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**MARTIN BUCER: His Influence on the
English Reformation and Anglicanism**

by

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ABSTRACT

Martin Bucer has until very recent times been the neglected Reformer of the sixteenth-century Reformation. During the period from the 1520s to the 1550s, the name of Bucer was synonymous with that of Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli as one of the leading Reformers of the age. After gaining release from his monastic vows, Bucer followed his parents and based himself in the imperial city of Strasbourg, where he began to exert an influence both at home and elsewhere. This influence and the prominent position it thus gave to him was ultimately to prove personally costly, for it took him out of Strasbourg and into exile in England, where for nearly two years he was to have a major contributory role to play on both the English Reformation and the development of Anglicanism. This thesis intends to contribute to Church history and the history of dogma by assessing this impact.

Having introduced the subject in chapter one, this will be achieved in three primary ways. First of all, in chapter two of the thesis I will briefly set out the backdrop to the Reformation period by considering the great movements for change that were being encountered in society and the Roman Catholic Church of that time. This was an era of transition, whereas the medieval period that immediately preceded it was one of little or no change. A continent that was unrecognisable in terms of political boundaries and economic structures was about to be reborn into the Europe that we recognise today. It was this period of rebirth that provided the environment into which the Reformation was born.

Having thus set the background, chapter three will concentrate on a biographical resume of the salient features of Bucer's life. This is absolutely necessary for any attempt to rehabilitate knowledge of the Reformer amongst twenty-first century Christians. The man, his circumstances, the principles that motivated him in responding and reacting to the tumultuous events around him, the manner in which he acquired his skills as a diplomat and Reformer must all become known to us if we are to understand anything of the great Reformer that he became.

In chapter four, the thesis focuses on Bucer's period of exile in England, setting out the arguments to be used in assessing the importance of his work there. First of all, I refer to

the earlier influences that he exerted through the works emanating from Strasbourg that impacted the English Bible, particularly the book of Psalms. Then the chapter continues to trace the influence he exerted upon the liturgy, the ecclesiology, and even his sociological impact, based on Christian principles that he argued would ultimately lead to all men living “well and happily” in a Christian Commonwealth. Bucer established this aim as his contribution to the Reformation in England, that is, the thorough Christianisation of the realm. Many of these influences are little known and, thus, largely disregarded today. Nevertheless, Bucer had a major impact on the English Reformation and Anglicanism by means of these influences in the literary, liturgical and ecclesiological areas.

In chapter five, the thesis draws together all these strands of influence and argues that they have impacted the development of the English Reformation and have been formative not only of Anglicanism, but also – perhaps surprisingly – of the Puritan movement. The now vexed question of the oppositionist view between Anglicanism and Puritanism is addressed as an aid to assessing Bucer’s influence. The question concerning the extent to which Anglicanism reflected his ‘middle way’ theology is addressed, as is his influence on the emergent Puritan movement with some of its early emphases.

Chapter six details the concluding remarks of the thesis with special reference to further fields of study that may well disclose an even wider influence for Bucer on the English Reformation and its aftermath.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

During my research for a previous degree, I was made aware of the person and work of Martin Bucer (1491-1551). Bucer was a German Reformer who settled in Strasbourg, a city of northern France, on the German border. Bucer had a strong influence on the life of the city and on the lives of his fellow contemporary reformers (Barker, 1977: 54). Bucer eventually became the leading Reformer in the city of Strasbourg, which thereby became a major centre for the Reformation (Lane, 1984: 128). Indeed, it was from here that Bucer exercised a wide influence on the Reformation of the sixteenth century, which was largely irenic (Barker, 1977: 54). Using all his persuasive powers, Bucer sought to bring about a greater harmony and unity amongst the fragmenting Reformers around him (Wright, ed, 1994: 10). To this end, Bucer emphasised that Christians should recognise and embrace each other in love (see Wright, ed, 1994: 11; Pauck 1961: 97). Bucer tried to win over the Anabaptists (also known as Separatists). This large and very diverse group was severely persecuted in much of Europe, though they found welcome refuge in Strasbourg. Martin Bucer entered into debate with them. He won many of them over to the ecclesiology of Strasbourg simply by listening to their arguments, reasoning with them and explaining biblical concepts to them (see Spijker, 1996). Furthermore, he also sought a reconciliation with the Roman Catholic Church (Lane, 1984: 129). In a series of colloquies from 1539 to 1541, he struggled to hammer out a broad doctrinal consensus that would unite progressive Roman Catholics and moderate Protestants (Wright, ed, 1994: 14).

Such were Bucer's efforts on these fronts that some have regarded him as some kind of sixteenth century 'ecumaniac' (see Wright, ed, 1994: 7). It seems all the more surprising, therefore, to discover that there exists a body of opinion that boldly proclaims that the august body of doctrine known as 'Calvinism' originated in the main with Martin Bucer and not John Calvin (eg Barker, 1977: 54; Lane, 1984: 129). Commenting on the relationship between Calvin and Bucer, Pauck goes as far as to say that what Bucer thought out, planned, recommended and inspired, Calvin made tangible and real (Pauck, 1961: 91). Coming from a background that is most sympathetic with the Reformed tradition, I found this both intriguing and a little disconcerting, as my only previous knowledge of Martin Bucer had been confined to the highly selective references to him recorded in the pages of general theological dictionaries. To my fascination, I further discovered that Bucer had for some two years cooperated with

Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the preparation of various formularies for worship in the Anglican Church (Whitaker, 1974; Wright, ed, 1994).

Martin Bucer's contribution to the development of Reformation thought appears to be unique and central. The information concerning the influence of such worthies as Luther, Zwingli and Calvin on the Reformation and its impact is readily available to the student of Church history. Bucer's legacy and influence, however, is somewhat fragmentary by comparison, if not simply set aside. Indeed, Prof David Wright strongly suggests that Martin Bucer is the forgotten Reformer and that modern English Christianity has largely ignored the role he played in shaping the Protestant Church as we now know it (Wright, ed, 1994: 3). This being the case, I propose to research the life of Martin Bucer, to appreciate the man and his background, and to establish in particular his influence on the progress of the English Reformation and the life of the Anglican Church (see Hopf, 1946).

The history of the sixteenth-century Reformation is essentially the story of those men who impacted the religious, political, economic and social ethos of their day. The term 'Reformation' covers not merely one epoch-making event, but a series of events revolving around the men who were initially thrust to prominence in their localities. Such a man was Martin Bucer. Largely, though not entirely, ignored by many twenty-first century scholars of the Reformation, it is perhaps timely to ask why it is that the name of Martin Bucer does not live on in the same way as those of Luther and Calvin in the minds of modern Christians. Within Christendom, there are large numbers of people who refer to themselves as Lutherans or Calvinists; there are none who speak of themselves as being followers of Martin Bucer. It does appear, therefore, that Martin Bucer is the forgotten man of the sixteenth-century Reformation.

Coming yet again closer to the English scene, there is scant information on Bucer in the average ministerial library. Where such information on Bucer is held, it is chiefly on the relationship between Martin Bucer and John Calvin and not on Bucer himself (Pauck, 1961: 74). The average English Christian, therefore, has little or no knowledge of Martin Bucer's influence on the Church in this country. Bucer's two-year stay in the Tudor England of the sixteenth century, for example, is largely unknown outside of those scholars who specialise in the history of early Protestantism. That Bucer once occupied the Chair of Theology at Cambridge University is also not well known. A

similarly forgotten fact from this time is the close cooperation that existed between Thomas Cranmer and Martin Bucer on the liturgical literature of the Anglican Church. The central question of this work, therefore, is: 'Should the influence of Martin Bucer on the progress of the English Reformation and in particular on the Anglican Church have been ignored – and to a large extent forgotten – in the way that it was?'

The questions that naturally arise from this problem are:

- What influence did Martin Bucer actually have on the historical European Reformation of the sixteenth century?
- What was Bucer's role in the city of Strasbourg during the time of the Reformation?
- What was Bucer's contribution to the progress of the Reformation in England?
- What specific influence did Martin Bucer have on the Anglican Church during the period in question?

The main aim of this thesis is to discover the impact and influence of the sixteenth-century Reformer, Martin Bucer, on the English Reformation in general and the Anglican Church in particular.

The objectives of this study must be seen in their relationship to the aim. In so doing, I intend to approach the subject from four angles:

- i) To appreciate Martin Bucer in a historical perspective relative to the wider European Reformation of the sixteenth century.
- ii) To acknowledge Martin Bucer as the leading Reformer in the city of Strasbourg.
- iii) To assess Martin Bucer's general contribution to the progress of the sixteenth-century English Reformation.
- iv) To specifically evaluate the influence of Martin Bucer on the Anglican Church.

The central theoretical argument of this thesis is that, whilst Martin Bucer may well be termed as 'the forgotten sixteenth-century Reformer', by means of his liturgical and ecclesiological input, he did have a significant influence on the English Reformation and the Anglican Church.

It must be conceded that any research of this nature is to a greater or lesser degree subject to the bias of the scholar. My own sympathies will no doubt predetermine a certain emphasis that is favourably disposed towards the Reformed tradition. In an attempt to remove or restrict any unwarranted prejudice, therefore, I will seek to give due recognition to sources of information that may not be bound to any such traditional or denominational allegiance. That said, however, the methodology employed throughout this thesis will be to provide a literary research into the historical and theological data of the period and a critical evaluation thereof. The historical component will, as far as is practicable, be controlled and concerned with accepted guidelines of objectivity (see Bradley & Muller, 1995).

2.0 SOCIETY & THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY EUROPE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to fully understand and appreciate the man Martin Bucer it is my contention that it is absolutely necessary to comprehend something of the sixteenth century as though it were the mould from which he and his contemporary Reformers sprang. John Donne, one of our English cleric/poets, wrote that “no man is an island”, meaning that we are all essentially a product of the emphases of our age and culture. Thus it is that to place Martin Bucer into his contemporary time frame I find it necessary to begin with an overview that will shed some light on the age into which he was born. This is the purpose of this brief survey chapter.

2.2 THE SOCIETY OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE

The dawn of the sixteenth century in Europe saw the foundations of the old medieval society crumbling and a new society beginning to emerge. This new society was to have a much larger geographical horizon and to be coupled to new thinking in the political, economic, intellectual and religious patterns of the age. Such changes were enormous in their scope and effect upon sixteenth-century society. Indeed, they were to be so great that in their sum total they have attracted the epithet of “revolutionary” (Cairns, 1981: 273). These changes actually began in the fifteenth century, but their quickening pace had its greatest impact on the sixteenth century (Davies, 1997: 444).

The fifteenth century is generally described in Europe as the century of transition between the medieval and the modern periods. In many spheres the transition was a decisive break with the older traditions, though the old order persisted in some areas for a time. However, the changes were most noticeable in the realms of education, the arts and politics (Davies, 1997: 444).

The emergence of the period known as the Renaissance (generally acknowledged as lying approximately between 1450 and 1650) gave rise to forces that were to influence and markedly affect all branches of medieval society. During this era there was an awakening of literary, artistic, political, economic and religious thought. The stimuli for

this awakening have been variously depicted as the rediscovery of the classical treasures of the past, the decline of feudalism, the rise of nationalism, the emergence of capitalism and the increasing prominence of cosmopolitan awareness (Hillerbrand, 1975: 3). Although more limited in the scope he attributed to the period of the Renaissance, the author and historian Edmund Hamer Broadbent provides us with a similar definition of the forces that now began to profoundly influence the flow of history emerging on to the scene of the sixteenth century (1974: 113).

Broadbent sees the year 1453 as a sort of watershed for society. In that year an event occurred that sent shock waves of seismic proportions throughout Europe. Constantinople, the bulwark of Christendom and hedge against the rapacious Turks, fell to the Ottoman forces that had long besieged it. That city represented the last tangible vestiges of the old Roman Empire. The city's capture had a two-fold effect on the European mainland. First of all, the gate was now wide open for the advance into Europe of the Ottoman Empire and, in its shadow, that of a militant Islam. Secondly, a flood of priceless manuscripts that had long been forgotten by the European mainland now became available to the centres of learning from Italy through France and Germany and on to England. One of the fruits of this flowering of classical literature was the recovery and restoration of the text of the Greek New Testament. No other recovered literature was to have such a powerful effect. Coinciding with the sudden re-emergence of so much classical learning, the invention of the printing press (circa 1456) provided the means whereby this newly acquired knowledge could be quickly and effectively passed on. The chief product of the new printing presses was the swift appearance of the Bible in the vernacular (Broadbent, 1974:113ff).

At the same time, other changes were beginning to influence the political thinking of men's minds. During the fifteenth century there occurred a considerable increase in the power and cohesion of the emerging nation states. This particular century has been described as the age during which the consolidation of the national state really took place (Elton, 1999: 212). For centuries either side of the birth of Christ, European society had been dominated by the political ideal of the city state. It was held that this was the largest political unit into which men could usefully organise themselves. Even the Empire of Rome was no more than an extension of the major city state, Rome. Those who opted or were selected for citizenship of the Empire were actually classed as citizens of Rome, irrespective of where they lived. However, the arrival of the Middle

Ages brought with it a new concept of political unity, with the growth of the power and influence of the nation state. This ideology of political unity drew some strength from the apparent spiritual unity exemplified by the Roman Catholic Church. It would thus appear – at least theoretically – that men were already united in a new form of the Roman Empire. Political shape and form was eventually given to the concept with the arrival on the European scene of the Holy Roman Empire. In practice, however, it was the system known as feudalism, loosely linked to the embryonic nation state, that provided what security and order could be enjoyed in the fluid and sometimes chaotic periods of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Cairns, 1981: 265).

The political map of Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth century presents very few similarities to the present day. The largest recognisable land mass, Germany, was divided into 250 individual states. Although most of these came under the nominal authority of the Holy Roman Emperor, many were practically independent. France was slowly emerging from the English occupation of most of its territory into a strong, centrally organised nation state. Spain, too, was uniting into a strong nation state with the expulsion or incorporation of the Moors, whilst Italy became the model for all those with similar ambitions. England, recovering from the inter-dynastic Wars of the Roses, was also developing into a powerful nation state (Cairns, 1981: 266, 267). The emerging nation states, with their strong centrally organised government and with powerful rulers backed by a growing civil service and standing army, were eager to demonstrate their independence from any form of external domination, whether that be an Emperor or Pope (Cairns, 1981: 274).

The age of transition and discovery still had many mind expanding events yet to come and these were to impact areas of thinking that for centuries had remained static and stagnant. Geographically, the discovery of the American continent by Columbus enlarged men's minds as well as the scope of their activities. In astronomy, the discoveries of Copernicus relating to the Solar System and the Earth's real relationship to the Sun gave a death blow to the older perceived norms on the subject, which had been vigorously supported by the Roman Catholic Church. The rise of capitalism in a modern guise occurred during the period. The publication of the first text book on accountancy by Luca Pacioli effectively prepared the way for the spread of what eventually became known as modern capitalism (Davies, 1997: 402). The changes in economic structures taking place in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe affected the

social outlook of society. The old ruling elite of feudal nobles were gradually replaced by a growing middle class of merchants. Land was no longer the sole substance of wealth. Commerce, with a surprisingly modern face, was now another basis for the acquisition of wealth and, with it, status (Cairns 1981: 275). Although more could be said about the impact of a declining labour pool in agriculture due to the continuing effects of the fourteenth and fifteenth century's plagues and warfare, in the context of an overview of sixteenth-century society such as this, suffice it to say that all of these forces combined to effect a change in the outlook of the society of the age in question.

Way of summary, the era of the Renaissance may be defined as a period of reorientation within society, in which men placed a modern secular and individualistic mind set into the vacuum that had been created by the demise of the older Medieval religious and corporate view of life. The medieval theocentric worldview, in which God was the touchstone of all things, was replaced by an anthropocentric worldview, in which man was now to be the measure of all things (Cairns, 1981: 260).

2.3 THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The Roman Catholic Church had for centuries striven to impose its dream of a united Christendom on the hearts and minds of Europe. As bishop of Rome, the Pope claimed supreme authority over global Christianity. He exercised a moral rule that bound all kingdoms and rulers. After all, had not an able succession of philosophers and theologians serving this end proved that the spiritual must take the precedence over the material? Only slightly inferior to the Pope was the person of the Holy Roman Emperor, who was the embodiment of the secular unity of the Christian world (Jones, 1985: 8). However, the apparent calm and unity of the Roman Catholic Church was no more than a cleverly sustained mirage.

The arrival of the sixteenth century saw the papal supremacy over Christendom apparently secure. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 had removed any serious threat from the Greek Orthodox churches to papal supremacy. Indeed, the subjection of Constantinople to the rule of the Turkish Ottoman Empire brought with it the fragmenting of Orthodoxy by the increasing independence of the Russian wing of that Church (Cairns, 1981: 268). The internal battle within Roman Catholicism over the

matter of final authority in the Church had seemingly been settled. 'Conciliarism', the view that the papal office was subject to the will of the General Church Councils, had finally been suppressed by the repeated condemnation of the Pope and his allies (Lake, 1984: 110). The potential ambassadors for reforming the Church, including Wycliffe of England (1302-1384), Huss of Bohemia (1371-1415) and Savonarola of Florence (1452-1498), had all been crushed. The work of the mystics, represented by the attempts of Catherine of Siena (1347-1380) and Meister Eckhart (1260-1327) to personalise faith in God, also ultimately failed (Cairns, 1981: 250). Thus it was that mystics, reformers and the General Councils all fell some way short of achieving real reform within the Roman Catholic Church. This apparent defeat of all such moves and movements resulted in the papal structure being ostensibly secure and dominant (Cairns, 1981: 259). However, there was a problem on the horizon that was to pose a serious threat for the Church of the sixteenth century.

The new learning of the Renaissance, rising out of the fifteenth century, had three significant features: the rediscovery of long neglected classical authors, such as Homer and Cicero, whose works had been largely ignored in Europe during the medieval period; the close study of classical Greek literature as a partner to that of Latin; and, arguably the most significant of all, the study of the Bible in the original Greek and Hebrew texts. This last feature gave rise to a biblical scholarship that was to foster a special emphasis on the authority of the Scriptures (Davies, 1997: 477). Over the preceding centuries the Roman Catholic Church, whilst holding that the Scriptures contained revealed truth, had overseen the emergence of another source of authority in the traditions of the Church. How these two sources of authority, Scripture and tradition, were to be related was progressively viewed as the most pressing problem of the fifteenth century. Tradition was seen as being either a commentary on the Scriptures or as an authoritative revelation of truth in and of itself. The theologians of the Church were unable to provide a commonly agreed stance, nor could they silence the emerging suspicion that Scripture and tradition might possibly sometimes be in disagreement with each other (Hillerbrand, 1975: 8).

There now arose a breed of men who, whilst evidently loyal to the Roman Catholic Church, were also found contributing to the growing criticism of alleged ecclesiastical abuses. History generally records these men as 'humanists', a term that might be subject to misunderstanding according to its twenty-first century usage (see Hall, 1990: vii).

When employed in relation to the period of the Renaissance, the word 'humanist' does not carry the same anti-Christian and pragmatic intent as would be true today. Indeed, many – if not all – the Renaissance humanists saw no contradiction between their humanism and their religion (Davies, 1997: 479). The humanist of the Renaissance period, therefore, is perhaps better described as a Christian Humanist (Jones, 1985: 24). In the setting of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, although each of these had their own emphasis, concerns and complaints, but their primary dissatisfaction was with the traditional approaches to theology (Hillerbrand, 1975: 8).

The foremost proponent of the Christian Humanist movement was Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1519). Erasmus was the principal scholar of his time. Indeed, Johan Huizinga goes so far as to claim that he “made himself the centre of the scientific study of Divinity... the touchstone of classical erudition and literary taste” (in Davies, 1997: 478). Erasmus believed that the very best way forward in the work of reforming the Roman Catholic Church was by the use of good scholarship. To this end he applied himself to the study of New Testament Greek and the works of the early Church Fathers. In this way he bypassed the dogmatic assertions of the Scholastics and developed a Christian philosophy, proclaiming that the learning and piety of the Fathers of the first centuries of the Church were to be preferred (Hall, 1990: 52). In essence, Erasmus laid the foundation on which the Reformation was to be raised in 1516, when his *Greek New Testament* was published and circulated widely (Lane, 1984: 113). Norman Davies, who is noted for the restraint of his language, records this occasion as a “landmark event” (Davies 1997: 478). As part of Erasmus’ programme for the peaceful reform of the Roman Catholic Church, his publication became the centre piece of the platform for a return to the Scriptures and the teachings of the early Church Fathers. The book had a profound effect on many living in the sixteenth century and was instrumental in persuading some to adopt the principles of reform that ultimately were to lie at the heart of the Protestant Reformation.

Erasmus was a reformer who moved with great care. He had no wish to offend either his peers or his masters. After all, were not all the positions of power – intellectual, political and religious – occupied by those who were scholastically oriented? He moved cautiously, therefore, as he tried to provide his readers with an emphasis on the historical Jesus, presenting a lucid account of authentic Christianity as he understood it from the writings of the Early Church Fathers. Erasmus’ did not find himself alone in

undertaking a policy of careful advocacy. Others who could loosely be described as belonging to the Christian Humanist movement of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were also of the same cautious mood. Just like Erasmus, the Christian Humanist movement's emphasis was latent and implied rather than explicit. There was no real clash; but the emphasis was present and was increasingly being embraced by numbers of people amongst the intellectual, political and theological leaders of the time (Hillerbrand, 1975: 9).

2.4 SUMMARY

In the sixteenth century, Europe witnessed a great change in society. The norms that had remained static and somewhat stagnant for centuries were now being replaced. New ideas and new horizons were placing men into a different frame of mind concerning their place in the great scheme of things. Change hung in the air like some heady aroma and men were willing to breathe of this fragrance to the full.

The Roman Catholic Church was also facing underlying tensions of change. The age long problems of religious authority in the Church, whilst apparently being resolved in favour of the papal office, were once again being exacerbated by the rise of the Christian Humanist movement. This movement, whilst fretting against the fossilised clerical attitudes within the Church, also actively encouraged the personal study of the New Testament. Throughout all of this there was the dream that a rising generation would once again recover the lost virtues of a primitive Christianity. In this connection it has been said that it was Erasmus who laid the egg, but Luther who hatched it (in Stickelberger, 1977: 27). To one of the consequences of this 'hatching' I now turn in Chapter three.

3.0 MARTIN BUCER: THE MAKING OF A REFORMER

3.1 THE EARLY YEARS

Martin Bucer was born on the fourteenth of November 1491 in the small city of Sélestat (Lane, 1984: 128). The city occupied a prominent position in the valley of Alsace and was, by the opening of the sixteenth century, noted for its religious enthusiasm and high regard for education. The former was evidenced by the existence of numerous and well attended monasteries, while the latter was nourished by the famous Latin School (Eells, 1931: 1). Closely associated with this school was a body of Christian Humanists, the members of whom were inspired not only by a high regard for the learning of the past, but also by a desire to witness the purifying of the Church from its abuses. Such were the circumstances into which Martin Bucer was born. Little is known of Bucer's parents apart from the fact that his father was a citizen of Sélestat and a shoemaker by trade, whilst his mother sometimes functioned as a mid-wife (Eells, 1931: 1). The parents were pious people and they nurtured a similar attitude in their son. There is some doubt as to whether the young Martin Bucer ever attended the famous Latin School, but he certainly developed an insatiable passion for the acquisition of learning. It was this same desire that led the maturing Bucer to accumulate a vast store of learning and to become intensely devoted to the 'New Learning' of the Christian Humanists (Lane, 1984: 128).

For economic reasons, when Bucer was ten years of age his parents moved to the populous city of Strasbourg. Martin did not go with them. He was left in the care of his paternal grandfather, Nicholas Bucer (or Butzer as some spell it). The reasons behind this are obscure. Conjecture would have us believe that the educational advantages of Sélestat were the cause of the separation. However, the point remains that for the young Martin Bucer his grandfather now exerted a major impact on his life. This influence was to culminate in a serious problem for Martin in the fifteenth year of his life. The aged Nicholas now demanded that his grandson shoulder some of the responsibilities of their mutual support. This was a major crisis for the young Martin Bucer, for it promised to signal the end of his ambition to be a scholar and replaced it with the reality of the dull and wearisome routine of the shoemaker. How long the dilemma was pondered we do not know, but the decision was eventually reached that Martin was to enter the service of the Church. The grandfather accepted this decision unselfishly and handed the young

Martin over to the Order of the Dominicans, which had a chapter in Sélestat that called itself 'reformed' (Eells, 1931: 2).

Martin Bucer was a reluctant monk, as the following definitive statement from Hastings Eells clearly demonstrates:

The chief difficulty was that Martin did not want to become a monk. Only the glittering promises of the "brethren" that they would give him the education he was determined to have, only the advice of his grandfather that he could not do better than associate himself with men of such "high morality" overcame his repugnance to monastic life. His novitiate was a series of terrifying experiences, calculated to frighten him into submission. Constantly he was reminded that the intercession of the Virgin had gained for Dominic a promise that no member of his Order would be damned, though a temporary suffering in purgatory might be necessary. Just as constantly the horrible threat was held before his youthful soul that any novice who turned aside from the final vows would be cursed all the rest of his life until he died a miserable and unnatural death. He was frightened by the gruesome prospect, allured by the promise of immunity from damnation, convinced that only in the cloisters could knowledge be his. In a state of desperation and terror Martin Bucer became a Dominican.

(Eells, 1931: 2, 3.)

Martin Bucer then a monk because only in this way could he achieve his ambition of becoming a scholar. He was a monk in name only; his heart and spirit were not in it. No sooner had he entered into the life of the Order than he discovered that the pinnacle of all knowledge was the scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas (Lane, 1984: 128). This, alongside the teaching of 'sophistical legends', was the normal educational fare that now fed the intensely enquiring mind of Bucer. For some ten years Bucer acquiesced in the conglomeration of myths and scholasticism that was the sum total of his Order's teaching. Then, at the age of twenty-five, he was transferred to the Order's monastery at Heidelberg (Hanko, 1999: 163).

Although the removal to Heidelberg was not a release from the burden of the cloisters for Bucer, it did mean access to theological study (Hanko, 1999: 163). Here, Bucer discovered a theological institution in close connection to a university, though by the time he arrived at Heidelberg the two were practically at war with each other. The Dominicans were the champions of the theology of Thomas Aquinas and the medieval Schoolmen; the University was staffed by many who were the keen defenders of the new humanism. For Bucer this meant the service of two masters. Although he lived at

the Monastery, he unswervingly adopted a stance favourable to the humanists at the University. Bucer decided to study Greek under the tutelage of John Brenz, one of the University's professors. He revelled in the works of Plato and other classical writers. The more he read and studied his Greek and Latin the more there grew within him a desire to become a second Erasmus, thereby achieving recognition in the world of academia. This was Martin Bucer's initial vision and purpose for his life, but hard on its heels there came a second more profound and powerful call upon the energies of his soul (Eells, 1931: 3, 4).

During the winter of 1517/18, an Augustinian monk presented ninety-five theses on the abuse of indulgences before his bishop by nailing them to the door of the castle church (Elton, 1999: 1). A copy of the document came into the hands of an enterprising printer who, realising the potential, seized his opportunity and printed the document in German. The theses became a best seller overnight and their author a folk hero. Far from being intentionally radical, the theses were merely moderate appeals for minor reforms to the existing system. However, much of Germany was aroused by the extent of the taxation paid to Rome (Lane, 1984: 116). The monk's name was Martin Luther and in April 1518 he was summoned to defend his actions to his own order at Hedelberg. Bucer was one of those who came to hear him and here occurred one of the most important events of his life (Hanko, 1999: 163). Martin Bucer was captivated completely enthralled by the wonderful courtesy and erudite sagacity as he listened intently to the man about whom the whole of Europe was now talking. He thence became a convert to the teachings of Martin Luther (Lane, 1984: 128).

In the meantime, Martin Bucer also pursued his educational ambitions. In the spring of 1519 he was awarded both a Bachelor of Theology and Master of Students degrees. These honours conferred upon him the great privilege of being able to read the Bible for himself. Shortly after this, at Mainz, Bucer was ordained a priest (Eells, 1931: 5). To the accomplishment of his educational success Bucer also added an astonishing ability to win and maintain friends. Amongst the ever widening circle of his friends were numbered some of the most influential humanists of the day. Such liaisons often proved to be mutually advantageous, as Eells records:

[They were] men of forceful personalities, men with gifts of leadership and men who contributed to his own intellectual development as he did to theirs.

(Eells, 1931: 5.)

The friend who attracted Bucer's deepest devotion, however, was Martin Luther. Having borrowed a copy of the Reformer's commentary on the book of Galatians in January 1520, he was so impressed with it that he immediately sought to have it reprinted to assist its wider circulation. At about this time Bucer wrote to Luther. In the letter he not only recounted his own conversion as a result of the Heidelberg Disputation in 1518 and his delight at a subsequent interview with Luther, but also outlined his attempts to reprint the commentary on Galatians. He urged Luther to write to him as a means of encouraging the other disciples at Heidelberg. Bucer was now a most enthusiastic devotee of the teachings of Martin Luther and in this matter was to become the leader of a local group that modelled itself on the teachings of Luther and Erasmus. At the Dominicans' Convention in Frankfurt in May 1520, Bucer's enthusiasm found him in public dispute with no less a character than John Cochlacus, the Dean of the Cathedral. Bucer made enemies there, but would appear fearless in his support for humanism and the reform movement. His continuing support for Erasmus and Luther also made him an enemy in the eyes of his brother monks. Gradually the privileges so much prized by Bucer were withdrawn. This finally placed him in a position from which he was faced to choose between submission and revolt. The decision was soon made and Martin Bucer left the monastery at Heidelberg to become a homeless fugitive (Eells, 1931: 6, 7).

As Martin Bucer fled from the cloisters of Heidelberg, his singular ability to win and maintain friends was now to prove its worth. Ulrich von Hutten, the poet-knight, obtained a refuge for Bucer with Franz von Sickingen. These associates advised Bucer that he must make it a priority to seek to gain absolution from his monastic vows. A course of action designed to release Bucer from these vows was soon set in place. I have already remarked that Bucer was to a certain extent a reluctant monk; this reluctance was now made the core of an appeal for release from his monastic vows. Around the first day of February 1521, Martin Bucer applied to Rome for formal release from his vows citing coercion as the grounds for his release. Despite a belated attempt from his enemies to thwart his request, by 29th April 1521 a favourable reply was rendered. On the grounds that his monastic vows were taken under duress, Martin Bucer was declared legally released from all such vows and placed into the ranks of the secular clergy with the right to hold any clerical office. Due to the efforts of his friends and the smoothness and swiftness of the action undertaken on his behalf, he was effectively free; Martin Bucer was no longer a Dominican monk (Eells, 1931: 7-9).

3.1.1 The Pattern for Reformation

Martin Bucer was no mere spectator at the Diet of Worms in April 1521. Prior to the Diet, filled with concern for a possible needless martyrdom for his hero Luther, he did all in his power to persuade him not to go to Worms. An alternative venue was suggested in the castle of Franz von Sickingen at Ebernburg. Luther and Bucer met at Oppenheim on 15th April 1521 and Bucer proceeded to plead the case that the safe conduct granted by the Holy Roman Emperor was worthless; Ebernburg might provide a safe alternative. The danger to Luther was real and the whole of Europe waited to see if the fate of John Huss of Bohemia would also befall Martin Luther (Hanko, 1999: 127, 128). Luther was intransigent; to Worms he had been called, to Worms he would go.

Luther's appearance at the Diet of Worms on 18th April 1521 proved to be the true beginning of the Reformation and a clear statement that the new theology had come to stay (Elton, 1999: 27). Eager as ever to play his part, Martin Bucer became a messenger between Ebernburg and Worms. While engaged in the conveying of the latest information to the anxious friends at Ebernburg, Bucer composed a pamphlet entitled, *'A Dialogue between a Pastor and a Village-Mayor'*. It was popular enough to pass through thirteen editions and in this manner added Bucer's voice to the general clamour for reform. Bucer was among the first to learn that it was friendly forces that had spirited Luther away from Worms to the safety of the castle at Wartburg and in this he was able to rejoice (Eells, 1931: 10; Elton, 1999: 28).

For Bucer there now remained the issue of employment, though this proved to be no problem for him. Even before his reduction to the secular clergy, he was appointed as court chaplain to Count Frederick of the Palatinate. Bucer considered the appointment to be one full of opportunity, though his enemies thought of it with foreboding, as the young Count Frederick was considered to be impressionable. Strong efforts were made, therefore, to dissuade Bucer from pursuing the appointment. Bribes were offered to encourage him to renege, but to the court at Speier he made his way.

The change from the studious life of the monastery to the dazzling life at the court at Speier was not entirely to Martin Bucer's liking. The apparent friendly attitude of Count Frederick towards Luther had led Bucer to believe that here was a fertile field for the planting of the new theology. In this he was sadly mistaken. Count Frederick was the

leader of the imperial council of regency and, as such, it was his duty to enforce the Edict of Worms. Frederick was accommodating enough, but he had no wish to establish a Lutheran group under his own roof. Thus all Bucer's efforts in this direction achieved very little. Indeed, the very luxury of the court vexed his soul so that he longed for the return to the more arduous work of study and preaching. Once again Bucer turned to his friends and asked them for help to gain him a parish. His pleas were not unheeded; soon Franz von Sickingen offered him the parish of Landstuhl. So it was in May 1522 that Martin Bucer left the court of Speier to become the pastor of the church at Landstuhl (Eells, 1931: 11, 12).

Bucer's pastorate at Landstuhl would have remained a matter of little consequence had it not been for two major life shifting events. The first to occur was his marriage to Elizabeth Silbereisen. The precise details of this marriage are lost in the passage of time, but the fact remains that it constituted a marked break with the old order (Hanko, 1999: 162). The second event that was to have major consequences for Bucer was the unfortunate advent of 'The Knights' War'. Friction between Bucer's warrior benefactor, Franz von Sickingen, and the Elector of Treves broke out into open warfare. Bucer, loyal and ready as ever to play his part, undertook a number of dangerous diplomatic missions. These all materially failed to help his friend and the war became a bitter struggle in which Bucer could exercise no assistance. Eventually he was given leave of absence until the war ended (Eells, 1931: 12, 13).

Bucer had every intention of using his leave of absence for the purposes of further study. With this in mind he turned to return to Wittenberg and the classroom of Martin Luther. En route to Wittenberg he passed through the city of Wissembourg. Here another one of those events occurred that completely transformed the direction of his life. The pastor of the Wissembourg church was Heinrich Motherer. Motherer had received the doctrines of Luther, married a wife and commenced preaching the gospel to the city. Motherer was not, however, a very gifted preacher and his opponents in the city were vigorous in their opposition. So it was that when knowledge of the presence of a champion like Martin Bucer reached his ears he swiftly laid hold of Bucer and pleaded for a stay of six months and all the help that he could give. What at first appeared to be an encumbrance to Bucer soon proved to be a blessing in disguise. Wissembourg provided Martin Bucer with the environment that was to call forth all his latent talents and to hone them in preparation for the battles that lay ahead of him as a Reformer in

Strasbourg. Indeed, Bucer's experience gained at Wissembourg was to provide the pattern for the Reformation at Strasbourg and many other cities throughout southern Germany in the years that were to come.

Bucer threw himself into the work of reform at Wissembourg. He preached regular sermons in which he carefully explained the newly rediscovered doctrines set forth by Luther. Great emphasis was laid on the Bible as the source of truth and instruction. He carefully explained the difference between a religion of works and a faith in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. For some of the people of Wissembourg the new teaching was a matter of mere novelty, but for others it held all the appeal of faith and reason (Eells, 1931: 14).

