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The Influence of Martin Bucer on England

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THE INFLUENCE OF MARTIN BUCER ON ENGLAND

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Although Martin Bucer was regarded by his contemporaries as one of the most influential leaders in the German Reformation, strange to say, he has received little attention at the hands of biographers or historians. He worked incessantly for the Protestant Cause in Germany from 1521 to 1549, putting the very heart of his life into the struggle. But there were some factions in Germany who did not appreciate this sacrifice, and he involuntarily became an exile. So the last two years of his life were spent as a powerful force in the English Reformation, and it is to his influence in England that I shall especially devote this thesis.

Some critics have classed Bucer as a Lutheran; others as a Zwinglian. But I shall endeavor to show that, especially in his beliefs and doctrines in regard to the sacrament, he stood in a class by himself, rather leaning toward the Zwinglians than toward the Lutherans. However, it is very difficult to locate him definitely anywhere on this point, owing to the fact that he was very judicious in expressing himself, often using ambiguity purposely.

The name of this great reformer, has been given several different forms of spelling. The original German form was Butzer. In Latin it is often spelled Bucerius. The English form and the one I shall employ in this paper is Bucer.

Martin Bucer was born in Schlettstadt, Alsace, Germany,

in the year 1491. Although he came of very humble parentage, he was an eager student and at the age of fifteen entered the Dominican monastery at Schlettstadt.[1] He received his higher education at Heidelberg, and it was an address delivered there by Luther in 1518, that awakened the reform spirit within him.[2]

By 1521 Bucer had allied himself with the active forces of the Reformation. In that year he insisted on accompanying Luther on his hazardous journey to the Diet of Worms, after having failed to persuade him to remain at home. To place himself in a more advantageous position for active work he secured a papal brief on April 29, 1521, freeing him from his monastic vows, although he still remained a priest.[1]

In 1522 Bucer was married to Elizabeth Pallas (Schenkel) or Silbereisen (Baum). She had been a nun for twelve years but willingly gave up her convent life for that of the world. This marriage is significant because of its being one of the earliest marriages of ordained priests solemnized among the reformers. It was followed by Bugenhagen's in 1522, Zwingli's in 1524, and Luther's in 1525.[3]

There seems to be some doubt as to how many children were born to this first union. However, we are quite certain that only one, Nathaniel, survived[4] the plague which Bucer found raging in Strassburg upon his return from the Diet of Ratisbon in 1541. This

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[1] Dict. of Nat. Biog., A. W. W.

[2] Walker, The Reformation, 165-6.

[3] Dict. of Nat. Biog., A. W. W.

[4] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 166, n. 2.

same plague also carried off Bucer's first wife.

Bucer's friend, Capito, too, fell a victim to this terrible epidemic, and a year later Bucer married Capito's widow. She had already been married several times previously. Her maiden name had been Wilibrandis Rosenblatt and her first marriage was to Ludwig Keller. Upon Keller's death she married Oecolampadius,[1] a Zwinglian reformer. Bucer, in his testament, mentions two daughters of Oecolampadius. Wilibrandis became the wife of Capito, another reformer and of this union Bucer mentions in his will, Hans, Simon, and Agnes. Of her next marriage, that with Bucer, it seems there was but one child, Elizabeth.[2]

After being released from his monastic vows, Bucer entered the service of Count Palatine Frederick II. But in this position he soon became ill at ease and in May, 1522, obtained an honorable dismissal. Thereupon he entered the incumbency of Landstuhl, Sickingen's Barony,[3] near Kaiserlautern, during which service he was encouraged to travel thru the Netherlands and Lower Alsace. During his travels thru Lower Alsace, he met Motherer, who asked him to fill the post of pastor of the church at Weissenberg. Sickingen thereupon generously dismissed Bucer and he accepted the invitation. In his preachings here he advanced Lutheran teachings and encouraged the study of the Bible. When this became known he and Motherer were both asked to appear before Bishop of Speier. Upon refusal to do so, they were forced to flee with their families to Strassburg,

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[1] Ency. Brittanica: Oecolampadius.

[2] Harvey, Martin Bucer in Eng., Bucer's Testament, 162-173.

[3] Cambridge Modern Hist., II., 155.

April, 1523, where they remained for some time at the home of Bucer's father, then a resident of that place.[1]

Here, then, begins Bucer's Strassburg career; none-the-less stormy because of his conciliatory disposition. For over twenty years he filled the position of teacher and pastor at this place. And it was the lectures which Bucer delivered here on the New Testament, which were really the germ of the University of Strassburg.[1]

In 1525 Bucer entered upon his long career as peace maker in the Lutheran-Zwinglian conflict,--a service which really gained him little, as it brought upon him condemnation from both factions and forced him continually to take a rather uncertain, ambiguous ground. Luther designated him as a "Kloppermaul;" while Zwingli, on the other hand, accused him of being Luther's "cardinal a latere".[2]

In 1528 Bucer was present at the Bern disputation and announced himself as being partial to the Zwinglian doctrines.[3] Later, in 1529, Luther's "Confession" on the Eucharist appeared and aroused considerable consternation by its opposition to Zwinglian beliefs. Bucer, seeing this, suggested a conference and one was called by the Landgrave at Marburg, September 30, 1529.[4] The purpose of this conference was to smooth the religious dissensions which were fatal to the political coöperation which was so essential at this time, owing to the advances which were being made into the

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[1] Dict. of Nat. Biog., A. W. W.

[2] Mullinger, Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Chas. I., 117.

[3] Dict. of Nat. Biog., A. W. W.

[4] Cambridge Modern Hist., II., 207.

West by the Turks. No firm agreement on the Eucharist was reached at this conference, however, and when Zwingli later read Luther's "Confession," he even retracted those concessions he had made.[1]

Seeing that his conference at Marburg was a failure, Bucer and Capito entered upon the composition of the Tetrapolitana, so-called because it was the confession of four cities of Upper Germany, namely: Strassburg, Constance, Lindau, and Memmingen. It was to be a kind of compromise measure, so, while it adhered closely to the Lutheran view, it, nevertheless, omitted any statements in regard to the elements of the Eucharist. However, it was rejected by the Evangelic Diet which was called at Basel, November 16, 1530, for the purpose of considering it.[2]

During the fall of 1530, Bucer had tried to get the South German and Swiss towns to subscribe to some Lutheran views, an effort which caused him to become quite umpopular for a time. However, by 1534, he had sufficiently recovered his popularity to attempt another effort at union, this time thru a meeting with Luther's representatives, Melanchthon and Cassel. But this again proved of no avail.[3]

On May 22-29, 1536, Luther's home at Wittenberg was the scene of another peace conference, with Bucer as its leading spirit. The result of this conference was the "Concordia", which was really an agreement on a form of words which covered the disputations and

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[1] Cambridge Modern Hist., II., 212.

[2] ibid., 335.

[3] Dict. of Nat. Biog., Bucer, A. W. W.

disagreements about the presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist. Luther even expressed a desire to bury the past and extend brotherly love to Bucer and the Upper German cities.[1] However, the blessed "Concordia" suffered the same fate as former compromises in receiving its death blow at the Zurich Conference in 1538.[2]

Both in 1541 and in 1545 Bucer was present as a delegate at the Diets of Ratisbon, which were called for the purpose of adjusting differences between Protestants and Catholics, the later one being called by Charles V.[3] But the climax of his career was reached in 1548 when he refused to sign the Interim. After that his life was in constant danger and when an opportunity for making his excape came in the form of an invitation to England, he was not slow in seizing it. And with this acceptance ended Bucer's active career in Germany. But his influence was still to be felt from across the waters and the doctrines and teachings which he had instilled into the Reformation were to be no small factor in moulding the Church thru countless ages.

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[1] Cambridge Modern History, II., 234.

[2] Dict. of Nat. Biog., Bucer, A. W. W.

[3] Cambridge Modern History, II., 403.

CHAPTER II

FROM STRASSBURG TO CAMBRIDGE

When Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, learned of the miserable conditions in Germany and of Bucer's plight, he immediately wrote him a letter, October 2, 1548, which ran in part as follows: "To you, therefore, my Bucer, our kingdom will be a most safe harbour, in which by the blessing of God, the seeds of true doctrine, have happily begun to be sown. Come over, therefore, to us, and become a laborer with us in the harvest of the Lord."[1] And Bucer, who was "unable to launch into the deep amidst the raging storm," took refuge in the proffered harbor.

Fagius (or Phagius) a very close friend and co-worker of Bucer, whose life was in like danger received and accepted a similar invitation. From the time of their departure from Germany till the death of Fagius, these two men were inseparable. So it will often be necessary to mention Fagius in connection with Bucer.

