against Christ or to blaspheme Christ... They have*

*as good right in thy goods as thou thyself.'* Even the realm of the infidel does not stand outside the economy of God's grace for Tyndale. There is no secular sphere.<sup>9</sup>

So if we understand 'wealth' in the broadest sense, not only as monetary gifts but the full complement of that which is bestowed upon us by God in creation as free gift, then we can see that, according to Tyndale, all kinds of unshared wealth becomes poisonous. The Church had established around itself a dam in the form of usurped power which prevented the flow of God's word in scripture and sacrament. It prevented the proper exercise of the political economy of God's grace.

### Conclusion

What I have tried to describe as lying at the heart of Tyndale's theology is a sense of God's gift of grace in faith flowing through the individual and out into the Commonwealth. This grace is not imputed and it is not alien to our nature as God's creatures. It is rather imparted to us in order to perfect that nature, so that works might flow easily and naturally from the Christian justified by faith. Ethics is not ultimately a matter of fighting a recalcitrant will or acting heroically only in response to need and lack. Rather, the good life is a life that is gratuitously generous at all times, not just in the face of lack or need, and a life in which deeds are not that which saves us, but the expression of the kind of people we are, a people justified by faith alone.

The proclamation of God's gift in creation and redemption does stop at boundaries of country or church, but rather extends even to the infidel. This is why grace and gift is not just the form of the doctrine of the church for Tyndale, but is rather the form of the whole of creation. It is not only those within the church who are the recipients of God's grace in such a way that nothing and no one can stand outside the politics of grace.

So the work of the translator and expositor, the work of the preacher, the work of the prince and king, the work of the ploughboy, are all proclamations in the form of gifts to our commonwealth, proclamations – that is, outpourings – of a primary and fundamental faith which enables these works and which constitutes our justification. This, then, is the theological reading of Tyndale's work as one of the greatest writers in the English language: the gifts of literary genius in translating the scriptures with such power point to the measure of faith stirred in him by God's Spirit.

We live in an economy dominated by contracts, debt and account. I have recently been 'rewarded' with an increase of my overdraft allowance on my bank account, a facility all too tempting to junior academics and clerics such

as myself. We hoard power and wealth such that, as Tyndale understood, it becomes to us poison. But Tyndale present us with the consequences of the realisation that our gifts are not of our own making and that, because of our wealth, we are in debt to others. He presents us with a particular anthropology based around familial kinship and a view of nature which regards everything fundamentally as a gift, and challenges us to act accordingly. It seems to me that this is a coherent and pastoral theological vision which is subtly different to aspects of Luther and quite different to the puritan strand of the Reformation with which Tyndale is so often associated. In the light of this very general brief assessment, I can only suggest that, having examined so fruitfully in recent years Tyndale's work in the literary sphere, we now pay much closer attention to the theologian to see how the whole corpus of his work fits together to reveal the greatness of the man and his place within a tradition that is at once both literary and theological.

### Footnotes

1 Throughout this lecture, I make use of the edition of Tyndale's doctrinal works edited for the Parker Society: William Tyndale, ed. Henry Walter, *Doctrinal treatises and introductions to different portions of the Holy Scriptures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1848). I also make use of the only recent edition of a doctrinal treatise by Tyndale: William Tyndale, ed. David Daniell, *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (London: Penguin, 2000), including David Daniell's excellent introduction and notes. A new edition of Tyndale's doctrinal works is very long overdue.

2 See especially Carl Trueman, *Luther's legacy: salvation and English reformers, 1525-1556* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

3 In the treatise *The Practice of Prelates*, written in 1530, which is largely concerned with the status of King Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon, Tyndale remarks: 'Whatsoever they read in Aristotle, that must first be true; and to maintain that, they rend and tear the scriptures with their distinctions, and expound them violently, contrary to the meaning of the text, and to the circumstances that go before and after, and to a thousand clear and evident texts.' (William Tyndale, ed. Henry Walter, *Doctrinal treatises and introductions to different portions of the Holy Scriptures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1848), p.46).

4 Take, for example, Tyndale's reading of the Parable of the Good Samaritan. He says this: 'Remember, this is a parable, and a parable may not be expounded word by word; but the intent of the similitude must be sought out only; in the whole parable. The intent of the similitude is to show to whom a man is neighbour, or who is man's neighbour, which is both one, and what it is to love a man's neighbour as himself.' In traditional interpretations of the parable of the Good Samaritan, the two pence left behind with the innkeeper by the Samaritan had been taken to stand for the Old and New Testaments, and the Samaritan's pledge to meet the cost of further care had been taken to stand for works of supererogation. But Tyndale demonstrates to his reader a more straightforward understanding which allows the main theme of the parable – the meaning of neighbourliness – to breathe throughout. Despite his departure, the Samaritan's promise of care indicates his continual neighbourly presence to the man beaten by robbers. 'Which example', Tyndale writes, 'I pray God men

may follow and let opera supererogationis alone.'

5 Tyndale, *The Parable of Wicked Mammon*, p. 52: 'But the right faith springeth not of man's fantasy, neither is it in any man's power to obtain it; but it is all together the pure gift of God poured into us freely...'

6 In his Prologue to Romans, Tyndale writes, 'All our justifying then cometh of faith, and faith and the Spirit come of God, and not of us. When we say, faith bringeth the Spirit, it is not to be understood, that faith deserveth the Spirit, or that the Spirit is not present in us before faith; for the Spirit is ever in us, and faith is the gift of the working of the Spirit; but through preaching the Spirit beginneth to work in us.' (Prologue to Romans, p.488)

7 See Donald Dean Smeeton, *Lollard themes in the Reformation theology of William Tyndale* (Kirksville, Mo: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1986).

8 See Rowan Williams, *Anglican Identities* (London: DLT, 2004), ch.1.

9 The proclamation of God's grace lies at the heart of the Commonwealth for Tyndale. It was this proclamation which he perceived to have ceased at the hands of Rome and corrupt princes. Most obviously, the Bible remained in a language which could not be understood by the vast majority. It could not, then, be properly preached. Proclamation lies also at the heart of Tyndale's sacramental theology, for the Eucharist and Baptism are intended to make known the grace of God. Of Baptism, he writes, 'Now as a preacher in preaching the word of God saveth the hearers that believe, so doth the washing in that it preacheth and representeth unto us the promise that God hath made unto us in Christ.' (The Obedience of a Christian Man, p.109). Tyndale's theology of the Eucharist, although symbolic and, as with Calvin, separated from the reality of Christ which lies in heaven, was not restricted to Zwinglian memorial but at least had the discernible effect of expressing by sign – but not of course constituting – the covenant of God. Again like Calvin, he insisted the sacrament be celebrated at least on a weekly basis. The early sixteenth century liturgy remained in Latin, was invariably orientated towards private concerns for deceased family members, and was situated not within the economy of God's free gracious gift but within the economy of debt and exchange involving payment to priests. The sacramental work of proclamation was choked.

## The Wycliffite *De Ecclesia et Membris Ejus*: English Prose and Tyndalian Concerns

by Donald J. Millus, Coastal Carolina University.

*A paper given at the Fourth Oxford Tyndale Conference, Hertford College, Oxford September 2005*

At the end of this past spring term, I came across the dissertation I had written for my senior honors course at Fordham College in New York City. My Chaucer Professor, Dr Gabriel Leigey, suggested I do a commentary and edition, of sorts, on a late 14<sup>th</sup> century manuscript in English bearing the Latin title *De Ecclesia et Membris Ejus*. This manuscript was not known to Thomas Arnold when his *Select English Works of John Wyclif* was published in 1871.<sup>1</sup> In 1927 Hope Emily Allen noted its existence in her work on the writings of Richard Rolle, where it is described as 'a treatise on the Church and its members' included with English sermons on the Sunday Gospels and Epistles in the Leicester Public Library,<sup>2</sup> definitely an artifact from Wyclif country.

In my undergraduate paper I dated the treatise to just after 1383 on the basis of a reference to 'this last iourne that Englisshemen made into Flaundris,'(63/11)<sup>3</sup> a disastrous "crusade" undertaken by Bishop Henry Spencer of Norwich, at the request of Pope Urban VI, against the supporters of the Avignon pope, Clement. Wyclif blamed the friars for preaching this "crusade" which was a military disaster and cost the belligerent bishop his temporalities.<sup>4</sup> I concluded, erroneously, that Wyclif's death in December of 1384 precluded a later date. Of course, back in 1961 I did not have the benefit of Anne Hudson and others making a convincing case against our having any English writings by Wyclif.

What I found, however, was a Wycliffite work that had ur-Tyndale written all over it. (I should confess that as a college undergraduate the name of William Tyndale was unknown to me, an ignorance no longer shared by students who have taken my American Literature or Shakespeare classes in South Carolina.) The English *De Ecclesia*, as I shall call it, was not a translation of one of Wyclif's Latin works, but it criticized popes and friars, while questioning traditional teachings on the Eucharist and Confession. It was filled with Wyclif's concerns, which I would later find to be Tyndale's concerns. Most importantly it was written in simple English, clever and forceful.

The *De Ecclesia* begins simply: '*Cristis Chirche is his spouse, that hath thre partis. The first part is in blis with Crist, hed of the Chirche, & contemeth aungelis & blessed men that now ben in heuene. The secunde part of this Chirche ben seyntis in purgatorie; & thes synnen not of the newe, but purgen ther olde synnes. & many errours fallen in preying for thes seyntis; & sith thei alle ben deed in body,*

*Cristis wordis may be taken of hem: 'sue (i.e. follow) we Crist in oure lif, & late the dede berye [the] deed.' The thridde part of the Chirche ben trewe men that here lyuen, that shullen [aftir be] sauyd in heuene, and lyuen Cristes lif. The first part is clepid (i.e. called) ouere-commynge; the myddil is clepid slepinge; the thridde is clepid fightynge; & alle these maken o Chirche' (46/1-13).*

A very efficient introduction! We are reminded that Christ is head of the Church, with a forthcoming critique of the popes in the writer's mind. Purgatorie is next, with the caution that many errors occur 'in preyng for thes seyntis'. Don't worry about these souls, the author tells us. The third part of the Church, the traditional "Church militant", all have two marks: they shall be saved and they live Christ's life. Neatly done! Tyndale would have been especially happy with the Wycliffite home-grown terminology, if he had happened upon a manuscript of the *De Ecclesia*. "Ouere-commynge", "slepinge", and "fightynge" are all good English words, the kind of English that a cleric educated in Latin but wishing to translate the Bible into English might prefer in a controversial work aimed not just at clerics but also at laymen more at ease in the vernacular.

It is not unlikely that the author of the *De Ecclesia* was one of the translators of the Wycliffite Bible. Surely that project involved more than a few Oxford educated clerics as articulate in Latin as in English. (I must disagree with the view that in principle one man could not have translated all of the Wycliffite Bible. William Tyndale would have finished his translation before he was fifty if he had been allowed to. A warm place to write, a Hebrew dictionary, and freedom from persecution would have done the trick nicely in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.)

The *De Ecclesia* is most probably not a translation, but it shares with 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century translations of the Bible a basic purpose, bringing the word of God to the people of God. Since both David Daniell and Anne Hudson are among the many who quote Henry Knighton - or his fellow chronicler - in a late 14<sup>th</sup> century complaint about translating the gospel into English, I find myself in good company in repeating this introduction to a discussion of the Lollard-Wycliffite reform movement, inserted for the year 1382.

*'This master John Wyclif translated the gospel, which Christ had entrusted to clerks and to the doctors of this church so that they might minister it conveniently to the laity and to meaner people according to the needs of the time and the requirement of the listeners in their hunger of mind; he translated it from Latin into the English, not the angelic idiom [in Anglicam linguam non angelicam],'-* - this reminds me of that take-off on medieval history, *1066 and All That*, where Celtic children are brought before the pope and he responds 'not angels but Anglicans.'—and thus '... that which was formerly familiar to learned clerks

*and to those of good understanding has become common and open to the laity, and even to those women who know how to read. As a result the pearls of the gospel are scattered and spread before swine, and that which had been precious to religious and to lay persons has become a matter of sport to ordinary people of both.'*<sup>5</sup>

The *De Ecclesia* has many pearls. Despite its title, the main focus is an attack on the virtue and authority of the popes. The second line of the work, which we quoted above, emphasized that Christ is the "head of the Chirche" (46/2) and some dozen folio pages follow, all critical of the pope. The author then focuses his attack on the friars and new orders, but the pope, like any commanding officer, is held responsible for the misdeeds of his troops. Abuse of power, particularly via the sin of covetousness, a mention of the choosing of cardinals - remember Tyndale's mockery of Cardinal Wolsey, whom he called "Wolfsee" to emphasize Henry VIII's chancellor's covetousness? - a side order of private confession criticism and a confutation of the friars' explanation of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist are some of the topics throughout, but our author returns, very forcefully, to the pope's actions and the proper response to them by members of the true Church.

Who was the audience for this work? From the frequent use of "we" and "thou" it would seem to be those who were already sympathetic to the Lollard-Wycliffite cause. Even though only three manuscripts of the *De Ecclesia* survive, the work, like the far more abundant Wycliffite Bibles, was probably intended not for individual reading but for reading to an audience, a sympathetic one at that. The arguments and examples could then be used against the critics of these 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century dissenters, somewhat like an army field manual.

Could the *De Ecclesia* have been cut, trimmed, and streamlined? Possibly, but at some eleven folio pages a slow, clear reading would take not much more than half an hour of a devout gathering, perhaps long by our standards for a sermon, but just right for more committed Christians.

As with studies of the works of William Tyndale, it is not just his beliefs that interest us. After all, theologians are, or at least used to be, a dime a dozen. Put quite simply, what attracts us to William Tyndale is not only his determination but also his ability to put the Word into English. The author of *De Ecclesia* had a foretaste of this gift - Anne Hudson's just right phrase "vernacular eloquence" might well be applied repeatedly to this work.<sup>6</sup>

Wyclif and the author of the *De Ecclesia*, like Tyndale, did not like story telling or illustrations by way of allegories and fables. Of course, the use of *exempla* was a staple of the friars' sermons.<sup>7</sup> 'Whether it was,' I wrote over four decades ago, 'that the use of exempla was just a characteristic of the preaching



of the friars whom Wyclif opposed, or whether his fundamental approach to religion and scriptures had to rebel against what appeared to be a falsification of Christ's teachings, Wyclif [and, I now add, the author of the *De Ecclesia*] avoids the use of such illustrative tales.<sup>8</sup> He criticizes elaborations of the basic scriptures: *'But whanne dremes comen aftir[,] thei maken a fals feyned tale. Thei seyen, whanne Criste went to heuene, his manhed wente in pilgrimage, made Petre, with alle thes popes, his stiwardis, to reule his hous & gaf hem ful pouer herto byfore alle othere prestis alyue. Heere this drem takun amys turnyng upsedon the Chirche.'* (54/8-14)

Don't be so sure of yourself, the pope is warned: *'For no pope that now lyueth wot wher he be of the Chirche, or wher he be a fendis lyme to be dampnyd with Lucifer'* (47/11-13). In fact, our Wycliffite insists *'no man that lyueth here woot wher he shal be sauyn in heuene'* (47/16-17). Like Tyndale, our author likes history, citing the chronicles: *'the fend had enuye herto; & be Siluestur, prest of Rome, he brought in a new gile, and moved the emperour of Rome to dowe this Chirch in this prest'* (49/10-12). We are also reminded that the pope is just the *'bischop of Rome'* (73/13) a change demanded in Tyndale's time by the authority of the king's council in 1533 and affecting Tyndale's works in their first editions published in his native land.

The author of the *De Ecclesia*, like Tyndale, shows a delightful sense of humour, no doubt useful both in university debates and parish preaching. In discussing the failings of StI Peter he notes that Peter *'swore false for a woman's voice'* (57/12), a reference to Peter's denying the accusation of Pilate's servant, and a continuing problem of men throughout the ages. In noting, as Wyclif had, the problems that the friars encountered in formulating a philosophical explanation of the Eucharist, the author of the *De Ecclesia* deflects the friars' attacks on Wyclif's orthodoxy: *'& thus thei shulden telle at the byggynng what thing thei trowen [believe] that it is, wher it/ be Goddis body or not. & here thei may not be excused; for mynistrel & jogelour, tumbler & harlot, wolen not take of the puple byfore they had shewid ther craft'* (69/19-21). In other words, a preview or free sample of sorts would attract customers!

Later, the *De Ecclesia*, replete with many folksy exclamations of "Lord!"--sort of a "can you believe it?"--finds the pope ungenerous for not simply forgiving all men their sins and the punishment thereof: *'For certis the lewderst man in the world myghte shame of siche a resound'* (75/14-15). *'For lawe of charite wolde [teche] that, gif he hadde siche pouer, he shold assoyle alle his sugetis fro payne and fro trespass; for thane he broughte alle men to heuene, & sufferide no man go to helle'* (75/17-20). Our author argues that if the pope can't cure people of a little bodily pain, *'as myghten Petre & othere seyntis ... [how] shulde*

*he assoyle soulis of the peyne of purgatorie? Prowe he his power by this leese, and suspende assoylyng of money'* (76/18-20). This is exactly what Tyndale criticized and what his king found very convenient for keeping money spent on Masses for the suffering souls in Purgatory out of the hands of the church.

Our author was also obviously not convinced by the arguments used in the morality play *Everyman*, for he criticizes Church law obliging all to go to confession once a year and receive communion at Easter: *'By thes two unfamous lawis may men wite whiche ben othere, for ther is no lawe but Goddis, or lawe growndid in Goddis lawe'* (78/6-8). That final clause is as strong and simple as English can be.

We are also reminded of Chaucer's parson in the *Canterbury Tales* by the complaint near the end of *De Ecclesia* *'that where Cristen men shulden be fre, now thei been nedid to hire a prist & thus be suget to the fend'* (79/21-80/2). The bottom line of the *De Ecclesia* is simple, clear prose: *'Oure ground is commune byleue that Crist is bothe God & man; & so, he is the beeste man, the wiserst man, & moost virtuous that euer was or euere shal be.'* (80/21-81/3) Like Tyndale, our author demands that he be proven wrong: *'gif ony man wole shewe us that we speken agens Gooddis lawe or agen good resound, we wolen mekely leue of, & holde Goddis part by oure might'* (81/10-12).

Speaking of the members of the Church, our author sounds quite modern: *'& so it is greet diuersite to be in this Chirche and of this Chirche.'* (54/6-7) The friars are not yet *'Straining the gnat'* but they *'sigen* (i.e. strain) *the gnatte & swolowen the camelle'* (66/11-12). They are more concerned with their order's rules, *'but keepyng of Godis maundementis thei chargen not half so myche. As he shulde be holde apostata that left his habite for a day, but for leeuynng of dedis of charite shulde he nothing be blamyd. ... & so agenus Cristis sentence they sewen an old clout in a newe clothe'* (66/14-20). Previously, another use of parallelism and contrast worked well: *'But as spiritual thing is better than bodily thing that we may se, so spiritual harm is more than bodily harm that they don'* (64/7-9). If William Tyndale had read this he might have been tempted to draw in the manuscript, one of those hands with finger pointing to a pertinent text.

Greed in the papacy is a prime target: *'But cause hereof ben benefices that this prest geueth to men; for Simon Magus trauayled neuer more in symonye than this prestus don'* (50/7-9). There is progression in our author's rhetoric as well as in the subjects of his criticism: *'& Peter suffered meekly that Poule snybbide (an oft repeated word) hym whanne he erride, we may se opynly how thes popis fallen fro Petre; and myche more fallen fro Crist, that might not erre in ony thing'* (52/16-20).

