WILLIAM TINDALE AND THE EARLIER TRANSLATORS OF THE BIBLE INTO ENGLISH.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE FOUR-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF TINDALE'S FIRST NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH WAS ISSUED TOWARDS THE END OF 1525.

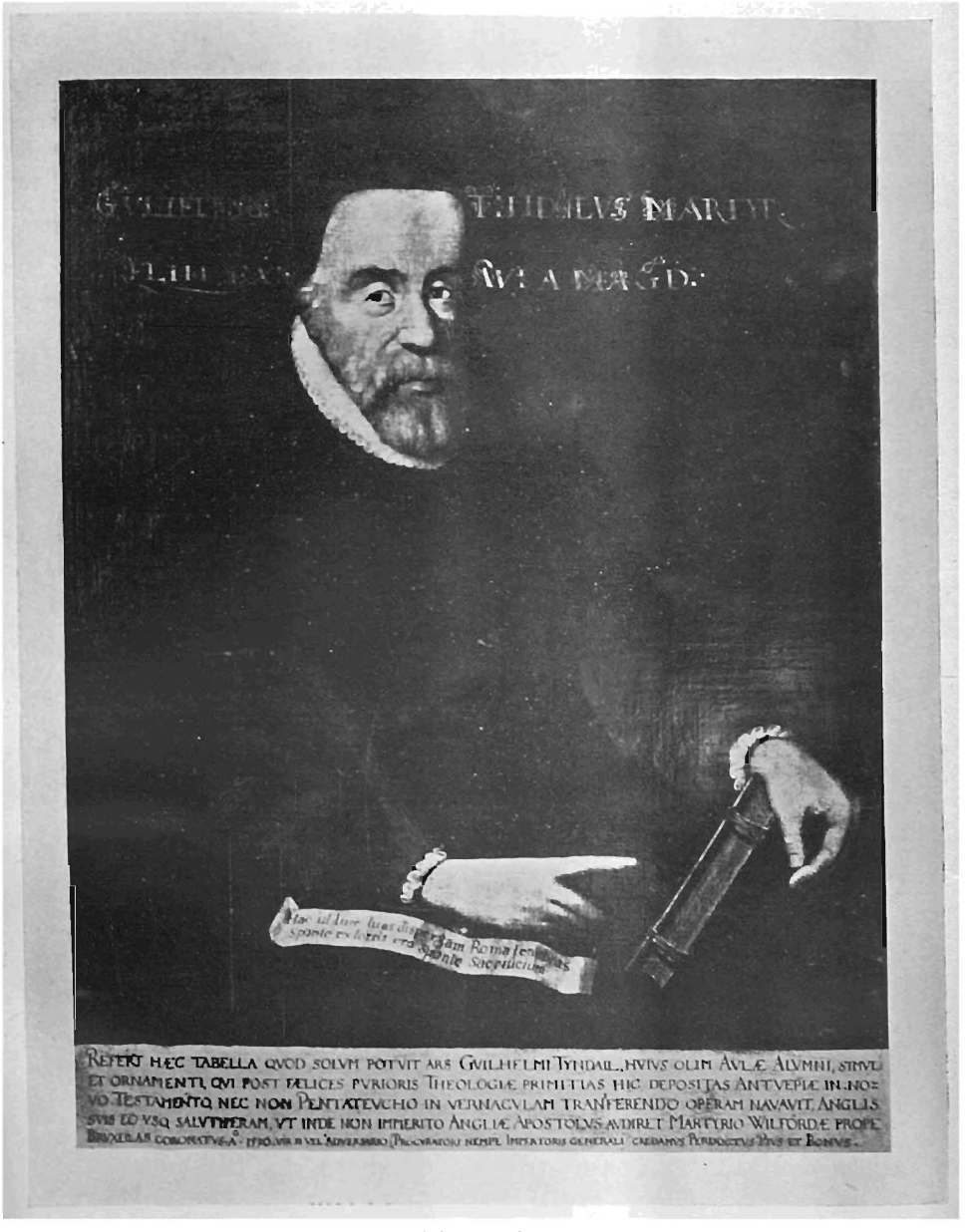
THE most potent factor in the establishment of Christianity, whether in this country or in any other, has been the Bible, and in order to be effective, it has had to be, as was the case at Pentecost, a proclamation to every man in his own language.[1]

In the Christianization of our own country, the need of a Bible, which could speak to the people in their own tongue, was felt from the first.

When St. Columba and his twelve followers landed at Iona from Ireland, in the year 567, and again, thirty years later, when St. Augustine and his forty companions landed in Kent, they needed interpreters in order to make known to the people the purpose of their coming. The Venerable Bede tells us that Oswald, King of the Northumbrians, acted as interpreter to his missionary friend Aidan, who was not quite familiar with the English tongue.

And just as these early missionaries needed interpreters, so did the manuscript Bibles which they brought with them need interpretation, because they were written in Latin, and to all intents and purposes were sealed books to our Saxon forefathers.

[1] To-day the Bible or some part of it has been translated into upwards of 800 languages or dialects, of which number the British and Foreign Bible Society has been responsible for the publication or circulation of 572. Although so much has been done, very much more remains to be done before it can be said to be possible for every man to read God's message in his mother tongue, since Adelung computes that there are 3664 different languages or dialects spoken in the world, distributed as follows: European 587, Asiatic 937, African 276, American 1624, Oceanic 240.



1. William Tindale

From the Magdalen Hall Portrait now in Hertford College, Oxford

It has been said of the political constitution under which we live and are governed, that it was not made but grew, that it was the outcome of a process of development which was the result of a long series of struggles with adverse forces. And what is true of the English constitution is true also of the English Bible. It has reached its present form through many successive stages of growth, each stage representing its own features of historic interest, and its own record of self-sacrificing zeal and devotion.

For that reason, we propose in the following pages briefly to sketch the history of the beginnings of what may be regarded as the pre-eminent English classic, which has an eventful history, dating back to the seventh century. For twelve hundred years England has not been without some portion of the Bible in the language of the people.

Coleridge was right when he said : " that to write the true history of the Bible and its influence on England, was almost to write the history of England itself."

The literary history of the Bible may be said to begin with John Wiclif, to whom is ascribed the honour of having given to his own countrymen, in or about the year 1382, the first complete Bible in their own tongue.

Long prior to Wiclif's time, however, portions of the Bible had been translated or paraphrased in rhyme, both in Anglo-Saxon and in a number of the dialects which had grown up in various parts of the country.

It is unlikely that these paraphrases exercised much influence upon the succeeding versions, but they certainly prepared the way for Wiclif's work.

As early as the seventh century, Caedmon, who has been described as " the first Saxon poet," and as " the Milton of our forefathers," rendered into verse portions both of the Old Testament and of the New. CAEDMON.

No more pleasant story has come down to us from those Saxon days, than that which the Venerable Bede relates in his " Ecclesiastical History " of this early Christian poet, and we cannot do better than reproduce the often-quoted passage containing it (Book IV, chap. 24 ; transl. by T. Miller) :

> In the monastery of this abbess (the abbess Hild or Hilda of Streaneshalch or Whitby) there was a brother specially remarkable and distinguished by the divine grace. For he was wont to compose suitable songs, tending to religion and piety, so that whatever he had learnt through scholars of the divine writings, he presently embellished in poetic compositions of the greatest sweetness and fervour, well expressed in the English language. And by his songs many men's minds were often fired to disregard the world and attach themselves to the heavenly life. And also many others after him in England began to compose pious songs, none, however, could do that like him. For he had not been taught of men or through man to acquire the art of song, but he had divine aid, and received the art of song through God's grace. And for this reason he never could compose anything frivolous, nor any idle poetry, but just that only which tended to piety, and which it became his pious tongue to sing. The man had lived in the world till the time that he was of advanced age, and never had learnt any poetry, and as he was often at a feast, when it was arranged to promote mirth, that they should all in turn sing to the harp, whenever he saw the harp come near him, he arose out of shame from the feast and went home to his house. Having done so on one occasion, he left the house of entertainment and went out to the fold of the cattle, the charge of which had been committed to him for that night. When in due time . . . he fell asleep, there stood by him in a dream a man, who saluted and greeted him, calling on him by name: 'Caedmon, sing me something.' Then he answered and said: 'I cannot sing anything; and therefore I came out from this entertainment and retired here, as I know not how to sing.' Again he who spoke to him said: 'Yet you could sing.' Then said he: 'What shall I sing?' He said: 'Sing to me of the beginning of all things.' On receiving this answer, he at once began to sing, in praise of God the Creator, verses and words which he had never heard. . . . Then he arose from his sleep, and he had firmly in his memory all that he had sung while asleep . . . In the morning he came to the steward . . . and told him what gift he had received . . .
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> The matter was reported to the Abbess, who after testing his gift in the presence of all the best scholars and students, had sacred narratives related to him, that he might render them into verse. The abbess also enjoined him to leave the world and become a monk, and he assented.

And so it came about that the simple farm labourer, who had little learning of any kind, sang to his learned brethren, who in turn related to him the whole round of sacred history and narrative, explaining its meaning. Upon these Caedmon 'like a clean animal ruminated and converted all into sweet music,' so that his teachers gladly became his hearers, and even wrote down the words from his lips and learnt them.

The most important of Caedmon's poetic paraphrases are Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel. He sang also about Christ's Incarnation, His Passion, His Ascension into Heaven, the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the teaching of the Apostles.

These religious poems or paraphrases were learnt and sung by the people, and for a time were their sole source of Bible knowledge. Important as they are as the earliest Anglo-Saxon works presenting Scripture in any form, they have no claim to rank among translations.

The first translators of whom we have any information are: Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Sherborne, who died in 709; and Guthlac, a hermit of Crowland, near Peterborough, who was born in 674. To each of these devout men is ascribed a version of the Psalter, now probably lost. An Anglo-Saxon paraphrase in the Paris National Library, containing the first fifty Psalms in prose, the remainder in verse (edited by B. Thorpe, Oxford, 1835), has been incorrectly attributed to Aldhelm. ALDHELM.

Of all the early translators the Venerable Bede retains most freshly his charm for the student to-day. His work was done at the monastery of Jarrow, on the Tyne, where, even yet, in strange contrast to the forest of chimneys and furnaces, some scanty ruins of his church remain. BEDE.

Bede is one of those fascinating characters in history, who never grow old. He combined the frank simplicity of the child, with the scholar's range of learning, the enthusiasm of a true teacher, and the piety of a saint. He was the most famous scholar of his day. In the words of Edmund Burke he was "the father of English learning." More than any other man he made Northumbria the literary centre of Western Europe.

Of the translators before Tindale's time he is the only one of whom it can be reasonably conjectured that he went to the original Greek, rather than to the Latin Vulgate for his authority. We are told that he owned and frequently referred to a Greek-Latin codex of the Acts of the Apostles, which is now preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

How much of the Bible he translated is uncertain, but the last work of a laborious life was the translation of the fourth Gospel. His devotion to this labour of love is touchingly described by his

disciple Cuthbert, afterwards Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, in a letter to his fellow-reader Cuthwin on the death of their "Father and Master whom God loved." On what proved to be his death-bed, in the intervals of relief from pain, Bede dictated his translation to one of his disciples, and when, as the last sentence was written, the boy said it is now finished, the Master replied "You have said the truth, it is ended," and on the pavement of his cell, facing the holy place, where he was wont to pray, he breathed his last breath, with the Doxology upon his lips, in the year 735.

ALCUIN.

Another of the outstanding figures of this eighth century was Alcuin, the schoolmaster of York. Egbert, one of Bede's scholars, became Archbishop of York, and founded a school and library there over which Alciun was appointed master and librarian. A poem of the eleventh century attributes to him a translation of the Pentateuch. His love for the Scriptures is seen in the following letter addressed to a friend:

> "I wish the four Gospels, instead of the twelve Aeneids, filled your breast. Be studious in reading the sacred writings; study Christ as foretold in the books of the Prophets, and as exhibited in the Gospel; and when you find Him do not lose Him, but introduce Him into the home of thy heart, and make Him the ruler of thy life."

Alcuin was sent on an embassy to Rome in 782, and there met Charlemagne, who begged him to undertake the leadership of the palatial school he had founded at Tours, for the sons of Frankish noblemen. He thus became the personal friend and adviser of one of the greatest of Emperors, and also became one of the most prominent members of that circle of great men with which Charlemagne surrounded himself, and which stood at the head of the whole of the religious and civilising influences of the age. He died at the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, in the year 804.

There is little doubt that the distribution of the Scriptures must have been much more extensive at this time than is generally supposed, as the following extract from one of Alcuin's sermons seems to indicate:

> "The reading of the Scriptures is the knowledge of everlasting blessedness. In them man may contemplate himself as in some mirror, what sort of person he is. The reading cleanseth the reader's soul, for, when we pray, we speak to God, and when we read the Holy Books, God speaks to us."

The next translator was a royal personage, "The Great Alfred,"

who died in 901. In the preface to his translation of Gregory's "Pastoral Care," which is considered to be the first of Alfred's literary works, the king gives expression to the wish that: "all the free-born youth of my people . . . may persevere in learning . . . until they can perfectly read the English Scriptures." We cannot say to what extent he was able to minister to the fulfilment of that noble wish, by providing versions of the Scriptures for the use of the people. According to William of Malmesbury, Alfred began a version of the Psalter, but the work was interrupted by his death.

ALFRED.

Here is the passage:

> "On the news of some fresh inroad of the Danes, who were fond of burning all the books they could find, for although they had been badly beaten they had not been crushed, Alfred is said to have exclaimed: 'Then let us have God's book translated into the people's own tongue, so that if these pagans land in greater numbers, and burn all our books, the people may have the Bible by heart,' and he set about the Psalter, though he did not live to complete it."

His monument as a translator consists of the Decalogue and certain other of the Mosaic laws, which he placed at the head of his Book of Laws, popularly known as "Alfred's Dooms." Patriot as well as scholar Alfred saw clearly that no book so surely as the Bible would lay the foundations of a national literature.