England was not altogether an unknown land to Bucer. On the continent he had come into contact with a number of English reformers and such prominent churchmen as Stephen Gardiner. On the other hand letters from Peter Martyr, Miles Coverdale, Fagius' son and other German friends who had gone to England, gave him a vague idea of conditions there. But of the climate and conditions which

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[1] Parker Society Papers, Original Letters, I., 1537-1538, 19-20.

affect physical life Bucer was to learn by bitter experience.

Bucer and Fagius left Strassburg April 6, 1549. They traveled thru Lothringen, Champagne, Isle de France, Picardie, Artois, and Flanders, arriving safely in Calais on the eighteenth of April. Here they were received with due respect by the very best men of the town, who had heard of them and their mission. Archbishof Cranmer had sent Peter Alexander to Calais to meet them and accompany them on the rest of their journey. On account of the bad weather they were delayed here several days but on April 23 they landed safely on the opposite side of the strait. They immediately journeyed on to London by way of Canterbury and arrived there April 25. On going thru Canterbury they visited a short time with Fagius' son and Miles Coverdale, who had come the year before and were studying there under Cranmer's care. When they arrived in London they were taken to the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury where they were heartily welcomed by Cranmer. And to detract still further from the loneliness these men must have felt in a strange land, far from their families and friends, Cranmer had thoughtfully invited in their friends who had preceded them to England, to extend them greeting. Among these were Dr. Peter Martyr and wife, Immanuel Tremellius and wife, Franz Dryander, Antonius Gallus, and Vallerand Poullain.[1]

On May 1, 1549, Bucer and Fagius were taken from Lambeth, the London home of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to his summer residence at Croydon, where they were hospitably entertained until the

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[1] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 25-26.

opening of school at Cambridge in the fall. On the seventh of May they were presented to King Edward VI. and were received with peculiar welcome by him, the Protector, and the rest of the nobles.[1]

During this summer of 1549 Bucer and Fagius were busy learning the English language and trying to adjust themselves in general to their new conditions, both physical and social. The climate of that portion of England where Bucer was located seems to have been more damp and swampy than he was used to and consequently he easily became a victim of the "fever" and rheumatic disturbances. The food and the ways of preparing it in England were also very much different from what he was accustomed to at home. He was so much annoyed by this that in the middle of August, 1549, in a letter to his wife, he expressed himself as follows: "Hier ist ganz mir eine ungewohnte Speisung, die immer Fleisch und Fleisch ist, Kraut, oder irgend Gemüse. So fürchte ich mich vor dem Winter und meinen Zufallen."[2] And well might he fear, for he was too old a man to adjust himself easily to so great a change in conditions.[3]

Of the social conditions in England at this time, it is the religious element which interested Bucer the most, although he did, of course, have to learn the new language, which could not have been an easy matter for a man of his age. In religious affairs England was becoming more radical all the time. The Reformation had begun under Henry VIII. and had even accomplished the separation of the English Church from the Papal See--the Crown of England now be-

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[1] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 25-26.

[2] Harvey, Martin Bucer in Eng.; Bucer au seine Frau, 111.

[3] Parker Society Papers, Original Letters, II., 1537-1538, II., 543-4.

ing the Supreme head. Edward VI. was but a sickly boy and the administration of the government had fallen into the hands of the Duke of Somerset and other strong Protestants. So Protestantism during Bucer's time in England was a rapidly advancing social reality. The English language had supplanted the Latin in the church service. The Bible, too, had been translated into English, so that all might read it. The Book of Common Prayer, or Liturgy, as it is sometimes called, was being used in conducting the services. The Lutheran catechism was creeping into religious instruction. The Homilies, which had appeared a few years before and which were a sort of book of instruction to be used by such ministers who could not preach, were coming to be used more and more.[1] And the quarrel over the Lord's Supper was just beginning. Martin Bucer, moderate reformer as he was, was just the man England needed at this time, for, while he introduced an element of radicalism into the church, he, nevertheless, acted as a check on the extremists.

Bucer was made to feel quite uncomfortable in England in a number of ways. The Catholics and the extreme Zwinglians, especially the former, were very vigorous in their attacks upon him and his ideas. The war agitation between England and her old time enemy, France, made his future quite uncertain and surrounded him with an atmosphere of suspense. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that he hesitated to send for his family, and even hoped that he might be called back to Germany soon.[2]

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[1] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 32, 33.

[2] ibid. 27, 30.

Bucer's summer of 1549 at Croydon was not a continual round of social gaiety and pleasure by any means. A committee, composed of the King, the Protector, and the chief Minister had set Bucer and Fagius to work on a translation of the Bible from the original text into Latin. In the places hard to comprehend they were to give short elucidations; wherever any parallelisms occured they were to indicate them; and they were also to index every chapter. When this work was completed, the whole was to be translated into English. This certainly was a gigantic task, which, owing to the poor health of Bucer and Fagius, was never completed.[1]

Cranmer, who had the authority to place these two men, contemplated sending Bucer to Cambridge and Fagius to Oxford. But they both so strenuously objected to being separated, that Cranmer reconsidered. So when school opened in the fall, they were both to be found at Cambridge, Bucer as Kingly Reader of the Holy Scriptures and Fagius as Professor of the Hebraic Language.[2]

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[1] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 30.

[2] ibid. 28; Parker Society Papers, Original Letters, 1537-1558, I., 330, n.2.

CHAPTER III

BUCER'S CAMBRIDGE CAREER

It was, no doubt, with a great deal of pleasant anticipation that Bucer looked forward to his Cambridge career. Cambridge and Oxford were at that time among the foremost schools in the world After Bucer became acquainted with them he expressed his admiration for the comfort and discipline which characterized them and the liberal provisions made for the students. No college on the continent, he is reported to have said, could compare with them.[1] And it was in a school of such influence that Bucer was to teach, the most powerful means of moulding and shaping the future ideas, sentiments, and practises of any nation.

There seems to be conflicting opinions in regard to the date of Bucer's arrival at Cambridge. J. B. Mullinger in his The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles I. says that Bucer arrived at Cambridge November 15, 1549, and that Fagius accompanied him.[2] But A. E. Harvey in his Martin Bucer in England, citing Cooper (Chas. Henry), Annals of Cambridge, II., 45 and Bucerus Symmistis Argentinensibus, 26, Dec., 1549, Epist. Tig. CCLIV. says: " Schon gegen Ende August war Fagius seinem Kollegen nach Cambridge vorausgeeilt. Kurz nach

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[1] Mullinger, The Univ. of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Chas. I., 96, n. 1.

[2] ibid. 118-9.

dieser Übersiedlung wurde er von einem Fieber befallen, dem sein schon durch Krankheit geschwächter Körper nicht mehr zu widerstehen fähig war. Bucer eilte an die Seite seines Freundes. Nach wenigen Wochen aber, am 13 November, 1549, starb Fagius, ehe er seine Vorlesungen an der Universität begonnen oder der Englischen Reformation grosze Dienste geleistet hatte."[1] According to this account we should judge that Bucer arrived some time during the middle of September. In comparing these two accounts it is interesting to note that Mullinger has Fagius arrive at Cambridge two days after Harvey says he died. With such conflicting statements it seems safe to say only that Bucer arrived at Cambridge a short time before the opening of school in the fall.

Bucer did not enter upon his college work under the most favorable conditions. Madew, his predecessor, had, it is true, willingly retired in his favor when he learned of the new appointment made by the Lord Protector and the Archbishop of Canterbury.[2] But Bucer was 58 years old and in poor health. The death of his friend Fagius had left him quite miserable and lonely in spite of the sympathy offered to him by his many friends in England. Most soothing, of all, however, was the arrival of his family before the approach of winter.

At the time of Bucer's appointment to the Faculty of Cambridge, the school was in a stage of decay. The time of Erasmus

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[1] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 34.

[2] Mullinger, <u>The Univ. of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Chas. I.</u>, 118-9.

and Fischer, the humanists, was past. The University had declined under Stephen Gardiner's Chancellorship and conditions had not been bettered when the Protector, Duke of Somerset, was placed at the helm.[1] There were two factions in the school, the Catholics and the Protestants, and moreover, many of those who professed Protestantism were still secretly nourishing Catholic doctrines. The theological disputes concerning predestination had hurt the sciences considerably. The University was beset with greedy courtiers. And it was rather a gathering place for the wealthy than a place of learning. It is plainly evident that there was other work for Bucer than the mere reforming of religion.

