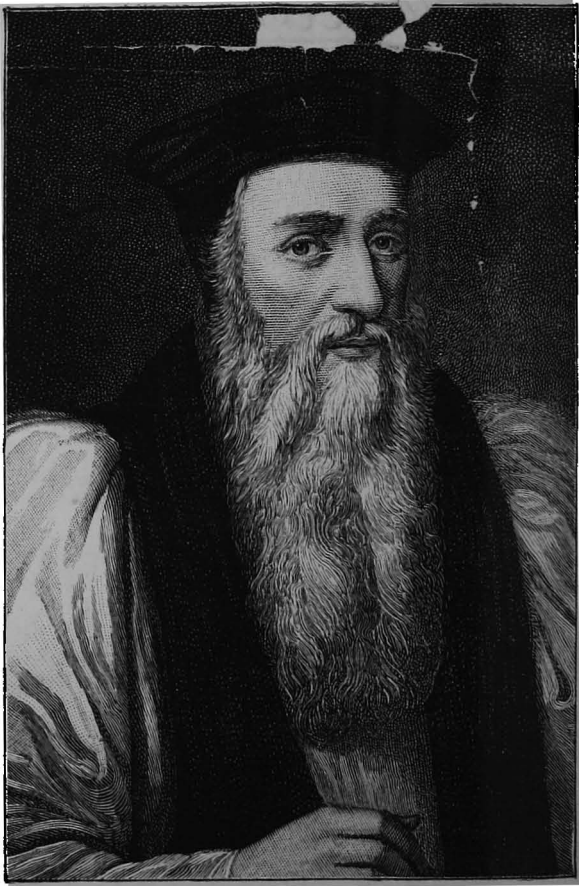


1695

Dinner for Ganesh Pathy

Self. College
Bombay
Nov 91



ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.
(From the portrait at Lambeth Palace.)

The Church History Series

VII

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

WITH CHAPTERS ON MONASTIC ENGLAND, AND THE
WYCLIFFITE REFORMATION

*Illustrated by Maps, showing where the principal English Monastic
Institutions were situated, over what districts Lollardy spread, and
where the Martyrs were burnt in the persecution under Mary
Tudor; and also by portraits of Cranmer, Wycliffe,
Erasmus, Wolsey, Tindale, More, Latimer,
Coverdale and Mary Tudor.*

BY

W. H. BECKETT

London

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY

56, PATERNOSTER ROW; 65, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD
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1695

'The Reformation was not the work either of a year or of a generation. The foundation was laid both in the good and in the evil qualities of our nature. Love of truth, reverence for sacred things, a sense of personal responsibility, a desire for the possession of full spiritual privileges co-operated with the pride of human reason, the natural impatience of restraint, and the envy and hatred inspired among the nobles by a rich and powerful hierarchy, to make the world weary of the papal domination, and desirous of reform in things spiritual and ecclesiastical.'—BISHOP HAROLD BROWNE.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN on the 29th day of April, in the year 1509, the young Prince Henry Tudor, at the age of eighteen, succeeded to the throne left vacant by the death of his father, Henry VII., the country of which he became monarch was already in a transition state. 'Old things were passing away, and the faith and the life of ten centuries were dissolving like a dream. Chivalry was dying, the abbey and the castle were soon together to crumble into ruins, and all the forms, desires, beliefs, convictions of the old world were passing away, never to return.' Had Henry VIII. never reigned, there would have been a history of religious reform in England. The notorious divorce question did but confirm and hasten tendencies which were already at work. A long series of historical facts exercised an obvious influence in producing the critical events which took place in the reign of Henry VIII. Spiritual, intellectual, political forces were at work, of which the Reformation was the resultant.

For full a hundred and fifty years before the great changes of the sixteenth century, Wycliffe's teaching and that of his followers was influencing the hearts of men. Humble Lollards, who laboured they knew not for what, save to accomplish the necessities of

their spiritual life, in spite of persecution, spread their opinions far and wide, awakening in the hearts of thousands who never joined their fellowship desire to see the creed of the Church made simpler and more in harmony with the Bible. To this influence, and in no small degree, was due the widespread sympathy that welcomed Tindale's Testament, and the rapid succession of translations of the Scripture that followed its publication.

