

WILLIAM TYNDALE AND HIS WORK

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PREFACE

The beginning of the fifteenth century brings us within a short distance of the Elizabethan period so renowned in English literature. But these halcyon days of literature could not come without certain very important events having occurred. The fifteenth century was a preparatory period to the one that was to follow. The three great events that paved the way to the Elizabethan period were the introduction of the Printing-press, the Renaissance, and the Reformation.

While Constantinople was being stormed, Gutenberg, the inventor of printing, finished at Mainz the first great work of the press--the Latin Bible. With the invention of printing came a great awakening in literature. Before long the dawn reached England. "Every breeze was dusty with the golden pollen of Greece, Rome, and Italy." ¹ And the third great event was the Reformation which brought about a spiritual revival even as the Renaissance had produced a revival of letters.

Before and after the Wyclif version, up to the time of Tyndale, there had only been copies of the Vulgate in manuscript form. The long delay in bringing out a full English version is hard to understand. All through the

1. Essay on Spenser, J. R. Lowell, Among My Books

centuries the Church held to its Latin. The appearance of Wyclif's English Bible created a sensation. Yet it was only a translation of the Vulgate.

After Wyclif there is a gap of nearly one hundred and fifty years in the narrative of Bible translation. Then we come to the story of the final struggle to put the English Bible in a secure place in England.

In determining how the English Bible finally came into England we must ponder upon the personalities of the translators and the spirit of the age in which they lived and worked. This is the only way we can realize the marvelous power behind this Book. There were men who gave their all for the cause of the Reformation, men who "counted it an honor to suffer for their duty, and blessed God for keeping them firm under trials," who have left us a rich legacy in the memory of their lives, and yet at the present time have been practically forgotten. To none of these men do we owe more than to William Tyndale, the chief of the English Reformers and translator of the Greek New Testament into English.

The flight of four centuries has greatly changed the position of things with regard to the English New Testament. It is no longer a criminal offense to own or read one. On the contrary, the New Testament is the most widely circulated book in the English language. The

phraseology which Tyndale worked out in obscurity and peril still lives in our King James New Testament--in nine-tenths of it--and in more than half of all the English and American revisions.

As one surveys the history of the modern translations since the days of William Tyndale, one is struck by the accuracy with which they reflect the state of English religion. These translations began in the stirring dawn of the Reformation. Tyndale's New Testament of 1525 he himself revised in 1534 and 1535; Coverdale republished it in 1535, and Rogers in 1537; Taverner and Coverdale again revised it in 1539. A second period of revision began in 1557, which culminated in the King James Bible of 1611.

At this time and place I desire to thank Professor L. Sisson for suggesting the topic of my thesis, and Professor Josephine Burnham for her kind and helpful criticism. Also I wish to acknowledge here my indebtedness to my father, the Reverend F. J. Lankenau, who carefully read my manuscript and gave me careful criticism and advice.

What I owe to others in these matters is very large. However, the errors, where they occur, are mine.

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WILLIAM TYNDALE AND HIS WORK

CHAPTER I

THE APPROACH TO THE GREAT TASK

Four hundred years ago, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the circulation of the Bible was a dangerous undertaking, hence limiting its propagation. Few men could read and understand it. In order to get some of its meaning the people had to consult the clergy, who were also to some extent ignorant of its interpretation. The Convocation of the province of Canterbury had expressly forbidden any man to translate any part of the Scripture into the English tongue, or to read such translation without authority of the bishop, something not very likely to be granted. ¹ In a regulation of Toulouse of 1229 it had been expressly stated "that no layman should be allowed to have any book of the Bible, especially in a translation, except perhaps the Psalter". The Convocation of Oxford in 1408, shortly before Tyndale's birth, decreed as follows: "We therefore decree and ordain that no man hereafter by his own authority translate any text of the Scripture into English or any other tongue, by way of a book, pamphlet,

1. Wilkin's Concilia, Vol. III, p. 317

or treatise; and that no man read any such book, pamphlet, or treatise, now lately composed in the time of John Wycliffe . . . upon pain of greater excommunication until the said translation be approved by the ordinary of the place, or if the case so require, by the council provincial." Lambert says in 1538: "I did once see a book of the New testament, which was not unwritten by my estimation this hundred years, and in my mind right well translated after the example of that which is read in the church in Latin. But he that showed it to me said 'he durst not be known to have it by him, for many had been punished aforetime for helping of such, and were therefore convicted of heresy.'²" Even for those that were studying for the priesthood the study of the Holy Scriptures was not required. Theological summaries took the place of the Bible. "The Bible, both in theory and practice, had almost ceased to be a record of real events, and the lives and the teaching of living men. It had become an arsenal of texts; and these texts were regarded as detached invincible weapons to be legitimately seized and wielded in theological warfare, for any purpose to which their words might be made to apply, without reference to their original meaning or context."³ A contemporary with Colet at Oxford, speaking of the dominant school of divines, remarks, "They

2. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, Vol. V, p. 213

3. Seebohm, The Oxford Reformers, p. 29.

divide the Scripture into four senses, the literal, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical--the literary sense has become nothing at all . . . Twenty doctors expound one text twenty ways, and with an antitheme of half an inch some of them draw a thread of nine days long. . . They not only say that the literal sense profiteth nothing, but also that it is hurtful and noisome and killeth the soul. And this they prove by a text of Paul, 2 Cor. III, 'The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.'⁴ "Some of them will prove a point of the Faith as well out of a fable of Ovid or any other poet, as out of St. John's Gospel or Paul's Epistles."⁵ St. Paul was cast aside for Thomas Aquinas.

The Reformers at this time held that the best way to overthrow the power of the monasteries and of the Roman Church was to enable the common people to get hold of the Bible themselves and read it in order to learn how much of the current teaching of the priest and the friar was based on the words of Scripture. The leaders of the Catholic Church, however, doubted the wisdom of allowing uneducated or half-educated folk to read the Bible without the accompaniment of oral instruction. They feared the Reformers might introduce heretical teachings into their translations. Some radicals among the Catholics, however, felt

4. Tyndale, Obedience of a Christian Man, Chapter On the Four Senses of Scriptures

5. Ibid.

that many of their practices could not be justified. So it was that the struggle of the Reformation period was largely concerned with the question of the translation of the Bible.

Then came a great change in the fifteenth century in Western Europe and in England. The desire for a new Bible had in the fifteenth century long been felt, for the old Latin translation, the Vulgate, and the translation from it, Wyclif's, did not satisfy. In the middle of the fifteenth century no one thought of printing the version of Wyclif. Those interested in the Bible thought of the possibilities of a new and direct approach to the New Testament original. It was the printing of the Greek New Testament by Erasmus that finally paved the way for the work of Tyndale. It was a hundred years after the completion of the Tyndale Bible before another successful attempt was made to translate a large proportion of the Scriptures into English.

The history of the English Bible as we have it to-day without a doubt begins with Tyndale. More says in his Apology that there were translations before the times of Wyclif and Tyndale, and that these were read by the people, and that these were translated by "virtuous and well learned men into the English tongue". He said that Wyclif "purposely corrupted the holy text, maliciously placing

therein such words as might in the reader's ear serve for the proof of such heresies as he went about for to sow". In the contention that there were earlier versions of Scripture before Wyclif, More does not stand alone; we have Foxe, Usher, and Gasquet who bring out these same arguments. The Convocation of the province of Canterbury decreed that translations were allowed only when the authorities could censor the entire work. Some of the opponents of Bible translation refused to allow the literal translation of any part, unaccompanied by an explanation, lest it should be wrongly interpreted. There were some who wanted the Vulgate published side by side with the translation. This licensing and supervising of the authorities prevented the poor from having a copy of the English Bible. Without the permission of reading these translations the common people were taking the first step to the stake for both book and owner. The self-education of the laity in spiritual things through the spread of the vernacular Scriptures was not the business of the medieval Church.

The man chosen to lead the people from this wilderness of Bible-ignorance was William Tyndale. For fifteen years the history of the Bible runs parallel with the life of this man. Of his early days we know very little, except what we can get from Foxe, the martyrologist, in his Acts and Monuments and from references contained in

Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, a classic work on the history of the Bible. "Great characters have not infrequently been raised from an obscurity which has baffled all research. The lives of the greatest saints are little more than legends, whilst of the great master minds of the past a few pages will often contain all that can authoritatively be told." The same degree of obscurity hangs over both the place and time of Tyndale's birth. Also his parentage is doubtful. The chief difficulty in ascertaining this is the absence of any authoritative statement on this point by any of Tyndale's contemporaries. Tyndale was born about 1484. Foxe fixes the date of his birth between 1490 and 1495, while Sir Thomas More seems to rank him with Luther in point of age. The place of Tyndale's birth is involved in obscurity. Foxe makes the statement that Tyndale was born "on the borders of Wales". There is a strong possibility that he was born in a small town in Gloucestershire, a county held to be the stronghold of the Church, and Gloucester is not far from Wales. There was no part of England more under the power of the Pope at this time than Gloucestershire. A favorite saying in England at this time was, "As sure as God is in Gloucester." Gloucester was a part of the bishopric of Worcester, which was formed by Wolsey for the Cardinal Bishop Giulio de' Medici, to whom the see was given by Leo X a few

months after Tyndale returned from Cambridge. Nowhere were the abuses of the Church more flagrant, or the clergy more ignorant. Tyndale never said much of his relatives for fear they would become involved in the persecutions that then were rampant in England. The history of Tyndale has been almost lost in his work, a work likely to remain revered, loved, and respected by English-speaking people.

Tyndale's education was not neglected. He went through a thorough period of preparatory training before he undertook the task that made his name famous among the lovers of the English Bible. He was "brought up from a child" at the University of Oxford, where, according to Foxe, he was "singularly addicted to the study of Scriptures". From the beginning of his studies to the end he always showed an aptness in languages and a sharpness of comprehension. During his stay at Oxford he received new ideas that he was to advocate in later life. He examined his religious beliefs thoughtfully, abandoned opinions without reluctance, and faced problems with a clear and bold mind. Foxe gives the whole record of Tyndale's university life in the following words: "Thus he, in the University of Oxford, increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the schools, spying his time, removed from thence to the University of Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode a certain space." At Cambridge

Tyndale was still under the same influences he had been under while at Oxford. Erasmus drew Tyndale to Cambridge, and Erasmus had imbibed the spirit of Colet. Tyndale was a faithful student of the great Dutch scholar. It is thought that Erasmus's teaching was one of the things that first suggested to Tyndale his noble design of translating the Word of God into the language of his people.* Anyhow, it was during his time at Cambridge that he first saw a copy of the Greek version of the New Testament. "Being

*Note: Erasmus was bent on giving the Scriptures to the people. When we read the following words of Erasmus they sound very much like words spoken by Tyndale at a later time: "I totally disagree with those who are unwilling that the sacred scriptures, translated into the vulgar tongue, should be read by private individuals, as if Christ had taught such subtle doctrines that they can with difficulty be understood by a very few theologians, or as if the strength of the Christian religion lay in men's ignorance of it...I would wish all women even, to read the gospels and Epistles of Paul. I wish they were translated into all languages of all peoples, that they might be read and known not merely by the Scotch and Irish, but even by the Turks and Saracens...I wish that the ploughman might sing parts of them at his plough, and the weaver at his shuttle, and that the traveller might beguile with their narration the weariness of the way." Foxe, Acts and Monuments, Vol. V

now further ripened in the knowledge of God's Word, leaving the University (Cambridge) also he resorted to one Master Walsh, a knight of Gloucestershire, and was there schoolmaster to his children and in good favor with his master." ⁷ The home of Master Walsh was situated almost within sight of the locality where he had spent his childhood. The years which he spent at Little Sodbury, 1521-1523, opened his eyes more than anything else, for he was in a stronghold of Catholicism with all its weaknesses glaringly shown. It was just this that gave him the idea of educating the common people and of showing them where their Church was weakest. As late as 1530 Tyndale ventured to assert that there were twenty thousand priests in England who could not have translated into plain English the clause in the Lord's Prayer, "Fiat voluntas tua sicut in coelo et in terra." ⁸ Tyndale might have exaggerated, but in the reign of Edward VI, Bishop Hooper found scores of clergymen who could not tell who the author of the Lord's Prayer was, "or where it was to be read." ⁹ He thus describes the priests around Gloucestershire in his Preface to the Pentateuch: They "have seen no more Latin, than that only which they read in their missals (which many of them can scarcely read, except it be 'Albertus, De Secretis Mulierum,' in which yet, though they be never so sorrily

7. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, Vol. V, p. 116

8. Answer to Sir Thomas More, p. 75 and note

9. Demaus, William Tindale, p. 31

learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they say, and also another called 'Lindwood', a book of constitutions to gather tithes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but God's part, the duty of holy church, to destroy their consciences withal." ¹⁰

As the clergy so the Church. "Religion had degenerated into an unprofitable round of superstitious customs and ceremonial observances." ¹¹ The services were so intricate that it took years for both priest and people to perform them aright. What the ceremonies meant and what each one taught was understood by but a few. Their original purpose in the Church was entirely lost sight of. These services were not aids to devotion but impediments to all true religion. To the evils of superstition were also beginning to be added those of hypocrisy. The human mind was awakening to freedom and action; the words of Wyclif had not been spilt in vain; men were on all sides asking some proofs of the doctrines, some reason for the ceremonies, which were styled religion, and which were proclaimed to be of Divine obligation, necessary to be received by all under peril of eternal damnation. ¹²

10. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, Vol. V, p. 116

11. Demaus, William Tyndale, p. 32.

12. Ibid.

This was an age of change. Only a few voices dared raise their protest against the ignorance and barbarism of the Church. Greek and Roman classical writers had been looked up to as models for imitation, but no more, for the worship of heathen writers was held as immoral and heretical and hence condemned. Tyndale was forced to say:

"Remember ye not how within this thirty years (written 1530) and far less, and yet dureth to this day, the old barking curs, Duns' Disciples (followers of Duns Scotus) and like draff called Scotists, the children of darkness, raged in every pulpit against Greek, Latin, and Hebrew; and what sorrow the schoolmasters that taught the true Latin tongue, had with them; some beating the pulpit with their fists for madness, and roaring out with open and foaming mouth, that if there were but one Terence or Virgil in the world, and that same in their sleeves, and a fire before them, they would burn them therein, though it should cost them their lives; affirming that all good learning decayed and was utterly lost, since men gave them unto the Latin tongue?"¹³ The monasteries were corrupt; the religious teaching, which was the main reason for their existence, was distorted or non-existent. Christendom was not united. There was lacking that Spartan discipline so needed in church matters. Dissolution was near. "The shadow of the great Papal schism still brooded over the destinies of the Church. That schism had been ended only

13. Answer to Sir Thomas More, Works, Vol. III, p. 75

by revolution, which under the guidance of Gerson, had left the Pope the constitutional instead of the absolute monarch of the Church. The great heresies of the preceding century had, moreover, not yet been extinguished. The very names of Wyclif and Huss were still names of terror. Lollardy had been crushed, but it was not dead. Everywhere the embers of schism and revolution were still smouldering underneath, ready to break out again, in new fury, who could tell how soon?"¹⁴ The true purpose of Holy Scripture was forgotten. Theology, Erasmus said, once venerable and full of majesty, had become almost dumb, poor, and in rags. Religion was not looked upon as the means of Salvation, but as a "complete revelation of the whole range of human knowledge"¹⁵. A good description is given by Tyndale of how men were trained for the Church at Oxford in the sixteenth century. At the universities it was a law that no man dare look at the Scriptures until he be nursed or trained, or "noselled in heathen learning eight or nine years", and armed with false principles with which he is clean shut out of the understanding of the Scripture. And at his first coming unto University, he is sworn that he shall not defame the University, whatsoever he seeth. And when he taketh first degree, he is sworn that he shall hold none opinion condemned by the Church; but what such opinions be, that he shall not know. And then, when they be admitted to

14. Seebohm, Oxford Reformers, pp. 6-7

15. Tyndale, Fractice of Prelates, Works, Vol. II, p. 291

study divinity, because the Scripture is locked up with such false expositions, and with false principles of natural philosophy, that they cannot enter in, they go about the outside, and dispute all their lives about words and vain opinions, pertaining as much to the healing of a man's heel, as health of his soul: provided yet alway, lest God give his singular grace unto any person, that none may preach except he be admitted of the bishops.¹⁶"

That the Church was poorly systematized can readily be seen from the fact that the bishop of the diocese, who was responsible for the spiritual welfare of Little Sodbury, the first charge of Tyndale, lived in Italy, a thousand miles away. From 1512 to 1537 two men were in charge, Cardinal Wolsey and Dr. Parker, but neither one could express his own opinion, since everything done or said by them would be construed as insubordination by the bishop of the diocese. But Gloucester had also imbibed some of the great intellectual revival that was stirring Europe at this time. A letter of Erasmus to Colet will clearly show the conditions of these times. "Theology, the queen of all science--so richly adorned by ancient eloquence--they strip of all her beauty by their incongruous, mean, and disgusting style. What was once so clear, thanks to the genius of the old divines, they clog with some subtlety or other, thus involving everything in obscurity while they

16. Tyndale, Practice of Prelates, Works, Vol. II, p. 291

try to explain it. It is thus we see that theology, which was once most venerable and full of majesty, now almost dumb, poor, and in rags... In the meantime, we are allured by a never-satiated appetite for strife...we fight about straws...we sometimes discuss questions which pious ears can hardly bear to hear; as, for instance, when it is asked whether the Almighty could have taken upon Him the nature of the devil or of an ass.

