THE REVIEW AND EXPOSITOR

Vol. VIII. October, 1911 No. 4

THE CHARACTER AND HISTORY OF THE 1611 VERSION.

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The English version of the Bible which made its appearance in 1611, and its assumed final form in 1638, is the twelfth step in a process of translation and revision which had begun in 1526, and represents the Bible of Scotland and England, of Puritan and Prelatist. It came at a happy time, when the national consciousness was at its height, when nearly all parties were united, when the race was yet within its motherland, with but a handfull of pioneers in Virginia. Men of nearly all churches soon accepted it, and wherever Britons went forth they carried with them the one version. A book of unique purpose and value, couched in the stately prose which fitly matches the poetry of Shakespeare, is read more widely than any other book in the world. Just as a piece of literature, its story is worth telling.

When the English came from the continent to the land of Britain, the Bible was already a complete library, gathered and circulated as one collection, translated into many languages. For all western Europe it was read in Latin, and two Latin translations were in use; one had a record of a few centuries already, the other was a revised version, slowly mak-

ing its way. The missionaries who came to the English, from Italy, from Scotland, from France, from Burgundy, brought with them Latin Bibles. These were copied diligently, and many are the romantic tales clustering around the story of the copyist, and of the previous volumes they produced. But Latin was not the tongue of the English, and just as the modern missionary will treasure his Bible in his mother tongue, yet feel bound to prepare one in the tongue of his converts, so the old missionaries had to translate in their preaching, in their stories, and were led to the verge of writing out their translations.

The first step, however, towards an English Bible was taken by an Englishman. In those days (as perhaps again now) the wealth and the intelligence and the heart of England were in the North, the hilly lands, which we call today Northumberland and Durham, Yorkshire and Lancashire. Here was the old capital of Roman Britain, York; here were the great Christian centers of Lindisfarne, Jarrow, Whitby; and so here began the English Bible.

It began in poetry. A herdman invited to take his turn with the harp and give a song in the evening, slank away in shame because he could do neither. A dream came to him that night; and when next day the friendly challenge was repeated, he burst forth into a hymn of the creation, a story of Paradise Lost. Great was the marvel; no border ballad, but the sacred story, only put into the speech of daily life, into the measure of the war song. Cædmon was set free from his cowshed, and the lyrics multiplied apace.

After a while the learned preachers took the hint. Bede dictated a translation of John, the first which we know was committed to writing. Then into a Latin Testament was added a word-for-word translation in English. Then some one dared copy out the English alone, apart from the Latin. And once this step was taken, bolder grew the writers, more idiomatic and less slavish the translating, and the formation of an English Bible was going on apace.

But a fresh wave of invasion stopped the work. Northmen

conquered the whole of north and east England; York became a Danish capital, with heathen kings ruling for a hundred and fifty years. Christian centers were plundered and burned, and the few Testaments that survive show marks of their adventures by land and even by sea, when dropped into the waves and only recovered after the tide had ebbed. The work of translating all but ceased, only to begin again when Dane and Welshman and Englishman were learning to live side by side under one English ruler, and owning one Christ as Lord. As the first millennium closed, the greater part of the Bible was reduced into English, and the work was going on apace.

Then came another great invasion, of Normans now, civilized Northmen. English was the language only of the conquered, and they had neither means nor heart to finish the work. All the north submitted to the Norman, and he smote the north to the dust, laying it waste so pitilessly that it was negligible for two centuries or so, nor regained its place for many more. Yet in the deserts he left, hermits found refuge; and where the Norman influence was least, the English spirit lingered. Still was it in the north that a few more books were translated into English, even in the long period when little but Norman-French was spoken or read in cultured circles.

Under the early Edwards the people began to draw together again, and just as the Dane had melted into the mass, so the Norman melted. Not Danish, not Norman-French, but English was to be the tongue of the land, in writing as in speech. Even law-courts and parliaments fell to the national life, and with Gower and Chaucer, English literature arose again.