Another patriot, as true of heart as Alfred, was Aelfric, one of the most renowned scholars of the famous school either at Abingdon or at Winchester, which was founded by Aethelwold. Aelfric is known as "the Grammarian". He was monk at Winchester, and successively abbot of Cerne and Ensham, but we are not quite certain as to the identity of our translator, for of that name there were an Archbishop of Canterbury, an Archbishop of York, and an Abbot of Peterborough, who later became Abbot of Ensham. Whatever his identity, he is regarded as the greatest prose writer in the vernacular before the Conquest. One of his principal achievements was the translation or paraphrase of the first seven books of the Bible, which is known as "Aelfric's Heptateuch," and is now preserved in the British Museum. It was partly translated, and partly epitomised, with a prologue.

AELFRIC.

In his "Homily on reading the Scriptures," Aelfric wrote:

"Happy is he, then, who reads the Scriptures, if he convert the words into actions."

Several manuscript copies of the Heptateuch are in existence, which must have been made in the latter part of the tenth century. The exact date of Aelfric's death is not known, but it must have taken place about 1020.

In addition to these paraphrases and translations, Anglo-Saxon glosses on the Latin texts, written between the lines and interpreting the Latin, are found in manuscripts both of the Gospels and of the Psalter. A gloss differs from a translation in that it construes the text word for word between the lines, without much regard to the grammatical arrangement.

LINDISFARNE GOSPELS.

Of the glossed Gospels, the most famous is that known as the "Lindisfarne Gospels," or "St. Cuthbert's Gospels," sometimes referred to as the "Durham Book," which is now preserved in the British Museum. The Latin text was written by Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, in honour of St. Cuthbert, who died in 687. It was illuminated by Ethelwold, afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarne (724-740), and at a later date, possibly in the ninth century, the interlinear translation in the Northumbrian dialect was added by a monk named Aldred, a poor priest of Holy Island. The volume remained at Lindisfarne until the Danish invasion of Northumbria in 875, when it was carried away for safety in company with the shrine which held the body of St. Cuthbert. It found a home at Durham for a long period, and was subsequently restored to Lindisfarne, where it remained until the dissolution in 1534. It was purchased by Sir Robert Cotton in the seventeenth century, through whom it passed into the keeping of the British Museum, where it is deservedly regarded as one of the nation's most treasured possessions.

RUSHWORTH GOSPELS.

Another of these glossed Gospels is preserved in the Bodleian Library. It is known as the "Rushworth Gospels" from the name of a former possessor: John Rushworth, of Lincoln's Inn, who was Deputy Clerk to the House of Commons during the Long Parliament. The Latin text was written by an Irish scribe named MacRegol, about 850. The interlinear English gloss was added by a scribe named Owun, and a priest named Faerman.

Several other glossed Psalters and Gospels dating back to the ninth and tenth centuries have come down to us. But it should be explained

that such glosses were only intended to assist the priest in reading the Latin text, when the lessons were read first in Latin and the sense was explained in the popular tongue, they were not meant for popular use.

With the conquest of England by the Normans, in 1066, English scholarship was seriously affected, and the work of translating the Scriptures suffered a check. NORMAN CONQUEST.

The very language of the land was threatened, for the conquerors were anxious to impose their language upon the conquered nation, and to make French the language of the future. The result was that English had to fight for its very existence against the powerful forces wielded by the King and his court. But it fought strenuously, and in the end gained the victory. If the sword of the Normans had vanquished the Anglo-Saxons, the Anglo-Saxon tongue, in its turn, overthrew the French of the Normans.

Norman French became the language of the court, the school, and the bar, but the Anglo-Saxon tongue tenaciously retained its hold on the farmhouse, the cottage, the market place, and in the every day proceedings of common life.

Whilst this struggle was being waged the work of translating the Scriptures was checked. The wants of the educated classes were supplied by the French translations and paraphrases which the conquerors brought with them, and which continued to be copied. The needs of the natives were supplied by copies of the earlier Anglo-Saxon versions, which continued to be made until well into the twelfth century.

This contest for supremacy between the two languages had far-reaching effects. By the time of the Plantagenets the vernacular tongue of the country had so changed, by reason of its contact with the French spoken by the upper classes, that it had become very corrupt, and new dialects sprang up in different parts of the country, until there were almost as many dialects as there were counties, with the result that in process of time the people of the Northern counties could not understand the people of the South and *vice versa*.

It became obvious, therefore, that before there could be a common English Bible, there must be something approaching to a common English speech. Some unifying centre had to be found, and from the nature of the case it was found in the centre of England, which was in touch with the North and the South, and to a considerable extent would be understood by both.

It will not be out of place to recall two of the utterances of that famous prelate, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, in the early part of the thirteenth century, whose friendship to vernacular translation of the scriptures is so well known. He is reported on one occasion to have said: "It is the will of God that the Holy Scriptures should be translated by many translators, so that what is obscurely expressed by one may be perspicuously rendered by another." And in one of his charges to the rectors of Oxford he said: "The foundation stones of the building, of which you are the architects, are the books of the prophets, amongst whom Moses, the law-giver, is rightly to be remembered; the books also of the apostles and evangelists."

Circumstances, therefore, from which there could be no appeal, rendered it imperative that the Bible for all must be in the Middle English speech, which was slowly taking definite literary shape as the English of Chaucer and of Wiclif. In this way it came about that John Wiclif was the man, and Lutterworth, near Leicester, in the "Middle" of England, was the place, in the second half of the fourteenth century, to give to the English people the first complete Bible in their own tongue.

SHOREHAM AND ROLLE.

A few other versions of the Psalter, and of other portions of Scripture, belong to the period immediately preceding Wiclif, to which reference should be made. About 1320, William of Shoreham or Scorham, Vicar of Chart Sutton, Sevenoaks, made a faithful and literal translation of the Psalter, side by side with the Latin, verse by verse. This is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Richard Rolle, of Hampole, near Doncaster, who died in 1349, also translated the Psalter, with a commentary; so that both the North and the South of England had men doing the same work, at the same time, though probably quite unknown to each other. Rolle's Psalter is preserved in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford. He also translated and put into verse the Lord's Prayer, the Seven Penitential Psalms, and portions of the Book of Job. His great work was "The Pricke of Conscience": a poem of 10,000 lines, in the old Northern dialect.

The latter half of the fourteenth century is memorable in the history of popular freedom. The monopolies of the favoured classes were challenged by the people as never before. Italy saw the splendid

but brief resistance to the nobles led by Rienzi, consul of orphans, widows, and the poor. In France, the peasants, stimulated alike by hunger and oppression, rose against their lords, firing their castles, and murdering their wives and children. The passionate appeal against tyranny which culminated in the revolt of Wat Tyler was smouldering long years before. This country of ours was suffering from plague and famine, and her best blood was being drained by her wars. "How long could she endure?"; "was not the world itself nearing its end?" were questions on many lips.

This was the England to which John Wiclif addressed himself, as the consciousness of his powers and obligations grew upon him. He it was who laid the foundation upon which later the reformers, not only in this country, but in Bohemia and in Germany, reared the mighty structure of the Reformation. WICLIF.

John Wiclif was born in or about the year 1320, at Richmond, in Yorkshire, and died at Lutterworth, on the last day of the year 1384. His life was closely connected with Oxford, where he held in succession several important offices. In 1356 he was Seneschal or Steward of Merton College, in 1361 Master of Balliol, in 1365 Warden of Canterbury Hall, afterwards merged in Christ's Church. In 1374 he went to Bruges as one of the commissioners sent by Edward III, to treat with the Papal Nuncio on the subject of "reservation of benefices," an encroachment by which many of the livings in England had been drawn into the hands of the Pope; and in the same year he was presented, by the King, to the rectory of Lutterworth, which preferment he retained until the close of his life. His years at Lutterworth were not peaceful years, for he was denounced as heretic and infidel by those who resented his uncompromising attacks of the abuses. In 1377 he was summoned before Convocation, at St. Paul's, to answer charges of erroneous teaching; in the following year he appeared before a Synod at Lambeth; and three years later the Chancellor of the University of Oxford condemned the opinions on the Eucharist which had been ascribed to Wiclif and his followers.

More than a century before Luther's time, Wiclif was busy denouncing and exposing the arrogance of the priests, and awakening men's minds. The Church had become very corrupt; there was corruption in doctrine, corruption in ritual, corruption in discipline, and

corruption in the patronage of church livings, and for thirty years Wiclif was a trenchant and vehement assailant of these ecclesiastical abuses. He laboured incessantly to effect a reform in the Church; he did not, like Luther, break away from the communion of the Church and found a reformed church. The time for that was not yet ripe. What he wished to do, like many other true-hearted men, both before and since his time, was to tear away the errors that had grown upon the original doctrines, and to reform the lives of those who professed to teach the way of salvation.

Wiclif maintained that the doctrine and the practices he assailed had no warrant nor foundation in Scripture, and he held that the surest way to put an end to such ecclesiastical superstition and presumption was to acquaint the people with the Bible.

The first direct and formal prohibition of the reading of Scripture, appears to have been at the provincial Council of Toulouse in 1229. The perusal of the Scriptures, which had been translated, brought to light the errors and abuses of the Church, and those who opposed those evils received the name of heretics. To put them down the Inquisition was established in 1208; and, with a view to their final extermination in the territories of the Council of Toulouse, the Synod was assembled in 1229, at which forty-five canons were enacted for the rooting out of heresy. One canon (the fourteenth) prohibited the laity from even having the books of the Old or New Testament in their possession. But this attitude of the Church was by no means unopposed. In 1373, Archbishop John Thursby, of York, strongly condemned those who were then beginning to withhold the use of the Scriptures from the people.

Wiclif, by word of mouth, by his theses, by his tracts, and finally by his translation of the Bible, led many men to see the error of the doctrines of the Church.

It is customary to say that Wiclif gave to his countrymen an English version of the entire Bible. Strictly speaking that is not the case, for the whole of the translation was not his own work. He was the centre of a band of colleagues and disciples, participators in this work, whose share it is not easy to distinguish from his own. He had one collaborator, in the person of Nicholas de Hereford, one of his most ardent followers at Oxford, who made the translation of the Old Testament to the middle of Baruch (iii. 20). The original manuscript

of this translation is preserved in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, together with another copied from it, in which there is a note assigning the work to Hereford, and indicating the place where, it is supposed, the work was interrupted in the middle of 1382, by a summons to appear before Convocation in London, to answer for his opinions, and that he never resumed it. The unfinished books of the Old Testament and the New Testament were added by another hand, believed to be Wiclif. The Bible was probably completed by the end of the year 1382, so that Wiclif, whose death took place in 1384, had the joy of seeing his hopes fulfilled.

Even though Wiclif was not the actual translator of the whole of the books of the Bible or of any of them, there is little doubt that he was the projector and inspirer of the work. Henry Knighton, who wrote his Chronicle within twenty years of Wiclif's death, complains that John Wiclif had translated the Gospel into the English tongue, and made it more plain to the laity and to women than it formerly had been, even to the learned amongst the clergy, thus throwing the Gospel pearl before swine. John Huss, the Bohemian reformer, writing in 1411, states that it was then said by the English that Wiclif had translated the whole Bible into their vernacular tongue. Therefore, by friend and foe alike, the post of honour in this noble undertaktng was assigned to Wiclif.

Wiclif's version was made from the Latin Vulgate, the text of which was far from pure. It was also so exactly literal that in many places the meaning was obscure. Wiclif and his followers would be conscious of these defects, and probably soon after the completion of the first translation a revision was undertaken. Wiclif did not live to see it completed, but it is thought that it was carried through to a successful issue, in 1388, by John Purvey, one of his followers, and the friend of his last days, who had become notorious for his opinions, and already had shared in the disgrace of Hereford. Purvey's own copy is said to be still preserved in Dublin. In a general prologue of considerable length, he has left an interesting account of the method on which he proceeded on his revision, and describes himself as "a simple creature."

This first triumph of the English Bible was not won without a perilous struggle, and yet, notwithstanding the hostility of the clergy in the fifteenth century, and the wholesale devastation of libraries in the

sixteenth, not fewer than one hundred and eighty of the Wiclifite Bibles, or portions of the Bible, have survived, none of which appear to have been written later than 1450, and of which thirty-three are of the early version, the remainder being of the later, or so called Purvey revision. When we take into account the number of manuscripts which in the course of four or five centuries have been destroyed by accident or negligence, it is not too much to suppose that the surviving copies are but a small portion of those which were originally written.

It was impossible for the Wiclifite version, even as amended by Purvey, to establish itself as the national translation, if only for the reason that it was made from the Vulgate. No translation of a translation can take classic rank, and could the general circulation of the version have been assured, the completeness of its success, by stimulating the desire for acquaintance with the original language of the sacred writings, must soon have deprived it of special authority. It is, nevertheless, a memorable event in the history of English literature, enriching the language, and aiding to give it consistency, although its limited circulation, the rudimentary character of its prose, and its derivation from an incorrect Latin version, prevented it from exercising that marked influence upon our speech which was exerted later by the versions of William Tindale and succeeding scholars. "Within thirty-six years of its publication," says John Foxe, "the sweetness of God's word had been tasted by great multitudes."