"Besides all this, in our times those men in general apply themselves to theology, the chief of all studies, who by reason of their obtuseness and lack of sense are hardly fit for any study at all. I say this not of learned and upright professors of theology, whom I highly respect and venerate, but of that sordid and haughty pack of divines who count all learning as worthless except their own."¹⁷

A reformation was needed in ecclesiastical affairs. This can be readily seen from the opening words of Colet's sermon at the Convocation at St. Paul's in February, 1512: "You are come together to-day, fathers and right wise men, to hold a council. In which what ye will do, and what matters ye will handle, I do not yet know; but I wish that, at length, mindful of your name and profession, ye would consider of the reformation of ecclesiastical affairs: for never was it more necessary, and never did the state of the Church more need your endeavors. For the Church,

17. Quoted in Seebohm, The Oxford Reformers, pp. 129-130

the spouse of Christ, which he wished to be without spot and wrinkle, is become foul and deformed. As saith Esaias, 'The faithful city is become a harlot'; and as Jeremiah speaks, 'She hath committed fornication with many lovers'. Wherefore I have come here to-day, fathers, to admonish you with all your minds to deliberate, in this your Council, concerning the reformation of the Church.¹⁸"

While at Sodbury Tyndale had many an occasion to converse with the learned men of the time and to talk about learning in general. When, as often, the arguments became heated, Tyndale would resort to Scripture to prove his point. This did not satisfy the learned divines, for when the Bible was used to prove anything they had to remain silent. Before long a secret grudge arose in their hearts against Tyndale, for they saw in his shrewd arguments something hard to withstand.

In order to satisfy his master and lady*, and also to show that he held the same views as Erasmus, he undertook the translation of the Enchiridion Militis Christiani, or Manual of a Christian Soldier. He attempted to show in this translation that it was a popular misconception "which placed religion in scholastic dogmas and ritual observances." This translation was never printed. Tyndale gained

18. Seebohm, The Oxford Reformers, pp. 230-231

* See page 9: quotation by Foxe.

the high esteem of the Walshes but the hatred of the clergy. "These blind and rude priests, flocking together to the ale-house, for that was their preaching place, raged and railed against him; affirming that his sayings were heresy, adding moreover unto his sayings of their own heads, more than ever he spake."¹⁹

But matters became even worse. Complaints went to the bishop of the diocese, and finally Tyndale was tried before him. He received an admonition to refrain from such things in the future.

While he was reflecting over the ignorance of the clergy and the laity as regards the Bible, Tyndale began seriously to contemplate the translation of the New Testament into the English tongue. He resolved upon this, thinking that he would do his country a great service. He felt that he could correct many of the abuses of the Church if the people were given the New Testament to read themselves. What Tyndale thought of doing seemed the only natural course to take, but these were perilous times, times "that tried men's souls". The voyages of Columbus and Cabot were no more perilous. As yet no Bible had appeared in the vernacular during the Reformation; Luther's had appeared the very year of Tyndale's great resolution, in September, 1522. This resolution to translate the New Testament was forced upon him by words such as one learned

19. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, Vol. V, p. 116

man said to him, "We were better be without God's laws than the Pope's." "Tyndale hearing that, answered him, 'I defy the Pope and all his laws'; and said, 'If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou doest.'" ²⁰ Tyndale resolved to translate from the original and not from the Latin Vulgate as Wyclif had done. Wyclif's translation was obsolete at Tyndale's time. A new translation was badly needed. Tyndale expressly stated before he translated the New Testament, "Moreover I take God (which alone seeth ye heart) to recorde to my conscience beseeching him yat I have wrytten thorow oute all my boke ought of an evell purpose of envy or malice to anye man or to stere up any false doctrine or opinion in the church of Christ or to be autor of anye secte or to draw disciples after me." ²¹

Krapp gives in detail the reasons which moved Tyndale to translate the New Testament into English. It reads as follows:

(1) The Old Testament was written in Hebrew, not a learned tongue but the speech of the people: why then may we not have both the Old and the New in our tongue?

(2) "They will say haply, the Scripture requireth a pure mind and a quiet mind: and therefore the lay-man,

20. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, Vol. V, p. 117

21. Preface to the Revision of the New Testament, 1534

because he is altogether cumbered with worldly business, cannot understand them. If that be the case, then it is a plain case that our prelates understand not the scriptures themselves: for no lay-man is so tangled with worldly business as they are."

(3) Another objection was that if the scriptures were in the mother tongue, every man would understand them after his own way. "Wherefore serveth the curate," answers Tyn-dale, "but to teach the right way? Wherefore were the holy days made, but that people should come and learn? Are ye not abominable schoolmasters, in that ye take so great wages, if ye will not teach?"

(4) The apostles preached in their mother tongue, and if one preach a good sermon, why may it not as well be written?

(5) St. Jerome translated the Bible into his mother tongue, and why may we not do the same?

(6) "They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude, as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin."

(7) People are want to follow different authorities, i. e. the various doctors of the Church. "Whereby shall I

try and judge them (the doctors)? Verily, by God's word, which only is true. But how shall I that do, when thou wilt not let me see the scripture?... Nay, say they, the scripture is so hard, that thou couldst never understand it but by the doctors. That is, I must measure the mete-yard by the cloth. Here be twenty cloths (i. e. doctors) of divers lengths and of divers breadths: how shall I be sure of the length of the mete-yard by them?"

(8) They will say that you cannot understand the scriptures without philosophy, without a knowledge of Aristotle. "Aristotle saith, 'Give a man a law, and he becometh righteous with working righteously,' But Paul and all the scripture saith, 'That the law doth but utter sin only, and helpeth not: neither hath any man power to do the law, till the Spirit of God be given him through faith in Christ.' "Teaching of the scriptures, says Tyn-dale, should be the teaching of God's law, and not the philosophies of nominalists and realists, with their "predicaments, universals, second intentions, quiddities, haecceities, and relatives." Diversity of teaching among the doctors is to be corrected by return to the pure word of the scriptures. "Now whatsoever opinions every man findeth with his doctor, that is his gospel, and that only is true with him, and that holdeth he all his life long; and every man, to maintain his doctor withal corrupteth the scripture, and fashioneth it after his own imagination,

as a potter doth his clay. Of what text thou provest hell, will another prove purgatory; another limbo patrum; and another the assumption of our lady; and another shall prove of the same text that an ape hath a tail."

(9) "Finally that this threatening and forbidding of the lay people to read the scripture is not for the love of your souls (which they care for as the fox doth for the geese) is evident, and clearer than the sun; inasmuch as they permit and suffer you to read Robin Hood, and Bevis of Hampton, Hercules, Hector, and Troilus, with a thousand histories and fables of love and wantonness and of ribaldry, as filthy as heart can think, to corrupt the mind of youth withal, clean contrary to the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles."

(10) "A thousand reasons more might be made, as thou mayest see in Paracelsi Erasmi, and in his preface to the Paraphrase of Matthew, unto which they should be compelled to hold their peace or to give shameful answers."²²

After it was found out that Tyndale was contemplating seriously the translating of the New Testament, things began to stir in Cloucestershire. It was clear to Tyndale that he had better find a safer place. "I perceive," he said to his patron, Master Walsh, "that I shall not be

22. Quoted Krapp, The Rise of English Literary Prose,

suffered to tarry long here in this country, nor you shall be able to keep me out of their hands; and what displeasure you might have thereby is hard to know, for the which I should be right sorry." ²³ So he reluctantly removed to London.

There are several reasons why Tyndale chose London as a safe retreat to accomplish his task of translating the New Testament. If he succeeded in finishing the translation, he would be within easy reach of those that could print the book, and also close to those for whom the book was intended. Moreover, the old bishop of London had died, and Tyndale felt that the present bishop, who was friendly to More and Erasmus, might be friendly to him. It was his sincere hope to find in Bishop Tunstall a liberal patron, one who was interested in a translation of the New Testament. For the purpose of showing Tunstall how proficient he was in Greek Tyndale hurriedly translated one of the orations of Isocrates. He also carried a letter of recommendation to Sir Harry Guildford, Controller of the Royal Household and high in the service of the king. Tyndale supposedly arrived in London in July or August of 1523, a time when feeling was at a high pitch against Wolsey, who had just taxed the people heavily, and who was also condemned by them for his intrigue and extravagance. Henry VIII had only recently received his title "Defensor Fidei"

23. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, Vol. V, p. 117

from the Pope for his valiant stand against Luther. Tyndale went to Sir Harry Guildford, who gave him a letter of recommendation and spoke in his favor. Tyndale waited anxiously for an interview with Tunstall. At last it took place. Tunstall was a man born to shine in courts, whom Archbishop Warham in a letter to Wolsey pictures as "right meet, and convenient to entertain ambassadors and other noble strangers at that notable and honorable city (London), in the absence of the king's most noble grace." On the other hand, Tyndale in a letter to a friend had described himself as one "evil-favored in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow-witted." Tunstall and Tyndale naturally clashed. Tyndale, after showing the translation, asked for the Bishop's patronage. It is likely that Tyndale had already informed Tunstall of his desire to translate the New Testament into English, and this naturally did not gain any favor with the Bishop. "My lord answered me," says Tyndale, "his house was full, he had more than he could well find; and advised me seek in London, where, he said, I could not lack a service." This he did. He was taken up by an alderman of London, Humphrey Monmouth, who gives the following description of him; "I took him into my house half a year; and there lived like a priest as methought. He studied most part of the day and of the night his book; and he would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor

drink but small single beer. I never saw him wear linen about him in the space he was with me. I did promise him ten pounds sterling, to pray for my father and mother, their souls and all Christian souls. I did pay it him when he made his exchange to Hamburg.²⁵ From this can be seen that Tyndale was a scholar of simple tastes and learning. Sir Thomas More admits that "before he went over the sea he was well-known for a man of right good living, studious, well-learned in Scripture, and looked and preached holily." Tyndale was just as well off in the home of Monmouth as he could have been in the home of Tunstall. Monmouth was especially liberal to men of letters. He held to many of the Catholic ceremonies as Tyndale did. While here, Tyndale had many arguments similar to those that he had had in Little Sodbury at Master Walsh's. Much information did he find on the weaknesses of the Church which afterwards appeared in his Practice of Prelates. He also had opportunity here to study Luther, who exercised a great influence over him. While in London he gained much valuable experience, meeting tradesmen, merchants, churchmen, and politicians. He never forgot the one purpose for which he had come to London. Yet he felt he could not go ahead without the sanction of the Bishop. Men were not forbidden to translate Holy Scripture, but they were forbidden to translate it without the authority

25. Petition of Henry Monmouth to Wolsey. Harleian MSS., P. 425. Quoted Demaus, William Tindale, pp. 103-104

of their bishops. This authority never came, for the bishops were unrelenting towards all who even contemplated translating Scripture. Tyndale finally came to the following conclusion: "I understood not only that there was no room in my Lord of London's house to translate the New Testament, but, also, that there was no place to do it in all England." ²⁶ What was he to do? Sacrifice home and native land? This he decided to do. He would have his work printed on the Continent, in Germany where reform was strong. In about May of 1524 he set sail for Hamburg, never to return to his native land.

26. Preface to the Pentateuch, Works, Vol. I, p.396

CHAPTER II

ISSUES AND REVISIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

When Tyndale left London to go to Hamburg in 1524, he was given the assurance by some of his friends that he would be provided with funds to continue the translation there, and that the translation would be secretly transported into England. It is not certain how long Tyndale remained in Hamburg. Demaus in his life of Tyndale says that some modern authorities claim Tyndale remained in Hamburg the whole next year, while his contemporaries hold that he went to Wittenberg to visit Luther.* Among the

* Note: "The contemporaries of Tyndale, all, without one dissentient voice, assert that he did not remain at Hamburg; but the prevalent opinion among recent writers seems to lean to the contrary alternative. In such a conflict between contemporary authorities and the inferences of modern historians, there can be little doubt on which side the truth is likely to be found. And in the present instance the contemporary evidence is so strong, that there need be no hesitation in rejecting the theories which have in recent times been advanced against it." Robert Demaus, William Tindale, p. 116.

articles of accusation against Monmouth in 1528 was the following: "Thou wert privy and of counsel that the said Sir William Hutchin, otherwise called Tyndale, and friar Roye, or either of them, went into Almayne (Germany) to Luther, there to study and learn his sect." Monmouth does not deny this. More asserts that "Tyndale as soon as he got him hence, got him to Luther straight." ¹ Foxe says, "On his first departing out of the realm Tyndale took his journey into the further parts as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther and other learned men in these quarters." ²

It seems likely that Tyndale did some translating while in Hamburg. What he translated were the Gospels of Matthew and Mark with marginal notes, and he also published these, shortly after the translation, in Wittenberg, since there was no printing-press in Hamburg.*

It would be well at this time to say something of Tyndale's difficulties in translating. The modern scholar

1. Dialogue of Sir Thomas More, Ed. 1557, p. 283

2. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, Vol. V, p. 119

* Note: There seems to be a difference of opinion as to whether Tyndale translated the Gospels of Matthew and Mark separately before the completion of the Testament; if he did it can be said with almost perfect certainty that they were printed, not at Hamburg, but at Wittenberg, not later than March, 1525. Demaus, William Tindale, p. 130

with all his helps--grammars, lexicons, synopses, and collations--does not appreciate the difficulties that Tyndale encountered in his translation of the New Testament into English. Tyndale had no such helps. There was no choice of a text. Whether he had access to any manuscripts, is doubtful. Erasmus's New Testament was the only one accessible to him. He more than likely made his English version from the third edition of Erasmus. It is only natural that Tyndale should avail himself of the opportunity of consulting Luther and the greatest Greek scholar in all Germany, Melancthon. Tyndale was as good a Greek scholar as Luther, and he knew German, for Cochlaeus says that he "learned the German language at Wittenberg". "While Tyndale understood German, the Reformers at Wittenberg did not know English, so their help must have been of very slight importance, and such as in no way to affect Tyndale's originality." He might have consulted them for the meaning of certain difficult passages, but that is about all.* In the epistle attached to his first octave edition he says "he had no man to counterfeit neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same, or such