The language was no longer the language of Cædmon, nor of Alfred, nor of Aelfric. These we popularly group as Anglo-Saxon; but the language of Gower and Chaucer is a more modern tongue, which can be read without a dictionary, though it certainly is more archaic than Shakespeare. It may be interesting to give one or two illustrations, put into modern

letters so that there may be little distraction on this score. Here is a verse translated by King Alfred:

"Sunu min, ne agimeleasa, thu Godes swingan,
ne thu ne beo werig for his threaunga,
forthaembe God lufath thone the he threath,
and swingeth aelc bearn the he underfon wile."

And here is the same passage as translated by Abbot Aelfric forty years before the Norman conquest:

"Ne forgym thu, min bearn, thines Drihtnes steore, ne thu beo gewacht thone he the threath; thone the Drihten lufath, thone he threath, and sothlice beswingth aelcne sunu the he underfehth."

It may well be doubted if the average reader can identify ten words in either version, or can find what passage it is. That language is at a long remove from ours.

Modern standard English comes from the south midlands, where lived Wicliffe and Purvey, studying at Oxford. It was in 1380 that the first draft appeared of a new and complete version of the whole Latin Bible, which was revised into permanent form by 1388. Even in quaint old spelling we cannot mistake this:

"Forsothe the Lord answeride fro the whirlewynd to Joob, and seide, Who is this man, wlappynze sentences with unwise wordis? Guide thou as a man thi leendis: Y schal axe thee, and answere thou to me."

All the forces of conservatism and of aristocracy and of ecclesiasticism might combine against this new appeal to the people in their own tongue; but it was useless. The demand for the Latin Bible ceased, no more new copies were made, but for the new English Bible there was a call from palace and cloister and grange, and even from humble homes for a few pages if such might be had. Wycliffe's Bible, as it is

popularly called, fixed the tongue of the people, especially the written prose, for one hundred and fifty years, till a new power came to the front, in the printing press. Thus in 1480 it was reported that Nicholas Belward in the parish of South Elmham had bought a New Testament in London for four marks and forty pence, which he studied with two others for a year; also that a village priest had another which he gave to a man Beccles, and a third which he bequeathed to a servant at Colchester. In 1485 Robert Hilman was tried at Coventry on five charges, of which the second was that he had a book with the Epistles and Gospels in English, according to which he would live, and believed to be saved. In 1511 William Sweeting was charged with the crime of having had much conference with one William Man, of Boxted, in a book which was called Matthew. James Brewster, of Colchester was burned for seven crimes including that he owned a certain little book of Scripture in English, of an old writing almost worn for age. Could it have been the copy bequeathed by Sir Hugh Pie eighty years earlier? Other cases are known when people would give five marks for a book, or a load of hay for a few chapters of James or Paul in English.

How came it that men were so slow to use the printing press? The first book printed in Europe was the Latin Bible, at Mainz in 1455; the Hebrew Bible was issued at Soncino in 1488, the Greek Testament in 1516 at Basel. And versions into modern languages were soon put to press; the Germans had theirs from 1465, the Italians from 1471, the French from 1475, the low-Dutch from 1494, while Spanish, Dutch and Bohemians were equally forward. Yet all that was done in that century for English readers was Caxton's translation in 1483 of the Golden Legend, a collection of biographies of saints; those who were of Bible times were usually described in Bible words, and so in this indirect way certain parts of Bible narrative found their way into print, and became very popular. It is unmistakable that in England there was comparatively little desire among the high clergy to issue a vernacular Bible, and there were so few printing presses that no

layman could hope to get one printed without clerical favor.

As a result even the preparation of a new version was delayed until a new theological issue had arisen, and its publication became complicated with the Protestant movement, so that from the outset the printed English Bible was looked upon with some suspicion by friends of the old learning and the old religion.