The work of reform at Wissembourg was not without its enemies. To announce new doctrines incurred the wrath of those who stood by the old teachings. If Bucer now had followers at Wissembourg, he also had those who were hostile towards him. Chief amongst his opponents were the monks. Was Bucer not a deserter from the cloisters? Was he not a peddler of falsehood and heresy? Was he not an outsider who now threatened to steal away their power and authority? Little wonder then that Martin Bucer – and all that he stood for – was the object of the monks' hatred. In all of this, however, Bucer revelled. He carried the battle for truth to the gates of his enemies' strongholds. The Carmelites reprimanded Bucer. In reply, Bucer drew up a list of articles, posted them on the church door and sent copies to the cloisters of the Augustinians, Dominicans and the Franciscans. He further challenged the monks to meet with him in public debate and to show him his errors from the Scriptures. The monks were too wise to be drawn into a conflict on the ground of Bucer's choice. Instead, they accused him of a disregard for tradition and charged him with heresy. It was really an impossible situation. Without an agreement on the source of authority no public disputation could proceed. Indeed, the whole situation revolved around that one central issue – where lay the source of authority? The long shadow of Roman Catholicism's tolerance and encouragement of a dual authority basis was now to have its baleful consequences. Unopposed in the pulpit, Bucer continued to assail the now crumbling edifice of the 'old theology' (Eells, 1931: 16).

The decisive battle in this war of Reformation could not be long in coming – and come it did, over the tenure of the office that Bucer held. Motherer was well within his

jurisdiction when he appointed Bucer as the preacher at the church of St John. However, in order to gain official sanction for what Bucer publicly taught it was necessary to ask the Vicar of Speier to confirm the appointment. This confirmation the Vicar refused to give. Rather, he summoned Bucer to Speier to face examination of his teaching. Motherer demurred and cited the conditions attending the War of the Knights as reason for not travelling. The Vicar refused to countenance such a reason and now demanded attendance by Bucer and Motherer within six days. Once again Bucer and Motherer refused to attend, whereupon the Vicar wrote to the City Council and demanded that the terms of the Edict of Worms be upheld and that Bucer be expelled from the city. The Council attempted to protect Bucer and Motherer, but unfortunately the political situation in the winter of 1522-23 was perilous – Franz von Sickingen had been defeated, which placed the city of Wissembourg itself into a situation of great danger. It was, therefore, expedient to have Bucer and Motherer remove themselves from the city (Eels, 1931: 16-18). This they secretly did one night in early May 1522. For Bucer, this was a defeat; but the lessons had been well learned by the experience of Wissembourg.

3.2. THE REFORMER'S THEOLOGY

A brief summary of the main tenets of Bucer's theology will, at this point, be conducive to assist us in coming to an understanding of the influence that he exerted. It is a regrettable fact that we still await a comprehensive account of his theology (see Wright, 1972: 17). Yet for our purposes of assessing his impact on the English Reformation and Anglicanism there is enough data for a relevant summary.

Bucer's theological development may well have begun in the place of his birth where the famous Latin School maintained a practical piety along with a literary education (Spijker, 1996: 7). It was here that his thirst for knowledge was engendered. The period of his association with the Order of the Dominicans was initially a time of frustration for him as it was perceived that the sum total of all knowledge was the scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas. It was the transfer to the university town of Heidelberg in 1515 that placed Bucer into a position where the influences of Erasmian humanism now began to bear upon him. Indeed, a book list exists from April 1518 that reveals that Erasmus had become Bucer's favourite author (Wright, ed, 1972: 19). It was in this same year that Bucer heard Martin Luther and a change of priorities occurred. He now accepted the

'new teaching' of Paul and the Fathers rather than Aristotle and the Schoolmen (Wright, ed, 1972: 20).

Bucer thus learned from Luther that the Bible should be the source and centre of all his thinking. There were things in which he was to differ from Luther, such as his stress on the agency of the Holy Spirit in the election of believers, the constitution of the Church and the significance of the Communion Service; these apart, however, Bucer never wavered from the fundamental teaching of Luther on the centrality of the Word of God (Pauck, ed, 1969: 156).

It was out of this Bibliology that Bucer developed his theological thinking over the full range of his views. His Christology was firmly rooted in the Bible and, consequently, the concept of Christ's headship of the Church led him to reject any view of a hierarchy tinged by a vicariate, but to stress the indissoluble connection between Christ and his people (Spijker 1996: 463). Bucer's Pneumatology was once again biblically derived and completely *filioque*. For him, it was the Holy Spirit who enabled human beings both to know and also in particular to assent to the Word of God and thus to fulfil it (Wright, ed, 1994: 19). In his ecclesiology, Bucer's Bibliology was again the supreme guiding principle. The Church is the body of Christ with many members – vital, active Christians. Thus, from within this Church many offices will be produced, such as leadership and proclamation, preaching and pastoral care, nurture, as well as service (Wright, ed, 1994: 22).

In brief, these were the major theological tenets of the Reformer, which he held consistently with little or no change from 1536 onwards (Spijker, 1996: 464). There is, however, one other major emphasis in the theology of Martin Bucer that permeates the whole and needs to be recognised. This is his 'eschatology of love' – his vision of the kingdom of Christ as embodied in an earthly communion of love. Bucer was particularly fond of the epistle to the Ephesians and expounded on it on two different occasions. Prominent in these commentaries is the great stress placed on love as the distinctive mark of the Christian community (Wright, ed, 1972: 21, 22). Here, then, is the essence of Martin Bucer: academic, theologian, reformer, preacher; but in all of this a man with a heart for God and his people.

3.3 BUCER AND THE REFORM OF STRASBOURG

3.3.1 PREPARATION

Martin Bucer left Wissembourg as a fugitive: defeated and pursued. Prospects were not at all good for the erstwhile Reformer of Wissembourg. He was married, excommunicated, a radical and hunted. What was he now to do? Like thousands of others before him in the records of humanity, when all else seemed against him Martin Bucer returned home. His father and mother had been citizens of Strasbourg for a long time. They were glad to see him, but they were now old and poor with little ability to assist him. It was thus imperative that employment be found for Bucer and quickly. The prospect of clerical employment at Strasbourg ceased when he was excommunicated, and the City Council had no wish to invite the dangers that had forced him from Wissembourg. He wrote to Zwingli asking the Swiss Reformer to help him. After one month Bucer wrote again pleading his desperate condition and outlining the pattern of the reform at Wissembourg. Still no reply came from Zurich. So Bucer remained in Strasbourg.

Once again Martin Bucer's and his ability to win and retain friends was to be a means of help to the now increasingly impoverished Reformer. Through the influence of some friends in the city, Bucer was granted a licence to preach for one hour each day on the Gospel of John. Such crowds came to listen that the City Council took fright and restricted Bucer to a Latin oration only. Audiences became smaller but soon Matthew Zell, the first Reformer in Strasbourg, invited Bucer to preach in his Chapel of Saint Lawrence in the Cathedral. This time the City Council took no action, no doubt now feeling that the external dangers were passing.

Employment was not the only problem that Martin Bucer faced, however. He also needed the assurance that he could remain in the city. To this end, Bucer needed to have the doctrines that he proclaimed from the pulpit endorsed by the local Roman Catholic hierarchy, which he proceeded to pursue. The consequence of this was that the Bishop of Strasbourg wrote to the City Council informing them that there was someone within their city who had married a nun, been excommunicated by the Bishop of Speier and, therefore, should not receive protection but rather be expelled from the city. The City Council passed the letter to Bucer for a reply. In response, Bucer wrote to the Council

and argued that he sought the employment for which he was prepared; he contended that, as son of a citizen, this was his right; his marriage was contracted according to imperial and divine law and that the sentence of excommunication was unwarranted. The Council then refused to remove their protection and within a short while Martin Bucer was granted full citizen rights, being also admitted into the circle of pastors (Eells, 1931: 26, 27; Poll, 1954: 15).

In many respects Martin Bucer was a pioneer. He led the way and many followed his path. He married, he was protected by the City Council and he took citizenship. In the context of the sixteenth century these innovations were the most radical of moves, with far reaching consequences for the movement for reform. To comment on but one of his pioneering paths, citizenship: in November 1523, Bucer sued for citizenship of the city. The move was radical in that it ran counter to the long established norm that there was a legal distinction between the laity and the clergy. This distinction had been held as sacrosanct for centuries and in one move Bucer not only challenged it but had it removed (Eells, 1931: 28). Martin Bucer was now secure in his employment as a pastor, and secure in his rights as a citizen of the City of Strasbourg; he could now turn fully to the work of reform.

3.3.2 THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORM

In the sixteenth century, Strasbourg was a flourishing commercial centre handling the trade that flowed through it from Italy in the south to the great cities of the north German plain. The city made its own important contribution to the wealth and prosperity of the region through the textiles, wines and the agricultural produce it supplied (Jones, 1985: 77). It was to have a unique role in the development of the sixteenth century Reformation. This was due in no small part to the accessibility of the city. It was not only the commerce of Italy and the north German plain that flowed into Strasbourg; the new ideas now fermenting in Europe also flowed freely into the city. Humanism thrived in Strasbourg. Familiar names among the city's humanists were Sebastian Brandt, Jacob Wimpfeling, Beatus Rhenanus and Jacob Sturm. It was now an accepted norm of life that where you had humanists you also had criticism of the formalism and lifelessness of the Church. Strasbourg was no exception to this norm, though the criticism was conservative, after the fashion of Erasmus. However, where Erasmus had friends, reform could be promoted (Hall, 1990: 117).

In preparing the way for the Reformation at Strasbourg, the work of Martin Luther proved to be a potent influence. His books flowed freely from the new printing presses of the city. They sowed widely in heart and mind the seeds of the new doctrines. Censorship was negligible – it was after all in the hands of the humanist Sebastian Franck and his only objection was to personal slanders. Requests that the books of Luther be restrained went unheeded by the City Council. On 30th November 1522, Pope Adrian VI himself intervened to have the books suppressed, but again no action was taken (Eells, 1931: 22); they continued to be printed, sold and circulated as before.

It was preaching, however, that was to have a major impact on the movement for reform in Strasbourg. In 1521, Matthew Zell (1477-1548) declared his avowed intention to preach the gospel from his pulpit in the Cathedral chapel of St Lawrence. Public support for Zell was such that the efforts of the Church hierarchy to remove him failed. Next, in 1523, the new provost of the church of St Thomas', Wolfgang Capito (1478-1541) began to preach the new doctrines. Caspar Hedio (1494-1553), a preacher at the Cathedral, also took up the new doctrine. In all of this there was little that the City Council or the Church hierarchy could do to remove or restrain the preachers; public support was far too strong (Jones, 1985: 77, 78).

It is worth noting that at this time that the preaching was conservative in its aim. There was no stirring appeal for departure from the Roman Catholic Church. What was now being proclaimed from the pulpits of Strasbourg, as elsewhere, was Luther's doctrine on grace and the authority of the Scriptures. The preaching did not yet extend to challenging the traditional patterns of the Church (Hall, 1990: 117). In the main, the Reforming preachers at Strasbourg were all tolerant men and the movement for reform had only slowly advanced (Jones, 1985: 78).

Into this situation there came the man of the moment, Martin Bucer. He came into the city of Strasbourg uninvited and with him there also came a fresh impetus to the progress of the Reformation. I have already outlined the remarkable way in which Bucer secured employment and the rights of citizenship; I must now turn to the remarkable events that place Martin Bucer into a major position of influence on the progress of the Reformation as a member of the Strasbourg clergy.

The city of Strasbourg had within its boundaries a number of strong and influential Trade Guilds. These were associations of people holding similar interests in a craft, business or vocation; the purpose of such an association was that of mutual aid and protection. During the medieval period in Europe the guilds had become economically and politically strong, influencing the society within which they operated (Spijker, 1996: 12). Strasbourg possessed one particular guild that was restless and radical, the Guild of Gardeners. This guild had for many years been the chief support of one of the Cathedral Chapter churches, St Aurelia. Dissatisfied with the preacher appointed to their church, the gardeners requested the Cathedral Chapter to appoint Martin Bucer as their preacher. The Chapter refused such an appointee. The gardeners thus turned to the City Council and made the same request of them. This faced the council with a grave decision. Were they to assume the responsibility of appointing clergymen? The specific instance of the request for Bucer was more crucial still, for he was a married and an excommunicated clergyman. Faced with such a major dilemma, the council temporised. They called the Chapter and the Guild of Gardeners to meet with them on 10th February 1524. To this meeting the Council proposed a compromise: a new clergyman was to be appointed from a list drawn up by the Cathedral Chapter. To this compromise the gardeners replied that they were prepared to support their own preacher, if they could have one who would preach the gospel. Such was the perceived determination of the gardeners that the Council then ordered the Chapter to allow the request, with the result that Martin Bucer was chosen. On 24th February 1524, Bucer preached his first sermon to the congregation of St Aurelia's. Once again Bucer was a pioneer. Now the principle was established that the congregation – in conjunction with the City Council – had the right to call their own clergy (Jones, 1985: 78).

It was not too long before the preaching of Martin Bucer at St Aurelia's produced some action. The supposed tomb of the saint was located in the churchyard and had for centuries become a significant shrine for pilgrimage for the peoples of Europe. Upon Bucer's instigation the gardeners opened the tomb and removed some bones from within it. To avoid censure by the City Council's ordinance against disorders, the action was justified on the grounds that the people made pilgrimage as though God could be confined to the bones of a saint. The City Council thus took no action, and so Bucer began the removal of images at Strasbourg. His example was not lacking in imitators as others in the city soon began their own initiatives to remove the images associated with

the old order of religion. These actions clearly showed the general progress that the Reformation was now making in the city of Strasbourg (Eells, 1931: 32).

Throughout 1524 Bucer made a steady impact upon the hearts and minds of the people of Strasbourg. He realised from past experience at Wissemborg that before change could be brought about, the public must be informed and instructed: by public debate with the Roman Catholic apologists, by careful biblical exegesis in preaching and teaching, and by the steady issue of polemic pamphlets he set about the task with vigour. Much effort was directed to promoting the idea that it was the right and prerogative of the civil powers to reform the Church. In all of this great effort Bucer was careful to carry his brother Reformers with him. Thus it was that Martin Bucer rose to become the unofficial spokesman for the Strasbourg Reformers (Spijker, 1996: 15).

In the meantime, the work of Reformation was also making progress elsewhere. A remarkable feature of the Reformation was the consensus that frequently attended the approach to perceived abuses within the Roman Catholic Church. The enforced celibacy of the clergy was one such abuse, where the Reformers simply overturned it by themselves encouraging and participating in marriage. However, another abuse revealed an unfortunate dichotomy amongst the Reformers. The use of images in worship very soon attracted their attention. To the Reformers images meant pictures, statues, works of art or any creation of human hands that might become directly or indirectly objects of worship. The Swiss Reformer, Ulrich Zwingli, advocated a policy of destruction and urged the Strasbourg Reformers to do likewise. Martin Luther, on the other hand, adopted an alternative. He had no liking for the wielded hammer and the whitewash brush. He advocated a more tolerant policy in which some removal of images took place. Bucer and Strasbourg took a middle view that satisfied the necessity for reform without violating either the affection for the old or the impatience for that which was new (Eells, 1931: 37)

Martin Bucer's attitude to the subject of images is worthy of a brief examination as it reveals something essential to his character. To Bucer, images were no more than a harmless collection of pieces of wood, stone or metal. A man might be a Christian and wear a cross; some might find help in a picture; any image was without harm as long as it remained an external thing, exempt of gift, power or personality of its own. On the other hand, Bucer held that from Scripture the worship of images was expressly

forbidden and in this respect the Roman Catholic Church was in error when it taught men to worship the works of their own hands. Such was the theory behind Martin Bucer's attitude to images. The substance was much more pertinent: what should be done with the images that adorned the walls of the churches? Bucer rose to the problem with a typical example of his moderate spirit. The images were to be destroyed wherever there was the danger that they would be worshipped. It was necessary, however, that such action only be resorted to after the people had been convinced of the need for such action in order to annihilate the veneration of the images. In other words, the images were to be first removed from the heart and then taken from the churches (Eells, 1931; 38). In general the City Council worked in accordance with Bucer's thinking and in October 1524 they commenced removing certain objects from the churches of Strasbourg. The work proceeded slowly and in a regulated manner, not being completed until February 1530.

The very heart and soul of worship in the Roman Catholic Church was the celebration of the Mass (Jones, 1985: 254). To the Roman Catholic mind the Mass was the repetition of the crucifixion of Christ. From a simple memorial feast it became a miraculous re-enactment of the sacrifice of Calvary, through which Christ was constantly perceived to be dying for his people (Boettner, 1983: 188). The doctrine had been permeating the Roman Catholic Church for a very long time. The Augustinian view of the Lord's Supper was gradually replaced in the Middle Ages by the doctrine known as 'transubstantiation'. This doctrine had first been proposed as early as AD 818, but it did not meet with universal acceptance. Controversy over this matter was not finally settled until 1134, when Hildebrand of Tours defined and designated the view as the doctrine of transubstantiation. The fourth Lateran Council formally adopted the doctrine in 1215 and the concept now prevailed as official Church Doctrine (Berkhof, 1976: 645). The Reformers actively criticised this doctrine for a number of reasons (Reymond, 1998: 959). As far as Bucer was concerned the matter was settled very early in his public ministry. Whilst engaged in preaching at Wissembourg, he had publicly repudiated the Roman Catholic Mass (Spijker, 1996: 20), his scriptural ground being the words of Christ's institution:

And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, "Take eat; this is my body." And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, "Drink ye all of it."

(Mt 26: 26, 27 – KJV.)

Bucer's starting point in the matter of the Mass was the complete sufficiency of the sacrifice of Christ. In 1524, he produced his liturgical programme for the reform of Strasbourg entitled '*Reason and Cause of the Renewals from the Divine Scriptures*'. In this Bucer devotes a lengthy discussion on the practices associated with the Mass and concludes that it is certainly like a sacrifice. He then turns to the Scriptural evidence and declares that the Lord's Supper is a remembrance of the death of Christ, concluding that it may not in any respect be called a sacrifice (Spijker, 1996: 20). Very soon there were two different Masses celebrated in the cathedral at Strasbourg: a Roman Mass and a German one. In essence they appeared the same, but the German Mass was conducted in the German language, both bread and wine being served to the communicants, and a new and decidedly evangelical liturgy now replaced the old Latin rite. The addition of hymns and a sermon soon completed the adaptations to evangelical belief (Eells, 1931: 43). Strasbourg was now a leading city in the movement for reform.

3.3.3 THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE REFORM

The success of the Reformation in Strasbourg was essentially assured by 1526. Among the few remaining remnants of the old medieval church in Strasbourg, the one that continued to cause the most concern to the Reformers was that of the Latin Mass. Bucer regarded the Mass not only as a repeated sacrifice, but also as an act of "good works" (Spijker, 1996: 21). Consequently, he urged the City Council to abolish it. However, the Council hesitated, reasoning that the continuance of the Mass meant the continuance of the Roman Catholic Church in Strasbourg (Eells, 1931: 50). Popular demand was on the increase, however, so the City Council slowly began to yield. In April 1525, they acted on a proposal that only the four high masses be permitted to remain in Strasbourg. This compromise, most favourable to the Reformers, continued until it was overthrown in 1529 (Eells, 1931: 50). In the February of 1529, by a majority vote, the decision was made to abolish the Latin Mass. A new era now dawned for the city (Spijker, 1996: 113). There were still battles to be fought along the way, but now the flood gates were opened and the Reformation was introduced to the city without restraint. Strasbourg was now a Protestant city (Eells, 1931: 53).

3.4. BUCER'S STRASBOURG: A REFUGE WITH STRIFE

3.4.1. THE SEPARATISTS – STRIFE WITHIN

The 'Peasants War' came to Alsace in the spring of 1525. The whole of Germany had been convulsed by the violent social unrest that attended this war. The conflict lasted from 1524 to 1525 and only ended when the peasants were crushed in a sea of blood (Davies, 1997: 485). To this war, the Strasbourg preachers adopted an attitude of reserved disapproval, while the City Council took steps to protect the city. Bucer firmly disapproved of the revolt from the start. In his view the war was due to two persons; the Lord and Satan. The Lord used the war to pour contempt on the princes; Satan had stirred up the peasants to bring a reproach on the gospel (Eells, 1931: 55).

The revolt was a set back for the Reformation on at least two accounts. First of all, it gave to the enemies of reform a basis for the charges of sedition and disorder against the Reformers. Years later, Bucer and the other Strasbourg Reformers were accused of having incited the peasants to sedition by telling them not to pay their tithes, and encouraging them to undertake the reform of the Church themselves if the ecclesiastical authorities proved to be unwilling to do so. Bucer defended himself against this charge by claiming his writings showed that this was unjust. Furthermore, he pointed to the fact that the revolt started in the Black Forest and that these *first* rebels declared that they would have nothing to do with the Gospel. The second set back arising as a consequence of the revolt was the dividing of the adherents of the gospel into two separate groups: those who were Established and those who were Separatists. Generally, the former were recruited from among the middle and upper classes of society. These were the people who were protected by – and subject to – the civil authorities. Consequently, they condemned the revolt. The Separatists were, by and large, drawn from the lower echelons of society. They had joined the revolt and after its downfall they had turned against the Established group, claiming that this group's apathy and opposition had led to its failure. The Separatists now refused to submit to the leadership in religion of the Established and commenced developing their own distinctive doctrines and practices, the most commonly held of which was the inefficacy of infant baptism and the need for adult baptism, even where it meant a repetition of the ceremony. These people were called Anabaptists, though Separatist would have perhaps been a better

description, for their most common characteristic was the refusal to attend the churches of the Established group (Eells, 1931: 56; Hall, 1990: 102).

The leaders of Strasbourg, both civic and religious, were tolerant men. The city was, therefore, a haven for many persecuted peoples (Jones, 1985: 78). The ending of the Peasants War brought many more refugees to Strasbourg and amongst these there were large numbers of Separatists (Eells, 1931: 56). At first all seemed to be well. Strasbourg tolerated Catholic, Lutheran, Zwinglian, Separatist, and the churchmanship and theology of Martin Bucer. There would be no problem as long as these former groupings did not seek to overthrow the latter (Hall, 1990: 119). Things would have remained in equilibrium had it not been that the consequences of harsh persecution of the Separatists in other German cities pushed them in increasing numbers into Strasbourg. Amongst these new arrivals were men of quality and learning. Leaders with organising skills soon began to influence the Separatist population and this eventually led to attacks on the religious institutions of the city (Eells, 1931: 56).

To the Separatists, Strasbourg was a haven of refuge. The City Council was tolerant of them, which meant that many Separatist leaders stayed in the city for shorter or longer periods. This led to a growing influence within the city on the part of the Separatists and the many divergent views that the movement expressed (Spijker, 1996: 114). Initially, Bucer held many beliefs in common with the Separatists: he emphasised the person and work of the Holy Spirit; he included in the membership of the Church only the elect; he aimed to establish a communion of saints; and on infant baptism he was not yet fully decided, declaring that it was not unbiblical and that the Scriptures did not limit baptism to any age. This, however, was before the conflict had clarified and hardened his views. On other doctrines Bucer was opposed to the Separatists: he held that the Church was an open institution; that civic authority was a servant of God; that civil law should reflect the laws of God; and that knowledge and preparation for ministry should serve the Gospel. Bucer even went so far as to tolerate a man attending conventicles, if otherwise he was a quiet citizen (Eells, 1931: 57).

To a large extent the Separatists were anti-intellectual and anti-clergy. In their concept of ministry, they deprecated the human element and accentuated the charismatic element. They also rejected any form of preparation or study for the ministerial office, having a distinct aversion to all study as a preparation for ministry. Moreover, there was

a strong belief amongst their ranks regarding the reception of visions. Against these ideas Bucer argued that they would lead to the whole undermining of the life of the Church. Bucer adopted a position diametrically opposed to the Separatists' views. He taught that the gift for teaching required preparation and that a positive emphasis on the necessity of preparation was more than just a love for 'good letters'. For Bucer, not only the preparation for office, but also its exercise, required study. In this respect, he did not shrink from speaking of tempting God when study and preparation are neglected. In Bucer's thinking the ministry of the Church had two distinct lines of demarcation: in the one he stresses the priesthood of all believers, a line of doctrine frequently applied when in discussion with those of a Roman Catholic persuasion; the other being that of the ministers of the Word who are called to build up the Church (Spijker, 1996: 95-109). Initially, Bucer merely warned against the Separatists' views. However, as he discovered their intolerance towards those of different convictions within the body of Christ, his opposition to their views resulted in him becoming the chief advocate of their exclusion from the city (Eells, 1931: 57).

Finally, on 27th July 1527, the City Council moved and a mandate was issued against the Separatists (Spijker, 1996: 114). In brief, the mandate forbade the citizens of Strasbourg from sheltering or feeding the Separatists (Eells, 1931: 59). Although it was only half-heartedly enforced, it did mark the beginning of repressive policies towards the Separatists and their followers. It also gave to Martin Bucer and his colleagues a useful established precedent for the exclusion of any further disruptive Separatist elements.

The struggle with the Separatists did not end in 1527. The problems and strife continued until June 1533, when the conflict reached its climax with the Synod of Strasbourg. During most of its session, the Synod discussed doctrinal issues. Its main accomplishment, however, was not theological but concerned a more rigid control of religion by the state. The end of the Synod also saw the ending of the Separatists' influence in Strasbourg. Some of their leaders left of their own accord, some were exiled and one, Melchior Hoffman, was imprisoned because of his subversive ideas concerning the return of Christ and world revolution (Eells, 1931: 150; Jones, 1985: 94).

The major doctrinal problem that arose amongst the sixteenth century Reformers concerned the nature of the Eucharist. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the greater part of the writings of Martin Bucer relate to this matter (Hopf, 1946: 43). Bucer's first printed statement on the doctrine pertains to his preaching ministry at Wissembourg in 1522/23:

“Remember what I have said to you several times of the mass; that it... is nothing else than the reception of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ... it is clear that we receive his body and blood as did also his disciples.”

(in Eells, 1931: 70.)

At this time Bucer was clearly unaware of any difficulty concerning the precise nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. Like Luther, he made his stand on the words of Christ's institution of the Supper, “This is my body”, and refused to contemplate any discussion on the subject. Despite hearing of the storm now rumbling around Wittenberg concerning the nature of the presence of Christ in the bread and wine, Bucer resolved upon no enquiry into the matter (Eells, 1931: 70). In effect, he avoided the problem. However, in October 1524 a visitor arrived in Strasbourg: Andreas Bodenstein of Carlstadt. This radical Reformer was particularly unwelcome, not only as an opponent of Martin Luther, but also because he planned to radicalise the Reformation at Strasbourg. The Separatist elements already residing in the city at once rallied to the man. Carlstadt rejected infant baptism and declared all organised religion as unnecessary. Furthermore, he advocated the theory that the bread and wine used in the Supper were to be regarded as symbolic and not in any sense the body and blood of Christ. The Strasbourg preachers reacted swiftly, petitioned the City Council and Carlstadt was ordered to leave the city.

Upon Carlstadt's removal from Strasbourg, however, the matter of his symbolic doctrine of the Supper was re-examined. It was decided that perhaps there was a need for further investigation into this subject. Bucer drafted a questionnaire on the doctrine of the Supper and it was despatched to all the leading churches. A special letter was sent to Luther requesting advice and further information on his views. The returns from the questionnaires were disappointing. Opinions varied so much that the Strasbourg preachers were confused. Zwingli responded that the word “is” in the context of the

institution phrase means 'signifies'. Luther's reply gave no enlightenment at all. Neither Bucer nor his colleagues were satisfied (Eells, 1931: 72).

Bucer dreaded to involve himself in a controversy in which he believed so much ill will would be aroused. The events surrounding the questionnaire and the replies received now convinced him that a suspended judgement on the issue could not be maintained. Bucer immersed himself in a close study of the relevant Greek and Latin texts concerning the Supper (Poll, 1954: 82), from which he concluded that the bread was merely a symbol, like water in the sacrament of baptism. Further study confirmed this view when he found that there was nothing requiring a corporeal presence in similar symbolic texts such as: "I am the vine" (**Jn 15:5**). Bucer further concluded that the carnal presence of Christ was both impossible and useless: impossible because Christ in the flesh was at the right hand of God, being omnipresent only in the Spirit, and useless because the essential requirement for salvation and a proper observance of the Supper was faith in Christ (Eells, 1931: 72). Thus, in the latter part of December 1524, Bucer accepted the symbolic view of the Supper. The matter was not finally closed for him until he had written to Luther and the other leaders of the Reformation an account of his experience, and received from them their kind and considerate replies, none of which altered his conclusions (Eells, 1931: 73).

Following on from Bucer's change of opinion on the Supper, events took a turn for the worse. The Supper problem had hitherto been a comparatively minor skirmish between a Reformer and an erstwhile adherent, Luther and Carlstadt. Now the situation changed to one of open warfare between two acknowledged leaders of the Reformation. An increasingly bitter controversy between Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli began over the issue of the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. The controversy began in 1524 and steadily drew the magisterial Reformers into two separate camps. This brought Bucer to a change of allegiance; he now moved from Luther to Zwingli. The cause of this transfer of allegiance was to some extent the intemperate condemnation that Luther heaped upon all who favoured the symbolic view of the Supper. Thus the Protestant Reformation was polarised around the rival concepts of a bodily presence in the Supper or one that favoured a symbolic interpretation (Eells, 1931: 73).

When Bucer accepted the symbolic view of the Supper, he had no intention of becoming engaged in the controversy *per se*. It was his opinion that the preachers of

Strasbourg did not teach 'Carlstadtianism'. Generally, the preachers adopted Bucer's stance. However, a continued belligerence by Luther, even in the face of appeals for unity by the Strasbourg preachers, was viewed as an attack upon them. Bucer was no less offended by the apparent intransigence of his former mentor and soon he joined the strife. The city of Strasbourg now took its stand with Zwingli. From 1525 onwards to 1529, Bucer joined in the general discord regarding the interpretation of the Supper. The controversy became increasingly bitter with charge and countercharge flying between the two camps. The direct polemic between Luther and Bucer ended sometime around June 1527 when, for some unexplained reason, Bucer ceased to reply personally to Luther's tirades and instead contented himself with Zwingli's replies (Eells, 1931: 83, 84).

The Supper controversy was a major watershed between the German Lutheran and the Swiss Zwinglian camps. In general, the particular shape that Bucer's supper doctrine took was Zwinglian and it is true that he made strenuous efforts to establish the symbolic view. There were, however, some significant differences between Bucer's Supper doctrine and that espoused by the Zwinglian camp. One of these was that Bucer tended to attribute a greater value to the Supper than that of a mere memorial service. In Bucer's thinking the symbols were not devoid of significance; there was in the act of eating a physical representation of the spiritual eating of the body of Christ by faith (Poll, 1954: 82). For Bucer, the starting point of all discussion on the nature of the Supper was chapter six of John's gospel account, where a clear representation of the spiritual feeding on Christ is portrayed as received by faith. This aspect of the attitude of faith in the partakers at the Supper is a concept that is often overlooked in Bucer's theology. The many conflicting and contrary judgments passed on him regarding this particular doctrine fail to take cognisance of this salient feature. Bucer's Supper doctrine was neither Lutheran nor Zwinglian, nor an admixture of both; nor was it the result of inconsistent teaching. In Bucer's Supper doctrine we are confronted by a third factor in the Reformation teaching on this matter (Hopf, 1946: 42). The failure of some commentators to observe this feature of the role of the partaker's faith in Bucer's understanding of the doctrine inevitably leads to decision of either placing him into a Lutheran or Zwinglian mould or a compromise between both (eg Poll, 1946: 85). Bucer has a distinct doctrine of his own – a third way. John White, Bishop of Winchester and a contemporary of Bucer, states that Bucer's concept regarding the Supper was a firm

belief in a presence of Christ that depends on the partaker's attitude of faith. Constantin Hopf also writes:

The description does justice to Bucer's teaching. It becomes clear... that Bucer was neither a Roman Catholic, believing in Transubstantiation, nor a Lutheran, believing in Consubstantiation and in the Presence of Christ apart from the attitude and belief of the receiver, nor a Zwinglian, seeing in the Lord's Supper simply a memorial celebration. It is plain that Bucer attempted to steer clear of any prevalent Eucharistic conception... by trying to avoid the dangers or misconceptions... he develops his own Eucharistic doctrine.

(Hopf, 1946: 41, 42.)

Bucer, then, was not a thorough going Zwinglian. There were substantial differences between his doctrine of the Supper and that of his Swiss counterpart. The most important of these differences, as I have shown, was that he attributed a greater value to it than that of a mere memorial service. For him the Supper was symbolical. However, it was a principle of his understanding of this view that the Supper was of no value without faith. Bucer's whole argument for a *Eucharistic symbolism* that was to be appreciated by faith was that the words of Christ's institution of the Supper were to be understood by taking the word "is" to be the equivalent of the word 'signifies'. However, for Bucer's contemporaries in the now divided camp of the Protestant Reformers, his distinction and emphasis on the recipients' attitude of faith was no distinction at all and he was stamped as a Zwinglian. This mark was to fade a little with the passage of time, but it never really left him (Eells, 1931: 84-6; Hopf, 1946: 42).

Events elsewhere were now to impact the division over the Supper controversy. The deep and bitter divisions between the Reformers were beginning to cause some alarm amongst their political masters. By 1528 it was becoming apparent that the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, was soon to be free once more to turn his attention to the religious division within his territories. This probability filled the Protestant rulers with alarm. An alliance of Protestant states was, therefore proposed, along with a colloquy regarding the nature of the Supper, in order to clear the way for the association. Consequently, in an attempt to promote the alliance, Philip of Hesse made great efforts to call for and convene such a colloquy at Marburg on 29th September 1529 (Elton, 1999: 44). In these endeavours the Landgrave of Hesse was successful in bringing together both Luther and Zwingli. Martin Bucer was also in attendance. The colloquy ended in failure, but all was not lost. The Marburg Articles brought harmony on every other doctrine save that of the

Supper and both sides agreed to end the open strife on this one issue. It was clearly seen where Bucer now stood, for he signed his name next to that of Zwingli (Eells, 1931: 93).

The end of the Colloquy of Marburg did not see the ending of Bucer's attempts to reconcile the two Protestant camps. Marburg was the place where he now came to see the need for some sacrifice to move forward the cause of reconciliation. Thus it was that, after Marburg, he began an intensive search for some formula of words that would express the Lutheran and Zwinglian beliefs and effect a reconciliation between the two positions (Eells, 1931: 93-96; Hopf, 1946: 43, 44).

A year later Bucer, with Wolfgang Capito, was one of the theological representatives of the city of Strasbourg at the Diet of Augsburg. Here, four cities – Strasbourg, Constance, Lindau and Memmingen – jointly presented their beliefs to the Emperor, Charles V. This statement of beliefs, named the *Tetrapolitana*, was rejected by Charles and his Roman Catholic theologians. However, Bucer and his colleagues were by no means disappointed, for they had expected this rejection. The *Tetrapolitana* had another purpose as well as a presentation of the four cities' common beliefs: to show to the Lutherans and the Zwinglians that a system of belief, especially on the Supper, was in practice and could become a platform on which they could all unite (Eells, 1931: 102). Thus Bucer now moved forward his reconciling policy, neither wishing to exalt Zwinglianism nor to humiliate Lutheranism, but clearly revealing a desire to find a way of reconciliation through some mutually acceptable formula of words.

From 1530 onwards, Bucer bent the great energies of his soul to the task of uniting the two Protestant camps. His efforts to reconcile these two absorbed a great deal of his time (Eells, 1931: 225). Although there were many discouragements along the way, with a remarkable determination Bucer refused to admit a fundamental difference of belief between the Lutherans and that of the Zwinglians on the Supper controversy (Eells, 1931: 213). Bucer's perseverance in attempting reconciliation would now, in the year 1536, appear to have produced some fruit. The Concord of Wittenberg was finally agreed upon by Bucer and the Lutherans, but at the last minute the Swiss (now without Zwingli who had died at the Battle of Kappel 1531) demurred and refused to sign (Jones, 1985: 143).