Shortly after Bucer's arrival in Canbridge the University offered him, in recognition of his learning and his services in the Reformation, the degree of Doctor of Divinity.[2] But he was very distrustful of the merits of his own powers and had to be urged to accept the degree. The following arguments were set forth: (1) that it would aid him in keeping order and discipline; (2) that it would lend support to the academic recognition and approval of the talents and industry of the studious; (3) that it would aid him in rendering assistance to the University; and (4) that the fact that so illustrious a University had granted him a degree would augment his influence over many pious men in the Kingdom.[3]

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[1] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 44-45.

[2] Mullinger, The Univ. of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Chas. I., 119-120.

[3] ibid.

At the time when this degree was conferred Bucer delivered his inaugural oration. The passage of it wherein he insisted on students being required to pass satisfactory examination in order to get their degrees, was of especial significance. He also warned Cambridge against selling degrees and said that if she did so she would undoubtedly come to ruin as some of the German Universities had.[1]

Bucer began his real teaching work January 10, 1550, when he opened a course of lectures on the Epistle to the Ephesians.[2] Besides his regular work as teacher, he lectured on Holy Days and festival days.[2] During the middle of March, 1550, he was overcome by a severe and dangerous illness which was quite critical for a while, his friends having abandoned all hope of his recovery.[3] This illness kept him from his work for over a month. But by the middle of May he was again at his post where he remained until the end of the semester, which was the end of June. However, he did not cease lecturing with the close of school, but continued thru the summer on the subject of the power and duty of the ministry. He lectured incessantly until the middle of February, 1551, when he was forced to quit by the sickness which carried him into the Great Beyond.[4]

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[1] Mullinger, The Univ. of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Chas. I., 119-120.

[2] Dict. of Nat. Biog., A. W. W. : Parker Society Papers, Original Letters, 1537-1558, I., 339, 81.

[3] Parker Society Papers, Original Letters, 1537-58, I., 81.

[4] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 47-48.

Bucer does not seem to have received any salary until after he started teaching at Cambridge and then it seems to have been delayed. Cant wrote to him the last day of November, 1549, saying that he must not attribute the failure to receive his salary to negligence, "but to the occupation of the members of the council and generally of all officers who are so distracted by public business in the sitting of Parliament that they have no leisure to treat of private matters."[1] Bucer was given a salary which compared to those of the German professorships appeared magnificent. It was 100 pounds per year. Fuller says this was three times the ordinary salary paid to professors. But considering Bucer's worth and merit, it was right that his salary should be tripled.[2]

One of the most important events in Bucer's life in England occurred during the summer of 1550 when he became involved in a dispute with Yong, Perne, and Sedgwick. John Yong was an original fellow of Trinity; Perne was a fellow of Queen's College; and Sedgwick was later appointed Margaret Professor by Mary. These three men had professed Protestantism but were of that vacillating type whose professions are only a veneer, and who secretly and sometimes even unknowingly harbor their childhood teachings. These three men challenged Bucer to a public dispute on the three main points: (1) "The complete sufficiency of the canonical scriptures as a guide to saving faith, (2) the immunity of the one true church from error, and (3) the Lutheran doctrine of justification."[3] When the disputa-

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[1] Parker Society Papers, Works of Apb. Cranmer, Remains and Letters, 426-8.

[2] Mullinger, The Univ. of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Chas. I., 118-119.

[3] ibid. 121-122.

tion was over Yong and his party tried to misrepresent Bucer in every way possible. Both sides had written out their disputations. Bucer claimed that Yong's paper contained many falsities concerning him and when Bucer asked him for it, he was refused, which seems to substantiate Bucer's claims. Bucer, on the other hand, offered his paper to anyone to read. Yong had accused Bucer of heterodox teachings and Bucer feared lest these reports be carried to court and elsewhere so as to do him injury. So he sent a copy of his disputation to Cheke to communicate to Ridley, Bishop of London, and also asked Mr. Grindal, President of Pembroke Hall and chaplain to the Bishop of London, to read it. The primary cause of the whole dispute was the fact that Bucer was strong in his support of the Homilies to which every University teacher had to subscribe. These men, being of Catholic inclinations and secretly opposed to the Homilies hated Bucer for his approval of them and therefore they used this dispute as a means to attack him and if possible destroy his popularity.[1]

Strype's, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II., 339-341.

CHAPTER IV

HIS FRIENDS AND ENEMIES

Bucer, like every other man who puts himself in the public eye and gives expression to his own convictions, especially if they be radical, had his enemies as well as his friends. As has been said before, the Catholic party hated him because of his reform teachings while the Zwinglians were antagonistic toward him because he did not go far enough.

Foremost among his enemies at the University were Drs. Yong, Perne, and Sedgwick, all of whom have been mentioned before in connection with the dispute of the summer of 1550. And their antagonism to Bucer was due principally to the fact that he favored the Homilies, to which they so reluctantly had to subscribe.

While Bucer and Gardiner disagreed on a number of religious questions, there was no bitter personal antagonism existing. Bucer had met Gardiner in Germany when the latter was acting there as King's ambassador. Bucer maintained that prayer and a study of godliness were necessary to understand the Scriptures, while Gardiner contended that we should not try to understand them ourselves, but should follow the decrees of princes in regard to religious beliefs and practises. Bucer was opposed to celibacy among the priesthood while Gardiner, on the other hand, was strongly in favor of it. Consequently they often became involved in disputes on this point.[1]

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[1] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II., 107-9.

But during the whole of Bucer's life in England, Gardiner was confined in the Tower.[1]

The Papists, as a whole, led by Parsons and Feckenham did all in their power to misrepresent Bucer. Parsons said that Bucer and Martyr were invited to come to England on the condition that they teach whatever religion should be established by Parliament. Dr. Abbot, who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury, said concerning this remark of Parson: "This lying Jesuit can shew no letter, no act of record, no testimony or semblance of truth, to aver this his calumniation." He further stated that Bucer and Martyr had been called to England because of the doctrines they were known to hold and because of their admirable learning and judgment.[2]

The Emperor of Germany, of course, after Bucer's refusal to sign the Interim entertained anything but a friendly feeling toward him. He said it was no wonder England did not see any difference between the modern service of the mass and the ancient use, for they had called to them such heretics as Bucer, who could seduce any man. Dr. Wotton, in taking up Bucer's defence, said that in England Bucer was regarded as a great, wise, and learned man; but, in spite of all these excellent qualities, if England herself did not see the truth plainly, he could not change her course.[3]

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[1] Mullinger, The Univ. of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Chas. I., 118.

[2] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, I., 195-6.

[3] Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1547-1553, 166.

Bucer's enemies often circulated damaging stories about him. Pontac of Burdois in a book written after Bucer's death said that Bucer on his death-bed told the people to "look for another Messias," as Christ was not the promised one. But Bucer's Christain life is testimony enough to confute this story. Another derogatory tale was circulated concerning him in connection with a cow and a calf which had been presented to the family by a friend, the Duchess of Suffolk. Some of Bucer's enemies saw him out in his pasture one day looking at the cow and calf and started the amusing report that Bucer was taught by a cow and a calf what he should teach in the schools.[1] But such stories as these were so absurd that they could not really hurt him much.

The staunchest of Bucer's friends in the University of Cambridge were Dr. Matthew Parker and Dr. Walter Haddon.[2] The latter was a teacher of law and the former was vice-chancellor of the University. Bucer's close friendship with Dr. Parker is revealed in a number of letters which passed between the two. In one letter Bucer expresses a desire to confer with Parker to get his advice respecting the proper arrangement of his lectures and adds that he and his wife will accept Parker's invitation to dine with him on Wednesday. In a second letter Bucer says he would gladly accept Parker's invitation but a German friend from London is visiting him; then he adds that if there is room for him too, he will come. And in a third letter Bucer solicits a loan of ten crowns from Parker which he says he will repay in a month.[3] The content of all these

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[1] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II., 398-400.

[2] ibid.

[3] Parker Society Papers, Correspondence of Abp. Parker, 41-2.

letters show a touch of intimacy and, no doubt, Parker ranks among the closest of Bucer's English friends. Dr. Parker and Dr. Haddon both were appointed as executors by Bucer and both delivered sermons at Bucer's funeral.[1]

Sir John Cheke, the King's teacher, also took a friendly interest in Bucer, even interceding with the King for Mistress Bucer, after her husband's death.[2] In speaking of filling the vacancy caused by Bucer's decease, he said: "Yet I think not of all learned men in all points ye shall receive M. Bucer's like, whether ye consider his deepness of knowledge, his earnestness in religion, his fatherliness in life, his authority in knowledge." And then he expressed a desire that all men imitate Bucer's exemplary life. What more praiseworthy comment could anyone desire?