William Tyndale studied at Oxford and Cambridge at the time when Luther's proceedings first attracted attention. The great Saxon issued a German New Testament straight from the Greek during 1522, and Tyndale decided in 1523 to begin an English New Testament. He found the Bishop of London opposed to it, so emigrated and carried out his work at Hamburg and Wittenberg, beginning to print it at Cologne in 1525. An enemy of the Reformation stopped it and warned Wolsey to watch for any imported Testaments; so Tyndale began again at Worms, in a different shape, giving text only without prefaces or notes. This was smuggled into England in 1526, but such vigorous means were taken to suppress it, that only a single perfect copy remains, in the Baptist College at Bristol. Printers saw there was a demand for it, and several printed editions appeared, while Tyndale was working at the Old Testament. Before he was executed by the Emperor Charles, he had thrice revised his New Testament, had printed Jonah and the first five books of the Old Testament, and left more ready in manuscript; while in the year of his death the king's Printer had issued a small folio reprint of his second edition, the first volume of Scripture produced in England.

The importance of Tyndale's work may be seen in that seventy per cent of his words are retained even to the present day, not only in the Great Royal Version of 1611, but in the popular Catholic versions and in the American Standard version of 1901. He aimed at good, original work, depending directly upon the Hebrew and the Greek, unlike his predecessors in England; but like a sensible man he profited by their labors, and often the ring of Wicliffe and even of Caxton can be detected. Also he used the new Latin version which Erasmus

had published in 1516 with the remark that he wished others would do for the uneducated what he thus did for scholars. And of course the Vulgate, or common Latin version, influenced him occasionally.

All translators had been accustomed to give notes of three kinds, exactly as any translator of any foreign book does today. They prefaced with a short account of what the book was about, who its author was, and what led him to write—just the sort of note that Prof. Robertson has put in front of each book in his chronological New Testament. They mentioned at the foot any places where the text was uncertain, or where another translation was possible. They added in the margin any useful information that helped to explain the subject.

The written English Bible of 1388 and the written Latin Bibles had had notes of these kinds; but evidently every scribe was able to drop old notes and write new ones; Lollards had copied the English version with notes which excited the ire of the bishops. Luther had done the same with his printed German Testament; and Tyndale not only kept at the regular practice of writing notes, but threw himself on the Protestant side and wrote vigorous controversial notes, often drawn largely from Luther's. In 1526 he was willing to cut them out if the plain text might circulate; but as he found even this was burned, his later editions have very plain spoken comments against Catholic corruption, in the margin; though the text is an honest attempt at plain rendering, wonderfully successful for a pioneer effort.

Meanwhile a second man had been working independently, under the influence of Zwingli's friends near Zurich. Myles Coverdale was of the same order to which Luther belonged, an Augustinian friar. But the Swiss Reformation was not on Lutheran lines, and it has not been sufficiently noted that before Luther had half finished his translation, an independent German Bible had been issued at Zurich in 1525; the first complete translation from the original into any modern language. This was revised two or three times as fresh in-

stalments of Luther appeared, and its standard form was attained when Christopher Froschauer published it in 1534. Next year the same printer struck off the first complete English Bible, prepared by Coverdale from this and Luther, a Zurich Latin Bible and the old Vulgate, and from Tyndale; it made no pretension to be based directly on the Hebrew and Greek. In one respect it made a sparkling innovation, cutting out of the Old Testament all the books known only in Latin, and grouping them at the end under the title Apocrypha. The sheets were imported to England without special secrecy, for King Henry had broken with the Pope on the "divorce" question, and Coverdale took Henry's side; moreover, Cranmer and Cromwell were now in power, and evidently favored his work. An English book-seller bound and published three issues in 1536, then printed a revised edition in 1537, and for a third edition the same year secured the king's license.

This altered the whole situation, and other editors and book-sellers took up the work. The third man was John Rogers, successor of Tyndale in the English Merchant's house at Antwerp. He took the whole of Tyndale's text, printed and manuscript, filled up from Ezra to Malachi with Coverdale (adding also his apocrypha), and translated a new marginal commentary from the 1535 French Bible of Olivitan. Two London tradesmen took up publishing during 1537 by speculating in a large edition of this, which they called "Matthew's Bible" for some reason unknown. They secured the king's license and it became very popular, five editions appearing by 1551. Its importance lies in the fact that the Royal Version of 1611 is descended direct from this.

