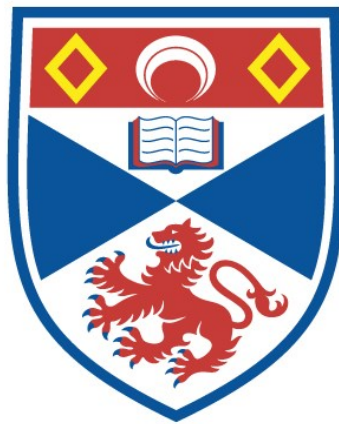


CHURCH BUILDING AND THE FORMA AC RATIO :  
THE INFLUENCE OF JOHN A LASCO'S ORDINANCE  
IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE

Michael S. Springer

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
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LASCO'S ORDINANCE IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE

MICHAEL S. SPRINGER

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## Abstract

Protestant church orders were a key tool for shaping belief and practice during the sixteenth century. These declarations of official religious policy were composed by both secular and ecclesiastical leaders, and reflected the shared interests of the church and state in managing evangelical reforms. Their constitutional nature and their role in articulating doctrine made them the most effective means for church building during the period. John a Lasco's Forma ac ratio was one of the most significant of these works. His text, which was published in 1555, provided a comprehensive blueprint for Protestant congregations. It also marked a pivotal point in the development of orders. Although the earlier documents varied widely in their form and scope, by the end of the century they had developed a common format and standard range of topics. The Forma ac ratio is one of the first to exhibit this trend, marking this crucial shift in the development of such works and setting the standard for the ordinances that followed.

Although this text had much in common with other orders, it was distinguished by the reformer's unique vision for church organisation and ceremonies. The content reveals the various forces that shaped his ideas. For example, he modelled his ecclesiastical administration after the episcopacies found in the German lands. He added to this Zwingli's Eucharistic rite and Calvin's ecclesiastical discipline. This work also contained a Lasco's own innovative contributions including his emphasis on congregational authority. In addition, the ordinance included extensive commentary to explain, justify and defend the prescribed practices. This comprehensive nature set the Forma ac ratio apart from other orders.

A Lasco's tome had a significant impact on Protestant congregations throughout Europe. Originally, he had written the work for the London Strangers' Church, which was comprised of religious refugees in England's capital city. These exiles played a key role in transmitting his ecclesiastical model. When they returned to the continent in the 1550s, they established new refugee congregations following the reformer's example. They later carried his innovative order to their native lands when they returned home in the subsequent decades. The Forma ac ratio's widespread impact across Europe makes it one of the key ordinances from the Reformation period. In addition, as this thesis demonstrates, it was these qualities – its function in church building, the innovative form, and the refugees' role in transmitting his model – that ensured its influence and significance in sixteenth-century Europe.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	v
List of Illustrations	vi
List of Abbreviations	vii
Editorial Note	viii
<i>Chapter One</i>	
Introduction	1
<i>Chapter Two</i>	
Church and confession building: Protestant church orders in the German towns and territories	17
<i>Chapter Three</i>	
Restoring Christ's Church: John a Lasco's <u>Forma ac ratio</u>	57
<i>Chapter Four</i>	
A Lasco's <u>Forma ac ratio</u> and refugee churches in Emden, Frankfurt and Geneva	136
<i>Chapter Five</i>	
The wider legacy of the London Strangers' Church in Poland, Scotland and France	201
<i>Chapter Six</i>	
Conclusion	245
Appendix	252
Bibliography	254

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## List of Illustrations

		Page
Figure 2.1	Chart showing the types of German church orders	29
Figure 2.2	Graph of the first editions of church orders by year	35
Figure 2.3	Table comparing the orders from Wittenberg (1522) And Stralsund (1525)	48
Figure 2.4	Chart comparing the contents of Protestant ordinances	53
Figure 3.1	Title page of the <u>Forma ac ratio</u> (Frankfurt, 1555), STC 16571	75
Figure 3.2	Comparison of Emden and Frankfurt presses	79
Figure 3.3	The <u>Forma ac ratio</u> 's order of worship services	95
Figure 3.4	Chart comparing the contents of the <u>Forma ac ratio</u> with other Protestant ordinances	129
Figure 4.1	Comparison of Lord's Supper in the London ordinance's Latin and French editions	143
Figure 4.2	Eucharist in the <u>Forma ac ratio</u> and 1554 <u>Liturgia Sacra</u>	170
Figure 4.3	Contents of the 1554 <u>Liturgia Sacra</u> and 1555 'Order of Common Prayer'	184
Figure 4.4	Comparison of the <u>Form of prayers</u> , <u>Forma ac ratio</u> and <u>Liturgia Sacra</u>	192
Figure 4.5	Eucharist in the <u>Form of prayers</u> , <u>Forma ac ratio</u> , and <u>Liturgia Sacra</u>	196
Figure 5.1	Comparison of Genevan and Scottish confessions	218
Figure 5.2	Examination of superintendents in the London and Scottish churches	226
Figure 5.3	Contents of the <u>Form of prayers</u> and <u>Book of Common Order</u>	230

### Abbreviations

- BDS Robert Stupperich (ed.), Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften, 17 vols. (Gütersloh, 1960-1981)
- FBOD James K. Cameron (ed.), The First Book of Discipline (Edinburgh, 1972)
- LO A. Kuyper (ed.), Joannis a Lasco Opera tam edita quam inedita duobus voluminibus comprehensa, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1866)
- OAB Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy (eds.), The New Oxford Annotated Bible (Oxford, 1994)
- OL Hastings Robinson (ed.), Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., and Queen Mary: Chiefly From the Archives of Zurich (Cambridge, 1846)
- Richter Aemilius Ludwig Richter (ed.), Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop, 1967)
- SBOD James Kirk (ed.), The Second Book of Discipline (Edinburgh, 1980)
- Sehling Emil Sehling (ed.), Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts (vols. 1-6: Leipzig, 1902-1913; vols. 7-15: Tübingen, 1957-1977)
- STC A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad before the year 1640, 3 vols. (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London, 1976-1991)
- TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

### Editorial Note

Where possible, I have anglicised people and place names for consistency. For example, Jan Łaski and Johannes à Lasco have been changed to John a Lasco, while the towns of Köln and Książ Wielkopolski are written as Cologne and Kiasz, respectively. When quoting from German, French, Dutch or Latin sources I have given the English translation in the text, with the original language provided in the footnote. Finally, I have modernised spelling and punctuation when using English sources.

## Chapter One

### Introduction

Evangelical church orders are the most tangible remains of the struggle to establish the Protestant faith in sixteenth-century Europe. The orders were official statements of constitutional policy written by ecclesiastical, civic or territorial authorities to instruct congregations on matters of belief and practice to be observed in their churches. They took various forms, including confessions of faith, church ordinances (*Kirchenordnungen*), visitation instructions, or civic and territorial orders, and played a crucial role in church building during the Reformation. The authors used the works to institute evangelical reforms in their communities, as well as to make the important distinction between themselves and the traditional Church of Rome. In addition, the orders were key in delineating the boundaries of acceptable religious reform, and their constitutional nature led them to become a principal method for declaring and defending a community's official, confessional identity.

To modern historians, Protestant orders are crucial for understanding the nature of reformed communities. For example, Martin Bucer's 1534 order governing preaching and ceremonies in Strasbourg, and John Calvin's 1541 Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques for Geneva are of central importance for interpreting the belief and practices of these Protestant communities.<sup>1</sup> While

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<sup>1</sup> Martin Bucer, Ordnung und Kirchengebreuch für die Pfarrern und Kirchendienern zu° Straßburg und derselbigen angeho°rigen (Strasbourg, 1534). This is reprinted in Robert Stupperich (ed.), Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften, vol. 5, Straßburg und Münster im Kampf um den rechten Glauben 1523-1534 (Gütersloh, 1978), pp. 24-41; John Calvin's 'Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques' (1541) is printed in Jean-François Bergier, R. M. Kingdon, *et al.* (eds.), Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève au Temps de Calvin (Geneva, 1964), pp. 1-13.

examining the works within the context of the communities in which they were written is important, it may obscure our understanding of their wider role in the European Protestant movement. Orders played an important part in the larger struggle facing reformers: to understand and implement Christ's true Church. The authors used these works to declare and defend their vision of ecclesiastical reform, and orders became an important conduit for ideas about doctrine and practice to travel across civic, territorial and national boundaries. Many were written with this larger, European audience in mind. Beyond their relevance to the local community, then, Protestant orders can tell us much about the processes of church building within the larger evangelical movement.

This thesis examines one of the most significant orders written during the sixteenth century: John a Lasco's Forma ac ratio tota ecclesiastici ministerij in peregrinorum, potissimum vero Germanorum Ecclesia.<sup>2</sup> This reformer was one of the most dynamic church organisers during the period: he led Reformed churches in East Frisia, London, Frankfurt and Poland, and influenced French and Dutch refugee congregations in the German and Swiss lands. A Lasco's most important contribution to ecclesiastical organisation was his ordinance – the Forma ac ratio – which he wrote between 1550 and 1553, describing the administration, rites, and discipline used in his London Strangers' Church. He later published the work in Frankfurt in 1555. A Lasco's ordinance was similar to other orders in the format and topics it addressed. However, when it appeared, this ordinance surpassed most others in its size and scope, and

<sup>2</sup> John a Lasco, FORMA | AC RATIO TOTA ECCLES- | SIASTICI Ministerij, in peregrinorum, po- | tißimum uero Germanorum Ecclesia: in- | stituta Londini in Anglia, per Pientißi- | mum Principem Angliæ [et]c. Regem E- | DVARDVM, eius nominis Sextu[m]: An | no post Christum natum 1550. Addito | ad calcem libelli Priuilegio suæ maiestatis. | AVTORE IOANNE A LA- | sco Polinæ Barone (Frankfurt, 1555), STC 16571. This ordinance is reprinted in A. Kuyper (ed.), Joannis a Lasco Opera tam edita quam inedita duobus voluminibus comprehensa, vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1866), pp. 1-283.

provided the most complete model for Reformed congregations in Europe. The unique nature of a Lasco's ordinance prompted Diarmaid MacCulloch to write that, 'in tandem with Calvin's monumental doctrinal statement in the Institutes, it [the Forma ac ratio] provided a key text for the future of Reformed Christianity throughout Europe'.<sup>3</sup>

There are two reasons for carrying out this current examination of a Lasco's ordinance. First, though the Forma ac ratio provided a unique and exceptional model for Reformed churches, and its influence can be seen across Europe, from Poland to France, no comprehensive examination of the ordinance and its impact on continental congregations has been attempted. This is surprising, given the remarkable nature of the work when compared to other ordinances from the period. Second, a study of the Forma ac ratio and its legacy enhances the understanding of the process of church building in Europe during the sixteenth century. The influence of this work can be seen in churches throughout the continent, which makes it a valuable tool for exploring the role of orders in spreading ideas about religious practice and belief across political borders. This study is the first comprehensive examination of the European context of the ordinance, which will demonstrate the influence a Lasco had on Reformed churches and the role it played in spreading his own unique vision of reform across Europe.

As did many reformers of his time, a Lasco began his clerical career in the Roman Church and was initially drawn to questions of reform through his interest in Christian humanism. He was born to a noble family in Poland in 1499 and received a humanist education at some of the leading centres of learning in

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<sup>3</sup> Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The importance of Jan Laski in the English Reformation', in Johannes a Lasco (1499-1560): Polnischer Baron, Humanist und europäischer Reformator, (ed.) Christoph Strohm (Tübingen, 2000), p. 331.

Europe.<sup>4</sup> Between 1513 and 1519, a Lasco studied at the universities in Vienna, Bologna and Padua. His uncle, who shared the same name, was Chancellor to King Sigismund I and served as the Archbishop of Poland from 1510 until his death in 1531. Under the guidance of this powerful uncle, a Lasco was groomed for a clerical career. Following his education abroad, the young a Lasco returned home and was appointed canon to the collegiate churches of Lezyca, Cracow and Plock, and coadjutor to the Dean of Gneizno. Two years later, he was ordained as a priest and promoted to the Dean of Gneizno. In 1524, a Lasco, while on a diplomatic trip to the French court with his older brother Jerome, met the notable humanist Erasmus. On their way to Paris, the brothers stopped in Basel and lodged for a short time with Erasmus at the home of the printer John Froben. They continued on to France, where a Lasco studied briefly at the Sorbonne, but in 1525 the young Pole returned to Basel and the home of Erasmus, enrolling in Hebrew studies at the university.<sup>5</sup> During this second meeting, a Lasco agreed to purchase Erasmus's library, with the provision that he would receive the books upon the death of the humanist.<sup>6</sup> The Dutch scholar died in 1536, and a Lasco received 413 works from his estate the following year.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Eduard Kneifel wrote that Basel and Wittenberg were among the most popular universities for Polish nobles, and a Lasco would visit both briefly in the 1520s and 1530s. Eduard Kneifel, Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche in Polen (Niedermarschacht, 1962), p. 21. A Lasco's father was *wiowode* in the town of Sieradz, in Little Poland, which was an administrative position granted by the king to lesser nobles. A Lasco's older brother Jerome took over the office in 1523, followed by his younger brother Stanislaw in 1543. The king promoted Stanislaw to *starosta* in 1548, which was royal administrator for the territory and included some judicial authority. Oscar Bartel, Jan Łaski: Leben und Werk des polnischen Reformators, (trans.) Arnold Starke (Berlin, 1981), pp. 28-30; Henryk Samsonowicz, 'Polish politics and society under the Jagiellonian monarchy', and Andrzej Wyczański, 'The problem of authority in sixteenth-century Poland: an essay in reinterpretation', in J. K. Fedorowicz, Maria Bogucka, and Henryk Samsonowicz (eds.), A Republic of Nobles: Studies in Polish History to 1864, (trans.) J. K. Fedorowicz (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 63-64 and 96-97.

<sup>5</sup> Henning P. Jürgens, Johannes a Lasco in Ostfriesland: Der Werdegang eines europäischen Reformators (Tübingen, 2002), pp. 8-11; Bartel, Jan Łaski, pp. 37-57.

<sup>6</sup> Erasmus referred to this agreement in his will dated 22 January 1527: 'Bibliothecam totam vendidi iampridem clariss. Poloniae baroni Ioanni a Lasko quadringentis aureis, e quibus soluit ducentos. Excepti sunt libri Graeci calamo descripti in membranis aut chartis, pro quibus, si

The relationship forged with Erasmus during the two visits to Basel significantly influenced a Lasco's future ideas about ecclesiastical reform. The Dutch scholar introduced him to Christian humanism and impressed upon him the importance of the Bible in settling religious disputes. The Swiss historian, Max Engammare, has argued that a Lasco's use of certain church fathers such as Theophylactos, Sedulius and Haymo of Auxerre in his writings after 1525 demonstrates Erasmus's influence.<sup>8</sup> A similar connection can be seen in a Lasco's later works, especially in his orders for the churches in East Frisia and London, in which he shared Erasmus's concern for education and moral living. In these same works, the reformer echoed the Dutch scholar's desire to reunite the dissenting factions within the Church.<sup>9</sup> These elements would all become important components of the Forma ac ratio.

A Lasco's spiritual conversion came in the decade following the death of Erasmus. In 1538, he left his homeland and moved west to continue his humanist studies.<sup>10</sup> He first travelled to Wittenberg and met Philipp

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volet habere, numerabit separatim, quemadmodum docebunt syngraphae'. P. S. Allen and H. M. Allen (eds.), Opvs Epistolarvm Des. Erasmi Roterdami (Oxford, 1926), pp. 503-506.

<sup>7</sup> A Lasco sent the Polish humanist Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski to Basel to oversee the transportation of the library. Upon their arrival in Poland, however, a Lasco gave most of the books away, keeping only a few for himself. David A. Frick, Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation: Chapters in the History of the Controversies (1551-1632) (Berkeley, 1989), p. 34, n. 2. See also Bartel, Jan Łaski, pp. 48-49.

<sup>8</sup> Max Engammare, 'Jan Łaski's annotated copy of Erasmus' New Testament', in Strohm (ed.), Johannes a Lasco, pp. 21-34.

<sup>9</sup> Nicolette Mout, 'Erasmianischer Humanismus und reformierter Protestantismus zur Zeit a Lascos', *ibid.*, pp. 283-298.

<sup>10</sup> A Lasco had tried to secure his own See in Poland, but was unsuccessful. This was likely caused by two factors. His uncle died in 1531, leaving him without such a powerful and influential patron. A Lasco and his older brother, Jerome, also had fallen out of favour with the king and pope over a treaty they had negotiated with the Turks to secure military support for John Zapolya, who was fighting Ferdinand Habsburg for control of the Hungarian throne. Ferdinand defeated Zapolya and a Lasco's family was forced to pay a fine and pledge support to Ferdinand. A Lasco defended the alliance with the Turks, claiming it was meant to end the war quickly and defeat Ferdinand Habsburg who, a Lasco claimed, was an enemy of the Polish king: 'Igitur, ut sint hodie varia hominum iudicia ne quis existimet Majestatem eius belli autorem fuisse, quod potentissimus Tuorum Imperator adversus Serenissimum Bohemiae Regem, suae Majestatis hostem, suscepit et prosequitur, non abs re fuerit, rem ut acta est suo ordine breviter recensere'. Hermann Dalton (ed.), Miscellaneen zur Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in



Melanchthon, whom he later described as the man responsible for introducing him to the religious question – referring to the religious conflict that had erupted in Germany following the publication of Luther's 95 theses.<sup>11</sup> He continued on to Frankfurt after a short time, and met the theologian Albert Hardenberg. The two men matriculated together at the university in Mainz. They moved to Louvain the following year, where Hardenberg was appointed to the faculty at the university. The Zurich reformer Ulrich Zwingli was especially influential in Louvain during this time, and it was here that both men began showing signs of a spiritual conversion.<sup>12</sup> Hardenberg was arrested in Brussels for evangelical preaching in 1539, and the following year a Lasco married Barbara, the daughter of a local merchant.<sup>13</sup> However, the marriage should not be viewed as a sign of a Lasco's Protestantism. The German historian, Henning Jürgens, argues persuasively in his biography of a Lasco that the Pole should be described more accurately as an Erasmian reformer at the time of his marriage, rather than a Protestant, and that the marriage should be viewed in this context. It was not until the following year, 1541, that a Lasco's own writings reveal a clear shift to a decidedly Protestant position.<sup>14</sup>

A Lasco's career as an evangelical church organiser began in the German territory of East Frisia. A Lasco and his wife moved to Emden – the territorial capital – in December 1540. The countess, Anna von Oldenburg, offered him the office of superintendent of the Lutheran territorial church, which he accepted

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Russland, nebst Lasciana, vol. 4, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ursprungs, Fortschritts und Verfalls der Reformation in Polen* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 268-269. Bartel, *Jan Łaski*, pp. 60-79; and Jürgens, *Lasco in Ostfriesland*, pp. 92-125.

<sup>11</sup> Bartel, *Jan Łaski*, pp. 73-74; and Jürgens, *Lasco in Ostfriesland*, pp. 127-136.

<sup>12</sup> Willem Janse, *Albert Hardenberg als Theologe: Profil eines Bucer-Schülers, d.1574* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 6-13; and Bartel, *Jan Łaski*, pp. 84-87.

<sup>13</sup> Jürgens, *Lasco in Ostfriesland*, pp. 139 and 142.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 141-157.

sometime before the end of 1542.<sup>15</sup> During his tenure as superintendent, a Lasco introduced important changes that took the church in the direction of Reformed congregations. Most notable among the reforms were the removal of images from churches, the implementation of the Reformed Emden catechism, and changes to the ecclesiastical order, which included the introduction of a system for discipline, the office of deacons to care for the poor, and a weekly meeting of ministers (*coetus*) to discuss doctrinal matters.<sup>16</sup> A Lasco also participated in the reforms taking place in Cologne during this period. On two occasions, in 1544 and 1545, the Pole travelled to the free imperial city to aid Archbishop Hermann von Wied's ecclesiastical reforms. While a Lasco's exact role in the events is unclear, it is certain that Bucer invited the East Frisian superintendent to help with the reform efforts. The Polish reformer accepted the invitation and stayed with his friend Hardenberg in Cologne for three months, before returning to Emden. He returned to Cologne in 1545 and was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Reichstag in Worms by the archbishop.<sup>17</sup>

A Lasco held the office of superintendent in East Frisia until he was forced to leave the territory as part of an agreement between the countess and Charles V in 1548, following the emperor's victory on the battlefield over the Protestant Schmalkaldic League. The reformer travelled to England, where he was appointed superintendent of the Strangers' Church in London in 1550. This church was created for the growing number of French and Dutch Protestants

<sup>15</sup> Jürgens, *Lasco in Ostfriesland*, pp. 213-214.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 234-237, 281-299, and 304-311. The Emden Catechism is printed in *LO*, vol. 1, pp. 481-557.

<sup>17</sup> A Lasco reported Bucer's invitation in a letter to Hardenberg dated 26 July 1544: 'Bucerus me hortatus est, ut me conferrem ad Coloniensem tuum, vel ut venirem ad vos, si hic mihi locus non esset'. A Lasco to Hardenberg, 26 July 1544, *LO*, vol. 2, p. 575. See also Willem van't Spijker, 'Die Bedeutung des Kölner Reformatiionsversuchs für a Lasco', and Wim Janse, 'A Lasco und Albert Hardenberg: Einigkeit im Dissens', in Strohm (ed.), *Johannes a Lasco*, pp. 248-249 and 264.

seeking exile in England. The foreigners were granted considerable autonomy and a Lasco had a tremendous influence on the government and rites of the newly formed congregations. Between 1550 and 1553, he began recording the administration and practices of his church in the Forma ac ratio. This ordinance contained more than 600 folio pages describing and defending the practices instituted in the Strangers' Church and, as mentioned above, was the most complete model for Reformed congregations at the time. The various editions of the text that followed suggest that there was considerable interest in a Lasco's work. In 1554, one year before the Forma ac ratio was published in Frankfurt, Marten Micron produced a Dutch summary of the order.<sup>18</sup> A French edition appeared in 1556, followed by a Dutch translation the next year.<sup>19</sup> In addition, a German translation of Micron's summary was published in 1565, and there is an English manuscript of the Forma ac ratio at Oxford's Bodleian Library, which is thought to have been written during the reign of Elizabeth I.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Marten Micron, DE CHRIST-licke Ordinancie[n] der nederla[n]tscher Ghemeinten Christi/die vanden | Christlicken Prince Co. Edewaerd | den VI. In 't iaer 1550. te Londen | inghestelt was. De welcke met de be- | willinghe der Dienaren ende Ouder- | lingen der seluer, ten trooste ende | nutte aller ghelooveghen, getrauwelick | met alder nersticheit t' samen | gheuoecht ende wit ghe- | stelt sijn (Emden, 1554), reprinted in W. F. Dankbaar (ed.), De Christlicke Ordinacien (s'Gravenhage, 1956).

<sup>19</sup> Toute la forme [et] | maniere du Ministere Ecclesiastique, | en l'Eglise des estra[n]gers, dressee a Lon- | dres en Angleterre, par le Prince tres fi- | dele dudit pays, le Roy Edouard. VI. | De ce nom: L'an apres l'incarna- | tion de Christ. 1550. avec | le priuilege de sa Ma- | ieste a la fin du | liure. | Par M. Jean a Lasco. Baron | de Polonie. | Traduit de Latin en Francois, | [et] imprimé par Giles | Ctematius (Emden, 1556). The Dutch translation was published under the title of Het gheuoelen Ioannis a Lasco. Baroens in Polen superintendente der ghemeinte der vremdelingen te Londen. Of het den christenen, na dien zij het word Godes ende de godloosheit des Pauwstdoms bekent hebben, eenighszins verorloft is, dat zy zick in den Pauwstlicken godsdiensten, ende in sonderheit in der Misse, vinden laten. Vut den latijne, in nederduydsche sprake...ouerghetzt (Emden, 1557).

<sup>20</sup> Kirchenordnung, wie die unter dem christliche kof[e]nig aus[s] England Edward dem VI. In der statt Londen in der niderlendischen gemeine Christi durch kof[e]n. majest. Mandat geordnet und gehalten worden. Mit der Kirchendiender und Eltsten bewilligung durch Herrn Johann von Lasco freiherrn in Polen Superintendenten desselbigen Kirchen in Engelland in lateinischer Sprache weitleufftiger beschrieben, aber durch Martinum Micronium in eine kurze Summe verfasst, und jetzund verdeutschet, gedruckt in christlichen Stadt Heidelberg durch Joh. Mayer 1565 (Heidelberg, 1565). The English manuscript is found at the Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Barlow 19. Diarmaid MacCulloch has argued that this manuscript was a faithful translation of the Forma ac ratio and was the work of a single translator, who was writing for a Puritan

Historians have shown interest in the life and career of a Lasco, and the Forma ac ratio generally has been viewed within this context. The nineteenth-century Dutch theologian, Abraham Kuyper, was among the first modern scholars to attempt a study of a Lasco. He published the Joannis a Lasco Opera tam edita quam inedita duobus voluminibus comprehensa in 1886, which contained many of a Lasco's theological writings and letters.<sup>21</sup> The Forma ac ratio was included among the documents in this collection, and it has become the principal source for modern studies of a Lasco.<sup>22</sup> Kuyper's compendium joined Hermann Dalton's 1881 biography: Johannes a Lasco: Beitrag zur Reformationgeschichte Polens, Deutschlands und Englands.<sup>23</sup> This was the first attempt to examine the career of the reformer. Dalton focused on the early part of a Lasco's life – from his childhood in Poland until he moved to England in 1550 – and emphasised the Pole's relationship with humanist scholars and other reformers. Little attention was given to a Lasco's London ordinance because the biography ended with his move to England. Dalton had planned to continue his study of a Lasco's life after 1550, but this was never completed. In 1955, the Polish historian, Oscar Bartel, published a biography covering a

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audience. MacCulloch, 'The importance of Jan Laski', p. 345. While I agree with his conclusions about the accuracy of the translation, it appears that at least two scribes may have been involved in producing the work. Folios 1<sup>r</sup>-187<sup>v</sup> and 279<sup>r</sup>-318<sup>v</sup> appear to be written by the same hand. However, changes to the script used for titles, alterations to the spelling of the word 'congregation', and the noticeable increase in the use of contractions, such as 'w<sup>t</sup>' and 'yo<sup>t</sup>', found between folios 188<sup>r</sup>-278<sup>v</sup>, points to the possibility of a second scribe. These changes were not employed consistently throughout this section of the manuscript, which suggests that a second person joined the original scribe to translate this section of the Forma ac ratio.

<sup>21</sup> A. Kuyper (ed.), Joannis a Lasco Opera tam edita quam inedita duobus voluminibus comprehensa, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1886).

<sup>22</sup> Jasper Vree referred to Kuyper's edited collection as '[der] Grundstein der modernen a Lasco-Forschung'. Jasper Vree, 'Abraham Kuyper als Erbe a Lascos', in Strohm (ed.), Johannes a Lasco, p. 257. The same author also published a similar article, 'The editions of John a Lasco's works, especially the Opera Omnia edition by Abraham Kuyper, in their historical context', in Dutch Review of Church History 80, no. 3 (2000), pp. 309-326.

<sup>23</sup> Hermann Dalton, Johannes a Lasco. Beitrag zur Reformationgeschichte Polens, Deutschlands und Englands (Gotha, 1881). The English translation was published as Johannes a Lasco: His Earlier Life and Labours, (trans.) Maurice J. Evans (London, 1886).

Lasco's entire life.<sup>24</sup> This work explored the reformer's activities in the communities where he lived and worked, and the Forma ac ratio was viewed within the context of the Strangers' Church, for whom it was written.<sup>25</sup> Bartel recognised the importance of the ordinance, writing that a Lasco 'gave to the foreign congregations in London a first-rate organisation, that some researchers believe to be the first complete organisation of ecclesiastical lives in the Reformed church'.<sup>26</sup> However, the treatment of the ordinance was limited in these biographical studies and the question of the wider impact of the Forma ac ratio remained unaddressed.

More recently, a renewed interest in the Reformation in the German territory of East Frisia has brought much needed attention to the question of a Lasco's impact on the continent. In 1991, the German historian Heinz Schilling published a study of Calvin's influence in northwestern Germany and the Netherlands. The author examined the way in which Calvinism developed in the civic churches in Emden and Gröningen. For Emden, Schilling observes that the town's rights were strengthened during the second half of the sixteenth century, leading the magistrates to break away from the control of territorial authorities. These political changes were accompanied, and influenced, by the congregational nature of the civic church in Emden that had been established by a Lasco and the London refugees after they returned to the territory in 1554.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, Andrew Pettegree's work on Emden and the Marian exiles has raised

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<sup>24</sup> Oscar Bartel, Jan Łaski: Cześć I, 1499-1557 (Warsaw, 1955). The German translation appeared under the title of: Jan Łaski: Leben und Werk des polnischen Reformators, (trans.) Arnold Starke (Berlin, 1964), which I have used for this study.

<sup>25</sup> Bartel, Jan Łaski, pp. 140-143.

<sup>26</sup> 'Der Fremdengemeinde in London gab er eine so vorzügliche Organisation, daß einige Forscher sie für die erste völlige Organisation kirchlichen Lebens in der reformierten Kirche erachten'. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>27</sup> Heinz Schilling, Civic Calvinism in Northwestern Germany and the Netherlands: Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries (Kirksville, Missouri, 1991), pp. 1-39. See especially pp. 26-27.

the profile of a Lasco by addressing the question of his influence on the continent. In his study Emden and the Dutch Revolt, Pettegree notes the impact of a Lasco and the Forma ac ratio on the church in the territorial capital following 1553, when a large number of refugees from the London church arrived in East Frisia.<sup>28</sup> In more recent work on Marian Protestantism, the same author addresses the question of the wider influence of a Lasco's ordinance by looking at its impact among English refugee congregations on the Continent following the dissolution of the London Stranger's Church.<sup>29</sup> This study will build on the work of these authors by looking beyond Emden in an attempt to assess the wider impact of a Lasco's ordinance in Europe.

There are two studies that have focused specifically on the Forma ac ratio. The first was Annaliese Sprengler-Ruppenthal's 1967 examination of the sacramental rites among the Dutch refugees in London during the reign of Edward VI.<sup>30</sup> In this work, the author examined, for example, the rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper practised by the Dutch congregation in London. Sprengler-Ruppenthal analyses the ceremonies described in a Lasco's Forma ac ratio and Micron's Christlicke Ordinancien, and positions the Pole's Sacramental theology among other reformers, such as Zwingli, Bucer and Calvin. The second study focusing on the ordinance was Dirk Rodger's book John à Lasco in England.<sup>31</sup> As the title suggests, the author examines the Polish reformer's role in the English Reformation and includes a discussion of the Strangers' Church

<sup>28</sup> Andrew Pettegree, Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism (Oxford, 1992), pp. 32-40.

<sup>29</sup> Pettegree, Marian Protestantism: Six Studies (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 32-34. The author noted that 'The true influence of Lasco's work is as yet only dimly reflected in scholarly work on other contemporary church orders; it is no doubt a subject which will bear further examination'. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>30</sup> Annaliese Sprengler-Ruppenthal, Mysterium und Riten nach der Londoner Kirchenordnung der Niederländer (Cologne, 1967).

<sup>31</sup> Dirk W. Rodgers, John à Lasco in England (New York, 1996).

and the Forma ac ratio. Though Rodgers focuses on the ordinance in the context of England, he makes some brief observations about the wider influence of a Lasco and the order in Elizabethan England and Scotland.<sup>32</sup> However, our understanding of the wider impact of a Lasco is limited and there remains a need for a comprehensive study of the Forma ac ratio and its influence in Europe.

A noticeable shift has occurred in recent studies of a Lasco that has begun to address, more generally, the question of his role in Europe. The first such work was a published collection of essays originating from a conference celebrating the 500<sup>th</sup> birthday of the Polish reformer, held at the Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek in October 1999. A number of theologians and historians contributed essays to this work, which explored various aspects of a Lasco as a humanist and European reformer.<sup>33</sup> This was followed by Henning Jürgens's updated biography of the Polish reformer, which focuses on his life and career until the move to London in 1550.<sup>34</sup> Jürgens's exhaustive study is the first to combine both the Polish and German sources into a single examination of a Lasco's career. The author also emphasises a Lasco's role as a European reformer who was shaped by his interactions with humanist scholars and Protestant theologians, and who played an important part in building the Reformed church in East Frisia. This thesis will continue where these two studies concluded, by examining a Lasco's Forma ac ratio in its European context. It is necessary to explore his ordinance and its wider influence beyond London in order to understand a Lasco as a truly European reformer.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., pp. 157-164.

<sup>33</sup> Christoph Strohm (ed.), Johannes a Lasco (1499-1560): Polnischer Baron, Humanist und europäischer Reformator (Tübingen, 2000).

<sup>34</sup> Henning P. Jürgens, Johannes a Lasco in Ostfriesland: Der Werdegang eines europäischen Reformators (Tübingen, 2002).

This study will focus on three principal considerations in evaluating the Forma ac ratio. The first is the nature of Protestant church ordinances in the sixteenth century, including their role in church building and the spread of ideas about reform across civic, territorial and national boundaries. The second consideration is the content of a Lasco's ordinance, which reveals the Polish reformer's unique vision for Reformed churches and provides a means to judge the wider influence of his work. Finally, the thesis will consider the impact of the text beyond the Strangers' Church in London by examining the influence of the ordinance across Europe. By focusing on these three areas of inquiry, this study will lead to a better understanding of the Forma ac ratio, as well as a Lasco's significance in the European reform movement.

Following this introduction, Chapter Two will explore the nature and uses of Protestant church orders in the sixteenth century. This chapter will focus on a collection of more than 1100 orders produced in the German lands between 1520 and 1600. There are two reasons for the regional focus. First, such orders initially appeared here and a significant body of works remain, allowing for meaningful conclusions to be drawn about their nature. Second, a Lasco's initial experience as a Protestant leader came in the territory of East Frisia and his Forma ac ratio was influenced greatly by the tradition of German church ordinances. This examination of orders provides an important context for analysing a Lasco's work.

This will be followed by an examination of the Forma ac ratio. Chapter Three will explore the origins of the ordinance, including the forces that shaped a Lasco's understanding of ecclesiastical administration and practice, as well as the development of the London Strangers' Church during the reign of Edward



VI. This will include an analysis of the contents of the ordinance. Here, the thesis will explore the Reformed model established by a Lasco for the French and Dutch congregations in London, and discuss those elements that are unique to a Lasco's vision of Christ's true Church.

Drawing together my own studies of church orders, and other works on local reform movements, the final two chapters will explore the wider impact of a Lasco's Forma ac ratio in Europe. Chapter Four focuses on the refugee churches that were created when the Marian exiles left England following the dissolution of the Strangers' Church in 1553. These religious refugees played an important role in transmitting a Lasco's ideas across the continent. The examination will focus on three refugee communities – those established in Emden, Frankfurt and Geneva. The final chapter will address the question of a wider impact, by looking at examples of a Lasco's influence beyond London and the refugee churches. Three cases shall be examined: the Reformed churches established in Poland, Scotland and France. In all three locations, leaders of national reform movements drew on aspects of a Lasco's ordinance with varying degrees of success as they sought to establish Reformed churches in their homelands.

The history of the German territories during the second half of the sixteenth century is dominated by discussions of confessionalisation, or the 'Second Reformation', and this study has important implications concerning this theme. Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling first put forward the notion of confessionalisation, which focuses on the relationship between politics and church reform during a period characterised by the growing power of territorial

authorities.<sup>35</sup> Church orders mark this confluence between state building and confessional interests in the second half of the sixteenth century. This dissertation reflects on these debates in two ways. First, the Forma ac ratio is connected to the 'Second Reformation' through the role of Protestant orders in confession building during the period. In many cases, these works articulated a specific doctrinal model that could transfer easily across political boundaries, which made them an important instrument in creating common confessional identities across Europe.<sup>36</sup> This examination of a Lasco's ordinance and its influence on Reformed churches will demonstrate how orders were used to create these common identities. Second, the Forma ac ratio demonstrates the characteristics attributed to the 'Second Reformation'. Advocates of the confessional theory tend to view a sharp distinction between the early reform movement, which ended with the 1555 Peace of Augsburg, and the later Reformation ending with the Thirty Years War. This dissertation reveals a change to church orders occurring mid-century, which supports this understanding of the period. While the subject matter and format for orders remains relatively constant throughout the century, there is a noticeable change to the size and scope of orders produced after 1555. These alterations are a result of the increasing confessional conflict, and a Lasco's Forma ac ratio marks this pivotal point in their development.

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<sup>35</sup> Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Gegenreformation als Modernisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters', Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 68 (1977), pp. 226-251. Heinz Schilling, Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History (Leiden, 1992). See also, Joel F. Harrington and Helmut Walser Smith, 'Confessionalization, Community, and State Building in Germany, 1555-1870', The Journal of Modern History 69 (March, 1997), pp. 77-101.

<sup>36</sup> Heinz Schilling discusses the processes involved in developing confessional identities in his essay 'Confessionalisation and the rise of religious and cultural frontiers in Early Modern Europe' in Eszter Andor and István György Tóth (eds.) Frontiers of Faith: Religious Exchange and the Constitution of Religious Identities 1400-1750 (Budapest, 2001), pp. 21-35.

Protestant orders played a crucial role in church building and transmitting ideas about belief and practice across Europe during the sixteenth century. The Forma ac ratio, among the most important of such works to appear during this period, provides an opportunity to view the role of orders in church and confession building as reformers struggled to establish their Protestant faith. A Lasco's ordinance was the most complete model for Reformed congregations when it was published in 1555 and evidence of its impact across Europe can be seen in the refugee congregations in the German and Swiss lands, as well as further away in Poland, Scotland and France. This study, in examining the ordinance and the extent of its influence to understand better the role of the Forma ac ratio in building Reformed churches, will further enhance our knowledge of John a Lasco as a truly European reformer.

*Chapter Two***Church and confession building: Protestant church orders  
in the German towns and territories**

Sixteenth-century Protestants struggled to establish their faith in a Catholic world. Nowhere was the need more pressing than in the German towns and territories, where evangelical ideas first challenged traditional notions of authority and where peasant uprisings impressed upon church and secular leaders the urgent need to control reform. Theologians, princes and magistrates responded to their predicament with one of the most significant developments in ecclesiastical organisation during the period: Protestant church orders. These works represent the combined efforts by spiritual and temporal authorities to establish official religious policy for evangelical congregations. Through orders, leaders of the church and state created constitutional instruments to correct clerical abuse, institute changes to ceremonies, and enforce compliance with reforms. Such works also could be used to create common confessional identities across civic, territorial, and national boundaries. These orders, which appeared first in the German lands in the 1520s, would become the most important tool for shaping Protestant belief and practice throughout Europe.

The 'church order' label is derived from the Latin '*ordo*' and the German terms '*Ordnung*' or '*Kirchenordnung*', which appear in the titles of many of these works. The label describes the large corpus of texts that were written by temporal and spiritual authorities to define the boundaries of acceptable religious reform and to instruct congregations on matters of faith and practice. Such works mark the crossroads of theology and law; prevailing notions of

jurisprudence combined with new evangelical attitudes towards authority to shape the new Protestant orders. They appeared in different forms, including princely edicts, civic constitutions, police orders (*Polizeiordnungen*), confessions of faith, church ordinances (*Kirchenordnungen*), synodal statutes, liturgies and visitation instructions. While they varied in form, Protestant orders were bound together by their common goal to define and instruct readers about official religious policy. The works addressed many similar subjects, the most common of which were discussions of the relationship between spiritual and temporal authority, definitions of Christ's true Church, and instructions for sermons, sacramental rites, discipline, excommunication, education, care for the poor, marriage, and burial. Calvin's 1541 ecclesiastical ordinances for Geneva, the liturgical prescriptions of the English Book of Common Prayer, and the statutes adopted by the 1560 synod in Ksiaz, Poland, are all examples of Protestant orders from the period.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter will examine the nature of orders and how they were used in church and confession building in sixteenth-century Europe. The basis for this study is the body of known works produced in the territories and free-imperial cities during the period. Pragmatism prompts this geographical focus: evangelical authorities first developed and employed orders in the German towns and territories, and more than 1100 of these works remain from the period to

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<sup>1</sup> Calvin, 'Ordonnances Eclésiastiques', pp. 1-13; The booke of the common prayer and administracion of the sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Churche: after the vse of the Churche of England (London, 1549), STC 16267; The boke of common prayer, and administracion of the sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies in the Churche of Englande (The fourme and maner of makynge...bisshoppes, [etc]) (London, 1552), STC 16279; and the conclusions of the synod of Kiasz (Xions, Książ Wielkopolski) are found in Emil Sehling (ed), Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1970), pp. 271-272.

support such an examination.<sup>2</sup> The geographical focus also allows for a better understanding of the characteristics of Protestant orders in the German lands, providing a valuable context for viewing a Lasco's Forma ac ratio. This examination will show that the traditions of German orders were among the most influential forces that shaped the Polish reformer's ideas about church administration and practice. This represents a new approach to a Lasco's most important work. While scholars have recognised the influence of Bucer, Zwingli and Calvin on the Forma ac ratio, the question of the impact of German orders, especially Lutheran ones, has largely been ignored.<sup>3</sup> For this chapter, the discussion will be divided into two parts. The first section will focus on the extant orders, looking at their patterns of development and how they were employed throughout the German territories. The second part will examine more closely and specifically, church ordinances (*Kirchenordnungen*), which are the largest single category of orders and most closely relate to a Lasco's work.

The study of the entire collection of documents represents an innovative approach to the examination of Protestant church orders. In general, historians have tended to view individual orders within the context of local civic or

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<sup>2</sup> I have compiled a database of 1114 Protestant orders produced in Germany between 1520 and 1600 for this study. A number of sources have been used in this research, including two edited compilations of German church orders: Emil Sehling (ed.), Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, 15 vols. (Leipzig and Tübingen, 1902-1977) and Aemilius Ludwig Richter (ed.), Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1967). I found Franz Georg Kaltwasser and Paul Raabe (eds.), Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts, 22 vols. (Stuttgart, 1983) extremely helpful in tracking down printed orders and also relied on a number of collections of works by various reformers, such as BDS and James M. Estes, Godly Magistrates and Church Order: Johannes Brenz and the Establishment of the Lutheran Territorial Church in Germany 1524-1559 (Toronto, 2001). Finally, I added to this my own archival research in Germany at the Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek in Emden and the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.