The high esteem in which Bucer was held by Roger Ascham, a scholar of the dead languages who had been a teacher of Edward VI. and Princess Elizabeth and also a teacher at the University,[3] is shown by a statement made by Ascham after Bucer's death. He said, in part, "God's wroth, I trust, is satisfied in punishing diverse Orders of the realme for their misordre, with taking away singular men from them, as learning by Mr. Bucer-----"[4] This idea that Bucer's death was a punishment to the people was held quite generally and shows that he was held to be of great value to them.

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[1] Dict. of Nat. Biog., Matthew Parker and Walter Haddon, 41-2.

[2] Parker Society Papers, Correspondence of Abp. Parker, 44.

[3] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 39-40.

[4] Camden Society Papers, 1843, 12.

John Bradford, a student of law at the Inner Temple, thru the influence of a friend, Sampson, became interested in religion and entered Cambridge during Bucer's services there.[1] While at Cambridge he received Bucer's advice to enter the ministry[2] and after he became actively engaged in the profession they corresponded quite frequently. Bradford, in the preface of his Restoration of All Things, virtually a translation of a similar work by Bucer,[3] speaks of Bucer as his "father in the Lord."[4] That their acquaintance was professional is shown by the fact that Bradford accompanied Bucer on his visit to Oxford in July of 1550. Bradford was so strongly impressed by Bucer's teachings and fellowship that he finally, suffered martyrdom in the Protestant cause.[5]

Bucer was, also intimately acquainted with Peter Martyr, a German reformer who had come to England a year before him and had been placed at Oxford. While they did not agree on all religious points, they nevertheless, remained friends. This is shown by the fact that Bucer visited Martyr for eleven days during the summer of 1550.[6] That Archbishop Whitgift was a friend of Bucer is shown by his comparison of Bucer and Cartwright in which he says that the latter, and enemy of Bucer, is so unlike him that he cannot compare

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[1] Dict. of Nat. Biog., John Bradford.

[2] Parker Society Papers, Writings of Bradford, I., 558.

[3] ibid., 350

[4] ibid. 355

[5] Dict. of Nat. Biog., John Bradford.

[6] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 37

them.[1] Dr. Bruno placed Bucer among the foremost of the English Reformers. He suggested a council of the powers to dispute with the Papists[2] and mentioned Bucer as the best delegate from England. Bucer maintained a friendly correspondence with John Alasco, superintendent of the lowland church in London, and Hooper, a Pole, whom he had met on the Continent. However, he did not agree with these men on all points, especially that of vestments. He was acquainted with Sleidanus, the famous historian of the Reformation, and even tried to get for him the pension promised him by Henry VIII. This shows that there must have been even more than mere acquaintanceship existing.[3] During his life in England Bucer also kept up his correspondence with his friends in Germany, the foremost among them being Jacob Sturm, Caspar Hedio, and Conrad Hubert.[4]

But a description of Bucer's circle of friends would be incomplete without some mention of the ladies. In granting favors he was not forgetful of them and, needless to say, they in return were not lacking in appreciation. As one instance we have preserved a letter to Bucer and Fagius from Lady Jane Seymour, the third daughter of the Protector Somerset, and intended by him to become the wife of Edward VI., in which she thanks them for books presented to her sister and herself and describes them as having "a grade and eloquence equal to that of Cicero."[5]

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[1] Parker Society Papers, Works of Abp. Whitgift, II., 402-3.

[2] Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1547-1553, 60.

[3] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 37-38.

[4] ibid., 42.

[5] Parker Society Papers, Original Letters, 1537-1558, I., 2.

Lady Jane Grey, speaking of Martin Bucer in a letter to Henry pullinger, who it seems took Bucer's place, said that Bucer had constantly kept her supplied with the necessary instructions and directions for her conduct in life and by his excellent advice had promoted and encouraged her progress in all virtue, godliness, and learning.[1] Bucer even had interviews with Princess Elizabeth and, on the whole, was well received by the nobility and aristocracy.[2]

But the closest of Bucer's lady friends was Katarin, the Duchess of Suffolk, who had two sons in Cambridge, with whom she spent considerable time.[3] Only a short time after Bucer's arrival in England, Fagius wrote jokingly to Conrad Hubert to tell Bucer's wife that she had better come over soon or Bucer would have another wife, for the Duchess of Suffolk, who was now a widow, wanted him. It was this same Duchess of Suffolk who had given Bucer the cow and calf which figured in the derogatory story circulated about him, mentioned previously in this chapter. During the summer of 1550, Bucer was, as it appears, even a guest at her castle in the country for a few days.[4] And at his deathbed, she was one of the most anxious nurses and watchers.[5]

On the whole, I think, we can safely say that Bucer had more friends than enemies, and that by those friends he was held in

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[1] Parker Society Papers, Original Letters, 1537-1558, I., 2.

[2] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 40-41.

[3] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II., 398-400.

[4] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 41-42.

[5] ibid. 91.

very high esteem. That this high opinion of him was not a passing one is shown by the great kindness extended by Elizabeth, years later, to his grandson, Wolfgang Meier, whom she supported in the University of Cambridge at her own expense.[1] Considering then, that Bucer lived only about two years after coming to England, his friends were close and many.

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[1] Parker Society Papers, Zurich Letters, II., 322, n.

CHAPTER V

HIS BOOKS AND WRITINGS

Martin Bucer was quite an active composer, both in Germany and England. He wrote, comparatively, more in England than on the Continent, owing to the fact that he could not speak the English language and so sought the written form of expression, generally in Latin.

One of the earliest books of which we can find any record is his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. This was written in 1536 and was dedicated to Archbishop Cranmer. In it he expresses his hope for the success of the English Reformation.[1]

Another book in which Melanchthon was a joint author with Bucer is entitled A Simple and Religious Consultation of us Herman by the Grace of God, Archbishop of Colen and Prince Elector, etc. This book dealt with a great number of the live religious questions of the day, and in 1548 was translated and introduced into England ay Archbishop Cranmer for the purpose of bringing the English people to see the superstition in their old forms of worship and adopt the new.[2] It proved so popular that the following year it had to be printed again.

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[1] Pollard, Thomas Cranmer, 115.

[2] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II., 41-44.

Scripta Anglicana is the title of another book composed of Bucer's writings. However, it was not edited till 1577, by Conrad Hubert, a preacher at St. Thomas' in Strassburg. It was dedicated by Hubert to Archbishop Grindal who was one of Bucer's chief friends at Cambridge,[1] and who had procured for him most of the material then published.

Bradford wrote a book entitled *The Restoration of All Things* which appears to be really a translation of a similar book by Bucer. So we can get an idea of the content of Bucer's work by examining Bradford's. It seems to be written in refutation of a work by Aquinas, in which the latter tries to lay down what things shall and what things shall not be resurrected. Bradford, in return, said that God had not made Aquinas or anyone else his copartner; that it was not intended for anyone to know what things would be renewed; and that it was our business solely to put away oldness of flesh and corruption and to take on newness of spirit and incorruption, which in itself is a taste of resurrection.[2]

One of the most influential of Bucer's books written in England was his *Censure of the Book of Common Prayer*, or Liturgy, composed at the request of Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, then a member of the revision committee. The first Book of Common Prayer appeared in May, 1549, and was clearly a temporary concession to the Catholics. When the Zwinglian part grew greater in power, they demanded a revision of this Prayer Book and toward the close of 1550 Cranmer

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[1] *Parker Society Papers, Zurich Letters*, 1558-1602, II., 17-18.

[2] *Parker Society Papers, Works of Abp. Whitgift*, I., 351-64.

commenced this work. Bucer's and Martyr's opinions were sought and Bucer's appeared in the form of the Censura January, 1550-1.[1] In this book he expressed moderate Lutheran ideas. He expressed a desire that vestments and various unnecessary forms might be done away with because of the superstition likely to be attached to them, but he was willing to retain them until the people became more ready for a change.[2] He criticized the practise of the priests of putting the wafer on the tongue of the communicant in administering the sacrament. This practise, he said. grew out of the desire of the priests to display themselves as holier than other people and he suggested that it be done away with. He pointed out the need of a great many changes in connection with the forms used in baptism, and in consequence of this suggestion the ordinance demanding the consecration of the water used for baptism was omitted in the new Liturgy. It was due to Bucer's influence, too, that the Second Prayer Book demanded going to the sacrament three times per year in contrast to the demand for only once by the First Book.[3] On comparing the new Liturgy with Bucer's teachings it is evident that his influence was not insignificant.