It may not be out of place to remind readers that the contents and arrangement of the Wiclifite versions differ from our ordinary Bibles. The books which we know as the 1st and 2nd Books of Esdras (otherwise called the 3rd and 4th, Ezra and Nehemiah being 1st and 2nd Esdras) were rejected in the later version; the former, however, is included in the early version. The apocryphal additions to Daniel and Esther are in each case placed with the canonical books; the prayer of Manasses is added to 2 Chronicles; Tobit and Judith stand before Esther, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus before Isaiah, Baruch including the Epistle to Jeremiah before Ezekiel, and 1 and 2 Maccabees after the Minor Prophets. In the New Testament St. Paul's Epistles precede the Acts of the Apostles. Many of the books of Scripture have short prefaces, also rendered from the Latin. In the Old Testament Purvey is contented with a general prologue, and a brief introduction to the Prophets. In some copies of his New

2. A Page of an Early Wiclifite New Testament Manuscript

The lyf of Abraham

he vnderstode how cham his sone had scor ned hym / he cursid hym / And also his sone Canaan / And blessyd Sem and Japhet by cause they couerd hym / Alle the dayes of Noe were ix C.l. yere And thenne deyed / And after his deth his sones deuyded alle the world bytwene hem Sem had al asye / Cham affryke / And Japhet all Europe / Thus was it depar ted / Asye is the best part / and is as moche as the other two and that is in the eest / Affryke is the south part and ther in is cartage and many ryche contr. / ther in ben blew and black men / Cham had that to his parte Affrica / The thyrde parte is Europe which is in the north & weste / therin is grece / Rome and Ger many / In Europe regneth now moste the crysten lawe and feith wherin is ma ny ryche royame And so was the world departed to the iii sones of Noe /

Thus endeth the lyf of Noe

Here foloweth the lyf of abra ham /

The sonday called qui quagesme is rede in the chirche thystorye of the holy patriarke Abraham whiche was sone of Thare / This Thare was the tenthe fro Noe in the ge neracion of sem / Japhet had. vii sones / & cham four sones / Cute of the generacio of cham Nembroth cam whiche was a wicked man and cursid in his werkis And began to make the tour of babylone whiche was grete and hye / And at the makyng of this tour god chaunged the langages / in suche wyse that noman vnderstode other / For tofore the bildyng of that tour was but one maner speche in all the world / And ther were made lxxii speches / The tour was grete / it was x myle aboute and v M lxxiiii / steppes of height / This Nembroth was the first man that founde malwmetrye & ydolatrye / whiche endured long and yet doth / Thenne I come agayne to Thare whiche had thre sones / whiche was abram / Nacor and Aram / Of nacor cam Us / Bus / and batuel / Of Us cam Job of bus cam balam / And of batuel rebec ca and laban / Of aram cam loth and ii doughtres melcha and sara / Now I shal speke of abram of whom our blessid la dy come / he weddyd Sara doughter of his broder aram / Abram was euer feith ful and trewe / he was lxx yere olde whan his fader deyde / For whom he mor ned tyl our lord comforted hym / whiche said to abram / Abram make the redy & goo out of thy lande and kynrede and also fro the hows of thy fader / and co me in to the lande that I shal shewe to the / I shal make the growe in to moche peple / I shal blesse the and shal magne fye thy name and thou shalt be blessyd and I shall blesse them that blesse the & curse them that curse the / And in the shal be blessyd alle the kynredes of the erthe / Abram was lxx yere olde whan he departed from the londe of Aram / And he toke with hym Sara his wyf and loth the sone of his broder and their meyne and his catell and substaunce and Cam in to the londe of Canaan and cam in to the vale of Sichem / in whiche were ylle peple whiche were the peple of Ca naan / And our lord saide to Abram I shal gyue to the this lande and to thyn eyres / Thenne Abram dyd reyse an aul ter on whiche he dide sacrefise / And blessid and thankyd our lord / Abram behelde all the londe toward the south / And sawe the beawte therof and founde hit lyke as our lord told hym / But he

3.—A Page of Caxton's "Golden Legend"

Printed about 1483

Testament several books have additional prologues, thought to have been written by him.

The fundamental defect of the Wiclifite versions is that they are derived from the Latin Vulgate, and not from the original Hebrew and Greek. The translators were not able even to consult the original texts. What they professed to do they did well, representing the Latin with great care and with general accuracy. Where the text before them was faulty, the error was faithfully reflected in their work. This dependence on the Vulgate was not without some compensating advantages. This English Bible was seen to be identical with the Bible which was accepted by the whole Western Church; whereas a version taken from the languages of the Jews or of the Greeks, "the languages of the pagans and the heretics," might in those days have been suspected of some grievous taint. Whether Wiclif and his collaborators made any use of earlier translations it is hard to say; we have no direct evidence bearing on the point, but the question has not been fully investigated.

Wiclif's death took place in 1384, but his influence lived after him, and the seed which he had been sowing began to take root, much to the annoyance of the church authorities. They thought to kill this spirit of reform by execrating the memory of the godly Wiclif. This was done by an order of the Council of Constance, but it did not have the desired effect. Heroic John Huss, who was sent to the stake for boldly preaching many of Wiclif's doctrines, gave utterance to the feelings of thousands of devout souls, when he refused to condemn Wiclif and said: "I am content that my soul should be where his soul is."

The century following Wiclif's death was not productive of any great development of the movement for reform. Wiclif's followers were true to the high trust bequeathed to them, and preached with all their powerful eloquence against the abounding corruptions of the Church, and by so doing called down a still fiercer persecution against the Lollards, as the followers of Wiclif were called, with the result that for a time any outward sign of Wiclif's premature reformation was silenced.

The clergy openly boasted that Wiclif's teaching had passed away, and, considering that all danger was over, they resumed their wonted arrogance and evil ways, with the result that the scandals which had

been so severely denounced burst forth afresh with renewed vigour. It was but the sleep before spring, the winter's rest which should cause the leaf to be greener, and the blossom to be more fragrant. Like the leaven in the parable, the teaching of Wiclif was silently doing its work, not only in this country, but in Bohemia, in Germany, and in other parts of the continent. Men were being raised up and prepared for the part which they were to perform in that mighty movement which was to characterise the sixteenth century.

The country which, more than any other, was to be distinguished in after years for its zeal in printing and in circulating the Scriptures, was very late in entering the lists. England was nourishing her faith on manuscript copies of Wiclif's versions long after the time when Bibles in the vernacular were being printed in other countries. France had a printed French Bible in 1474, Germany had fourteen printed editions of several versions in the national speech before Luther's translation of the New Testament appeared in 1522, the first of which was not later than 1466; and printed versions were in circulation in Italian, Danish, Dutch, Bohemian, Slavonic, Russian, Swedish, and the Valencian dialect of Spanish, long before we made any attempt to print an English Bible.

It should be stated, however, that another version of the Bible is referred to by William Caxton in the preface to his edition of Higden's "Polychronicon," where he states that John of Trevisa, at the request of Sir Thomas Lord Berkley, to whom he acted as chaplain, had translated the Polychronicon, the Bible, and De proprietatibus rerum of Bartholomæus Anglicus. Of this Bible nothing is known unless, as Dr. Pollard suggests, it can be identified with the early or later Wiclifite version.

Mention should be made, also, of Caxton's translation of the "Golden Legend," which he published in 1483, and which may very properly be placed among the English Bibles, containing, as it does, a fairly literal translation into English from the Vulgate of nearly the whole of the Pentateuch, and a great part of the Gospels, mixed up with a good deal of mediæval gloss, under the guise of the lives of Adam, Abraham, Moses, the Apostles, and others. The book must have been read extensively by the people, or to the people, long before the days of Tindale and Coverdale, since numerous editions were printed during the latter years of the fifteenth century and the

early part of the sixteenth century. Hence this volume may be said to contain the earliest portion of the Bible printed in English.

On the Continent events were moving with wonderful rapidity. Indeed, it may be said that the events of the latter half of the fifteenth century are amongst the most remarkable which history has to record of any age. It was the century which witnessed the birth of the printing press, the discovery of the new world, and the revival of classical learning in Europe.

REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century Greek was almost unknown in Western Europe. A few scholars in the fourteenth century had sought to inspire a taste for Greek literature, but with little success. It was with the sudden collapse of the Eastern Empire in 1453, when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, that the real revival of Greek learning took place.

Constantinople, from the time when the Emperor Constantine removed the seat of his empire from Rome to Byzantium, thereafter to be known as Constantinople, had become the centre of Greek culture. With the coming of the Turks the Greek scholars were driven into exile, carrying with them their treasured manuscripts. They sought a home, and found a welcome awaiting them in Italy at Venice, at Florence, and at Rome, where Cosmo de' Medici and Pope Nicholas the fifth rivalled each other in the patronage of learning.

The fame of these refugee scholars, who were able and willing to teach Greek, and give instruction in the original language of the New Testament, spread rapidly, with the result that students from all parts of Europe were attracted to this new centre of Greek culture. It may be said, therefore, that the event which sounded like the death knell of Christianity in Europe was, in reality, the cause of its revival, for as one writer has forcefully said of this event, "at the fall of Constantinople Greece rose from the dead with the New Testament in her hand." It certainly brought to the West a knowledge of the New Testament in the original tongue—the language which had been denounced in England by the Church authorities as the language of pagans and heretics.

England was slow to welcome this new learning, and it was not until the year 1491 that Greek was publicly taught in Oxford, whereas, at the University of Paris, a public teacher of the language had been appointed as early as 1458.

William Grocyn, the first teacher of Greek at Oxford, was one of a little band of Oxford scholars, including Thomas Linacre, William Latimer, William Lily, and later John Colet, who having been attracted to Italy by the fame of the Greek teachers, returned to the mother-country full of the new learning, which was to conduce to a better education in the schools and colleges.

COLET.

John Colet, a young scholar not yet in priest's orders, afterwards to become famous as the Dean of St. Paul's, and as the founder of St. Paul's School, reading for the first time the New Testament in the original tongue, became so fired with enthusiasm, that he began to proclaim his good news at Oxford, by lecturing on the Epistles of St. Paul. He was listened to, we are told, with breathless interest, even by the great dons, for his manner of lecturing was so novel, he had so much love in his work, and his words flowed with such ease and grace, that none could tire even though they might disagree. The fame of his lectures spread, not only throughout England, but to the Continent, attracting from Rotterdam that subtle, "great little Dutchman" Erasmus, who subsequently became the great literary autocrat of Europe.

ERASMUS.

Erasmus himself tells us that his religious opinions were to a large extent moulded by his intercourse with Colet, and although in after years we are inclined to blame him for his vacillation and timidity, we are compelled to acknowledge the great service which he rendered to the cause of religion in Europe in general, and to this country in particular, by the influence which his lectures had upon the life and character of those of his scholars who were to carry forward to its accomplishment the mighty movement of the Reformation.

Thomas More, afterwards to become famous as Chancellor of Cambridge University, and Lord Chancellor of England, was also attracted to Oxford by the fame of Colet's lectures, and there commenced a life-long friendship with Erasmus. More, Archbishop Wareham and Bishop Fisher became the patrons of this famous Dutch scholar, and it was through their influence that some twelve years later, in or about the year 1511, he was appointed Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and later lectured also on Greek.

The teaching of Erasmus, at this time, was revolutionary in the extreme, and gave great offence to the Church authorities. He

contended that men should no longer study theology in Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, but should go to the Fathers of the Church, and above all to the New Testament. He showed that the Vulgate swarmed with faults, and he rendered an immense service to the truth by publishing his critical edition of the Greek text of the New Testament, accompanied by a new Latin translation.

This first published Greek New Testament reached England, from Basle, in 1516. In bare justice to the printer, John Froben, of Basle, it should be explained that the credit for this project belongs to this enterprising printer. It came about in this way: Froben became aware that the New Testament volume of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, which had been prepared and printed through the exertions, and at the expense of the learned Spanish Cardinal Ximenes, at Alcala, was ready for issue in 1514, but that for some reason, authority to circulate it was withheld. This Bible takes its name from Complutum, the Latin form of Alcala, the town in Spain, where it was printed. The plan of the work was conceived in 1502, in honour of the birth of the future Emperor Charles V, but it does not appear to have been in circulation until 1522. Desirous of anticipating the edition of Alcala, Froben wrote to Erasmus, requesting him to prepare an edition of the Greek text, accompanied by a new Latin translation, with all possible dispatch. The work was commenced in April, 1515, and was printed and ready for circulation by April of the following year.

One of the results of this hurried execution of the work was that it contained many faults, and in consequence its critical value was impaired. A revised edition appeared in 1519, and a third edition in 1522.

This work of Erasmus and Froben was for the learned. It was for a Luther and a Tindale to make use of the work of such men as Erasmus, and translate it into the language of the people.

Without doubt it was this work of Erasmus that first suggested to William Tindale his noble design of translating the Word of God into the language of his countrymen. The following passage drawn from the "Paraclesis ad lectorem pium" or "Exhortation," prefixed by Erasmus to his New Testament, finds an echo in one of the most memorable utterances of Tindale. This "Exhortation" was translated into English, probably by William Roye, and printed at

Marlborow (now known to have been Antwerp) in 1529, under the title: "An exhortation to the diligent studye of scripture." We quote from the English translation:—

> "And trulye I do greatly dissent from those men/whiche wold not that the scripture of Christ shuld be trāslated in to all tonges that it might be reade diligently of the private and seculare men and women/ Other as though Christ had taught soch darke and insensible thinges/that they could scante be vnderstonde of a few divines. Or els as though the pithe and substance of the Christen religion consisted chiefly in this y^{t} it be not knowne. Peraventure it were moste expedient that the councels of kinges shuld be kept secret/but Christ wold that his councelles and misteries shuld be sprede abrode as moch as is possible. I wold desire that all women shuld reade the gospell and Paules epistles/and I wold to God they were translated in to the tonges of all men/So that they might not only be read/and knowne/of the scotes and yryshmen/But also of the Turkes and sarracenes./Truly it is one degre to good livīge/yee ye first (I had almoste sayde the cheffe) to have a litle sight in ye scripture though it be but a grosse knowledge/ād not yet cōsūmatte. (Be it in case that some wold laugh at it/yee and that some shuld erre and be deceaved [or, some would be won]) I wold to god/ ye plowmā wold singe a texte of the scripture at his plowbeme And that the wever at his lowme with this wold drive away the tediousnes of tyme. I wold the wayfaringe man with this pastyme/wold expelle the werynes of his iorney. And to be shorte I wold that all the communication of the christen shuld be of the scripture/for in a maner soch are we our selves/as our daylye tales are."

