

# The Tyndale Society Journal



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*April 2003*

## About the Tyndale Society

*Registered UK Charity Number 1020405*

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

Members receive 3 issues of the *Tyndale Society Journal* a year, invitations to social events, lectures and conferences, and 50% discount on subscriptions to *Reformation*.

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

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

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### Submission of Articles for The Journal

Please send items to the Editor at the address on the inside front cover of this issue. Submissions can be made on paper (post or fax) or electronically (floppy disk for PC or *email*). Electronic submissions should be in the form of a word-processor document file (preferably Word, although we can deal with some versions of WordPerfect), and a version in plain text or Rich Text format. For *email* submissions, the document or Rich Text files should if possible be sent as attachments and the body of the message should contain the article as simple plain text. However, in case of difficulty with *email* attachments, it is acceptable to send the article solely as plain text in the body of the message. The deadline for submission of articles to the next issue is **Friday 21 June 2003**.

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

## Editorial

Valerie Offord

1<sup>st</sup> April 2003

Attempting to put pen to paper, or rather more truthfully finger to keyboard, I realized with a start that this past week has been the week of April Fools, traditionally the season of mayhem and misrule. Endeavouring to write an editorial against a barrage of turmoil in the world is not easy. An investigation into the origins of the custom did little to soothe my thoughts.

Springtime has, since antiquity, been associated with foolery and trickery often involving temporary inversions of the social order. During the Middle Ages a number of celebrations developed which served as predecessors to April Fools' Day. Perhaps the most important was the Festus Fatuorum (Feast of Fools) which evolved from the Roman Saturnalia. For the observance of this day, mostly in France, celebrants elected a mock pope and parodied church rituals. Needless to say the church was not overdelighted by this but it lingered on until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Whereupon another theory/pretext is postulated for the existence of these festivities namely the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar (established by the Council of Trent in 1563 and adopted by France in 1582). Those who failed to keep up with the change of New Year's Day to 1 January and stubbornly clung to celebrating the start of the year during the week that fell between 25 March and 1 April had various jokes played on them. Unfortunately, this theory will not really do for England, which adopted the new calendar much later. Frankly no theory is really watertight but the fact that these celebrations appear in slightly different forms in different countries seems to indicate that people need a safety valve to vent their social antagonisms in a harmless way.

Thomas Poyntz, the subject of the first article in this issue, certainly lived in uncertain times when values and ideas were being overturned, tossed about and tormented over. However, in his case it was for an indefinite period of time, not simply for the finite duration of an April Fool week. Brian Buxton's exciting new research into Poyntz's life shows how the direction and prosperity of a man and his family was permanently changed, largely for the worse, by his courageous support of William Tyndale. He was imprisoned, separated from his family, and brought to near penury and despair for taking by what he perceived to be an honourable stand. '*Thomas Poyntz: Brought unto Misery for so Godly a Cause*' breaks new ground and makes a really interesting story.

Ralph Werrell writing on *John Trevisa and William Tyndale* teases us with some thoughts and theories about the roots of Tyndale's theology. He freely acknowledges that this is a cautious beginning to a preliminary look at the subject and invites further comments and suggestions from his readers. He identified this area of further research when working on his doctoral dissertation.

For many of us computers will always bring chaos and confusion to our lives. Deborah Pollard is an able master – or rather mistress – at calming our panic. She has written a paper, based on the practical demonstration she presented at the Antwerp Conference, *The Tyndale Bible Concordance*, in which she explains things so clearly that we will all wonder why these infernal machines tantalize us so.

By sheer coincidence in these uncertain times we have had two lectures in recent months with but tenuous links to Tyndale but airing the issues that confront us in this century. Eunice Burton, whom your editor has now trained in Pavlovian fashion to attend all events with pen flowing and pencil sharpened at the ready, has succinctly presented a report on the 8<sup>th</sup> Lambeth Lecture given by the Rt Hon Chris Patten last November entitled *Ethics and the National Interest – Is there a Contradiction?* We Tyndalians seem with suspicious frequency to be *avant garde* in our choice of speakers and subjects. Who could have predicted then how thought provoking this lecture would prove in the maelstrom of events we are currently embroiled in? The other very pertinent lecture was given by Chas Raws at Gloucester Cathedral entitled *Humanity as Victim*, a reflection on the role of torture throughout the ages and our progress in abolishing it.

The Christmas Service and discussion with Brian Moynahan on his new book provided a lighter interlude to our philosophical ponderings and has been reported on by the event's ever efficient and cheerful organiser, Mary Clow. The editor's postbag becomes larger with each issue – usually appreciative but not unfailingly! We have reproduced here but a few letters on subjects ranging from a possible theory that reading the Journal can cure a cold to an enquiry as to the site of Tarshish. Do keep writing.

The book reviews were selected long before the present upheavals so no political message is intended. Nonetheless, Geoffrey Moorhouse's *The Pilgrimage of Grace* spells out what can happen to those who revolt against a perceived tyrant. In this instance, Robert Aske led a motley, but very disciplined, band against the King's enormous army. And never fear dear Inglis fans, our in house reviewer will return from sabbatical soon!

It is very cheering to learn that our American membership is expanding

under the enthusiastic guidance of its new officer, Dr Joe Johnson. We wish him great success and hope to welcome many more members and contributors to this Journal. Let us know of your plans. Indeed, Patrick Gabridge from Maryland has already given a splendid example by reporting in on his recently completed play about Tyndale and the English Bible *'God's Voice'*.

The Ploughboys are still not up to full strength but are working very hard indeed. They continue to provide Notes and News for the Journal. Robin Everitt's contribution to this issue, *Tyndale's Translation and Theology* cites some lesser-known sources to explore this theme.

There are many local and international events in the coming months so please read your Journals assiduously. **The 3<sup>rd</sup> Geneva Tyndale Conference** *'Not for Burning: The Marian Exiles in 16<sup>th</sup> century Europe'* will take place in October this year and you can read all about it in this issue. Those who attended two years ago are signing up and encouraging their friends to do so. It may not be on the scale of Antwerp but the speakers are definitely an 'A' team and some of their subjects a departure from or important sidelights on the well beaten Reformation theme. A further exciting event is the publication by Yale University Press this June of Prof David Daniell's remarkable new book *'The Bible in English'*.

Some dinner guests here in Geneva who were recently 'volunteered' for urgent proof reading remarked that everyone should have an obsession or, slightly preferably, a passion in life and your editor's is currently Tyndale. I should like to thank everyone who has contributed to this issue with reports, papers, letters and information – the band is too large nowadays to name individually – but above all I owe an immense debt to my faithful editorial assistant, and last-remaining dinner guest, Judith Munzinger. She contributes a sensible voice and a practical hand, both curbing my impulsive enthusiasms.

Whatever the explanation of April Fools' Day may be elsewhere, the end of this period of misrule is celebrated in Switzerland by the peaceful munching of chocolate, and the confectioners' shops are full of chocolate fish. 'Poisson d'avril' is French for 'April Fool joke', an idea which derives from the fact that the young fish appearing in the streams and rivers in spring are easy to fool with a hook and lure. Would that the unknown period of chaos on the world's stage could have such a simple and benign ending.

## Thomas Poyntz : Brought Unto Misery For So Godly a Cause

Brian Buxton

*'Thomas Poyntz ..... for faithful service to his prince and ardent profession of the evangelical truth suffered chains and imprisonment in regions across the seas plainly already destined to be killed except he himself trusting in divine providence looked for a miraculous escape from prison...'*

This translation of part of the Latin inscription on the memorial to Thomas and Anna Poyntz in North Ockendon Church, Essex, is a reminder of one who could so easily have been numbered amongst the Protestant Martyrs of the sixteenth century. He escaped the fire but, with his wife and children, suffered at least twenty years of personal trauma as a result of his support of William Tyndale.

The various biographers of Tyndale have all described the energetic part played by Thomas Poyntz in the attempts to save him from the flames. David Daniell wrote: *'The one person who can never be accused of dragging his feet, even at cost to his own liberty and fortune, was Thomas Poyntz.'*<sup>1</sup>

It is understandable that a biographer of Tyndale is less interested in the later life of Poyntz. However, as a result, the story of the problems faced by this man and his family after the death of Tyndale is little known.<sup>2</sup>

The earlier efforts of Poyntz to assist Tyndale after his arrest are well documented by Foxe.<sup>3</sup> Foxe may have talked to Poyntz back in London in later years, and also he may have known Thomas' eldest son, Gabriel, in the English community at Basle in the reign of Queen Mary.<sup>4</sup> However the earlier and later life of Thomas Poyntz has to be pieced together from a range of sources.

He came of an Essex family with considerable land holdings in the south west of the county centred on North Ockendon. His maternal grandfather and uncle both served as Lord Mayor of London, the latter being knighted at Bosworth.<sup>5</sup> He was the second son of the family and developed his career as a merchant, first based in the City of London. He became a Freeman of the Grocers' Company in 1517/18 and paid his dues until 1525/26.<sup>6</sup> Presumably it was then that he moved his business activities to Antwerp and to the English House, *'there being married to one of the said town'*, Anna van Calva.<sup>7</sup> In time four children were born to them.

Antwerp also seems to have become Tyndale's base from about the same time<sup>8</sup> and the two men could have become acquainted shortly afterwards.

It has been speculated that they had already met in London at an earlier date,<sup>9</sup> although when Thomas later wrote to his brother about Tyndale's plight there is no suggestion that either of them had known him previously.<sup>10</sup> For whatever reason Tyndale became the particular guest of Poyntz and his family during the last nine months of his freedom.

### Tyndale's defender

Thomas Poyntz was away on a business trip to the Easter Fair at Bergen op Zoom in the spring of 1535 when Tyndale was lured by Henry Phillips<sup>11</sup>



Wall tablet memorial to Thomas Poyntz (died 1562) in North Ockendon from 'Sepulchral monuments of Essex' by F. Chancellor 1890. Reproduced by courtesy of Essex Record office.

from the relative safety of the house of the English merchants. Foxe recounts that Poyntz had been suspicious of the sudden appearance of Phillips in Antwerp but had been re-assured by Tyndale who seemed to accept him as a new friend without any difficulty. Tyndale spent much time in Phillips' company and spoke openly to him about his work.

This easy manner was Tyndale's downfall. Not only had he talked freely with Phillips about his work, but when Phillips called one day as he was about to go out to lunch Tyndale immediately invited his new friend to accompany him. Outside the door two men were waiting to arrest him once he was off the property of the English merchants where he was afforded a certain degree of legal protection. The two men performing the arrest are supposed to have told Poyntz how they felt sorry for Tyndale who seemed to have fallen into a trap through his innocence.

In the summer and autumn which followed, whether on grounds of personal friendship, religious belief, or both, Thomas Poyntz became fully involved in Tyndale's case. He was impatient with what he saw as the lack of decisive action by the English authorities, not least by the head of the English House at Antwerp.

By August he was so frustrated that he wrote a long and impassioned letter to his brother John at North Ockendon asking him to use any influence he could to get some action in London.<sup>12</sup> He must have believed that John had some connections which might be useful in this situation.<sup>13</sup>

The two page letter, dated at Antwerp the 25th August 1535, is long and rather rambling, not always easy to follow. However, it is quite clear that he believed Tyndale was a loyal subject of Henry VIII and should be helped. He wrote of plotting by papists who were trying to cultivate the King's favour but were actually working against him... they '*be as thorns under a godly rose, I might say very traitors in their hearts...*'. He added: '*who they be I name no man*' but went on to speak disparagingly of 'papists'. Speaking of religious matters he said of Henry that '*never prince has done so nobly since Christ died in the which I beseech God give him victory*'. It may be that Thomas believed Henry to be more desirous of religious change than was perhaps the case, or alternatively that he was simply seeking to secure the king's favour.

Poyntz was quite clear that unless some action was soon taken Tyndale would be executed. From his own knowledge he believed that Tyndale would go to England if Henry ordered him to do so. He wrote: '*and by the means that this poor man William Tyndale has lain in my house three quarters of a year ... I know that the king has never a truer hearted subject to his grace this day living and for that he does know that he is bound by the law of God to obey his prince ...*'

Poyntz spoke of how he must do what he could to help Tyndale even if he risked death and lived in poverty for the rest of his life ... prophetic words as events turned out!

He concluded: '*brother this knowledge that I have of this man causes me to write as my conscience binds me, for the king's grace should have of him at this day as high a treasure as of any one man living ... therefore I desire you that this matter may be solicited to his grace for this man with as good effect as shall lie in you or by your means to be done for in my conscience there be not many perfecter men this day living*'.

The letter was addressed to John at North Ockendon. It was received on the 20th September and the next day John wrote a covering letter from Horndon on the Hill and sent both documents on to Thomas Cromwell as Principal Secretary. The covering letter is brief and expresses no opinion. Whether John took any further steps in the matter is unknown.<sup>14</sup>

It would appear that by the time this letter reached Cromwell diplomatic action was underway to resolve the issue. Much of this correspondence is lost which makes it difficult to know exactly what line was being taken in London. What is clear is that letters were travelling back and forth and that by October Poyntz had become involved as a carrier of some of these documents, both around the Low Countries and to England and back.<sup>15</sup> He seems to have given priority to Tyndale over and above his business concerns, although perhaps he was able to use his visit to London for both purposes.

If Foxe is correct, by the autumn there was the possibility of a diplomatically negotiated settlement by which Tyndale might be released into Poyntz' hands. This caused Henry Phillips to panic as he was determined to see Tyndale die and thus a charge was laid against Poyntz, identifying him with Tyndale, his work and his beliefs. At the beginning of November 1535 he was arrested. Poyntz himself now faced the possibility of trial for heresy.

It appears that he was not placed in prison but in some lesser form of custody. Foxe tells of his interrogations and of how, by various pretexts, he kept putting off the demands of his accusers for answers to questions about both himself and Tyndale. Each time his interrogators arrived, Henry Phillips was listening at the door.

Poyntz tried to arrange to be freed on surety whilst the legal process continued, seemingly expecting friends in Antwerp to help with the costs. He was unable to find this money, but was then told that he must defray the costs of his imprisonment. Anxious to gain more time and not to arouse concern as to his intentions, he assured the authorities that he would find the costs, even though he knew he could not.

After three months it was clear to him that he was in mortal danger and somehow he managed to escape his guards one night, probably in the February following his arrest. According to Foxe he hid until the gate of Brussels was opened at dawn and then slipped away from the city. A search was made for him but he was able to use his knowledge of the area to get away. Presumably at this point he returned to England with all speed, leaving his gaoler to pick up a heavy fine,<sup>16</sup> whilst his wife and four children remained behind in Antwerp.

At the end of his account Foxe commented: *'But what more trouble followeth to Poyntz after the same, it serveth not for this place to rehearse'*. Putting together what evidence does remain to us gives some idea of the twenty years of domestic and financial trouble which did follow his championship of Tyndale's cause.

