

that is, *Consequence*. Since the body of Christ is not without blood, it *follows* that His blood is not without the soul; from this it follows that His soul is not without the divinity; from this it follows that His divinity is not without the Father and the Holy Ghost; from this it follows that in the sacrament, even when celebrated under one species, the soul of Christ and the Holy Trinity are eaten and drunk together with His body and blood; from this it follows that in every single mass the mass-priest (*Messpfaff*) sacrifices and sells the Holy Trinity twice; from this it follows, since divinity is not without the creature, that also heaven and earth must be in the sacrament; from this it follows that the devils and hell are also in the sacrament; from this it follows that whoever eats the sacrament, also one species, devours (*frisset*) the bishop of Meissen together with his mandate and bill; from this it follows that in every mass a Meissen priest devours and drinks (*säuft*) his bishop twice; from this it follows that the bishop of Meissen must have a belly greater than heaven and earth; and who will ever enumerate all the consequences? Finally, however, it also follows from this that all those who infer such conclusions (*alle solche Folger*) are asses, clowns, blind, mad, insane, furious, foolish, and raving: *this consequence is certain.*"

F. B.

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## WILLIAM TYNDALE,

THE TRANSLATOR OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

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### Tyndale's Life in England.

William Tyndale, the translator of the English Bible, was born about 1485, a few years after Martin Luther, the great translator of the German Bible. Most likely his birthplace was Slymbridge in Gloucestershire, near Wales. It seems that his early education was not neglected, for he writes, "Except my memory fail me, and that I have for-

gotten what I read when I was a child, thou shalt find in the English chronicle, how that king Athelstane caused the Holy Scripture to be translated into the tongue that then was in England."

About 1504 Tyndale went to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1508, and that of Master of Arts in 1511. At the University he was influenced by John Colet's lecture on Paul's letter to the Romans. Colet had heard Savonarola at Florence. He translated the Lord's Prayer into English and published it with some explanations for the benefit of the common people. For this good work he was almost burned as a heretic by Fitz James, Bishop of London; only the friendship of the Archbishop and the king saved him.

While at Oxford, Tyndale read the New Testament in Greek and explained it to the students of Magdalen College. Magdalen Hall was also known as "Grammar Hall" because it fostered the study of the ancient languages. Grocyn had learned Greek in Italy and was the first to teach it in Oxford in 1492. But the party of the "Trojans" opposed the study of Greek. One of the colleges had forbidden the entrance of the Greek New Testament within its walls "by horse or by boat, by wheels or on foot." Possibly owing to this enmity Tyndale left Oxford for Cambridge where Erasmus was teaching Greek and getting out his edition of the Greek New Testament, in the introduction to which he wants the Bible to be read by all, adding as a climax, "and be read and understood by Scots and Irishmen." About the close of 1521 we find Tyndale as tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh, at Little Sudbury, in Gloucestershire, twelve miles northeast of Bristol.

"The continuous stream of Lutheran literature" began to pour into English seaports in 1521. Lutheran books, though rigorously prohibited, were probably not unknown amongst the imports that floated up the Avon to the warehouses of the Bristol merchants. Amongst the neighboring

gentry were several men of high character and considerable learning; and religion was the all-engrossing theme of the time, so that Tyndale found himself surrounded at Sir John Walsh's table by the same atmosphere of theological controversy in which he had moved at the University. "There was talk of learning, as well of Luther and Erasmus Roterodamus, as of opinions in the Scripture. The said Master Tyndale being learned, and which had been a student of divinity in Cambridge, and had therein taken degree of school, did many times therein shew his mind and learning." Sir John kept a good table, and the clergy were often invited. Tyndale had an uncomfortable way of crushing his opponents by clinching his arguments with chapter and verse of the Bible. As a result they began to hate him and staid away from the good dinners of Master Walsh rather than have the "sour sauce" of Tyndale's arguments. The clergy were very ignorant. So late as 1530 Tyndale asserted that there were twenty thousand priests in England who could not translate into English the third petition of the Lord's Prayer. A generation later, in the reign of Edward VI, Bishop Hooper of Gloucester examined 311 clergy; of these 168 were unable to repeat the Ten Commandments, 31 could not tell where they came from, 40 were unable to repeat the Lord's Prayer, about 40 were unable to say who the author was.