TINDALE.

Turning now to the man, who more than any other, has left the impress of his scholarship and character upon the history of our national Bible, we find that the birth and early life of William Tindale are involved in obscurity and uncertainty.

Great characters have not infrequently been raised from an obscurity which has baffled all research. The lives of the greatest saints are little more than legends, whilst of the great master minds of the past a few pages will often contain all that can authentically be told. This is precisely what has happened in the case of Tindale.

Tradition says he was born at North Nibley in Gloucestershire, where a monument has been erected to his memory, but no documentary evidence to support the tradition can be discovered. The honour is also claimed for Hurst Manor, Slimbridge, with perhaps more probability, although, here again, there is as yet no direct evidence to establish the claim. It is at least interesting, however, to find that the church living at Slimbridge was, and is still, in the gift of Magdalen

College, Oxford, and that it was at Magdalen Hall young Tindale was entered, when the time came for him to go up to Oxford. There is little doubt that Gloucestershire was his native county, a county which was held to be the very stronghold of the Church, having six mitred abbeys within its borders, and possessing the most famous relic in the kingdom: "The Blood of Hailes," said to be the blood of Christ, contained in a phial, preserved in the Abbey of Hailes, near Winchcombe, the sight of which was supposed to ensure eternal salvation; and so predominant was the influence of the clergy throughout the county that "as sure as God is in Gloucester" had come to be a familiar proverb all over England. Nowhere, probably, was religion more entirely a thing of form and ceremony; and of all these ceremonies, in many cases unmeaning, and in not a few grotesque and ridiculous, young Tindale, shrewd and thoughtful from his childhood, was no inattentive observer. When at a subsequent period he directed all the energy of his pen against the superstitious practices sanctioned by the Church, his recollection of what he had witnessed around him in his youth furnished him with endless illustrations with which to point his arguments.

The same degree of obscurity hangs over the precise year of Tindale's birth, and also over his parentage. Could the former be ascertained with certainty, it would help us to fix definitely the latter question. Tindale, himself, was very cautious of ever saying anything respecting his relatives, lest they should become involved in the pitiless storm of persecution to which he was subjected. His younger brother, John, did actually become involved, in consequence of letters passing between our translator and him, which he failed to deliver up to the authorities.

Among various legends afloat regarding Tindale's family, one is to the effect that they came from the North during the Wars of the Roses, and for a time adopted, probably for purposes of concealment, the name of Hitchins, variously spelt Hotchyns, Hytchyns, Huchens and Hychyns. In Boase and Clarke's "Register of the University of Oxford" (1885), our translator is entered under the name of William Huchens or Hychyns, and we shall find that in a certain number of documents, to which we shall have occasion to refer, he is frequently referred to as "William Hichyns sometimes called William Tindale." In the introduction to the first edition (1528) of his "The Obedience

of a Christian Man," Tindale describes himself in the opening lines as: "William Hychins unto the Reader." The name of Hitchins was afterwards abandoned, and the family resumed their old and rightful one of Tindale.

Various years from 1484 to 1495 have been conjectured as the year of Tindale's birth. If we adopt a year midway between the two, it would make him about forty-five at the time of his death, which would agree with John Foxe's description of him as middle-aged at that period.

At an early age Tindale was sent to the University of Oxford, where he imbibed something of Colet's spirit of enthusiasm, and the new principles with which he impregnated the scholars of his own and the succeeding generations. He was entered at Magdalen Hall, at that time a dependency of Magdalen College, and governed by one of the Fellows of that Society. It became an independent Hall in 1602, and was dissolved in 1874, when it was incorporated as Hertford College. John Foxe in his "Acts and monuments of the latter and perillous dayes touching matters of the Church . . ." (1563), tells us of Tindale that: "by long continuance at the University he grew up and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted." Having proceeded to the degrees of the schools (according to the "Register of the University of Oxford" he took his B.A. degree in 1513, and proceeded to his M.A. in 1515 or 1516), Tindale removed from Oxford to Cambridge, attracted, it is thought, by the fame of the teaching of Erasmus, who for several years, commencing in 1511, was teaching Greek and Divinity at the sister University, where, as Foxe tells us, our translator: "further ripened in the knowledge of God's Word." Here no doubt he perfected himself in Greek, for on his arrival in London, in 1523, he was in a position to produce proof of his qualifications as a translator. He himself tells us in the prologue, "W. T. to the Reader," prefixed to his translation of the Pentateuch (1530), that he brought with him "an oration of Isocrates which I had translated out of Greke in to English."

It was during Tindale's residence at Cambridge that Erasmus's Greek Testament was published, and was eagerly welcomed by the students. It is scarcely credible to-day that, at that time, candidates

for the priesthood were forbidden by order of Convocation to translate any part of the Scriptures, or to read them without the authority of the Bishop, an authority which was seldom granted. Yet, in defiance of these orders Tindale and a few of the bolder spirits at the University ventured to read the Bible privily.

In the year 1521, Tindale left Cambridge to act as chaplain to Sir John Walsh of Little Sodbury, Gloucester, and as tutor to his children. There, around the table of Sir John Walsh, who was a very hospitable man, keeping open house, Tindale came into contact with many of the church dignitaries of the neighbourhood, which, we are told, swarmed with priests. Much learned talk took place around Sir John's hospitable board, and the young chaplain often came into violent controversy with the "divers great beneficed men, as abbots, deans, archdeacons, and other divers doctors and learned men who resorted thither." Tindale never hesitated to express his own opinions, which often differed from those of his master's guests, and, in order to refute their errors, he would confront them with the appropriate "open and manifest Scripture." This matter of fact way of dealing with their arguments gave great offence to these divines, and they bore Tindale a secret grudge.

One day Lady Walsh, who had listened to these hot arguments, took Tindale aside, and said to him: "Master Tindale is it reasonable, think you, that we should accept your opinions rather than the opinions of these learned men? You are a young man fresh from the University, they are men of learning and experience." Tindale felt the force of the rebuke, and at once set to work to translate from Latin into English, a little book, written by Erasmus in 1501, entitled "Enchiridion Militis Christiani," or, "The Manual of a Christian Knight," which was a bold outspoken protest against the wicked lives of the monks and friars. Here was the authority for his views, no less an authority than his master and spiritual guide, the learned Erasmus; surely this would convince those who had refused to be persuaded by his own arguments, and by Scripture. This he presented to his master and lady, and we are told that after they had read the book, "those great prelates were no more so often called to the house, nor, when they came, had the cheer and countenance as they were wont to have; the which they did well perceive, and that it was by the means and incensing of Master Tindale, and at last came no more there."

It was about this time that Tindale first announced his intention of translating the Bible into English. Happening one day to fall into argument with one of the reputed learned divines, who, in the heat of disputation, was led to assert: "We were better be without God's laws than the Pope's," Tindale startled those around him by declaring: "I defy the Pope and all his laws . . . if God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scriptures than thou doest." These words were probably suggested to Tindale by that striking passage in Erasmus's "Exhortation" to his edition of the Greek-Latin Testament already quoted (p. 560).

It soon became evident to Tindale that Little Sodbury would no longer serve as a safe retreat for one who gave utterance to such views, and that the work of translation could not be carried out there. He resolved, therefore, to leave Little Sodbury and remove to London, in the hope of finding a sympathetic and liberal patron in the person of the Bishop of London (Cuthbert Tunstall), whose great learning had been praised by Erasmus.

TINDALE IN LONDON.

Furnished with letters of introduction by Sir Thomas Walsh to Sir Harry Guildford, the King's controller of the Royal Household, who was requested to intercede with the Bishop on his behalf, and with an earnest of his scholarship in the form of a translation of one of the orations of Isocrates, Tindale made his way to London in the middle of 1523. Arrived there, he presented himself at the Bishop of London's palace, only to learn from the Bishop himself that his house was full, and to be advised to seek a service in London. To quote Tindale's own words: "And so in London I abode almost one year, . . . and understood at the last, not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England."

Here was the testing time, and here shines forth the personality which has so unalterably moulded the English Bible. If the work could only be done in exile, in secret and in peril of life, these were but potent reasons why it should be done, and done quickly.

During this year of anxious waiting in London, Tindale obtained a curacy at St. Dunstan's in the West, in Fleet Street, and was soon attracting great crowds, who came to hear this young priest, who

spoke so plainly that all could understand. He found a home in the house of Humphrey Monmouth, a cloth merchant of London, who proved himself at the time, and also in after years, a zealous and loving friend. When at last compelled to renounce the hope of carrying out this self-imposed task of translating the New Testament in England, Tindale did not hesitate to give up his country in favour of his work.

In the month of May, 1524, Tindale left London for Hamburg, and there, during a residence of little more than a year, he completed his translation of the New Testament. Of his movements during that period nothing is definitely known. Nor do we know exactly what he accomplished. Sir Thomas More in his "Dyaloge" asserts that: "Tindale, as soon as he got him hence got him to Luther straight," and further adds that, at the time of his translation of the New Testament, he was with Luther at Wittemberg; and that the confederacy between him and Luther was a thing well known. Tindale, in his reply, simply denies that he was confederate with Luther, and all the evidence we possess is against such a visit having been paid.

TINDALE IN HAMBURG.

John Foxe in his "Lyfe and Martyrdome of John Frith"[1] (1573) tells us that: "William Tindale first placed himselfe in Germany and there did first translate the Gospel of St. Mathewe into Englishe, and after, the whole new testament." This mention of Matthew, by itself, certainly appears to imply some distinction, but as Christopher Anderson in his "Annals" has pointed out, the real state of the case was that Tindale not only "first translated Matthew," but printed it, and the Gospel of Mark also. Both of these were bitterly denounced at the beginning of 1527, after having been read, as a publication not only separate from the New Testament and its prologue, but as printed previously.

This view seems to find confirmation in a number of documents which, fortunately, have been preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere. In a letter from Robert Ridley, chaplain to Bishop Tunstall, to Henry Gold, dated the 24 February, 1527, in which Tindale is referred to as "William Hichyns, otherwise called William Tyndale"; in the Confession of John Robert Necton, and in a Confession of John Tyball, a Lollard charged with heresy, both

[1] "The Whole Workes of W. Tyndall, John Frith . . ." London, 1573.

printed in Strype's "Ecclesiastical Memorials," reference is made again and again to separate editions of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, with commentaries and annotations, which are described as "the first prents." There is also a reference to the preface in the "second prents," which may allude to a second edition of these separate gospels. These, and other statements and confessions, were made by people who had actually seen, handled, or possessed such copies.[1]

Unfortunately, not a single copy, or even the fragment of a copy, of these "first prents" is at present known to have survived. This need not surprise us, for in the eager search for the Scriptures, with a view to their being destroyed, they may sometimes have been given up to save a Testament. There can be little doubt, however, that we have in these Gospels Tindale's earliest effort to benefit his countrymen.

TINDALE AT COLOGNE.

Having completed the translation of the New Testament, with the help of William Roye, who for some time acted as his amanuensis, Tindale, in the latter half of 1525, found his way to Cologne, a town famous for its printers, where he entered into an arrangement with Peter Quentell to print his New Testament. Here we are on firm ground, thanks to the letters left by Johann Dobneck, or as he called himself Cochlaeus, one of the bitterest and fiercest enemies of the Reformation, who was at the time living in exile at Cologne, engaged in literary work. He triumphantly records his success in embarrassing, and in partly frustrating Tindale's work. He has left three accounts of his exploit, written respectively in 1533, 1538, and 1549. The last, which is the fullest, is contained in his "Commentaria . . . de actis et scriptis Martini Lutheri . . . " (1549). "Becoming pretty intimate and familiar with the Cologne printers, one day he heard them boasting confidently over their wine, that whether the King and Cardinal of England liked it or not, all England would soon be Lutheran. He heard also that there were in hiding two Englishmen learned, skilled in languages, and

[1] The documents to which we refer, together with many others of great interest, have been collected into a volume by Dr. A. W. Pollard, and published under the title: "Records of the English Bible: documents relating to the translation and publication of the Bible in English: 1525-1611" (1911). In the publication of this volume Dr. Pollard has rendered to students of the history of our national Bible an inestimable service.

The prologge.

I Haue here tranſlated (brethern and ſiſters moſt dere and tenderly beloued in Chriſt) the newe Teſtament for youre ſpirituall edyfynge/conſolacion/and ſolas: Exhortynge inſtantly and beſechynge thoſe that are better ſene in the tongȝ then y/ and that have hyer gyftȝ of grace to interpret the ſence of the ſcripture/and meanynge of the ſpyrite/then y/to conſydre and pondre my laboure/and that with the ſpyrite of mekenes. And yf they perceyve in eny places that y have not attayned the very ſence of the tonge/or meanynge of the ſcripture/or haue not geven the right englyſſhe worde/ that they put to there handȝ to amende it/remembrynge that ſo is there dutie to dow. For we have not receyved the gyftȝ of god for oure ſelues only/or for to hyde them: but for to beſtowe them vnto the honourynge of god and chriſt/and edyfynge of the congregacion/wchich is the body of chriſt.

¶ The cauſes that moved me to tranſlate/y thought better that other ſhulde ymagion/then that y ſhulde rehearce them. Moreover y ſuppoſed yt ſuperfluous/for who ys ſo blynde to aſke why lyght ſhulde be ſhewed to them that walke in derckenes/where they cannot but ſtomble/and where to ſtomble ys the daunger of eternall damnacion/other ſo deſpyghtfull that he wolde envye eny man (y ſpeake nott his brother) ſo neceſſary a thinge/or ſo bedlem madde to affyrme that good is the naturall cauſe of yuell/and derckenes to procede oute of lyght/and that lyinge ſhulde be grounded in trougth and verytie/and nott rather ſene contrary/that lyght deſtroyeth derckenes/and veritie reproveth all maner lyinge.