We must not be tempted into describing the numerous other experiments made,but may simply say that a learned barrister called Taverner revised this, and his work influenced the later Douay Testament which in its turn was used for 1611; that Coverdale put out a valuable Latin-English Testament which by the same channel contributed its quota. It is more important to follow the main stream.

Since 1530 King Henry had been inquiring into the pos-

sibility of a version not merely permitted, but put out by authority. The convocation of the province of Canterbury had touched the matter in 1534 and 1536, but was so slow that when Henry became Head of the church and appointed Cromwell his Vicar General, Cromwell told Coverdale to prepare a new edition to be officially authorized. It was based on "Matthew", and the only new help was derived from an edition of the Hebrew text accompanied with a Latin version by Sebastian Munster. There is no evidence that Coverdale knew Hebrew, and therefore the section from Ezra onwards cannot have been very well revised even yet; and this includes not the least valuable parts of the Old Testament.

Printing was still rather poor in England, and it was arranged to print this in Paris; but the Inquisitor-General stopped it, and the English were with difficulty able to get away with some printed sheets, the type, the press and the printers. This marks incidentally an era in the printing trade in England. The work was finished in London during 1539, financed by the syndicate of 1537, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, aided also by Anthony Marlar a button-maker. It was such an enormous success that they all dropped their previous trades and turned to printing. For the second edition they secured a preface from Cranmer, and obtained an order from the king through Cromwell that this was the edition appointed for use in the churches. Warning had already been given that every parish would have to provide an English Bible for people to read at leisure; the syndicate now secured the monopoly. Editions of course flowed rapidly in 1540 and 1541, till every parish was supplied. Tyndale's version was now forbidden by act of parliament, and the same act ordered all notes and commentaries in all other versions to be blotted out. Next came the turn of Coverdale's Bible, whose reprinting was forbidden in 1546, while the same prohibition seems to cover all others also.

Much of this legislation was of course due to the influence of the Bible Trust, and it is a trifle unfair to overlook this mere trade influence. But when that has been given the weight

it has never received, we must yet recognize the importance of the rule about notes. The old custom was distinctly broken with, and Henry ordered that a bare text was to be issued. The only exceptions were three critical marks; one warned that there was a difference of opinion as to the true reading; a second that the passage was not in the original, only in the Vulgate Latin; a third that the O. T. passage was quoted in the New. Coverdale also added a fourth mark, to say that a note on the passage would be found at the end, not in the margin; but this project was forbidden by Henry. Thus the controversial abuse of a good old practice led to its summary prohibition.

Under King Edward there was no more revision, but an important step was taken in another direction. A new set of services was compiled, all in English, and the first book of Common Prayer was then enjoined for universal use, by the first act of Uniformity. Every passage of Scripture in this book was naturally drawn from the Authorized Version, the Great Bible; and this applies not only to isolated verses and short passages, but to the whole book of Psalms, which as we have seen, was only a version from the Latin. So great is the force of conservatism in the Church of England, that to the present day this poor old Psalter, unintelligible in some places, erroneous in many more, is still used daily.

Under Queen Mary all Bible circulation was stopped, and the old practice of burning Bibles was improved on.

Rogers and Cranmer were burned, besides hundreds of less notable victims. Coverdale saved himself by flight, but henceforth his Bible work was done, and under Elizabeth he never regained even the bishopric he had been awarded with under Edward. A new generation of students came to the front, one set at Geneva, and another as yet at Oxford, but fleeing to Douay and then to Rheims after the accession of Elizabeth.