De Regno Christi was composed by Bucer as a New Year's present for King Edward VI., 1550-1. Bucer was sick when he made the presentation and died the next month. In his letter to King Edward he expressed his unbounded gratitude for his having received him and Fagius as hospitably when they were exiles, for placing them in posi-

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[1] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 63-65.

[2] Moore, History of the Reformation, 205-6.

[3] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 67-73.

tions in the University, and for tendering them such generous salaries. He also acknowledged the King's beneficence in giving him twenty pounds with which to buy a stove.

This book treats principally of the Kingdom of God and what it ought to be in this world. He compares it to worldly kingdoms and tries to show how necessary it is for all orders of men to have it established among them on earth. And lastly he suggests the ways and means by which it may and ought to be restored by Kings, princes, and magistrates.[1] He tries to impress on Edward that it takes more than force by proclamation and royal commands to change the inner religion of a people. He says they must be shown the Kingdom of Christ and be exhorted to follow Him by holy persuasion. He mentions the fact that the enemies of religion are constantly trying to get control of the government of the church in hopes that when the church property is all confiscated, no one can be found who will be willing to enter the ministry.[2] In speaking of the colleges he says that they are amply endowed for the education of the clergy, but he is surprised that so many indolent monks and friars are allowed to grow old in their fellowships and thus exclude needy and deserving students.[3] He speaks very pessimistically in regard to the attitude of the people toward the new doctrine, saying that they have embraced it because it is less strict than the old. The people like it, he says, because there are no penances and fast-

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[1] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, III., 110-111.

[2] Pollard, Thomas Cranmer, 277-278.

[3] Mullinger, The Univ. of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Chas. I., 120.

ing and because they "need exercise no control over their lust and lawless appetites." Because they are averse to "good works" they are willing to lend an ear to the doctrine that we are justified by faith alone.[1] Bucer also calls Edward's attention to the fact that the English law is in a very confused condition and suggests that it be codified and epitomized and even partly put into mnemonic verses so as to assist youthful learners.[2]

Bucer, in this book. lays down fourteen laws by which the Kingdom of God may be established. These are (1) the catechisation and religious education of children; (2) the keeping holy of feast days; (3) the keeping of the church from defilement caused by the moving about, and carrying on of business during the church service; (4) the reestablishment of the primitive incumbencies, the freeing of the Bishop from worldly affairs, and the deposition of such Bishops who repugnantly enforce the laws; (5) the right use of church property; (6) proper provision for the poor; (7) the consecration and disciplining of marriage, the establishment of marriage laws and grounds for divorce; (8) the education of the youth and the suppression of the wide spread idleness existing among them; (9) the extirpation of indulgences from the Kingdom; (10) the improvement and elucidation of the common law; (11) the installation of good officials and the abolition of the evil sale of offices; (12) the naming of honorable judges and the just carrying out of the law;

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[1] Spalding, History of the Protestant Reformation, 258-9.

[2] Mullinger, The Univ. of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Chas. I., 138.

(13) the right treatment of prisoners; and, finally, (14) the introduction of more just punishments. Then Bucer closes by saying that it is Edward's duty to establish this Kingdom of God in his land.[1]

That this book made a deep impression on the King is shown by the fact that a year later he published a similar treatise, entitled "Discourse on the Reformation of Abuses," in which he drew attention to many of the abuses mentioned by Bucer.[2] And in appreciation of Bucer's gift De Regno Christi Edwrad VI. presented him with a gilded drinking vessel at Christmas.[3]

De Regno Christi did not appear in print on the Continent till 1557 and consequently it is not likely that many of his contemporaries knew of it. A complete English translation of it has never been undertaken, but the fact that such a distinguished personage as John Milton considered it worth his while to translate even a part of it, is a great testimonial as to its worth.[4]

Of all Bucer's books his Censure and De Regno Christi had the greatest influence, especially in England. In the latter book Bucer shows a deep psychological insight in that he perceives that reform must be gradual and cannot be accomplished by mere acts and statutes. The influence of De Regno Christi was certainly more than passing.

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[1] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 78-80

[2] ibid. 80.

[3] ibid. 85-86.

[4] ibid. 86.

CHAPTER VI

HIS OPINION ON HOMILIES, CELIBACY VESTMENTS, SACRAMENT, ETC.

The four big religious questions or problems in which Bucer was actively interested were concerned with homilies, celibacy, vestments, and the sacrament. There were a number of minor problems, too, on which he stated his opinions and whose solution, no doubt, he had considerable influence in shaping.

Homilies were religious dissertations prepared by the Archbishop of Canterbury to be read by such priest as could not preach. While it seems incredible it is nevertheless true, that in many of the poorer congregations the preachers where so ignorant that they could not instruct the people from any fund of knowledge of their own. These homilies reached Bucer at Strassburg and in November, 1547, he wrote a letter congratulating the Church of England on their publication. This letter was printed a year later. He commended especially the Homily of Faith and urged Ecclesiastical rulers to go on with the reformation of the sacrament.[1] He also offered the opinion that there were too few homilies and that too few points were emplasized in them. Learned homilies, he said, were far better than no instruction at all.[2]

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[1] Strype, <u>Ecclesiastical Memorials</u>, II., 49.

[2] <u>Parker Society Paper, Works of Abp. Whitgift</u>, III., 346.

Latomus wrote a book in defense of a law forbidding the marriage of the clergy, which aroused the bitter antagonism of Bucer, who was zealously in favor of the clergy's marrying. Bucer even wrote a book an answer to that of Latomus in which he spoke of the aforesaid law as the "pest of laws." He expressed himself as holding marriage as a holy state of life and an aid to the priestly function. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, then opened an attack on Bucer's book in the form of two reproachful letters. Bucer was just about ready to reply to these when Henry VIII. interfered seeking a peaceful settlement. However, by 1547, Bucer finally succeeded in answering Gardiner.[1]

The dispute over vestments came to a head in England when Hooper, who was to become a bishop, refused to wear the ordinary episcopal habits. John A'Lasco, superintendent of the Dutch Church in London supported him in the stand he took. Bucer and Martyr, on the other hand, thought he ought to abide by the law of the land, which said that he might not exercise or officiate in his office unless attired in a certain way. Bucer corresponded with A'Lasco and Hooper concerning the affair and in his letter to A'Lasco said that this controversy seemed to him to be the work of Satan for the purpose of diverting men's minds from the work of correcting other worse evils then existing in the church. He said he wished the matter had never been spoken of and that they had taught pure repentance, the wholesome use of all things, and the putting on of the apparel of salvation instead. He pointed out as more important

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[1] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II., 105-7.

points for correction the removing of sacrilegious persons from the spoiling of the churches, the providing of fit ministers for every parish, and the restoration of discipline. He advised Hooper not to take the office until these ceremonies and vestments which were objectionable to him, were removed by law. However, he stated three reasons for preferring vestments to be removed, namely: (1) that by the removal of them, the church would show its detestation of the anti-christian priesthood; (2) that it would be a plain avouching of Christian liberty; and (3) that it would remove the cause for dangerous contentions among the brethren.[1] Yet he said he had found nothing in the Bible expressly against the use of papistical habits and believed that the ministers should have some kind of grave, distinguishing dress. This whole letter to A'Lasco was translated into English and set forth at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign for the use of the church which was then in dispute again over the same question.[2]

In a letter to Hooper Bucer expressed himself as not opposed to vestments being used if they were not used superstitiously.[3] He said that when they were a sign of the popish priesthood they were evil because the popish priesthood was evil, but when they became a sign of the ministers of God they were good, just as the thing they signified was good.[4] He argued that it was possible for things wickedly invented to come to have a good use.[5]

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[1] Parker Society Papers, Zurich Letter, 1558-1579.

[2] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II., 364-366.

[3] ibid. II., 366-369.

[4] Parker Society Papers, Works of Abp. Whitgift, I., 72.

[5] ibid. II., 38-39.

A'Lasco's argument against vestures was based mainly on the point that they are not prescribed by the scriptures. Bucer, in his refutation, showed A'Lasco that many other things were not done according to scripture, as for example, the distribution of the sacrament. The Lord,he said, gave His Supper in a private house, in the evening, to men only, and they were seated at a table.[1] The present form of giving it in the morning, in an open church, to both men and women,sometimes kneeling and sometimes standing is anything but like the Lord's example.[2] He also pointed out that there is no specification in the Bible for the observance of holy days.[3] Bucer's argument then was that if the example of the Bible must not be followed in one case it does not need to be in another.