Wholly distinct from spiritual aims and religious thought was the rise and development of the intellectual movement known as the Renaissance; yet its influence was great in aiding the onward course of the Reformation. A keen spirit of inquiry, excited by the invention of printing, the discovery of the then 'new world' of America, and the general revival of art and classical learning, had grown up, which fearlessly criticised what had hitherto been taken on trust. Influenced by the revival of learning, Colet, founder of St. Paul's School, Wolsey in his foundation of Cardinal College, More and Erasmus by their writings, aimed at reformation by plans for the education of both clergy and laity.

In matters moral and religious this spirit of inquiry was further intensified by the conduct of the Church in its undisguised worldliness, by its opposition to the circulation of the Scripture it professed to honour, and by its harassing persecution of the Lollard followers of Wycliffe. There was a revival of spiritual aspirations in the hearts of men, a growing conviction that religion was wider than 'the Church' as then known, and an increasing consciousness that the needs of the spiritual life of man were not to be met in the observances and ceremonies

which the Church demanded. From German Protestantism more than the English Reformers came the spiritual teaching that helped to bring deliverance to England. In the brave, true, outspoken utterances of Martin Luther many of our nation found spiritual enlightenment and liberty.

Others there were—indeed, the vast majority of Englishmen—who felt that the supremacy claimed by the Bishop of Rome in all the ecclesiastical affairs of the English nation was injurious to the interests of the State. Again and again had such claims been resisted, and the question raised, Who should rule, the king or the pope? In the interests of national freedom the answer was given; and in both spiritual and national strength England has grown stronger and greater by the answer she gave.

Such were the forces, the history of which we purpose to sketch, that prepared the way for the long and intricate struggle which occupied the reign of Henry and his three successors, and which are far from spent even now. The impulse of the English Reformation came from within, and not from without. It came from the people, especially from those who dwelt in the cities and towns of the midland and eastern counties. All the Acts of Parliament passed to promote reform would have been of no avail had not a large number of the people seen how great was the need. Rightly thought of, the Reformation will be regarded as a process, and as one not yet exhausted, rather than an event to be assigned to any special date in the calendar. Long before the years of Henry VIII. there were Reformers, poets, and statesmen, philosophers and theologians, as brave indeed and as noble in life as any to whom

the title is popularly ascribed. And since the eventful century that began with the reign of Henry and ended with that of Elizabeth there have been raised up those who have been true reformers in the onward movement of religious life and work in England.

The supply of material for a history of the English Reformation, both in contemporary sources and subsequent, is super-abounding on many points, and disappointingly deficient on others. In an Appendix will be found a list of authorities, which it is believed is fairly representative of the diverse views of the complex events passed under review in the following pages, and which may be useful to readers seeking further information. To illustrate the position of the principal abbeys, priories, and other monastic institutions existing at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, the map on pages xiv and xv has been specially prepared, showing their situation and the various orders to which they belonged. The intimate connection between Lollardy and the spiritual awakening of the sixteenth century, a continuity ignored by some authorities and denied by others, is exhibited in the maps on pages 97, 258, and 259, which, so far as the writer is aware, are the first of their kind, showing that the area of country in which Lollardy prevailed was that in which the Marian persecutions were fiercest.

Respect for facts, whether in regard to the Protestant martyrs of Mary's reign or the Romanist martyrs of her successor, has been the aim in the endeavour to summarize the causes and the events of the great Ecclesiastical Revolution of the English nation.

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APPENDIX I.

LIST OF ABBEYS, PRIORIES, AND FRIARIES OF ENGLAND.

NORTHUMBERLAND :

Lindisfarne (Benedictine).
Tynemouth "
Newcastle "
Newminster (Cistercian).
Brinkburn (Augustinian).
Hexham "

CUMBERLAND :

St. Bees (Benedictine).
Carlisle (Augustinian).

DURHAM :

Durham (Benedictine).
Jarrow "
Wearmouth "

YORKSHIRE :

Grosmont (Benedictine).
Handale "
Richmond (Benedictine, Præ-
monstratensian)
Rosedale (Benedictine).
Selby "
Whitby "
York "
Mount Grace (Carthusian).
Hull "
Bylan (Cistercian). "
Fountains "
Jervaux "
Kirkstall "
Rievaulx "
Sawley "
Monk Bretton (Cluniac).
Pontefract "
Bolton (Augustinian).
Bridlington "
Guisbrough "
Kirkham "
Newburgh "
Egglesstone (Præmonstraten-
sian).