Many Protestant exiles gathered at Geneva, where Calvin and Beza had created a strong center of learning. William Whittingham began in 1557 with a New Testament, to which

Calvin contributed a preface. The form was a striking innovation; it was small, it was printed not in the antique ecclesiastical black letter associated with Germany, but in the modern Roman type. More than that, it indicated the verses which had existed in the Old Testament from time immemorial, and the new verses—divisions made to correspond in the New Testament by Etienne, the printer of Paris and Geneva; both of which had come into general use elsewhere. And it retained the familiar practice of annotating the text. The translation itself was based on Tyndale, revised with the help of the Great Bible and of Beza's recent work in Latin.

An edition of the Psalms followed in 1559, for the Genevans were much addicted to them in song. But both portions were superseded in 1560 by the complete Genevan Bible, in which Whittingham was helped by Gilby and Sampson, and for whose expense the exiled church combined. Now for the first time the whole of the Old Testament was dealt with from the Hebrew, while all the best scholarship of the continent was drawn upon; the Great Bible was, however, the foundation of the text.

The Genevan Bible was taken up in Scotland, and was soon the Authorized Version, every parish being ordered to set a copy in church, and every substantial householder to have one at home. It was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, but though she gave copyright to Thomas Bodley for it, she did not officially authorize it. Instead, the Great Bible was again sent to press.

Archbishop Parker set on foot a revision of this, but when the Bishop's Bible appeared in 1568, Elizabeth equally declined to authorize that. The church authorities did what they could to encourage it, but though they compelled many parishes to buy it, and discontinued printing the Great Bible, the Genevan distinctly became the popular version, and it tended by its notes to harden public opinion into what became known as the Puritan mould.

For several years Elizabeth contrived to sit on the hedge, and not quite to break with either Catholic or Puritan. But

when the breach with Rome occurred finally, each party woke to renewed effort, and Bible translation was taken in hand by each. The New Testament of the Genevan Bible was again revised in 1576, and a new commentary was added, chiefly drawn from Beza. It became more popular than ever, and most of the quotations by men of all parties were taken from its pages.

The exiled Catholics in their turn saw the need of a version with their opinions in text and notes. Three or four Oxford men translated the Vulgate Latin, with the help of Coverdale and Taverner, and furnished the version with elaborate notes. They were not well enough off to publish the whole, and only the New Testament came out at Rheims in 1582. It was published rather grudgingly, not that any English version was very desirable, but that as people would have one, they might have one that was under Catholic auspices. It fell very flat, but the year after the dispersal of the Spanish Armada, a Protestant named Fulke published an elaborate book, putting the Bishop's text and the Rheims text side by side, with abundant notes to point out errors of all kinds. In 1592 a standard Authorized Edition of the Vulgate was put out by the Pope, with the order that all versions were to made from it. So in 1600 a revised version of the Rheims Testament was published by the Seminarists of Douay, which town was the first and chief home of these exiles. And it was followed next year by a revised edition of the Protestant private two-version Testament. This thus served to keep before Protestants the Catholic version, which otherwise would have perished of sheer neglect due to its chilled and stiff character. And since the learned editor did not confine himself to doctrinal notes, but also criticised the translations and referred to originals, he produced the most valuable piece of apparatus for further revision.

Thus at the death of Queen Elizabeth there was an obvious call for another step. The king of Scotland became king of England; from his standpoint it was desirable to have uniformity, and not to have one version authorized in one king-

dom, while the technically Authorized Version of England was quite obsolete in practice, and was replaced in churches by a mere Bishops' Bible. Yet he could not approve of the Genevan Bible, with notes very contrary to his ideas of the importance of a king, one note even comparing his mother, Mary Stuart, to Jezebel! The English Puritans again were not content with it, since there had been a long pause in revision, and they knew the level of scholarship had risen greatly. From Tyndale to Matthew was eleven years, thence to the Great Bible only two, the Genevan had come in twenty, and its revised New Testament in sixteen more; but they would neglect the two Catholic versions, and think that twenty-seven years had now elapsed since this last improvement, the longest period of stagnation yet. This was the period when English prose had risen to "a perfection which in this particular stage was the highest it ever reached", in the writings of Richard Hooker, who died in 1600. And before that century closed, the outburst of poetry had culminated in Shakespeare's Sonnets, the Midsummer Night's Dream, Romeo and Juliet, and As You Like It. From the standpoint of literature as from that of scholarship a new version was due.