4.—Facsimile of the First Page of the Prologue in the Grenville Fragment of the Cologni "New Testament," 1525 (British Museum)

The gospell of S. Mathew.

The fyrst Chapter.

Hys ys the boke of
the generaciō of Jesus Christ the so=
ñe of David/The sonne also of Abra
¶ Abraham begatt Jsaac: (hā.
Jsaac begatt Jacob:
Jacob begatt Judas and hys bre=
Judas begat Phares: (thren:
and Zaram of thamar:
Phares begatt Esrom:
Esrom begatt Aram:
Aram begatt Aminadab:
Aminadab begatt naassan:
Naasson begatt Salmon:
Salmon begatt boos of rahab:
Boos begatt obed of ruth:
Obed begatt Jesse:
Jesse begatt david the kynge:
¶ David the kynge begatt Solomon/of her that was the
Solomon begat roboam: (wyfe of vry:
Roboam begatt Abia:
Abia begatt asa:
Asa begatt iosaphat:
Josaphat begatt Joram:
Joram begatt Osias:
Osias begatt Joatham:
Joatham begatt Achas:
Achas begatt Ezechias:
Ezechias begatt Manasses:
Manasses begatt Amon:
Amon begatt Josias:
Josias begatt Jechonias and his brethren about the tyme of
the captivite of babilon
¶ After they were led captive to babilon/Jechonias begatt

* Abraham and David are fyrst rehearsid/ because that christe was chefly promysed vnto them.

Saynct mathew leveth out certeyne generacions/ 2 describeth Christes linage from solomō/after the lawe of Moses/ but Lucas describeth it accordyng to nature/frō nathan solomōs brother. For the lawe calleth them a mannes childrē which his broder begatt of his wyfe lefte behynde hym after his dethe. deu. xxv. c.

5. Facsimile of the First Page of the Text in the Grenville Fragment of the Cologne "New Testament," 1525 (British Museum)

ready of speech, whom, however, he could never see nor speak to. Dobneck therefore asked certain printers to his inn, and, after he had warmed them with wine, one of them in confidential talk revealed to him the secret by which England was to be brought over to the side of Luther, namely, that there were in the press three thousand copies of the Lutheran New Testament translated into English, and that in the order of the quires they had got as far as letter K. . . ." In other words, the work had progressed a little beyond the end of St. Matthew's Gospel, filling ten quires of eight pages each, or eighty pages in all. The identity of the two Englishmen (Tindale and Roye, his amanuensis) seems to have been unknown to Cochlaeus at that time.

This English translation, Cochlaeus tells us, was brought to Cologne by the two Englishmen that it might be multiplied by the printers into many thousands, and concealed among other merchandise, might find a way into England. So great was their confidence that they had sought to have 6,000 copies printed, but through the timidity of the printers only 3,000 were issued. The expense, says Cochlaeus, was met by English merchants, who had also engaged to convey the work secretly into England, and to diffuse it widely over the country.

On receiving this information Cochlaeus lost no time in revealing the plot to Hermann Rinck, a nobleman of Cologne, well-known to King Henry VIII, and to the Emperor Charles V, who, having convinced himself of the correctness of the account received, went to the Senate, and obtained an interdict of the work. News of this action by the Senate reached Tindale's ears, who at once, in company with Roye, rushed to the printers: "snatching away with them the quarto sheets printed, fled by ship, going up the Rhine to Worms, where the people were under the full rage of Lutheranism, that there by another printer they might complete the work begun."

TINDALE AT WORMS.

Worms was a city in every way suitable for Tindale's purpose. It was the headquarters of Lutheranism, where four years earlier Luther had triumphantly defended his doctrines before Charles V, whereas Cologne was devoted to the Roman faith.

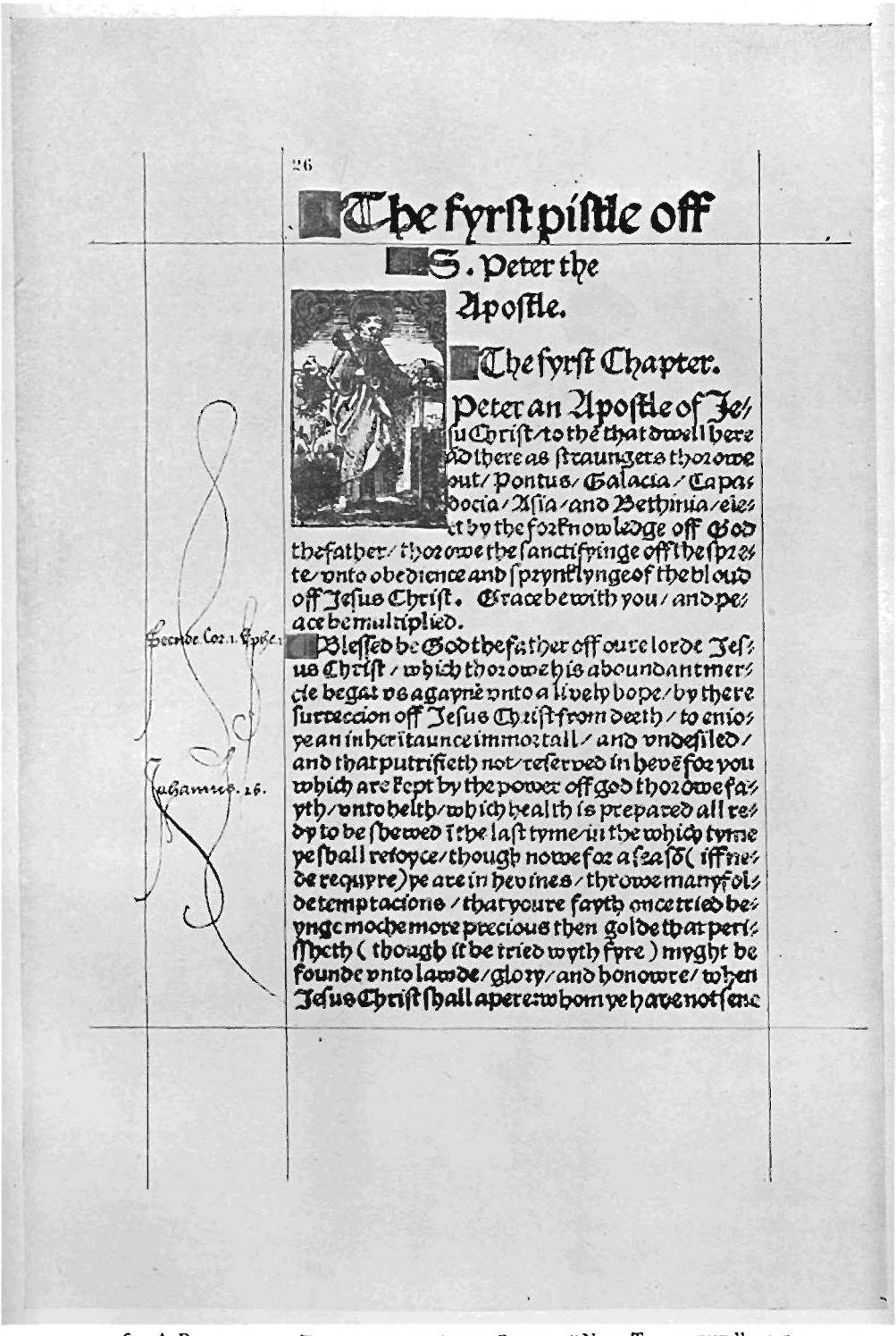
Here, the work commenced and interrupted at Cologne, was recommenced at the press of Peter Schoeffer, the son of Gutenberg and Fust's companion at Mainz. It is impossible to say whether the

quarto edition commenced at Cologne was ever completed. It is thought that it was abandoned, and the edition in a smaller octavo size, without the prologue, sidenotes, or glosses was commenced, in order, according to Merle d'Aubigné, to mislead the inquisitors.

If the two editions had been set up from the same manuscript copy we should have expected the texts to be identical. Such, however, is not the case. It is true that the differences between the two are very slight, yet there are differences. We cannot collate the whole Testament, but a careful collation of the Grenville fragment of the Cologne quarto, with the corresponding portion of the octavo Worms edition reveals the fact that there are not only numerous variations in orthography, but fifty differences of text in 740 verses. Many of these are of very little consequence, but some of them show the hand of the careful reviser, in the manner of omitting unnecessary words, or of improving the style. If they were both set up from the same manuscript copy, it is obvious that Tindale subjected the text to a very thorough scrutiny and revision in proof, as it passed through the press.

By a piece of good fortune a single copy, consisting of eight of the ten sheets, lacking only the first leaf, of the Cologne quarto has been preserved, and is now in the British Museum, forming part of the bequest of the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville.

The story of the discovery, or recovery, and identification of this fragment will bear repetition. In 1836, Mr. Thomas Rodd, a bookseller, of Great Newport Street, London, acquired from a friend, by way of exchange, a quarto tract of Oecolampadius which had bound up with it some black-letter sheets in English. These, upon examination, proved to be part of St. Matthew's Gospel preceded by fourteen pages of a prologue. Neither Mr. Rodd, nor his friend, understood at the time what it actually was. By degrees this was ascertained, through the accidental discovery of the initial, with which the first page of the prologue is decorated, in another book printed at Cologne in 1534. As the result of further search Mr. Rodd succeeded in finding all the other cuts and letters in books printed at the office of Peter Quentell. The fragment was acquired by the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville, the statesman, and book-lover; and at his death in 1846, it passed into the possession of the British Museum, with his splendid library of 20,000 volumes, which is now one of the



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The fyrst pistle off S. Peter the Apostle.

The fyrst Chapter.

Peter an Apostle of Jesu Christ/ to thē that dwell here ād there as straungers thorowe out/ Pontus/ Galacia/ Capadocia/ Asia/ and Bethinia/ elect by the forknowledge off God the father/ thorowe the sanctifyinge off the sprete/ vnto obedience and sprynklynge of the bloud off Jesus Christ. Grace be with you/ and peace be multiplied.

Secunde Cor. 1. Ephe. 1

Blessed be God the father off oure lorde Jesus Christ/ which thorowe his aboundant mercie begat vs agaynē vnto a lively hope/ by there surreccion off Jesus Christ from deeth/ to enioye an inherītaunce immortall/ and vndesiled/ and that putrifieth not/ reserved in hevē for you which are kept by the power off god thorowe fayth/ vnto helth/ which health is prepared all redy to be shewed ī the last tyme/ in the which tyme ye shall reioyce/ though nowe for a sea sō (iff nede requyre) ye are in hevines/ throwe manyfolde temptacions/ that youre fayth once tried beynge moche more precious then golde that perissheth (though it be tried wyth fyre) myght be founde vnto lawde/ glory/ and honowre/ when Jesus Christ shall apere: whom ye have not sene

Johannes. 16.

6. A Page of the Text of the Worms Octavo "New Testament," 1525
(Baptist College, Bristol)

To the Reder.

Geve diligence Reder (I exhorte the) that thou come with a pure mynde / and as the ſcripture ſayth with a ſyngle eye / vnto the wordes of health / ād of eternall lyfe: by the which (if we repent ād beleve them) we are borne a newe / created a freſshe / ād enioye the frutes off the blood of Chriſt. Whiche blood cryeth not for vēgeaūce / as the bloud of Abel: but hath purchaſed / lyfe / love / favour / grace / bleſſynge / and whatſoever is promyſed in the ſcriptures / to them that beleve and obeye God: and ſtondeth betwene vs and wrathe / vengeaunce / curſſe / and whatſoever the ſcripture threateneth agaynſt the vnbelevers and diſobedient / which reſiſt / and conſent not in their hertes to the lawe of god / that it is ryght / wholy / iuſte / and ought ſoo to be.

Marke the playne ād manyfeſt places of the ſcriptures / and in doutfull places / ſe thou adde no interpretaciō contrary to them: but (as Paul ſayth) let all be conformable ād agreynge to the ſayth.

Note the difference of the lawe / ād of the goſpell. The one axeth and requyreth / the wother perdoneth and forgeveth. The one threateneth / the wother promyſeth all good thynges / to them that ſett their truſt in Chriſt only. The goſpell ſignifieth gladde tydynges / and is nothynge butt the promyſes off good thynges. All is not goſpell that is writtē i the goſpell boke: For if the lawe were a waye / thou couldeſt not know what the goſpell meante. Even as thou couldeſt not ſe perdon / favour / and grace / except the lawe rebuked the / and declared vnto thy the ſinne / myſdede / and treaſpaſe.

Repent and beleve the goſpell as ſayth Chriſt

7.—Opening Page of Tindale's "To the Reder" at the end of the Worms Octavo "New Testament," 1525 (Baptist College, Bristol)

glories of the national institution, of which for many years he was a Trustee.

By the end of the year 1525 some thousands of copies of the Testaments printed at Worms were ready for distribution, and without doubt in two sizes. DISTRIBUTION OF THE TESTAMENT.

Unfortunately, no copy of the Worms quarto edition has come down to us, and therefore, as we have already remarked, it is quite impossible to determine whether it was an edition incorporating and completing the sheets printed at Cologne, or an entirely new edition with glosses. We are disposed to favour the latter view, which the following documentary evidence seems to confirm.

Cochlæus makes definite reference to a quarto edition published at Worms, and speaks of 6000 copies printed in that city, which renders it probable that both the quarto and the octavo editions, like the projected Cologne quarto, consisted of 3000 copies each.

Furthermore, we have the evidence of Humphrey Monmouth, the London friend of Tindale, who was no doubt in constant communication with our translator at this time. In his answer to the twenty-four articles of heresy charged against him,[1] he states ". . . Tindale left Hamburg for Cologne in the summer of 1525. He probably stayed not long there ; but being discovered he escaped with Roye up the Rhine, and came to Worms about September, 1525 ; and then and there, working unremittingly, the actual translation being probably already finished, saw the two editions through the press by the end of the year."

