

The Byble/

Whiche is all the holy Scrip-
 ture. In whiche are containyd the
 Olde and Newe Testaments truly
 and purely translated into Eng-
 lish by Thomas
 Watthe.

¶

¶

¶ Beweene ye heauens and
 you earth geue eare for the
 Lord speaketh.

M, D, XXXVII,

Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous lycence.

Photo from a copy at the British Museum.

[Block lent by Benham & Co., Colchester.

THE FIRST ENGLISH BIBLE WHOSE EDITOR GAVE HIS NAME.

Frontispiece]

THE ENGLISH BIBLE
UNDER THE
TUDOR SOVEREIGNS

BY
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PREFACE

THE following pages are based on direct study of early Bibles, begun a generation ago. At least one copy of every first edition has been examined. Reprints of most are on the author's shelves. A deliberate re-interpretation of some persons and episodes will be found.

It is intended to commemorate the royal order of September 1538, that a Bible of the largest size be placed in every church. A national committee regards this Injunction as crucial in inaugurating the Reformation in England, and it proposes to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary. In preparation, several pamphlets and books have been chosen, others have been revised, others are being written. This is the first to appear.

Attention is drawn here especially to Thomas Matthew's edition of 1537 for several reasons. First, because the editor was the first to give his name openly, a sign that in 1537 public opinion no longer compelled anonymity. Second, because the editor, Thomas Matthew, is a real man who has been persistently overlooked; whose identity the present writer discovered and announced in the catalogue of an exhibition of Bibles which he arranged for the corporation of Preston; whose career he recovered by research, chiefly in the borough records of

Colchester. Third, because when bishop Latimer in 1537 ordered that a Bible should be placed in his cathedral at Worcester for general reading, and when that example was improved next year by a royal injunction to do the same at every parish church, this Bible by Thomas Matthew was the edition which fulfilled the conditions; it was licensed by the king, it was the largest.

In research at Colchester, the author's work was followed up by the High Steward, Sir Gurney Benham. He discovered further details of Matthew's life, especially that in 1533 he was Chamberlain. The entry of this appointment is reproduced by his kindness.

So much material is available for illustration that it has been easy to choose what seems never before to have been published in this connection. Thanks are due to the authorities of the British and Foreign Bible Society for leave to photograph from their magnificent collection.

Mr. H. E. Illingworth of Harrogate was good enough to undertake a northern tour, and to photograph several scenes selected by the author. Some of them are reproduced in the larger edition of this book, together with pictures of Marburg and Zürich specially obtained, and two pages of the Matthew Bible chosen at the British Museum.

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* *These illustrations appear only in the cloth bound edition, published price 2/6.*

I

ERASMUS AND HIS DOUBLE TESTAMENT

Dominus dedit mihi linguam eruditam.

JESAIA 1. 4.

I

ERASMUS AND HIS DOUBLE TESTAMENT

WHEN the first of the Tudors came to the throne, no English Bible was in print: when his granddaughter died, every parish in Britain used a Church Bible, while eighty-three editions of a Family Bible had made out of two nations a people of the Book.

The Church is the living Body of Christ; like everything alive, it needs to be nourished, and from time to time, reformed. There was a double reformation of the Church of England in Tudor times; in government by king and parliament, in worship and beliefs by council and clergy. In each case, the ordinary man, the layman, asserted himself successfully to some extent. And the character of the change was due to the English Bible.

Under Henry VII, the people knew only the stories of the Bible, as they acted them in street-plays, or beheld them in church windows; yet even the magnificent series at King's College, Cambridge, gives only a hundred scenes from the Old Law and the New. Rich people had also the Golden Legend translated and printed by Caxton, which gave some of these stories in Bible words. But all was mere narrative; any teaching, whether of the prophets, of the Lord, or of His apostles, could be

read only in Latin; so the people knew nothing of Bible doctrine; and little of the devotional psalms.

When Henry left the continent to land in Wales, the printed Bible was being read in their own tongues by Jews, Germans, French, Italians, and Spanish; even Portuguese, Serbs, Slavs had portions available. It was overdue for Englishmen, and a Dutchman pointed the way. Henry's mother, Lady Margaret, "right studious in books," endowed at Cambridge the first Reader in any subject. Erasmus was appointed, and settled in Queens' College. For scholars he made a new Latin version of the New Testament. "Statues" (he wrote) "only profess to show us the outward form of his body; while these books present us with a living picture of his holy mind." Just as the English versions of Weymouth and Moffatt have quickened new interest in our generation, so his well-turned Latin attracted new scholarly readers, and made others think more of the meaning, revealed by fresh wording. His title-page invited all who loved true theology to read, learn, and thence to judge; the original Greek was, therefore, printed alongside his new version. Edition after edition was called for; the learned world took a new interest in the Word of God.

Erasmus thought and wrote in Latin; and even when preparing this version at Cambridge, he deliberately left it to Englishmen to carry his work further, and produce an English version. His preface has some sentences which have been thus rendered :

κη ἄιματος ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ. οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὕ-
 δατι μόνον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ἔτι τῷ αἵματι,
 κη τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστὶ τὸ μαρτυροῦν, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦ-
 μα ἐστὶν ἡ ἀλήθεια. ὅτι τῆς εἰσῆς οἱ μαρτυ-
 ροῦντες. τὸ πνεῦμα, κη τὸ ὕδωρ κη τὸ αἷμα.
 κη οἱ τῆς εἰσῆς εἰς τὸ εἶναι εἰσῆς. εἰ πῶς μαρτυρεῖ
 αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν. ἡ μαρτυρία ἔ-
 θεῶν μείζων ἐστὶν, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία ἔ-
 θεῶν, ἢ μεμαρτύρηκε περὶ ἡῶν αὐτῶν. ὁ ποι-
 σεύων εἰς τὸν ἡὸν τῶ θεῶν, ἔχει πῶς μαρτυ-
 ρίαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. ὁ μὴ πισεύων τῶ θεῶν, ψεύστηρ
 θεωροῖκεται αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐ πιστεύουκεν εἰς
 πῶς μαρτυρίαν ἢ μεμαρτύρηκεν ὁ θεὸς περὶ
 τῶν ἡῶν αὐτῶν. κη αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία. ὅτι ζω-
 ῆν αἰώνιον ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεός. κη αὐτῶν ἡ ζωὴ
 ἐν τῷ ἡῶν αὐτῶν ἐστὶν. ὁ ἔχων τὸν ἡὸν, ἔχει πῶς ζω-
 ῆν. ὁ μὴ ἔχων τὸν ἡὸν τῶ θεοῦ, πῶς ζωὴν οὐκ
 ἔχει. ταῦτα ἔγραψα ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς
 τὸ ὄνομα τῶ ἡοῦ τῶ θεοῦ, ἵνα εἰδῆτε, ὅτι ζωὴν
 αἰώνιον ἔχετε, κη ἵνα πιστεύετε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ἔ-
 ἷς τῶ θεοῦ. Ἐάν τις ἐστὶν ἡ παρερησία, ἢν ἔχο-

aquam & sanguinem Iesus Christus, nō
 in aqua solum, sed in aqua & sanguine.
 Et spūs est qui testificat, qm̄ spūs est ue-
 ritas. Qm̄ tres sunt q̄ testimoniū dant
 spūs & aqua & sanguis. & hi tres unum
 sunt. Si testimoniū hoīm accipimus, te-
 stimonium dei maius est, qm̄ hoc est te-
 stimonium dei qd̄ mai⁹ est, quo testificat⁹
 est de filio suo. Qui credit in filiū dei, ha-
 bet testimoniū in seipso. Qui non credit
 deo, mendacem facit eū, quia non credit
 in testimoniū qd̄ testificatus est deus de
 filio suo. Et hoc est testimoniū, qm̄ uitā
 æternam dedit nobis de⁹, & hæc uita in
 filio eius est. Qui habet filiū, habet uitā,
 qui non habet filiū, uitam nō habet.
 Hæc scripsi uobis qui creditis in nomi-
 ne filij dei, ut sciatis quod uitam habe-
 tis æternam, & ut credatis in nomine
 filij dei. Et hæc est fiducia quam habe-
 mus apud eum, q̄ si quid petierimus se-

I would have the weakest woman read the Gospels and Paul's epistles. And I wish that they were translated into all languages, that they may be read and known, not only by the Scotch and Irish, but also by the Turks and Saracens. . . . I would that the husbandman at the plough, should sing something from hence; that the weaver at his loom should hum them to the tune of his shuttle; that the traveller might beguile the weariness of his journey by narrations of this kind. Let all the intercourse of all Christians be of these things; for our daily conversations will be such as we mostly are.

In the convent of the Austin Friars at Cambridge, Miles Coverdale mused, and imbibed this hope. An Oxford graduate, William Tyndale, came to soak himself in the new atmosphere. They carried out his wishes within sixteen years. Take a glimpse at the rugged country whence their ancestors came.

A cyclist in quest of the picturesque can have a delightful round in the north. Let him start from Coverham Abbey down Coverdale, past Tunstall to the Lady Margaret's impregnable fortress of Richmond: by Wycliffe, up the Tees, to Tindale fells and tarn; down Tyne Dale past Ridley's Willimoteswyke and Wilfrid's Hexham to Cuthbert's Durham. He may then ponder over the fact that he has traversed the country which grew the Wycliffes, Tyndales, Coverdales, Tunstalls, Ridleys, Whittinghams, families whose scions were concerned with the



Bible and the Reformation. The ruins of Coverham show that types of piety which had served several generations well were abandoned even by the clergy, who had neglected their parish duties to live a clubable life. Durham shows buildings which once sheltered scores of monks, still providing public worship for all, and also housing a university, as the men of Wycliffe's day hoped. To the work of those pioneers, who had no printing-press in the fourteenth century to spread their work, we must attend briefly.

*Aures tuae audient verbum post tergum monentis,
"Haec est via, ambulate in ea."*

JESAIA XXX. 21.

II

THE WYCLIFFITE VERSIONS

*He gaf summe apostlis; summe profetis, other euan-
gelistis, other schepardis, and teachers.*

EPHESIANS iv. 11.

II

THE WYCLIFFITE VERSIONS

BERKELEY CASTLE, midway between Gloucester and Bristol, was occupied about 1387 by Lord Thomas. His chaplain was John of Trevisa, whom he set to translate various works into English. As the chaplain hesitated, wondering whether it was safe to educate the people, Lord Thomas pointed to his own castle chapel, whose walls and roof were decorated with Norman-French texts translated from a Latin commentary on the Book of Revelation. French was giving way even in court circles to English, and surely they must keep up to date! Even the French version itself, though still read by the king and his nobles, had been turned into English by two different translators before 1370.

Five years earlier, Pope Urban had demanded the annual tribute of one thousand marks promised by King John as the Pope's vassal, with arrears for thirty-three years. King Edward, therefore, asked the advice of Parliament, which passed an Act of Repudiation. Seven arguments were used: the third was that nothing should be paid except for services rendered, and the Pope rendered none; the fourth was that as one-third of the Kingdom was held in mortmain, and the Pope was the head of that dead hand, he was to that extent the vassal of the King,

and as he had always neglected his duty, he had forfeited his rights. Thus the boomerang Urban had thrown flew back with dangerous results. Parliament began to think of disendowment.

Wycliffe wrote a pamphlet on the question, and thus stepped out from a fine university career of twenty years, as a patriot. The Popes had claimed the right to "provide" their friends with English benefices. It was quite customary to pay civil servants in this way; indeed, the habit of rewarding men for their political services by providing them with deaneries and bishoprics lasted to the days of Swift, at least. But that Italians should draw English revenues in this fashion, affronted English pride; and Parliament had forbidden it in 1350. Since constant evasions took place, King Edward sent an embassy to Bruges in 1374 to make a Concordat with two legates of the Pope. It was headed by John of Gaunt, and it included Wycliffe. As the results were unsatisfactory, the "Good Parliament" two years later urged unilateral royal action.

Wycliffe was thus estranged from Papal power, as were all English laymen. Now he advanced further, and stated plainly that when churchmen persistently abused the property of the Church, kings were entitled to disendow them. This raised a storm from rich bishops and monks. Such schemes for reform threw him back on his university circle, to educate opinion at Oxford. Here the friars were of importance, and as they were international, depending on the Pope direct, they were no help

in this direction, though they had no love for bishops and monks. Their influence had excited opposition for other reasons. A generation earlier the Archbishop of Armagh had gone to the Pope, to point out how the friars were undermining the position of the parish priest, preaching in his pulpit, hearing the confession of his people. Wycliffe objected to the style of their preaching. Piers Plowman was saying that they "glosyne the Gospel as hem good liketh." Wycliffe put it that "they dock God's word, and tatter it by their rhymes so that the form that God gave it is hidden in hypocrisy." What they actually preached had very little relation to the teaching of our Lord and the apostles. This intrusion on the province of the parish priest by the friars, came home with the greater force to Wycliffe when he retired from Oxford to his parish of Lutterworth. Here, too, he came into close daily contact with the ordinary peasant, and began to realize his needs, his possibilities. It seemed an obvious plan to send out other poor preachers, who should travel exactly as the friars did, in a distinctive dress such as they wore, only English russet instead of Dominican black or Franciscan grey. Such new itinerants must be trained in the Bible.

Many educated people agreed with his plans, and helped supply the new Poor Preachers with the Bible. Two were canons of the abbey at Leicester, others still at Oxford. About 1382 they began translating "into English the gospel which Christ gave to clerks and doctors of the Church, in order

that they might sweetly minister it to laymen and weaker men." So an opponent phrased it, and declared it was casting pearls before swine. Wycliffe pointed out that as Christ and His apostles converted much people by uncovering of Scripture, and that in the tongue best known by them, the modern disciples of Christ might gather up the fragments of that same bread, and recount the faith of Christ to the people in both languages.

So long as the appeal was made to the nobility, there was nothing very novel. Anne of Bohemia, queen of Richard II, read the gospels in Latin, her native Czech, and German. Wycliffe hoped that temporal lords would "study the gospels in the tongue known to them, and bring back the Church to the order which Christ instituted." But he was reaching to a rather lower class: "one comfort is of knights, that they savour much the gospel, and have will to read in English the gospel of Christ's life." The effect of this was soon seen; and a political party took shape, known as Lollard. Wycliffe died in 1384, but his work went on, and the Bible was read freely for a dozen years.

In the Parliament of 1395, Lollard knights made a violent attack on the ecclesiastical conditions. And this produced a counter-attack to "annul the Bible that time put into English." John of Gaunt answered sharply, "We will not be refuse of all men, for sithen other nations have God's law, which is law of our belief, in their own mother language, we will have ours in English,

who that ever begrudgeth." Both measures were dropped.

This made a great difference in the attitude of the Archbishop to the English Bible. At the Queen's funeral, six months earlier, he had praised her that "she had on English all the four gospels, with the notes upon them." But as these gospels, with their advice to be content with food and clothing, were made weapons against his income, and all the wealth of the Church, henceforth he set himself against their circulation.