The Convocation of Canterbury had expressly forbidden any man to translate any part of the Scripture into English, or to read such translation without authority of the Bishop, an authority not likely to be granted. The study of the Bible was not even a part of the preparatory study of the religious teachers of the people. Writing against Alexander Alesius to James V of Scotland, Cochlaeus, the notorious Romish theologian, writes about the Bible as follows: "The New Testament translated into the language of the people, is in truth the food of death, the fuel of sin, the veil of malice, the pretext of false liberty, the protection of dis-

obedience, the corruption of discipline, the depravity of morals, the termination of concord, the death of honesty, the well-spring of vices, the disease of virtues, the instigation of rebellion, the milk of pride, the nourishment of contempt, the death of peace, the destruction of charity, the enemy of unity, the murderer of truth!"

In 1529 Latimer, in St. Edward's Church at Cambridge, in his two famous "Sermons on the Card," advocated the translation and universal reading of the Bible. Prior Buckenham soon replied against the reading of the Bible in a sermon on "Christmas Dice" in the following style: "Where Scripture saith, 'No man that layeth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God,' will not the ploughman, when he readeth these words, be apt forthwith to cease from his plough, and then where will be the sowing and harvest? Likewise, also, whereas the baker readeth, 'A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump,' will he not forthwith be too sparing in the use of leaven, to the great injury of our health? And so, also, when the simple man reads the words, 'If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee,' incontinent he will pluck out his eyes, and so the whole realm will be full of blind men, to the great decay of the nation, and the manifest loss of the king's grace. And thus, by reading of Holy Scriptures, will the whole kingdom be in confusion." (*Demans, Life of Latimer*, p. 77.)

The greed of the clergy at that time is described by Tyn-  
dale as follows: "The parson sheareth, the vicar shaveth, the parish priest polleth, the friar scrapeth, and the pardoner pareth: we lack but the butcher to pull off the skin." "Some years before the rise of the Lutheran heresy there was almost an entire abandonment of equity in the ecclesiastical judgments; in morals no discipline, in sacred literature no erudition, in divine things no reverence; religion was almost extinct." These are the words of Cardinal Bellarmine. As late as May 24, 1530, Warham, Tunstall, Gar-

diner, Sir Thomas More, and "with the king's highness being present," decided "it is not necessary for the said Scripture to be in the English tongue, and in the hands of the common people."

In these circumstances it need not surprise us that Tyndale was soon suspected of heresy when he always proved his points with the Bible. The outspoken young scholar caused many an uneasy hour to Lady Walsh, who would remind him that bishops, abbots, and others, having an income of hundreds of pounds yearly, held views the very opposite of his; and "were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?" Of course it was difficult for a moneyless young scholar to answer such an argument coming from such a source. In order to strengthen his position with his wavering hostess by the testimony of Erasmus, whose fame was resounding through Europe, Tyndale translated his *Handbook of a Christian Soldier*, written 1501, and Sir John Walsh and his lady were won over to his opinions, and the clergy were no more invited.

Tyndale often preached in the nearby little church of St. Adeline and even on St. Austin's Green of the great city of Bristol. His conduct and his preaching were fiercely criticised by the clergy. "These blind and rude priests, flocking together to the ale-house, for that was their preaching-place, raged and railed against him; affirming that his sayings were heresy, adding moreover unto his sayings, of their own heads, more than ever he spake," says Fox. Tyndale was secretly accused to Chancellor Parker, and preparations to condemn him were quietly made. Summoned to appear before the Chancellor, Tyndale went, though fearing that evil was intended, and "prayed in his mind heartily to God to strengthen him to stand fast in the truth of His Word." "When I came before the Chancellor, he threatened me grievously, and reviled me, and rated me as though I had been a dog."

But his defense seems to have been ably conducted, for he left the court neither branded as a heretic, nor even forced to swear off anything; "folk were glad to take all to the best," as Sir Thomas More wrote. Tyndale thought long and hard why the clergy should oppose so violently the opinions taken from the Bible, and in his doubts consulted "a certain doctor that had been an old chancellor before to a bishop," probably William Latimer, the Oxford scholar. His doubts were resolved in a most unexpected manner. "Do you not know," said the doctor, "that the Pope is the very antichrist which the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life. I have been an officer of his, but I have given it up and defy him and all his works." Convinced of this, Tyndale was also convinced that to save the church, the common people must have the Bible in their own tongue. He was no dreamer or fanatic; with a clear eye he saw the seat of trouble, and with a glowing heart and firm will he set about to seek the only remedy. "I perceived 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, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text." "In this they be all agreed, to drive you from the knowledge of the Scripture, and that ye shall not have the text thereof in the mother tongue, and to keep the world still in darkness, to the intent they might sit in the consciences of the people, through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their filthy lusts, their proud ambition, and unsatiable covetousness, and to exalt their own honor above king and emperor, yea, above God Himself . . . which thing only moved me to translate the New Testament."