However, this was the high watermark of Bucer's efforts to reconcile the two Protestant positions. After the 1538 Conference of Zurich, he slowly but surely relinquished all efforts to reconcile the Lutherans and the Zwinglians. He was now convinced that such a reconciliation between the parties involved in the Supper strife was beyond the powers of human persuasion. Prior to the Conference, he had sought reconciliation through debates, personal meetings and formulas for agreement. From 1538 onwards, Bucer's efforts on the discord were restricted to a damage limitation control. When and wherever he heard of a dispute regarding the Supper, he sought to smother the controversy with a blanket of silence (Eells, 1931: 224).

3.5 BUCER: MISSIONARY AND MENTOR

3.5.1 A MISSIONARY TO THE CITIES

In the spring of 1531, the leaders of the city of Ulm commenced the reform of the church in their city (Spijker, 1996: 190). In order for the work to proceed in the most effective manner they called to their assistance Ambrose Blaurer, John Oecolampadius and Martin Bucer. Bucer played his part in the general preaching of the new doctrines, but the major role that he undertook was in the provision of the Articles that expressed the opinion of the theologians on the order and government of the Church. In all, eighteen articles were drafted, alongside a church order entitled '*Christian Doctrines, Ceremonies, and Life; Composed by the Preachers Along with the Advice of my Appointed Lords*'. Articles and Order were designed to establish and regulate the life of the church at Ulm (Eells, 1931: 120; Spijker, 1996: 190). The city adopted them with only two amendments on the 6th August 1531. The city of Ulm thence became a centre from which Bucer's influence was exerted and extended over a wide area as he settled disputes, ordered the churches and helped to provide preachers for cities such as Augsburg, Esslingen, Memmingen, Biberach, Kempten and Reutlingen (Eells, 1931: 121).

Martin Bucer's activities in his missionary endeavours for the progressing of the Reformation brought him much prestige. Consequently, his advice was earnestly sought on a wide range of issues (Eells, 1931: 119). In 1538, Landgrave Philip of Hesse turned to Bucer for help in a serious matter that had affected the church in Hesse. The problem that worried the Landgrave was the growing influence of the Separatists (ie the

Anabaptists). The collapse of the turbulent radically controlled city of Munster in June 1535 had led to a large numbers of Separatists descending on the neighbouring districts of Hesse. The following year, Philip of Hesse issued a series of mandates designed to curb and reduce the Separatist influence within his realm. These proved to be largely ineffective and the situation developed to such an extent that Philip called for help from the one man whom he knew to have successfully withstood the Separatists. Martin Bucer responded to the call for help; gathering together all that he knew of the Separatists, the Bible and theology, he journeyed to Hesse to confront yet another Separatist intrusion (Eells, 1931: 238, 239).

The results of Bucer's efforts in Hesse were nothing short of miraculous. Within three days of the commencement of an intensive debate with the leaders of the Separatist movement in Hesse, three of the leaders recanted and rejoined the Orthodox Church. Bucer's strategy at Hesse exemplified his tolerant attitude and irenic disposition. There is no doubt that Bucer's erudition and the conciliatory policy that he adopted played a significant part in the success of this venture. Not all the Separatists were converted at once, but their numbers gradually decreased and the power of the Separatists in Hesse was finally broken (Eells, 1931: 239, 240).

Bucer's influence on religious matters at Hesse was not restricted to the arguments with the Separatists, however. The liturgy in use there was also strongly affected by his views. The Supper liturgy was clearly modelled after the Strasbourg pattern and when the liturgies were modified in 1566 the influence of Bucer was preserved. From Hesse, Bucer's thoughts and influence spread over the whole of southern Germany (Poll, 1954: 132).

Herman von Wied was Archbishop and Elector of Cologne. In his early years he had opposed any moves towards the Reformation of the Church. Under the influence of his adviser Johann Gropper (1503-1559), however, the prelate/prince became inclined to reform church life within his diocese (Poll, 1954: 133). In 1536, Wied had started to make political and administrative reforms within his diocese, which led to some tentative steps to improve conditions within the church (Spijker, 1996: 256). The intention of Gropper seems to have been along the lines of a humanistic reform, but the moves that he was partly instrumental in commencing soon appeared to go beyond that objective (van de Poll, 1954: 133). Late in 1542, Wied called Bucer to come and help in

the reform of the church in Cologne. Bucer responded readily, as this perfectly complemented his desire to conduct a process of gradual change in the Roman Catholic states (Eells, 1931: 321). From the very first it became clear that this was to be no easy victory for Bucer, as Johann Gropper changed his allegiance in the argument and became the chief opponent to the Reformation (Spijker, 1996: 256). The people of the diocese were not in favour of the new doctrines. The existing clergy at Cologne were opposed to the reforms. The Roman Catholic traditions were firmly entrenched in the city's University and in the beliefs of the city. Furthermore, the Reformation now had its well documented errors and mistakes that the polemicists of Rome fastened upon and used as skilfully as did the Reformers the abuses of Rome. Wied fully supported Bucer and yet the contest was to prove a bitter one between Protestant and Catholic (Eells, 1931: 322, 323).

Wied set before Bucer a framework for the start of the reform in Cologne. Surprisingly, this strategy recognised the difficulties to be faced in the city and recommended that there was to be no sudden turnover but a gradual change that would convert rather than overthrow the opposition. Moreover, Wied insisted that Bucer commence his reform work in Bonn (Eells, 1931: 311, 322). Faced with this framework for the progress of the reform, Bucer was somewhat handicapped. However, he bent to the task and began preaching in the cathedral of Bonn. The response to his presence and preaching in the diocese of Cologne was vigorous (Spijker, 1985: 258, 279). The forces of opposition threatened the archbishop and he, in turn, requested Bucer to suspend his preaching. For a time the situation seemed to worsen; the leader of the moderate Roman Catholic party, who had been quite well disposed towards Bucer and the archbishop's attempts at reform, became unenthusiastic and moved his party away from a position of support to one of opposition. This apparent rebuff to Bucer's efforts only made the Reformer more determined and forthright to establish an ideal ecclesiastical system in the diocese of Cologne. Consequently he redoubled his efforts, seeking the help – and receiving assistance – of Melancthon and Hedio (Eells, 1931: 328). The decisive conflict between the opposing parties came at a meeting held in July 1543. At this meeting the hostile clergy were isolated and Bucer's reforms were agreed by a strong majority. Thus it was that, despite vigorous opposition, the Reformation was introduced into Cologne.

The success was only short lived, however. Not more than a month later the army of Charles V passed through the Rhine Valley and the Reformation at Cologne was

brought to an abrupt end by an agency beyond Bucer's control. By September 1543, a somewhat chastened Bucer was back in his beloved Strasbourg (Eels, 1931: 334).

3.5.2 A MENTOR TO MEN

One of the vast array of talents that Martin Bucer undoubtedly possessed was his amazing ability to identify and encourage the prowess of others. Amongst the gallery of men who were encouraged, shaped and directed by Bucer there is one whose great influence has a universal acknowledgment in the Christian world. John Calvin (1509-1564) is a name that resonates around the families of Christendom's churches for good or ill. To Bucer's influence as a mentor I now turn and cite John Calvin as the pivotal case.

In 1536, John Calvin issued the first draft of his *Institutes*. Martin Bucer was impressed by the talent that he quickly recognised in the young Frenchman and expressed a desire to meet him. An opportunity for them to have met was missed in late 1534 or early 1535 when Calvin visited Basel. Again in 1536, when Calvin briefly visited Strasbourg, Bucer was away in Württemberg. Finally, in September 1537 at the Synod of Bern the two men met (Pauck, 1961: 89). Calvin's opinion of the older man was a mixture of displeasure and admiration. Calvin deplored Bucer's attempts at concord, treated as unwarranted his interpretation of Zwingli's doctrine and was offended by his apparent pliant readiness to offer concessions with regard to reconciliation with Rome. Yet he was impressed with Bucer's personality and friendliness. Calvin was soon to learn by experience that the friendship of Martin Bucer was a blessing to be coveted (Eells, 1931: 230, 231).

On 23rd April 1538, John Calvin was dismissed from Geneva. Immediately on hearing of this Bucer exerted every possible inducement to attract Calvin to Strasbourg (Pauck, 1961: 90). The invitation was kindness itself, but for some months Calvin demurred hoping for a reinstatement. It was only after further appeals from Bucer that he finally accepted and turn towards Strasbourg. The years from 1538 to 1541 that Calvin spent in Strasbourg were important as they brought him into direct contact with Bucer and were to provide an instructive and formative period in his life (Eells, 1931: 233; Pauck, 1961: 90).

Bucer's kindness gained the undying gratitude of Calvin, for it was the younger man who profited most from the relationship. To help and encourage the young exile, Bucer turned Calvin's attention to the organising of a French Church in Strasbourg and, on 8th September 1538, Calvin preached his first sermon to the congregation there (Eells, 1931: 233). Calvin was now fully exposed to the influence of Bucer. He began to see and understand something of the man who bore not only the burden of church reform in Strasbourg and Hesse, but also the responsibility of building and defending a united front for Protestantism throughout all Europe. In letters of this period in his life, Calvin states that he still had differences of opinion with Bucer, and yet he defends him with a warmth and forcefulness that indicates that the relationship between them was close and intimate. During the years of his stay at Strasbourg, Calvin deepened his theological views; he made some valuable observations on practical church organisation; his attitude on predestination and the Lord's Supper became more robust and precise. Thus in his doctrinal views, Calvin became a disciple of Bucer (Pauck, 1961: 90).

Under Bucer's influence and encouragement, Calvin began to use his pen. A second edition of the latter's *Institutes* was published in 1539. This was quickly followed by a commentary on the book of **Romans**, the preface of which freely acknowledges the author's debt to the "erudition and knowledge" of Bucer. It would seem from references throughout Calvin's literary works that he owed a great deal to the prior works of his mentor, using them both as models and as sources of information (Eells, 1931: 234).

Bucer's influence is also seen in the way that Calvin developed his liturgy, first for use in the French church at Strasbourg and later, after revision, at the church in Geneva. With regard to Strasbourg, it was Theobald Swartz who first introduced an evangelical liturgy during 1524. Bucer had revised this liturgy in 1539. Later that same year, Calvin produced a hymn book with Psalms in a versified manner for use in the French church. A second edition of this hymn book, now with the addition of a liturgy and prayers, appeared shortly afterwards. Finally, on returning to Geneva, Calvin issued a third reprint in 1542 for use in the Geneva church. The point at issue in this family of liturgies is the precise nature of the content. Calvin's mature Geneva liturgy was the same as Bucer's 1539 Strasbourg liturgy. There was an extra prayer prior to the Scripture reading, but in essence the two liturgies are very similar. Many of the prayers in Calvin's liturgy are no more than free translations of those in Bucer's liturgy. The prayers at the service of the

Lord's Supper again owed much to Bucer. It is in this manner that Calvin took the Strasbourg liturgy and then used it in Geneva (Eells, 1931: 235).

Prior to his stay in Strasbourg, Calvin had been critical of Bucer's efforts at reconciling the warring parties within the Protestant Reformation. Now, with such an opportunity to observe Bucer closely, Calvin's opinion changed. He came to realise that Bucer had to deal with a real situation and not a hypothetical one (Eells, 1931: 237). Bucer began to take the younger man with him on his trips to the various religious peace conferences, synods and disputations such as those at Hagenau and Regensburg in 1541. Here, with Bucer as his mentor, Calvin was introduced to the reality of division and dispute within the Reformation. He made the acquaintance of Melanchthon and the other representatives of German Protestantism. This contact prompted a growing awareness and concern for Protestant unity similar to that of Bucer. Indeed, thenceforth Calvin became almost another Bucer in his concerns for Protestant unity (Pauck, 1961: 91).

Bucer made an indelible impression on Calvin's personal and private life. He did not hesitate to teach the younger man the need for self control and diplomatic tact. The instruction was both necessary and given; as in the case of Caroli, a one-time member of the clergy at Strasbourg. Caroli was charged with heresy while at Bern. Calvin appeared as one of the accusers. Caroli angered him by a counter charge of Arianism. The case against Caroli was carried and, in May 1537, he was banished. In 1539, he returned to Strasbourg bearing a letter of pardon and sought a similar endorsement from Calvin. This Calvin refused and even rejected Bucer's mediation. The matter would not be forgotten and so Bucer called the pastors together to consider the case. Calvin acted in a tempestuous manner and it was Bucer who calmed and mollified him; yet it was a long time before Calvin regained his self-control (Eells, 1931: 236). It was on Bucer's advice that Calvin finally decided to take a wife. In August 1540, Calvin followed that advice by marrying Idelette de Buren, a widow and member of the French church at Strasbourg (Stickelberger, 1977: 71).

In September 1541, John Calvin returned to Geneva. As much as Bucer did not want to lose Calvin's services to Strasbourg, he let him go with the following testimony:

"Finally he comes to you, this incomparable, this rare instrument of the Lord. Our century knows of no other like him – indeed, if beside him one can still speak of another..."

(in Stickelberger, 1977: 81.)

In this manner, Bucer announces to the people of Geneva the arrival of Calvin. The people of Strasbourg even granted Calvin life-long citizenship, such was the general regard in which he was held (Stickelberger, 1977: 81). Calvin wrote to Bucer:

“If in anything I do not respond to your hopes, you know that I am under your power. Warn, chastise, do all that a father may do for his son.”

(Eells, 1931: 307.)

Calvin and Bucer were firm friends and the quality of their friendship was such that it thrived despite the fact of mutual warnings and disagreements. The relationship was sustained so that whoever came to Strasbourg with Calvin’s recommendation was not sent empty away, and whoever slandered Bucer in Switzerland incurred the heavy penalty of Calvin’s wrath (Eells, 1931: 307).

3.6 CHARLES V STRIKES BACK

3.6.1 DEFENCE, DEFEAT AND DEPARTURE

The period between 1541 and 1549 was, for Bucer, filled with great exertion in the cause of the Reformation. Matured now, with a realisation that the Supper controversy was beyond human power to reconcile, and recognising that the privileged class within the Roman Catholic Church would never agree to evangelical truth, he commenced attempts to expand the Reformation along the banks of the River Rhine (Spijker, 1996: 5). These efforts came to nothing, however, and with the political situation in Germany now rapidly declining Bucer turned to assist in the Protestant cause’s endeavours at building an alliance to counter the Roman Catholic threat posed by the Emperor, Charles V (Eells, 1931: 370, 371).

In July 1546, the Emperor was ready to move against the Protestant states of Germany. By a mixture of diplomacy, bribery and threats Charles V had finally secured to himself the ability to deal at long last with the religious divide within his German realm. The Protestant states were left in no doubt regarding the Emperor’s intentions when it was explained that “his imperial majesty means to restore unity, peace and justice in the empire”. On hearing this, the Protestant forces were mobilised for action (Elton, 1999: 176). Although the Emperor maintained that he was not waging a war of religion, the Protestants knew what to expect. The dogs of war were now released and amongst those

who were going to suffer the very worst was Martin Bucer. The Reformer of Strasbourg had seen this war looming for a very long time; he had struggled to prevent it, urged preparations to defend against it and now found his efforts to be of no avail (Eells, 1931: 383).

Bucer observed with much sadness the inefficient preparations for war that the Protestant princes and their allies made. His unhappiness increased as he saw the petty jealousies and suspicions that kept men of proven valour and leadership qualities out of the commanding positions in the army. In his despair he even predicted that the long feared Turkish invasion of Germany might now take place as a form of divine retribution on the peoples' impenitence. With uncompromising devotion to the Reformation, and with the clear understanding that he would be one of the first to suffer for encouraging resistance, he urged the princes to make no peace that would betray Christ. When others around him were now yielding tribute, he refused to give up his faith at any price. He was prepared to suffer a martyr's death. This was not the same Martin Bucer who, down through the years of striving for unity and reconciliation, had been accused of weakness, duplicity and treacherous compromises. Those who had then called him a traitor to the Reformation now witnessed a demonstration of determined faithfulness that put their own cowardice to shame (Eells, 1931: 385, 386).

The Smalkald War – as the conflict was called – did not go well for the Protestants. Their main army was destroyed at the Battle of Mühlberg in April 1547. By summer of that same year the Emperor had sufficiently reduced the Protestant forces that the whole of Germany lay at his feet (Jones, 1985: 145). The conduct of the war by the city of Strasbourg was no different than that of other German cities. Initially, both money and men were given faithfully to the cause. However, in the commercial sector of the city a large body of influential merchants opposed the war. Due to their influence Strasbourg commenced a separate peace negotiation with the Emperor. Bucer fiercely opposed this move, but was unable to accomplish anything. Terms being thought favourable, the city of Strasbourg made peace with the Emperor and, in March 1547, swore allegiance to Charles V and ceased all support for the Protestant cause (Eells, 1931: 389).

At this critical time, Bucer's influence on the course of events in Strasbourg was beginning to wane. Those men who had given Bucer a power base in the church and in the City Council had now grown old, or had died or moved away. Bucer fought for the

Reformation with all the weaponry at his disposal. He preached sermons, used personal influence and wielded his pen to stimulate and encourage the citizens against the Emperor. Events were against him, however, and his career in the city of Strasbourg and the Rhineland was now gradually moving towards a close (Eells, 1931: 388, 392).

The end of the Smalkald War left the Emperor, Charles V, apparently in control of Germany. Charles was wise enough to know, however, that his victory had been bought rather than won. Consequently, he sought a religious compromise with the Protestants rather than attempting to crush them. Calling for a Diet at Augsburg, Charles invited some Protestant theologians to attend. Among those invited was Martin Bucer, now elder statesman amongst the Protestant theologians and the one who had previously worked the hardest for religious compromise. It would not be unreasonable to presume that the Emperor would have considered the signature of Martin Bucer to the compromise as the pinnacle to his success. The compromise became known as the Augsburg Interim. It was, quite naturally, dominated by Roman Catholic doctrine and polity. The Roman Catholic tradition of seven sacraments, the doctrine of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass, along with the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Pope, were clearly set forth (Needham, 2004: 328).

There were a few concessions to the Protestants, mainly in the administration of the Lord's Supper and in the matter of clerical marriage (Eells, 1931: 393). Bucer took no active part in the formulation of the 'Interim', though a rumour was started to the effect that he had a hand in it. In fact, Bucer did not accept the Interim and refused to sign. In his eyes, it was a concord imposed by force, not an agreement reached by mutual discussion in an atmosphere of a sincere search for the truth. The Interim sacrificed what Bucer held as essential doctrines and, despite all views to the contrary, he had never done that. It was true that he had contrived ambiguous formulas and regarded words as of secondary importance, but such fundamental principles as justification by faith were always clearly stated in any compromise that he proposed. He had been willing to accept imperfect arrangements, but never one that directly contradicted or excluded what he considered to be the essential features of Christian truth. Bucer was urged, begged, even threatened, but all to no avail. Finally, an order was issued for his arrest, but Bucer had fled and returned to Strasbourg (Eells, 1931: 394).

Bucer's refusal to sign the Interim was no idle gesture. This act was for him the final irrevocable break between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. Indeed, it was exactly the situation that Bucer had struggled for so long to avoid. The break was now clear and visible and with it the last chance for reconciliation was removed. Bucer's stand was heroic, for with this opposition he now hazarded his life (Hopf, 1946: 10).

The Emperor now moved to impose the Interim on the cities under his control; the most eminent of these cities was Strasbourg, whose chief Reformer was of course Martin Bucer (Needham, 2004: 329). It was now that Bucer commenced his last bitter defence of the Reformation and the church in Strasbourg. Instead of accepting the Augsburg Interim, he became one of its most outspoken critics. It perhaps needs to be observed that Charles V considered the Interim as a vehicle of compromise and reconciliation. Within it, the Emperor had given concessions that he regarded as going to the limit of his toleration (Elton, 1999: 181). For Bucer and the bulk of the Reformers, however, the Interim was a compromise imposed by force; the Reformers viewed it not as a document arrived at by mutual debate and a sincere search for the truth; it actually sacrificed essential truth. This is where the Augsburg Interim failed. It contained a few reforms, but the overall tone and intention of the document rejected the evangelical system. Bucer girded himself, therefore, for the coming struggle of opposing the implementation of the Interim at Strasbourg (Eells, 1931: 394, 395).

Bucer now bent all the tremendous energies of his soul to the task of fearlessly combating the impositions of the Interim at Strasbourg. It was a gallant, but forlorn, struggle. The City Council, for so long a supporter of the reform movement in the city, now became unsympathetic. For a whole year Bucer held them at bay as they sought to dismantle the evangelical church that he had laboured so long to establish. On 4th May 1548, the Interim was published at Augsburg and on 15th May, it was publicly read at Strasbourg. Bucer was ready for the combat of wits. He had already shaken off the despondency that had oppressed him during the military conflict of the Smalkald War, thus regaining his old vigour and vitality for the diplomatic fight that he knew lay ahead. He encouraged his comrades on the grounds that there were loopholes in the Interim that, by patience and persistence, could be exploited to widen to their advantage. The rumour that the Emperor meant to make his winter base at Strasbourg did not cause Bucer to flinch from his task; he declared that he was willing to lose all rather than yield to what was a surrender of all he held dear in the evangelical church of Strasbourg. He

was willing to face exile rather than to sacrifice his convictions. In all of this Bucer did not underestimate his opponents; indeed, he actually expected the punishment of exile (Eells, 1931: 395).

During this period, the opposition to Bucer grew stronger as his support began to weaken. The merchants of the city began to fear for their businesses and their profits. An interruption of trade as a consequence of continuing war and even siege was an unacceptable risk for them – such things were bad for business. On 9th July 1548, the city was thrown into confusion when, as a result of the continuing protracted negotiations for the implementation of the Interim, the statement was made and reported that “the city’s faith would be corrected by fire” (in Eells, 1931: 396).

Things could not go on indefinitely in this manner. On 14th December 1548, it was demanded of Bucer that he conform to the standards of the Interim. He refused, stating that he would not thus desert his flock and his faith. The demand was repeated and again he refused. The threat of exile was now added to the demand for conformity. Ignoring the potential sanction, Bucer again refused. The delicate situation could not continue for long. There were continuing rumours that the Emperor meant to make Strasbourg his base for further campaigns, even that he might call for a Diet there. Pressure mounted on the City Council. They delayed, hoping vainly for some compromise; they even interviewed Bucer and pleaded with him to moderate his preaching so that no charge of sedition could be levelled at him, to which he responded that he would exercise care. The Council were left with no uncertain opinion, however, that for Bucer this was a fight to the finish. The members of the City Council were finally left with no alternative: on 8th February 1549, they yielded to the imperial demands and agreed to expel Martin Bucer from Strasbourg (Eells, 1931: 398, 399).

Bucer still fought for time to enable him to seek and to exploit certain loopholes that he perceived in the Interim. Time, however, was not on Bucer’s side and on 1st March 1549 the Council voted that both he and his comrade Fagius should leave the city. To the very end, Bucer exhibited a truly Christian spirit, devoid of rancour and bitterness towards the City Council. In his final message to the Council he said that:

... he would always rather remain here than anywhere, even if all shame were heaped upon him. He could well understand that his preaching would not be permitted and he would be removed. Yet if it were God’s pleasure in the future, he would gladly serve this church again. He foresaw this result,

but had taught according to the Scriptures just the same, and if he had overstepped the bounds of moderation, then he had done it in human weakness.

(Eells, 1931: 399.)

Throughout the rest of the month of March, Bucer concluded his ministry at Strasbourg. His last sermon was preached on the 6th March 1549 and he delivered his last lecture on the 23rd; on April 6th he left the city of Stasbourg as he had come – a fugitive.

3.7 EXILE IN ENGLAND

3.7.1 INVITATIONS

The growing awareness of the Martin Bucer's dire situation at Strasbourg by the leadership of the European reform movement generated a wide range of invitations offering assistance and refuge to him. John Calvin urged him to come to Geneva and take up residence there. For a time it would seem that Bucer considered this invitation most favourably (Eells, 1931: 401). Oswald Myconius, the successor to Oecolampadius at Basel (Barker, 1969: 210), also tried to persuade Bucer to join him. This, too, was most appealing until it was discovered that Bucer would only be allowed to live there openly for about a month. Melancthon gave Bucer an open invitation to come and live in his home, whilst he also received an offer from Denmark to reside and teach in the University of Copenhagen. It has even been suggested speculated that Bucer would have found a welcome and refuge in Poland at this time (Eells, 1931: 401). Yet the invitation that final constrained Bucer to yield came from the unexpected quarter of England.

With so many attractive options available to him, we may well ask why Bucer chose England. The answer probably lies in a number of considerations: Bucer was well known to the intelligentsia of England; some of his works were already circulating among the people; a personal friendship of a warm cordial nature had grown between Bucer and Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The growing tensions in the Holy Roman Empire as Charles V vowed to use force to bring Germany back into the one true Church of Rome (Needham, 2004: 326, 327) accelerated the concern of Cranmer for his friend Bucer. Certainly Bucer would see England as a safe haven from the revenge of the Emperor (Wright, ed, 1994: 145). Yet another contributing factor to

Bucer's ultimate decision to come to England was his interest in the progress of the English Reformation, particularly since the accession of Edward VI. The progress reported to him by Cranmer and others delighted the Reformer and gave him an interest in sharing in the advancement of the English Church (Eell, 1931: 402). As early as December 1547 Cranmer urged Bucer to come to England should the Reformer find the situation at Strasbourg to be intolerable (Eells, 1931: 401). Bucer appreciated the invitation and yet he replied that he must remain and serve Christ at Strasbourg for as long as he could. In the summer of 1548, Cranmer repeated the invitation and this time Bucer replied that he was willing to come to England, but made no movement to do so (Eells, 1941: 401). Cranmer was increasingly concerned to secure the help of Bucer and so he wrote again on 2nd October 1548, calling him to leave the "miserable conditions of Germany and to come to England" (Wright, ed, 1994: 144). This letter of Cranmer to his distressed friend is full of tender appeals to come to England:

"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 labourer with us in the harvest of the Lord."

(in Brooks, 1989: 86.)

Still Bucer demurred, resolving to stick to his post until forced to leave (Eells, 1931: 402). Time was now running out for Bucer; pressure from the Emperor on the City Council of Strasbourg was mounting until finally, on 1st March 1549, the Council acted to expel Bucer and his comrade, Fagius. Thus it was that on 6th April 1549, Bucer and Fagius secretly left Strasbourg and began the hazardous journey to England (Eells, 1931: 402).

3.7.2 OCCUPATION

Bucer and Fagius arrived at Dover on the 23rd April 1549. Two days later they reached London and entered Lambeth Palace, where they were greeted most hospitably by Archbishop Cranmer. Cranmer planned for Bucer to teach at Cambridge and Fagius to teach at Oxford, but it was later agreed that they should both go to Cambridge (Eells, 1931: 403). Initially, the pair stayed with Cranmer for some six months, first at Lambeth and then at Croydon. Their efforts were immediately directed to the task of translating the Bible from the original languages into Latin. This was to assist English scholars to take the Latin translation and further translate this into English (Wright, ed, 1994: 145,

146). It would appear at this time in the development of the Reformation in England that there was a decided lack of qualified men with a grasp of the original languages of the Bible. Conditions in England varied considerably from those that prevailed in Europe. The study of the biblical languages was well launched in parts of Europe and printers were producing grammars and dictionaries as well as editions of the sacred text, whereas in England these matters lagged considerably. Thus it was that at this time few English scholars were equipped to undertake the task of producing a vernacular translation of the Scriptures from the original biblical languages (Wright, ed, 1994: 161, 162). Indeed, the eminent Church historian William Cunningham (1805-1861), one time Professor of Church History at New College, Edinburgh, wrote concerning the English Reformers:

There was a decided want of men among them who were possessed of a high and commanding order of intellect, or of the capacity of bold, vigorous and independent thinking. There was not one man among them qualified by a combination of intellectual and moral qualities, to stamp his image, as an individual, upon his age or country... There was no native Englishman of the period equal in point of ability and learning, to... Martin Bucer."

(Cunningham, 1967: 190, 191.)

To assist the production of an English translation of the Scriptures, Bucer and Fagius included an explanatory addendum to each chapter of their Latin translation notes (Wright, ed, 1994: 146).

The end of 1549 saw Bucer installed at Cambridge as the Regius Professor of Theology. The University conferred upon him the title of 'Doctor' and immediately Bucer bent to the task of serving not only the University, but also the needs of the town. This was characteristic of Bucer to see his place at Cambridge not merely in the focused function of academia, but also in a wider context as a servant to the townspeople (Wright, ed, 1994: 147). In this matter of social concern Bucer would have found the situation appertaining at Cambridge between the University and the town a most complex and possibly distressing one. At Strasbourg there had been no such contentious matters between academy and the citizens of the town. Cambridge, on the other hand, was well known for the friction and tensions that existed between so-called 'town and gown.' What contribution Bucer may have made to ameliorate this distressing situation is difficult to assess, though it is noteworthy that his funeral attracted a large number of

mourning citizens were, thus indicative of the high regard with which he was held (Wright, ed, 1994: 148).

England did provide Martin Bucer with a safe refuge from the anger of Charles V, but it was no refuge from the furious theological controversies that constantly dogged his footsteps. No sooner had he set foot on English soil than the tentacles of the ‘Supper Controversy’ reached out from the continent to disturb his peace once more (Eells, 1931: 403). There existed in England a group of Englishmen and Swiss students who formed a powerful and energetic lobby for the theology and church practices of Zurich. This lobby resented and feared Bucer’s influence with Archbishop Cranmer and was to carry on a bitter challenge, though not an open one, to the communion beliefs of Bucer (Wright, ed, 1994: 150). In one form or another, this challenge was to afflict Bucer right up to the last days before his death (Wright, ed, 1994: 154).

A further burden of controversy that Bucer had to bear was the active opposition of the Roman Catholic presence in England, based in the University at Cambridge. In June of 1550, Bucer publicly disputed with three Roman Catholic Fellows of the University: Thomas Sedgewick, Andrew Perne and John Young. The areas of the disputation followed on from Bucer’s lectures at Cambridge on justification by faith, the sufficiency of Scripture and the possibility that the Church could err. Bucer strenuously maintained the following propositions at this disputation:

- The canonical books of Holy Scripture alone abundantly teach those who are regenerate all things that concern their salvation;
- There is no church on earth which does not err in manner of life as well as in faith;
- We are so justified freely by God that whatever good works we appeared to do before justification are indeed sin, which provokes God’s wrath against us, but once we are justified we necessarily do good works.

Bucer explained the meaning of these propositions and then went on to offer the necessary proofs. After the affair was over Peter Martyr wrote to him and stated that his opponents had been discredited and that he was successful (Wright, ed, 1994: 150, 151).

Alongside these onerous difficulties Bucer carried on with the necessary tasks of preaching, lecturing, writing and corresponding with those who sought his advice on a wide range of matters. He was a diligent preacher with a specific aim of regeneration and sanctification being produced in those who were his auditors. By means of his lectures, letters and conversations, he repeatedly urged the cause of the provision of effective preachers. We must be careful, however, not to clothe Bucer in the mere garb of a sententious preacher, for he was passionately concerned about the inadequacies of a feeble commitment to religious duties as seen in everyday life in Cambridge. He had by now spent the greater part of his life as a Reformer and knew from past experience that the mind must be informed by the Word of God before the power of the Holy Spirit could effect sanctification of the life. To this end, Bucer preached the remission of sins through faith and justification being revealed as a consequence in holiness of life (Wright, ed, 1994: 148).

Bucer did not commence the work at the University until January 1550. He opened by lecturing on Paul's letter to the Ephesians. In 1527 he had written a commentary on this letter, but since that time his views on the Church, ministry and the sacraments had developed considerably (Wright, ed, 1994: 149). In the course of these lectures he covered a wide range of theological and ecclesiastical subjects. In one significant passage Bucer warned of the twin dangers that faced theologians. He stressed the fact that the pursuit of the study of theology meant that the minister must deviate neither to the left nor to the right of the path; ministers of the Word had to travel in obedience and loyalty to their calling. The dangers that Bucer perceived were those of acquiescing in a mere external conception of the ministry, as displayed by Roman Catholicism, or the other grave danger as seen in Anabaptism, where a misinterpretation of the ministry led on to a condemnation of ministry, sacrament and Church (Hopf, 1946: 18). Here Bucer is enunciating his theology of the 'middle way'. While in Strasbourg he had had to contend with the Roman Catholic concept of the Church as well as the Anabaptists' extreme views on the subject; in the midst of this, Bucer had developed his own biblical theology of the Church (Spijker, 1996: 109-112).

Alongside his lectures on Ephesians, Bucer apparently commenced a study on the gospel account of John (Hopf, 1946: 17). David Wright is of the opinion that this was not so much a formal series of lectures on John's gospel as an exposition of the sixth chapter by means of a series of sermons (Wright, ed, 1994: 149). Bucer's lecturing was

also frequently interrupted by the recurring bouts of illness that he suffered (Hopf, 1946: 21). It was on such occasions that his friends showed their high regard for him by assisting his recovery with practical gifts: at one time he received money from King Edward VI to purchase two large German stoves to keep himself warm, whilst on another occasion he received the gift of a cow and a calf. It is little touches like these that go some way to revealing how much the man was loved and respected in his new home at Cambridge (Porter, 1958: 53).

Bucer's pen was not idle during the short exile in England. As we have seen, upon arrival in Cranmer's home his skills had been turned to the task of translating the Bible from the original languages into Latin in order that English scholars would then have the facility to produce an English language Bible. In May 1549, Cranmer produced the *First Book of Common Prayer*. The introduction of this book into the religious and social life of the English people marked arguably the most critical period in the history of the English Reformation (Hopf, 1946: 55). This first Prayer Book has been described as little more than a translation of Bucer's Cologne Liturgy (Eells, 1931: 411). The book was to prove unsatisfactory and it soon became apparent that a revision was necessary. This revision began before the end of 1550 and Bucer's suggestions were solicited (Eells, 1931: 412). In response Bucer wrote his *Censura*, a lengthy critique of the Prayer Book and delivered it to the Bishop of Ely around December 1550 or January 1551.

It was during his short exile in England that Bucer produced a remarkable treatise on the relationship of Christian ethics to the social order of the England of his day. This book was a New Year's gift for King Edward VI and was entitled *The Kingdom of Christ* (Wright, ed, 1972: 25). For a number of years prior to his arrival in England, Bucer had been working out patterns concerning the relationship of the Church to the social order of the day. It was the situation that existed in England that now coalesced this thinking into a book that was a ground plan for the implementation of Christian ethics to the political, economic and social life of England (Wright, ed, 1994: 154). The book made a favourable impression on the King, but before anything concrete could be done both Bucer and the King were removed by death. (We will consider the influences of this book later.)

As we have seen, Martin Bucer was a man to whom many turned for advice on a wide range of subjects. One of the most important of these was when he was asked to comment upon was the matter of the Vestment Controversy. In October 1550, Bucer received two letters asking for his counsel on the matter of the wearing of clerical vestments. One letter came from John Lasko (1499-1560), a Polish Reformer residing in London and minister of the '*Stranger's Church*'; the other came from bishop-designate of Gloucester, John Hooper (1495-1555). The issue was also raised by Archbishop Cranmer, who wrote to Bucer in December 1550 asking for Bucer's guidance. Bucer replied in a rather lengthy letter to the Archbishop that in his opinion as long as the vestments carried no inference relative to the Roman Catholic rite, then these vestments were of a secondary significance. The primary issue for Bucer was the abolition of all sacrileges, false and impious doctrines, perverse, superstitious and profane disciplines and rites (Hopf, 1946: 131-134).