"The doctors upon them." This first version was equipped in the ordinary way, with a prologue to each book, and a selection of notes. Three such "glosses" or collections of notes were familiar in Latin, the Ordinary of 840, the Interlinear of 1100, the Golden by Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican friar; besides a commentary by Nicholas de Lyra, a Franciscan friar. What had been done hitherto was to imitate what had been done with the Lindisfarne Latin gospels, providing an almost word-for-word version into English, and to accompany it with notes from the standard commentators. But henceforth the Archbishop objected to this being circulated: what was fit for university scholars might be fit for nobles, but hardly for knights, and certainly not for burgesses and peasants.

For quite different reasons, John Purvey, the secretary of Wycliffe, was dissatisfied. The text was uncouth English, the notes were antiquated. And he was at work revising. By 1397 the revision

was ready, in a far more popular style. It was just in time, for John of Gaunt died two years later, and Richard II was dethroned. The new King needed support, and received it from the bishops, on the tacit condition that the policy of disendowment should be opposed. "Heresy" was the stalking-horse; and a Lollard was burned for this in 1400.

A great debate was soon held at Oxford in regular university style: "Whether, since it was lawful for S. Jerome to translate the sacred canon from Hebrew and Greek into Latin, it is in like manner lawful to translate it into other tongues, less principal and less beautiful." Purvey wrote a pamphlet on the matter, quoting the Archbishop's commendation of the Queen. This brought the archbishop, in 1407, down to Oxford, where he convoked a synod of clergy in his province, which passed thirteen constitutions dealing with Lollardry. The seventh ordained that no one should in future translate on his own authority any text of Holy Scripture into the English tongue. Also that no man should read this kind of book "now recently composed in the time of the said John Wycliffe, or later," until that translation should be approved by the diocesan.

Purvey inspired a Lollard petition for disendowment, and the erection of fifteen universities with the proceeds. This was duly presented to Parliament in 1410, but was not even enrolled as a Bill, much less passed into an Act. With that effort, Parliamentary action ceased; and Purvey disappeared from public life, into hiding or prison.

His Bible survived. The upper classes had fine copies made for them; humbler folk copied portions for themselves; one hundred and fifty specimens survive to-day. How extensively they were read is plain by the way their phrases passed into current English. We see the same phenomenon to-day; the B.B.C. in 1936 gave a list of phrases which were not to be used in broadcasting, because, however popular they are, they are direct quotations from the Bible. Just in the same way, when in the sixteenth century Tyndale was making a new translation and not depending on written books, he unwittingly and naturally used phrases familiar from childhood, which were really the words of Purvey.

When, at length, the English Bible did find its way into print, five men did great work within only thirty-one years. After that, the typically English plan of committees came into play. But whatever their merit in producing versions acceptable to the average man by ironing out many peculiarities, they only used the materials provided by five predecessors. Tyndale was a university scholar, Coverdale an Austin Friar, Matthew a country fishmonger, Taverner a civil servant, Whittingham a musical ambassador. Each of these made a distinct contribution in those early days, when the language and the form were still plastic, before the famous Genevan Bible was dedicated to Elizabeth and was made the Authorized Version in Scotland. We turn to the leader, easily chief, William Tyndale.

Fyve were wyse.

III

TYNDALE, THE TRANSLATOR

*Yf ye be ledde of the sprete, then are ye not vnder
the lawe.*

GALATIANS v. 18.

III

TYNDALE, THE TRANSLATOR

WILLIAM TYNDALE was born in Gloucestershire of a family named Hychins, which, however, was equally known by the district whence it had come, the Tyne Dale. It was of importance enough for his brother, Edward, to be receiver for the crown of the Berkeley rents, as that estate had been bequeathed to King Henry VII; while his brother John became a merchant in London. William graduated at Oxford, then spent some six years at Cambridge. He missed Erasmus in person, but breathed the oxygen liberated by him. His fourteen years at the two universities were well spent, he acquired both the old learning and the new. Even his opponents paid tribute to his competence: Chancellor More called him studious, well-learned in scripture, prettily learned. After he had been a few years on the continent, a leading Humanist declared he was so skilled in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, French, that whichever he spoke you would suppose it his native tongue.

One of the earliest works of Erasmus was a Latin Handbook for a Christian Knight; whose leading idea was, to be sincere, not hampered by convention. While Tyndale was at Cambridge, an Austin Friar,

Martin Luther, professor at the new university of Wittenberg had followed Colet of Oxford in applying this advice to his public lectures, and expounding the epistles of St. Paul. He was led on to theology by the appearance of a Dominican Friar selling "pardons from Rome all hot," and thus obscuring the need for penitence—a provocation akin to that experienced by Wycliffe. An offer of a formal university debate in the usual style led rapidly to novel opinions on many matters. At this stage Erasmus re-issued his Latin Handbook with a very up-to-date preface; and Luther soon got into touch with him. The university disputations widened rapidly, taking on a political aspect as in Wycliffe's day. Luther issued a German book, recounting the financial extortions of the clergy, local and at Rome; and he appealed to the German nation, as spiritual priests, to carry out reforms of many kinds, which were refused by the clergy. Soon afterwards he addressed the world of letters, in an attack on accepted doctrines, especially those connected with transubstantiation; and he gave this book the telling title "De Captivitate Babyloniaca." A third book, in both Latin and German, he sent to the Pope, with a message which condensed it all, "I submit to no laws in interpreting the Word of God." This crossed his formal excommunication by the Pope; and when Luther publicly burned that document, western Europe realized that it was facing a crisis of the first importance.

Cambridge, indeed, had been deeply interested,

and many sympathized with Luther. Wolsey was founding a splendid college at Oxford, and was enquiring for the finest scholars he could find. Tyndale was approached, and, till the college was ready, he returned to his native county, now managed by Wolsey, as the bishop's revenues paid an Italian, the king's agent at Rome. He became chaplain to Sir John Walsh at Little Sodbury. At Sir John's manor house he met many abbots, deans, archdeacons and other learned men; and there was constant talk of Luther, Erasmus, and the teaching of scripture. So Tyndale followed the example of Trevisa, and turned the Handbook of Erasmus into English, for the benefit of Sir John and his lady. The result was that the Church dignitaries were no longer welcome. Naturally they made a counter-attack on Tyndale, at the usual visitation by the chancellor of the diocese; but as there was no definite charge, and he declared he meant no harm, nothing happened. He consulted an ex-chancellor, who startled him by saying that the Pope was anti-christ. Pondering over this, he trod the same path that Wycliffe had trodden, and that Luther was quietly treading in Germany. "I perceived by experience how that it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother-tongue." Nor did he conceal this decision, but in a discussion with a learned man who frankly exalted the Pope's laws above God's, Tyndale served himself heir to Erasmus by the utterance, "If God

spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the scripture than thou doest."

Now in Spain there lay at the printers a magnificent edition of the scriptures in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; but Erasmus had secured from the King of Spain, who was also Emperor, copyright till 1520 for his Latin Testament, with the Greek text alongside; so the Spanish Polyglot was not yet on sale. Erasmus had revised his Latin version, with a slight revision of the Greek. Tyndale obtained this, and began a translation, direct from the Greek, as that of Erasmus had been.

For this work there was no object in staying at Sodbury. Sir John Walsh gave him a letter of introduction to Sir Henry Guildford who had been at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and had just been promoted as Comptroller of the royal household. But King Henry had taken the unprecedented step of publishing a book against Luther, for which the Pope conferred on him the title, Defender of the Faith. Also Henry and Wolsey were chafing under a refusal of Parliament to levy a tax that he asked for. Sir Henry saw no prospect of the King becoming his patron, and recommended him to apply to the new Bishop of London for a chaplaincy—Colet, unfortunately, had died four years before.

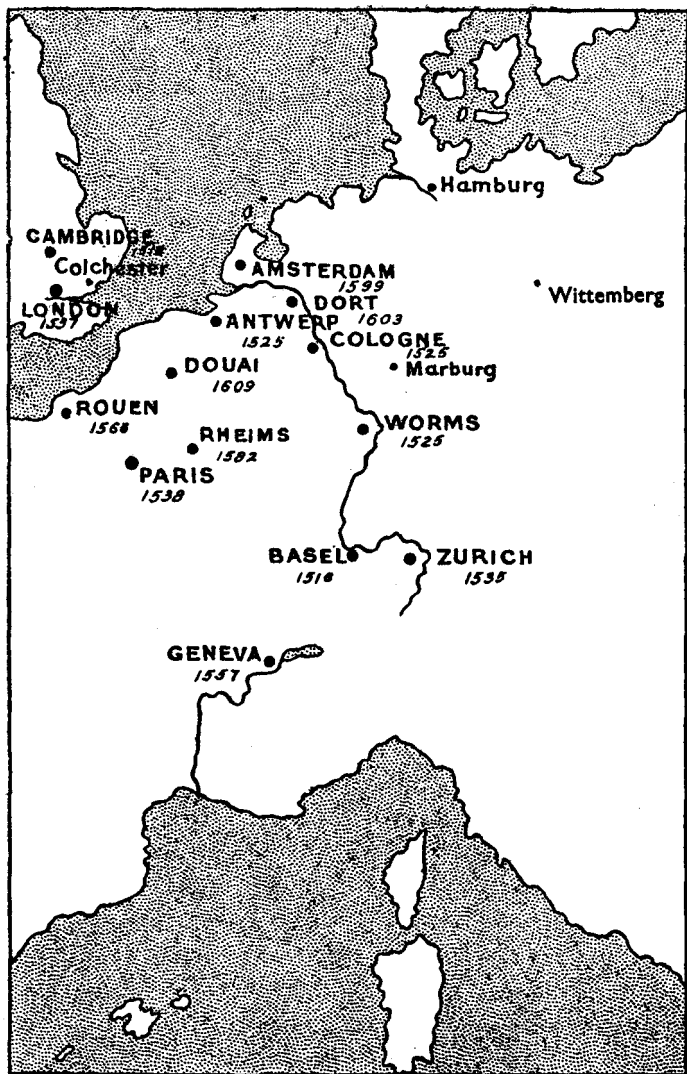
Cuthbert Tunstall might help, for several reasons. He also had studied at both Oxford and Cambridge, had graduated in law at Padua, and knew both Hebrew and Greek. He had been taken into the

royal service, and on an embassy with Thomas More to Brussels he had lodged with Erasmus, who sent to the town-clerk of Antwerp an introduction of these "two most learned men of all England, my warmest friends." The King had just appointed him Lord Privy Seal, and by "provision" of the Pope, he was now Bishop of London. If Tyndale could secure leave from him, then his projected version might circulate in this important diocese: so to assure Tunstall of his competence, he took with him a version of a speech by Isocrates of Athens—whose works attracted no other translator till 1880.

But Tunstall had also been ambassador at the Diet of Worms, where he heard Luther refuse to accept the authority of Pope or Councils, opposing to them "the text of the Bible; my conscience is captive to the word of God." Luther had been outlawed, but had been protected by a lay noble against the powers of Church and State, while he had prepared a fresh German New Testament, furnished with violent controversial notes, calculated to upset all Church order. Tunstall might well feel that the Word of God, thus handled, would encourage a break-away, and promote heresy. So he offered Tyndale no encouragement, simply saying that he could not lack opportunity in London.

Wolsey's college scheme was hanging fire. His plan for financing it was not calculated to soothe monks; he was asking leave from the Pope to empty an Oxford monastery, and to use its buildings for

teaching; also to transfer the members of other small monasteries all over the country to larger establishments, and to divert their revenues to his new colleges. This ominous precedent was not permitted till 1524. Tyndale, therefore, looked away from Wolsey and Tunstall, from the Comptroller of the royal household, and made friends with a humbler class, the city merchants. A rich clothier, Humphrey Monmouth, who had business connections with the wool-growing Tyndales of Gloucestershire, heard him preach in Fleet Street. Monmouth was already a "Scripture-man," and he engaged Tyndale as his chaplain. He was at once rewarded with a copy of the Handbook, thus turned to account not for a knight, but for a merchant. Now Humphrey was a traveller; he had been to Rome, to Jerusalem, and Tyndale's horizon widened. When he found no likelihood of help towards translation from Church or State in England, he decided to go abroad for the purpose. Monmouth gave him £10, doubled by other friends; most liberal gifts, for a penny then bought as much food as a shilling does now. Tyndale sailed for Hamburg in 1524. He reached it in time to find that Luther had published not only the New Testament, but also part of the Old Testament in German, at Wittemberg, and thither he speedily repaired. In this atmosphere, where probably he first made acquaintance with German and Hebrew, he completed his translation of the New Testament with the help of a secretary, a Franciscan who had deserted his friary at Greenwich. Unfortunately



he added to it many notes breathing the controversy of Luther. But he had sense enough not to print it at Wittenberg, which would in itself prevent any circulation in England. He sailed round to the Rhine, receiving through the German merchants of the Steelyard further remittances from London, and went up to Cologne.

At first sight, it is a wonder he did not stop at Antwerp, a centre of Bible-printing, with a House of English Merchants still to be seen, protected by local law, within which he had friends. But the Emperor had just ordered that every manuscript must be approved by censors before printing; he had established a Civil Inquisition for heresy, and two Austin Friars had been burned. Cologne, therefore, was safer at the moment. It was a great centre of printing, whence five Latin Bibles had issued, with a psalter in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Ethiopic; and a Dutch version of Luther's Testament was about to be undertaken. The prince-bishop was uncertain in his religious sympathies, but was listening to Erasmus and Melanchthon.

Tyndale spoiled his opportunity by letting Quentel, the printer, adopt a style which instantly suggested Luther. References to parallel passages were placed on the inner margin; and notes on the outer. In the same printing-office, the Dean of Frankfort, who had been driven away by riots, was editing the works of a long-dead Benedictine abbot in order to show that he had not paved the way for Luther. He found out what was going on, persuaded the Senate to stop



MATTHEW THE EVANGELIST

the work of Tyndale, and crowned his victory amusingly by having one of Tyndale's woodcuts cut down to illustrate Abbot Rupert's commentary on Matthew.

Tyndale and his secretary secured what sheets were already printed, and went up Rhine to Worms, where the authorities sympathized with such work. The dean went to a patrician of Cologne, who knew King Henry, and sent full particulars to the King, to Wolsey, and to Bishop Fisher, that they might forbid the Testaments to be imported. The news that they were like Luther's in style, and in the addition of controversial notes, secured attention, as we shall see.

Tyndale did his best to remedy the mishap, and fortunately was not tied up for money. He found a printer who hitherto had done no Bible work. This time, all notes whatever were discarded, and a plain text was set up, in octavo form, with a dozen woodcuts to depict the authors of the books. Yet he was foolish enough to associate it with Luther, who was not enamoured of four books, Hebrews, James, Jude, Revelation; and had separated them, printed only as an appendix. Tyndale actually did the same thing, contrary to the custom of all Christendom. "His xxij bokes conteyned in the newe Testament ended with the thryd pistle of S. Jhon, though the other four were added without numbers. He prefixed an address To the Reder, but did not give his name." Three thousand copies were sent to English merchants in their House at Antwerp; also the copies of the

The booke conteyned in the newe Testament.