### A family apart

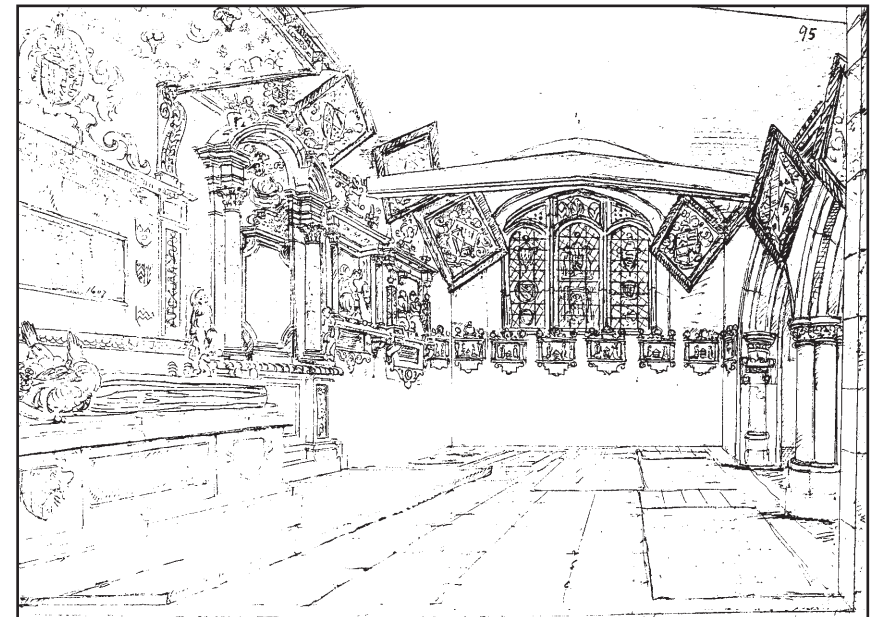
Poyntz later described himself as having been *'banished all the emperor's countries upon pain of his head'*.<sup>17</sup> Whatever his exact legal position, it appears that he was unable to continue his business as a merchant. In addition his wife remained behind in Antwerp. The movements of his children are difficult to piece together.

How Poyntz lived and maintained himself after arriving back in England is unclear, but two documents a few years later show his desperate concern to bring the family back together. In 1539 he wrote a plea to Thomas Cromwell. This was one of many letters Cromwell received from would-be beneficiaries as the Religious Houses were dissolved and their assets became available for distribution. Poyntz *'trusts his trouble your Lordship has in remembrance'*. He speaks of his recent years of persecution for *'the honour of God and the truth of his word'*. He asks for Cromwell's compassion for *'my poor wife and my infant children the eldest but six years of age'*. In particular he broaches the possibility of his *'having the keeping'* of a suppressed religious house so that he could have *'some honest free dwelling ..... till I may otherwise provide'*. He mentions in particular Holywell.<sup>18</sup> An Augustinian priory of that name in Shoreditch was surrendered in October to Sir William Petre and Thomas Leigh, the former a close neighbour in Essex of the Poyntz family.<sup>19</sup>

There appears to be no evidence that Cromwell responded to this request. Perhaps Anna Poyntz had intimated that she would come to England if her husband could provide a home, or maybe this was just a hope on his part. In his next plea he spoke of the many attempts he had made to bring her to England with their children, attempts to which she had not responded.

Compared to the quite urgent and emotional appeal to Cromwell, reminiscent of his plea to John Poyntz to help Tyndale, his letter to Henry VIII, probably written in 1541, was more formal in style and in a hand easier to read, almost certainly written on his behalf by another. This letter concerned two of his children, Fernando and Robert.<sup>20</sup>

According to this letter he had sent his second son Fernando to school in Burton upon Trent. He dated this as *'some year before his banishment'* which would indicate no later than 1535. If this is correct, and also assuming the accuracy of the information about the age of the eldest child given in the letter to Cromwell, Fernando can hardly have been more than a baby at the time.<sup>21</sup> He was sent in the care of George Constantine. Constantine had fled to Antwerp after being interrogated by Thomas More about the import of forbidden religious literature but he did return to England around 1535.<sup>22</sup> Presumably Anna Poyntz wanted the child back and arranged this with Robert Tempest, *'draper and citizen of London'*. He forged a letter to Constantine as a result of which the child was given to Tempest and taken back *'into Flanders'*. It also appears that Anna had given the third son, Robert, into the keeping of John Chester, another member of the Drapers' Company.



Interior view of the Poyntz Chapel in North Ockendon Church, Essex  
[Copy of a drawing by J.C. Bucklet 1825 courtesy of Essex Record office]

Poyntz appealed to Henry VIII for help in requiring the two men to hand over the boys to him. The action of Tempest he called '*against all nature and the laws of your realm*' and to his '*great discomfort*'. He pointed out to the king that as a result of his banishment he '*hath left all his goods beyond sea and is a man not able to follow the law*'. He asked the King to send pursuivants to require the return of the boys.

Again there seems no evidence that any action resulted. A few months later, in January 1541(1542) the children were naturalised by Act of Parliament but it is very uncertain if all, or any, of them were in England.<sup>23</sup>

### **Desperation, debt and diplomacy**

By now Poyntz must have been considerably agitated, both about his family and about his financial affairs. Now again, as in writing to his brother about Tyndale, he seems to have taken matters into his own hands. By no later than the autumn of 1543 he was back in Antwerp, whether in the hope that the past would be forgotten and he would be allowed back, or whether simply to try and persuade his wife to return with him. From what follows it is clear that he now became the subject of diplomatic activity.

Details of these events are contained in a very long letter written to the Council in London in December 1544 by Nicholas Wotton, then ambassador to Charles V.<sup>24</sup> Wotton was replying to a letter received from the Council, brought to him by friends of Poyntz. Presumably these friends had been agitating in London for some action. The letter sets out how the matter had been dealt with during the previous year or so by Wotton and his predecessor - what were later described as '*the earnest and often suits of certain special ministers*'.<sup>25</sup>

Immediately Poyntz's presence was known, past events were remembered. Initially there does not seem to have been any attempt to arrest him. The main concern was to get him to settle his debts, in particular as regards the guard from whose custody he had broken out seven years earlier. The guard no doubt expected Poyntz to reimburse the fine which had been imposed on him, but in addition money was probably owed for his board and lodging during the months of his imprisonment. Foxe records difficulties about payments at the time of his imprisonment.

Wotton's letter gives the impression of some frustration both with the authorities in Brussels and with Poyntz himself. The authorities seemed to waver over whether the matter could be settled easily or not. At first it appeared that if Poyntz sorted himself with the guard and presented himself at the prison there would be a pardon. However, later one official had

'*forgotten*' all that was agreed. The matter does not seem to have been helped by the fact that Poyntz, far from hurrying to comply with the demands made to settle the matter, was travelling around carrying on business '*contrary to all his friends counsel ..... openly in sight of the world as well at Antwerp as in other places of this country*'. No doubt he was anxious to try and produce some income for himself and his family. Unfortunately the guard was not prepared to wait for ever. He arranged for Poyntz to be arrested in the street and placed in prison in Brussels.

Still Wotton endeavoured to settle things, having further discussions with local officials. However there now seems to have arisen another issue '*because of this business of the heretics that of late hath been detected in Antwerp, the which hath much exasperated the Emperor and his council*'. It appears that the matter of heresy was now brought into the case based upon something Poyntz was supposed to have said or done when in England. Poyntz denied this accusation but Wotton was told that a confession and witness statements existed. Nonetheless even he was not able to gain access to these supposed documents. Also there was argument as to whether something that may have happened in England was any concern of the authorities in Brussels.

To make matters worse the guard, seeing that Poyntz was now in prison and would surely be anxious to be out, was demanding more money, and interest also. He became even more adamant about sticking to his demands after Poyntz used strong words in argument with him. In addition Anna Poyntz and friends, who had apparently offered financial help, were now less willing to provide as much money as previously.<sup>26</sup>

Having outlined all these matters to the Council, Wotton concluded his letter by summarising a discussion with the lawyer working for Poyntz. The lawyer felt that things should be left for a while until the clamour about heresy died down, and in the hope that after a time the guard would be anxious for some money and so tone down his demands. He suggested that Wotton could then approach the authorities again and re-open negotiations.

There is much happening here, and hinted at. However the only further information seems to be in a letter to the Council of April 1545 in which Wotton briefly mentioned Poyntz and seemed to imply that a resolution was at hand. '*For Poyntz he hath promised to do the best he can to help to agree the matter with his adversary*'.<sup>27</sup> Later evidence suggests that the issue was concluded whilst Henry VIII still reigned.<sup>28</sup> This all implies that Poyntz left the Low Countries at some time between the late spring of 1545 and the end of 1546.

Once more he returned to England alone, leaving his wife behind in

Antwerp. However, it may be that her situation was rather better than his. A glimpse of her life when she had been on her own for about fifteen years is given in the lengthy will of Robert Tempest written at various times in 1550 and 1551. There are a number of references to Anna Poyntz, in addition to bequests to her and three of the children. The will suggests that she was still closely involved with the life of the merchant community in Antwerp. She even seems to have been able to loan money to Tempest for investment.<sup>29</sup>

### **His creditors and his king**

As for Thomas, the accession of Edward VI in 1547, with its move to Protestantism, may have seemed to create a more favourable atmosphere to put his case for help than in the uncertain religious climate of the old king. Nonetheless significant aid does not seem to have been forthcoming until 1551. Whether on his own pleading, or on that of somebody in high places concerned for his interests,<sup>30</sup> Letters Patent were then issued regarding his situation.<sup>31</sup>

The Letters Patent speak of his suffering *'upon occasion of certain things by him .. attested and done of a good zeal to the advancement of God's true religion and glory and the relief of the true ministers thereof'*. He was being chased by creditors for debts said to be of one thousand pounds for *'which he is daily troubled and imprisoned here'*. This suggests that he served time in one of the London prisons which held debtors, such as the Fleet. Hardly desirable places to be, they were even less so for those who were unable to afford to pay for extra privileges. Presumably the creditors chasing him were demanding money loaned to resolve the issues in the Low Countries, but there may also have been debts built up in England.

There is an implication that Edward VI had himself in some way helped Poyntz: *'pitying the case of this man brought unto misery for so godly a cause we have thought good to prosecute him with our own grace and favour'*. The Letters then request his creditors to be patient and appeal to *'all such our most loving subjects .. as may be induced to contribute towards the relief of the said Poyntz'*. A browse through the Calendar of Patent Rolls of this period show this to be a most unusual document. Letters Patent were generally dealing with matters such as appointments, gifts for services rendered, resolving disputes, and granting pardons. Poyntz approached his own Grocers' Company for help which they gave but on condition that he never asked again, perhaps recalling that he had not paid his dues for twenty five years.<sup>32</sup>

### **'Thomas Poyntz of North Ockendon ... gentleman'**

It has often been said that the desperate position of Thomas Poyntz as

described in the Letters Patent is puzzling as he had inherited the family manor and lands at North Ockendon, and other parts of south Essex, on the death of his brother John in 1547. It has sometimes been assumed that his situation was such that he was unable to live there and to benefit from the estate. In fact he had not inherited the estate and did not do so until 1554. Under the provisions of his brother's will the estate went to John's wife Anne and then to Thomas and his sons.<sup>33</sup> The only immediate benefit to Thomas was a length of black cloth for a gown and hood!<sup>34</sup>

It would be interesting to know more about the relationship of John and his wife with Thomas. It might have been expected that they would have helped Thomas in his need but John appears to have done his duty and no more. In 1535 he did forward his brother's letter about Tyndale to Thomas Cromwell, but the accompanying short and carefully worded note expressed no personal opinion on the matter.<sup>35</sup> He willed his estates in due course to Thomas and his sons but with a strongly worded threat that the inheritance would become void if they interfered with Anne's rights. None of Thomas' children benefited at the time from John's will, although he made bequests to the daughters of his brother Edmund and sister Margaret. Anne's will of 1554 was largely a list of bequests of jewellery but none went to the Poyntz family. Even a gold chain which had belonged to John Poyntz was bequeathed to a grandchild by her first marriage.<sup>36</sup>

It may be that John and Anne wanted to be careful not to risk possible identification with somebody who might be accused of heresy. John was a leading local figure. At various times he was a Commissioner of the Peace and a Commissioner for the Six Articles. Anne seems to have had links with the household of Princess Mary. In her Will of 1554 she describes three items of jewellery as *'given me by the Queen's Highness'*, in one case *'at her coronation'*. In Mary's coronation procession from the Tower to Westminster on 30th September 1553 Anne rode in the procession and is described as holding the position of *'mother of the maids'*.<sup>37</sup>

Anne died in May 1554 and Thomas inherited the family estates. An improved situation is suggested by the fact that in the same year he paid his Brotherhood Money to the Grocers' Company for the first time since 1525 and in August two of his three sons (Gabriel and Robert) were made Freemen on the basis of his being a Freeman.<sup>38</sup> Later in the year Gabriel appears to have matriculated at Basle University.<sup>39</sup>

Confirmation that Thomas did then live at North Ockendon is given by a certificate of residence issued to the collectors of tax in London after parliament granted Philip and Mary a subsidy in October 1555. Dated the

following February it reads : 'Know ye that Thomas Poyins of North Ockendon in the said county (Essex) esquire is assessed within the said Hundred of Chafford wherein he doth dwell..'.<sup>40</sup> Evidence for his residing in North Ockendon and actively managing the estates is also found in a surviving document from an action brought against him by one Jane Warren, concerning her tenancy of lands in Upminster and North Ockendon.<sup>41</sup>

In 1556 and 1559 Thomas exercised his right as holder of the advowson of North Ockendon to present a priest to the living.<sup>42</sup>

What effect the inheritance had on his life, whether his financial problems were ever fully resolved, and what happened to his wife in later years can only be matters of speculation unless more evidence comes to light. His children all arrived in England at some point in time and despite their uncertain upbringing seem to have succeeded in life. Gabriel inherited the family estates, to which he added a house at Bevis Marks in London. Later he was knighted and served as Sheriff of Essex. Fernando followed a career in engineering, including work on Dover harbour. Susannah married Richard Saltonstall, Lord Mayor of London in 1597. Sir Richard and Lady Susannah are commemorated by a monument in South Ockendon Church.

Thomas died in London in May 1562, possibly suddenly whilst on a visit there. He was buried at Saint Dunstan's in the West, Fleet Street.<sup>43</sup>

The memorial in North Ockendon Church is one of a series of tablets erected by Sir Gabriel Poyntz shortly before his death in 1607 in which he commemorated various members of his family. It is a reminder of the peril in which his father found himself through his support of Tyndale, but gives no hint of the troubles to follow. Thomas escaped burning as a heretic but his suffering was prolonged. By his determination to help Tyndale in 1535 he was caught up in religious and political currents beyond his control.<sup>44</sup>

## References and Notes

Abbreviations : GL Corporation of London Guildhall Library ; L&P Brewer, J.S. ed. et al *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII* (London 1862-1932) which, in addition to the specific references given below, contains summaries of most of the documents mentioned from Henry's reign ; PRO Public Record Office.

Modern spelling is used in quotations from contemporary documents except for variant spellings of Poyntz.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Daniell, D. *William Tyndale : A Biography* (New Haven and London : Yale University Press 1994) p.369 .

<sup>2</sup> There seems to have been only one substantial account written of his life, that by John Abernathy Kingdon, in 1895 : *Incidents in the lives of Thomas Poyntz and Richard Grafton, two citizens and grocers of London, who suffered loss and incurred danger in common with Tyndale, Coverdale, and Rogers, in bringing out the Bible in the vulgar tongue* (London Privately Printed by Rixon & Arnold 1895).

Kingdon was a member of the Grocers' Company, as were Poyntz and Grafton. He brought the two men together in this book on the basis of a theory that when Poyntz returned to England in 1536 he had with him manuscripts of Tyndale for printing by Grafton. Kingdon later produced a companion volume on Richard Grafton alone. In the copy of this book at the Guildhall Library there is an extract from a 1967 sale catalogue. According to this document only fifty copies were printed. That at the Guildhall Library is one of two in which the illustrations were hand coloured. It is a lavish production and a worthy tribute to Thomas Poyntz.