YORKSHIRE (continued) :

Coverham (Præmonstraten-
sian).
Knaresborough (Trinitarian
Friary).

LANCASHIRE :

Lytham (Benedictine).
Lancaster (Benedictine, Au-
gustinian, Black Friars,
Grey Friars.
Penwortham (Benedictine).
Upholland "
Burscough (Augustinian).
Cockersand "
Preston (Gilbertine Friars).

CHESHIRE :

Birkenhead (Benedictine).
Chester "
Combermere (Cistercian).
Norton (Augustinian).

STAFFORDSHIRE :

Brewood (Benedictine).
Dudley (Cluniac).
Stafford (Augustinian).
Trentham "
Stone "

DERBYSHIRE :

Derby (Benedictine, Black
Friars).
Darley (Augustinian).
Repton "
Beauchief (Præmonstraten-
sian).
Dale (Præmonstratensian).

LEICESTERSHIRE :

Hinckley (Benedictine).
Langley "
Leicester (Grey Friars, Austin
Friars).

LEICESTERSHIRE (continued) :

Breedon (Augustinian).
Launde "

RUTLANDSHIRE :

Brooke (Augustinian).

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE :

Blyth (Benedictine).
Beauvale (Carthusian).
Rufford (Cistercian).
Lenton (Cluniac).
Newstead (Augustinian).
Worksop "
Thurgarton "
Welbeck (Cluniac).

LINCOLNSHIRE :

Bardney (Benedictine).
Crowland "
Lincoln (Benedictine, Gilbertines).
Spalding (Benedictine).
Stamford "
Grimsby "
Humberstone "
Stamford "
Epworth (Carthusian).
Swineshead "
Kirkstead (Cistercian).
Revesby "
Louth "
Elsham (Augustinian).
Kyme "
Nocton "
Thornton "
Barlings (Præmonstratensian).
Tupholm "

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE :

Peterborough (Benedictine).
Pipewell (Cistercian).
Northampton (Cluniac).
Daventry "

BEDFORDSHIRE :

Elstow (Benedictine).
Woburn (Cistercian).
Dunstable (Augustinian, Black Friars).
Bedford (Grey Friars).

HUNTINGDONSHIRE :

St. Neots (Benedictine).
Ramsey "
Saltrey (Cistercian).
Huntingdon (Augustinian).
Stoneley "

CAMBRIDGESHIRE :

Ely (Benedictine).
Thorney "
Chatteris "
Cambridge (Gilbertines).
Fordham "

NORFOLK :

Horsham (Benedictine).
Norwich "
Wymondham "
Thetford (Benedictine, Cluniac, Augustinian).
Bromholm (Cluniac).
Castle Acre "
Beeston (Augustinian).
Coxford "
Flicham "
Hickling "
Pentney "
Walsingham (Augustinian, Grey Friars).
Westacre (Augustinian).
Weybridge "
Crabhouse "
West Dereham (Præmonstratensian).
Langley (Præmonstratensian).
Lynn (Austin Friars, Black Friars, White Friars).

SUFFOLK :

Bury St. Edmunds (Benedictine).
Eye (Benedictine).
Hoxne "
Bungay "
Ridlingfield (Benedictine).
Wangford (Cluniac).
Blythburgh (Augustinian).
Butley "
Herringfleet "
Ipswich "
Ixworth "
Leatheringham "
Woodbridge "
Campsey "
Dunwich (Grey Friars).

ESSEX :

Colchester (Benedictine, Augustinian, Crossed Friars).
Hatfield (Benedictine).
S. Walden "
Barking "
Hedingham "

ESSEX (continued) :

Coggeshall (Cistercian).
 Stratford "
 Tilley "
 Prittlewell (Cluniac).
 St. Osyth (Augustinian).
 L. Dunmow "
 Leighs "
 Waltham "
 Beeleigh (Præmonstratensian).
 Chelmsford (Black Friars).
 Maldon (White Friars).

OXFORDSHIRE :

Ensham (Benedictine).
 Oxford (Benedictine, Black
 Friars, Grey Friars, Austiu
 Friars).
 Godstow (Benedictine).
 Studley "
 Thame (Cistercian).
 Bicester (Augustinian).
 Dorchester "
 Osney "
 Goring "

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE :

Missenden (Augustinian).
 Noctele "
 Aylesbury (Grey Friars).