- i The gospell of saynct Mathew
ii The gospell of S. Marke
iii The gospell of S. Luke
iiii The gospell of S. Ihon
v The actes of the apostles written by S. Luke
vi The epistle of S. Paul to the Romans
vii The fyrst pistle of S. Paul to the Corinthyans
viii The second pistle of S. Paul to the Corinthyans
ix The pistle of S. Paul to the Galathians.
x The pistle of S. Paul to the Ephesians.
xi The pistle of S. Paul to the Philippians
xii The pistle of S. Paul to the Collossians
xiii The fyrst pistle of S. Paul vnto the Tesselonians
xiv The seconde pistle of S. Paul vnto the Tesselonians
xv The fyrst pistle of S. Paul to Timothe.
xvi The seconde pistle of S. Paul to Timothe.
xvii The pistle of S. Paul to Titus
xviii The pistle of S. Paul vnto Philemon
xix The fyrst pistle of S. Peter
xx The seconde pistle of S. Peter
xxi The fyrst pistle of S. Ihon
xxii The seconde pistle of S. Ihon
xxiii The thryd pistle of S. Ihon

The pistle vnto the Ebrues
The pistle of S. James
The pistle of Jude
The revelacion of Ihon.

Matthew-Mark quarto fragment salvaged from Cologne: both were smuggled into England. The German printers had served Tyndale well, and his secretary had read the proofs capitally. The type was black-letter, common then in all north Europe. The usual contractions were employed for m, n, r; cā, moūtayne, pacher; with &. Otherwise the book is easier to read than a modern Bible, for it is in paragraphs, not numbered sentences, and is not in two columns. In the quarto Matthew-Mark, reference is given to marginal notes by an asterisk and a hand, alternately.

He adopted the principle of Erasmus in the new Latin version, giving new words, and so compelling people to think. Thus he translated, "Yf he heare not them, tell hit unto the cōgregacion." This ought to have conciliated monks who daily in their chapter-houses told the whole brotherhood their sins and difficulties. Occasionally he did not go as far as Wycliffe, for he did not translate "one i or one dot." "Jott" is his own taking over of the Hebrew word into English; and he had to put a note to explain that "Jott is the leest letter that the grekes or the hebrues have." In this case his text has given us a proverb, often quoted, but whose exact meaning very few understand. Other notes are enlightening and amusing; to say that, "Racha ys the whoarse soūde in the throate and betokeneth all sygnes of wrath," might have prompted Browning's "Grr-r-r, you swine." Other remarks were inspired by the principle that "the dangers which arise from reading certain more difficult passages may be obviated by

suitable notes," as Cardinal Allen afterwards said to justify his own.

The importance of a first edition in fixing the language is very great. After the severe criticism that this rendering received, after all the amendments of four centuries, yet an actual count of four passages containing 1109 words, shows that 796 are retained to-day by both Protestants and Catholics.

For a few years Tyndale turned his attention to exposition of the Bible, and to practical advice about conduct. At the new University of Marburg, in a pamphlet on *The Wicked Mammon*, he set forth the doctrine of Justification by Faith. Its preface for the first time avowed that the New Testament was his work. A larger book, on the *Obedience of a Christian Man*, attacked the Pope and the clergy for disobeying secular authority, in the teeth of the orders, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; The powers that be, are ordained of God; Be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether to the king as supreme, or unto governors as sent by him." That suited Henry most perfectly: next year he called a parliament, and after Wolsey's death he charged the clergy with breaking the statute of *Premunire*, fined them heavily, compelled them to stop making canons without his leave, and to submit all their existing canons for revision to a committee, of which half were to be Members of Parliament.

While Tyndale was at Marburg, the landgrave of Hesse asked Luther and his North German friends

to meet Zwingli of Zürich and his South German friends at a conference, with a view to a joint manifesto. Although in one detail Luther held back, they were able to put forth fourteen Articles, which showed among other things their agreement as to the Word of God, tradition, and the authority of lay rulers. From this time, Tyndale found himself more in sympathy with Zwingli than with Luther; and English reformers as a whole looked henceforth to Switzerland rather than to Saxony.

Meantime his New Testament was circulating abundantly, without his aid; authors are not printers and publishers and retailers. Antwerp swarmed with these. More than fifty printers worked here; between 1501 and 1540 they published 1,483 books. By 1530 they had issued six Testaments and Bibles in Dutch, one in Danish, three in Latin, three in French. The last of these was very magnificent, with leave from the Emperor, and was destined to have much influence on an English Bible.

Two of the Antwerp editions of Tyndale's New Testament were printed by Johan Ruremonde, who had connections with the English market, and remarkably enough, had recently published the summary of the Canon Law of England, prohibiting the use of unauthorized versions of the Scriptures. This new version caught his attention, and he printed 5,000 copies of the Worms New Testament; as he evidently expected, a lawsuit showed that he had done nothing against Antwerp law. Then he

in person smuggled hundreds of copies into London, and found a customer at 9*d.* each, in Simon Fish near the White Friars.

Meanwhile Tunstall had asked More to read Lutheran books for the purpose of confuting heresy; and More had made a close study of Luther and of Tyndale's controversial books. It now proved that his work as a translator was gravely hindered by his mixing two things, and that his version was prejudiced by the violence of his language elsewhere. More had wished for a good English translation of the New Testament, as Erasmus had suggested; and though he knew it might be misused, "a commodity ought not to be kept back for the harm that may come of it." He therefore wished the bishops to have a good translation made by scholars, to print it at their own expense, and to distribute it for devotional use. But Tyndale the Reformer had spoiled the chance for a free circulation of his New Testament; and on More's report, Tunstall forbade the circulation, and got More publicly to show why. It is a sad episode, for More in his devotional works has given several fine translations of his own; and Tunstall must have regretted too late that he had turned away Tyndale from his door. At this time, he acted on More's report, and threw Ruremonde into the Fleet prison. And contrary to More's advice, he now spent his money in buying up all the Testaments he could hear of, to make a public bonfire. Of his tardy repentance, and his positive help later on, we shall hear again.

Meantime it proved useless to burn Testaments: the book was the best-seller. Johan's brother smuggled in more copies, and paid for it by dying in another prison. Johan sold out all his first edition within a few months, letting mere book-sellers take the risk of smuggling the remainder. He got back to Antwerp, and printed a better edition, illustrated, 5,000 copies more. He lacked, however, a good proof-reader, and the third Antwerp edition, by his sister-in-law Catharyn, was declared to have bad mistakes. She at once engaged the critic, a Fellow of Peterhouse at Cambridge, and in August, 1534, got out a fourth edition. At this stage Tyndale came into the picture again.

He had profited by his new knowledge of Hebrew. As this was acquired chiefly from Jews, he could hardly do less than start with their Law, though the Psalms were of far more value to Christians. The five books came out one by one, printed really at Antwerp, though bearing the imprint of Marburg. They were issued together in 1530-1. Then he translated Jonah, seeing in that book, with its call to repentance, a most timely message to England, which he drove home in a vivid prologue. The title hints that the Bible had been locked up in Latin by Pharisees who were unwilling for ordinary people to understand it; that the successors of Peter would lend no key to open it; that the traditional teaching by men made the word of God to be of little effect. Such ideas so captivated his thought that he turned again to exposition and polemics, till the great printer,

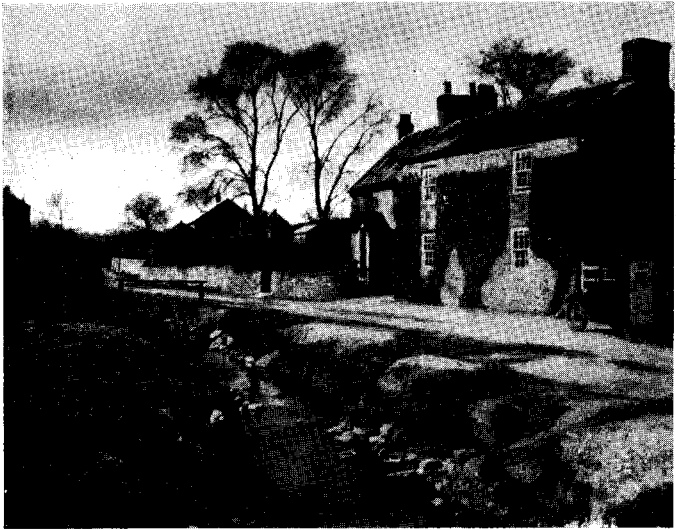
The prophete

Jonas / with an introducciō before teachin
ge to Vnderstōde him and the right vse al-
so of all the scripture / and why it was writ
ten / and what is therein to be sought / and
shewenge wherewith the scripture is loc-
ked vpp that he which readeth it / can not
Vnderstōde it / though he studie therein ne-
uer so moch: and agayne with what keyes
it is so opened / that the reader can be
stopped out with no sotilte or fal-
se doctrine of man / from the
true sense and Vnder-
standynge ther-
of.

Martin de Keyser, urged him to revise his Testament as he had promised.

He was now lodging in the Merchants' House, where, with a secretary and a proof-reader, he could work at leisure, with abundance of helps available in this printers' paradise. And so in November there appeared his revision, which was, in all, the seventh edition. It appeared in a form worthy of the Imperial printer, and proved to contain references, summaries, notes; with prologues to the epistles. These he regarded as the kernel of the Testament, the advanced teaching for which the Lord had promised to the apostles the guidance of the Spirit, but which had been unknown to the general public for centuries. Appended were the few short Old Testament lessons read on certain days of the year.

English bookbinders were raising objections to these thousands of Testaments coming from abroad, and secured an order that only sheets might be imported. Johan Ruremonde, therefore, settled in England, naturalized, and set up as a bookbinder, while his sister-in-law brought out an eighth edition, improved by her editor, appropriating some of Tyndale's revisions. Tyndale's printer arranged with a comrade to publish, and issued a second revision in 1535, this time without notes; it was reprinted thrice next year in quarto, three or four times in octavo. Thus by the end of 1536 there were at least fifteen editions, besides the Cologne Matthew-Mark. There was little opposition to this flood; for

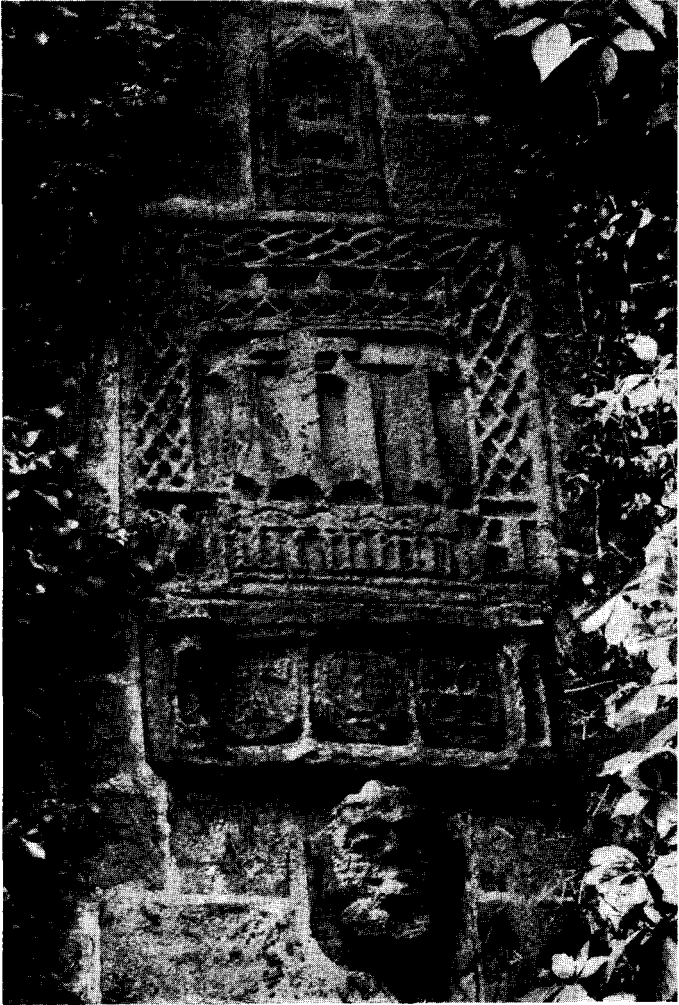


THE VILLAGE OF TUNSTALL.



[Both photographed for this book by H. E. Illingworth, of Harrogate.]

BRIDGE IN COVERDALE



[Telephotographed for this book by H. E. Illingworth, Harrogate.
CREST OF COVERHAM ABBEY.

Plate 2]

[Facing page 49

Chancellor More, who had opposed the idea, was dead, and Tunstall had long ago gone to Durham as bishop-palatine. His successor, Stokesley, was not a strong man, and was at one with Tyndale in his opposition to the power of the Pope. Moreover, Henry intended to rule the Church as vigorously as Wolsey had done, and he appointed as his vicar-general a secretary of Wolsey, who had helped close the small monasteries, Thomas Cromwell. A layman now presided over Convocation!

To Cromwell, who held high civil office as well as being the acting Head of the Church, Anne Boleyn sent a letter asking that as Richard Harman had, in Wolsey's time, been expelled from the Merchants' House at Antwerp because he had helped Tyndale, he should be restored. This is probably the reason why Tyndale in 1535 printed a copy of his first revision on vellum, and sent it to her. It is a treasure to-day in the British Museum.

But a blow came from an unexpected quarter. The son of the custom-house officer at Poole enticed Tyndale out of the privileged Merchants' House, at the end of May; he was arrested and taken to the State prison on a charge of heresy. He was not badly treated there, and was allowed his Hebrew Bible, grammar and dictionary. His trial took place next year, and no defence was possible. Several pleas for mercy, one even from Cromwell, were left unheeded, and in October, 1536, he was garotted at a stake, where his body was at once burnt.

His Hebrew books had not been sent in vain.

A manuscript translation from Joshua to Chronicles was rescued by Essex friends at the Merchants' House, and an Essex merchant was there in September on purpose to edit it. Would that the House records had survived the Spanish Fury! Before that story is told, a second pioneer claims attention, Miles Coverdale.

*To read ye scripture is ye right vse thereof and
why ye holy gost caused it to be written.*

TYNDALE'S PROLOGUE TO JONAS.

IV

COVERDALE: EDITOR OF THE FIRST
ENGLISH BIBLE

Baruch the scribe wrote all the sermons that were in the first booke, which Ioachim the kynge off Iuda dyd burne. And there were added vnto them many more sermons than before.

JEREMY xxxvij. D.