<sup>3</sup> Cattley, S.R. ed. *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe* (London 1838). All references to Foxe are based on Volume 5 of this edition.

<sup>4</sup> Garrett, C.H. *The Marian Exiles : A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge University Press 1938 : Reprinted 1966) pp.260 and 358.

<sup>5</sup> Maclean, Sir J. *Historical and Genealogical Memoirs of the Family of Poyntz* (1886 New Edition Baltimore 1983).

<sup>6</sup> Grocers' Company List of Freeman GL MS 11592A ; Wardens' Accounts GL MS 11571 Volumes 3 and 4 .

<sup>7</sup> See Note 20

<sup>8</sup> Daniell p.155.

<sup>9</sup> This theory derives from Kingdon p.6 and partly depends upon there having been a relationship between the Poyntz family in Essex and that in Gloucestershire, and partly upon surmised meetings between various parties at Saint Dunstan's in the West, Fleet Street, where Tyndale preached for a short time before leaving England. Maclean saw no evidence for a recent link between the two families. Mozley, J.F. *William Tyndale* (Connecticut : Greenwood Press 1937) p. 45 saw problems in reconciling the theory with Foxe's account of the meeting of Tyndale with Henry Monmouth. Both Poyntz and Thomas Green, then Rector of Saint Dunstan's, were member of the Grocers' Company.

<sup>10</sup> See Note 12.

<sup>11</sup> For information on Henry Phillips see Daniell Chapter 14. It seems clear that he had been paid by somebody in England to bring about Tyndale's arrest. The arrest has traditionally been given as being in May but for an argument that it was actually on 24th April see Paul Arblaster in Arblaster, P. et al eds. *Tyndale's Testament* (Turnhout, Belgium : Brepols 2002) pp.176/177.

<sup>12</sup> Letter from Thomas Poyntz to John Poyntz August 1535 British Library Cott. Galba, B. x. 60. Facsimile and transcription in Kingdon between pp. 14 and 17.

<sup>13</sup> Whether these connections were direct to the Council and Court, or whether indirect, is uncertain. There are difficulties here because of the confusion which has arisen between this John Poyntz and another of the same name from Alderley in Gloucestershire whose family were very close to the Court. Contrary to what is sometimes stated, there does not appear to be any evidence that John of Ockendon ever served at Court.

<sup>14</sup> Letter from John Poyntz to Thomas Cromwell PRO SP1/196/208. Facsimile and transcription in Kingdon between pages 14 and 17.

<sup>15</sup> In so far as they are known the details of these diplomatic negotiations, based on Foxe and some surviving correspondence, are outlined in the various biographies of Tyndale, for example Mozley p. 311ff.

<sup>16</sup> Demaus, R. *William Tyndale: A Biography* (1871). Demaus has a transcription of the relevant document. Letter from General State Archives, Brussels, of 18.09.2002 confirmed the above and dated it as no later than 30.09.1536. Poyntz is described as 'a prisoner accused of Lutheranism'.

<sup>17</sup> See note 20.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas Poyntz to Thomas Cromwell PRO SP1/156/105. The letter is undated but in PRO and L&P it is placed at the end of December amongst other undated papers.

<sup>19</sup> L&P XIV (Part 2) 308.

<sup>20</sup> Letter from Thomas Poyntz to Henry VIII 1541 PRO SP1/101/231. There is a facsimile in Kingdon facing p.22. The letter is undated but the content suggests a date in 1541, although in PRO and L&P it is placed amongst papers of 1536.

<sup>21</sup> Neither the English House nor the parishes of Antwerp kept baptism registers at this period by which the ages of the four children could be verified.

<sup>22</sup> Radford, G.A. *Deus Nobiscum: A History of Burton Upon Trent Grammar School* (1973) p.10 discusses the reason for the boy being sent to Burton and suggests that there could have been a friendship between Poyntz and somebody from Burton in the drapery trade. There is also a discussion pp.11-13 regarding the influence of Erasmus and the 'New Learning' on the founders of the school and a reference p.22 to the first recorded Schoolmaster having been imprisoned for religious views (although this identification does not seem certain). Perhaps the link between Poyntz and Burton had a religious basis. A possibility is that George Constantine was the link. It seems likely that Constantine's family roots were in the Shropshire / Staffordshire border area. From a case recorded in the Register of the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1528 it is clear that he had been in that Diocese (Staffordshire Archives Lichfield B/A/1/14i Folios 51 & 52), possibly as Vicar of Sedgley (PRO E36/171 p.52). See Brown, A.J. Robert Ferrar: *Yorkshire Monk, Reformation Bishop, and Martyr in Wales* (London: Inscriptor Imprints 1997) Appendix 4 p.260 for a useful review of Constantine's earlier years. Unfortunately there are no archives of the school from this period.

<sup>23</sup> Luders, A. et al Ed. *Statutes of the Realm* (London 1810-1828) Vol. 3 Ch. 25 Henry VIII 1541.

<sup>24</sup> Nicholas Wotton and Edward Carne to the Council December 1544 PRO SP1/195/197. That autumn 1543 was the latest date for the return of Poyntz to Antwerp is suggested by a reference in Wotton's letter to efforts of Sir Francis Bryan to resolve the issue. Bryan ceased to be ambassador in December 1543.

<sup>25</sup> See Note 31.

<sup>26</sup> That some money may have been loaned to help Thomas at this time is suggested in the will of Robert Tempest written in 1550/51 in which he instructed that a bequest to Anna Poyntz was to be paid without any deduction of the money he had loaned her for her husband. Although no date is given for this loan it seems likely that Robert had given assistance towards extricating Thomas Poyntz from his dilemma despite the earlier problems between them over the removal of Fernando from school at Burton. PROB 11/34 Quire 30 pp.228-229.

<sup>27</sup> Nicholas Wotton to the Council April 1545 PRO SP1/200/30.

<sup>28</sup> See Note 31.

<sup>29</sup> See Note 26. It is interesting to note that the eldest son, Gabriel, is not mentioned in this will, neither was he mentioned in the letter of Thomas Poyntz to Henry VIII in 1541. This may indicate either that he was with his father in England or that he had been put into the care of somebody other than his parents.

<sup>30</sup> For example, Sir William Petre was Secretary of the Council and Nicholas Wotton was now back in England and a member of the Council. The Letters Patent were issued in the weeks between the trial and execution of the Duke of Somerset.

<sup>31</sup> Letters Patent of Edward VI Calendar Patent Rolls IV p.49. There is a full transcription in Kingdon p. 23 (PRO C66/835-841).

<sup>32</sup> Grocers' Company Wardens' Accounts GL MS 11571 Volume 5.

<sup>33</sup> This misunderstanding can be traced back to Demaus p.451. It was developed by Kingdon pp.22-24 and then followed by Mozley p.319 and other more recent biographers.

<sup>34</sup> Will of John Poyntz dated 30.05.1547 Prerogative Court of Canterbury PROB 11 / 31 (1546/7) 39 p.309.

<sup>35</sup> See Note 14.

<sup>36</sup> Will of Anne Poyntz dated 16/05/54 Prerogative Court of Canterbury PROB 11 / 37 (1554-6) 2.

<sup>37</sup> Knighton, C.S. Ed. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic* (London 1998) Item 20 (PRO SP11/1/15).

<sup>38</sup> Grocers' Company Wardens' Accounts GL MS 11571 Volume 5.

<sup>39</sup> See Note 4.

<sup>40</sup> PRO E115/305/65.

<sup>41</sup> PRO C1/1391/20. Jane Warren claimed that Thomas Poyntz had illegally entered into land of which she was the lawful tenant, had dispossessed her of her dwelling, and had taken deeds belonging to her. The one surviving document is that in which she put her case.

<sup>42</sup> Bishop of London's Registers GL MS 09531 Vol. 12 Pt. 2 and Vol. 13 Pt. 1.

<sup>43</sup> Register of Saint Dunstan in the West GL MS 10342-5 records 5 May 1562 Thomas Poyntz buried; Churchwardens' Accounts GL MS2968/1 records receipt of the burial fee and states that he died at the house of 'Mr Sponge'; there was no will and administration was granted to Gabriel Poyntz in the Consistory Court of London 06/06/1562 (Metropolitan Archives).

Saint Dunstan's was the church in which Tyndale is said to have preached in 1524 (see note 9). It may also have been the burial place of Anne Poyntz, Thomas' sister in law (see Kingdon p.8; and Churchwardens' accounts for 1554). This church was pulled down and replaced by the present building in 1830 as part of the scheme to widen Fleet Street.

It is strange that the memorial at North Ockendon states that Thomas Poyntz 'sleeps ... in this chapel'. It may be that the memorial was not complete when Gabriel died and that the inscription was written or finalised by somebody else who made an assumption about the burial. The memorial was erected over forty years after Thomas' death.

<sup>44</sup> Although the troubles of Thomas Poyntz clearly date from his support of Tyndale in 1535 there also seem to be hints in several of the documents quoted above that he may have been involved in wider activity of a religious nature but this can only be speculative unless further evidence is found.

## John Trevisa and William Tyndale.<sup>1</sup>

Ralph S. Werrell

When I was working on my doctoral dissertation on ‘*The Theology of William Tyndale*’ I realised that there were certain areas which needed further research. I am at present working on ‘*The Roots of Tyndale’s Theology*’. Anyone who reads Tyndale’s writings theologically realises that Luther had virtually no influence on Tyndale’s theology. It is also doubtful if the Swiss Reformers made any impact on his thinking. There was a lot of common ground between Erasmus and Tyndale and, although Tyndale was never an Erasmian in his theology, much more work is needed on this aspect of Tyndale’s thinking.

The really strong theological link with the past came from Lollardy. I believe this influence formed his theological thinking before he went to Oxford – but it cannot be proved conclusively. Apart from when he was tutor to the Walsh children, when else in his life would he have had the opportunity to have contact with Lollardy?

Roughly a hundred years before Tyndale was born John Trevisa was chaplain to Thomas, Lord Berkeley, and also Vicar of Berkeley, which is in Gloucestershire close to where Tyndale was born and lived as a child. Trevisa is, like Tyndale, someone we would love to know more about. The things we know of his life raise more questions than they answer, and I can only touch on those which may have had an impact on Tyndale’s life and theology. Tyndale’s opportunity to read Trevisa’s works was probably greatest when he was a child, and there is a possible reference to this in his writings.<sup>2</sup> We know that he knew Trevisa’s translation of Hidgen’s *Polychronicon* because he mentions it in ‘*The Practice of Prelates*,’

“Take an ensample of their practice out of their own stories. King Harold exiled or banished Robert archbishop of Canterbury: for what cause, the English *Polychronicon* specifieth not.”<sup>3</sup>

John Trevisa was a contemporary of John Wycliffe; they were at Queen’s College at Oxford together and were also prebendaries at Westbury-on-Trym at the same time. Both thought the Bible should be translated into English. Caxton wrote that Trevisa had translated ‘*The Polychronicon*’ together with ‘*the byble and Bartylmew de Proprietatibus Rerum*’ at the request of Thomas, Lord Berkeley.”<sup>4</sup>

We will now consider ways in which Tyndale’s life and career may have been affected by reading John Trevisa’s translations which he read as a boy.

Let us start with *The Polychronicon*, for it is here that we may find the seed of Tyndale’s great calling being sown. In the *Dialogue*, The Lord had been arguing for an English translation,

“The clerke *The latyn is bothe good and fayr. Therfor it nedeth not to haue an Englysshe translacion.*

The lord. *This reson is worthy to be plunged in a pludde and lede in powder of leudnes & of shame. It myght well be y<sup>r</sup> thou makest oonly in myrthe & in game.*

The clerke. *The reason must stande but it be assoyled.*

The lord. *A blere eyed man but he were all blynde of wytte myght see the solucion of this reason. And though he were blynde he myghte grope the solucion. But yf his feelyng hym faylled. For yf thus reason were ought worthe / by suche maner arguyng me myght preue y<sup>r</sup> the thre score and ten Interpretours & aquyla Symachus Theodocion and Origines were lewdly occupyed whan they translated holy wrytte out of hebrewe in to grue / and also that Saynte Iherom was lewdly occupyed whan he translated holy wrytte out of hebrewe in to latyn. For the hebrewe is both good and fayr / and Iwrytte by Inspyracion of the holy goost. And alle these for her translacions ben hyely preysed of alle holy chirche. Thenne the forsayd lewde reason is worthy to be powdred / leyd a water & ysoused. Also holy wrytte in latyn is bothe good and fayr. And yet for to make a sermon of holy wryte alle in latyn to men that can Englysshe and noo latyn / it were a lewde dede / for they be neuer the wyser. For the latyn but it be tolde hem in Englysshe what it is to mene. And it may not be tolde in englysshe what the latyn is to mene without translacion out of latyn in to englysshe. Thenne it nedeth to haue an englysshe translacion / and for to kepe it in mynde that it be not foryeten it is better that suche a translacion be made & wryten than sayd & not wryten / and soo this forsayd lewde reason sholde meue no man that hath ony wytte to leue the makyng of Englysshe translacion.*

The clerke. *A grete dele of these bokes stondest moche by holy wrytte / by holy doctours / and by phylosophye / thenne these bookes sholde not be translated in to englysshe.*

The lord. *It is wonder that thou makest soo febell argumentes and haste goon soo longe to scole. Arystotles bokes & other bokes also of flogyke & phylosophye were translated out of grue in to latyn. / Also atte prayeng of king Charles Iohan Scot translated denys bokes out of grue in to latyn / & thenne out of latyn in to frensshe / thenne what hath englysshe trespaced that it myght not be translated in to Englysshe. Also kynge Alurede that founded the vniuersyte of Oxenford translated the beste lawes in the Englysshe tonge. And a grete dele of the Psalter out of latyn in to Englysshe. And caused Wyrefryth bysshop of Wyrceetre to translate*

saynt Gregoryes bokes the Dyalogues out of latyn in to Saxons Also Cedmon of whytby was enspyred of the holy goost and made wonder Poysyes in to englysshe nyghe of all the storyes of holy wrytte. And also holy man Beda translated saynt Iohans gossell out of latyn in to englysshe. Also thou wotest where the Apocalyps is wrytten in the walles and roof of a chappell bothe in latyn and in freysshe. Also the gossell and prophecye and the right fayth of holy chirche muste be taught & preched to englysshe men that can noo latyn. Thenne the gossell & prophecye & the right fayth of holy chirche muste be tolde hem in englysshe / and that is not done but by englysshe translacion for such englysshe prechyng is very translacion & suche englysshe prechyng is good & nedefull thenne englysshe translacion is good and nedeful.<sup>5</sup>

Did Trevisa's words sow the seed in Tyndale's heart to translate the Bible into English?