In other documents, to be found reprinted in Dr. Pollard's "Records of the English Bible," there are constant references to "copies with gloss," "the gret volume," "of the biggest," which evidently refer to a quarto edition ; whilst references to "copies without gloss," and "the smal volume" must indicate the octavo edition. On the 24 October, 1526, Bishop Tunstall in an injunction to the Archdeacons, denounced both impressions "some with glosses, others without," and on the 3 November following, Archbishop Wareham did the same, in almost identical terms.

In addition to the warnings of Cochlaeus and Rinck, there came to the King and Cardinal Wolsey other tidings of this threatened

[1] Strype : "Ecclesiastical Memorials" (1822), I. pt. 2, pp. 363-7.

invasion of England by the Word of God. Writing to the King, in December, 1525, Edward Lee, the King's Almoner, who became Archbishop of York in 1531, states that he "learns that an Englishman hath translated the Newe Testament in to English, and within a few days entendeth to arrive with the same emprinted in England."

The King and Wolsey did everything in their power to defeat this invasion. Fortunately, the enterprise of the merchants was more than a match for the power of the sovereign and the hostility of the bishops, and in spite of all warning and precautions the Word of God was smuggled into England, by being packed in the centre of bales of cotton and other merchandise, and were widely circulated to the joy and comfort of many who had long walked in darkness.

One of the chief agents for the distribution of the Testaments in England was Simon Fyshe, the author of "The Supplycacion for the Beggers," described as born of noble stock, a gentleman of Grays Inn, who lived in Whitefriars, London, and was busily engaged in superintending the sale of the New Testaments, which he had received from Richard Harman, a merchant of the English factory at Antwerp. In a confession made in London, apparently in 1528, by Robert Necton we have precise and interesting evidence as to this distribution. He states that he bought at sundry times of Mr. Fyshe many New Testaments, now five now twenty, and sometimes more and sometimes less to the number of 20 or 30 "in the gret volume." In a later part of the confession he goes on to say: that he (Fyshe) had no New Testaments or other book, except "Chapters of Matthew." He also gives us information as to the price at which the New Testaments were being sold, by stating that he sold five for seven and eight grotes a piece, i.e. two shillings and fourpence and two and eightpence, equal to twenty-eight and thirty-two shillings of our present day money.[1] To one of the indictments he replies that a certain Duche, i.e. German in the Flete, would have solde him two to three hundred copies, which were evidently offered at a bargain price of ninepence a piece, but he did not buy them.

[1] The purchasing power of money in the reign of Henry VIII, as compared with the present day, may be approximately determined by multiplying it twelve times. Hence £10 then would represent about £120 to-day.

Finding that, in spite of all the precautions, the Testaments and other heretical books were being circulated throughout England, Wolsey took steps to suppress the seditious books. To this end a simultaneous search was made, and all copies were ordered by the Cardinal and Archbishop Wareham to be given up. At the same time the Bishop of Rochester (Fisher) was charged to preach at St. Paul's Cross, denouncing the books as replete with dangerous heresies, and at the conclusion of the sermon, at which Wolsey was present, surrounded by a great company of abbots, friars, and bishops, great baskets of the heretical books were brought out and burned. This first sermon, which was preached on the 11th of February, 1526, was followed by another in October of the same year, at which the Bishop of London (Tunstall) was the preacher, when the Tindale Testaments were denounced and publicly burnt. It was on the latter occasion that the people were told that there were three thousand errors in the translation, which, for the most part, are nothing more than so many new meanings attached to old words.

BURNING OF THE TESTAMENT.

A confused rumour of this burning seems to have reached Rome, and there is extant a letter written by Cardinal Campeggio to Wolsey, under date of the 21 November, 1526, in which he praises Wolsey's diligence, in the glorious and saving work being carried on in this kingdom for the protection of the Christian religion, and that to the great praise and glory of his Majesty, he had most justly caused to be burned a copy of the Holy Bible, which had been mistranslated into the common tongue by the faithless followers of Luther's abominable sect, to pervert the pious mind of simple believers, and had been brought into this kingdom. Assuredly no burnt offering could be more pleasing to Almighty God.

These denunciations and burnings of the New Testaments seem to have had the very opposite effect to that aimed at. They were the means of calling attention to it, and of stimulating interest in it, to such an extent that the demand for copies increased; and one printer, apparently Christoffel van Endhoven, of Antwerp, was encouraged to issue at least one unauthorised edition, in the course of 1526. He was in trouble about it with the city authorities by the end of that year, and in 1531 died in prison at Westminster, as a result of trying to sell Testaments in England.

Wolsey was determined to strike terror to the heart of the enemy,

and so rigorously were his orders carried out that only one fragment of the Cologne quarto, and two copies of the Worms octavo edition have survived. The former, as we have already stated, is preserved in the British Museum. Of the latter, the most complete of the two copies, apparently wanting only one leaf, is in the Baptist College, Bristol, the other, wanting about seventy leaves, is in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral.

The history of the Baptist College copy is told by Mr. Francis Fry in the introduction to "The First New Testament printed in the English Language. . . . Reproduced in facsimile with an introduction by F. Fry," Bristol, 1862.

The Testament was picked up by one of Lord Oxford's collectors, and was esteemed so valuable a purchase that he gave ten pounds for it, and settled an annuity of twenty pounds for life upon the fortunate discoverer. Soon after Lord Oxford's death in 1741, the famous collection of printed books, better known as "the Harleian collection," numbering about 50,000 volumes, was sold to Thomas Osborne, the bookseller of Gray's Inn, for about thirteen thousand pounds. Osborne marked the Testament at fifteen shillings, at which price it was purchased by Herbert Ames; and at the sale of the latter's books in 1760, it was acquired by John White for twenty guineas. On the 13 May, 1776, White sold it to the Rev. Dr. Gifford for twenty guineas. Dr. Gifford was an assistant librarian in the British Museum from 1757 until his death in 1784, when the Testament passed by bequest, with his valuable collection of books, manuscripts, pictures, and curios, to the Baptist College, where it has since remained, rightly regarded as the priceless and most treasured of the possessions of the College.

Still more was needed to be done, in the estimation of the Cardinal, if this evil was to be arrested, and part of the general scheme of attack seems to have been the buying up of all the copies of the "pestilent" New Testaments upon which they could lay their hands. Bishop Tunstall went so far as to commission a London merchant, named Packington, who traded to Antwerp, to buy up all the copies he could find in that city. Here is the story as told by Edward Halle in his "Chroncicle" (1548-1550).

> "The Bishop, desirous to have his purpose brought to pass, communed of the New Testaments, and how gladly he would buy them,

Packington, then, hearing that he wished for, said unto the Bishop, 'My Lord if it be your pleasure, I can in this matter do more, I dare say, than most of the merchants of England that are here; for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tindale, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your lordship's pleasure to pay for them (for otherwise I cannot come by them but I must disburse money for them), I will then assure you to have every book of them that is imprinted and is here unsold.' The Bishop, thinking he had God by the toe, when indeed he had, as after he thought, the Devil by the fist, said, 'Gentle Mr. Packington, do your diligence and get them; and with all my heart I will pay for them whatsoever they cost you, for the books are erroneous and nought, and I intend surely to destroy them all, and to burn them at St. Paul's Cross.' Augustine Packington came to William Tindale, and said, 'William, I know thou art a poor man, and hast a heap of New Testaments and books by thee, for the which thou hast both endangered thy friends and beggared thyself; and I have now gotten thee a merchant which with ready money shall despatch thee of all that thou hast, if you think it so profitable for yourself.' 'Who is the merchant?' said Tindale. 'The Bishop of London,' said Packington. 'Oh, that is because he will burn them,' said Tindale. 'Yea, marry,' quoth Packington. 'I am the gladder,' said Tindale, 'for these two benefits shall come thereof: I shall get money to bring myself out of debt, and the whole world will cry out against the burning of God's Word, and the overplus of the money that shall remain to me shall make me more studious to correct the said New Testament, and so newly to imprint the same once again, and I trust the second will much better like you than ever did the first.' And so, forward went the bargain; the Bishop had the books; Packington had the thanks; and Tindale had the money.

"After that Tindale corrected the same New Testaments again, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold into England. When the Bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, 'How cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would buy them all.' Then answered Packington, 'Surely I bought all that were to be had: but I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters and stamps [for printing with]: wherefore you were best, to buy the stamps too, and so you shall be sure,' at which answer the Bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

"In short space after, it fortuned that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More . . . suspected of certain heresies. . . . Master More amongst other things, asked Constantine . . . 'There is beyond the sea Tindale, Joye, and a great many of you: I know they cannot live without help. There are some that help and succour them with money . . . I pray thee, tell me, who be they that keep them thus?' 'My Lord,' quoth Constantine, 'I will tell you truly, it is the Bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them;

> and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort.' 'Now, by my troth,' quoth More, 'I think even the same, for so much I told the Bishop before he went about it.'"

Archbishop Wareham was also very active in buying up, through his agents abroad, all the New Testaments he could possibly obtain. Having completed the purchases, and apparently believing that he had bought up the whole of the *three* editions by this time in existence, the Archbishop issued, on the 26 May, 1527, a circular letter to his suffragan bishops, soliciting contributions towards these expenses, which we find, from a reply from the blind Bishop of Norwich (Nix), amounted to £997, according to our present day reckoning.

Before we follow Tindale in his wanderings on the Continent, after the publication of his New Testament, it will be well for us to pause and consider the merits of that which constitutes the translator's claim to the gratitude of the English-speaking people, for the issue of this Testament was an event of the utmost importance in the history of our country.

In the first place, however, let us enquire as to the extent of Tindale's dependence, if any, upon other versions. In his statement, or epilogue, which is to be found at the end of the Worms octavo Testament, entitled "To the Reader," Tindale clearly states: "I had no man to counterfet neither was holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same, or soch lyke thīge ī the scripture beforetyme. . . ."

A careful examination of Tindale's version reveals the fact that he translated direct from the Greek, using as collateral helps the Vulgate, Erasmus's Greek-Latin Testament (1522), and Luther's German New Testament (1522). LUTHER'S INFLUENCE.

We have his assurance that he neither visited nor conferred with Luther, but a comparison of Luther's New Testament with that of Tindale, shows that our translator was greatly dependent upon Luther's version. The quarto fragment is the more important for the purpose of critical comparison, and we find that of Luther's general introduction, Tindale has transferred into his prologue no fewer than sixty lines, or nearly half. Of the 210 marginal references contained in the corresponding portion of Luther's version, and constituting the inner margins, Tindale has adopted 190. These not only stand against exactly the same chapters and verses, and form

¶Whoſoever heareth of me theſe ſayingꝭ/and dothe the *ſa- Lu.xiii.
me/y wyll lycken him vnto a wiſe man/ whych bilt his houſſe Luc.vi.
on a rocke: and aboundaunce of rayne deſcended /and the
fluddꝭ cam/ and the wynddꝭ blewe / and bett vppon that ſa-
me houſſe / and it was not over throwen becauſe it was gro-
ũaded on the rocke. And whoſoever heareth of me theſe ſayin-
gꝭ/and doth not the ſame/ſhalbe lykened vnto a folyſhe man-
whych bylt his houſſe apon the ſonde /and aboundaũce of
rayne deſcended / and the fluddꝭ cam/and the wynddꝭ ble-
we/and beet vppon that houſe/and it was over throwẽ/and
great was the fall of it.
¶And it cam to paſſe / that when Jeſus had ended theſe ſa- Mar.i.
yngꝭ/the people were aſtonied at his doctryne. For he taught Lu.iiii.
them as one havynge power/and nott as the ſcribes/

The viij. Chapter.

When Jeſus was come do- Mar.i.
wne from the mountayne / moche people fo- Luc.v.
lowed him. And lo/there cã a lepre / and wor-
ſheped him ſaynge: maſter/if thou wylt/thou
canſt make me clene. He putt forthe his hond
and tewched him ſaynge: J wyll/be clene/and imediatly hys
leproſy was clẽſed. And Jeſus ſaid vnto him. Se thou tell no
man/but go and ſhewe thy ſelf to the preſte and offer the gy-
fte/that moſes cõmaunded to be offred *in witnes to them.
¶When Jeſus was entred into capernaum/ there cam vnto
him a certayne Centurion/beſechynge him/and ſaynge: ma-
ſter/my ſervaũt lyeth ſicke att home of the palſye/ and is gre-
vouſly payned. And Jeſus ſeyd vnto him: J will come and
cure him. The Centurion anſwered and ſayde: Syr/ J am not
worthi/that thou ſhuldeſt come vnder the rofe of my houſſe/
but ſpeake the worde only/and my ſervaũt ſhalbe healed. For
y alſo my ſelfe am a mã vndre power/and have ſowdeerꝭ vn-
dre me/and y ſaye to one/ go/and he goeth: and to an othere/

* The ſame.
Here Chriſte requi-
rith faith/for wheare faith is not there
is not the cõmaundment fulfilled: Ro.
iij. And all goode
workes after outwarde appieraunce
with oute faith ar
ſyn: contrarie wyſe
where faith is/there muſt the veary
goode werkes folowe. Chriſte callith
here/doige: too doo
with a pure herte.
Actu.xv. And ſowche goodnes ſtõdith
fast agaĩſte all windes / that is too
ſaye agaynſte al the
powre of hel/for hit
is bilt on the rocke
Chriſte / thorowe
faith.

*In witnes. Moſes callith the lawe
a wytnes vnto the
people. deut.xxxi. for
the lawe acuſith
vs/ꝛ is a teſtimonie
agaynſt oure ſyn. lyke wyſe here/yf the
preſtes bare recorde
that Chriſte hadde
clenſyd this leper/ꝛ
yet belevyd not/thẽ
teſtified they agaĩſt
themſelves.