Bucer's course was now very nearly run. He was suffering from a number of conditions that combined to weaken his already declining health. In January 1551, he was again afflicted with a severe fever and slowly his strength ebbed away. On 1st March 1551, after a long and severe illness, Martin Bucer died. Dead, he took his place in the great tradition of Cambridge funerals (Porter, 1958: 55). His funeral was a great event for the University and town. A crowd of some three thousand people included all the eminent University representatives and, of special significance, the Mayor and representatives of the town as well. In his death, Martin Bucer the '*Peacemaker*' seems to have wrought some peace between 'the town and gown' in that at his funeral they were there together (Hopf, 1946: 28). Peace was not, however, the lot of the mortal remains of Martin Bucer. In January 1557, the body of Bucer was exhumed and removed from the church of Great St Mary's to the market place, where in a singular act of barbarity it was burned along with a quantity of heretical books. Yet with the passage of time, the great wheel of God's providence continued to turn and, turning full circle, in July 1560, with due respect and great reverence, the University of Cambridge restored Martin Bucer's name to the place of honour once again (Porter, 1958: 55-57).

In this biographical survey chapter on Martin Bucer, I have sought to establish some of the major traits of his character. It is my contention that such an understanding is absolutely necessary in order to assist us in an accurate assessment of his appeal to Englishmen and, thus, of his influence on the English Reformation and on Anglicanism.

We have seen that Bucer's training and learning made him eminently suited for the role of a Reformer. His early attachment to the evangelical doctrines of Martin Luther placed him at once in the forefront of teaching and preaching these new truths. The happy providence of the call to assist Motherer at Wissembourg then placed the experience of this new training ground into the arsenal of his intellectual capacity. Here at Wissembourg the pattern for reform was laid. Bucer realised that before any movement on reform could be undertaken, the people must be informed by preaching and teaching concerning the need for such action. Despite the fact that circumstances beyond his control meant that all his efforts ended in failure, Bucer here gained an invaluable experience, for it was in the environment afforded by Wissembourg that vital lessons were learned and a pattern discerned that was to bear much fruit in the near future.

We then looked briefly at the Reformer's main theological thrust in the context of its relevance to the thesis. Bucer's 'eschatology of love', which gave the man a strong personal appeal is also intimated.

In the period that I have surveyed under 3.3, Bucer's reforming theology begins to take shape and to crystallize. He is thus presented as a leader in the innovations attending the establishing of personal rights affecting the clergy of the sixteenth century. He is also seen as a man of moderation in the context of the extremes that characterised the fluctuating religious scene of that century. Here we see something of Bucer's irenic spirit that in the fractious decades ahead was to make him the great motivator for calm and concord.

Although living in a harsh and sometimes intolerant era, Martin Bucer was a most tolerant and irenic character. For the majority of Christians in the twenty-first century, this may well be the sum total that is known of him. Despite his patient disposition, however, Bucer would act if a corresponding spirit of reciprocated tolerance was not

evidenced in his opponents. A worthy example is to be seen in his characteristic handling of the crisis within Strasbourg as the Separatists moved in with the baggage of their admixed and sometimes conflicting beliefs. In this particular matter, Bucer's initial irenic stance changed in the light of the Separatists' intolerance and the adjustment reveals to us yet another side of the man's character – he could be resolute and implacable where necessary in order to protect the Reformation in Strasbourg.

Over the matter of the Supper Controversy a further feature of Bucer's character emerges. Here is a trait that acts as the major key to unlock an understanding of the man's personality. Bucer's fundamental theological ideas continued practically unchanged after he reached his maturity. His expression of these ideas, however, and the policies that he based on them were different at the various points within his attempts to harmonise the Supper strife. Bucer always held to the concept that the elements were symbols with the addition of some form of divine presence; it was the way he expressed this concept that varied, as he determinedly sought to harmonise the conflicting views of others on this major doctrine.

Martin Bucer was a tireless campaigner for the extension of the Reformation in the city states of Germany. Thus, in section 3.5.1 I have sought to show that his endeavours on behalf of the cause of the Reformation were not merely limited to the confines of Strasbourg. One of the things that marked Bucer's greatness was the amazing quality and originality of his imagination. He had a capacity to devise, plan and instigate his ideas with a singular objectivity that few other men possess. It was this element of genius in the man's intellectual processes that quickly gained for him a wide recognition as an organiser and counsellor in the movement for reform. Not only did the cities of South and western Germany seek his counsel, but private individuals sought his advice on matters concerning the new doctrines. In many respects Bucer was a missionary of reform to the cities and a mentor to the many who sought his instruction and teaching. Indeed, Bucer's reputation as a wise and skilful theologian frequently meant that he left his beloved family and city behind to respond to the calls of the wider causes of the Reformation in other areas of Germany. As we have seen, these activities, costly in time and energy, were not always successful.

During the reform of Ulm, his consummate skill at drafting Articles of Faith was tested and proved. Only two articles within the whole document, comprising some eighteen,

were redrafted. In the light of the fact that Blaurer was a decidedly Zwinglian theologian who later opposed Bucer on the Lord's Supper and his efforts at reconciling Protestants (Eells, 1931: 179), this level of agreement is ample testimony to Bucer's drafting and theological skill. Moreover, during the process of reform in the church of Philip of Hesse's territory, Bucer's wise conciliatory procedure in debating both with the trained and the untrained amongst the Separatists produced results that were nothing short of outstanding. During the attempted Reformation of Cologne another side to Bucer's character is revealed: he could be dogged and determined in the pursuit of his ideal of an ecclesiastical system. The vigour with which he conducted his reforms in Cologne did much to restore to him the prestige previously lost by his other efforts to achieve reconciliation and concord within the reform movement. Bucer's activities in the south and west of Germany left behind him a high regard for his judgment, theological skill and persistence in the pursuit of the Reformation. Thus it is a mystery that, whilst the churches of that area of Germany owed much to Martin Bucer, it never adopted any reference to his name.

Bucer was also a great encourager of others; he was a true mentor of men. In this role, his finest product was none other than John Calvin. A general opinion exists that the latter, whilst not an entirely original thinker, depended at least in his early years on Martin Luther. There is also some evidence for the influence of Zwingli on Calvin. It is to Bucer, however, that Calvin owes most. From his careful study of the Scriptures, Bucer derived principles concerning the Church as the community of the saints, in which a mutual brotherly discipline should be exercised by the officers. It was Calvin who tested these very principles in the practical issues of the French Church at Strasbourg. These same principles were carried by Calvin to Geneva and from Geneva to wherever in the world the system of belief called Calvinism was to take root, yet in them the mind and thought of Bucer lives on. It is a great wonder that Bucer has not received proper credit for his contribution to Calvin and, perhaps an even greater one, that Calvin so overshadowed Bucer.

In his intense struggle for the maintenance of the principles of the Protestant Reformation at Strasbourg, Martin Bucer has shown that he is a resolute defender of Biblical truth. It is lamentably true that in many of his other activities Bucer has been unfairly suspected of being too supple in negotiation and too indefinite on doctrine. Indeed, many of his contemporaries viewed him as being too willing to subordinate

fundamental truth to political expediency. The matter of the Augsburg Interim showed that this assumption of his character was regrettably false. Having to withstand severe pressure, Bucer continued to stand against the Interim. He was determined to maintain Protestant truth and resolutely steadfast in his resistance to the compromises and denials of that truth that the Interim enshrined. His life was seriously endangered by this stand, but by so doing he clearly acquitted himself of the many false assumptions to which his character had previously been subjected.

Although Bucer was nearly sixty years of age (old by the standards of the sixteenth century) and a very sick man when he arrived in England, any thinking that his energies would therefore be diminished was quickly dispelled. By outlining his efforts on behalf of the Reformation in this land of his exile, I have sought to convey the impression that they were nothing short of prodigious. In this all too brief biographical account I have attempted to convey something of the sense of his zealous activism on behalf of Reformation truth and its establishment and expansion in England. In Bucer, Englishmen met a Reformer of proven academic stature, whose insight as theologian, churchman, politician and scholar gave to him a stature and authority to which most men willingly listened. In him, England gained the services of one whose experience went well beyond the norm in the realms of theology, ecclesiology and politics, and whose fame matched that of any other great name in the age of the Reformation. Thus, in Bucer the English Reformation was to receive an impetus that was to influence the English Bible, the liturgy, the church and its ministry and aspects of society that are with us even today.

4.0 BUCER AND ENGLAND

4.1 EARLY CONTACTS: A GROWING INFLUENCE

It is reasonable to assume that any work on the influence of Martin Bucer on the English Reformation and Anglicanism should concentrate on the last two years of his sojourn in this country. Yet, in Bucer, we meet with a man whose broad European vision had already seen the immediate need for enlisting the widest possible continental help for promoting the work of reform within the realm of Henry VIII. To this intent, in 1539 Bucer had rebuked the Lutherans for their lukewarmness towards the fledgling reform movement in England (Wright, ed, 1972: 24). In the work of encouraging reform, Bucer provided his *'Commentary on Romans'*, with a dedication to Archbishop Cranmer in which he spoke of his hopes of a comprehensive Protestant alliance embracing England (Wright, ed, 1994: 145). Furthermore, Bucer was indirectly active and influential through the stirrings of the grass root level reform movement by means of the extracts of his written works translated into English and present in the early English Primers appearing from 1530 and onwards (Wright, ed, 1972: 25). A Primer is an anthology of private devotional materials designed for use by the laity. It would contain a variety of pious texts, a liturgical calendar, and texts for use in Matins, Lauds, Evensong, Compline and the office of the Hours (Wright, ed, 1994: 163, 164).

We have seen that Bucer was no stranger to England when he fled from Strasbourg and ended up on English soil. He was already a well known and respected theologian of the Reformation with a proven reputation as biblical scholar, ecclesiastical administrator and reconciler of the conflicting views on doctrine (Wright, ed, 1994: 144). For some years prior to his departure from Strasbourg and arrival in England, Bucer had engaged in close and cordial relationships with many an English divine. Some of his works had already been translated from Latin into English, and his liturgical works produced for use in the reform of Cologne had been used extensively in the production of the first English Prayer book (Eells, 1931: 401; Poll, 1954: 142). There had also been the added spice of a controversy with one of the leading prelates of England, Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester. Gardiner was a man of an unruly temperament, such being the vigour and drive of his ill ruled-energies that only the king, Henry VIII, was able to control him (Eells, 1931: 390). Gardiner had published two tirades against Bucer, one in 1544 and another two years later. Bucer had wished to respond to the fiery bishop, but

Henry VIII expressed an interest in an oral discussion between the two opponents on the points of the controversy. Then Henry himself died and Bucer found it necessary to pursue a written response to the assertions of Gardiner on a range of doctrinal and church practice matters (Eells, 1931: 390, 391). This controversy with Bishop Gardiner brought Bucer's name into sharp focus with many who were now beginning to question the position of the Roman Catholic Church and who were now also revealing an interest in the move for reform.

When, in June 1527, King Henry VIII of England (1509-1547) told his wife Catherine of Aragon that he could no longer consider her as his wife, he set in motion a series of events that were opportune for the reform of the Church (Jones, 1985: 116). Henry and Catherine had been married since 1509, but only one child, Mary, had survived. The political necessity of providing a direct male heir to the English crown weighed heavily on Henry's mind. He ultimately became convinced that his marriage to Catherine was not sanctioned by Holy Writ. Catherine was his deceased brother's wife and was not a clear prohibition in Scripture against such a liaison (**Lev 20: 21**)? Henry became convinced that this subject was a matter of conscience for him. Thus for reasons of politics, religious belief and the sake of conscience, Henry sought a divorce from Catherine. It is held by some that in this cause the Reformation made its appearance in England (Jones, 1985: 116).

Not all historians agree, however, that Henry's divorce was the fundamental cause of the English Reformation. Indeed, there is considerable dispute about the case (see Webber, 1955: 153). For a long time prior to the case of Henry VIII and his divorce, there had been a spirit of unrest at work in the English branch of the Roman Catholic Church. Controlled from a distant foreign centre, the Church gradually lost influence with the common people. Earlier, in the reign of Henry VII (1485-1509), there had been evidence of a growing opposition to the established principle that the Church took precedence over the state. Henry's own relationship with the Roman pontiff appeared to have been harmonious. However, to the Roman Catholic prelates of Henry VII's reign the king's policy must have seemed riddled with the inconsistency of minor anticlerical actions. The king extracted many privileges from Rome and during his reign the balance of advantage now tipped decisively towards the crown (Dickens, 1988: 128, 129). During the first twenty years of Henry VIII's reign, however, this spirit of unrest was kept in check by the power and influence of Cardinal Wolsey. Wolsey was not only a

prince of the Church, as Cardinal, but was also Henry's Chancellor, a position next in power to that of the king. He failed to obtain the required annulment of Henry's marriage to Catherine, however. Consequently, in 1529, he fell from power when Henry deprived him of his office as Chancellor. With this loss of Wolsey's ability to exercise a restraining power, men began to avow openly that the Church had no right to dominate the state (Webber, 1955: 154).

Henry still needed his divorce and the papal courts were not inclined to respond to his quest for the dissolution of his first marriage (Beckwith, 1989: 4). Thus it was that Henry responded most favourably to a suggestion that the matter be submitted to the Universities of Europe for a judgment on his case. This proposal came from a Cambridge University theologian by the name of Thomas Cranmer (Brooks, 1989: 8). Martin Bucer was one of the theologians asked to give a judgment on the subject of Henry's divorce, though he sought as long a delay as possible. Bucer recognised that a decision on the matter was likely to have far wider repercussions in the realm of politics than that of biblical exegesis; consequently, he exercised great care in forming his opinion on the matter. Finally, in December 1531, he told the king to keep his queen (Eells, 1931: 124-126). This opinion did not endear Bucer to the king. The king's fickle nature, however, was such that with more pressing political matters ahead he would be consulted again on the important matter of the break with the pope (Poll, 1954: 143). Bucer's interest and influence on matters pertaining to the movement for reform in England were, therefore, not seriously hampered. Indeed, from 1542 onward Strasbourg was to exercise an influence on the English Reformation as great as that of Wittenburg and Zurich. Moreover, whilst Lutheranism was to fail under Henry VIII – mainly for political reasons – and the Swiss party was not to play a major role in the English Reformation, the influence of Bucer on the movement for reform in the English Church was to be significant (Poll, 1954: 143).

4.2 THE ENGLISH BIBLE: A LITERARY INFLUENCE

Translations of Bucer's works into English form another powerful contact with the English scene. In 1530, Bucer's Latin Commentary on the Psalms was translated into English and printed at either Strasbourg or Antwerp (Hopf, 1946: 5). (There is some disagreement on the venue, which I address in due course.) There has been much debate regarding the influence of Bucer on the story of the development of the Bible in

English. The first Bible in English appeared in 1535. Bucer's work on the Psalms was therefore available prior to the first English Bible. This has led some to the conjecture that the rendition of the Psalms in English in this first English Bible owes something if not a great deal to the prior works of Martin Bucer. The facts are somewhat more difficult to identify. The evolution of the English Bible is agreed by all to be a most complex issue (Wright, ed, 1994: 161). To draw the inference that Bucer's work on the Psalms played some part in the production of the English Bible might, therefore, seem a little premature (Hopf, 1946: 205). The work of such scholars as Anderson, Westcott and Driver on the historical documentary descent of the English Bible finds no part for Bucer's Psalter work. Indeed, the seminal work by Bishop BF Westcott: '*The History of the English Bible*' gives no place to Bucer whatsoever in the lists of sources for the English Bible (Hopf, 1946: 206). The result of earlier research for external historical evidence would thus appear to be discouraging. Any dogmatic claim for Bucer's influence in this matter is, therefore, likely to be treated with a great deal of suspicion. However, the matter of Bucer's contribution on the English Bible – and through this, his influence on the course of the English Reformation and Anglicanism – does not end here. Further research into the documentary pedigree of the English Bible culminating in the King James Version of 1611 has added new weight to the claims that Martin Bucer did have an input into the documentary sources and, through these, an influence on the English Bible and, thus, the English Reformation itself. To this matter we must now turn.

The emergence of the Bible in the English language is a complicated story. Within it there are a number of heroic figures, such as William Tyndale and Miles Coverdale. By and large, however, the story is one of a number of relatively obscure men working alone or in committee in a process of translation, compilation and revision that spans a century or more until the arrival of the King James Bible (otherwise also known as the Authorised Version) of 1611 (Wright, ed, 1994: 161). To this story I have discovered that Martin Bucer has made a concrete contribution. Previous generations of commentators on the historic documentary descent of the English Bible have ignored or at best misread the data that exists to support the contention that Bucer did exert some influence on the development of the English Bible.

Some five years before the first English Bible – prepared by Miles Coverdale – was printed and issued, Martin Bucer's Latin Psalter of 1529 had been translated into

English and issued into England (Hopf, 1946: 205). Earlier researchers into the literary descent of the English Bible have given absolutely no weight to this fact, largely because within the context of the parameters of their research methodology they were unable to find any direct quotation in the Coverdale Bible that could be attributed to Martin Bucer's work (Hopf, 1946; 206). Coverdale does state quite clearly in the title page to his translation that he used Dutch and Latin versions of the Bible to assist him in his work. He further states that he used "five sundry interpreters" in his preparations. Westcott identifies these as:

- the Swiss-German version of Zwingli;
- that of Leo Juda;
- the Latin (Vulgate) of Pagninius;
- the Vulgate of Luther; and
- the fifth is stated as the section of the Pentateuch, Jonah and the New Testament, Tyndale's then extant English version.

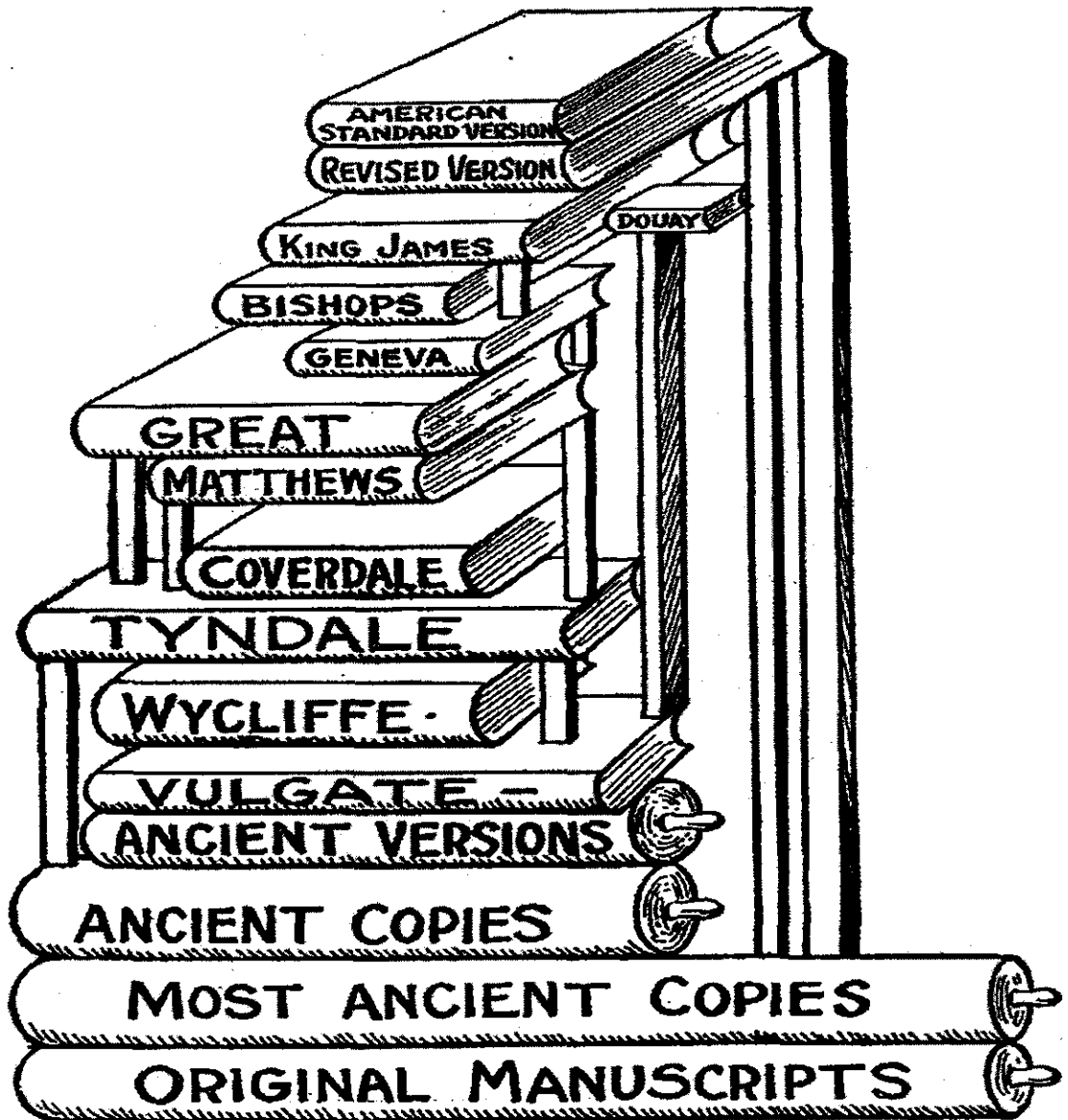
On the inclusion of Tyndale, Westcott comments tersely that Coverdale does not say that his five interpreters were all Latin or Dutch (Westcott, 1998: 163). The revisions to this first edition of the English Bible were undertaken by Coverdale, basing his revisions on the newly available Latin and Hebrew texts of Sebastian Münster published in 1535 (Westcott, 1998: 181).

Previous researchers to Westcott have also ruled out any influence of Bucer on the literary descent of the English Bible. In 1823, Revd Daniel Waterland compared Bucer's Psalm 95 with the Coverdale version and concluded, on the narrow basis of his comparison, that there was no evidence for any influence by the Reformer (Waterland, 1823: 300-302). Furthermore, Henry Cotton compared Psalm 19 and on yet more limited evidence concluded that there was no connection between Bucer and the English Bible (Cotton, 1852: 353, 4).

I include a diagram of the traditional view of the literary lineage of the English Bible up to 1952, as an aid to the understanding of the issues here being addressed:

Figure 1 – The traditional view of the literary descent of the English Bible up to 1952,
courtesy of Back to the Bible Publishers

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE



The results of this research for historical evidence of the use by Coverdale of the works of Martin Bucer would, therefore, appear to be discouraging. However, the line of enquiry must not end here. The apparent lack of a link sustained by a direct quotation from Bucer in Coverdale's translation work should have brought to the fore the question of another possible influence contained in the textual notes that are absent in Coverdale's work on the Psalms, but abound in the Matthews Bible's version of Psalms, and yet Matthews is directly dependent on Coverdale. Whence did these arise? Perhaps

a study of these notes in the Matthews Bible alongside a search for a direct textual quotation from Bucer in the Coverdale Bible may yet furnish some extra light on this matter of Bucer's influence.

Perhaps investigations with a wider set of parameters than those for our previously mentioned researchers would uncover some evidence concerning Martin Bucer's influence on the English Bible. This is exactly what has happened in the research on this subject. Setting a wider remit than merely looking for direct quotations from Bucer in the English text of the Bible versions has uncovered such evidence in the materials that provided the commentary notes and the underlying translation materials of the Bible text itself. Both Constantin Hopf and Charles Butterworth, independently and without knowledge of each other, commenced research into the influences of Bucer on the English Bible, the English Psalter and the Primers. Thus, both these exploratory efforts began with a remit wider than previous researchers' parameters (Hopf, 1946: 206-208). The results for this research were quite outstanding in that they overturned the previously held view that Bucer had no influence whatsoever on the matter of the English Bible by providing some evidence to the contrary (Hopf, 1946: 206).

That the five versions of the Bible mentioned by Westcott provided the bulk of the material for the English Bible of Coverdale and, therefore, of subsequent renditions that were based on it is not in doubt. However, this does not exclude the possibility that Coverdale used other sources for some special parts of the Bible. This is, in fact, exactly what he says that he did do. Coverdale writes:

"... and to help me herein, I have had sundry translations, not only in Latin, but also of the Dutch interpreters, whom because of their singular gifts and special diligence in the Bible, I have been the more glad to follow for the most part, according as I was required."

(in Hopf, 1946: 207.)

Bucer's commentary on the Psalms was a work of "special diligence", widely known, praised and containing exegetical material collected from Hebrew, Greek and Latin authorities, which made it compete easily with any other commentary. It was a collective work on the Psalter, containing the views, translations and comments of the most eminent interpreters of the time. Bucer's Psalter broke new ground in that it was uniquely designed to enable anyone interested in becoming acquainted with the various textual problems to form his own opinion on the most suitable translation (Hopf, 1946:

211). It is my conviction that for his English version of the Psalms, alongside the previously mentioned five Bible versions, Coverdale also read Bucer's Commentary on the Psalms. The Psalms that have for generations formed such an essential part of Church worship needed special attention and care when being translated into the vernacular tongue. Thus Coverdale, anxious to get the very best of helps here, would have consulted the Psalter of Bucer, the acknowledged best help available (Hopf, 1946: 211, 212). Psalms in the vernacular were already sung and read by congregations who used the Primer. They were in this way familiar with what was really a translation of Bucer's Latin Psalter (Hopf, 1946: 207). This would appear to be further support for the view that Coverdale not only knew of this work from Bucer in the English tongue, but that he actually consulted and used it. The argument may be strengthened by the consideration that Bucer's Psalter was the first printing of Psalms in English (Hopf, 1946: 207). It is also helpful to remember that it was designed as a book for worship in the Church. Here Coverdale's gift for adapting, choosing and selecting the precise text for his English Bible comes into full play.

Part of the genius of Coverdale's work was that he never became dependent on any one translation. His entire English Bible is a masterpiece of synthesis; he took a passage here and a passage there or a striking phrase or term, but never became entirely dependent on any one version or source (Hopf, 1946: 207). In the context of this work, however, such practice only serves to compound our problem, for he never took into his version a complete psalm, but was selective. It will be necessary, then, for us to see that there are some great similarities between Coverdale's version and that of Bucer's Psalter. In order to establish conclusively our claim for Coverdale's use of Bucer's English Psalter, a wider comparison and investigation of special sections of the the work of each needs to be made. Before starting on this, however, it is necessary to give some detail regarding Bucer's Latin Psalter, regarding the strange circumstances of its publishing and its character.

Bucer's Latin Psalter was published in September 1529. It was a work of outstanding value with nothing else comparable to it (Hopf, 1946: 213). For a number of obvious reasons, Bucer chose to publish under a pseudonym, calling himself Aretius Felinus. Writing to Zwingli in July 1529 from Strasbourg, Bucer states his rationale for the use of such a ruse:

"I am employed... in an exposition of the Psalms, which, at the urgent request of our brethren in France and Lower Germany, I propose to publish under a foreign name, that the work may be bought by their booksellers. For it is a capital crime to import into these countries books which bear our names. I therefore pretend that I am a Frenchman, and, if I do not change my mind, will send forth the book as the production of Aretius Felinus, which indeed, is my name and surname, the former in Greek, and the latter in Latin."

(in M^cCrie, 1842: 36.)

Bucer's intention to avoid close scrutiny from Roman Catholic as well as Lutheran sources was initially successful. The disguise was even carried further when in the epistle dedicatory the work was dedicated to Francis the Dauphine of France and dated from Lyons, a French city (Hopf, 1946: 209). Throughout the commentary, Bucer judiciously sprinkled French proverbs and sayings, thus reinforcing the impression that this was the work of a Frenchman. The truth eventually came out that Felinus was none other than Bucer and condemnation was heaped upon him for the stratagem by many, including no less a person than Erasmus (Eells, 1931: 129, 130). By this time, however, Bucer had got his way and the book was achieving all that he had hoped from it. The name 'Aretius Felinus' was thenceforth inseparably connected to Bucer, who frequently used it in his correspondence (Hopf, 1946: 210).

In compiling his commentary on the Psalms, Bucer used an exceedingly wide range of available helps. This ensured that the work would find a ready market among the growing crowd of students of the Bible (Hopf, 1946: 212). The particular value of this work lay in the vast resource that it provided. Drawing on his extensive knowledge of Hebrew, he consulted the commentaries of the Hebrew scholars and the Targum of the Psalms. Among the scholars consulted were Rabbis Kimchi, A Ezra and Solomon ben Isaac (Rashi). Taken together, these three Jewish academics provided a reliable Hebrew text from which he could work. Bucer knew Hebrew, Greek and Latin well, which enabled him to apply to all the texts a superior critical attitude, thus securing an accurate text, whilst not being afraid to exercise a certain deft independence of opinion when he considered it necessary. The published commentaries of other Christian theologians were also available to Bucer and, with such a wealth of exegetical works available to him, the finished work became an important tool of reference (Hopf, 1946: 211). It is not at all surprising, therefore, that in January 1530 an English translation of Bucer's work was made at Antwerp (Wright, ed, 1994: 163).

The small matter of the printing venue needs here to be addressed. Hopf states Strasbourg and bases his conclusion on the colophon at the end of the Psalter that translates thus: “Emprinted at Argentine in the year of our Lord 1530 the 16th day of January by me Francis Foxe” (in Butterworth, 1941: 64).

Butterworth explains the significance of the colophon’s reference to “Argentine”. He states that this refers to the old silversmith’s quarter of the ancient city of Strasbourg, in which a colony of printers and booksellers had established itself. Scholars who were frowned upon for their liberal views might here find a suitable refuge. One of the foremost among these scholars in 1530 was Martin Bucer, who a year earlier had issued a new version of the Psalms in Latin under the pen-name of Aretius Felinus (Butterworth, 1941: 64). However, it is held today by many experts that the colophon is fictitious. It was devised by the publishers in an attempt to mislead any investigators who might try to discover the origins of a volume clearly intended, despite the legal constraints of English law, for readers in England. The generally agreed consensus now holds that the real publisher was one Martin de Keyser of Antwerp (Wright, ed, 1994: 163). This English Psalter of 1530 was held in some esteem, gaining quite an influence through its connection with certain of the English Primers – as we shall shortly see (Butterworth, 1941: 65).

I must now turn to a consideration of the person of the translator of Bucer’s Latin Psalter. As will be seen, this is a necessary matter that moves forward our contention that Martin Bucer had an influence upon the English Bible and – as a consequence – the English Reformation and Anglicanism.

Within a year of the publishing of Bucer’s Latin Psalter, an English language edition was off the printing presses of Martin de Keyser at Antwerp. This English version carried a greeting to the English nation from one Johan Aleph, in which the nation was urged: “to thank God for the vernacular psalms... and not to judge the translation by the Vulgate but to leave criticism to persons learned in Hebrew” (Clebsch, 1964: 211).

It turns out that this ‘Johan Aleph’ was actually an Englishman by the name of George Joye, who has been described as a “clandestine evangelical propagandist” (Wright, ed, 1994: 163). Joye was a former fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, who having been suspected of Protestant leanings finally thought it best to go into voluntary exile on the

Continent sometime around 1527 or very early in 1528 (Clebsch, 1964: 205-208). During this exile Joye employed himself in the publishing of devotional books and in translation work on portions of the Old Testament. In all, Joye was responsible for the production of no fewer than fourteen books during the eight years of his exile (Clebsch, 1964: 208).

Joye's very first venture into publishing consisted of compiling – and partly translating – the first Protestant devotional manual to be produced in English. Unfortunately, no copy of this first printed English Primer has survived (Butterworth & Chester, 1962: 51). A reconstruction has been made, however, from the subsequent revisions and contemporary accounts of its contents (Butterworth, 1953: 11-17, 21-24). This now lost Primer seems to have contained approximately a third of the Psalms translated from the Latin of Bucer's Psalter. Given that Bucer's Latin Psalter was issued in September 1529, it is assumed that Joye's first English Primer was available in the late autumn of that same year. Added weight to this argument comes from the fact that in May 1530 a certain 'English Primer' appears on the list of books banned in England by a royal commission of bishops and churchmen who considered it to be heretical (Butterworth, 1953: 210; Butterworth & Chester, 1962: 51). Furthermore, the 1530 edition of the English Primer contains reference to the fact that this new edition is to "correct and augment" and, thereby, undo the harm done to the reader and to the author by the first edition (Butterworth, 1964: 208; Wright, ed, 1994: 164). For the 1530 edition of his Primer, Joye rendered into English the rest of the Psalms from Bucer's Psalter. Thus from Martin Bucer, incognito and indirectly, came the first printed Psalms in the English language and in a format that the readers of English among the laity could readily appreciate (Wright, ed, 1994: 164).

That the laity did appreciate the Psalms in English is indicated by the fact that Bucer's English Psalter received two further printings; one by Thomas Godfray of London in 1534 and another by Edward Whitchurch in or about 1541. The Primer was also re-edited a number of times by various printers and for at least half a dozen of these the Bucer-Joye version furnished the text of the Psalms (Butterworth, 1953: 210, 211).

Joye's 1530 English Psalter was to have an all-pervasive influence on the mind and soul of the Protestants of England. They prayed and quoted in the language of the English Psalter. The influence thus exerted by the Psalter flowed more deeply and broadly than

the intrinsic literary value merited. Universally held in the highest esteem, this little Psalter of 1530 gained an ever-widening influence through the connection that it sustained to other English Primers of the period. An example of this is the Primer of William Marshall, published in June of 1535 and just prior to the publication of the Coverdale Bible (Hopf, 1946: 224). Marshall's Primer contained nearly sixty of the psalms among the devotional material, which are virtually identical in their wording to those of the 1530 Psalter (Butterworth, 1941: 65). Thus, through the medium of Joye's English translation, Bucer's Latin Psalter was to exercise a very wide influence indeed.

Bucer's original Latin Psalter also made a significant contribution. In his commentary on the Psalms of 1554, the Scottish Reformer Alexander Alesius refers to Bucer's Psalter. The Dean of Canterbury, John Boys (1571-1625), also used Bucer's Psalter to a large extent in his own *'Exposition of the Psalms'* (Hopf, 1946: 217). Moreover, one of the Old Testament translators of the Authorised Version, Dr Thomas Holland (see Westcott, 1998: 113, 346), possessed Bucer's Latin Psalter (1529), as the copy in the Cambridge University library testifies. Whilst this may seem somewhat meagre evidence for establishing Bucer's influence on the English Bible – and, indeed, his impact on the English Reformation and Anglicanism – it does provide us with some indication that such external influence exists and, therefore, needs to be considered.

I turn now to the matter of the internal evidence for Martin Bucer's influence on the English Bible. Having established in the foregoing that Bucer had an impact through his Commentary on the Psalms published in Latin and subsequently in English, it is quite natural to turn to the latter and seek for some evidence of an internal influence from this source on the English Bible. The first full Bible version in English was the 1535 edition by Miles Coverdale. The Bible he produced clearly exhibits his gift for adaptation and for choosing the precise text or portion of a text from another's work. This Bible was mainly a masterpiece of synthesis in which Coverdale never became totally dependent on any one single source (Hopf, 1946: 207). By comparing the English text of Bucer's Psalter, Coverdale's Bible and the Authorised Version of 1611 in an attempt to see if a relationship exists between these three works, therefore, we may supplement the evidence obtained externally. To a study of these English publications I shall shortly turn, my objective being to establish a sure link and thus support the overall contention for Bucer's influence on the English Bible. By way of providing the background,

however, it is perhaps necessary to first of all consider the situation appertaining to English texts is as an aid to understanding the need for what might be regarded as an apparent selectivity in my comparison.