The threats of the popes are of no concern to our author: *'As anentis sus-*



pending & entirdytyng, that ben feyned, we trowen that thei don myche good, & noon harm but to folis. For gif they wolden suspende hemsilf fro alle thingis but Goddis lawe, it were a gracious suspending, for hem and for other men. For thane Goddis lawe myghte freely renne by the lymytis that Crist hath oredeyned' (87/12-7). Notice the balance, 'Myche good, & noon harme' with the exception of fools who take these strictures seriously. The logic and balance are perfect.

Two pages later we find a neat description of the last judgement: 'But in o bileue may men resten, that day shal comme of the laste iugement, whence the fendis side shal lurke, & treuthe shal shyne withoute letting' (89/14-16). The lurking of the fiends will be in the dark, and truth, with those who espouse it, will be in the light, light without end.

The mixing of good and evil which the *De Ecclesia* sees in new "sects," i.e. religious orders, is compared to the preaching of Mohammed, even though 'the fend coloure it and meddel good with the yuel. For thus dide Machamete in his lawe, & the fend doith thus communely; and confermyng of men is nought, but gif God conferme before' (90/3-7).<sup>9</sup> The apparent confusion of good and bad in Islamic teaching and its interpretation remains, tragically, a problem for Western man. The contrast in that last clause, between the approval of men and the approval of God, is most forceful.

Near the conclusion of the *De Ecclesia* we encounter a sharp indictment of philosophy, perhaps a result of Wyclif's writing on the Eucharist: '& thus auctours of accidentis hyen hem aboute Crist, as gif thei wolden make a newe world & change goodnesse of thingis' (91/13-15). Finally, strongly, we are told '& thus the craftie of loue of thingis is most needful of alle other' (91/18-19). This is essential to the *De Ecclesia's* conclusion, one that the best of our poets and the most inspiring of our spiritual writers could readily endorse. Besides, it is good English prose such as will mark Tyndale's biblical translations.

After a brief reminder of the defects of 'thes newe orderis' (92/2), the author of the *De Ecclesia* closes with a clear, simple, balanced statement of his belief: '& ech man is holden to loue liche aftir that Crist loueth, & to hate that he hatith & thane is his hieriste vertu stablid' (92/5-8).

Thus barely a hundred and twenty years before William Tyndale set out to translate the scriptures into the language of the ordinary Englishman, an admirer or associate of John Wyclif was demonstrating that Englishmen could write prose that would be a credit to their developing language. The fact that his concerns would be shared by another reformer born some five generations later is not coincidence, but a reminder that zeal for their vision of the truth has always inspired English writers, from the time of Wyclif to the time of William Tyndale and beyond.

## Footnotes

- 1 Thomas Arnold, ed. *Select Works of John Wyclif* (Oxford, 1871), III. 338 ff.
- 2 Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, (Oxford, 1827), 143, n. 1.
- 3 Donald J. Millus, *The "De Ecclesia Et Membris Ejus," Attributed to John Wyclif, Edited from Leicester Manuscript 10 D 34 with a Commentary*, (New York, Fordham University, unpublished dissertation, 1961.) All quotations from the English *De Ecclesia*, as I shall call it, are from this edition. The Leicester text is substantially the same as Arnold's, but contains some careless omissions by the copyist. Square brackets in quotations from this work indicate readings from Arnold's edition. The letters "yogh" and "thorn" are silently emended.
- 4 Herbert Workman, *John Wyclif. A Study of the English Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1926). I. Appendix C.
- 5 Anne Hudson, "Wyclif and the English Language," in "Wyclif In His Times," ed. Anthony Kenny, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986), 87.
- 6 Anne Hudson, "Wyclif and the English Language," in "Wyclif In His Times," ed. Anthony Kenny, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986), 89.
- 7 John E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400* (New Haven, 1926), 469 ff.
- 8 *De Ecclesia*, 36.
- 9 Wyclif's (?) philosophical treatise *De Universalibus* argues that "Deus simpliciter necessario scit omne ens est bonum," "God must know that everything that is is good" (my translation). *Miscellanea Philosophica*, ed. Michael Dziewicki (London, The Wyclif Society, 1905), 25.

The author wishes to thank the chairman, Prof. David Daniell and Trustees of the Tyndale Society for their invitation to speak at the Oxford Tyndale Conference. He gratefully acknowledges a grant from Coastal Carolina University to enable him to attend.

*Prof. Donald J. Millus is a lecturer on English and American literature at Coastal Carolina University, South Carolina, USA. His critical edition of 'The Exposition of the Fyrste Epistle of Seynte Ihon by William Tyndale' is to be published shortly in **The Complete Controversial Works of William Tyndale** (The Catholic University of America Press).*

The Eleventh Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture

**From iPod to Evensong:  
Listening to the Music of Scripture**

by Canon Lucy Winkett

Report by Eunice Burton

November 2005

The Guard Room at Lambeth Palace was again the venue for the Annual Tyndale Lecture 2005, which was chaired by His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury. He welcomed us, and introduced Canon Lucy Winkett, Precentor at St Paul's Cathedral, whose lecture was entitled *'From iPod to Evensong: Listening to the Music of Scripture'*.

Canon Lucy told us she had obtained a degree in music before ordination, had served her curacy in Essex, so she had been exposed to all types of music. She described a pilgrimage, by bicycle, she had undertaken in 2003 to Santiago de Compostela: she had expected that the beautiful scenery of the Pyrenees would evoke uplifting musical memories, but found that it was the lyrics of Morrissey's punk band, 'the Smiths', of the early 1980's, which kept recurring and could not be suppressed. *'Heaven knows I'm miserable now'* with the haunting line *'In my life, why should I waste valuable time with people who don't care if I live or die?'* especially caused her despair and panic. Where were the well-loved liturgies and melodies of Mozart and Bach?

This led her to analyse Sound Worlds, both inner and outer, and ask how we are influenced by the soundscapes of our lives - then to imagine a modern person walking from the street into a Cathedral, a space full of the ancient wisdom of Scripture, beautiful music and the challenge of silence, where time meets eternity.

In the spirit of Tyndale's power of translation, Canon Lucy searched for the vernacular in musical language and considered its place in worship: as she makes the cultural journey from Church to street and back again, she enjoys the range of music from plainsong to Byrd to Beethoven to Abba to Macey Gray. She spoke movingly of Rebecca, a girl exposed to violence, abuse and drugs, who had been helped by the charity 'Kids Company' - she could not articulate her feelings verbally, but was able to offload her moods and despair to music.

Music is an international language, transcending human differences, but in the West our relationship to music has changed irreversibly, affecting our inner lives and communal experience of the world and the church. She considered: -

**The Solitary Listener.** Technology has created iPods which hold limit-

less resources, including "shuffle buttons" to give surprise when we are overwhelmed by the available choice. Mobile phones and iPods cut out the unpleasant city noises, but also birdsong and the chatter of children having fun. So music has become our servant.

**The Music of Scripture.** Canon Lucy imagined the Word of Creation being sung and the Scriptures a soundscape of poems, prophecies and exhortations in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin and English being laughed over and cried over down the centuries. Compare this with the sculpted sound of "Raw Materials" in the vast emptiness of Tate Modern; then hear again the melody and rhythm of Scripture, the laments of the psalms, the fugues and variations in Paul's letters and the final symphonic apocalypses of Daniel and Revelation.

**Are there Scriptural Resonances in Popular Music?** Ms. Dynamite explores issues such as gun crime and domestic violence in a style indebted to Reggae: her recent album, *Judgment Days*, asks questions: *'What are you gonna do..... Where are you gonna hide when he comes for you? ..... What are you gonna say on Judgment Day?'*, which is reminiscent of Matthew's account of Christ dividing the sheep from the goats. She seeks to galvanise us in the present by the threat of the future, addressing the iPod generation ("Generation Text"), using the medium of lyrics and music to proclaim the truth.

The Mitchell Brothers from Manor Park, East London, recently released *'Breath of Fresh Attire'* - their concerns are domestic but themes eternal, e.g. love, work, being alone: the everyday stories suggest prosaic parables with eternity in their sights. Canon Lucy discussed artists of the 1990's (Oasis and Robbie Williams) and videos portraying crime, personal relationships and the quest for money and power. The church tends to divide modern music into 'sacred' and 'secular', inferring 'high' and 'low' art, which appears judgmental - but taste is not to be confused with standards.

The multilayered linguistic landscape of modern London means we understand each other less.

**The Music of the Church.** The Church proclaims the transcendence and eminence of God: music best expresses His exuberance, mystery and sadness. It is music from the past sung in the present that calls us to the future, transcending our earthbound existence. The creation of music involves struggle and often a political and financial context; lurking under the gift of music (cf. the theological language of faith, grace and gift) is the language of the market - obligation and commission. Even at St Paul's too long a psalm may mean paying the musicians overtime!

The Reformation shifted religious music from Latin to English, and Cranmer's instruction for his 1544 Liturgy was for a simple style, with a note for

each syllable, to aid distinctness and devotion. Tye and Tallis wrote in Latin, but Tallis' pupil, William Byrd, composed in both Latin and English, and increasingly more in the vernacular: his pupil, Tomkins, wrote entirely in English, as did Orlando Gibbons. A progression can be traced to metrical psalms and hymns in which the people participated. In 1560, Bishop John Jewel noted that 6,000 persons gathered at St Paul's Cross after the service to sing metrical psalms together to praise God, and that at the spot where Bishop Tunstall had burned Tyndale's English New Testament only 34 years before! Even here today little 'blues' or 'jazz' music is heard in church, although some melodies creep into Gospel music.

**No Church is an Island.** The church can adopt too critical a stance and become intolerant of human frailty while striving for perfection, or "engage" with popular music in a way verging on the ridiculous, but there is a middle way of understanding the contribution of modern music and encouraging young composers. To Canon Lucy, Choral Evensong creates a special sacred space, absorbing the day's events, delights and disappointments and renewing a congregation seeking rest and peace.

**From iPod to Evensong.** In conclusion, Canon Lucy warned again of the danger of disengagement by the solitary listeners, detached from their physical surroundings, whereas joining in a service develops relationships with the composers and living worshippers today. Using music as a means of dialogue with God and the world shows we cannot expect all to be comforting, while the paradox, despair and frustration in dissonance should challenge us.

Plato wrote that "music is a heaven sent ally in reducing to order and harmony any disharmony in the revolutions within us", and Canon Lucy saw in the many facets of music, the movement of the Spirit bringing order out of chaos.

A time of questions, comment and discussion followed, the topics ranging from communal reading of the Scriptures after the Reformation; the joy of choral music with its discipline of listening to others: the absence of silence with iPods; the need for flexibility, especially as one ages; the dissonance of music in Africa and Afghanistan; the word centered hymns of the Wesleys; the physical extremities of sound (top Bs and Cs) representing the Cross and the final peace in Britten's 'War Requiem' and Bach's 'St Matthew Passion'.

The Archbishop closed with noting the need to read the whole Bible including the awkward parts. He thanked Canon Lucy for a memorable lecture and invited us to join him over a glass of wine. Later a large group had dinner together in a nearby hotel.

Rev. Lucy Winkett is the Canon Precentor of St Paul's Cathedral, London.

## NEW VOLUME Reformation 10



Edited by Professor Andrew Hadfield, University of Sussex, Falmer, UK

### NEW

#### Volume 10

**Contents:** Editorial; Articles: Anne Askew constructing her text, constructing herself, *Rudolph P. Almsay*; The Wittenberg Altarpiece and the image of identity, *Bonnie Noble*; The 'Turk' as antichrist in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1570), *Stephan Schmuck*; An example from the diaspora of the Italian evangelicals: Galeazzo Caracciolo and his biographies, *Jeannine E. Olson*; Heresy, authority and filial piety: the universities and their Reformation past, *Alexander Faludy*. Note: Eighteenth-century folio publication of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, *John N. King*. Review Articles: Beasts, ballads, bathos: means and instances of the diffusion of religious ideology in the Early Modern period, *Timothy B. Walsh*; The Reformation, *Tom Betteridge*; Power and authority in Tudor England, *Dan Breen*; The spoken word and print, 1300–1850, *Helen Parish*; Literature and history in Early Modern England, *Mark Rankin*. Book reviews; Shorter notices.

December 2005	c. 280 pages	
Paperback	0 7546 5409 5	£45.00

### ALSO AVAILABLE:

#### Volume 9

**Contents:** Editorial; Articles: *Love ad litteram*: the Lollard translations of the Song of Songs, *Mary Dove*; *The Practice of Prelates*: Tyndale's papal narrative and its German model, *John F. McDiarmid*; '[Who] hath covered the naked with a garment': the homespun origins of the English Reformation, *J.P. Conlan*; Burning in Sodom: sodomy as the moral state of damnation in John Bale's *The Image of both Churches*, *Elena L. Levy-Navarro*; 'Machomet dyd before as Luther doth nowe': Islam, the Ottomans and the English Reformation, *Matthew Dimmock*; The arch of Serena as textual monument: reading the body of the poem-within-the-poem, *Julia Major*; 'Reasons ... theological, political, and mixt of both': a reconsideration of the 'readmission' of the Jews to England, *Eliane Glaser*. Note: The Anglicanism of Spenser's May eclogue, *J.P. Conlan*. Review Articles: Academic journals in the early modern studies, 2002, *Daniel Swit*; Literature and religion, 1350–1600, *Tiffany Alkan*; Hatred and superstition in Reformation Europe, *Alec Ryrie*; Fictions of Disease, monstrous appetites and greed, *Janet Spencer*; Criteria for 'good' history books, *Tom Webster*. Book reviews; Shorter notices.

December 2004	324 pages	
Paperback	0 7546 4104 X	£45.00

To order your copy of *Reformation 10* or to order individual volumes please contact:

Nicky Staszkievicz  
Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot,  
Hampshire. GU11 3HR

Tel: +44 (0)1252 351804 Fax: +44 (0)1252 351839

E-mail: journals@ashgatepublishing.com

Full information may be found at: [www.ashgate.com](http://www.ashgate.com)

ISSN: 1357-4175

**ASHGATE**  
[www.ashgate.com](http://www.ashgate.com)



## Opening the Word to the World

Report by Eunice Burton

November 2005

Hertford College welcomed the participants in the Fourth Oxford Tyndale Conference with generous hospitality in bright autumn sunshine. This proved to be yet another memorable occasion: the international panel of speakers gave excellent papers, the topics were complementary, and hard choices had to be made when there were parallel sessions.

In his introduction, Prof. David Daniell relayed greetings from Dr Rowan Williams, Archbishop of Canterbury and Patron of the Tyndale Society, who described William Tyndale as a *'formative figure through whom the Word was heard by the World in the vernacular'*. The activities of the Society ensured increasing publicity for William Tyndale, and it was with sadness that Prof. Daniell reported the recent deaths of several supporters, especially Prof. Carsten Peter Thiede, and the serious illness of Jaroslav Pelikan (Yale) which prevented his attendance at this conference.

The keynote paper was then given by Prof. Morna Hooker (Cambridge) on *Translating the New Testament: The Trials of a Translator* in which she recounted her experiences in the revision of the New English Bible (N.E.B.) and the Revised English Bible (R.E.B.). She stressed the rewards of the translator's task as closed texts were opened to otherwise deprived readers. St Paul deplored utterances in strange tongues which could not help those without understanding, and this was the situation in medieval Europe when services in Latin provided little spiritual nourishment to the illiterate masses - although Latin had once been the vulgar tongue.

Prof. Hooker enlarged on the difficulties and dangers encountered, especially the loss of dignity and debasement of language in modernisation, e.g. *'How lovely are thy dwellings, Lord'* (Ps. 84, E.S.V.) becomes *'Nice place you've got here, God!'* Because English is a hybrid language, there is the advantage of flexibility, and William Tyndale's choice of words always sounded attractive, while retaining accuracy. There were benefits from comparison with earlier translations, and additional slants were given by consulting Syriac and Coptic texts now available. The aim of the revision of the N.E.B. was to enhance worship, hence the 'dynamic equivalent' was chosen, word order might be rearranged and ambiguities omitted, e.g. the double entendre of



Andrew Hadfield, David Daniell, Eunice Burton and Andrew Hope in discussion at the Oxford Conference.

St Paul in 2 Cor. 11: 25 *'Once I was stoned!'* The context often indicated the correct choice when a Greek word had several meanings, but was Christ moved by 'compassion' or 'anger' when healing the leper in Mark 1: 41 - 'moved to anger' was the compromise reached, indicating Christ's indignation at the injustice of suffering. The difficulties encountered by idioms and synonyms were discussed, e.g. 'overcoming' and 'comprehending' darkness in John 1, and 'will', 'testament', 'covenant', but if the choice is open, one should go for clarity - no one has a problem with 'Big Toe' or 'Grand Piano'! If interpretation is involved, there is inevitably some distortion of the original, hence the Italian aphorism, *'The translator is a traitor'*. The Bible was written by multiple authors with varying styles, e.g. compare the simplicity of Mark with the complexity of Paul's arguments and syntax. Changes in culture and customs create problems as in the relationship between authority and a woman having her head covered.

The question of so many recent new translations was raised; the growth of political correctness and omission of 'sexist' language since the 1980's has resulted in loss of personality and status in some translations - *'sons of God'* is included in R.E.B. to give the sense of inheritance and to differentiate from slaves, women and Gentiles.

The incomparable A.V. of Psalm 8:4 *'What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him?'* may be substituted correctly by *'What are humans (mortals) that you care for them?'* but the magic has gone! Prof. Hooker thus revealed 'the temptations of a Translator' as well as the 'Trials'!

Friday offered lectures all day, with parallel sessions in the afternoon.

First, Prof. Francis Higman (Geneva) presented a paper entitled *The Genevan Context of the Geneva Bible* in which he described the part played by the Marian Exiles from England, who included many eminent theologians such as Whittingham and Coverdale. They received rich teaching from Calvin's vast output of sermons, and copies of these were brought to England when they returned to Elizabethan liberty. Prof. Higman then spoke of the many contemporary French language Bibles from the time of Francis I, with details of the fine woodcuts and illustrations, e.g. Estienne, 1553. Some were study Bibles, incorporating notes and maps, and some included Calvin's Catechism and the Liturgy of the Geneva Church, which were used with profit by the 2000 Reformed Communities in France, many being without a Pastor. There were Catholic editions of the Geneva Bible in 1556, and the Louvain edition of 1570 formed the basis of subsequent Catholic Bibles.

The Geneva Bible in English of April 1560 was also a study Bible with clear type, numbered verses and changes in type face for added clarity. Interesting examples from both the Old and the New Testaments were given of how ambiguities were eliminated. Many clergy in England were ignorant of the Scriptures, and the Geneva Bible was used by Anglicans, including Archbishop Laud, Puritans and Separatists, until superseded by the King James Version of 1611: the K.J.V. (Authorised Version) had no notes and was a plain text designed to be read in churches. The Geneva Bible continued to be used in the late 17th century and copies combined with the Book of Common Prayer (1662) survive in Charles II binding - a complete compendium!