"Communing and disputing," says Fox, "with a certain learned man in whose company he happened to be, he drove him to that issue, that the learned man said, 'We were better to be without God's laws than the Pope's.'

Master Tyndale hearing that, answered him, 'I defy the Pope and all his laws;' and added, 'If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plow shall know more of the Scripture than thou doest.'" This became known; the priests waxed fiercer in their opposition; they charged him with heresy; they hinted at burning him.

With an introduction to Sir John's friend, Sir Harry Guildford, Controller of the Royal Household, Tyndale in the summer of 1523 went to London to see the new bishop, Cuthbert Tunstall, whom Erasmus had praised for his love of learning. As proof of his scholarship, Tyndale took with him "an oration of Isocrates which I had translated out of greke in to English." When Tyndale came to London, the Reformation in Germany was no longer a mere local dispute, but a great movement, the pulses of which were felt in every part of Western Europe. The works of Luther were widely read with admiration and sympathy. Two years before Tyndale's arrival in London, it was discovered that Luther's books had been imported in such numbers that Wolsey required all to deliver up the works of the arch-heretic to the church authorities; nevertheless the books were brought in by the merchants who traded with the Low Countries. Henry himself, who loved theological controversy, and who prided himself on his orthodoxy, had written against Luther, and had been rewarded for his zeal by the title of "Defender of the Faith," still fondly cherished as the most honorable of all the distinctions of the English sovereigns. The example of the king was, of course, followed by the clergy; the pulpits resounded with fierce denunciations of the "detestable and damnable heresies" of that "child of the devil," who had ventured to resist the authority of the Pope. The attention of Parliament was directed to the reported spread of Lutheranism in the University of Cambridge, and it was proposed to search the suspected colleges, which, however, Wolsey forbade. Until

he could see Tunstall, Tyndale preached in St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, corner of the Strand and Fleet Street, and greatly impressed Humphrey Monmouth, a wealthy, educated, and traveled cloth merchant, later an Alderman and a Sheriff, who lived near the Tower. Tyndale excited the sympathy of the generous merchant, who himself had begun "to be a Scripture-man," and whose special pleasure it was to assist needy scholars. Tunstall accorded an interview to Tyndale, acknowledged the scholarship of the stranger, but said his house was full, and advised the young man to seek a place elsewhere.

"The priest came to me again," writes Monmouth, "and besought me to help him; and so I took him into my house half-a-year; and there he lived like a good priest as methought. He studied most part of the day and of the night at his book; and he would eat but sodden meat by his good will, and drink but small single beer. I never saw him wear linen about him in the space he was with me. I did promise him ten pounds sterling, to pray for my father and mother their souls, and all Christian souls." For this kindness to Tyndale, Monmouth was imprisoned in the Tower. Sir Thomas More, while fiercely fighting Tyndale's doctrines, admits that "before he went over the sea he was well known for a man of right good living, studious and well learned in the Scripture, and looked and preached holily."

Monmouth bought and studied the works of Luther and was much influenced by the Reformer, in fact, had all the usual marks of the "detestable sect of Lutherans." Hitherto Tyndale "seems to have looked up to Erasmus as the great light and guide of the age, and the true reformer of religion; now he heard of a greater Reformer, whose words of more impressive eloquence, and, still more, whose conduct of more resolute determination, had achieved what Erasmus had rather recommended than attempted. . . . There can be no question that from this time onwards Luther occupied



the highest place in his esteem, and exercised very considerable influence over his opinions," says Demans.

Tyndale saw men around him led to prison and to death for having or reading Luther's writings, and he knew well that a Bible translation would be a still more dangerous book. At last the simple-minded, unworldly scholar "understood not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but, also, that there was no place to do it in all England." But Tyndale was not the man to put his hand to the plow and then draw back. If only a life of exile could do the work, a life of exile he would accept. "To give the people the bare text of Scriptures, he would offer his body to suffer what pain or torture, yea, what death His Grace (Henry VIII) would, so that this be obtained."