The impetus to translate the Bible into the vernacular was late in arriving in England. Before the end of the fifteenth century Bibles were published in Spanish, Italian, French, Dutch, German and Bohemian: while as yet in England only a few manuscripts of the Wycliffe versions were available (Westcott, 1998: 25). Previous generations had seen some attempts to give the people something from the Scriptures in the mother tongue, however. Early in the eighth century, both the Psalms and the Gospel of John had been rendered into Anglo-Saxon, the latter having been translated by the Venerable Bede in AD 735. The following century saw Alfred the Great translate the Ten Commandments as a prefix to his laws. At the time of his death (901), he too was engaged in rendering the Psalms into Anglo-Saxon (Westcott, 1998: 5). Further portions were translated in the tenth century into Anglo-Saxon and then Norman-French (after 1066), but the real impetus for translating the whole Bible into the vernacular tongue was to wait for the dawn of the fourteenth century (Westcott, 1998: 5-7). It was in this century that efforts at reforming the Roman Catholic Church had finally failed. With a series of progressive movements within the Church failing and with the growing threat of economic and political strife, men turned with their anxieties to the Bible. In particular they turned to the Psalter, which has been in every age the fresh spring of hope in times of trial (Westcott, 1998: 11). It is perhaps for this reason that the Psalms were rendered into English more often than any other portions of the Bible (Butterworth, 1941: 281). Because of the need for selectivity, I choose as my comparison here arguably the most popular Psalm amongst English speaking congregations – the twenty-third.

The twenty-third Psalm – the Shepherd Psalm – is so well known and so well loved that little need to be said regarding its beauties. In a recent (albeit unscientific) survey on the subject of Bible knowledge, almost ninety percent of respondents quoted something reputedly from this psalm. I quote first from the English Psalter (P), then the Coverdale Bible (C), followed by the text of the 1611 Authorised Version (A). Where I consider it necessary, I place a comment between the comparative sections:

Verse one:

- P The lorde is my pastore and feader: Wherfore I shal not wante.*
- C The Lorde is my Shepherde, I can wante nothinge.*
- A The Lord is my shepherd I shall not want.*

Comment: Between the years 1340 and 1410 five versions of the Psalms were issued in English. None of these convey the 'shepherd' idea, concentrating instead on the idea of 'government' (Butterworth, 1941: 281). Bucer has conveyed both concepts by the use of 'pastor' and 'leader' and thus correctly interpreted the original wording from the Hebrew that contains both concepts of 'shepherding' and 'rule' (Strong, 1977: 109). Coverdale has modernised the concepts into 'shepherd'. The last phrase in the Authorised Version (1611) is borrowed from Bucer.

Verse two:

- P He made me to fead in a ful plenteous batle grownde:*
 - C He fedeth me in a grene pasture,*
 - A He maketh me to lie down in green pastures:*
-
- P and dyd dryve and retche [that is, lead] me at layser [that is, leisure] by the swete ryvers.*
 - C and ledeth me to a fresh water.*
 - A he leadeth me beside the still waters.*

Verse three:

- P He restored my lyfe and led me by the pathes of rightwisnes:*
 - C He quickeneth my soule, and bringeth me forth in the way of righteousnes*
 - A He restoreth my soule: he leadeth me in the pathes of righteousness*
-
- P for his names sake*
 - C for his names sake.*
 - A for his names sake.*

Comment: Here the influence of Bucer's Psalter is more clearly seen, as is also the genius of the translators and compilers of the Authorised Version, who are shown at their very best as they move freely and independently amongst their available sources (Butterworth, 1941: 282).

Verse four:

- P** *Ye if I shulde go thorow the myddes of deth: yet wolde I feare non evel:*
C *Though I shulde walke now in the valley of the shadow of death, yet I fear no euell,*
A *Yea though I walke through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil,*
- P** *for thou art with me: thy staffe and thy shepe hoke counfort me.*
C *for thou art with me: thy staffe and thy shepehoke comfort me.*
A *for thou art with me: thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.*

Comment: The two central phrases echo Bucer's Psalter. Coverdale depends on Bucer in the last phrase and has merely updated the language.

Verse five:

- P** *Thou shalt sprede and garneshe me a table*
C *Thou preparest a table before me*
A *Thou preparest a table before me*
- P** *ye and that in the sighte of myn enymes;*
C *against mine enemies.*
A *in the presence of my enemies.*
- P** *thou shalt souple my hed with ointment*
C *Thou anoyntest my heade with oyle*
A *Thou anointest my head with oil*
- P** *and my full cuppe shall laughe upon me.*
C *and fyllest my cuppe full.*
A *my cuppe runneth over.*

Comment: The second phrase in the Authorised Version would appear to be a slight emendation of the phrase from Bucer.

Verse six:

- P** *Ye and thy mercy and ientlenes shall folowe me all my lyfe:*
C *Oh let thy louynge kyndnes and mercy folowe me all the days of my life,*
A *Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life:*

P *I shall sitte in the house of the lorde a long time.*

C *That I maye dwell in the house of the Lorde for euer.*

A *And I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.*

The internal evidence for the influence of Bucer from the above comparison is admittedly small. However, the fact remains that Bucer did make an albeit limited contribution to the literary descent of the English Bible. He does have an influence here, which must be recognised, no matter how small that might be.

There is, however, yet another thread to add to the cord of Bucer's influence on the English Reformation and its child, Anglicanism. This is again by means of his literary input to the English Bible. By the endeavours of his commentary on the Psalms, Bucer set in place a number of factors that have become significant elements in the process of the exegesis of the Psalms in English Protestantism. The medieval system of allegorisation, arising from the interpretive principles of the Schoolmen, was decidedly undermined and replaced by Bucer's investigative and analytical style of exegesis. Bucer's replacement system included:

- the multiple authorship of the Psalms;
- the valuing of Rabbinical commentaries for their understanding of the underlying Hebrew text;
- the quest for the historical moment of the individual Psalms composition;
- the typological interpretation with direct application to the life of the contemporary believer; and
- the treatment of the Psalm titles.

In all of this, Bucer established a new direction for the scientific approach to biblical exegesis. This had an immediate impact on the course of the English Reformation and Anglicanism through the means of the translation work of George Joye and others, and also the circulation of his original Latin commentary. With the passage of time other exegetes would become more influential and popular, but the direction that they now followed was the course established by Martin Bucer.

4.3 THE EDWARDIAN PRAYER BOOKS (1549-1552): A LITURGICAL INFLUENCE

The Reformation in sixteenth century England was not as swift and decisive as was that in Germany or Switzerland (Poll, 1954: 142). In contrast with the reforms of religion in these countries, the transformation in England was rather gentle and gradual. The Reformation in England began by creeping into the Church by means of the thoughts and teaching of the Christian Humanists like *Desiderius Erasmus*, who taught a new view of the Bible whilst lecturing at Cambridge in the early sixteenth century. This impetus for reform has been likened to the waves of the sea gently lapping at the edges of the shore of the English Church, never quite inundating it, but nevertheless leaving the shoreline changed (Clebsch, 1964: 1). Historians still debate the exact origins of the Reformation in England. Two schools of thought maintain a tension around the nature of the fundamental cause. One school of historians would have us believe that the cause may be traced to the desire of Henry VIII to divorce his wife, Catherine of Aragon, whilst others maintain that the English Reformation had its roots in the fact that it was but a parallel movement to that of Germany and Switzerland (Webber, 1955: 153). Whatever the truth of the matter, the fact remains that in England there was a successful restraint – both political and religious – placed on the progress of the Reformation (Needham, 2004: 376, 378). This control was personified in King Henry VIII and a series of compliant church and government officials that he commissioned or coerced to do his will (Clebsch, 1964: 3). As the political needs of the king began to shift and change, so too the restrictions previously placed on the progress of the Reformation in England were commensurately reduced (Cuming, 1969: 49-51).

Long before Bucer began his short exile in England, he had a growing influence on the evolving and reforming liturgy of the English Church. The publication of his commentary on the Psalms in 1529 was quickly followed by the publication of the English translation by George Joye in 1530. Joye also issued his Primer in the same year, which included a harmony of the Gospels as well as a selection of Psalms, all by Bucer (Cuming, 1969: 50). By 1535 an entire English Bible was circulating openly – if still not legally – and other Protestant literature was in mild profusion issuing from the London printing houses (Cuming, 1969: 9). A year later, by royal command, the obligation of having an English Bible in every church in the land was mandatory (Poll, 1954: 142, 143). In 1536, Bucer issued his commentary on Romans and dedicated the

work to Archbishop Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury. From 1538 onward, the growing friendship between the two men led to the establishing of a regular exchange of correspondence between them. This gave to Bucer an advantage in the influencing of the reforms in the English Church (Poll, 1954: 143).

The pre-Reformation Church in sixteenth century England had a variety of books designed to regulate worship. The most important of these were:

- the Missal, containing the framework of the Mass, the Scripture portions appropriate to Sunday, Wednesday and Friday, with certain other special days and the readings for saints' days. Beyond this there was no uniformity of content and special needs and local requirements of a public or private matter might be included;
- the Breviary, containing a content similar to and sometimes the same as the Missal. Generally, it contained the framework for the Mass, the Psalter, the Daily Office, the Offices of the Dead and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the readings for saints' days. Depending on local needs, it may also have occasionally contained a Hymnal and the Martyrs' Calendar;
- the Manual, containing the priest's services, which comprised Baptism, Matrimony, Churching, Visitation of the Sick, the office of the Dead and Confirmation;
- the Pontifical, containing the services at which a bishop was the celebrant, such as Ordination, Confirmation, the Installation of an Abbot, the Consecration of a Church, the degradation of a Heretic and the bishop's own special blessing; and
- the Processional, containing the music for processions on Sundays, Rogation Days and other such local requirements.

The content of these books varied in accordance with local requirements, as seen above, with the exception of the Pontificals, which were in the main in the possession of an individual bishop rather than a diocese. By the dawn of the sixteenth century, only five diocesan variants were extant: Salisbury, York, Hereford, Bangor and Lincoln. Of these five variants, Salisbury (Sarum) was then the dominant diocese, showing that well before the advent of the Reformation in England, "all the realm" was very close to having but one common source for church worship (Cuming, 1969: 28-31).

The beginning of the sixteenth century found discontent with the medieval services to be widespread throughout Europe. This was due in part to the renewal of scholarship in the Renaissance and the rediscovery of the Bible in the original languages. These combined to produce a new attitude of mind that was quickly coined 'the New Learning', which went hand in hand with the Reformation in Europe. The first impact of this new attitude was felt in the area of the liturgy (Cuming, 1969: 32-35). In all of this it was initially Wittenburg that led the way, but there was a simultaneous stirring in Strasbourg and Zurich, where similar principles produced similar results. At Strasbourg, Bucer was in constant contact with both Luther and Zwingli, each of the three acknowledged leaders of the Reformation being well informed of the others' progress in liturgical reform (Cuming, 1969: 33).

The course of events at Strasbourg differed a little from the pace of liturgical changes at Wittenburg and Zurich. Both Luther and Zwingli acted swiftly to introduce amended liturgies to the churches within their sphere of influence, their definitive versions being published in 1526, whereas the revision that took place at Strasbourg was more or less continuous for a number of years. In 1524, Bucer published his *'Reason and Cause of the Renewals from the Divine Scriptures'*. In this, he argued for the sacrificial element of the Mass to be replaced by the memorial aspect (Spijker, 1996: 20). This publication foreshadowed further liturgical revisions issued in the following years. In the same year, at Strasbourg, the Mass was conducted in German by Theobald Schwartz. These revisions of the liturgy at Strasbourg continued for a number of years, giving rise to a number of slightly differing versions being simultaneously in use (Cuming, 1969: 37). The year 1526 saw Bucer as the leading light amongst the Reformers at Strasbourg; it also saw a pause in the development of the liturgy at Strasbourg that was to last until 1537. In this year Bucer issued a fresh revision to the Strasbourg liturgies that revealed a move away from a dependency on Luther and a decided movement towards Zwinglian ideals. This Strasbourg liturgy was to have a wide influence, particularly in the South of Germany (Cuming, 1969: 38).

Such was the growing influence of Bucer on the progress of the Reformation in Europe that his service forms soon spread well beyond the city of Strasbourg. In 1539, the city of Cassel in Hesse adopted the Strasbourg liturgy. In Geneva, the return of John Calvin saw this same liturgy, with a few minor amendments, introduced there in 1541. The Strasbourg liturgy of 1533 was translated into French by Guillaume Farel, a one time

minister at Strasbourg, and then into English in 1550 by one William Huycke. These service forms did not greatly influence the liturgy of the English Prayer Book as such, but taken together they did help to coalesce and form the liturgical ideals of many Englishmen during the next hundred years (Cuming, 1969: 43, 44). Bucer's Strasbourg liturgy was also to have some impact in a surprisingly different direction.

In 1536, Hermann von Wied, Prince-archbishop of Cologne, made suggestions to remove abuses of the liturgy within his diocese. A number of changes were proposed and agreed with the Provincial Council. Johann Gropper, a canon of the Cologne cathedral with reforming ideas, published, alongside the changes, a handbook (the *Encheiridion*) that was issued in 1538. Although these developments were welcomed by the progressive elements within the Church, there was no action taken to implement the changes. Finally, in 1542, to break the impasse, Hermann invited Martin Bucer to come to Cologne and for him to draw up a revised liturgy. Philip Melancthon was also invited to contribute to the revisions. The archbishop expressed a desire for the revision to follow the Brandenburg-Nurnberg liturgy, but Bucer interpreted this wish with some freedom. The main sources used for the new Cologne liturgy were Brandenburg-Nurnberg and Albertine Saxony, both Lutheran in sympathy, and Bucer's own services instituted at Cassel in Hesse, which reflected the Strasbourg liturgy. Thus we have here a convergence of two disparate liturgical streams. The resultant liturgy was published in 1543 and 1544 (Cuming, 1969: 44) and became known alternatively as the Cologne liturgy or *Hermann's Consultations*.

The new liturgy stirred the conservative elements of the Roman Catholic clergy into action. A rebuttal was published entitled '*Antididagama*', which was edited by Gropper. To this Bucer replied with a carefully worded defence, but such was now the strength of the opposition that the new liturgy was never put into practice (Procter & Frere, 1929: 28, 29). Yet Gropper's work was sufficiently liberal in interpretation of Roman Catholic doctrine for it to be banned and placed on the *Index of Prohibited Books* (Cuming, 1969: 45). All was not lost, however, for the controversy had been followed with interest in England. In 1545, *Hermann's Consultations* were translated into Latin by Albert Hardenberg and published as the '*Simple and Religious Consultation*'. An English translation of this work then appeared in 1547 with another in the following year (Poll, 1954: 135). Among the documents studied by Archbishop Cranmer in preparation for the production of the English Prayer Book there features the

Encheiridion, the *Antididamaga* and the *Consultation*, each having left some mark on the English Prayer Book (Procter & Frere, 1929: 29; Cuming, 1969: 45). Because all these books were among the materials studied in preparation for the Prayer Book it will be seen that Bucer did exert an indirect and external influence on the reforms to the English liturgy.

Political considerations during the years of the decade from 1530 onwards provided the initial driving force for some attempts to reform the English Liturgy. Henry VIII, with the active encouragement of his Vicar-General Thomas Cromwell, began to look sympathetically at the Lutherans. Henry needed allies and in his foreign policy he tended to favour the Lutheran princes of Germany. They, in turn, viewed Henry with no little suspicion. Henry's motives were entirely political and the Lutherans insisted on purity in doctrine and practice. Thus it was that no treaty or agreement was ever reached between the two parties. However, the negotiations did provide the necessary incentive for the initial reform of the English liturgy (Cumming, 1969: 51).

The English liturgical reforms proceeded slowly and were accompanied by a fresh attempt to make the Bible accessible in the native tongue. In December 1534, Henry was petitioned by a Convocation of the English bishops for an authorised English version of the Bible. The King responded in 1536 with a Proclamation for Uniformity in Religion, issued shortly after the publication of the Coverdale Bible (October 1535). In the Proclamation Henry, while strongly maintaining that he was not compelled by God's Word to set forth the Scriptures in English, stated that he "of his own liberality and goodness was pleased to have his subjects read the same in convenient places and times". In 1538, the Vicar-General Cromwell followed up the Proclamation with a series of Injunctions that, amongst other things, made provision for a Bible to be set up in a convenient place in every church, "where it might be read without noise or disturbance of any public service, and without any disputation, or exposition". The Injunctions also made special provision for the people to be taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments in English (Procter & Frere, 1929: 29, 30). Whilst the placing of the Bible into the public domain should not be perceived as an invitation for the nation to indulge in the reading of Scripture, for as yet the bulk of the population was illiterate, the injunctions did imply a significant development in the growth of the movement for reform in England (Hazlett, 2003: 41).

Once again Henry's fitful interest in the Lutherans came to an abrupt end when the political situation altered in 1540. The international scene at this time was grave for England: France and the Hapsburg Empire had negotiated a peace settlement; there was talk of a crusade by France, Spain and the Empire against heretical powers; in addition, the presence of Catholic Scotland and Catholic Ireland completed the encirclement of England. Henry was thus diplomatically isolated and surrounded, and the treaty with the Protestant Princes of Germany seemed an irrelevant speculation (Hazlett, 2003: 43, 44). In such a situation there was a marked return to Roman Catholic doctrine and practices. Lutheran material included in officially sanctioned church handbooks was purged. Paradoxically enough, however, with the re-issue of the officially sanctioned doctrinal statements, the first real steps towards reform of the service-books were made (Cuming, 1969: 53).

In 1541, a new edition of the venerable Sarum Breviary was issued. It had omissions that clearly evidenced the breach with Rome (Procter & Frere, 1929: 30). All references to the Pope and St Thomas à Beckett were purged (Cuming, 1969:53). Confusing the situation even further, in 1543, Henry issued instructions to Cranmer that there should be further revisions to the service books. In February of that year, Cranmer informed the Convocation that it was the King's wish that all service books of the Church of England should be:

... newly examined, corrected, reformed, and castigated, from all manner of mention of the bishop of Rome's name, from all apocryphas, feigned legends, superstitions, orations, collects, versicles, and responses; that the names and memories of all saints which be not mentioned in the Scriptures or authentic doctors should be abolished, and put out of the same books and calendars, and that the service should be made out of the Scripture and other authentic doctors.

(Benton, 1910: 7.)

A committee was established to progress this matter consisting of bishops and learned lay persons. Cranmer now felt able to discreetly introduce more reformed practices. Consequently, instructions were also issued to every parish that on Sundays and holy-days one chapter of the New Testament should be read to the congregation in English without exposition. Thus, the first steps were taken towards liturgical reformation by introducing the reading of Scripture in English during the public services of the Church (Procter & Frere, 1929: 31).

The years 1543 and 1544 gave further opportunity for the work of reform to be moved forward in England. The harvest of 1543 was very poor. Henry ordered special litanies to be conducted, but these were very poorly attended. To remedy the situation he ordered the litanies to be prepared in English, hoping to stimulate interest. The political situation in 1544 gave another opportunity for progress, as England and France declared war on each other. Again Henry ordered special services. The Latin was once more to be translated into English, but Cranmer interpreted this instruction in a broad manner and rendered the services into a very free English version. Surprisingly, these were published in 1545 and by royal proclamation replaced all previously used litanies. In this manner some of the first parts of the coming English Prayer Book were brought into existence even when there was still a great measure of resistance to the reform movement in England (Bromiley, 1956: 18).

Henry's official policy of enforcing a strict Roman Catholic doctrine and practice on the Church made any progress towards liturgical reform necessarily slow. The growing dissatisfaction with this rate of advance continued to build up and Cranmer felt that some degree of uniformity in worship was necessary to, at any rate, quieten the advocates of reform who, if left unchecked or unplaced for a time, could provoke an adverse reaction from the king. To this end, there was published in 1545 a new Primer with royal approval. Sales of all previous Primers were forbidden. This new King's Primer, as it became known, was traditional in content with the exception of the new litany of Cranmer and it was published in Latin, English and in both languages combined. From this point forward the emergence of the English Prayer Book was but a short step away (Cuming, 1969: 58, 59).

King Henry VIII died on 28th January 1547 and three days later his son, Edward, became King Edward VI. While Henry lived it was impossible for the movement for reform to make very much progress. All Henry's predilections were in favour of the Roman Catholic rites. For his own political reasons, Henry was quite prepared to hear the views of the Reformers and to consider their arguments in favour of radical changes to the styles of Church government and the forms of worship, but he yielded very little to them. However, important changes had come about: the Church of England had become a distinct body, with no allegiance to Rome, the Bible was made available to the people in English and declared to be "the only touchstone of true learning", the litany had received royal authority to be translated into English, and the Reformation of

religion in England had progressed, despite the apparent conservatism of the king (Benton, 1910: 14, 15).

The first Parliament of Edward passed an act, approved by Convocation, which required the public administration of what used to be referred to as the Mass – now called ‘Communion’ or ‘Lord’s Supper’ – under both kinds and to be performed in the English language. By this act, the cup and the bread were for the first time legally given to the people (Benton, 1910: 15). The very next step, taken in March 1548, was the appointment of a committee consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury and certain of the most learned and discreet bishops, with other learned men of the land to “consider and ponder” the premise of “a uniform, quiet, and godly order” (Cuming, 1969: 66). This committee (sometimes referred to as the Windsor Commission) finally assembled at Chertsey Abbey on 9th September 1548 and commenced its deliberations at once. Within the very short period of three weeks, the new Order was delivered to King Edward at Windsor. The speed with which the committee produced the Order has led some to conjecture that a draft must have been in existence before the committee met. That Cranmer had a good deal of experience in matters pertaining to the drawing up of various schemes is a well-established fact (Cuming, 1969: 66). Certainly, evidence exists that he was already drafting revisions to the service books prior to the issue of the new Order, but little else is known about the preparation of this first Prayer Book (Cuming, 1969: 66-68).

With the king’s assent the Prayer Book was submitted first to Convocation then, after debate and approval, it was passed on 9th December 1548 to Parliament, where it was debated by the House of Lords and in the Commons. Finally, on 21st January 1549, by an Act of Parliament the Book of Common Prayer became the standard for the worship and practice of the Church of England (Benton, 1910: 16; Cuming, 1969: 68).

During this period, events in Europe were moving to a conclusion in the matter of the authority of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. The Smalkald War – that is, between the Emperor and the alliance of German Protestant princes – had resulted in the establishing of a temporary ascendancy for the Emperor. Charles moved swiftly but carefully to enforce his will in the matter of religion throughout his domain. The document known as the Augsburg Interim, issued in 1548, was in his view the means of placating and reconciling the various religious opinions of the day within the context of

his own firmly held Roman Catholic beliefs. The Emperor saw the Interim as a vehicle of reconciliation; to many of the Reformers, however, it was regarded as a rejection of their principles and a persecution of their faith (Eells, 1931: 393, 394). The consequence of this dichotomy of views was an exodus of notable continental Reformers to realms where the writ of the Emperor was invalid. Amongst these refugees was Martin Bucer who, finally responding to the invitation of his friend Archbishop Cranmer, travelled to England and arrived safely in April 1549 (Cuming, 1969: 65). Bucer arrived too late to have a direct influence on the production of the first Prayer Book, but through his earlier continental liturgical works – namely *Hermann's Consultations* – he did exercise an indirect and external influence on this first edition. Bucer, however, was to have an influence and make a more significant contribution to the Prayer Book when it came to be revised in 1552 (Cuming, 1969: 45).

Reaction to the first Prayer Book of 1549 ranged from outright rejection to a fulsome rejoicing. Henry VIII's first daughter, the Princess Mary, simply ignored it and continued to have the older Latin Mass conducted by her chaplains. The bishop of London, Edmund Bonner, took no steps to introduce the new book into his diocese until ordered to do so. Many priests made a show of using the book by disguising it in all the old external trappings of the Latin Mass. Amongst ordinary worshippers the most violent reaction was seen in the West Country where a rebellion was triggered and spread with alarming rapidity. The rebels compared the Communion service to a 'Christmas game' and demanded a restoration of the old ways of the Latin Mass. There were many, however, who welcomed the new book with its dependence on the English language as the medium of worship. Amongst the foreign divines exiled into England there was thankfulness for such reformation as had been achieved, whilst at the same time hoping and expecting a further edition to clarify and explain some still dubious content (Cuming, 1969: 96, 97).

Thus it was that when Bucer arrived in England, in April 1549, the first Prayer Book was already coming into use. The introduction of a service book of this type into the religious and public life of the people marked a most critical juncture in the progress of the English Reformation. The fact that Bucer should arrive in England at this most crucial time presented the prospect for a serious advance in the development of the Reformation. From his position as the Regius Professor of Theology at Cambridge University, Bucer was to exert a stimulating impact on the course of events as the

Reformation was further extended in England (Spijker, 1996: 346). It was, therefore, quite natural that Bucer's interest and energies should be concentrated on the Prayer Book. From a study of this service book he would be able to discern the religious trends within the country that reflected his own religious convictions. Reading the book – albeit by means of an interpreter – Bucer would have instantly noted the sections that clearly reflected his own convictions. These had been extracted almost verbatim from *Hermann's Consultations*, of which he had been one of the major contributors. It is a fact that much of the first Prayer Book was viewed as little more than a translation into English of those sections of the Consultation that clearly revealed the hand of Bucer (Eells, 1931: 411). However, in order to guarantee a continuing existence for the book as an expression of Reformed liturgy and doctrine, Bucer was convinced that a further work of revision was necessary to remove expressions and passages that may have been open to a Roman Catholic interpretation (Hopf, 1946: 55, 56). In this Bucer's attitude was reinforced by the contention of Bishop Gardiner, who maintained that the first Prayer Book was not a departure from Rome, but that it sustained a Roman Catholic interpretation (Procter & Frere, 1929: 81).

Bucer's very first letter to his colleagues that yet remained in Strasburg reflects his deep interest in the first Prayer Book. He writes:

The cause of religion, as far as appertains to the establishment of doctrines and the definition of rites, is pretty near what could be wished. Efforts must now be made to obtain suitable ministers... We hear that some concessions have been made both to a respect for antiquity, and to the infirmity of the present age; such, for instance as the vestments commonly used in the sacrament of the Eucharist, and the use of candles... They affirm that there is no superstition in these things, and that they are only to be retained for a time, lest the people, not having yet learned Christ should be deterred by too extensive innovations from embracing his religion, and that rather they may be won over. This circumstance however greatly refreshes us, that all the services in the churches are read and sung in the vernacular tongue, that the doctrine of justification is purely and soundly taught, and the Eucharist administered according to Christ's ordinance, private masses having been abolished.

(Hopf, 1946: 56.)

Despite strong opposition from Archbishop Cranmer, the major architect of the first book, by the close of 1550 work on the revised Prayer Book was well under way. Bucer was asked to submit suggestions for this revision and he responded with some alacrity, as he had already reviewed the book and passed comments upon it to his colleagues at

Strasbourg. Very quickly, Bucer produced the critique of the book, which history knows as his '*Censura*'. The work was a detailed study and critique of the current Prayer Book, containing much positive recommendation and praise and some recommended alterations and deletions. This was submitted on the 5th January 1551 to Bishop Goodrich of Ely (Eells, 1931: 411, 412), who subsequently informed Archbishop Cranmer of its contents (Cuming, 1969: 100).

Bucer's work for the revision of the first Prayer Book indicates that he was quite satisfied with the matter of the respective doctrinal content and even considered it as being consistent with his own views. He did feel, however, that there was a need for a critical revision of some of it. He did not object to ancient rites and ceremonies as handed down to the Church throughout the ages, as long as they had not been converted into "superstitious papistical practices". Herein lay the very essence of his difference with the Puritan Party as it then existed within the Church of England. In their desire for a Church disconnected from tradition and external practices, the Puritans gave no regard to any forms of ancient continuity. Bucer was too much of a Churchman not to see the faults and potential dangers of such a policy. The suggestions contained within the *Censura* for improvements to the Prayer Book do not aim at an overthrow of such tradition, but rather at a clarifying of intent and the deletion of anything that gave rise to – or support of – superstition. In this respect Bucer, by his constant references to the Church Fathers and their ancient practices, gives clear evidence of the value that he placed on that inheritance, to which the Church of the Reformation was now so much indebted (Hopf, 1946: 57, 58).

The precise extent of the influence of Bucer's *Censura* is somewhat difficult to assess. The *Censura* contained approximately sixty criticisms, of which over one third were incorporated into the second Prayer Book. A similar number were not responded to and simply ignored. Of seven points on which Bucer suggested alternative wordings, these were not adopted but were dealt with by other means. The Communion Service received a commendation from Bucer. He spoke of it as, "So pure and religiously conformed to the Word of God, especially for the time at which it was made" (Cuming, 1969: 101).

Bucer also found many other items worthy of commendation, and also some practices that he considered totally inappropriate. Amongst the latter he found the ringing of church bells an unnecessary encumbrance unless used for the purpose of calling to

worship or warning of public business (Whitaker, 1974: 140). It is somewhat surprising that the *Censura*, although an important influence on the revisions to the second Prayer Book, was only known in manuscript form until it appeared in print in 1577 (Spijker, 1996: 351). What is arguably more amazing is that this printed version should first appear at Basle under the supervising editorship of one Conrad Hubert, who gathered up the works that Bucer completed in England and then issued them, in Latin, under the general title of the '*Scripta Anglicana*' (Whitaker, 1974: 1). An English translation of this important critique of the first Prayer Book was not available until Whitaker's book of 1974. Consequently, the *Censura* was only available to a few prior to 1577. Thus for some twenty-six years after it had been written, it was a very little known work. Few knew of the important role that it had played in the revision of the 1549 Prayer Book and of the suggestions and amendments that it contained, of which a number were carried out in the second Prayer Book. The question then arises: why is so little credit given to Bucer and his *Censura* with respect to the revision of the first Prayer Book? Many alterations were made by the compilers of the second book, which were often independent of Bucer's suggestions or even ignored altogether; changes were made that were neither wanted nor recommended by Bucer, and yet there remains a clear indication that the *Censura* was consulted and used in the production of the second Prayer Book (Hopf, 1946: 60).

Hubert's publication of the *Scripta Anglicana* of 1577, with the inclusion of the *Censura*, provides a significant turning point in a controversy that had already arisen regarding Bucer's involvement in the revisions to the second Prayer Book. Prior to the 1577 publication, any claim for Bucer's involvement in the revisions was treated with a great deal of suspicion or considered untenable by contemporaries who had neither seen the work nor knew of its existence or of its considerable influence. Those who did not know of the work accused those who both knew it and appealed to it of relying upon a work whose authorship was questionable and might itself, therefore, be of spurious origin. Moreover, the suggestion was made that by quoting from this work an attempt was being made to buttress doctrinal and ritualistic views by means of a dubious work (Hopf, 1946: 60). The controversy was to linger on through the following centuries.

An example of this controversy may be seen in the correspondence on the same subject between Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603) and John Whitgift (1530-1604). Cartwright was a professor at Cambridge University who, whilst not wishing to separate from the

Church of England, favoured a Presbyterian form of church government (Barker, 1977: 64). Whitgift was, for a time, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University before becoming Archbishop of Canterbury (Barker, 1977: 303). Their argument regarding Bucer's involvement – or the lack of it – in the revisions to the Prayer Book, covered the period from 1572 to 1577. In this rather protracted disagreement, Cartwright denied to Bucer any part in the revisions to the second Prayer Book. Whitgift maintained the alternative position, asserting Bucer's heavy involvement on the same. Cartwright did not possess the *Censura* manuscript. Whitgift, on the other hand, both possessed and extensively quoted from it in the defence of his position, even going so far as to translate quoted sections into English. Cartwright argued that the use of the *Censura* was not a legitimate intellectual tool because of the doubts regarding its authenticity. He further chided Whitgift for not having brought Bucer "out of his study and into the stationer's shop where he might have been common to others as well as you". In this manner Cartwright implied that he doubted whether Bucer had written the *Censura*; or at the least, that the quotations were corrupted by some form of selectivity on Whitgift's part. In answer to all of this Whitgift stated that the *Censura* would be published and that all would see that it was consistent with other works of Bucer (Hopf, 1946: 60, 61). This controversy between the two men is indicative of the growing polarisation between those who sought a 'pure' church and the other party that would acquiesce in the 'status quo' of the Elizabethan Settlement (Porter, 1958: 137, 138).

That there was a strong feeling that Bucer and his *Censura* did not have an influence on the second Prayer Book continued as a topic for theological debate right up into the nineteenth century. In the Bampton Lectures of 1804, the then Bishop of Cashels, Richard Laurence, attempted to minimise the influence of Bucer's *Censura* by reference to two letters of the period that on a merely perfunctory level denied to Bucer any involvement in the revisions. On closer examination, the letters were found to be supportive of the alternative view – that the bishops had taken note of Bucer and the *Censura*. A more thorough inspection of the Prayer Book with Bucer's suggestions reveals a striking influence over the former by the latter. Thus the arguments of the Bampton Lecturer and others of his persuasion were found to be without substance (Hopf, 1946: 61). Moreover, in his monumental work on the history of the English Church published in 1885, the Church historian RW Dixon finds no place in the revisions to the second Prayer Book for the influence of those he terms as "foreigners", amongst whom Martin Bucer is included (Dixon, 1885: 281). From an entirely different

and somewhat unexpected quarter, however, there comes support for the involvement of Bucer in the revision to the second Prayer Book. Cornelius Schulting (1540-1604), a Roman Catholic scholar with a profound liturgical knowledge, writing from Cologne in 1599, mentions Bucer repeatedly in his *'Bibliothecae Ecclesiasticae'* to the effect that he did make a significant contribution to the second Prayer Book (Hopf, 1946: 64). It becomes clear, then, that there is a matter to be resolved here regarding the influence or lack of such influence upon the second Prayer Book by Martin Bucer and his *Censura*.

Constantin Hopf turned his considerable energies to the immense task of comparing the first and second Prayer Books with the *Censura* of Bucer, producing the definitive comparison in 1946 under the cover of his book entitled *'Martin Bucer and the English Reformation'*. The book conclusively confirmed the involvement of Bucer in the first Prayer Book by means of the inclusion of the material previously published under the title of *Hermann's Consultations*, which was the basis for the Reformed Liturgy of Cologne (Hopf, 1946: 94). Procter and Frere, whilst rebuking the over zealous estimate of foreign Reformed services and their supposed influence on the first Prayer Book, make an exception for *Hermann's Consultations*. They did not, however, pursue this matter (Procter & Frere, 1929: 90). It was thus left to Hopf to research and to prove the thesis of Bucer's involvement in the first Prayer Book.

Turning now to the second Prayer Book, this matter of Bucer's involvement and influence has received extensive, if somewhat patchy attention, down the years. Until the arrival of Hopf's work on this subject the best analysis is to be found in the published works of John Cosin, the Bishop of Durham (1594-1672). His works were gathered together by the Parker Society and published first in 1855 as *'The Works of the Right Reverend Father in God, John Cosin, Lord Bishop of Durham'*. Within the fifth and final volume of this work there appear numerous notes with reference to the influence of the *Censura* upon the second Prayer Book, under the title of *'Notes to the Common Book of Prayer'* (Cosin, 1855: 399-501). Hopf has taken cognisance of this work; building upon it, he has given a broader and more definitive analysis of the extent of Bucer's influence on the second Prayer Book.

In the final analysis of Bucer's influence on the second Prayer Book, perhaps I may quote from a work by Professor David F Wright. Prof Wright is the present leader of the Cambridge University's 'Bucer Project', which is currently seeking to bring the

Reformer and his works to a wider audience in the twenty-first century. Referring to the changes brought about by Bucer's *Censura* he says that:

... it cannot be denied that the second Edwardine Prayer Book, and consequently also the 1662 Book, bear many traces of Bucer's mind and hand, both in what it prescribes and in what it excludes. Omissions include the baptismal use of chrism, unction and the blessing of the water, and in the Communion the signing of crosses over the bread and the wine and references to the departed in the Prayer for the Church and to the ministry of angels in the Prayer of Oblation. Among Bucer's contributions... are the choice of lessons, the bishops address and questions asked of the candidates in the Ordering of Priests, in the baptismal service parts of the initial rubric, the opening exhortation and the first two prayers, the addressing of questions to the godparents instead of the child and the location of the whole action at the font, and in the Communion the delivery of the bread into the hand and not the mouth, much of the General Confession, the Comfortable Words and parts of the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church. Bucer was also responsible for a heightened emphasis on congregational presence and participation.