Whilst Luther (who wrote Prologues to the Apocryphal books) and Zwingli and other Continental Reformers quoted from the Apocrypha, William Tyndale did not write any Prologues to the *Apocrypha* in English, nor make any reference to this in his writings.<sup>6</sup> Here again he may have been influenced by Trevisa who wrote, "*Apocrypha is a wrytynge of none auctoryte.*"<sup>7</sup>

Although it was normal in the late Middle Ages for the Passover to be referred to as 'Pasque' (this can be spelt in a multitude of ways), Trevisa wrote, "*Ester hatte pascha in grewe, and is to menynghe passio 'suffringe'.*"<sup>8</sup> Also in the *Polychronicon* he wrote that the Jews "*helde the Esterdye in mynde of passage through the reed see*".<sup>9</sup> When we look at Tyndale's translation of the New Testament we find that he refers to the 'Passover' as 'Easter': "*And Easter, a feast of the Jews, was nigh*".<sup>10</sup>

Here is a further passage from '*On the Properties of Things*' which has many resonances in Tyndale's writings especially to his stress on '*the blood of Christ*' –

*"And this estir of Iewis was figure and bodyng of the estir of cristene men in the whiche estir, by the blood of the clene lambe withouten wemme that took away synnes of the worlde, al that beth ichose beth iquyt ands irauunsoned out of the seruyse of fendis, by the whiche lombe they that beth ichose maketh passage fro fleisch to spiriit and fro the olde man to the newe, and out of the worlde to heuene, out of schadowe to light, out of figures [to] sothenesse, and out of seruage and thraldome to the fredom of blisse of Goddis owen children."*<sup>11</sup>

There are several parallels in that passage from *On the Properties of Things* to Tyndale's thinking, but much more work is needed before a possible link between Tyndale and Trevisa can be made. Where in that passage Trevisa writes of "*the fredom of blisse of Goddis owen children*" we can add one of

Trevisa's additions to *The Polychronicon* –

*"Yf a man take a childe that is not his / and maketh hym as it were his childe and nourysshed and bryngewth hym up and amytteth hym as is owne childe. ... For the childe that is clene out of synne is verly goddes childe."*<sup>12</sup>

Reading those quotations together there is a closeness to Tyndale's doctrine of the Christian being a child of God who has been set free from the devil's bondage and now does not sin, except of frailty.<sup>13</sup>

One of the difficulties, apart from where Trevisa and Tyndale obviously have something in common which we do not find elsewhere, is that we can also find a possible link between the Wycliffites and Tyndale. Another difficulty lies in the fact that the difference between Lollard theology and Tyndale's is considerable, although we can see that Tyndale has only carried forward Wycliffite doctrine to its logical scriptural conclusion.

There is one further possible influence Trevisa had on Tyndale. Did his translation methods have a bearing on the way Tyndale translated the Bible? I am unable to go beyond stating my gut feeling, but since I am not qualified to examine the evidence, I would be grateful if a philologist with the necessary linguistic skills could enlighten me on this question. I am quite prepared to accept that my gut feeling has no substance behind it. What lies behind my line of thinking is Trevisa's words relating to his translation work.

*"For to make this translacion cleer and pleyn to be knowe and vnderstonde, in som place Y schal sette word vor word and actyue vor actyue and passiuue vor passyue arewe ryght as a stondesth withoute changyng of the ordre of wordes. But yn som place Y mot change the rewe and the ordre of wordes and sette the actyue vor the passiuue and agenward. And yn som place Y mot sette a reson vor a word to telle what hyt meneth. Bote vor al such chaungyng, the menyng schal stonde and noght be ychanged."*<sup>14</sup>

I realise that this is not parallel with Tyndale's statement on translation in his *Prologue upon the Gospel of St Matthew*, but that, and the way Tyndale translated the Bible, may provide some links between the two.

Finally, Tyndale was prepared to allow anyone to improve his translation if they were able to do so,<sup>15</sup> and I wonder if he might have been influenced to write this from Trevisa's words in his translation of *Polychronicon*,

*"yf ony man make of these bokes of Cronycles a better englysshe translacion & more proufytable god do him mede."*<sup>16</sup>

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> This is ongoing research and I hope that more evidence will be found to strengthen the probable links between John Trevisa and William Tyndale. I would be grateful for any comments or suggestions readers might be able to let me have, as I have not completed my research. email:- swerrell@hotmail.com

<sup>2</sup> Tyndale, *Obedience of a Christian Man*, p. 1/149

<sup>3</sup> Tyndale, *Practice of Prelates*, p. 2/194

<sup>4</sup> Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, p. 395. I am grateful to Dr. W.R. Cooper for sending me details about his research into John Trevisa being the translator of the *Wyclif Bible*.

<sup>5</sup> Trevisa, *Dialogus, Polychronicon*, Lambeth Palace Library 1495-5

<sup>6</sup> The only exception is his translation of the Old Testament Epistles “after the use of Salisbury” which were taken from the Apocrypha

<sup>7</sup> Trevisa, *Polychronicon*, p. clxix.

<sup>8</sup> Trevisa, *On the Properties of Things*, p. 546

<sup>9</sup> Trevisa, *Polychronicon*, p. lxxxx

<sup>10</sup> Tyndale, *New Testament, John ch. 6*. p. 140: there are many other places where he translated *Passover* with *Easter*.

<sup>11</sup> Trevisa, *On the Properties of Things*, p. 546f

<sup>12</sup> Trevisa, *Polychronicon*, p. clxxviii.

<sup>13</sup> Tyndale, *Pathway*, p. 1/18; *Exposition 1 John*, p. 2/130f. This thought is also found in many other places in Tyndale’s writings.

<sup>14</sup> Waldron, “Trevisa’s Original Prefaces on Translation: a Critical Edition,” p. 294; in Kennedy, Waldron & Wittig, *Medieval English Studies presented to George Kane*, 1988.

<sup>15</sup> Tyndale, *W.T. unto the Reader*, (Daniell, *Tyndale’s New Testament*, p. 3.)

<sup>16</sup> Trevisa, *Polychronicon*, p. iii.

## REFORMATION



*Reformation* is published annually by Ashgate under the aegis of the Tyndale Society. Volume 7 is available immediately, volume 8 will be published in December 2003.

Volume 7 concentrates primarily on the progress of the English Reformation. The contents are as follows:

The Vulgata Latina as sacred text: what did the Council of Trent mean when it claimed Jerome’s Bible was *Authentica?*, *Theodore P. Letis*

The time and place of Tyndale’s Hebrew learning: a reconsideration, *Jonathan P. Yates*

Divine kingship and royal theology in Henry VIII’s Reformation, *Alec Ryrie*

The heresy examinations of John Philpot: defiance, bold speaking and the making of a martyr, *Sarah Covington*

Martin Marprelate and the Fugitive Text, *Jesse M. Lander*

Note: The Bishop’s stinking foot: Milton and antiprelatical satire, *John N. King*

Review article: Cardinal Pole, *David Loades*

Book reviews; Shorter notices.

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## The Tyndale Bible Concordance

Deborah Pollard

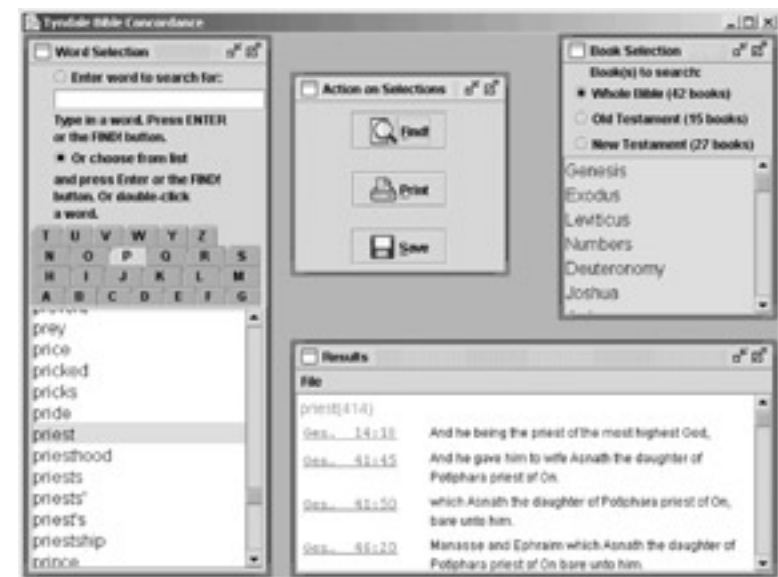
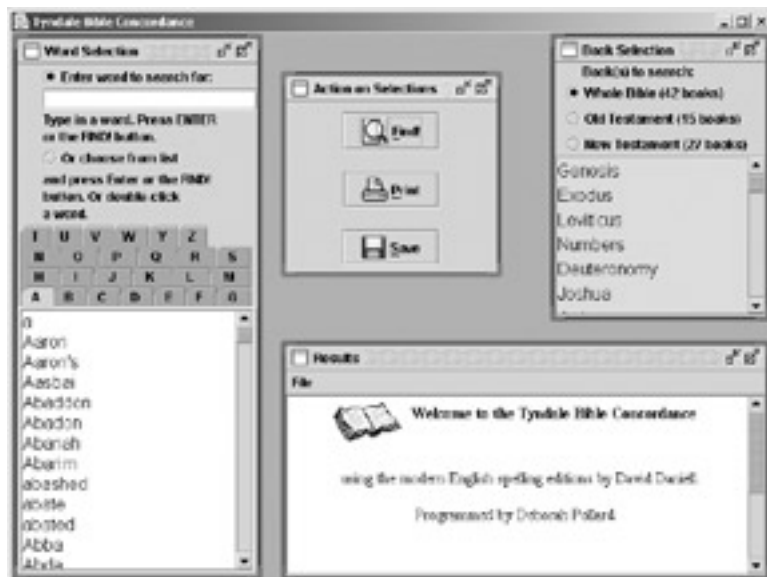
The Monty Python phrase “And now for something completely different” seemed an apt title for a demonstration of a computer concordance program in the garret of the wonderful 16<sup>th</sup> century Plantin-Moretus Museum last August. William Tyndale was one of the first Englishmen to exploit the new medium of mass communication of his time for his Bible translation so it is only fitting that a concordance to his work should exploit a new medium in our time. The Tyndale Bible Concordance program is written in Java. The index of words was prepared with the TACT program from the University of Toronto. Additional processing of the lists was carried in Perl and MS-DOS batch programs written by myself. The final data representing words are in XML, “eXtensible Markup Language” and the Bible books are in HTML, “HyperText Markup Language”. That’s enough of the technical background.

The program starts up in what I hope is a familiar Windows-like appearance. At the top on the left is the title bar: “Tyndale Bible Concordance”. At the right side of the top are the common minimise-the-

window, maximise-the-window and close-the-window buttons. The program is designed to occupy 90% of the width and 90% of the height; this can be adjusted. Within the large window are four more windows, entitled “Word Selection”, “Action on Selections”, “Book Selection” and “Results”. They cannot be closed but they can be moved about, minimised, maximised or resized as the user wishes.

Every word in the Tyndale Bible has been included in the program and I now understand why such concordances are called “exhaustive”! The word list has been broken up alphabetically. Each starting letter is represented by a tab that the user may select, then scroll down the list to find the desired word. Or, having selected any word, the user may type in the first few letters and the focus of the list will jump to a word starting with those letters. Double-clicking a word in the list brings up the concordance results. Clicking the “Find!” button in the middle top “Action” window also proceeds to the results. The user may instead type in a word at the top, press the Enter key on the keyboard or the “Find!” button. The results appear in the lower window and the user may scroll down through the list and may enlarge the window by dragging its boundaries out to get a bigger view.

The user may limit the search to Old Testament or New Testament by selecting these in the upper right window, “Book Selection”. A list of the books Tyndale translated is included as reminder.



The contents of the “Results” window can be saved to a file or printed off by clicking on the appropriate buttons above in the “Action on Selections” window.

The user may see a verse in its chapter context by double clicking on the highlighted Bible reference. The verse of interest will be at the top of the window that pops up, unless the verse is close to the end of the chapter. The user can scroll up and down in the chapter and move to the previous or next chapter by using buttons that appear at the top and bottom of each chapter.



The Biblical text cannot be saved or printed from the program in order to preserve the copyright but the entire text could be read one screen at a time.... Clicking the “OK” button closes this window and returns the user to the main program screen.

It was most helpful to get feedback at the conference about the computer program. I am grateful for the comments of all who attended the two sessions and, as a result, the next version will offer more advanced searching with wildcards. Joining search terms with “AND” and “OR” Boolean operators will also be added if at all possible.

The 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture 4 November 2002

## ‘Ethics and the National Interest – Is there a Contradiction?’ by Rt Hon Chris Patten C.H.

Report by Eunice Burton

January 2003

The eighth Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture was held in the historic Guard Room at Lambeth Palace on 4 November 2002. Archbishop George Carey, our host since 1994, was absent, having retired on 31 October, but he had sent a letter of good wishes. The Chair was therefore taken by Professor David Daniell, who explained that Dr. Rowan Williams, Archbishop Designate, had sent greetings and expressed his wish to continue his association with the Society. (He had delivered the 5<sup>th</sup> Lambeth Lecture in 1998.) Professor Daniell felt gratified that William Tyndale had featured as No. 26 in the recent ‘Great Briton Series’.

In welcoming the speaker, the Right Honourable Chris Patten, now Commissioner to the European Union, Professor Daniell reminded us of the wonderful service in Antwerp Catholic Cathedral on 2 September 2002 (see *Tyndale Society Journal* no. 23 December 2002 for an account). Then, the Bishop of Antwerp had asked for the forgiveness of his Protestant brothers and sisters for the unjust death of Tyndale in his country, and as a sign of reconciliation had shared his throne with the Anglican Bishop in Europe for a service of Choral Evensong with appropriate 16<sup>th</sup> century music.

Professor Daniell spoke of Chris Patten’s experiences of sectarianism and difficult situations during his service in Northern Ireland and as the last Governor of Hong Kong, so he was eminently able to talk to us on ‘*Ethics and the National Interest – Is there a contradiction?*’ – a topic which has challenged Church and State for centuries past.

Chris Patten opened with a graphic description of the historic ceremony when Hong Kong was ceded to China and he relinquished the Governorship: he and Prince Charles were on the Royal Yacht Britannia as she sailed through 18 ships of the line with a RAF flypast - a poignant farewell to both Colony and Ship.

In the complex relationship between ethics and foreign policy, definitions are difficult and we have to ‘*spin and weave*’ in circumstances that are opaque and confusing, and shadowed by doubt, denial, ignorance and

misunderstanding. In the real world, there are more grey areas than black and white, and it is hard for both individuals and governments to put into practice Kant's advice that we should '*act so that the maxim of our will could always hold at the same time as a principle establishing universal law*'. Also, Kant postulated that a moral action does not apply to just one person or one circumstance, but to everyone everywhere, regardless of who, what, where, when and why: also it commands a certain immediate action, not influenced by any purpose to be attained by it. Hence the problems!

The atrocity of 11 September 2001 resulted in almost universal condemnation, and policy makers are now challenged to fight terrorism and make the world a safer place.

But how far can civil liberties be restricted in this effort to preserve freedom? Do I.D. cards and 'tapping' of emails constitute curtailment of the freedom of the law-abiding majority? It is difficult for governments to strike a balance and match the '**Ethical**' with the '**Popular**', especially if considering the future effect on the ballot box. We are seeking to destroy Bin Laden, but took little action in Rwanda, which must count now as a moral failure. Ethical policy-making demands that a comprehensive and objective appraisal be set against any short-term pressure for action.

Regarding immigration, for example, it is necessary to look at the root as well as the impact of the problem: why do desperate people leave homelands embarking on costly, hellish journeys, only to be greeted as unwelcome aliens on arrival in Europe? It is not the decision, so much as the failure to explain how the conclusions were reached, that arouses suspicion and antagonism. Transparent motives and openness are the key to successful policy-making. If we wish to act morally, the reactions and opinions of other communities and countries must be considered, and at the moment the consensus of the United Nations is the best arbiter.

Chris Patten then listed what he considered to be both 'ethical' and 'in our own interest' in the conduct of foreign policy.

**(1) Free democratic countries make the best neighbours**, and are the best with whom to do business. Globalisation of information as well as commerce are grounds for optimism, but accountability is inescapable: the motivation of short term gain leads to unscrupulous dealings and financial collapse, e.g. Asia, Enron, etc. The inclusion of Eastern European countries in the European Union has led to political and economic reform, increasing the stability and security of the Union: this demonstrates the clear correlation between a predictable, transparent business environment and an open, plural democratic society, and such "ethical behaviour" must apply to everyone.