About May, 1524, he sailed to Hamburg, unto "poverty, mine exile out of mine natural country, and bitter absence from my friends, the hunger, the thirst, the cold, the great danger wherewith I was everywhere compassed, the innumerable other hard and sharp fightings which I had to endure." He never saw England again.

#### Tyndale's Work in Germany.

In Hamburg the influence of that mighty movement begun by Luther had already made itself felt; in spite of the fierce opposition of the priests, the followers of Luther were free to preach the pure doctrine. But Tyndale did not remain in Hamburg; he went to Wittenberg, "the common asylum of all apostates," as Duke George of Saxony styled it; "the little town which had suddenly become the sacred city of the Reformation," as Green puts it. Green is not far wrong, for Scultetus says of certain travelers, "as they came in sight of the town, they returned thanks to God with clasped hands, for from Wittenberg, as heretofore from Jerusalem, the light of evangelical truth had spread to the uttermost parts of the earth."

At Wittenberg Tyndale "had conference with Luther and other learned men in those parts," Fox says. Free from danger, Tyndale at Wittenberg settled down to his life's work of translating the New Testament into English. He used the 1522, third edition of Erasmus' Greek New Testament. He learned the German language and "systematically consulted" Luther's German New Testament. Froude says Tyndale translated under Luther's "immediate direction," and Green speaks of "Tyndale's Lutheran translation." Tyndale's New Testament is often called "Luther's New Testament in English." Why? 1. Compare Luther's folio German Testament of September, 1522, with Tyndale's English Testament of September, 1525, and it is clear at a glance that Tyndale's is Luther's in miniature: the appearance of the page, the arrangement of the text, the inner margin for the references and the outer one for the explanations, the "pestilent glosses"—all are the same. 2. The "pestilent glosses," as Henry VIII called them, or marginal notes of Tyndale's, are literally taken from Luther or reproduced from Luther; some are original with Tyndale. 3. The translation is from the original Greek, but Luther's was used systematically. 4. In Tyndale's prologue many passages have been borrowed from Luther, "as the reader speedily begins to suspect from the characteristic ring of the sentences." Two pages are taken almost word for word from Luther. A comparison of the two "fully justifies the assertion of Tyndale's contemporaries that he reproduced in English Luther's German Testament," as the *Athenaeum* says.

In the spring of 1525 Tyndale returned to Hamburg to get from Hans Collenbeck the ten pounds he had left with Monmouth, and then went to Cologne to print his New Testament. That city boasted of some famous printers who had extensive business connections with England. Three thousand copies were to be printed by Quentel. The work, a quarto with prologue and marginal notes and references,

had well proceeded when suddenly the senate of the city ordered the printers to stop at once. In order to escape prison or death, Tyndale snatched what he could of the printed sheets and sailed up the Rhine to Worms.

John Cochlaeus, whom the Papists call "the scourge of Luther," was an exile in Cologne and heard the printers boast that all England, in a short time, would become Lutheran. "Inviting, therefore, some printers to his lodgings, after they were excited with wine, one of them in private conversation disclosed to him the secret by which England was to be drawn over to the party of Luther, *viz.*, that there were at that very time in the press 3000 copies of the Lutheran New Testament, translated into the English language, and that they had advanced as far as the letter K in the order of the sheets," writes Cochlaeus. Hermann Rinek, a senator of Cologne and a knight, well known to the Emperor and the King of England, procured the order to stop the printing, and the King, Cardinal Wolsey, and Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, were warned by Cochlaeus to keep a sharp lookout in all the sea ports of England "to prevent the importation of the pernicious merchandise."

About October, 1525, Tyndale arrived at Worms, which was then "full of the rage of Lutheranism," according to Cochlaeus, and Peter Schoeffer printed three thousand of an octavo, without prologue or glosses, and the quarto begun by Quentel at Cologne was also finished. Early in 1526 both editions were sent to England, in cases, in barrels, in bales of cloth, in sacks of flour, and in every other secret way that could be thought of. "It came as part of the Lutheran movement; it bore the Lutheran stamp in its version of ecclesiastical words; it came too in company with Luther's bitter invectives," writes Green. "The first Religious Tract Society," as Green calls them, were the "Christian Brethren," a society formed for the spread of Tyndale's New Testament and Luther's writings. Dr. Edward Lee, the King's almoner, and later bishop of York, on Decem-

ber 2, 1525, wrote Henry VIII from Bordeaux: "An Englishman, at the solicitation and instance of Luther, with whom he is, hath translated the New Testament into English, and within a few days intendeth to return with the same imprinted into England. I need not to advertise your Grace what infection and danger may ensue hereby if it be not withstanded. This is the next (nearest) way to fulfil (fill full) your realm with Lutherans. For all Luther's opinions be grounded upon bare words of Scripture. . . . All our forefathers, governors of the Church of England, have with all diligence forbid and eschewed publication of English Bibles . . . the integrity of the Christian faith within your realm cannot long endure if these books may come in."