<sup>3</sup> Sprengler-Ruppenthal, Mysterium und Riten, pp. 31-32, 56-57, and 148-157. See also Rodgers, Lasco in England, pp. 54-57; Philip Benedict, Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism (New Haven, 2002), pp. 71-73; and Diarmaid MacCulloch, Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700 (London, 2003), pp. 254-255.

territorial reform movements. These works have contributed greatly to our understanding of the Reformation in these locations and of the contributions made by local reformers. For example, James M. Estes used the orders written by Johannes Brenz in his examination of that reformer's contribution to church building in Schwäbisch Hall and the duchy of Württemberg.<sup>4</sup> Brenz's ideas on church organisation and administration can be seen in the orders he wrote for these communities, and they serve as an important source for understanding this reformer's vision and how local authorities went about instituting their civic and territorial churches. In a similar way, Hans Christoph Rublack's study of the Reformation in Nördlingen drew on orders when discussing the establishment of a Protestant church in that city.<sup>5</sup> Only one work has attempted to draw broader conclusions about the characteristics of orders through a comprehensive study of such works in multiple territories and cities. In an unpublished dissertation, Dr. Jeffrey Jaynes turned to the orders produced in north German territories between 1520 and 1580 to determine how the authors had balanced the notions of order and liberty.<sup>6</sup> The benefit of such an approach is that it allows for a better understanding of the common features, purpose, and use of Protestant orders as tools for instituting and maintaining evangelical churches. It also draws attention to their important role as a conduit for transmitting confessional identities across Europe. This examination will pursue a supraregional approach to orders, exceeding earlier studies in both form and scope by drawing on all extant works written between 1520 and 1600. This line of inquiry will lead to a

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<sup>4</sup> James M. Estes, Christian Magistrate and State Church: The Reforming Career of Johannes Brenz (Toronto, 1982).

<sup>5</sup> Hans-Christoph Rublack, Eine bürgerliche Reformation: Nördlingen (Gütersloh, 1982), especially pp. 201-237.

<sup>6</sup> Jeffrey P. Jaynes, "'Ordo et Libertas': Church Discipline and the Makers of Church Order in Sixteenth Century North Germany" (unpublished PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 1993).

better understanding of the common patterns of development and also will highlight the important characteristics of orders, which swept through the German towns and territories, and throughout Europe, as theologians, magistrates and princes sought to control religious reform.

### **Protestant church orders**

The first known Protestant order appeared in the Saxon town of Wittenberg when, nearly four years after Martin Luther had produced his 95 theses criticising indulgences, a social and religious crisis arose concerning the Mass. The first signs of the discontent came in August 1521, when Martin Luther sent a letter from the Wartburg castle to Melanchthon claiming that he would no longer say any private Mass.<sup>7</sup> Encouraged by his example, the Augustinian friars in Wittenberg began to abandon their vows and likewise the Mass. Elector Frederick the Wise was disappointed that such changes had been made without the university's support and he appointed a group of theologians from the school and from the collegiate church to investigate the matter and to report on what should be done.<sup>8</sup> Andreas Karlstadt was one of the theologians and he played a key role in writing the report to Frederick, urging evangelical

<sup>7</sup> Martin Luther to Philip Melanchthon, 1 August 1521, in D. Martin Luthers Werke. Briefwechsel, vol. 2 (Weimar, 1930), pp. 370-372. For an English translation of the letter see Luther's Works, (ed. and trans.) Gottfried G. Krodel, vol. 48 (Philadelphia, 1963), pp. 277-289.

<sup>8</sup> James S. Preus, Karlstadt's Ordinationes and Luther's Liberty: A study of the Wittenberg Movement 1521-22 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1974), pp. 13-14. The members appointed to the elector's committee were: Justus Jonas (provost of All Saints), Andreas Karlstadt, Johann Dölsch (dean of the Theological faculty), Nicolaus Amsdorf (licentiate of theology and canon of All Saints), Jerome Schurff (jurist and law faculty member), Christian Beyer (jurist, law faculty member, five time burgomaster, and sometimes representative of the elector) and Philipp Melanchthon. See also Nikolaus Müller, Die Wittenberger Bewegung, 1521 und 1522: die Vorgänge in und um Wittenberg während Luthers Wartburgaufenthalt (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Leipzig, 1911), nos. 9 and 10.



changes be made to the Mass.<sup>9</sup> However, the suggestions were not implemented because the priests in Wittenberg were deeply divided over the form and nature of the service, and Frederick was aware that the recommendations were not supported by a majority of the clergy. He requested that nothing be done until the university could debate the matter. Tensions continued to increase in the community and by early December the crisis reached a critical stage when a group of students and townspeople began disrupting Masses.<sup>10</sup> Luther responded to the disorder with a public admonition urging peace in the community, but it was clear that something more would have to be done.<sup>11</sup>

Concerned by the unrest in their city, the magistrates of Wittenberg attempted to use their authority to settle the dispute over the Mass. Representatives from each of the city's quarters presented to the council six demands on behalf of the townspeople, which included abolishing the Mass and instituting communion in both kinds.<sup>12</sup> The magistrates turned to Karlstadt for help. The Wittenberg preacher drafted the first known order: a list of sixteen articles governing worship in the city. The document addressed four general areas of church administration: the establishment of a community chest; the worship service; the correction of immoral behaviour; and the education of parishioners. Each church in the city was to take that part of their income which previously would have gone to the bishop or to Rome, and place it in a community chest to aid poor craftsmen, care for the ill, support young women,

<sup>9</sup> Preus, *Karlstadt's Ordinaciones*, pp. 8-9; and Hermann Barge, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1905), p. 324.

<sup>10</sup> Preus, *Karlstadt's Ordinaciones*, pp. 22-33; and Müller, *Die Wittenberger Bewegung*, no. 54.120.

<sup>11</sup> Luther's call for peace came in his work *Eine treue Vermahnung Martin Luthers an alle Christen, sich vor Aufruhr und Empörung zu hütten* (Wittenberg, 1521-1522).

<sup>12</sup> Preus, *Karlstadt's Ordinaciones*, p. 23; and Müller, *Die Wittenberger Bewegung*, nos. 68.161-63.

and pay the salaries of the preachers. All begging on the streets of Wittenberg was prohibited. Each year a report was to be made to the church on the income and spending of the chest. In the matter of the worship service, the order abolished Masses and called for the removal of altars and images. 'Ungodly' and dishonest people were also to be removed from the city because of the harm they could bring to the church. Finally, all children were to be sent to school, so they could be instructed in Scripture and how to lead a godly life.<sup>13</sup> The town's magistrates approved Karlstadt's ordinance on 24 January, 1522.

The Wittenberg articles are important because they comprise the first known Protestant order in the German lands, and demonstrate how church and lay authorities came together to create constitutional policies to govern evangelical congregations. They also embody the link between traditional forms of jurisprudence and new evangelical ideas about authority. The Wittenberg council became the first to use their judicial authority to establish an official Protestant policy for their churches. During the previous century, support for local or regional administration of churches had gained popularity in Europe; the Wittenberg magistrates were acting within the boundaries of their authority.<sup>14</sup> Although as the territorial ruler, Frederick held the right to confirm magistrates, raise taxes, levy troops, and receive homage with oaths of allegiance, the magistrates of Wittenberg held judicial rights, granted to them in the fifteenth

<sup>13</sup> Andreas Karlstadt, 'Kirchen-Ordnung für Wittenberg', in Sehling, vol. 1, pp. 697-698.

<sup>14</sup> John van Engen discusses this growing regionalisation of the medieval church and its relationship to building territorial or civic churches in Germany, demonstrated by the French and English state churches and the increasing involvement of secular rulers in religious affairs. 'The Church in the Fifteenth Century' in *Handbook of European History 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, (eds.) Thomas A. Brady Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (Leiden, 1994), pp. 318-319. One example of the growing involvement of magistrates came in the city of Schwäbisch Hall where, in 1502, the magistrates created a city preachership at St. Michael's Church. This priest would serve as lead preacher in the city and was to be appointed by the city council. Johannes Brenz was appointed to the post in 1522. Estes, *Christian Magistrate and State Church*, pp. 4-5.

century.<sup>15</sup> There is no indication in the correspondence between Frederick and his advisor in Wittenberg, Hugo von Einsiedel, that the council had overstepped their jurisdiction in establishing the constitutional religious policy.<sup>16</sup>

However, the success of this first order was short-lived. The town's clergy remained deeply divided over the proposed reforms and the policy was not immediately enforced. In early February, a group of burghers supporting Karlstadt's reforms began destroying images in the city's churches, which added to the council's hesitation to enforce their new order. In fact, the Wittenberg articles were never actually implemented; however, they are significant for two reasons. First, they show how temporal and spiritual leaders came together to address religious reform; Karlstadt and his supporters sought the aid of the city's magistrates to settle the dispute over ecclesiastical reforms. Secondly, the articles show how civic authorities used their powers to resolve religious upheaval within their communities.

Other cities and towns soon followed Wittenberg and introduced their own evangelical orders. The magistrates of the free-imperial city of Nuremberg issued an order in the summer of 1522 creating a community chest in each church for poor relief. As in Wittenberg, the Nuremberg council drew on their traditional authority over ecclesiastical matters when writing the order. The magistrates had played a significant role in governing their churches since the fourteenth century, when they gained the right to appoint priests and manage

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<sup>15</sup> Preus, *Carlstadt's Ordinaciones*, p. 40.

<sup>16</sup> Preus, *Carlstadt's Ordinaciones*, p. 40; Müller, *Die Wittenberger Bewegung*, no. 75.174. Müller draws on the work of Edith Eschangen, who has shown the elector's only rights were to confirm magistrates, raise taxes, levy troops and receive homage with oaths of allegiance. Judicial rights had been sold to the city in the fifteenth century.

church endowments.<sup>17</sup> More recently, in 1521, the council had filled four clerical posts in the city's two churches with men from Wittenberg.<sup>18</sup> The new order was similar to Karlstadt's articles, requiring all church incomes be placed in a community fund to aid the sick and poor, to pay the salaries of priests, and to provide for strangers visiting the city. It also explained that a committee of ten burghers should be chosen by the magistrates to collect alms and to administer the fund.<sup>19</sup> In the nearby free-imperial city of Nördlingen, another type of order was taking shape. The carmelite prior Caspar Kantz produced an evangelical liturgy to be used for worship services in his church. He introduced prayers to be spoken in German and prescribed communion with both bread and wine.<sup>20</sup> The following year, in 1523, the Saxon town of Leisnig adopted their own order for poor relief similar to those found in Wittenberg and Nuremberg.<sup>21</sup> Luther wrote to the council praising them, saying 'I am highly pleased with your ordinance and the institution of a Common Chest. I also hope it may glorify God and serve many people as a fine example of Christian faith and love'.<sup>22</sup> Later that same year, the council of Wittenberg endorsed two new liturgical

<sup>17</sup> Gerald Strauss explains that the council had initially gained this right from Urban VI and Boniface IX in the 1380s. In 1474, magistrates were granted the right to nominate candidates for positions in the city's two parish churches by Sixtus IV, and in 1514 Leo X gave them the full rights of patronage. Strauss, Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century: City Politics and Life between Middle Ages and Modern Times (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Bloomington, Indiana, 1976), pp. 155-156.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164. New priors were appointed to both of the city's parish churches – St. Lorenz and St. Sebald – in 1521. Hektor Bömer, a student at Wittenberg, was sent to St. Lorenz and Georg Pressler, a former Wittenberg student, went to St. Sebald. That same year, Andreas Osiander was named preacher at St. Lorenz church and, following a recommendation from Luther, Dominicus Schleupner was appointed preacher for St. Sebald.

<sup>19</sup> Eins Rats der Stat / Nüremberg ordnung des grossen / allmusens Haußarmer leut., (Nuremberg, 1522). The text has been reprinted in Sehling, vol. 11, pp. 23-32.

<sup>20</sup> Caspar Kantz, Von der Evangelischen Mesß. | Mit schönen Christlichen | Gebetten vor und nach | der empfangung des Sacraments. | Durch Caspar Kantz | von Nördlingen (Augsburg, 1524). The text of the 1524 edition is found in Sehling, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 285-288.

<sup>21</sup> The original manuscript appeared in 1523 under the title 'Brüderliche voreinigung des gemeinen kasten ganzer eingepfarten vorsamlunge zu Leisnek'. It was later printed with the title Ordnung eines gemeinen kastens and is printed in Sehling, vol. 1, pp. 598-604.

<sup>22</sup> Martin Luther to the Council of Leisnig, 29 January 1523, in Krodel (ed.), Luther's Works, vol. 49, pp. 28-32.

works by Luther to be used in the city's churches: his orders for worship services and Baptism.<sup>23</sup>

The practice of writing church orders also spread to the German territories. In 1524, Count Casimir of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach issued an edict governing preaching in his lands. He declared that the Holy Scripture should be preached in the vernacular in all churches in order to correct false beliefs held by the laity.<sup>24</sup> The following year, a series of orders appeared in the territory of Prussia.<sup>25</sup> The duchy was divided into two sees administered by Bishop Erhardt in Pomesan and Bishop George in Samland. Following Duke Albrecht's conversion to Protestantism in 1525, Erhardt produced an order comprised of twenty-two articles governing religion for his churches. The order reaffirmed the Protestant notion that the Lord's Supper and Baptism were the only Sacraments instituted by Christ, called for communion in both kinds, gave permission to monks and nuns to abandon their vows, ordered preaching, singing and prayers be done in German, and put an end to auricular confession, processions and the Mass.<sup>26</sup> This was followed by a larger order, written by both bishops, instituting evangelical changes in all the churches in the territory, which

<sup>23</sup> Martin Luther, Von ordnung | gottis dienst vn[n] | der gemeyne. | Doctor Martin[us] | Lutther. | Wittenberg. | M.D.xxiiij. (Wittenberg, 1523), which is found in Sehling, vol. 1, pp. 2-3; and Das Tauffbüch= | lin verdeütscht durch Mar= | tinum Luther. | Wittenberg. | M.D.xxxiiij. (Wittenberg, 1523), printed in Sehling, vol. 1, pp. 18-21. See also the discussion of Wittenberg's reformation laws in John Witte Jr., Law and Protestantism: The Legal Teachings of the Lutheran Reformation (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 184-186.

<sup>24</sup> Casimir von Brandenburg, Handlung vnd beschluß/ des Hochgepornen Fürsten Casimir/ Marg- | graff zu Brandenburg etc. mit sampt | seinen gaistlichen Prelaten, und | hochgelerten das Gots- | wort betreffent. | Anno | 1524 (1524). See Sehling, vol. 11, pp. 80-81.

<sup>25</sup> Prussia lay outside of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation but I have included it in this survey because of the close political and cultural ties to Brandenburg and the Empire. Following his conversion to the Protestant faith in 1525, Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg-Ansbach agreed to a treaty with the King of Poland. According to the terms of the treaty, Albrecht divested himself from his position as Grand Master of the Order of Teutonic Knights. In return, he was awarded Prussia as a secular duchy, making him a Polish duke. See H. W. Koch, A History of Prussia (London, 1978), p. 33.

<sup>26</sup> Erhardt von Pomesan, 'Themata episcopi Risenburgensis', (1525), in Sehling, vol. 5, pp. 29-30.

was approved by the nobility and town representatives in the *Landtag* on 10 December, 1525.<sup>27</sup> This second work included more detailed descriptions of the service and the words of prayers to be spoken. It also included further instructions for the Sacraments. Baptism was to be performed with water only, without the use of oils and chrism. As for the Lord's Supper, three goblets were to be used – two for the sick and one reserved for the healthy members of the church. This document also addressed marriage, burial, and annual synods in the bishoprics to ensure good preaching. That same month the *Landtag* approved a third order containing eighty articles governing the church and behaviour in the territory.<sup>28</sup> This document included penalties for public drunkenness, blasphemy, and deviation from the approved church order. It also provided instructions on choosing new priests; in Prussia, the nobility (*Lehenherr*) and clergy (*Pfarkindern*) were to find a suitable candidate, who would then be examined by the bishop before being installed as priest. Finally, a fourth order was issued in 1526 requiring visitations to be carried out in the territory to ensure compliance with the new religious doctrines.<sup>29</sup>

The practice of writing Protestant orders spread more quickly through German towns and cities than its territories. By 1530, 39 towns and free-imperial cities had implemented various works governing belief and practice in their communities, while only eight territories had done so. The medieval heritage empowering town councils in ecclesiastical affairs may have caused this early disparity. As in the cases of Wittenberg and Nuremberg, the magistrates

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<sup>27</sup> Erhardt von Pomesania and George von Samland, *Artikel der ceremonien und anderer kirchen ordnung* (Königsberg, 1526). The text is reprinted in Sehling, vol. 5, pp. 30-38.

<sup>28</sup> Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach, *Etliche ausgezogen artikel aus gemeiner landsordnung des herzogthums Preussen* (Königsberg, 1526). The text is found in Sehling, vol. 5, pp. 38-41.

<sup>29</sup> 'Visitations-Instruktion' (1526), in Sehling, vol. 5, pp. 41-42.

acted in accordance with their traditional judicial rights. The slower development in territorial orders also may have occurred because the religious upheaval during the early years of the Reformation was seen as a parochial issue to be solved by local magistrates. However, as the century progressed, princes and dukes centralised and strengthened their control over their lands, and territorial orders became more common. By 1600, 46 territories and 21 free-imperial cities had produced Protestant orders for their churches: the territories had caught up with, and exceeded, the cities. Of the 1114 extant texts from the period, 87 percent – 956 works – are territorial orders.<sup>30</sup>

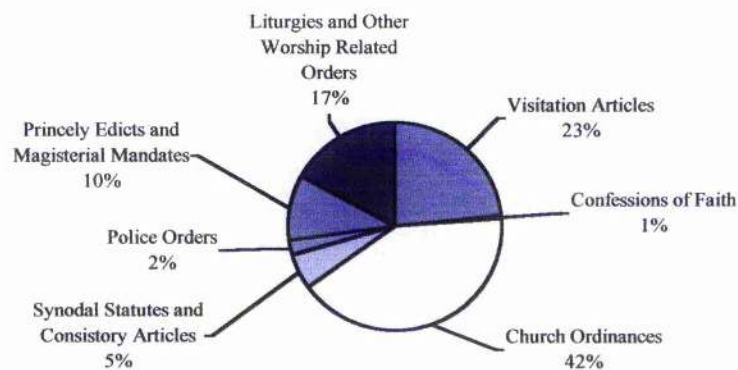
As mentioned in this chapter's introduction, various types of works comprised the corpus of German orders produced between 1522 and the end of the century. The following chart (Figure 2.1) illustrates the most common forms of orders, as well as their relative popularity. The largest category is the ecclesiastical ordinances, which accounted for 457 (42 percent) of the total known works. This was followed by visitation instructions (23 percent), and liturgies and other service-related orders (17 percent). The four smallest categories were the edicts and mandates by territorial princes and civic magistrates (ten percent); articles from church synods and consistories (five percent); police orders (two percent); and confessions of faith (one percent). This survey of the known works suggests the relative importance of ordinances, visitation instructions and liturgical orders in establishing official religious policy in the German lands. However, such an approach might not reflect accurately the role of some of the smaller categories of orders. For example, in many cases an ecclesiastical ordinance contained visitation instructions,

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<sup>30</sup> See Appendix A for a breakdown of the German orders by type and location, pp. 237-238.

liturgical prescriptions or a confession of faith. Orders were commonly produced with the permission of territorial princes or magistrates without a specific edict issued regarding the work. Therefore, it is essential to look at the content and the circumstances surrounding their origins in order to understand better the nature of Protestant orders.

*Figure 2.1 – Chart showing the types of German church orders*



The works establishing official religious policy covered a number of topics related to administration and practice in Protestant congregations. The documents routinely addressed the topics of spiritual authority, offices and duties of the ministry, preaching, confessions of faith, the Sacraments, order of services, liturgies, holy days to be observed, discipline and excommunication, establishing a community chest, education, parish visitations, caring for the sick and poor, marriage and burial rites. Where the orders differed was in their scope; mandates, edicts, and police orders, for example, tended to focus on a single issue, or a small group of topics. On the other end of the spectrum were ordinances, which covered a number of subjects. It is important to note that the content of orders was established with the earliest works to appear in the German lands in the 1520s. Those works already discussed for Wittenberg, Nuremberg, Nördlingen, Leisnig, Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach and Prussia demonstrate



that the content of orders had been established early in their development. These earliest documents addressed the topics of preaching, the offices and duties of the ministry, sacramental rites, worship services, community chests, education, visitations, poor relief, discipline, and marriage and burial practices – and later orders continued this pattern.

There are several factors that led to the emergence and proliferation of such works. Foremost was the desire among reformers to establish an alternative to canon law. On 10 December 1520, Luther made a public statement about the pope's authority when he defiantly burned the papal bull threatening his excommunication. He further demonstrated his rejection of the Roman Church's legal authority when he added the most significant collections of canon law to the fire: Gratian's Decretum and the four other books that comprised the Corpus iuris canonici.<sup>31</sup> Canon law traditionally had addressed issues from spiritual authority to practical matters of administration. The decrees of the Decretum, for example, contained specific codes concerning the relationship between civil and spiritual authority, the office and duties of priests, election of the clergy, care of the poor, simony, judicial procedure, penance, Baptism, marriage, and the Eucharist.<sup>32</sup> Luther rejected canon law and claimed that the popes and bishops had no authority to create such instruments. Instead, Luther argued, legal authority belonged to temporal rulers, who ought to create laws that protect

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<sup>31</sup> Luther makes reference to the burning in a letter to John von Staupitz, 14 January 1521: Krodel (ed.), Luther's Works, vol. 48, pp. 191-194. There is a brief description of events in Witte, Law and Protestantism, p. 53.

<sup>32</sup> Gratian's work is found in Aemilius Richter and Emil Friedberg (eds.), Corpus iuris canonici (Leipzig, 1879-1881). See also Clarence Gallagher S.J., Church Law and Church Order in Rome and Byzantium: A comparative study (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 126-127. For more general information about Gratian's contribution to canon law, see John Gilchrist, 'Simoniaca Haeresis and the Problem of Orders from Leo IX to Gratian', in Canon Law in the Age of Reform 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries (Aldershot, 1993), pp. 209-235; and Anders Winroth, The Making of Gratian's Decretum (Cambridge, 2000).

the church and, thus, the clergy were subject to the laws of princes and magistrates.<sup>33</sup> The orders were designed to replace canon law by addressing many of the same issues concerning church administration and practice, while providing a means for temporal rulers to exert their legal authority over churches.

The close relationship between Protestant clergy and temporal rulers also led to the rise in Protestant orders. In Christian Magistrate and State Church: The Reforming Career of Johannes Brenz, James Estes states that Luther had understood the problem facing Protestant leaders as they sought to build their church: to survive, evangelical communities needed the support of secular authorities who could, for example, appoint evangelical preachers.<sup>34</sup> Orders became an important tool by which leaders of the church and state could work together to establish and protect Protestant belief and practice. In Hesse, for example, the landgrave Philip issued an order in 1529 creating stipends for students to study at the university in Marburg, which had been founded two years prior to train evangelical preachers.<sup>35</sup> The following year he approved articles creating a community chest in each church, to be administered by four members of the congregation. Church incomes were to be placed in the fund and used to care for the sick and poor, as in Wittenberg, and each year the church was to send a reckoning of the accounts to the territorial authorities in Marburg.<sup>36</sup> In 1531, Philip issued another order reforming the administration of the church; he divided the territory into six parts, with a superintendent in each

<sup>33</sup> Krodel (ed.), Luther's Works, vol. 44, pp. 130-134; Luther to George Spalatin, 31 July 1521, *ibid.*, vol. 48, pp. 274-276, and vol. 36, pp. 70-72, p. 137, and pp. 199-203. See also Witte, Law and Protestantism, pp. 55-58.

<sup>34</sup> Estes, Christian Magistrate, pp. 23-25.

<sup>35</sup> 'Stipendiatenordnung', in Sehling, vol. 8, pp. 66-67.

<sup>36</sup> 'Wye sich die kastenmeister halten sollen in irem amptt', *ibid.*, pp. 68-70.

district to oversee the preachers and other church employees. The superintendents were to conduct annual visitations to the parishes in their jurisdiction and to hold a synod once a year to discuss matters of church administration and doctrine. The order also warned preachers to be wary of Anabaptists and to protect the church against false beliefs.<sup>37</sup> The first synodal meeting of the church administration yielded an order governing worship services in 1532. This new work indicated which holy days were to be celebrated, described the order for Sunday services, instituted an evangelical practice for the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and set some common guidelines governing preaching.<sup>38</sup> Collectively, these four Hessian orders are an example of the way spiritual and temporal authorities came together to establish official religious policy.

A third factor leading to the widespread use of orders was the pressing need for authorities to maintain peace in their communities. The concern for order in the towns and territories was felt both by theologians and by secular rulers and was reflected in the words of the Apostle Paul who, in his letter to the Corinthians, wrote that 'God is a God not of disorder but of peace'.<sup>39</sup> The authors of the 1533 Brandenburg-Nuremberg order included Paul's words in their work and urged that peace should be observed in the churches.<sup>40</sup> Bucer referred to the same verse when giving his reasons for composing the 1534

<sup>37</sup> 'Ordenung, welcher massen hinfuro die pfarrer vnd ire helfer, diakon vnnd alle kirchen diener verordenet, gehandthabet, vnd im fhall, so ir einer order meher vntuglich, lessig ader vngeschickt befunden wurde, abgestatzt werden sall', *ibid.*, pp. 71-74.

<sup>38</sup> 'Ordenung der Christlichen kirchen in furstenthumb zu Hessen', *ibid.*, pp. 75-79.

<sup>39</sup> 1 Corinthians 14:33. The English translation is taken from Bruce M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy (eds.), *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 245NT.

<sup>40</sup> 'Vil mehr möcht es ein unsinnigkeit geacht werden, wann nicht allein in gesengen und gebeten, sunder auch in allen andern gebreuchen der kirchen weder zucht noch ordnung gehalten würde'. *KirchenOrdnung, In/ meiner gnedigen herrn der marggrauen zu Brandenburg Und eins/ Erbern Rats der Stat Nurmberg Oberkeyt und gepieten* (Nuremberg, 1533), in Sehling, vol. 11, pp. 140-141.

Strassburg ordinance.<sup>41</sup> In addition, Paul's command 'let everything be done modestly and in good order' became a familiar justification for church orders and was repeated in many works, including those for Schweinfurt (1543), Prussia (1544), Hesse (1566) and Pommerania (1569).<sup>42</sup> The biblical references provided theological support for the lay and church leaders' desire to establish harmony in their churches, and strengthened the orders' power as a tool to maintain peace and order in the community.

While Paul provided an important justification for these works, the question of order in the community was not solely a theological issue. The magistrates of Wittenberg had been concerned about the dispute in 1521, with townspeople and students disrupting worship services, and they sought to solve the problem through Karlstadt's articles. Luther believed that the secular authorities should lead the way to reform through their laws, such as regulations prohibiting the Mass, and urged people to remain loyal to temporal authorities.<sup>43</sup> A survey of the dates when the German orders appeared suggests, among other things, the link between the writing of these works and the concern for peace in the community. The following graph (Figure 2.2) charts the first editions of German manuscript and printed orders produced between 1522 and 1600. The peaks and troughs on the graph are not all that surprising since the lifespan of an order could vary; once accepted by the estates or councils as official policy, it

<sup>41</sup> 'Got ist ein Got der ordnung, 1. Cor 14.', *BDS*, vol. 5, p. 27.

<sup>42</sup> 'Lassets alles züchtiglich vnd / ordentlich zugehen!' Kirchenordnung Eines Erbarh Raths, | des heiligen Reichs | Stat Schwein- | furt in Francken, Wie man sich | beide mit der Lehre vnd Cere- | monien halten solle (Nuremberg, 1543), in *Sehling*, vol. 11, p. 624. This passage is a reference to 1 Corinthians 14: 40. See also: Ordnung | von eusserlichen Gots | dienst vnd artikel der | Ceremonien (Königsburg, 1544); Kirchen | Ordnung: | Wie sich die Pfarherrn | vnd Sellsorger in jrem beruff mit leren vnd predigen/ allerley Ceremonien vnd | guter Christlicher Discipline vnnd | Kirchengzucht halten | sollen (Marburg, 1566); and Kerckenordeninge im lande to Pamern (Wittenberg, 1569).

<sup>43</sup> Luther wrote of this in his 1520 treatise on good works found in James Atkinson (ed.), *Luther's Works*, (trans.) Charles M. Jacobs, vol. 44, pp. 90-91.

would remain in effect until the need or desire for a new order arose. What is significant is the relationship these peaks and troughs share with events in the German lands. The orders first appeared in 1522 and peaked quickly in 1524 and 1525, coinciding with peasant uprisings that impressed upon authorities the need to control reform and to maintain the existing social hierarchy.<sup>44</sup> The production of orders declined over the next two years, but peaked again following the Diet of Speyer. Another dramatic decline occurred between the 1530 Diet of Augsburg and the 1532 Peace of Nuremberg, in which Charles V indicated again he would delay action against the Protestants until a council could be held. This was immediately followed by another upsurge in orders. The defeat of the Schmalkaldic League at Mühlberg in 1547 cast serious doubts on the future of the evangelical movement in the Holy Roman Empire, and the number of church orders decreased dramatically that same year. The numbers did not experience another significant rise until 1555, following the Peace of Augsburg, which legalised the religious divisions in the German lands. One of the few remaining significant peaks of activity occurred just after the publication of the Lutheran Book of Concord in 1580, which stressed the importance of the Augsburg Confession. As the graph indicates, this sparked a series of orders that sought to reaffirm the confession in their practices.<sup>45</sup> For the remainder of the

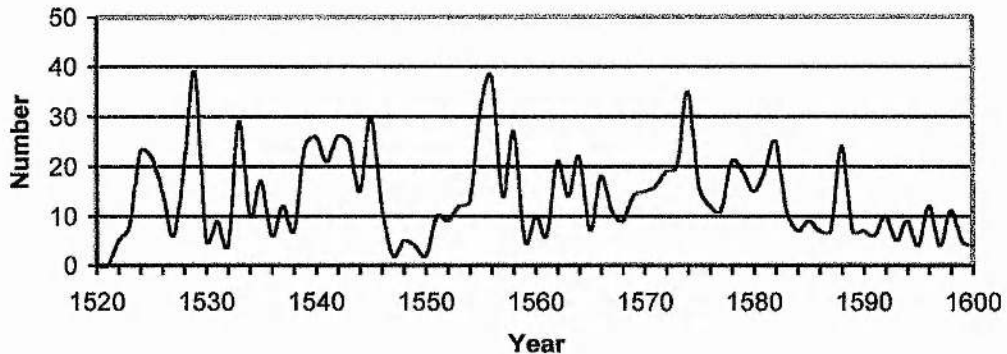
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<sup>44</sup> Peter Blickle asserts that the magisterial, or princely, Reformation was a reaction to the social upheaval suggested by the 1525 uprisings. The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective, (trans.) Thomas A. Brady Jr. and H. C. Erik Midelfort (Baltimore, 1981), pp. 183-185.

<sup>45</sup> For an example, see George von Henneberg's order for his territory of Henneberg, Des durchlauchtigen hochgebornen fürsten und herrn, herrn Georg Ernsten, graven und herrn zu Henneberg, etc. kirchen ordnung (Schmalkalden, 1582). The order reaffirms the importance of the Augsburg Confession: 'wie wir denn auch nochmals bei solcher reiner lehre des heilwertigen evangelii und dem rechten gebrauch der hochwirdigen sacramenten nach ausweisung heiliger göttlicher schrift und der christlichen augspurgischen confession, mit verleihung göttlicher gnaden, bis an unser ende bestendig zuverharren gedenken', in Sehling, vol. 2, pp. 298-299.

century, the production of church orders remained relatively constant, experiencing fewer dramatic spikes in production.

*Figure 2.2 – Graph of the first editions of church orders by year*



Beyond concerns over disorder, local circumstances also could influence the frequency of production. There was a sharp rise in the number of orders written in 1574, caused by numerous visitation orders in Saxony; twelve of the thirty-five orders were related to the parish visits. The final peak of activity during the century occurred in 1588, reflecting increased activity in Württemberg and accounting for fourteen of the twenty-four orders. This was not, however, a response to unrest, but rather the product of organisational reform. In 1586, the territory had been divided into three administrative units and the new territorial authorities issued several orders over the first few years to assert their control over both religious and secular matters.

The content of the works confirms a causal relationship between social and political events in the German lands and the development of Protestant orders. The upheaval surrounding the peasant revolts in 1524 and 1525 serves as a good example. In response to the insurgency of the peasants, church, civic and territorial leaders used orders to restore peace, reaffirm the traditional hierarchy, and to assert their authority over religious matters. The peasants had accused the

clergy of corruption, and the margraves of Brandenburg, George and Casimir, issued a series of articles in 1525 addressing complaints against ministers. The document blamed the current mischief (*Aufrurn*) on unsuitable or uneducated preachers and recommended correction and education to solve the problem.<sup>46</sup> Responding to concerns over hierarchy and authority, the order commanded all to remain obedient to the temporal authorities and to avoid quarrelling.<sup>47</sup> The peasantry had complained of their exclusion from church matters and a common demand during the uprisings of 1524 and 1525 had been the right to appoint their own preachers.<sup>48</sup> Yet after the uprisings there was a discernable distrust of the peasants. In his 1527 order for Hall, Johannes Brenz urged the city magistrates to exert more control over choosing rural preachers. He explained that God had used the rural peasants to punish governments that had not provided sufficiently for their spiritual needs.<sup>49</sup> Brenz's order for Hall would not grant the peasantry the right to choose their own priests, but rather reserved this duty for the civic

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<sup>46</sup> Der Durchleuchtigen Hochge- | bornen Fürsten und herren, Herren Casimirn | und herren Georgen ... wie die ge- | wesen empörung und aufrurn nit den wenig- | sten tail auß ungeschichten predigen entstan- | den sind (Augsburg, 1525). 'Nachdem die gewesen aufrurn nit wenig aus ungeschichten, gotlosen predigen entstanden sind und widerumb wol durch geschichte christliche prediger des heiligen evangelii und rainen, lautern wort Gottes verhütet werden mögen, haben wir... underredt und entschlossen allen unsern undertanen und verwandten ein kurze underricht zu tun, wie es nun und hinfüro allenthalben in unserm lande mit dem predigen des heiligen evangelii und götlichen worts gehalten werden sol und dasselbig in truke bringen lassen, wie euch desselben hiemit etlich abtrück zuschicken', in Sehling, vol. 11, p. 84.

<sup>47</sup> The authors drew on two scriptural passages to support this point - Titus 3:1-2, and 1 Peter 2:13-17. 'Item zu Tito am 3. capitel: erinner die leut, spricht er, das sie den fürstentumben und gewaltigen undertan sein, der obrigkeit gehorchen, zu allen guten werken bereit sein, niemant lestern, nit hadern, gelinde sein, alle senftmütigkeit beweisen gegen allen menschen', and 'Desgleichen vermanet auch Sant Peter in seiner episteln und spricht: Seit undertan aller menschlichen ordnung (zu versteen in allen zeitlichen sachen) umb des Herren willen, es sei dem könig als dem obersten und den pflegern als den gesandten von ime zu rach der ubelteter und zu lob der wolteter; dann das its der will Gotes, das ir mit woltun verstopfet die unwissenhait der törichten menschen, als die freien und nit, als hettet ir die freihait zum deckel der boshait, sunder als die knecht Gottes. Seit ererbütig gegen jederman, habt lieb die bruderschaft, fürcht Got und eret den könig (das ist: alle obrigkeit)!', Sehling, vol. 11, pp. 86-87.

<sup>48</sup> For example of peasant demands, see Blickle, *Revolution of 1525*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>49</sup> 'Thus God sometimes not unjustly uses the peasants to punish governments, surely for no other reason than that those governments simply want what profit they can get from the peasants regardless of whether the devil takes them or not', in Estes (ed.), *Godly Magistrates*, p. 92.

magistrates. In a similar manner, Bugenhagen's 1529 Hamburg order reflected this distrust of the peasants. In his view, the superintendent would nominate candidates for teachers and preachers in the city and an assembly comprised of men from the city council, preachers and the superintendent would select from the nominated candidates. Sextons and deacons would be nominated by pastors, and would be chosen by a committee of fourteen burghers, the council, superintendent, and their assistants – but not by the peasants themselves.<sup>50</sup>

In response to these social and political factors – the need for an alternative to canon law, new ideas about the role of temporal rulers in governing the church, and concerns for peace and order – lay governments and ecclesiastical leaders returned to some medieval forms of administration. Edicts, mandates, constitutional articles, and police orders (*Polizeiordnungen*) had been used to establish legal codes for towns and territories prior to the Reformation and, in the 1520s, provided important models for Protestant orders. Reformers combined these familiar constitutional constructions with religious reform to establish official policy for their territories. The 1522 articles for Wittenberg were the first to offer guidelines for worship in a familiar constitutional structure.<sup>51</sup> In 1527, Duke Hansen of Saxony issued a list of articles governing collection of alms, duties of preachers, and education. He also provided twenty subjects on which each preacher in the territory should be examined, including what they believed and taught about the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's

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<sup>50</sup> Concerning election of teachers and preachers: 'mit rade und biwesende des superattendenten und der anderen pastoren erwelen und annemen'. For sextons and deacons: 'Einen pastor averst schollen de carspelheren und de diakene des carspels, dar sulck pastor nodich to erwelende, sampt den 14 borgeren na rade und biwesende des superattendenten und sines adjutors erwelen und annemen', in Sehling, vol. 5, p. 502.

<sup>51</sup> Ain lobliche ordnu[n]g DER Fuerstlichen staat Wittemberg | Jm tausent fuenfhundert vnd zway vnd | zwaintzigsten jar auffgericht. | (Augsburg, 1522). See Sehling, vol. 1, pp. 697-698, and Richter, vol. 2, pp. 484-485.



Supper.<sup>52</sup> A year later, in 1528, Count George of Brandenburg issued a mandate requiring ministers to preach clearly from the Old and New Testaments and to follow the practices described in the church order issued that same year.<sup>53</sup> The 1545 police order for East Frisia included guidelines governing trade in the territory and the usual admonitions against public drunkenness, but it also included legislation concerning administration of the church, and outlined a system of ecclesiastical discipline.<sup>54</sup> The form of these works owed much to the medieval models of civic and territorial administration.

The Roman Church also provided important models for the Protestant orders, in the form of agendas and visitations. Agendas were liturgical instructions for worship that had been common in Germany prior to the Reformation. For example, agendas had recently been published in Nuremberg in 1502, Worms in 1510, Mainz in 1513, Passau in 1514, Cologne in 1521, and Münster in 1522.<sup>55</sup> The agendas continued to shape practices in the Catholic churches throughout the century, as with the 1512 Speyer agenda which was used by catholic parishes into the 1580s.<sup>56</sup> Reformers continued this practice of writing liturgies, but adapted them to the distinct evangelical rituals and ceremonies. Caspar Kantz's 1522 liturgical instructions included new prayers to

<sup>52</sup> 'Herzog Hansen churfuersten artikel ausgangen in seinem lande, sich darnach zuhalten und begiben, 1527', in Sehling, vol. 1, pp. 148-149.

<sup>53</sup> The mandate is found in Sehling, vol. 11, p. 105.

<sup>54</sup> 'Polizeiordnung der Gräfin Anna' (1545), *ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 398-413.

<sup>55</sup> George Stoechs, *Agenda Numburgensia* (Nuremberg, 1502); *Agenda s[e]c[un]d[u]m rit[u]m [et] erdi | ne[m] ecclesie wormaciensis* (Speyer, 1510); *Age[n]da Magu[n]tin[a] | cum vtilissimis scituq[us] dignissi= | mis <priorib[us] tamen non | insertis> quibusda[m] nota= | bilibus: iam nouiter | ac diligenter* (Mainz, 1513); *Agenda siue benedictiona | le de actibus ecclesie | s[e]c[un]d[u]m chorum et ob | seruatiōne[m] ecclie | Patauiensis* (Basel, 1514); *Agenda ecclesiastica no[n] pastoribus solu[m] et capellanis* (Cologne, 1521); and *Agenda reru[m] ec= | clesiasticaru[m]* (Münster, 1522).

<sup>56</sup> *Agenda Spiren. | [Hrsg.v.(Philippus...Episco= | pus Spiren...)]* (Speyer, 1512). Marc Forster notes that the visitations of 1583-88 revealed that this book of liturgical practices was still being used by about one half of the parishes in Speyer, even though the Mainz agenda of 1551 was to have replaced it. Marc Forster, *The Counter Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560-1720* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), pp. 28-32.

be spoken when celebrating the Lord's Supper.<sup>57</sup> The following year, Martin Luther and Thomas Müntzer published liturgies for Protestant worship services.<sup>58</sup> Reinforcing the direct relationship with the Catholic model, many liturgical works even maintained the term 'agenda' in their titles, as with the liturgies produced for Ulm (1531), Erfurt (1540), Frankfurt (1545), and Pommerania (1569).<sup>59</sup> The evidence of the impact of the medieval models of administration on early Protestant orders is abundant; the liturgies joined the secular constitutional works to form the majority of early church orders, accounting for nearly all of the 37 works written before 1525.

Medieval church visitations provided another instructive model for the German orders. While they had not occurred at regular intervals, visitations had been used by bishops in the Holy Roman Empire to enforce order in their churches. In the thirteenth century, Eberhard II, the archbishop of Salzburg, had conducted visits to his parishes to compel obedience to his reforms.<sup>60</sup> In the diocese of Trier, there were a total of five visitations ordered between 1218 and 1244. During the same period, four were held in the archdiocese of Mainz, and two each in the dioceses of Regensburg and Münster.<sup>61</sup> In 1498 the Bishop of Constance, Hugo of Hohenlandenburg, had threatened visitations to effect

<sup>57</sup> Von der Evangelischen Mess (1522), in Sehling, vol. 12, pp. 285-288.

<sup>58</sup> Martin Luther, Von ordnung | gottis dienst yn[n] | der gemeyne (Wittenberg, 1523), in Sehling, vol. 1, p. 203. See also Richter, vol. 1, pp. 1-2. Thomas Müntzer, Deiltzsch kirche[n] | ampt (Eilenberg, 1523). See Sehling, vol. 1, pp. 472-479.

<sup>59</sup> Forma vnnd Agenda, oder handtbüchlin, darinn begriffen ist die Ordnung vnnd weyss, wie die heiligen Sacramenten vnd Ceremonien der Kirchen zu Vlm...gehalten werden sollen (Ulm, 1531); AGENDA | Das ist | Kyrchenord= | nung/ wie | sich die Pfarrherrn vnd Seelsorger in | jren Ampten vnd diensten halten sollen/ (Erfurt, 1540); Agend | Büchlein für die Pfarrherrn auff | dem Land (Nuremberg, 1545); and Agenda, dat is ordninge der hiligen kerckenemter unde ceremonien (Wittenberg, 1569).