Next, Prof. Peter Auksi (Canada) gave a fascinating paper on *William Tyndale's Imagination: a Weapon of the Reformation*. He suggested that the aims of the Ploughboy Group to make Tyndale's legacy accessible to non-specialists mirrored Tyndale's own choice of homely metaphors which were designed to spread understanding of his views of the Reformed Faith - cf. John Donne who rarely referred to nature or children. Imagination may be a reflection of life as seen in a mirror, but Blake and Milton had an 'inner lamp' which lit up the universe of their prophetic imaginations. This idea was explored further in relation to Shakespeare's real world in real time, and

the ability to suppress self to enter the mind of another person (or Keats's garden sparrow), while accepting that imagery reveals the mind of the writer, often unconsciously. As the Bible was increasingly read, the analogies of the Christian warrior and wayfaring pilgrim, elaborated by Milton, Spenser and Bunyan, became an integral part of Western spiritual life, and were used by Tyndale to give authority to his devotional and exegetical writings. Rudy Almsy was quoted regarding Tyndale's *'language of proximity'* i.e. *"one should wait on God's will and commandment"* because *"what is important is close at hand"*. Tyndale's themes were dominated by restraint, control, rest, patience and staying at home to do works of love and obedience. God is active in seeking out individuals, and passivity leads to increased receptiveness of Salvation and Truth. Comparison was made between the complex meditations of erudite scholars such as Thomas Aquinas and the simplicity of Tyndale addressing the common people, embracing all as *'We English.....'*. Tyndale's genius was to translate theological issues into the images and analogies of the popular imagination, but he decried using imagination to distort the Scriptures - *'a man's deeds declare what he is within'* and one needed the indwelling of the Holy Spirit to produce love, grace, etc. He appealed to the five senses, included hunger and thirst, used animals for analogies (not always complimentary to the Catholic clergy, e.g. barking curs, drone bees) and likened the attitude of bishops to foxes caring for geese! Examples from the kitchen were used: regeneration is a slow process just as leaven permeates the dough, but eventually the fruits of the Holy Spirit are evident. Family relationships, parents and children (who may be wayward) illustrate the love of God to humans. Tyndale regarded love as the direct growth from faith, e.g. *'Deeds are the fruits of love; and love is the fruit of faith'* - and this was the antithesis of attaining salvation through works; although the evil habits and heresies must be weeded out.

While disparaging the hyperbole of Thomas More, Tyndale himself used dramatic imagery involving war, storms, pits - but no pit was so deep that God could not pull up a fallen believer from the depths. *'Tie thy ship to the anchor of faith in Christ's blood ..... cast it out against all tempests .....and set sail in the sea of God's word'*. Such language has reanimated the spiritual imagination of Reformation Christians for many generations.

The after-lunch lecture riveted everyone's attention as 93-year-old Rev. Dr Edwin Robertson (London), author and previously religious broadcaster with the BBC, spoke on *Taking the Word to the World*. (This was the title he used when he wrote the Jubilee History of the United Bible Societies in 1996, an informative and accessible book.) Dr Robertson considered the



world geographically and linguistically, and said that William Tyndale's English Bible (true to the original and expressed in worthy language) was the inspiration of the Bible Society, in its global and multilinguistic task – 'No Tyndale, No Bible Society'. The Society's intention was that everyone should have direct access to the Bible without opposition.

He traced the growth of Bible availability in the Protestant countries of Europe, and the introduction of the Bible to the non-Christian areas of the British Empire in the 19th century e.g. India: the British & Foreign Bible Society was formed in 1804, producing versions without notes or comments, followed by the American Bible Society in 1810 and soon the Scriptures were available in 1000 languages. Always the aim was for better language and wider distribution.

The attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to possession of the Bible by the laity had been negative generally, with prohibition in Catholic Europe in the Middle Ages, to some relaxation in the 18th century when approved versions with notes were allowed - although the church claimed 'to venerate the divine Scriptures, just as she venerated the body of the Lord'. In World War II Pope Pius XII advocated the stimulus of daily Bible reading, but the dangers of secular interpretation were indicated in 1950 when he deplored the new enthusiasm for Bible reading! The Second Vatican Council in 1962 approved easy access to the Sacred Scriptures, provided correct translations were made from original texts. With the increasing involvement of the Roman Catholic Church in the Ecumenical Movement under Cardinal Bea ('the Cardinal for Unity') it was acknowledged that unless there were agreement on the Bible, the Movement for Christian Unity had no future, and cooperation between the churches has continued.

Difficulties in the Communist lands of Eastern Europe and China were described, but the Bible Society aimed to work within the law and not resort to smuggling Bibles in - with the fall of Communism, translations and printing of Bibles flourished, although State presses had to be used in China. At the same time literacy programmes, often using the Bible as a "text book", including versions for the blind, have multiplied, so that the 141 Bible Societies united to publish in 2,377 languages.

Dr Robertson summarised the events in North America, using the illustration of the Mohawks' preservation of Queen Anne's gift of a Bible and Communion set when her church was destroyed during the War of Independence, to their possession of St John's Gospel in their own language by 1804 and then the use of the (rebuilt) Royal chapel of the Mohawks for the Jubilee Service in 1994. Thus is the Bible taken to the world.

There was then a choice of parallel sessions - in (A) 3 papers were presented. Dr Tatiana String (Bristol) spoke on *Spreading the Verbum Dei: Henry VIII and the Printed Image* investigating the communicative potential of the visual arts to promote the English Reformation, given the popularity of the illustrated Coverdale and Great Bibles (the failure to develop a campaign of reformist iconography). Prof. Richard Duerden (USA) showed in *Inventing Politics: Authority, Activism and the Bible* that the translation of the Bible into English introduced new forms of social authority in England and over the course of the 16th century, Scripture's political authority passed from Rome, to the monarch, to the ministry, and finally to the people. Modern secular political activism is, ironically, an inheritance from early modern religious radicalism. Prof. Andrew Hadfield (Sussex) asked *Was Shakespeare Religious?* It is currently suggested that Shakespeare's religious affiliation was Catholic, but he notably wrote less about religion than his contemporaries - for what reason?

In the alternative session (B) 4 papers were given. Valerie Offord (Geneva) began with *Geneva Bibles and Briefs - Continuity and Acquaintanceship in the work of the Geneva Marian Exiles*. After their return to England the Marian exiles kept in close contact with Geneva and Elizabeth I supported the city financially against the threat of a Catholic invasion. John Bodley, a wealthy Exeter merchant, had financed and printed the Geneva Bible, and in the 1580's he was delegated to convey the considerable funds, which had been raised through a brief issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury to all the dioceses under his jurisdiction, to Geneva. He felt indebted to the city which had sheltered him and was able to negotiate safe passage and good exchange rates for the money through his trading agents and contacts in continental Europe. This paper, using hitherto unpublished primary documents in the Geneva State Archives, demonstrated aspects of social history such as travel, diplomacy, banking and personal ties.

The next paper was theological - *Tyndale's Christ* by Dr Thomas Betteridge (Kingston). The medieval antecedents contended that Truth cannot be learned outside the Church and Dr Betteridge contrasted the pre-Reformation Christ with the victorious Christ of George Herbert's Easter Wings, who imparts victory to the believer. Tyndale had played an important part in that change, stressing the necessity for the individual to believe in Christ rather than the church and to participate actively in faith. Even Bishop Fisher had likened the church to the multitude preventing the blind man from coming to Christ for healing, whereas Tyndale had used a more derogatory metaphor that prelates were as ivy strangling a tree and a habitat for

birds and owls, of which *'Christ needs not'*. Tyndale's Christ was disruptive of abuses in the social order, a true reformer.

Then Andreas Mikešy (Budapest) spoke on *Tyndale and Luther on the Epistle to the Romans*. He analysed the suggestion that Tyndale had followed Luther's text in his prologue and produced diagrams illustrating each one's individual contribution and the common text: Tyndale's own was by far the greatest - not only because of stylistic differences, but also theological shifts of emphasis. Tyndale used synonyms to accentuate, e.g. *'freedom and liberty'*, and also stressed the incapacity of mankind, the role of the Holy Spirit in renewal of the heart, and the importance of love. Tyndale's Prologue was therefore **not** a translation from Luther's.

Finally, Kaoru Yamazaki (Tokyo) used her computer expertise to compare the *Bible of the Reformation and the Open Source Movement*. Richard Stallman (1983) advised '4 Freedoms' for computer users to ensure programmes could be used for any purpose, could be adapted to meet needs, could be distributed to help neighbours and improved for the benefit of the community - and in this he shared Tyndale's vision. The Bible was beyond "copyright", and whereas Thomas More wished to restrict distribution, Tyndale (and Stallman) wanted good news (information) to reach everyone by the printed word or technology.

After dinner, the Rev. Dr Simon Oliver (Wales), a former chaplain of Hertford College, spoke on *William Tyndale and the Politics of Grace*. The full text of his paper appears in this issue of the Journal (pp.8-20).

Saturday was busy with many parallel sessions and in addition a special Ploughboy Programme was arranged by the Rev. David Ireson, designed to illustrate the life of Tyndale and show the impact of the Reformation on an English village and its Parish Church. An interactive lecture was given by Dr David Norton (New Zealand) on *Recent unusual and amusing translations of the Bible from across the World*.

The plenary lecture was given by Andrew Hope (author UK) on *The Publication History of William Tyndale's English New Testament* asking why Tyndale went initially to the 'inhospitable' city of Cologne with its many censorship regulations and then to Antwerp in 1526, settling there for the last 10 years of his life. Andrew Hope described the current printing, publishing and distribution procedures, based on the life of Franz Byrckman and the networks by marriage among the printing families of Europe, at a time when many Latin service books and home almanacs were printed abroad and imported into England. Franz Byrckman had a dispute over finances with Erasmus, but maintained the reputation of an *'honest merchant'*, participat-

ing in the Frankfurt bookfair: from his new office in Antwerp, the English New Testament was printed, Byrckman and the printer sharing the cost as was the custom. So did Byrckman become Tyndale's publisher as a result of previous contact in Cologne? Andrew Hope suggested the numbers of New Testaments smuggled in to England were relatively small and that Thomas More concentrated his prosecution on heretical merchants (friends of Tyndale) rather than the booksellers. It was ironic that the personal Psalter used by More in the Tower had been published by Byrckman, but the page saying *'Franz Byrckman, Honest Merchant'* had been removed!

Then there was a choice of lectures - (a) Prof. David Norton (New Zealand) speaking on *Re-opening the King James Bible to the World with reference to the New Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, which he edited. He described his attempts to make his ideal KJV that had authenticity, readability and studiability i.e. William Tyndale's *'process, order and meaning of the text'*. The overriding principle was to retain the translator's text, but make it accessible to modern readers, both religious and secular. Modernisation, by changes in spelling and punctuation, must not compromise the text's authentic voice: spelling was not standardised in the 16th century, nor was pronunciation. Regarding meanings, one of the examples given was 'bewray' which became 'betray' by the 18th century although 'bewray' is derived from 'to reveal' (cf. Peter and the servant maid) and 'betray' means 'to hand over' from its Latin roots. An interesting example of changes in sound is 'knowen/known', but 'knowen' is still heard in New Zealand English and to change the number of syllables alters the rhythm of the text. 'Spake' can be changed to 'spoke', but changing 'Thou shalt' to 'You shall' involves a change in the character of the language, and a new translation emerges. Consistency is difficult! The KJV translators did not always indicate punctuation and the printer's judgment resulted in confusion. For example whether the wives and children of the 'brethren in Tobie' were killed with the men or carried away captive depends on the punctuation placing - the former was chosen in 1611 but the latter selected now after studying the Greek text which is not ambiguous.

Speech marks indicating the end are deemed essential for clarity although absent in the KJV, and similarly paragraphs, but ideas do not always divide readily into paragraphs. Hebrew poetry was often translated as prose in the KJV, with faint suggestions of verse - this can be indicated by the style of printing while retaining the prose. David Norton did not feel his ideal KJV had been attained in the New Cambridge Paragraph Bible, but was reading the Scriptures with new understanding and appreciation when using the N.C.P.B., as barriers to reading the KJV had been overcome.

(b) The parallel lecture was given by Dr Korey Maas (Oxford and USA) on *History as Handmaiden: Sola Scriptura and early evangelical historiography*. Did opening the Word necessarily mean closing the chronicles (i.e. history)?

To Tyndale, Sola Scriptura was foundational, as demonstrated in his disputations with Thomas More, but he also urged his readers 'to look in the chronicles' and learn from history. Robert Barnes, who was as equally implicated theologically as Tyndale in Catholic eyes and who endorsed Henry VIII's rejection of Papal authority, did not personally analyse scripture but frequently called on the testimony of history. The differing views of John Bale were noted, leading to the conclusion that there was no one Protestant view of history but several, depending on the local circumstances, but all had the objective of opening the Word.

Again there were parallel sessions in the afternoon and 4 papers were presented in each. In 'A', Dr Helen Parish (Reading) spoke on '*To conseile with elde dyuyinis of harde wordis and harde sentencis' Translations and interpretations of the Book of Daniel in 16<sup>th</sup> century England.*' Daniel 11: 37, referring to Antichrist, states that '*Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women ..... He shall magnify himself above all*' (KJV, 1611). At that time, the Papacy with its doctrinal errors was considered to be the Antichrist, so the phrase '*desire of women*' referred to the forced celibacy of the clergy, which was a feigned chastity, concealing immoral conduct. Other theologians believed this interpretation to be a distortion of the text which could be translated as '*lust upon women*' (Coverdale, 1535) or non regard of '*conjugal love in wedlock*' (George Joye), while Melancthon's Commentary referred to 1 Timothy 4: 1- 3, seducing teachers '*forbidding to marry*'. Henry VIII approved of clerical celibacy, although he experienced a sensational marital life! Continental theologians saw the characteristics of Antichrist in the rejection of Christ by Islam.

Secondly, Dr Guido Latré (Louvain) *Images, Allegories and the Word in the Context of Tyndale's Bible Translations* transported us back 500 years to the Antwerp of Tyndale's day, dominated by the Church of our Lady, now the Cathedral. As he walked from the English House (home of Thomas Poyntz) to de Keyser's printing works, Tyndale would have passed by the West Door with its sculpture of the Last Judgment, the scales weighing a person's good and evil deeds and the result deciding the future, whether spent in Heaven or Hell.

The Old Testament was interpreted allegorically at this time, so Jerusalem, the city of David, represented and described not only the Jerusalem Jesus

knew and later the moral state of the souls of the church members, but ultimately the New Jerusalem the Heavenly City. Exegesis using typology gave four senses of scriptural interpretation - the literal or historical, the allegorical, the moral or tropological, and the anagogical. The Middle Ages were a visual age and people believed that God communicated by signs, e.g. the rainbow and pillar of cloud, hence the action of the Mystery Plays. But to Tyndale, John I spoke not only of Christ but also of the power of the written word, the Scriptures. Examples of allegories discussed in the New Testament were cited, e.g. Sara and Hagar, and Noah's Ark. Tyndale's distrust of allegory was noted (see his chapter on '*The Four Senses of Scripture*' in *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, Antwerp, 1528): it was argued that the historical and moral interpretations were for those whose faith was rudimentary, while the solid bread of allegory was for those with mature faith, but Tyndale felt that the literal interpretation gave the most nourishing spiritual food, although recognising that illustrations in the form of woodcuts were useful. There was a sharp dichotomy between images and words in his mind, but poetics of later generations succeeded in combining the two.

Then the Rev. Dr Ralph Werrell (UK) contended that *William Tyndale was never Luther's Protégé*. Some 16th century theologians attributed Tyndale's views to Luther's teaching, and certainly some of Tyndale's early publications were translations of Luther's works without acknowledging the source for obvious reasons - even Thomas More thought his theology was more like Wyclif than the continental reformers. Dr Werrell showed where they differed on Scripture. (Tyndale rejected the Apocrypha) God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit - Luther's God was remote from sinners, but Tyndale's a loving, forgiving Father, and the key to Man's salvation was emphasis of the Cross in Luther's eyes, while the sacrificial blood of Christ featured more in Tyndale's. Similarly, Tyndale believed that the work of the Holy Spirit was responsible for a person's restoration, first by awakening out of sleep and then giving faith to believe. The two reformers differed over the fall of Man, Luther saying it prevented a man from living a godly life, while Tyndale stressed the element of separation from God. Regarding Flesh and Spirit to Luther flesh was the absence of the Spirit, while to Tyndale a spiritual man was one renewed in Christ. Both accepted the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, but differed over confession, Luther regarding it as a useful discipline. Confirmation was a sacramental ceremony to Luther, but Tyndale regarded it as a reminder of the promises of God in Christ. Luther rejected transubstantiation, but said the sacrament conveyed a great treasure, the forgiveness of sins, while Tyndale said it was a sign not a real-

ity: and similarly with the rite of Baptism which was only symbolic of death and new life to Tyndale. Tyndale denied Purgatory but admitted that there was no scriptural indication of the state between death and resurrection, but Luther was undecided. Finally, the Temporal and Spiritual Regiments were mentioned, Luther confining secular punishment for sin to non-Christians, but Tyndale felt it was a creation ordinance involving all. The conclusion reached was that Tyndale's theology was independent of Luther's.

The last lecture was given by Judge Thomas Martin (USA) on *Tyndale's Choice of Terms for Translation of New Testament References to Law and the Legal System* when he reminded us that Roman Law applied to the Mediterranean countries in the 1<sup>st</sup> century, when the New Testament was written. However, William Tyndale in Western Europe translated in the context of the Common Law of England in the early 16th century. Judge Martin examined Tyndale's choice of terms in relation to jurisprudence and showed he selected with precision, whereas Shakespeare sometimes chose wrongly, e.g. a moiety (half) suggests a third in Henry IV. Law in the New Testament differed from the Old Testament commands and prohibitions, e.g. Jesus's teaching on doing "extra" as in the Sermon on the Mount, and correct use of legal examples in 'adversary', 'judge', 'jailor' (minister) and paying the fine 'to the uttermost farthing'. The Anabaptists, Amish and Mennonites had a distaste for law and government, and the differences in UK and USA legal systems can be related to the English law applying in the early 16th century. Regarding divorce, a woman could be expelled and left destitute, so Moses' Bill of Divorcement was a "testimonial" more than libel and provided a woman with the liberation to remarry (although Jesus advised a higher standard). In Luke 16 Jesus commended the unjust steward for dealing wisely, although not justly - Wyclif had used the term 'bailiff', denoting a trustee of personal property. Finally testament and the death of the testator were mentioned, and Paul's advice in 1 Cor. 6 that Christians should not appeal to secular law.

In the alternative programme (B), 4 papers were given. Prof. Don Millus (USA) spoke on *The Wycliffite Text : De Ecclesia et Membris Ejus* (his paper is published in full in this issue of the Journal) which dealt with the question of who is and who is not a member of the true church of Christ. Tyndale translated this commentary into English to make it available to non-churchmen - an indication of the importance he attached to the subject.

Dr Anne O'Donnell (USA) in speaking on *Tyndale on 1 John: Water, Blood, Antichrist, Sin, Faith and Love* selected 5 topics from Tyndale's Exposition of 1 John (1531) in which he offered original interpretations.

Water refers both to the baptism of Christ and of the Christian, and the law written in our hearts being the two Great Commandments (to love God and our neighbour) rather than the Decalogue. Blood is Christ's Passion and Death, through which peace is made between God and mortals. 'Antichrist' was the 4th century Pelagian teaching of reliance on human works as exemplified in the Papacy. Mortal sin is blasphemy against the Holy Ghost and every other sin is pardonable. Faith and Love, termed 'John's Song' by Tyndale, are as inseparable as Mother and child.