BERKS :

Abingdon (Benedictine).
 Henley "
 Reading "

MIDDLESEX :

London (5 Benedictine, 1 Car-
 thusian, 2 Augustinian,
 Austin Friars, Black Friars,
 Grey Friars, White Friars,
 Crossed Friars).

HERTS :

St. Albans (Benedictine).
 Hertford "
 Cheshunt "
 Sopwell "
 Royston (Augustinian).
 Wymondley "
 Hitchin (Gilbertines, White
 Friars).
 King's Langley (Black Friars).

SURREY :

Chertsey (Benedictine).
 Sheene (Carthusian).

SURREY (continued) :

Waverley (Cistercian).
 Bermondsey (Cluniac).
 Aldbury (Augustinian).
 Merton "
 Reigate "
 Southwark "
 Tandridge "

KENT :

Canterbury (Benedictine, Au-
 gustinian).
 Dover (Benedictine).
 Faversham (Benedictine).
 Folkstone "
 Rochester "
 Sheppey "
 Bexley (Cistercian).
 Monk Horton (Cluniac).
 Combwell (Augustinian).
 Westwood "
 Dartford "
 Mottenden (Trinitarian Friary).

SUSSEX :

Battle (Benedictine).
 Boxgrove "
 Eastbourne "
 Ruspur "
 Robertsbridge (Cistercian).
 Lewes (Cluniac).
 Tortington (Augustinian).
 Michelham "
 Hastings "

HANTS :

Winchester (Benedictine).
 Hyde "
 Romsey "
 Beaulieu (Cistercian).
 Netley "
 Quarr "
 Mottisfont (Augustinian).
 Selborne "
 Southampton "
 Porchester "
 Twyneham "
 Wintney (Cistercian).

WILTS :

Malmesbury (Benedictine).
 Wilton "
 Bradenstoke (Augustinian).
 Laycock "
 Marlborough (Gilbertines).
 Purton "

- DORSETSHIRE :**
 Abbotsbury (Benedictine).
 Sherborne "
 Shaftesbury "
- SOMERSETSHIRE :**
 Bath (Benedictine).
 Dunster "
 Glastonbury "
 Witham (Carthusian).
 Hinton "
 Cleeve (Cistercian).
 Bruton (Augustinian).
 Keynsham "
 Taunton "
 Buckland "
- DEVONSHIRE :**
 Exeter (Benedictine).
 Tavistock "
 Totnes "
 Buckland (Cistercian).
 Barnstaple (Cluniac).
 Plympton (Augustinian).
- CORNWALL :**
 Bodmin (Augustinian).
 St. Germans "
 Launceston "
- GLOUCESTERSHIRE :**
 Gloucester (Benedictine,
 Augustinian).
 Tewkesbury (Benedictine).
 Winchcomb "
 Hayles (Cistercian).
 Bristol (Augustinian).
 Cirencester "
- MONMOUTHSHIRE :**
 Llanthony (Augustinian).
 Tintern (Cistercian).
 Usk (Benedictine).
 Monmouth "
- HEREFORDSHIRE :**
 Hereford (Benedictine).
 Leominster "
 Dore (Cistercian).
 Wigmore (Augustinian).
- WORCESTERSHIRE :**
 Evesham (Benedictine).
 Malvern "
- WORCESTERSHIRE (continued):**
 Pershore (Benedictine).
 Worcester "
 Bordesley (Cistercian).
- WARWICKSHIRE :**
 Coventry (Cistercian, Augustinian,
 Carthusian, White Friars).
 Henwood (Benedictine).
 Oldbury "
 Polesworth "
 Wroxhall "
 Kenilworth (Augustinian).
 Maxstoke "
 Warwick (Black Friars).
- SHERPESHIRE :**
 Bromfield (Benedictine).
 Shrewsbury "
 Buildwas (Cistercian).
 Wenlock (Cluniac).
 Cherbury (Augustinian).
 Lillleshall "
 Wombridge "
- RADNOR :**
 Cym-Eir (Cistercian), in the
 vale of Clywedog.
- BRECKNOCK :**
 Brecknock (Benedictine).
- GLAMORGAN :**
 Neath (Cistercian).
- CAERMARTHEN :**
 Caermarthen (Augustinian).
- PEMBROKE :**
 St. Dogmel (Benedictine).
 Pembroke "
 Haverfordwest (Augustinian).
- CARDIGAN :**
 Cardigan (Benedictine).
 Strata Florida (Cistercian).
- MERIONETH :**
 Cymmer Abbey (Cistercian).
- CARNARVON :**
 Bardsey (Benedictine).
 Beddgelert (Augustinian).
- DENBIGH :**
 Valle Crusis (Cistercian).
 "

APPENDIX II.