<sup>60</sup> Paul B. Pixton, The German Episcopacy and the Implementation of the Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council 1216-1245: Watchmen on the Tower, vol. 64, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, (ed.) Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden, 1995), pp. 229-231.

<sup>61</sup> Pixton, German Episcopacy, pp. 447-449.

compliance with his reforms in the diocese.<sup>62</sup> Sporadic visitations occurred in the German lands into the sixteenth century and Protestant reformers adopted this model of administration in their orders.

The Protestant visitations during the period shared a common purpose with their predecessors: to enforce compliance with religious reforms. However, they were distinctly different in two important areas: the increased frequency of visits and the involvement of lay authorities. Prior to the Reformation, bishops and their staff had initiated and executed visits to the parishes, and reported their findings to the bishop. In most cases, the role of secular rulers replaced the bishops in Protestant visitations. Duke Albrecht ordered parish visits in Prussia in 1526 and 1528, with the bishops carrying out the task and reporting back to the territorial authorities on what they had found.<sup>63</sup> In the 1527 Saxony and 1552 Mecklenburg orders, the visitors were not bishops and their staff, but instead laymen and theologians.<sup>64</sup> The use of lay and clerical visitors became increasingly common, as did the frequency of visits to the parishes. At least six territory-wide visitations were carried out in Saxony between 1527 and 1575.<sup>65</sup> Authorities in Mecklenburg organised seven territorial visitations between 1534 and 1578, while Prussia had five during the

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<sup>62</sup> Robert James Bast, Honor your Fathers: Catechisms and the emergence of a patriarchal ideology in Germany 1400-1600, vol. 63, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, (ed.) Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden, 1997), pp. 31-32.

<sup>63</sup> Sehling, vol. 4, pp. 41-45.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 142. The visitors for Saxony were identified as 'Hans edler von der plaunitz ritter, Jeronimus Schurpff doctor, Asmus von Haubitz und Philippus Melanchton'. See also Sehling, vol. 5, p. 219. Here, the visitors named were 'hern Johan Aurifabrum, der heligen schrift doctor, hern Johan Hoffman, der rechte doctorn, hern Johan Ribeling, kerckherren zu Parchim, Joachim Krausen, er Gerhardt Ohmeken, thumprobst zu Gustrow und magister Simon Leupolden'.

<sup>65</sup> Based on surviving evidence, territorial visitations were ordered for Saxony in 1527/1533, 1537, 1539, 1554/1555, 1569, and 1574/1575.

same period.<sup>66</sup> Other Protestant territories followed this pattern, including Anhalt, Brandenburg, Pommerania, and Württemberg.<sup>67</sup> As with their Catholic predecessors, the authors of these Protestant orders used the visitations to oversee parishes and to ensure compliance with religious reforms.

The emergence of church orders can be attributed to the pressing needs of ecclesiastical and secular authorities during the early years of the Reformation to establish their faith, maintain order, and develop an alternative to canon law. To do this, as we have seen, they drew on traditional, medieval constitutional and ecclesiastical models. However, there is one type of order that appears to be uniquely Protestant in its form: the church ordinance. The remainder of this chapter will examine this particular type of document, to understand better its special place among orders, and its role in the struggle to build common confessional identities.

### **The church ordinance**

The Protestant ordinance warrants a closer examination because it was the most common type of order produced in the German lands during the sixteenth century and because it represents the most unique contribution made by Protestants to church organisation during the period. Ordinances were important tools for church building in because they provided comprehensive instructions for the administration and practices of Protestant congregations. These works joined with the other types of order previously discussed to provide a statutory

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<sup>66</sup> Territory-wide visitations for Mecklenburg occurred in 1534/1535, 1542, 1552, 1557, 1560, 1567, and 1578. For Prussia they were ordered in 1526, 1528, 1540, 1554, and 1575.

<sup>67</sup> The surviving orders show visitations for Anhalt in 1545, 1561, 1582, 1587, and 1596; Brandenburg in 1540, 1551, 1558, and 1573; Pommerania in 1535, 1556, and 1568; and Württemberg in 1535, 1558, 1571, 1579 and 1581.

foundation governing Protestant communities. Yet these new works had three important characteristics that distinguished them from other orders. First, ordinances, especially those composed in the second half of the century, were far more comprehensive in their scope and detail. While many of the orders focused on a single issue, or small set of concerns for a local community, the ordinances offered information on a wider range of subjects. They routinely included statements of faith, descriptions of the office and duties within the church, sacramental rites, order of service, holy days to be observed, discipline, instructions for excommunication, prescriptions for caring for the sick and poor, and instructions for marriage, burial, and visitations. This attempt to offer a complete blueprint for churches made the ordinances appeal to larger audiences, beyond the borders of the communities for whom they were written. This in turn prompted the second, unique characteristic of ordinances: their supraregional and supranational impact. The comprehensive and detailed descriptions provided important guidelines for building Protestant churches and allowed them to transcend local jurisdictional borders. Ordinances became an effective conduit for transmitting ideas about church reform across civic, territorial and national boundaries. The third distinguishing feature of ordinances was their use as polemical tracts. Besides providing comprehensive descriptions of practice and having much wider audiences, the ordinances became important tools for defending the beliefs and practices described within them. This function became especially pronounced as confessional tensions increased in the German lands as the century progressed. Each ordinance could provide, in a single text, blueprints for church building and a platform for declaring and defending a community's confessional identity.

As with other orders, ordinances developed as a response to the changing religious climate in Europe. Church leaders and lay authorities recognised the need to control ecclesiastical reform, especially in the wake of recent events. The problems encountered in Wittenberg in 1522 impressed upon the elector and his supporters the need for more direct control from above. In a similar way, the peasant uprisings in 1524 and 1525 demonstrated to theologians and secular rulers the disorder that could result if the evangelical movement was left unchecked. As the push for reform spread outwards from its epicentre in Wittenberg, ordinances provided a crucial way for theologians and lay authorities to institute religious changes in their communities in an orderly manner. In the Holy Roman Empire, which was increasingly divided along confessional lines, ordinances became useful in shaping the confessional identity of a community and putting religious ideas into practice.

The development of ordinances was an evolutionary process that began in the 1520s. The first church order that leans towards the new, uniquely Protestant ordinances appeared in the Pommeranian town of Stralsund in 1525, following a dramatic overthrow of the city magistrates. The evangelical preachers Johannes Kureke and Christian Ketelhut had preached Luther's message of reform from the pulpits in that city since 1522.<sup>68</sup> They found support for their message among the town burghers, but the magistrates remained firm in their allegiance to the traditional Roman Church. This conflict came to a dramatic conclusion on Whitsuntide 1524, when the burghers stormed the magistracy and replaced the council members with men sympathetic to religious

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<sup>68</sup> Kureke arrived in 1522, followed by Ketelhut the following year. Roderich Schmidt, 'Pommern, Cammin', in Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (eds), *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Land und Konfession 1500-1650*, vol. 2, *Der Nordosten* (Münster, 1990), p. 190.

reform. The preacher Ketelhut was installed as one of the new magistrates.<sup>69</sup> Stralsund attracted other reformers, including the friend and student of Luther and Melanchthon, Peter Suawe, and John Aepinus, who had studied in Wittenberg and accepted a position as rector of the local school in 1524.<sup>70</sup> The new magistrates and Council of Forty-Eight hired Aepinus to write an order for the city's churches, which they approved in November 1525. The council then passed an act requiring all of the city's churches to follow the new order.<sup>71</sup> Aepinus's work was broader in scope and detail than any orders that had come before, and sought to provide a complete model for church building in Stralsund. For these reasons it should be viewed as the first of the Protestant ordinances in the German lands.

The 1525 Stralsund ordinance contained fifty-one articles governing administration and practice in the city's churches, making it one of the physically largest orders to have been produced at the time. Aepinus presented the articles in three sections pertaining to preaching, schools, and establishing a community chest. However, the scope of the ordinance ranged far beyond these three areas, addressing authority, ceremonies, and discipline of unchristian behaviour. The reasons behind this document seem clear; the new city

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, pp. 190-191. Christian Ketelhut was first among the magistrates of Stralsund to sign an ordinance published in 1528 to supplement the previous church order, printed in Sehling, vol. 4, pp. 547-548.

<sup>70</sup> In a letter from Philip Melanchthon to Joachim Camerarius, 3 January 1525, the Wittenberg reformer reported that Peter Suawe had come to Wittenberg to obtain a jurist for Stralsund: 'S. Postridie quam redii domum e Lipsia, venit huc Petrus Suavenius evocaturus hinc et conducturus urbi Suntae iurisconsultum'. Heinz Scheible (ed.), Melanchthons Briefwechsel: kritische und kommentierte Gesamtausgabe, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 369-370. For John Aepinus, see T. Knolle, 'Aepinus, Johannes', in Neue Deutsche Biographie, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1953), p. 91; and H. Düfel, 'Aepinus, Johannes', in Theologische Realenzyklopedie, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1977), pp. 535-544.

<sup>71</sup> For a text of the ordinance, see Johann Aepinus, 'Dit is de ordnung, de hier tom Sunde is upgericht van einem ersamen rade und den acht un vertigen anno 1525, dorch Johannem Aepinum verfatet, Johann Sengestacke, up der tidt stadtschriewer, geschrewen', in Sehling, vol. 4, pp. 542-545. The corresponding act of the magistrates and council can be found in Sehling, vol. 4, pp. 545-546.

magistrates wanted to break with the Bishop of Schwerin and institute religious changes in their church while avoiding the chaos or disorder experienced by other localities. Aepinus's work was meant to provide a comprehensive model for the reformed civic church.

The 51 articles introduced significant changes to Stralsund's churches through its prescriptions for administration and authority. Aepinus described the offices and duties of the ministry meant to replace the traditional hierarchy of bishops and priests. In place of the ecclesiastical authority of the bishop, Aepinus instituted the office of lead preacher (*äversten Prediger*) – someone to be chosen from among the preachers by the city magistrates to oversee the other ministers. The lead preacher was to see that the others should teach the true word of God and live a Christian life. As the overseer, he also was to educate and admonish those who strayed from the approved doctrine.<sup>72</sup> In addition, the ordinance stipulated that nothing could be instituted in the churches without the consent of the lead preacher and, likewise, he should not institute anything without first seeking the advice of the other ministers.<sup>73</sup> Aepinus also described the duties of the ministers: to preach God's word loudly and clearly; to maintain order; to lead a Christian life; to follow God's Word; and to punish acts forbidden in Scripture. They also should remain obedient to worldly authority.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup> 'Darum ist vlit vortowenden, dat man einen mann hebbe, in der hiligen schrift wohl erfahren un eines unsträflichen levendes, de der anderen prediger hövet si, un dem se ock hören möten, dat een jederman nicht fahre na sinem egenen kopp, un christlicke einigkeit werde upgehaven und totrennet...Demsulvigen äversten prediger schall datsulvige regiment äver de anderen prediger nicht vorder befahlen werden, denn de schrift mede bringt...De äverste prediger schall darup sehen, dat de prediger gades wort recht vöhren un datsulvige mit enem göttlicken leven zieren'. Sehling, vol. 4, p. 542.

<sup>73</sup> 'De anderen prediger scholen nicht uprichten edder nedderleggen ahne des äversten predigers willen. De äverste prediger schall ock nichtes frevelickes uprichten edder nedderstöten ahne den rath der anderen prediger, so gott de verlicht mehr erluchtet hedde, also ehn', *ibid.*, p. 542.

<sup>74</sup> 'Der prediger amt is, dat se gades wort luter und rein predigen; der weltlicken overichheit behört, ordentlick to ordnen, dat christlicke leve un eindrächigkeit gehalten warde, un dat



The ordinance further stipulated that each church should have four ministers: two preachers, one chaplain to tend the sick, and one sexton (*Köster*) to watch after the church and to teach people the psalms to be sung.<sup>75</sup>

The ordinance also introduced significant reforms to education, church finances, and the punishment of immoral behaviour. Aepinus instructed that two schools were to be established in the city – one for girls and the other for boys. The preachers were to appoint teachers who would instruct the students in Latin and in the lessons of the Scripture, so that they might live according to God's word.<sup>76</sup> The ordinance also established a community chest; all incomes of the church were to be placed into the chest to be used to help the sick, to aid poor artisans, to support poor young women and to pay the employees of the church.<sup>77</sup> Preachers were instructed to admonish the congregation to give money to the chest and the articles warned against begging in the city.<sup>78</sup> A committee of four was established to oversee the funds and was to be comprised of one person from the city magistrates, one from the city council, one shopkeeper, and one artisan. A single administrator was to be chosen to oversee this committee and

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verwenden, dat uns gades wort vorhält, un dat verhinderen, ja gestraffet werde, dat dorch gades wort verbaden ward', Sehling, vol. 4, p. 545.

<sup>75</sup> 'Denn de kapellan, de de kranken trösten un underwiesen schall, mot ock nicht een schlicht mann sin...Idt is ock vor god angesehen, dat desulvige köster, dewile he stedes der karcken mot wachten, de psalmen dem volke lehre, aversinge un anheve, dat se eindrechtlig singen', *ibid.*, p. 543.

<sup>76</sup> 'Dat de kinder underwiset schölen werden im gesette gades, sin twee scholen van nöden: in der eenen, dar de jungen knaben, in der andern, dar de magedeken underwiset werden...Deme dat äverste predigamt bavahlen ist, de schall ock darupsehen, dat de latinsche scholmeister gode lehre den kindern vorgeve...dat se de kinder mit allem vlite in rechtdhonen künsten underwisen und lehren, nha gades wort to leven'. *Ibid.*, p. 543.

<sup>77</sup> 'Ut der gemenen kiste schall vorfordert werden, so veel möglick is, wenn se to voren künt, wo vor geseggt, also dat broderlicke leve bedrept, de kranken to heilen, dem armen handwerksmann in siner noth to lehnem, armen junkfrouen to helpen und den karkendenern to siner tidt darut to lehnem', *ibid.*, p. 543.

<sup>78</sup> 'Darum scholen de prediger mit allem vlite dat volk in den sermonen vermahnen, dat se dat evangelium mit der frucht antogen un in de becken geven, darmede de gemeene schatt nicht entbrecke, den armen na Christi und des himmlischen veders befehl to helpen...De armen lüde, so se ut dem gemenen kasten genogsam könen versorget werden, schall me nicht up den straten edder in den karcken to beddelen tolaten', *ibid.*, p. 543-545.

to report on their activities to the magistrates.<sup>79</sup> Within the articles, Aepinus also began to draw distinctions between the authority of lay and church leaders regarding discipline. He argued that unchristian behaviour was dangerous to the whole congregation and that preachers were to punish those behaviours that had been forbidden in Scripture.<sup>80</sup> Along with this duty of the preachers, Aepinus described the need for temporal authorities to punish offenders, writing that the civic leaders should punish with fines adulterers, gossipers, sinners, and those who would cause harm through violence or false business practices.<sup>81</sup>

Aepinus's 51 articles for Stralsund mark an important step towards Protestant church ordinances. The structure and content were not new; the articles followed the traditional model of civic constitutions and contained ideas that had already been introduced in Wittenberg. However, it was the attempt to provide a comprehensive model for establishing a civic church within a single order that distinguishes this ordinance from those that preceded it. Aepinus's work stands out for both its scope and detail. Comparing it with an earlier order that had similar aims, Karlstadt's 1522 Wittenberg articles, should help to illustrate this point.<sup>82</sup> A review of the content of the two orders supports the view that the Stralsund ordinance had distinguished itself by its breadth and depth. The following table (Figure 2.3) provides a summary of the content of the two works, divided into the larger categories of education, behaviour,

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> 'Un dat verwenden, ja gestrafet werde, dat dorch gades wort verbaden ward', *ibid.*, p. 545.

<sup>81</sup> 'Darum schall de overicheit, se se gades wort lehrt, erfördern un mit ernst darnach denken, dat, de wedder gades wort freventlich handeln, also apenbare gades un des evangeliij lästerer, wo in krögen hier wohl geschüt, darumme de wert mit dem gaste, item ehebrecker, horenjäger, vullstüper, freveler, de eren negesten beschädigen mit gewalt edder falschem handel un derglicken, mit billiger strafe gestrefet werden'. Sehling, vol. 4, p. 545.

<sup>82</sup> Karlstadt composed the articles following the election of one of his supporters, Christian Beier, as Bürgermeister in 1521. The text of the Wittenberg articles can be found in Sehling, vol. 1, pp. 697-698. See above, pp. 21-24.

community chests, and administration of the church. In each case, Aepinus's articles provided greater description and detail about how reformed congregations should operate.

*Figure 2.3 – Table comparing the orders from Wittenberg (1522) and Stralsund (1525)<sup>83</sup>*

Wittenberg 1522	Stralsund 1525
<p><b>Education:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Poor children should be sent to school</li> <li>• Instruction to focus on Scripture and leading a godly life</li> </ul> <p><b>Behaviour:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dishonest people should be fined and, failing improvement, made to leave the city</li> </ul> <p><b>Community Chest:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A community chest to be established in each church</li> <li>• Funds from the chest should be used to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Help the sick</li> <li>- Aid poor craftsmen</li> <li>- Support young women</li> <li>- Pay salaries of preachers</li> </ul> </li> <li>• All church incomes should go into the chest</li> <li>• No begging will be allowed in the city, with a special prohibition issued against monks begging</li> <li>• Foreign students will be allowed into the city if they can support themselves so that they do not have to resort to begging</li> <li>• Each year a report of the accounts of the chest should be made</li> </ul>	<p><b>Education:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Two schools to be established, one for boys and the other for girls</li> <li>• Both poor and rich children should be sent to school to learn about the Scriptures</li> <li>• Instruction to focus on Scripture, Latin, and leading a godly life</li> </ul> <p><b>Behaviour:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preachers are to punish those behaviours that are forbidden in Scripture</li> <li>• Authorities are to punish adulterers, gossipers, sinners, and those who harm through violence or false business</li> <li>• Unchristian behaviour is dangerous to the souls of the rest of the congregation</li> </ul> <p><b>Community Chest:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A community chest to be established in each church</li> <li>• Funds from the chest should be used to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Help the sick</li> <li>- Aid poor craftsmen</li> <li>- Support young women</li> <li>- Pay salaries of preachers and other church employees</li> </ul> </li> <li>• With the establishment of the chest, foreigners and the poor will no longer be allowed to beg in the streets or in the churches</li> <li>• Money from the chest should also be given to the old priests and monks so that they can leave the city</li> <li>• All church incomes should go into the chest, including those from the church's properties, benefices and hospitals</li> <li>• Money previously paid to the Pope and monks by societies, offices and brotherhoods should go into the chest</li> <li>• Butter, meat, wood, bacon, bread and beer should also be accepted as alms to help the poor</li> <li>• Money left to the church in wills and testaments should go into the chest</li> </ul>

<sup>83</sup> The Wittenberg order is printed in Sehling, vol. 1, pp. 697-698. For Aepinus's Stralsund ordinance, see vol. 4, pp. 542-545.

<p><b>Administration:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preachers to be paid six gulden a year</li> <li>• The Mass to be eliminated</li> <li>• The altar and pictures to be removed from churches</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preachers should admonish the congregation to give alms for the poor</li> <li>• Collection plates to be set up in the church</li> <li>• Every 8-14 days the money is to be collected and distributed</li> <li>• The chest is to be administered by a council of four:             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- One from the city magistrates</li> <li>- One from the Council of 48</li> <li>- One other person to be appointed</li> <li>- And one person appointed to represent the poor</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Concerning the final two appointments to the committee, one shop keeper and one artisan should be chosen from among the God-fearing</li> <li>• One person will be established or elected by the magistrates, Council of 48, shopkeepers and artisans to oversee the committee</li> <li>• This administrator should report the accounts of the chest to the church</li> </ul> <p><b>Administration:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A first preacher (<i>äversten Prediger</i>) to be chosen from among the preachers</li> <li>• This first preacher's duties should be to:             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Oversee the other preachers</li> <li>- Admonish ministers who do not preach the word of God or who live unchristian lives</li> <li>- Nothing should be established or taken away from the church without the first preacher's consent</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Each church should have two preachers, one chaplain, and one sexton</li> <li>• The duties of preachers are to:             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Preach the word of God loudly and clearly</li> <li>- Remain obedient to worldly authority</li> <li>- See that things are done in order</li> <li>- Lead a Christian life</li> <li>- Avoid those things which the Scripture rejects</li> <li>- Punish those who commit offenses against God's Word</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Chaplains are to care for the sick (but in times of famine or other catastrophes the preachers are to help the chaplains in their duties)</li> <li>• The sexton is to maintain the church and teach the songs</li> <li>• Papal practices to be eliminated, including singing the Mass, hearing confession, and consecrating salt, water, and herbs</li> </ul>
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In 1526, a year after Stralsund's ordinance, the rulers of Hadeln commissioned a new religious policy for their territory.<sup>84</sup> Like the work for Stralsund, this new document was drawn up by a theologian for Duke Magnus and provided a list of articles governing belief and practice in the territorial churches. The ordinance was divided into six parts covering the teaching of doctrine, establishing schools, excommunication, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, burial, creating a community chest, ordination of ministers, duties of preachers, church employees and visitors, and the role of Scripture. This expanded focus is typical of later church ordinances, which sought to provide a more complete model for the Protestant churches.

The practice quickly spread throughout the German lands. In 1526, Philip of Hesse commissioned his religious advisor, the French theologian Francis Lambert, to write an ordinance for the territory of Hesse. This work was published under the title of the Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hassiae.<sup>85</sup> The ordinance, however, never was implemented in the territory because of Luther's objections to it. More church ordinances followed in Memmingen and Brandenburg Ansbach-Kulmbach in 1528, East Frisia and Hamburg in 1529, Lübeck and Braunschweig in 1531, Brandenburg-Ansbach Kulmbach in 1533, Pommerania in 1535, and Württemberg in 1536.<sup>86</sup> Altogether, more than 450

<sup>84</sup> 'Kerken-ordenunge besteit vörnehmlich in soss stucken', (1526), in Sehling, vol. 5, pp. 465-476.

<sup>85</sup> 'Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hassiae', (1526), in Sehling, vol. 8, pp. 43-65.

<sup>86</sup> 'Wiewol aus dem worts Gotes und hailiger schrift, so jetzt in disen zeiten in diser stat Memingen fürtrefflich...', (1528), *ibid.*, vol. 12, pp. 235-238; Ein kurtze vntter-richt (Nuremberg, 1528); 'Ordenunge und articule, so wy, Enno, grave und herr to Oestfreeslandt etc.', (1529), *ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 360-372; 'Kirchenordnung für Hamburg', (1529), *ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 488-540; Der Keyser liken Stadt Lu<sup>o</sup>beck Christlike Ordeninge (Lübeck, 1531); Der Erbarn Stadt Braunschweig Christliche Orde= nung (Nuremberg, 1531); Kirchen Ordnu[n]g/ Jn mei= ner gnedigen herrn der marggrauen zu Bran denburg/ vnd eins Er= beren Rats der Stat Nuernberg Oberkeyt (Nuremberg, 1533); Kercken | Ordeninge des gantzen Pamerlandes (Wittenberg, 1535); and Gemein kir= chen ordnung/ wie | die diser zeit allenthalb in Fürstenthumb Wirtemberg gehal= ten soll werden (Tübingen, 1536).

ordinances remain from German towns and territories during the period between 1525 and 1600, making this the largest single classification of Protestant orders.

During the course of the sixteenth century, the format and scope of the ordinances was standardised. The earlier works were less homogenous, as authors experimented with various legal formats, and tended to have a narrower focus. By the second half of the century they had become much more comprehensive and consistent in their form and scope. The earliest ordinances for Stralsund (1525) and Hadeln (1526) were modelled on civic constitutions and territorial orders. The articles were written as short legal codes, with each new point indicated by the use of the Latin '*item*' as in the constitutions. Others, such as the ordinances for Hamburg (1529) and Strasbourg (1534), followed the prosaic form of agendas or other theological writings but also used legal language, especially in the privilege or preface from the city magistrates or territorial authorities, printed at the beginning of each of the works. This latter format became the standard for ordinances in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Later ordinances were also more comprehensive than their predecessors. A survey of a selection of ordinances from the century reveals this development, as illustrated in the following chart (Figure 2.4). In general, those documents written prior to 1555 tended to cover fewer topics in less detail when compared to those written after this watershed year. There are three main factors that influenced this trend. First, the secular leaders who were commissioning these ordinances and their theological authors had grown more comfortable with the accepted format of the ordinances. There was less experimentation with the form and greater concentration on the issues to be addressed. Second, the same

leaders were emboldened by the 1555 Peace of Augsburg, which legalised their jurisdiction over religious matters. However, the most important factor was the growing confessional divide occurring in the Holy Roman Empire during the second half of the century.<sup>87</sup> Differences among reformers led to more comprehensive ordinances because these documents became important statements of confessional identity for the issuing community. The additional detail and explanation of reforms found in ordinances was necessary to defend beliefs and practices against detractors and to aid in building common confessional identity.

The increased size and scope of the ordinances reflect the subtle changes that also had occurred in their role during the sixteenth century. Throughout the period, the orders continued to serve as official policy governing religious matters for the towns and territories. They also continued to define doctrine and ceremonies for the church, and set in place crucial constructs for the administration of congregations, including the role of spiritual and secular authority, the offices and duties within the church, discipline and excommunication. But as the century passed, the ordinances became the most important component in the establishment and organisation of civic and territorial churches. Such a central role required these documents to be more comprehensive and detailed. As well, the growing confessional divide in Europe in the second half of the century required the ordinances to clarify and defend their particular confessional position. Thus, the ordinances written after 1550

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<sup>87</sup> For a discussion of Protestant confession building in Germany see Ernst Walter Zeeden, Konfessionbildung: Studien zur Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholischen Reform (Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 67-90.

Figure 2.4 – Chart comparing the contents of Protestant ordinances

	Offices & duties	Spiritual Authority	Statement of faith	Sacraments	Preaching & worship services	Holy days	Excommunication	Discipline	Community chest	Poor/sick relief	Education	Marriage	Burial	Visitations
Stralsund 1525	■								■		■			
Prussia 1525				■	■			■				■	■	■
Hadeln 1526	■		■	■			■		■		■		■	
Brandenburg-Nuremberg 1528	■			■	■					■				
Hamburg 1529	■	■	■	■	■		■		■	■	■			
Lübeck 1531	■			■	■	■	■		■	■	■			
Hesse 1532				■	■	■				■		■		
Braunschweig-Lüneburg 1532	■							■						
Brandenburg-Nuremberg 1533	■	■	■	■	■					■	■		■	
Strasbourg 1534	■	■		■										
East Frisia 1535	■			■		■		■		■			■	
Nordheim 1539				■	■	■		■			■		■	
Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel 1543	■			■	■		■			■	■	■	■	
Pfalz-Neuburg 1543			■	■	■					■		■	■	
Cologne 1545	■	■		■	■	■	■	■		■		■	■	
Kurpfalz 1547				■	■					■				
Hamburg 1556	■	■		■	■	■		■		■	■	■		■
Württemberg 1559	■	■	■	■	■		■	■			■			■
Hildesheim 1561	■		■	■					■					
Oldenburg/Jever 1562	■	■	■	■			■				■	■	■	■
Kurpfalz 1563		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	
Hesse 1566	■	■	■	■	■	■			■	■		■	■	
Prussia 1568			■		■	■	■			■	■	■	■	
Pommerania 1569	■	■	■	■	■			■	■	■	■			■
Hall 1573	■	■	■	■	■					■	■	■	■	
Jever 1573	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Württemberg 1578		■	■	■	■	■		■		■	■	■	■	
Saxony 1580	■	■	■	■	■		■	■		■	■	■	■	■
Hoya 1581	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■	■
Henneberg 1582	■	■	■	■	■	■				■	■	■	■	■



became increasingly crucial in the process of church and confession building in the German lands.

With their more detailed models for reform, ordinances and their authors became key conduits for spreading ideas about church organisation, administration, and confessional identity across political boundaries. Many theologians became well known as authors of these documents and were able to exert influence by composing ordinances for several communities. John Aepinus wrote the 1525 Stralsund, 1552 Bremen and 1552 Buxtehude ordinances. Johannes Brenz composed such works for the free-imperial city of Hall in 1527 and for the territory of Württemberg in 1536 and 1559. John Bugenhagen was commissioned to write ordinances for the cities of Hamburg in 1529, Braunschweig and Lübeck in 1531, and the territory of Pommerania in 1535. Justus Jonas wrote the 1538 Anhalt and 1539 Saxony ordinances. Likewise, Martin Bucer authored ordinances for Strassburg in 1534, Hesse in 1539, and co-wrote the Einfältiges Bedencken for Cologne in 1543 with Philip Melanchthon. Through their works, the authors of ordinances could spread their own ideas about church belief and practice across increasingly wide areas – within the German lands and even beyond.

Besides making known their common authors who wrote ordinances for several communities, the texts themselves played an important role in promoting ideas through the borrowing and repetition of content. When composing ordinances, it was common practice for authors to borrow from existing works. Luther's 1526 instructions for Baptism, for example, were repeated in the orders for Göttingen (1530), Brandenburg-Nuremberg (1533), Northeim (1539), Saxony (1539), Halle (1541), Schleswig-Holstein (1542), Pommerania (1542),

Schweinfurt (1543), Ritzbüttel (1544), and Mecklenburg (1552).<sup>88</sup> The larger audiences of these works also facilitated their role as models for reform. The 1539 Wittenberg ordinance was published in at least ten different German editions between 1539 and 1616, and served as a principal foundation for similar works in Cologne in 1543, Prussia and Bergedorf in 1544, Mecklenburg in 1552, and Pfalz in 1554 and 1563.<sup>89</sup> Similarly, Bucer's work for the city of Cologne, the Einfältiges Bedencken, was first printed at Bonn in 1543 and was followed by further editions in Bonn (1544) and Marburg (1544 and 1545).<sup>90</sup> The archbishop Hermann von Wied hired Albert Hardenburg to translate the order into Latin, which was published in 1543, and then to travel throughout the German and Swiss territories defending the work.<sup>91</sup> One of the most immediate examples of the influence of the Einfältiges Bedencken is found in Bucer's prescriptions for church discipline, which served as the model for the 1545 police order in the territory of East Frisia. Thus, the proliferation of orders during the century provided a crucial conduit for spreading the reformers' message across political boundaries, as well as provided church and lay authorities with important models for reform. This becomes especially important when viewing a Lasco's Forma ac ratio, which carried his unique ideas about reform across the continent.

<sup>88</sup> Das tauff= | buchlin | ver= | deuscht, auff's new | zugericht (Wittenberg, 1526), see Sehling, vol. 1, p. 21.

<sup>89</sup> Sehling, vol. 11, pp. 89-90.

<sup>90</sup> VOn Gottes genaden | vnser Hermans Ertzbisshoffs zu° | Co°In/ vnnd Churfürsten [et]c. enfaltigs bedencken (Bonn, 1543).

<sup>91</sup> Janse, Albert Hardenberg, pp. 16-19; and 'A Lasco und Albert Hardenberg: Einigkeit im Dissens', in Strohm (ed.), Johannes a Lasco, pp. 261-263.

The ecclesiastical ordinances joined other forms of orders in providing spiritual and temporal authorities with a practical tool for replacing canon law and controlling the nature and pace of religious reform. In the German lands, leaders in the churches, cities, and territories turned to familiar models of administration in the forms of edicts, mandates, police orders and liturgies when writing these official, constitutional policies governing religion. However, the ecclesiastical ordinance, which accounts for the majority of surviving works, was a unique innovation in building Protestant communities. These texts went far beyond other orders in form and scope, and sought to provide thorough blueprints for evangelical congregations. Their comprehensive nature made them essential for church and confession building in Europe during the second half of the sixteenth century. Of these, as we shall see, John a Lasco's Forma ac ratio was one of the most important produced during the period. The Polish reformer's work was one of the largest ordinances when it was published in 1555, and provided the most complete model for Reformed congregations in Europe. The chapters that follow will explore a Lasco's work in closer detail, examining the reformer's unique vision for Protestant churches and the influence of the Forma ac ratio across Europe.

*Chapter Three*

**Restoring Christ's Church: John a Lasco's Forma ac ratio**

On 24 July, 1550, King Edward VI created the London Strangers' Church for the growing number of foreigners seeking religious refuge in England. Recent attempts to stamp out the Protestant heresy in France, the German territories, and the Low Countries had brought many religious exiles to England's shores. Among them was John a Lasco who, a short time after his arrival in 1550, was appointed superintendent of the new church.<sup>1</sup> The reformer devoted himself to the task of uniting the foreigners under a single doctrine and building a church that would serve as a model for other Reformed communities. It was during this same time, while in London, that he wrote his most significant contribution to ecclesiastical organisation and practice – the Forma ac ratio. The ordinance describes the administration, ceremonies, and discipline observed by the exiles and includes a Lasco's own explanations defending the order. The document is key to understanding the career of the Polish reformer and his influence in Europe. It is the most complete extant description of a church under a Lasco's leadership, making it a principal text for understanding the reformer's ideas about ecclesiastical organisation and practice. In addition, the comprehensive

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<sup>1</sup> The Strangers' Church was created by royal charter, dated 24 July 1550, which was reprinted in a Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sigs. Pp4<sup>r</sup>-Pp8<sup>v</sup>. The letter of privilege explained that the Strangers' Church had been established for those people seeking refuge on account of 'religionis causa calamitate fractis [et] afflictis exulibus'. *Ibid.*, sig. Pp4<sup>v</sup>. See also, C. S. Knighton (ed.), Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the reign of Edward VI 1547-1553 (London, 1992), pp. 166-167. For additional accounts of the church's founding see: J. Lindeboom, Austin Friars: History of the Dutch Reformed Church in London 1550-1950, (trans.) D. de Jongh, (The Hague, 1950), pp. 7-11; Andrew Pettegree, Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London (Oxford, 1986), pp. 23-45; and Rodgers, Lasco in England, pp. 27-33.

nature of the document and the unique model it provided for churches makes it one of the most remarkable ordinances to appear in the sixteenth century.

Modern historians have agreed on the striking nature of the Forma ac ratio. Oscar Bartel recognised the supranational appeal of the text, writing in his 1955 a Lasco biography that although the ordinance had been composed in England ‘it could be useful in other places’.<sup>2</sup> A short time later, the English historian Basil Hall noted that a Lasco’s work was ‘one of the lengthiest of such documents from the Reformation period’ and that ‘the collection of all these materials into one book was unique’.<sup>3</sup> More recently, the historian Philip Benedict observed that the Forma ac ratio was one of the most comprehensive blueprints for congregations at the time of its publication. Diarmaid MacCulloch described the ordinance as one of the key texts for Reformed congregations and likened it to Calvin’s Institutes in its importance.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the large number of surviving copies suggests the significance of the Forma ac ratio among a Lasco’s contemporaries. Of the original Latin edition printed in 1555, forty-one copies currently remain. A French translation appeared the following year, of which fifteen copies have survived.<sup>5</sup>

Although scholars agree about the remarkable nature of the ordinance, no detailed analysis of the work and its wider impact has been attempted. This thesis provides the first comprehensive examination of the Forma ac ratio and its influence on congregations throughout Europe. This chapter begins the inquiry

<sup>2</sup> ‘In England habe er dieses Buch [Forma ac Ratio] vom kirchlichen Dienst geschrieben. Es könne auch andernorts nützlich sein’. Bartel, Jan Łaski, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Basil Hall, John à Lasco 1499-1560: A Pole in Reformation England (London, 1971), p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Benedict, Christ’s Churches, p. 71. For MacCulloch’s comments, see p. 3 above.

<sup>5</sup> Pettegree, Marian Protestantism, p. 32, and Dutch Revolt, pp. 161-162 and 266-267.

Additional information about extant French editions have been found in the records of the St Andrews French Book Project.

into the ordinance's impact by examining the context and content of the document. The chapter is divided into three parts, with the first exploring a Lasco's role in building the London church and the circumstances that shaped his ecclesiastical ordinance. This will lead to a better understanding of his purpose for writing the text and the forces that shaped its content. The second part focuses on the message of the Forma ac ratio, and provides the most current and detailed discussion of the text to date. Special attention will be given to the reformer's model for ecclesiastical administration and rites, and to the unique features that distinguish this work. The final section compares the text to other ecclesiastical ordinances to situate the document within the larger body of Protestant works. The purpose of this analysis is to build on the existing knowledge about a Lasco's Forma ac ratio and to construct a framework for viewing its wider impact beyond London.

### **Church building in London**

The Strangers' Church was created for the foreign Protestants living in England's capital city. During the early part of the century, many of the immigrants who had come to London were merchants and craftsmen seeking access to the city's markets. However, by mid-century they came in increasing numbers as religious refugees. By 1550, 5,000 to 6,000 foreigners were thought to be living in London, which accounted for five to eight percent of the city's total population.<sup>6</sup> With the growing numbers of Protestant exiles came the need

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<sup>6</sup> Pettegree, Foreign Protestant Communities, pp. 16-17. There are several other studies that examine the foreign populations in London and England during this period, including W. Cunningham, Alien Immigrants to England (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London, 1969), pp. 137-189; and Bernard Cottret, Terre d'exil: L'Angleterre et ses réfugiés 16<sup>e</sup>-17<sup>e</sup> siècles (Paris, 1985), pp. 73-95.

for their own worship services. A group of French refugees began meeting in Canterbury in the summer of 1548 to hear the minister Francis Perussel preach in their native language.<sup>7</sup> By the end of that same year, a Dutch congregation had formed in the capital and many leading theologians were aiding their search for a permanent preacher. Bernardine Ochino wrote to Wolfgang Musculus in December 1548 and invited the reformer to England, explaining that work could be had lecturing at Cambridge or preaching to the Dutch congregation in London.<sup>8</sup> Musculus declined the offer; in a letter to Henry Bullinger the following March, he indicated that the congregation still had not found a suitable minister.<sup>9</sup> Finding a leader for the Dutch congregation proved a difficult task and in August 1549, Martin Bucer sent a letter to Albert Hardenberg in Bremen seeking assistance in the search for a Dutch preacher.<sup>10</sup> A permanent minister was finally appointed to this congregation in Edward VI's letter of privilege in July 1550.

There is some evidence suggesting that John a Lasco played a key role in organising this first Dutch congregation during a brief visit to England in 1548. The East Frisian superintendent had received a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, inviting him to participate in a proposed synod to

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<sup>7</sup> D. Karl Bauer, *Valèrand Poullain, Ein kirchengeschichtliches Zeitbild aus der Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Elberfeld, 1927), p. 128. The author wrote that this congregation was organized by the Dutchman Jan Utenhove and continued to meet until he left Canterbury in the spring of 1549.

<sup>8</sup> Bernardine Ochino to Wolfgang Musculus, 23 December 1548, in Hasting Robinson (ed.), *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Written during the Reigns of King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1846), pp. 336-337. For a discussion of the origins of this Dutch church and the search for a preacher, see Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 23-25. This congregation is often described as 'German' or 'Flemish' in the primary sources. However, Pettegree notes that the language of these exiles was Brabant, indicating that they came from the Netherlands, rather than Germany 'in the modern sense'. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> Wolfgang Musculus to Henry Bullinger, 12 March 1549, *OL*, vol. 1, pp. 336-337.

<sup>10</sup> Martin Bucer to Albert Hardenberg, 14 August 1549, *ibid.*, p. 538.

settle the doctrinal disputes in the English church.<sup>11</sup> A Lasco was not the only theologian to receive such an offer; the archbishop had seized on the uncertainty surrounding the future of the evangelical movement on the continent and sent similar letters to many leading reformers. He offered England as a safe refuge for Protestants and invited them to participate in his proposed assembly.<sup>12</sup> A Lasco accepted the offer and arrived in September 1548, lodging at Cranmer's home at Lambeth Palace during his stay.<sup>13</sup> Although the proposed synod never took place, the reformer used his time in England to push for the creation of a church for foreigners. He had personal motives for this: his beleaguered East Frisian congregations faced uncertainty following the emperor's victory over the Schmalkaldic League, and he hoped to secure a refuge in England for his own church.<sup>14</sup> It appears that the Dutch congregation in London resulted from his efforts to establish this refuge for foreign Protestants. In a letter written in April

<sup>11</sup> The whereabouts of this original letter are unknown, but Cranmer sent a second letter to a Lasco in Emden, 4 July 1548, making reference to his earlier invitation. The archbishop repeated his request for the Polish reformer to come to England for his proposed general synod, which he hoped would settle disputes over the doctrine of the English church. Cranmer wrote: 'Cupimus nostris ecclesiis veram de Deo doctrinam proponere, nec volumus cothurnos facere aut ambiguitatibus ludere; sed semota omni prudentia carnis, veram, perspicuam, sacrarum literarum normæ convenientem doctrinæ formam ad posteros transmittere; ut et apud omnes gentes existet illustre testimonium de doctrina nostra, gravi doctorum et piorum auctoritate traditum, et universa posteritas normam habeat quam sequatur'. John Edmund Cox (ed.), Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr, 1556 (Cambridge, 1846), pp. 420-421.

<sup>12</sup> Cranmer discussed his invitation in a letter to Martin Bucer on 2 October 1548. Likewise, he discussed his offer to Philip Melancthon in a letter to the Wittenberg reformer on 10 February 1549. Both letters are published in OL, vol. 1, pp. 19-22.

<sup>13</sup> A Lasco referred to his stay at Lambeth Palace in a letter to Francis Dryander, 21 September 1548, in LO, vol. 2, pp. 619-620. Cranmer referred to a Lasco as a guest in his letter to Melancthon, written on 10 February 1549, which he gave to a Lasco to deliver to Wittenberg when he returned to Germany: OL, vol. 1, pp. 21-22.

<sup>14</sup> Ubbo Emmius wrote about a Lasco's intentions in Rerum Frisicarum historia / autore Vbbone Emmio, Frisio 'distincta in decades sex ' quarum postrema nunc primum prodit, prioribus ita recognitis & locupletatis, ut novae prorsus videri possint... ' accedunt praeterea De Frisia et Republ. Frisiorum, inter Fleuum et Visurgim Flumina, libri aliquot, ab eodem autore conscripti. (1616), p. 935.