Thirdly, Dr Tibor Fabiny (Budapest) gave another complementary paper when speaking on "*Christ but figured*" - *Tyndale, the Literal Sense & Typology*. Tyndale rejected allegory and claimed there is only a literal sense to Scripture, but as God is spirit, His literal is spiritual. He agreed with Luther that the spirit is to be discerned within the letter, hence there is a typological or figurative sense of Scripture.

Finally, Dr Tina Wray, (USA) in *The Fire Within: a comparison of the Prophetic Vocations of Jeremiah and William Tyndale* compared the Hebrew prophet and 16th century scholar William Tyndale. Though of different eras, both reformers addressed a 'stiff-necked' and recalcitrant people and encountered opposition from their peers, ending in their being branded heretics, imprisonment and martyrdom. Using Jeremiah's prophetic vocation as a backdrop, the parallels in the labours of the Weeping Prophet and Great Translator were traced.

After tea, there was a plenary lecture by Dr John Court (Kent) on *The Seer of Revelation*. William Tyndale was silent regarding the meaning of much of the Book of Revelation, but applied his principle that *the text means what it says*: revelation may disclose meanings but just as different materials have different functions, all can be used to tell the story of the truths of Christian Faith. Tyndale included the letters to the Seven Churches in Asia Minor which some theologians omitted. The book has urgency - '*events which must shortly come to pass..... the time is at hand*'.

John, the seer of Patmos, was the Apostle and author of the three Epistles, full of pastoral teaching, but in the book of Revelation he speaks as did the Old Testament prophets. Five aspects of his life were examined: (a) *His sense of Authority*, although the authority of pastor and seer differ, both apply here. The unity between pastor and people as seen in the Epistles mirrors the relationship between God and Christ (John 17) and Christ and the Church, culminating in the 'New Jerusalem' of Rev. 21. (b) *The historical situation of persecution* - both of individuals and the Church by the Jews and politicians of Asia Minor: this was actual and threatened, and illustrated the cosmic



battle occurring between good and evil. Meanwhile, the saints were waiting for the downfall of their enemies, often with hope against hope. The seven Letters offer ethical recommendations, but apocalyptic writings are not ethical. (c) *The Visionary*, whose communications need decoding. John, “in the spirit on a Sunday” (W.T.) had a spontaneous experience, an authentic vision of the Risen Christ and the events of the last days, e.g. the Holy City. But during the transition period, practical questions of daily church life need to be addressed. (d) *The Seer as a Theologian* - taking a wider view of Creation, then Recreation, questions arise - ‘Who rules the world now?’ ‘What are the meanings of the events of history?’ ‘Why does God not control evil?’ - He will! Christ will appear triumphant on a white horse, Jesus will be Lord and God Almighty will reign! God’s care of the church is past, present and future (e) *The Christian Prophet* - the witness of the seer is a true testimony leading to martyrdom, but eventually exultation. The two witnesses of Rev. 11 show the use of human agency to declare the judgments and authority of the sovereign God, and finally, we have the picture of ‘the Kingdoms of the world are our Lord’s and his Christ’s’ amid dramatic scenes. Much of this can be applied to the world wide church today suffering persecution and terror, while visionary artists have been inspired, such as Blake and Robin Bradbury’s *Outlook from Patmos*, 1998.

Saturday evening was a memorable occasion, when the English Chamber Choir under their conductor Guy Protheroe gave a recital in Hertford College Chapel. The music was mainly from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (Tallis, Coverdale, Sweelinck, Luther, Bach and Shepherd, choirmaster at Magdalen College), with tributes to Shakespeare by Vaughan Williams and New England Psalmody (Billings), all beautifully rendered and an insight into Reformation Worship. This was followed by a Formal Dinner in Hertford Hall when we relaxed under the scrutiny of William Tyndale and John Donne among the portraits.

On Sunday there was the Morning Service in Hertford College Chapel conducted by the Rev. David Ireson, using Tyndale’s translation for Lesson and Canticle; a collect by Erasmus on Christ being the Way, Truth and Life was appropriate to the theme of the day - “*The Past is History - The Future is Mystery - What matters is God’s gift of the Present*”. The address was given by Dr John Landers, Hertford Principal Elect, on the lost art of “listening” with reference to David Mamet’s play *Oceanna*. He extended this to global atrocities, some sadly inflicted in the name of God, and the need for all to acknowledge that they could be wrong. Now our knowledge is imperfect - as with St Paul ‘we see through a glass darkly’ - but face to face understanding is

attainable both through the written word and spoken message.

The final lecture was given by Prof. David Daniell, Chairman of the Tyndale Society, on *Shakespeare and the New Testament*, which is the title of his forthcoming book. By Shakespeare’s time, Church of England services were in English, Bible passages were read from the Geneva Bible, the people were involved in the responses and the priest addressed the people just as an actor did. Half a million Bibles and New Testaments were owned, so Shakespeare was well acquainted with the Geneva Bible. Many allusions are recognisable in his plays (examples were given) and the qualities of compelling narrative, central and strong characters, high ideals, direct speech and conflict reaching a climax, etc. are reminiscent of many Gospel narratives. There was no longer the fear of accusation of heresy, so thought was liberated, ideas were explored, innovations introduced regarding narrative mystery with increasing artistic freedoms. Whereas the Rabbinic parables had expected ends, the Gospel Parables did not and they provided a source of inspiration and insight to Shakespeare with situations applicable to daily life, e.g. suffering, the loss of identity and terrors in darkness, descent into madness, and forgiveness because of the human experience of Christ.

Prof. Daniell then brought the Conference to a close with warm thanks to Hertford College for providing facilities and hospitality. He commented on the unforgettable papers, which had shown balance and cohesion, the international friendships made and renewed, and requested prayers for the future of the Society as it entered its second decade. The Conference had “buzzed” thanks to the untiring efforts of Mary Clow and her team from the UK and USA.

**Editor’s note:** A full report by Ann Manly on the concert given by the English Chamber Choir appears in this Journal.

Prof. Donald Millus’s lecture *The Wycliffite text: De Ecclesia et Membris Eijus* and Dr Simon Oliver’s lecture *William Tyndale: Theologian of the Christian Life* are printed in this issue. We are hoping to print some more of the papers given at this Conference in subsequent issues.

It is planned to include in the next issue of the *TJS* No 31 August 2006 Prof. Morna Hooker’s keynote lecture *The Trials of a Translator*, Prof. Francis Higman’s presentation *The Geneva Context of the Geneva Bible* and Mrs Valerie Offord’s paper *Geneva Bibles and Briefs: Continuity and Acquaintanceship in the work of the Geneva Marian Exiles*.



# SPECIAL OFFER

## THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH

David Daniell

A vibrant history of the myriad English translations of the Bible and what they meant to their translators, readers and times, this eloquent book reveals how the endeavour of translating the Bible into English has changed religious practice, the arts, society and even the English language itself.

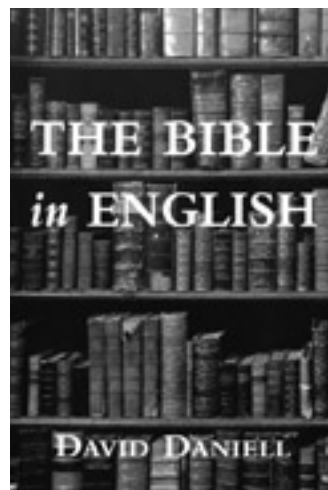
**“an enormous and exhilarating work of scholarship that sweeps through the centuries”**—Godfrey Smith,  
*The Sunday Times*

**“a fascinating and enlightening read . . . Because of Daniell’s scholarship and freshness of approach, this book will be of interest to all students of English literature”**  
—Sidney Brichto, *The Spectator*

896pp. 55 b/w illus. paperback  
Recommended retail price £14.99

**Special price of £12.50 for Tyndale Society members**

To order please contact our sales department mentioning this advert:  
telephone 020 7079 4900, email [sales@yaleup.co.uk](mailto:sales@yaleup.co.uk)



now available  
in paperback

**YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS**  
47 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3DP

## Concert in Hertford College Chapel given by The English Chamber Choir

Report by Ann Manly

The English Chamber Choir was delighted to continue its association with the William Tyndale Society by giving a recital during last September’s conference. On previous occasions, our programmes have featured musical settings of words created by Tyndale himself; this year we decided instead to look at his legacy, as pursued by those of his contemporaries who outlived him and their successors. This led us to the rich corpus of metrical settings – from Luther, from Geneva, and from here in Britain – by means of which the Word was spread, in the vernacular, to communities who previously would not have possessed the education to read or learn for themselves. Along with these verses comes a huge repertoire of melodies, some of which became so familiar that just hearing the tune would immediately recall to mind the words which went with it.

We could easily have filled the programme with well-known and well-loved hymn tunes, but both the words and music of many of these have provided inspiration to composers over the years to create more elaborate versions of their own. But we also included a few ‘wild cards’: Tallis’ setting of Tyndale’s words *If ye love me* became something of a mantra during our visit to Antwerp so we wanted to repeat it. John Sheppard’s *Lord’s Prayer* also has direct links to Tyndale via Magdalen and Oxford, as well as being something of a musicological curiosity – a setting of Tyndale’s English translation but in a very pre-Reformation ‘melismatic’ style.. And at Prof. David Daniell’s suggestion we included a couple of settings of words by Shakespeare (this is at some distance from metrical psalmody, but reflects the contribution made by both Tyndale and Shakespeare to the evolution of the English language as we know it).

We were grateful to Prof. Francis Higman for suggesting Sweelinck’s Psalm 33. We had not come across it before, but it is a virtuoso piece; it will certainly stay in our repertoire. Sweelinck was one of the foremost keyboard virtuosos of the early 17th century, but he also wrote extensively for voices and set many psalms in French from the Geneva Bible. The work of Tyndale’s contemporary, Miles Coverdale, needed little introduction. Coverdale’s influence on his musical contemporaries was two-fold: unlike Tyndale, he survived persecution and thus went on to translate the psalms, always a



## Letters to the Editor

rich source of inspiration to composers, and also to begin working on metrical texts. We chose a carol translated from Luther which was included in Coverdale's *Goostly Psalms and Spirituall Songes* of 1546.

The English hymn *All people that on earth do dwell*, popularly known as the *Old Hundredth*, is very familiar today from its inclusion in *The English Hymnal* by Ralph Vaughan Williams, who was also responsible for our Shakespeare settings – *The Cloud capp'd Towers* and *Over hill, Over dale*.

The early settlers of 17th century New England took with them the heritage of metrical psalm singing from the English Reformation, but developed their own style, which came to be known as the 'fuguing tune'. So we included a setting of Psalm 68 by one of its foremost exponents, William Billings. The 19th-century German composer Johannes Brahms wrote a setting of the chorale *Es ist das Heil*, which co-incidentally follows a very similar pattern. The words are by Paul Speratus, a German contemporary of Tyndale who began his career as a Catholic priest, but finally settled in Wittenberg where he worked with Luther.

So, almost at the end of our programme, we reached the founder of modern hymnody – Martin Luther himself. Luther was in many ways the ultimate practical musician. As a child he had sung in the local *Kurrende* group – a collection of singers who went from house to house singing at weddings and funerals. He happily collaborated with other musicians on producing settings of the Mass which would be performable by an uneducated congregation. In the same way, he acknowledged that the singing of hymns was an ideal way of involving the congregation. In fact his own contribution as a composer was not as extensive as is generally believed. Many of the chorales which became the cornerstone of Lutheran worship were gathered from traditional melodies and metrical versions of Latin hymns. One of the few which is directly attributed to him, however, is *Ein' feste Burg*. It went on to become one of the best-loved of Lutheran chorales and, in 19th-century Britain, attracted the attention of Thomas Carlyle, whose translation of it is found in most English hymn books. The harmony, once again, was that of J.S. Bach.

Bach himself composed a total of six motets, four of which use double chorus, in addition to a huge series of cantatas most of which are based on Luther's chorales. In terms of metrical settings, *Singet dem Herrn* is notable for its central section, which contrasts two metrical texts, juxtaposed between two choirs. Apart from that, it is a joyful, exuberant piece, which proved highly appropriate to usher our audience on to dinner where, we hope, it continued to ring in their ears.

Dear Valerie,

To watch the Tyndale Society grow from strength to strength, even on the other side of the Atlantic, has always gladdened my heart. But now I see that Master Tyndale is becoming known even to the French who delight in quoting him (albeit in French).

Let me explain. A little while ago, I was speeding nonchalantly through the tiny Normandy village of Cedez-le-Passage, when it hit me - the importance of the spoken as well as the written word. Looking in my mirror, I could see the dazzling display of flashing headlights, and hear the raucous cacophony of a hundred car horns with which French motorists always seem to greet me, and I was content with the warmth that I felt at the joy they had over simply seeing yet another English motorist on their roads. But that warmth was soon turned to elation when several of them drew alongside me and began to shout Master Tyndale's famous last words: *'Eh, ouvrez les yeux...!'* - to which I retorted (completing the line): *'...du roi d'Angleterre!'* This was wonderful. It was as if they knew that I must myself be a Tyndalian. I was regaled with several other phrases that were unfamiliar to me (I was my housemaster's despair at French), though I think some of them had to do with farming - well, I had the wind in my ears. But isn't it delightful not only that they should know our Tyndale's words so intimately, but that they should go to such lengths to show off their knowledge?

Obviously, we are having an amazing impact. Vive le Tyndale! Vive la TSoc! Vive le Journal! - that's what I say.

Bill Cooper,  
email 21 August 2005

PS. *TSJ no 29* is excellent. Keep up the good work.

Dear Valerie,

Neil Inglis's review of McCrie is a delight. He should now be persuaded to do one on d'Aubigné, both *The Reformation of the 16th century* and *The Reformation in Europe to the time of Calvin*. But that would be cruel, as d'Aubigné is listed by Amazon in a variety of editions, new and second hand, at widely varying prices - cheap to ridiculous -, and I would trust none of them without a good look. He too is on DVD, and there complete. *The Banner of Truth* issued sections as a useful two-volume *The Reformation in England 40 years ago*, long out of print - I read them then and I wish I had time to read them again. They go as far as the death of Henry VIII, and so tell the story of Tyndale.

I was pleased to read that the new edition of Bray is not much changed. This is a book I have often intended to buy, but never have done. Goaded on by Korey Maas's review, I looked it up on the web, and have ordered a 'good' (apparently unread) second hand copy for less than £8 including postage, and it is the American hardback edition.

Grace and peace,

Vic

(By email on 18 August 2005 from Victor Perry)

**The reviewer, Neil Inglis, replied on 24 August**

Dear Vic

Thank you for your kind words, which are greatly appreciated.

I may be back in touch with you if I need to track down the titles you mention - I'd be interested in getting a French edition, as one of the professional hazards of being a translator is that I do not enjoy reading English translations - I keep seeing things that could be done differently.

Sincerely

Neil L. Inglis

Editor's note

A review by Prof. D. Millus of Alan Savage's study of *D'Aubigné's Meditations sur les Pseaumes* appeared in the July 2004 issue no 27 of the *TJS*.

Review article

## Some recent books by Rowan Williams

David Daniell

November 2005

***Writing in the Dust: Reflections on 11th September and its aftermath*** Hodder & Stoughton, 2002, ISBN 034078718.

***Silence and Honey Cakes: the wisdom of the desert*** Lion Hudson, 2003, ISBN 0745951708.

***Anglican Identities*** Dayton, Longman and Todd, 2004, ISBN 0232525277.

***Why Study the Past? The Quest for the Historical Church*** Dayton, Longman and Todd, 2005, ISBN 0232525498.

***Grace and Necessity: Reflections on Art and Love*** Blackwell, 2005, ISBN 0631214402.

***Christian Imagination in Poetry and Polity: Some Anglican Voices from Temple to Herbert*** SLG Press, Fairacres, 2004, ISBN 0728301628.

The Tyndale Society's most active Patron, Dr Rowan Williams, is an outstanding man. As Archbishop of Canterbury he needs all his prayerful diplomacy to hold together the world-wide Anglican communion at a time of sometimes intemperately expressed dissension - a task not helped by an inaccurate press. That is surely demanding enough. Yet he also writes several books a year. He is a poet of distinction. He is described as the most significant theologian of his generation. His list of publications is formidable: he is fully at home in the world of learning. He stands at the pinnacle of a noble Anglican tradition of scholarly Archbishops; and he writes with an immediate voice.

I have not space here to comment on *Love's Redeeming Work*, the anthology of Anglican devotional writing which he co-edited for OUP in 2001: nor *The Dwelling of the Light: Praying with Icons of Christ* (2003). And immediately before those dates there were, of course, *Lost Icons*, *Christ on Trial* and the large book *On Christian Theology* (all 2000) - the latter setting a new standard in combining immense erudition, challenging thought, pastoral insight and spiritual experience.

The five recent books noticed here are all quite different, but each is profound, disturbingly original, spiritually enriching and fed by the streams of centuries of thought.

In the important booklet of meditation *Writing in the Dust*, Dr Williams, who was only a couple of blocks away from the Twin Towers on 11 September 2001, asks 'whether anything can grow through this terrible moment' (p.xi): in religious terms, 'you don't have to be Richard Dawkins to notice that there is a problem' (p.2). Like the problem, thoughts here deny glib analysis. Working from the 'breathing space' of the consideration for loved ones shown in some last words from the aircraft, through the temptations of a language of 'answering back', he observes how 'the shape of state violence has changed' (p.39) into an irregularity which can, 'in our restless passion for drama' ignore 'local and unexciting heroism' (p.48). Considering what to do, he asks, 'Can we, for God's sake, let go of the fantasies nurtured by the capacity for high-tech aerial assault? ... the posturing that suggests that any questioning of current methods must be weakness at best, treason at worst' (pp.49-50). He recognises the new fear in the North Atlantic world 'In the global village, fire can jump more easily from roof to roof' (p.56): and he observes that to the poor in the global village, 'the spiral of wealth is also a spiral of threat' (p.61). The experience of 9/11 'is not just a nightmarish insult to us but a door into the suffering of countless other innocents' (p.63). The trick of opposing symbols not people allows a safe distance: Jesus's responses in John 9, and 8, suggest a different presence, a 'breathing space' that allows the possibility of the unexpectedness of God manifest.

The delicious *Silence and Honey Cakes (2003)* is loved by an increasing number of Christians of all kinds. In it Rowan Williams returns to the desert fathers and mothers of the fourth and fifth centuries, revealing a spirituality that is searching. 'The desert monastics have an uncompromising message for us: a relationship with eternal truth and love simply doesn't happen unless we mend our relations with Tom, Dick and Harriet.' (p.22). Central is the quest for the difference between being an individual and the richness of being a person. Showing the real meanings of 'Fleeing' and 'Staying', he makes a book full of people and responses to them; he is alert to, among other modern positions, the ascetics' familiar illusion 'that to discover ourselves all we need is for other people to go away' (p.46). Accessible, challenging and funny, he has the nice throw-away remark that 'archbishops are regarded with healthy suspicion in most of this literature' (p.45). Nevertheless, this is a book by an archbishop which opens windows, and immediately demands to be read again.