3. Demaus, William Tindale, p. 124

*Note: The following also has to be taken into consideration when discussing Tyndale's abode with Luther. This was one of the most eventful years of the German Reformation. Nevertheless, we know that Luther's home was as Duke George of Saxony styled it, "the common asylum of all apostates".

like thing in the Scripture beforetime." He might have used the Wyclif version, but this is not probable, for this version was only a translation in obsolete English and Tyndale himself said that he was endeavoring "singly and faithfully, so far forth as God had given him the gift of knowledge and understanding," to translate into proper English the original Greek New Testament. He took all pains to make his work as complete and correct as possible. As helps he had before him the New Testament of Erasmus, with its Latin version, the Vulgate, and Luther's German translation. William Roye served as his amanuensis, with whose help he almost completed the translation in one year at Wittenberg. In the spring of 1525 he returned to Hamburg. Why did he not remain in Wittenberg? Tyndale knew that Wittenberg was looked upon by the enemy as a stronghold of heretical doctrines, and naturally this place would be watched. He knew that his translation would not be allowed in England; when once its existence was discovered, Wittenberg would be one of the first places where the king's spies would search. After a short sojourn in Hamburg, he decided to go to Cologne, which offered the best facilities for printing the books cheaply and transporting them to England. When Tyndale arrived in Cologne, his work was practically completed; a revision was the only thing required. "Every precaution was used to ensure secrecy; and the condition of Germany, torn with intestine dissensions, and agitated by the insurrection of peasants,

was supposed to be favorable to the concealment which they courted. Roye's unsettled and obtrusive temper was doubtless a great anxiety to Tyndale; but he knew how to restrain his tongue by keeping his pockets empty. All seemed to go well with them; they escaped the observation of many hostile eyes around; their visits to the printing office were so skilfully arranged that they excited no suspicion; the work was progressing favorably, and the heart of Tyndale beat high with hope. Three thousand copies were to be put to press; and already the work, a quarto with prologue and marginal notes and references, had proceeded as far as the letter "K" in the signature of the sheets, when suddenly the senate of the city issued orders that the printers should at once suspend their labors.⁴ Tyndale and Roye in order to escape imprisonment snatched away what they could of the sheets that were finished and sailed up the Rhine to Worms. Cochlaeus, a relentless enemy of the Reformation, through some talkative printers uncovered the whole undertaking. Cochlaeus himself gives us a vivid picture of his successful undertaking in the following words where he says that the "translation of the New Testament of Luther (so he calls it) was, in his eyes, part of a great scheme for converting all England to Lutheranism."⁵ He found out in his uncovering of the plot, as he called it, that the expense was

4. Demaus, William Tyndale, pp. 132-33

5. De Actis et Scriptis M. Lutheri, pp. 132, ff

defrayed by English merchants, but he could not find out for some time where the New Testament was being printed. He became familiar with certain printers who were printing a book for him, and from them he learned that a New Testament was being printed in the same establishment where his book was being prepared for publication.

The incident at Cologne did not dishearten Tyndale, and after reaching Worms he found a printer for his translation, one who was more friendly to his work. He decided upon an octavo edition instead of the quarto. He was able to continue his work in Worms under better circumstances, for it had only been four years before that Luther had made his valiant stand and declaration before the emperor, Charles V. Worms was "come wholly Lutheran". He here prepared two editions of the New Testament instead of one. Both editions were shipped into England. It is probable that they were already in England before April or May of the year 1526.

However, Henry VIII had already been informed of the fact that the Testament was being printed in Germany. His informant was Lee, afterwards archbishop of York, who was then on the Continent. In a letter to the King from Bordeaux he says: "Please your highness to understand that I am certainly informed, as I passed in this country, that an Englishman at the solicitation and instance of Luther, with whom he is, hath translated the New Testament

into English, and within four days intendeth to return with the same imprinted into England. I need not to advertize your grace what infection and danger may ensue hereby if it be not withstanded. This is the next way to fulfil your realm with Lutherans. All our forefathers, governors of the Church of England, have with all their diligence forbid and eschewed publication of English Bibles, as appeareth in constitutions provincial of the Church of England.⁶"

When the New Testament reached England, many of the copies were bought up in large numbers and burned. But this did not disconcert Tyndale in the least, for he said that with the money he received for his Testaments he would be able to proceed with the work of printing translations of other parts of the Bible. The Chronicler Hall gives us a good description of one of the transactions of buying up the Testaments. Packington, who was friendly to Tyndale, introduced himself to Tunstall and offered to buy up copies of the New Testament for him, which Tunstall readily agreed to. "The Bishop, thinking he had God by the toe, when indeed he had the devil by the fist, said, 'Gentle Mr. Packington, do your diligence and get them; and with all my heart I will pay for them whatsoever they cost you, for the books are erroneous and nought, and I intend surely to destroy them all, and to burn them at Paul's Cross.'

6. Froude, History of England, Vol. II, p. 31

Packington came to William Tyndale and said, 'William, I know thou art a poor man, and hast a heap of New Testaments and books by thee, for the which thou hast both endangered thy friends and beggared thyself, and I now have gotten thee a merchant which, with ready money, shall dispatch thee of all that thou hast, if you think it so profitable for yourself.' 'Who is the merchant?' said Tyndale. 'The Bishop of London,' said Packington. 'Oh, that is because he will burn them,' said Tyndale. 'Yea, marry,' quoth Packington. 'I am the gladder', said Tyndale, 'these two benefits shall come thereof: I shall get money to bring myself out of debt, and the whole world will cry out against the burning of God's Word; and the overplus of the money that shall remain to me shall make me more studious to correct the said New Testament, and so newly to reprint the same once again, and I trust the second will much better like you than ever did the first.' And so forward went the bargain, the Bishop had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money."

The leaders of the Church declared against the translation from the first. Archbishop Warham, a good man and a scholar, issued a mandate for its destruction. Tunstall preached against it, declaring that he could produce 3000 errors in it: "We having understanding that many children

7. Hall's Chronicles, 1809, p. 762, quoted in Kenyon,

Our Bible and the Ancient MSS.

of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering away from the truth and the Catholic faith, craftily have translated the New Testament into the English tongue, intermingling therewith many heretical articles and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive,....of the which translation there are many books imprinted, some with glosses and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison, and dispersed through all our diocese in great number: which truly, without it be speedily foreseen, without doubt will contaminate and inflict the flock committed unto us with most deadly poison and heresy, to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge and the offence of God's Divine Majesty." It is likely that many of the mistakes that Tunstall and others took exception to may have been only cases where the Greek had a different sense from the Latin to which they were accustomed. One thing is certain; there were not so many errors as to lead the Church to show such a belligerent attitude for this alone. Action was taken to suppress the book long before it was published; and not only the quarto edition, which contained the comments, but also the octavo, which was the text alone, was proscribed. Hatred of the very existence of an English Bible, no doubt, was the only objection to Tyndale's translation.

8. Quoted, Foxe, Acts and Monuments, Vol. II, p. 233,

Sir Thomas More, who, strange as it may seem, in his Utopia had expressed views in favor of religious toleration, on the fall of Wolsey in 1529, swore upon taking his oath of office, among other things, to carry out the laws against heresy. In the case of Tyndale's translation More gives the following reasons for its prohibition: "In these days, in which Tyndale (God amend him) has so sore poisoned malicious and new-fangled folk with the infections contagion of his heresies, the king's highness and not without counsel and advice, not only of his nobles with his other counsellors attending upon his grace's person, but also of the most virtuous and learned men of both universities and other parts of the realm, specially called thereto, has been obliged for the time to prohibit the Scriptures of God to be allowed in the English tongue in the hands of the people, lest evil folk....may turn all the honey into poison, and do hurt unto themselves, and also spread the infection further abroad....and by their own fault misconstrue and take harm from the very Scripture of God." He called Tyndale's translation an ignorant work, dishonest and heretical. His great objection was the disregard of ecclesiastical terms. For church, priest, charity, confess, grace, penance Tyndale substituted congregation, elder, love, favor, knowledge, repentance. Richard Nix, bishop of Norwich, wrote to Archbishop Warham under date of June 14, 1527: "I lately receyved your letters dated at your Manour of Lambethe the XXVI daie of the

monethe of Maij, by the whiche I do perceyve that youre Grace hath lately gotten into your handes all the bokes of the Newe Testaments translated into Englesshe and prynted beyonde the see, aswele those with the gloses, by means of exchange by you made therefore to the somme of lxxv. iij. s. iij. d. Surely in myne opynion you have done therin a graciouse and a blessed dede, and God, I doubt not, shall highly rewarde you therefore. And when in your said letters you write, that in so muche as this later...shulde not only have towched you but all the Busshoppes within your province....and for that entente desire me to certifie you what convenyent somme I for my parte wulbe contented to jeve and avaunce in this behalve....Pleaseth you tunderstande that I am right wele contented to jeve and avaunce in this behalve ten markes....the whiche somme I thinke sufficient for my parte if every Busshoppe within your said provynce make like contribution and avauncement after the rate and substance of their benefices." What Cochlaeus thought of Tyndale's translation can be gleaned from the following words: "The New Testament translated into the vulgar tongue is in truth, the food of death, the fuel of sin, the veil of malice, the pretext of false liberty, the protection of disobedience, the corruption of discipline, the depravity of morals, the termination of concord, the death of honesty, the well-spring of vices, the disease of virtues, the instigation of rebellion, the milk of pride, the nourishment of content, the death of

peace, the destruction of charity, the enemy of unity, the murderer of truth."⁹

The king at once commanded the Book to be burnt. Tunstall following a sermon announced that anyone who possessed a copy of Tyndale's translation should deliver it up to the church authorities or be excommunicated. It is surprising how successful this attempt was. When the campaign was over, the entire first printing, except the parts of one quarto, the Grenville Fragment, now in the British Museum, one octavo, at Bristol, and another, in London, had been destroyed.

Why was it that Tyndale's translation was burned and looked upon with hateful eyes by the hierarchy in England, by Sir Thomas More, one of the foremost men of letters of his day, and by the king, Henry VIII? A year later this same Bible with only a few changes by Miles Coverdale was ordered by Cromwell to be placed in every parish church, "a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin, and also in English....for everyman that will, to look and read therein; and discourage no man from reading any part of the Bible, either in Latin or English, but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish each man to read it as the very Word of God, and the spiritual food of every man's soul." And the same Henry VIII, who sorely persecuted Tyndale, allowed the work to be dedicated to him.

9. Cochlaeus, Acta et Scripta Martini Lutheri

The bishops, the conservative ones, held the idea that the Bible should get its authority from the Church, and not the Church from the Bible. This made it impossible for them to allow the translation to private judgment. The Reformers wanted a translation, but what excited their indignation was the fact that Tyndale's works were tainted with notes which were considered heretical in as much as they attacked doctrines and customs dear to the Catholic church. The Roman church always fought anything that was in any way opposed to what it believed. The Church fumed like a mad man when Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg. When he was ordered to recant at Worms he asked the Church to prove from the Scriptures where he was wrong; otherwise he would not recant. It would not do this. Rome was one-tracked! Tyndale suggested Luther. As the Church looked over the sea, it saw in Luther and Lutheranism a spirit of anarchy, that had a strong tendency to assume the form not merely of ecclesiastical insubordination, but of social and political revolt. The king had broken a lance with Luther, and had received, as mentioned before, the proud title of "Defensor Fidei", and the ecclesiastical authorities, conservatives and reformers, were one with him in his fight against Tyndale. To the mind of Henry VIII the question of the English Bible did not come into consideration. In his stand against Lutheranism, Henry was a true Catholic. He wanted to be master in his own house. The opposition

to Tyndale was only natural.

"He pretends," says Thomas More, "that the Church makes some statutes openly and directly against the Word of God, as in that statute whereby they have condemned the New Testament. Now, in truth, these is no such statute made. For as far as the New Testament, if he mean the Testament of Christ, it is not condemned nor forbidden. But there is forbidden a false English translation of the New Testament newly forged by Tyndale, altered and changed in matters of great weight, in order to maliciously set forth against Christ's true doctrine Tyndale's anti-Christian heresies. Therefore that book is condemned, as it is well worthy to be, and the condemnation thereof is neither openly nor privily, directly, against the Word of God."¹⁰

How successful More and Tunstall were in their persecution of the Bible can be seen from the remains of the quarto and octavo editions. According to a statement of Buschius 6000 copies were printed at Worms, 3000 in octavo and a like number in quarto. But out of the 3000 quarto volumes printed at Worms we have only, as mentioned before, the Grenville Fragment, which was begun in Cologne; and of the octavo volumes one imperfect copy left in London, and another, minus the title page, in Bristol. All the rest were destroyed by the Papists. Thousands were burned with solemn ceremony at St. Paul's

10. More, Works, Ed. 1557, pp. 510, ff.

Cross as a "burnt offering most pleasing to Almighty God," as Cardinal Campeggio wrote to Wolsey.

The New Testament that had been begun in Cologne had apparently wholly disappeared. Its existence was ignored and even denied. Then a London bookseller, Thomas Rodd, examining a book in 1834 found in it a fragment of the Gospel of St. Matthew in English. There was no title-page and nothing to give any clue as to the author. Finally, after examination, certain woodcuts and letters revealed that this fragment undoubtedly was from Quentel's press in Cologne. This fragment came into the hands of Thomas Grenville, who gave it to the British Museum, where it is now known as the Grenville Fragment.* The Grenville fragment "consists" of only thirty-one leaves, and finishes abruptly with the words, 'Friend, how camest thou in hither and' in the twenty-second chapter of Matthew. The inner margin contains a few references to parallel passages, such as are commonly printed in modern Bibles; while in the outer margin are placed notes of various kinds, doctrinal, explanatory, and polemic, which are, in fact, the 'pestilent glosses' so repeatedly denounced by the English authorities."¹¹

*Note: This important document is numbered 12,179 in the Grenville Library in the Museum. Leaves have been added in order to make this precious volume as near as can be judged to the original size.

11. Demaus, William Tyndale, p. 148

The one octavo Testament printed in Worms, as was stated, has the title-page missing. It contains no date nor name of printer or translator. No doubt remains, however, about the identity of this volume. "The same type is used as in the other works of Schoeffer's printing preserved at Stuttgart and Munich; the watermarks are of similar design; the illustrative vignettes are identical."¹² This work contains no prologue nor marginal glosses. It contains a brief Epistle to the Reader. There is considerable illumination, the book probably having belonged to some wealthy person. The pages are enclosed neatly with red lines, and the references to parallel passages are inserted in ink.

Before the close of 1525 Tyndale took up his abode in Worms, after fleeing from Cologne. Tyndale's life is still shrouded in mystery. Although Tyndale was out of England Henry VIII recognized in this man the "most formidable of all the opponents of their religious system." While in Worms Tyndale superintended the issuing of his quarto and octavo texts. Exiled, he still met many of his countrymen who were traveling through Germany as refugees to other countries. In Worms he finally broke away from his amanuensis, Roye, who had caused him much sorrow and pain because of his indiscretion and insubordination*. Before the close of 1526 Tyndale had printed in Worms his famous

12. Demaus, William Tyndale, p. 149

* After Roye's dismissal he assumed the name of Joye.

Prologue to the Epistle to the Romans. Ridley condemns it as "full of the most poisoned and abominable heresies that can be thought of," and Sir Thomas More condemns it for

"bringing its readers into a false understanding of St.

Paul." This work is hardly an original one; it is a paraphrase of Luther's introduction to the same Epistle.