1549, Paul Fagius reported to John Marbach that a church for the Dutch had been granted in London through the efforts of a Lasco.<sup>15</sup>

The East Frisian superintendent returned to the German lands in March 1549. He went to Bremen to visit his friend Albert Hardenberg before travelling to Hamburg to see the preacher John Aepinus. Before returning to his home in Emden, he continued to Königsberg to meet with Duke Albrecht.<sup>16</sup> Upon his arrival in East Frisia in August, a Lasco was confronted with the impact of the Augsburg Interim on his territorial church. During his absence, Countess Anna von Oldenburg had agreed to a religious settlement with Charles V that required her to relieve the reformer of his office and expel him from the territory.<sup>17</sup> Having lost the support of Anna and her council, a Lasco and his family returned to England. His arrival in London, in May 1550, signaled the end to the search for a suitable leader for the foreign congregations. One month after his arrival, the reformer and his wife were made denizens for life and awarded a stipend of £100 a year.<sup>18</sup> The following month, on 24 July 1550, King Edward VI issued

<sup>15</sup> Paul Fagius to John Marbach, in George C. Gorham (ed.), Gleanings of a few scattered ears, during the period of the Reformation in England and of the times immediately succeeding: A.D. 1533 to A.D. 1588 (London, 1857), no. 77. Likewise, Martin Micron wrote to Henry Bullinger in a letter dated 4 June 1550, that the 'Flemish' church in London had been established by John a Lasco. OL, vol. 2, p. 565. See also MacCulloch, 'The importance of Jan Laski', p. 323.

<sup>16</sup> For a more thorough discussion of a Lasco's itinerary after leaving England, see Jürgens, Lasco in Ostfriesland, pp. 333-337.

<sup>17</sup> A Lasco explained his position to the Duke of Prussia in a letter dated 21 October 1549: 'Quare Principem peter, ut sua ditone excederem, ne illam periculo una mecum involverem, advorsus quod illa me defendere non posset. Breviter, videbam mihi apud Frisios non amplius locum fore meque de migrando una cum tota familia etiam ante hyemem oportuisse cogitare'. LO, vol. 2, p. 633. See also Pettegree, Foreign Protestant Communities, p. 55, and Jürgens, Lasco in Ostfriesland, p. 344.

<sup>18</sup> MacCulloch suggests that this was an unusually short period of time for denizen status to be granted, which supports the idea that a Lasco was favoured to lead the Strangers' Church. 'The importance of Jan Laski', p. 325.

his letter of privilege, which created the Strangers' Church and named a Lasco as its superintendent.<sup>19</sup>

The new, officially sanctioned church for the foreign Protestants was a unique institution in London. The royal charter had established a corporate framework that united the French and Dutch congregations into a single, ecclesiastical body.<sup>20</sup> The king granted Austin Friars to the foreigners for their worship services, and appointed four ministers: Marten Micron (Flandrus) and Gualter Delenus were to preach to the Dutch congregation; Francis Perussel (Riverius) and Richard Vauville (Gallus) were named as French ministers.<sup>21</sup> The royal charter endowed the church with a remarkable level of religious autonomy. The French and Dutch congregations were not incorporated into the hierarchy of the English Church, remaining outside the jurisdiction of the local Bishop of London. Instead, they were to answer to the king and archbishop. The letter of privilege bestowed on the foreigners the right to choose their own ministers,

<sup>19</sup> 'Volumus præterea, quod Ioannes a Lasco natione Polonus, homo propter integritatem [et] innocentiam uitæ, ac morum, et singularem eruditionem ualde celebris, sit primus [et] modernus superinte[n]dens dictæ Ecclesiæ'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. Pp6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> The king's letter of privilege mentioned by name the French and 'German' (Brabant) congregations. Opinions differ on whether this included a smaller Italian congregation. Cranmer had encouraged Italians to emigrate to England in 1547 and 1548 and some, such as the preacher Michelangelo Florio, made the trip. O. Boersma and A. J. Jelsma assert that there was no official Italian congregation until much later, during the reign of Elizabeth I. See Boersma and Jelsma (eds.), *Unity in Multiforimity: The Minutes of the Coetus of London, 1575, and the Consistory Minutes of the Italian Church of London, 1570-1591* (London, 1997), pp. 21-25. However, the French Preacher Valerand Poullain wrote in his introduction to the French liturgy, published in London in 1552, that the king's charter had established Flemish (Dutch), French, and Italian churches in London. This would suggest that there was an official Italian congregation as early as 1552. Valerand Poullain, *L'ORDRE | DES PRIERES | ET MINISTERE | Ecclesiastique, | auec | La forme de penitence pub. [et] cer- | taines Prieres de l'Eglise de | Londres, | Et | La confession de Foy de l' Eglise | de Glastonbury en | Somerset* (London, 1552), STC 16573, sig. \*ii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> 'Idcirco de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris: Nec non de ausame[n]to Consilij nostri uolumus, concedimus et ordinamus, quod de cætero sit et erit, unu[m] templu[m] siue sacra ædes in ciuitate nostra London[n]. quod uel quæ uocabitur templu[m] D[ivi]n[um] Iesu'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. Pp5<sup>r-v</sup>. And, '[et] quod Gualterus Delænus, Martinus Fla[n]drus, Franciscus Riuerus, Richardus Gallus, sint quatuor primi et moderni ministri'. *Ibid.*, sig. Pp6<sup>v</sup>.

although the king maintained final approval for preachers and superintendents.<sup>22</sup> They were free to observe their own rites and ceremonies providing they did not contradict the English doctrine. To protect these liberties, the charter warned the bishops, ministers and other ecclesiastical officials in London to observe these rights granted to the refugees, and to not hinder their attempts to follow their own rites, ceremonies and discipline.<sup>23</sup>

There were several reasons for creating the London Strangers' Church. French and Dutch congregations already had been holding their own worship services in England and the royal letter of privilege united the foreigners into a single ecclesiastical structure and gave official sanction to their activities. Many in London were concerned that religious radicals were living among the refugees and the foundation of the church sought to remove such influences.<sup>24</sup> Suspicions that Anabaptists and other radical groups were hiding among the foreigners were not unfounded. Marten Micron wrote a letter to Henry Bullinger two months before the royal charter was published, explaining that it was important for ministers to preach to the foreigners in their native language in order to protect them against the false beliefs that their own countrymen were introducing in

<sup>22</sup> 'Damus etiam et co[n]cedimus præfatis superinte[n]de[n]ti, ministris et successoribus suis facultatem, autoritate[m] [et] licentiam post mortem seu uacatione[m] Superintendentis de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi [et] surrogandi alium personam doctum [et] grauem in locum suum.' Ibid., sigs. Pp6<sup>v</sup>-Pp7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> 'Mandamus [et] firmiter iniungendum præcipimus tam Maiori uicecomitibus [et] Aldermannis Ciuitatis nostræ London[n]. Episcopo London[n]. et successoribus suis cum omnibus alijs Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Iusticiarijs, Officiarijs [et] ministris nostris quibuscunq[ue], quod permittant præfatis Superintendenti [et] ministris [et] sua suos libere [et] quiete frui, quoad, uti, et exercere ritus [et] ceremonias suas proprias [et] disciplinam Ecclesiasticam propriam [et] peculiarem, non obstante quod non conueniant cum ritibus [et] ceremonijs in Regno nostro usitatis absq[ue] impetitione, perturbatione, aut inquietatione eorum, uel eoru[m] alicuius, aliquo statuto, actu, proclamatione, iniu[n]ctione, restrictione seu usie in contrariu[m] inde ante hac habitis, factis, editis seu promulgatis in contrariu[m] no[n] obstantibus'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. Pp7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> The idea that the Strangers' Church was founded as part of a general movement against religious radicals is discussed more thoroughly in Rodgers, Lasco in England, pp. 30-31, MacCulloch, Tudor Church Militant, p. 141, and MacCulloch, 'The importance of Jan Laski', p. 327.

London.<sup>25</sup> The creation of the Strangers' Church brought the refugees together into a single, organised body that could promote doctrinal conformity and protect these communities from the influence of such radicals. Thomas Cranmer also had personal motives for establishing this new church. The archbishop wanted to introduce ecclesiastical reforms in England, similar to the practices found in Reformed congregations on the continent, and he hoped that the foreigners could become a model for his future reforms.<sup>26</sup> A Lasco had to balance these various motivations when shaping the rites and practices of the London Strangers' Church.

Although the king and archbishop supported the creation of a foreign church in London, there was powerful opposition to the autonomy bestowed on the French and Dutch congregations. Most notable among their opponents was the Bishop of London, Nicholas Ridley, who criticised the rites observed by the foreigners.<sup>27</sup> These adversaries hindered the early development of the Strangers' Church. In August 1550, a Lasco requested permission from the Lord Treasurer to begin using Austin Friars for their Sunday services. The Dutch preacher Micron reported to Henry Bullinger that the official had denied the request, explaining that the church had been a gift from Edward VI and could not be used until sufficient repairs were completed. In addition, Micron recounted that the Lord Treasurer criticised the foreigners' liberty to follow their own rites,

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<sup>25</sup> Marten Micron to Henry Bullinger, 20 May 1550, in *OL*, vol. 2, pp. 558-560. He wrote: 'There are Arians, Marcionists, Libertines, Danists, and the like monstrosities, in great numbers', *ibid.*, p. 560.

<sup>26</sup> This idea is discussed in greater detail in MacCulloch, 'The importance of Jan Laski', pp. 325-326. The author argues that the speed by which denizen status was granted to a Lasco, the remarkable autonomy held by the refugees, and the use of the prominent Austin Friars Church were all part of Cranmer's plan to use the Strangers' Church as a model for reform.

<sup>27</sup> Marten Micron to Henry Bullinger, 28 August 1550, in *OL*, vol. 2, pp. 566-569. Micron reported: 'Some of the bishops, and especially the bishop of London, with certain others, are opposed to our design; but I hope their opposition will be ineffectual', *ibid.*, pp. 567-568.

demanding that they should 'either adopt the English ceremonies or disprove them by the word of God'. The Dutch preacher concluded that 'all this mischief is stirred up against us by the bishops, and especially by the bishop of London'.<sup>28</sup>

The foreigners finally received the keys to Austin Friars before the end of the year, but their critics continued to attack their liturgical liberties.<sup>29</sup> A Lasco's church suffered a serious setback in October 1550, when the opposing bishops convinced the king's council to suspend their privilege to use their own sacramental ceremonies. Micron reported this reversal to Bullinger, explaining that the French and Dutch congregations were no longer able to observe their own rites, but rather had to follow the English practices for Baptism and the Lord's Supper.<sup>30</sup> A Lasco argued for the restoration of the church's liberties granted by the royal charter, which eventually were reinstated by the early part of 1552.<sup>31</sup> This opposition to the foreigners complicated the difficult task facing the superintendent of the Strangers' Church. He had to unite the French and Dutch congregations together under a single doctrine, eliminate the influence of

<sup>28</sup> Marten Micron to Henry Bullinger, 28 August 1550, *ibid.*, pp. 567-568.

<sup>29</sup> Regarding the Austin Friars church, a Lasco reported to Hardenberg that the foreigners had taken possession of the building in December 1550. A Lasco to Hardenberg, 12 December 1550, in *LO*, vol. 2, p. 644: 'Nobis iam hodie datum est reipsa templum hactenus promissum, ut illud habeamus, possideamus et gubernemus'.

<sup>30</sup> Marten Micron to Henry Bullinger, 13 October 1550, in *OL*, vol. 2, pp. 573.

<sup>31</sup> A Lasco reported to Bullinger in January 1551, that there was preaching in German and French in London and that he hoped to have the sacramental rites and church discipline in use in a short time. A Lasco to Henry Bullinger, 7 January 1551, in *LO*, vol. 2, pp. 646-647: 'Nos hic Dei et Regis nostri beneficio instituimus Germanicam et Gallicam Ecclesiam publicumque verbi ministerium duobus locis Germanica et Gallica lingua habemus. Nunc de puro, quoad eius fieri potest, Sacramentorum et disciplinae usu tractatur, quem nos brevi habituros per Dei gratiam esse speramus', p. 646. The last mention of the controversy was in Micron's letter to Bullinger in August, 1551, when he reported that the foreigners still could not practice their own sacramental ceremonies, but that a Lasco was working to have this right restored. Martin Micron to Henry Bullinger, 14 August 1551, in *OL*, vol. 2, p. 575. For further discussion of the opposition to the church's liberties, see Rodgers, *Lasco in England*, pp. 36-38. Rodger's notes that the date of restoration was unclear, but he suspects that it came early in 1552 when the French and Dutch congregations began writing their liturgies.

religious radicals, and provide a model for reform, while defending their rites and practices from opponents in England and abroad.

A Lasco took his first step towards building doctrinal uniformity among the foreigners with the publication of the church's confession in January 1551.<sup>32</sup> The *Compendium Doctrinae* outlined the principal matters of faith for the French and Dutch congregations and was divided into two distinct parts.<sup>33</sup> In the first section, the Polish reformer addressed the definition and marks of the true Church, the nature of Christ and his priesthood, and the office of ministers. The second part contained liturgical instructions including prayers to be spoken before and after sermons. The publication of this confession marked an important stage in building the Strangers' Church. It codified and articulated the foreigners' doctrine for the members of the congregations and their English hosts. It also sought to protect the refugees from religious radicals. Anyone who wished to join the church had to subscribe publicly to this confession before the ministers recorded their name in the register.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> John a Lasco, *COMPEN | DUVM DOCTRINAE DE | VERA VNICAQVE DEI ET CHRI | sti Ecclesia, eiusq[ue] fide [et] confesione pu= | ra: in qua Peregrinorum Ecclesia Londini | instituta est, auto[ri]tate atq[ue] assensu Sacrae | Maiestatis Regiae. Quem Deus Opt. Max. | ad singulare Ecclesiae suae decus orna= | mentum ac defensionem (per gra= | tiam suam) seruet, guver= | net [et] fortunet* (London, 1551), STC 15263. Rodgers briefly discussed this work in *Lasco in England*, pp. 33-36. See also James Frantz Smith, 'John A'Lasco and the Strangers' Churches' (unpublished PhD thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1964), pp. 221-224.

<sup>33</sup> In the preface to the *Compendium Doctrinae*, a Lasco wrote that this was a summary of the church's doctrine, which followed the model of the Apostles, and addressed all the principle matters for their salvation: 'Ut nostri iam hac in parte studii specimen aliquod tuae Maiestati piisque omnibus ederemus, Compendium Doctrinae nostrae, qua confessio Apostolica explicatur, edere ante omnia volumus, breve quidem illud, sed quod praecipua interim salutis nostrae capita complectitur omnia'. A Lasco, *Compendium Doctrinae*, printed in *LO*, vol. 2, pp. 289-290. A Lasco also sent several copies of the work to Henry Bullinger in Zurich with a letter explaining that this was the doctrine of the London church: 'Nos hic eandem doctrinam sequimur, etiamsi aliis quandoque verbis illam exprimamus, et brevi, si Dominus volet, nostram omnes confessionem unanimiter edemus...Eius porro confessionis nostrae aliquot exemplaria ad te transmittito, ut nostrae doctrinae rationes cognitae habeatis.' A Lasco to Bullinger, 7 January 1551, *ibid.*, p. 646.

<sup>34</sup> 'Ecclesiam porro ita colligimus, ut qui in illa censeri velit, editae per nos confessioni nostrae subscribat, ut totius Ecclesia nostrae nomina in catalogo habeamus'. *Ibid.*

Besides articulating the Strangers' doctrine, a Lasco used the Compendium Doctrinae to defend the rites and practices of the foreigners in London. He wrote to King Edward VI in the preface of the work:

We offer to your Majesty the King this summary of our Apostolic confession with the utmost respect, so that we might testify to you and to our Church our zealous faith and respect and, at the same time, may also resist the deceit of our rivals if, by chance, they should hope to aggravate us on these points in front of you or your most honourable Senate, or elsewhere or anywhere, either from envy, as it may be, or from suspicions in whatever way.<sup>35</sup>

The right to follow their own sacramental ceremonies had been revoked prior to the confession's publication and a Lasco hoped to defend their practices and prevent the loss of any more liberties. He acknowledged the current controversy over the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and added that he would be writing more on these specific ceremonies in the near future.<sup>36</sup> The Polish superintendent also explained that God had called together the true Church, which followed his divine doctrine, and that this model was repeated by Christ and his apostles.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> 'Hoc igitur confessionis Apostolicae compendium summa cum observantia offerimus tuae Maiestatis Regiae, ut nostram erga te Ecclesiamque nostram fidem studium atque observantiam testemur, simulque et calumniis aemulorum nostrorum occurramus, si qui forte nostra apud te, clarissimumque Senatum tuum, aut alibi ubivis, invidia, ut sit, aut suspicionibus gravare quovis modo velint', LO, vol. 2, p. 290.

<sup>36</sup> 'Sunt autem ceremoniae a Christo Domino in sua Ecclesia institutae circa publicum potissimum verbi et signorum mysticorum ministerium, quae Sacramenta vocamus. In harum igitur observatione legitima posita est haec de qua loquimur professio ceremoniarum, de qua postea etiam plenius suo loco dicetur, ubi de forma atque usu sacramentorum agemus'. *Ibid.*, p. 326.

<sup>37</sup> A Lasco wrote about the characteristics of the true church: 'Est igitur Ecclesia coetus eorum qui voce Dei ex universa toto orbe hominum multitudine in populum illi peculiarem evocantur...Sunt igitur quatuor observanda in vera Dei Ecclesia ab aliis omnibus Ecclesiis dignoscenda...Primum, ut non sane humana ulla, sed ipsius Dei voce atque autoritate, evocetur et colligatur...Deinde, cum nemo non Deum ipsum autorem doctrinae suae facere conetur, cavendum erit, ne vocem Dei aliunde, quam ex eorum duntaxat ore audiamus et quaeramus per quos illam Deus ad nos deferri voluit...Tertio, cum et angelos impostores, qui se in lucis angelos transformant, et pseudopphetas item multos habeamus, observanda erit diligenter haec trium istorum coniunctio, nempe Angelorum, Prophetarum et Christi, ut eam demum veram Dei vocem duntaxat esse credamus, quae Christi Doctrinae consentanea sit...Quarto, cum Christus ipsemet doceat, se in Apostolis suis audiri, Spiritum item Sanctum esse ipsum, qui per illos loquutus sit, denique et pro iis tantum oret, qui per eorum doctrinam in ipsum credituri essent, cavendum est omnino ne vocem Dei ex aliorum quorumcunque tandem praeterquam ex Apostolorum et, qui illis familiares fuerunt, Euangelistarum ore, audiamus aut requiramus. Haecque erit vera illa Dei

He defended this work by drawing parallels between his text and the apostolic doctrine. In addition, he gave three marks for discerning the true Church: continuity with antiquity, observance of the apostolic faith and a public profession of doctrine that demonstrates its foundation.<sup>38</sup> He argued that all three elements were present in the foreign congregations and were articulated in this new confession for the foreigners.

One of the key benefits of the Compendium Doctrinae was its role in reducing the religious radicals' influence among the foreign populations in London. The text outlined the church's official doctrine and marked the boundaries between acceptable belief and radical opinions, making it easier to identify these undesirable elements. A Lasco wrote that such groups lacked the marks of the true Church. He explained that unlike the French and Dutch congregations, Muslims, the Roman Church, Anabaptists, and Davidists could not claim to be part of Christ's Church because they all had originated in more recent times.<sup>39</sup> He also warned that groups like the Anabaptists threatened to divide the Church because they maintained practices and ceremonies that had not been divinely instituted.<sup>40</sup> The confession also served a practical function in the

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*Ecclesia, quam voce Dei per Angelos, Prophetas et Christum Dominum, tanquam priorum omnium gubernatorem, eiusque Apostolos, in unum coetum ac populum ipsi peculiarem evocatos esse constat.* *LO*, vol. 2, pp. 294-296.

<sup>38</sup> 'Huius porro Ecclesiae tres notas Spiritus Sanctus nobis indicavit, quibus ab aliis simulatis Ecclesiis discerni facile possit: vetustatem illius cum perpetua duratione, fidem eius praeterea, et publicam professionem'. *Ibid.*, p. 296. A Lasco discussed each of these marks in greater detail on pp. 296-300.

<sup>39</sup> 'Hic ruit malignans Turcarum Ecclesia, quae suam originam ad Mahumetem refert 600 post Christum annis. Nec Papae Ecclesia consistere potest, cuius initium longe post Christum coepit. Nec Anabaptistarum, quae ad huc est recentior in sua separatione. Nec Davidis, quae in postremis temporibus originem suam ponit'. *LO*, vol. 2, p. 300.

<sup>40</sup> A Lasco pointed to the Anabaptists use of Baptism to show the danger of retaining ceremonies that had not been divinely instituted: 'Quare hic accusamus omnes eos, qui a ceremoniarum professione arcere illos in Ecclesia conantur, atque unitatem Ecclesiae hoc nomine, quod in ipsis est, scindunt, qui neque infirmitate naturae, neque peculiari ulla mysteriorum adumbratione, neque ullis item institutionis verbis excluduntur, id quod in baptismi usu ab Anabaptistis fieri manifeste videmus, qua de re postea suo loco plura'. *Ibid.*, p. 326.



struggle against radicals. Anyone who wished to join the foreign congregations was required to make a public profession to observe the doctrine before becoming a member of the Strangers' Church.<sup>41</sup>

With the confession established, attention turned towards developing a common liturgy for the French and Dutch communities. In the same letter sent to Zurich with copies of the Compendium Doctrinae, a Lasco told Bullinger that he was currently writing instructions for the sacramental rites and ecclesiastical discipline to be observed in London and he hoped to complete it in the near future.<sup>42</sup> With such a brief description, it is not clear which work the Polish superintendent was referring to in this letter. He could have been alluding to a series of lectures he was writing on the Lord's Supper, which were published together under the title of Brevis et Dilucida de Sacramentis Ecclesiae Christi tractatio in 1552.<sup>43</sup> However, this seems unlikely, because they do not address the subject of discipline. A probable alternative is that he was alluding to an early draft of the Forma ac ratio, which he began writing sometime between 1551 and 1552. Although the exact meaning of a Lasco's reference is uncertain, the intention of a common liturgy for the Strangers' Church is clear. In the spring of 1551, the Dutch elder Jan Utenhove published a vernacular translation of the Compendium Doctrinae and a Lasco's East Frisian catechism for the

<sup>41</sup> 'Oris publica professio ad collectam simul totam cum ministris plebem in Ecclesia pertinet, ut omnis falsae doctrinae suspicio tollatur'. Ibid., p. 324.

<sup>42</sup> 'Nunc de puro, quoad eius fieri potest, Sacramentorum et disciplinae usu tractatur, quem nos brevi habituros per Dei gratiam esse speramus'. A Lasco to Bullinger, 7 January 1551, *ibid.*, p. 646.

<sup>43</sup> A Lasco, Brevis et Dilucida de Sacramentis Ecclesiae Christi tractatio, in qua et fons ipse et ratio, totius Sacramentariae nostri temporis controversiae paucis exponitur: naturaque ac vis Sacramentorum compendio et perspicue explicatur, per Ioannem à Lasco, Baronem Poloniae, superintendentem Ecclesiae peregrinorum Londini (London, 1552), printed in LQ, vol. 1, pp. 97-232.

foreigners.<sup>44</sup> During this same year, Micron wrote a brief description of the administration and ceremonies to be followed by the Dutch congregation in London.<sup>45</sup> The document was entitled De Christlicke Ordinancien and is believed to be a summary of a Lasco's Forma ac ratio, which the Polish reformer was currently writing. The similarity in content between the two texts suggests that both men were writing their orders at the same time and that Micron was influenced by the superintendent's work. The Dutch minister alluded to this relationship in the introduction to the Christlicke Ordinancien, writing that his summary was shaped by a Lasco's 'book'.<sup>46</sup>

This same desire for a common liturgy could be found in the French congregation in London. In 1552, the minister Valerand Poullain published L'ordre des prieres et ministere ecclesiastique, describing the ceremonies and practices observed by the French church.<sup>47</sup> This document was modelled on the

<sup>44</sup> Jan Utenhove, EEN KORT BEGRIJP der leeringhe van de warachtige ende eenighe Ghemeynte Gods ende Christi / ende van haer gheloone ende oprechtighe belijdinghe (London, 1551). A copy of the 1565 Emden edition is printed alongside a Lasco's Latin version in LO, vol. 2, pp. 293-339. See also Rodgers, Lasco in England, p. 52. Utenhove's preface is dated 15 May 1551 and the text can be found in LO, vol. 2, pp. 340-475.

<sup>45</sup> Marten Micron, De Christlicke Ordinancien der nederlantscher Ghemeinten te Londen (1554), (ed.) W. F. Dankbaar ('s-gravenhage, 1956). The work was not published until Micron returned to Emden in 1554, but is thought to have been written during this period in London. The title page indicates that it was approved by the ministers and elders of the London church. 'De welcke met de bewillinghe der Dienaren ende Ouderlinghen der seluer, ten trooste ende nutte aller ghelooveghen, getrauwelick met alder nersticheit t' samen gheuoecht ende wt ghestelt sijn', *ibid.*, p. 31. He also referred to the London church in the preface. 'Als wij Dienarn der Ghemeynte dese ende derghelijcke lasteringhen daghelickx ghehoort hebben, so hebben wy, te Londen noch wesende, bedwonghen gheweist, d'Ordinancien onser Ghemeinten ordenlick ende ghetrauwelick te bescriuen'. *Ibid.*, p. 39. See also Pettegree, Foreign Protestant Communities, pp. 56-57.

<sup>46</sup> 'De welcke wynu in onse verstroyinge, t' onser ontschuldige in 't lucht ghegeuen hebben: Vver liefden biddende, dat ghy desen onsen aerbeit danckelick ontfangen wilt: inden welcken ick grootelick beholpen hebbe gheweist, wt den boeck die de voornoemde Jan a Lasco, onse Superintendent, vander ordinancien onser Ghemeinte op het lanckste bescreuen heeft, ende wilt doch dit lesen, sonder eenich voer oordeel, so sult ghy ontwyfelick beuinden, dat wy gheen Sacramentschenders sijn'. Micron, Christlicke Ordinancien, p. 39.

<sup>47</sup> Poullain, L'ORDRE | DES PRIERES | ET MINISTERE | Ecclesiastique, | avec | La forme de penitence pub. [et] cer- | taines Prieres de l'Eglise de | Londres, | Et | La confession de Foy de l'Eglise | de Glastonbury en | Somerset (London, 1552), STC 16573. Karl Bauer discusses the influence of the 1534 Strasbourg ordinance on Poullain and the French congregation in London in his book Valérand Poullain, pp. 141-148.

Strassburg and Genevan liturgies, but caused some problems among the foreigners when it appeared. The conflict centred on its lack of a service for public discipline and its liturgy for the Eucharist, which was not in complete agreement with a Lasco's symbolic understanding of the Lord's Supper.<sup>48</sup> Poullain published a second liturgy later that same year, the Doctrine de la Penitence Publique, which corrected the deficiencies of his earlier work by adopting the Polish superintendent's service for public discipline and his eucharistic rite.<sup>49</sup>

By the end of 1552, a Lasco and his ministers had made great strides in building the London Strangers' Church. They had secured Austin Friars for their worship services and had erected an official ecclesiastical structure to govern the congregations. The Polish reformer had published a common confession to unite the foreigners and the ministers had produced liturgical orders concerning the ceremonies and practices observed in their churches. With the confession and liturgy established, a Lasco was able to turn his attention to finishing his most significant work: the recording of the administration and practices of the Strangers' Church in the Forma ac ratio.

### **The Forma ac Ratio**

Precisely when a Lasco began writing his London ordinance is unknown, but it is likely that he had started the manuscript before the winter of 1551, or in the early months of 1552. As discussed above, his comments to Bullinger in

<sup>48</sup> Rodger, Lasco in England, pp. 53-54.

<sup>49</sup> Valerand Poullain, Doctrine de la Penitence Publique, Et La Forme d'icelle ainsi comme elle se pratique en l'Eglise des estrangers a Londres, deuant qu'on vienne a l'excommunication, Ensemble aussi la forme d'administrer la sainte Cene (London, 1552), STC 16572.7.

January 1551 were probably a reference to an early version of this work.<sup>50</sup> By the summer of 1553, the text was nearing completion. In June, the Polish reformer wrote to Bullinger: 'Presently I am writing the ceremonies of our church and all of the administration in our ministry. I hope it will appear before winter'.<sup>51</sup> However, the superintendent's deadline was disrupted by a serious crisis the following month. England's young Protestant king died and was succeeded by his Catholic sister, who dissolved the London Strangers' Church as part of her counter reform programme. A Lasco was forced to postpone work on his manuscript, as many foreign Protestants decided to return to the Continent. On 17 September 1553, he joined 165 other refugees from the London congregations on a ship departing from Gravesend.<sup>52</sup> They travelled to Denmark, Holstein, and then on to Bremen before eventually arriving in Emden the following spring. The former leader of the Strangers' Church had carried the unfinished text on this journey and, upon settling again in East Frisia, he turned his attention toward completing and publishing the work.

Although it is difficult to judge how much of the ordinance was completed before a Lasco left England, there are some substantial clues suggesting that he had written most of the manuscript in London. The letter to Bullinger the previous June had indicated that the text was nearing completion. Frequent references to Edward VI throughout the document also support the theory that a majority of the text had been composed before July 1553.

Moreover, it appears that the dedicatory letter, the preface, and some editing

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<sup>50</sup> See above footnote no. 42.

<sup>51</sup> 'Habeo nunc prae manibus ceremonias nostrae Ecclesiae omnemque illius in nostro ministerio gubernationem. Prodibit spero sub hyemen'. A Lasco to Bullinger, 7 June 1553, in *LO*, vol. 2, p. 677.

<sup>52</sup> For an account of the exodus from London see Pettegree, 'The London Exile Community and the Second Sacramentarian Controversy, 1553-1560', in *Marian Protestantism*, pp. 58-62.

were the only tasks to be carried out following a Lasco's arrival in the German territory. The reformer reported to Hardenberg on 28 March 1554, that he was currently writing the preface of the ordinance.<sup>53</sup> Likewise, the dedicatory letter in the final version of the Forma ac ratio alluded to revisions being made after the foreigners had departed from England.<sup>54</sup> This letter was the final piece written, and was dated 6 September 1555, the same month the completed ordinance was published in Frankfurt.<sup>55</sup>

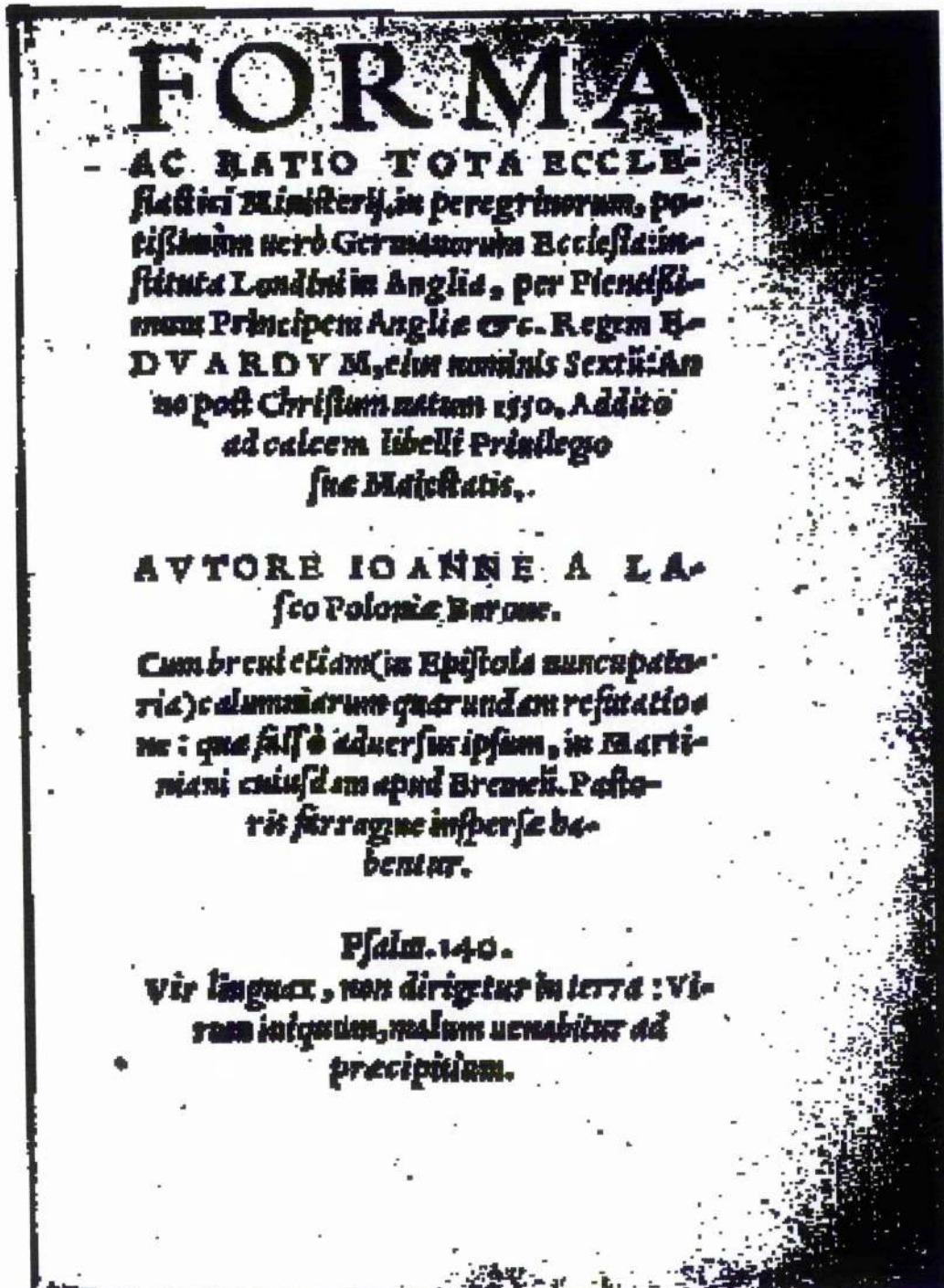
A Lasco's push to complete and publish the ordinance after the dissolution of his Strangers' Church indicates his greater plans for the text. Initially, he composed the work to instruct the French and Dutch congregations about administration and ceremonies, and to defend the foreigners' practices against their critics in England. The work could continue to guide the exiles returning to the Continent following the dissolution of the London church. He also was motivated by his desire to present a model of reform for European Protestants. The Latin text was intended to reach a wider audience and to promote a Lasco's vision of ecclesiastical reform. The detailed descriptions of the administration, ceremonies and discipline, the polemical attacks on critics, and the arguments linking the order to the ancient and apostolic traditions reflect

<sup>53</sup> A Lasco wrote to Hardenberg that he was writing the preface to the ordinance in a note dated 28 March 1555. LO, vol. 2, p. 700.

<sup>54</sup> 'Cu[m]q[ue] eius rei initia iam apparere quædam uidea[n]tur, in manga id felicitatis meæ parte ponere: si meus hic libellus, pioru[m]istic conatus ac studiu[m] adiuuaret. In quo mihi interim etiam excusanda quædam erunt. Adumbratus sane erat cum adhuc in Anglia ministerio nostro fungeremur: atq[ue] adeo etiam a collega nostro D. Martino Micronio, co[m]pendio quoda[m] Flandrice redditus: [et] proinde tanqua[m] de re præsentis loquitur. Sed in itinerib. Demu[m] meis (ubi Anglia[m] reliquissemus) multis locis recognitus est, atque in concionu[m] præterea argumentis, admonitiobusq[ue] Ecclesiasticis (magna ex parte) auctus. Quæ res pagniaru[m] quoq[ue] orne[m], in ipsa libri æditione, nonihil inturbauit'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sigs. ζ3<sup>v</sup>-ζ4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> 'Francoforti Sexta die Septembris Anno 1555', *Ibid.*, sig. ζ4<sup>v</sup>. This dedicatory letter and preface are the only part of the completed Forma ac ratio referring to the death of Edward VI, which suggests they were the only parts written after a Lasco left England.

Figure 3.1 – Title page of the *Forma ac ratio* (Frankfurt, 1555),  
STC 16571



this wider purpose. The dedicatory letter further demonstrates a Lasco's supranational aspirations for his work. The reformer dedicated the document to the Polish king Sigismund and urged him to follow the lead of Edward VI, by reforming his churches using the model of the Forma ac ratio, and by defending the order from attack with his royal authority.<sup>56</sup>

A Lasco began printing his ordinance in Emden during the autumn of 1554. He turned to two familiar printers for this task: Nicholas Hill (van der Berge) and Gellius Ctematius (van der Erve). Both men had managed a press in London and had printed many works for the Dutch congregation in England. Following the dissolution of the Strangers' Church, they joined the other refugees in East Frisia where they reestablished their printing operations before the end of the year.<sup>57</sup> On 5 October, 1554, a Lasco reported to Bullinger that his ordinance was 'now under the press'.<sup>58</sup> However, the publishing of the text was interrupted again before the work was complete. A Dutch refugee church was forming in Frankfurt and the members invited the Polish reformer to come and organise their new congregation.<sup>59</sup> A Lasco accepted the offer and, in the spring of 1555, he moved to Frankfurt, taking with him the printed sheets of the unfinished Forma ac ratio.<sup>60</sup> Once settled, he continued publishing the work and

<sup>56</sup> 'Quam etiam unam fuisse causam non ignorat Maiestas tua, suscepti in Prusiam (ante annos aliquot) intineris mei'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. ε6<sup>r</sup>. And, 'tua[m] Maiestatem Regia[m] summa cum obseruantia oro (Rex clementi[us]) ut meam hanc in te patriamq[ue] meam obseruantia[m] publica[m] contestationem, benigno atq[ue] clementi animo accipere, pro virtute tua Regia: nomen[que] istic nostrum a malevoloru[m] calumnijs uindicare, Regia tua autoritate'. *Ibid.*, sigs. ζ4<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> For the printers Hill and Ctematius see Pettegree, Foreign Protestant Communities, p. 88-90. For their printing activities in England see F. Isaac, 'Egidius van der Erve and his English Printed Books,' The Library 4, no. 12 (1932), pp. 336-352.

<sup>58</sup> 'Nunc sub proelo est „Ratio gubernandi nostram in Anglia Ecclesiam cum eius ritibus ac ceremoniis”'. A Lasco to Bullinger, 5 October 1554, in LO, vol. 2, p. 708.

<sup>59</sup> Bartel, Jan Łaski, pp. 171-172. A Lasco told Bullinger of the newly formed Dutch church he had organised in Frankfurt in a letter dated 19 September, 1555, in LO, vol. 2, p. 714.

<sup>60</sup> 'Deinde ipsam quoq[ue] libelli æditionem perturbauit, inexpectata mea è Frisia migratio: illic enim cceptus excudi hic nunc primum est absolutus'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. ζ4<sup>r</sup>.

the completed ordinance emerged from an unidentified press in Frankfurt in September.<sup>61</sup>

An examination of the text suggests the printers in Emden had completed approximately two-thirds of the work before the reformer moved to Frankfurt. While the type sets are nearly identical, there are some key indicators that distinguish the two presses. First, a Lasco used numbers to mark his key arguments throughout the text and the various printers used different styles to label these points. Ctematius and Hill printed the largest part of the ordinance and employed Roman numerals to distinguish these elements. In contrast, Arabic numbers denote the arguments in the final one-third of the document, which was printed in Frankfurt.<sup>62</sup> This difference between the presses is supported by a comparison with the French translation of a Lasco's ordinance, the Toute la forme [et] maniere du Ministere Ecclesiastique, en l'Eglise des estra[n]gers, dressee a Londres en Angleterre.<sup>63</sup> This second work was printed by the Hill and Ctematius press in Emden and employs Roman numbers consistently throughout the text. The second distinguishing mark separating the printers is the different style of folio signatures, which coincides with the divergent numbers described above.<sup>64</sup> In the section printed by Hill and Ctematius the signature reads as 'Gg4', for example. In the latter part of the

<sup>61</sup> A Lasco's letter to Bullinger, 19 September, 1555, included a copy of the newly published ordinance, writing 'Libellum a me nunc primum editum tibi mitto ut legas et iudices'. *LO*, vol. 2, p. 714. Pettegree identifies someone by the name of 'Egenolff' as the possible Frankfurt printer. See Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, p. 32; and Pettegree, *Dutch Revolt*, p. 161.

<sup>62</sup> The first of the Roman numerals appear on sig. C4<sup>v</sup> and run through Ee5<sup>v</sup>. In contrast, the Arabic numerals being on sig. Ii<sup>r</sup> through to sig. Oo8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> A Lasco, Toute la forme [et] maniere du Ministere Ecclesiastique, en l'Eglise des estra[n]gers, dressee a Lon- | dres en Angleterre, par le Prince tres fi- | dele dudit pays, le Roy Edouard. VI. | De ce nom: L'an apres l'incarna- | tion de Christ. 1550. avec | le preuilege de sa Ma- | ieste a la fin du | liure. | Par M. Jean a Lasco. Baron | de Pologne. | Traduit de Latin en Francois. | [et] imprimé par Giles | Ctematius (1556), STC 16574.

<sup>64</sup> The use of punctuation in the folio signatures is first found on sig. Ff2<sup>r</sup>, which is eight folio pages after the last use of a Roman numeral in the ordinance.



work, punctuation is added so that the signature appears as ‘Gg.4.’ or ‘Gg.4.’. (See Figure 3.2) These distinct features suggest that when a Lasco departed from Emden, he carried at least two-thirds of the finished sheets with him.

The final edition of the Forma ac ratio began with the last piece written: a Lasco’s dedicatory letter to the Polish king Sigismund August.<sup>65</sup> Here, the reformer recounted the history of the refugees in London and their dispersal following Edward VI’s death. This letter reveals his two primary motives for dedicating the work to the Polish monarch. First, a Lasco hoped to reunite the fractured Church and presented his ordinance as the key to accomplishing this task. He offered the foreign congregations as a model for ecclesiastical reform, emphasising their continuity with the apostolic traditions, and he argued that the true universal Church had strayed from Christ’s scriptural precedent. He presented the London order as a key to regaining what had been lost.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, he promoted Edward VI as a model for Christian magistrates and urged Sigismund to follow the English king’s example, reforming the churches in Poland according to the Forma ac ratio.<sup>67</sup> A Lasco also hoped the monarch would become a powerful defender of the ordinance, especially concerning the

<sup>65</sup> ‘Serenissimo eidemqve potentissimo Principi [et] Domino, Domino Sigismundo Augusto Dei gratia Regi Polonæ, Magno Lituaniæ duci, Rußiæ, Prussiæq[ue] totius, ac Ma[r]oniæ [et] c. Domino: Domino meo Cleme[n]tissimo. Ampliſimoq[ue] illius senatui, [et] omnibus præterea Regni ordinibus: Dominis ac Patronis meis, pariterq[ue] [et] fratribus summa cum obseruantia colendis’. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. α2’.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Ita ne nunc quidem mirum videri debet, post tantam præsertim univers[æ] religionis (sub Papistica tyrannide) deformationem, cultus divini omnis profanationem, [et] ministerij totius Ecclesiastici adulterationem: si non in plebe tantum Ecclesiarum, quæ doctrinam Euangelii sunt iam ex professo amplexæ, sed inter præstantissimos quoq[ue] earum ministros non per omnis prorsus convenire possit, circa notarum ac reliquiarum Papisticarum[m] abrogationem’. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. α8’. In this particular excerpt a Lasco criticised the Church of Rome, but he also charged that religious radicals had strayed from the apostolic tradition, which split the church.