*Why Study the Past?* develops a series of lectures given in Salisbury Cathedral in May 2003 under the auspices of Sarum College. He presses the importance of the two-thousand-year history of the Church, and he chal-

lenges how it is made. He quotes the French theologian Michel de Certeau in 1991: 'Christianity is not one of the great things of history: history is one of the great things of Christianity' (p.6). The golden thread running through the book is that the Body of Christ, past, present and future, is 'established not by human process grounded in and limited by events, cultures and so on, but by God's activity' (p.2). At the heart is the strangeness of God in his people, the holding together of continuity and discontinuity in one story. This is powerful in his second chapter, 'Resident Aliens: the Identity of the Early Church'. The debates about doctrine in the fourth and fifth centuries were not intellectual exercises but arose from the 'alien citizenship' of Christians in the Roman Empire, more sharply defined by martyrdoms, and by understanding of the divine presence and power in the eucharist, both, as it were, appealing to a higher court than the emperor.

The third chapter, 'Grace Alone: Continuity and Novelty in the Reformation Era', is the most acute exposition of the roots and progress (and modern effects) of the Reformation that I know, mining beneath those immemorial truths of Church history that, as he wilyly notes, date from the 19th century.

The Reformation debate was not one between self-designated Catholics and Protestants; it was a debate about where the Catholic Church was to be found. 'Is the Pope a Catholic?' was not a joke in the sixteenth century (p.63).

The medieval Church 'had ceased to *be* a church in any theologically interesting sense', something understood from 'the instinctive recovery by the Reformers - and subsequently by their critics too - of the patristic conviction about the dependence of the Church on God's action alone' (ibid.). A fine account of Luther leads to an extended pairing of Tyndale and Hooker, the former going beyond Luther to see far - and early - into the practical considerations of the fact of God's prior action in all things. Tyndale has 'a very distinctive sense of how justification by faith shapes a moral and political agenda' (p.75); how 'God's gifts are restless in the hands of the receiver until they are given again ... as active signs of love' (pp.76-7).

The final chapter, 'History and Renewal: records of the Body of Christ', looks at more modern interpretations of 'what Christians have meant by allying their freedom with the alien sovereignty of God' (p.114) - the concluding sentence, and summary, of this powerful book.

*Anglican Identities* collects his latest studies of significant figures in English church history. Richard Hooker gets two chapters, William Tyndale and George Herbert one; B. F. Westcott appears twice, as does John A.T. Robinson. Michael Ramsey has a chapter to himself. It is a compelling book, cunningly



cutting to the often hidden heart of modern anxieties. I have myself found that, for his New Testament Greek textual revisions, to more extreme partisans of the King James Bible Westcott still has horns and a tail. Here, in a different world from such ill-informed dispatching, is a Westcott alive to the theology of the whole of Scripture and its emancipations, a record of the manifestation of God's glory.

The chapter on Robinson's *Honest to God* (1963) begins 'It was a most unlikely bestseller' (p.103), and Dr Williams's analysis is not only of the strengths and faults of the book, and of its times (splendidly quoting Charlie Brown in *Peanuts*, 'How can I be wrong if I'm so sincere?' p.116) but also including the essential understanding that, the last religious book in the UK with a mass readership, it appeared to give 'permission to express dismay or disillusion at the uncritical language of... the semiprofessional theological world' (p.118).

The common theme of *Anglican Identities* is the Christian's essential involvement in 'a bourgeois environment without self-serving drama' (p.120), sacred actions or persons [in] the social enterprise at large' (p.3), not avoiding our neighbour. Most important for readers of this Journal, as for the book, is that the first, indeed, the founding, chapter is on Tyndale, who, as Dr Williams is 'increasingly persuaded, is the true theological giant of the English Reformation' (*ibid.*). The chapter reprints his 1998 Lambeth Tyndale lecture from our *Tyndale Society Journal* No. 12, March 1999, where he set out, exhilaratingly, 'to uncover more fully what Tyndale thought he was doing' (p.10), particularly in his *Obedience of a Christian Man* and *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, the latter 'perhaps the most powerful treatment of social morality to come from the Reformation era in Britain' (p.11). Tyndale, he summarises

*defines a kind of discipleship which deeply marks later English Protestantism - valuing the home and family as the place where the school of Christ is encountered ... and, more drastically, assuming that Christian discipleship will change social and economic relations to an almost unrecognisable extent* (p.3).

That would include relations even to 'infidels': Dr Williams sees there an echo of Clement of Alexandria, 'a love crossing barriers of all kinds' (p.15), to create 'the ideal of the Christian society as a pattern of reciprocal action and shared dignity' (p.16).

2005 has also seen the appearance of *Grace and Necessity: Reflections on Art and Love*, the exploration, originally in the Clark Lectures in Cambridge earlier this year, of 'a theme that had fascinated me for several decades - the relationship between Christian thought and the practice of the arts' (p. ix). Starting from a much-needed reassessment of the French Catholic thinker Jacques

Maritain, Dr Williams proposes a new theological aesthetic, using as examples two Catholic artists, the Welsh painter and poet David Jones, and the short story writer and novelist from the deep South, Mary Flannery O'Connor, both of whom thought and wrote about what they did in the light of their faith. What emerges is that if art is an uncovering of what is uniquely human, that condition being supremely in Christ, the much-fought-over ground of the dichotomy of grace and nature - are they distinct, or a unity? - yields to the presence of the being and action of God. Reading this ground-breaking, dense book, written at a theological frontier, we are aware that Dr Williams, even before he became Bishop of Monmouth and Archbishop of Wales, was for six years Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

These comments, I felt, were necessary before I could come to the 2004 book that the editor originally asked me to review, the 43 page *Christian Imagination in Poetry and Polity*, 'talks', as he describes them, first given as a seminar at the Institute of Spiritual Studies in Melbourne. Introducing them, he explains that though the time-sequence of Temple to Herbert seems odd, the theme will be seen to fall that way. Anglicanism's engagement at the centre of social order is well shown by William Temple, an Archbishop who argued for reforms and re-thinkings, who should be thought of as one of the architects of the post-war Welfare State in Britain. Equally in the historical essence of Anglicanism, however, as a largely hidden stream, is the wisdom of the country priest crystallised in local writing, seen in 'the mystical intensity and contemplative imagination' (p.2) in the poems of George Herbert. As in the whole, penetrating, fourth chapter of *Anglican Identities*, here in *Christian Imagination* he shows how, in Herbert, theological terms were, experientially, 'made strange' (p.58, quoting Herbert). Turned to 'with much joy' (p.29) Herbert is placed with Spenser, Traherne, Vaughan, T.S.Eliot and R.S.Thomas with wonderful lucidity in the understanding of what Herbert meant by affliction, 'a theology of God's grief' in Dr Williams' startling phrase (p.41).

Of special interest to readers of this Journal, however, is Dr Williams' increasing emphasis on the theology of William Tyndale 'a better theologian than he is sometimes given credit for being' (p.8). In this book he follows his *Anglican Identities* thinking to concentrate on Tyndale's emphasis on a true Christian's perpetual 'grateful indebtedness' to God and his neighbour, against a religious practice which 'struggles to keep God in your debt' (p.8). The brief, crystal pages on Tyndale shine with a marvellous light - not for nothing were they extracted and printed in the *Church Times* for 9 September 2005 (at the time of our Oxford Tyndale Conference - was that coin-

vidence?). Here is Tyndale set with Edwin Sandys (Archbishop of York in Queen Elizabeth's reign), Latimer and, refreshingly, Coleridge. Dr Williams sums up this stream of devotion and theology in his phrase

*contemplative pragmatism ... an attitude of time-taking, patient, absorbing awareness of the particular situation you are in ... to look long enough and hard enough for God to come to light. Which means a certain suspicion of hasty, gung-ho religious language, a certain suspicion of exaggerated religious experience - the idea yet again that God is a really exciting leisure activity (p.17).*

Tyndale is the first writer discussed here who is, as all can be seen to be, an apologist for 'a theologically informed and spiritually sustained *patience*' (p.7).

What is so characteristic of Rowan Williams' writing is not only the sense of a doggedly clear mind seeing all the issues that have to be taken into account at any point, but also the extraordinary breadth of reference, in text and notes, to the fundamental discussions of the matters in hand in dozens of different fields. The modest statements that a writer 'notes, as no one else has', or that someone's book is 'the best account' of something, conceal a great deal of knowledge. Simply to observe all this and the number of times the authority quoted is, equally modestly, 'R.Williams', about the most recent scholarship, work sometimes in French, German or Russian -- is to rejoice that we have an Archbishop (and Patron) so completely at home in the worlds of thought and art. It is seriously important to have such a scholar's leadership in the new assessment of William Tyndale's 'remarkable originality and breadth of theological thought' (*Anglican Identities*, p.17).

David Daniell is Emeritus Professor of English at University College London, Emeritus Chairman of the Tyndale Society and Honorary Fellow of Hertford and St Catherine's colleges, Oxford.

## A Fatal Confusion Revisited

Dr Michael Smythe

*historian and educational consultant living in San Diego, California*

**Benjamin Justice, *The War That Wasn't: Religious Conflict and Compromise in the Common Schools of New York State, 1865-1900*.** Suny Press, 2005, 285pp. ISBN 0791462110

In his recent masterpiece, *The Bible in English* (2003), Dr David Daniell rightfully challenges historians and writers who possess the 'puzzling' attribute of 'Bible-blindness' when it comes to their renditions of American colonial history. Their omissions and/or distortions of the Bible's significance in that formative period are ill founded and their miscues amount to building a house on sand. For Daniell, "Colonising is a Bible thing".

But as he moved into the Revolutionary War era, Daniell recounted in arresting detail how the prominent bookseller and printer Robert Aitken appealed to Congress in January 1781, for authorization and financial support of the first complete English Bible to be published in America. Due to the ravages of war, copies had become scarce. According to Daniell, it is here "one first encounters three unexpected circumstances that will haunt the story of the Bible in America". Besides the fact that Americans stubbornly clung to the KJV only and refused to do fresh translation work, what primarily concerns us is the curious "reluctance of the first Congresses to have anything to do with such a printing". In the fall of 1782 after prolonged committee investigation, opaque replies and no forthcoming monies, Congress could only muster a mild resolution in behalf of Aitken's Bible. Finally, reducing matters to an even lower equation, they qualified their commendation by acknowledging his Bible as "an instance of the progress of the arts in this country".

It is noteworthy to read Aitken's original request before Congress where he stated:

That in every well regulated Government in Christendom the Sacred books of the Old and New Testament, commonly called the Holy Bible, are printed and published under the Authority of the Sovereign powers, in order to prevent *the fatal confusion* that would arise, and the alarming injuries the Christian faith might suffer from the Spurious and erroneous Editions of Divine Revelation... (italics mine)

Fatal confusion? In absentia, Daniell upbraids Aitken in his obsequious campaign for political sanction and approval of his Bible by posing the acid

question: “Did it not occur to him...that he was free to work independently?” (Presumably, as did Tyndale, who had the teeth of the English state upon his heels!) Daniell concluded that, “Self-interest, and those increasingly distressing assumptions about the United States as God’s elect nation, began to muddy the stream.”

The irony of Daniell’s remarks strikes a nerve in the American vein for its clamouring about independence and the pretensions of an evolving Civil Religion. A great disjunction or wall of confusion protrudes over America’s self-understanding of the past and present concerning the dimensions of law, government, religion, society, education, and their relationship to the Bible.

To be sure, Bible production in the early American republic and throughout the nineteenth-century was prolific. Writing of the American Bible Society, historian Peter J. Wosh recorded, “Observers marveled at the system and order of the enterprise, the logical progression of the work, and the staggering production”. Producing 228,000 Bibles in 1842, a decade later the ABS shot it up to 842,000. Print explosion coincided with the advent and expansion of public schools. Above all, Americans had faith in their institutions: none was higher than that for common or public schools. As historian John Patrick Diggins reported on antebellum America, “the schoolhouse replaced the polis as the source of human development”. Roughly speaking, the common assumption was that the American experiment, especially its schools, rested upon virtue, virtue upon morality, and morality upon the Bible.

Traditionally, Americans pictured the Bible as being applied freely, actively and integrally in schools from their inception in the early nineteenth-century onward. This view did not change much until rumblings began to surface over various Supreme Court rulings starting in the 1940s and culminating in *Vitale v. Engle* that banned prayer in 1962 and *Abington Township School District v. Schempp* that banned Bible-reading in US schools in 1963. America’s moral, spiritual and legal nosedive in the 1960s was considered by many to be only a recent phenomenon that continues in the never ending ‘Culture Wars’. Some even believed that the decline of America’s schools and diminution of the Bible’s importance within them were the direct result of radical influences. Who is fooling whom?

Although applied to higher education, D.G. Hart lamented that, “Educational historians have been hard pressed to look at the rise of universities from a perspective other than the warfare perspective”. Here Hart was referring to habitual clashes between secularists and Christians, especially Creationists and Darwinists (now it is the debate over ‘intelligent design’). Yet the same distinction has held true for historians writing about the place

of religion, particularly the Bible, in the origin and development of public schools in American history. That is, until now.

In his startling work, *The War That Wasn’t*, Benjamin Justice, Rutgers University Professor of History and Education, bemoans that in “the last 100 years, the history of religion in American public schools in late nineteenth-century America” related “a most gruesome story of irreconcilable conflict” featuring pitched battles between competing ideologies and groups like Republicans and Democrats, Nativists and immigrants, Catholics and Protestants, over such religious exercises as prayers, hymn-singing and most significantly Bible-reading. Hence, the so-called ‘warfare thesis’.

While Justice neither denies nor ignores collisions over the Bible, taking note of such conflicts as the Cincinnati Bible Wars where the city Board of Education banned Bible-reading in public schools in 1869, his surprising argument and conclusion over the use of the Bible in public schools (at least in New York state in the second half of the nineteenth-century) was largely one of ‘peaceful adjustments’. He cites brawls like the 1871 Orange Day Riot in New York City in which 100 Catholics and Protestants were killed, and from *Harper’s Weekly* he displayed cartoonist Thomas Nast’s caricatures of Catholic bishops as crocodiles landing on New York’s shores to snap-up innocent Protestant children attending public schools. He also disclosed President Ulysses S. Grant’s efforts to fuel anti-Catholic sentiment saying “if the nation should go again to war, the new Mason-Dixon line would be drawn at the common schoolhouse door, and sectarian (Catholic) influence would be the new enemy.” Justice related Rochester’s Catholic Bishop Bernard McQuaid’s charge, “that public schools gave Catholics ‘a defective, injurious, poisonous education’ and were either offensively Protestant or dangerously infidel,” and he “and other leading bishops in New York State openly threatened Catholic parents and their children with denial of the Sacraments (and thus eternal damnation) for refusing to send their children to parochial schools.” Notwithstanding this list of fussing, fuming, and fighting, Justice discovered that the sound and fury of state and national rhetoric about religious differences was overblown and far removed from daily reality.

“Rather than focus on the rhetorical battles over religion at the state and national levels,” Justice examines “how local school districts dealt with religion in practice”. Historian R. Laurence Moore thinks “the most neglected issue in the endless discussions about religion in American public schools is the historical question: What constituted general practice in the multitude of school districts across the nation?” One must realize that the entire machinery of the New York state department of education at this time was

comprised of one superintendent, three clerks and one deputy to oversee nearly 12,000 school districts spread throughout the state. Although given 'broad powers' by the legislature, the superintendent's office overwhelmingly deferred to local officials, called trustees, to decide school matters, including religious issues, but the one thing the state consistently did was "intervene in behalf of religious minorities who objected to mandatory religious exercises". The role of the state department consisted of managing state funds, recording statistics and administering state law, but for many years there was "little effort to clarify policies toward religion".

From 1822 to 1913 superintendents received 12,000 appeals. Justice concludes that the appeals "process also offers the most sterling example of the weakness of religion as a state educational issue," appearing in "only 1.5 per cent of appeals", and then "usually as a complaint about religious meetings in the schoolhouse after hours". In a revealing discovery by Justice, he located state surveys during the years 1827-1840 where the public schools of each town reported on the 'common usage' of various textbooks and reading materials, including the 'New Testament and the Bible'. Of all schools, Bible usage recorded a high in 1830 of 28 per cent and ten years later in 1840 a disastrously lower figure of 11 per cent. On a national scale, Moore found Bible-reading to be 'widespread' but "neither universal nor framed uniformly". Justice says this "evidence shows that religion was not a major, bitterly divisive issue in local practice in cities or rural districts". But this is true for reasons that the public has either forgotten or never learned.

Running counter to virtually all histories of education, much less the public's reckoning of these matters, Justice describes what amounts to a shattering structural revolution in American education and society. He succinctly explains,

*A quiet revolution* occurred from 1800 to 1830, in which democratic governance supplanted ecclesiastical and private control of community schooling. (italics mine)

He elaborates saying "the workings of the common school system after the Civil War requires looking to its foundation decades before. The tangled relationship between religion and nineteenth-century common schools stemmed from the late eighteenth-century—from seeds sown in the American Revolution (as Daniell noted above). Historians of education and would-be reformers have focused much of their attention on this formative period, and rightfully so. From the formal ratification of the federal constitution in 1789 to the end of the early national period in the 1820s, American education underwent its own revolution—one that redefined the relationship among religion, government, and schooling."

This is the revolution of which Americans are seemingly oblivious. Justice adds "that the most significant feature of early nineteenth-century common schools is not that they often contained elements of culture as religion...but that their mode of control and course of study were so startlingly secular". From the very beginning, public schools served secular interests and assigned the Bible a secondary and subservient role. The center and circumference of the public school rested with the priority of the civil over the religious. Most Bible exercises were mere window-dressing, perfunctory, either before or after school hours, brief, and often ignored. If anyone objected to a Scripture reading, for the sake of peace, the Bible was tossed and minority interests were protected. Civil Religion reduced the Bible to an empty symbol and ritual devoid of its true meaning. Finally muzzled, Scripture could only be read as bare KJV text 'without note or comment'. The biggest state in the union with more immigrants pouring into its ports than anywhere else in the world, New York straitjacketed the Scriptures by requiring its readings to sound nonsectarian and inoffensive to the ears of its diverse student population and their parents. The Bible had to accommodate itself into the one, uniform, public school system always wearing a harmonious dress. Before hardly bolting out the gate in the young America of the early nineteenth-century, state and culture had already swallowed the Bible, feathers and all.

David Tyack, Emeritus Professor of History at Stanford University (Justice's mentor) realized the implications of this sort of accommodation and wrote about its political, social and ideological consequences forty years ago. It leads to a paradox.

Having fought a war to free the United States from one centralized authority, they attempted to create a new unity, a common citizenship and culture, and an appeal to a common future. In this quest for a balance between order and liberty, for the proper transaction between the individual and society, (Thomas) Jefferson, (Benjamin) Rush, and (Noah) Webster encountered a conflict still inherent in the education of the citizen...the free American was to be, in political convictions, the uniform American...they saw conformity as the price of liberty.