* wilt
* Faithe knoweth
not ꝛ truſteth ĩ the
favour and goodnes of god

8. A Page of Tindale's Cologne Quarto "New Testament," 1525 (Matth. vii viii), for comparison of Marginal Glosses

die wind / vnd stiessen an das hawsz / fiel es doch nicht / denn es war auff eyn felszen gegrundt. Vnnd wer disze meyne rede horet / vnnd thut sie nitt / der ist eynem torichten mann gleych / der seyn hausz auff den sand bawet / da nu eyn platzrege fiel / vnd kam eyn gewesser / vnd webeten die winde / vnd stiessen an das hawsz / da fiel es / vnnd seyn fall war grossz.

Vnnd es begab sich / da Jhesus disze lere volendet hatt / entsatzte sich das volck vbir seyner lere / denn er prediget gewalticklich / vnd nitt wie die schrifftgelerten.

Das acht Capitel.

Marci.1. Luce.5. Da er aber vom berge herab gieng / folgte yhm viel volcks nach / vnd sihe / eyn auszetziger kam / vnd bettet yhn an / vnd sprach / Herr so du willt / kanstu mich wol reynigen / vnnd Jhesus streckt seyne hand ausz / rurt yhn an / vnnd sprach / ich wills thun / sey gereynigt / vnd als bald wart er von seym auszsatz reyn / vnnd Jhesus sprach zu yhm / sich zu / sags niemant / sondernn ganng hyn vnnd tzeyg dich dem priester / vnnd opffere die gabe / die Moses befolhen hat / zu eynem tzeugnis vber sie.

Da aber Jhesus eyngieng zu Capernaum / tratt eyn hewbtmann zu yhm der batt yhn vnd sprach / Herr / meyn knecht ligt zu hausz / vñ Luce.7. ist gichpruchtig / vnnd hat grosse quall / Jhesus sprach zu yhm / ich will komen / vnd yhn gesund machen. Der hawbtman antwortt vñ sprach. Herr ich byn nit wertt / das du vnter meyn dach gehist / sondern sprich nur eyn wortt / so wirt meyn knecht gesund. Denn ich byn eyn mensch / datzu der vberkeyt vnterthan / vñ habe vnter myr kriegs knecht / noch wenn ich sage zu eynem / gehe hyn / so gehet er / vnd zum andern / kom her / so kompt er / vnnd zu meynem knecht / thu das / szo thut ers. Da das Jhesus horet / verwundert er sich / vñ sprach zu den / die yhm nach folgeten / Warlich / ich sage euch / solchen glawbē hab ich yn Jsrahel nit funden. Aber ich sage euch / viel werden komen vom morgen vnd vom abent / vnd sitzen mitt Abraham vnnd Jsaac vnnd Jacob / ym hymel reych / Aber die kinder des reychs / werden auszgestossen ynn die auszersten finsternissz / da wirt seyn weynen vñ tzeen klappen. Vnd Jhesus sprach zu dem hewbtman / gehe hynn / dyr geschehe / wie du geglewbt hast / vnnd seynn knecht wart zu der selbigen stund gesund.

Marci.1. Luce.4. Vnd Jhesus kam ynn Peters haus / vñ sahe das seyne schwyger lag vnd hatte das fiber / da greyff er yhr hand an / vnnd das fiber verliesz sie / vnnd sie stund auff / vnnd dienete yhn.

Marci.1. Am abent aber / brachten sie viel besessener zu yhm / vnnd er treyb die geyster ausz mitt wortten / vnnd machte alle krancken gesundt auff das erfullet wurd / das da gesagt ist / durch den prophetē Jsai.53. Jsaia / der do spricht / Er hatt vnser schwacheyt auff sich genomen / vnd vnser seuche hatt er getragen.

Vnd da Jhesus

wb ist / mussen recht gutte werck folgen / das heysset Christ (thun) von reynem hertzē thun. Der glawb aber reynigt das hertz. Act.15. vnd solche fromkeyt / steht vest wider alle wind / das ist alle macht der hellen / deñ sie ist auff den felsz Christū / durch den glawbenn gebawet. Gutte werck on glawben / seyn der torichtenn iunckfrawen lampen on ole.

(So du wilt) der glaub weysz nit / vertrawet aber auff gottes gnad.

(Uber sie) Mos. nēnet das gesetz ein zeugnis vber das volck / Deu.31. deñ das gesetz beschuldiget vns / vnnd ist eyn tzeug / vber vnser sund / alszo hie / die priester so sie zeugen / Christus hab disenn gereyniget vnd gleuben doch nicht / zeugen wider sich selb.

(weñ ich sage) das ist. Sind meyne wortt so mechtig / wie viel mechtiger sind deñ deyne wortt?

(von morgen et.) das ist / die heydē werden an genommen / darumb das sie glawben werden / die iuden vnd werck heylgen verworffen. Ro.9.

9. A Page of Luther's "New Testament," September, 1525 (Matth. vii-viii), for comparison of Marginal Glosses

10. A Page of Luther's First "New Testament," September, 1522

One of Cranach's Illustrations to the "Apocalypse"

identically the same groups, but without exception constitute the same inner margin as in Luther. Even more striking evidence of his dependence is obtained by a comparison of Luther's expository notes in the outer margin with those of Tindale, which occupy exactly the same position. Of the 69 glosses which Luther has on Matt. i. 1-xxii. 12, Tindale transferred into his margin no fewer than 59. The following specimens will illustrate this point :—

Luther.	*Tyndale.*
(schweren) Alles schweren vnd eyden ist hie verpotten, das der mensch von yhm selber thutt, wens aber die lieb, nodt, nutz des nehisten, odder gottis ehre foddert, ist es wolthun, gleych wie auch der zorn verpotten ist, vnd doch loblich wenn er aus liebe vnd zu gottes ehren, erfoddert wirt.—Matt. v. 33.	Sweare. All swearynge & othes which a mā of him silffe doith, are here forbydē, never thelesse whē love, neade, thy neghbures proffyte, or goddes honoure requyrith hit, then is hit well done too sweare. like as wrath forbydden is, & yet is lawdable whē hit proceadith of love to honoure god with all.
(nicht widder streben) das ist, niemant soll sich selb rechen noch rach suchen, auch fur gericht, auch nicht rach begerē. Aber die vbirkeyt des schwerds sol solchs thun, vonn yhr selbs odder durch den nehisten aus lieb ermanet vnnd ersucht. —Matt. v. 39.	No man shuld avenge hyme silfe, or seke wreeke, no nott by the lawe: butt the ruler which hath the swearde shuld do such thynges of hym silfe, or when the negbures off love warne hym, and requyre hym.
(seyn eygen vbel) das ist tegliche arbeytt, vndd will, es sey genug das wir teglich arbeyten, sollen nicht weytter sorgen.—Matt. vi. 34.	Trouble, is the dayly laboure. he wil hit be ynough that we laboure dayly wyth oute forther care.
Sew sind; die ersoffen ynn fleyschlichem lust, das wort nicht achten.—Matt. vii. 6.	Swyne, are they which are drowned in fleshly luste & despice the worde.

This appropriation by Tindale of Luther's introduction, inner marginal references, and outer marginal glosses as well as of Luther's division of the text into paragraphs, and the very arrangement and appearance of the quarto Testament, render it a miniature edition of the German prototype, and would appear to justify the assertion of some of Tindale's contemporaries that he reproduced in English Luther's German Testament.

Since Tindale owed so much to Luther's Testament, it will not be out of place briefly to recall the circumstances connected with its

issue, and the influence which it exercised upon the movement for reform, not only in his own country but throughout Europe.

Luther, by the publication, in 1522, of his translation of the New Testament into the German vernacular did for Germany almost precisely what Tindale did three years later for England, and in doing so, gave a mighty impetus to the reformation in Europe.

Luther was not the first to translate any portion of the Bible into the vernacular German, for by the time that his New Testament was published, no fewer than fourteen different editions of the whole Bible in German had appeared, in addition to four others in Low German. These, however, were translated from the Latin Vulgate, and were issued in majestic, unwieldly and costly folio size, which placed them out of the reach of ordinary people. The earliest edition was issued in 1466 at Strassburg.

Luther's Testament was in a much handier size, although still in a small folio, and was issued at a price which placed it within the reach of people of more modest means. The cost of a copy was a florin and a half, or, in our money, thirty-six shillings.

Luther's translation was made, like that of Tindale, direct from the original Greek, with such collateral helps as Erasmus's second (1519) edition of his Greek-Latin Testament, and the earlier German versions. Indeed, it is not unlikely that Luther, again like Tindale, had been inspired to enter upon his self-imposed task by the passage already quoted from Erasmus's "Exhortation."

Luther's work won immediate popularity, and within four months a second edition was called for. Indeed, during the ensuing eleven years it was reprinted no fewer than eighty-five times.

No sooner had the New Testament made its appearance than Luther settled down to work upon the Old Testament, and towards the end of 1523 he issued the first two parts extending from Genesis to Esther. The first edition of his whole Bible was not issued until 1534 but it speedily became the most widely read book in Germany, and in a slightly revised form remains the classic version of Protestant Germany. It also exerted a commanding influence on the development and unification of the German language. To begin with, the editions of it which appeared in South Germany, required numerous dialectic changes, or explanations of words, to make them understood. A century later, however, Luther's High German was everywhere dominant, whilst Low German had sunk into a patois.

Luther's influence and fame as a translator was not by any means confined to his own country, for translations of the Bible, based upon his version, were made in various languages which are akin to German, such as: Dutch in 1526, Swedish in 1541, Icelandic in 1544 and Danish in 1550.

TINDALE'S INFLUENCE.

Turning again to the work of our own countryman, we find that the English Bible, with which we are so familiar, is in its form and substance the work of Tindale; no other man has left the impress of his individuality and scholarship upon it. Neither did the scholars of King James's day, who were responsible for the Authorised Version, nor the Revisers of 1881, produce a new translation. Indeed, the many revisions undertaken since Tindale's day have been built one and all upon his version, which was taken and simply compared with the Greek and Hebrew texts.

There can be no better testimony to the value of Tindale's work, than that provided by the revisers of 1881, who admitted that the new version was still to all intents and purposes Tindale's work, and that eighty per cent. of the words in the Revised New Testament stand as they stood in Tindale's revised version of 1534, for they could not find in the English tongue more felicitous phrases than those employed by our translator.

Considered as a literary undertaking Tindale's work marks an epoch in the literary history of our country. As a master of English prose Tindale stands unrivalled. We often speak of what Shakespeare did for our language, forgetting that nearly a century before his day, at a time when our language was still unformed, when as yet it had not been made the vehicle of any important literary undertaking, Tindale proved to the world that it was possible to express the highest truths in the clearest manner with simplicity, and with grace, thus exercising a permanent influence of the most beneficial kind on the literary taste of the English-speaking people. That is what made the appeal immediate and widespread in Tindale's day, and that is what must keep it fresh and searching while the English tongue is spoken among men.

Of the purity of Tindale's motive we have ample evidence in the fact that the New Testament was issued without the translator's name. It was not intended to secure his fame. He had not laboured for money or for applause, but to quote his own words, in the preface to "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon," was content patiently to abide the reward of the last day.

After the completion of the New Testament Tindale settled down to study Hebrew, in order to qualify himself to deal with the books of the Old Testament as he had done with those of the New. Hebrew was not studied at Oxford at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and Robert Wakefield, the first Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, only commenced his lectures in 1524, the year Tindale quitted England. Many Jews were to be found in most of the old German towns, so that he would experience no difficulty in obtaining the necessary instruction.

In 1527 Tindale found it necessary to change his place of residence, possibly on account of Wolsey's vigorous efforts to get him into his power, removing from Worms to Marburg in Hesse-Cassel, where he spent the greater part of the four years following, leaving Marburg for Antwerp in 1531. Here, in the intervals of study, and work upon the Old Testament, he found time to issue the three principal doctrinal and controversial works which constitute his manifesto.

TINDALE'S MANIFESTO.

The first to be published (in 1528) was "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon": an exposition of the parable of the Unjust Steward, in which the writer makes an attack on the so-called spirituality, which had taken away the key of knowledge, and had beggared the people. At the same time he expounds the doctrine of justification by faith. This work threw the Church authorities into a state of great rage, it was condemned on all sides, and it was held up to public detestation.

Tindale felt that this manifesto was insufficient, so he followed it up, in the same year, by "The Obedience of a Christian Man, and how Christian rulers ought to Govern: wherein also if thou mark diligently thou shalt find eyes to perceive the crafty conveyance of all jugglers." He knew that to teach the views he expressed could only be done at the risk of his life, but he was ready to dare all, if need be to die, in order to expose the infamy of the Church, and to set men free from the debasing teaching of its hideous hypocrisy. It is one thing to see the falseness of error, but it is not always so easy to see the trueness of the truth, and Tindale, not content to overthrow the hypocrisies of Rome, builds up a simple faith in the Gospel.

The bishops were now at their wits' end to know how to arrest the progress of this heresy. Ultimately, it was decided, that as the press had been instrumental in circulating the poison, it should be employed to circulate the antidote. Consequently,

MORE.

Sir Thomas More, at that time Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (he did not become Lord Chancellor of England until the 25 October, 1529), who was the greatest literary genius in England at that time, was requested to take up the pen and champion the cause of the Church. To that end, he was licensed on the 7th of March, 1528, by Bishop Tunstall, to have and to read Lutheran books, in order that he might confute them : " For as muche, as you, dearly beloved brother, can playe the Demosthenes, both in this our Englyshe tongue and also in the Latin." More immediately set to work, and before the end of the year he had published his " Dyalogue," the first instalment of his long controversy, in which he attacked not only Tindale, but Barnes, Frith, and Sir John Some. Here he declares that whosoever calleth the new translations, the New Testament, calleth it by a wrong name, except they call it Tindale's Testament, or Luther's Testament.