(Wright, ed, 1972: 27.)

We have seen then that Bucer was an influence on both of the Edwardine Prayer Books. That the Prayer Book was redrafted, amended and refined over the centuries is not the question here. Our concern has focused on the foundation that was laid by the first two Prayer Books of Edward VI. In our final analysis of these we must recognise that a significant contributing factor in the developing liturgy of the English Reformation and Anglicanism is the part played by the mind and hand of the Reformer, Martin Bucer.

4.4 THE CHURCH: AN ECCLESIOLOGICAL INFLUENCE

Perhaps more than any other Reformer, Bucer concentrated on the Church. To be more precise, he concentrated on its ministry to such an extent that it would be fair to entitle him as a "theologian of the ministry of the church" (Spijker, 1996: 2). The views Bucer held on this subject were formed, shaped and crystallised by the historical circumstances into which he was placed and by his growing and developing understanding of the Scriptures. In all of the struggles in the various stages of his life we see a mature concept of the ministry of the Church emerging. The struggle with the Roman Catholic Church, the conflict with the Separatists, the strife over the Communion, the efforts to promote the Reformation with several church orders in South and West Germany and, above all this, his exertions on behalf of the Reformation in Strasbourg all contributed

to the development of a theology of the ministry of the Church that the matured Bucer referred to as “the middle way” (Spijker, 1996: 5).

When Bucer finally accepted the warm and insistent invitations of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer to leave the increasingly embattled city of Strasbourg and to come to England, he came with his theological beliefs fully formed, having them now firmly grounded in the Scriptures and his long pastoral experience at Strasbourg. England, therefore, received in Bucer one who was well qualified to assist in the promotion of Reformation truth and skilled beyond many in the reform of church polity. Coming to England at this crucial time, he was welcomed as the greatest possible asset and ally to Archbishop Cranmer and the reform party that Cranmer represented within the Church of England.

The Church of England inherited by King Edward VI and his Privy Council reflected the eccentric *mélange* of religious opinion established by King Henry VIII. Under Henry, the Church of England had broken away from the near-millennial association with the Bishop of Rome. In Henry’s headlong search for money to prop up the defence of his realm, the monasteries, friaries and nunneries had been left as empty shells, sold off, torn down or merely left to rot or were converted to country houses for the new wealthy gentry. There had been a limited experiment with liturgical reform, an English Bible was available, some services of a special nature were said in the vernacular and yet Henry had not given a clear unequivocal signal as to where his future plans for the direction of the Church lay (M^{ac}Culloch, 1999: 1, 2). Henry had, however, made some preparations that gave a hint for that future direction.

Towards the end of 1546 and the beginning of 1547, King Henry had placed into positions of power on his Privy Council men who were of a decided reform stance. Despite the previous hazards and checks to the cause of the Reformation in his realm, Henry left reform minded activists in an unassailable position to assume power at his death. That Henry was unaware of the agenda of this reform group is most difficult to accept. The reform party were now determined to join the religious revolution that they saw sweeping through the rest of Europe. The English Church, as a direct result of Henry’s political and religious see-saw policy of some thirty-eight years, now lay helpless before them, as a limb severed from the body of the Western Latin Church. Edward and his Privy Council were now poised to implement the alternative programme for religion that the reform party promised (M^{ac}Culloch, 1999: 5, 6).

Into this situation stepped one of the leaders of the Continental Reformation. On arriving in England in April 1549, Bucer was introduced to the youthful King Edward VI and the Lord Protector, Edward Seymour, the Duke of Somerset. He was at once appointed Regius Professor of Theology at Cambridge University and from this position of influence he exercised a stimulating impact on the course of events, as the Reformation was now extended into England (Spijker, 1996: 345). Bucer's exile in England was the last period of his life, but this period is not the least important for the matter of his influence on the English Reformation and the Church of England. By means of his written works, his lectures, the expert opinions requested from him, the programme of Reformation that he drafted for the king, and the many questions concerning the significance of the Church and its ministries to which he directed his attention, Bucer impacted the liturgical, ecclesiological and sociological ideas and institutions that existed around him (Poll, 1954: 168). The works he produced while in England form the repository from which his influence may be most clearly discerned and it is to these that we must now turn.

The major works of Martin Bucer written in England form the bulk of the publication known as *The Scripta Anglicana*, published in 1577. This work, though reputed to contain only Bucer's works written in England, contains a few items that he produced prior to his exile. Both Gerrit Jan van de Poll and Andrew Edward Harvey are in error here as they assume that the compiler of the *Scripta Anglicana* was correct in his inclusions (cf Poll, 1954: 168; Harvey, 1906: 63, 66). However, subsequent research has identified that some of the included works were written before Bucer's exile and should not, therefore, have been included in the published works (Spijker, 1996: 346). That apart, the six works that bear a relation to the subject in hand are correctly included and are identified as:

1. *The writing – so necessary for our times – of the most learned Martin Bucer on the restoration of the lawful ordination of ministers of the church;*
2. *The very learned lectures of the distinguished Dr Martin Bucer on the epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians, delivered at Canterbury in the years 1550 and 1551;*
3. *Commentary of Martin Bucer on [the statement of] the Apostle in Ephesians 4: "Bearing with each other in love; preserving the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace";*
4. *Commentary of Martin Bucer on the power and practice of the sacred ministry;*

5. *On the kingdom of Christ;*
6. *Critique of Martin Bucer on the Book of Common Prayer, which is of the ordination of the church and of ecclesiastical ministry in the kingdom of England, written at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer.*

(Spijker, 1999: 346, 347.)

In this last work, which is more commonly known as the *Censura*, the final phrase of this title is a gloss by Hubert and it is incorrect. The *Censura* was written for Bishop Goodrich of Ely, who passed it on to Cranmer (see Wright, ed, 1972: 27). Otherwise, apart from this minor correction, these works are the main written input of Bucer to the developing Reformation in England and thus contain and contribute to his influence on the Church of England.

These then are the core items that have had a major impact on the subject of the English Reformation and Anglicanism. To help assess these works I shall comment on the work on ordination (the Ordinal), then take together the two works on aspects of the epistle to the Ephesians in addition to the work on the power and practice of the sacred ministry, and finally on the Kingdom of Christ. Having dealt with the impact and influence of the *Censura* under the section on the Prayer Books, I shall not comment further on that work. I will now turn to assess the impact and influence of the other works that, in the main, form the core of Bucer's works written while he was exiled in England, which thus impacted and influenced the English Reformation and Anglicanism.

4.5 THE ANGLICAN ORDINAL: A LITURGICAL AND ECCLESIOLOGICAL INFLUENCE

In the first of these four core works, '*The Lawful Ordination of Ministers*', Bucer discusses the meaning of ordination to office. He successively treats the process as: the calling to office, the examination for office and ordination to the office (Spijker, 1996: 347). The work itself has engendered some controversy regarding the timing of its production. This is vital in order to assess the work and its impact correctly. Did Bucer write having already in his possession an existing Anglican Ordinal, or did he write a work that may be claimed as a source preceding the Anglican Ordinal? This question

needs to be examined as it bears directly on the position that we will take regarding the impact and influence of Bucer's work.

Bucer arrived in England in April 1549, well before the publication of the Anglican Ordinal in 1552. Andrew Harvey maintains that this work was compiled by Bucer during the early days of his exile, while he was a guest in the home of Archbishop Cranmer (Harvey, 1906: 57, 58), whilst van't Spijker detects a backward look to Strasbourg in this work, citing the use of the term "our church" and the explanation of the process of ordination as carried out in other parts of Germany. He goes even further by arguing that it is demonstrable that in a psychological sense Bucer is still living in Strasbourg and from this, he too, assumes an early date for its composition (Spijker, 1996: 347). Yet another authority, Dr WK Firminger, draws attention to the fact that Bucer's Latin Ordinal is undated. From this, he concludes that this Latin Ordinal is a translation from the original English version of the Edwardine Ordinal (see Hopf, 1946: 88, 89).

The question that must be decided upon here appears to revolve around the matter of which came first, the Anglican Ordinal or Bucer's '*Lawful Ordination of Ministers*'. Closer examination of Bucer's work reveals some interesting support for the argument for its seniority of production. When, in 1577, Conrad Hubert produced his *Scripta Anglicana* at Strasbourg, reference in the index to Bucer's works that were written prior to his sojourn in England was made by means of an asterisk against such works. No such asterisk is placed against Bucer's Latin Ordinal. This then means that the work was probably produced in England. Although this does not of itself answer the question of seniority between the English Ordinal and the Latin Ordinal, it does move the matter forward, as when Bucer arrived in England, Archbishop Cranmer was engaged in planning a new ordinal for the English Church, the structure and wording of which was as yet incomplete (Smyth, 1926: 228, 229). The argument, therefore, is that at Cranmer's request Bucer produced his Latin Ordinal in order to assist him in his preparation (Harvey, 1906: 57, 58).

Further evidence in support of the contention for the seniority of Bucer's work comes from an examination of the content of that work. As we have seen, when writing about the preparation and examination of the candidates for ordination, Bucer makes frequent references to "our churches" or "our church". By such terminology Bucer is

commenting on the practices of the churches of Strasbourg, as a marginal note in the *Scripta Anglicana* explains. In describing the practices for ordination in use in Strasbourg, Bucer would appear to be presenting a suggested formula that he considered suitable for the English Church. Cranmer, who was at this stage still compiling his Ordinal, may well have used the available descriptive draft from Bucer in those areas that appealed to his views. Moreover, it is to be noted that if Bucer had an English Ordinal before him as he drafted his Latin production why did he not make reference to it or detail his criticisms of it? If he had intended to make criticisms of an existing English Ordinal or aimed for some revisions to such a work, he would surely have employed the same strategy that he used in his *Censura* on the Book of Common Prayer. Nowhere within the Latin Ordinal is there a reference to a pre-existent English draft, nor do we find any references to areas of contentious doctrine with an attempt by Bucer to outline why he thought it necessary to alter or to amend this existing English formula. I posit the argument, therefore, that such omissions are indicative of the claim that Bucer's Latin Ordinal was produced prior to Cranmer's English Ordinal and that the former was designed as a drafting document for the latter (Hopf, 1946: 88, 90).

The differences between Bucer's Ordinal and the English Ordinal are also surprising allies in support of the view that Bucer's work holds the seniority and thus qualifies as having an influence on the latter work. These differences would seem to suggest that Cranmer, by using only certain parts from Bucer's work, had his own definite fixed views from which he did not depart, despite Bucer's opinions that were before him. For example, although Bucer recognises three ministerial orders within his concept of ordination he provides for all three only one form of instalment to the office. Further, the act of ordination has only one set of words whether it is bishop, priest or deacon that is being ordained. Cranmer's Ordinal, on the other hand, has three distinct sets of words, one for each installation to each of the three offices. Bucer does state that in his opinion a distinction ought to be made between the three offices for ordination, in the matter of the office and its function and the solemnity attached to each (Hopf, 1946: 90, 91). Smyth agrees and quotes from Bucer's Ordinal on this point:

So let ordination be tempered to each: so that when any Superintendent, that is Bishop, is ordained, everything may be somewhat more fully and more gravely done and finished... than when a priest of the second or third order is ordained. So also let some distinction be made between the ordination of a priest of the second and of the third order.

(Smyth, 1926: 230.)

Bucer's suggestion for a somewhat more fully and solemnly administered rite for the ordination of a bishop and priest as distinct from that of a deacon would – in case he had the English Ordinal before him – have made it an absolute necessity that he should give reasons for his disagreement to the distinction as made by that Ordinal. His one set of words for use at the time of the imposition of hands, even omitting any reference to the gift of the Holy Spirit in ordination, suggest a doctrinal concept of ordination different from that of the English Ordinal. So it is all the more compelling to consider that the absolute lack of objection or doctrinal argument in Bucer's Ordinal is directly attributable to the fact that he did not have a copy of the English work in front of him. Thus his work must have been produced prior to that of Cranmer and forms part of the basic documentation from which Cranmer worked and compiled his English Ordinal (Hopf, 1946: 91).

That Bucer's work impacted upon and influenced the production of the Ordinal of the Church of England is clearly apparent (Poll, 1954: 165-167). In 1552, the Anglican Ordinal was published as, "The Form and manner of making and consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons". Bucer's form of ordination can be seen distributed over the three distinct services in this English Ordinal. Passages originating in Bucer's work are thus to be found in those parts of the three English services where the structure of his rite follows parallel lines. Brightman illustrates the dependence of the English Ordinal on the work of Bucer by the following listing of items where a direct dependence is clearly seen:

- Choice of Lessons;
- Questionnaire: (all eight questions in the Form for Ordaining of priests from Bucer. Four out of seven for deacons taken from Bucer. Three questions for bishops taken from Bucer);
- The challenge for any 'impediment' in the rite for priests;
- The allocution (rite for priests);
- Rubrics; and
- Prayers.

The hymn '*Come Holy Ghost*' was already in the ancient Sarum rite and this was accepted into Bucer's Latin Ordinal and also into the English Ordinal (Brightman, 1915: 932, 934).

Clearly, Bucer's influence on the Ordinal of the Church of England is well attested. Indeed, it was through this work that he exercised a profound influence on the ministerial offices of the Church and Anglicanism.

4.6 EPHESIANS AND THE POWER & PRACTICE OF THE MINISTRY: FURTHER LITURGICAL AND ECCLESIOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

Martin Bucer's great love and interest in the letter of the apostle Paul to the Ephesians is very clearly evident in the fact that he spent a great deal of his time preaching, lecturing and writing upon this particular New Testament book (Spijker, 1996: 348). He frequently preached in the university church at Cambridge, Great Saint Mary's (Harvey, 1906: 48) and the underlying text that he took was often from Ephesians (Spijker, 1996: 348). Although the commentary on Ephesians chapter four listed elsewhere is often mistakenly viewed as part of Bucer's lectures to his student (Poll, 1946: 168), it is actually part of a sermon that he preached on the occasion of an ordination (Spijker, 1996: 348). Lectures on Ephesians were a prominent feature of Bucer's ministry while in Strasbourg. He lectured on this epistle throughout the 1520s and in 1527 a commentary by him on Ephesians was published (Wright, ed, 1994: 45). Here again, during the exile in Cambridge, Bucer turned to this well-loved epistle and lectured on it from 1550 to 1551. The notes on these lectures were gathered and published posthumously in 1562 as his second commentary on the epistle to the Ephesians (Wright, ed, 1994: 45). One may conjecture as to why Bucer should spend so much of his time and energy on this one New Testament book. Chief among reasons for a pastor (and Bucer was a pastor at Strasbourg) to select any book above another from which to develop his preaching and teaching ministry must be the perceived needs of his auditors. Another reason must also be the concerns and emphases of the pastor. In this respect Bucer's two commentaries on Ephesians reflect the strong emphasis – from within his own theology – on the Church and what were for him the observed requirements of his congregations. This, then, provides us with a rationale for the considerable emphasis that he gave to the Ephesian letter.

There is a considerable difference in the context of the two commentaries. Strasbourg in the 1520s and Cambridge in the 1550s presented two very differing sets of circumstances for Bucer. In Strasbourg, he wrote in the context of controversy with the

Roman Catholics, the Separatists and the Lutherans. In Cambridge, however, he wrote in the context of a controversy solely with Roman Catholic doctrine and practice on the Church. This is the reason why in the second commentary, the Church, its sacraments and ministry find greater emphasis, with an extended expression of ministry in the Church in a special discussion on Ephesians chapter four (Wright, ed, 1994: 46). These three publications then – Bucer’s second commentary on Ephesians, his commentary on Ephesians chapter four and his work on the ‘*Power and Practice of the Ministry*’ – form the main repository for the thoughts of Bucer on the ministry of the Church, which had an impact and an influence on the liturgical and ecclesiastical scenario of the England of 1550s and beyond (Spijker, 1996: 352). This latter book was never completed as Bucer was still working on it immediately prior to his death. It is broadly hinted that he knew that the book was his swan song; he himself stated that its purpose was to make available his entire teaching and profession as a witness to his hearers (Spijker, 1996: 348, 349). In all of these three works Bucer covered an extensive field in the theology of liturgy and ecclesiology. Questions on ceremonies, of the sacraments, the structure and government of the Church, alongside many other topics form the content of these works. Although his views on usury when commenting on Ephesians chapter four (verse 28) gave cause for a long dispute, for many of his students used their capital invested at interest to fund their academic life, yet many an English theologian found in these works rich veins of material for their particular arguments. In them, Bucer’s firm statements on matters appertaining to liturgy, ecclesiology and other associated doctrinal subjects gave strong assistance to their polemic (Hopf, 1946: 19).

However, to comprehend Bucer and his concepts on the ministry of the Church, it is necessary to understand first of all just what is his view of the Church was. In the three works – all written in England – that are the substance of Bucer’s writing on the book of Ephesians, he gives to us the essence of this view. He first presents eight arguments that refute the then Roman Catholic thinking on the matter and goes on to define his position more clearly by presenting to us his positive arguments in definition of the Church. Thus, by assessing his arguments against his opponents and then reviewing his positive statements about the Church, we may arrive at the answer to the question: what was Bucer’s view of the Church?

Within his commentary on Ephesians, Bucer identifies eight arguments frequently used against him by his opponents (Wright, ed, 1994: 55). The first of these arguments

concerns the definition of the Church and its members. Bucer's opponents claimed that the Church is the congregation of baptised people who make themselves subject to the authority of the Church of Rome and its leadership. They described as members those whose faith was dead, including even criminals providing they were willing to acknowledge the Roman pontiff and observe his discipline and teaching. Even while leading the most shameful of lives, such people were viewed as part of the Church. Those who taught other than this the Roman Church labelled schismatic. Against this, Bucer maintained that the elect of God alone were the members of the true Church (Wright, ed, 1972: 213).

The second line of controversy was concerned with whether the church has one head on the earth to whom all must be subject, and if that head was the Roman pontiff. Here Bucer's extensive knowledge of the Church Fathers is brought to bear with devastating effect as he demolished the arguments in favour of such an earthly head, allegedly derived from the "consensus of the Fathers". He revealed that there never was a consensus of the kind that his opponents imagined. Bucer quotes from Cyprian (AD 200-258) that the episcopate of the universal church is undivided; all its regularly ordained bishops have each one part of it to govern with full control and all possess equal authority. He quotes also from Gregory (540-604) to establish that the view expressed by Cyprian then held sway in catholic tradition. Furthermore, he presented a convincing biblical argument to support his contention that the possession of an earthly head by the Church is both wrong and intolerable. Concerning the Roman teaching on the delivery of the keys to Peter, he affirmed that they were not given to him alone, for later they were given to the rest of the apostles as well (cp **Mt 16:19; 18:18**). Bucer further argued from the biblical data that it is the Holy Spirit, who as our only Advocate, leads us into all truth. Through the Scriptures, the Holy Spirit demands that to be a bishop a man must be present in person, to direct, feed and instruct the flock. The Roman bishop is clearly unable to fulfil this requirement. Bucer concludes – with appeals to the Council of Chalcedon, the writings of Cyprian, and the epistles of Paul – that every church is to have its own bishop and that all are thus equal in status and authority (Wright, ed, 1972: 213, 214).

The third argument deals with the antiquity of the church, which Bucer's critics maintained had existed before the Scriptures, as in the times of Adam and Noah. For Bucer, such a notion was both a case of false reasoning and a fallacy, for from it there

have appeared other Roman errors. On the question of the Church's existence prior to the compilation of the Scriptures, he agreed that the Church takes precedence over the written Word. However, he points out that without faith there can be no church and, furthermore, without the Word there cannot be faith. Thus Bucer argued that while the written form of the Word was lacking, that Word which was later written down was already in the world, his argument being that "faith comes by hearing the Word of God" and that comes from the very mouth of God (**Rom 10:17**). All God's people in every age are born again by means of the Word. For him the real issue here was what form the Word had taken. Bucer concludes that the Word was in existence in the world before being committed to writing and, therefore, before the Church came into existence (Wright, ed, 1972: 215; 1994: 55).

The other error that Bucer regarded as depending on this false reasoning concerning the Church – and, therefore, developing from it – was the fallacy that it is the Church that gives to us the Scriptures and thereby assigns authority to them. This entire argument he describes as "a stupid and shameless fallacy". Here he contends that the devil has mingled his own books with those of Christ and what has actually happened is that the Church has simply distinguished the divine from the diabolical. However, it has not assigned authority to the books of Christ but has merely withdrawn it from the others by showing that they are not divine. Bucer declares that Christ taught the supreme authority of the divine Scriptures when he said: "Search the Scriptures". The Scriptures are eternal and, therefore, the authority of Scripture is also eternal. It is not the church councils that settled the authority of the Scriptures, but the Holy Spirit that has moved the hearts of the faithful in every generation to persuade them to ascribe his authority to the canonical books and to reject the rest (Wright, ed, 1972: 215, 216).

The fourth issue that Bucer took up with his opponents was regarding the claim that the Church has the power to alter the teachings of the Scriptures. In this respect they quote the fact that the Church changed the Sabbath into the Lord's Day, baptism was made in the name of Christ alone and Christians are commanded to abstain from meats that had been strangled. Bucer considered all this as a misrepresentation and a fallacious reasoning. Concerning the Sabbath, Bucer states that the whole of the Scriptures indicated that the Mosaic dispensation was to come to an end with the advent of Christ. For example, in the former days God was only to be worshipped in a specially designated place, whereas now he is worshipped everywhere; previously worship

involved numerous ceremonies, but now these are abolished and worship is to be “in spirit and in truth”. Bucer maintained a dual purpose behind the Sabbath. He strongly argued for the balancing of both of these purposes. First, there is the setting aside, honouring and outward observance of a fixed day, by means of a cessation from work; this much has been abolished. There remains, however, an inward and spiritual purpose to the commandment itself, which is the preservation and renewal of worship by the hearing of God’s Word. Just as long as the Church continues on earth, this aim will never change. Thus Bucer argues that there is no necessity for the same day to be invariably observed, and so the Church from the beginning of the Christian era designated the day of Christ’s resurrection for all Christians to be free solely for the advancement of the Christian faith by means of a witness to that resurrection (Wright, ed, 1972: 217). Similarly, baptism in the name of Christ is related by Luke; but, says Bucer when we baptise at the command and word of Christ, we are not baptising in the name of antichrist. Again, when we baptise in the name of Christ, is it not implicitly conjoined with the whole Trinity? In this way he argues that no change is made here to the Scriptures. Concerning the apostolic injunction on the use of strangled meats, he argues that it is clear that this was but a temporary enactment passed because at that time the majority of the Church consisted of Jews, who had abandoned their ritual observances with great reluctance. Therefore, this decree was passed for a period to ease the coming together of the Gentiles and the Jews (Wright, ed, 1972: 216, 217; 1994: 55).

The fifth argument that the opponents of Bucer levelled against him was that of error concerning the proposition that it was the Church that ‘moved’ people to trust Christ. To this charge he reasoned that it is the responsibility of the Church to set before men the gospel of Christ, whilst it is God’s responsibility to bring or ‘move’ men to faith in the gospel (see **Rom 10:17**). Here he cites the writings of Augustine against the Manichees, in which he points out that it was by the use of the Scriptures that he himself was enlightened and convinced. For Bucer, belief in the gospel was not a matter of the Church’s doing but rather the gift of God by his Holy Spirit (Wright, ed, 1972: 218).

The controversy continued with the sixth claim by Bucer’s opponents: that the Church cannot err, to which Bucer replied that the matter was too ambiguous. He argues that the term ‘church’ must be clearly defined before any claim for inerrancy can be considered appropriate (Wright, ed, 1972: 218). What church is in view here as the subject of the claim? Bucer argues that the statement is true of the Church triumphant and of the

Church militant composed of genuine members of Christ, living in union with him as their Lord, but not of those whom his opponents regard as the Church, whether that be defined as all the baptised or as the so-called 'representative church'. This 'representative church' was a device coined to cover the council of bishops and to present them as having a mandate from the Church (Wright, ed, 1972: 218, 219). For Bucer, however, the bishops who composed this 'representative church' were all heretics. Their manner of appointment had invalidated their claim to office, which they had obtained by means of simony, "the first of heresies" (Wright, ed, 1972: 56). Bucer continued to counter the claim to inerrancy by an appeal to Church history. He cited the experience of the Church under the Emperors Valen and Constantine, when all but a few lapsed into the Arian heresy. It was God's merciful intervention by means of true members of Christ that the Church was saved from remaining in error. No, says Bucer, the Church on earth is not without error, but the power of Christ within the individual and, therefore, the Church means that the Church does not persist in error (Wright, ed, 1972: 219-221).

Turning now to the seventh claim of Bucer's opponents, that the Church has equal authority in every age, so that we must heed what its decrees now no less than those of the apostles. This was also disallowed by Bucer. For him the test was not conformity to the past decrees of the Church, but rather the conformity of the Church to the teaching of the Scriptures. This was Bucer's exacting criterion by which the views of Rome relating to the defining of the Church were to be assessed (Wright, ed, 1994: 56).

The eighth and final argument that Bucer refuted within his definition of the Church refers to the 'catholic consensus of the churches' and, specifically, whether it is more highly regarded by his opponents than by himself. In this matter, he was keenly aware that the truth must be brought to bear against the illusion whereby an external harmony might deceive the uneducated. He, therefore, proceeded to argue that the consensus is to be found in matters of doctrine, the sacraments and discipline, which are followed by a godly, renewed life, without which all things are full of death. He argued from the example of Christ, the apostles and the early Church up to the time of Augustine of Hippo that these all acknowledged and maintained with a strong consensus that the sacred Scriptures teach and reveal with fullness, comprehensiveness and supreme certainty all that is necessary to eternal salvation. On this account it is required that, without any respect of persons, the Scriptures should be opened and often in the hands

of all. Christ proved everything from the Scriptures, whilst Augustine accepted nothing that could not be demonstrated from the Scriptures. This, argued Bucer, is the catholic and universal tradition that he endeavoured to observe and maintain. Bucer also draws attention to the fact that it is his opponents who overthrow this ancient tradition by forbidding the laity, under pain of death, to even possess the Bible in a vernacular translation. He therefore concludes that it is they who have departed from the catholic consensus and not himself (Wright, ed, 1972: 222, 223).

Bucer then starts, in a series of clear positive statements, to build his definition of what is the Church. He begins with the statement that the Church is the body of Christ (Wright, ed, 1972: 202). He further clarifies this by stating that, just as the human body is controlled by the head, so too the body of Christ is “governed by the Spirit and word of Christ” (Wright, ed, 1994: 54). Thus for him the Church consists of the elect and regenerate and rightly comprises all who are united to Christ, whether in heaven or upon the earth and is thus known to God alone. It is not to the Church that we are to resort for instruction on this matter, because this is beyond our knowledge; however, we do possess in the canon of Scripture the sole and final record for determining what is the consensus and mind of God on the matter (Wright, ed, 1972: 202). For Bucer, the image of the Church as the body of Christ is the very best representation of the intimate relationship that exists between Christ and his own. The Church may be described as a citizenry of Christ or as the house of Christ, but the image of the Church as the body of Christ is for him the very best description of the intimacy of relationship that exists between them (Spijker, 1996: 354). The question may be asked: exactly how does one come into this body, this relationship? Bucer’s answer is unequivocal: this bond between the Lord and his own is established by regeneration. Only those who are regenerate belong to this body (Spijker, 1996: 354). This matter of the Church as the body of Christ was of great concern and consequent emphasis in Bucer’s writings on the Ephesian letter.

Bucer recognised that, though the Church as the body of Christ was composed of the truly regenerate, there would be in the visible church on earth those whom one must regard as ‘weeds’. The Church on earth would, therefore, contain a mixture of true believers and those who were false. These latter would possess a dead faith (having no works of love) or a temporal faith (not having been regenerated, but forbearing of the commands of Christ). Whilst these were to be tolerated in the external fellowship of the

Church, any Roman Catholic notion of an implicit faith was to be resisted and rejected. The reason for this is that in Bucer's opinion such a concept inevitably led to an inner decline of the Church. This was especially true in the case of the office bearers. He immediately adds that the means whereby God has instituted for the blessing of his people do not become less effective because of their administration by unbelieving office bearers. Bucer maintained that the godly can receive the word of God and the sacraments to their own blessing even when administered by ungodly ministers (Spijker, 1996: 354, 355).

That Christ is the head of the church, his body, was for Bucer not only the source of the body's vivifying power, but also a clear indication of the relationship of rule and obedience that this bond sustains. In the analogy presented by the head and the body connection, Bucer saw the rule of Christ clearly depicted. The body is in complete and total subjection to the head and thus, in this headship, he saw the rule of Christ set forth. As far as Bucer was concerned, this headship of Christ is indicative of his kingship and, therefore, his rule over the Church. These two concepts – of life from Christ the head and rule by Christ the head – were effectively used by him in his rejection of all forms of vicariate in the Church. He consistently drew out all the implications of these two ideas and made them a fruitful part of his ecclesiology (Spijker, 1996: 355, 356).

Furthermore, in the second place the Church is referred to as universal, that is, the Church of all who have been born again by true faith and are here on earth absent from their Lord. Here once more Bucer insists we must not look to the Church as teacher, interpreter and judge of the Scriptures; for the Church in this context is never gathered in one place, neither does it assemble at the same time. True, the Church does share and live by one common faith, is nourished by the same gospel, employs the same sacraments, though with some permissible variety in minor things (Wright, ed, 1972: 202/203). It is in the local churches, however, that Bucer sees the tangible expression of the body of Christ as this universal Church. For him, the church is after all an assembly of people in various individual areas, cities, parishes, families and homes, who call upon and worship the same God by the same faith (Spijker, 1996: 357). It is these gatherings, though separated by geography, which are by virtue of their common faith constituted the one universal Church (Wright, ed, 1972: 203).

Bucer argued from what is true of these local churches to what holds good for the universal Church in the present, not vice versa (Spijker, 1996: 357). He considered the local church as representative of the universal Church and as in the 'here and now'. It is visible, it is to assemble at certain times and in certain places, it is to hear the Word of God and, to this, its members are to pay attention. In these local assemblies there is the ministry, the dispensing of the Word and of the sacraments and every aspect of religion out of the supply and direction of the Holy Spirit according to the Word. These churches possess their own regular ministers, who are present to discharge their office in person and gather the elect to God. None of the earthly members of these churches become its head; its head is in heaven, in Christ. The princes and magistrates of the local areas may of course be called 'heads', but only in the body politic and in political government, not in the Church (Wright, ed, 1972: 203). This fundamental difference from the organisational structure of the existing Anglican Church, where the prince in the person of the king is the declared head of the Church, Bucer left unresolved (Wright, ed, 1994: 69).

For Bucer, the character of the Church is the crucial factor in distinguishing between that which is the true Church and that which is the false. In this matter, Bucer has left us with five essential characteristics by which we may define and identify the true Church (see Wright, ed, 1994: 54):

- Attention is paid to the voice of the Shepherd, for "he who is born of God hears the words of God", and linked to this is the shunning of the voice of strangers. In hearing this voice, the Church has understanding, preaches, believes, lives, and worships;
- The ministry of teaching: the Lord entrusted this method of governing his Church to the shepherds of the churches;
- Suitable ministers of the Word. This third distinguishing mark of the true Church necessarily springs from the second. Where this is lacking, the Church belongs not to God but the devil;
- The lawful dispensation of the sacraments. It is Christ who has commanded the sacraments; therefore, the ministers of the Word are to teach all things that he has commanded and it is the duty of the people to heed such commandments. Christ has also commanded discipline. Where discipline collapses the ministry becomes corrupt and the devil sows his tares;

- Righteousness and holiness of life; Bucer maintains that by these God is therein glorified.

In Bucer's ecclesiology, then, these are the essential marks of the true Church; where they are lacking, whether in part or in the whole, the body of Christ – that is, the Church – does not exist (Wright, ed, 1972: 205, 206).

A further strong shift in emphasis seen within the second commentary on the letter to the Ephesians is the place given to the sacraments. Bucer now enters upon an extended discussion of baptism and the Lord's Supper. In his 1527 commentary, these two sacraments received but scant attention. Indeed, it is noteworthy that the text itself does not call for such a lengthy discussion, apart from **Ephesians 5:26**. Bucer also makes an excursion into the rite of the laying on of hands. This rite was used in confirmation, ordination and the reconciling of those who had gravely sinned. He contends that the great example for the rite is the Lord Jesus Christ and the apostles. In the Church, the administration of these three he views as belonging principally to the function of the bishops and presbyters (Wright, ed, 1994: 59).

Bucer then expounds on the two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, as the visible signs by which the invisible gifts of God are communicated. Here he is following the lead of Augustine of Hippo, who first used these sacraments as the signs and seals of the New Covenant. In his exposition of these matters, Bucer carefully distinguishes his position from that of the Roman Church. They look only to the outward sign, ignoring the purpose of the sacraments, they separate what is signified from the sign itself, and in all this they confuse and thwart the purpose of Christ. For, says Bucer, God himself knows our nature and that we have a need of some outward signs; he knows that these two sacraments of Christ, though being outward signs to us, are not lacking in meaning, but they exhibit what they declare. Bucer now stresses what the sacraments are designed to declare and what is communicated to us, that is, regeneration or incorporation in Christ, the communion of his body and blood, and the gift of the Holy Spirit. Here, as ever with Bucer, the effectiveness of the sacraments is limited to the elect only. This is sometimes expressed in terms of faith receiving what is offered by the Word and the sacrament (Wright, ed, 1996: 59).

Here it is that we see Bucer's thoughts on baptism and the Lord's Supper correlating to his views on the Church. The Church is otherwise designated as the "body of Christ", the "assembly of believers" and the "gathering of the saints", and it is in this fellowship of a closed community that the "sacred mysteries of salvation" function accordingly. In this high view of the sacraments Bucer is motivated by the idea that Christ the Saviour is himself present in the midst of his own, giving himself in these same sacraments as the food and drink that is to maintain and sustain the faith of his people's entire new life (Spijker, 1996: 447, 448).

We have already noted that Bucer had a great concern for the church and its ministry and to this important aspect of his influence on the English Reformation and Anglicanism we must now turn. A major difference between Bucer's earlier commentary on Ephesians (1527) and the later commentary produced while in England is to be seen in the development of his understanding of the ministry. In the later work, the ministry is explicitly portrayed as an integral and most necessary part to the life of the Church. Indeed, it is noted as an essential mark of the character of the true Church. Bucer has now defined the Church as a fellowship gathered together by the Spirit of Christ, comprising clergy, ministers and people (Wright, ed, 1972: 206). He states that this is the way that Christ exercises his rule in the Church, by means of the ministry. In Bucer's view, those who perform the ministry and its services are to be termed 'ministers' (Spijker, 1996: 383).

God chooses to administer his salvation in various ways and so there is a variety of orders or ranks of ministers. There are two major groups of such ministers. The one group is termed temporary and comprises the apostles, prophets, speakers in tongues, exorcists and those who heal people by their word. The Lord does not furnish these to his church for all time. The second major group comprises of pastors, overseers, elders and deacons, and these the Lord ordains in every church and in all times (Spijker, 1996: 383, 384). With regard to these permanent ministers of the church, Bucer remarks that there is a certain lack of clarity in the distinctions between them. This he attributes to the unsystematic manner in which the synonyms of office are used in the New Testament record (Spijker, 1996: 386). Bucer recognises that there is here a certain exegetical uncertainty. However, he also demonstrates something of his practical orientation. He constantly and consistently reveals the extent of his great ability by the avoidance of a final theological formulation that would have locked him into a precise definition that

would have opened himself up to the criticism of exclusiveness. He left his views with sufficient openness to take cognisance of practical realities. He poses the question: "How many necessary offices of the Church are there which it must have today?" He answers his own question by stating that the Church needed three: the ministry of the pastoral office, that of the care of the poor, and of the school to train young people for the Church. With regard to the structure of the Church of England, Bucer's proposals recognised the Episcopal system that already existed (Spijker, 1996: 386, 387).