This meant no less than that in the sprawling new nation of promise in the early republic, American citizens, families, churches, ministers, officials, villages, towns, and cities individually, progressively and en masse authorized and sanctioned control of the education of their children from their own hands and placed it into the hands of the secular state and its schools. As State Superintendent of Public Instruction Victor Rice of New York declared in 1866, "A teacher has no right to consume any portion of the regular school



## Book Reviews

hours in conducting religious exercises, especially when objection is raised. The principle is this: Common schools are supported and established for the purpose of imparting instruction in the common English branches; religious instruction forms no part of the course". Essentially, Justice acknowledges, this transformation was achieved passively, quietly and seamlessly. Should this be surprising when historian Steven Watts in *War and the Making of Liberal America* (1987) demonstrated from 1790 to 1820 America underwent 'a massive shift' from a communitarian to a liberal, commercial republic? Historian and legal scholar Mark Douglas McGarvie augmented Justice's research in his compelling work *One Nation Under Law* (2004) with the critical observation that as churches disestablished in the early republic, they passed from being public institutions becoming private corporations. This change directly affected schools:

Not only were churches redefined as private corporations but religion was largely excluded from schools and statehouses. Many children's books and other materials used for teaching from 1790 to 1820 were rewritten to substitute republican virtues for Christian pieties and to foster attitudes of individual advancement over the communal good. While the Bible may still have rested on many an American's bookshelf, law became the ultimate authority....Under the law, churches enjoyed no special privileges in the political forum.

In the shape and passage of America's educational sojourn, schooling spanned three phases: the colonial period of the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries accenting a Biblical Commonwealth; nineteenth-century schools turning to a radically new system controlled by local, democratically elected officials where secular courses and morality prevailed; and twentieth-century education marked by bureaucratic centralization under the aegis of secular Progressives.

Reflecting upon his students for whom the Bible had become an alien object, Allan Bloom in *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987) writes, "The loss of the gripping inner life vouchsafed those who were nurtured by the Bible must be primarily attributed not to our schools or political life, but to the family...fathers and mothers have lost the idea that the highest aspiration they might have for their children is for them to be wise—as priests, prophets or philosophers are wise. Specialized competence and success are all that they can imagine. Contrary to what is commonly thought, without the book even the idea of the order of the whole is lost"—an idea for which Tyndale lived and died.

**John H. Fisher, *The Emergence of Standard English*.** The University Press of Kentucky Copyright 1996 ISBN 0813119359 (cloth: alk. paper) ISBN 0813108527 (paper: alk. paper)

How do you give a Chaucer scholar a fit? Tell them you've read *Who Murdered Chaucer? – A Medieval Mystery* by ex-Monty Pythonite Terry Jones et al.

How do you give a Chaucer scholar another fit? Tell them you read *Who Murdered Chaucer?* before attempting Chaucer himself. *Who Murdered...* is a beach book - an enjoyable romp, superbly illustrated, yet full of blokish anachronisms. Jones suggests that Chaucer was murdered in secret on account of his heterodox beliefs. An interesting theory; but I digress...

Care for something a bit more conventional? Look no further than *The Emergence of Standard English* by John Fisher (pleasantly Tudor-ish sounding name, that!). Fisher is a Chaucer expert of the old school and Professor emeritus of English at the University of Tennessee. His book is technical - a collection of essays produced over some 20 years. According to the bibliography, Chaucer scholars study the inks used in the various Canterbury Tales manuscripts, and argue over the proper sequencing of the tales. How dull is that! Fisher's stated subject - how English emerged from the ashes of the Norman invasion to kick French out - is hard to spoil, however, and the author makes the most of it. Chaucer is featured in the book - but not in the starring role. We Tyndalians think of Chaucer and Shakespeare as shapers of the English tongue. Fisher rather downplays their influence. Tyndale is (surprise!) absent.

Who, then, have been the real shapers of the language? Fisher salutes the role of 'entrepreneurial lexicographers and grammarians' (a tradition continued, he might now agree, by *Eats Shoots and Leaves* and other middlebrow style guides). And he nods in the direction of the English clergy, who have followed their own path throughout our country's history.

'Whereas the Anglo-Saxon clergy had been quite independent and inclined to translate scripture and learning into English, the Norman clergy were strong adherents of Rome and were inclined to conduct all of their affairs in Latin.'

So men of the cloth were important - but not the main event. The author's agenda becomes clear when he says 'Concurrently with the Wycliffite writers, the government and merchant classes in London began to turn to English'. The author's thesis, then, is that the English language was moulded and regular-

ized by the clerks and officials of the Chancery - the emerging civil service, in other words. The author quotes a useful definition: *'Chancery was the Secretariat of State in all departments of late medieval government'*.

I had imagined that chaos continued in English orthography up until Samuel Johnson. Not so. Progress was made in imposing consistency as early as the 1400s, even if some of the choices adopted by Chancery scribes went the way of the dodo (Caxton chooses "them" over the Chancery "theym"). Chancery spelling was diverse, but the main thing was that spelling variations no longer represented dialectal differences in pronunciation.

Chancery was nowhere near universal. Fisher reminds us of the huge North/South divide in that time. *'Typical examples of non-Chancery legal writing include northern spelling of the preterite as "t" (asket, assemblet, anoydet)'*. The motto of the Chancery scribes was not *'if it feels good, do it.'* A sense of error is often noticeable in their manuscripts; Fisher spots a caret used to add "h" to "warf".

Remember, this was the language of officialdom, not of pilgrims or the Wife of Bath. Chaucer the poet was championed in the 1400s, of course; but as a safely dead purveyor of the English language and emerging nationalist sentiment (newly in favour under Henry V), rather than as the author of insolent and religiously questionable material (very much out of favour under Henry IV and V). Chaucer and his contemporaries could not have pulled off a revolution by themselves. For English to displace the long-entrenched languages of bureaucracy (Latin and French), support needed to come straight from the top. And it was soon forthcoming. In 1416 Henry V made five proclamations in English to the citizens of London, requesting supplies and mobilizing soldiers and sailors. From his second invasion of France in August 1417 to his death in August 1422 Henry V's official communications were prepared in English, generally by secretaries but reflecting the king's own style and preferences.

So, spare a thought for the Mandarins of 14<sup>th</sup> century Westminster, whom historians have overlooked. As academic theses go - language revolution implemented by Whitehall - this is not calculated to set pulses racing or to send protesters into the streets. But there is some truth to the following sentence:

*'The compact, disciplined, hierarchical body of civil servants is not merely an antiquarian curiosity but a fact of capital importance in the evolution of standard written English, since this is the group who introduced English as an official language of central administration between 1420 and 1460.'*

Nor is Fisher a reductionist or revisionist: *'(...) myth may not illuminate the*

*past, but it tells us much that is significant about the present and our aspirations for the future'; 'To deny or denigrate (...) myth is just as unsatisfactory to scholarship and criticism as it is to promulgate that myth naively.'*

There are fascinating nuggets in here. William the Conqueror's administration made a stab - an exceedingly brief, short-lived stab - at using Saxon Standard in official pronouncements. Was this a gesture of conciliation?

An all-important British industry - brewers - hopped into the language controversy in 1422 when they announced that henceforth, their records would be kept in English. Making this announcement in Latin rather spoiled the effect.

What of printing? William Caxton gets the glory in history books and in PBS documentaries (*The Story of English* etc.). But his role, for Fisher, was as a 'transmitter'. In a miracle of faint praise, Fisher notes that *'modern written Standard English continues to bear the imprint of Caxton's heterogeneous practice'*. The groundwork for a somewhat standardized English prose - and for British wit and pithy understatement - was laid long before Caxton's presses swung into action.

Neil L. Inglis, November 2005.

### **James Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII and His Wives*.**

British Library. London. 161 pages, (copiously illustrated) 2004 £20 ISBN 0712347917.

*'Of the making of many books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh.'* How true. Yet every now and then a book comes along that turns that weariness into a profound and lasting pleasure, opening up whole new fields of investigation. *The Books of King Henry VIII and His Wives* - the subject of this review - is one such.

Now it is customary amongst reviewers, even when considering an otherwise excellent book, to offer some adverse criticism or other. Indeed, there are those who think it obligatory to do so. I am at a loss to follow them, however. Sumptuously illustrated, this book is written both for scholars and other ranks, and opens up - particularly for the other ranks - an entirely new perspective on royal thinking as it affected the Reformation. The author, James Carley, one of the few true experts on Henry's reading habits, takes us on a sweep over the whole gamut of the royal libraries' contents, introducing us to books scientific, philosophical, historical, geographical, biblical and so on, bringing titles to our notice that most of us have never heard of.

Henry VIII studied closely books from all over the Continent and from all periods up to his own time, as the frequent marginalia in his own hand testify, and this has to produce a profound change in the way that many of us have been taught to think of Henry. On a popular level, our impressions of this king have been formed by those such as Charles Laughton, who famously portrayed him as a belching glutton throwing chicken bones over his shoulder at mealtimes; or by Keith Mitchell who played him (magnificently) in later life as the piggy-eyed dupe of the bishop of Winchester - both portrayals fall woefully short of the man, yet they have greatly influenced the modern popular view. But Carley takes us on another journey altogether, and shows us that Henry VIII, through his reading, certainly did tower above his contemporaries as an intellectual, and it was his library that fed that intellect. The course of England's - and hence the world's - history only took the direction it did through the books that Henry devoured.

What came as a real shock to me because I have seen never a hint of it in all my years, is that Henry's intellectual enquiries even stretched to owning a scrying glass (*'in which the king was said to see everything'* and which, because it contained a *'familiar spirit'*, is also said to have shattered at the moment of his death pp. 25-6), along with an unhealthy interest in the work of one Bardi, a notorious necromancer and spiritualist. Now that is a side to Henry VIII that is entirely new to me, as I'm sure it will be to everyone else. Only Carley brings it out.

But that is not all. In what has to be the most exciting part of his book, the author takes us on an introductory journey into the minds and reading of Henry's wives, and this also opens up entirely unsuspected vistas concerning these women who were - in every sense of the word and in their own individual ways - real and effective powers behind the throne of Reformation England. They were not, contrary to popular press, mere breeding mares for the king, but each shaped the future of England as surely and as ably as any politician. Indeed, England's two mightiest and wiliest politicians, Wolsey and Cromwell, were both shipwrecked against at least two of the king's wives. Four of these queens have a chapter each, dedicated to their own book collections. Predictably, the two denied their own chapters are Anne of Cleves and Jane Seymour, although their brief contacts with books as either presents or ornaments are mentioned.

One intriguing aspect of 16th-century book-reading that Carley deals with is the transition of the practice of reading from that of a public exercise to a private one, a transition reflected in the changing format of book production. It is as a private reader that we are able to glimpse Henry VIII

forming his policies, his world-view and the world-changing events that these brought about. For that reason alone (though there are many others), I would urge all who are in any way interested in the English Reformation to read no further until they have read and re-read Carley's book, for it does bear repeated reading. It is a literary goldmine in every sense, and my one regret - which can also serve as my obligatory adverse complaint - is that it was not written fifty years ago. How enriched and broadened our studies would have been by now!

Bill Cooper, November 2005.

**Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England*. Cambridge University Press pp. xv + 389 £45 ISBN 0521580625**

Recent studies of the Reformation have tended to present it as a movement which enhanced the masculine character of religious experience and created an environment in which women felt uncomfortable and alienated. Despite its emphasis on the spiritual equality of the sexes, Protestantism is widely regarded as having simultaneously eroded the female role models provided by the Virgin Mary and the saints and reinforced the patriarchal subjection of wives and daughters to their husbands and fathers.

In *Patterns of Piety* Christine Peters subjects these historiographical commonplaces to searching scrutiny. Her book seeks critically to re-examine the connection between gender and religion in the context of late medieval and early modern England and to assert that the impact of the Protestant Reformation on this nexus was far more ambivalent and complex than has often been assumed. Exploiting an impressively wide range of textual and visual sources - from sermons, religious treatises and conduct books to churchwardens' accounts, wills, ballads, wall paintings, sculptures and embroideries - Peters argues that the role of gender in shaping both the stereotypes and realities which comprised pre- and post-Reformation piety has been overstated.

In the first half of the book, she investigates the significance of the rise in late medieval society of a Christocentric strain of religious devotion which focused attention on the interaction between sinful humanity and the suffering Christ, suggesting that *'the whole slant'* of these trends was *'to reduce the extent of biological essentialism in defining the relationship of men and women and the saints'* (p.129). By diminishing emphasis on the maternal attributes of the Virgin Mary and complicating the negative image of Eve with notions of

## North American News

Report by Jennifer Bekemeier

US Membership Office, November 2005.

mutual male and female responsibility for the Fall of mankind from grace, she argues, late medieval Catholic piety provided 'a bridge to [the] Reformation in terms of religious understanding' (p.4). This theme is pursued in Part II, where Peters explores the ambiguities of gender associations and responsibilities in the wake of the advent of Protestantism, highlighting the ways in which Mary continued to be revered as a model for emulation and the capacity of popular Old Testament stories like those about Susannah and Bathsheba to sustain readings which were unsettling to, if not subversive of, the patriarchal order. These and other features, she contends, muted and counterbalanced the Calvinist tendency to envisage God as a distant, awesome and all-controlling deity who epitomised male authority.

Peters thus inserts some important and salutary qualifications into the unduly pessimistic picture of women's deteriorating experience in this period which has been painted by some feminist historians. She also adds some interesting nuances to accounts of late medieval piety which dwell too heavily on its static and unchanging quality. But not all aspects of the analysis presented here are equally convincing. Peters may be too quick to dismiss the problems of scribal mediation and interference in her search for gendered patterns of religious affiliation in will preambles, and in reacting against the prevailing emphases of the historiography, she at times perhaps swings too far in the other direction. Surely the claim that late medieval devotional tendencies 'rendered the nuances of gender almost meaningless' (p.345) is something of an exaggeration. Elsewhere, by contrast, Peters' eagerness to avoid over-simplification renders her argumentation so subtle as to seem somewhat convoluted and confusing. It remains unclear, furthermore, how far the complexity of the gender roles she discerns in the texts and images she so carefully dissects were recognised by their contemporary readers and spectators: the potential gap between authorial intention and popular reception is an issue which is perhaps insufficiently discussed and confronted.

Nevertheless, this is a book that raises questions which are critical to our comprehension of religious change and transition in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Consistently sensitive and suggestive, *Patterns of Piety* also offers us a far more textured and interesting set of answers to them than we have had hitherto.

This review by Alexandra Walsham first appeared in *History Today*.

Once again we should like to take this opportunity to thank you for your continued and valued support of the Tyndale Society. There is much news to report since our last note in August.

First, we should like to thank all who were able to attend the Fourth International Tyndale Society Conference held in Oxford. It was a stunning success packed full of enlightening papers and remarkable speakers. The conference was well attended, with delegates from ten countries, including several from North America. To those who were unable to attend, we missed your presence and hope that you will be able to be part of future events.

Second, as regards two of the previously announced North American events we regret to inform you of their cancellation. The first, *Fire for the Ploughman*, scheduled for 28 October at Houston Baptist University, was cancelled due to health concerns of Jack Caulfield, the esteemed actor in and playwright of *Fire for the Ploughman*. We ask you to pray for him and his family during this time. The next event, *God's Voice*, by Tyndale Society's own Patrick Gabridge, scheduled to run 10-19 November 2005, was postponed because of unforeseen production difficulties. Stay tuned for more information about this.

Next, we are excited to report a number of new members in 2005. Within the past year the North American division of the Tyndale Society has experienced a growth in membership of over 18%, due, in a large part, to the aid and efforts of our current members.

In conjunction with this excellent news we have to inform you that, as of January 2006, members who are receiving the publication *Reformation* will have an increase in dues: owing to publication and shipping costs, annual dues will now be \$80 instead of the previous \$60 rate. We apologize for any inconvenience this may incur. The rate for members who do not receive *Reformation* will remain at \$40.

Thank you all for your time and dedication to the Tyndale Society; we look forward to another great year.



## A Census of First Edition King James Bibles Help required

The 400th anniversary of the King James Bible of 1611 hurries upon us! As a part of that recognition of this highly significant Bible publication, I and my colleague, Dr Donald L. Brake Sr, Dean of Multnomah Seminary, are conducting a world-wide census of extant copies. Specifically we are seeking the locations of what is known as the folio "He" Bible of 1611, recognized as the first impression of this version. (See A. S. Herbert *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of The English Bible, 1525-1961*, pp. 130-133.)

We need and will greatly appreciate your help in locating existing copies. If you know of a library that contains rare Bibles and thus might have a first edition KJV, would you give me as much information as you can on how to contact that Institution? Please do not overlook a private library you might know which owns a first edition King James Bible. Once I receive contact information, I will send our census form and seek permission to include their copy in our listing.

Scholars continue to study multiple aspects of text and publication of the *King James Bible* of 1611. Prof. David Norton's *A Textual History of the King James Bible*, published in 2005, is an example. Most persons familiar with the first edition know of the major error that was made in the book of Ruth 3:15, in which the pronoun 'he' was used in reference to Ruth! Yet David lists 247 errors in the text and 104 in the marginal references, headings, preliminary pages, etc. (pp. 167-172). (For a definitive study of the text Prof. Norton's book is a must.)

To our knowledge, no census has ever been made of the extant copies of first edition King James Bibles. Many of the great milestones of Bible publication have had a census made and scholars can, when their research warrants close examination of some aspect of the text, know where to turn for their research. Thus, persons in Canada, Australia, Russia, Eastern Europe, Japan, United Kingdom, United States or anywhere else in the world can have access closest to where they live. We hope as well that our census will aid in the preservation of those very valuable first editions. Additionally, some institutions being contacted have been encouraged to put into their thinking some special celebration of this 400th anniversary of the King James Bible's publication!

A 400th anniversary celebration in 2011 of continuous publication of the King James Bible says primarily that this Bible has been of enormous influence in English-speaking lands and continues to be so! William Tyndale

began the underpinnings of all English Bible translations with his translation from the Greek and Hebrew, eighty-six years before the flowering of the King James Bible. Without Tyndale's work, the King James Bible could not have blossomed into such influence as its four hundred years testify.

Very simply, we request you to please help with this census. We will share the results of our census in a book on the history of the Bible to be published as we approach 2011. We will as well share some summary in this journal.

Contact information:

Dr John R. Hellstern

3909 Snow Creek Drive, Aledo, Texas 76008, USA

Phone/Fax: +01 817-244-4504

Email: [johnhellstern@charter.net](mailto:johnhellstern@charter.net)

Web: <http://WebPages.charter.net/johnhellstern/>



*A Study Day and London Walk*

### Not So 'Wicked' Mammon

to explore the support given to Tyndale and other Reformers by the London merchants in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

*guided by Brian Buxton  
and Andrew Hope on*

**Saturday 25 February 2006 10.30am to 4pm**

Meeting point at the London City Church of St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe.

*All day tickets £15*

to include a concert by the English Chamber Choir, teas, coffee and light lunch.

Obtainable from Mary Clow,  
17 Powis Terrace, London W11 1JJ  
Tel. +44 (0) 207 221 0300 or  
email: [maryclow@aol.com](mailto:maryclow@aol.com)

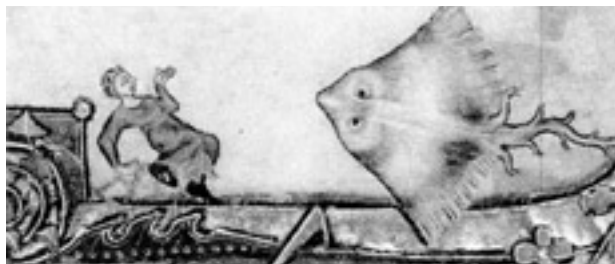
As many members are aware we have followed with interest the story of the Macclesfield Psalter from its discovery amongst the archives of the Earl of Macclesfield at Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, to its purchase by the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, at a Sotheby's auction in June 2004 through to its subsequent purchase, thanks to the export bar placed on it, by means of a public appeal launched by the National Art Collections Fund on behalf of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.