This literary combat between Tindale and More lasted for five years, but in the end Tindale won, for as More himself confessed : as brevity is the soul of wit it is also the essence of retort, and a confutation ten times the length of the work it is intended to demolish is a failure.

In 1529, Tindale having completed his translation of Deuteronomy, was desirous of getting it printed at Hamburg. He took ship, but was shipwrecked on the coast of Holland, losing everything, and escaping only with his life. Finding another ship he proceeded to Hamburg, where he encountered Miles Coverdale, a fugitive like himself for the cause of religion, who assisted him to repair his loss in translating the whole of the Pentateuch. Having completed his business he proceeded to Antwerp.

TINDALE'S PENTATEUCH.

It was in 1530-1531 that the Pentateuch was printed. The colophon of the Book of Genesis reads : " Emprented at Marlborow [or Marburg] in the lande of Hesse, by me Hans Luft, the yere of our Lorde, M.CCCCC.XXX the XVII. dayes of Januarii."—Hans Luft is only associated with Marburg in Tindale's books. His place of printing was Wittemberg, where he printed so many of Luther's publications, and we have no evidence that he ever possessed a press at Marburg. Recent investigations by M. E. Kronenberg[1] have

[1] Kronenberg (M. E.) " De Geheimzinnige Drukkers Adam Anonymus te Bazel." *'s Gravenhage*, 1919.

resulted in the unmasking of the printer, who lurked behind the fictitious imprint, and who is now definitely identified with Johan Hoochstraten of Antwerp. A number of other books, including Tindale's "Parable of the Wicked Mammon," and "The Obedience of a Christian Man," were issued with this same fictitious imprint, beginning in 1528, and ending with "The Practice of Prelates" in the same year as the Pentateuch, 1530. The printing of the Pentateuch seems to have been somewat troubled. Only two of the five books, Genesis and Numbers, are in the so-called "Marburg" type, the other three being in Roman, but they all have the same woodcut frame to their title-pages. There can be little doubt that the use of this fictitious imprint was to conceal the real place of printing from Tindale's enemies.

In 1530, Tindale's pen was again busy framing his final and most unsparing indictment of the Roman hierarchy: "The Practice of Prelates," to which allusion has just been made. In "The Obedience of a Christian Man" Tindale laid down rules of absolute submission to the temporal sovereign, and gave pleasure to the King; but this volume excited the fury of Henry, since, in it, Tindale had the temerity to denounce the King's divorce proceedings. In 1531 he also completed his translation of the Book of Jonah, which was probably printed at Antwerp.

Feeling that his security was now very precarious Tindale quitted the Low Countries, and for many months he wandered up and down Germany like a fugitive, hoping in that way to baffle the ingenuity of his pursuers.

Ultimately, he determined to settle down in Antwerp, there quietly to watch the progress of events in his native land. Here he returned with all his energy to his great work of translation. In 1534, he reissued the Pentateuch. But the year is specially memorable for the publication of Tindale's revised translation of the New Testament, which was "imprinted at Antwerp by Marten Emperowr." This revision had been made possible by the money furnished by Cuthert Tunstall, Bishop of London, and the first burner of the New Testament, for the copies of the first edition procured for him by Packington.

TINDALE'S REVISED NEW TESTAMENT.

This was the revised text, which formed the basis of all the subsequent revisions down to and including the Revision of 1881, the

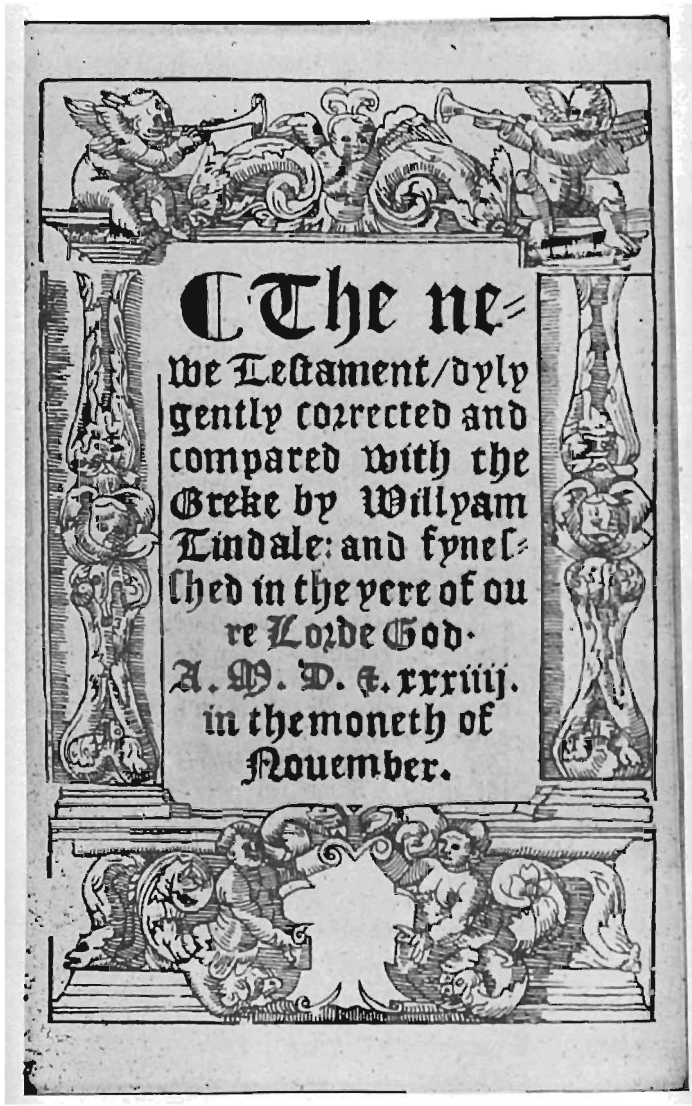
apō his face. But whēne he went before the Lorde to ſpeak with him, he toke the couerīge of vntill he came out. And he came out and ſpake vnto the childern of Iſrael that which he was commaunded. And the childern of Iſrael ſawe the face of Moſes, that the ſkynne of his face ſhone with beames: but Moſes put a couerynge vppon his face, vntill he went in, to comen with him.

The Pope ſpeaketh that whēne he is not commaunded.

The. xxxv. Chapter.

AND Moſes gathered all the companye of the childern of Iſrael together, and ſayde vnto them: theſe are the thinges which the Lorde hath commaunded to doo: Sixe dayes ye ſhall worke, but the ſeuenth daye ſhal be vnto you the holy Sabbath of the Lordes reſt: ſo that whoſoeuer doth any worke there in, ſhall dye. Moreouer ye ſhall kyndle no fyre thorow out all youre habitacyons apō the Sabbath daye.

And Moſes ſpake vnto all the multitude of the childern of Iſrael ſainge: this is the thinge which the Lorde cōmaūded ſaynge: Geue frō amōge you an heueoffringe, vnto the Lorde. All thatt are willynge in their hartes, ſhall brynge heueoffringes vnto the Lorde: golde, ſyluer, braſſe: Iacyncte, ſcarlet, purpull, byſſe ād gootes hare: rams ſkynnes red and taxus ſkynnes and



12. Title-page of Tindale's Revised "New Testament," 1534

title of which runs thus: "The Newe Testament dylegently corrected and compared with the Greke by Willyam Tindale: and fynesshed in the yere of our Lorde God A.M.D. & xxxiiii. in the moneth of Nouember." In addition to the New Testament, this volume contained a translation of "the Epistles taken out of the Old Testament, which are read in the Church after the use of Salisbury upon certain days of the year." These "Epistles" include 78 verses from the Pentateuch; 51 from 1 Kings, Proverbs, and the Song of Solomon; 147 from the Prophetical Books, chiefly from Isaiah; and 43 from the Apocrypha, chiefly from Ecclesiasticus. It also contained a prologue to the Epistle to the Romans, extending to thirty-four pages, which was written in 1526, after the issue of the first edition, and was printed and published anonymously under the title: "A compendious introduccion, prologe or preface vn to the pistle off Paul to the Romayns," of which the only surviving copy is preserved in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford.

Bishop Westcott tells us of one copy of this 1534 revision which is of touching interest. Among the men who had suffered for aiding in the circulation of the earlier editions of the Testament was a merchant adventurer of Antwerp, named Harman (p. 570), who seems to have applied to Queen Anne Boleyn for redress. The Queen listened to the plea which was urged in his favour, and by her intervention he was restored to the freedom and privileges of which he had been deprived. Tindale could not fail to hear of her good offices, and he acknowledged them by a royal gift. He was engaged at the time in superintending the printing of his revised new Testament, and of this he caused one copy to be struck off on vellum and beautifully illuminated. No preface, or dedication, or name mars the simple integrity of the copy. Only on the gilded edges in faded red letters runs the simple title: "Anne Regina Angliæ." The copy is now preserved in the British Museum, having been bequeathed to it in 1799.

In the same year (1534) George Joye, a scholar and fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, who had fled beyond seas to Strassburg in 1527, to escape persecution, secretly undertook, perhaps at the instigation of the printers, a revision of Tindale's version, correcting it by the help of the Vulgate. Many of these alterations gave great offence to Tindale, since they betray great weakness of judgment, and frequently depart from the meaning of the original Greek. This so-called revision of Joye was published three months before that of Tindale, which

appeared in the month of November. When this dishonest and dishonourable project of Joye was brought to the knowledge of Tindale, he was moved to write the second address, which appears in his edition: "Willyam Tindale, yet once more to the christien reader," in which he defends his own translation against the pretended corrections of Joye. There is little doubt that the first title with his name inserted in full, and the statement that it had been diligently compared with the Greek, was owing to the same cause.

The work of revision and translation occupied Tindale's attention to the last. In 1535, another revision appeared: "Yet once agayne corrected by Willyam Tindale," which is considered to be the last revised by the translator himself, and forms the basis of the Thomas Matthew's Bible, of 1537. Three other editions were issued in 1536, but they were probably published independently of Tindale.

TINDALE AT ANTWERP.

With the publication of the 1534 Testament, Tindale's hopes began to rise after long years of toil and danger. The sky was brightening. For eight years it had been a crime to purchase, sell, or read a copy of the New Testament in the native tongue. Now the persecution had died down, and men might even dare to possess the English Bible and to read it. In some respects England was now a safer place than the Low Countries, where the Inquisition was armed with unrestricted authority to seize all suspected persons, and try, torture, confiscate, and execute without any right of appeal, because Lutheranism had continued to make such rapid strides.

Hitherto Tindale had led a charmed life, but a subtle plot was hatched, which could scarcely fail of success. Whilst resident in Antwerp he was the guest of an influential citizen named Thomas Poyntz, a warm and true friend, who was able to shield his visitor from harm, by reason of the privilege which exempted citizens and their guests from being arrested in their houses, except for great crimes. Inside the house Tindale was safe, but strange to say, a man could be seized on the streets and whipped off to another place, where the Church's laws regarding heresy could be enforced against him.

In May, 1535, plans were laid to decoy Tindale away from his refuge, by a plausible scoundrel named Phillips, who played his part so well that Tindale was completely thrown off his guard. He pretended to be a convert to the Protestant cause, and by various means won the

confidence of the unsuspecting exile. The plans being ripe, Tindale was invited out to dinner, and as he left the shelter of his friend's roof, he was seized by two officers stationed at either side of the narrow entrance to the house, and was hurried away to Vilvorde, a castle some eighteen miles from Antwerp, which was the principal state prison of the Low Countries, where he was to spend the last sixteen months of his life.

The trial seems to have occupied some five or six months, which is accounted for by the customary slow process of written attack and defence. Notwithstanding all the efforts of his friends in England and in the Low Countries to procure for him protection, he was condemned to death. The verdict had been foreseen. Tindale was in the hands of his life-long enemies, and for him there was only one pathway to escape. Sentence of death was passed on him on the 12th of August, 1536. A respite of two months was granted to the condemned man, during which time he struggled bravely to finish his great work. In a letter recently discovered, written in touching language, during his imprisonment, to the Governor of the fortress of Vilvorde, Tindale begs for warmer clothing, and that he may be allowed the use of his Hebrew books, Bible, grammar, and dictionary. There is good reason for believing that he left behind in manuscript a translation of the Books of the Old Testament, from Joshua to 2 Chronicles inclusive, and that this part of his work was included in the "Thomas Matthew's" Bible, of 1537, the name of "Matthew" probably hiding the identity of Tindale's friend, John Rogers.

On Friday, the 6th of October, 1536, Tindale was led forth from his cell, where he had spent so many months, to the place of execution. Being led to the stake, which, as if in derision, was fashioned like a cross, Tindale requested a few minutes for private prayer. The request was granted, and in his last act we have fresh proof of the nobility and unselfishness of his character. Death had no terrors for him, he thought not of his own sufferings, he was but going home. His warfare accomplished, his labours completed, he but awaited his rest like a brave soldier of Christ.

Raising his eyes to heaven he prayed with all the fervour he knew: "Lord open the King of England's eyes"—a prayer which was nearer to its answer than the heroic martyr deemed. The faggots were then piled around him, and at a given signal he was first strangled,

in accordance with the law, which condemned only Anabaptists to be burned alive, and his body was then burned.

His unrelenting enemies had succeeded in cutting short his life, but his work was beyond their power. Like the seed of the parable, it has grown up into the mightiest of trees. There is scarcely a corner of the globe into which English energy has not penetrated, and wherever the English language is heard there the words in which Tindale gave the Bible to his countrymen are repeated with heart-felt reverence, as the holiest and yet the most familiar of words. These words are the first that the opening intellect and faith of the child receives from the lips of its mother, they are the last that tremble upon the lips of the dying man, as he commends his soul to God.

No voice of scandal has ever been raised against William Tindale. There are no black spots in his life, which it has been necessary for his biographers to whitewash. Truth alone can stand the test of time, and the more the life of Tindale is examined the more is he found to be deserving of the love and veneration of his countrymen.