By discussing in such detail the ministry as referred to in Ephesians chapter four, Bucer once again reveals his practical application in the light of existing realities. Here he speaks of three ministries, that of doctrine, sacraments and discipline, and also of temporary and permanent ministries. He writes that these three permanent ministries of the Church are to be present today, together with deacons. He identifies the offices of ministry as: pastors or minister; overseers or bishop; elders or presbyters; and deacons. Connected to these ministries, Bucer adds that of evangelist and teacher or doctor. It is the solemn task of all these ministries to increase the Church both numerically and in terms of godliness. The evangelists and teachers are to do this by means of preaching; the pastors, overseers and elders by administering additionally the sacraments and discipline of Christ; and the deacons by serving the other offices and also by caring for the poor (Wright, ed, 1994: 57, 58; Spijker, 1996: 386-388). It is clear that for Bucer the episcopate and the presbyterate are in principle the same (Spijker, 1996: 388). This element of ambiguity in Bucer will give rise to much debate in the future concerning the nature and governance of the Church in England, and both the major parties in the coming controversy will claim him as their ally, as we shall shortly see.

In this second commentary on the epistle to the Ephesians, Bucer laid a greater emphasis on the ministry and the ministers of the Church. Such a stress, however, is not at the expense of the centrality of the Lord Jesus Christ's direct ministry to the Church. It is Christ who saves; it is Christ that – as Teacher and High Priest – is the first and foremost minister of the Church. This ministry of Christ is exercised through his ministers, which he gives as gifts to his Church. Bucer relates this entire interconnecting ministry to the analogy of the human body and its limbs, Christ himself being the glorious head (Wright, ed, 1994: 58).

By means of the didactic stance he adopts within his writings, Bucer had a significant impact on the development of the Reformation in England and on Anglicanism. The fact that he did not directly attack or argue against the established governance and hierarchy of the Church of England left the impression that he acquiesced in the continued existence of the status quo. There is a further complication, however, within the perceived influence of Bucer on the developing English scene. The element of ambiguity within his definition of the role and relationship of the Church officers gave tacit support to an embryonic Presbyterianism, which was already emerging. This helped to set the scene for the rise of an intense struggle in the later years of the sixteenth century and beyond, between those who would conform to the existing patterns of government within the Church of England and those who wished to purify the Church by purging all that echoed Rome – and that included the episcopate.

4.7 THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST: THEOLOGICAL AND ECCLESIOLOGICAL INFLUENCES IN A SOCIOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The most characteristic of all Bucer's writings was the last one that he wrote and completed, entitled *The Kingdom of Christ*. This book, written during his exile in England in 1550, reflects the entire career of the Reformer insofar as it set forth his doctrinal and practical understanding of the Reformation that he had achieved in connection with his work and experience. The book reveals Bucer as a man with an exceptional talent for ecclesiastical organisation, a teacher with a great power for communication and a theologian with a deep moral conviction (Pauck, ed, 1969: 157).

The book was written as a New Year's gift for King Edward VI, a thank you for the monarch's presentation of two stoves to help keep Bucer warm through the cold and damp of the English winter (Eells, 1931: 408, 409). The content of the book was a broad plan for the Reformation of the English church and society (Wright, ed, 1994: 41). It was Bucer's hope that under the auspices of the 'Young Josiah', the Reformation would be established in such a deep and pervasive manner that it would affect the entire life of the nation. The work as a whole presents a considerable achievement. The content is well organised, showing great variety and solid substance. Because of the speed with which Bucer produced the book, it is often assumed that parts of it were written before

the Reformer came to England, though it is acknowledged that he frequently wrote in haste and, thus, it is possible that the whole work was produced in England.

What deserves special notice, however, is how directly and confidently he addressed the English situation into which he had been placed. In this respect he not only gave attention to the problems associated with the reform of the Church, but also tackled questions of a general economic and social nature. These latter matters related to unemployment, poor relief, education, politics and the general social life of the people. The scope of this content is all the more surprising when it is recognised that Bucer did not speak or understand English at all. To obtain the wide spectrum of knowledge that would enable him to address the range of matters covered by his book he must have been a keen observer of the English economic and social landscape around him. This is perhaps one of the acquired skills of a life spent in the realm of the policy maker. Bucer had developed the ability to swiftly assess a situation with a view to producing an adequate resolution. It would appear that even Cranmer's associates, who were instrumental in giving him some idea of English affairs, were impressed by the quick analytical mind of the Reformer, but it was they who frequently consulted him on issues of Church and state rather than the other way round. Early in his exile in England they began to seek his advice on economic, social, doctrinal and liturgical issues (Pauck, ed, 1969: 159, 160).

Concerning the content of the book, Bucer himself stated that its aim was to describe the ways by which we may be taught the eternal Word of God and to help Christian rulers in particular to restore to their people the blessed kingdom of the Son of God, our only Redeemer. He further adds that the book contains proposals designed to introduce the Reformation into England and also proposed outlines for a series of fundamental laws designed to secure the observance of a Christian 'discipline' in all private and social life. To this end, Bucer suggested that the king should establish a council of religious affairs, the primary duty of which would be to draw up a plan for the introduction of the Reformation. Parliament should then be consulted on the provision of a class of evangelists who would be sent to all parts of the kingdom in order to inform the people of the plans made and to render them willing to accept them as their own. In addition to this, he made suggestions regarding the future funding of the Reformation. Church property should no longer be sold off or requisitioned for state use. The retention of such property would allow for the funding of ministers' salaries, ministerial training at the

universities, the maintenance of existing church property and provision for poor relief. Bucer insisted that all these essentials were precursors to the installation of properly qualified ministers and only then could the king proclaim the introduction of the Reformation throughout his whole realm. When all this was in place there would follow a series of enactments by which the kingdom would become a “Christian Commonwealth” (Pauck, ed, 1969:161, 162).

The enactments or laws that Bucer identified as a requirement for this Commonwealth number fourteen and encompass the Church and the whole of the common life. Wilhelm Pauck (1969: 162) summarises them thus:

- religious education;
- the sanctification of Sundays and holidays;
- the sanctification of church buildings;
- the reformation of the ministry;
- the protection of church property;
- poor relief;
- marriage and divorce;
- public education and the conquest of idleness by means of a proper training for the professions and crafts; the supervision of industry, commerce, and agriculture; and the ordering of hostelries, inns, theatres, and public entertainment;
- food;
- civil legislation;
- the civil service;
- the courts;
- the penal system; and
- penal law and capital punishment.

In all of this, Bucer is bringing to bear his experiences in the city of Strasbourg. He adjusted his recommendations in the light of the prevailing situation in England in a

surprisingly adroit manner. Nevertheless, the substance of the package here proposed for implementation in England is most certainly based on his experiences at Strasbourg. It is particularly noteworthy that Bucer addressed the prevailing situation in England in precise concrete terms (Pauck, ed, 1969: 162). The apprehension expressed for the preservation of church property for ecclesiastical use is a subject of grave concern since the instance of Henry VIII and his plundering of the monasteries had set an example before the secular power (Hopf, 1946: 106). In the same skilful manner, the concern expressed for the poor relief and the abolition of idleness and unemployment reflected an understanding of the prevailing economic situation in England, which was most dire for great numbers of people. The rise of the woollen industry, with its demands for ever larger inputs of wool, had led to large areas of the country – previously farmed for crops – now being enclosed by hedges and fences and used exclusively for the rearing of the sheep. This, in turn, had meant that many hitherto employed on the land as labourers were now effectively unemployed, the economic changes that resulted from this giving rise to significant numbers of impoverished people in the realm. Bucer's plan was focused on alleviating this and other associated social problems. Regarding the poor relief, Bucer not only leaned on his experiences at Strasbourg, he also listened to similarly concerned Englishmen, responding to their anxieties by justifying his views on the matter with a new principle of social ethics, namely the sacredness of labour as a divine vocation (Pauck, ed, 1969: 162, 163).

Here, then, we see Bucer bringing to bear all his vast experience and learning in order to complete and amplify all the suggestions for implementing reform that he had made in his preaching, lecturing and writings down through the years. *The Kingdom of Christ* was the vehicle that would carry the focus of all his various proposals on those problems, which he regarded to be of pre-eminent urgency in the scheme for Reformation in England. Bucer arrived at the conclusion that the great need of the hour in the work of reform in England was not the framing of new prayer books and articles of belief, but the correction of practical abuses that existed in both Church and state (Hopf, 1946 99). Hence, the remarkable gift to Edward VI of the book *The Kingdom of Christ*.

Bucer dedicated the book to the king. Like many another, he had great expectations of the young Edward VI. That the recommendations contained in the work would be reviewed by the king, Bucer had no doubts; he hoped, though, for a positive and active

response that would see the course of action implemented and thus to speed on the work of reform and usher in the Christian Commonwealth. In this Bucer was to be sadly disappointed. Before another year was to elapse, both he and the young king were to be carried from the scene by their deaths (Hopf, 1946: 100). The book, however, survived and was printed at Basle in 1557. Then, in 1577, it was reissued as part of the *Scripta Anglicana*, the collected works of Bucer written whilst in England (Pauck, ed, 1969: 162). It contains a programme that is remarkable because it advocates the reform of religion not only in the context of worship and the Church, but also as it relates to the whole of life, thereby possessing important sociological implications (Pauck, 1969: 163).

I have already given an outline of the content of the book elsewhere by means of the laws that Bucer advocated as underpinning his programme. In attempting to assess its impact and influence on the English Reformation and Anglicanism, it is therefore necessary to comment on the salient features of the programme of recommendations that Bucer spelled out in such great detail.

The book is written from the perspective of a number of presuppositions. Bucer does not discuss politics, the nature and types of government, the nature and system of law (whether domestic or international), or the issues of war and peace. Neither does he concern himself with the problems of political power, its origins and nature, or its use and limits. He simply took for granted the existing conditions and circumstances. When he came to anything that was a question of principle on these matters, he simply dealt with them in a pragmatic manner or relied on some theological principle. This later stratagem was for Bucer absolutely true and binding and, therefore, applicable to all and every situation. As Bucer saw it, biblical teaching implied the responsibility for carrying out whatever action that teaching required; and this is the main foundation of the whole book and its programme (Pauck, ed, 1969: 163).

The main presupposition represented in Bucer's book is that of the responsibility that rulers and governments had in respect to the welfare of their subjects. On this matter he has an enlarged view that not only assumed their responsibility for securing happiness for their subjects in this life, but also that such responsibility extended to the eternal estate also. In this, Bucer advanced his belief that those in positions of authority are responsible for the introduction and maintenance of true religion. He derived biblical

support for this view from the example of the Old Testament kings, such as Hezekiah and Josiah. Further reinforcing his contention, he turns to the example of the Christian Roman Emperors, especially Theodosius and Justinian. Bucer idealised these rulers and was not aware of the extent to which his ideas were unhistorical (Pauck, ed, 1969: 163).

Bucer made another presupposition that was similarly difficult to sustain. He believed that the Great Commandment must be the foundation for all laws. In interpreting the moral laws of the Old Testament, he applied them in the context of the Great Commandment with special reference to the Decalogue and the so called Golden Rule: do to others what you want others to do to you. He had no doubt in his mind at all that all legislation had to follow this pattern as a norm. He was equally convinced that this form of legislation could be enforced. He wrote:

“Inasmuch as no sanction or constitution made for the regulation of men’s life and behaviour can sustain the name of law unless it is derived from the principal law of God and received according to the mind of the provident ruler of all things, and so also all the law of God and the entire teaching of the prophets depend on these two headings as our Saviour Jesus Christ affirmed: ‘Thou shalt love God Jehovah with thy whole heart, thy whole soul, and all thy strength and thy neighbour as thyself’ (Luke 10:27), Certainly all laws, whether divinely handed down or issued by men, must be referred to these two headings. In all things whatsoever, therefore, which are known, commanded, or forbidden, all who give, revise, and institute laws must first of all see to it that only that is prescribed to men which is accommodated to a pure and sincere worship of God and a firm and dutiful love and beneficence towards one’s neighbour, and that whatever is contrary to these things is prohibited.”

(in Pauck, ed, 1969: 164.)

Bucer may well have been made aware of the parallels between some of his work and that of Sir Thomas More (1478-1535). There are certainly some striking similarities between More’s *Utopia* and Bucer’s *The Kingdom of Christ*. More, too, had written about the crying need for land reform as a remedy for the apparent economic evils inflicted on some of the population due to the land enclosure policy, and for a better treatment of the homeless and unemployed. These ills had been seen by More during the reign of Henry VIII as well as by Bucer under Edward VI. However, upon closer examination, Bucer’s work reveals a marked difference from that of Sir Thomas More. Bucer’s work has a wider scope of suggestions and has clearer Christian implications with its demands for ethical, political, economic and ecclesiastical reformation of the English state (Hopf, 1946: 101). True, he criticises the obvious abuses seen in the

Church as well as in the State, but at the same time he lays down a concrete plan of suggestions regarding the Christian's duty to correct and alleviate such abuses. He castigated the Church for its supine attitude to pluralism, poor ministerial education and general irresponsibility in regard to ministry. He also reproached the government for the efforts it made in trying to increase revenues by the excessive taxation placed on the Church. He railed at the extortion of the moneylenders and the merchants, pleading that provision be made for the poor and implored that the legal system be clarified and simplified.

Along with this, however, Bucer made definite suggestions for the improvement of Church and State. In his view, the restoration of Christian discipline in the Church and national life would necessitate the restoration of Christian education in the schools and universities; laws needed enactment to elevate the moral standards of the nation, particularly on the matter of marriage; agricultural principles and practices should be improved; the country's import and export imbalance should be redressed by teaching women to weave, thus reducing the need to import finished cloth; the law required revision to reflect not only the seriousness of crime against persons and property, but also to reflect a Christian ethos; crime that impinges on the commandments of God ought also to be punished. To Bucer's mind, a sound relationship between Church and State was essential and such a relationship could not be left to the endeavours of the Church alone. In a Christian England the first impulse in all matters must come from a consideration of biblical principles, for it is this alone that truly distinguishes a Christian state from a pagan one (Hopf, 1946: 102, 103).

Although Bucer was well aware that *The Kingdom of Christ* might well be regarded by some as 'Utopian', his concluding in the work firmly rejected such a view:

"Those who think that what I have presented is too different from present ways of doing things and the thinking of modern men, a matter of wishful thinking rather than practicality, and that I want to design some so called Platonic republic, I earnestly ask, for the sake of the Kingdom and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ and for the salvation all of us have in common, that they would judge and estimate what I have proffered and suggested not on the basis of the judgement of men of this or an earlier age, but by the eternal and immutable Word of God. Those who make an earnest effort to do this will undoubtedly see and acknowledge that all these things are not remote and different from the aims and practices of modern men who glory in the rule of Christ, but rather that they are easy to receive and observe for all who have not decided to renounce Christ as Lord... and that they are necessary for the salvation of mankind both now and forever. For how can

one acknowledge and adore Christ, God and Man, our only Saviour, also as one's own Christ, Redeemer, King, and God, and not accept all His words and try to follow them wholeheartedly, just as they are, the words of eternal life? And is it not necessary for those to whom this has been given, that they receive and embrace the salvation which Christ the Lord offers in His gospel as well as in the sacraments and in all the precepts of this discipline, with as much more ardent a desire and greater a gratitude of spirit as the Creator excels every creature, as God excels men, and as the sure, eternal life and happiness excel a false empty opinion and an imagined semblance of good?"

(in Pauck, ed, 1969: 164, 165.)

Here it is that Bucer has stated as plainly as possible that his work is no utopian dream. He has declared that he considers it eminently practicable and attainable. In his judgement, his proposals were in accordance with "the eternal and immutable Word of God" and, therefore, as feasible as it was true.

Perhaps this would be an appropriate juncture to pass some comment on the biblicalism of Bucer. He clearly thought that in this matter of adherence to the Word of God, his stance was a pure form of biblicalism. In this he was mistaken. His biblicalism was not as pure as he himself believed it to be. In the first analysis, it is plain that Bucer considered that the Old Testament and the New Testament, taken together, form one organic unity. The exegetical chapters of *The Kingdom of Christ* clearly reveal this marked feature. Secondly, he considered that the teachings of the Church Fathers were also biblical and he was, therefore, able to consider them as authoritative and thus a suitable and fit supplement to biblical laws. Consequently, Bucer derived some of his teaching and lessons from them. The range of citations from the Church Fathers reveals the broad sweep of Bucer's knowledge of these writers, for he quotes freely from Tertullian, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine. He also refers to Eusebius, but mainly in relation to what was written concerning the Roman Emperor, Constantine. Bucer considered that the Christian Roman Emperors were to be examples and role models that the Christian rulers of his generation should closely follow. Further modifying his 'biblicalism' was his use of the Justinian' *Body of Civil Laws*. He quotes from this in support of and supplementation to his biblical exegesis. In addition, he also leans on the works of Plato and of Cicero. It is clear that in this matter his biblicalism is built upon a very broad basis indeed (Pauck, ed, 1969: 165).

The Reformation of the Church and of the national life that Bucer recommended in his book is inspired by his particular form of biblicalism as well as his theological convictions. Thus, it is not at all possible to understand his proposals fully without first relating them to these aspects of the Reformer's intellectual capital. Bucer himself makes this plain in the manner in which he constructs his work. He divides his book into two distinct, yet interrelated, sections. The first section is really a preface to the second, in which he introduces and then outlines the ideas on reform that are subsequently presented in far greater detail in the second section. So it is that he introduces his concepts on the Kingdom of Christ, the Church and Christian government in this first section, but always on the basis of his biblicalism and his theological convictions (Pauck, ed, 1969: 165, 166).

Having noted Bucer's biblicalism, I must now turn and give some attention to his undergirding theological suppositions. Bucer's definition of what he considered to be the Kingdom of Christ comes after he has discussed the relevant Scriptures and given an overview of the history of the Church down through the ages. He, therefore, defines the Kingdom of Christ as:

"... the administration and care of the eternal life of God's elect, by which this very Lord and King of Heaven by his doctrine and discipline, administered by suitable ministers chosen for this very purpose, gathers to himself his elect, those dispersed throughout the world who are His but whom He nonetheless wills to be subject to the powers of this world. He incorporates them into Himself and His Church and so governs them in it that purged more fully day by day from sins, they live well and happily both here and in the time to come."

(in Pauck, ed, 1969: 225.)

We may take this definition as a resume of all that Bucer held as his theological convictions. For him the very basic concern was that men should live "well and happily" and, with this in view, he directed his thinking to the ways by means of which the lives of all men could be organised, administered and managed in order to achieve such a purpose. In his own mind and theological thinking, Bucer was convinced that the Church and the extant political government of nations were the two institutions specifically designed for the task of organising, administering and managing the affairs of men. In this line of thinking he was not alone, for this was a shared assumption amongst the Reformers. Where others merely held to this belief, however, Bucer made it one of the major guiding and motivating principles throughout his career. Thus it was

that he was preoccupied with the question as to how the Church and the State could be so harmonised and regulated that this end could be attained.

Bucer was sufficiently wise to know that mere human designing and planning alone would never produce predictable results and that the actions of men do not necessarily provide the desired outcome. Thus, fully alert to the prospect that the very finest organised church and the most ordered government could fail in affording men this 'good and happy' life, as long as these were merely the product of human thinking and enterprise, Bucer viewed the Church and the State as divine institutions, to be used by God as instruments for the realisation of his purposes. So, for Bucer, the concept of the Kingdom of Christ, which for him was synonymous with the Kingdom of God, held great importance, as he thought of the Church and the State only in the framework of the Kingdom of Christ. In his mind, no church or state would be true unless viewed as an expression of the rule of God and, in particular, the rule of God in Christ (Pauck, ed, 1969: 166).

Bucer was firmly convinced that there could be no good and happy life without the Lord Jesus Christ being part of it. Christ is the Lord, King and Saviour of those he has chosen to enjoy the privileges of such an estate; he must rule them, for they are his subjects. In Bucer's theology we see that it is only the elect who will obtain eternal life and, therefore, it is only they who are able to live "well and happily", because they are guided by the Holy Spirit, the agent of Christ among his people. It is through the Holy Spirit that Christ has revealed in the Bible his plan and design for the lives of men. Human life is to be ordered in accordance with the precepts of the will of Christ as thereby unveiled. Furthermore, Christ has chosen to channel his rule through the instruments that are created and established in accordance with his will. It is only through them that men may experience the life that is to be lived "well and happily". The chief instruments for the achievement of this are, of course, the Church and the political government. Again, we must note that the 'instruments' are narrowly defined by Bucer as the Church that is organised in adherence to Christ's law as revealed in the Bible, and the political government that knows itself as being subject to Christ's rule. In this manner, Bucer brought the Church and the State together and linked them to the Kingdom of Christ. For him there was no possibility of thinking about any one of these entities in isolation; they were linked together with an indissoluble bond (Pauck, ed, 1969: 166, 167).

Accordingly, in the thinking of Bucer this Kingdom of Christ was the expression of his rule, which was to be found wherever the rule of Christ was revealed in the life of mankind organised in accord to the will of God as manifested in the Bible. The aim of a life lived “well and happily” was only attainable in a society that was ordered as a Christocracy. For Bucer, such a society was to be realised only where the Christian Church and a Christian government both shaped and dominated that society (Pauck, ed, 1969: 167). Thus far in his thinking Bucer has not departed from the norms established within Christendom by ancient precedence. The struggles between the emergent nation states of Europe and the papacy throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries coalesced around the issue of the papal authority. The question involved in this struggle was simply that of who rules? Did the papacy rule or were these states truly autonomous? To this struggle Bucer was now to make a substantial and significant contribution.

For Bucer, the promotion of true religion was the joint responsibility of both the Church and the State. In this he was reiterating the received wisdom of his era. However, he went further when he stated:

“The kings of this world also ought to establish and promote the means of making their citizens devout and righteous who rightly acknowledge and worship their God and are truly helpful towards their neighbours in all their actions. For this purpose, the kings of this world ought also to be ready to undergo any dangers, exile, and even death itself.”

(in Pauck, ed, 1969: 180.)

Here Bucer continues his line of reasoning to the effect that it is ultimately the responsibility of the political rulers to ensure that the Church should be ordered in conformity to the law of Christ. This is the radical difference marking his contribution to the departure from the previously received wisdom of his era. In his thinking, if necessary, the political rulers were to carry out their responsibility even in so far as to introduce the Reformation. He points out that the State already controls the training and appointment of ministers, a useful tool to be used in the striving for conformity; yet another tool that the state possessed was an element of coercion, which could be used to bring about the requirements of church conformity.

Bucer was thinking about the requirements of Church discipline in the matter of Church attendance on Sundays and holidays. The political rulers and the Church had a shared

responsibility for the advancement of Christianity. The Church, by means of its officers the clergy, maintained the responsibility for the observance of biblical laws concerning, for example, marriage and divorce, whilst the political rulers cared for the maintenance of such items as education. According to Bucer, every person is endowed by God with certain aptitudes and special abilities. These are to be developed for the benefit of the common good. Here it is the responsibility of government to ensure by means of education and proper training that these gifts are developed and used for the welfare of the community. In this respect he states:

“It is the principle function of kings and of governors to search and explore what function of life has been designed by God for each citizen, and to take care that each one is initiated, prepared and helped towards this end from childhood.”

(in Pauck, ed, 1969: 227.)

In this manner Bucer maintained that the State was to be responsible for the provision of education and training and that by this provision every citizen was to fulfil the role for which God had intended them (Pauck, ed, 1969: 168).

In commenting on the function of the Church, Bucer says that it was not enough for the churches of Christ to merely exercise a care for the material needs of the people without making sufficient provision for them to live to the glory of the Lord. This should be done by their being useful to one another, the whole community and the Church (Pauck, ed, 1969: 315). Here he could have used the same phraseology to describe the role and function of the State. Indeed, with regard to the ultimate purpose of the Church and the State, in Bucer’s view, there was very little difference between them. Regarding the nature and final purpose of their responsibilities towards their members and citizens he believed that both were in the service of Christ to bring about his rule in the lives of men. In essence, the State uses coercion (ie, the sword) and the Church persuasion; the State governs by means of laws and their legitimate enforcement, the Church motivates by the means of preaching and teaching the Word of God, and so provides inspiration for that life that is to be lived “well and happily” (Pauck, 1969: 168).

In Bucer’s theological thinking, the functions of the State and the Church have a particularly happy coincidence at the point at which they impinge upon the directing of family life and the basic relief and care for the poor. The State maintains this responsibility by the means of the law and its enforcement; the Church exercises its

responsibility by the means of counsel and supervision, and with respect to marriage and family life, through the instrumentality of preachers and elders and, in the case of poor relief, through the role of the deacons. Bucer maintains that there is an overlap of function here that leads to cooperation in a shared responsibility. He goes on to explain this by stating again that both the State and the Church are the instruments by which the rule of Christ is exercised, thus they cooperate with one another in pursuit of the ultimate end: that man may “live well and happily” in the Kingdom of Christ. Here once more Bucer reiterates his view of the relationship between the political power and the Church. He states that the Church is subject to the State insofar as the State has the control of the common life; the State however, is subject to the Church insofar as the political rulers are to be directed by the ministers of the Church concerning the ultimate aim of all life, which is the establishment of the Kingdom of Christ (Pauck, ed, 1969: 169).

It is well that we note here that in Bucer’s theological understanding this Kingdom of Christ is to be realised in the here and now. For him, the sign that this Kingdom had actually arrived would be when men recognise that a community of love and mutual service has arisen in their midst. This will come into existence in the natural and historical circumstances of life. Through the divine agency of the Holy Spirit, the hearts and minds of men will be permeated by Christian virtues, of which the foremost are those of industry in the pursuit of one’s God-appointed task and the desire for mutual helpfulness. In this regard he writes:

“For those over whom Christ truly reigns seek nothing for themselves but only what is useful for others (1 Cor 13:5): they see to it that each one among them can do his job with complete serenity and diligence, keeping his place in the body of Christ. He does not cause disturbance by meddling, nor is he negligent through indolence or laziness. This is true to such an extent that they refuse to associate with those who fail to do their duty and prefer a life of indolence... In all of this activity they can, as God’s children, readily accomplish by the Spirit of God what they have begun. For this Spirit distributes His gifts to each individual, so that everyone can contribute something to the common advantage (1 Cor 12:7). Accordingly, because brotherly love really flourishes among them, those who are endowed with an abundance of temporal goods share liberally with those who suffer need of these things.”

(in Pauck, ed, 1969: 182, 183.)

Thus, Bucer records his blueprint for the Kingdom of Christ. For him, wherever such a community of mutual love and service exists, so do the Kingdom, the true Christian Church and the Christian Commonwealth (Pauck, ed, 1969: 169).

Here it is that we are faced by Bucer's strongest theological conviction, which guides him in all his writings on practical church government, as well as in his works on theological and ecclesiological subjects. In this work on *The Kingdom of Christ*, Bucer's conviction is reflected in the entire recommended programme that he places before Edward VI. The programme aims at the introduction and establishment of the Reformation in England by no other means than the transformation of the national life accomplished by the power of the Christian faith (Pauck, ed, 1969: 165, 166).

Wilhelm Pauck expresses some doubt concerning the impact and influence of the book on the English scene. He is the most recent researcher into this particular work of Bucer, providing an English translation of *The Kingdom of Christ* from the original Latin in his book *Melanchthon and Bucer* (1969). In conjunction with Philip Larkin, Pauck published a further edition of this translation in 1970, but this omitted chapters on marriage and divorce, thereby being somewhat deficient when compared to the 1969 edition, which proved to be an indispensable contribution to the understanding of Martin Bucer and his influence on the English Reformation and Anglicanism. This first edition was widely praised for the erudite addition it made to the slowly growing body of studies on the Reformer. However, he comes to a negative conclusion on the value of Bucer's book in England, claiming that it exercised little influence because Bucer's impact was cut short by his death, less than one year after the book was issued (Pauck, ed, 1969: 170). The book did not die, however. Conrad Hubert, Bucer's friend and secretary, printed a version at Basle in 1557. Regarding this edition, Pauck says that it is not possible to evaluate to what extent it was distributed, nor indeed, whether any distribution was made in England. But there were other editions. It is worthy of note that a German edition of the book was published in Strasbourg by one Israel Achacius just one year later in 1558. At the same time, there appeared in Geneva a French translation of the work by Jaques Berthet, which is presumed to have been made under the sponsorship of John Calvin. Yet another edition of the work appeared at Lusanne, also in French and similar but not identical to the Genevan edition. Clearly, the work was making some impact upon the Reformation in Europe, but again Pauck demurs and plays down its impact on the Reformation in England (Pauck, ed, 1969: 170).

In any case, the book could have little or no immediate influence in England for in 1553 Edward VI died and the throne passed to his sister, Mary Tudor, eldest daughter of Henry VIII. Queen Mary (1553-1558) was implacably opposed to the Reformation and quickly initiated a policy designed to re-establish the Roman Catholic faith and to dismantle all evidence of the Reformation in her realm (Hazlett, 2003: 49). Her efforts saw Martin Bucer declared as a heretic, his bones dug up, and a public burning of them at Cambridge. Thus during the reign of Mary there was no possibility of the Reformation making progress or of Bucer's recommendations being acted upon (Pauck, ed, 1969: 170).

Pauck also considers that the state of the Reformation in England during the reign of Edward VI was not conducive to the immediate implementation of the extensive proposals contained in the book. He argues that there prevailed a great lack of adequately trained preachers and teachers and that the social and moral conditions within the country at large were so unpromising that no programme for moral and religious reform, as proposed, could be enacted. He concedes that much has been done in the name of reform: the anti-Protestant statutes of Henry VIII had been suspended; the Royal and Episcopal visitation of the universities, cathedrals and major churches, had taken place; collections of catechisms and evangelical sermons had been published; and the Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552, along with the Articles of Religion (1552), had been published and distributed. Moreover, a number of influential Continental divines were active within the realm, augmenting and supplementing the progress of the Reformation. Nevertheless, Pauck considers that the real success of the Reformation could not be seen during the time of Bucer's stay in England (Pauck, ed, 1969: 171).

However, Bucer's book did have some impact upon the mind of the young king. In 1551, Edward composed an essay on the subject of '*A Discourse on the Reformation of Abuses*'. The content of this essay deals first of all with the subject of ecclesiastical power, the observance of the Prayer Book and the introduction of church discipline. The king expressed a particular interest in Bucer's comments on economic and social reforms. In order to "engender friendship in all parts of the commonwealth", Edward proposed to take a number of actions, which included:

- to combat the luxury that had spread throughout all classes of the population; and

- to check idleness and unemployment, which were becoming worse through the inadequacy of the prevailing education facilities.

Edward names all the same evils that Bucer had identified in his *The Kingdom of Christ*. The details of the actions that the king proposed echo the very spirit and tone of Bucer: good education, good laws, a just and fair jurisdiction, exemplary behaviour of officials, punishment for vagabonds and beggars, and good service to all customers and other similar ideals. In all of this, Edward sought an improvement in society by means of an organised structure wherein everyone would fulfil the position in which he founds himself and all is done to promote the wellbeing and happiness of all (Pauck, ed, 1969: 171).

Despite this close proximity of concepts, Pauck does not commit himself to a clear unequivocal statement concerning Bucer's influence upon the young king. He temporises and states that Edward "may possibly have been influenced by Bucer's work". Even the fact that over a two-year period from 1551 Edward embarked on an extensive programme of founding schools, and that his main interest was directed to a catechism on which all training in grammar schools was to be based, fails to impress Pauck beyond an acknowledgment that these things may not have been incidental (Pauck, ed, 1969: 171). But surely such measures as these reveal that the seeds of Bucer's ideas were germinating in the soil of the king's mind? Bucer had attempted to show Edward VI how he might radically Christianise his kingdom by the means of evangelisation and the reform of the academies, with the effect that they may produce a stream of good preachers and teachers. This was a subject for action by the State; it was the role of government to so order and supervise the provision of education that these aims were achieved (Wright, ed, 1994: 42). In this respect, Bucer's book may be seen as an important influence upon the mind of Edward VI – if not the catalyst – that both shaped and prompted the actions of the king in the educational programme of 1551 to 1553. Doubtless the effects of the book would have been deeper and broader in scope had not the death of the king in 1553 interrupted this educational programme. With the accession to the throne of Queen Mary, the Reformation in England came to a swift and abrupt end and Bucer's book, like his mortal remains, were consigned to the fire.

The story of the influence of Bucer's *The Kingdom of Christ* does not end here, however. The ferocity of the endeavours of Mary Tudor to reinstate the Roman Catholic

Church began with a benign cooperation with Parliament. Mary recognised that the legal structures that were conducive to the establishment of Protestantism needed legislation to remove them and their replacement with enactments to restore the old order. Accordingly, she moved resolutely to imprison the Protestant bishops, purge the universities of their heterodox teachers and books, and to repeal all that she viewed as the schismatic and heretical legislation of the preceding twenty years. All seemed to be going well until the Parliament, rejecting the ideas of the restoration of papal supremacy, preferred instead that they retained the Henrician Act of Supremacy that instituted the monarch as head of the Church. Thus, what Mary was left with was not so much a pre-Reformation Roman Catholic Church as a Henrician one stripped of all its Protestant elements. All of this was legally enacted by the autumn of 1554, though Mary's action to stamp out the Reformation was by no means at an end (Hazlett, 2003: 52).

In 1555, Mary instigated a state-sponsored persecution of Protestants in England and Wales. Now began a serious effort to effectively terminate both the literary propagation and the colportage distribution of heretical books and pamphlets by the removal of the intellectual source and a disruption of the commercial distribution network. Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Latimer, Ridley, Hooper and Ferrar, along with some sixteen other clergy, were burnt at the stake. Over two hundred lay persons, mainly from the artisan and skilled working class, many of whom were engaged in the distribution of Protestant works, were also consigned to the flames. Finally Mary revealing, that that she was very well aware of one of the major intellectual sources of advanced Protestantism in England, ordered the bones of Martin Bucer to be disinterred, ritually burnt at Cambridge, and then the ashes to be scattered on the Thames at London (Hazlett, 2003: 53). In this somewhat macabre and theatrical manner, Mary hoped to extinguish what she clearly perceived as a major contributing influence to the English Reformation and Anglicanism.

The death of Queen Mary in 1558 brought an immediate end to the persecution of Protestants in England and Wales. The reign of the next monarch, Elizabeth I, was to be marked by the effective Protestantisation of the realm, by means of what is normally referred to as 'The Elizabethan Settlement'. The legislation of this settlement was embodied in two acts of Parliament, namely a new Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity, both passed in 1559. The ecclesiastical instruments of the agreement were

the Book of Common Prayer (the 1552 Edwardine Second Book of Common Prayer with a few amendments), and the Confession of Faith, or the Thirty-nine Articles. All possible open references in support of a Lutheran or Zwinglian interpretation of the Lord's Supper were removed, leaving a clear impression that the sacramental theology of the Reformation and the Church of England was now decidedly in the mould of Bucer and Calvin (Hazlett, 2003: 59, 60). The Reformation position now obtained a permanent settlement and, with only slight modification and additions, the Church of Elizabeth's day is the position that the Church of England holds at the present time (Thomas, 1955: 137).