IV

COVERDALE: EDITOR OF THE FIRST ENGLISH BIBLE

COVERDALE was a Yorkshireman who had entered the Austin Friars, the order to which Luther belonged. Its objects included teaching, the cure of souls, and missions. It had done fair work at Oxford, but its only distinguished member in England had been John Capgrave of Lynn, who in the fifteenth century edited a good collection of the lives of English saints. Some Austin Friars had the honour of accompanying Cabot on his voyage to Newfoundland in 1497, but there were too few natives for them to establish a mission. Their provisions for preaching may still be seen in their London house with its large nave.

Coverdale was stationed at Cambridge as early as 1514. The head of the house was Thomas Barnes, who graduated D.D. nine years later. The Friars had quickly heard about the proceedings of their German professor, Luther; and these were discussed not only in their convent, but among a wider circle at an inn which earned the nickname, Germany. Moreover, Prior Barnes in the course of his duty preached, and so evidently reproduced Luther's teaching that he was arrested in full convocation, and taken to London, Coverdale accompanying him to help. When Barnes was bidden recant or burn, he

chose the former; Wolsey attended the ceremony at St. Paul's. Barnes was put in custody at the London house, whence he escaped to Antwerp in 1528. It was probably at this time Coverdale made the acquaintance of Cromwell at Chancellor More's house, to which he alludes in an undated letter. This is important as saying that he now began to taste of Holy Scripture, was devoting himself to its study, and desired books.

Soon afterwards, an Austin Friar of Stoke Clare, who was doing duty at Steeple Bumpstead in Essex, retired from the order and dressed as an ordinary priest. He was taken before Tunstall, and excused himself as being influenced by Coverdale. In fact, this leaving the order, a thing done by Erasmus only with leave of the Pope, was becoming general in the neighbourhood of Luther, and Coverdale himself did the same thing. Remarkably enough, he did not get into trouble. He graduated at Cambridge in 1531, openly. It is singular that he chose to go out in Canon Law, a study which was on the verge of being revolutionized. Is it possible that a hint from Cromwell made him qualify to take part in codifying and revising it? In any case, there was no opening for him as yet, and he left England. Most of the tales as to his doings till 1535 cannot be borne out by any evidence. Only one deserves a little attention.

In 1609 enquiry was made as to the terms on which the Dutchmen in London were possessed of the nave of the former church of the Austin Friars, and a man born in Antwerp in 1535 deposed that his father,

Coverdale: Editor Of The First English Bible 55

Jacob van Meteren, had helped obtain the grant through Coverdale, whom he had employed to translate the Bible. There are two impossible details in the story, 'easy to explain; but, on the main fact, the Dutch merchant seems credible.

Coverdale gave evidence in 1534 of his ability as a translator from the German and from the Latin. And next year he avowed himself the translator out of these two languages of a complete English Bible. He mentioned five sources; these were really, Zwingli's German version, published at Zürich; Luther's German, completed three years later; a new Latin version by Pagninus, an Italian D.D., patronized by Pope Leo, and given copyright by two later Popes; the familiar Vulgate Latin; and Tyndale. It is remarkable that he neglected Erasmus, but he continued to ignore him for a long time; apparently he wished to conciliate the old school by his use of the Vulgate. From the new Papal edition he borrowed a novel idea, separating the Apocrypha from the Old Testament, and printing them in a section of their own, before the New Testament. The influence of Zwingli is seen in another respect. Zürich had issued five German Testaments or Bibles by 1534, Froschower being the printer. The type of Coverdale's Bible is the type owned by Froschower. It was decorated by sixty-eight different woodcuts, used two or three times over; the result was a fine folio volume, 13½ inches by 8, in double column. It was prefaced by an address to Henry "supreme heade of the Church of Englonde with his dearest

just wyfe, and most vertuous Prynnesse, Quene Anne." This was awkward, as after the printing was finished on 4th October, 1535, Anne was charged with being not virtuous; she was executed on 19th May, 1536. Next day Henry had another wife, Jane Seymour. The English importers botched this address in some copies, then scrapped the introductory pages and printed others instead, with a map of the "holy londe." It is worthy of note that they had no trouble in bringing in the sheets. The opposition was dying a natural death. Indeed, in December, 1534, the bishops, abbots and priors of the province of Canterbury, headed by Thomas Cranmer, when asking that books of suspected doctrine be called in, asked the King to name some upright and learned men who should translate the Holy Scripture into English. They did not specify clerics, though they did object to laymen disputing publicly; they did not enter any objection to Tyndale's work.

The notes which Coverdale wrote were of various kinds. He scarcely ever acknowledged that he did not understand the meaning, and give an alternative in the text or the margin; though some of his sentences really convey no meaning at all to the average reader. There is a "Prologe to the Christen Reader" at the beginning; also an address by the "Translatoure" at the head of the "Apocripha." At the head of most books is a summary by chapters, "What this boke conteyneth." This set the fashion for others in later revisions to give summaries at the head of each chapter and each page; but very few editors

have revived the time-honoured custom of giving a general preface to each book, telling why and when and by whom it was written. He gave footnotes to parallel passages, a form of note extremely ancient in the gospels; these are now quite profuse. He wrote no doctrinal notes, to emphasize some special point of teaching; this came to a head with the Genevan Bible. He wrote none to combat some doctrine or practice that he considered wrong; these were at the moment too common and irritating, and had seriously damaged the prospects of Tyndale's work. He did not give devotional applications, such as Matthew Henry and Wesley supplied. He did not even follow Erasmus, whether in adding lengthy "Annotacions" after the text, or in publishing separate "Paraphrases" to explain the contents popularly.

All such matters are the work of an editor, as distinct from a translator, and they may appeal to different classes of readers. They are embroideries, and the plain text of Scripture is the foundation of all. We shall have frequent opportunity to see how various editors in the Tudor century understood their duties, and how two kings bade them limit themselves to straightforward translation. On the whole, this book revealed Coverdale as a competent translator and editor, and prepared the way for another piece of work which proved far more important.

An octavo New Testament was soon reprinted from it; and in Southwark, during 1537, a folio Bible and a quarto; then in 1538 a Testament with

the Vulgate, and when Coverdale disavowed it as he had not seen the proofs, another edition was read by Johan Ruremonde of Antwerp, now known as Johan Hollybushe of London. Coverdale saw one through the press in Paris. Another printer put out an Antwerp edition of the English Testament, with a concordance in the margin and many annotations; and in 1539 he followed it up with another, claiming to have the King's licence: while he never seems to have asked Coverdale's leave.

Coverdale's greatest service was not in his own original translation, but in some editing yet to be recounted. Meantime, a third man came forward independently; not a university scholar like Tyndale, knowing seven languages; not a university friar like Coverdale, educated for the law; but a plain merchant who for twenty years had studied the Bible, and now himself prepared a new edition, the grandparent of our Authorized Version.

*Lorde, I am not hye mynded,
I have no proude lokes,*

THE CXXX. PSALM

V

THOMAS MATTHEW OF COLCHESTER
Editor of the first Bible licensed for reading.

*A noble Councilloure, which also loked for the kyngdome
of God.*

S. MARKE xv. c.

V

THOMAS MATTHEW OF COLCHESTER

Editor of the first Bible licensed for reading.

THOMAS MATTHEW was a merchant from London, who was created a burgess of Colchester in 1516. This town had been the centre of the oyster trade from the days of Julius Cæsar; and Matthew became a fishmonger.

In this district there was an early and continuous tradition of Lollardry, with its source the reading of the Bible. Even in 1376 John Ball, who had been cited for heresy, was near Colchester. Men suffered at intervals, and in 1429 the abbot of St. John's, just outside the walls, petitioned the King for an enquiry as to Lollardry, with the result that another was burned in November. Sixty years later, King Henry VII had ordered another enquiry on the matter. A new inn was being decorated, and the painter wrote on the hangings some Bible texts; this had been done at Berkeley castle, but for wayfarers it was a different matter, and he was lodged in Lollard's Tower at Lambeth.

Ten years before Matthew settled, the Prior of St. Osyth's had been accused of heresy, and with five others had been obliged to do penance at St. Paul's Cross. Only five years before he settled, James Brewster of Colchester was excommunicated, and was handed over by the bishop to the sheriff,

to be burned. While Matthew was still in London, a great commotion was caused by the death of Richard Hun in Lollard's Tower, for which Chancellor Horsey was found guilty of murder. Now Hun had been studying the Revelation, the epistles, and the gospels, in English. And when his body was burned, there was committed to the flames his annotated Bible.—All these books were, of course, the Wycliffite version in manuscript.

Matthew married a widow, Marion Westden, who had a daughter of the same name. They were eager students of the Bible, belonging to a group of more than twenty people which met often for the purpose; it included tailors, weavers, a fletcher of arrows, a blacksmith, and a Dutchman. Young Marion became so interested that she knew by heart the epistles and the gospels. Her mother owned a copy of the Revelation, of the first gospel, and presently acquired a New Testament.

Colchester was leavened with this form of devotion. The fact may have contributed to Matthew being placed on the Second Council in 1519. That year there is a glimpse of a man at Steeple Bumpstead, rich in owning both the four evangelists, and the epistles: it will be remembered that an Austin Friar had the same tastes here, rather later. Matthew's house in Colchester now became the centre for this circle.

When, however, Luther's views on doctrine became known, Tunstall sent his vicar-general in 1527 to see if they were making headway in Colchester, and a thorough investigation took place.

Matthew was sent up to London for examination by the bishop himself; he satisfied him by abjuring any heresy, and was let off with a fine. The borough immediately promoted him to the First Council.

It is important that while Tunstall obtained much information about the copies of the Scriptures, and their study, he now raised no objection. None were burned, none were confiscated, so far as the records show. They do show great progress. In 1526 the Steeple Bumpstead man had been offered both the Cologne gospels and a complete New Testament, printed. There were two agencies in London for these new books, Geoffrey Usher of St. Antony's, and the Austin Friary; the price there was 3s. 2d., while a Lombard colporteur retailed in Colchester at four shillings. So another Colchester man speculated in 300 copies, bought from a Dutchman—evidently Johan Ruremonde. In 1530 Richard Bayfield, a monk of Bury St. Edmunds, who also had been in trouble with Tunstall, brought a consignment by sea direct to Colchester, including the new Genesis.

Matthew was now of considerable importance in Colchester, as is shown by the many deeds in which



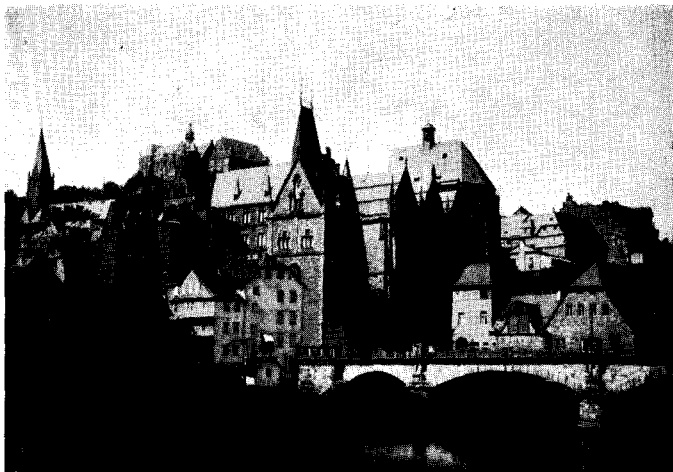
Reduced facsimile of entry in the parchment Court Roll of Colchester, Tuesday, Sept. 30th, 1533, recording the election of Thomas Mathewe as Chamberlain of the town. The original is 7½ inches across. Extended the record is: "Cam[erarius] ville, scilicet Thomas Mathewe fysshemonger. Juratus." ("Chamberlain of the town, to wit Thomas Mathewe, fishmonger. Sworn.")

he was concerned. In 1533 he received further promotion, being appointed Chamberlain of the borough, in which capacity he had to make records, in Latin. He was still on the First Council till the year ending 30th September, 1536. At that date he did not seek re-election. William Tyndale, whose Testament he had studied deeply, was in prison, and was actually executed in October, 1536. Some one must take up Elijah's mantle, as he soared to heaven in his chariot of fire. Straight, therefore, for Antwerp, and its Merchants' House.

The first thing was to secure the best translation possible. Without doubt, Tyndale's revision was best for the New Testament, with his revised Genesis, and the other four books of Moses. And these were all to hand in Antwerp. With Jonah it was different; it was only a seven-page tract, and apparently it was not to be obtained, and there was no name of printer given: it is so rare that it was lost till 1861.

There was, however, a treasure in the continuation from Joshua to Chronicles, done by Tyndale in prison. It is noteworthy that the jailer, the law-court, the city authorities, had placed no obstacle in the way of this work: heresy was a crime, translating the Bible was not. A very careful examination of this section in Matthew's Bible has shown that the language and the grammar are in Tyndale's style; thus the tradition is borne out that it is his work, here printed for the first time.

For Ezra to Malachi, and the Apocrypha, Coverdale's work was taken over. He had overlooked one



TOWN AND CASTLE OF MARBURG.



Ansicht des Kreuzgangs im Grossmünster

[Photoglob-Wehrli-Vouga, A. G., Zürich.

CLOISTER OF THE GREAT MINSTER AT ZÜRICH.

Plate 3]

[Facing page 64

Unto the Kynges Maiestye.

knoweth any man what chaunge may fall. But for: & fortunate & prosperous estate of this our tyme (so farre as concerneth thys your graces Reaulme) are hygge and increasable chances to be geuen vnto the Lorde of Lodes: which hath dealt somer cyfully wyth the inhabytauntes therof: as to sende them a Prince that conceptually budgeth to fe the en-ryched in all poyntes of true godlynes. who so remaineth vnthanchfull herein / is not alone vngodly but also wretched. for soche a Prince as geueth no care vnto & inchaun-tements of false preachers is one of the greates giffes of God: a soch awo:rdly blessing to a comen wealth as requyret an earnest thanchkegyunge therfore.

That Hesehiah and Iosiah were vnto Israel, the same is youre grace vnto & Reaulme of England: for the godly haue greates hope that your pryple shalbe farre aboute theirs. They vyhelde the veryte & true wo:rdshyppinge of God: but onely for their awne tymes. Your graces wyldome / illumyned of God. shall (we trust) so spymely stablye the trade of Godlynes in your lye tyme, that it shall neuerthelesse flozeth after your deasse. Your deuyt gouernaunce / no lesse fortunate than polyptrique / putteth vs in hope of soch a re- dyce as shalbe permanent and durable / and so luerly grounded, that the wont iuggelng & Genemous persuasions of false preachers shall not be so noysome vnto your posterite: as they haue bene vnto the former age. This hope haue the godly euē of sozren & strange nar pons in your graces goodnes, moch moare they of your awne reaulme. Soche confi- dence haue they conceaued by your former actes / wherthoughe your grace hath so excea- dyngly ppycted this a flayre. The euertlyng Lord so ppyete your begonne purpose vnto soch effect / that the thinge may be cōpynally which ye haue begōne. And so lreacht oute his myghty hande and wo:che so strogely in you / that no floarme of false Prophtes (the very destryuers of Princes and Realmes) maye hereafter be able to extynct the lyyght / whych now in your graces dayes hath begonne to shyne: And double vnto you the addyces of yeares that was geuen vnto Hesehiah / ouer and aboue those that ye shulde naturally lye: that ye maye the better accomplishe your most godly intent: And enspyre soch strar- mes of grace in to your breast / that you perseuerynge vnto the ende, maye leaue behynde you this testimony of glozre: that ye haue truly defended the pure sayth of Chyist: mayne- teyned his holy wo:rd / suppresed superstycyon / dealete & put awaye Idolatrye / ended the blasphem of false Prophtes: & brought your reaulme vnto the true trade of godlynes:

And blese you at thys present wyth a sonne / by your most gracious wyfe Duene Jane / which may prosperously & fortunately raygne / & folowe the godly steppes of his father: And after your grace shall geue place to nature / and forsake thys mortall lye / graunte you the rewarde of that vnspeakable and creidlyll soye, whych no eye hath sene / no care hearde / noz can ascende into the herte of man. So be it.