It seems that Simon Fyshe, a lawyer of Gray's Inn, London, and George Herman, a citizen of Antwerp, were among the first, if not the first, to spread the English New Testament in England. As early as January, 1526 (?), Thomas Garret, a curate of London, had Tyndale's New Testament, which he sold at Oxford "to such as he knew to be lovers of the Gospel." Cardinal Wolsey tracked him, arrested him and his friend Dalaber, and flung the Bibles into the fire. On Shrove Sunday, February 11, 1526, clothed in purple, sitting on a great platform outside St. Paul's, London, surrounded by thirty-six bishops, abbots, and friars, Cardinal Wolsey had Bishop Fisher of Rochester in his noted sermon from a new pulpit denounce Luther and his doctrine. Great basketfuls of Lutheran books were burned before the large crucifix at the northern gate. Tyndale says that in this fire copies of his New Testament were also burned.

About April or May, 1526, John Pykas of Colchester "bought a New Testament in English, and paid for it four shillings, which New Testament he kept and read it through many times," as he testified on trial before Tunstall, March 7, 1528, in the chapel of that very palace where Tyndale had in vain asked the bishop's patronage. In the summer, Stanchard, bishop of St. Asaph, got hold of a copy and brought

it to Cardinal Wolsey; Tunstall urged a prohibition of the book, and in August or September it was unanimously resolved that the English New Testament should be publicly burned wherever discovered. Some time after September 3, Tunstall preached at Paul's Cross denouncing the New Testament and condemned it to be burned; on October 24 he issued an injunction in which he speaks of it as the work of "many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth and the Catholic faith," and he warned all to deliver up their English Testaments. A similar mandate was issued by Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, on November 3. Tunstall confessed that in his diocese the New Testaments were "thick spread." It was a safe business venture to reprint Tyndale's translation, and before the end of 1526, Christopher of Endhoven, an enterprising printer, pirated two thousand copies at Antwerp. Warham wanted to put an end to the heretical book by buying it up, and he spent nearly seventy pounds (about \$5000 to-day) before he gave up the "gracious and blessed deed, for which God should reward him hereafter," as Bishop Nix of Norwich prayed; he also contributed ten marks (about \$500 in our money) to buy and burn Bibles. Sure of buyers, among friends and enemies, the Dutch printers again pirated an edition of Tyndale, and London was once more supplied. In 1528 John Ruremond, a Dutchman, got into trouble by causing 1500 copies of Tyndale's New Testament to be printed at Antwerp and bringing 500 of them into England. In 1527 Nix wrote to the archbishop that more must be done. It was reported by many that even the king himself "wolde that they shulde have the arroneous boks;" and "marchants, and such that had ther abyding not ferre from the see," were greatly infected; and that from the college at Cambridge which sent the most priests into his diocese not one had come into Norfolk lately "but saverith of the frying pan, tho' he speke never so holely." Coming from the

Treaty of Cambray, concluded August 5, 1529, which embraced "the forbidding to print or sell any Lutheran books," Bishop Tunstall stopped over at Antwerp to seize Tyndale's New Testament. Augustine Packington, a merchant of London, who secretly favored Tyndale, offered to buy all unsold copies. "Gentle Master Packington," said the bishop, "deemyng that he hadde God by the toe, whanne in truthe he hadde, as after he thought, the devyl by the fiste," "do your diligence and get them for me; and with all my heart I will pay for them whatsoever they cost you, for the books are erroneous and nought, and I intend surely to destroy them all, and to burn them at Paul's Cross." And so forward went the bargain: the bishop had the books; Packington had the thanks; Tyndale had the money—to print more Bibles.