The magnates of the church were not averse. Their Bishops' Bible was a merely official volume, with no private circulation. And if they could see the Genevan also superseded, they would not mind letting the work of their own predecessors also be honorably mustered out.

Only one party remained to be considered, the Catholics. And no one intended to consider them, for already they were coming to be recognized as irreconcilable, demanding all or contributing nothing. Moreover the long period of steady repression had reduced them to all but impotence, though the fact was not quite evident to those who remembered the fiery days when Philip and Mary were king and queen, or the bloody days when Philip's Armanda swept aside the puny forces of England and sailed majestically to the rendesvous of Flanders, only there to be caught with panic and scattered by storm.

When therefore in January, 1604, King James and the

bishops received a deputation of four Puritan clergy at Hampton Court, and these stated the wishes of their friends so as to arrive at a religious settlement acceptable to all parties, James leaped at the one proposal which chimed in with his own views. He recklessly threw away the splendid chance of a religious peace, ejected hundreds of clergy for non-conformity, created new Separatism, never again to die; but in all this tragedy of error it is to be put to his credit that he agreed to a new version of the Bible.

Further, being a trained theologian, and no novice at business, he promptly sketched out a plan which was an enormous advance on anything before. Previous versions had been the work of a few men, never more than eight, sometimes only one. He decided to enlist about fifty, and so he happily eliminated the personal equation, by which the defects of any one man occasionally deface his generally good work.

Within six months fifty-four scholars were selected and James sent his plans to Bishop Bancroft, to be communicated to the other bishops. Only in one detail were they defective, finance. No provision was made for the expense except that the bishops were told to manage that. James was about to create hundreds of vacancies, and evidently thought that some of the livings thus set free could be appropriated to the translators. He never troubled further on this head.

It is no small credit to James that he chose fine scholars, and quite neglected the distinction of party, though he had in ecclesiastical matters quite taken sides against the Puritans. Only a few of the front rank were omitted, such as Hugh Broughton, whose bad temper rendered him an impossible colleague.

With such a multitude of workers, careful rules became necessary, and a code was drawn up for uniform procedure. The scholars who accepted the invitations were grouped in six companies, each entrusted with one section of the Bible. The English basis of the whole was to be the Bishops' Bible, and this was to be treated conservatively; yet the Genevan, the Great, Coverdale's, Matthew's and Tyndale's might be used

where they agreed better with the original. Each member of a company was to prepare his own version of a chapter; then the company should meet and compare, settling the form they approved. Special difficulties might be met by asking outside expert advice; and learned clergy were invited to send suggestions to the proper company. When a book was complete in first draft, it was to be sent to the other five companies for criticism; and every amendment approved by any other company was to be placed on the final agenda.

Some men began work as early as April, 1605, but probably in private. Co-operative work seems to have begun during 1607, and lasted nearly three years. There are two points that may receive attention; the texts of Hebrew and Greek that were rendered; the extra helps not advised in the instructions, which were yet actually employed.

Neither in Hebrew nor in Greek did the revisers take special trouble to look for good manuscripts; they leaned upon printed texts ready prepared. It is highly doubtful whether they used Hebrew Bibles edited by Jews, and so they could choose between five Polyglots which gave on the same page all the versions which scholars then appreciated, or the edition by Tremellius, a converted Jew, who added his own Latin version, or a similar edition revised in 1572 from the work of Pagninus. There were five or six men competent to use any of these editions, and among them stands out Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, then dean of Westminster, but to close his career as bishop of Bath and Wells, chairman of the privy council; he knew more languages than all the Polyglots gave, and added a wide knowledge of all the early Christian fathers had written, quoting or commenting on the Bibles they used.