Your graces saythfull & true subiect
Thomas Matthew.

¶ 2 ¶ 20

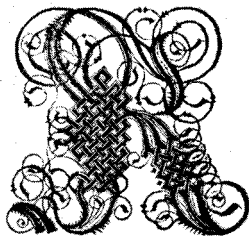
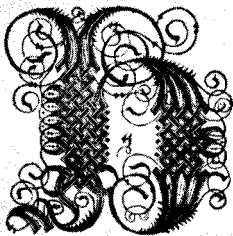


Photo from a copy at the British Museum.]

[Block lent by Benham & Co., Colchester.

THE KING RESPONDED BY ENJOINING A COPY TO BE PLACED IN EVERY PARISH CHURCH NEXT YEAR.

Plate 4.]

[Facing page 65

trifle, the Prayer of Manasses; and this Matthew translated from a French Bible just published at Neuchatel. Thus the complete text of the whole Bible was available, in the best translations yet executed.

Notes? The professor of Greek and Hebrew at Zürich, Conrad Pellican, was publishing a Bible commentary in Latin, though it was not finished by 1536. The borough chamberlain could read this, and so he was able to place in the "Margent of the boke many playne exposycions of soch places as unto the symple and unlearned seame harde to understande." He avoided application to his own days, and gibes at the Pope, such as unfortunately disfigured some other continental versions.

Matthew did reveal occasionally the faith that was in him, both by the passages he chose to comment upon, and by the comment made. Thus against the question put at Capernaum, "What newe doctryne is this?" he puts his own question, "It was then newe, and now after xv. c. xxxvj. yeres is yet new, when will it then be olde?" And this shows that he was at work in 1536; did he actually call on Tyndale, and receive the precious manuscript from his own hands?

He showed Tyndale's influence clearly, not only in the new order for Hebrues, James, Judas, and the Reuelacyon, but by interpolating his prologue to Romans, occupying seven pages. Elsewhere there are simple contents at the head of each chapter. One piece of editing was excellent. The psalms are poetry, and the Hebrew shows this clearly; Matthew set out each verse separately. The psalms were in a

hymn-book, which had grown by degrees; these are plainly marked in the Hebrew, but Coverdale had not shown this. Matthew made the five Treatyses clear, with headings before 42, 73, 90, 107, in a way reproduced by our Revised Version of 1885. Similarly with Proverbs, headings to show the Parables of Salomon, the Wordes of Agur, the Wordes of Kyng Lamuell.

In the Ballet of Balettes of Salomon, he followed the fine treatment in the authorized French Bible. It is divided quite properly into paragraphs, showing the different speakers; with each title printed in red. An element of application is, however, introduced, which distracts from the original intention: "The voyce of the Churche," "The spousesse to her companyons," "The voyce of the Church in persecution," "The voyce of the Synagoge," "The voyce of the Church to Christ," "Christ to the Churches."

Other decorations were in the usual style. The Revelation had twenty-one illustrations, apparently from the wood-blocks used in 1534 for the authorized French Bible. There were seven others copied from Ruremonde's portraits of the New Testament authors. The Old Testament and Apocripha had forty-one more, also copied from Ruremonde's Dutch Old Testament. Larger pictures illustrated incidents in the life of David, and the call of Isaiah.

We now study with some care the dedication, to King Henry, and his Queen Jane. It contains such sentences as, "The experience of youre graces benygnitye, wher-throughe your prayse is renoued and hyghly magnified, even amonge straungers and

Salomons

The Ballet of Balettes of Salomon: called in Latyne Cantica Canticorum.

That is the
cheafe & most
excellēt Balet/
as the saint of
saynctes: the
Kinge of Kinges/
which is as
moche to saye/
after the ma-
ner of speakig
of the Helmes/
as the cheafe
saint/the che-
fe king. Where-
fore it is to be
supposed: that
amonge the 10
and fyve other
songe (of whi-
che. iij. Reg. iij.
d) this hath be-
ne eskamed &
iudged the che-
fe & principall.

A mytticall deuyce of the spirittuall and godly loue/
betwene Christ the spouse/and the churche or congre-
gacion his spouse. Salomon made this Balade or
songe by hym selfe & his wyfe the daughter of Da-
uid/ vnder the shadowe of him selfe figurynge Christ
and vnder the person of his wyfe the Church.



The fyrst Chapter.

The voyce of the Church.

What thy mouth wold
geue me a kycke/soz thy brest
are moze pleasaunt then wine/
& that because of the good &
pleasaunt sauoure. Thy name
is a swete smelling oymēt/
therfoze do the maydens loue the: pee that
same moueth me also to runne after the.

The spouse to her companions.

The King hath brought me. i. to his pre-
uy chambze. We wyl be glad and reioyce in
the. we thynke moze of thy brestes then of
wyne: well is them that loue the.

The voyce of the Church in persecucion.

I am black (O ye daughters of Ierusa-
lem) lyke as the tentes of the Cedarenes / &
as the hangynge of Salomon: but yet am
I saye & well sauoured withal. Darrell not
at me that I am so black: & why? the sunne

herdes tentes. The
loue) with myne ho
which walbe no fe
shall thy chekes & i
hanged with spage
bande of goldetwyl
botons.

The voyce
When the King
shall smell my Par-
(O my beloved) ly-
A cluster of grapes:
neyardes of Engat
my beloved.

Christ
O how saye art
art thou: thou hast
The Chu-
O how saye art
well sauored art th
floures / the spyng
dye tree / & oure bal-
The

The

The vi

Am the
of the bai-
the thorn
the daug

The voy-
Lyke as the app
the trod / so is my
My delyce is to lye
hys frute is swete
geth me in to his tr
specrally well. We
comforte me with
loue. His left hand
his ryght hande em

The vo

I charge you (O
lem) by the Koes &
ye wake not by my
We be content her li

The page

alyentes, not alone amonge your awne subiectes . . . I nothing mistrust but that it shal most acceptably come in to your most fauourable and sure proteccyon. Thereof doth your peculyar desyre of furthering soche lyke laboures suffyciently assure me . . . This hope (of reform) haue the godly euen of forren and straunge nacyons in your graces goodnes, moch moare they of your awne realme. Soche confidence haue they conceaued by your former actes, wherthrough youre grace hath so exceedyngly profyted this affayre."

What exactly had Henry done, to deserve such encomium? Negatively, he had curbed the bishops.

Positively also Henry had done something, though Matthew may have rather exaggerated his praise. He had stopped Stokesley's persecution of Hugh Latimer, for Latimer had spoken of Thomas à Becket as a traitor, and that was exactly how Henry VIII regarded him. Henry II had made him, who was then his Chancellor, Archbishop of Canterbury in order to reform the Church; and Becket faced right-about to prevent reform. It was worse even than what More was doing. So Henry bestowed signal marks of favour on Latimer, and when the clergy forbade him to preach in the diocese of Worcester, not only did Cranmer overrule them, but Henry invited him to preach at Court. And when the absentee Bishop of Worcester was deprived by Parliament for refusing to acknowledge the King as Head of the Church, Henry appointed Latimer Bishop of that very see. Further: to the Convocation

in 1536 he had sent a message through Cromwell, their president, ordering them emphatically to determine all things by the Scripture, paying no heed to custom and unwritten verities. Scripture was not to be wrested by papistical laws, or any authority of doctors and councils. In the debate that followed, another bishop tried to shame the majority, saying that the lay people now knew the Scriptures better than many of them, thanks to the Germans who had given a plain text from the Hebrew and Greek—a very evident tribute to Coverdale's Bible. When Convocation did little but quarrel, Henry took the matter directly into his own hands, and drew up ten Articles as a short standard of orthodoxy. The first was, "All men should hold as true those things which are comprehended in the whole Canon of the Bible, and in the three Creeds." And he ordered every member of Convocation to subscribe these.

Matthew, therefore, was quite right in acknowledging what Henry had done; and he might well hope that his new edition might be properly licensed by the King for general reading. He wound up his dedication with the hope that God would "blesse you at thys present wyth a sonne, by youre most gracyous wyfe Quene Jane, which may prosperously & fortunately raygne, & folowe the godly steppes of his father."

There was no concealment in the matter. It was signed by "Youre graces faythfull & true subiect Thomas Matthew." It was preceded and followed

by highly ornamented initials, I R, H R. In this connection they are clearly compliments to Iohanna Regina, Henricus Rex.

Matthew paid similar compliments on other pages, not only to William Tyndale after the old Testament, but also to Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch at the beginning of the *Prophete Esaye*. These two men were other merchants, of London, who were "grocers" or wholesalers. They were buying the whole edition for £500, and this freed Matthew from the business side.

He completed his work with a handsome title-page, where, in a panel of a woodcut, he gave his name again. By the end of July, 1537, fifteen hundred copies were delivered to the grocers; here turned to Colchester after his long absence, and was elected again in September to the First Council.

The story of its importation is well known. Cranmer approved of it highly, and wrote to Cromwell that till the bishops set forth a better translation—the day after domesday—this ought to be licensed for general reading. By the 13th August, Henry had seen a copy and gave his authority for it to be bought and read. A fortnight later, Grafton, in gratitude, sent Cromwell six copies, and asked for a licence under the privy seal: this Cromwell thought needless. Grafton urged that unless he had copyright—which he had not previously asked—the Bible would be reprinted in cheap form by others; he plainly pointed to Ruremonde-Hollybush, who had done this four times already, and to Nycolson

who had done this with Coverdale's Bible. But Cromwell only allowed him to print on the title-page in large letters, "Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous lycēce." Some copies are thus printed in red, others in black.

Except for this one line, the whole edition was printed in Flanders. It was done excellently, for Matthew had employed as proof-reader the chaplain at the English house, a young Cambridge scholar named John Rogers. If he was paid at the rate Ruremonde paid his man, 4½d. a sheet, Rogers made nearly five guineas out of it. But the greatest gains are not in money: it is a fine testimony to the influence of the Bible, that this piece of work changed Rogers' life. In its course he broke with the old system, and, though a priest, he married an Antwerp lady. This was dangerous; and as soon as all proofs were passed, he left for Wittemberg, where he entered on a different career, and never again had anything to do with any Bible, except to nourish his soul by it. Even though this Bible was reprinted four times in London, while he was there, each time with Matthew's name on the title-page, neither he nor his friend Whitchurch spoke of the little help Rogers had given; nor was it ever mentioned in the long trial when he got into trouble under Queen Mary. Only in Elizabeth's reign did another reader of the press, John Foxe, mention with fellow-feeling that Rogers, now famed as being the first martyr, had been "corrector to the print"—a precise statement which has been wonderfully exag-

gerated and distorted, so that the real editor, whose name was plainly given, has been quite neglected.

Matthew had done his work, and took up again the routine of his business, remaining on the Council six years longer, and leaving children who also occupied civic positions. What his Colchester Bible-study circle said, we can only guess. How it profited we know by the lists of thirty-three Colchester people martyred within twenty years. Henry forbade the import of any other English books without his special licence; this practically ensured the rapid sale of the first edition. No systematic search has been made in Colchester for Matthew's own copy, or any copy which was set up for public reading in the churches; Fairfax's cannonade, which ruined the town a century later, is only too likely to have destroyed them.

The next link in the chain shows that Matthew's edition was the direct parent of the first Authorized Version three years later, whence has come the second Authorized Version in 1611, and the Revised Version of 1881-5. We shall see next how it influenced the Oxford scholars at Rheims and Douay; so that it is one of the parents of the Bibles used to-day by English Roman Catholics. So great a work can be done by a plain burgess.

The chamberlayne of the citee saluteth you.

ROMAYNES xvj. c.

Margin. Paul wolde haue the laye people learned to iudge ye Prophetes.

VI

TAVERNER: OFFICIAL REVISER

To my seruaunt, "Do this!"; and he doeth it.

LUKE vij. 8.

VI

TAVERNER: OFFICIAL REVISER

THE three merchants, Thomas Matthew, Grafton, Whitchurch, had acted quite independently of the Crown, and had been fortunate in securing royal patronage after their work was done. Henry, however, preferred to take the initiative, through his ministers. In 1529 he had appointed Thomas Berthelet as "Prynter unto the Kynges grace," an office which continues to this day. He also ordered that a manuscript must be licensed before it was printed (a custom which survives in Roman Catholic circles), and he showed that he meant to be obeyed by a holocaust of unlicensed books next year. Now with two Bibles, edited abroad by Coverdale and Matthew, he decided to regulate still further. Berthelet printed his proclamation of 16th November, 1538, as to books in English, which commanded (1) that no such books printed abroad might be imported or sold without his special licence, (2) that no such book might be printed till the manuscript was passed; it was to be marked, Licensed for printing only, and the precise wording of the licence was to follow; (3) that no Bible should have any prologue, additions in the calendar, or notes in the margin unless these had been approved; a plain text, with index to find the chapters, was to be standard; (4) that the name of the translator

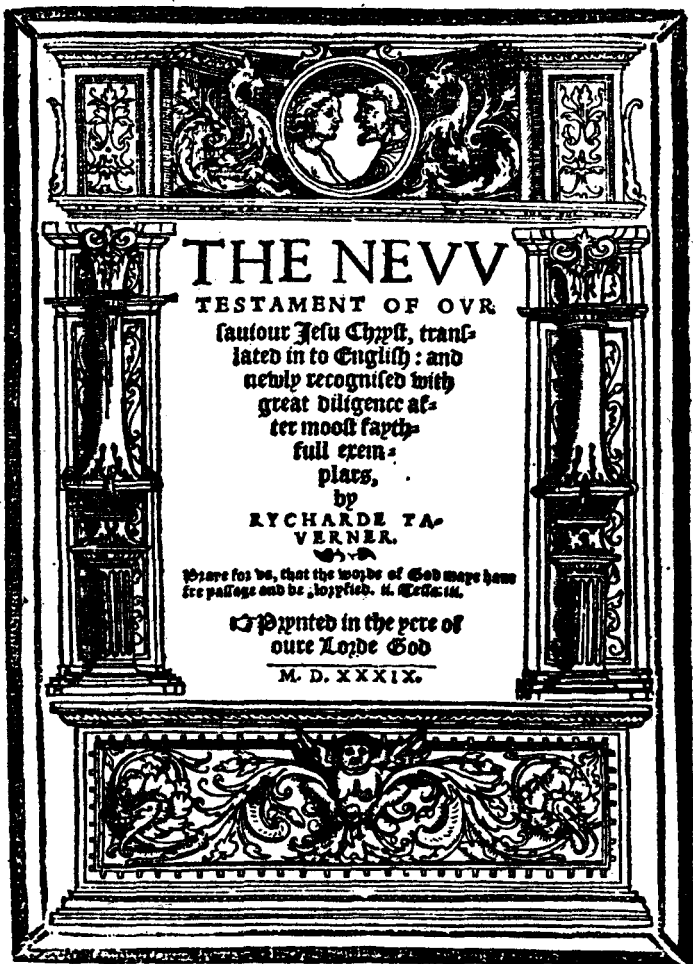
was to be given; (5) that every manuscript book of Scripture must be licensed before it was printed.