<sup>67</sup> ‘Hæc ergo nobis etiam consilij nostri ratio fuit, in restituendis cultus divini ritibus, totaq[ue] adeo ministerij instauratione, posteaquam (divino beneficio) Ecclesiam nobis per pientissimum Principem, atq[ue] æterna dignum memoria EDVARDVM, eius nominis sextum Angliæ [et]c. Regem concessam haberemus’. Ibid., sig. β3’. And, ‘tua[m] Maiestatem Regia[m] summa cum obseruantia oro (Rex clementiss[imus]) ut meam hanc in te patriamq[ue] meam obseruantia

Figure 3.2 – Comparison of Emden and Frankfurt presses

A. Comparison of numbers

Emden

Frankfurt

*finis sua signa pro nobis quaeque in  
 an. unum. unum aut in. unum. In eadem  
 finitiam profertur hoc, que nos ali  
 et signa sub p. unum et c. est docti.  
 Rom. 1. 1. Gal. 2. et que finitiam in  
 finitiam habentur.*  
 II. *Est nos quide omnes sub pec  
 catorum ac inveni in nobis ipse (ve dicit  
 et) p. unum: sed nobis idem de salute no  
 strae ac vna eterna non esse deperendum  
 vno modo. Nam enim nos ideo ita esse cau  
 ditio, ve in peccatis nostris per omnes: sed  
 et in salutanda nostra et in suadi fructu  
 et in misericordia et in misericordia  
 et in misericordia ac misericordia Dei eluce  
 scere ac celebrari in Dei Ecclesia passim. De  
 tum enim commisit vna omnes sub pecca  
 torum, non ve nos ita demum perdat: sed ve  
 unumque nostrum misericordiam. Rom. 11. No  
 ditatem peccatorum. Ex. 6. 1. et cum  
 generis plura.*  
 III. *Dei ita nostri in nostris peccatis  
 misericordiam, ve unumque unum (quod in se  
 est) in misericordia excludat: sed eadem pla  
 nitiam in Christo deservit quatenus sunt ille  
 unumque nostrum in terra generis pro se  
 et in misericordia advenit: ac unumque  
 D d. 4. di*

903 *Etiam Deus, qui sollicitus est hominibus  
 suis etiam Ecclesie publicis calamitates  
 dimittat, nos posse nobis quidem o  
 mni modo aliis modo obcurrere, nisi qui  
 tenet dimittitur a Domino Deo nostro.*  
 Adhuc hinc citatur testimonium, Hsa. 41.  
 Dominus est, qui ex aetate Jacob, et conu  
 cetur ex. 41. Ipsi est, qui si est peccata,  
 creavit malum. Amos 7. Nullum est malum  
 in clero est, quod a se a Domino, et qui  
 unumque unumque habent, quibus mani  
 festum impietatis committuntur, qui ex hinc  
 et mala omnia fructum obcurrere po  
 sant.

2. *Monetur Ecclesia de causa, pro  
 pter quam omnes aliqui calamitates a  
 Domino nobis dimittuntur, utique de pe  
 cato: omnes enim calamitates non pro  
 pter aliud, quam propter peccata com  
 mittuntur, in scriptura locis ostendit  
 tur. Hsa. 70. 19. 65. Hierem. 1. 9. 109.  
 1. Cor. 10.*  
 3. *Docetur, nisi non sit causa calami  
 tatum omnium, sunt tamen illorum diar  
 ses esse. In ipsa enim locis calamita  
 tes, veluti prius: quae sunt aeternis*

B. Comparison of folio signatures

Emden

Frankfurt

*Finis precatum hac, veret se Mini  
 str ad communicationem illam, et ea ad  
 amissionem apud eum videri, que habetur  
 pag. 131. nisi quod illam ad huc etiam non  
 videri fructum, sicut passim factum recom  
 mensionem. Audiri illi iam mi. N.  
 quodnam sit tamen erga offensam pec  
 te Ecclesiam officium. &c.  
 Post hanc a demissionem Exortum  
 Et 4. nicas*

*publica penam modo conferantur.  
 Hoc vero omnia debemus negligere pa  
 timentium inter Ministros ipsi Ecclesi  
 alicae disciplinae, circa Ecclesiarum re  
 stitutum. Et hanc fin. an hinc  
 vna passim legitima Ecclesiarum ac voli  
 gunt restitutum, que quidem diuturna  
 est passim: tunc perdem legitimum vna  
 in disciplina etiam inter Ministros po  
 ff. 3. 131.*

publica[m] contestationem, benigno atq[ue] clementi animo accipere, pro virtute tua Regia:  
 nomen[que] istic nostrum a malevoloru[m] calumnijs uindicare, Regia tua autoritate. Ibid., sigs.  
 4<sup>r-v</sup>.

foreigners' controversial sacramental rites. When the London refugees returned to Germany in 1553, they encountered considerable opposition from Lutheran authorities concerning their Holy Communion rite. Their symbolic understanding of the elements and their rejection of transubstantiation provoked their new hosts and led to the exiles' expulsion from Denmark and Bremen. The Hamburg preacher Joachim Westphal was one of their most outspoken critics and he published the Farrago confusaneorum et inter se dissidentium opinionum de Coena Domini in 1552, attacking their non-Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper.<sup>68</sup> The following year, he produced a second work, the Recta fides de Coena Domini, again criticising their symbolic understanding of the rite. In this latter text, Westphal had compiled the opinions of men he described as leading Sacramentarians: Karlstadt, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Peter Martyr, Bucer, Bullinger, Calvin and a Lasco.<sup>69</sup> A group of London refugees had sought permission to settle in Hamburg in the spring of 1554 but, following a disputation between Micron and Westphal over the Sacrament, the magistrates expelled the foreigners from their city.<sup>70</sup> A Lasco had urged Bullinger and Calvin to defend the symbolic interpretation of the Lord's Supper, and now

<sup>68</sup> Joachim Westphal, Farrago confusaneorum et inter se dissidentium opinionum de Coena Domini: ex sacramentarioru[m] libris congesta / per M. Ioachimum Westphalum, past. Hamb. (Magdeburg, 1552). For an overview of Joachim Westphal and the Sacramentarian controversy see Pettegree, Marian Protestantism, pp. 60-63.

<sup>69</sup> Joachim Westphal, Recta fides de Coena Domini: ex uerbis Apostoli Pauli [et] Euangelistarum demonstrata ac communita / per Magistrum Ioachimu[m] Westphalum Ecclesiae Hamburgensis pastorem (Magdeburg, 1553). A Lasco discussed the two works of Westphal: 'Hamburgi pastor quidam Ioachimus Westphalus in nos omnes in genere scripsit libellum mendacis et maledictis refertum, in quo interim nihil habetur, quod non ab aliis dictum sit prius et quidem felicius etiam...Emitit praeterea etiam farraginem interpretationum super uerbis coenae collectam ex scriptis Carolostadii, Zuinglii, Oecolampadii, Petri Martyris, Buceri, Vestrae confessionis aduersus Lutherum, Bullingeri, Calvini et ex meo quoque ad extremum libello, sed huic ego cogito respondere, si Dominus gratiam dederit'. A Lasco to Bullinger, 3 March 1554, in LO, vol. 2, p. 698.

<sup>70</sup> A Lasco reported to Bullinger that Micron had carried out disputations in Hamburg, as well as other locations: 'Martinus Micronius noster cum bona Ecclesiae nostrae dissipatae parte est Wismariae, in Ducatu Megapolitano: alii sunt Lubecae, alii Hamburgi, sed breui huc venturi omnes'. A Lasco to Bullinger, 3 March 1554, in LO, vol. 2, p. 697.

asked the same of the Polish king. In the dedication, he attacked the orthodox Lutheran understanding, articulated in the Augsburg confession, and argued that it conflicted with apostolic doctrine.<sup>71</sup> While he did not mention Westphal by name, the Polish reformer told of the problems encountered by the refugees when they returned to the Continent and he defended the foreigners' rite based on its scriptural foundations.<sup>72</sup> He urged Sigismund to defend the sacramental ceremony practised by the French and Dutch congregations in London and, more generally, the entire order of the Strangers' Church.<sup>73</sup>

The dedication of the Forma ac ratio was followed by the preface, in which a Lasco discusses the crisis facing the universal Church and his reasons for publishing the ordinance. A Lasco emphasises the need for law and order, writing:

Just as a house cannot stand firmly without a domestic economy, or likewise a ship cannot succeed without a navigator, a state cannot truly govern a public without a just government or a good ruler, or a good leader. So, it is indeed certain that the Church of God and of Christ cannot be preserved without law, especially among so many groups of strangers and families of exiles.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> 'Nos vero doctrina[m] Augustanae confessionis (ut debemus) plurimi facimus: sed cum doctrina Prophetica atq[ue] Apostolica non æquamus, neq[ue] ullo modo æquandam esse putamus. Interim tamen non videmus, quidnam in controuersa hac sua delitescencia aduersus nostram doctrinam ex ipsa Augustana confessione proferre possint....Hoc ipsum vero [et] nos agnoscimus: sed negamus id totum quidquam omnino ad Catonum nostrorum delitescen[tiam] pertinere'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. γ7<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> A Lasco explained that they understood the body and blood of Christ to be symbolic: 'Cibumq[ue] ipsum, dicit esse carnem sua[m] seu corpus suum, [et] sanguinem, siue seipsum. Modum item eius cibationis, docet esse Metaphoricum'. Ibid., sigs. ε1<sup>r-v</sup>. He defended this understanding, saying it agreed with Scripture and the early church fathers: 'Atq[ue] ut de nostræ interpretationis impugnatione taceam, quæ alioqui [et] familiari usu in scripturis [et] ueterum Ecclesiæ Patrum consensu communita est'. Ibid., sig. δ1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> 'tua[m] Maiestatem Regia[m] summa cum obseruantia oro (Rex clementiss[imus]) ut meam hanc in te patriamq[ue] meam obseruantia[m] publica[m] contestationem, benigno atq[ue] clementi animo accipere, pro virtute tua Regia: nomen[que] istic nostrum a malevoloru[m] calumnijs uindicare, Regia tua autoritate'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sigs. ζ4<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> 'Qvemadmodum neq[ue] domus ulla sine œconomia, neq[ue] navis item sine navicularia, ac ne civit as quidem resue publica ulla sine legitima gubernatione, aut bene regi, aut diu etiam consistere potest: ita sane certu[m] est, Christi quoq[ue] Domini Ecclesiam (inter tot præsertim, [et] hostium agmina, [et] periculu[m] genera) neq[ue] recte gubernari, neq; diu etia[m] (uno alioqui eodemq[ue] loco) retineri posse sine legitimo (ut est a Christo Domino institutu[m]) ministerio illius'. Ibid., sig. B1<sup>r</sup>.

He went on to explain that the true universal Church could not exist without the legitimate ministry, which had been instituted by Christ, and that this ministry must contain two elements: it must be established and supported by law, with all offices distinguished from each other by their function, and all ministers must devote themselves wholly to their office.<sup>75</sup> In addition, a Lasco offers his definition of the Church: it is a voluntary community bound together by a common doctrine, and should only maintain those parts instituted by Christ in the Bible.<sup>76</sup> As in the dedicatory letter, he defends the practices of the Strangers' Church and presents them as a model for reform, emphasising their continuity with the apostolic traditions.<sup>77</sup> The reformer concludes the preface by reiterating his desire to unite the universal Church, explaining that he had recorded the administration, ceremonies, and discipline to serve as a model for the true Church. He wrote: 'I joined discipline to practice so that no further disagreement of this type, whether of doctrine or spirit, will rise up in our churches...and I hope that it [the ordinance] will be raised up and instituted'.<sup>78</sup>

The main body of the Forma ac ratio is divided into three distinct parts addressing the administration, public ministry, and other miscellaneous practices of the Strangers' Church. Although the title page indicates that this work

<sup>75</sup> 'Ad legitima[m] porro Ecclesiastici ministerij obseruatione[m], Duo inprimis necessaria esse uidentur. Alterum, ut uniuersum ministerium in præcipuas saltem partes quasdam suas recte ac legitime disponatur: partesq[ue] illæ omnes certis abinuicem suis functionibus discreantur. Alterum, ut qua in parte ministerij est quisq[ue] constitutus, eius se muneri atq[ue] functioni totum dedat omnino: summaq[ue] illi fide, cura ac dilige[n]tia incumbat'. Ibid., sigs. B1<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> 'Non est igitur quod miraculosa amplius dona operaue ulla, in Ecclesiastico iam deinceps ministerio requiramus: sed eas duntaxat ministerij partes obseruemus, quas ad superstruendum (posito iam fundamento) ædifiu[m] Ecclesiæ, eiusq[ue] custodia[m] ac co[n]seruatione[m] a Domino co[n]stitutus esse scimus'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. B4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> 'Atq[ue] iaciendis primu[m] omniu[m] ædificij huius fundamentis, peculiare Dominus ministros suos destinauit, Apostolos, inquam, [et] Prophetas: atq[ue] eam ipsorum ministerij partem, ita etiam varia donorum Spiritus sancti opulenti exornauit'. Ibid., sig. B2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> 'Nullu[m] eiusmodi siue doctrinæ, siue animorum difidiis in nostris Ecclesijs exortum esse: quin protinus adhibito disciplinæ usu...sisteretur, adeoq[ue] [et] tolleretur'. Ibid. sig. B8<sup>f</sup>.

contains the 'form and manner of the church ministry' for the Dutch congregations, considerable information is included about the French practices.<sup>79</sup> In this document, a Lasco records the polity, ceremonies and discipline of the London church. However, the congregations were allowed to follow their own liturgies written by Micron and Poullain. In these matters, a Lasco followed the Dutch model.<sup>80</sup> It is in this main principal section of the text that many of the most significant themes in a Lasco's career can be seen: his emphasis on using the Bible to settle religious disputes, his desire to reunite the universal Church, and his concern for education and moral living.

A Lasco presented the polity of the Strangers' Church in the first part of the Forma ac ratio. The administration of the French and Dutch congregations was similar to that of his East Frisian churches, and introduced to England a unique form of ecclesiastical government. He described a four-part ministry that combined elements of the Protestant episcopacies, commonly found in the north German lands, with the congregational models of Geneva and Strassburg. The reformer broke the ministry into two categories: those that teach and preach, and those that care for the poor.<sup>81</sup> At the head of the church sat the superintendent (*superintendens*), who was to lead the administration, to ordain and oversee the other ministers, to maintain unanimous opinion and purity of doctrine, to advise on matters of discipline, and to defend the church against detractors.<sup>82</sup> The

<sup>79</sup> A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. α1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> For a discussion of the Dutch liturgy see Thomas Leaver, 'Goostly psalmes and spirituall songs': English and Dutch metrical psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove 1535-1566 (Oxford, 1991), pp. 152-158.

<sup>81</sup> 'Ad hunc, inquam, modum partitus est Dominus Ecclesiae suae ministeriu[m]: adiunctis etiam ijs qui egenorum inopiae curam in Ecclesia haberent'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. B3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> 'Est autem hoc duntaxat nomine alijs superior, quod plus laboris ac curae sustineat alijs omnibus, non tantum in gubernanda Ecclesia tota: sed in defendenda illa etiam, aduersus conatus omnes omnium adversariorum, [et] vnanimio[n]ni[um] consensu, in doctrinae controuersijs retinendo'. Ibid., sig. C1<sup>v</sup>. And, 'Vt omnes Ecclesiae Ministros, in ipsorum officijs (iuxta cuiusq[ue] ministerium) obseruet. Fidem ac diligentiam illorum commendet: contra vero,

ministers (*ministri*) were the preachers and teachers that Christ had instituted for the edification of the Church.<sup>83</sup> A Lasco wrote that their duties included instructing the congregation about doctrine, administering the Sacraments, enforcing discipline, and defending the churches.<sup>84</sup> The Polish reformer also added two lay positions to the ministry: elders (*seniores*) and deacons (*diaconi*). The former were chosen from the congregation to aid the ministers in their duties. While they could not preach, they were to assist in administering the Sacraments and help maintain the doctrine.<sup>85</sup> The elders were to join the ministers on the first Monday of each month to discuss all matters relating to the governing of the church.<sup>86</sup> Their most substantial duty related to moral living. These lay officers were charged with resolving disputes within the congregation using the ecclesiastical discipline and, with the other ministers, they formed the

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segnitiem ac negligentiam reprehendat: sitq[ue] custos supremus, retinendæ ac legitime obseruandæ Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ... Vt Ministros omnes (quoties opus est) connocet: ordine[m] ac consensum vnanimem inter eos retineat... Vt operam omnem suam Ecclesiæ, supra alios Ministros omnes impendat: non in ipsius tantum gubernatione, sed in tuenda illa etiam, aduersus omnes insultus quorumuis aduersariorum: sine doctrinæ puritatem ac consensu[m] a falsis Doctoribus labefactari, siue ordinem ac decorum in Ecclesia violari, siue pacem ac tra[n]quillitatem illius per nonnullorum in Ecclesia in solentiam perturbari quoquo modo contingat... Vt quemadmodum ipse supremus est custos Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ in Ministris alijs omnibus, [et] tota Ecclesia: ita ipse quoq[ue] eidem disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ sese (ante alios) subijciat et submittat'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. D1<sup>v</sup>-D2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> 'Verbi Ministerium, esse Diuina[m] in sua Ecclesia ordinationem, instituta[m] ad eius ædificationem'. Ibid., sig. C4<sup>r</sup>. And 'ad eius ædificationem ministrosq[ue] ipsos, pastoru[m], ac doctorum nomine dignatur'. Ibid., sigs. B5<sup>r-v</sup>. A Lasco presented a single office of minister, whose purpose was to teach and preach. This differed slightly from some reformers, such as Calvin, who divided the ministers into two distinct offices based on their function: those who taught were doctors and those who preached were pastors. A Lasco brought together both functions in the office of minister.

<sup>84</sup> 'Ita puram etiam atque incorruptam doctrinam Verbi Diuini... Ecclesiæ suæ tradant... Vt Diuinas institutiones Ecclesiasticas (quas Sacramenta vocamus) fide liter ac diligenter, ita vt sunt institutæ administrent... per admonitiones, consolationes, reprehensiones [et] legitimum disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ vsu... Vt ora aduersariorum omnium, virtute atque autoritate verbi Diuini (cuius sunt Ministri) obstrua[n]t ad Ecclesiæ ædificationem'. Ibid., sigs. C4<sup>v</sup>-C5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> 'Neq[ue] est aliud inter Pastores ipsos Doctoresq[ue] ac reliquos Presbyteros discrimen (quod ad functionem ipsorum in gubernanda conseruandaque Ecclesia attinet) nisi quod illi in Verbi ac doctrinæ ministerio (præter alios istos) laborant: isti vero (citra Verbi ac doctrinæ publicum ministerium) in eadem ipsa gubernandæ [et] conseruandæ Ecclesiæ cura ac custodia, uelut socij subsidiarij constituti habentur'. Ibid., sigs. B5<sup>v</sup>-B6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> 'PRÆTEREA quoniam plures sunt peregrinorum sub vno Superintendente Ecclesiæ, sic vt vna sine altera periculitari non possit, habetur etiam singulis mansibus, primo die Lunæ cuiusq[ue]

consistory, which met each week to discuss and adjudicate disciplinary matters.<sup>87</sup> Deacons were also lay members of the congregation and were responsible for collecting alms and caring for the poor.<sup>88</sup> The deacons worked closely with the other ministers, attending the monthly assembly to discuss the church's administration. In addition, they were to keep records of the alms collected and distributed, and present their accounts to the ministers' assembly on the first Thursday of each month.<sup>89</sup> Although the individual offices comprising a Lasco's London administration were not uncommon and could be found in similar forms throughout Protestant Europe, the way he brought these offices together into a single administration was unique.

The hierarchical framework of a Lasco's ecclesiastical government resembled the Protestant episcopacies found in the German cities and territories, and reflected his understanding of the divinely instituted role of superintendents.

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mensis, conuentus Ministrorum Seniorum ac Diaconorum, omnium simul peregrinarum Ecclesiarum'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. Gg4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> 'Deinde exponitur talium Seniorum officium ac dignitas in Ecclesia Christi. Nempe cœtum illorum esse veluti Senatam quandam totius Ecclesiæ, quod quidem ad custodiam veræ religionis ac disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ attinet'. Ibid., sig. C6<sup>v</sup>. A Lasco further explained the duties of elders: 'Vt vna cum verbi Ministris curam ac sollicitudinem omnem habeant totius Ecclesiæ, in eius gubernatione...iuxta verbum Dei: tam in retinenda doctrinæ puritate ac consensu, quam in legitimo Sacramentorum [et] disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ vsu obseruando...[et] (siquando res postulet) admone re illos etiam, adeoq[ue] [et] reprehendere priuatim ac publice. Deniq[ue] [et] ministerio ipsorum, illos, cum assensu Ecclesiæ destituere: si per admitiones ac reprehensiones Ecclesiasticas, iuxta gradus illaru[m] præscriptos habitas, reduci ad resipiscentiam nolint'. Ibid., sigs. C7<sup>r</sup>-C8<sup>r</sup>. And, 'PRIMUM habetur cœtus Ministrorum ac Seniorum Ecclesiæ omnium, semel (vt minimum) singulis hebdomadibus: nempe diebus Iouis, hora secunda pomeridiana...Finita precatione, rogantur per Superintendentem singuli ordine suo, num aliquid propone[n]dum habeant: quod vel de disciplinæ obseruatione, vel de gubernatione ipsa Ecclesiæ, vel si quid alioqui incidat, quod seria deliberatione egeat, tractandum esse putent'. Ibid., sig. Gg1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> 'Primum ostenditur, Diaconoru[m] ministerium, esse Apostolicam, [et] proinde Diuinam quoque ordinationem, necessariam alioqui Christi Ecclesiæ: quatenus Christus Dominus in egenis atq[ue] afflictis membris suis, neglegi a nobis in Ecclesia haud quaquam vel debeat vel possit...Diaconorum officium, in duobus potissimum consistere: nempe in sedula ac diligenti collectione, atque item in fideli ac prudenti Eleemo synarum dispensatione'. Ibid., sigs. D3<sup>r</sup>-D4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> 'DEINDE singulis mensibus semel, nempe primo quoq[ue] die Iouis, cuiusq[ue] mensis, habetur etiam peculiaris cœtus Ministrorum, Seniorum, [et] Diaconorum omnium... Vt igitur fidelitas Diaconorum perspecta sit, non tantum verbi Ministris ac Senioribus, sed toti etiam Ecclesiæ: ad hoc potissimum cœtus hic menstruus obseruatur, vt Diaconi pariter omnes, propositis coram Ministris ac Senioribus acceptarum et expensarum eleemosynarum (mensis



This principal office emerged as reformers, critical of the broad powers held by the clergy in the Roman Church, sought to eliminate those duties of bishops that were the product of human law. Melanchthon articulated this struggle in article 23 of the 1530 Augsburg Confession, where he criticised the far-reaching powers of bishops. He argued that bishops had been divinely ordained to provide order, preach the word of God, administer the Sacraments, forgive sins, and to protect the church against false doctrines. Any special authority over the other ministers to make laws or institute practices in the church had been granted by human law and was contrary to Scripture.<sup>90</sup> Superintendents began to appear in the ordinances for churches in the north German lands in the latter part of the 1520s and described a bishop-like position, but with particular emphasis on their divinely instituted duties. One of the earliest examples is in John Bugenhagen's 1529 Hamburg order, in which he described the superintendent as an overseer (*Upsehers*) of the city's churches, and assigned the duties of preaching four times a week, as well as instructing and supervising the other ministers.<sup>91</sup> Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Bucer included both offices of bishops and superintendents in their proposed 1543 Cologne ordinance, where they also described the latter as an overseer of the other ministers.<sup>92</sup> In both works, the traditional power of bishops to shape doctrine and institute new rites in the

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totius) tabulis, rationem illarum omnium, in cœtu illo (alius post alium) suo ordine subducant'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. Gg2<sup>v</sup>-Gg3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> For a discussion of Melanchthon's article 23 and the divinely instituted duties of bishops, see Leif Grane, *The Augsburg Confession: A Commentary*, (trans.) John H. Rasmussen (Minneapolis, 1987), pp. 156-158.

<sup>91</sup> 'Vor alle ding bedarve wi eines guden superattendenten, dat is eines upsehers, wen wi einen konnen averkamen. Sulke lude sint dure, men mot godt daromme bidden, also uns Christus leret'. John Bugenhagen, 'Hamburger Kirchenordnung von 1529', in Sehling, vol. 5, pp. 501-502.

<sup>92</sup> 'Und ist nicht zweiffel, das das Bischofflich ampt, erstlich eben darumb u<sup>o</sup>ber andere Prediger geordnet ist, das sie sollen besondern fleiß thun, das man bey rechter Lehre bleibe, und das tu<sup>o</sup>chtige Personen darzu bestellet werden'. Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Bucer, *Von Gottes Gnaden, unser hermans Erzbischoffs zu Cöln*, in Richter, vol. 2, (Nieuwkoop, 1967), pp. 46-47.

church was rejected. Other German towns and territories similarly established the superintendent's office, including Lübeck, Hesse, and East Frisia, where a Lasco held the position in the 1540s.<sup>93</sup>

Not all reformers agreed with Melanchthon's distinction between the divine and human laws concerning the duty of bishops. John Calvin rejected the office altogether, arguing there was no difference between the divinely instituted duties of bishops and the other ministers. In his Institutes, the Genevan reformer wrote that the terms 'bishop', 'presbyter', 'pastor', and 'minister' are synonymous, and that the term 'bishop' refers to all who carried out the ministry of God's word.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, he asserted that the office was man-made and had been created to preserve order in the church; bishops were to settle disputes within the congregation but not hold any special authority over the ministry. However, Calvin argued that this original intention was corrupted as Roman bishops increased their powers over other ministers.<sup>95</sup> He eliminated the office of bishops and superintendents in Geneva, replacing them with the collegial Company of Pastors to govern the city's churches.

A Lasco's prescriptions for the London church polity and the office of superintendent show a striking similarity with Melanchthon's writings and were

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<sup>93</sup> The 1531 Lübeck ordinance was written by Bugenhagen and used the same description for the office as he had used for Hamburg. 'Der keiserliken Stadt Lübeck christlike Ordeninge', in Sehling, vol. 5, p. 349. The 1535 East Frisian ordinance also described the duties of the superintendent as overseeing the other ministers and settling disputes. 'Karckenordenynge vor dem pastoren unde kerckenedenern', in Sehling, vol. 7, pp. 383-385. The 1531 Hessen order took a slightly different approach, establishing six superintendents throughout the territory to oversee the other ministers. Their duties were to visit their churches each year and observe the preachers, so that they could correct any errors of doctrine. The order also made clear that no superintendent had the authority to replace a preacher without the consent of the other ministers. 'Ordenung, welcher massen hinfuro die pfarrer vnd ire helfer, diakon vnnnd alle kirchen diener verordenet, gehanthabet, vnd im fhall, so ir einer oder meher vntuglich, lessig ader vngeschickt befunden wurde, abgesetzt werden sall', in Sehling, vol. 8, pp. 71-72.

<sup>94</sup> John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, (ed.) John T. McNeill, (trans.) Ford Lewis Battles, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1960), pp. 1060-1061.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1069.

influenced by his experiences as an ecclesiastical leader. A Lasco's description of the post reflected the Wittenberg reformer's divinely instituted duties for bishops. In the London Strangers' congregations, the superintendent served as an overseer of the church and held no special authority over the other ministers to determine doctrine or institute new rites. The Polish reformer defended the office based on his understanding of Scripture and Christ's true Church. He argued that superintendents had been ordained by God and instituted by Christ when He commanded Peter to confirm the other brothers in the faith.<sup>96</sup> It is likely that a Lasco was attracted to this episcopal style of government because of his previous experiences in Poland and the German lands. His uncle had guided his education and early clerical career, to prepare him for becoming a bishop in the Roman Church, and a Lasco gained valuable experience with the office during the 1540s, while serving as superintendent of the East Frisian territorial church.<sup>97</sup> The hierarchical administration also must have appealed to their English hosts, who had retained an episcopal form of administration similar to that of the Roman Church.

Among the most significant characteristics of a Lasco's London administration was the way he combined this episcopal framework with the collegial elements instituted in Geneva. The reformer adopted Calvin's model for the office of lay elders and the assembly of ministers. The role of elders, with its focus on enforcing discipline, was a unique characteristic of Reformed

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<sup>96</sup> 'Primum Superintendentis, seu Inspectoris ministerium...esse diuina[m] ordinatione[m] in Christi Ecclesia, per ipsummet Christum Dominum, inter ipsos etiam Apostolos institutam, dum Petro, confirmandi reliquos fratres in fide prouinciam, peculiariter demandaret'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. C8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> For a discussion of a Lasco's education and early career, see Jürgens, Lasco in Ostfriesland, pp. 19-45.

churches during the sixteenth century.<sup>98</sup> A Lasco's own description of the office in the *Forma ac ratio* was similar to the 1541 Genevan *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*. In the latter work, Calvin had written that elders were 'to supervise each person's conduct, to amicably admonish those who fall back and lead a disorderly life, and after that, when necessary, they should make a report to the Company [of Pastors], who will arrange for brotherly correction and then make them reunite with the others'.<sup>99</sup> The Polish reformer described the same duties regarding discipline, but also added that these officers were to aid the other ministers in maintaining the purity of doctrine and to aid in the legitimate use of the Sacraments.<sup>100</sup> The influence of the Genevan reformer can be seen further in the collegial assembly of ministers established in the London churches. Calvin had instituted the Company of Pastors – a weekly meeting of ministers and elders, regulated by a lead pastor, to decide on doctrinal matters through common consent.<sup>101</sup> Likewise, although a Lasco instituted the episcopal office of superintendent, doctrinal matters were to be determined by the consent of the

<sup>98</sup> As a point of comparison, the Lutheran orders for Hamburg (1529), Lübeck (1531), and East Frisia (1535) include offices for superintendents, pastors, teachers, sextons and deacons in their descriptions of church government, but do not refer to elders. The same can be said for Melancthon and Bucer's 1543 Cologne ordinance. See Sehling, vol. 5, pp. 488-540, pp. 334-368, *Ibid.*, vol. 7, no. 2.1, pp. 373-397, and Richter, vol. 2, pp. 30-54.

<sup>99</sup> 'Leur office est de prendre garde sus la vie d'un chascun, d'admonester amiablement ceulx qui verront faillir et mener vie desordonnee, et là où il en seroit mestier faire rapport à la Compaignie qui sera deputee pour faire les corrections fraternelles et lors les faire communement avecq les aultres'. Calvin, 'Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques', p. 6.

<sup>100</sup> 'Vt vna cum verbi Ministris curam ac sollicitudinem omnem habeant totius Ecclesiae, in eius gubernatione (quod ad veræ potissimum religionis curam ac custodiam attinet iuxta verbum Dei... Vt quemadmodum vnâ cum verbi ministris curam sustinent totius Ecclesiae: ita vicissim (cum sint Senatus vice in ipsa Ecclesia) debent etiam verbi ministros, [et] omnes alios qui publico aliquo munere in Ecclesia funguntur, diligenter obsereare, totius Ecclesiae nomine: in doctrina, vita, ac conversatione ipsorum. [et] (siquando res postulet) admonere illos etiam, adeoque [et] reprehendere priuatim ac publicè... Vt simultates, dissidia, [et] controuersias omnes (si quæ fortè incidant in Ecclesia) amicè ex verbo Dei (quoad eius fieri potest) componant'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. C7<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>101</sup> 'S'il y sortoit quelque different de la doctrine, que les ministres en tractent ensemble pour discuter la matiere. Apres, si mestier estoit, qu'ilz appellent les anciens et commis par la Seigneurie pour aider à appaiser la contention'. Calvin, 'Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques', p. 3. For more on Calvin's Company of Pastors, see Robert M. Kingdon, 'Calvin and "Presbytery": The Geneva Company of Pastors', *Pacific Theological Review* 18, (1985), pp. 43-55.

whole ministry. He wrote that Christ had ordained Peter to maintain order in the church and that 'it is necessary that it begins with one man'.<sup>102</sup> In the French and Dutch congregations, the superintendent presided over the assembly but all decisions regarding doctrine were made by unanimous consent of the participants.<sup>103</sup> The regular meeting of ministers in London closely resembled the Genevan Company of Pastors in their authority to set doctrine and the emphasis on consensus. A Lasco's combination of the German episcopal hierarchy and the collegial assembly of ministers distinguishes his ordinance from those of most other churches.

A second distinctive characteristic of the London administration was the unusually high level of lay participation in managing ecclesiastical affairs. Through the offices of elders and deacons, lay members of the congregation actively participated in governing the church. Even more unusual, however, was the pronounced role a Lasco granted the congregation in electing ministers. He wrote that before choosing a new superintendent, preacher, elder or deacon, an announcement should be made to the entire church regarding the position and the date for elections.<sup>104</sup> The ministers were to assemble the congregation on the chosen day and instruct them about the duties and qualifications of the vacant office. Over the next week, the members of the church could name suitable

<sup>102</sup> 'PRimum [sic] Superintendentis...esse Diuina[m] ordinatione[m] in Christi Ecclesia, per ipsummet Christum Dominum, inter ipsos etiam Apostolos institutam, dum Petro, confirmandi reliquos fratres in fide prouinciam'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. C8<sup>v</sup>-D1<sup>r</sup>. And 'Sed vt ordo certus, in part alioqui planeq[ue] eadem omnium simul Presbyteroru[m] gubernatione Ecclesiastica retineatur, vtq, omnia ordine ac decenter fiant: ab vno illam ordiri necesse est'. *Ibid.*, sig. D1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> 'totius Ecclesiae autoritate (ex verbo Dei) arguat, [et] compescat: sicubi septa sui ministerij transcendere conentur'. *Ibid.*, sig. D1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> 'Cvm Ecclesia vno aliquo, aut pluribus Ministris opus habet, indicitur publicum ieiunium toti Ecclesiae: constituiturq[ue] dies certus per Seniores, publici huius ieiunij, [et] precum publicarum in Ecclesia: ac diebus aliquot antea e suggestu toti populo denunciatur: vt (quatenus fieri potest) tota Ecclesia eo ipso die constituto co[n]ueniat'. *Ibid.*, sig. C2<sup>v</sup>.

candidates for the post, after which the ministers would come together and select from among the candidates. A Lasco noted that the ministers must consider who had received the most nominations from the congregation.<sup>105</sup> Once chosen, the candidate was examined before being presented to the church for the congregations' final approval. If any members disagreed with the appointment, they were given another week to register their objections with the preachers, elders or deacons, who then would investigate the claims. Once all matters had been resolved, or if no objections had been raised, the new official would be ordained in front of the assembled church.<sup>106</sup> There was one additional step for new preachers and superintendents: candidates for these posts needed final approval from the king prior to their ordination.

When compared with other ordinances from the period, the Forma ac ratio's prescription for an active lay participation in elections was highly unusual and came about because of its author's understanding of Scripture, and because of the unique position of the Strangers' Church in London. The 1533 Wittenberg ordinance, for example, described a more typical form of selecting new ministers, where a committee of representatives from the university, town council and congregation would elect new preachers. The magistrates and ministers then would choose the other officers in the church.<sup>107</sup> Calvin

<sup>105</sup> 'nomina[ue] eorum in scripto Ministris ac Senioribus Ecclesiae...Ministri Seniores, ac Diaconi eius Ecclesiae omnes, in qua Ministri eligendi sunt (co[n]stituto ad id certo aliquo die) simul conueniunt: suffragia[ue] totius Ecclesiae collecta, vna inter sese perspiciunt. Et obseruati eorum nominibus, qui plurimis Ecclesiae suggragijs commendati, maxime alioqui idonei pra[e] alijs esse videntur'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. E2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> 'vt quis[ue] in Ecclesia secum dispiciat, num in electis viris illis aliquid eiusmodi adhuc deprehe[n]dat, propter quod, (siue id ad Doctrinam, siue etiam ad vitae integritatem pertineat) de a delato illis per electionem ministerio, arceri ferio po[ss]int'. Ibid., sigs. E3<sup>v</sup>-E4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> 'Die erwelung aber soll hinfur stehen, wie sie mit ehrn Johan Bugenhagen angefangen, semplich bei der universitet und dem rath, namlich von wegen der universitet rector, seniores und reformatores, und von wegen des raths und gemein zehen person'. 'Kirchen-Ordnung für die Stadt Wittenberg. 1533', in Sehling, vol. 1, p. 700. And 'Drei diacon. Der pfarrer soll frome, gelerte und geschickte caplan zu suchen, aber alsdann mit den dreien burgermeistern

employed a similar form of cooption in Geneva. According to his 1541 ordinance, the ministers nominated and selected candidates for the ministry. The newly elected official was then forwarded to the magistrates for approval before being presented to the members for their consent.<sup>108</sup> What was unique about the Strangers' Church was the vital role that the laity played in elections, especially the naming of suitable candidates. There are two factors that led a Lasco to institute this unusual elections procedure. First, the Polish reformer argued in the *Forma ac ratio* that his form of elections was modelled on the ancient church, where the congregation nominated and elected the officers, and where they 'had been chosen by a vote of all of the people.'<sup>109</sup> In this respect, Calvin and a Lasco agreed on the historical participation of the laity. In the *Institutes*, the Genevan reformer had explained that the clergy had been chosen by 'the voice of the people' in the ancient church.<sup>110</sup> However, he noted that in St Cyprian's time the laity's role was modified to approving new officials merely through their consent.<sup>111</sup> It is this latter model that Calvin instituted in Geneva, where ministers would choose and examine candidates for the vacant offices, and then

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aufzunehmen und, so grosse not furfiere, widerumb zu entsetzen haben Den vierten dorf – caplan sollen die pfarrer und rath anzunemen und zu entsetzen haben'. Ibid., p. 709.

<sup>108</sup> 'C'est que les ministres elisent premierement celluy qu'on debvra mettre en l'office l'ayant fait à scavoir à la Seigneurie; après, qu'on le presente au Conseil. Et s'il est trouvé digne, que le Conseil le recoyve et accepte selon qu'il verra ester expedient, luy donnant tesmoignaige pour le produire finalement au peuple en la predication affin qu'il soit receu par consentement commun de la compaignie des fideles. S'il estoit trouvé indigne et demonsté tel par probations legitimes, il faudroit lors proceder à nouvelle election pour en prendre un autre'. Calvin, 'Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques', p. 2.

<sup>109</sup> 'Olim in vetere post Apostolos Ecclesia designabantur Ministri totius populi suggragijs'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. D8<sup>v</sup>. It is interesting to note that Calvin agreed with this understanding of the ancient church, but explained that the Council of Laodicea had made a wise decision when they took the privilege to elect ministers away from the multitude because it was too difficult to obtain unanimous consent. Instead, ministers were elected by the clergy, approved by the magistrates, and then finally presented to the laity for their consent. See John Calvin, *Institutes*, pp. 1080-1081.

<sup>110</sup> 'Et c'est une forme commune de parler, comme les Historiens disent qu'un Consul créoit des officiers, quand il recevoit les voix du peuple et présidoit sur l'élection'. Calvin, *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne*, (ed.) Jean-Daniel Benoit, vol. 4 (Paris, 1961), p. 69.

<sup>111</sup> 'Nous avons donc que la vocation d'un ministre ordonné par la parole de Dieu est telle: assavoir quand celuy qui est idoine est créé avec consentement et approbation du peuple'. Ibid.

present them to the congregation for final approval. A Lasco differed from the Genevan reformer, preferring the model of the ancient church with its expanded role for the laity in elections.

Aside from the theological foundations, the circumstances faced by the foreigners in London helped shape their ecclesiastical elections. The more common form of selecting ministers, in which the magistrates played a key role, was not suitable for the French and Dutch congregations because of the gulf between themselves and the civic officials. The London magistrates were not members of the Strangers' Church and the conflict over the sacramental rites had demonstrated their opposition to the foreigners' autonomous practices. The ancient church provided a Lasco with a model for choosing new ministers that circumvented the external influence of civic leaders, preventing the election of ministers among the foreign congregations who supported the English rites. Thus, the Polish reformer's method for elections allowed the Strangers' Church to protect their religious autonomy and to maintain their own rites and practices in their congregations.

A Lasco follows these instructions for ecclesiastical administration with a second section, addressing the public ministry observed in London. This discussion comprises the largest part of the Forma ac ratio and focuses on the four key elements of the ministry: preaching of the Word, the Sacraments, the collection of alms, and church discipline.<sup>112</sup> Here, he provides detailed descriptions and justifications for the principal rites and practices observed by the foreigners. The authority of Scripture, the importance of the apostolic

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<sup>112</sup> 'QVATVOR sunt præcipuæ partes totius Ministerii publici in nostris Ecclesijs: in quibus omne Ecclesiasticu[m] fere Ministeriu[m] versatur. Ne[m]pe Ministerium Verbi Sacramentorum, Mensarum seu eleemosynaru[m], [et] Vsus Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. G5<sup>v</sup>. This second section of the ordinance accounts for 414 of the 600 folio pages.



model, and the didactic nature of public ceremonies are emphasised throughout this section of the ordinance.