Prof. Michael Kauffmann, a Trustee of the National Art Collections fund, described the Macclesfield Psalter as the most important rediscovery of an English manuscript in living memory. It is full of a peculiarly English wit, of incomparable beauty and a rich resource of local detail. It speaks of a world in which the sacred and secular world could be comfortably juxtaposed. It is destined to play a central role in re-shaping our picture of medieval English art.

Another expert, Prof. Lucy Sandler from the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University, sees its importance as threefold. Firstly, it is of superb quality, the work of an illuminator of brilliant artistic imagination and invention. Secondly, it is closely related to the most important East Anglian manuscripts (for instance the Gorleston Psalter and Bede's Ecclesiastical History). Thirdly, by virtue of the abundant imagery – religious, secular, natural, playful, parodic, fantastic and grotesque – that wreathes the sacred text, the Macclesfield Psalter opens wider than ever before a window into the real and imaginary world of late medieval England.

It was recently on display at a spectacular exhibition of mediaeval and Renaissance illuminated manuscripts mounted by the Fitzwilliam Museum and Cambridge University Library. A member of the Tyndale Society enthusiastically sent the following report to the Journal about the Psalter which featured amongst some 200 world class illuminated manuscripts – many on view for the first time – dating from the 6th to the 16th centuries.

*The giant skate  
detail from  
Macclesfield Psalter*



*Far Right: The  
plough scene from  
Macclesfield Psalter*

## The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West

*Macclesfield Psalter on view at an exhibition July-December 2005*

Report by Derrick Holmes

*October 2005*

The Macclesfield Psalter is small in size, 170 by 108mm, richly illustrated and a feast for the eyes. The Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, into whose ownership it has fortunately been placed, mounted an exhibition on Medieval Manuscripts with two galleries devoted to the display of leaves of the Psalter. The pages glow with gold, blues and red and other subtle shades. Some pages have been cut at the top at some time in the dim and distant past causing damage to some illustrations. There are also some leaves missing. There is a particularly fine ploughing scene on the bottom of fol.77r which also appears in the Gorleston Psalter.

The illustrations cover a wide range of subjects, “refined beauty to ribald humour” as described in publicity material. There are depicted everything from Biblical scenes, everyday life, animals, birds and flowers to the grotesque and vulgar. Some leaves illustrate in the upper area the spiritual, such as one showing God and the Son on their thrones and below at the foot of the page a king on his throne with a subject (fol. 139V). One capital letter encloses an illustration of the Annunciation, an angel telling the good news to the shepherds with sheep on a jewel green field (fol. 161V). Great care has been taken with anatomical poses and facial expressions. There is even evidence that in a more earthy society some illustrations met with medieval censorship as there are some obliterations.

One suggestion for the identity of the original owner is the 8th Earl of Warenne (1286-1347) who was closely involved in the affairs of King Edward II. It is considered he was probably the patron of the Gorleston



## Thomas More by the Royal Shakespeare Company

Donald J. Millus, Coastal Carolina University.

A Man For All Seasons this is not, even more reason why the production of *Thomas More* - no "Sir" - by the Royal Shakespeare Company, scheduled for London 4 to 14 January 2006 as part of their "Gunpowder Season", is worth the viewing of both critics and admirers of More. I had the good fortune to take in the play at the Swan Theatre in Stratford upon Avon the night before the opening of the Fourth Tyndale Conference at Oxford in September. Simply put, it was stunning.

Thomas More is the work of many hands: Anthony Munday, Henry Chettle, Thomas Heywood, and Thomas Dekker are likely collaborators in this story of the rise and fall of More from sheriff to chancellor to the executioner's block. The main claim to fame of the play is the 172 lines of the More MS. in the British Library, attributed with no great certainty to William Shakespeare. But let that speech on the divinity of kings be and we are still left with a fascinatingly ambiguous view of a rising political star.

Like the "King James Bible", the product of many hands, Thomas More is of a piece despite its episodic structure: More stopping Londoners rioting over the presence and power of foreign merchants, intervening to save the life of a common cutpurse on trial, foreseeing the dangers of his rapid promotions, intervening with the King - always offstage as he would be when More was executed - to spare the lives of most, but not all of the rioters sentenced to death, greeting Erasmus, acting in an interlude, and then refusing the entreaties of his wife and family to compromise over the "King's Great Matter".

Nigel Cooke as More projects an ambivalence about his motives in stopping the rioters who are threatening the peace of the City and the safety of foreign merchants. The self-assured More, the jester of popular legend, gives way to a man about to die for resistance to authority and defence of his religious tradition. Like St Peter he seems to crucify himself, even giving a speech standing on his head. He knows he's hurting those he loves but can see no other way out. Particularly impressive with none or few words is Lady More (Teresa Banham) and the eloquent rioter Doll Williamson (Michelle Butterly).



*Organ playing  
hare from  
Macclesfield  
Psalter*

Psalter in the British Museum and the Douai Psalter (a masterpiece which was unfortunately reduced to fragments during World War I). The Gorleston manuscript work contains his coat of arms and is plentifully illustrated with rabbits in their warren, a pun on his name. No arms of Warenne can be found in the Macclesfield Psalter but there are a few rabbits and a warren in the illustrations. Some evidence may have been on missing leaves. There are also other features common to both Psalters.

A showcase display showing the tools of a medieval illuminator with samples of the pigments and colours used in illustration add to the interest.

Congratulations are due to those who worked on mounting this exhibition and producing publicity material.

There is obviously scope for research in the coming years. The wonder of the situation is that the Psalter has remained undiscovered for so long. Maybe there are gems yet to be found.

### References

[www.cambridgeilluminations.org](http://www.cambridgeilluminations.org)

[www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/pharos/collection](http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/pharos/collection)

Paul Binski & Stella Panayotova (eds) *The Cambridge Illuminations* Harvey Miller, 2005 paperback £24.95 ISBN 1-872501-63-x

*The Macclesfield Psalter* *The Fitzwilliam Museum*, 2005 hardback £4.95 ISBN 0-904454703



*Acorn gathering  
scene from  
Macclesfield  
Psalter*

I have not space here to commend all the actors and personnel of the Royal Shakespeare for this production. (I offered to stand Cooke and other members of the cast a round in the bar of the Thistle directly across from the Swan after the performance, so that will have to demonstrate my appreciation of them all.) Music, set, design, direction, and production were superb: lest I leave any kudos unbestowed, I refer the potential playgoer to the exhaustive review by Chris Hopkins at the Early Modern Literary Studies website, <http://www.shu.ac.uk/emls/11-2/revmore.htm>

---

### Annual Tyndale Lecture Gloucester Cathedral 2005

Not an epitaph – more of a ‘cenotaph’ because there is an inscription to a body which lies elsewhere. Dr Joe Bettey’s Gloucester Lecture is the body in this instance. I know, having heard him speak before, that it would have been a fine, detailed account on a fascinating subject of interest both to historians and to others like me who value insight into our English past. However, the lecture was not given because embarrassingly few friends responded to the invitation in spite of an extra mailing.

The deadline date for the firm booking of the room, chairs, lectern etc and the additional Tyndale bible readings for choral evensong in the Cathedral arrived, with the collection of only five names. In the following week only four more enquiries were received and I could not have allowed Dr Bettey to travel up from Somerset to speak to such a small audience.

We extend our apologies to Dr Bettey and ask him to think of his words as merely postponed and hope that his paper can be given to us at some future date.

*David Green, organiser of the Annual Tyndale Lecture at Gloucester Cathedral.*

#### Postscript

We are not yet defeated! There will be an event to mark 6 October, Tyndale day in the church calendar, at Gloucester cathedral in 2006. As in the past nine years it should take the form of a lecture. Please read the next issue no 31 of the *TSJ* August 2006 for the exact details.

A printed itinerary and map of the Tyndale sites in Gloucestershire is also planned for next summer.

Watch this space

Press Gleanings  
Compiled by Valerie Offord

### Archbishop of Canterbury’s Confirmation of Election speech for Rt Rev. John Sentamu

The Diocese of York and the Crown Nominations Commission set out a formidable list of requirements for a new Archbishop of York. They sought for someone who would provide prophetic renewal in leadership within the diocese shaping the ministries of all, lay and clergy, closer to the imperatives of the kingdom.

They sought for a faithful teacher of the faith, one who would break open the word of God and make it a tool of life for all. They sought someone who would speak for the whole region, who speak for the north in this our country. Someone not afraid of engaging with the great public issues of the day, someone who would walk confidently among those who make decisions and shape the lives of many.

They sought for a man of prayer whose teaching and whose witness would come out of the depth of an authentic encounter with God. And they sought, recognising all too fully, the defects of his fellow primate, someone who would assist in the administration and the leadership of the whole Church of England; who would share the burdens of administration, who would concern himself with the shaping of the structures of governance of our church. And who would share with his fellow primate the task of speaking for the Church of England in the whole Anglican Communion.

And to list those objects of seeking, and there were others, is to remind you John, uncomfortably, of what you know all too well, that for these and many other reasons expectation lies heavy on your shoulders.

One of our tasks this evening, once the legal business has been done, is to acknowledge, all of us, what expectations we are laying upon you and to express our shared commitment to pray for you regularly and deeply – that that burden does not become intolerable, that it does not begin to crush the child of God that you are – because the Diocese of York and the Crown Nomination Commission do not seek in spite of all those requirements an abstract figure of sanctity, resourcefulness and wisdom but a man of flesh and blood. It seeks a child of God who will most readily and most fully meet all those formidable requirements first and foremost by being a man in touch with God. A man of flesh and blood whose humanity will need affirming and supporting by all of us. In touch with the God who loves human beings



in all their extraordinary diversity; their diversity of race and culture, their diversity of background and opinion, their diversity of conviction.

So what will most deeply keep you from being crushed, being burdened by what we lay upon you? Well we hope our prayers will help, but for you it is the knowledge that you are, before anything else, addressed by the word of God.

Today we begin the commemoration of William Tyndale, although Tyndale would deeply have disapproved of this style of speaking, it is the eve of the feast of William Tyndale. Saint, scholar, translator of Holy Scripture. And so to think of what it is to be addressed by the word of God is an appropriate matter for this evening.

William Tyndale translated the Bible into English, not so much because he thought all Christians had a right to know what was in it, a kind of primitive freedom of information act. But because he believed that all people had the right to be addressed and to be transformed by it – a much more serious matter. Not about freedom of information but about the access of God's word to people of every kind. The proverbial ploughboy singing the psalms at his work as Tyndale put it. And there was a great deal at the root of the life of our church, the Church of England, which is about precisely that. The liberation that comes when people are exposed to the word of God. How does that liberation operate?

We all tell ourselves stories about ourselves as individuals, stories about our society and our nation, stories about our church. And we tell those stories in ways that are normally deceiving and being deceived in the words of this evening's reading. We tell stories that make us comfortable. And we tell other people frequently stories that make them uncomfortable. But Tyndale's vision is of a Christian community and of Christian people who, as they encounter Holy Scripture, realise there is a story of their lives and of their church and of their nation – deeper and wider, more comprehensive and more lasting than any story we could tell ourselves. The story of the God who has created us, who has promised to be there for us, who has met us in the depth of our failures and our sins, who has reconciled us to him and to one another, and who promises us that in our lives, unlikely as it seems, we shall be living signs of his future and his purpose. That is our story, that is our song – as the hymn has it.

John that is your story, that is your song. You are a man who has already known what it is to be freed by the word of God from slavish obedience to tyranny. You know that your story is the story of the God who makes covenant, who is faithful, who leads in darkness and doubt, in exile and uncertainty, who equips and inspires. And the fact that you know that that is your story is

a gift beyond price to the rest of us who seek to find that story as their own.

Tyndale wanted to expose people to the transforming power of God's word so that they would know what was true about them, that they were the objects of faithful promise, that they were capable of being signs of God's future. And all of those tasks which we lay upon you today, John, are essentially to do with that. You are to help us find what is true about ourselves in the face of the God of the Bible. You are to renew and inspire your diocese and your province, your fellow bishops in the northern province, your fellow clergy, your lay people in the diocese of York by showing them what their story is. How the word of God engages, shapes, recreates them. You are to speak in and for the Church of England reminding us that the story of the church is always more than we imagine, that it is not the story we tell ourselves or the story we are told by others around us which may be a story of success or of decline – neither here nor there – because the story we need to know is the story of God's dealings with us.

John we pray for you with the deepest love and the greatest hope. We trust that that hope will not be burdensome and that that love will be creative for you. And I end this evening by turning to that reluctant saint whose celebration is tomorrow. And I read a few words from Tyndale's *Treatise on the Obedience of a Christian Man*. It is a better charge for a pastor or indeed any believer than anything that even the Crown Nominations Commission could compose.

*'Let thy care be to prepare thyself with all thy strength for to walk which way he will have thee and to believe that he will go with thee, and assist thee and strength thee against all tyrants and deliver thee out of all tribulation. But what way or by what means he will do it, that commit unto him, and to his godly pleasure and wisdom and cast that care upon him. And though it seem never so unlikely or never so impossible under natural reason, yet believe steadfastly that he will do it. And then shall he according unto his old usage change the course of the world, even in the twinkling of an eye and come suddenly upon our giants even as a thief in the night and encompass them in their wiles and worldly wisdom. When they cry peace and all is safe, then shall their sorrows begin as the pangs of woman that travaileth with child, and then shall he destroy them and deliver thee unto the glorious praise of his mercy and truth.'* Amen.

Copyright Rowan Williams

We are grateful to the Press Office of Lambeth Palace for allowing us to reproduce this text of the speech given at St Mary-le-Bow Church, London on Wednesday 5 October 2005 from their website: [www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/sermons\\_speeches](http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/sermons_speeches)

## Innovation from Australia Modern Bible messages

In da Bginnin God cre8d da heavens & da earth,' the SMS (short message service) version begins. 'Da earth waz barren, wit no 4m of life;it waz unda a roaring ocean cuvred wit dRkness.

God luvd da ppl of dis wrld so much dat he gave only Son so dat evry1 who has faith in him will... neva really die

*John, chapter 3, verse 16*

U, Lord, r my shepherd... U lead me 2 streams of peaceful water

*Psalms 23, verses 1-2*

Not content with a Strine version of the Bible, the Bible Society of Australia has translated the Old and Testaments into text message language. The idea came from the son of a Society employee in Sydney and it took one person a month to convert the entire New and Old Testaments into SMS text.

The Bible Society hopes that young people will send their family or friends verses which can be accessed free over the internet. But older people may feel that the text version lacks the gravitas and elegance of the original. *'The old days when the Bible was available only in a sombre black cover with a cross on it are long gone,'* said Michael Chant, of the Bible Society. *'We want to open it up for people of all ages, backgrounds and interests and the SMS version is a logical extension of that.'* Mr Chant went on to say that biblical words of wisdom could be sent to comfort a friend or relative or maybe he suggested other people might just want to send a daily Bible recording to themselves to meditate on while they are on the bus or having their lunch.

### Source

Nick Squires *It's the new txtament, mate Daily Telegraph* 7 October 2005.

---

### Gosnold Addendum

The *Church Times* reported on 11 November 2005 that the Gosnold mystery remains (see article entitled *DNA may identify America's founding father TSJ* issue no 29 August 2005 p.70). Archaeologists were disappointed to learn that the DNA from the remains of a woman buried in All Saints Church, Shelley, Suffolk, England did not help to identify Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, a founding father of the US. The remains proved not to be those of Gosnold's sister after all.

## The 100-Minute Bible

The title sounds rather like an advertisement, a sort of 'Christianity in Ten Easy Lessons'. And in fact that is just about what it is: an advertisement. It is for a book written by the Rev. Dr Michael Hinton, and published by The 100-Minute Press, which claims to provide a totally new approach to reading the Bible.

In launching his version of the Bible in Canterbury Cathedral on 21 September last, the Rev. Hinton said that it is a modern text designed to meet the needs of people who have neither the time nor the inclination to read the whole Bible. Yet can one truly compress the 66 books of the Bible as we know it into a text of fewer than 100 pages, which can be read in one hour and twenty minutes? Not that the Rev. Hinton is asking anyone to test the timing. He explains that he has achieved the 100-minute version by eliminating many of the boring, repetitive sections that do not add anything to the main story - the life and ministry of Jesus Christ. So much of the Old Testament is a not very readable lesson on the history over many hundreds of years of the biblical lands -and the Jewish people.

I am sure there are many people who (like myself) have started on more than one occasion to read the Bible and have given it up. In introducing his new version of the Bible Rev. Hinton assures us that nothing essential has been left out. It is all there, the story of Jesus - his birth in Bethlehem, the adoration of the shepherds and the Magi, the slaughter of the innocents, the parables and the miracles, the Sermon on the Mount. But some great moments have been downplayed and the whole has been written in down-to-earth everyday language or, as he puts it, in good, clear contemporary English. The version includes some maps and explanations of Old Testament geography so that the actions and migrations of peoples in by-gone times can be related to the geography of the region as we know it today.

Angela Butler, October 2005

### Comparative texts

*The prodigal son*

**100-Minute Bible:** His father arranged a huge party for him on his return

**Authorised Version:** But his father said to his servants: Bring quickly the best robe and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand and shoes on his feet, and bring the fatted calf and kill it and let us eat and make merry.

*The Lord's Prayer*

**100-Minute Bible:** And do not bring us to the time of testing, but rescue us from the evil one.

**Authorised Version:** And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

*On Christ's teaching*

**100-Minute Bible:** He gave offence by forgiving sins.

**Authorised Version:** The Pharisees went out, and immediately held counsel with the Herodians against him, how to destroy him.

**Sources**

The 100-Minute Bible written by the Rev. Michael Hinton and published by The 100-Minute Press, September 2005 (ISBN no. 0-9551324-0-1).

www.the100-minutepress.co.uk

Alan Hamilton and Ruth Gledhill 'At last the Bible that leaves out those boring bits'

The Times 22 September 2005.

www.timesonline.co.uk

**Editor's note**

Angela Butler's article first appeared in Holy Trinity Geneva Newsletter no 341 November 2005.



Ploughboy Notes

**Some Personal Reflections**

David Ireson, Group Convenor

I would suppose that most Ploughboy members of the Society come to Tyndale's life and work through wanting to read the first printed Gospel in English. We read to nourish our lives of faith rather than to subject the text to academic scrutiny. We enjoy reading the words of an archetypal evangelical Christian. We want to read prayerfully. Well, today Christianity is still very divided and the Reformation struggles in the Church continue between those labelled "evangelical" and those labelled "liberal". Just to be annoying I have decided I am an "evangelical liberal" because I am frequently finding myself in conflict with a third yet growing group within the Church; the evangelical fundamentalists. I suppose that fundamentalism will be discredited and forgotten in my lifetime. I hope it will be, and in reading Keith Ward's *What the Bible Really Teaches*, I have come to see just how the mission of the Church is being hindered by fundamentalism. So let me outline the bottom line of Christian theology which fundamentalists find so hard to come to terms with:

1. The Creator of all that is, God, loves all people of every faith or of none *equally*. To respond to God by trying to live according to the Gospel is to live life to the full, doing what Jesus did, being prepared to love people of every faith, from Samaritans to pagans... and these days to humanists and atheists.