In 1531 William Tyndale's brother John and another person named Patmore were brought before Sir Thomas More, charged with receiving and distributing copies of the English New Testament, and were heavily fined and compelled to make a humiliating appearance at the Standard in Cheapside. On December 4, 1531, Richard Bayfield was burned at Smithfield for importing Tyndale's New Testament, five of Luther's works, five of Melanchthon's, four of Brenz's, three of Bugenhagen's, and others. Through Hacker over one hundred Bible readers were betrayed; of course they received due punishment. Of Tyndale's three thousand *quarto* New Testaments, only a single imperfect copy remains; and of the three thousand *octavo*, one, incomplete, in St. Paul's Cathedral, and the other, without the title-page, in the Baptist College at Bristol. All the rest were destroyed by the Papists: Thousands were burned with solemn ceremony at the old cross of St. Paul's, as "a burnt-offering most pleasing to almighty God," as Cardinal Campeggio wrote to Wolsey. It has been estimated that about 30,000 Bibles were imported into England from 1526 to 1536.

Tyndale came to Worms about October, 1525, and likely studied Hebrew among the Jews there whose ancient synagogue was built, according to tradition, shortly after the destruction of the Temple by Nebucadnezzar. At Worms Tyndale met Hermann von dem Busche, later professor of Poetry and Oratory at Marburg, who was then living at Speyer, only twenty miles from Worms. According to Spalatin's diary under date August, 1526, Buschius says Tyndale "was so learned in seven languages—Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, French—that in which-ever he spoke you would think it was his native tongue."

Before the close of 1526 Tyndale printed at Worms his famous *Prologue to the Epistle to the Romans*, closing with a short summary of Paul's Epistle and Luther's commentary upon it. Writing in February, 1527, Dr. Ridley condemns it as "full of the most poisoned and abominable heresies that can be thought of," and Sir Thomas More attacks it for "bringing its readers into a false understanding of St. Paul." Demans says of it, "Nothing could show more strikingly than this work the great ascendancy which the German Reformer had now obtained over the mind of Tyndale. The *Introduction to the Romans* is in truth hardly an original work, but is much more correctly described as a translation or paraphrase of Luther's Preface to the same Epistle."

In 1527 Philip of Hessen founded the first Protestant university at Marburg, on the banks of the Lahn. One of the professors was Hermann von dem Busche, a pupil of Reuchlin, the first German Hebraist. Busch is said to be the first nobleman to forget his rank so far as to become a teacher in the schools. As we have already seen, he had become acquainted with Tyndale at Worms, and he had kept up a correspondence with the Englishman. It has been supposed Tyndale went to this quiet inland city to escape the persecution of his enemies.

On May 8, 1528, Hans Luft printed, at "Malborow," Tyndale's *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, or the Un-

just Steward, a treatise on the doctrine of Justification by Faith. "The choice of subject may fairly enough be considered an indication of the paramount influence which Luther now exercised over the mind of Tyndale; and, indeed, there are several striking similarities of sentiment and expression which were most certainly suggested by the writings of the great German Reformer," says Demans. The Archbishop of Canterbury condemned *The Wicked Mammon* as "containing many detestable errors and damnable opinions;" it was also condemned by a body of prelates and doctors summoned by Henry VIII; preachers were instructed to hold it up to public detestation; a catalogue of nine-and-twenty distinct heretical propositions was drawn from the dangerous publication; Sir Thomas More uniformly calls it "The Wicked Book of Mammon," "a very treasury and well-spring of wickedness," "a book by which many have been beguiled, and brought into many wicked heresies."

At the time *The Wicked Mammon* was printed there appeared also at "Malborow" *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, Tyndale's largest and most elaborate work; next to his translation of Holy Scripture, it was the book by which he was best known in his time, that which exerted the greatest influence upon those who were friendly to the Reformation. It is a defense of the Reformers from the charge that "they caused insurrection, and taught the people to disobey their heads and governors, and to rise against their princes, and to make all common, and to make havoc of other men's goods." In this work Tyndale charges the Papists with having corrupted the sacraments. Baptism and "the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ" had promises annexed to them, and were, therefore, true sacraments; "Scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense . . . whereunto if thou cleave thou canst never err or go out of the way. And if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way." No wonder Sir Thomas More pours out the vials of his wrath upon this book; "He



hath not only *sowked* out the most poison that he could find through all Luther's books, or take of him by mouth and all that hath *spette* out in this book, but hath also in many things far passed his master."