DATES RELATIVE TO THE TRANSLATIONS AND USE OF THE BIBLE IN ENGLAND.

- A.D.
1382. WYCLIFFE'S and HEREFORD'S MS. Bible.
1388. Same version revised by PURVEY.
1525. First printed English New Testament—TINDALE'S.
1535. First complete printed English Bible, COVERDALE'S.
1536. Cromwell orders the whole Bible, both in Latin and also in English, to be placed 'in the choir of every parish church,' 'for every man that will to look and read therein.'
1537. 'MATTHEW'S BIBLE' (John Rogers'), printed 'with the King's most gracious license.'
1538. Cromwell's order in anticipation of the publication of the 'Great Bible,' for 'one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English to be set up in the churches.'
1539. TAVERNER'S BIBLE.
1539. 'THE GREAT BIBLE,' or CROMWELL'S BIBLE, prepared under the editorship of Coverdale.
1540. Same version with Prologue by Cranmer, and therefore called CRANMER'S BIBLE.
1540. A proclamation ordering a copy of the Bible, 'of the largest volume,' to be provided by the curate and parishioners of every parish, under a penalty of 40s. per month.
1541. A Brief published enforcing the same.
1543. Reading of the Scriptures restricted, and use of Tindale's translation forbidden.
1547. The Protector Somerset's injunction directing that the whole Bible in English of the largest volume should be set up in every church.
1553. Mary's proclamation forbidding any 'from henceforth to preach, or by way of reading in churches and other public or private places, except in schools of the university, to interpret or teach any Scripture.'
1555. A proclamation calling in all service-books issued in reign of Edward VI., and of 'all books and writings teaching against the doctrine of the pope and his Church.'

1557. The GENEVA TESTAMENT.
 1559. Re-issue of the Injunction of Edward VI.'s reign, that the whole Bible in English of the largest volume should be set up in every church.
 1560. The GENEVA BIBLE.
 1568. The BISHOPS' BIBLE.
 1572. Same version revised.

 APPENDIX III.

REFORMATION FORMULARIES OF FAITH.

- A. D.
 1536. Ten Articles devised by the King's Highness Majesty to establish Christian Quietness and Unity.
 1537. *The Institution of a Christian Man*, containing the exposition of the Apostles' Creed, the Seven Sacraments, Ten Commandments, the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Justification and Purgatory. [Called the Bishops' Book.]
 1539. Six Articles, enforcing transubstantiation, declaring communion in both kinds unnecessary, marriage of priests unlawful, monastic vows of celibacy binding, and the necessity of masses and of auricular confession.
 1543. *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. [A Romanist revision of the Bishops' Book, and in contradistinction called the King's Book.]
 1544. The Litany published in English.
 1547. First Book of Homilies published.
 1548. The Communion Service published in England.
 1549. The Book of Common Prayer.
 1552. First Revised Book of Common Prayer.
 1553. The Forty-two Articles (Cranmer).
 1558. Second Revised Book of Common Prayer.
 1562. The Thirty-eight Articles.
 1562. Second Book of Homilies.
 1571. The Thirty-nine Articles.

APPENDIX IV.

WORKS FOR REFERENCE ON THE HISTORY OF
RELIGIOUS REFORM IN ENGLAND:

I.—MONASTIC ENGLAND.

The standard works of reference for detailed information of the history of the English monasteries from their first institution to the dissolution in the sixteenth century are:—

Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*. (Ed. by Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel.)

Stevens' *History of Ancient Abbeys, Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches*.

Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

For the history of the settlement of the Friars in England, see *Monumenta Franciscana*. (Ed. by J. S. Brewer for the Rolls Series). A good general outline of this history will be found in Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Book, ix., chapters ix., x., Neander's *Church History*, vol. vii. (Bohn's Stand. Lib.), Mrs. Oliphant's *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, and Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars*.

For the condition of the social and religious life of the country reference may be made to *Letters of Bishop Grosseteste* (Ed. for the Rolls Series by H. R. Luard), and the *Life of St. Hugo* (Ed. by J. F. Dimock, for the same series). In Mr. Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects* there is a graphic sketch of Hugo, and there are other valuable papers bearing on the subject of monastic life and influence in England. William Langland's *Vision concerning Piers the Plowman* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and *Early English Homilies* (Ed. by Richard Morris for Early English Text Society), throw great light on the social condition of the times.