2. Jesus saves all humanity, not just those whose beliefs conform to an exclusive form of Christianity. One can get fed up with hearing fundamentalists quoting John 14.6 : "*I am the Way the Truth and the Life. No one come to the Father except through me*". All can come to the Father because Jesus is "the firstborn of all creation" (the first chapter of Colossians) Read Ephesians 1.9 and then appreciate what Keith Ward writes: "*Christianity poses a scandal of universality, that the whole of created reality, vast in extent in both space and time, is to be included in Christ... whatever finite conscious beings there are, or ever have been or ever will be, will all be united in the divine reality that took form on earth in Jesus of Nazareth.*"

---

**Cost of advertisements in the Tyndale Society Journal**

Full Page....£80/\$160    1/2 Page....£60/\$120    1/4 Page....£40/\$80

Inserts...£150/\$300    [only if members of the Society are offered a discount on the book or other merchandise being advertised in the flyer]

25% discount will be given to members placing advertisements\*

\*For members placing small advertisements the charge is £1/\$2 a line (up to a maximum of 4).

When the fundamentalist proclaims that their exclusive ‘Christian’ community is saved and everyone else is going to burn, I would echo Keith Ward’s words: ‘*Common human decency might lead us to doubt such an extraordinary interpretation of John’s Gospel.*’

The evangelical Tyndale wrote in *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*: ‘*I am bound to love the Turk with all my might and power, yea and above my power, even from the ground of my heart, after the ensample that Christ loved me.*’ I wonder what he would say about those who at present are so easily persuaded to demonise all followers of Islam.

William tried to wrest the Gospels from the clerics of the Church and give ploughboys the Word in plain English. We ploughboys can all interpret for ourselves the parable of the Good Samaritan or understand that healing miracles exhort us to compassion and to lovingly serve those who suffer, but if we are to be spared the absurdity and unquestioning infantile simplicity of the fundamentalist then we must make the effort to study and understand Scripture. As the saying goes, when we look into the well which is two thousand years deep to discern the image of Jesus we must be sure that we are not just seeing a reflection of ourselves.

A fascinating passage from Brian Moynahan’s biography made it clear that Tyndale acknowledged the need for thoughtful study and interpretation. Writing in “*An Exposition upon the First Epistle of John*” in 1531 he quotes William:

*“I have taken in hand to interpret this epistle... to edify the layman, and to teach him how to read the scripture and what to seek therein.”* It was not enough for a father and mother to beget a child, he said; they had to care for it until it could help itself, and “*even so it is not enough to have translated... the scripture, into the vulgar and common tongue, except we also brought again the light to understand it.*”

Some fundamentalists, aware of the derision of so many of their incredulous neighbours, become ever more selective in the texts they quote, more restrictive in who they regard as “saved” and belong to ‘Christian’ communities which are ever more exclusive. Hopefully the fundamentalist bubble will burst soon. Real Christianity demands the effort to cross over deep chasms of history, geography and culture if we are to root our faith in Christ. It will cost us “*not less than everything*”...

## The Ploughman’s Printer

A son of Gloucestershire, pronounced a thorn  
in Henry Tudor’s side, obliged to ply  
his trade in continental sanctuaries.  
Opposed by Wolsey and Sir Thomas More.  
Compelled to witness bishops making bonfires  
of his books. Hounded from pillar to post,  
shipwrecked, betrayed, imprisoned, garrotted,  
burnt at the stake by secular authorities.  
His name is absent from the Oxford dictionary  
of quotations, although his phraseology  
is represented in its pages more  
than any other writer, bar the Bard.  
People who’ve never been inside a church,  
or turned the pages of a testament  
use his expressions on a daily basis.  
The Word may well be God’s, but arguably  
the well from which the English learnt to draw it  
was divined and dug by William Tyndale.

Peter Wyton.

We are grateful to Peter Wyton for allowing us to reproduce his poem in the Journal.



## Sightings of Tyndale

*A picture of one of the windows in the chapel of Emmanuel College, Cambridge depicting John Colet and William Tyndale holding a copy of his New Testament.*

*Picture sent in by Vic Perry.*



# THE LICHFIELD CONFERENCE 2006

## *The Bible and Theology – Wyclif to the Early English Reformation*

**Friday 26 May to Sunday 28 May**

*Keynote speakers include*

**Prof. Anne Hudson  
Prof. Donald Smeeton  
Rev. Dr Ralph Werrell**

- The conference will be held in the Visitors' Centre of the Cathedral.
- The cost for the entire conference (excluding accommodation) is £80. This includes: lunch on Saturday; all refreshments during the conference; and a tour of the Cathedral, including the Library (we will be shown the Lichfield Gospels and their copy of the Wyclif Bible out of their cases).
- Optional extras include dinner on Friday and Saturday, and a tour of Lichfield including Dr Johnson's House on Sunday.

Please request a brochure, list of accommodation and application form from:

Brian Johnson  
17 Earlstoke Close  
Banbury  
Oxfordshire OX16 3WL  
bandr@johnson373.fsnet.co.uk  
+44 (0) 1295 273120

Lichfield Tyndale Conference, 26 - 28 May 2006.

## **The Bible and Theology: Wyclif to the Early English Reformation.**

### **The Conference**

Most people, when they think of William Tyndale, know that he translated the Bible into English. They have a hazy idea about that, and one hears all kinds of things which are untrue. His was not the first translation of the Bible into English, almost 150 years before the English Wyclif Bible was translated from the Latin Vulgate into Middle English. Tyndale was the first to translate it from the Greek and Hebrew into Modern English.

Tyndale as a theologian is virtually unknown, and this Conference is going to show that he was one of the great theologians of the 16th century. We are starting just over 100 years before Tyndale was born with the Wycliffite movement (the Lollards), and see something of the way Tyndale developed their theology into one which was fully Reformed. This is the first Tyndale Conference to stress Tyndale's greatness as a theologian. My book, *The Theology of William Tyndale*, is scheduled to be launched at this Conference. It will be a paperback and probably cost £19.99.

### **The Guided Tours**

On Friday afternoon we have arranged a guided tour of the Cathedral, and this will include viewing the 8<sup>th</sup> century Lichfield Gospel: also their Wyclif Bible. Although the Cathedral itself is fully accessible the Library involves climbing about 30 stairs which would prove a problem to anyone with mobility problems.

On Sunday afternoon the Guided Tour will enable us to see some of Lichfield's history. Lichfield is a very compact city and relatively level, so we will not have any long walks between places of interest. Important people and events will be part of the tour. Elias Ashmole (best remembered for the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford) was born in the city. Erasmus Darwin, grandfather of Charles, is important in his own right, and he lived and worked in Lichfield. David Garrick grew up in and performed his first play in the city before Dr Johnson took him to London. We will have a tour of the house where Samuel Johnson was born. Anna Seward, romantic poet and letter writer, was the daughter of Canon Thomas Seward, Canon Residentiary of Lichfield Cathedral. George Fox in 1651 denounced the city of

Lichfield from the Market Place, where there are several plaques as well as statues.

The city has a mixed history. After four bishops of Mercia (from AD 656 to 668) St Chad became the first Bishop of Lichfield in 669. Not only were Protestants burnt at the stake in Lichfield during the reign of Mary, but also the last burning at the stake in England took place in the city with the execution of Edward Wightman in 1612. Lichfield endured three sieges during the Civil War; in one of these Lord Brooke was killed by a single shot from within the Close.

We look forward to welcoming you to join us in learning more about one of the great Christians in the history of the Church, and to enjoy the beauty and the splendour of a small but great city, and a medieval cathedral with features that set it apart from other cathedrals in this country.

Ralph Werrell, October 2005.

Details of the conference from Brian Johnson [bandr@johnson3763.fsnet.co.uk](mailto:bandr@johnson3763.fsnet.co.uk)  
Call for papers, brief outline and title to Ralph Werrell [rswerrell@hotmail.com](mailto:rswerrell@hotmail.com)

---

## A Selection of Items for sale

### **Tyndale Society Journal** (March 1995- ISSN 1357-4167)

Editor Valerie Offord M.A. Cantab

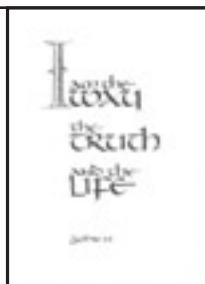
Most back issues are available. £5

### **Tyndale Calligraphy Cards** £7.50 +P&P

These are now available in packets of ten with envelopes

**All of the above items are available at Tyndale events or via mail order. Payment should be made by CHEQUE or POSTAL ORDER in GBP or US\$ made payable to 'The Tyndale Society'. We are sorry but we are currently unable to accept credit card payments. Orders should be sent to:**

Valerie Kemp, Tyndale Society, Hertford College, Oxford, OX1 3BW, UK.  
[valerie.kemp@hertford.ox.ac.uk](mailto:valerie.kemp@hertford.ox.ac.uk)



## Society Notes

Compiled by Rochelle Givoni

### **New Emeritus Chairman and Chairman**

As you will have read in Prof. David Daniell's letter, which is reprinted in this Journal, he is now the Society's Emeritus Chairman, and Mrs Mary Clow is our new Chairman. These are important developments for the Society, and we look forward to continuing and enhancing our programme of events and publications.

### **New Trustee**

It is with great pleasure that we welcome Ms Jennifer Bekemeier as a new Trustee of the Society. She has provided tremendous support for our US operations, as well as assistance at events in England, where many members will have met her. Jennifer's presence as a Trustee will strengthen the international dimension of the Society.

### **The Youngest Honorary Member**

The Society welcomes our newest, youngest (honorary) member, Scarlet Aster, born in San Diego, California, to Charlotte Dewhurst and her husband, Gary Hicks. Scarlet weighed in at 9lbs 4oz, with blue eyes and dark brown hair and, with perfect timing for a future Tyndalian, arrived on the anniversary of Tyndale's martyrdom, 6 October, 2005.

### **Events for 2006**

Several events are being planned for 2006, and details will be issued as soon as the arrangements have been finalised. Among these are:

*London Walk and Talk* to explore further the Poyntz connection and the important support given to Tyndale and other reformers by the London merchants.

*Hadleigh, Suffolk Day* to follow the story of Tyndale's sister, Margaret and her husband Dr Rowland Taylor, who was burnt at the stake under Queen Mary. Among their descendants are two former Presidents of the United States of America.

*Worcester & Gloucester Weekend* to learn about Latimer – reformer, bishop and martyr – and visit Tyndale sites in the area.

### The Theology of William Tyndale

We are delighted to announce the publication of Dr Ralph Werrell's important forthcoming book, *The Theology of William Tyndale*, to be published by James Clark on 26 May 2006, which is the first day of the Society's Lichfield Conference. (Price £19.99 in paperback.)

### Reformation Volume One

The first volume of *Reformation* from 1996 is now available online, in the publications section of our website ([www.tyndale.org](http://www.tyndale.org)). This landmark volume includes the Commemorative Sermon given by The Rt Rev. Lord Runcie at St Paul's Cathedral on 6 October 1994, as well as articles by Patrick Collinson, Christopher Hill, Michael Weitzman, and many current members of the Society.

---

## Reformation volume I January 1996 edited by Prof. David Daniell

Deborah Pollard, webmaster.

ISSN 1357-4175

The first volume of the Tyndale Society's academic journal *Reformation* (January 1996) has long been out of print. It contained papers from the 1994 Oxford International Tyndale Conference, articles by Patrick Collinson, Christopher Hill, New evidence on Richard Hunne, Tyndale's last, 'lost' books reconstructed, Words not in A.V.

The Society is pleased to announce that it is now available online in electronic format at

<http://www.tyndale.org/Reformation/1/reformj1.html>.

The table of contents links to all of the articles.

## A Letter from Prof. David Daniell

1 December, 2005

Dear Member,

I am happy to report that the Society goes from strength to strength. This autumn, we have had a superb Oxford conference; and the Lambeth lecture and Hertford lecture were both outstanding. It was good to see well over a hundred people at the Hertford lecture.

I remind you of the next events. They are both on Wednesday, 21 December, 2005. Our annual Tyndale Society Carol Service, always a beautiful occasion, will be as usual at 12.30pm at St Mary Abchurch, Abchurch Lane, in the City (not far from Bank station); and our annual Christmas party at Mary Clow's flat (also always memorable, and with a Mystery Guest) will be as usual at 6.00pm at 17 Powis Terrace, London W11 1JJ.

On behalf of the Trustees, I want as well to tell you of a coming change. At the end of the year, I shall be slipping sideways, to become Emeritus Chairman. I have been Chairman for nearly eleven years: it is my decision to hand over the day-to-day activities to a new Chairman.

The Trustees have unanimously – indeed, enthusiastically – elected Mary Clow as Chairman from 1 January 2006. This is wonderful. Mary, who has already been marvellously active, will be superb. The Society is in excellent shape, and will go on as before, only more so. Mary is exploring exciting new events, in the UK and USA. I am sure that you will all join me in supporting her in her work.

At the Christmas party, I shall be handing over to Mary: we hope to share the occasion with as many as possible. I shall continue to be involved, as an active Trustee, delighting in the Society and so many friends.

With very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

David Daniell.

## Requests from the Editor

### Appeal for Book Reviewers

I should like volunteers to review the following books for the next issue No 31 of the *Tyndale Society Journal* August 2006 (deadline for copy Friday 9 June 2006): -

Bruce Gordon **The Swiss Reformation** Manchester University Press.

Mark Taplin **The Italian Reformers and the Zurich Church c.1540-1620** St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, Ashgate 2003.

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

Jaroslav Pelikan **Whose Bible is it? A History of the Scriptures through the Ages** Penguin 2005.

P.S.Barnwell, Claire Cross & Ann Rycraft (eds) **Mass and Parish in late Medieval England: The Use of York Spire** Books 2005.

I regret that the Tyndale Journal cannot afford to pay a fee but you can keep the review copy!

### Exhibition Reviewers

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

### Book Request

The editor would be interested in purchasing volumes of the Parker Society publications especially

Hastings Robinson (ed.) **The Zurich Letters 1558-1597** CUP 1842

Hastings Robinson (ed.) **The Zurich Letters 1558-1602** CUP 1845

### Advertisements

The type of advert we have in mind is for conferences, bookshops, private requests for buying and selling books, publishers' flyers for books of interest to our readership.

If you would like to advertise in the Journal or can persuade someone else to do so please consult the rates printed in this issue. Remember attracting adverts will boost the Society's income and keep subscription prices down.

For any of these matters please contact the Journal editor

Valerie Offord tel/fax +41 (0) 22 777 18 58

email [valerie.offord@bluewin.ch](mailto:valerie.offord@bluewin.ch)

## Dates for Your Diary

2006

**Saturday 25 February 10.30am to 4pm**

**Not So 'Wicked' Mammon – A Study Day and London Walk led by Brian Buxton and Andrew Hope to explore the support given to Tyndale and other Reformers by the London merchants.**

Meeting point at the City church of St Andrew by the Wardrobe  
All day tickets to include concert, teas, coffee and light lunch £15  
From Mary Clow, 17 Powis Terrace, London W11 1JJ  
Tel. +44 (0) 207 221 0300 or email: [maryclow@aol.com](mailto:maryclow@aol.com)

**Friday 26 May to Sunday 28 May**

**A Tyndale mini-conference in Lichfield, *The Bible and Theology – Wyclif to the Early English Reformation.***

**Main speakers: Prof. Anne Hudson, University of Oxford, Prof. Donald Smeeton and Rev. Dr Ralph Werrell.**

### Call for papers

This is a conference organised by the West Midlands Ploughboys' Group. Papers of about 20 minutes in length are welcome on any aspect of the early English Reformation and related topics. Please send abstracts, as soon as possible, to Rev. Dr Ralph Werrell 2a Queens Road, Kenilworth, Warwickshire CV8 1JQ or [rswerrell@hotmail.com](mailto:rswerrell@hotmail.com).

All other conference details from Brian Johnson, 17 Earlstoke Close, Banbury, Oxfordshire OX16 3WL [bandr@johnson373.fsnet.co.uk](mailto:bandr@johnson373.fsnet.co.uk)

### Summer event

**Hadleigh, Suffolk Day – The Story of Rowland Taylor – Reformer and Martyr.**

Organiser – Michael Hammond.

Date to be announced.

Details: Mary Clow, 17 Powis Terrace, London W11 1JJ  
Tel. +44 (0) 207 221 0300 or email: [maryclow@aol.com](mailto:maryclow@aol.com)

**Wednesday 27 September 6pm**

**The Twelfth Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture, Lambeth Palace, London.**



**October**  
**The Annual Tyndale Lecture in the Old Deanery at Gloucester Cathedral to be followed by Choral Evensong and supper.**

Date to be announced.  
Further information from David Green, 22 Foss Field, Winstone, Gloucestershire, GL7 7JY, UK. tel. +44 (0) 1285 821651.

**Late autumn**  
**The Twelfth Annual Hertford Tyndale Lecture at the Examination Schools, High Street, Oxford.**

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

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

2007

**Friday 9 March to Sunday 11 March**  
**Worcester & Gloucester Weekend**

To learn about Latimer, reformer, bishop and martyr, and to visit Tyndale sites in the area.

**September**  
**Conference in Virginia, USA** in conjunction with the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations at Jamestown.

Details to be announced.

To ensure that you have the latest information about forthcoming events consult our website at [www.tyndale.org](http://www.tyndale.org).

**Tyndale Society Officers:**

Chairman Emeritus	Professor David Daniell
Chairman	Mrs Mary Clow
Vice-Chairs	Dr Barry Ryan (America) Sir Rowland Whitehead, Bt, rowlandwhitehead@hotmail.com
Treasurer	Mr Peter Baker, peter.baker@hertford.ox.ac.uk
Secretary to the Trustees	Ms Rochelle Givoni, rochelle@ctl.com

**Key Contacts For Members And Friends:**

**Membership/Subscription Information**

**UK Office** (all membership queries except US and Canada)  
Mrs Valerie Kemp, Tyndale Society, Hertford College, Oxford, OX1 3BW, UK  
Phone +44 (0) 1865 279473 valerie.kemp@hertford.ox.ac.uk

**US Office** (all membership queries for US and Canada)  
Ms Jennifer Bekemeier, Tyndale Society, Regent University, 1000 Regent University Drive, Virginia Beach, VA 23464, USA Phone: +1 757 226 4347 jennbek@regent.edu

**Administration**

Ms Lucy Jane Tetlow, Administrator lucyjane90@hotmail.com

Mrs Gillian Guest, Administrative Assistant, Tyndale Society, c/o Hertford College, Oxford, OX1 3BW, UK. PMG7515@aol.com

**European Representative**

Mrs Valerie Offord, Le Grouet, 31 route de Pré-Marais, 1233 Bernex, Switzerland.  
Phone/fax +41 (0) 22 777 18 58 valerie.offord@bluewin.ch

**UK Contact**

Mrs Priscilla Frost  
27 Ditchley Road, Charlbury, Oxon. OX7 3QS, UK.  
Phone: +44 (0) 1608 811818. Fax: +44 (0) 1608 819010. info@oxconf.co.uk

**Publications Committee**

Brian Johnson, bandr@johnson373.fsnet.co.uk

**Ploughboy Group**

Rev. David Ireson, Ploughboy Group Convenor  
The Vicarage, Brendon Road, Watchet, Somerset, TA23 0HU, UK  
Phone: +44 (0) 1984 631228, David.Ireson@btinternet.com

**Webmaster**

Dr Deborah Pollard, d.e.pollard@qmul.ac.uk, [www.tyndale.org](http://www.tyndale.org)

ISSN: 1357-4167