Justus Jonas made a Latin translation of Luther's introduction, and it is likely that Tyndale used both the German and the Latin versions. Westcott says, "The general complexion of the Prologue is more like the Latin translation of Justus Jonas than the German original, and many parts are unequivocally derived from it....It seems to be inevitable that Tyndale used the Latin by preference while he was able also to avail himself of the German."

At this time the authorities were fully aware that Tyndale had translated the New Testament and vengeance was directed against him. The earliest mention of Tyndale being the translator occurs in a letter of Robert Ridley, "Master Golde, I heartily commend me unto you. As concerning this common and vulgar translation of the New Testament by Mr William Hichyns, otherwise called Mr. W. Tyndale...." It is impossible to find at what time and in

13. Anderson, Annals of the English Bible, Vol. I, p. 153

14. Preface to the Confutation.

15. Westcott, History of the English Bible, Ed. 1905, pp. 142-148

what manner the bishops discovered what the agency was through which England was supplied with New Testaments. One thing is certain. As soon as a clue was gotten it did not take the authorities long to start operations against Tyndale. Tyndale's Testament was reprinted and this spread over England. George Joye gives the following account of two Dutch reprints: "The Dutch men got a copy, and printed it again in a small volume, adding the Kalendar in the beginning, concordances in the margent, and the table in the end....After this they printed it again in a greater letter and volume, with the figures (illustrations) in the Apocalypse; of these two prints there were about five thousand books printed.¹⁶" Although spies were on the trail of Tyndale, he was able to elude the enemies who threatened him on every side. He had much to do before he was captured, something he felt was inevitably in store for him.

16. George Joye, An Apology, p. 20

CHAPTER III

MARBURG PERIOD

Sometime during 1527 Tyndale left Worms for Marburg, where to all appearances he had an unknown retreat beyond the reach of Wolsey and under the protection of a prince who was in sympathy with the Reformation.* There is no record of a single incident in Tyndale's life at Marburg. It is more than likely that at Marburg Tyndale met Patrick Hamilton and Frith. It is with the latter that Tyndale spent some months of happiness. For four years Tyndale had been without a friend of his own mind. Tyndale received from Frith all the news of the progress of the Reformation. Frith was bitter against the cardinals, for he had been exiled from his country for reading the Word of God in the English language. Here Tyndale for the first time found out what his friends were suffering for his sake and the name of Christ.

Before the coming of Frith Tyndale had issued from the press of Hans Luft one of the most famous of his polemical works, The Parable of the Wicked Mammon. It is "an exposition of the parable of the Unjust Steward, in which the writer makes an attack on the so-called spirituality

*Note: Philip the Magnanimous, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel

(Geistlichkeit) which had taken away the key of knowledge, and had beggared the people. At the same time he expounds the doctrine of Justification by Faith. This work threw the Church into a state of great rage; it was condemned on all sides, and it was held to public detestation." ¹ The Archbishop of Canterbury condemned it as "containing many detestable errors and damnable opinions". It is written with great power and clearness, and with a liberality and justness of opinion far ahead of that age of forceful and non-diplomatic language. There is also excellence of style. In his preface Tyndale says, "Some men will ask, peradventure, why I take the labor to make this work, inasmuch as they will burn it, seeing they burnt the Gospel? I answer, in burning the New Testament they did none other thing than that I looked for; no more shall they do it if they burn me also, if it be God's will it shall so be." With what self-devotion and faith he worked! Again he says, "Where faith is mighty and strong, there is love fervent and deeds plenteous, and done with exceeding meekness: where faith is weak, there is love cold, and the deeds few, and seldom bear flowers and blossoms in winter." This wonderful and beautiful passage became the butt of bitter attack by the clergy in England. "If thou give me a thousand pounds to pray for thee, I am no more bound than I was before. Man's imagination can make the commandment of God neither greater or smaller, neither can

1. John Rylands Library, Transmission of the Bible, p. 39

to the law of God either add or minish. God's commandment is as good as himself. I am bound to love the Turk with all my might and power, . . . --neither to spare goods, body, nor life, to win him to Christ. And what can I do more for thee, if thou gavest me all the world? Where I see need, there can I not but pray, if God's spirit be in me."

There were those who were in favor of the Reformation, but who did not want to link themselves with the name of the heretics and expose themselves to danger. To these Tyndale addressed himself: "All that are past and gone before are but ensamples to strengthen our faith and trust in the word of God.--Let him that is weak, and cannot do that he would fain do, not despair, but turn to Him that is strong, and hath promised to give strength to all that ask of him in Christ's name, and complain to God and desire him to fulfil his promises, and to God commit himself, -- and He shall of his mercy and truth strengthen him, and make him feel with what love he is beloved for Christ's sake, though he be now so weak."

At "Malborow" also appeared The Obedience of a Christian Man. It defends the Reformers from the charge that "they caused insurrection, and taught the people to disobey their heads and governors, and to rise against their princes, and to make all common, and to make havoc of other men's goods." Tyndale describes his own book: "The Obedience of a Christian Man: and how Christian rulers

ought to govern: wherein also if thou mark diligently thou shalt find eyes to perceive the crafty conveyance of all jugglers."* In this work Tyndale charges the Papists with having corrupted the sacraments. Baptism and "the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ" had promises annexed to them, and were, therefore, true sacraments; "Scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sensewhereunto if thou cleave thou canst never err or go out of the way. And if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way." No wonder that More poured vials of invective upon this "book of iniquity", as he called it. Tyndale knew that he was risking his life by these utterances, but he was willing to risk all for that which he believed to be the truth. He was willing, as he says, to die so that he could expose the wickedness of the Church and its flagrant hypocrisy. Tyndale did not only want to tear down hypocrisy, but he was willing to strengthen faith where it was needed so much. Tyndale had heard what reception his books had received in England and the dangers his friends had to face. He addresses those that were suffering for his sake as follows: "Let it not make thee despair, neither yet discourage thee, O Reader, that is forbidden thee, in pain of life and goods, or that is made breaking of the king's peace, or treason unto his

*Note: Published in all probability in May, 1528. Tyndale in his Practice of Prelates at the close of 1530, says, "Well toward three years ago I set forth The Obedience."

highness, to read the word of the soul's health; but much rather be bold in the Lord, and comfort thy soul, forasmuch as thou art sure, and hast an evident token through much persecution, that it is the true word of God; which word was ever hated of the world, neither was ever without persecution, as thou seest in all the stories of the Bible, both of the New Testament and also of the Old...."

In another place Tyndale touches upon the duty of kings with the following striking words, indeed bold for those times: "Let kings, if they had liever be Christian indeed them so to be called, give themselves altogether to the wealth of their realms after the ensample of Christ; remembering that the people's are God's, and not theirs. The most despised person in the realm is the king's brother, and fellow-member with him, and equal with him, in the kingdom of God and of Christ." Tyndale was accused of insubordination for such words as these. The entire Obedience is argumentative and polemical, something that Tyndale wanted it to be. Tyndale resented very much the implication that because he opposed the usurped power of the clergy he was to be considered an insurrectionist. "It would, in fact, be much nearer the truth to charge Tyndale, Latimer, and Cranmer with inculcating an almost slavish obedience to kings than to insinuate that they justly exposed themselves to punishment by abetting treason and sedition."

The Obedience is the largest and most elaborate of all Tyndale's works. One must read much of it in order to understand the mind of Tyndale. All through this work one is struck by his gift of grim irony and terse phrasing. He uses English with great ease and strength. As one reads this work, the ring of our King James Bible touches our ears, and one can be firmly convinced that the Authorized Version indeed owes much to Tyndale. Naturally, this work brought sparks in England, and Sir Thomas More answered in his Confutation in much stronger language. It were well to mention here that Henry VIII read Tyndale's condemnation of the Pope and was very well pleased with it. This agreed heartily with Henry's ideas at that time when he wanted a papal sanction for his divorce from Catherine of Aragon.

Tyndale's translation of the Pentateuch was "emprented at Malborow in the lande of Hesse". Here his glosses, as in the New Testament, show the style and spirit of Luther. Tyndale was a good Hebrew scholar. He had carefully studied the language while at Worms. There being many Jews in this city, Tyndale had had great opportunity to learn the language, although he must have acquired some knowledge of that language before his arrival in Worms. He was competent to translate the Old Testament from the original Hebrew. He consulted Luther and the Vulgate, but never for one moment did he fail to use his own judgment.

The marginal glosses are controversial in tone, and remind one strongly of Luther, although, strange as it may appear, Tyndale in his notes did not take anything from him. Westcott says, "The spirit and even the style of Luther is distinctly visible in them." It might have been better for Tyndale if he had availed himself of just a little more of Luther. His glosses lack that irony and sarcasm that his New Testament glosses possessed.

The bitterest of all Tyndale's writings is his Practice of Prelates, a sort of historical summary of the practices by which Pope and clergy gradually grew up from poverty and humility into that universal supremacy enjoyed by them in Tyndale's time. There is probably nowhere in the English language any passage superior in force and graphic skill to the well-known description of the rise of the pope.

Tyndale hated the Catholic church and its system, and he condemns it in this work. Tyndale's indignation knew no bounds, and he was not afraid of saying anything against the Pope. Although his words were strong, he protested against the use of physical force. He advised his followers "not to resist the hypocrites with violence, which vengeance pertaineth unto God". Tyndale was bitter because he was forced to live away from his native land, and he blamed the Church for this. He ascribed the action that

Henry was taking to get his divorce from Catherine to the unscrupulous and treacherous intrigues of the bishops. Against Wolsey, "Wolf-see" as he calls him, he shot fiery darts of hate, for he blamed Wolsey for all of the divorce proceedings of Henry. He was too direct and single-minded to be a good politician in those days of brutal despotism on the one side and cringing subservience on the other. The Church began to hate Tyndale more than ever because of this work. From this time Henry VIII bestirred himself regarding Tyndale, for he took exception to many things that appeared in this last book regarding his divorce proceedings against Catherine, his queen.

At this same time the Papists began to act with more vigor. As was mentioned before, precautions were early adopted by the religious authorities in England to suppress as far as possible the distribution of all Lutheran works in England. Books were burned, and many a person suffered death in the same way, or was exiled for reading God's Word. All persecution was fruitless; the Bible was read more and more. Tunstall finally came to the resolution of using some other antidote against this poisonous heretical literature. This antidote was the writing of books against those who put out books for the Lutheran side of the question. For this great work he chose a genius and a devoted adherent of the Church. Thomas More was licensed by Tunstall to read all the Lutheran books and answer them, a

literary fight which lasted five or six years. How More had changed since he wrote Utopia! In this book he had spoken against capital punishment, and inculcated perfect toleration. Now, as Lord Chancellor of England, he wrote the following concerning "heretics"; "The prelates ought temporally to destroy these ravenous wolves!" Sir Thomas More was of all men best fitted to defend his Church. As soon as More came into favor, he pressed the king much to put the laws against the heretics into execution "as the best mode of conciliating the Court of Rome". Therefore a proclamation was issued, the penal laws were ordered to be executed, books were seized, and the reformers cast into prison. Thus unhappily advised, Henry made treason and heresy convertible terms--a pernicious confusion of things civil and things sacred, whose effects remain to the present day. It was now ordained that no man should preach, teach, or keep a school, "contrary to the determination of the Holy Ghost". The bishop was authorized to imprison all such offenders at his discretion; all secular officers were to aid in the execution of his sentence, and all state functionaries were sworn to "give their whole power, and diligence to put away, and make utterly cease, and destroy all errors and heresies commonly called Lollarâ-ies". Invited to defend his Church More entered the lists. It was imperative that this great man should accept the challenge from Tyndale. The mere mention of More's name would go far to crush to extinction the rabble of the

Reformers. He had a great mind, and it was at this time in the fulness of its power.

A year after undertaking this work of defending the Church against Tyndale and Luther, More had a considerable volume ready. It contained a hundred and eighty closely printed folio pages, and his title was "A dialoge of syr Thomas More knyghte: one of the counsayll of our souerayne lorde the kyng and chauncelloure of hys duchy of Lancaster. Wheryn be treatyd dyuers maters as of the veneracy and worshyp of ymagys and relyques-prayng to sayntis and goynge on pylgrymage. Wyth many other thyngys touchyng the pestylent secte of Luther and Tyndale."⁴

The English language had never been used with such violence before More took his pen in hand. Anderson claims the work More put out was virulent, verbose, and contains fallacious reasoning.⁵ Demaus, however, thinks that it is unjustifiable to say that More's work is virulent because in order to be a battle there must be blows. Another thing to consider is that at this time such language as More used was very common. One need only to read the correspondence between Luther and Henry VIII. The Dialogue is not tedious, although the charge can be made regarding the Confutation. "The Dialogue" is somewhat elaborately planned and constructed. More begins by saying

4. Rylands Library, Transmission of the Bible

5. Anderson, Annals of The English Bible, Vol. I, p. 237

that one business begets another, that all his writing in this book has arisen from the fact that 'a right worshipful friend' of his in the country had sent to him a messenger to make inquiries concerning certain matters much called in question by the people. At first, says More, he thought it enough to tell the messenger by word of mouth what his opinions were. After further consideration, however, certain doubts assailed him, especially whether he had done right in trusting so many and so diverse matters to the messenger's memory, and whether even with the best intentions the messenger could report him truly. He determined at length that it would be best to put down in writing the conversation he had with the messenger, and so the Dialogue was written with these two persons as its characters, More, or 'quod I,' and the messenger, or 'quod he' or 'quod your friend'. Having written out the conversation, More debated whether he should publish it. He decided that he must do so, for if copies of his manuscript got abroad, and became corrupt, as they were bound to do, afterwards if he should make corrections in them, the heretics would say that he made them at their instigation....More here raises the question whether he should fully state his opponents' case, a question which the body of the Dialogue happily answers in the affirmative. The second point concerning which More sought advice was whether 'certaine tales and mercy wordes which he (the messenger) mengled with his matter, and some

such on mine owne parte among' might not seem too light and wanton for the gravity of his subject. Finding that the opinions of his friends were seldom in harmony, More determines to let stand whatever two agree upon, even though others disapprove. Then follows in the elaborate machinery of this introduction the letter supposed to have been brought by the messenger, 'quod he', from More's friend in the country, and a letter which More sent to his friend with the book after it was printed....One can hardly think of More on terms of friendly equality with a person who defended heretical views as extreme as those which 'quod he' holds....'Quod he' serves a good dramatic purpose, representing the free-speaking, sometimes coarse and vulgar popular mind, a kind of Bible-man, in contrast to More himself, who appears usually as the representative of dignified and authoritative learning...." The main purpose of the Dialogue is to refute as far as possible Lutheran heresy and especially Tyndale's part in it. It was More's intention to stamp out any trace of Luther's teaching in England. From the reading of the Dialogue one is convinced that it is a remarkable exhibition of the extravagance, injustice, and bigotry to which the excitement of the controversy would lead a man so amiable in his domestic character, so learned, and so religious, as Sir Thomas More. The uncertainty with which the adherents of the Church regarded its position is shown by their being

6. Krapp, Development of English Prose, pp. 84-90

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driven to a defense like this. The Dialogue was received with exultation.

It would be well at this point to quote a section of the Dialogue.

THE THYRDE BOKE. THE XVI CHAPYTER.

The messenger reherseth some causys whyoh he hath herd layd by some of the clergye, wherefore the scrypture shold not be suffred in englysh. And the author sheweth hys mynde that yt were convenyent to haue the byble in englyshe. And therwyth endeth the thyrd boke.

Syr quod your frende, yet for all thys can I se no cawse why the clergye shold kepe the byble out of lay mennys handys, that can no more but theyr mother tonge.