With the reintroduction of Protestantism that occurred under Queen Elizabeth I in 1558, Bucer's work would appear to have had no immediate or continuing effect. Of course, the reason for the apparent neglect of his work is not difficult to find: Bucer's name no longer carried the authority it had held while he was alive. Others now enjoyed the privilege that once was his. However, I have referred previously to Bucer's singular ability to win and maintain friends. This outstanding attribute of his character now meant that he continued to be remembered with great respect by a large number of former contacts. Amongst these were a significant number who now occupied positions of tremendous influence in the Church of England. One of them was Edmund Grindal (1519-1583), who was Bishop of London (1558-1570) then Archbishop of York (1570-1576) and finally Archbishop of Canterbury (1576-1577). It was he who collected the treatises, memoranda and other materials that Bucer had written in England and forwarded them to Conrad Hubert for inclusion in the *Scripta Anglicana* that was eventually published at Basle in 1577. Hubert dedicated the work to Grindal in gratitude for his cooperation. In turn, Grindal frequently expressed his sense of indebtedness towards Bucer (Pauck, ed, 1969: 172). Another influential friend was Matthew Parker (1504-1575) who from 1559 to 1575 was the Archbishop of Canterbury and the second Protestant Archbishop following on from Thomas Cranmer (Barker, 1977: 215). Parker was not only a close friend of Bucer, but also a trusted advisor to Henry VIII and the tutor to Princess Elizabeth (Barker, 1977: 215). Such was the affinity between Bucer and Parker that the latter was appointed as one of the two executors of Bucer's will (Eells, 1931: 413). Amongst the great crowd of people that Bucer befriended in his pre-exile and exile years there were many others who, with the restoration of the Reformation to England, returned or re-emerged to take up positions of influence in the Elizabethan Church (Pauck, ed, 1969: 172).

With all of this in mind, it is all the more surprising that the acknowledged expert on the life and work of Martin Bucer, Wilhelm Pauck, should see so very little influence by the Reformer and his work upon the structures and principles of the Church of England. Indeed, Pauck argues that there is very little evidence to show that Bucer's total programme made any impression upon any churchmen in either the Anglican or the Puritan party. In the light of the close affinity between the ideas of Bucer and those of John Calvin, however, it might be expected that the Puritan party would have been drawn to Bucer, particularly in view of the proposals contained within his *The Kingdom of Christ*. Pauck refutes such an assumption as unsubstantiated by the evidence (1969: 172).

It would seem, therefore, that Pauck is either understating the case for the influence of Bucer's book or he has misread the available information. There is a clear stream of influence flowing from Bucer and his book. During the latter part of the sixteenth century, he is the most frequently quoted authority on the matter of church polity. Both the Anglican, John Whitgift – who it is assumed heard of Bucer's works from his tutor at Cambridge, John Bradford, himself a close friend of Bucer (Strype, 1718: 4) – and the Puritan, Thomas Cartwright (Pearson, 1925: 226), refer to him in their lengthy debate.

The apparently strange dual appeal that Bucer possessed with regard to Anglican and Puritan leaders alike arises from the occasional ambiguity of his writings. Willem van't Spijker cites the example of *The Kingdom of Christ* as a case in point, whilst also calling attention to this as the possible cause of a certain ambivalence that he sees pervading the history of Anglicanism (Spijker, 1996: 459). Nevertheless, Spijker places a decided emphasis upon the role of Bucer on the English Reformation by emphatically endorsing a quotation by Augustus Lang, a German theologian, who stated in reference to Martin Bucer that he exerted a far greater long-term influence on English Christianity than any other Reformer (Spijker, 1996: 459). A great deal of this influence is certainly derived from the work that we have just considered.

5.0 MARTIN BUCER AND HIS LEGACY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

When Elizabeth I ascended the throne of England, on 17th November 1558, another change in the religion of the realm was inevitable. Elizabeth's symbolic role as the daughter of Anne Boleyn, her known Protestant sympathies and her often dangerous position as a semi-prisoner during the reign of Queen Mary made her the focal point for Protestant hopes. The increasing unpopularity of the policies of Mary that had led to the persecution of Protestants, an alliance by marriage with that "most Catholic of nations", Spain, and a consequent war with France resulting in the loss of the English enclave of Calais, all contributed to provide an added incentive for the new government to distance itself from the previous regime. Even before coming to the throne Elizabeth had signalled her future intentions by the selection of William Cecil as her Principal Secretary and arranging for her Privy Council to be composed of men who would speak with a decided Protestant voice. It was Cecil who was to become, under Elizabeth, the chief architect of a Protestant transformation in the English Church (MacCulloch, 2001: 24; Hazlett, 2003: 30).

Elizabeth's determination to re-establish Protestantism within her realm faced her and her Council with grave problems. In the confused and extremely fluid diplomatic environment within Europe, England's chief ally was the Roman Catholic stronghold of Spain. A further problem to be confronted was that the majority of the population in England were conservative in their religious opinions and alarmed and confused by the decades of religious change. Given these considerations, it was well that Cecil and his Privy Council associates proceeded with great skill in the matter of moving England back into the Protestant fold. The Elizabethan Settlement was eventually established by law with the passage through Parliament of two acts, the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity, both passed in early 1559. These were the two pillars on which the Settlement rested. The official religious situation now stood as it had been shortly prior to the death of Edward VI, but with three very significant amendments. First of all, the Queen's title was amended from that of Supreme Head of the Church to that of the Supreme Governor. (In an age of male chauvinism, this did not simply appeal to Roman Catholics, but was a universally popular move, neatly avoiding the headship of the Church by a woman. It may well reflect the influence of the Reformer, John Knox.)

Secondly, the Royal Injunctions that filled out the detail of the Settlement allowed the use of many of the old vestments in services and were diplomatically silent about the destruction of certain liturgical items of furniture. In practice, these injunctions were largely ignored. The third amendment was the most significant, however, as it modified the 1552 Book of Common Prayer by adding to the Communion Service, at the point of the administration of the bread and wine, a sentence from the 1549 Communion Service. The communicant about to take the bread now heard the words:

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life (1549). Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving (1552).

The administering of the wine had a similar combination of administrative formulae suggesting, on the one hand, a real presence for those who wished it and, on the other hand, the concept that this was a memorial only. Thus in essence, Elizabeth's Church reflected the image of the Church of Edward VI, but with a minor retreat from that Church's high water mark (M^{ac}Culloch, 2001: 24-27). In this particular formulation of the communion administration Professor Ian Hazlett detects the thoughts of none other than Martin Bucer (Hazlett, 2003: 60).

There is a school of thought that maintains that Bucer was in reality a Zwinglian in regard to his understanding of the Communion service. However, this aspect of his belief system does not become apparent until after he had influenced Cranmer and, therefore, the Communion service as treated by the 1552 Prayer Book. In this respect, the noted Tudor historian Professor Geoffrey Dickens writes that it was in the last few months of his life that Bucer was brought to a Zwinglian understanding of the Communion service, apparently under the influence of Peter Martyr, but that this was too late to have had any influence upon Cranmer (Dickens, 1988: 321).

The Elizabethan Settlement now permanently fixed both the extent of the Reformation in England and the actual reforms within the Church of England. The Reformation in Europe was to move on to fresh fields of theological and ecclesiological debate, with the development of a Lutheran wing and a Calvinist or Reformed wing, but within England a strange form of the 'status quo' held sway. It could be argued that the English Reformation would move on as did the reforms in Europe, but that would be to underestimate the determination of the monarch. Queen Elizabeth I had not the least

intention of moving in tune with the European Reformation. Symptomatic of this determination is the fact that the statement on doctrinal and dogmatic controversies adopted by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1563 was again only lightly revised in 1571, this final version being reflective of a slightly amended statement first issued by Edward VI in 1553. In this slightly amended statement, the Forty-two Articles of 1553 became the Thirty-nine Articles. In this manner Elizabeth's determination not to move any further was clearly revealed, as the Church of England made no official attempt to come to terms with – or in any way accommodate – the development in theology and ecclesiology that had taken place on the continent since the mid-century years (M^{ac}Culloch, 2001: 28).

Thus it was that, in giving to us the unique ambiguity known as Anglicanism, the Church of England took no account of the development of continental Protestant thought after the early 1550s. Henry VIII had removed one of the two pillars of Roman Catholicism – papal authority – and yet had left the other – a traditional devotional system – largely intact. Edward VI and Elizabeth had both taken some action to dismantle this system, but enough of it remained to haunt the Church of England into the future. The structures of the Church remained virtually unaltered from Roman Catholic times: the liturgy remained bound to forms that elsewhere in Europe were being modernised and simplified; the church courts carried on their practices with the same reliance on the precedents of medieval canon law, only gradually modified by case-law; the clergy perpetuated the threefold order of Roman Catholicism with bishop, priest and deacon, and the old provinces of Canterbury and York remained with only the Crown now performing the role of the common link. This largely Roman Catholic structure was now to function as a Protestant Church. There was an acknowledged Protestant leadership committed to producing a Protestant clergy, but this new clergy had little liking for the relics of the Roman Catholic past. In all of this, the unfolding story of Anglicanism was to reveal the tensions that existed between a Roman Catholic structure and a Protestant theology. These tensions, the cause of so much debate and friction, were never to be fully resolved (M^{ac}Culloch, 2001: 28, 29).

5.2 ANGLICANISM – BUCERIANISM?

We have already seen that Martin Bucer exercised a profound influence on the English Reformation and Anglicanism. His input by means of his Commentary on the book of Psalms profoundly affected the spiritual tone of a generation when it was used as one of the base documents in the early English Primers. That his Cologne Liturgy influenced the work of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer is also beyond serious question. Then there was his work on the Ordinal, which further influenced Cranmer's liturgical work for use in the Church of England. The combined effect of his *Censura*, the writings and Commentary on the epistle to the Ephesians, alongside the *magnus opus* of his *The Kingdom of Christ* placed Bucer's mark firmly upon the liturgical, theological, ecclesiological and sociological strata that make up the totality of the Church. However, the following questions need to be asked: just how much does Anglicanism reflect the position on the Church of the Reformer Martin Bucer? Does Anglicanism truly reflect the fulness of Bucer's position or are there merely the shadows here and not the substance? The statement has already been made that Bucer was the Reformer with the greatest influence on the English Reformation. How far, then, was this influence replicated within Anglicanism? Furthermore, is Anglicanism actually Bucerianism by another name?

That Bucer left no organised group of churches that claimed him as their founding father is one of the surprises of the history of the Reformation. It is also an amazing fact that, until quite recently, little or no interest has been shown in him by students of the Reformation (Lane, 1984: 129). That Martin Luther left the Lutheran churches, that Zwingli left Zwinglianism embedded in the Reformed Churches of Switzerland and the south of Germany, and that Calvin's influence permeated throughout Protestant Europe and then the world as Calvinism (or, as some would hold, a revitalised form of Augustinianism) are beyond doubt. However, there is apparently no distinct and openly Bucerian grouping that holds to his *via media*. The questions then that here present themselves are: why did this happen when he is acknowledged as being among the most influential of the magisterial Reformers? Why no Bucerian church grouping? Why no Bucerianism in the locality of his longest ministry?

Part of the answer to these questions lies in the situation that forced Bucer to flee from his beloved Strasbourg. The collapse of the Smalkaldic League after the Battle of

Mühlberg left Charles V as the apparent master of Germany. This situation did not last for very long. The Emperor may well have won the war, but he soon lost the peace. Having fought the war on the basis of the suppression of rebellion, he now found it difficult – if not impossible – to commence the full suppression of the Protestant ‘heresy’. The Augsburg Interim was considered by Charles as a suitable instrument for securing religious peace in the Empire, but this did not prove to be the case. The full restoration of a Roman Catholic supremacy in Germany did not ultimately take place. It is true that a number of prominent Reformers were compelled to relocate, but virtually nowhere did the Emperor’s victory make the least difference to the religious frontiers within his realm (Elton, 1999: 177). Indeed, it did not take too long for a revitalised Lutheranism to begin to make headway once again in the cities of the north and west of Germany. Thus it was that Bucer’s Strasbourg fell under its sway, and that this event led, in the long term, to the exclusion of his own *via media*. Thus in Strasbourg, as elsewhere in Germany, Bucer’s theological opponents triumphed. It was in this manner that Bucer was finally ignored; he was no longer held in honour and esteem even in the city that had enjoyed his ministry for so long (Lane, 1984: 128).

The story of Bucer in England commenced on a better and altogether higher plane. He was welcomed, esteemed and shown the greatest of courtesies by the ruling elite of the Church and the State. Installed as the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge University, he began a course of lectures on the letter to the Ephesians, engaged in theological disputations, presided at debates, delivered a series of sermons in Latin, and advised Cranmer and the other leaders of the English Church on the introduction of the Reformation (Pauck, ed, 1969: 158). For Bucer, the University held prospects that could make his exile bearable, if not pleasant (Porter, 1958: 52).

Bucer’s influence on the development of the Reformation in England has been systematically outlined in my previous chapters. This does, of course, mean that through it he left his mark upon the Church. Thus, throughout the liturgy and the ecclesiology of the Church of England there may be seen the evidences of his influence. As great as Bucer’s influence undoubtedly was on the liturgical and ecclesiological structure and form within the Church of England, however, it did not stop there. I have already commented that the Church was essentially a Roman Catholic structure with a Reformed doctrinal perspective. How was such a creation to function? How could it be made to work? This was precisely the cause for the tensions that soon arose within the

Church of England. Prior to the settlement of Elizabeth, little or no attention was paid to the structure of the Church as a 'this world' institution; during her reign, however, the shortcomings of the Church as a Reformed institution moved gradually to the centre of Protestant concerns. Doctrinally, by the standards of the mid-sixteenth century the Church was unequivocally Reformed; administratively and structurally, however, it remained virtually unchanged from its Roman Catholic past. This, then, was the institution that was to engage in the onerous task of meeting the perceived need of the time to convert the conservative mass of the English population from a religion of near superstition to one that could be acknowledged as the true religion (Lake, 1988:1).

In this situation the fault lines that were to haunt the Church of England for decades now began to open up. While some, especially those who had participated in the reforms of Edward VI and who had experienced the rigours of persecution and exile under Queen Mary, were prepared to make the system that appertained in the Church to work as best they could, others, often younger men, became increasingly disenchanted with the situation (Lake, 1988: 1). The leadership of the Church had by and large experienced the almost relentless, single-minded advance of the Edwardian religious policy; they had lived through the muddle, the compromise and then the exile of the Marian years. Such experiences now cast a long shadow over the Elizabethan Church so that within that Church a note of reluctance and hesitancy was sounded (M^{ac}Cullouch, 1999: 191).

There were many reasons for this. Despite the clear parallels between the Elizabethan Church and the Edwardian Church in terms of liturgy, polity and doctrinal statements, the Church thus restored was curiously not that which existed at Edward's death, but reflected the image of the Church as at September 1552. For example, the Prayer Book was bereft of a rubric stating that kneeling at communion implied no adoration of the bread and wine. Similarly, the restructured canon law, with the reformed catechism and primer, were also missing from the Elizabethan structure. In this manner, Elizabeth had certainly restored the Edwardian Church, but what she had deliberately accomplished by her omissions was to preserve the husk and remove the spirit of Edwardian reform (M^{ac}Culloch, 1999: 191-194). In fact, she went further in her aim of producing a church that, whilst being Protestant, denied a key element in that religious philosophy. She positively disliked – and actively discouraged – preaching. True to the spirit of the Edwardian Church, she reintroduced the Edwardian homilies; she even supplemented

these with a further twenty-one in 1563. However, the Edwardian regime intended that the homilies be employed as an interim measure until good and reliable preachers were available so that the homilies would eventually be made redundant, whereas Elizabeth subtly redefined the relationship between the use of the homilies and preaching and made it her aim to retain the homily and make preaching redundant in her Church of England (M^{ac}Culloch, 1999: 194).

To this end, Elizabeth set about discouraging the very thought of a preaching ministry in the Church. She ruined the career of her Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal, because of his seminars – amongst other issues – which were designed to improve preaching standards. Grindal's successor as archbishop, John Whitgift, also incurred the Queen's wrath by suggesting that every parish be provided with a preaching minister. To this suggestion Elizabeth is reported to have stated that there is more learning in one of the Edwardian homilies than in twenty or more sermons. In this way, she subtly praised the Edwardian Reformation while all the time seeking to curb and undermine some major aspects of it. Thus it was that as long as Elizabeth ruled, the Reformation in England and in the Church of England would make no further progress. Elizabeth was to rule for some forty-four years and in all of this time, despite the tensions and stresses within her Church of England, no further reform was permitted (M^{ac}Culloch, 1999: 194).

How far then does the Church of England and Anglicanism, her particular doctrinal stance, reflect the principles and practices of the Reformer, Martin Bucer? He was a very moderate man and in this rests his great appeal to the English Reformers. The extremes represented by Lutheranism and Zwinglianism, with very few exceptions, did not appeal to the English frame of mind, whereas Bucer's *via media* came nearer to what England would actually accept.

Bucer's moderation was quickly made known to the English Reformers. An example of this was to be seen in his attitude to the controversy that arose shortly after his arrival in England over the wearing of clerical vestments. William Bill – the Master of St John's, Cambridge – asked Bucer for an opinion on the matter (Porter, 1958: 64). A month later, Archbishop Cranmer made the same request of him. Cranmer was in a difficult situation here as the cause of the controversy lay in the offer of the bishopric of Gloucester to John Hooper (1495-1555). Hooper had declined, citing the use of the

clerical vestments as being “Aaronical, anti-christian habits and vestures”. This refusal aroused a furious and widespread argument, but Cranmer believed that the judgment of Bucer as an acknowledged leader of the Reformation and a wise theologian and church diplomat could resolve and calm the furore. In pursuit of this aim he, therefore, placed before Bucer two questions:

- 1) *Whether without the offence of God, it may be lawful to the ministers of the Church of England to use those vestures which at these days they wear, and so be prescribed by the magistrate?*
- 2) *Whether he that shall affirm that it is unlawful, or shall refuse to wear this apparel, offendeth against God, for that he sayeth that things be unclean that God hath sanctified; and offend against the magistrate, for that he disturbeth the politic order?*

When the reply came, it was a model of moderation and spiritual sagacity revealing much about Bucer’s view of the Church and also his views on the role of continuity and tradition (Hopf, 1946:132, 133). Bucer’s reply was written on 4th December 1550 with great reluctance on his part. He had no wish to be drawn into a controversy in which he knew that any comment he made would alienate those who favoured an alternative response. However, he answered both of Cranmer’s questions in the affirmative, although with some slight reservations saying that:

- 1) *“They that be such ministers of the Churches of England, may (as I think), wear with God’s pleasure, those vestures which be at this day in use... (It should, however, be explained by the minister that the vestment is a ‘signification’ and has nothing to do with the ‘Roman Rite’)”*;
- 2) *“They which do say that it is not lawful to use the apparel that is in question, in any manner... which I have described; I say, that they be at the least in error, for that they deny all things that be holy to them that be sanctified... I must needs say that they take from the godly Magistrate their due honour, which doth deny that their judgement ought to be followed in these matters. Rom xiv for that they do declare the use of these garments to be observed of that consideration, which I have a little before described.”*

Bucer’s reservation in the answer to the second question is significant. The key point is the role of the Magistrate. Here he is referring to his oft-aided viewpoint that questions concerning Church doctrine and practices cannot be dealt with in isolation from the principal issues behind them. Questions must, therefore, be dealt with in the context of a whole synopsis of doctrine, discipline, order and rite. Only with the overall broad picture in focus could a wholesome and satisfactory outcome for the Reformation in England be assured. So it is that he was unable to disconnect from this prevailing controversy the broader problems and deficiencies of the Church. He wrote on this

theme in a follow-up letter to Cranmer four days after his reply to the two questions, in which he expanded on the lack of suitable ministers, the spoliation of the churches, and other ecclesiastical conditions, that in his view needed first to be reformed. He states that the question concerning vestments is only a minor issue in the overall scheme for the need of reform. Indeed, he saw a whole range of items that needed to be addressed; as all of them were the offshoots of a bad root, the underlying abuse in doctrine and church order first required to be removed. Therefore, he considered that such focus on the questions posited was of little use until the root of the whole matter, the reform of the Church itself, had been dealt with (Hopf, 1946: 132-135).

Bucer writes in a similar vein to both John Hooper and William Bill and expresses his hope that both will see the real issues that are involved in the use of vestments. He states that the vestments themselves are neutral, but it is the attitude of those who abuse them that requires correction. He himself would wish that the use of vestments be reduced as he concedes that they are open to misinterpretation. However, to aim at their abolition only, without at the same time aiming at the abolition of the more serious abuses in the Church, is folly (Hopf, 1946: 135, 136).

Bucer thus announced his moderation to the English Reformers. The more extreme among them would have been very disappointed in this reply to what became known as Vestment Controversy, but Bucer's response anticipated by a decade the reasoning of Whitgift and later on that of the classic Anglican arguments of Richard Hooker (1554-1600). Thus it may be seen that Bucer announced the arrival of the archetypal Anglican argument for justifying all church polity and practice – “concerning things indifferent, neither prescribed nor proscribed in the Word of God, their use in liturgy or order is a matter of the individual conscience” (Porter, 1958: 64). Here, then, we have the very essence of the Church of England and Anglicanism. That there is a certain perceived ambivalence within Anglicanism has already been noted. In calling attention to this, Willem van't Spijker attributes the source to the influence upon the Church of England and Anglicanism of none other than Martin Bucer (1996: 459).

There is yet a further avenue of influence on the Church of England and Anglicanism that provides a useful platform of information on the originating quest of this thesis. The influence of John Calvin and the Genevan model of church governance was until recent times viewed as having had only limited impact on the Church of England and

Anglicanism. Since the 1960s, the stereotype of the Church of England as a sort of middle way between Rome and Geneva – that is, Protestant, but not quite Calvinist; Episcopalian, yet Reformed; sacrament and ceremony centred, but not crypto-popish – has come to be viewed as increasingly less satisfactory as a true picture of the Elizabethan Church. Many of the men in positions of authority in the Church were decided Calvinists, some having spent their Marian exile years actually in the Geneva of Calvin (Lake, 1988: 4, 5). Some even attempted an approach to reform that had been amongst those advocated by Martin Bucer – the provision of a preaching ministry. These efforts were resisted by none other than the Queen herself. There was also one other recognisable restraint upon these men: the fear that the emergent influence of the alternative to Episcopalianism, that of Presbyterianism, would result in a form of church anarchy similar to that brought about amongst the Anabaptist sects (Lake, 1988: 24). Thus, all attempts to make further progress on the Reformation in England ceased, due in the main to royal coercion and a genuine fear of an unrestrained sectarianism.

The Church has remained as it stood in the September of 1552, an image of the Edwardian provision that exhibits certain clear and distinct influences of Bucer in its liturgy and ecclesiology. The Prayer Book, the key document at the very heart of the Church's worship, was heavily indebted to the "mind and hand of the Reformer, Martin Bucer". The Ordinal that set the pattern for the ministerial offices of the Church owes much to the influence of Bucer. By his lecturing and writings on the epistle to the Ephesians, Bucer was to inspire a rising generation of leaders in Anglicanism, and surprisingly also in Presbyterianism (see Hopf, 1946: 260). In all of this, Bucer would necessarily appear to be a major factor of influence upon the Church of England. There is, however, one other significant influence that is also evident at this period of our interest – and this was to overshadow the impact of Bucer.

The deaths of Zwingli and Luther, coupled with Bucer's departure from Strasbourg, had moved the mantle of the doyen of Protestantism to Geneva and on to the shoulders of John Calvin. Through his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, an orderly and comprehensive summary of Reformed doctrine, Calvin was to become one of the most influential contributors to Christian literature and western thought (Barker, 1977: 58). The resultant theology of this momentous contribution became known as Calvinism, and it is this school of theology – often referred to as Reformed Theology – that permeated the teaching of the Church of England. Augustus Toplady even goes so far as

to identify Martin Bucer as a Calvinist, adding that this foreign divine was actually involved in the modelling of the English liturgy so that, consequently, he had some hand in the Reformation of the Church of England (Toplady, 1987: 148). However, we have already seen that this is to somewhat reverse their roles, for there is evidence to support the claim that Calvin was actually a Bucerian in that he took his doctrinal stand from Bucer as his mentor (Pauck, 1961: 90). It is a great wonder, then, that Bucer has not received proper credit for the contribution that he made to Calvin; it is perhaps even more surprising that in England Calvin came so to overshadow his mentor. Thus, by an accident of history Bucer and his influence on the Church of England and Anglicanism became subsumed under the title of Calvinism – or the Reformed position – and it is in this manner that his influence was overlooked so that he became the “forgotten Reformer”.

5.3 THE PURITANS: BUCER’S CHILDREN?

Until recent times, the question of Bucer’s engagement with the Puritans would have been answered by a reference to his active involvement with the development of Anglicanism, thus implying that he had no other major commitments, certainly not with the opponents of Anglicanism. That Bucer was proactive in his engagement with the Church of England has been the major concern of this dissertation. Recent research by Church historians on the Reformation and its impact on the Church of England, however, has uncovered some surprises that have led on to a reappraisal of the influence of the man in the affairs of Anglican and Puritan alike.

The Elizabethan Settlement of 1559 established the Church of England as a Protestant, Reformed institution with a Roman Catholic polity. Prior to this, little or no thought had been given to the structure of the Church’s governance. It was only now, with the Settlement in place, that attention was turned to this matter. Amongst the hierarchy of the Church there existed a consensus in favour of trying to make the existing structure work. Many of the younger and newer clergy, however, were frustrated by its limitations and disenchanted with its potential scope for meaningful development. They believed that part of the solution to the tensions within the Church lay in restructuring the Church government along the lines of Presbyterianism (Lake, 1988: 1).

Presbyterianism was a form of church government that would remove the power of the prince and their magistrate from influence within the Church. Moreover, the system also dispensed with the role of the Episcopate. Each congregation was ruled by a pastor, who preached the word, a doctor, who taught right doctrine, and a panel of elders who assisted in church government. A group of deacons also assisted with practical responsibility for the collection and distribution of relief for the poor. All these officers were to be elected by the congregation. The ministers and elders exercised discipline in the church so that the basic unit of church government was the local congregation. There was parity amongst the ministers of like-minded churches and each congregation was autonomous; local and national unity was in the hands of synods, the membership of which was decided by congregational vote. The adherents of this system believed it to be the correct Scriptural order and, as such, would resolve the growing tensions within the Church of England (Lake, 1988: 2).

Of course, it would be very easy to refer to these Presbyterians as Puritans, for part of their agenda was a continuing reform of the Church. However, this simplistic concept may no longer be held with integrity. Research has shown that there was a clear consensus in doctrine within the Anglican and the Presbyterian camps. Both parties could legitimately claim to be Calvinists. Professor Geoffrey Dickens has shown that the problem of Puritanism remained internal to the Church of England and that the immense biographical detail that we possess reveals that the Puritans were none other than Calvinistic clergymen of the Church of England (Dickens, 1988: 425, 426). Indeed, attitudes that were previously believed to be uniquely held by Puritans alone are now known to have penetrated to the very core of the Anglican establishment. Fairly recent developments in the study of Elizabethan religious literature have further revealed that the oppositionist concept of Anglican versus Puritan is no longer tenable. The idea that the two terms signified distinct sets of religious beliefs so that the one of them could be taken as a means of distinguishing it from the other is not a viable option in the light of more recent studies (Lake 1988: 4, 5). To view the tensions within the Church of England as rising from a conflict between Anglican and Puritan, therefore, is at the very least inaccurate (Dickens, 1988: 426).

We are left then with a problem of terminology. There were Anglicans who were Puritans – they wanted Presbyterian Church government; there were also Anglicans who wanted the status quo – the prince and the episcopate; and both of these parties

were Calvinistic in their theology. The solution Lake and others propose to this problem of terminology is simple and satisfactory. The Anglican Puritans who wished to purify the Church by changing its government are described as the Presbyterians, whereas those who favoured the status quo in Anglicanism are called Conformists (Lake, 1988: 9). It needs to be borne in mind that at this moment in history there was only one legal church in England to which all belonged. (I am ignoring the legal existence of the 'Stranger's Church' in London at this time, which implicitly challenged the Church of England by its Congregational style of church polity under the pastoral guidance of one Jan Laski.) Thus, the scene was set for the great debate concerning the government and continued reform of the Church of England, which was to continue between the Presbyterian and the Conformist parties within the Church for some forty years or more. Indeed, it was only the decisions of the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 that signalled the beginning of the decline of the Anglo-Puritan dominance of the Church of England (see Dickens, 1988: 427).

In this great debate, the most frequently quoted authority was, in fact, Martin Bucer. In the intense struggle that was waged between the leader of the Anglican Conformist party, John Whitgift, and the leader of the Anglican Presbyterian party, Thomas Cartwright, both men appealed to Bucer as the definitive authority for their respective polemic opinions. Sometime later the controversy between the Conformist Bishop of Salisbury, John Jewel, and the Presbyterian clergyman, Thomas Harding, once again saw the writings of Bucer cited as definitive on the subjects discussed (Hopf, 1946: 34). So why did the two parties refer to the writings of Bucer as supportive of both their arguments?

There is within Bucer's writings on the ministry of the Church an element of ambiguity. This obscurity he defends within his writings on the grounds that there is a certain lack of clarity between the synonyms of office as used in the New Testament. Thus, Bucer gives the impression that for him the Episcopal government of the Church and the Presbyterian government of the Church are in principle the same. It is just here, then, that both the parties within the Church of England may apparently make legitimate claims on his support. Throughout the last decades of the sixteenth century, and on into the seventeenth, this is precisely what happened. But why was it that, with the decline of Anglican Presbyterianism and the emergence of a Non-conformist and Presbyterian Church, Bucer's appeal did not start at once to wane within this newer group? After all,

he approved of the Book of Common Prayer, he had not attacked the Episcopate, and his moderate view on the vestment controversy had displeased Hooper (the father of English Non-conformity) and his party. Why, then, did Bucer still appeal to what is now an emerging Non-conformist, Presbyterian and Puritan dominated Church?

Part of the answer here lies in Bucer's insistence on Church discipline and his strict Sabbatarianism, as outlined in *The Kingdom of Christ*. It is here that Bucer argued for enforcement by law. In this, he anticipated the teaching and preaching of the Presbyterian Puritan preachers, who generally advocated a strict and enforceable respect for the Sabbath day (Morgan, 1973: 42). In this matter, Bucer struck a vibrant cord in the thinking of the Presbyterian Puritans, because they more than any other religious group, including the Church of England, regarded the observance of the Sabbath as having a major significance as a focus for piety and devotion. The Sabbath was seen as the context in which the purposes of the Church might be fully exploited. The pursuit of a legally enforceable Sabbath in which the exercises of piety and devotion may flourish, therefore, became a major issue for the Presbyterian Puritans. It is precisely here that their purpose coincided with that of Martin Bucer.

Is Puritanism, then, the child of the reformer Martin Bucer? As we have seen, it was a widely diffuse movement with an extensive influence. There was no single organising objective around which the movement could be said to polarise during the sixteenth and into the early seventeenth centuries. This polarisation into an organically unified body did eventually occur, but the precise circumstances of these events lies beyond the current focus of this thesis. That Bucer did exert some influence on Puritanism has been shown, but already by the time of the accession of Elizabeth I this was subsumed under and into the impact of the doyen of the mid-sixteenth century Reformation, John Calvin. Bucer's influence was now no longer direct. Although it still resided in the liturgy and ecclesiology of the Church, his doctrinal influence came principally through the man whom he had inspired and mentored many years previously. In this respect, then, we may state that if the Puritans were not Bucer's children then without doubt he may be claimed as their grandfather.

6.0 CONCLUSION

The central question of this work has been: ‘Should the influence of Martin Bucer on the progress of the English Reformation and in particular on the Anglican Church have been ignored – and to a large extent forgotten – in the way that it has?’ In pursuit of an answer to this question, I have shown in chapter two that the period of the Reformation coincided with great and far-reaching changes in both the society and the Roman Catholic Church of the sixteenth century. These changes were conducive to a search for reform within the Church that led to the Reformation.

In chapter three, our attention was directed to the life of Bucer. We considered the development of the man with his cares and concern, the theological emphases that moulded his life and the place that he took in the growing movement for reform of the Church. We looked at the great decisions that he made, including the renunciation of his monastic vows, his initial adherence to the doctrines of Martin Luther, his determination to become personally involved in church reform, to take a wife and then to settle in Strasbourg and become the Reformer of a city. In all of this we see the man develop in stature. As a Reformer, his services were much sought after outside of his beloved Strasbourg and he responded with alacrity to the calls for help. He was a missionary to the cities of southern and western Germany and yet he found the time to be a mentor of men – the most famous of them being John Calvin. Although sometimes accused of being too flexible in matters of doctrine, Bucer demonstrated his true mettle when the Emperor, Charles V, militarily victorious, imposed the infamous Augsburg Interim – Bucer stood against the complete erosion of Protestant principles and practice. The result was exile and, hence, the acquisition for England of the Reformer, Martin Bucer.

Chapter four detailed the earliest influence of Bucer upon England. The Reformer was known to the English divines by works that influenced the English Primers and, as we discovered, the English Bible. Further influences are seen in the developing Protestant Church of England liturgy and ecclesiology. Bucer, by his preaching, lecturing, writing and advising, powerfully impacted the England of his day.

In chapter five, I have discussed the issues concerning Bucer’s influence on the Church of England and Anglicanism. Why was it that no clear reference and knowledge of Bucer is left in the Church that so evidently exhibits his early involvement? Here, the

rise of other movements is seen as subsuming his legacy into their own, so that Bucer is largely forgotten.

The overall conclusion to this work is that Martin Bucer contributed greatly to the English Reformation and the Church of England. His influence on the theological stance of Anglicanism, although refined and then to a certain extent redefined in subsequent ages, is still based on his now famous mediation on the Vestment Controversy of 1551: “concerning things indifferent neither prescribed nor proscribed in the Word of God, their use in liturgy or order is a matter of the individual conscience”.

On a personal level, this study has opened a new window of appreciation and knowledge of the events and personalities involved in the sixteenth-century Reformation. Some further lines of investigation have presented themselves as I pursued my research on the Reformer, Martin Bucer. His insistence on Church discipline and Sabbath observance, revealed within his work on *The Kingdom of Christ*, has a distinct echo in the work of the seventeenth-century theologian and pastor, Richard Baxter, who emphasised a clear Bucerian message at his Church in Kidderminster. (This avenue of research is now being actively considered by a ministerial colleague). Another possible investigative enquiry prompted by my research is that of Bucer’s sociological impact on the English poor laws of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. Although these potential projects lie outside the remit of this thesis, they are clearly indicative that the forgotten Reformer, Martin Bucer, is in the process of some rehabilitation and may not be quite as overlooked and ignored as previously believed.

7.0 Annexure.

In order to establish the influence of Martin Bucer on the English Reformation and Anglicanism, the major applicable works written from Europe are listed below with brief notes on their impact.

1. *Commentary on the Gospel of John*. (Strasbourg: 1528). Within this work there appeared a paraphrastic harmony of the four gospels' account of the crucifixion of Christ. This harmony influenced the early English Primers (Wright, 1972: 461).
2. *Commentary on the Psalms*. (Strasbourg: 1529, 1530, 1532, 1547[Basle]). These works widely influenced the English Primers of the period (Wright, 1972: 463).
3. *A Treatise Declaring From The Scriptures That Pictures And Images Are Not To Be Suffered In The Churches*. (English translation London: 1535). The translator of this work, William Marshall, is acknowledged as being amongst the first to quote from the Bible in the English tongue (Butterworth, 1953: 57/58).
4. *Herman's Consultations or The Cologne Ordinances*. (English translation London: 1547). Archbishop Cranmer used this work in his own liturgical works (Cuming, 1969: 62 ff).
5. *Commentary on Romans*. (Strasbourg: 1536). John Bradford quotes extensively from this commentary in his own works (Wright, 1972: 466/7).

These were the major works of Bucer that impacted upon the English scene and thus prepared the way for his influential two-year stay in the Cambridge of sixteenth century England.

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