In Greek there were not only the Polyglots, but fifteen separate editions of the New Testament; and it is clear that on the whole, the most recent edition by Beza, published with a Latin version in 1598, was the favorite. Here again no attempt was made to improve by consulting manuscripts; nor were any really good manuscripts available, far less any people competent to weigh them.

There were now many new foreign versions, and the re-

visers proudly referred to their use of the Spanish (at Amsterdam, 1602), the French (at Geneva, 1588), the Italian (by Diodati at Geneva, 1607), and the German. But three English Bibles were most influential. There was the Bishops' version, deliberately ordered as the basis; a new fresh edition of the New Testament was issued in 1605. There was the popular Genevan, of which at least sixteen editions had been issued between 1601 and 1607, the last of them with a concordance bound in. We can hardly doubt that those two editions were prepared specially with a view to the work of the revisers. But a third unintended factor was the folio of nearly a thousand pages, comparing the revised Douay text of 1600 with the Bishops' New Testament, with critical notes and abundant quotations from the fathers. It brought in many renderings due to the Oxford Catholics.

When the first drafts had been criticized by the five companies which had not produced them, a sub-committee of six worked daily at Stationer's Hall to give a second reading, and this occupied nine months.

By this time the question of finance became crucial. The committee of six was paid; the company of stationers gave each of them thirty shillings a week, for four of them were necessarily away from other duties. But manifestly a huge monopoly was about to be created, and many mouths watered. It was to nobody's interest to state the facts, but a few did leak out in subsequent lawsuits. This was an age of patents and monopolies, for James was in constant need of money and preferred to get it otherwise than through parliament. So on 31 October, 1610, he sold to John Speed the right to print and insert in every edition of the new version for ten years, a set of genealogies of Holy Scripture, with a two-page map of Canaan; Speed was to get from the publisher prices varying from sixpence to two shillings, according to size. One funny thing which in the strict sense of the word was authorized.

Who was to handle the text and Speed's maps? Clearly the two universities, whose scholars had done the work, had some kind of preferential claim; and to a generation which

sees Cambride stand sponsor for the Encyclopedia Britannica, and Oxford famed the world over for its Bibles, it seems that the university presses ought to have had the monopoly. But it is very doubtful if they had the requisite plant, and they certainly did not have the enterprise.

Christopher Barker had purchased in 1577 a patent granted to Sir Thomas Wilkes, and thus became King's Printer, a title borne by others before. As such he had in 1583 prevented Cambridge establishing a press. He had been succeeded by his son, Robert Barker, who now paid thirty-five thousand pounds, securing the original manuscript attested by the committee of six and a prima facie monopoly of printing it. To whom the money was paid is not stated; nor need we go into his finances or the mishaps which obliged him to assign his right to others by 1618. The really interesting point is that James contributed nothing to the cost, but on the contrary made a profit out of Speed. Seldom did a man get honor so cheaply.

The editorial work, as distinct from the translation, had been ordered by James to be minimized. There were no prologues and no expository notes, a policy reproduced from that of his great uncle Henry. A very few notes, and some alternative translations, and some references to other parts of Scripture were placed in the margin; summaries prefixed to the chapters, headlines to the pages, complete the accessories. A preface explaining the history of the work, and a shamelessly fulsome dedication to James, completed the manuscript which Barker bought.

He took it for granted that it continued the pedigree of Matthew's, the Great and the Bishops' Bibles, and boldly proclaimed on the title page that it was appointed to be read in churches; to get a warrant or monopoly from James would certainly cost more money, and it does not appear that he or anyone ever sought any authorization from king or council or parliament or convocation or anybody. In 1611 he began publishing; first two folio editions in black letter for church, sold unbound at twenty-five shillings; next a quarto and an

octavo in Roman. Then all sorts of varieties followed, to imitate Genevan styles found popular, and to meet all manner of tastes.

It leaped at once into popularity, although it did not at once stop the reprinting of the Genevan. The career of the Bishops' Bible was of course over, though a few Testaments were reproduced for a year or two. But the new version came out just in time, before Puritan and Anglican had quarrelled too deeply, before the tide of emigration had set westward. The Pilgrims may have taken to Plymouth the Genevan Bible and Ainsworth's Psalms, but the Puritans took to Massachusetts the new Royal Version.