On the whole, Bucer looked upon vestments indifferently. When asked why he did not wear a square cap, he is said to have made the retort, because his head was not square.[4] He thought it was lawful to use vestments if it was required, and that whether they should be required was a matter which should be left largely to the judgment of the church itself.[5] "To the pure all things are pure," was his main defence of them.[6] And yet he suggested that they should be gradually done away with; only gradually, however, lest the people by too great innovations in form should be deterred from

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Parker Society Papers, Works of Abp. Whitgift, I., 258.

ibid., I., 258.

ibid., II., 38-39, 584.

ibid., Works of Abp. Pilkington, 662.

ibid., Works of Abp. Whitgift, II., 57.

ibid., Later Writings of Bp. Hooper, Biog. Notice, p. XIV.

embracing Protestantism.[1]

This question of vestments was temporarily settled in the Prayer Book under the reign of Edward VI. In this they reached a compromise in which some of the offensive garments were discarded, the Bishop's mantle and the priest's surplice being retained.

During this strife over vestments Hooper was put into prison on account of his stubborn resistance to the bishop of London, Ridley, and the primate. He was finally freed, but only on the condition that he would wear the vestments at his installation. So this refractory clerk was restored to the office of Bishop in March, 1551. However, since he had as patron the mighty Earl of Warwick, he was allowed to use his own discretion in regard to wearing the vestments in his bishopric.[2]

We have many and varied opinions as to Bucer's position in regard to the Eucharist. We have him classified as everything from an extreme Lutheran[3] to an extreme Zwinglian.[4] The chances are that his views at first were Lutheran and that he became alienated later. Some suggest that this alienation was due to the influence of Rhodius, of Utrecht, who visited him about 1524.[5]

In order to classify Bucer's opinion on the sacrament, let us examine the different views held by other sects then in existence. The Romish doctrine was that the body and blood of Christ were really

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[1] Fischer, The Reformation, 293, n. 1.

[2] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 60.

[3] Dict. of Nat. Biog., A. W. W.

[4] Hallam, Const. Hist. of England, II, 100-102.

[5] Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1527-1533, No.787, p. 343.

present in the bread and the wine. The doctrine of the sacrament as held by Luther was that both the body and blood and the bread and wine were present. The Zwinglians, on the other hand, held that the bread and wine were only figurative symbols.[1]

To get Bucer's point of view, let us compare his example of the presence of Christ in the sacrament with that of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer says that as the sun is corporally in heaven and nowhere else, and yet by operation and virtue is here in earth, so is it with Christ's body; while Bucer says, "As the sun is truly placed determinately in one place of the visible, and yet is truly and substantially present by means of his beams elsewhere in the world abroad, so our Lord," etc. But Bucer carefully adds "This is a matter of faith," "We must cleave to the word of Christ, and faith must relieve the default of our senses."[2] This, however, is a translation by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who would naturally try to bring out that Bucer believed in a real and substantial presence of Christ's body,[3] the same as he himself did. Cranmer on the other hand, says that Gardiner has not quoted Bucer correctly and that Bucer affirms Christ to be present only in the ministration of the sacrament. And he adds still further that Bucer's doctrine does not differ in any respect from that of the Zwinglians.[4]

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[1] Hallam, Const. Hist. of Eng., I., 100-102.

[2] Parker Society Papers, Works of Abp. Cranmer "On the Lord's Supper," 89-91.

[3] ibid., 19.

[4] ibid., 225, 126.

Bucer and his friend Peter Martyr of Oxford did not agree on the Eucharist. Martyr became involved in a dispute relative to the main points for which he contended. Bucer replied that he wished Martyr had stated them differently.[1]

Bishop Hooper said that Bucer believed in a corporal presence in the sacrament. While he did not agree with Bucer on this point, he saw, nevertheless, that it would be for the good of the Protestant cause for them to keep their difference from becoming a public dispute. He even begged Bucer, in the interests of Protestantism, not to write against Luther any more, now that he was dead.[2]

In a letter to Brentius, Bucer said that many of the nobility could not conceive of Christ except as physically circumscribed in Heaven and consequently they could not conceive of this same body of Christ as in Heaven and in the Supper also. He said that when they were told that Christ is not circumscribed locally in the Lord's Supper they could not understand that, for they could not conceive of Him except as being locally circumscribed. Therefore they said that the Scriptures proving this must be otherwise interpreted. But Bucer closed by saying that he had not yet found a true Christian who was not satisfied with his simple view of the matter as soon as it was explained to him.[3]

Bucer often purposely used ambiguous terms in discussing the sacrament, thinking thereby to appease both parties and thus keep peace.[4] This ambiguity very likely explains why Gardiner said

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[1] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II., 338.

[2] Parker Society Papers, Later Writing of Abp. Hooper, Biog. Notice, p. IX.

[3] ibid., Original Letters, 1537-1558, II., 545, n.

[4] ibid., 1537-1558, II., 545, n.

that Bucer believed in a corporal presence while Cranmer said that he was a Zwinglian; both, perhaps, thinking that they were quoting him correctly. Hallam has, no doubt, hit Bucer's position most closely when he says that while Bucer did not acknowledge a local presence of Christ's body and blood in the elements of the sacrament, yet he contended that they were received, really and without figure, by the communicant thru faith. This was a sort of mysterious union and was interpreted by many to indicate a belief in the real local presence.[1]

Another question of great interest to the people during Bucer's prime was that of marriage and divorce. Henry VIII's divorces and marriages had been of world-wide fame and their memory lingered long in the minds of the general public. Bucer had been consulted in regard to Henry VIII's divorce. We can guess what his opinion in regard to it was from the stand he took on a similar affair in which he was involved. This was the second marriage of Philip of Hesse. This Landgrave wanted to take a second wife on account of the drunkenness, and disagreeable person of his Landgravine,[2] as he alleged. He asked Bucer's consent and the latter being afraid that the Landgrave would take the matter to the Pope or Emperor, yielded. He was then sent to get Luther's and Melanchthon's consent.[3] These two divines upbraided Philip but consented to his taking a secondary wife on the grounds that it remain a secret.[4]

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[1] Hallam, Const. Hist. of England, I., 100-102.

[2] Hallam, Const. Hist. of England, I., 80, n. 1.

[3] Walker, The Reformation, 200-201.

[4] Cambridge Mod. Hist., II., 241; Walker, Reformation, 200-1.

Bucer and Melanchthon were both present at this marriage which was to Margaret de Sala, March 3, 1540, and during the lifetime of Philip's first wife.[1] In spite of the fact that this marriage was to remain a secret the news got out. Luther denied the rumors "on the ground that a good Confessor must deny in Court all knowledge of what he has learnt in Confession."[2] However the Protestant Cause suffered not a little from these divines' having been mixed up in this rather shady affair.[3] John Burcher, who seems to have been an enemy of Bucer, wrote in a letter to Henry Bullinger June 8, 1550, that Bucer was more than licentious on the subject of marriage. He accused Bucer of having asserted that a divorce should be allowed for any reason, however trifling. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, regarded him as the author of the book published in defence of the Landgrave of Hesse's marriage.[4] Bucer, while, no doubt, not as licentious as Burcher charges him with being, did not consider the law of Leviticus, which forbids a man to marry his brother's wife, binding.[5] There is little doubt but what Bucer was in favor of granting Henry VIII. his divorce.

Bucer was strongly in favor of the marriage ring. He said that the placing of the ring on the Book, the giving of it then by the minister to the bridegroom and again by the latter to the bride

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[1] *Parker Society Papers*, *Works of Abp. Cranmer*, *Remains and Letters*, 405, n.

[2] *Cambridge Mod. Hist.*, II., 241; Walker, *The Reformation*, 200-201.

[3] Walker, *The Reformation*, 200-201.

[4] *Parker Society Papers, Original Letters*, 1538-58, II., 665, 666.