A Lasco identified the ministry of the Word, or preaching, as the first <sup>(1)</sup> element of the public ministry. To this duty, he attributed three principal elements: sermons, the weekly prophecy, and catechetical instruction.<sup>113</sup> All three played a significant role in educating the congregation on matters of belief and practice. Regarding sermons, the reformer provided detailed instructions on the order of worship services for the French and Dutch churches. Sermons were to be held four times a week, with two on Sunday and two during the week, on Tuesdays and Thursdays. On Sundays and Holy Days, services would be held at 9 o' clock in the morning and 2 o' clock in the afternoon. In all cases, they should follow a similar format, with the focus on a one-hour sermon concerning the Old or New Testament. (See Figure 3.3 for the order of worship services.) A Lasco noted that this sermon should be preached so that the entire congregation could understand and retain the information.<sup>114</sup> The morning service also included a public reading of the Ten Commandments and a discussion of the confession of faith. These elements were absent in the afternoon service, which replaced them with a thirty-minute lesson from the large catechism. On weekdays, the reformer specified that the French would hold worship services on Tuesday and Thursday, while the Dutch would do so

<sup>113</sup> 'VERBI Ministerium in nostris Ecclesijs publice obseruatur, in concionibus dierum Dominicourm, alioru[m] q[ue] Festorum, tum matutinis tum pomeridianis: in Catechismj explicatione atq[ue] examinatione: [et] in Prophetijs vulgaribus, seu publicis scripturarum collationibus, doctrinæq[ue] in concionibus habitæ approbatione'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. G5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> 'ex quo libro singulis concionibus tantu[m] prælegitur, quantum commode vnus horæ interuallo populariter explicari potest: sic vt [et] percipi omnia, [et] retineri etia[m] facile possint'. Ibid., sig. G6<sup>v</sup>.

only on Thursday. The members of the latter congregation were to attend weekly Latin lectures on Tuesdays in place of an additional weekday service.<sup>115</sup>

Figure 3.3 – The *Forma ac ratio*'s order of worship services<sup>116</sup>

Sunday & Holy Days	Tuesdays & Thursdays
Prayer Singing of a Psalm One-hour sermon Thirty-minute exposition on large catechism (afternoon only) Announcements Public Prayer Reading of the Ten Commandments (morning only) - Admonition of sins Public prayer containing confession of sins Remission and absolution of sins Exhortation of the confession of faith (mornings only) Public prayer regarding the necessity of the church Lord's Prayer Baptisms (if any are to be baptised) Lord's Supper (on appropriate Sundays) Marriages (if any are to be married) Sing Psalm in vernacular Dismissal Recommendation of the poor and collection of almes Benediction	Prayer Singing of a Psalm One-hour sermon - Announcements Public Prayer - Prophecy Admonition of sins Public prayer containing confession of sins Remission and absolution of sins - Public prayer regarding the necessity of the church Lord's Prayer - - - Sing Psalm Dismissal Recommendation of the poor and collection of almes Benediction

<sup>115</sup> 'Sed ordinarij Ecclesiæ coetus, Diebus, Dominicis, ac Festis sole[n]noribus, bini habentur: nempe matutini, circiter horam nonam ante meridiem Et pomeridiani, circiter horam a meridie secundam. Alijs vero diebus per hebdomadem, in Gallorum Ecclesia bis, Nempe Diebus Martis [et] Iouis: Germanoru[m] autem Ecclesia semel duntaxat, propter latinas prælectiones (de quibus postea) nempe diebus Iouis, coetus Ecclesiastici vna cum suis concionibus habentur'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. G6<sup>r</sup>-v.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. G6<sup>r</sup>-I3<sup>r</sup>.

The prophecy, to take place during the weekday worship services, was the second key element in a Lasco's ministry of the Word. Following the public prayers, the preacher was to deliver a thirty-minute exposition on doctrine, after which the other ministers or members of the congregation could raise any concerns or ask questions about what they had heard. The London prophecy resembled a similar practice established in Zurich and is one example of Zwingli's influence on the Polish reformer.<sup>117</sup> A Lasco employed the rite to promote a common doctrine and to educate the laity on matters of belief in the Strangers' Church. He writes that the French congregation should observe the practice on Tuesday afternoons, with the Dutch following on Thursdays, so that all of the foreigners could attend both, if they wished.<sup>118</sup> He further explains that the other ministers and elders should 'voice any objections they had with the sermon, with modesty and seriousness, for the instruction of the entire church.' This public discussion allowed the preacher to defend his understanding of doctrine before the whole congregation.<sup>119</sup> The Polish reformer writes that there were three principal benefits in the prophecy. First, this ceremony served a didactic function; it involved the entire church in maintaining doctrinal purity. Further, the ministers and elders could use it to protect the foreigners' beliefs.

<sup>117</sup> Pettegree, *Dutch Revolt*, pp. 23-24. F. A. van Lieburg discusses the influence of the Zurich prophecy on the practices of the London Strangers' Church in *De reformatiorische profetie in de Nederlandse traditie* (Apeldorn, 2001), pp. 8-15.

<sup>118</sup> A Lasco explained that many Germans attended the French prophecy, and many of the French attended the German prophecy, and thus these should be held on different days. 'Vt videlicet [et] Galli qui vellent Germanicæ, [et] Germani vicibim Gallicæ Prophetiæ co[m]modus interesse poßent. Atq[ue] ita quonia[m] in Germanoru[m] Ecclesia diebus Iouis prophetia (vt dictu[m] est) haberi solet, Gallicæ Prophetiæ dies Martis destinatus est'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. L1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>119</sup> 'Die Iouis igitur, sub finem concionis, quæ hora propemodum nona ante meridiem habetur, Ecclesiastes ipse hortatur Seniores Ecclesiæ, [et] o[m]nes eos qui ad propone[n]das obiectiones designati sunt, ad proferendum in medium aliquid, cum omni modestia [et] grauitate, ad Ecclesiæ ædificationem, non autem ad vanam ostentationem. Actum Ministri rationem reddunt doctrinæ suæ, in eius hebdomadis concionibus traditæ, si quid aduersus illa[m] objiciatur'. Ibid., sig. K6<sup>v</sup>. 'Quæ demum omnia per designatos illos in Prophetia proponu[n]tur, quatenus sane verbo Dei consentanea esse, [et] ad Ecclesiæ ædificationem facere videntur'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. K7<sup>r-v</sup>.

Finally, he saw it as an effective tool in reducing the influence of radical sects such as the Anabaptists among the French and Dutch congregations, through the public teaching of church doctrine.<sup>120</sup>

The final element in the ministry of the Word was education through the large and small catechisms. A Lasco instructed that a thirty-minute lesson on the large catechism should be included during Sunday afternoon worship services, to remind the congregation about the principal matters of faith. In addition, he instituted a formal system of catechetical instruction for young members of the community. This model for educating children was based on the reformer's understanding of who belongs to Christ's true Church. A Lasco explained in the Forma ac ratio that there are two steps necessary for full membership in the body of Christ. The first is Baptism, performed on infants, which confers membership in the church. The second step is instruction concerning the doctrine, which is accomplished with the catechisms.<sup>121</sup> Once both steps are completed, the person can partake in the Lord's Supper, which is a sign of their complete membership in the body of Christ.

A Lasco describes a two-tiered system of education in the Strangers' congregations. Instruction was to begin with children after their fifth birthday,

<sup>120</sup> 'Primum enim confirmantur animi totius Ecclesiae, in retinenda tuendaq[ue] etia[m] sana doctrina: posteaq[uam] illam ita et excuti [et] approbari videt...Deinde...Coguntur summo studio ad uigilare, vt in tradenda doctrina, fideliter, prudenter, [et] magna circumspectione ministerio suo fungantur...Postremo praefractis atq[ue] obstinatis aduersarijs, [et] sectis omnibus obstruituros, hoc tali Prophetiae genere du[m] sibi omnem excusationem eripi vident, cum apud Deum, tum apud homines, pertinaciae suae atq[ue] obstinationis'. Ibid., sigs. K7<sup>v</sup>-K8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>121</sup> 'Nosq[ue] o[mn]es vna cu[m] nostris infantibus in vnu[m] atq[ue] ide[m] Christi D[omi]ni corpus (Spiritu sancto autore) baptizemur: perspicuu[m] est, cura[m] infantiu[m] in Ecclesia (posteaq[uam] sunt baptizati) ad totam Ecclesia[m], imprimis vero ad pare[n]tes ipsoru[m] pertinere. Et res ipsa docet, nihil tam esse vtile ac necessarium toti Ecclesiae, q[uam] vt pueri ipsius recte in Dno institua[n]tur...Sed omniu[m] maxime nos excitare merito deberet, ad fideliter [et] dilige[n]ter institue[n]dos nostros liberos in vera religione, dignitas ipsa nostrae oim, simulq[ue] [et] nostroru infantiu[m] cum Christo Dno confociationis in corpore [et] sanguine ipsius'. Ibid., sigs. I3<sup>v</sup>-I4<sup>f</sup>.

when parents would teach their sons and daughters using the small catechism, covering three principal points of doctrine: the Lord's Prayer, the apostolic symbols, and the Ten Commandments.<sup>122</sup> The second level focuses on the large catechism, which addresses all the principal points of doctrine and which was to be taught to students once they reached thirteen years of age and had mastered the small catechism.<sup>123</sup> Upon completing the studies at both levels, the youths were called before the church for examination. The Polish reformer emphasised the need for this public questioning in order to promote uniformity of belief among new members, and to remind the assembled congregation about the principal beliefs of the church.<sup>124</sup> In the Forma ac ratio, he states that these examinations should be held twice a year during the Sunday worship services.<sup>125</sup> Once a youth reached fourteen years of age, and had proven mastery of both catechisms, he or she was awarded full membership and was eligible to participate in the Lord's Supper.<sup>126</sup>

Following his discussion of the catechisms, a Lasco turns to the second key element in the public ministry: the Sacraments. He begins this part of the

<sup>122</sup> 'Docentur autem ante omnia pueri, vt precationem Dominica, Symbolu[m] (quod Apostolicum vocant) [et] Decalogum recitare possint'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. 17<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>123</sup> 'Habemus etiam in nostra Ecclesia maiorem Catechismum, qui pleniorum continet capitum religionis propemodum totius explicationem'. Ibid., sig. K1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>124</sup> 'At vero nunc sane si vnq[ue] alias maxime est necessarius publicæ catecheseos vsus in Christi Ecclesia: sub hac corrupte la omnis propemodum religionis, sub ta[n]ta sectarum multitudine [et] sub exoriente vbiq[ue] fere Atheismo quodam'. Ibid., sig. 15<sup>r</sup>. And 'sic vt non ad pueros tantum sed ad maiores quoq[ue] fructus pertineat eiusmodi explicationis. Et pueri interim ab ipsis fere incunabulis, [et] domi a parentibus [et] a Ludimagistris, [et] publice item in cœtu Ecclesiæ, in religione instituantur'. Ibid., sig. K2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>125</sup> 'Nempe vltima Dominica mensis Februarij, [et] rursum vltima Dominica me[n]sis Augusti'. Ibid., sig. 16<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> The new members of the church had to take the same steps required of all members to participate in the Lord's Supper: undertake a public examination regarding the principal matters of faith, profess to observe the confession, and agree to follow the ecclesiastical discipline. 'Vt ad præcipua religionis capita de quibus iuxta minoris Catechismi ordinem interroga[n]tur, compendio singuli respondeant... Velint ne etiam in ea fidei confessione (per gratiam Dei) perstare: ac iuxta illam vitam suam instituere, mu[n]doq[ue] ac Satanæ tu[m] of[mn]ibus po[m]pis ipsi renu[n]ciare?... Velint ne præterea disciplinæ sese Ecclesiasticæ (ex verbo Dei) vltro aesponte su subijcere? Nepe (vt sicubi peccent) admonitiones, tum priuatas, tum publicas, [et] a Ministris [et] ab vno quolibet ex Ecclesia, amanter [et] æquo animo accipiant'. Ibid., sig. K3<sup>r</sup>.

ordinance with instructions for Baptism, which was to take place during Sunday services in front of the entire congregation. Following the Lord's Prayer, the minister would call forward the fathers to present their infant children to be baptised.<sup>127</sup> The preacher was to instruct the church about the meaning and proper observance of the rite. Upon completion of this lesson, the minister then would call each child by name and anoint him or her, saying: 'I baptise you in the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ gives to you, and to us with you, the gift of resurrection and grace for eternal life, for you all in Christ through his holy spirit'.<sup>128</sup> As discussed above, the foreigners had encountered problems in London on account of their sacramental practices and a Lasco used the *Forma ac ratio* as a forum to defend the ceremony against its detractors. He argued that water alone should be used, eliminating the English and Roman customs of signing the cross on the forehead and chest, dressing the infant in a chrisom, and anointing with oils.<sup>129</sup> He justified the French and Dutch rite, arguing it had retained only those elements instituted in Scripture. Ministers were instructed to remind the congregation to observe the rite Christ had established, which contained two

<sup>127</sup> 'Cum igitur Baptismus in nostris Ecclesiis administrandus est, iubet Ecclesiastes sub finem concionis...infantes baptizandos proferri in totius Ecclesiæ conspectum, per publicos illos Ecclesiæ testes, qui infantes baptizandos semen nostræ Ecclesiæ esse (patribus infantum adstantibus) profiteri debent'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. L4<sup>v</sup>-L5<sup>f</sup>. If the infant could not be presented by their father, it was possible for other members of the church to present them for Baptism. 'Pater ipse infantis baptizandi (si quo modo id facere potest) aut aliquot alij spectatæ fidei in Ecclesia viri ac mulieres, infantem ipsum ad Baptismum offerunt'. Ibid., sig. L4<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>128</sup> 'Absolutis hisce interrogationibus [et] responsionibus, Ecclesiastes de infantium (si plures sint) nominibus inquirat, ac demum illos ordine suo proferri ad Baptismum iubet: singulosq[ue] illoru[m] nomine. Ius compellans, aqua purain fronte tingit eoram tota Ecclesia: dicens Ego te Baptizo. N[omen]. In nomen Dei Patris, [et] Filij [et] Spiritus sancti. Deus Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi obsignet te, [et] nos pariter omnes, in dono, nostræ omnium (in Christo) regenerationis [et] iustitiæ, per Spiritu[m] sanctum suum ad vitam æternam: Amen'. Ibid., sig. M4<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>129</sup> The English rite for Baptism is described in *The First and Second Prayerbooks of King Edward the Sixth* (London, 1927), pp. 237-241.

principal characteristics: it was performed with water alone and was done in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.<sup>130</sup>

As he did with other parts of his public ministry, the reformer emphasises the didactic nature of the baptismal ceremony. He explains, 'as it [Baptism] also pertains to the whole church, it should be performed in front of the entire congregation'.<sup>131</sup> The rite provides an opportunity to educate the laity about the meaning and benefits of the Sacrament. A Lasco instructs ministers to admonish the assembly at the beginning of the ceremony, reminding them that Baptism represents the seal of their membership in the church.<sup>132</sup> He also argues that there are four principal lessons each person ought to take away from the public ceremony. First, a Lasco writes, Baptism was a communal activity that was to serve as a reminder of God's grace. Second, the rite signifies the cleansing of sins, reminding each person that all men are polluted by sin in the eyes of God and are cleansed by his grace. Next, the gift does not come from any man, but rather from Christ alone. Finally, the reformer argues, the remission of sins required the members' gratitude.<sup>133</sup> As part of the ceremony, a Lasco instructs,

<sup>130</sup> 'Duo vero nobis præcipit Christus Dominus in Baptismi institutione. Primum, vt aqua baptizemus eos, quos ad eius Ecclesiam certo pertinere scimus. Deinde, vt non quouis modo id, sed in nomen Dei Patris. Filij [et] Spiritus sancti faciamus'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. L5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> 'vt quod ad totam simul pertinet Ecclesiam, in totius etiam Ecclesiæ cœtu peragatur'. *Ibid.*, sig. L3<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>132</sup> 'Audiuistis fratres, Baptismi lauacru[m] esse institutu[m] a Christo Domino in sua Ecclesia obsignaculu[m] diuini fœderis nobiscu[m], a quo arceri neq[ue] debeat neq[ue] possint infantes nostri, quos in illo coprehensos esse constat: nisi si [et] Ecclesia tota neglectæ Dominicæ institutionis, [et] Ministri illius non satis fideliter administrati sui ministerij accusari velint'. *Ibid.*, sig. M3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>133</sup> 'Quod Baptismus iste non tantu[m] ad infantes hosce, qui ad illum offeruntur, sed ad catholicam etiam Christi Ecclesiam pertineat, vt illam totam cu[m] omnibus vbilibet membris suis mundam prorsus apud... Quod ea nostra mundities, quam tinctio nostra in Baptismo designat, non sit ex nobis ipsis: quandoquide[m] vnus alterius emundatione mundi sumus. Qua sane non egeremus, si vlla[m] omnio ex nobis ipsis munditiam habere possemus. Euinci ergo Baptismj testimonio, omnes nos (quod in nobis quidem est) impuros esse omnino per peccatum, ab ipso etiam matrum nostrarum vtero, coram oculis Dei: neq[ue] nos ab ea impuritate eiusq[ue] condemnatione repurgari liberarive posse vlllo modo: sed per aliu[m] oportuisse nos emundari, vt mundi esse possemus... Quod ea ipsa nostra mundities ex nllius hominis aut creaturæ alterius omnino virtute, merito aut dignitate, præterq[ue] ex gratuito solius Christi Dominj dono ac beneficio nobis contingat. Nempe per donatam nobis ab ipso iustitiæ, meriti, [et] gloriæ suæ in

the ministers to explain these signs and their relationship to Baptism to the assembled congregation.

In conjunction with the instructive nature of the rite, the reformer held the baptismal ceremony to be a crucial defense against religious radicals. Only those children whose parents were members of the Strangers' Church could be baptised in the French and Dutch congregations.<sup>134</sup> He instructs in the Forma ac ratio, that 'we shall not permit any of the foreigners that offer their infants for Baptism in our churches who have not professed publicly their faith in front of us and beyond that ought to make themselves subject to the church discipline.'<sup>135</sup> This provision aimed to prevent membership to children whose parents had not yet subscribed to the church's doctrine and, as a Lasco argued, would prevent Anabaptists from violating their children and using them to hide among the foreigners.<sup>136</sup> This protection against radicals also was evident in the prescriptions for the ceremony. During the rite, the fathers had to profess their allegiance to the doctrine of the Strangers' Church, and state that they would instruct their children according to the beliefs of the foreigners.<sup>137</sup> Responding

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carne nostra partæ communionem...Quod collatu[m] hoc in nos a Christo Domino nostræ munditię donum requirat nostram pro tanto beneficio gratitudinem'. Ibid., sigs. L6<sup>r</sup>-L7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>134</sup> A Lasco defined the members of the church as those who were adjoined to it by the public confession of faith and observance of the discipline. 'Eorum duntaxat infantes baptizamus, qui sese nostris Ecclesiis per publicam fidei confessionem, disciplinæq[ue] Ecclesiasticæ obseruationem adiunxerunt'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. L3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>135</sup> 'Neminem autem peregrinorum patimur infantes suos ad Baptismum offerre in nostris Ecclesiis, qui non fide apud nos sua publice professus esset: disciplinæq[ue] sese Ecclesiasticæ vltro subiecisset'. Ibid., sig. L4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>136</sup> 'Sed omnium nostrorum infantes baptizamus interim, ne Anabaptistis occasionem aliquam subducendi a Baptismo infantes suos in Anglicis Ecclesiis, præ textu nostrarum Ecclesiarum præbeamus: aut nos etiam sub obtentu Anglicarum Ecclesiarum fallamus'. Ibid., sig. L3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>137</sup> As part of the ceremony, the minister would ask the father three questions: 'An infantes isti quos offertis, sint etiam semen nostræ huius Ecclesiæ: vt per nostrum ministerium hic legitime baptizentur?...Agnoscitis ne etiam doctrinam nostram, quam de Baptismo [et] eius mysteriis audistis, veram esse? Et quod nostri infantes natura quidem sua (vt [et] nos omnes) iræ ac mortis filij, iam tamen diuino nobiscum fœderi (propter Christum) inclusi instituto a Christo [et] ipsi acceptionis iustitię suæ sigillo (Baptismoinq[ue]) debeant omnino obsignari?...Postremo agnoscitisne esse id vestri, [et] totius simul Ecclesiæ dibiliti atq[ue] officij: imprimis autem vos Patres...vna cum vestris vxoribus infantium istorum matribus, vt obliti infantes isti...in vera Dei notitia, [et] religione instituantur?'. Ibid., sig. M4<sup>r</sup>.



to concerns about Anabaptists, a Lasco instructs the ministers to admonish the congregation in support of infant Baptism. He defends the practice as necessary, saying children should not be denied the grace and acceptance of God gained by participating in the rite.<sup>138</sup> He drew inspiration from St Mark in support for the ceremony, referring to it as a sign and seal of their alliance with God.<sup>139</sup> The reformer wrote, ‘therefore, we baptise all the children in our church in order to witness that we, and they, are agreeable to God and to the love of Christ. And how, by their nature, they are children of divine wrath conceived and born in sin, as are we all’.<sup>140</sup>

A Lasco also includes a detailed description and spirited defense of the ceremony for the Lord’s Supper in the *Forma ac ratio*. He attacks the papal belief in transubstantiation, charging that such an understanding of Christ’s real presence in the bread and wine was a superstition that led to idolatry and had been added to the rite after its apostolic institution.<sup>141</sup> In contrast, he described a ceremony for the Eucharist that was similar to Zwingli’s, where the bread and

<sup>138</sup> ‘Sed nobis ante omnia intuendu[m] est Dei opus erga nos in Christo. Nempe acceptatio nostrj [et] nostri seminis gratuita in gratia[m] Dei propter Christu[m]: quæ nobis per Baptismu[m] designatur. Ad quam cum infantes nostrj quoq[ue] indubitato pertineant, testimonio institutæ olem a Deo circumcissionis, [et] manifestæ alioqui promissionis...non fideliter ministerio nostro fungeremus, si a signo acceptationis nostræ infantes nostros arceremus: quos Deus ipse, et promissionis et circumcissionis testimonio luculentissimo sibi gratos acceptosq[ue] esse expresse testatur’. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. L8<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>139</sup> He also further explained: ‘Ex Christi Domini [et] verbis hisce et exemplo perspicuu[m] est, infantes ei gratos atq[ue] acceptos esse in sua Ecclesia. Et proinde illos cum ad fœdus ipsu[m] Dei nobiscum, tum etiam ad signa ipsius a Christo instituta proculdubio pertinere’. Ibid., sigs. M2<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>140</sup> ‘Amplectimur ergo infantes omnes ad Baptismum in nostra Ecclesia, ad attestandam [et] nostri simul [et] illorum gratuitam acceptationem in gratia[m] Dei propter Christu[m]. Et quanq[ue] natura sua sint revera filij iræ, concepti [et] nati in peccato, quemadmodum [et] nos omnes’. Ibid., sig. M1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> ‘Postea adfecta est propitiatoriae in Cœna oblationis imaginatio, quæ co[n]siste re no[n] potuit, nisi realis etia[m] (iuxta substa[n]tiam ipsam) corporis [et] sanguinis Christi naturalis præsentia in Cœnæ elementis statuatur. Qua co[n]stituta cœbare hic adhuc noluit Sata[n], donec nouu[m] nobis idolu[m] neq[ue] vnq[ue] a[n]tea (etia[m] inter omniu[m] maxime barbaras gentes) auditu[m], in Cœnæ elementis obruserit, per Papisticam transubstantiationem...co[n]mutatusq[ue] ad extremu[m] Cœnæ vsus est idolotarica elementorum illius adoratione’. Ibid., sig. M6<sup>r</sup>.

wine were symbols of Christ's sacrifice. The Polish reformer explains this understanding, writing:

Firstly, as far as the breaking of bread and the pouring of wine in the Lord's Supper, they signify through their symbol to us the passion of the body of Christ broken for us and the shedding of his blood in his death. Thus, it is the breaking of bread and pouring of wine that represents, testifies, signifies, and announces to us visibly by their form that God is our Lord and judge of us all.<sup>142</sup>

The distribution of the bread and wine to the congregation was a physical representation of their communion with Christ.<sup>143</sup> He described the elements as 'mystical meat and beverage' and that the bread should not be regarded as the natural body of Christ, but rather the symbol of our union with him.<sup>144</sup> Yet, for a Lasco it was not the elements alone that symbolised the joining with Christ, but rather the entire action of the Lord's Supper in which the congregation participated.<sup>145</sup> He explains that when people accept the bread and wine, they

<sup>142</sup> 'Primum enim quatenus panis in Cœna fractio, poculiq[ue] propinatio symbolo nobis suo adu[m]brat corporis Christi passione[m], quod pro nobis fractum est: [et] sanguinis sui in morte sua effusionem: hactenus sane panis illa fractio, [et] poculi propinatio adumbrant nobis, testanturq[ue] [et] designa[n]t, suoq[ue] quodam modo visibiliter anunciant Deum, Dominum pariter ac Iudicem nostrum omnium esse'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. Q3<sup>v</sup>. Zwingli had also argued for the symbolic view of the elements and held the Eucharist to be a remembrance of the Last Supper. See Zwingli's letter to Matthew Alber concerning the Lord's Supper, dated 16 November 1524, in H. Wayne Pipkin (ed.), *Huldrych Zwingli Writings. In Search of True Religion: Reformation, Pastoral and Eucharistic Writings*, (trans.) Henry Preble, vol. 2, (Allison Park, Pennsylvania, 1984), pp. 131-144.

<sup>143</sup> 'Postremo, quatenus panis ille in Cœna Dominica fractus, poculum item propinatu[m] nobis Christi nomine exhibetur: atq[ue] per nos accipitur, editur ac bibitur: illaq[ue] panis [et] poculi exhibitio, acceptio, [et] participatio symbola sunt nostræ societatis cum Christo Domino, in corpore ipsius pro nobis in morte sua traditio, [et] sanguine ipsius pro nobis in morte sua effusio'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. Q4<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>144</sup> 'Facitq[ue] vt agnita ea dignitate nostræ cum Christo Domino communionis, mysticum Cœnæ Dominicæ cibum ac potum, a reliquis cibis ac poculis omnibus summa cum obseruantia discernamus'. And sig. V5<sup>r</sup>. 'Docetur ergo Ecclesia, nobis per elemitem panis in Cœnæ Dominicæ vsu designari, no[n] equidem substantiam ipsam naturalis Christi corporis, sublata panis substantia: sed cœtum ipsum Ecclesiæ potius, qui ad Cœnæ participationem conuenit'. *Ibid.*, sig. T7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> 'Adeundem vero modum in alijs etiam Sacrame[n]tis omnibus, non res quæ actioni adhibentur, sed institutam a Deo externam actionem, signum Sacramenti esse videmus'. *Ibid.*, sig. Q8<sup>r</sup>.

were to see it as if they were receiving these elements from Christ himself.<sup>146</sup> As Zwingli had done, a Lasco described the ceremony of the Lord's Supper as an act of remembrance (*memoriam*), which followed the model of Christ's last meal with the apostles and symbolised their union with him.<sup>147</sup>

A Lasco provided detailed instructions on how the rite should be celebrated in the Strangers' Church. He wrote that the Dutch congregation was to hold the Lords' Supper on the first Sunday in January, followed by the French church one month later.<sup>148</sup> In both cases, they were to follow the model of Christ's last supper with his apostles. The table was to be placed 'in view of the whole church, covered in a linen to which all the ministers and communion participants take their place, each in his order, and they receive the Supper of the Lord from the hands of the ministers who are present, just as Christ had done it'.<sup>149</sup> The Eucharist was held during Sunday services and began with the minister's sermon on the signs, mystery and purpose of the ceremony. Next, he joined the other preachers, elders and deacons, who were seated at the table, for the distribution of the bread and wine.<sup>150</sup> The words spoken during this part of

<sup>146</sup> 'Vt qui vnus mensæ conuiuæ sumus, demus etiam in solidum operam omnes, vt adumbrant nobis Cœnæ signo donu[m] illud ac beneficium Christi, vere nos ex ipsiusmet Christi Domini manibus percepiße omnes pariter sentiamus'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. S4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>147</sup> 'Hac ita... cum se habeant omnia, perspicuum est Christum Dominu[m] (qui Diuina[m] alioqui Spiritus sancti vim in suæ institutionis obseruatione intuebatur) ad eiusmodi certe sui recordationem Cœnam suam instituisse, quæ nobis no[n] historicam tantum rei gestæ memoriam in otiosam quandam cogitatione[m] reuocaret'. Ibid., sig. S6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> 'Ne[m]pe vt per singulos me[n]ses in nostra Ecclesia (alternis inter Germanos [et] Gallos vicibus) Cœna Domini administretur Sic vt si in te[m]plo Germanoru[m] Cœna Domini peragatur prima Dominica Ianuarij, prima rursus Dominica februarij in te[m]plo Galloru[m] habeatur'. Ibid., sig. M6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>149</sup> 'Mensa in consepctu totius Ecclesiæ posita habetur panno lineo tecta. Huic accu[m]bu[n]t [et] Ministri et conuiuæ Cœna per suas vices omnes: atq[ue] accumbentes mensæ, e Ministrj accu[m]bentis manibus Cœna[m] Domini sumunt: quemadmodum a Chriso factum videmus'. Ibid., sig. M7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>150</sup> 'Hæc ita docentur de signo, mysterio, ac fine Cœnæ Dominicæ, ante illius administrationem eo ipso die, quo Cœna administrari debet. Fitq[ue] ad quandoq[ue] co[n]tractius, qua[n]doq[ue] vero prolixius: pro eo ac id res [et] tempus ipsum postulare videtur. Atq[ue] ita finis imponitur ipsi publicæ concioni'. Ibid., sig. T3<sup>v</sup>. And 'Consistent ante omnia Ministri, Seniores [et] Diaconi omnes ante mensam instructam, versa ad populum facie: præter Ecclesiasten ipsum qui concionem habuit. Is enim in suggesto manet, [et] vbi reliqui Ministri, Seniores, ac Diaconi

the rite reflected the symbolic nature of the elements. A Lasco instructed that the minister should take the bread, break it, and say: 'the bread, which we break, is the communion with the body of Christ'.<sup>151</sup> He then should distribute it to the others at the table, saying 'take, eat, and remember [*memineritis*] the body of our Lord Jesus Christ who was delivered into death for us on the cross, for the remission of all our sins'.<sup>152</sup> Following this action, the minister should take the wine and say: 'the cup of praise that we celebrate, is the communion with the blood of Christ'.<sup>153</sup> He then should extend the cup to each, saying 'take, drink, and remember [*memineritis*] the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ that was shed for us on the cross, for the remission of all our sins'.<sup>154</sup> After the ministers had received the Sacrament, the deacons were to usher the remaining congregation to the table. The men were called forward first and seated, followed by the women, and each time the distribution of the bread and wine was repeated.<sup>155</sup> Upon completion, the minister would lead the congregation in a prayer of thanks and conclude the ceremony with a brief admonition to consider the meaning of the elements and the benefits of their communion with Christ.<sup>156</sup> Afterwards, the deacons collected the remaining bread and wine to distribute to the poor.<sup>157</sup>

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ordine (vt dictum est) ante mensam constiterunt, admonet ante omnia Ecclesiastes Ecclesiam de omnibus, qui sint arcendi a Cœnæ vsus'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. T3<sup>v</sup>-T4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>151</sup> 'Panis quem frangimus communio est corporis Christi'. Ibid., sig. T8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>152</sup> 'Accipite, edite, [et] memineritis corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi pro nobis in mortem traditum esse in crucis patibulo, ad remissionem omnium[m] peccatorum nostrorum'. Ibid., sig. T8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>153</sup> 'Poculum laudis quo laudes celebram, co[m]munio est sanguinis Christi'. Ibid., sig. T8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>154</sup> 'Accipite, bibite, [et] memineritis sanguinem Domini nostri Iesu Christi pro nobis fustum esse in crucis patibulo, ad remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum'. Ibid., sig. V1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>155</sup> 'Dum vero ita prælegitur, accedit Ecclesia ad me[n]sam Dominicam ab vtroq[ue] templi latere: [et] a finibus mensæ ad illius meditullium in vtroq[ue] mensæ latere ascendu[n]t, donec me[n]sa tota co[m]pleatur: viri primum suis ordinibus, deinde vero mulieres'. Ibid., sig. V1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>156</sup> 'Finita hac gratiarum actione, Ecclesiastes subiicit breuem quanda[m] adhuc ad monitionem: in qua explicantur mysteria quædam petita ex elementorum Cœnæ (pains inq[ua]m) [et] vini consideratione. Et admonetur Ecclesia debuti officij[ue] sui erga Chrsitum pro beneficijs ipsius'. Ibid., sig. V4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>157</sup> 'Diaconi autem ad protas templi (vt alias quoq[ue] dictu[m] est) eleemosynas pro pauperibus colligunt: panisq[ue] ac vini, quæ ex Cœnæ vsu superfuerunt, reliquias pauperibus Ecclesiæ (vt

Participation in the sacramental rite symbolised full and complete membership in the church and was open to the entire adult congregation, providing they met certain requirements. They had to be at least fourteen years of age, a member of the Strangers' Church, and must have first been examined by the ministers in order to judge their eligibility. A Lasco instructed that, fifteen days before the ceremony, the ministers should make an announcement to the church so that the members could prepare themselves.<sup>158</sup> During the following two weeks, all who wished to partake in the Eucharist had to go before the ministers and elders, make a public confession of faith, agree to observe the discipline, and testify that they were not involved in any arguments or controversies.<sup>159</sup> New members who had not yet attended a Lord's Supper in the foreigners' congregations faced a more strenuous examination to ensure their adherence to the confession.<sup>160</sup> The ministers then recorded the names of all who had met successfully the requirements and were eligible to participate in the ceremony.<sup>161</sup> This system of examinations allowed the French and Dutch ministers to ensure compliance with the church's doctrine and to keep close watch over who was participating in the Lord's Supper in their congregations.

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quisq[ue] opus habet) largiuntur: præsertim si qui sint valetudinarij, ant natu alioqui grandiores'. Ibid., sig. V7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>158</sup> 'PRIVSQVAM Cœna Domini sit instituenda, quintodecimo antea die id toti Ecclesiæ denunciatur: [et] dies designatur, quo administrari debeat'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. N7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>159</sup> 'Præterea no[n] quoslibet temere ad Cœna[m] Dominicam admittimus: sed eos tantu[m], qui ædita publice fidej suæ confessione, Discipinæ sese etia[m] Ecclesiasticæ vltro ac sponte subiecerunt. Suntq[ue] testati, se cum nemine vlla[m] omnino simultate[m], aut controuersiam habere'. Ibid., sig. M7<sup>f</sup>. The ministers and elders held three assemblies in three different parts of the city for members of the church to make their public professions. 'Consident vna Ministri [et] Seniores omnes in totius Ecclesiæ co[n]spectu. Et que[m] admodum in superioribus recensuimus, Eccleisam nostram (propterea quod per totam vrbem dispersa sit) in strs partes distinctam esse'. Ibid., sig. P7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., sig. O4<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>161</sup> 'PRIMUM non alios ad Cœnæ vsum admittimus...quam qui publice coram Ecclesia, aut Ministris saltem ac Seniroibus fidei suæ confessionem ædiderunt: seq[ue] vltro ac sponte discipoinæ Ecclesiasticæ subiecerunt. Deinde eorum ipsorum catalogum denuo semper Ministri Ecclesiæ conficiunt'. Ibid., sig. O3<sup>f</sup>. And 'Neq[ue] prius nome[n] cuiusq[ue] adnotatur, q[uem] per Seniores omenes approbetur'. Ibid., sig. P8<sup>v</sup>.

Although a Lasco shared Zwingli's view of the symbolic nature of the sacramental rite, there was one significant characteristic that distinguished the Polish reformer's ceremony from other reformers'. In the Forma ac ratio, a Lasco insists that the participants be seated at the table to receive the bread and wine. This contrasted with the customary exercise of kneeling or standing, which was common among Lutheran, Reformed and English churches.<sup>162</sup> The foreigners' superintendent rejected such practices, arguing instead that the rite was a remembrance and should re-enact the last supper of Christ with his apostles, who had been seated at the table.<sup>163</sup> He explained his position, writing, 'in the mystical action, in the institution (I say) by Christ our Lord, we sit at the table for the distribution and the participation of the bread and cup'.<sup>164</sup> He defended this uncommon element in his ceremony by arguing that according to the Scriptures, Christ had instituted the seated communion. The same assertion could not be made for kneeling.<sup>165</sup> This unique stipulation has become a distinguishing mark of the Polish reformer's Eucharistic rite.

<sup>162</sup> MacCulloch, 'The importance of Jan Laski', pp. 337-338. The Hamburg ordinance indicated that members could either stand or kneel during the rite of the Lord's Supper. 'Kirchenordnung für Hamburg von 1529', in Sehling, vol. 5, p. 529. While the 1549 Prayer Book was not clear on the matter, the 1552 revisions instructed that all were to kneel when receiving communion. First and Second Prayerbooks, p. 389.

<sup>163</sup> 'Vt cœnam ipsius hic veluti typum quendam ab ipso institutum esse intelligamus cœlestis nostræ olim gloriæ, adumbratæ nobis sub co[n]iuij cuiusdam imagine: in quo nobis cum Abrhamo, Isaaco, [et] Iacobo pariter accumbentibus atq[ue] epula[n]tibus ministraturum se esse testatur. Quam sane fœlicitatis nostræ æternæ, in cœlesti olim gloria imagine (conuiuialis consessus symbolo nobis ab ispomet Christo Domino ad indicibilem piorum omnium co[n]solationem commendata) obliterare in Ecclesia velle, sublato (du[m] retineri potest) illius symbolo: equide haud scio, an id quisq[ue] gloriæ Christi [et] fœlieitatis æternæ illiui studiosus, in animu[m] suum inducere possit'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sigs. N3<sup>r</sup>v. MacCulloch discusses a Lasco's dispute with Cranmer over kneeling at communion in 'The importance of Jan Laski', pp. 336-337.

<sup>164</sup> 'sed in ipsa actio ne mystica, in instituta (inquam) a Christo Domino panis [et] poculi distributione [et] participatione mensæ accu[m]bimus'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sigs. M8<sup>r</sup>v.

<sup>165</sup> 'Primum in confesio est omnibus Ecclesiæ Ministris, id potiſimum in ipsoru[m] ministerio sequendum esse, quod certo co[n]stat magis facere ad Ecclesiæ ædificationem... Cu[m] igitur negarj no[n] poſit, co[n]sessu[m] seu accubitus in Cœnæ actione ipsa manifestos fontes suos habere in Christi Domini exemplo, [et] Apostolorum obseruatione, scripturæ testimonio: qui fontes alioqui neq[ue] in statione, neq[ue] in genuflexione, neq[ue] etiam in ambulatione commonstrarj poſunt'. Ibid., sig. M8<sup>r</sup>.

A Lasco concluded this largest section of the ordinance with a discussion of the final part of the public ministry: ecclesiastical discipline. With its focus on moral living, common among Reformed congregations, disciplinary procedures provided a practical framework for ministers to instruct members about proper behaviour, settle disputes within their churches, and to maintain doctrinal purity. In London, all foreigners had to agree to observe the discipline, and a Lasco instructs that each one had the duty to receive admonitions from the ministry, to reprimand those who criticise the ministers, and to defend and maintain the doctrine of the church by following the prescribed steps.<sup>166</sup> He instituted a two-step system for discipline similar to Calvin's practice described in the *Institutes*.<sup>167</sup> The first level was private admonitions; if a member of the church had offended another of the congregation through his behaviour, dishonourable living, or by not fulfilling his duties to the church, the injured person was to approach the offender and privately admonish him for his transgression.<sup>168</sup> If the matter was not resolved following this first censure, one or two others from the church were to reproach the offender a second time.<sup>169</sup> The Polish reformer urged all members to give and receive admonitions in a

<sup>166</sup> 'Vt Ministris suis legitimis quisq[ue] in Ecclesia, tanq[uam] Christi ipsius legatis in ipsorum ministerio, imo vero tanq[uam] Christo ipsimet Domino, per illos Ecclesiam suam gubernanti pareat. Admonitiones illoru[m] tam priuatas q[uam] publicas reuerenter atq[ue] ama[n]ter admittat... Vt non solum sibi quisq[ue] a murmurationibus contra Ministros in Ecclesia caueat: sed vt si quos alios murmurato res nouit, illos priuatim primum, deinde vno atq[ue] altero teste adhibito redarguat... Vt quisq[ue] in Ecclesia consensum doctrinæ vnanimem vna cum Ministris retinere se, ac tueri apud omnes debere statuat'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. X8<sup>v</sup>-Y1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>167</sup> For Calvin, the first step was private admonitions, which were then followed by public censure. A Lasco, like the Genevan reformer, described a similar system of private and public admonitions. See Calvin, *Institutes*, pp. 1230-1231.

<sup>168</sup> 'Ad priuatum igitur disciplinæ vsum pertinere, duos priores illos a Christo Domino præscriptos admonitionum gradus. Nempe vt frater a fratre offensus, primu[m] solus solum, deinde adhibito altero, pluribusue admonitionis socijs redarguat: admonitusq[ue] vicibim pareat admonitioni'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. X6<sup>v</sup>-X7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>169</sup> 'Docetur item Ecclesia admonitiones eas, quæ vno atq[ue] altero fratre adhibito instituuntur, ad priuatum adhuc disciplinæ vsum pertinere. Et proinde non prius esse inuulgandum peccatum admoniti cuiusuis fratris per eos, qui illum admonuerunt: q[uam] ad Ministros ac Seniores Ecclesiæ referatur'. *Ibid.*, sig. Y2<sup>v</sup>.

friendly (*fraterne*) manner, as they were intended to promote unity and peace in the community.<sup>170</sup>

If there was no resolution following the private admonitions, or if a member had committed an offense against the entire church, the matter moved to the second step in a Lasco's discipline: public censure. Here, the offender would be admonished by an assembly of ministers and elders who, like the Genevan consistory, were charged with resolving disciplinary matters in the churches. The transgressor would be called before this assembly, which then would adjudicate the matter and encourage the offender to repent and seek reconciliation.<sup>171</sup> If he remained obstinate, then the ministers could seek the final step of public discipline, excommunicating the reprobate member from the church.<sup>172</sup> As a Lasco explains, this action was designed to protect the congregation from harmful influences, as well as to encourage the offender to repent for his actions.