This book strengthened the Lutherans in England: Bilney and Bainham, for instance, repented of their recantation and bore the cruel death by fire with remarkable courage. It also gave to the Reformers a definite aim and purpose. It fell into the hands of Anne Boleyn and through her Henry VIII read it and was deeply impressed by it. "This book is for me and all kings to read," he said, and he took into his own hands the reins of power hitherto held by Cardinal Wolsey. Wolsey founded Cardinal College, now Christ Church, at Oxford for the purpose of opposing Lutheranism, and among his last words were for the king "to depress this new sect of Lutherans."

At Marburg Tyndale was joined by John Fryth, his "own son according to the faith," who had been imprisoned, degraded, and exiled for the crime of reading the English Bible and Lutheran works. It is likely that Tyndale was one of the fifty present at the great debate on the Lord's Supper between Luther and Zwingli in 1529.

Tyndale's translation of the five books of Moses was "Emprented at Malborow in the lande of Hesse by me Hans Luft the yere of our Lorde M.CCC.CC.XXX. the XVII dayes of Januarij."<sup>1)</sup> It is clear from a comparison of the two that Tyndale in his Pentateuch followed Lotter's edition of Luther's translation, though not with the "slavish deference of a copyist, as he is sometimes said to have done." In the glosses "the spirit and even the style of Luther is distinctly visible," says Westcott. "Perhaps it would have been better if Tyndale had in this matter more closely followed his German predecessor; for the greatest of Tyndale's admirers must admit that his keen sarcasms are by no means

1) Dr. Julius Caesar, librarian of the University of Marburg, says Hans Luft never had a printery in that city, but we think him in error.

so suitable an accompaniment to the sacred text as Luther's topographical and expository notes," says Demans. Some called him "nothing more than an English echo of the great German heresiarch." "Those best acquainted with the theology of the English Reformation will be the first to admit that we shall look in vain in Cranmer, Latimer, or Ridley for any such clearness of apprehension and precision as here displayed by Tyndale." The bitterest of all Tyndale's writings is his *Practice of Prelates*, a sort of historical summary of the *practices* by which Pope and clergy gradually grew up from poverty and humility into that universal supremacy enjoyed by them in Tyndale's time.

The Papists felt it was high time to bestir themselves. Accordingly, Bishop Tunstall, on March 7, 1528, licensed More, his "Demosthenes," to read the books of Lutheran heresy and reply to them. Sir Thomas More attacked "the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale" in his *Dialogue*, and in 1531 Tyndale printed in Amsterdam his "Answer" in defense of the Reformation. More felt constrained to reply to Tyndale; he published part of his *Confutation* in May, 1532, and the work of opposing Tyndale kept him busy till the day of his death: in all he wrote about one thousand folio pages against the Reformer. The *Confutation* is extremely tedious and virulent. "Not to speak of the ribald abuse poured forth in season and out of season upon Luther, the language applied to Tyndale is altogether unparadonable," says Demans.

A few years before Tyndale had left England poor and unknown; now his fame resounded through all England. Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, chief legal adviser of Henry VIII at a most momentous crisis in English history, felt compelled to write against Tyndale. What stronger proof of Tyndale's power could be asked? According to Anthony Wood, More was "one of the greatest prodigies of wit and learning that England ever before his time had produced," and Tyndale entered the arena against him

and in several important points remained master of the field. More had vowed, "I shall leave Tyndale never a dark corner to creep into, able to hide his head in." Now he had to confess, "Men thought his *Confutation* overlong, and therefore tedious to read," a sad confession that the great wit of the age and Chancellor of the realm had gotten the worst of the controversy.

*The Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount* was printed in 1532. It is the ablest of all Tyndale's expository works. George Joy says that in reality "Luther made it, Tyndale only but translating and powdering it here and there with his own fantasies." Certainly Tyndale closely followed Luther's commentary. The coincidences between Tyndale's *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount* and that of Luther, though fewer, are even more worthy of notice" than usual, says Westcott. This great scholar also speaks of the "profound influence which Luther exerted upon his (Tyndale's) writings generally. The extent to which Tyndale silently incorporated free or even verbal translations of passages from Luther's works in his own has escaped the notice of his editors. . . . Tyndale's *Prologue* to his quarto Testament, his first known writing, almost at the beginning introduces a large fragment from Luther's Preface to the New Testament. There is indeed a ring in the opening words which might have led any one familiar with Luther's style to suspect their real source."

When the plague visited Germany in 1530 and carried off Francis Lambert of the Marburg University, a devoted friend of Tyndale, the Englishman left Marburg, grieving over the growing immorality of the city, and went to Antwerp.

WILLIAM DALLMANN.

(To be concluded.)

1531