[5] *ibid.*, II., 551, n.

signifies that we ought to give everything we have to God before we use it, thus acknowledging that we receive it at His hand to be used for His glory. The ring, Bucer said, should be placed on the fourth finger of the woman's left hand, for there is supposed to be a sinew connecting it and the heart and so placing the ring on this finger signifies that the woman ought to be united to her husband. The roundness of the ring, according to Bucer's view, signifies that the wife ought to be joined to her husband with a perpetual band of love, just as the ring itself is without end.[1] Bucer also thought that newly married folks ought to receive the communion, "for Christians ought not to be joined in matrimony, but in Christ the Lord."[2] He expressed himself as very favorably disposed toward the reading of the Scriptures which he found in use in the Church of England. He said that it confirmed the points of doctrine and salvation to the people and enabled them to judge of the interpretation of the Bible themselves.[3] Christ of Nazareth, he said, used this method of teaching, Himself, when He read the LXI chapter of the prophet Esay[4]

Baptism is another subject in which Bucer was interested. He implored parents not to defer the baptism of their infants as thereby "a door would be opened to the devil to bring in a contempt of baptism and so of our whole redemption and communion of Christ."[5] He said that it was appropriate to use the cross in baptism if it

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[1] _Parker Society Papers, Works of Abp. Whitgift_, III., 353.
[2] _ibid_., 356.
[3] _ibid_., I., 30-32.
[4] _ibid_., 46.
[5] _ibid_., II., 533.

was used with a true knowledge of its significance and not superstitiously or in subservience to custom.[1]

There seems to have been considerable discussion during this time as to the authority and power attached to the various church positions. Bucer believed there should always be due obedience to superiors. He said he could find nothing in the Scriptures to keep pastors from being magistrates, but that they should not seek rule, as seeking rule is forbidden by the Scriptures. But what Bucer insisted on more than all else was that there should be greater fitness among the pastors and clergy in general for the positions which they were called upon to fill.[2]

The final solution of the foremost questions of Bucer's day is sufficient evidence that he had a great deal of influence in solving them. Barbaro, Bucer's enemy, in his report on England in May, 1551, said, "whenever they" (referring to the people of Eng.) "can suppose that anything is ordained by the Pontiff, they immediately abrogate it at the suggestion of Bucer, who was in very great repute with them."[3] Burcher, another enemy, wrote: "in case of Bucer's death, England will be more favored than all other countries in having been delivered in the same year from two men of most pernicions talents, namely Paul (Fagius) and Bucer. From these sources new sects are daily arising among us, and religion is always assuming a new appearance."[4] These testimonies on the part of

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[1] Parker society Papers, Works of Abp. Whitgift, III., 123.

[2] ibid., III., 540.

[3] Calendar of state Papers, Venetian, 1534-54, 346-347.

[4] Parker Society Papers, Original Letters, 1537-58, II., 662-663.

Bucer's enemies show that his influence in England was at least great enough to be a source of anxiety to them.

CHAPTER VII

HIS DEATH AND CONSEQUENT INDICENTS

Martic Bucer was fifty-eight years old when he came to England, an age at which it is difficult for anyone to adjust himself to changes of climate and conditions. Although he had always enjoyed good health in Germany, before he had been in England a half year he was overtaken by a severe illness which left him weak and completely disabled his left hand and two fingers of his right hand. This disability, which made it impossible for him to write, lasted from August to Christmas 1549. He enjoyed a short respite from Christmas to March, when he was again attacked and unable to perform his duties till May, 1550. He was well enough to be quite active from then till February, 1551, when his last illness overtook him. Bucer looked upon this illness as a punishment which he had deserved for his sins.[1] It was, no doubt, due to change of climate,[2] strain of work and especially change of food, coupled with an advancing age.

Bucer's last illness was of only two week's duration. He was aware that the end was near but was resigned completely to the will of God. His thoughts often travelled back to his native land and he deplored the condition of the church there. He prayed zeal-

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[1] Parker Society Papers, Original Letters, 1537-58, II., 543, 544.

[2] Mullinger, The Univ. of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Chas. I., 123.

ously that the English church might not suffer a like fate. In spite of the care of physicians and the tender nursing of his step-daughter Agnes and the Duchess of Suffolk, he passed into the Great Beyond.[1]

The date of Bucer's death is quite uncertain. Sleidanus, the great historian of the Reformation, gives February 27[2] as the date. Peter Martyr[3] and Conrad Hubert[4] give February 28[2]. But Nicholas Carr,[2] Matthew Parker,[5] and Walter Haddon,[4] all of whom were in Cambridge at the time, give March 1. It is most likely that March 1 is the correct date as Parker and Haddon, who preached Bucer's funeral sermon and were on the scene, are doubtless more reliable authority than any of the others. That Parker and Haddon were executors of Bucer's testament also adds to their reliability.

The funeral ceremonies of Martin Bucer were held the second and third days after his death. He was laid away in a tomb in St. Mary's church which in itself was a great honor. His funeral services were quite elaborate, the funeral procession being composed of the whole university, headed by the vice-chancellor, and about three thousand burgesses, headed by the mayor.[6] Dr. Walter Haddon and Dr. Matthew Parker delivered sermons the first day, the former in Latin and the latter in English. On the second day Dr. Redman

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[1] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 90-91; Mullinger, The Univ. of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Chas. I., 123.

[2] Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, II., 397-8.

[3] Parker Society Papers, Correspondence of Abp. Parker, II., 5, n.

[4] ibid., 42, n. 3.

[5] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 91, n. 4.

[6] Mullinger, The Univ. of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Chas.I., 123-5.

delivered a sermon. Following this the teachers and students decorated Bucer's grave with Latin and Greek epitaphs, as a mark of respect for him.[1] Parker, in his sermon, said, "The chief master workman has been taken from us" and expressed the view that their loss was an evidence of Divine displeasure. These sentiments of Parker seem to have been an expression of the general feeling in regard to Bucer's death.[2]

The aggregate value of Bucer's property does not seem to have been very great. He made the main body of his will in Strassburg in 1548. On February 22, 155$\frac{0}{1}$, while on his deathbed he made an addendum, naming as executors Dr. Ulrich Chelius geiger, Peter Dasypodius, Dr. Matthew Parker, and Dr. Walter Haddon, in addition to those he had already named in Strassburg.[3]

The omission of any mention of Mrs. Bucer in connection with Bucer's last illness leads us to question whether she was in England or Germany at this time. A. E. Harvey seems to think that she had gone back to Germany at the beginning of June, 1550.[4] But another account in which Parker and Haddon turn over their authority to Bucer's widow "who is about to move to Strassburg," and which says that only "such account is added as the suddenness of departure of the widow will allow," make us think that she left England after Bucer's death.[5]

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[1] Harvey, *Martin Bucer in England*, 92-93.

[2] *ibid.*, 92-93.

[3] *ibid.*, 91.

[4] *ibid.*, 42, n. 5.

[5] *Parker Society Papers, Correspondence of Abp. Parker*, 46-7.

An account of Bucer's property which was not sold or taken home is quite interesting because of the amount and kind of some of the articles enumerated. Twenty-six pairs of sheets, thirty tablecloths, and two pairs of hose especially attract our attention.[1]

A gift from the Crown to the widow and another from the University indicate the feeling of the people following Bucer's death. The King gave her one hundred marks in reward for Bucer's services.[2] She was also given a passport for herself and eight persons accompanying her.[3] And the half year's pension which was due Bucer at the last Lady Day was allowed her, although he had died before it was due.[4]

The question was raised in regard to the hundred marks given her by the King as to whether they were to be hers exclusively or whether they were to be divided as a part of the estate. A letter remains in which she wrote to Cranmer and implored him to send her the document whereby she might obtain this gift for herself alone. She said that it was not because of avarice or envy toward the other heirs that she was making this request, but that she was anxious that it should not be divided because she needed it. "I need it,"

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[1] Parker Society Papers, Corres. of Abp. Parker, 46-47.

[2] Acts of Privy Council, 1550-1552, 246-7. "A warraunt to----to paie to Mistres Bucer C marks, given to her by waie of the Kinges Majesties rewarde."

[3] ibid., "A pasporte for the saied Mistres Bucer and viij persons in her companye."

[4] ibid., "A lettre to-----to paie Mistres Bucer her husbondes half yeres pencion due to him at Our Ladie Day last past, although he died before, and to allowe her resonablie for such reparacions as she bestowed about her howse."

she said, "to aid and supply the slender means and wants of my little girl, who inherits the smallest portion of her father's property, and who has scarcely sufficient to provide her with a decent education and the necessaries of life. For the other children have mostly arrived at such an age, that (to say nothing of their having inherited a far greater patrimony than my little daughter) they may easily gain a livelihood for themselves."[1] Thomas Cranmer in answer to this letter said that he had written to the guardians of Bucer's children so that they might ascertain what the King's intention in regard to the matter was. He also said that he was sending her a letter testifying that the hundred marks were presented to her after the death of her husband.[2] Judging from the effort she was making to procure this gift whole and undivided, there is little doubt but what she was successful. The commotion which the widow raised in regard to this money seems to show that while Bucer's estate, on the whole, was perhaps considerable, the share obtained by each heir could not have been large. But the fact that the widow was given this one hundred marks, the half year's pension and the passports is evidence of the great respect and regard in which Bucer was held.