Of course it met with criticism of all kinds, and when the interest in Bible study was enhanced by the arrival in 1625 of a splendid Greek Bible, presented to the king by Cyril Lukar, patriarch of Constantinople, it is clear that a revision took place. By 1629 the University of Cambridge successfully asserted its right to print, and to print this book; a Revised Version appeared for ten shillings from its press. Once the monopoly was broken down, a Londoner hit on the brilliant idea of buying a patent as king's printer in Scotland, and got out an edition in Edinburgh ready for the coronation of Charles in 1633, but so far mistook Scottish taste as to bind in a set of "Popish pictures taken out of the very Masse book" to please Laud. This edition with the note, "Appointed to be read in churches, Edinburgh", rang the knell there of the Genevan as the Scotch authorized version. N. B.: That same year Elzevir published at Leyden a new edition of the Greek Testament, of which he boasted that it gave the text "accepted by all". It may be as a consequence of this that Charles commissioned two survivors of the original committee, with Dr. Goad, of Hadley and the famous Joseph Meade, to give a second revision. They not only made the use of Italics more uniform, but gave new readings in the text, and thus produced the "Authentique Corrected Cambridge Bible" published in 1638, which remained the standard text for one hundred and twenty-four years.

Under the Commonwealth with its general overthrow of

many institutions, the comparatively new version might easily have been superseded. That every proposal to replace it was promptly rejected, is a very high testimonial to the place it had won in the affection of the whole nation. Only two changes of importance were made; editions appeared without apocrypha, and John Canne the Baptist pastor of Amsterdam immensely extended the idea of marginal references, producing a selection which has only been displaced by the twentieth-century work of Dr. Moulton.

The subsequent history of the version can be put in a few sentences. Oxford began to print it in 1675. In 1701 Bishop Lloyd prepared an edition for the king's printers (not Oxford as is often stated), containing a series of dates based by him on the researches of Archbishop Ussher, and a long note by Bishop Cumberland on Jewish weights and measures, which was still reprinted late last century by some bookmakers. In 1714 the first edition came out in Ireland. In 1749 the R. C. Bishop Challoner began the revision of the Douay Bible which borrowed so extensively from the 1611 version and therein paid it a very high compliment.

In 1762 Dr. Paris of Cambridge put out a very careful standard edition, restoring the text (except in spelling) to that of 1611, and amending all the accessories; a similar edition was prepared at Oxford seven years later. In 1777 a Scotchman published at Philadelphia the first English Testament printed in America and after five editions had been produced, he followed it in 1782 with a Bible complete in two volumes for which he gained authorization from Congress. By 1792 Thomas Scott had finished his great commentary to which he added Vavasor Powell's Concordance of the century before. In 1804 the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded, and at once applied the new art of stereotyping to produce on a new scale, and at prices as low as three shillings for a Bible or a shilling for a Testament. In 1833 Oxford issued a page-for-page reprint in Roman of the 1611 black letter first edition. In 1841 Messrs. Bagster reprinted the New Testament and five earlier versions in their English

Hexapla, with a modern Greek text and a long historical introduction by Tregelles. In 1851 the American Bible Society issued a revision intended to be standard, which met with violent opposition and was withdrawn. In 1873 Cambridge made its first contribution to this version by a careful revision with critical introduction, prefaced by Dr. Scrivener.

Already there were signs that the long monopoly was to be challenged. Baptists had led the way in 1850 by the American Bible Union, which after tentative portions, put forth a Revised New Testament in 1866. The subsequent steps are well known which led to the British editions of 1881 and 1885, and culminated in the American Standard Edition of 1901. Even this has not yet displaced its predecessor, and at three centuries from 1611, all who read English are joining to acclaim the merits of that great version which links them all together, in the bonds of a common tongue, a common religion, a common God.