A Lasco's London discipline combined his experiences in Emden and Cologne with the influence of Calvin. Upon returning from Cologne in 1544, the Polish reformer established a system of ecclesiastical discipline in East Frisia

<sup>170</sup> 'Vt quisq[ue] in Ecclesia totius simul corporis Ecclesiae imprimis, deinde vero singulorum ipsius membroru[m] inter sese (quoad eius fieri potest) pacem, concordiam, atq[ue] vnitatem sub verbi diuini obedientia obseruet, custodiat, custodiat, proueat, ac tueatur pro sua virili: neq[ue] illam (quod in ipso est) scindi quoquo modo perturbariue sinat'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. Y1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>171</sup> 'Primum enim accusari legitime oportet (sub graui ac fide digno duorum aut trium vt minimum testimonio) coram cœtu Ministroru[m] ac Seniorum Ecclesiae eos, qui publici ministerij Ecclesiastici nomine redargui reprehendiq[ue] debent'. Ibid., sig. Y3<sup>v</sup>. And, 'postea qui ad hunc modum sunt reprehensi, agnita peccati sui culpa illa[m] vel apud cœtu ipsum Ministroru[m] ac Senioru[m] Ecclesiae deprecari: [et] cum omnibus, quos vllo modo offenderunt, sese reconciliare debent: pro eo ac Ministri ac Seniores Ecclesiae id iudica[n]t magis facere ad Ecclesiae aedificationem'. Ibid., sig. Y4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>172</sup> 'Postremo si ad hunc modu[m] reprehensus quispiam in Ecclesias rater, peccati nihilominus sui culpa[m] neq[ue] agnoscere neq[ue] deprecari vllo modo velit: Ministri et Seniores Ecclesiae pregredi[n]turi publico disciplinae vsu, vsq[ue] ad obstinati fratris istiusmodi exco[m]municationem'. Ibid., sig. Y4<sup>r</sup>. And 'Post obseruatos omnes of[m]niaum (vt dictum est) admonitio num gradus: si frater quispiam illis neglectis ita in peccato suo obdurescat, vt nullam



modelled on Bucer's order for that free-imperial city.<sup>173</sup> He had hoped that this practice would protect his territory against the influence of religious radicals; the discipline instructed that all church members should report suspected radicals to the ministers, who would examine them and, if found guilty, expel them from the church.<sup>174</sup> The London discipline built on this earlier model but incorporated Calvin's two-tiered approach with the private and public admonitions.<sup>175</sup> This practice was a crucial element of a Lasco's public ministry: anyone wishing to join the Strangers' Church had to agree to observe the discipline in order to be a member and to participate in the Lord's Supper. He wrote that the practice was necessary to maintain order in the church and to ensure that all members observed their duty to Christ.<sup>176</sup> He further explained that the series of admonitions were meant to correct the infirmity of individual members, as well as of the whole church.<sup>177</sup> Even excommunication, the most severe punishment

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reliquam spem faciat resipiscentiæ suæ Ministris ac Senioribus Ecclesiæ omnibus: tum necessario est veniendum ad talis cuiuslibet fratris excommunicationem'. Ibid., sig. Aa7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> A Lasco reported to Albert Hardenberg that he was preparing to institute a form of discipline similar to Bucer's for his East Frisian churches. A Lasco to Hardenberg, 26 July 1544, Kuyper (ed.), *LO*, vol. 2, p. 575. 'Meditamur itaque nunc formam quondam disciplinæ in nostra Ecclesia, in qua constituenda magno nobis erit adiumento Episcopi tui Coloneinsis ordinatio, quam mihi Gabriel attulit tuo nomine'.

<sup>174</sup> 'Dwile wy allenthalven bearchwaent werden, als schulden wy de uprorischen sekten der wederdope hir yn dusser graveschup entholden, darumme dunket uns nicht unnodich, um des ytzigen gescreyes willen ene munsterunge vorgenenamen werde yn ein yder stadt, fleke, ampten und yn der junkeren herlicheyden'. 'Polizeiordnung der Gräfin Anna' (1545), in Sehling, vol. 7.1, p. 401. A Lasco's discipline, described here in the 1545 *Polizeiordnung*, was very similar to that outlined by Bucer in *Einfältiges Bedencken*, sigs. N3<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>175</sup> Jürgens notes the influence of Bucer on the development of a Lasco's discipline for East Frisia, which he characterised as a middle step between Bucer and the future London order. Jürgens, *Lasco in Ostfriesland*, pp. 294-299. For Calvin's discussion of the stages of discipline, see Calvin, *Institutes*, pp. 1230-1231.

<sup>176</sup> 'Vt intelligamus vsum disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ non tantum in faciendis, sed etiam in recipiendis admonitionibus positum esse... Vt intelligamus vsum disciplinæ institutum esse in Christi Ecclesia, non equidem in co[n]demnatione[m]: sed in remedium potius infirmitatis nostræ omnium'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. X4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>177</sup> 'Disciplina Ecclesiastica est certa quædam e scripturis petita ratio obserua[n]di gradatim Christianas admonitiones ex verbo Dei, inter fratres in uicem omnes in Ecclesia Christi: vt [et] corpus vniuersum, singulaq[ue] illius membra in suo officio (quoad eius fieri potest) contineantur. Et si qui in illa deprehendantur obstinati admonitionum istiusmodi contemptores, vt Sananæ ad extremum, per excommunicationem tradantur: si quo modo per talem puffedactionem [et] caro in illis interire (quod ad affectus illius attinet) [et] spiritus ita demum reuocari ad resipiscentiam, ac proinde seruari etiam possit'. Ibid., sig. V8<sup>r</sup>.

in the disciplinary system, was not meant to condemn men, but rather to save them from eternal condemnation by encouraging correct behaviour.<sup>178</sup> A Lasco defended this practice based on its scriptural foundations:

The Lord Christ commanded in the writings of Matthew and Luke that we should admonish the brother who had offended the others in some way. Likewise, Paul warned the church of the Thessalonians to not neglect the warnings against disorderly brothers in any way. He also diligently urged the Hebrews to heed the admonitions so that those among them who were ignoring the warnings would not fall to the leading astray through sin. In turn, he severely scolded the Corinthians because they had rejected the use of the discipline against a man who had sexual relations with his stepmother. Certainly in these places in Scripture, the clear sources promote heeding admonitions in the Church of Christ. It is clear, that they cannot be ignored without truly great offense.<sup>179</sup>

One of the key elements of a Lasco's discipline was the public rite of penitence. If the assembly of ministers and elders had found an offender to be guilty, and he refused to acknowledge his error and seek reconciliation, then the matter was brought before the entire congregation in the form of a public rite. At Sunday services, the ministers would recount to the congregation the sin committed and the subsequent admonitions that were made, all without revealing the identity of the offender.<sup>180</sup> The church would then pray, encouraging the transgressor to seek reconciliation, and a second deadline would be set for the

<sup>178</sup> 'Et rursum excommunicationem in Ecclesia, no[n] ad condemna[n]dos sane homines institutam esse: sed ad liberandos potius a commonstrata condemnatione, per publica[m] pudefactionem'. Ibid., sigs. X5<sup>r-v</sup>

<sup>179</sup> 'Christus Dominus apud Matthæu[m] [et] Luca[m] iubet, vt offensi quoquo modo per fratre[m], admonitionibus apud illum vtamur. Paulus item monet Thessalonicensium Ecclesiam, vt admonitiones aduersus inordinatos fratres ne prætermittat vilo modo. Idemq[ue] Hebræos dilige[n]ter hortatur, ad obseruandas admonitiones: ne qui inter illos neglectis admonitionibus per peccati seductionem indurentur. Ac rursum grauiter obiurgat Cori[n]thios, quod vsu disciplinæ aduersus eum, qui cum inuerca consuetudinem habebat, negligissent. In hisce sane scripturæ locis, extant fontes manifesti obseruandarum admonitionu[m] in Ecclesia Christi: vt eas sane graui culpa intermutti non posse constet'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. X1<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>180</sup> 'Tum eo ipso die Dominico Ecclesiastes in publica concione peccatum fratris illius, simulq[ue] [et] contemptum admonitionum ordine omniu[m], cora[m] tota Ecclesia exponit: suppresso tamen adhuc illius nomine, si quo modo per peccati duntaxat sui illam sine nomine

accused to repent. If the offender sought reconciliation, the ministers and elders would examine him to determine that he was not doing so under false pretense, and that there was clear evidence of his repentance.<sup>181</sup> Once the ministers were satisfied, a date was set for the public rite. On the chosen day, the congregation assembled and the ministers began with a sermon relating to the sins committed and a public prayer for the accused. The minister then admonished the offender to voluntarily recognize his fault, ask for pardon before God, and reconcile himself to the church.<sup>182</sup> Following this, the guilty person would make a public confession of his sins and the minister would instruct the congregation on the principal points of doctrine that had been breached. He would then admonish the accused regarding his offence.<sup>183</sup> The guilty party then must pledge to observe the foreigners' discipline, before the minister could announce to the congregation the remission of sin in the eyes of God and the church. The ceremony ended with the preachers and elders giving their hand to the penitent brother and embracing him, signaling his reconciliation.<sup>184</sup> This public ceremony served two important functions. First, it provided a visible sign of the

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denunciationem, frater ille accusatus ad resipiscentiam adhuc, culpæq[ue] in cœtu Seniorum agnitionem ac deprecatione[m] induci possit'. Ibid., sigs. Y7<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>181</sup> 'Sic vt qui ad publicam pœnitentiam admitti velit, claram prius ac perspicuam dare debeat in cœtus Seniorum veræ. Christianæq[ue] resipiscentæ (displicentie, inq[uam] [et] accusationis sui in suo peccato) significationem, per plenam [et] disertam culpæ suæ agnitionem [et] deprecationem: sic vt in illa a Ministris ac Senioribus nihil omnino desideretur. Interest enim Ministrorum, ne quisq[uam] Christi Ecclesiæ, ipsiq[ue] adeo Christo Domino per hypocrisim suam simulatamq[ue] pœnitentia[m] (quatenus id quide[m] cauere potest) illudat'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. Z1<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>182</sup> 'Avidivisti iam dilecte frater, quod sit tuum erga offensam per te Ecclesiam officium. Nempe vt peccati tui culpam vltro ipse apud illam in conspectu Dei agnoscas ac depreceris, atq[ue] ita demum te reconcilies offensæ in te Ecclesiæ Christi'. Ibid., sigs. Aa1<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>183</sup> 'Hic vero lapsus frater ille ædet publicam peccati sui confessionem: culpamq[ue] suam publice agnoscat ac deprecabitur, [et] se inter membra Ecclesiæ retineri petet'. Ibid., sig. Aa2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>184</sup> 'Finita hac gratiarum actione, quærit Minister a pœnitente fratre illo. Num deinceps quoq[ue] disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ sub esse velit iuxta verbum Dei. Illeq[ue] respo[n]det. Etiam. Tum Minister illi annunciat [et] contestatur veram ac plena[m] peccati ipsius coram Deo [et] eius Ecclesia remissionem: non tantum in terris, sed etia[m] in cœlo... Postremo Ministri ac Seniores ordine omnes fratrem pœnitentem illum (dextris datis) amplexantur in totius Ecclesiæ conspectu: [et] suam cum illo totiusq[ue] Ecclesiæ reconciliationem, datis illi osculis suis, attestantur'. Ibid., sigs. Aa6<sup>r-v</sup>.

offender's reconciliation, which was the primary purpose of a Lasco's discipline. Second, as with the other ceremonies described in the public ministry, the rite had an important educational function. The Polish reformer argued that it was a necessary part of the ecclesiastical discipline because it served to instruct the entire church about their duty to God.<sup>185</sup>

The London ordinance describes a similar ceremony surrounding excommunication, and further stresses the didactic role of the public rite. If the offender refused to reconcile with the church after the matter had been related to the congregation for prayers, the preachers and elders would set a date for his excommunication. A Lasco notes that they should announce the chosen date at least eight days in advance, so that those who disagreed with the action could report their complaints to the ministry.<sup>186</sup> If no objections were made, 'the silence of the church [would be] held for their silent consent and for their approval for the forthcoming excommunication'.<sup>187</sup> With the congregation's agreement, the public action could proceed. A Lasco wrote that the Dutch should hold the rite during Sunday morning services, with the French following in the afternoon, so that all who wished could attend, and he emphasised that excommunication from one part meant a ban from the entire Strangers'

<sup>185</sup> 'Hisce [et] similibus verbis excitatur frater ille denunciatus, ad peragenda[m] vltro ac libenter publicam pœnitentiam ad Dei gloriam [et] Ecclesiæ ædificationem... Oportet enim o[m]nia in Christi Ecclesia instituta ad illius ædificationem'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. Z2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>186</sup> 'Diximus autem, quo die frater aliquis publice [et] nominatim coram tota Ecclesia denunciatur propter contemptas priores omnes admonitiones, simul quoq[ue] die[m] constitui, quo frater ille ita ia[m] denu[n]ciatus (nisi interea resipiscat exco[m]municari debeat. Et moneri præterea Ecclesiam totam: vt si quisq[ue] nimium præcipitari, aut aliqui parum legitime peragiputet excommunicationem ipsam aduersus denu[n]ciatum fratrem illum, intra octo totos dies ante ipsam excommunicatione[m] Ministros ac Seniores Ecclesiæ huius admoneat'. Ibid., sig. Aa8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>187</sup> 'Si igitur ante constitutum illum exco[m]municationis diem, neq[ue] quisq[ue] alius ex verbo Dei oste[n]dere possit, peccari vltro modo in denu[n]ciato fratre illo ita iam (vt est dictum) exco[m]municando: neq[ue] ipsemet denunciatus frater ille vllam det resipiscentiæ suæ significationem: tum sine longiore mora silentium Ecclesiæ habetur pro tacito consensu ipsius, [et] approbatione futura excommunicationis'. Ibid., sigs. Aa8<sup>v</sup>-Bb1<sup>r</sup>.

Church.<sup>188</sup> To begin the procedure, the ministers explained to the congregation the benefits of expelling the reprobate member: to honour God, to protect and maintain the church, and to demonstrate the magnitude of the accused's sin so as to encourage him to correct his behaviour.<sup>189</sup> As with the rite of penitence, the ministers recounted the sins of the accused and the admonitions that were given, before leading the church in a prayer for the offender.<sup>190</sup> At this point, the transgressor would be given a final chance to repent and reconcile before being excommunicated. If he remained obstinate, the ministers would announce that he had been cut off from the church. The ceremony ended with the preachers educating the congregation about the purpose of this action and about their duty to help the unrepentant: the clergy were to teach the laity that casting out sinners is done so that others are not infected by their impiety and that public penitence is the only way to reconcile with the church.<sup>191</sup> The clergy were to urge the congregation to continue admonishing the reprobate member and to show

<sup>188</sup> 'Qui in Germanoru[m] Ecclesia ad hu[n]c modum excommunicatur in antemeridiana (vt dictum est) concione, idem eodem ipso die etiam in Gallica rursus Ecclesia exco[m]municatus esse declatur in pomeridiana concione: vt [et] illic pro Ethnico ac publicano habeatur. Ac vicissim qui in Gallicæ Ecclesia ad eundem ipsum modum excommunicantur in antemeridiana concione, iidem rursus is: Germanorum quoq[ue] Ecclesia eodem ipso die excommunicati esse declarantur: ad contestandum vnanimem vtriusq[ue] Ecclesiæ illius consensum'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. Cc8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>189</sup> 'Exponit fructus legitimæ excommunicationis. Nempe, Primum Dei nome[n] per illam honoratur, quatenus sane legitimo exco[m]municationis vsu testamur, nos longe ab illis abesse, qui indulgentiæ flagitiorum Dei [et] sui Euangelij nomen præte[n]du[n]t...Deinde vsu legitimæ excommunicationis conseruatur Ecclesia in suo officio: discit sollicita esse pro salute membrorum suorum...Postremo remedi[u]m eiam adhibetur ijs, qui sunt excommunicandi, legitimo vsu excommunicationis. Negari enim non potest curam haberi eorum, qui sunt excommunicandi ab Ecclesia'. Ibid., sigs. Bb5<sup>v</sup>-Bb6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>190</sup> 'Atq[ue] hic Ecclesiastes recenset omnia ordine, quæ excommunicandus ille frater designauit, ta[m] ante post q[uam] admonitiones o[mn]nes, [et] priuatas [et] publicas'. Ibid., sig. Bb7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>191</sup> 'Docet habendum esse illum pro Ethnico [et] publicano, quemadmodu[m] Christus docet: cuius videlicet peccata ligata sint ministerij Ecclesiastici testimonio in cælo [et] in terra: donec se reconciliet Ecclesiæ per publicam pœnitentiam iuxta verbum Dei...Cum hoc familiare fere exco[m]municatis hominibus esse videamus, vt si quos possint, sua consuetudine in sui mali societatem pertrabant: [et] ideo potissimu[m] e cœtu Ecclesiastico eijciuntur, ne alios sua impietate inficiant'. Ibid., sig. Cc5<sup>r</sup>.

compassion by not 'mocking, injuring, despising or defaming' him.<sup>192</sup> Finally, the ministers should instruct the assembled members to see the image of divine punishment in the excommunication and to pray for the member who has been cast out of the church.<sup>193</sup>

While a Lasco's ecclesiastical discipline resembled Calvin's Genevan model, there was one significant difference concerning the authority for excommunication. The Polish reformer granted this right to the entire congregation, writing that an unrepentant offender was not cut off from the church by the authority of the ministers and elders, 'but rather by the unanimous consent and agreement of the whole church', and added that this approval was necessary for a member of the French or Dutch congregation.<sup>194</sup> His view that this authority rested with the laity was similar to Zwingli's example in the early stages of his career. The Zurich reformer had argued in his 1523 Defense of the Reformed Faith that 'no private person may impose the ban on anyone, except the church, i.e. the community of those among whom the person to be excommunicated lives, together with its guardian, i.e. the ministers'.<sup>195</sup> In the

<sup>192</sup> 'Qui tamen solidius in fide instructi intelligunt se fructum aliquem apud excommunicatos colloquijs suis ex verbo Dei posse facere, captare omnes occasiones debent illorum admonendorum, [et] in viam rursus reducendorum, tantisper dum spem aliquam resipiscentiæ superesse vident... Vt nemo in Ecclesia iniquis præiudicijs excommunicatos grauet, videat, despiciat, aut raducat: sed vicem illorum ex animo potius doleat. Cogitent[ue] in Ecclesia omnes sibi idem quenire etia[m] posse: vt qui æque sub peccatum sint conclusi (quod in ipsis est) atq[ue] illi: nisi Diuina gratia seruarentur'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. Cc5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>193</sup> 'Monetur Ecclesia, vt quo magis excommunicatos propter ipsorum obstinationem de vita ac salute æterna periclitari videt, hoc diligentius quisq[ue] pro illis domi suæ oret: si quo modo e laqueis Diaboli liberari queant. Postremo hortatur populum Ecclesiastes, vt quemadmodum Diuinæ seueritatis imaginem in eiectione excommunicatorum intue[n]tur: ita se omnes etiam humilient sub pote[n]ti manu Dei'. Ibid., sigs. Cc6<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>194</sup> 'Neq[ue] vero sola Ministrorum ac Seniorum vna omnium (ne dicam vnus aut alterius Ministri) autoritate ab Ecclesia quisq[ue] eijcitur: sed vnanimi totius Ecclesiæ consensu atq[ue] approbatione'. Ibid., sig. Aa7<sup>v</sup>. 'Ita vero [et] in nostris Ecclesiis non solum Superintendens, sed ne Ministri quidem ac Seniores Ecclesiæ vna omnes exco[m]municare quenq[ue] possu[n]t in sua Ecclesia: nisi toti simul Ecclesiæ assensus publicus atq[ue] approbatio accedat'. Ibid., sigs. Aa8<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>195</sup> Huldrych Zwingli, 'The Defense of the Reformed Faith', in Huldrych Zwingli Writings, (trans.) E. J. Furcha, Vol. 1, The Defense of the Reformed Faith (Allison Park, Pennsylvania, 1984), p. 226.

latter part of his career, however, Zwingli backed away from such a pronounced role for the congregation in favour of greater powers for lay magistrates in cutting off reprobate members.<sup>196</sup> A Lasco's focus on lay authority in excommunication was shaped by his scriptural understanding and by the foreigners' unique situation in London, where the Strangers' Church did not enjoy the same close relationship with the magistracy as did churches on the continent. Their position as exile congregations in a foreign land distanced them from the civic leaders, making it more practical to maintain within the church the authority for excommunication. More importantly, however, a Lasco found support for his viewpoint in the apostolic traditions. In the Forma ac ratio, he criticised the Roman Church for giving such powers to the pope and bishops. The reformer argued, instead, that the apostle Paul had shown in his letter to the Corinthians that this right belonged to the entire congregation.<sup>197</sup> As with the lay involvement in elections and the seated communion, this pronounced authority for the laity becomes a third distinguishing characteristic of a Lasco's order.

As the reformer had done in East Frisia, he promoted the London discipline as a means for resisting radical influences among the foreign communities. He includes special instructions in the ordinance, relating how to deal with such groups in the Strangers' Church. A Lasco wrote that two or three elders should approach any member of the French or Dutch congregation who spoke out against the church's doctrine or promoted radical ideas like those of the Anabaptists. They were to speak to the offender regarding the source of his

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<sup>196</sup> See Ulrich Gäbler, Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work, (trans.) Ruth C. L. Gritsch (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 104-105.

<sup>197</sup> In reference to 1 Corinthians 5, a Lasco wrote: 'Ita enim Paulus lugere vult totam Ecclesiam circa fratris alicuius excommunicationem'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. Aa7<sup>v</sup>. His comments about the Roman church follow on sigs. Aa7<sup>v</sup>-Aa8<sup>r</sup>.

immoderate doctrines and, if he were agreeable, invite him to be examined publicly by the church's ministry.<sup>198</sup> The preachers and elders would explain to the member why his beliefs were false and how they contradicted Scripture before admonishing him to cease spreading his erroneous doctrine.<sup>199</sup> If he refused to obey the church leaders, a Lasco instructed the ministers to denounce the offender by name in front of the entire congregation, and to educate the laity regarding the false beliefs.<sup>200</sup> He explained that they should provide a summary of the offender's mistakes and clarify their arguments against him in their denunciation. As in the other public ceremonies described in the London discipline, the assembled members could raise any questions or objections they might have about the ministers' decision.<sup>201</sup> This served two key purposes. It recognised the congregation's authority in disciplinary matters, including the expulsion of religious radicals. More importantly, the ministers could use the questions to address the public's concerns and to educate the laity regarding the church's pure doctrine.

The final section of the Forma ac ratio discusses additional ceremonies that had not been divinely instituted, but rather were customary practices of the

<sup>198</sup> 'Primum omnium designantur duo aut tres Senioribus Ecclesiae, qui illum adeunt, vt fontes doctrinae ipsius suspectae ab ipso resciscantur'. Ibid., sig. Hh4<sup>r</sup>. 'Vt videant, num accurati orem doctrinae suae examinationem non refugiat. Quod si illam non refugit: inuitatur per designatos illos ad caetum Ministrorum ac Seniorum Ecclesiae: [et] dies constituitur, quo venire debeat'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. Hh4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>199</sup> 'Ibi vero si autor ille doctrinae suspectae neque responsiones caetus diluere (ex verbo Dei) neque interim a serenda suspecta doctrina sua cessare velit: tum caetus vniuersi nomine monetur, ne in fraudem ac perniciem nostrae Ecclesiae doctrinam suam illam deinceps serat: quam verbi Diuini autoritate defendere non possit'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. Hh5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>200</sup> 'Quod si nec sic quidem a suo instituto dimoueri potest, doctrinamque suam nihilominus adhuc spargere ac tueri pergit: tum in publica concione coram tota Ecclesia nomen eius denunciatur per Ministrum, summaque doctrinae exponitur, cum eius (in caetu Ministrorum habita) refutatione'. Ibid., sig. Hh6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>201</sup> 'Is vt (qua parte in illa forte adhuc haeret) dubitationes suas per aliquem e Senioribus (siue verbis siue scripto) in Prophetia publica proponisat: vt ad illas publice per Ministros ac Seniores respondeatur. Omnesque praetextus defendendae adeoque [et] excusandae doctrinae illius (quoad eius fieri potest) amputentur'. Ibid., sig. Hh6<sup>r</sup>.



ancient church. These included the rite of public fasting and prayers, marriage, visiting the sick, and burial. In each case, a Lasco provided a detailed explanation of the ceremony and his scriptural justifications for observing the practice. Not surprisingly, he emphasises their historical origins, their role in maintaining order, and their didactic function in the Strangers' Church.

A Lasco first presented the service for public prayers and fasting to be conducted when the church suffered some form of public danger or calamity. Calvin had described a similar ceremony in the *Institutes* as part of his ecclesiastical discipline, but the Polish reformer separated this rite from discipline in the London ordinance.<sup>202</sup> He described the practice used by the French and Dutch congregations, writing that, when necessary, the ministers would choose a day to assemble the church in the early morning, before 9 o'clock. They then would deliver a sermon explaining the dangers or calamity that had befallen the foreigners, precipitating the need for public prayers and fasting.<sup>203</sup> He noted that the minister should instruct the assembly about the sins that had caused the misfortune, teaching that God uses such events to remind people of their eternal condemnation and to encourage them to remedy their behaviour.<sup>204</sup> Following this sermon, they administered the Lord's Supper and then dismissed the congregation to pass the day praying, reading the Scriptures, and fasting.<sup>205</sup> The preachers and elders reassembled the church at 2 o'clock in

<sup>202</sup> Calvin, *Institutes*, pp. 1241-1248.

<sup>203</sup> 'Ad constitutu[m] porro die[m] ubi Ecclesia ante hora[m] nonam co[n]venit, orditur Eccleiaſtes ſuam concionem'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. ii1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>204</sup> 'Monetur Ecclesia de causa, propter quam omnes alioqui calamitates a Domino nobis immittantur, nempe de peccato... Impiis enim immitti calamitates, ueluti primitias quasdam æterni ipsorum cruciatus, [et] æternæ condemnationis: quemadmodum in Sodomæ [et] Gomorrhæ exemplo videmus: Pijs vero immitti, ueluti remedia quædam infirmitatis eorum, ad salutem ipsoru[m]'. Ibid., sigs. ii1<sup>v</sup>-ii2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>205</sup> 'Vt autem tanto ardentioribus animis Ecclesia tota ad precandum sese componat, administratur eodem ipso die etiam Cæna Dominica, ad cuius usum Minister Ecclesiam totam absoluta hac precatione adhortatur'. Ibid., sig. ii5<sup>r</sup>. 'Monetur Ecclesia, ut quisque domum suam

the afternoon to instruct the faithful on the benefits granted to them through their misfortune.<sup>206</sup> This second ceremony ended with the congregation singing a psalm, followed by the benediction, and then a collection of alms for the poor.<sup>207</sup> A Lasco defended the foreigners' observance of this rite based on its foundations in the ancient church and argued that through it they could seek deliverance from God's affliction, as well as educate the congregation about their sins.<sup>208</sup>

The reformer follows the rite of public prayers with a description of the marriage ceremony observed in the London church. He instructed that the practice was to take place during Sunday services and in public, for the edification of the whole church.<sup>209</sup> He explained that when two people wished to be joined, the ministers should announce it to the assembled congregation on each of the three Sundays prior to the marriage. These declarations allowed members to report complaints or objections to the elders or ministers, if they believed the ceremony should not take place.<sup>210</sup> During worship services on the

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reuersus, precatione, lectioneq[ue] sacrorum, ac ieiunio totum diem illum transigat: quatenus id cuiusque valetudo ferre queat...Quod si Ministris ac Senioribus utile uideatur, iubetur rursus Ecclesia conuenire hora secunda pomeridiana: habeturq[ue] rursus admonitio, quæ ad institutum faciat'. Ibid., sig. Ii5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>206</sup> 'Omnia quidem beneficia, non aliunde, quam a fonte ipso bonorum omnium prouenire, nempe Deo: [et] proinde uelut ex ipsius Dei manibus cum gratiarum actione semper accipienda esse...Monetur Ecclesia, in collati huius beneficij ratione obseruanda hæc esse, ut illo recte utamur...Monetur Ecclesia de occasione collati beneficij, pro quo est instituta supplicatio: eaq[ue] omni Ecclesiæ exponitur. Et si constet, hac occasione collatum esse beneficium, ut quæsita sit ab eo, qui illud contulit, uia ac ratio, promouendi legitimam (in Ecclesia) earum uocationum functionem, sine quibus illa neq[ue] gubernari recte, neque facile consistere possit: cof[m]mendatur occasio ipsa, toti Ecclesiæ, collati illius beneficij: ut ad ardentiorum pro illo gratiarum actionem excitetur'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. Ii6<sup>v</sup>-Ii7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>207</sup> 'Qua peracta, ac Psalmo (de more) decantato...Atq[ue] sic demum dimittitur Ecclesia cum benedictione, et egenorum commendatione'. Ibid., sigs. Ii5<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>208</sup> 'VETVS est consuetudo catholicæ Dei Ecclesiæ, vt quoties aut insigne aliquod beneficium a Domino Deo acceptit, aut publica aliqua necessitate premitur, aut grauem sibi vllant alioqui calamitatem impendere etiam videt: ad Deum sese precibus ac ieiunijs tota conuertat'. Ibid., sig. Hh8<sup>f</sup>. And, 'Proq[ue] collatis beneficijs gratias agit: in præsentis vero necessitate opem illius imploret: et mala item impendentia omnia, supplex deprecetur'. Ibid., sigs. Hh8<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>209</sup> 'Nemo in Ecclesiæ nostræ ministerio coniungitur matrimonij vinculo, nisi in publico Ecclesiæ cœtu, tum ut publica matrimoniorum honestas prene obseruetur, tum ut admonitiones huc pertinentes, a tota semper Ecclesia, audoantur, ad illius ædificationem'. Ibid., sig. Kk4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>210</sup> 'Primum nomina contrahentium toti Ecclesiæ indicantur, dicunturq[ue] sibi inuicem, matrimonij fidem...spono[n]disse, quod equidem in cœtu Ecclesiæ cuperent approbari, atq[ue]

chosen Sunday, providing no reasonable protestations had been made, the marriage rite would follow the Lord's Prayer and baptismal ceremony. The minister would announce the couples' intention to marry, and he would instruct the congregation regarding the meaning of such unions, emphasising the scriptural foundations and instructing that joining two people in holy matrimony demonstrated the plurality of all people united in the divine.<sup>211</sup> The Polish reformer insisted that ministers should condemn openly the Roman Church's support for celibacy, writing that biblical passages praising marriage exceeded those promoting virginity and celibacy.<sup>212</sup> Following this sermon, the preacher would call the couple before the church and ask them to declare their intention to be married in front of the congregation.<sup>213</sup> He then would ask them to join hands and, turning to the church, recite a prayer for their union.<sup>214</sup> He followed this action with a reading from Matthew and a public prayer for the newly married

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ita demum sanciri etiam, præterquam si legitimum aliquod impedimentum sub ternis illis denu[n]ciationibus...proferretur. Proinde si quisquam in Ecclesia aliquid eiusmodi sciret, quod merito progressum matrimonij impedire posset: id ut intra tempus trium illarum denunciationem ante nuptias ipsas ad Seniores Ecclesiæ deferret'. Ibid., sig. Kk5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>211</sup> 'Matrimonium, esse omnium gratissimum in terris uitæ genus Deo, id clarum esse ex illis Dei verbis: Non est bonu[m] homini, ut sit solus...Primum uinculo matriomonij monemur, pluralitatis personarum, in monade diuina'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sigs. Kk7<sup>v</sup>-Ll1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>212</sup> 'Et habet talis siue uirginitas, siue cœlibatus, laudem suam ac dignitatem non uulgarem in scripturis expressam: Sed quæ cum laude ac dignitate matrimonij co[n]ferre haudquaquam potest'. Ibid., sig. Ll3<sup>v</sup>. He also went on to explain that solitude was not the best state for man, providing biblical examples to support this claim: 'Eodem sane decreto omne solitudinis genus, homine ipso indignum esse ( in illa potissimum naturæ suæ integritate) iudicauit. Quin et in corrupta iam etiam (post peccatu[m] nostrum) natura, hoc ipsum aduersus omnem solitudinem deretum denuo, Dominus ipse comprobauit: dato iam post Diluuium eodem ipso mandato de progignendo, ipsi Noah, [et] omnibus liberis ipsius, sine ulla cuiusqua[m] exceptione: quod antea Adæ [et] Hæuæ'. Ibid., sig. Ll5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>213</sup> 'Et quoniam contrahentes ipsi, coniugalem eam societatem inter sese coram Ecclesia inire uellent, ab utroq[ue] singillatim sciscitatur Minister coram tota Ecclesia, de eorum mente ( hac in parte) [et] uolantate, ad hunc modum'. Ibid., sig. Mm6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>214</sup> The text of the prayer is: 'Deus Opt[imus] Max[imus] qui uos ad coniugalem inuicem societatem uocauit, coniungat, [et] conglutinet uos inuicem in una[m] carnem per uinculum spiritus sui, in uera prepetuaq[ue] dilectione mutua, [et] timore suo ut per omnem simul uitam uestram, in uestro coniugio, admirabile mysterium illud desponsionis Christi Domini cu[m] sua Ecclesia, exprimere, uosq[ue] ipsos illius reputatione inuicem semper consolari possitis fœcundet uos insuper ac multiplicet Dominus Deus noster, ad gloriam diuini sui nominis, ad uestram ipsorum salutem, [et] ad incrementum suæ Ecclesiæ: propter eundem ipsum Dominu[m] nostrum Iesum Christum, Amen'. Ibid., sig. Nn1<sup>v</sup>.

couple.<sup>215</sup> The ceremony ended with the minister blessing the pair before the whole church.

The penultimate rite described in the *Forma ac ratio* was for visiting sick members of the church. A Lasco states that the congregations had a duty to inform ministers and elders when someone was ill or indisposed.<sup>216</sup> The clergy then should visit the ailing brother or sister, to instruct them about their sickness and to aid their recovery. As with other practices described in the ordinance, the reformer emphasises the educational purpose for these visits. He wrote that minister must warn the afflicted that God used illness as a warning and evidence of his divine justice, and that the stricken should endure it with patience and gratitude.<sup>217</sup> He further explained that because the illness had been sent as a punishment, the preacher or elder should encourage the parishoner to reconcile with anyone they had offended.<sup>218</sup> For a Lasco, these visitations were part of the clergy's divinely instituted duties to instruct the laity about the necessary means of salvation; the lessons applied to the sick member as well as the larger congregation. He wrote that ministers should name the afflicted and the cause of the suffering during the church's public prayers and, following his recovery,

<sup>215</sup> 'Postea inuitat Minister totam Ecclesiam ad publicam precationem pro recens coniunctis illis co[n]iugibus. Ipseque[ue] procumbente in genua, atque[ue] auscultante Ecclesia, precatur clara uoce, ad hunc modum'. Ibid., sig. Nn3<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>216</sup> 'Monetur subinde Ecclesia in publicis co[n]cionibus, ut si quis in morbum forte eliquem incidat, id ut uel æger ipse per suos, uel uicini ipsius, si qui sine e nostra Ecclesia, continuo indicent Ministris aut Senioribus Ecclesiæ. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. Nn4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>217</sup> 'Monetur æger, ut cogitet, morbos omnes, non equide[m] temere, casuue fortuito, sed certo Dei consilio (iuxta ineffabile[m] illius prouidentia[n]i) immitti. Et proinde no[n] dubitet, morbum quoque[ue] suum, non aliunde, quam a Domino Deo suo, sibi immi[ss]u[m] esse. Agnoscatque[ue] illum sibi (tanquam ipsius Dei manibus immissum) cum omni animi gratitudine ac tolerantia ferendum esse'. Ibid., sig. Nn5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>218</sup> 'Esse autem hæc præcipua charitatis inter eos officia: Reconciliari ijs, quos offendimus, siue domi nostræ, siue foris ignoscere omnibus, qui nos ullo etiam modo offenderunt'. Ibid., sig. Oo2<sup>f</sup>.

should present him before the assembly so that all could join in a prayer of thanks.<sup>219</sup>

The burial rite is the final ceremony discussed in the London ordinance. A Lasco describes the foreigners' practice, which eliminated many of the traditional Roman features while emphasising the instructive benefits, and explains that he had removed the theatrical elements of the papists in developing this simple ceremony for the edification of the church.<sup>220</sup> He was careful to avoid any similarity to a funeral procession, instructing that some of the brothers from the congregation should join one or two elders at the deceased's home to carry the body to the church in silence.<sup>221</sup> During the public funeral ceremony, the preacher would instruct the assembly about several key lessons concerning death. First, he should teach that burial was not instituted in the ancient church for the good of the deceased's soul, but rather for the witnesses of the funeral rite. Here, a Lasco criticised the Roman Church for the belief that the dead brother benefitted from the ceremony.<sup>222</sup> The minister was to explain that death

<sup>219</sup> 'Habentur etia[m] preces publicæ in templo per Ecclesiam pro ægrotis illius fratribus nominatim: si ullo modo de uita periclitari uideantur. Admoneturq[ue] Ecclesiæ de illis uisendis: ut eis aliquot fratres subinde adesse possint. Et apud ægrotos ipsos (ubi fratres aliquot adsunt) habentur etiam preces, ipsomet ægroto auscultante ac simul etiam precant'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. Oo2<sup>v</sup>. And, 'Quod si quis a morbo suo reualescit: id quoq[ue] ministris indicatur, habeturq[ue] publica in cœtu Ecclesiæ pro ægroto reualescentia, gratiarum actio: adiuncta precatiuncula, ne qui reualuit, dono hoc reuale scientiæ aliquo modo abutatur. Ipseq[ue] æger monetur, ut post restitutas a morbo uires, ad cœtum Ecclesiæ ipsemet ueniat: [et] suam erga Deum pro restituta ualetudine gratitudine[m] publice attestetur. Neq[ue] enim impunem esse apud Deum, omnem in gratitudinem omnino'. Ibid., sig. Oo3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>220</sup> 'In mortuorum sepultura non adhibemus fastum ullu[m] theatricum: ullumue aut Ethnicum aut Papisticum aparatu[m]: sed summa[m] quampossumus simplicitatem, cum publica interim funeris honestate retinemus, ad Ecclesiæ ædificationem'. Ibid., sig. Oo3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>221</sup> 'Ac primum ad ædes fratris demortui conueniunt fratres aliqui, [et] unus aut alter e senioribus Ecclesiæ: qui funus ad te[m]plum deferant, unaq[ue] [et] matronæ nonnullæ, quæ uiduæ funus deducenti adsint. Atq[ue] sub tempus publicæ concionis, funus, in silentio, [et] tum omni modestia ac grauitate ad templu[m] adferunt. Allatu[m] ad fouea[m] sepulturæ destinam collocant'. Ibid., sig. Oo3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>222</sup> 'Monetur Ecclesia, funera, eorumq[ue] sepulturam in Ecclesia institutam esse, no[n] tam propter mortuos ipsos, quam potius propter funerum in Ecclesia spectatores. Mortuis nanq[ue] (quod ad illos attinet) perinde esse, quocunq[ue] modo, aut loco, aut tempore, sepeliantur (nimirum sepultura, salutem mortuorum, neq[ue] iuuare, neq[ue] impedire potest) sed Ecclesiæ interest, ut funera piorum suorum fratrum cum gratiarum actione, rite ac decenter (propter spem

had begun with the original sin, and that Christ had sacrificed his life so that all others might have eternal life.<sup>223</sup> Finally, the minister was to inform the congregation that through faith in God they could enjoy the benefits of Christ's gift.<sup>224</sup> The Polish reformer notes that this last point was supported by unanimous consent in Scripture.<sup>225</sup> Following the sermon, the body was buried, the entire church would sing Psalm 103, and the minister would lead a public prayer for the deceased.<sup>226</sup> The ceremony ended with the benediction and a collection of alms.

A Lasco concludes the London ordinance by returning to his reasons for writing it. As he had done in the introduction, he offered the *Forma ac ratio* as a model for uniting the universal Church, arguing that it advanced the purity and doctrine of Christ's institution. He also explained that the work was intended to encourage affection towards the foreigners, and to justify their ministry to all.<sup>227</sup> Finally, he returned to the controversial sacramental rites, charging that French and Dutch congregations had offended some people in England because the

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resurrectionis) sepeliantur. Atque hic obiter traducitur error Papisticus, de adiuuanda mortuorum salute per funebres ipsorum nenas, oblationes, atq[ue] apparatus. Qui error cum sit in meritum mortis Christi contumeliosus in eius Ecclesia, neq[ue] ferri, neq[ue] dißimularidebet'. Ibid., sigs. Oo4<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>223</sup> 'Docetur Ecclesia, quomodo Mors, genus humanum, ad immortalitatem alioqui creatum, per parentum nostrorum peccatum inuaserit...Docetur Ecclesia, Quod etsi Mors ita iam (ut est dictum) uniuersum genus humanum propter peccatum peruaserit: natura[ue] nostra (ex nobis ipsis) aliud nihil simus, quam iræ ac mortis filij: Deum tamen nostri misertum, quemadmodu[m] nos non equidem ad mortem, sed ad uitam æternam initio creauerat, ita nos etiam a morte rursum ad uitam æternam (donato nobis in carne nostra unigenito suo filio) reuocare uoluisse'. A Lasco, *Forma a ratio*, sigs. Oo4<sup>v</sup>-Oo5<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>224</sup> 'Docetur Ecclesia, quænam sit ea fides, quam Deus in nobis requirit, ne a Christi Domini beneficijs excludamur'. Ibid., sig. Oo6<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>225</sup> 'Primam, ut certo uerbi Diuini testimonio (iuxta unanimum totius scripturæ consensum nitatur'. Ibid., sig. Oo6<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>226</sup> 'Finita concione, deponitur funus in foueam [et] demum terra tegitur ut fouea expleatur. Interea uero canitur Psalmus a tota Ecclesia 103. Benedic anima mea Domino. Quo absoluto, compleatq[ue] funeris sepultura, Minister Ecclesia[m] ad precationem publicam inuitat'. Ibid., sig. Oo8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>227</sup> 'Studium præterea ac pietatem illius in promouenda sanæ doctrinæ [et] cultus Diuini puritate: Et singularem erga peregrinos omnes propensione[m] (qui modo veræ religionis ama[n]tes essent) Ecclesiæ Christi co[m]me[n]daremus. Simulq[ue] etia[m] ministerij nostri fidem (sub tanto Dei beneficio pljs ubiq[ue] omnibus approbaremus'. Ibid., sigs. Pp2<sup>r-v</sup>.

émigrés had refused to follow other forms of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Reflecting once more one of the primary motivations for publishing this ordinance, he wrote that he hoped the document would provide a response to those criticisms.<sup>228</sup>

Although the Forma ac ratio provides a clear picture of a Lasco's vision for ecclesiastical reform, a question remains about the extent to which these practices were implemented in the Strangers' Church. In the absence of extant records for the French and Dutch communities during Edward's reign, it is difficult to assess the level at which these prescriptions were followed. However, there are some key indications that the ordinance was widely embraced by the London foreigners. The church's administration, certainly, followed a Lasco's model: a royal charter had appointed the preachers in July 1550 and, according to Micron, the remaining positions of elders and deacons had been filled by October.<sup>229</sup> The Forma ac ratio also reflects the liturgical practices in London, as demonstrated by the ordinance's agreement with the French and Dutch liturgies written in 1551 and 1552. As the next chapters will show, the foreigners continued to observe these practices when they returned to the continent after 1553, further suggesting that the ordinance accurately reflected the London rites.