Before this proclamation came out, Cromwell had employed two separate editors to revise Matthew's work; Coverdale and Taverner.

Richard Taverner had graduated from Wolsey's Cardinal College at Oxford, where his music made him very popular, and had studied also at Cambridge. He had been patronized by Wolsey, then by Cromwell, who employed him to write supporting the drastic changes being made in the Church. These had nothing to do with doctrine, but were chiefly administrative measures of great importance. Monasteries, etc., were closed; eight thousand monks, friars, nuns, etc., were released from their vows, so that they might settle back into ordinary life with pensions, and marry; new bishoprics were established, several old ones were remodelled; more of the liberated funds were used for education, as at Trinity College, Cambridge.

A lay scholar of fine parts was not to be met every day; and Cromwell had taken Taverner into his own office, that of the Privy Seal. He chose this Greek scholar to revise Matthew's Bible; thus all notes, prologues and other editorial matter could be approved most easily. And, as in September 1538, injunctions were drafted to the clergy that they must obtain "one boke of the whole Bible in the largest volume in Englyshe," the king's printer bought paper larger than Coverdale's or Matthew's.

Taverner dropped Tyndale's long controversial prologue to Romans, but kept his order of the New Testa-



ment books. He revised the text on Tyndale's own lines, giving plainer words, such as "spokesman" instead of "advocate." He dropped many of Matthew's notes, and wrote original notes at fresh places.

In 1539, the king's printer published this Bible complete, with two Testaments in smaller sizes. Ten years later, other printers re-issued it in parts, the first time such a plan was tried in England, to suit poor people.

Meantime, the fall of Cromwell deflected Taverner's career, and for a short time he was sent to the Tower. Henry soon released him and enriched him; he sat in Parliament for Liverpool. He was asked to edit a collection of sermons on the usual lessons from the two Testaments. He received a licence to preach, and it much surprised old-fashioned people to see in pulpits a clerk of the Privy Seal, in usual court dress; a few of his sermons he put into the collection. Queen Mary dismissed him from office, and he spent some time translating, especially the *Common-Places of Erasmus*, a most famous book. Elizabeth appointed him Justice of the Peace, and high sheriff of Oxfordshire. It was a high tribute to the excellence of his early work on the Bible that, when Oxford scholars abroad were preparing for Roman Catholic use a new translation from the Vulgate, they repeatedly took account of his edition. It is in that direction that his literary influence was exerted.

A second layman had thus rendered positive service in editing the Bible; not the ecclesiastical language of the past, but the current speech of the day, was used to bring it home to ordinary men.

*The kynge seled with his owne ryng,
And with the signet of his princes.*

DANIEL vj. E.

VII

THE FIRST AUTHORIZED VERSION

They red in ye boke of the lawe of God distinctly.
ij ESDRAS viij B

VII

THE FIRST AUTHORIZED VERSION

THE service-books for English worship had long been imported; they were printed by Regnault at Paris. When he saw a great demand for English Bibles, he naturally wished to provide these also; and, as his work could quite rival Antwerp, it was a reasonable hope.

Cromwell was quite ready to oblige him; and with the great market opening out, one for each parish church, there was ample scope for him as well as for Berthelet. As Coverdale was to have his pioneer version superseded, it was only gracious to employ him as an alternative to Taverner in making an independent revision of Matthew's Bible. So Cromwell got Henry to give leave to Grafton and Whitchurch to print a new version abroad, and import it. Henry notified his ambassador in France, Edmund Bonner, for whom he provided a bishopric to support him, and application was made to King Francis for leave. So far, the only French Bible printed there, as distinct from the old *Bible History*, was by a man gravely suspected of heresy, so that it was forbidden in 1546, and many copies destroyed. Thus from the first there was considerable risk in commissioning any printer at Paris.

A politic start was made by a Vulgate Testament, with Coverdale's English opposite. But as it was known the work was dear to Cromwell, and as the French were at odds with him on another matter, the French ambassador in London suggested that the Inquisition in Paris might put a spoke in this wheel. So on 17th December, 1538, the Inquisitor-General stopped the work on the Bible, and confiscated all the sheets that had been printed. And despite negotiation, in which Bonner tried hard to remove the obstacle, pointing out that Cromwell had already spent £400 on the enterprise, they were all destroyed, or sold for waste paper. The English were clever enough to buy some sheets from a haberdasher who was going to line boxes with them, and got them away to England. And they did a still more clever thing. We are seeing every year that heavy import duties induce foreigners to open factories here and manufacture on English soil. Grafton and Whitchurch secured with Bonner's help plenty of French type and machines, hired French compositors, and finished a small edition in England, which they triumphantly issued in April, 1539. Thus from being simply grocers or wholesale publishers, they became themselves master-printers.

Coverdale had been revising Matthew's text, with the help of yet another Latin version of the Old Testament, and the Vulgate: but as all his precautions had not kept him clear of the Inquisition, he, for the first time, took a timid step by using the Latin New Testament of Erasmus, which had started the whole

movement. He was preparing notes when the blow fell, but fortunately had not printed them on the same pages as the text, which gave only the reference marks. Much to his chagrin, Henry would not permit any at all.

Within a few months, Whitchurch and Berthelet came to terms not to compete. Cranmer suggested that 10s. would be a fair price, and that they should concentrate on Coverdale's Paris revision. Cromwell instantly secured an express patent, giving him a monopoly for five years from 14th November. Next April, Berthelet and Whitchurch put out their editions. That by the King's printer, which is seldom noticed even in the stories of this event, professed to be by the "diligent studye of dyuers excellent lerned men, experte in Hebrue and Greek"; Taverner was perhaps one of them: it showed some correction and revision of the Paris text. Whitchurch had secured a prologue from Cranmer, had done a little further revision on the basis of the two Latin versions, and notified on his title-page, "This is the Byble apoynted to the use of the churches."

Cromwell was passing out of the picture: he had annoyed Henry by finding for his fourth wife an ugly German who could not speak English; and Henry let his enemies have their way. The finance and the monopoly of the printing were thus again upset. Anthony Marler, a haberdasher, came to the rescue, and thus had the honour of presenting a copy on vellum to the King.

Then Grafton put out in July, 1540, a twin edition to Whitchurch. These two publishers were rather stingy in one detail: there was a splendid plate by Holbein showing Henry handing a copy to Cranmer for the clergy, and another to Cromwell for the laity; as this was no longer quite appropriate, they simply cut out Cromwell's coat of arms, and continued to use the plate. This at once concentrates attention on him, and the great service that he had rendered—to put the English Bible into the hands of every Englishman. They got ready a fourth edition by November, but had to delay publication till the situation was clearer.

Marler agreed to sell the sheets at 10s. or the bound Bible at 12s. In May, 1541, he got Henry to proclaim that the former order held, and every parish was to buy a copy. The letter-press in the Holbein plate was then altered to read 1541, and to give emphatic notice that this was the largest and greatest Bible, to be used in every church at the command of Henry, and that by his order the two bishops had read it. Again Grafton and Whitchurch put out twin editions in May, Whitchurch another in November, Grafton the last in December.

Bonner, now Bishop of London, showed his sympathy by setting up six copies in St. Paul's, so that six groups at once might listen to any reader. They were so popular that next year he notified they must simply read aloud the plain text, not expound it, nor discuss it; also that

such public reading was not to be during service or sermon. Here we have one sign that the spirit of Erasmus was alive; and another deserves attention.

Grafton and Whitchurch asked more bishops to read their Bible and commend it; they were successful with Heath of Rochester, and with Tunstall of Durham. Their fourth and sixth editions stated plainly on the titlepage that they were "ouersene and perused at the cōmaudemēt of the kynges hyghnes" by these two dignitaries. Thus the man who at first had been so cool to Tyndale, had disapproved of his early work, had done his best to suppress it, now deliberately gave his approval. A man deserves honour who sees his mistake, and publicly remedies it.

There came a reaction. Henry sent a message to Convocation that this Bible still needed reform in many things. The clergy were questioned one by one, and most said that it ought to be revised by the Vulgate. A list of suggestions was compiled, and it proved that in a hundred cases they wished to hear the Latin words, with which they were familiar, transferred into the English text. If they had had their way, our vocabulary would have been enriched with such words as *Apostolus*, *Christus*, *Dominus*, *Episcopus*, *Gloria*, *Hostia*, *Inculpatus*, *Inenarrabilis*, *Magnifico*, *Misericordia*, *Opera*, *Panis propositionis*, *Peccatum*, *Pontifex*, *Sandalium*. This idea recurred frequently, but no action was taken at the time. No further edition appeared for six years, and perhaps

the order to leave the Bibles accessible to all was not strictly enforced.

And Esdras the preast brought ye law before ye congregacion, both of men and wemen.

2 ESDRAS viij. 2.

VIII

THE BIBLE IN DAILY WORSHIP

*How perfect is the law of God,
how is his couenaunt sure ;
Conuerting soules, and making wise
the simple and obscure.*

PSALME xix. 7.—THOMAS STERNHOLD.

VIII

THE BIBLE IN DAILY WORSHIP

UNDER the boy Edward, there were further great changes of many kinds. The greedy courtiers, who had battered on the spoils of the monasteries, condescended to rob the common people of the contents of their parish churches, which had been the centres of village life for centuries. There are long catalogues of what they stole; yet in this general plunder the Bibles were not intrinsically valuable, like jewelled cups, vestments, bells; and many may have been left.

Then a completely new thing occurred; foreign divines were invited into England to preach. Thus all the shades of doctrine at Wittemberg, Strasburg, Zürich, Geneva, and less famous places, were introduced to English notice.

What concerns us is the fate of the English Bible. In six and a half years, about forty editions of Bible or Testament appeared. This speaks unmistakably as to a popular demand. Six were folios, fit for use in church; Matthew, Taverner and the Great. Twelve were quartos; Tyndale, Coverdale and the Great: while Latimer was Bishop of Worcester, where he led the way, ordering Matthew's Bible to be placed in the Cathedral, a printer published an edition there, revised from Tyndale. Ten were

✠ The Epistle of
Sainte Paule the A-
postle, vnto þe Hebrues.

The fyrst Chapter. ✠



¶ In tymes paste, diuersly and
manye wayes, spake vnto the fa-
thers by þe prophets: but in these
laste dayes, he hath spoken vnto
vs, by hys owne sonne, whome
he hath made heire of al thinges
by whome also, he made þe world.
Which (sonne) being the brightnes of his gloze, and
very image of his substance, ruling al thinges with

Collof. i. c
Sapi. vi. b

octavo; Tyndale, Coverdale, Taverner in parts, the Great. And the demand by poor people was met partly by three 16 mo Tyndales. There can be no mistake that despite the scandals given by covetous new nobles, which have imparted an evil hue to the name "Reformation," yet the populace was avid for the Bible, and was being educated by it.

Experts have always liked to represent their knowledge as very deep, hard to acquire, harder to explain, so that they themselves are indispensable. The lawyers at ancient Rome were offended when a reformer had all the laws put up in the market on XII tables for everybody to read. The machinists of England were annoyed when the Great War revealed that a girl could learn in six weeks how to mind any machine. The clergy of Tudor times were intensely angry at "their" scriptures being offered to everybody, and being explained in the simplest way.

There was also popular opposition. In Devon and Cornwall a rebellion broke out, with the cry, "We will have the Bible, and all books of scripture in English, to be called in again!" The reason offered was most enlightening; "for we be informed that otherwise the clergy shall not long time confound the heretics."

The Privy Council took steps, both appointing itinerant preachers, and publishing homilies to be read by those parsons who could not preach. The first of these was on the reading and knowledge of Holy Scripture: two sentences show the general theme: "Let us reverently hear, and read holy

Therefore ye thinke to winne lyfeth, and therefore ye haue this muste vnder
 This is doone & graunted by reason of your senses: not that ye should
 be alway carnal and vnderstand al thynges fleshy, but that ye should
 leaue the fleshe, and goe forwarde to the spirite. The spirite descended
 from heauen, and was incarnate: the fleshe beinge now made spiritu-
 all, shalbe carried away by into heauen, lest ye should alwaie loue the
 fleshe, and bee carnall: but yet beinge fyrst instructed by the fleshe, ye
 ought to profit and goe forwarde towarde heauenly thinges. For the
 fleshe alone and of hymself, profiteth nothyng: it is the spirite that ge-
 ueth lyfe. For what is bodily substance of men, if the spirite lacke: E-
 uen so my woorde carnally vnderstande, shal not geue life vnesse ye
 take it as an heauely thing, & vnderstand it spiritually. * By my fleshe
 and bloud, I meane my doctrine, and so I tearme it: whiche doctrine
 if ye dooe by true feith receiue it desirouly, and effectuouly, and than
 conueigh it into the bowels of your mynde, and retain it there, it will
 quicken and make your mindes liuely, and cause you and me to bee all
 one: so that ye shall through my spirite, lyue euerlastingly, lyke as the
 members of one bodie liue by one common spirite, so long as they doe
 adhere and cleaue fast together. And I shall leaue vnto you my fleshe
 and bloud as an hydden secret misterie, and mysticall token, of this co-
 pulation and felowship: whiche sell thing although ye dooe receiue it,
 yet will it not profit you vnesse ye receiue it spiritually. Therefore doe
 not repugne and refuse my sayings though beinge still carnall, ye dooe
 not rightly vnderstand it, nor take it as it ought to bee taken, but ra-
 ther labour for the true vnderstanding thereof. For the woordes which
 I haue spoken vnto you, are not carnall as you interpretate them but
 be spirite and life: and why? Merely because they beinge spiritually vn-
 derstande, dooe conferre and geue lyfe to the soule. He that receiueth
 these woordes ryghtly and truly, eateth my fleshe, and drynkeh my
 bloud, and shall liue euerlastingly.

The ascen-
 sion of
 Christe
 by
 hymself.

It is the
 spirit that
 quickeneth
 the fleshe
 according
 to god.