I had wente quod I that I had proued you playnly, that they kepe yt not from them. For I haue shewed you that they kepe none from theym, but suche translacyon as be eyther noy yet approued for naught, as Wyclyffys was and Tyndale. For as for other olde onys, that were before Wyclyffys days, (then) remayn lawful, and be in some folkys handys had and red.

Ye say well quod he. But yet as women say, somewhat yt was alway that the cat wynked whan her eye was oute. Surely so ys yt not for nought that the englysh byble is in so few mennys handys, when so many wold so fayne haue

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yt.

The Dialogue was published in June, 1529. Some time later Tyndale received the work. Tyndale, although he did not wish to grapple with this literary giant, felt at the same time that he was singled out, for his name was mentioned on the title-page as one of the chief heretics for More to refute. Tyndale felt that if he did not answer his writings would be considered of no consequence and More's Dialogue unanswerable.

Tyndale resolved on a specific reply, although his Practice of Prelates could have been considered in part an answer. Tyndale's Answer consisted of two parts. "First he declareth what the Church is, and giveth a reason of certain words which Master More rebuketh in the translation of the New Testament; after that he answereth particularly unto every chapter which seemeth to have any appearance of truth throughout all his four books." As a literary production More's treatise is the better, for Tyndale's lacks the structural skill, variety, and artistic grace that More's possessed. But taken in an argumentative sense Tyndale's Answer far surpasses that of his rival. Tyndale is simple, and in a straightforward manner he grapples with More's metaphysical subtleties. The entire reply to More is written in a spirit of bitterness because of More's vehement denunciation of the translation which Tyndale

prized so highly. Another thing that angered Tyndale was the report that More had been bribed by the Bishop with promises of money and advancement. Of this Tyndale says, "I exhort him Christ to take heed, for though Judas were willier than his fellows to get lucre, yet he proved not most wise at the last end; neither though Balaam the false prophet had a clear sight to bring the curse of God upon the children of Israel for honor's sake, yet his covetousness did so blind his prophecy that he could not see his own end." This work shows straightforward sincerity.

There is strong personal language, but at the same time it is tempered with moderation and dignity of tone. There is ever before Tyndale a burning hatred of ignorance and superstition, and the doctrine of Justification by Faith.

The Answer takes up each point of More's and argues with it. In detached passages Tyndale shows himself at his best. A good example of Tyndale's clearness of style follows: "When the great multitude....behold Little Flock, that they come not forth in the service of God, they roar out, 'Where art thou? Why comest thou not forth and takest holy water?' 'Wherefore?' saith Little Flock. 'To put away thy sins.'" 'Nay, brethren, God forbid that ye should so think; Christ's blood only washeth away the sins of all that repent and believe. Fire, salt, water, bread, and oil be bodily things, given unto men for his necessity, and to help his brother with; and God that is a spirit

cannot be served therewith. Neither can such things enter into the soul, to purge her, for God's word only is her purgation. 'No!' say they, 'are not such things hallowed? And say we not in the hallowing of them, that whosoever is sprinkled with the water or eateth of the bread, shall receive health of soul and body?'"⁹

Tyndale's style is that of a writer who has something to say and knows how to say it. It is a naive, simple style that is never coarse. Tyndale's sentences are unusually short and well-constructed. The vocabulary is plain, without affectation or rudeness. There is clearness of thought, serenity, lucidity. Oratory he scorned.

Tyndale had been forced to reply to More; now More had to refute the Answer. How important Tyndale's work was considered can be judged from the fact that More, legal adviser of the crown at a most momentous crisis in English history, felt constrained to answer.

The Answer had not been printed until the midsummer of 1531; before May of the next year More had already published a section of his Confutation, which was ten times as large as the book it tried to demolish. It was a failure. This work shows that More lost the fight. His contemporaries referred to it as "overlong and therefore tedious to read." Many of his reasonings were false; many

9. Tyndale, Answer, Works, p. 75

condemned him for hiding the faults of the clergy which he well knew existed. The spirit of the times was with the Reformers.

However, what turned most of the people against More was his virulent and indecent language. It is not to be pardoned. More calls Tyndale a "beast" discharging a "filthy foam of blasphemies out of his brutish beastly mouth"; he is a "shameful, shameless, unreasonable, railing ribald"; he has learned his heresies "from his own father the devil that is in hell"; he is one of the hell-hounds that the devil hath in his kennel."¹⁰

Sad it is indeed to see two men, good without a doubt, heaping abuse upon each other. Whatever was gained was gained by Tyndale.*

10. More's Confutation, pp. 446, 681, etc.

*Note: William Demaus says that no one "who has read the whole of More's writings will venture to dispute" this: that Sir Thomas had the worst of the controversy. More himself confesses that he was a failure, and that he was severely criticized for poor reasoning and his condemnation of Tyndale, and "his unworthy attempts to conceal the faults and vices of the clergy". The spirit of the age was with Tyndale. Demaus, William Tindale, pp. 329-330. Sir Thomas More, Works, pp. 845, ff., quoted in Demaus, P. 330.

Tyndale had his The Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount printed, the ablest of his expository works. George Joye said, "Luther made it, Tyndale only but translating and powdering it here and there with his own fantasies."¹¹ There is no doubt that Tyndale translated Luther almost verbally in some sections. Here is an example:

Luther	Tyndale
Wie er ir Almosen vnd beten gestrafft hat, so straffet er auch hie ir fasten...wie sie des Almosen...misbraucht haben...also haben sie auch des fastens misbraucht und verheret, nicht fur iren leib im zwang zucht zu halten... sondern von den leuten gesehen zu werden...das man sich wundern und sagen muesste, das sind treffliche heiligen, die da...gehen inn grawen roecken, den kopff hengen, sawr vnd bleich sehen, etc. wenn die nicht gen himel komen, wo wollen wir andern bleiben?	As above of almose and prayer: even so here Christ rebuketh the false entent and ypocresye of fastynge. That they sought prayse of that worke that was ordeyned for to tame the fleshe, and vsed such fassiōs, that all the world myght knowe that they fasted, to prayse them and to saye: O what holye men are these; how pale and pytidethe, hangynge downe their heedes...If these come not to heauen, what shall of vs poore wretches of the worlde?

11. Joye, Apology, (Arber Reprint)

12. Westcott, 1905 Ed., p. 148

CHAPTER IV

LAST YEARS

When the plague visited Germany in 1530, Tyndale left Marburg, grieving over the growing immorality of the city, and went to Antwerp.

While at Antwerp Tyndale received many letters from Vaughn, an envoy of Wolsey, who attempted to convince Tyndale that he should return to England as an ally of Wolsey. There was nothing in this attempt to show that Wolsey wanted to trap Tyndale. But Tyndale refused for fear of persecution. Henry VIII was also assured that Tyndale ought to return to England, but this was before the Practice of Prelates appeared. When Henry saw this he immediately refused to have anything to do with Tyndale because of its severe criticism of his divorce proceedings.

It was fortunate that he did not return to England at this time, for in 1531 began the worst persecution against heretics up to that time. Many of Tyndale's friends died for reading or distributing the Word of God.

In 1531 Tyndale gave to the world his last contribution to the translation of Holy Scripture which was published in his lifetime,--the translation of the Book of

Jonah. While he was in Antwerp there also appeared his exposition of First John, the least striking of all of Tyndale's works to the modern reader.

Antwerp not proving a safe place for him to live, Tyndale, probably early in 1532 withdrew into retirement for about two years, carefully concealing his residence even from those kindly disposed towards him. But in 1533 he seems to have determined to return to Antwerp and there take his permanent residence because it was near England and held out greater promise of protection than any other city.

Referring to the next two years Tyndale lived in Antwerp, Foxe has the following to say: "He was a man very frugal and spare of body, a great student, an earnest laborer in the setting forth of the Scriptures of God. He reserved or hallowed to himself two days in the week, which he named his pastime, Monday and Saturday. On Monday he visited all such poor men and women as were led out of England, by reason of persecution, into Antwerp; and these, once well understanding their good exercises and qualities he did very liberally comfort and relieve; in like manner he provided for the sick and diseased persons. On the Saturday he walked around about the town, seeking every corner and hole where he suspected any poor person to dwell;...and thus he spent his two days of pastime, as he called them."

After his settlement at Antwerp Tyndale had resolved with all his energy to complete and perfect his translation of Holy Scripture. In 1534 he reissued the Pentateuch, with some slight changes in the Book of Genesis, in the prefaces, and in the appended explanatory tables.

The great work of 1534 was the entire revision of the New Testament, and the issue of a second edition.

Joye, the former amanuensis of Tyndale, who was dismissed because he was not cautious with his tongue, had issued a revised reprint of Tyndale's New Testament, although he was aware at the time that his former master had been occupied for some time on a careful revision and correction of his own work. Joye did not pretend to have a work translated from the original Greek, something Joye was not capable of doing. He says that he merely mended words that he found falsely printed, and that when he "came to some dark sentences that no reason could be gathered of them whether it was by the ignorance of the first translator or of the printers" he had "the Latin text" by him, and "made it plain". Joye's work was pure and simple plagiarism. Tyndale became angry at Joye's doings, and especially took exception at Joye's supposed changes because they display great weakness of judgment, and frequently depart from the meaning of the original Greek. This so-called revision of Joye appeared three months before that of Tyndale. Tyndale was forced to write a

second address to The Christian Reader when finally his revised New Testament appeared in 1534.

The revised edition of 1534 was made possible with the moneys that Tunstall gave to Packington for copies of the New Testament that he wanted to burn.* This revised version, with its corrections, formed the basis of all subsequent English translations. The title is as follows: "The newe Testament dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willjam Tindale: and fynessed in the yere of oure Lorde God A. M. D. & XXXIIII. in the moneth of Nouember."

"Like a good scholar, he was fully aware as his critics could be that his version admitted of improvement."¹

"Many changes were made in the edition of 1534, some for the sake of more exact correspondence in meaning between the English and the originals, some for the sake of brevity, and a multitude of minute corrections for the sake of "more proper English". The great majority of the changes of this latter sort were made in order to avoid a certain meagerness of phrasing, and also to correct rapid and awkward transition from one thought to another. Very frequently he merely inserted an and to a sentence to soften an abrupt beginning, or the simpler logical relations were indicated by other conjunctions, such as but, or, if, and though. He also changed the order of words at times, as, for

*Note: See pages 31 and 32

1. Kenyon, Our Bible and the Ancient MSS., p. 215

example, John VIII, 45, beleve ye nott me (1525) to the more idiomatic ye beleve me not (1534). Numerous changes were made for grammatical reasons, and words more appropriate to the meaning were inserted for others.²

In 1535 Tyndale was again working on a revision of the New Testament. Before it was passed through the press Tyndale was arrested and imprisoned.

While there was bloody persecution in England, Tyndale enjoyed a considerable amount of protection in Antwerp. Although there was an edict that any printer who printed without a license would be punished the printers of Antwerp printed the New Testament. Tyndale was protected as long as he was at "The English House".

Then Henry Philips, a smooth, treacherous villain in the employ of Stephen Gardiner, came over with Gabriel Donne, a monk of Stratford Abbey, and won the confidence of Tyndale. The plans were carefully worked out. Tyndale was invited out to dinner, and as he left the door, he was taken prisoner by two officers who were stationed there. He was then taken to the Castle of Vilford, the great state prison, May 23 or 24, 1535. Neither his intimate friend Poyntz nor any other of Tyndale's friends knew where he had gone until Pierre Dufief, the Procureur-General, came to get the belongings of Tyndale. Friends tried their

2. Krapp, The Development of English Prose, pp. 239-240

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utmost to have him freed, but they were not successful. Resentment was high because of this dastardly and cowardly way of capturing a man. Evidence was slow. There were no English works of Tyndale on hand in the Low Countries with which to condemn him. Finally The Wicked Mammon, The Obedience, The Practice of Prelates, and the Answer were translated and used as evidence.

A single letter, written in Latin, and addressed to the governor of the castle, is the only autograph we have of this noble man; it reads as follows: "I believe, right worshipful, that you are not ignorant of what has been determined concerning me (by the Council of Brabant); therefore I entreat your lordship and that by the Lord Jesus, that if I am to remain here during the winter, you will request the Procureur to be kind enough to send me from my goods which he has in his possession, a warmer cap, for I suffer extremely from cold in the head, being afflicted with a perpetual catarrh, which is considerably increased in this cell. A warmer coat also, for that which I have is very thin: also a piece of cloth to patch my leggings: my overcoat is worn out; my shirts are also worn out. He has a woollen shirt of mine, if he will be kind enough to send it. I have with him also leggings of thicker cloth for putting on above; he also has warmer caps for wearing at night. I wish also his permission to have a lamp at evening, for it is wearisome to sit alone in the dark. But above all, I entreat and beseech your clemency to be urgent with the Procureur

that he may kindly permit me to have my Hebrew Bible, Hebrew Grammar, and Hebrew Dictionary, that I may spend my time with that study. And in return, may you obtain your dearest wish, provided always it be consistent with the salvation of your soul. But if, before the end of the winter, a different decision be reached concerning me, I shall be patient, abiding the will of God to the glory of the grace of my Lord Jesus Christ, whose spirit, I pray, may ever direct your heart. Amen. W. Tindale.³"

Tyndale, no doubt, broke the laws of the emperor, and from the view point of the civil authorities was a heretic. There could hardly be any escape for him. Henry could not demand his release, for Tyndale had transgressed the laws of the Netherlands. If he had returned to England, he no doubt would have suffered the same fate. Tyndale was tried for heresy. "If they shall burn me, they shall do none other thing than that I looked for, there is none other way into the kingdom of life than through persecution and suffering of pain, and of very death, after the ensample of Christ." This was said when Tyndale's⁵ books were burned. On Friday, October 6, 1536, he was strangled at the stake and his body burned to ashes. His last words were, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes!" Tyndale's prayer was heard. While Tyndale was being burned the first Bible printed on English soil came from the press, printed by

3. Quoted in Demaus, William Tindale, pp. 532-538

the King's own patent printer Berthelet, or Godfrey. It was Tyndale's Revised New Testament under the name of Coverdale.

Tyndale made good his vow. "The lay people do now know the Holy Scriptures better than many of us," said Bishop Fox of Hereford to Bishop Stokesley of London when the latter sneered at the Word of God which every cobbler was reading in his mother tongue.

The Procureur-General left this testimony of Tyndale after seeing him burned, "Homo doctus, pius, et bonus", that is "a learned, a good, and a godly man".

"His unrelenting enemies had succeeded in cutting short his life, but his work was beyond their power. Like the seed of the parable, it has grown up into the mightiest of trees. There is scarcely a corner of the globe into which English energy has not penetrated, and wherever the English language is heard there the words in which Tyndale gave the Bible to his countrymen are repeated with heartfelt reverence, as the holiest and yet the most familiar of words. These words are the first that the opening intellect and faith of the child receives from the lips of its mother, they are the last that tremble upon the lips of the dying man, as he commends his soul to God. No voice of scandal has ever been raised against Tyndale. There are no black spots in his life, which it has been necessary for

his biographers to whitewash. Truth alone can stand the test of time, and the more the life of Tyndale is examined the more is he found to be deserving of the love and veneration of his countrymen."⁴

4. Ryland's Library, Transmission of the Bible, pp. 45-46

CHAPTER V

TYNDALE AS A TRANSLATOR

Tyndale is often spoken of as a man who was indifferent as a scholar, ignorant in Hebrew, inefficient in Greek, knowing only Latin and perhaps German. It is also said that his translation is a copy of the Vulgate and of Luther. Fuller claims that "he rendered the Old Testament out of the Latin, his best friends not entitling him to any skill at all in Hebrew."¹ Demaus says that it is doubtful whether these friends could be produced. Bishop Marsh in his Theological Lectures asserts that Tyndale's translation was taken from that of Luther and that Tyndale knew nothing but Latin and German. Dean Hook in his Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury takes the same view.