II.—THE WYCLIFFIAN REFORMATION.

(i.) *On the General History.*

W. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*.

J. R. Green, *History of the English People*.

(ii.) *Wycliffe's Life and Work.*

Contemporaneous references to Wycliffe appear in the writings of the chroniclers: Henry of Knighton, a canon of the abbey near Leicester; Walsingham, a monk of St. Albans; an anonymous chronicler, a monk of the same abbey, who wrote a *Chronicon Anglie*, which extends from 1328 to 1388, edited by E. M. Thompson; and of Adam of Usk, a chronicler of events from 1377 to 1404, also edited by E. M. Thompson.

The *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* [i.e., Little Bundles of Tares], ascribed to Thomas Netter, of Saffron Walden, and edited with a valuable introduction and notes by W. Shirley, for the Rolls Series, is of

especial value as illustrative of the theological controversies of the times. Contemporary satire and popular sentiment are illustrated in *Political Poems and Songs*, edited by T. Wright. For the condition of the English peasantry and the circumstances that led to their revolt, see Thorold Rogers' *Six Centuries of Wages*.

For the study of Wycliffe's writings see list of his works on pp. 75—77. Mr. R. L. Poole's *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought* contains an interesting chapter on Wycliffe's Doctrine of Lordship.

The influence of Wycliffe's teachings upon the Reformation movement in Bohemia is elaborately discussed in J. Loserth's *Wiclif and Hus*, translated by M. J. Evans.

Lechler's *John Wycliffe and his English Precursors*, translated and revised by P. Lorimer, is the standard authority for the biography of Wycliffe, with which should be read Montagu Burrows' *Wyclif's Place in History*.

(iii.) *On the Lollards.*

For interesting information, more especially with regard to the Lollards, see Pecock's *Repressor of over-much Blaming of the Clergy*, and its admirable introduction by C. Babington.

Foxe's Acts and Monuments.

Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, Book xiii., chap. vii.

Summers, W. H., *The Lollards of Bucks.*

III.—ON THE REFORMATION MOVEMENT OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Blunt, J. H.—*Reformation of the Church of England, 1514—47.*

Burnet, Gilbert.—*History of the Reformation of the Church of England.* (Ed. by N. Pocock.)

Calendar of Letters and Papers of Reign of Henry VIII. (Ed. by J. S. Brewer and J. Gairdner.)

Cardwell, E.—*Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England.*

Cardwell, E.—*Synodalia.*

Collier, Jeremy.—*Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain.*

Foxe.—*Acts and Monuments* (Ed. by Pratt and Stoughton.)

Froude, J. A.—*History of England.* From Fall of Wolsey to Defeat of Spanish Armada.

Fuller, Thomas.—*Church History of Great Britain.*

Green, J. R.—*History of the English People.*

Hallam.—*Constitutional History of England.*

Heylyn, Peter.—*Ecclesia Restaurata.* (Ed. by J. C. Robertson.)

Strype.—*Ecclesiastical Memorials.*

Stubbs.—*Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History.*

Tytler.—*England under Edward VI. and Mary.*

Zurich Letters. (Parker Society.)

Maitland, S. R.—*Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation.*

On the Romanist Side.

Dodd, Charles.—*Church History of England.* (Ed. by M. A. Tierney.)

- Lingard, John.—*History of England.*
 Morris, John.—*Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers.*
 Sanders.—*Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, with Continuation by Rishton,

IV.—ON MORE SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

(i.) *Formularies of Faith and Liturgies.*

- Cardwell, E.—*The Two Liturgies of King Edward Compared.*
 Cardwell, E.—*History of Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer. Formularies of Faith put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII.* (Oxford, 1825.)
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Liturgies of Edward VI. (Parker Society.)
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 Edgar.—*Bibles of England.*

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 Hook.—*Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.*
 McCrie.—*Life of John Knox.*
 Seebohm.—*Oxford Reformers* (second edition).
 Strype.—*Life of Archbishop Cranmer.*

(iv.) *Theology*

- Works of the writers referred to; especially Luther's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, Tindale's *Obedience of a Christian Man*, Latimer's *Sermons*, and Jewel's *Apology*.

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