The wo-
 rde of god
 carnally
 vnderstan-
 ded, leueth
 proficte.

Christe
 what he
 meane by
 his fleshe
 & his bloud
 that should
 be eaten
 & drunken
 for our
 saluacion.

ydye rate
 Curtes
 fleshe and
 bloud

See the
 soune
 man
 cruce
 where
 he was
 crucified

It is
 the
 spirite
 that
 quickeneth
 the
 fleshe

The
 wo-
 rde
 of
 god
 carnally
 vnderstan-
 ded, leueth
 proficte

I haue
 spoken
 vnto
 you
 these
 woordes
 which
 are
 not
 carnall
 as
 you
 interpretate
 them
 but
 be
 spirite
 and
 life

scripture, which is the food of the soul: let us diligently search for the well of life in the books of the New and Old Testament, and not run to . . . mens traditions (devised by mens imagination) for our justification and salvation." Thus there is urged both the hearing in divine service, and the reading aloud at other times by laymen to laymen. Objections are met: "If we read once, twice, or thrice, and understand not, let us not cease so, but still continue reading, praying, asking of other; and so by still knocking, at the last the door shall be opened, as St. Augustine saith."

The Privy Council heeded the Queen Dowager, Catherine Parr, who incited several people to translate the Latin Paraphrases which Erasmus had made of all the New Testament except the Revelation. In her team were such diverse people as the Princess Mary, the registrar of Oxford University, a school-master at Reading, a former head-master of Eton who had written the earliest known English comedy for his scholars to act, and Miles Coverdale, soon to be appointed a bishop. The Council enjoined that every parish was to buy a copy of this work and place it in church for public reading. This, perhaps, was really worth more than the material plunder they took. But the church-wardens had to find the money locally, and it cost 5s. a volume. Thus the nascent Parish Free Library was augmented with two more folios.

The Bible, and the Paraphrases, were not the only aids to popular devotion. A Book of Common

Prayer was compiled from many sources, including that Archbishop of Cologne in whose time Tyndale had started printing his Bible there. It was based, as a whole, on the time-honoured services of the monks, which were now adapted for the common people: devotion was for all, not a select few. All were invited to worship twice a day. And the Scriptures figured largely here. The Psalms were to be read through in a month, by the congregation itself. A portion from each Testament was read to them at each service. England had known nothing on this scale before. People were still free to browse at large and read where they pleased, as long as they pleased; but also selections were made and brought to their attention. The Book of Common Prayer drilled the worshippers to appreciate the finest parts of the Bible: and it did its work so well that in this reign of George VI the parish churches still echo the words of the Great Bible reprinted under Edward VI.

During Mary's reign, no portion of the Scripture was printed in England. One of her brother's musicians had been versifying the Acts: he stopped abruptly with the stanza at xiv:

How he the doore of fayth untyde
The Gentyles in to cal
And there long tyme they did abyde
With the disciples all.

Mary made an attempt to reverse even the proceedings of her father, and persuaded Parliament to

acknowledge the Pope as Head of the Church. When, however, she tried to restore the monastic system, there were two great obstacles. No one whatever would restore the revenues of the monasteries, very few would give even their sites and premises: all she could do was at her own expense to begin again with Westminster Abbey.

The other difficulty has never received the attention it deserves, the reluctance of ex-monks to resume the monastic life. She made diligent enquiry, and found four thousand men and women who had been released from their vows, had returned to ordinary life, and were still drawing pensions after fourteen years. Out of them all, she could gather only a handful for Westminster. This fact is eloquent as to the change of popular opinion. Nobody wanted monks, nobody wanted to be a monk. Men who were intensely religious, sought new moulds whereby to shape their life.

Mary brought to the front two other problems: a woman as King, persecution.

Henry I had left a daughter whom he wished to succeed him; and England had been in anarchy till Henry II grasped it with his firm hand. France had deliberately excluded women from reigning; yet a Queen-mother, Catherine de Medici, had been the power behind the throne; she had wrought such evil that others than Knox felt strongly how monstrous it was to be regimented by women. Yet the Tudor men had died out: Mary Tudor, Elizabeth Tudor, Mary Stuart, Arabella Stuart,

Frances Brandon, Lady Jane Grey and her sister Catherine, were all in whose veins ran the Tudor blood. Much depended on the consort whom Mary would choose.

She chose her cousin, Philip of Spain, sovereign of the Netherlands. For a generation there had been fierce repression of heresy there. For tracts against Indulgences had been published there before Luther was wakened to their mischief. Her uncle Charles had regarded heresy so seriously that successive edicts forbade the unlicensed printing of books, meetings to read the New Testament, preaching about the gospel even in Latin, punishing friars who left their convents, owning Lutheran books—all by 1530. Nine years before Tyndale was garotted a woman had suffered the same fate, and next year a martyr left a dying prayer: "The faithful have they hanged on trees, strangled, hewn in pieces, secretly and openly drowned." A collection of martyr-stories was published in 1542, and another twenty years later, which were destined to inspire Foxe.

Charles kept tightening the screws; he ordered his edicts to be republished every six months, and introduced a new ecclesiastical Inquisition, at the rumour of which the English merchants in Antwerp prepared to break up their House, till the civic authorities secured some modification. They had sad exhibitions of the ignorance of the Dominican Friars, one of whom was put to open shame by his ignorance of the Bible, and had to take refuge in an assertion that though this edition was licensed

and approved by the diocese of Louvain, it had been falsified by the printer.

Philip was placed in charge of the Netherlands, and he confirmed all his father's ordinances on this point. At their head he said: "We forbid all lay persons, and others, to communicate and dispute concerning the holy scripture, whether in public or private."

When, therefore, Philip became King of England, jointly with Mary, it seemed to him natural to introduce the same system. He had no idea that the execution of three hundred people in two or three years would ruin his cause; his father's soldiers had massacred as many refugees in a day. And he left his deserted wife to bear the stigma of "Bloody Mary."

Many advanced reformers left England. Some settled on the Rhine, and gave their attention to the Book of Common Prayer. Others went to the Rhone, where at Geneva had developed a splendid centre of influence. The French Bible, which Matthew had used, had been reprinted seven times, in whole or part, the later editions revised by Calvin. A Paris printer had improved the Greek New Testament of Erasmus, and printed it here with his Latin and the Vulgate. A French nobleman, Theodore de Bèze, known internationally as Beza, had made a new Latin version which was issued here alongside the Vulgate in 1556. A fine old Greek-Latin manuscript, which he bought, is now a treasure at Cambridge.

Meanwhile the fashion of rendering the poetry of the Bible into English poetry was growing. Among the eight translators of the Psalms was the Princess Elizabeth, who had good cause to believe that

At all tymes God is with the iust
Bycause they put in hym their trust.

So in 1556 a few metrical psalms by Thomas Sternhold, a gentleman of the bedchamber to Edward VI, were printed in Geneva to sing at worship. More were soon added there by William Whittingham, a civil lawyer from Oxford. These two laymen thus continued the tradition of Matthew and Taverner.

Whittingham went further, preparing a text of the New Testament, based, of course, upon Tyndale, but influenced by Beza's Latin, and corrected by Stephens' critical Greek Testament. He did not hesitate to deal critically with the text, removing from the title of Hebrews the name of Paul. He adopted the verses which Stephens had recently divided, to match the ancient Hebrew verses of the Old Testament. Where the sense was obscure, he inserted English words in a different type. Indeed, he made a remarkable new start, imitated from the French work in the city, by throwing aside the ecclesiastical black-letter, and printing in ordinary roman type. He composed head-notes to the books and the chapters. He wrote many notes based on the best interpreters. He was proud of adding

THE
NEVE TESTA-
MENT OF OVR LORD IE-
sus Christ.

Conferred diligently with the Greke, and best ap-
proved translations.

*With the arguments, aswel before the chapters, as for every Booke
or Epistle, also diversities of readings, and mooste profitiable
annotations of all harde places: wherunto is added a cop-
ious Table.*



AT GENEVA
Printed By Conrad Badius.
M. D. LVII.

doctrinal expositions. This opened a new era of Bible-study, and even during Mary's reign two editions were printed in Geneva, both to be seen at Bible House. Of course, it was not welcomed by the authorities in England, where even the Church Bibles had often been burned.

This was the last edition by a single man, in that age. It is well to note that hitherto it was individuals who had taken the risk, and deserve the credit. Tyndale the learned pioneer, Coverdale the industrious compiler, Matthew the pious reader, Taverner the musical lay-preacher, Whittingham the poetical courtier, were now to give place to committees. Before we trace their work, we may anticipate with the romantic career of this poet.

His new departure in translating, led to Whittingham being asked to serve the temporary Church of English exiles in Geneva, though he, at first, demurred as having fitted himself for State employments. The psalms he versified and signed were peculiarly appropriate to the close of Mary's reign, such as 124, and to his own decision to follow David's example:

And when I fele my selfe nere lost, then doth
he me home take;
Conducting me in his right pathes, euen for
his owne names sake.

Elizabeth sent him in 1561 on Bedford's embassy to Paris, seeing he was *persona grata* at that court.

Two years later, he was appointed Principal Preacher to the garrison of Havre, where he imitated Nehemiah, and in armour defended the wall. From those ramparts he was made Dean of Durham, the diocese whence his family sprang. It was a difficult post, for the north was old-fashioned, and it needed a northerner. In Tyndale's last year it had risen in its Pilgrimage of Grace; now it rose again, and in his cathedral tore up his Bible and Elizabeth's Prayer-book, while for the last time the mass was celebrated there. When the insurgents fled, Whittingham turned to the rising generation, and catechized the children with his own version, to the Genevan melody of Commandments:

No manner grauen Image shalt thou make at all
to thee;

Nor any figure lyke by thee shall counterfayted
be.

And he began a Song School, where he taught part-singing as distinct from the old plain-song. He had brought another tune, used by the French for Psalm 134, but which to all England soon became Old Hundred.

In his latest years, when strict conformity was being enforced, and it was asked whether he had ever been ordained in any form at all, the situation was eased by a proposal to send him as Ambassador to France. But he died in 1579, having just seen the Genevan Bible he had edited adopted as the

Scots Authorized Version, and an English quarto by the Queen's Printer bearing the crest of his friend, Sir Francis Walsingham.

Singers were ouer the work of the house of God.

NEHEMIAH xi. 22.

IX

THE FAMILY BIBLE,
AND THE CHURCH BIBLE

*I wil make them one people in the land . . . &
they shalbe no more two peoples.*

GENEVAN VERSION: EZEKIEL xxxvij. 22.

*Their judgement and their dignity shall proceed of
themselves.*

BISHOPS' VERSION: HABAKKUK i. 7.

IX
THE FAMILY BIBLE,
AND THE CHURCH BIBLE

WE reach now an edition which fashioned the life and the theology of all reformers and reformed in England for eighty years. It appeared in 1560, four years before the death of Calvin at Geneva; and its abundant notes set forth his doctrines so well that all Britain was soon Calvinist. Until the outbreak of the Civil War, no other version could compare with it: it appealed frankly "To our Beloved in the Lord the Brethren of England, Scotland and Ireland." The people responded so well that one hundred and forty editions were needed; it fashioned the words of Shakespeare, of the Pilgrim Fathers, of bishops, and of Bunyan.

The promoters did not disdain those of high estate. It had an "epistle to Quene Elisabet," who had publicly accepted in Cheapside a manuscript copy of Wycliffe's Gospels, still to be seen at Manchester. She responded by giving copyright for seven years to Bodley, the benefactor of Oxford.

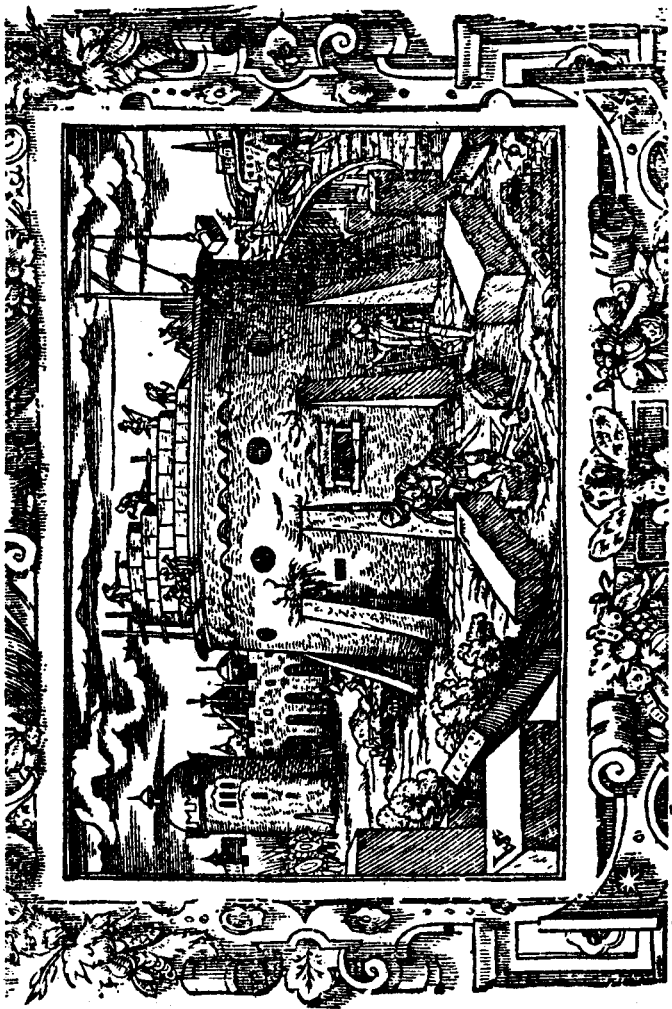
Elizabeth was compelled to follow her father rather than her sister. Nearly every bishop resigned rather than acknowledge her authority over the Church; and a large proportion of clergy disappeared within a few years. The Book of Common Prayer was

revised and brought again into use; while the people insisted on singing metrical psalms before and after the prayers. The Articles of Religion published in her brother's reign were revised, then agreed upon by the new archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy.

Within ten years thirteen dignitaries of the southern province brought out the most handsome edition of the Bible that has ever appeared, costing 27*s.* 8*d.* Its title page shows Elizabeth in state, upheld by the English lion and the Welsh dragon. But despite this bid for royal endorsement, she left it severely alone; the only authorization it ever received was from the Convocation of Canterbury. Smaller editions followed, but it was not used much outside churches.

Tomson, the secretary of Sir Francis Walsingham revised the Genevan with the help of a new Latin version by Beza, thus bringing it to the form generally adopted. In 1578 the Queen's Printer published it in fine form for Church use. Next year an edition appeared by the King's Printer at Edinburgh, paid for by each parish subscribing 7*s.* 6*d.*: the Scots Parliament also ordered every substantial householder, yeoman, and burgess to buy this, with a psalm-book, for use at home.