**(2) The impact of globalisation on societies is not all gain**, and the fate of the losers is our fate too, as alienation and exclusion make grounds for revolt. Urbanisation and modern science can undermine traditional cultures, so that the best of Western culture (individual liberty and rule of law) is overwhelmed by licentiousness, brashness and greed, and religious fundamentalism is the response. Poverty acquires dignity if it can be recast as religious simplicity, and church, mosque or temple provide an oasis of certainty, order and beauty when one is assaulted by alien ideas and temptations. Intolerance is not limited to Islamic fundamentalism - other religions, including Christianity, are not immune. New ideas that question traditional authority and received opinions have a stormy passage, whether the Reformation in Europe or more recent political radicalism, with attendant acts of brutality and vandalism.

**(3) The revolt of the dispossessed** is closely allied to the revolt of the alienated: there are deep problems of inequality. For example, 10% of the world receives 70% of its income, and more than a billion deprived people exist on less than a dollar a day. We may decry the excessive use of petrol in the U.S.A., but, in London the life expectancy in Canning Town is 6 years less than in Westminster. Prosperity has led to a 'throwaway' culture - Europe spends eleven billion dollars per annum on ice cream, fifty billion on cigarettes and one hundred and five billion on alcohol, while it would cost only nine billion dollars to provide water and sanitation to those without, and thirteen billion for basic health care and nutrition. We find it easier to deal with an acute crisis (famine) than to prevent the crisis in the first place. To educate children to read and write provides an essential basis for democracy.

Regarding International Assistance, the European Union is the largest donor (27 billion Euros in 2001, i.e. half of all aid and two thirds of grant aid) and the European Commission's own programme, for which Chris Patten is responsible, accounted for 10% of International Assistance. He welcomed the increased commitment, including U.S.A., since the U.N. Monterrey Conference in April 2002, and the combination of trade, aid and environmental stewardship reconfirmed at Johannesburg in September 2002: these worked alongside the fight against AIDS, T.B. and Malaria, and exercises in reconstruction and peacekeeping in the Balkans and Afghanistan, sponsored by U.N. and N.A.T.O. Such exercises are vital as failed states harbour terrorists, and lawlessness faraway brings trouble to our doorstep. For instance, 85% of heroin on the streets of London still originates in Afghanistan. Global security is more threatened now than by any Cold War.

Robert Kagan in his essay on '*Power and Weakness*' suggests that Europe

exerts its civilian means to influence the world because it relies on the backup of U.S. military power, but Chris Patten stressed the importance of addressing the underlying causes of a conflict such as ethnic imbalances in government, disputes over natural resources and social inequality.

(4) Most importantly, **the coalition of nations committed to the elimination of current threats must be global in makeup**, if it is to be global in its reach. The founding logic of the European Union was that as economies integrate, so must political decision-making, and this must now apply to the wider international community. Nations pursue their national interests, but is the primary purpose of foreign policy just defensive or to build a system of cooperative global governance legitimised by representative institutions and by rule of law? Although unfettered globalisation is in danger of subverting wide cultural, social and environmental balance global institutions should not be disbanded – the system of international law evolved since the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 has ensured more people living in peace and prosperity than would otherwise have occurred. Commitment to keeping the rules is essential in the creation of an ethical foreign policy which will make the world more stable, prosperous, secure and free.

Chris Patten concluded with Thomas More's dictum in '*A Man for all Seasons*' - '*This country is planted thick with laws from coast to coast – man's laws, not God's – and if you cut them down..... could you stand upright in the winds that would blow then?*' together with a plea that we endeavour to make our world closer to the image and purpose of its Divine Maker.

A time of questions followed, to which Chris Patten applied the above principles: topics ranged from the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to contraception in an overpopulated world, the Arms Trade, the conflict in Palestine, to the admission of Turkey, a secular Islamic State to the 'Christian' European Union. Concerning the last point it was remarked that William Tyndale had included the Turk as '*our neighbour*' and European science and art owes much to Islamic influences. The most relevant question was regarding the education of a responsible statesman (e.g. Seneca, '*cultivate humanity*') and Chris Patten suggested that more than competence was required – as well exceeding the 'average'. The political leader should have (a) original virtue; (b) belief in policy, although may change his/her mind in light of experience (e.g. Margaret Thatcher's passionate beliefs!); (c) realise that politics is more about 'ideas' than 'power', (e.g. the low electoral vote is due to disillusionment); (d) accept the challenges of long-term rather than short-term interests; and (e) have confidence that politics is an '*honourable adventure*' (John Buchan).

The Annual Gloucester Cathedral Lecture October 2002

## Humanity as Victim – From Tyndale to 2002

By Chas Raws

Abridged transcript by David Green

*Professor David Daniell noted in his introduction that Chas Raws is 'ecumenical to the core'. As a member of the Society of Friends he has many national and international responsibilities. He is the very active Clerk of the (Quaker) Committee for Christian and Interfaith Relations and is also involved in Amnesty International and Action by Christians Torture (ACAT).*

I was encouraged to choose a subject dear to my heart rather than one with a direct bearing on William Tyndale, although Tyndale does feature in this lecture. Part of what I want to say today concerns the nature of goodness and its corruption by power, by privilege or by self-seeking; what guides men, good as well as bad, to inflict suffering on their fellows and what the struggle against this evil requires for those who seek to follow Jesus Christ, himself a prime example of one who suffered such ill treatment at the hands of the religious and political authorities of his country. My intention is to explore the several meanings of the words 'humanity as victim'.

At its broadest and most obvious it encompasses the whole sorry panorama of world and time – of the suffering of the human race. The main example of this to which I refer is the obscenity of torture, still so evident in so many countries after centuries of enlightenment and decades of human rights legislation. This will lead me to take theological view of this particular evil and to suggest that it poses a particular challenge to the Christian church, a challenge that sadly has not met with an adequate response as yet.

I want to quote part of Foxe's account of Tyndale's martyrdom drawn, as he says, from the account written in 1536. Describing the days which led up to 6 October of that year, Foxe writes '*After much harassing investigation, his former host at length escaped from prison in the night but Tyndale had not such fortune and was condemned under the decree of the senate of Augsburg, to be tied to a stake and then strangled by the hangman and his body afterwards to be burned*'.

The trappings of burning at the stake are obviously those of a severe form of torture and this punishment shares the many motivations of torture across the centuries – deliberate cruelty as an element in punishment itself, deterrence, the extraction of information and the terrorization of other potential opponents of a religious or political regime. I have been an active

member of Amnesty International for over twenty years and chair of Action by Christians Against Torture, for the past two.

The abuse of torture became evident to Amnesty researchers early in the organization's history. The first campaign against torture in the 1970s led to a United Nations statement on torture, which reaffirmed and expanded the stark clause 5 in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights on which all Amnesty's work is based. The clause reads; *'No one shall be subjected to torture or cruel inhuman or degrading treatment'* and that cleared a road from the shock which the world committee felt when it received news of the horror of the death camps and the treatment meted out by the Nazi regime to subject peoples in general and certain ethnic groups in particular. But the abuse continued and each year Amnesty's annual report catalogued more and more countries in which torture is practised with apparent impunity. One remembers, either with ironic humour or sorrow, that when Peter Benenson formed Amnesty it was called Amnesty 1961, and it was going to do away with political imprisonment and the phenomenon of prisoners of conscience within twelve months! Here we are 41 or 42 years later and the list remains as long.

Amnesty's second campaign led to the more substantial United Nations Convention Against Torture of 1984 with its own committee and secretariat – and eventually a special rapporteur on torture who could visit countries, take evidence and make reports. Action by Christians Against Torture (ACAT) came into Britain in the same year 1984. There was already an ACAT in France with a large and growing membership across most of the churches. The British Council of Churches and the British section of Amnesty International encouraged the establishment of a similar organization in the UK so that to other aspects of human rights work in this field could be added a churches' campaign introducing the dimension of prayer – seeking to involve Christians of every denomination through their daily or weekly worship.

It always seems ironic, when working for Amnesty, to come across flagrant examples of torture in countries where the UN Convention on Torture is part of their national constitution. Not only are they breaking international law but they are also breaking their own law in allowing it to be used. Only by harnessing public opinion effectively on the widest scale and, in particular, the will of faith-communities, whose beliefs are based upon the uniqueness and sanctity of every human life as a gift of the Creator, can such a Declaration be translated into action. It has to be said, as with so many documents pertaining to the fields of human life, that this has not happened.

In his recent book *'The Dignity of Difference'*, Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sachs quoted Jonathan Swift to the effect that *'We have enough religion to make us hate one another, not enough to make us love one another.'* His theme of mutual respect and even mutual irradiation between faiths is another aspect of healing the divisions between human beings, divisions from which suspicion, discrimination and hatred so readily grow.

Some years ago at a Christians Against Torture week of action, Rowan Williams, who is one of our patrons, based his address on a remarkable book called *'Torture and Eucharist'* by William Cavanaugh. The author researched into the experience of the church in Chile during the Pinochet years, and he found that it moved from being a fairly ineffective bystander to a credible moral and political force when it began to take seriously its role as the body of Christ. It is Cavanaugh's thesis that, until Christians respect the physical integrity of the body as firmly as the doctrine of the incarnation demands, the gospel is betrayed. Just as the torturer recognizes the reality of the body and the fact that the integrity of body and mind can be broken and the spirit itself destroyed in its disintegration, so Christians need to defend the sacred unity of body-mind-spirit against any threat, as a requirement of their faith.

On this basis Christianity has marked up more failures than successes over its long history. Not only did such abuses as the Inquisition use torture to break opposition under the guise of saving souls, but in our own day the massacres in Rwanda and Bosnia were not restrained by the Christian affiliation of many of the population on one or both sides of the ethnic or cultural divide. Given the ingenuity of the human mind perhaps this is not surprising; was it not Augustine who adapted the injunction to *'Love your Enemies'*, to allow participation in a *'Just War'* – to love your enemies while killing them? The distortion of humanity, which marks such thinking, is truly pathological and I suppose it is only redeemed by the creative and devoted work of those who seek to heal the bodies and minds of men, women and children who have suffered its effects.

Organizations like the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture, which was established in 1985, offer such healing to the many survivors of torture who reach our shores as asylum seekers and who may or may not be granted refugee status. Helen Bamber, its founder and, until recently, its director writes *'The Medical Foundation is the place where survivors of torture can feel that their experiences are believed and where they can safely express their grief and anger. We help them to find and to recognize what helps them to survive – in particular, their own inner resources. We try to help*

*them to build on these strengths and to use them in facing the new difficulties and challenges of life in exile.'*

International human rights law provides the framework in which every victim of inhumanity should be able to find redress, but the vision of justice on this scale is a long time becoming a reality. The struggle to prevent torture and to bring to justice the perpetrators by using the mechanism of international human rights is the basis of all our work in Amnesty and ACAT. Ongoing relief of those who have suffered, like that offered by the Medical Foundation, is inspiring and vital but, until we can turn the tide of world opinion which allows torture to happen with impunity, we shall only be dealing with victims rather than causes. In the interest of creating a healthy world order free from the cancer of torture which corrupts so many so-called civilizations even today, the churches must give their wholehearted support to the human rights movement. They must recognize that as another aspect of establishing the kingdom of God – our ultimate goal.

I end with a prayer from the collection produced by the International Federation of ACAT, under the title **'Hope from the Darkest Night':** -

*For those oppressed by Grief, Remember Lord your agony*

*For those who suffer in the flesh, Remember Lord the torture you endured*

*For those who suffer derision, Remember Lord, your crown of thorns*

*For those who despair of life, Remember Lord, your cry to the Father*

*For those who hope against all hope, Let Your Resurrection shine forth.*

#### Note

The lecturer brought along two books relevant to William Tyndale which his audience were able to consult. These were an American facsimile edition produced in 1974 of the **'Coverdale Bible of 1535'** which contained an original leaf (the last page of the book of Esther) of that work and an 1811 edition of Foxe's **'Book of Martyrs'**.

## A Tyndale Christmas and Evening with Moynahan

Report by Mary Clow

*March 2003.*



The Service of Lessons from Tyndale and Carols, in the beautiful Wren church of St Mary Abchurch in the City of London, was held on Wednesday 18 December 2002. It is becoming something of a Christmas tradition through our Vice-Chairman, Sir Rowland Whitehead, a churchwarden and Past Master of the Worshipful Company of Fruiterers, whose church this is. Quite a number of us escaped last minute shopping to be there and, as Tyndale recorded of the wise men, we were marvellously glad.

That evening we met for the first Tyndale Society Christmas Party, where the guest of honour was Brian Moynahan, author of the recently published **'If God Spare My Life: William Tyndale, the English Bible and Thomas More - a Study of Martyrdom and Betrayal'**. (Copies are still available from the Society price £17.99; see book review in TSJ no 23 December 2002.)

Brian Moynahan had agreed to answer questions on his controversial Tyndale hypothesis, but he looked rather like Daniel assessing the lions on finding himself in such a den of Tyndalians. However, the skilful chairing of our very own Daniel, Professor David Daniell, put him at ease and interrogators from the floor were lightly deflected if ever the atmosphere threatened. We rounded off the day with a buffet supper. Brian Moynahan wrote later that he and his wife had relished the encounter, as had we all.

#### Editor's note

The Society would like to thank both Mary and Sir Rowland for organising this very enjoyable event. The evening seminar and delicious buffet supper chez Mary were especially appreciated by all those fortunate enough and sensible enough to accept her generous invitation!



## Letters to the Editor

Dear Valerie,

It was good to be in Oxford on 17 October and to hear about Tyndale and Jonah at the Hertford Lecture given by Prof Gerald Hammond entitled '*Tyndale's other Hebrew Translations*'.

Two minor points occur to me. Tyndale says '*he found a ship ready to go to Tharsis, and paid his fare and went aboard*'. The AV has '*he found a ship going down to Tarshish: so he paid the fare thereof and went down into it*.' Tyndale says '*Jonah gat him under the hatches and laid him down..*' the AV has '*Jonah was gone down into the sides of the ship..*'

I think I prefer Tyndale. He shows a good knowledge of nautical terminology. '*And paid his fare*' is surely better than '*he paid the fare thereof*' which has a taint of the lawyer's office! Small points, no doubt, but I find them interesting – and I was glad to see that Mary Clow made similar observations in the *Tyndale Journal* No. 22 July 2002 (pp 52-53).

Incidentally, where was Tarshish? We cannot be sure – it is almost certainly NOT Tarsus. A possible suggestion – probable more because no more – is the Phoenician colony of Tartessus in Southern Spain, on the Atlantic coast not far from Cadiz. It is an interesting little puzzle...

I much enjoyed the Carol Service at St Mary Abchurch and the Tyndale evening in London on 18 December.

During the course of the evening I had a very amicable conversation with Bryan Moynahan, the author of *If God Spare My Life: William Tyndale and the English Bible and Sir Thomas More – A Story of Martyrdom and Betrayal*, and bought a copy of his book. I was very sorry to draw attention to his mistake over 'Jews, Turks, Infidels and Hereticks' during the discussion before supper but felt that honesty compelled me to do so. Since then I have been reading his book, and I must say in all fairness that it is in my opinion, apart from that error, much better than I expected. It contains a good deal of out of the way information, for example, on the Jewish community in Worms which is of considerable interest.