One can prove the scholarship of Tyndale only by testimony and investigation. Sir Thomas More, who would not say anything in Tyndale's favor if he could help it, admits of him, "Before he fell into these frenzies he was taken for full prettily learned." He never denied that Tyndale was a scholar. Even Cochlaeus speaks of Tyndale and Joye as "learned, skilful in languages and eloquent." in his

1. Fuller, Church History, Vol. III, p. 162, Brewer Ed.

Quoted, Demaus, William Tindale, p. 151

Apology Joye, who afterwards became an enemy of Tyndale because Tyndale dismissed him as his amanuensis, speaks of Tyndale's "high learning in his Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, etc."² One of the greatest literary lights of the sixteenth century was Hermann Buschius, the friend of Erasmus and Reuchlin. He writes in a letter to Spalatin that Tyndale was "so skilled in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, French, that whichever he spoke you would suppose it his native tongue."³

The English New Testament of Tyndale is different from Wyclif's in that it is not a translation of a translation, but is translated from the original Greek. By translating from the original Greek Tyndale took a great step forward. Greek was practically a new study in the time of Tyndale. The first Greek in Oxford was given in 1491, a year before the discovery of America. The first permanent chair of Greek was established at Corpus Christi College in 1516, one year after Tyndale had taken his Master's degree at Oxford. Although handicapped, Tyndale learned Greek and the New Testament translations were the gainers. Tyndale says, that "he had no man to counterfeit neither was helped of English of any that had interpreted the same, or such like thing in the Scripture beforetime." He took all pains to make his work as perfect as possible. He made use of

2. Joye, Apology, Arber Reprint, not paged.

3. Schelhorn, Amoenitatis Literariae, Vol. IV, p. 431

helps, among which we find the Vulgate, Erasmus's Latin translation of his own Greek text, and Luther's translation. He tried at all times to make the text as clear as possible to the common people, and to abide by the original. Tyndale was convinced that it was impossible to teach the common people the Bible without putting it into their mother tongue.

There is no doubt that Tyndale was very much indebted to Luther for many of the ideas in his glosses and in the form of the Testament. Demaus says that if one takes Luther's German Testament of 1522 and compares it with Tyndale's version of 1525 the whole matter will be clear at a glance. "Tyndale's New Testament is Luther's in miniature; the general appearance of the page is the same; the arrangement of the text is the same; and the appropriation of the margins, the inner one for parallel passages, and the outer for glosses, is also the same. Still further, what is of far more importance, although it is now for the first time indicated, the marginal notes, 'the pestilent glosses', against which the indignation of the clergy was specially excited, have been to a large extent translated by Tyndale from those of Luther." ³ Tyndale's version, without a doubt, was greatly dependent upon Luther's version. But Tyndale did not translate as a servile imitator, as he uses his judgment whenever he can;

3. Demaus, William Tindale, pp. 154-155

sometimes he forgets Luther, while at other times he inserts entire passages of his own, especially in those in which he propounds Justification by Faith.⁴ "The quarto fragment is the more important for the purpose of critical comparison; from Luther's general introduction Tyndale has transferred into his prologue no fewer than sixty lines, or nearly half. Of the 210 marginal references contained in the corresponding portion of Luther's version, and constituting the inner margins, Tyndale has adopted 190. These not only stood against exactly the same chapters and verses, and form identically the same groups, but without exception constitute the same inner margin as in Luther. Even more striking evidence of his dependence is obtained by comparing Luther's expository notes in the outer margin with those of Tyndale, which occupy exactly the same position. Of the 69 glosses which Luther has on Matthew I, vv, I-XXII, v. 12, Tyndale transferred into his margin no fewer than 59. The following specimen will illustrate this point:⁵

LUTHER

TYNDALE

(schweren) Alles schweren	Sweare. All swearynge &
und eyden ist hie verspotten,	othes which a mā of him
das der mensch von yhm sel-	silffe doith, are here for-

4. Henry Morley, English Writers, Vol. VII, p. 225

5. John Rylands Library, Transmission of the Bible, pp.

ber thutt, wenna aber die
leib, nocht, nutz des nehisten,
odder gottis ehre
foddert, ist es wolthun,
gleych wie auch der zorn
verspotten ist, and doch
loblich wenn er aus liebe
und zu gottes ehren, erfodert
wird. -Matt. V, 33.

(nicht widder streben) das
ist, niemant soll sich selb
rechen noch rach suchen,
auch fur gericht, auch nicht
rach begerē. Aber die uber-
keyt des schwerds sol solchs
thun, vonn yhr selbs odder
durch den hehisten aus lieb
ermanet unnd ersucht. -Matt.
V, 39.

(seyne eygen uebel) das ist
teglliche arbeytt, unnd will,
es sey, genug das wir teg-
lich arbeyten, sollen nicht
weytter sorgen. -Matt. VI, 34

(sew sind); die ersoffen yun

bydē, nevertheless whē love,
neade, thy neghbures prof-
fyte, or goddes honoure
requyrith hit, then is hit
well done too sweare like
as wrath forbydden is, &
yet is lawdable whē proceed-
ith of love to honoure god
with all.

No man shuld avenge hym
silfe, or sekke wreche, no
nott by the lawe: butt the
ruler whiche hath the
swearde shuld do such
thynges of hym silfe, or
when the negbures off love
warne hym, and requyre hym.

Trouble is the dayly labour.
he will hit be ynough that
we labour dayly wyth oute
forther care.

Swyne, are they which are

fleyschlichem lust, das wort drowned in fleshly luste & nicht achten. -Matt. VII, 6. despise the worde.

This comparison does appear to justify the assertion of Tyndale's contemporaries that he produced in English Luther's German Testament. However, when one looks into this matter deeply, one sees that Tyndale did not act as a mere copyist, but "as an independent scholar, thinking and judging for himself, even when borrowing from another."⁶ It is only natural to suppose that living at Hamburg he should come under the influence of a master mind whose hammer-stroke on the door of the Castle church at Wittenberg had shaken the world.

When one comes to the translation proper, then one sees clearly the independence and originality of Tyndale. The very first verse differs from Luther's. He used what materials he could find as aids in translating. It is natural that he used the best helps available, just as the modern classical scholar would consult the leaders in his field, and commentators who have labored in the same work." "It is no derogation from the originality of any modern German editor of Virgil or Sophocles that we can trace in his writings the influence of previous editors; and equally so it is no derogation from the independence of Tyndale's version that we can trace in it the influence of previous

6. Demaus, William Tindale, p. 155

7
translators." One cannot read any of Tyndale's translation without feeling his independence, although he consulted, as was said before, the Vulgate, Luther, and Erasmus. Westcott makes the following comparison to show how in Ephesians IV Luther differs from Tyndale.

5. Let there be but one lorde...Ein Herr...
13. tyll we everychone (in the vnitie of fayth...) growe vppe vnto a parfyte man...bis dass wir alle hinan kommen zu einerlei glauben...und ein vollkommener Mann werden...
21. as the trueth is in Iesu...wie in Iesu ein rechtschaffenenes Wesen ist.
24. in ryghteavness, and true holynes... in rechtschaffener Gerechtigkeith and Heiligkeit.
8

If one studies a continuous passage he will see Tyndale's independence from the Vulgate and Luther in a clearer light. The underlined words in Tyndale show what is still a part of the Authorized Version. This section is Ephesians II, 13-19.

VULGATE	TYNDALE (1525)	LUTHER (DEC.? 1522)
13. Nunc autem in Christo Jesu vos qui aliquando era-	<u>But now in Christ Iesu, ye</u> whych awhyle agoo <u>were</u>	Nu aber yhr die yhr ynn Christo seyt, vnd weylant ferne

7. Demaus, William Tindale, pp. 156-157

8. Westcott, History of the English Bible, 1868 Ed., pp. 175-176

tis longe, facti estis prope in sanguine Christi.	<u>farre off, are</u> <u>made neye by the</u> <u>bloude off Christ.</u>	gewesen, seyt nu nahe worden durch das Blut Christi.
14. Ipse enim est pax nostra, qui fecit utraque unum, et medium parietem maceriae solvens,	<u>For he is oure</u> <u>peace, whych hath</u> <u>made off both wone</u> <u>ād hath brodoune</u> the wall ī the myddes, that was a stoppe bitwene vs,	Denn er ist vnser fride, der aus bey- den eyns hat gemacht, und hat abbrochen die mit- telwand, die der zahn war zwischen vns,
15. inimicitias in carne sua, legem mandatorum decre- tis evacuans,	and hath also put awaye thorowe <u>his</u> <u>flesshe</u> , the cause of hatred (thatt is saye, <u>the lawe</u> of <u>cōmaundement</u> <u>contayned in the</u> writte)	nemlich die feynd- schafft, damit, das er hat durch seyn fleysch auffgehoben das gesetz der gepot, so fern sie schriftlich ver- fasset waren,
16. ut duos condat in semetipso in unum novum hominem, faciens pacem, et reconciliet ambos, in uno corpore,	<u>for to make of</u> <u>twayne wone newe</u> <u>mā in hym silfe,</u> <u>so makynge peace</u> <u>and to reconcile</u> <u>both vnte god in</u>	auff das er aus zweyen eynen neuen menchen schaffte, ynn yhm fride zu machen, vnd das er beyde versuncte mit

Deo per crucem,
interficiens ini-
micitias in
semetipso.

one body throwe
his crosse, ād
slewe hattred
thereby.

God yn eynem leybe,
durch das creutz,
vnd hat die feynd-
schafft todtet
durch sich selbs,

17. Et veniens
evangelizavit
pacem vobis, qui
longe fuistis, et
pacem iis qui
prope;

and cam and
preached peace to
you which were
afarre of, and to
them that were
neye.

vnd ist komen, hat
verkundiget ym
Evangelio, den
friden euch, die
yhr ferne waret,
vnd denen, die
nahe waren.

18. Quoniam per
ipsum habemus
accessum ambo in
uno Spiritu ad
patrem.

For thorowe hym we
bothe have an open
waye in, in one
sprete vnto the
father.

Denn durch yhm
haben wyr den zu-
gang all beyde ynn
einem geyst, zum
vater.

19. Ergo jam non
estis hospites et
advenae, sed estis
cives sanctorum et
domestici Dei,

Nowe therefore ye
are no moare
strangers ād for-
eners: but cite-
syns with the
saynetes, and of
the householde of
god.

So seydt yhr nu
nicht mehr geste
vnd frembdling,
sondern burger mit
den heiligen, vñ
Gottis haussgenos-
sen.

The comparison that is to follow brings out forcefully and clearly the fact that Tyndale used Luther as a reference and not as one to copy. In comparing Luther and Tyndale both were compared with the Greek original. Luther translated the Greek of the New Testament almost verbally, even retaining some of the idioms of the Greek. Tyndale did the same. There are a few passages where Tyndale used the idiomatic expressions of Luther, Germanisms, but this does not say that Tyndale copied Luther. Here is the comparison:

TYNDALE	LUTHER
Matt. II, 18. on the hills	auf dem Gebirge
XV, 13. all plantes	alle Pflanzen
XXI, 15. Hosianna	Hosianna

In making the following comparisons in Matthew, chapters I-XXII, Luther's German Bible and the Tyndale version were compared with the Greek New Testament.*

LUTHER	TYNDALE
II, 2. neugeborne	(omitted)
6. der ueber mein Volk Israel ein Herr sei	which shall govern my people Israel

*Note: Die Bibel, St. Louis Edition, 1910. Bosworth and Waring, Anglo-Saxon-Wyclif version compared. Nestle, Novum Testamentum Graece.

7. wenn der Stern erschieden waere	the tyme of the starre that appered
8. ziehet hin	When ye come thyder
13. denn es ist vorhanden	omitted (also Authorized)
15. nach dem Tod Herodis	unto the death of Herod
16. betrogen	mocked
18. Geschrei gehoeret denn es war aus mit ihnen	vojce herde because they were not {Authorized also)
19. ein Traum	(omitted) appeared
23. Er soll Nazarenus heisen	He shall be called of Nazareth
IV, 2.(omitted)	att the last
15. Das Land Zebulon und das Land Neph- thalim, am Wege des Meers, jenseit des Jordans, und die heidnische Galilaea.	<u>Beholde</u> inserted
22. Bald verliessen	with out taryinge
V, 11. so sie daran liegen	(omitted)
15. Licht	candell
VII, 29. er predigte gewaltig	he taught them, as one havyng power

VIII, 15. Da griff er ihre Hand an,	And he thouched her hande,
16. mit Worten	with a worde
20. Die Voegel	bird
XII, 18. mein Knecht	my sonne (like Erasmus) (Wyclif, my chosen child)
XIII, 13. denn mit sehenden Augen sehen sie nicht, und mit hoerenden Ohren hoeren sie nicht; denn sie verstehen es nicht.	for though they se, they se not, and hearinge they heare not, nether under- stande; (like Wyclif)
14. sehenden	(omitted)
15. verstoht	wexed grosse (Authorized)
38. Das Unkraut sind die Kinder der Bosheit	the evyll mans children are the tares
XIII, 57. Ein Prophet gilt nir- gend weniger, denn...	There is no prophet with- oute honoure, save...
XIV, 36. wurden gesund	made safe
XVI, 7. sprachen: Das wurde sein, das wir nicht haben Brod mit uns genommen	sayinge, We have brought no bread with us (Erasmus)
XVII, 9. niemand sagen	shewe...to no man
XIX, 17. Niemand ist gut, denn der einige Gott	There is none good but won, and that is God.

XXI, 20. Wie ist der Feigen- baum so bald verdorret?	How sone is the fygge tree wyddered awaye. (Erasmus: quomodo con- tinuo aruit, 1516)
XXII, 5. einer auf seinen Acker, der andere zu seiner Hantierung	won to his ferme place, another about his merchandyse
6. hoehneten	entreated them ungodly

One other authority seems to influence Tyndale more than Luther and Wyclif. This is Erasmus. However, there are many differences "not always in Tyndale's favor, but sufficient at least to prove that he exercised a free judgment both in the general character and in the details of his version."⁹

10
Comparison of Collossians II.

ERASMUS (1516)

TYNDALE (1534)

1. Nam volo quantum <u>certamen</u> <u>faciem</u> meam	I wolde (so Luther) what fyghtinge (kampff Lu.)my parson (person Lu.)
2. cum fuerint compacti in omnes divitias <u>certae</u> <u>persuasionis intelligentiae</u>	<u>and</u> knit togedder (so Lu.) in all ryches <u>of full</u> vnderstandynge (zu allem reychthum des volligen verstands Lu. 1522).

9. Westcott, History of the English Bible, p. 179

10. Ibid., pp. 135-137

<u>et patris</u>	the father (Lu. 1522, 1534)
11. <u>dum exuistis</u>	by puttinge (durch abl. Lu.)
<u>corpus peccatorum carnis</u>	the <u>sinfull body</u> of the flesshe (des sundlichen leybes ym fleysch Lu.)
in circumcissione Christi (mit Lu.)	thorow the circumcission <u>that is in Christ</u>
12. per fidem operationis Dei	thorow fayth, <u>that is</u> <u>wrought</u> by the operacion of God (durch den glawben den Got wirket Lu.)
16. <u>vos judicet</u>	<u>trouble youre consciences</u> (euch gewissen machen Lu.)

In a number of passages taken at random Westcott finds where Tyndale differs from Luther and agrees with Erasmus: Luke XI, 36, 40; XIX, 43; John II, 9; X, 12; Acts III, 16; 2 Cor. XI, 8; Gal. V, 18; Eph. V, 16;

He differs from Erasmus in: Luke XIX, 42; Col. III, 11, 9; John XI, 2; Acts III, 20; Rom. IX, 11, 28; Gal. V, 5.