In England the publishers put forth composite volumes, which began with the Book of Common Prayer, followed with the Genevan Bible, and closed with the Metrical Psalms, having the tunes indicated. No book was so much in demand, and even to-day



NEHEMIAH'S WALL. BISHOPS' BIBLE.

no year passes without copies being offered for sale. It is well worth paying five shillings (modern price), not only for a memento of the past, but also for a means of grace.

It was under the influence of this Family Bible that the Reformation was completed. Henry, Wolsey and Cromwell had shattered the old machinery: Elizabeth appointed two new bishops and seventeen laymen to construct a new machine, substantially that which exists to-day. Wolsey had been stopped abruptly in his reforms, whether nationally or in the diocese he had neglected so long. Perhaps at best he would have done only what the Council of Trent did in its first fervour, when Germans, French and Spaniards were determined to curb Italian abuses; that Council soon forbade the reading of Erasmus!

The ecclesiastical authorities had not appreciated the importance of the Guild schools, which for two centuries had taught town-dwellers to read. They had acted as though learning were still the monopoly of clerks, and had trusted only such appeals to the ordinary man as were made by processions, elaborate song, statues, windows, picture-books. It was left to humble priests and to educated laymen to appeal to the intelligence by the written word.

In worship again, Elizabeth reinstated and supplemented her brother's system. She enjoined that a Bible and the Paraphrases be set up for general reading; that printed homilies be read publicly; that children be carefully taught on alternate Sundays. One item of furnishing was most significant. Stone



And when the Tabernacle goeth forth, (shalbe)* capt
 the Leuites shall take it downe and when . . . And his hoste:

SACRIFICING PRIESTS. GENEVAN BIBLE

altars were to be removed, and their place occupied by wooden tables. Daily masses were ended. When the people wished to join in fellowship with God, the table was to be so placed within the chancel that the people might commune at God's board. The centre of gravity had shifted; the Bible, prayer, song, by the people, were more important than priestly sacrifices to God—which are conspicuously absent from the order of services. This was driven home in many ways; all the clergy agreed that the sacrifices of masses “were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits”; a statement which every new clergyman still subscribes and reads publicly at his induction.

Partakers of the Lordes table.

I CORINTHIANS X. 21.

X

THE DOUAY BIBLE

*And vve denounce vnto you, brethren, in the name
of our Lord Iesvs Christ, that you vwithdravv your
selues from euery brother vvalking inordinatly, and
not according to the tradition vvhich they haue receiued
of vs.*

RHEIMS TESTAMENT: 2 THESSALONIANS iii. 6

X

THE DOUAY BIBLE

WITHIN twenty years of Mary's death, the leaders of the old school felt that they must justify their position by a translation of their own. It was like Saul laying aside his armour and trying to fight with David's sling. Five Oxford men prepared the edition.

Philip established a university at Douai, combining the traditions of Louvain and Oxford. Gregory Martin, after a visit to Rome, founded an English college within it: he was "a most excellent linguist, exactly read and versed in the sacred scriptures." William Allen removed the college to Rheims, the sacred city of the French: before the Old Testament was published, he was made Cardinal, and edited the official Vulgate, to which all translations were thenceforth conformed. He is chiefly responsible for the notes to the English version, as Martin for the text. Both were aided by Richard Bristow, head of the college when at Rheims, by Thomas Worthington of Wigan, and by William Reynolds—whose younger brother, John, survived to ask for, and lead in, the 1611 Authorized Version!

Martin just lived to see the New Testament published in 1582; lack of funds delayed the Old Testament till 1609—a contrast with Tyndale, who

always had financial support. As the college had then returned to Douai, where it existed till 1794, the whole work is known as the Douay Bible. Scholars of Douai revised it in 1728, and most thoroughly about 1750, bringing it much nearer to the 1611 Authorized Version. To-day the Westminster Bible is being officially published by Roman Catholics, direct from the Hebrew and Greek. So that gibes at the Douay version of Elizabeth's day are out-of-date now. Yet some estimate is due in this place.

The primary end was avowedly controversial. The title-page quoted Augustine: "Al things that are readde in holy scriptures, vve must heare vvith great attention, to our instruction and saluation: but those things specially must be commended to memorie, vvich make most against Heretikes, etc." The New Testament was designed also for devotional use.

Martin followed the Latin Vulgate, as Wycliffe had done, and as the Council of Trent had recently recommended. Apparently he used Coverdale's Paris edition, with Coverdale's English opposite. As the university of Louvain had put forth critical editions of the Vulgate, he had good material there. He also drew upon Taverner's English, a fact long overlooked.

Attention was drawn to certain English words, for which a glossary was given at the end. They include, agnition, allegory, anathema, assumption, calumniate, commessations, contristate, evacuated

the Pharisees and Sadducees.

The Gospel vpp
55. Peter and
Pauls day Iun.
29. And in Ca-
spera Petri Ro-
ma, Jan. 18. &
Antiochia Febr.
22. And Petri ad
vincula Aug. 1.
And on the day
of the creation
and coronation
of the Pope, and
on the Anniuer-
sarie thereof.

2: That is, a
Rocke.

† And * I E S V S came into the quarters of Cæsarea Phi- 13
lippi: and he asked his disciples, saying, "Whom say men that
the Sonne of man is? † But" they said, Some Iohn the Baptist, 14
& other some Elias, and others Hieremie, or one of the Pro-
phets. † I E S V S saith to them, But vvhom do you say that 15
I am? † Simon Peter answered & said, *Thou art Christ the sonne* 16
of the liuing God. † And I E S V S answering, said to him, "Blessed 17
art thou Simon bar-Iona: because flesh & blood hath not
reuealed it to thee, but my father vvhich is in heauen. † And" I 18
say to thee, *That" thou art" : Peter: and" vpon this" Rocke* vvil I "build
my Church, and the " gates of hel shal not preuaile against it. † And I " vvil 19
give" to thee the " keys of the kingdom of heauen. And" vvhatsouer thou shalt
binde vpon earth, it shal be bound also in the heauens: and vvhatsouer thou shalt
loose in earth, it shall be loosed also in the heauens. -1

† Then he commaunded his disciples that they should tel 20
no

Mar. 8,
27.
Luc. 9,
18.

Io. 1,
42.
Io. 21,
15.

from Christ, exinanited, gratis, holocausts, hostes, neophyte, prefnition of worlds, refflorished, resuscitate, superedified. Some of these have found their way into the 1611 version; yet in most cases a glossary is still advisable. The Genevan was reading in these places: may be knowen, another thing is meant, separated, be received up, accuse, gluttony, grieve, abolished from Christ, humbled, freely, burnt offerings, sacrifices, yong scholler, eternal purpose, revived, stirre up, made.

Many notes were fiercely controversial, outdoing the bad example of Luther, followed to some extent by Tyndale. They have long been replaced by others; which, however, show occasional blunders of scholarship.

The example of the Genevan Bible was followed, by critical attention to the text; and attention was called to the fact that the Vulgate had been edited carefully, whereas the Greek text was still compiled from very inferior manuscripts. This was quite true, and, in a few respects, the Rheims Testament had the advantage: but since 1881 the Revised Version has more than redressed the balance.

No hindrance was placed in the way of this book circulating in England. Indeed, within seven years a Protestant republished it alongside the Bishops' Version, with a critical commentary. This was carefully used by the revisers for the 1611 New Testament. But long before that, Elizabeth had at last taken decisive measures.

A Spanish invasion had been tried, and had failed:

no soldier of Parma could even embark, and the Armada had been scattered. No longer need Elizabeth dance to-and-fro before foreign suitors and ambassadors; no longer need she temporize between zealots and bishops. She was mistress in her own house, and she showed all the Tudor masterfulness in three bold strokes.

The first Act of her eighth Parliament forbade conventicles and ordered all people to attend divine service at least once a month. The second ordered all Popish recusants who refused, to go home and never stir five miles away. Then came a startling illustration of what she had said when proroguing a former Parliament: "If you my lords of the clergy do not amend, I mean to depose you . . . I see many over-bold with God Almighty, making too many subtle scannings of His blessed will. . . . The presumption is so great, as I may not suffer it: yet mind I not hereby to animate Romanists . . . nor tolerate newfangledness. I mean to guide them both by God's holy true rule." The Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, a Frenchman trained at Geneva by Calvin, protested against the distortion of his master's views. Whitgift assembled several bishops who exaggerated them into Nine Articles, stating their own views most clearly. Elizabeth not only refused to give these Lambeth Articles any authority, but smartly rebuked Whitgift for daring to hold such a meeting and to defy her express prohibition. Hyper-Calvinism might be the belief of all the bishops of the time; it was not the

creed of the Church. The Thirty-nine Articles of 1562 still held; "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man."

Eight years remained of Elizabeth's reign. In this time there appeared five editions of the Bishops' Bible, a second of the Douay New Testament besides a second Protestant reprint, and at least twenty-seven of the Genevan, these published by the Queen's Printer. Some of these had a new feature; they lacked the Apocrypha. For some of her Protestant subjects by this time were discontented with a Reformation on which the brake had been put. They sought a land where there was more religious liberty, and they found it in Holland, while they were considering whether Virginia or New England might not be their home. These increasing colonies of English refugees at Amsterdam, Dort, Leyden, Rotterdam, led to Dutch printers again printing English Bibles, some of which the Queen's Printer imported.

*They that had been dispersed by the tribulation
... walked through out . . . speaking the
word.*

ACTS xi. 19.

XI

THUS FAR, AND FARTHER

Summary and Epilogue

*They began to speake with other tongues, as the Spirit
gaue them vtterance.*

ACTES ii. 4.

XI

THUS FAR, AND FARTHER

Summary and Epilogue

THE Tudors had guided England nearly 120 years. Erasmus led the way in translating the New Testament for scholars, urging others to do the same for ordinary men, and providing them with the first published Greek Testament.

Henry VIII carried through a political reform as to Church and State; the clergy were obliged to admit him to be Head of the Church, the monasteries were abolished. Religious reform was another thing, owing nothing to him, but much to private men. Two of them satisfied the craving of a large class by providing first a New Testament, then a complete Bible, in English. Within four years of Coverdale editing this, the vicars congregated at Coverham quitted their abbey to attend to their duties in their six parishes. Henry's lay vicar-general of the Church enjoined in his name that every parish was to provide a Bible accessible to all comers. Soon the King's Printer issued one, revised by a lay civil servant. Henry stepped in, and ordered that the Bible was to speak for itself, and not be accompanied by any notes, such as had been the custom for ages. Coverdale had well translated Job:

Euery man seith not the light;
He clenseth when he maketh the wynd to blowe.
Golde is brought out of the north,
But the prayse & honoure off Gods feare
Cometh from God himself.

The north had indeed sent fine gold, the south showed how it was prized. Without Monmouth, John Tyndale, Grafton, Whitchurch and Marler, the Bible might have stayed long in manuscript; Essex responded with Poyntz, the host of William Tyndale, and Matthew his literary executor; Oxford sent Taverner.

Edward's reign saw not only a great outpouring of Bibles, but two new aids to devotion: a Book of Common Prayer with abundance of scripture; also the beginning of a Psalter for congregational song. Even from the atmosphere that prevailed in courts, Sternhold and Elizabeth versified some psalms, Mary translated an exposition of John by Erasmus. Such was the contribution of the people, the laity, who needed the Bible not as a tool for their business, but as a fountain for their souls.

Mary's reign checked development in England, though Ridley lit a candle at Oxford which burns brightly after many centuries. Reformers were thrown into the arms of the only man on the continent who was a leader, John Calvin at Geneva. As a result, the next Bible that was prepared was redolent of his influence; it taught plainly the Augustinianism he had elaborated, and decided the



TIOMNA NVADH AR DTIGHEARNA AGVS

AR SLANAJEHTHEORA JOS A
CRIOSD,

AR NA TARRUING SU FJRINNÉACH
AR DÍE)SÍR SA SAOJHE)S,

RE HUJLLJAM O DOMHNUJLL.

Tie. Cap. 2.

leading type of doctrine in Britain for a century. The issue was between the teaching of the Council of Trent, and the teaching of Calvin; there was no *tertium quid*.

Elizabeth upheld her father's political and ecclesiastical systems; she governed the Church with an iron hand, and wore no velvet glove. In the matter of the Bible she was neutral; her bishops prepared a version for use in church, and she let them use it there. The people of all Britain looked at another version as they listened, and they read this in their homes; so did even Andrewes, Dillingham and Overall, three of the revisers for the Bishops' Bible! The very difference of the two versions made people listen, think, weigh, and appropriate into their very marrow.

Elizabeth was a Tudor, and she did not forget her own ancestry. "Gwlâd fy hŷn." In 1567 a Welsh Testament was dedicated to her, in whose production aid was given by Bishop Davies, back from Geneva, concerned also in the English Bishops' Bible. In Armada year came forth an admirable Bible, which by Act of Parliament was placed in every Welsh parish church. In 1571 she had Irish type cast, and sent the fount to John Ussher of Dublin. Translation there was begun by two Cambridge scholars, Sean O'Cearnaid and Nicholas Walsh; it was completed by William O'Domhnuill, Fellow of the new Trinity College in Dublin. The printing was finished before Elizabeth died, though a dedication to her successor was inserted. Such was the worthy close to the Bible work of the Tudors.

oddant eiwdo ff meidd Arglwydd y
ydd yn yr hwn y gwneidwyf byiodo-
iaf hwynt hefyd fel yr arbed gŵr ei

6 Ac efe a dychwel galon y cadai
a chalon y plant at eu cadau, rhag i
ddatar & difrod.

*Terfyn y Prophwyd Malachi, ac hefyd
o'r holl brophwydi.*



When she came to the throne, the nation was officially and sincerely reconciled to Rome; the great majority of the people were content, though there was heart-burning over the hundreds of executions for heresy in the last few years. She reigned nearly fifty years; at her death the great majority were content with her system of church government, were instructed in doctrine, and were religious as England had never been before. They laid up God's words in their heart and soul, teaching their children, speaking of them at home and by the way, at lying down and at rising up.

EPILOGUE

Now there came from yet further north, a king who was promptly asked by the most learned clergyman of the realm, on behalf of his brethren, that there might be a translation of the Bible, without any marginal notes, for use in the churches; and James agreed. It was the turn of the experts, and nobly did the reformed universities rise to their opportunity. Forty-seven of their best men, including the vice-chancellors, five professors, nine clergy in charge of parishes, and one knight, who had taught Greek to Elizabeth. They laid it on the anvil, even seven times; then some smoothed with the hammer; and all say, "It is good!" It was fastened in a sure place, and from the hearts of the people three centuries have not dislodged it.

Tyndale wrote for a constituency of some five millions. The first of the Tudors hoisted his flag over a New-Found-Land; the last named a real colony, "Virginia." From those beginnings, the English language is now the mother-tongue of nearly two hundred and fifty millions; who buy from two Societies every day more than 2,000 Bibles and 1,400 Testaments. Such has been the result of heeding the ancient injunction, "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you": a sentiment echoed by Tyndale in his request to his king: "Grant only a bare text of the scriptures to be put forth among his people!"

The Word of God is quick, and powerful.

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