There is an odd misprint in the Index: St Thomas Aquinas appears as Sir

Thomas Aquinas. The Angelic Doctor would be astonished. And what if things were the other way round and we read of St John Falstaff? I could not resist a chuckle.

All good wishes,  
Robin Everitt,  
Solihull, England.

### Editor's Note

It is nice to receive constructive feedback about Tyndale Society events. We hope to include a report on Prof Gerald Hammond's Hertford Lecture in the next issue of the Journal.

### Tyndale - Beloved Physician too?

Dear Valerie,

Suffering from a heavy cold, I had decided to stay abed yesterday in a final desperate attempt to get rid of it.

My padding back from the kitchen at 7am with a jug of chicken broth coincided with the arrival on my doormat of the Tyndale Journal, which I scooped up on my way back to bed. I don't know whether it was the Journal or the chicken broth, but by mid-afternoon I had consumed both and was feeling very much better!

So 'Thank You' kind editor, for such wholesome fare.

Ian H Thain  
Banbury, Oxon.  
14 January 2003.

### Editor's Comment

This must surely fall into the category of 101 things to do with the *Tyndale Journal*. I feel that more control experiments should be carried out to ascertain whether it was the soup (and if so, why not tomato?) or the Journal!

Dear Valerie,

May I say how much I appreciated the excellent article by Ralph Werrell on Tyndale's Theology. This is just the sort of thing to strengthen the inner man, and it beefed me up no end when I read it.

Of course we pay tribute to Tyndale's superb skills as translator and creator of English; more should, and no doubt will, be done in both these areas. But for my money it was Tyndale the Theologian who was the driving force behind both of these, and as Werrell says *'Today we could do with returning to Tyndale's theology'*. Amen. We could.

Indeed, I'm not sure that we were ever completely there. I have just, at long last, read his *'Obedience'*, and have been struck both by the massive common sense which underlay all his theology, and by how very little attention has been paid to some of what he wrote all those years ago. Tyndale (it seems to this ploughboy anyway) had this much in common with the Wesleys, that his doctrine was all of a piece. It all hung together, without hidden contradictions or sly non-sequiturs. For all his arguments he could quote chapter and verse (well, chapter anyway), and that with the gruff good sense of a man thoroughly at ease both with his Bible, and with his God.

So all power to your arm. Floreat the Journal!

Ian Thain,  
Banbury, Oxon.  
January 2003.

**Ralph Werrell emailed in November 2002 to say –**

I am carrying out further research on the roots of William Tyndale's theology and the University of Birmingham has conferred the title of Honorary Research Fellow on me until September 2005 for this project.

## Book Reviews

**Geoffrey Moorhouse** *The Pilgrimage of Grace: The rebellion that shook Henry VIII's throne* Weidenfeld & Nicholson £25 (0-297-64393-2) 2002

One of the great mysteries of Henry VIII's England is why the people did not revolt against the tyrant who was forcing on them unwanted religious changes. The answer is that they did.

In the autumn of 1536, the largest popular rebellion between the Peasants' revolt and the Civil War erupted in the north of England. Several gentlemen who were press-ganged into supporting the rebels wound up leading them: one, a brilliant but naïve lawyer named Robert Aske, found himself captain of a spontaneous army more than twice the size of the King's. Aske named this movement the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Geoffrey Moorhouse's thorough and readable account of the Pilgrimage aims high. He wishes to write a work of history, with some literary quality, for a general readership (and amen to that); he also wants to provide narrative that will become a new standard of reference.

He does not quite succeed in the second aim: there are too many slips and false notes for that. There is also an alarming passage at the beginning of the foreword, in which he translates a contemporary document into modern English; his purpose is to show that this makes little difference, so it is unfortunate that his translation includes a significant misreading. It gives one a feeling of walking on eggshells throughout the book.

What he does achieve is the telling of an extremely complex story with cool precision, and he provides memorable pen-portraits of the key players. His sympathies are clearly with the Pilgrims, and he rightly emphasizes their religious motivation.

Aske is given his rightful place: *'There may not be another significant figure in English history of whom we know so little'*. He kept such good discipline that only a single man was killed during the rising. Yet it was his willingness to trust the King's empty promises and disband his enormous army that undid the rebellion. The people could not bring themselves to believe that the King was not on their side. (Another villain of the book is the Yorkshire weather: spending October 1536 in the open would have dampened any pilgrim's ardour.)

The movement splintered. One eccentric made a farcical attempt at a second rebellion, which became a pretext for mass reprisals. Moorhouse does consider what might have been: a king chastened or deposed, England under Roman obedience. Perhaps Aske's naivety saved the Tudor state. Or perhaps not; popular rebellions are always unstable, and Henry VIII could be shrewd

as well as brutal. By the time we reach the conclusion of this book, the mood is bleak. Whatever your sympathies, that seems fitting.

Dr Alec Ryrie

**Note:**

This review by Dr Alec Ryrie, Lecturer in Modern History, University of Birmingham, was first published in the **Church Times** on 10 January 2003.

**Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (ed) *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*** CUP £40 (ISBN 0-521-802574-1) pbk £14.95 (ISBN 0-521-00324-5) May 2002

Perhaps the most surprising statement in Peter Marshall's and Alec Ryrie's introduction to their collection of essays on *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* is that there is still no general modern scholarly study of 16<sup>th</sup> century Protestantism. In the past 30 years, historians' understanding of the English Reformation has changed almost beyond recognition.

Comforting narratives of the advance of rapid and popular Protestantism have been replaced by the picture of a competent and humane Roman Catholic Church in England, subjects who derived comfort and meaning from the rituals of their forefathers and the social life of the parish, and a minority Protestantism driven, in part, by the political and dynastic turbulence of the middle decades of the century. Reformation was not the rapid natural death of a corrupt church; it was the slow subversion of an ancient way of faith, punctuated by the violence of the state.

The book seeks to restore early Protestants to their Reformation. The old Reformation as known to readers of A.G. Dickens's *The English Reformation* (first published in 1964, but reflecting the deep historical assumptions of 400 years) is gone; Marshall and Ryrie accept – I think positively – that there is much that is compelling in the broad interpretative schemes of historians like Eamon Duffy, Christopher Haigh and Jack Scarisbrick.

But they maintain that the danger is one of neglect: of sidelining Protestants by arguing too strongly for the Reformation as an 'act of state' imposed from above on an unwilling but generally obedient nation.

Nine leading historians from Britain and the USA bring new perspectives and subtleties of subject of method to our understanding of the formative years of the English Reformation. What comes across very strongly is the fluidity and diversity of these early decades. The English Reformation sketched by all of the contributors was shaped gradually, influenced by what had gone before and the environment in which early Evangelicals thought and preached and worshipped.

The book presents new work on the relationship between Lollardy and early Protestantism. It shows how Evangelicals defined themselves against Catholicism (they were, after all, *Protestants*), but how they also drew on its culture. Marshall and Ryrie do not present a clear or clean break between Catholicism and Protestantism, but that is their (and their contributors') point. Early English Protestantism, the book argues, must be understood both in the terms of the mediaeval past and the Reformation of a whole continent.

There is no new grand Protestant narrative here. Marshall and Ryrie are at pains to say that together their contributors have no agreed interpretative scheme; this is the strength of the book. It shows just how varied and kaleidoscopic the English Reformation was, from a Protestant point of view; and, with imagination and erudition, it succeeds in restoring Protestants to what was once understood as their Reformation.

Dr Stephen Alford

**Note**

This review by Dr Stephen Alford, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge was first published in the **Church Times** on 15 November 2002.

**Peter Marshall *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*** Oxford University Press £50 (ISBN 0-19-820773-5) 2002

The English Reformation came like a tide up the beach, sweeping away pope, monasteries, images and masses, as if they were sandcastles. Further up the beach it reached the rocks of human nature: self-importance, conservatism and disorderliness. It thrust against ancient beliefs and practices concerning death, funerals, graves and the afterlife. Here its progress slowed and eventually stopped.

Dr Marshall's book, like many recent Reformation studies, observes not only the fall of the sandcastles but also the impact of the waves on the cliffs of social and cultural history. His interest centres on the way in which people regarded death and the dead in early modern times, and how far their views changed in this period.

He starts with the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when dying and burial were marked by elaborate ceremonies, prayers for the dead, and an intense interest in the afterlife, particularly purgatory and what it was like. This he judges to have been a stable culture with which '*the late mediaeval English laity seem on the whole quite content*' - a common view today but one that can be questioned.

Relationships between Church and people could be tense and hostile. Even where death was concerned, the laity often ignored church teachings by placating spirits with food, praying for souls in hell, and burying stillborn babies in churchyards.

Then he brings us to the Reformation. It tore into the great sandcastle of purgatory. Ridiculed by Protestants from the 1520s onwards, this steadily sank in official standing during the 1530s. When Henry VIII reaffirmed support for many traditional doctrines in the Act of the Six Articles, 1539, purgatory was not among them. In 1547 it was condemned by Act of Parliament.

The Reformation also swamped the dead. In an admirable treatment of a neglected subject, Marshall shows how thousands of tombs were desecrated at the dissolution of the monasteries, while brasses were ripped up in parish churches. The author rightly draws attention to the *'extraordinary complacency'* of Henry VIII and his leading subjects about the fate of their ancestors' souls and bodies. They were, however, mindful of their own.

The rest of the book explores the triumphs and defeats of Protestantism in the war against death from Edward VI to the early Stuarts. Burial rites were much abridged, but the wealthy continued to insist on splendid funerals and tombs to show their importance and commemorate their names. Ordinary folk went on holding wakes round the dead, believing in ghosts, and even – as Lyke Wake Dirge reminds us – imagining souls toiling after death over Whinny Muir and Brig o' Dread to Purgatory Fire.

The Reformers found it easier to ridicule Roman Catholic beliefs than to provide alternatives that satisfied everyone. Debate and puzzlement continued. Could one pray for the dead? Were one's Catholic ancestors damned? What happened between one's death and the final Judgement? Even Crammer's funeral service of 1552, which pastorally expressed the hope that each dead person would be saved, came to anger Calvinists who thought it impugned the damnation of the wicked.

This is a book with a wide compass and a wealth of interesting topics. Its focus is on writings and documents rather than the art and archaeology of death, and it contains no pictures; but the research is exhaustive, the writing clear and attractive, and the judgements wise. They avoid simplicity; correctly, because this is a study of millions of people over 200 years, during which many beliefs co-existed.

We are often told that a gulf has opened up between the way death is seen by the churches and by popular culture. This study reminds us that there has always been one.

Prof Nicholas Orme

#### Note

This review by Prof Nicholas Orme of Exeter University was first published in the **Church Times** on 1 November 2002.

## News from America

Dr Joe Johnson,  
US Membership Office,  
joej@gtcom.net

### New Members

We welcome our new members to the Society, and look forward to meeting them at future events. We are confident they will enjoy their membership, and learn much! We ask them to tell a friend about the Society and help our membership to grow.

### Member Sightings

In February Tyndale Society member Harold Rawlings was sighted on North American Satellite TV, and heard on world-wide short-wave radio as he visited the Los Angeles University Cathedral service of pastor, Dr Gene Scott. Dr Scott welcomed him and asked him to come to the platform and address the congregation and audience. Also, Harold had the pleasure of viewing Dr Scott's most impressive and comprehensive Bible collection.

### North American Events

We are in the development stages of a North American Tyndale Conference. Keep an eye on the web site and future Journals.

### Let us hear from you

Please let us know of coming events of interest. We would also like to know of anyone willing to speak to groups as we occasionally have a request for speakers.

### Saturday 28 June 2003, 9am

Dr Joe Johnson will give an hour's lecture at the 3<sup>rd</sup> Annual National Whigham Family Reunion. The topic: *'The English Bible and its Influence in America'*.

### Saturday 1 November 2003

Paxton Heritage Festival, Paxton, Florida  
*Ploughboy Lectures* are being scheduled as part of the annual Paxton Heritage Festival in the northern panhandle Florida town of Paxton. This

will be the fourth year of participating at the Heritage Festival, and the first featuring lectures. Watch future editions of the Journal and our web site for programme details.

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### American Author's New Play

U.S. playwright Patrick Gabridge reports that he has finally completed his play, *God's Voice*, about Tyndale and the creation and dissemination of the English Bible. Some of you may recall meeting Patrick at the San Diego Conference in 2000, where he was eagerly taking in any scraps of information he could find about Tyndale and the English Reformation. His other plays, including an award-winning historical piece about Johannes Kepler and Tycho Brahe, have appeared on stages throughout the United States.

At the moment he is still searching for theatres interested in developing and producing *God's Voice*, which he describes as an *'impressionistic and somewhat surrealistic take on Tyndale and his friends (and enemies). Tyndale, John Frith, and John Tewkesbury are key roles in the play, though the Tewkesbury character is a composite of several reformers who were martyred. There are two women who serve as the voice of the Bible and the sound of the words and poetry that Tyndale hears in his head. It can get a little strange--bibles fall from the sky, Sir Thomas More is a hand puppet--but I hope it will be an interesting and enlightening experience for the audience'*. Though the play is a work of fiction, not a documentary, Patrick says he has tried hard to stick to the facts and especially to the spirit of Tyndale and his fellow reformers.

If you would like more information about the play, or know of theatre companies that might be interested, feel free to contact him at:

Patrick Gabridge, 13 Highland Avenue, #3, Roxbury, MA, 02119, USA, or pat@gabridge.com.

Press Gleanings

## The Gospel Book of Saint Augustine and the Parker Library

Compiled by Valerie Offord

The most precious book in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, and perhaps the most important and evocative illuminated manuscript in Cambridge, is the so-called *Gospel Book of Saint Augustine*, of the late sixth century. It is generally assumed to have been brought from Italy in the mission of Augustine of Canterbury (d. 604) who arrived in England in 597. It is the manuscript on which, by tradition, each new archbishop of Canterbury takes his oath of office. It was therefore used at the enthronement of Dr Rowan Williams in Canterbury Cathedral on Thursday 27 February 2003.

The collection of books in which this 'jewel' is found was built up by Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury from 1559 to 1575 who holds a central place in the political and ecclesiastical history of England. Indeed, he is considered by many to be the consolidator of the English Reformation.

Matthew Parker was born in Norwich in 1504 and studied at Corpus Christi College Cambridge. He was ordained in 1527, appointed chaplain to Henry VIII in 1538 and was elected Master of Corpus Christi in 1544. The original letter of recommendation in the King's own handwriting still lies in the college library. Parker became Vice Chancellor of the University in 1545 and again in 1549, but under Queen Mary he retired from public life to Norfolk and was deprived of his livings, retreating for some time to Frankfurt in Germany – a Marian exile no less.

Whilst chaplain to Henry, Parker taught and counselled the young Elizabeth, and when she ascended the throne he was called back and consecrated as Archbishop of Canterbury in Lambeth Palace Chapel in 1559. There were many difficulties to be faced in the new reformed Church of England and he had the unenviable task of having to find a middle way. Between 1563 and 1568 he initiated the new official version of the Bible – the Bishop's Bible, played a part in the revision of the Prayer Book and supervised the revision of Cranmer's 42 doctrinal articles to produce the definitive 39 Articles of Religion.