Westcott says after carefully comparing the different translations: "It does not seem necessary to bring forward any further evidence of Tyndale's first labors on the New Testament....Tyndale himself says on the title page of his revised version that his work is 'diligently corrected and compared with the original Greek.' In his address 'to the

reader' Tyndale explains his work more in detail. 'Here thou hast, most dear reader, the New Testament or covenant made with us of God in Christ's blood, which I have looked over again (now at the last) with all diligence and compared it unto the Greek and have weeded out of it many faults which lack of help at the beginning and oversight did sow therein. If aught seemed changed* or not altogether agreeing with the Greek, let the finder of the fault consider the Hebrew phrase or manner of speech left in the Greek words, whose preter-perfect tense and present time is the optative mood also, and the future tense is often the imperative mood in the active voice, and in the passive ever. Likewise person for person, number for number, and an interrogative for a conditional, and such like, is with the Hebrews a common usage. I have also in many places set light in the margin to understand the text by. If any man finds faults either with the translation or ought beside, which is easier for many to do than so well to have translated it themselves of their own pregnant wits at the beginning without forensample, to the same it shall be lawful to translate it themselves and to put what they lust thereto. If I shall perceive, either by myself or by information of other, that ought be escaped me, or might be more plainly translated, I will shortly after cause it to be amended. Howbeit in many places methinketh it better to put a declaration in the margin than to run

*Note: Changed in 1536

too far from the text. And in many places where the text seemeth at the first chop hard to be understood, yet the circumstances before and after and often reading together maketh it plain enough...¹²"

Very valuable in Tyndale's New Testament Revised are the short glosses with which it is furnished.* The translation is made clearer by a knowledge of these. Here are a few examples:

"When ought is said or done that should move to pride, he dasheth them in the teeth with his death and passion.

"A covenant to them that love the word of God, to win other with word or deed; and another to them that love it not, that it shall be their destruction.

"Adam's disobedience damned us all ere we ourselves wrought evil; and Christ's obedience saveth us all ere we ourselves work any good.

"God chooseth of his own goodness and mercy: calleth through the Gospel: justifieth through faith: glorifieth through good works.

12. Westcott, History of the English Bible, pp. 138-139

*Note: It is not certain how many of these glosses were in the quarto edition of 1525. There is a possibility that all of the glosses of the quarto edition of 1525 were rewritten for the revised edition of 1534.

"If a man have the gift, chastity is good, the more quietly to serve God. For you married often have much trouble: but if the mind of the chaste be cumbered with other worldly business, what keepeth it? And if the married be the more quiet minded thereby, what hurteth it? Neither of itself is better than the other, or pleaseth God more then the other. Neither is the natural circumcision or outward baptism worth penny of themselves, save that they put us in remembrance to keep the covenant made between us and God.

"Faith maketh us sons and of the nature of Christ, and bindeth each to have other in the same reverence that he hath Christ.

"Where true faith in Christ is, there is love to your neighbor. And faith and love maketh us understand all things. Faith understandeth the secrets of God and the mercy that is given her in Christ. And love knoweth her duty to her neighbor, and can interpret all laws and ordinances and knoweth how far forth they are to be kept and when to be dispensed with.

"By our works shall we be judged: for as the invisible faith is, such are the works by which the faith is seen.

"We be the church: and the obedience of the heart is the spiritual sacrifice. Bodily sacrifice must be

offered to our neighbors, for if thou offers it to God thou makest a bodily idol of him.

"God is not known as a father, but through Christ.

"Prayer and fasting go together.

"To have pleasure in another man's sin is greater wickedness than to sin thyself.

"He is strong that can bear another man's weakness.

"Go not from house to house as friars do.

"A good lesson for monks and idle friars.

Tyndale had now produced two translations of the New Testament, the 1525 and the 1534 editions. In the preface to the 1534 edition Tyndale had expressed his desire to revise his Testament, and so we have the edition of 1535. This is a true revision and differs from the edition of 1534, "though considerably less than the text of 1534 from that of 1525. Some of the changes are made to secure a closer accordance with the Greek: sometimes to gain a more vigorous or a more idiomatic rendering: sometimes to preserve a just uniformity: sometimes to introduce a new interpretation. The very minuteness of the changes is a singular testimony to the diligence with which Tyndale still labored at his appointed work. Nothing seemed trifling to him, we may believe, if only he could better

seize or convey to others the meaning of one fragment of Scripture!¹³ These are some of the changes:

<u>St. Matthew</u>	<u>1534</u>	<u>1535</u>
IX, 31.	name	fame
X, 5.	sent	dyd..send
XIV, 18.	hyther to me	hyther
XXIV, 19.	wo	wo shalbe
<u>St. Mark</u>		
I, 39.	throughout	throught
VII, 32.	to laye	to put
XIII, 17.	woo is	woo shall be
XVI, 19.	is set	sate him
<u>St. Luke</u>		
I, 5.	kyng of	the kyng of
V, 10.	shalt catche	shall taeke
IX, 7.	done of	done by
<u>St. John</u>		
V, 7.	siche	siche man
38.	therto his wordes	thearfor his wordes

Tyndale's First Testament was without notes and so was his last one.* "The short prologues to the four Evangelists are printed separately before each Gospel. The

13. Westcott, History of the English Bible, 1905 Ed., pp.144f.

*Note: The first Testament published by Tyndale was the octavo edition of 1525; this contained no notes or glosses.

contents of the tables for the Gospels and the Acts are prefixed in detail before each chapter. The marginal references of the edition of 1534 are generally preserved.¹⁴

His last Testament was also an appeal to the King and to the English people. "As concerning all I have translated or otherwise written, I beseech all men to read it for that purpose I wrote it: even to bring them to the knowledge of the Scripture. And as far as the Scripture approveth it, so far to allow it, and if in any place the word of God disallow it, there to refuse it, as I do before our Saviour Christ and His congregation. And when they find faults let them shew it to me, if they be nigh, or write to me if they be far off: or write openly against it and improve it, and I promise them, if I perceive that their reasons conclude I will confess mine ignorance openly."¹⁵

Luther, as was said before, exerted a great influence on Tyndale, although the latter dealt directly and principally with the original Greek text. It is the works of Tyndale other than the Translation, where Tyndale follows Luther closely. Tyndale's prologue to his quarto fragment shows the ring of Luther if one is acquainted with the German reformer. Tyndale says, "Euangelio (that we call the gospel) is a greke worde, and sygnyfyth good, mery,

14. Westcott, History of the English Bible, 1905 Ed.,

p. 145

15. To the Christian Reader, New Testament of 1534

glad and ioyfull tydinge, that maketh a mannes hert glad, and maketh hym synge, daunce and leepe for ioye. As when Davyd had kylled Golyath the geaūnt, cam glad tydinge vnto the iewes, that their fearfull and cruell enemy was slayne, and they delyvered oute of all daunger; for gladnes were of, they songe, daunsed, and were ioyfull."

This forceful language of Luther no doubt had much influence on the style of Tyndale as a whole. As a style Tyndale's language did not impress the English as Luther's did the Germans, yet, it must be said that as a literary work Tyndale's translation forms an important era in our history. Not the least contribution of Tyndale's Translation is the standard which it has set for all writing in English that has an ambition to belong to literature. The general qualities of the style of Tyndale are simplicity and earnestness. Of all the books in the English language Tyndale's translation, which is embodied to a great extent in the Authorized Version, is the one which can be read with profit and comfort by people of all degrees of intelligence and education.

The original books, being written in either the Hebrew language which had no expression for anything but objective facts, or else in Greek which was addressed to a church where the learned were a small minority, were simple in vocabulary and expression. Tyndale always kept this simplicity, probably inspired by such men as Colet and

Erasmus, and served as an example to those that followed him. It was Tyndale's purpose to translate the Bible for the common people. In the sixteenth century Latin words were coming in rapidly into English, but had not made so great an impression upon our language, as was the case later, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is the reason why our Bible of to-day is written in such simplicity. Even Pilgrim's Progress seems learned in its vocabulary by the side of the Bible. In spite of the narrowness in the range of its vocabulary, the aptness and flexibility of the style are extraordinary. "His translation of the New Testament is a fine specimen of our language, in what may be called the first stage of maturity. It is the foundation of our standard translation, which is also the standard of our language. He avoids Latin derivatives, and generally uses indigenous words, the strong and expressive Saxon words, known by all the people. In this respect our version happily follows him. Tyndale translates τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ, Lk. XI, 42, the love of God, which our established version has adopted; but Wycliffe has the charite of God, from the Vulgate charitatem Dei. Our translators seldom depart from Tyndale, but when they do, in a particular word, the spirit of the passage is often lost; for instance, in 1 Cor. xiii, 13, Tyndale has,--Nowe abideth faythe, hope and love, even these thre; but the chefe of these is love (ἡ ἀγάπη). Love is the divine affection in the soul, for God is love (ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν).

Faith in the Savior is the foundation of good works, hope raises the superstructure, and love completes and crowns it in eternity. Faith works by love, and love is the fulfilling of the law (πληρωμα νόμου ἢ ἀγάπη). The perfection of a good work is, that it springs from love.... Thus, while Christian love is the constraining principle of action here, and the fulfilling of the law, when our present faith is lost in sight, and hope in enjoyment, this ἀγάπη will continue, and increase throughout eternity.--Now, if this be the literal and true meaning of St. Paul's Greek, let love be substituted for charity, wherever it occurs in 1 Cor. xiii, as it is in Tyndale."

Tyndale's version fixed our Standard English once for all, and brought it finally into every English home. He wrote to be read by all classes of men, a style which will carry the weight of high and earnest ideas. The books which are still regularly read are those that have been reprinted time and time again, like Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver's Travels, and Pilgrim's Progress, which appeal not only to the highly educated but to the middle and lower classes. A child can understand these as he does the Bible. In literature as in everything else in England and America a broad democracy is what is needed. Those books that have survived, especially prose, are those written by

16. Bosworth and Waring, Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels in Parallel Columns, Preface, p. 29

men with a purpose,--Carlyle, Newman, Ruskin, and Arnold are some of these. Literature is to arouse people above themselves to nobler heights, and this is done when something in literature carries a message.

It is obvious that the style of the Bible contains that earnestness and directness and simplicity so needed in any language and that constant use of imagery so needed for an effective style. A sustained and strongly marked rhythm is noticed, something that carries its readers with it. With simplicity always goes dignity of style: the translation as we have it seems fused and transfigured by a glow of inward fervor. Tyndale could find nothing unimportant in the Word of God, and his reverence lent dignity to his translation. The style of the Bible of Tyndale remains--directness of statement, power of convincing, simplicity of words, earnestness and dignity, and a moving rhythm. This has ever been the standard of all classical prose.

Before Tyndale's time English prose hardly existed. Caxton set up a printing-press, with which he put out the works of Sir Thomas Malory, which are archaic at the present time. It has no relation to the life of our day. Those who lived at the time of Tyndale and could write generally wrote in Latin, the language of the educated, for English was a language looked upon as being for the

ignorant and low-born. Sir Thomas More wrote his Utopia in Latin, while in 1544 Roger Ascham in the preface to his Toxophilus apologized to Henry VIII for writing this work in English. Churchmen looked with scorn on anyone translating into a language that was for hewers of wood and drawers of water. This did not bother Tyndale in the least, as we know, for he was resolved to put out a work for the "boy at the plow". He wanted the common man to know more of the Bible than the high-churchmen, the doctors of his time. He used words that would be understood by all who wanted to know of their Lord and Saviour. He was satisfied with the result. Tyndale had the gift of so putting his words together as to suffuse them with the warm feeling brought about by rhythm and the harmonious succession of sounds.

After four centuries, in which the English language has expanded, acquiring much of slang and scientific diction, the Latinisms of a Dryden and a Doctor Johnson, and the rambling euphony of the Religio Medici, or the discursiveness of a De Quincey--after all these changes the type of prose style of Tyndale's translation still remains. Mr. Calvin T. Ryan says: "One morning in chapel, one of the professors read the story of the Prodigal Son from one of the newer translations; the students listened, for they were startled into interest. I went to my class directly after the exercises, and at the beginning of the period

one of the members said, 'Was that an O. Henry story that Professor ----- read this morning?' The other members applauded his well chosen irony. There was no lesson in the Prodigal Son for them that morning. The change of style, its modernity, had killed the lesson..... Those students were studying style. They knew why style was effective. They knew something of the psychology involved." ¹⁷

"East and West met long ago in the matchless phrases translated from Hebrew and Greek and Latin into English; and the heart of the East there answers to the heart of the West as in water face answereth to face. That the colonizing Englishmen of the seventeenth century were Hebrews in spiritual culture, and heirs of Greece and Rome without ceasing to be Anglo-Saxon in blood, is one of the marvels of the history of civilization, and it is one of the basal facts in the intellectual life of the United States to-day. The Hebrew lyric, in its diction, its rhythmical patterns, and above all in its flaming intensity of spirit, bears the marks of racial purity, of mental vigor, and moral elevation. It became something even more significant, however, than the spiritual expression of a chosen race..... It moulded century after century the liturgy of the European! It influenced Tyndale's version of the Psalms and this has affected the whole vocabulary

17. Ryan, Calvin T., "Why King James Lives", North American Review, January, 1928.

and style of the modern English lyric. There is scarcely a page of the Oxford Book of English Verse which does not betray in word or phrase the influence of the Hebrew¹⁸ Psalter."

18. Bliss Perry, The American Mind, p. 38

CHAPTER VI

THE AUTHORIZED VERSION'S DEBT TO TYNDALE

The Authorized Version or King James Version of the Bible, published in 1611, shows much of the work of Tyndale, made from the original Hebrew and Greek. Although the Bible has been revised with better helps, better critical apparatus; although writers by no means friendly to the original translator have had it in their power to disparage his work, yet all must admit that our present Authorized Version is still as a whole the work of Tyndale. Especially must this be said of just those passages which are the most intimately associated with our deepest emotions; they are the unchanged words of the original translator. "The peculiar genius--if such a word may be permitted-- which breathes through it, the mingled tenderness and majesty, the Saxon simplicity, the preternatural grandeur, unequalled, unapproached in the attempted improvements of modern scholars, all are here, and bear the impress of the mind of one man--William Tyndale." By actual examination it has been found that nine-tenths of the First Epistle of John, as we now have it, are from Tyndale, five-sixths of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and similar proportions are

1. Froude, History of England, Vol. III, pp. 86-87

found all through the Bible. The words of Tyndale may often have been changed, but the spirit of Tyndale is there. It was the terse and common English of William Tyndale that chiefly colored the King James Bible. It is in fact, in the New Testament at least, no more than a revision of his final edition of 1535, being a revision of the Bishops', which was a revision of the Great Bible, which was in turn a revision of John Rogers', which embodied the last work of Tyndale. It is not too much to say that William Tyndale wrote nine-tenths of the King James New Testament.² The spirit of the man passed into his work. "When we, then, study our Testaments, we are in most cases perusing the identical words penned by the martyr Tyndale, nearly three hundred and fifty years ago; and hitherto the language of the English protestant faith and doctrine may fairly be said to have undergone no change."³ "Tyndale's own work, once and for all, fixed the style and tone of the English Bible, and supplied not merely the basis of all subsequent Protestant renderings of the books (with unimportant exceptions) on which he labored, but their very substance and body, so that those subsequent versions must be looked upon as revisions of his, not as independent translations."⁴

2. Goodspeed, The English New Testament, p. 51

3. G. P. Marsh, Lectures on the English Language, 1877, p. 625

4. Pollard, Records of the English Bible, Introduction, p. 6

It would be well at this point to take several sections from the Authorized Version and show how much of Tyndale's phrasing is still retained and what has been added. Below we bring a number of such selections from Tyndale's version. All changes are indicated by underlining Tyndale's expressions that have been changed. Whatever is not underlined is Tyndale's original phrasing left unchanged in the Authorized Version.