Mary's accession, following the death of Edward VI. meant a return of Catholicism to power for Mary was a strong Catholic and bitter toward the Protestants. It was she who had Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer, high churchmen and intimate friends of Bucer, burned for their Protestant beliefs. Mary not only persecuted the living but even wreaked her vengeance upon the peacefully slumbering dead.

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[1] Parker Society Papers, Original Letters, 1537-1558, I., 363-4.

[2] Parker Society Papers, Works of Abp. Cranmer, Remains and Letters, 434-5.

And the fact that Bucer's body was one of those exhumed is evidence that Mary considered him as one of the prominent promoters of Protestant reform.

On January 26, 155$\frac{6}{7}$ Watson, Bishop Elect of Lincoln; Scot, Bishop of Chester; and Christopherson, Bishop Elect of Chichester came to Cambridge as a commission sent by Cardinal Pole[1] to consider the taking up of Bucer's body.[2] They went thru the formal process of laying St. Mary's Church under an interdict as defiled by the presence of unhallowed bodies. A summons was fixed on the door "citing Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius or any other who would plead on their behalf to make answer three days after, before the Commission on the charge of heresy." But no one appeared in court so it adjourned. After searching the colleges for a week, for all the interdicted volumes they could find, they passed sentence that the bodies of Bucer and Fagius should be taken up and burned. Accordingly on the sixth of February the bodies were taken up and chained to a stake in the market place where they were excommunicated,[3] and together with the condemned books publicly reduced to ashes.[4]

The Counter-Reformation under Mary was merely a mock show --a passing fantasy--for the roots of Protestantism had struck deep and when Elizabeth came to the throne the country adjusted itself readily to the new situation of Protestantism in power. Queen

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[1] *Parker Society Papers, Works of Bp. Pilkington*, II., 65.

[2] *Camden Society Papers, Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen of London*, 1550-1563, 124; Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, V., 37; *Parker Society Papers, Zurich Letters*, 1558-1602, II., 20, n. 2.

[3] *Parker Society Papers*, *Rogers on the XXXIX Articles*, 311.

[4] Froude, *Hist. of Eng.*, VI., 435.

Elizabeth appointed a Commission to make a reformation of religion in the University of Cambridge and other parts of the realm and wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of the University concerning the restitution of Bucer and Fagius to the titles and degrees which had been taken from them under Mary. She also asked that acts done against them and their doctrines should be repealed. These demands of Elizabeth were placed before the graduates of the University, who openly consented to grant them. Accordingly, on the thirtieth of July, 1560 a congregation was called in St. Mary's church to celebrate the restitution of these two great reformers. The oration was made by Master Ackworth, the common orator of the University. He was followed by Bishop Pilkington, the Queen's reader of the divinity lecture, who spoke highly of the two men, rather lauding Bucer more than Fagius. He thought the Court of Rome had used too much violence in connection with the condemnation of Bucer and cited Bucer's contention in favor of the marriage of the clergy as their reason for hating him so bitterly. Pilkington declared that those who had condemned Bucer would have vengeance wreaked upon them. While he was preaching the people who attended the address covered the church walls and church porch on both sides with verses in Latin, Greek, and English, in which they declared their great respect for Bucer and Fagius. After the sermon they made supplication and prayer. That Elizabeth and others interested themselves so greatly in restoring Bucer to his former place of honor is evidence of the high regard in which he was held by them.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing chapters Bucer's activities have been described with only a partial estimation here and there of their value. To estimate Bucer's work at its true worth it will be necessary to take into consideration the difficulties and disadvantages which he had to overcome.

During the years when Bucer was in England the political and social conditions were quite unfavorable for him. War with France and Scotland was being agitated as usual and this fact placed Bucer in an atmosphere of uncertainty. Edward VI. was but a boy, and so the government of England was being conducted by a council at the head of which was the King's uncle Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset. There was a great deal of jealousy among these councillors; public interests were being sacrificed to private gain; and religion was but a mantle for avarice. Somerset during the two years he was allowed to rule had labored strenuously in opposition to the system of inclosures which was coming into favor and working great hardship among the common people. This brought down upon him the wrath of the nobility and merchant classes with the result that he was imprisoned in the Tower and finally executed. He had been a radical Protestant and a patron of the fugitives, so with his fall the people feared the restoration of Catholicism. All this political and social unrest did not make Bucer's problem any the

easier.

Another disadvantage to Bucer which has been dwelt on at some length heretofore was the fact that the English language was new to him and the German language, on the other hand, had not yet found favor in England. Latin seems to have been the language most employed by him. Of course, Latin was known by the cultured classes only. Consequently Bucer's direct influence touched only the upper strata of English society. Nevertheless, it reached the masses too, indirectly.

Bucer's frequent attacks of illness also put him at a great disadvantage. At three different times he was forced to give up his work for a while altogether. After his second illness his fingers and hands were left so badly crippled that he was unable to write for months.

But just as soon as Bucer was able to overcome these conditions he was again strenuously at work at his studies, writing letters and theological treatises, taking part in disputation, delivering sermons and academic lectures, and holding private conferences. He labored incessantly in the interests of religion and doubtless shortened his life by his close application to his work. We unquestionably would be justified in saying that he died a martyr for the Protestant cause in England.

Bucer's industry, learning, religious zeal, and christian character made a deep impression, especially at the University of Cambridge. Mullinger, who wrote the history of the University, said: "No professor certainly ever taught at Cambridge for so brief a period and yet left behind him so deep an impression as did Martin

Bucer of his services, virtues, and attainments."[1] Matthew Parker, a teacher in Cambridge, said that thru the death of Bucer the Church had lost its chief workman.[2] Walter Haddon, another teacher, spoke very highly of him in his funeral sermon.[3] John Cheke in a letter written to Matthew Parker after Bucer's death said, "although I doubt not but the King's Majesty will provide some grave and learned man, to maintain God's true learning in the University, yet I think not of all learned men, in all points ye shall receive M. Bucer's like, whether ye consider his deepness of knowledge, his earnestness in religion; or his fatherliness in life, his authority in knowledge."[4] Foxe, in his "Book of Martyrs," wrote, "what by writing but chiefly by reading and preaching openly wherein being painful in the word of God, he never spared himself nor regarded his health, brought all men into such admiration of him that neither his friends could sufficiently praise him nor his enemies in any point find fault with his singular life and sincere doctrine."[5] Froude, after telling of the death of Bucer and Fabius, adds: "good men, both of them, Bucer especially, who at such a time could ill be spared."[6] These testimonies of Bucer's contemporaries and later historians are sufficient evidence of the high regard in which he was held.

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[1] Mullinger, Univ. of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Chas. I., II., 123.

[2] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 99.

[3] Dict. of Nat. Biog., Walter Haddon.

[4] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 99.

[5] Foxe, Book of Martyrs, III., 763.

[6] Harvey, Martin Bucer in England, 100.

Bucer's influence in shaping the Church of England is still in evidence today. This is especially true in the case of vestments, the abolition of which was being discussed during Bucer's day. It was largely due to the conservative stand that he took in regard to them then that they were retained. A similar move for discarding them gained force during Elizabeth's reign, and at that time it was again the influence of Bucer's letters, written during the former discussion, that saved them.

Bucer's teachings were a sort of preparation for Calvinism. "Calvin's Theologie "wrote Professor Anrich, "ist in allen wichtigsten Bestandteilen bei Bucer vorausgebildet--grade die beiden Zentren von Calvins System, die Rechtferti-gungslehre als das lutherische Erbgut einerseits, die Praedestinationslehre andrerseits, finden sich in gleichen Nebeneinander bei Bucer. Vor allem aber: Calvins Abendmahlslehre ist die Lehre Bucers in schärferer und reinerer Fassung." This tendency toward Calvinism found distinct expression, shortly after Bucer's death, in the Forty-two Articles.

Bucer's influence also made itself felt in a practical way. The Liturgy and catechism, as shown before were largely shaped by his hand. His position on marriage and divorce, especially on the marriage of the clergy had a far-reaching influence. And his efforts for better care of the poor and better social conditions in general made themselves felt and produced practical results.

So considering all the disadvantages and disabilities against which Bucer had to struggle and also considering the shortness of his life in England, we must accord him a high place among the ranks of Protestant Reformers and founders of the English Church.

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[1] Harvey, <u>Martin Bucer in England</u>, 101.

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