One of the great objectives of Parker's life was to find evidence of the

origins of a Christian Church in England independent of that in Rome. To this end he collected a great many ancient manuscripts, including the Anglo-Saxon chronicles, which remain in the library he founded in the college to this day. In the chaos following the dissolution of the monasteries the great collections of the religious houses had been broken up and scattered. He undertook to recover manuscripts and books many thought to be lost. He obtained a warrant from the Privy Council enabling him to ‘*make a general search after all such records and muniments as related to these Realms, and which upon the dissolution of the monasteries had fallen into private hands; whereby he preserved from perishing some of the most valuable remains of our Church and Nation.*’

Parker died in 1575 and was a great benefactor to the university and town of Cambridge but his legacy to Corpus Christi of the Parker Library, which contained all his books and manuscript sources and incorporates one of the finest collections of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the world, was outstanding. This is, indeed, England’s earliest major antiquarian collection. However, due to this and to the proviso from Parker which stipulated that if more than 12 books were lost in a year through negligence the collection should be moved to another college, access, even to scholars, has been strictly limited. A recent attempt, with a £20 million appeal, to open the library to the public has now collapsed in acrimony. Nonetheless, in an unprecedented gesture the Parker Library was open to members of the University and the city of Cambridge for the first time at the end of February 2003 when not only the Gospel Book of St Augustine was on view but also other illuminated manuscripts which belonged to or were associated with mediaeval Archbishops of Canterbury including Saint Thomas Becket.

#### Sources

Alderson, Andrew ‘*Mediaeval Treasures are lost to the public*’ **Daily Telegraph** 16 February 2003.

Website: [www.corpus.cam.ac.uk](http://www.corpus.cam.ac.uk)

Press Gleanings

## Norwich packed with churches but for whom?

Compiled by Judith Munzinger

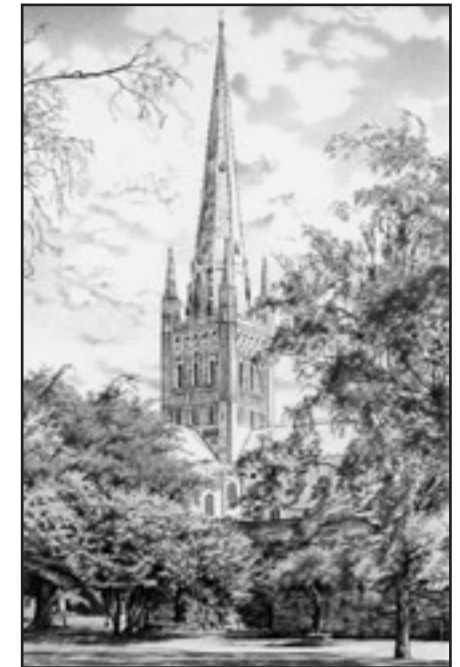
*from an article in **The Times** by Ruth Gledhill (Religion Correspondent) entitled ‘Unholy mystery of Norwich, the atheist capital of Britain’*

Tyndalians who attended the “**Pith and Marrow**” day meeting in Norwich on 29 March 2003 may not have realized that they were in “the Atheist Capital of Britain”.

In a recent article, the Times reported that Norwich is the least religious place in Britain, despite it being said of the town that it contains a church for every week of the year. Nearly one in three people in the city ticked the “no religion” box on the recent census form, giving Norwich the highest proportion of non-believers in the country and almost twice the national average.

The Bishop, the Right Reverend Graham James, was nevertheless puzzled by the statistics since Norwich has higher-than-average church attendance, and the National Secular Society was “astonished” since it has only a mere 15 members in the area. The secretary of the Norfolk Churches Trust, Malcolm Fisher, said that he disputed the figures. Religion was a very personal matter which some people did not wish to disclose. He himself had been offended by the religious question in the census. He felt that “perhaps the Christians in Norwich wish to keep their religion covert”.

A different explanation, offered by the local MP, was that Norwich City football club and its chairman, Delia Smith, have taken over as the new religion!



Norwich Cathedral



Ploughboy Notes and News

## Ploughboy Group Notes: Journal 24

David Ireson, Ploughboy Group Convenor

The Society continues to grow and this has caused some difficulties in recent months. Growth in both Britain and North America demanded we have two membership secretaries (see inside back cover for details). Charlotte Dewhurst is thus now able to focus on work essential to the Society's future.

We Ploughboys have much to do. How often do people meet us and catch something of our enthusiasm but then do not follow it through to joining us and starting on that fascinating study of Tyndale and the Reformation? People of every Christian denomination are eager to read and learn so much. There are others of no faith who immerse themselves in the study of history or the study of language with equal enthusiasm. We are keen to welcome them all.

Please do write to me with your ideas. If you feel you could give talks to local groups, then let me know too. The Ploughboy Group needs a lot more active volunteers!

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### 'Obedience': a book for every Ploughboy to read!

David Ireson

Fundamental questions, which are still relevant today, are brought into focus in Tyndale's 1528 '*The Obedience of a Christian Man*'. In Tyndale's day everyone was subject to the authority of the King and the Church. His book looked at the obedience we owe to others, to parents, landlords, princes, kings and rulers and of course, the Church.

William had begun to question the authority of the Church in his '*Parable of the Wicked Mammon*', but in the '*Obedience*' his thoughts are made plain. As David Daniell explains in the introductory essay, Tyndale followed the thinking found in the first two sentences of Luther's '*On the Liberty of a Christian Man*'. The first sentence reads: "A Christian man is a free

lord over everything and subject to no one". Fine! But then the second sentence reads: "A Christian man is an obedient servant in everything and subject to everyone".

William sets out his understanding of the social structure created by God and how we all, kings included, owe obedience to God. He condemns the way in which the Church demands support. The clergy demand payment for their teaching; but their teaching is false, placing works before faith. William made it clear that the King was accountable directly to God and not to the Pope. No wonder Henry VIII said that the '*Obedience*' was a book for him and every king to read.

There are many insights into life in Tyndale's day. William was angry with the church for its '*threatening and forbidding lay people to read the scripture*'. This was not motivated '*for the love of your souls (which they care for as the fox doth for the geese)*' (p24). But there was little condemnation of other books readily available: '*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 minds of you withal, clean contrary to the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles*'.

The '*Obedience*' is a book for every ploughboy to read. Here is my favourite passage (p31):

*'God for a secret judgment and purpose and for his godly pleasure, provided an hour that thy father and mother should come together, to make thee through them. He was present with thee in thy mother's womb and fashioned thee and breathed life into thee, and for the great love he had unto thee, provided milk in thy mother's breasts for thee: moved also thy father and mother and all other to love thee, to pity thee and care for thee. so hath he cast thee under the power and authority of them, to obey and serve them. saying: honour thy father and mother. Understand that whatsoever thou doest unto them (be it good or bad) thou doest unto God.'*

After his Biblical writings, this was William's most important book. If you have not read it yet, order the Penguin Classic edition quickly; there are still copies available but Penguin will have to reprint soon!

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### CD Bible issues

Victor Perry is very knowledgeable on CD Bible issues. He drew the editor's attention to Still Water Revival Books work in this field both in their Puritan Bookshelf series and their Reformation Bible series. Anyone interested in this line of research could contact him on email vic@vicphyl.co.uk.

## Tyndale's Translation and Theology

Robin G. Everitt

July 2002

We value Tyndale's New Testament both for the felicity of his English and for the faithfulness with which it renders into English the Greek of the original. But we should remember that for Tyndale himself it was the latter consideration which mattered. Style was secondary: his aim was to produce a translation which would at once be accurate and readily intelligible to his readers. His success in this is evident to anyone reading his translation.

It is worth taking a close look at some of the details of his translation. His renderings are sometimes remarkably bold – to his contemporaries they even seemed shocking. The word *ekklesia* he translated as 'congregation' rather than 'church'; priest was replaced by elder, do penance by repentance, confess by acknowledge, charity by love. This was indeed radical and provocative.

Of these changes, the one which gave most offence was the use of congregation for church. We must not be surprised: the word indicated new thinking about the nature of the Christian community. No longer was the church to be thought of as a corporation whose officers conducted all its business: in future the laity were to be enfranchised and expected to exercise their own functions within the Christian body. The change was a profound *theological* change.

The use of the word congregation to represent the Greek *ekklesia* was undoubtedly correct; it was not even wholly new. Erasmus had already used the word *congregatio* in translating his Greek text into Latin. But though Erasmus, writing in Latin for a limited academic readership, found himself in no peril, Tyndale, writing in English and aiming to be read much more widely, found himself in the centre of a storm. His use of the word congregation was provocative enough, but in the eyes of his opponents he had committed an even graver (and double) offence. He had dared to produce an unauthorized version of the New Testament and he had set the authority of the Greek text above that of the Latin Vulgate. It mattered not that the Vulgate itself was a translation from the Greek: over the centuries it had acquired an aura of sanctity which placed it beyond criticism. It had come to be regarded as the definitive version of the New Testament.

Tyndale had challenged the received wisdom of his day, and he soon experienced the wrath of those in power. The bishops were furious and copies of his translation were seized and burned. Sir Thomas More attacked

him with a ferocity and abusiveness which beggar belief; his words still shock us. Tyndale found himself an outcast. But he had begun to change the direction of Christian thought. The forces which his work had set in motion could not be ultimately withstood.

Yet, superficially, Tyndale's success seems to have been limited. Almost all subsequent translations have retained the term 'church' for the Christian community, and for most Christians this is the word to describe Christians collectively. Perhaps it is too deeply embedded in the general consciousness for it to be displaced.

There have been exceptions, and some of these are of considerable interest. Robert Young, an Edinburgh bookseller and author of Young's *Analytical Concordance* (still available), published his own very literal translation of the Bible in 1862<sup>1</sup>. John Nelson Darby, academic parent of Plymouth Brethrenism, published his *New Translation* in 1871<sup>2</sup>. Both men used 'assembly' instead of 'church'. More recently a sympathetic Jewish scholar, Hugh Schonfield, published his *Authentic New Testament* in 1956<sup>3</sup> and used the term 'community'. Some groups of Pentecostal Christians are known as 'Assemblies of God'. But despite their interest, these examples remain very much minority ones. The term 'church' remains with us.

We retain the term church – but Tyndale has made us look at it in a different way. And 'congregation' did not disappear entirely: two centuries after Tyndale we find Charles Wesley writing: -

The great congregation His triumph shall sing  
Ascribing salvation to Jesus our King.

Here, surely, is Tyndale's vindication.

Tyndale has left us with one puzzle. He replaced 'church' by congregation, 'priest' by elder, 'do penance' by repentance. But he kept 'bishop' where he might justifiably have replaced it by 'overseer'. Indeed in his marginal note to 1 Timothy 3 he writes 'a bishop or an overseer what he ought to be' and in his *Answer to More* he writes: -

'Those overseers which we call Byshops after the Greke words  
were always biding in one place to gouerne the congregation there.'

Most translators have kept 'bishop'. Characteristically Young and Darby have 'overseer' and so, more recently, in his commentary on I Timothy does William Barclay. Schonfield gives us 'supervisor'.

The puzzle remains and we can only guess at the solution. But what would have happened if Tyndale had used 'overseer', thus discarding both church and bishop? What would the bishops have said? Or Sir Thomas More? One wonders.

## Sources and Notes

<sup>1</sup>Young, R. *Literal Translation* Pickering and Inglis, 1862.

The publishers are now called Marshall Pickering. It may be possible to obtain a secondhand copy.

<sup>2</sup>J. N. Darby *New Translation* G. Morish, Paternoster Square, London 1871.

A re-issued recent edition is available from Kingston Bible Trust, Wembley Gardens, Lancing, West Sussex BN15 9LX. There is also an edition in the AV with J.N. Darby's translation in parallel columns (NT only) published by Bible Truth Publishing PO Box 649, Addison, Illinois, 60101 USA and obtainable from Chapter 2, Fountain House, 1A Conduit Road, London SE18 &AJ.

The parallel edition has Darby's copious critical notes with his comments on various readings. This is fascinating for the textual scholar. The Kingston version is much better printed but the notes are poor.

<sup>3</sup>Schonfield, Hugh *Authentic New Testament* Dennis Dobson and the Petrie Press, 1955.

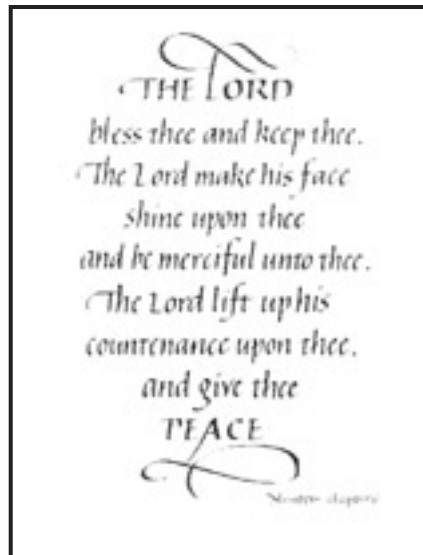
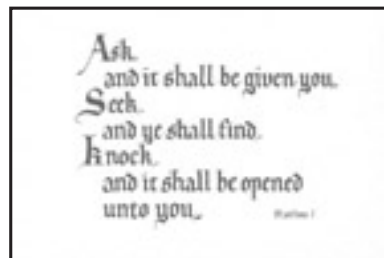
This firm may no longer exist. There are several illustrations and maps and in particular a frontispiece showing a reproduction of a second century papyrus fragment of John 18 vv31-33, 37-38 in the John Ryland Library, Manchester.

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## Tyndale Calligraphy Cards



Back by popular demand! Reprints of our calligraphy cards have been made possible by David Green. These are now available in packets of ten with envelopes £7.50 +P&P



## PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

### Annual Tyndale Lecture Gloucester Cathedral 2003

Tuesday 7th October 3pm

## TRANSLATING THE BIBLE: WHY TYNDALE IS STILL VITAL

To be given by Prof. David Daniell



Followed by evensong  
5.30pm & supper 6.10pm

Lecture only £6  
Lecture & Supper £11.50  
Tickets from David Green  
tel \*\*44 (0)1285 821651

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## Lambeth Diploma Week, 2003

PLEASE NOTE CHANGE OF DATE

The Study Week at St. Deiniol's Library at Hawarden in Flintshire, North Wales will now take place from **Monday 13 October to Saturday 18 October 2003.**

For details of outline programme please consult *TSJ* No. 23 December 2002. If any members of *The Tyndale Society* would like to attend this course please contact in the first instance: -

Revd. Dr. Ralph S. Werrell, 2a Queens Road, Kenilworth, Warwickshire, CV8 1JQ, United Kingdom. e-mail. [rswerrell@hotmail.com](mailto:rswerrell@hotmail.com).



Third Tyndale Conference Geneva, Switzerland 2003

Friday 24 October - Sunday 26 October

# Not for burning: The Marian exiles in 16th century Europe

## Speakers

**Prof Andrew Pettegree**

*Director of the Reformation Studies Institute,  
University of St Andrews, Scotland*

**Prof David Daniell**

*Chairman of the Tyndale Society and  
world expert on William Tyndale*

**Prof Francis Higman**

*Former Director of the Institute of Reformation History,  
University of Geneva, Switzerland*

**Prof John F. McDiarmid**

*Former Associate Professor at the University of South Florida, USA*

**Ms Antonina Bevan Zlatar**

*Institute of Reformation History, University of Geneva, Switzerland*



*As for the 2001 Geneva meeting the venue will be the Centre de Rencontres,  
21 rue du Temple, Cartigny, Geneva. The programme has been designed to cater for  
those travelling a considerable distance for the weekend and for those in Switzerland and  
nearby France who would like to attend one day of the conference.*

## About the speakers

### Professor Andrew Pettegree

Andrew Pettegree is Director of the Reformation Studies Institute and Professor in the Department of Modern History at the University of St Andrews, Scotland. After studying in Oxford, Hamburg and Cambridge, he has taught in St Andrews since 1986. His scholarly interests and writings have focused on Dutch and French Calvinism, on the English Reformation and on the printing history of the Reformation. He has recently completed a survey of the Reformation, *The Reformation World* (published in 2000) and has also recently published a general textbook on the Sixteenth Century for Blackwell. He is an editor of the St Andrews Studies in Reformation History, and director of the Institute's collaborative Sixteenth Century French Religious Book project. He is an associate editor of *Reformation* (the academic Journal of the Tyndale Society).