St. Matthew VII, 7-20

7. Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you:

8. For whosoever asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.

9. Is there any man among you which would proffer his son a stone if he asked him bread?

10. Or if he asked fish, would he proffer him a serpent?

11. If ye then which are evil, can give to your children good gifts, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask of him?

12. Therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even so do ye to them; this is the law and the prophets.

13. Enter into the strait gate, for wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat:

14. For strait is the gate, and narrow is the way which

leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.

15. Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.

16. Ye shall know by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of briars?

17. Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.

18. A good tree cannot bring forth bad fruit, nor yet a bad tree can bring forth good fruit.

19. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewn down and cast into the fire.

20. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

St. Luke XV, 11-24

11. A certain man had two sons:

12. And the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me my part of the goods that to me belongeth. And he divided unto them his substance.

13. And not long after, the younger son gathered all that he had together, and took his journey into a far country, and there he wasted his goods with riotous living.

14. And when he had spent all that he had, there rose a great dearth throughout all that same land: and he began to lack.

15. And he went and clave to a citizen of that same country which sent him to the field to keep his swine.

16. And he would fain have filled his belly with the cods

that the swine ate; and no man gave him.

17. Then he remembered himself and said, How many hired servants at my father's have bread enough, and I die for hunger.

18. I will rise and go to my father and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee.

19. Nor am I not worthy to be called thy son, make me as one of thy hired servants.

20. And he arose and came to his father. When he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion on him, and ran unto him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.

21. And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight, neither am I worthy henceforth to be called thy son.

22. Then said the father to his servants, Bring forth that best garment and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand and shoes on his feet.

23. And bring hither that fatted calf, and kill him, and let us eat and be merry:

24. For this my son was dead and is alive again; he was lost and is now found.

These verses, considered among the most beautiful of all Bible passages clearly show the Authorized Version's debt to Tyndale.

Tyndale's version of the Pentateuch and Jonah is essentially incorporated into our English Bible. The following selection is from the Pentateuch. The words in brackets show the changes in the King James Bible; the words not in brackets are Tyndale's.

Genesis XXII

4. The thrid day (Then on the third day) Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw the place afar off.
 5. And said (Abraham said) unto his young men, Bide here (Abide you here) with the ass; (and) I and the lad will go yonder and worship, and come again unto (to) you.
 6. And Abraham took the wood of the sacrifice (burnt offering), and laid it upon Isaac his son; and took fire (he took the fire) in his hand, and a knife; and they went both of them together.
 7. Then spake Isaac (and Isaac spoke) unto Abraham his father, and said, My father: and he answered (said), Here am I, son. And he said, See here is the fire and wood (Behold the fire and the wood): but where is the sheep (lamb) for sacrifice (a burnt-offering)?
 8. And Abraham said, My Son, God will provide him a sheep for sacrifice (himself a lamb for a burnt-offering); So went they both (they went both of them together).
 9. And when (omitted) they came unto (to) the place which God showed him (had told him of); (and) Abraham made (built) an altar there, and dressed the wood (laid the
-

wood in order), and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on
the altar above (omitted) upon the wood.⁵

How clearly most of the later versions followed Tyn-
dale can be seen by comparing parallel passages from the
different versions, and placing them side by side in sep-
arate columns.

6
SPECIMENS OF SOME ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

<u>TYNDALE</u> (1525)	<u>COVERDALE</u> (1535)	<u>THE BISHOPS</u> <u>BIBLE</u> (1568)	<u>AUTHORIZED</u> <u>VERSION</u>
God in tyme past diversly and many wayes, spoke unto the fathers by prophets: but in these last dayes he hath spoken unto us by hys sonne, whom he hath made heyre of all thyngs: by	God in tyme past dyversly and many wayes, spake unto ye fath- ers prophetes, but in these last dayes he hath spoken unto us by his sonne, whom he hath made heyre of all thinges, by whom also	1. God which in tyme past, at sundrie tymes, and in divers maners, spake unto the fathers in the proph- etes: 2. Hath in these last dayes, spoken unto us in the sonne, whom he hath	1. God who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the Fath- ers by the prophets, 2. Hath in these last dayes spoken unto us by his Sonne, whom he hath appointed heire of all

5. Demaus, William Tindale, pp. 275-276

6. Kenyon, Our Bible and the Ancient MSS., Preface

whom also he	he made the	the worldes.	things, by whom
made the	worldē. Which	3. Who beyng	also he made
worldē. Which	sonne beyngē	the bright-	the worlds,
sonne beyngē	the bright-	nesse of the	3. Who being
the bright-	nes of his	glorie, and	the bright-
nes of his	glory, and	the very im-	nesse of his
glory, and	the very ym-	age of his	glory, and the
very ymage	age of his	substaunce,	expresse im-
off his sub-	substaunce,	upholdyng all	age of his
stance, bear-	bearinge up	thynges with	person, and
yngē uppe all	all thinges	the word of	upholding all
thyngs with	with the word	his power,	things by the
the worde of	of his power,	having by	word of his
his power,	hath in his	himselſe	power, when
hath in his	owne persoune	poured our	hae had by
owne person	poured oure	sinnes, hath	himselſe
poured oure	synnes, and	sytt on the	purged our
synnes, and	is set on the	ryght hande	sinnes, sate
is syttē on	right hande	of the maie-	down on ye
the right	of the maie-	stie on hye:	right hand of
hande of the	stie on hye:	4. Beyng so	the Maiestie
maiestie on	beyngē even	much more	on high,
hye, and is	as much more	excellent	4. Being made
more excel-	excellent	then the	so much better
lent then the	then ye ang-	angels, as he	than the Ang-
angels in as	els, as he	hath by in-	els, as he
moche as hath	hath optayned	heritaunce	hath by inher-

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APPENDIX A

SOME EULOGIES OF TYNDALE AND HIS WORK

"His whole life was devoted to his mission; but when he was not called upon to testify, he was retiring and deeply humble. Simple-minded, trustful, full of the warmest feelings and affections, he was earnest and glowing in his service of God, broad-minded and single in his clinging to the simplest and highest truths of the Gospel. The strength and depth of his belief carried him unflinching to his death at the stake.....

"When one has once grasped the nobility and power of Tyndale's character, all difficulty, I think, disappears in understanding how it was that his style of writing stamped itself so indelibly on the style of the English translations of the Bible."¹

"In Tyndale we have a man to whom we may justly assign a place among the great ones of the earth. Yet it was not until some three centuries and a half after his death that the statue which now stands near Whitehall Court was erected

1. Atlantic Magazine, May, 1900. Gardiner, The Father of English Prose

in honor of his memory."²

Of Tyndale's New Testament we have the following:

"The publication of Tyndale's New Testament marked an epoch in the history of the English Bible. No other book that ever was printed has exercised an influence so profound and so enduring on the English-speaking peoples as the English Bible, and no man save Tyndale has left upon its pages the impress of his individuality and scholarship."³

"Tyndale's translation of the New Testament is the most important philological monument of the first half of the sixteenth century, perhaps I should say of the whole period between Chaucer and Shakespeare, both as a historical, and as having more than anything else contributed to shape and fix the sacred dialect, and establish the form which the Bible must permanently assume in an English dress. The best features of the translation of 1611 are derived from the version of Tyndale, and thus that remarkable work has exerted, directly and indirectly, a more powerful influence on the English language than any other single production between the ages of Richard II and Queen Elizabeth."⁴

2. H. W. Hoare, The English Bible, Nineteenth Century, May, 1898.

3. Alexander Geddes, Prospectus for a New Testament of the English Bible, p. 88

4. J. P. Marsh, Lectures on the English Language, p. 113

APPENDIX B

THE INFLUENCE OF THE AUTHORIZED VERSION
OF THE BIBLE ON ENGLISH LITERATURE

The Authorized Version of the Bible, as we have it to-day, is practically the work of William Tyndale. When mention is made of what benefits men derived from the Bible, let everyone remember the pioneer work of this great translator who gave up his country and also his life in order to accomplish this deed of love.

A professor of English literature of Yale University has said, "To enrich and ennoble the language of a race is to enrich and ennoble the sentiments of every man who has the command of that language. This process of enrichment and ennoblement has been going on in English for nearly thirteen hundred years, and one of the chief agencies by which it has been effected is the influence, direct and indirect, of the Bible."¹

From Caedmon's time, through the days of Queen Elizabeth, to the present time the influence of Bible diction

1. Albert S. Cook, The Bible and English Prose Style,
Introduction, p. ix

upon English has been clearly recognizable. The Bible has been an active force in our literature for more than twelve hundred years, and during that time it has been moulding the thought of our best speakers and writers. "Biblical prose", as Tennyson's son in his biography of his father calls it, is marked by simplicity, earnestness, directness, concreteness, and picturesqueness.

Before considering the plastic influence which the Bible has exercised on English style, it would be well to examine the ways in which Biblical language has been appropriated by English writers. The most important ways are direct quotation and allusion. Take the following from Dickens's Tale of Two Cities: Does it not sound as though the author were saturated with Biblical expressions?

"She kisses his lips; he kisses hers; they solemnly bless each other. The spare hand does not tremble as he releases it; nothing worse than a sweet, bright constancy is in the patient face. She goes next before him--is gone; the knitting-women count Twenty-two.

"I am the Resurrection and the Life, saith the Lord; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die."

A good example of an allusion is the following from

Shelley's Defense of Poetry:

"Their errors have been weighed and found to have been dust in the balance; if their sins were as scarlet, they are now white as snow; they have been washed in the blood of the mediator and redeemer, Time."

From Matthew Arnold we have:

"He (Wordsworth) is one of the very chief glories of English Poetry; and by nothing is England so glorious as by her poetry. Let us lay aside every weight which hinders our getting him recognized as this."²

Of all writers Bunyan is the one that is wholly permeated with the thought and diction of the Bible; we have from him a clear, simple, and picturesque style. It has an archaic flavor, yet it is intelligible. An example is given here:

"As I walked through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place, where was a Den; and I laid me down in that place to sleep; and as I slept I dreamed a Dream. I dreamed, and behold I saw a man clothed with rags, standing in a certain place, with his face from his own House, a Book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back."³ In studying Bunyan we are not only studying Biblical

2. Arnold, Essay on Wordsworth

3. Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress

style in English, but we are studying English at a time when it reached its highest peak of greatness--the Restoration Period.

A very good example of Biblical style is Addison's Vision of Mirzah.

"He then led me to the highest pinnacle of the rock, and placed me on the top of it. Cast thy eyes eastward, said he, and tell me what thou seest. I see, said I, a huge valley, and a prodigious tide of water rolling through it. The valley that thou seest, said he, is the vale of misery, and the tide of water that thou seest is part of the great tide of eternity."⁴

From the Urn Burial of Thomas Browne we have this:

"The dead seem all alive in the human Hades of Homer, yet cannot well speak, prophesy, or know the living, except they drink blood, wherein is the life of man."

And this from Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. Its simplicity and concreteness has much in common with the Bible:

"I found also that the island I was in was barren, and, as I saw good reason to believe, uninhabited, except by wild beasts, of whom however I saw none. Yet I saw abundance of fowls, but knew not their kinds; neither when I killed them could I tell what was fit for food, and what not."

Many writers have vouched for the fact that they owe much to the Bible. Ruskin says, "But, once knowing the 32nd of Deuteronomy, the 119th Psalm, the 15th of 1st Corinthians, the Sermon on the Mount, and most of the Apocalypse, every syllable by heart, and having always a way of thinking with myself what words meant, it was not possible for me, even in the foolishness of youth to write entirely superficial or formal English." In this same book he says, "I have next with deeper gratitude to chronicle what I owed to my mother for the resolutely consistent lessons which so exercised me in the Scriptures as to make every word of them familiar to my ear."

Matthew Arnold says, "To know, in addition to one's native literature, a great poetry and literature not of home growth is an influence of the highest value.... The Bible has thus been an influence of the highest value for the nations of Christendom."

Bowen, when speaking of Bible English, remarks, "Regarded simply as a specimen of English prose, the opinions of scholars is unanimous that its excellence in this respect is unmatched."

5. Ruskin, Praeterita, Vol. I, as quoted in A. S. Cook,

The Bible and English Prose Style

6. *Ibid.*

7. Matthew Arnold, Isaiah of Jerusalem, pp. 4-5

8. Bowen, A Layman's Study of the English Bible, Chapter I

Concerning the rhythm of the Bible Watts has the following to say, "Perhaps it may be said that deeper than all the rhythms of art is that rhythm which art would fain catch, the rhythm of nature; for the rhythm of nature is the rhythm of life itself. This rhythm can be caught by prose as well as by poetry, such prose for instance, as that of the English Bible."⁹

Oratory owes a great debt to the Bible. There are many quotations and allusions in our great English and American orations. Take for an example the best that Burke ever wrote, "What, gracious Sovereign, is the empire of America to us, or the empire of the world, if we lose our own liberties!"

It seems that every time a man would speak fervently he resorts to the diction of the Bible. When Lincoln quoted the Bible, as he often did, it seemed to him the last word that he could say on the subject. The Gettysburg Address, so familiar to all of us, is a remarkable example of that "stillness of power". "With malice toward none, with charity for all" sounds like the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians.

It is difficult to find any writer in the last three hundred years who is not indebted in some way to Biblical language. Isaak Walton opened his treatise on fishing

9. Watts, Encyclopedia Britannica, Ninth Edition, Poetry

with a Bible verse, and concluded it with one also.

Some of the best written prose of recent times is that of Ruskin, Carlyle, and Lowell. All three borrowed extensively from the Scriptures. "We hold that in nothing has the influence of the Bible been more manifest than in the evident desire of English writers to reach out after ideals of beauty, truth, justice, peace, righteousness, and usefulness."¹⁰

Not only, then, is literature full of Biblical language, but a long list of titles containing Biblical references could be compiled. There is a directness of appeal in such titles, and writers seem to feel that they contain that which captures popular attention. Some of these are: The Master Christian, Barabbas, The City of Refuge, A Son of Hagar, Prisoners of Hope, and Ishmael.

Professor Cook says that in three books which he read for entertainment he found many Scriptural quotations and allusions. One contained sixty-three references, another twelve, and a third had eighteen.¹¹

In conclusion, let us quote the following:

"Never, perhaps, in the history of any tongue has a

10. Work, The Bible in English Literature, p. 205

11. A. S. Cook, The Authorized Version of the Bible and Its Influence, p. 70

single book so profoundly affected universal expression as has the English Bible. It is not that we now talk or write in the diction employed in it. Even in its own day the language it employed was somewhat archaic. But its simplicity, its beauty, its effectiveness, made it serve from the beginning as a standard of speech, about which the language revolved, and from which it has never got very far. It held up before all an ideal of pure and lofty expression. The familiarity of our fathers with the translation of the Bible, the intimate acquaintance they gained with its words and phrases, its constructions, its manner, has done more to maintain the purity of our speech than could have been effected by the mastery of all the manuals of verbal criticism which has ever been produced.¹²

In speaking of what the Bible has done for English literature, one author has said, "that the English literature can no more be separated from the Bible than can the colors of the rainbow be untwisted from one another".¹³

Another has said that if the Bible were lost the book could be put together again with all its essential parts from the quotations on the shelves of the city public library.¹⁴

12. Thomas R. Lounsbury, The Correct Use of Words,

Harper's Monthly, June, 1908

13. E. W. Work, The Bible in English Literature, Introduction, p. 34

14. C. B. McAfee, The Greatest English Classic, p. 134

The English Bible is part of the very fiber of great literature from the day it first appeared in our tongue to this hour. And for this Bible we owe our thanks, most of all, to William Tyndale.

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