### Professor Francis Higman

Francis Higman studied French and German at Oxford University, specializing in the style of John Calvin's French writings for his thesis. After holding various positions in the Universities of Bristol, Dublin and Nottingham he was appointed in 1988 as Director of the Institute for the History of the Reformation in Geneva, where he was able wholeheartedly to pursue his study of Calvin. His publications include studies of censorship in 16<sup>th</sup> century France, the spread of the French Reformation and religious printing in French in the early Reformation. To mark his retirement in 1998 a collection of his major articles *Lire et Découvrir: La circulation des idées au temps de la Réforme* with a preface by Jean-François Gilmont was published by Librairie Droz, Geneva.

### Professor David Daniell

David Daniell is Emeritus Professor of English in the University of London and an Honorary Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford and St. Catherine's College, Oxford. He is author of over seventy books and journal essays, mainly on Shakespeare and the English Bible. In 1994 he produced the first full biography of William Tyndale for sixty years published by Yale University Press. His modern spelling editions of Tyndale's New and Old Testaments came also from Yale University Press in 1989 and 1992. He was curator of the British Library's Tyndale *Let There Be Light* Exhibition, seen in London, California, New York and in the Library of Congress by a total of a quarter of a million people. He is Chairman of the Tyndale Society, which has a worldwide membership. His edition of Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man* was published in 2000 by Penguin Classics. His latest book is *The Bible in English* is due to be published by Yale University Press in June 2003.

### Professor John F. McDiarmid

Prof John F. McDiarmid has recently retired from New College at the University of South Florida, USA. His Yale dissertation thesis was on an aspect of 16<sup>th</sup> century English linguistic thought and his principal teaching interests have been drama, literature and poetry with a particular emphasis on the Renaissance period. He is the author of several articles on Tyndale and Sir John Cheke, recently presented papers to

the Renaissance Society of America on *Tyndale's Practice of Prelates* and to the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference on *Protestant Humanism* and is currently preparing a book on *Sir John Cheke and mid-Tudor Protestant Humanism*. He will speak on 'Sir John Cheke and the Marian exiles in Padua, Italy'.

#### Antoinina Bevan Zlatar

Antoinina Bevan Zlatar, after studying English at Lincoln College, Oxford and Renaissance literature at Geneva University, was awarded a Fonds National grant to assist Prof Irena Backus in editing *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West* (Brill 1997). She is currently completing a doctorate on *The Polemical Protestant dialogues of Elizabethan England* at the Institute for the History of the Reformation in Geneva.

### Programme

#### Friday 24 October

Conference registration and residents' check-in from 14h. Visit to Bodmer Collection in Geneva. Leave Cartigny at 15h.

**Evening** Aperitif and dinner.

Lecture on 16th century music (with singers) by Prof F. Higman and Keith Dale, organist at Holy Trinity Church

#### Saturday 25 October

9 - 9.45 Registration. Bookstall open.  
9.45 All day conference (including lunch) featuring lectures on various aspects of the lives and achievements of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Marian exiles by the principal speakers.

**Evening** Conference dinner.

#### Sunday 26 October

Church service at Holy Trinity or morning free followed by lunch.  
Afternoon guided walk around The Geneva of the Marian exiles



#### Accommodation

The Centre de Rencontres is a residential house in an attractive historic setting run by the National Protestant Church in the country just outside Geneva. For non-resident participants, the village is on a bus route and has adequate parking facilities.

#### Further information and booking

Please contact: Valerie Offord; Tel/fax: +41 22 777 18 58;

E-mail: [valerie.offord@bluewin.ch](mailto:valerie.offord@bluewin.ch)

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#### Organizing committee:

Antonia Bruce, Ann Elter, Liliane Iselin, Judith Munzinger, Valerie Offord (Chairman), Arthur Robinson, Joan Wilson.

## Society Notes

Compiled by Rochelle Givoni

#### Stationers' Prize

The annual Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers' prize for 2002 has been awarded to Robert Walinski-Kiehl for his essay '*Pamphlets, Propaganda and Witch-Hunting in Germany, c.1560-c.1630*'. The judges noted the stiff competition and praised all the essays included in **Reformation 6**. Margaret Christian's colloquium entitled '*Spenser's Theology: The Sacraments in the Faerie Queene*' Edmund Spenser's representation of the sacraments was especially commended and it was agreed that it would have been another worthy winner. But the judges felt that Dr Walinski-Kiehl's essay deserved the prize for its '*originality and unusual approach*', its '*thorough and careful analysis of the evidence*' and '*lucid presentation and intelligent argument*'. Our congratulations to Dr Walinski-Kiehl, who was presented with his award at a lunch at the Stationers' Company Hall.

#### Publications Committee

We are pleased to announce the formation of the Society's Publications Committee, and are especially delighted that Peter Clifford has agreed to chair the committee. Publication is at the heart of the Society's work, and the committee will oversee all the publications supported by the Society, as well as endeavour to increase its work in this area. Further details of the Committee will appear in later issues of the Journal.

#### 'Devil's Words: The Battle for an English Bible'

*"Devil's Words: The Battle for an English Bible"* is the title of a programme made for BBC television that describes the clash between William Tyndale and Thomas More, and the pivotal role that Tyndale's Bible played in the turbulent relations between church and state. The programme is a docudrama - part factual and part drama. It includes a sequence filmed in the '*Tyndale's Testament*' exhibition at the Plantin-Moretus museum in Antwerp, with Guido Latré and Brian Moynahan. The dramatic sections of the programme have been written by Peter Ackroyd, and include an imaginary meeting between Thomas More (played by James Fox) and William Tyndale (played by Iain Glen). **The Times** reported the programme's '*intelligence and clarity*'. Unfortunately, the broadcast date was moved several times by

the BBC owing to current events and was finally shown on 19 March. We are investigating the possibility of hosting a showing of this programme for Society members.

### St. Paul's Cathedral

Members should have received a mailing about Professor David Daniell's lecture *'The Making of The Bible In English'* to be held on Friday 9 May 2003 at St. Paul's Cathedral in London. His major new study for Yale University Press tells the story of the translations of the Bible into English in Britain and America. There is no charge for the lecture but tickets are required, so please return the form as indicated in the mailing. The lecture will be held in the OBE Chapel at 6.30pm, and members are also invited to attend Choral Evensong in the Cathedral at 5.00pm before the lecture. We are very grateful to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral for the opportunity to host this event in the cathedral.

### Geneva Conference

We very much look forward to welcoming members and friends to Geneva, Switzerland, for the **Third Tyndale Conference in Geneva, 24 - 26 October 2003**. The title of the Conference is "*Not for burning: The Marian Exiles in 16th Century Europe*" and further details of the programme appear elsewhere in the Journal. The Conference features a full programme of academic lectures as well as a wide range of social events.

### Gloucester Cathedral

Tyndale's day will be celebrated in Gloucester Cathedral on 7 October 2003. This year Professor David Daniell will lecture on translating the bible, and full details can be found elsewhere in this issue of the Journal.

### Lambeth Palace

We are honoured to be invited once again to hold the annual Tyndale Lecture at Lambeth Palace. The date for your diary is 27 October 2003.

### "The Adventure of English"

Members may have seen the series on UK television last year called "*The Adventure of English*", presented by Melvyn Bragg, which included an excellent feature on William Tyndale. The series makers (LWT) have announced that a second series is due to be transmitted in the autumn of 2003, when a book, video and DVD are planned for release to cover both series.

## A Selection of Items for sale

**The following books are now available to members and friends via the Tyndale Society – Postage & Packing is FREE**

### The New Testament 1526

Translated by William Tyndale  
Transcription by William Cooper  
Introduction by David Daniell

The publication in 1526 of a modestly-priced pocket edition of the New Testament in English was arguably the most important single event in the history of the English Reformation. This new edition is the first complete reprint of William Tyndale's pioneering translation of the New Testament from Greek into English. Not much larger in format than the original edition, it presents Tyndale's words in the original spelling. It has been transcribed and edited by Dr W. R. Cooper, and has an introduction by Professor David Daniell.

British Library Publications \* Hardback \* 2000 \* ISBN: 0-7123-4664-3 \* £15.00 (US\$22.50)

### The Wycliffe New Testament 1388

Edited by William Cooper

An Edition in modern English language.

John Wycliffe's preaching and writing inspired the translating of the Bible from the Latin Vulgate into English, and the impact of the translation was so great that a law was passed condemning anyone caught reading it to be burned alive as a heretic. Despite such resistance, the Wycliffe Bible was read by thousands, and even after the advent of printing and the arrival of Tyndale's New Testament, handwritten copies of Wycliffe's Bible were still cherished and read. For the first time in over 600 years, the Wycliffe New Testament has been produced in modern English language by one of our members, Bill Cooper, also the editor of the recent edition of Tyndale's 1526 New Testament, published in 2000.

British Library Publications \* Hardback \* 2002 \* ISBN: 0-7123-4728-3

### William Tyndale, A Biography

David Daniell

This important book, published in the quincentenary year of his birth, is the first major biography of Tyndale in sixty years. It traces the dramatic life of William Tyndale and discusses the profound religious, literary, intellectual, and social implications of his immense achievement.

"A massive contribution to the history of the Reformation in England. It is novel and important in its focus upon the language of the English scriptures

in the formative period and in its long-range perspective.” J. Enoch Powell,  
Times Higher Education Supplement. **Paperback version now available!**

Yale University Press \* Hardback \* 1994 \* ISBN 0-300-06132-3 \* £25.00 (US\$37.50)

Yale University Press \* Paperback \* 2001 \* ISBN 0-300-06880-8 \* £8.99 (US\$13.50)

### **The Bible as Book: The Reformation**

Editor: Orlaith O’Sullivan

The third volume in the series, *The Bible as Book*, examines aspects of the bible produced during the Reformation period, which marked a time of crisis and blossoming for the bible. Many lay people were offered the biblical text in the vernacular for the first time; however the biblical text was also being exploited for political and other ends.

British Library Publications \* 2000 \* Hardback \* ISBN: 0-7123-4675-9 \* £40.00 (US\$60.00)

**Special offer for Tyndale Society Members - £35.00 (US\$52.50)**

### **The Obedience of a Christian Man**

William Tyndale

Editor: David Daniell

Tyndale’s vigorous direct English was substantially incorporated into the Authorized Version of 1611, and it made the New Testament available for the first time – in Tyndale’s famous determination – even to the *‘boy that driveth the plough’*. The *Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528) boldly develops the argument that ordinary believers should take their spiritual sustenance direct from Scripture, without the intervention of (often worldly and corrupt) popes and prelates. Its vivid discussion of sacraments and false signs, the duties of rulers and ruled, and valid and invalid readings of the Bible, makes the book a landmark in both political and religious thinking. This fine example of English prose also raises, even today, some powerful questions about the true challenge of living a Christian life.

Penguin Classic \* Paperback \* 2000 \* ISBN: 0140434771 \* £8.99 (US\$13.50)

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

Mrs Gillian Guest, Tyndale Society, Hertford College, Oxford, OX1 3BW.  
E-mail: PMG7515@aol.com

**Please note** that orders are now being fulfilled by Gill who works in the office only once a week. Whilst she will make every attempt to despatch orders promptly they may not be processed quite as rapidly as before. Thank you in advance for your patience.

## **Dates for Your Diary**

2003

### **Friday 9 May 6.30pm.**

**Lecture in the OBE Chapel, St Paul’s Cathedral, London**

By kind invitation of the Dean and Chapter, Professor David Daniell will be giving a public lecture *‘The Making of the Bible in English’* about his new book for Yale University Press,.

All members and their guests are welcome and invited to attend Choral Evensong in the Cathedral at 5pm.  
Admission by ticket only obtainable from Mrs Priscilla Frost, Events  
Co-ordinator phone+44 (0) 1608 811818  
enquiries.oxconf@pop3.hiway.co.uk

### **Thursday 26 June 6-8pm**

**Book Launch at Lambeth Palace**

*‘The Bible in English’* by Prof David Daniel published by Yale University Press.

### **Saturday 28 June 9am**

**3<sup>rd</sup> Annual National Whigham Family Reunion**

A lecture by Dr Joe Johnson on *‘The English Bible and its influence in America’*.

Further details from Dr Joe Johnson US Office tel 850-834-2032  
joej@gtcom.net

### **Tuesday 7 October 3pm**

**Annual Tyndale Lecture at Gloucester Cathedral**

A lecture entitled *‘Translating the Bible: Why Tyndale is still vital’* will be given by Prof. David Daniell. It will be followed by evensong and supper.

Tickets for lecture only £6, for lecture and supper £11.50 obtainable from David Green, 22 Foss Field, Winstone, Gloucestershire, GL7 7JY tel+44 (0) 1285 821651.

### **Thursday 16 October**

**The Annual Hertford College Tyndale Lecture**

This year’s lecture entitled *‘Hamlet’s Luck: Shakespeare and the Sixteenth Century Bible’* will be given by Dr Brian Cummings, School of European Studies, University of Sussex.

Further details will be announced.

**Friday 24 October to Sunday 26 October**  
**Third Tyndale Conference Geneva, Switzerland.**

*Not for Burning: The Marian Exiles in 16<sup>th</sup> century Europe.*

**Speakers:** Professor Andrew Pettegree, Director of the Reformation Studies Institute, University of St Andrews, Scotland: Professor David Daniell, Emeritus Professor University College, London: Professor Francis Higman, former director of the Institute for Reformation History, University of Geneva, Switzerland: Prof John McDiarmid, Associate Professor of Literature (retired) New College of Florida, USA and Ms Antoinina Bevan Zlatar, University of Geneva, Switzerland.

**Full details to be found in this issue of the Journal.**

For further information and booking please contact Judith Munzinger,  
330 route de Jussy, 1254 Jussy, Geneva, Switzerland  
jmunzinger@compuserve.com

**Monday 27 October**

**9<sup>th</sup> Annual Lambeth Lecture at Lambeth Palace, London.**

This year's lecture entitled '*Why the Chattering Classes hate Christians*' will be given by Cristina Odone, writer and broadcaster, former editor of **The Tablet** and deputy editor of **The New Statesman**.

Further details will be given.

**Saturday 1 November**

**Paxton Heritage Festival, Paxton, Florida, USA.**

A series of *Ploughboy Lectures* will be presented during this event.

Further details from Dr Joe Johnson at the Tyndale US Office  
tel. 850-834-2032: joej@gtcom.net

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

**Tyndale Society Officers:**

<b>Chairman</b>	Professor David Daniell
<b>Vice-Chairs</b>	Sir Rowland Whitehead, rowlandwhitehead@hotmail.com Ms Mary Clow, maryclow@aol.com
<b>Treasurer</b>	Mr Peter Baker, peter.baker@hertford.ox.ac.uk
<b>Secretary to the Trustees</b>	Ms Rochelle Givoni, rochelle@ctl.com

**Key Contacts For Members And Friends:**

**Membership/Subscription Information**

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enquiries.oxconf@pop3.hiway.co.uk

**NB: Priscilla will be able to provide members with information about all our events BUT members should refer to the 'Dates for Your Diary' section for the main contact/organiser of each event.**

**Administration/Ordering of 'Items for Sale'**

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

**Ploughboy Group**

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