Although the question of implementation is significant, the true value of the ordinance is in the insight provided into the Polish reformer's model for

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<sup>228</sup> 'Atq[ue] audimus quidem nonnullos offendi, quod in instituenda nostra Ecclesia, non equidem nobis sequendos esse existimauerimus aliarum Ecclesiarum ritus atq[ue] obseruationes'. Ibid., sig. Pp3<sup>r</sup>. And 'At uero huic istorum offensionis, [et] in libello ipso (sicubise occasio offerebat) [et] in ipsa potissimum liminari Epistola, abunde nobis respo[n]disse uidemur, ut no[n] sit opus multis id nu[n]c repetere'. Ibid., sig. Pp3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>229</sup> Martin Micron reported to Bullinger in a letter dated 13 October 1550 that four elders and four deacons had been appointed to aid the minister. OL, vol. 2, pp. 570-571.

ecclesiastical organisation and practice. Three key elements of his ecclesiology can be seen in the work. First, it demonstrates the principal influences that shaped this reformer. His ordinance is a medley of influential forces including Zwingli, Calvin, and the Lutheran territorial churches in the north German territories. Second, it shows that the didactic function of public ceremonies is a key ingredient of his ministry. In nearly every part of the ordinance, he emphasises the use of communal rites to instruct the congregation about matters of faith and appropriate behaviour, or to protect the church's doctrine from religious radicals. Finally, this work, which was based on his understanding of the ancient and apostolic churches, is presented as the key for his Erasmian objective to reunite Christ's universal Church. He urges all readers to avoid following other models and to embrace his ordinance, observing the Word of God and the apostolic order.<sup>230</sup>

### **The Forma ac ratio and Protestant ordinances**

It was noted at the beginning of this chapter that the English historian Basil Hall once described the Forma ac ratio as 'one of the lengthiest of such documents from the Reformation period' and that 'the collection of all these materials into one book was unique'.<sup>231</sup> Certainly, when examined within the context of the English Reformation as Hall had done, this claim holds true. The Book of Common Prayer bears the closest resemblance, although the foreigners'

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<sup>230</sup> 'Cu[m] hac potibimur ratione cura nobis nostræ Ecclesiæ committeretur, ut in illius ministerio, non tam equidem aliaru[m] Ecclesiarum ritus ullos, quam uerbi diuini regulam potius atque Apostolica[m] obseruationem sequeremur'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. Pp3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>231</sup> Hall, John à Lasco, p. 32.



ordinance surpasses it in scope and detail.<sup>232</sup> However, is this still noteworthy when the Forma ac ratio is compared to other European ordinances, especially those produced in the German cities and territories where a Lasco's work was eventually published? While this text has some unique features, it also has much in common with the continental works. This final section will explore this comparison, and seek to situate a Lasco's work among other German orders in order to understand this reformer's unique contributions to ecclesiastical organisation in the sixteenth century.

The Forma ac ratio resembles the German ordinances discussed in the previous chapter in both form and scope. All of these orders grew out of a legal tradition, establishing official religious policy for communities, and a Lasco's work was no exception. The Polish reformer emphasised that the English king had officially sanctioned the Strangers' Church and had granted them the liberty to follow their own rites and practices, which then he recorded in the ordinance.<sup>233</sup> He even included a copy of the royal letter of privilege in the final published version, to reinforce the monarch's support.

Besides the legal format, his ordinance was similar to German works in its scope. A comparison of topics covered in these documents highlights this commonality. Bugenhagen's 1529 Hamburg ordinance contained provisions for church administration, the order of worship services, education, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, excommunication, visiting the sick, a community chest for poor

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<sup>232</sup> The English prayer book contained descriptions of the ceremonies, but was not as comprehensive as a Lasco's work and did not include provisions for administration and discipline.

<sup>233</sup> 'Deniq[ue] cum [et] a Rege ipso, [et] a præcipuis ipsius Proceribus subinde moneremur, ut permissa nobis tanta libertate in nostro ministerio, recte, [et] fideliter, non in hominum gratiam ullam, sed ad Dei solius gloriam (per cultus ipsius repurgatione[m]) uteremur'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. Pp3<sup>v</sup>.

relief, and the peaceful removal of images.<sup>234</sup> A similar work for East Frisia, written in 1535 and inherited by the Polish reformer when he became superintendent of the territory seven years later, instructed the church on matters related to administration, parish visitations, Holy Days, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, visiting the sick, care of the poor, marriage, burial of the dead, and the annual synod of ministers.<sup>235</sup> A Lasco addresses many of these same topics in the London ordinance, adding to them such things as discipline and public prayers to ward off calamity. His text also closely resembles the format of the East Frisian order, in regards to liturgical prescriptions. Both texts include the specific wording of prayers to be spoken during ceremonies. Thus, in form and scope, the Forma ac ratio shares legal foundations and subject matter with other works produced for the German towns and territories.

Where a Lasco's ordinance distinguishes itself from other orders is in its remarkably comprehensive treatment of the content. To some extent, this reflects changes in the very nature of such works during the middle part of the century. The Forma ac ratio marks a pivotal point in the development of ecclesiastical ordinances during the period. Orders increased in size and scope in the second half of the sixteenth century, and a Lasco's text was among the earliest attempts to provide a comprehensive model for reform. The following chart (Figure 3.4) returns to the previous chapter's comparison of the ordinances' content. The Forma ac ratio has been added, and the key position of a Lasco's work is now clear. The London ordinance appeared in the same year as the Peace of

<sup>234</sup> See John Bugenhagen, 'Kirchenordnung für Hamburg von 1529', in Sehling, vol. 5, pp. 488-540. The order that these topics were addressed has been changed to emphasise the similarity in topics. It should be noted that the three ordinances differed in the way they arranged these topics within the text.

<sup>235</sup> 'Karckenordenynge vor dem pastoren unde kerckendenern. Wo men doepen schal. Van dem aventmall des Heren und andern kerckengebruyken', in Sehling, vol. 7, pp. 373-393.

Augsburg and marks a crucial shift toward more comprehensive models for reform, which was to characterise ordinances during the second half of the sixteenth century. The works that came before this watershed year tend to be smaller and address fewer subjects. In contrast, most ordinances written after 1555 provide more comprehensive and detailed instructions for churches.

In addition to its exhaustive scope, the Forma ac ratio is distinguished by the frequent use of polemics throughout the work to defend the foreigners' administration and ceremonies. The employment of disputatious attack was not uncommon in ordinances when a Lasco's work appeared in 1555, however. John Bugenhagen, for example, had employed such tactics in his 1531 Lübeck order, criticising the Roman Church's use of chrism to anoint infants. He argued, instead, that only water should be used, in accordance with Scripture.<sup>236</sup> Likewise, the 1535 East Frisian ordinance contained polemical arguments; the authors attacked sacramentarians and ordered that no one should preach the false opinions of Karlstadt, Zwingli or Oecolampadius concerning the Sacraments.<sup>237</sup> A Lasco's London ordinance differed from these earlier works in the sheer volume of polemic, with such arguments being employed throughout the text. Here again, the Forma ac ratio marks a key point in the development of such

<sup>236</sup> 'Idt is wunder, dat ock de papen in den dömen, dar neine kinder gedöpet werden, ein becken nemen und santelen ock up de sülvige tidt dat water, na aller sülker wise...Des geliken bedarve wi ock ehres kresemes nicht, welken Christus en nicht bevalen heft, dem se ock mit prechtigen worden unde schriften ane gades wort und bevel avergelagen hebben, dat dar dorch de gnade des hilligen geistes werde gegeven, und theen up sülke ehre utwendige smeringe, allent wat van der unsichtlicken geistlicken salvinge geschreven is'. John Bugenhagen, 'Der keiserliken Stadt Lübeck christlike Ordeninge tho denste dem hilgen Evangelio', in Sehling, vol. 5, pp. 354-355.

<sup>237</sup> 'Wi dopen överst düdesch bi unsen düdeschen, also wi ock düdesch predigen, gelick also de apostele unde ersten christen bi allerleie tungen gedan hebben'. 'Kirchenordnung für Hamburg von 1529', in Sehling, vol. 5, p. 491. And 'Willen derhalven, dat niemant in unsen landen mehr predige de ungewisse opiniones des Carolstadt, Zwinglii, Oecolampadii und oerer anhenger, van sacramente der döpe und ock des aventmals Christi, sunder dat men darvan slicht lere undisputeerlick na luedt der eynfoldigen woerden Christi und der godtlicken schriften'. 'Karckenordenynge vor dem pastoren unde kerckendenern', in Sehling, vol. 7, p. 376.

Figure 3.4 – Chart comparing the content of the *Forma ac ratio* with other Protestant ordinances

	Offices & duties	Spiritual Authority	Statement of faith	Sacraments	Preaching & worship services	Holy days	Excommunication	Discipline	Community chest	Poor/sick relief	Education	Marriage	Burial	Visitations
Stralsund 1525	■								■		■			
Prussia 1525				■	■			■				■	■	■
Hadeln 1526	■		■	■			■		■		■		■	
Brandenburg-Nuremberg 1528	■			■	■					■				
Hamburg 1529	■	■	■	■	■		■		■	■	■			
Lübeck 1531	■			■	■	■	■		■	■	■			
Hesse 1532				■	■	■				■		■		
Braunschweig-Lüneburg 1532	■							■						
Brandenburg-Nuremberg 1533	■	■	■	■	■					■	■		■	
Strasbourg 1534	■	■		■										
East Frisia 1535	■			■		■		■		■			■	
Nordheim 1539				■	■	■		■			■		■	
Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel 1543	■			■	■		■			■	■	■	■	
Pfalz-Neuburg 1543			■	■	■					■		■	■	
Cologne 1545	■	■		■	■	■	■	■		■		■	■	
Kurpfalz 1547				■	■					■				
London 1555 ( <i>Forma ac ratio</i> )	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	
Hamburg 1556	■	■		■	■	■		■		■	■	■		■
Württemberg 1559	■	■	■	■	■		■	■			■			■
Hildesheim 1561	■		■	■					■					
Oldenburg/Jever 1562	■	■	■	■			■			■	■	■	■	■
Kurpfalz 1563		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	
Hesse 1566	■	■	■	■	■	■			■	■		■		
Prussia 1568			■		■	■	■			■	■	■	■	
Pommerania 1569	■	■	■	■	■			■	■	■	■			■
Hall 1573	■	■	■	■	■					■	■	■	■	
Jever 1573	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Württemberg 1578		■	■	■	■	■		■		■	■	■	■	
Saxony 1580	■	■	■	■	■		■	■		■	■	■	■	■
Hoya 1581	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■	■	■
Henneberg 1582	■	■	■	■	■	■				■	■	■	■	■

works. Polemical arguments became increasingly common in ecclesiastical orders during the second half of the sixteenth century. This change can be attributed to the confessional struggle, which intensified following the 1555 Peace of Augsburg, and to the expanded audiences for these works. Ordinances like the *Forma ac ratio* became important instruments for articulating and defending a particular reform model beyond the borders of the community for whom they were written. Polemics were employed to defend these works from critics among their larger European audiences. The Polish reformer uses such attacks in his London ordinance simultaneously to criticise the church's adversaries and to promote the foreigners' doctrine and ceremonies. As might be expected, he includes polemical arguments in his discussion of the controversial sacramental rites for the Lord's Supper and Baptism. For example, he explicitly instructs that ministers should defend the practice of infant Baptism during the ceremony, openly criticising the Anabaptists.<sup>238</sup> During the Lord's Supper, he insists, preachers should teach the congregation that the papal understanding of transubstantiation was incorrect and contradicted the words of Paul.<sup>239</sup> In addition, a Lasco employed such tactics in less controversial places, including sermons, public prayers, and the ceremony for burial. In the sermon to accompany marriage, for example, the reformer ordered ministers to explain that the Roman Church's support for celibacy contradicted Scripture, which had more passages that praised marriage.<sup>240</sup> The increased presence of polemical

<sup>238</sup> 'Ad quam cum infantes nostrij quoq[ue] indubitato pertineant, testimonio institutæ olim a Deo circumcisionis, [et] manifestæ ælioqui promissionis...non fideliter ministerio nostro fungeremus, si a signo aceptionis nostræ infantes nostros arceremus'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. L8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>239</sup> 'Docetur ergo Ecclesia, nobis per eleme[n]tum panis in Cœna Dominicæ vsu designari, no[n] equidem substantiam ipsam naturalis Christi corporis, sublata panis substantia: sed cœtum ipsum Ecclesiæ potius, qui ad Cœnæ participationem conuenit...Re felliturq[ue] prorsus hisce Pauli verbis tota doctrina Papisticæ transubstantiationis'. *Ibid.*, sig. V5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>240</sup> See footnote 212 above.

arguments in the London ordinance reflects not only the reformer's purpose to defend the foreigners from critics in England, but also his awareness of a potentially larger readership.

The expanded European audience is a third characteristic that set the Forma ac ratio apart from most of its predecessors. As has been shown, ecclesiastical and temporal leaders wrote these works to instruct their churches on matters of belief and practice, and to establish official religious policy for towns and territories. The Polish reformer wrote his London ordinance with these same goals in mind. However, he also had larger aspirations for the work, hoping to defend the practices against the foreigners' critics and to provide a model for other congregations to follow. It was these latter motivations that prompted him to publish the work following the dissolution of the Strangers' Church. First, he writes, he wanted to provide an order that would advance Christ's pure doctrine and unite the universal Church, reflecting Cranmer's initial motives to create a model for reform through the foreign congregations. The Polish reformer also intended to produce a clear statement of his ministry, composed in Latin for this larger audience. Finally, he hoped to defend the London practices against attacks from their critics, who were not isolated to England.<sup>241</sup>

The ordinance's role as a model for Protestant congregations likewise signaled the changing nature of such works during the 1550s. Attempts to provide blueprints for churches increased during the second half of the century,

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<sup>241</sup> A Lasco referred to these three motivations: 'Studium præterea ac pietatem illius in promouenda sanæ doctrinæ [et] cultus Diuini puritate: Et singularem erga peregrinos omnes propensione[m] (qui modo ueræ religionis ama[n]tes essens) Ecclesiæ Christi co[m]e[n]daremus. Simulq[ue] etia[m] ministerij nostri fidem (sub tanto Dei beneficio) pljsubiq[ue] omnibus approbaremus'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sigs. Pp2<sup>r-v</sup>.

as authors sought to promote their particular vision of confessional reform. The frequency of these exhaustive models increased in the second half of the century, in response to the growing confessional rift. One of the earliest examples of such works was the 1543 Cologne ordinance. To promote his model of reform, the archbishop Hermann von Wied commissioned the German work to be translated into Latin and hired Albert Hardenberg to travel around Europe defending the work.<sup>242</sup> A Lasco's London ordinance is among the early examples of this type of document, which sought to promote and defend his blueprint for ecclesiastical reform.

The most significant characteristic that distinguishes the Forma ac ratio is the way the Polish reformer brought together the German, Swiss and Genevan traditions in his London church. This is especially noteworthy because he achieved this harmonious synthesis during a period characterised by disagreement and strife among the Protestant camps. His unique combination can be seen in the foreigners' polity, in which he brought together the north-German Lutheran episcopacy with the Genevan congregational model. The administration was based on his experiences in East Frisia, where, as superintendent of the Lutheran territorial church, he had experimented by introducing some Reformed innovations into the congregations. This resulted in his unique mixture of traditions. Diarmaid MacCulloch described the reformer's East Frisian religious policy as a sort of 'third way', which allowed the region's countess to 'avoid alignment with either Lutherans or Catholics' in the territory.<sup>243</sup> A Lasco continued this *via media* approach in London; it must have

<sup>242</sup> Janse, Albert Hardenberg, pp. 16-19.

<sup>243</sup> MacCulloch, Reformation, pp. 253-254.

appealed to many of his English hosts, who also had retained the traditional form of episcopacy in their churches.

This uncommon mixture of traditions is noteworthy given the Sacramentarian controversy that erupted between the foreigners and Lutheran preachers in Germany. The dispute focused on the French and Dutch congregations' eucharistic rite. As mentioned above, the Hamburg preacher Joachim Westphal wrote his Farrago Confusaneorum in 1552, in which he attacked the 'sacramentarian' symbolic understanding of the rite. A Lasco was among the ecclesiastical authorities that he singled out for criticism. The following year, the Hamburg preacher published his Recta Fides, reaffirming the Lutheran doctrine of transubstantiation.<sup>244</sup> The Polish reformer wrote to his friend Albert Hardenberg, reporting Westphal's attacks on the exiles' Eucharistic ceremony and urging that someone should respond to these charges.<sup>245</sup> In the following months, a Lasco sent letters to both Calvin and Bullinger, encouraging them to defend Reformed doctrine.<sup>246</sup> In 1555, the Genevan reformer published the Defensio sanae et orthodoxae doctrinae de Sacramentis in response to Westphal's challenge. Likewise, the Polish reformer attacked the Lutheran notion of transubstantiation and defended the foreigners' Eucharistic doctrine in the introduction to his Forma ac ratio, published later that same year.

Through this dispute, church leaders accentuated the differences between the confessional groups, rather than their similarities. The Polish reformer, for

<sup>244</sup> Pettegree, 'The London Exile Community and the Second Sacramentarian Controversy, 1553-1560', Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 78 (1987), pp. 223-251. This article is reprinted in Marian Protestantism, pp. 55-85. Also, see above pp. 77-81.

<sup>245</sup> 'Hamburgi pastor quidam Ioachimus Westphalus in nos omnes in genere scripsit libellum mendacis et maledictis refertum, in quo interim nihil habetur, quod non ab aliis dictum sit prius et quidem felicius etiam. Eum vobis quoque mitto, si forte vestrum aliquis istic ei respondere velit, nam mihi nunc re vera non vacat'. LO, vol. 2, p. 698.

<sup>246</sup> Pettegree, 'The London Exile Community', pp. 62-63.



example, criticised the 1520 Marburg conclusions, articulating the Lutheran understanding of the Lord's Supper, and defended the Swiss symbolic interpretation of the ceremony.<sup>247</sup> However, his prescriptions for ecclesiastical polity mark a synthesis with the German churches within the Forma ac ratio. It is significant that a Lasco was able to draw on both of these traditions in his ordinance during a time of heightened confessional conflict. The key to understanding how he accomplished this is found in his notion of Christ's true Church, and in the importance he assigned to the Bible in shaping ecclesiastical practices. The London ordinance, he argued, presented a model of the apostolic and ancient churches and eliminated those elements inconsistent with Scripture. For example, he rejected the Lutheran notion of transubstantiation and attacked the English practice of kneeling during communion because these practices lacked biblical foundations. Instead he instituted a Lord's Supper that emphasised the symbolic nature of the rite, and borrowed a system of ecclesiastical discipline from Bucer and Calvin, because they had foundations in Christ's Church and could be found in Scripture. He employed this same reasoning to defend his ecclesiastical administration, writing, 'we maintain only those parts of the ministry, those we know to be ordained by Christ, in order to strengthen the building of the church on the foundation given, and to guard and conserve it'.<sup>248</sup> His ordinance, which combined both German and non-German elements presented, in his view, the closest approximation to Christ's true Church.

<sup>247</sup> 'Hæc sanè est Martburgensis co[n]uentio sub illud ipsum te[m]pus ædita in qua ostendi aliq[ui]d uellemus: quo doctrinam nostra[m] pudefacta[m] esse Catones nostri iactant'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. γ6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>248</sup> 'sed eas duntaxat ministerij partes obseruemus, quas ad superstruendum (posito iam fundamento) ædificiu[m] Ecclesiæ, eiusq[ue] custodia[m] ac co[n]seruatione[m] à Domino co[n]stitutitas esse scimus'. Ibid., B4<sup>v</sup>.

There is no doubt that a Lasco's London ordinance was one of the most significant Protestant orders to appear during the sixteenth century. When it was published in 1555, the Forma ac ratio provided one of the most complete models for congregations, and the text itself marks a pivotal phase in the development of such works. A Lasco's order was among the earliest to provide a comprehensive blueprint for ecclesiastical administration and ceremonies, and to incorporate extensive polemical arguments in its defense. We have seen that the reformer also introduced some uncommon elements into the French and Dutch congregations, including a high level of lay participation in elections, seated communion, and the congregation's authority in discipline and excommunication. What remains unanswered, however, is the question of the ordinance's impact on audiences beyond the Strangers' Church. The following chapters explore this subject further, examining the reformer's influence as the Forma ac ratio brought his London model to Europe.

*Chapter Four*

**A Lasco's Forma ac ratio and refugee churches in Emden,  
Frankfurt and Geneva**

King Edward's death, on 6 July 1553, marked the end to official support for the foreign congregations in London and the beginning of a Protestant crisis in England. His Catholic half-sister Mary succeeded him to the throne and began restoring the traditional Roman Church in the realm. Protestants wishing to maintain their faith were forced into hiding or to seek refuge on the Continent and many foreigners decided to leave England during the early months of the new queen's reign. This exodus played a crucial role in disseminating a Lasco's ecclesiastical order in Europe. The London exiles returned to the Continent, where they reestablished themselves following the Strangers' Church model. These French and Dutch refugees became the key conduit through which the London ordinance was transmitted successfully beyond England's capital city.

The foreigners' search for a new home began soon after Mary's ascension, with the first exiles leaving England six weeks after her arrival in London. On 17 September 1553, two ships sailed from Gravesend carrying 165 former members of the Strangers' Church and a small group of their English supporters.<sup>1</sup> A Lasco and Micron were among the passengers travelling to

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<sup>1</sup> Jan Utenhove recounts the foreigners' departure from England in *Simplex et fidelis narratio de institvta ac demvm dissipata Belgaru, aliorumque peregrinorum in Anglia, Ecclesia: et potissimum de susceptis postea illius nomine itineribus, per Ioannem Vtenhouium* (Basel, 1560). A modern Latin edition of this work is printed in S. Cramer and F. Pijper (eds.), *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica. Geschriften uit den Tijd der Jervorming in de Nederlanden* ('s-Gravenhage, 1912), pp. 29-186. Subsequent references to Utenhove's work are drawn from this text. Frederick A. Norwood describes the journey to Denmark in 'The London Dutch Refugees in Search of a Home, 1553-1554', *The American Historical Review* 58, no. 1 (1952), pp. 64-72. Additional accounts are found in Bartel, *Jan Łaski*, pp. 162-166; Christina Hallowell Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 1-59; and Pettegree, 'The London Exile Community', pp. 225-231.

Denmark, where they hoped to rebuild their church.<sup>2</sup> They arrived the following month and petitioned Christian III for permission to remain in the kingdom. Local Lutheran clerics objected to the foreigners' Reformed rites, especially the eucharistic ceremony denying Christ's real presence. The Polish reformer requested a disputation to defend their practice but this was declined. The king rejected their petition and, on 17 November 1553, he ordered them to leave his territories.<sup>3</sup> The refugees split into several smaller groups as they left Denmark, travelling to various locations including Rostock, Wismar, Lübeck and Hamburg. In each case, they experienced similar difficulties with Lutheran ministers. A Lasco and the Dutch elder Jan Utenhove continued on to Bremen before settling in Emden on 4 December 1553. The following spring, Micron led a second group of refugees to the East Frisian capital.<sup>4</sup> Other foreigners travelled directly from London in 1554, joining the growing foreign community in this town.<sup>5</sup> Civic and territorial officials welcomed these Marian exiles and permission was granted to reestablish their churches in the territory.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Utenhove, 'Simplex et fidelis narratio', pp. 39-40.

<sup>3</sup> Utenhove reported: 'Postera igitur die, nempe decimaseptima Nouembris à Rege tres ad nos ueniunt uiri eius nomine renunciantes, nullum de Religionis negotio colloquium ab eo permissum iri: et absque mora ulla nobis è Regno ipsius discedendum esse, nisi si et doctrinae et receptis Regni ipsius Ecclesiasticis ritibus omnibus, nos ipsi accommodaremus'. 'Simplex et fidelis narratio', p. 75. The letter sent by A Lasco, Micron and Utenhove to King Christian III requesting a disputation to defend their rite was dated 10 November 1553, and is reprinted in *LO*, vol. 2, pp. 680-684. See also Norwood, 'The London Dutch Refugees', pp. 66-68.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning their arrival in Emden, Utenhove explained 'Ioannem à Lasco (cui Rex Daniae famulum quendam suum in profectionem nostram adiunxerat) ac me, Embdam rectà profecturos'. And, 'decimanona itaque Nouembris die, relicta Coldinga, in Germaniam per Holsatiam proficiscimur. Atque medio fortè itinere à nobis diuulsus Micronius, Hamburgum, Lubecam, ac demum Vuismariam petit: eo, quod, iam dixi, consilio. Nos porrò Quarta Decembris die Embdam, portum Orientalis Frisiae celeberrimum, salui diuina gratia peruenimus'. 'Simplex et fidelis narratio', pp. 76-77.

<sup>5</sup> Utenhove, 'Simplex et fidelis narratio', pp. 148-149; and Norwood, 'The London Dutch Refugees', p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> 'Post arduam hanc nostram peregrinationem, Dominus Deus, qui olim ueruo suo Prophetæ Ecclesiae hospitium et cibum apud uiduam Sareptanam prouidit: idem pro sua clementia, nostris apud illustrem Principem ac uiduam Annam ab Oldenburg Frisiae orientalis comitem sedes dedit: atque ipsi Pastores Embdani, ac ciues, omnibus humanitatis officijs nostros sunt 'prosequuti'. Utenhove, 'Simplex et fidelis', p. 148. On 12 December 1553, shortly after arriving in the territory, a Lasco wrote to Albert Hardenberg that he expected the countess Anna von

East Frisia was not the only location sought out by the London émigrés. Between 1553 and 1555, they established congregations in several towns including Wesel, Frankfurt, Zurich and Geneva. Although it is certain that many returned to the Continent during Mary's reign, the lack of records makes it difficult to determine their exact numbers. Only 165 of the estimated 5,000 foreigners in London were on the first ships to leave in September 1553.<sup>7</sup> The remaining French and Dutch Protestants had to make their own way to the Continent, making it difficult to ascertain how many joined the exile movement. The situation is clearer for English exiles; the historian Christina Hallowell Garrett identified 472 English participants in her exhaustive census of the Marian exiles.<sup>8</sup> Her estimate does not include spouses, children and household staff so it is likely that the actual number is much greater. These figures suggest that the majority of Protestants remained in England. However, it is not the tally of emigrants that is significant for this study, but rather their activities upon reaching the Continent. This chapter examines the congregations established by the Marian exiles in Emden, Frankfurt and Geneva in order to understand the legacy of a Lasco's London ordinance and their role in spreading his reform message. These groups of French, Dutch and English refugees played a key role

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Oldenburg would grant refuge to the exiles: 'Tantum hoc indicare volui, si forte nos exspectatio falleret, mihi Principis nomine promissam esse omnem benevolentiam, neque mihi tantum, sed omnibus etiam ex meis dissipatis ecclesiis'. *LO*, vol. 2, p. 694. Two weeks later, a Lasco told Hardenberg that the Emden magistrate, Christopher Eusumanus, was aiding his attempts to establish a refugee church: 'Pro nulla Ecclesia ita sunt solliciti Nobiles fere omnes, ut eorum studium ac benevolentiam, denique et munificentiam satis praedicare non possim. Dominus Christophorus Eusumanus veri fratris officia praestare non cessat, cuius ego pietate ita delector, ut meae me inertiae prorsus amantissime referunt, sed et re ipsa nostros ita iuvant, ut nobis omnes in communem quandam patriam venisse videamur'. *Ibid.*, p. 695. See also Norwood, 'The London Dutch Refugees', pp. 68-71.

<sup>7</sup> This population estimate comes from Andrew Pettegree's work on the London community, in which he judged that 5,000 to 6,000 foreigners were living in London at the end of Henry VIII's reign. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, pp. 66-349.

in transmitting his reform model through the churches they reestablished outside of England in the second half of the sixteenth century.

### **Emden**

The East Frisian capital provided a likely refuge for the London exiles because of a Lasco's previous experiences in the territory. He had served as superintendent there from 1542 until 1548. Although he was forced to leave following the Augsburg Interim, the political situation had changed making possible his return to the territory. In 1552, Maurice von Saxony and the French king Henry II had defeated the emperor's forces at Innsbruck and the ensuing Peace of Passau recognised the German princes' right to choose the religion for their lands. When the Polish reformer returned to Emden in December 1553, he found support among both ecclesiastical and civic leaders for his beleaguered congregations. Within a few days following his arrival, he reported to Albert Hardenberg that he expected the countess, Anna von Oldenburg, to grant his request to reestablish their exile churches. Two weeks later he again wrote to his friend that the Emden magistrate, Christopher Eusumanus, was aiding their cause.<sup>9</sup> Their efforts were rewarded and within a short time the countess gave permission to the refugees to rebuild their congregations in the territory.<sup>10</sup>

The London émigrés set about reconstructing their churches. On account of the close similarity between Brabant and the East Frisian dialect, the Dutch newcomers assimilated into the existing territorial church. However, a separate

<sup>9</sup> See footnote no. 6 above.

<sup>10</sup> 'Post arduam hanc nostram peregrinationem, Dominus Deus, qui olim veruo suo Prophetæ Ecclesiae hospitium et cibum apud viduam Sareptanam prouidit: idem pro sua clementia, nostris apud illustrem Principem ac uiduam Annam ab Oldenburg Frisiae orientalis comitem sedes dedit: atque ipsi Pastores Embdani, ac ciues, omnibus humanitatis officijs nostros sunt prosequuti'. Utenhove, 'Simplex et fidelis narratio', p. 148.

diaconate was created for the new arrivals, with deacons chosen from among the refugees.<sup>11</sup> Bartholomeaus Huysmannus, Jacob Michaelis, and John Riverius were among the London exiles who served as deacons to this Dutch community.<sup>12</sup> Separate churches were created for the remaining foreigners. A Lasco helped to establish a French congregation during the first few months, which was led by the minister Peter du Val.<sup>13</sup> The English newcomers began holding services in a private house during this same period, led by their ministers John Scory and Thomas Young.<sup>14</sup>

Although the former London superintendent held no official position in the East Frisian church following his return in 1553, he provided crucial support and guidance to the refugees. The superintendent's office had remained unfilled since a Lasco's departure in 1548, and would stay vacant throughout the remainder of the century. Instead of resuming his former position, the Polish reformer focused on other activities to aid the foreigners. He requested permission for the newcomers to remain in the territory and helped rebuild their churches. He also turned his attention towards writing works to aid and defend

<sup>11</sup> Bartel, *Jan Łaski*, p. 165; and Norwood, 'The London Dutch Refugees', p. 72.

<sup>12</sup> Utenhove reports that the Dutch exiles had been incorporated into the existing territorial church while maintaining their own diaconate. 'Simplex et fidelis narratio', p. 83. Huysmannus, Michaelis, and Riverius were all included among the partial list of those who had sailed to Denmark with a Lasco and Micron on 17 September 1553. This list is printed in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria*, pp. 89-90. The existing Emden *Kirchenrat* minutes names each of these men as deacons for the Dutch refugees: Huysmannus was noted as a deacon in the minutes dated 16 July 1557; Michaelis was identified as deacon in an entry from 9 August 1557; and Riverius appeared as a deacon in the minutes from 4 October 1557. Heinz Schilling (ed.), *Die Kirchenratsprotokolle der Reformierten Gemeinde Emden 1557-1620*, vol. 1 (Cologne, 1989), pp. 1-10.

<sup>13</sup> In Ubbo Emmius's biography of Menso Alting, written around 1614, the author wrote that a Lasco had helped to establish the French church. Emmius, *Menonis Altingii pastoris Emdani fidelissimi et in coetu ecclesiastico ibidem praesidis perpetui vita | descripta per Ubbonem Emmium* (1728). A German translation is published in Emmius, *Menso Altings Leben*, (trans.) Erich von Reeken (Emden, 1982), p. 26. See also Bartel, *Jan Łaski*, p. 165. It is likely that the French church had been established before July 1554, since a Lasco, Utenhove, and Peter du Val sent a letter to the church in Wesel on 6 July 1554, in which du Val identified himself as the minister of Emden's French congregation. *LO*, vol. 2, pp. 703-707.

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of the English congregation in Emden see Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, pp. 10-38. A list of the English and Scottish men who enrolled as citizens in Emden between 1554 and 1558 is published on pp. 170-171. See also Bartel, *Jan Łaski*, p. 165.

these congregations. In the year following his arrival, the presses in Emden published a Lasco's small Emden catechism, a German translation of the London confession, and a Latin defense of the strangers' Eucharistic rite.<sup>15</sup> He began printing his Forma ac ratio during this same period. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the reformer moved to Frankfurt before the ordinance was finished, and an unknown printer in this new location completed the work.<sup>16</sup>

Though surviving records from these foreign churches are scarce, there is key evidence suggesting the Forma ac ratio's influence on them. The Ctematius and Hill press produced a French version of the ordinance in 1556 for use in the French congregation. The unknown translator of the Toute la forme [et] maniere du Ministere Ecclesiastique replaced a Lasco's dedicatory letter and introduction with a new preface, in which he recounts the history of the Strangers' Church and promotes the text as a recording of their administration and rites.<sup>17</sup> He also noted that there were two reasons for producing the translation: to instruct their congregation about doctrine and ceremonies, and to defend their practices

<sup>15</sup> Catechismus effte kinderlehre, tho nütte der Jöget in Ostfriesslandt dorch de Deners des hilligen Godlicken Wordes tho Embden. Uppet korteste vorvatet (Emden, 1554); Een corte ende cla | re beke[n]tenisse Joannis a Lasco, van | de Ghemeinschap, die wy met Chri | sto den Heere hebben: Ende ooc | insgelycx, van de wyse. op de | welcke, d'Lichaem Chri | sti, in d'Nachmael | ons aengebroucht (Emden, 1554); and CONFESSIO | Ioannis a Lasco, de | nostra cum Christo Domino com | munione, [et] corporis sui item | in Cœna sua exhibitio | ne ad Ministros Ecclesia | rum Frisiæ Orien | talis (Emden, 1554).

<sup>16</sup> Rodgers, Lasco in England, p. 110; and Bartel, Jan Łaski, p. 171. There is some confusion regarding the date a Lasco arrived in Frankfurt. Rodgers indicated that a Lasco had arrived in April 1555, while Bartel placed his arrival the following month. The Polish reformer had travelled to Cologne on his way to Hesse, where he sent a letter to Albert Hardenberg reporting on his activities. The letter bears the date of May 1555, indicating that he could not have arrived in April, but could have been there in May or early June, which supports Bartel's assertion. His first letter from Frankfurt was written to Bullinger and Bibliander, and was dated 8 June 1555. *LQ*, vol. 2, pp. 708-713.

<sup>17</sup> A Lasco, Toute la forme [et] | maniere du Ministere Ecclesiastique, | en l'Eglise des estra[n]gers, dressee a Lon- | dres en Angleterre, par le Prince tres fi- | dele dudit pays, le Roy Edouard. VI. | De ce nom: L'an apres l'incarna- | tion de Christ. 1550. avec | le priuilege de sa Ma- | ieste a la fin du | liure. | Par M. Iean a Lasco. Baron | de Pologne. | Traduit de Latin en Francois, | [et] imprimé par Giles | Ctematius (Emden, 1556), STC 16574. This work is discussed briefly in Philippe Denis, Les Églises d'Étrangers en Pays Rhénans (1538-1564), (Paris, 1984), p. 183; and Pettegree, Marian Protestantism, p. 64.



against detractors.<sup>18</sup> A close analysis of the text reveals that there is little difference between the Latin original and the French edition. Besides the new preface, a small number of minor changes were made to clarify the text or make it more relevant to its specific audience. For example, a Lasco had instructed in the Forma ac ratio that mystical clothes, magical bells and candles had been eliminated from the foreigners' eucharistic rite. The French text repeated the London ordinance's ceremony, but added torches, copes, chasubles and the surplice to the list of omitted elements. These amendments had not changed the meaning of the text, but rather clarified the Polish reformer's more general terminology, especially concerning the mystical clothing. (See Figure 4.1.) Other changes reflect the specific French audience for the work. A Lasco's chapter on ecclesiastical discipline, for example, had been titled 'concerning the special use of Church discipline chiefly among the ministers of the German Church in London'. This was modified in the new edition, removing specific reference to the Dutch congregation: 'Concerning the special use of the Church discipline, among the ministers'.<sup>19</sup> Likewise, the Polish reformer's discussion of 'those Germans, who are not adjoined to our church spreading false doctrine: or nourishing some sects in the Church' was changed to 'those who are not

<sup>18</sup> 'Or pourtant que premierement il a esté mis en latin, il semble qu'il sera bon de rendre raison de la translation d'yceluy en nostre langue Françoise: combien que l'utilité [et] le fruict qu'on en pourra cueillir, monstrera que nous ne l'auons traduit temerairement [et] sans cause. Si est ce que pour le dire tout en vn mot, dilection, compassion, [et] zele contre les aduersaires: pour fortifier les premiers, adresser les autres, [et] refuter les tiers. Aussi charité est de telle forte, que donnant ayde a tous, elle ne nuyt a personne, faisant tout a edification. Comme ainsy soit donc que les fideles, tandis qu'ilz vivent en ce monde, auent besoing d'estre admonnestez, co[n]solez, et instruis, leur eust on caché [et] celè vne chose de laquelle ilz sont possesseurs, [et] qui leur appartient comme leur propre heritage? Vne chose, dis ie, si pleine de co[n]solatio[n], d'exhortation, [et] sainte instruction, sans ce qu'ycy leur sera monstré, comme en vne viue peinture, la forme de l'Eglise, don't ilz sont membres: laquelle co[m]me ell[e] est prochaine de la primitiue Eglise [et] Apostolique, aussy est elle eslo[n]gnée de toutes sectes, heresies, [et] synagogue de Sathan'. A Lasco, Toute la forme, sigs. B2<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> 'De peculiari disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ vsu inter Germanicæ potissimum Ecclesiæ Ministros, Londini'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. Ff2<sup>r</sup>. 'De l'usage particulier de la discipline Ecclesiastique, entre les Ministres'. A Lasco, Toute la forme, sig. Hh5<sup>r</sup>.

Figure 4.1 – Comparison of Lord's Supper in the London ordinance's Latin and French editions

Forma ac Ratio (1555)	Toute la forme (1556)
<p><b>Latin:</b>            Vestes dubiu[m] mysticas ne magis, an vero Magicas (vt in Papismo quidem habe[n]tur) cereos item ac nolas Cœnæ Dominicæ non adhibemus. Neq[ue] hic multis nobis opus esse putamus, ad approbandam consilij nostrij ratione[m]. Non dubitamus enim satis constare pijs omnibus, hæc nihil facere ad Christi institutionem: facere aute[m] non parum ad alenda[m] in multis adhuc superstitione[m]: qua[m] tollj omnino præstaret si id vlllo modo fieri posset.<sup>20</sup></p> <p><b>English translation:</b>            We do not use the dangerous mystical clothing any more in the Lord's Supper, or indeed the magical bells or the candles (as they certainly retain in the papacy). And we don't think that they are beneficial here for most of us towards approving, confirming, endorsing, or justifying this account of our plan. Indeed, we certainly do not hesitate to set forth for all pious men, that they add nothing to Christ's institution. Moreover, they have contributed to nourishing superstition nonetheless in many men until now. It is better to remove them entirely if it can be done in any way.</p>	<p><b>French:</b>            No[us] n'applicuo[n]s point a la Cene du Seigneur, les vesteme[n]ts mystiques, ou plustost magiques, co[m]me ilz les ont au Papisme, ne les cierges, torches, chappes, chasubles, ou surplis. Et n'est ia besoing de beaucoup dire, pour approuer nostre co[n]seil. Car no[us] ne doubto[n]s poi[n]t, q[ue] to[us] ge[n]s de bie[n], saue[n]t q[ue] celles choses ne serue[n]t rie[n] a l'institutio[n] de Christ, ains seuleme[n]t a nourriren plusieurs, la superstition, laquelle il vaudroit mieux oster, s'il se pouuoit aucunement faire.<sup>21</sup></p> <p><b>English translation:</b>            We don't use the mystical clothing or other magic at all in the Lord's Supper, as they retain them in the papacy: neither the candles, torches, copes, chasuble, nor surplice. And they do not say much here towards approving our plan. Indeed, we have no doubt that all good men know that these things do not serve anything in Christ's institution, only to nourish the superstition in many, which ought to be removed if it can be done in any way.</p>

<sup>20</sup> A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. 'M7<sup>v</sup>-M8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> A Lasco, *Toute la forme*, sigs. N8<sup>r-v</sup>.

adjoined to our churches spreading some false doctrine, or nourishing sects in the Church'.<sup>22</sup> Aside from these minor alterations, the work represents an accurate translation of the Latin original.

Like their French counterparts, the English refugees also followed the Strangers' Church model when establishing their Emden congregation. Although no ordinance survives, the extant records from this community demonstrate the London order's influence on their ecclesiastical administration and practices.<sup>23</sup> One of the clearest examples is the common polity adopted by this group. The 1552 Book of Common Prayer had described the customary form of church government used in England, employing three types of ministers: bishops, priests and deacons.<sup>24</sup> Bishops were charged with overseeing the priests who, in turn, were to preach, educate the laity, and ensure that all congregants observed the doctrine and Christ's discipline.<sup>25</sup> Deacons were charged with poor relief and, like the elders in the Strangers' Church, were to assist the priests in administering the Sacraments and catechetical instruction.<sup>26</sup> The Emden refugees rejected this traditional form of administration in favour of a Lasco's government comprised of superintendents, preachers, elders and deacons.<sup>27</sup> They introduced the office of elders to assist the ministers and limited the role of deacons to caring for the sick and poor. Although no superintendent was appointed for the small congregation, two ministers governed the church: John

<sup>22</sup> 'De ijs Germanis, qui non adiuncti nostræ Ecclesiæ falsam aliquam doctrina[m] spargunt: aut sectas alioqui in Ecclesia alunt'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. Hh4<sup>r</sup>. 'De ceux qui n'estans adionctz a noz Eglises sement quelque faulse doctrine, ou nourrissent des sectes en l'Eglise'. A Lasco, Toute la forme, sig. Kk7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Pettegree notes that the English community followed the Strangers' Church model in developing their administration and practices in his study of this refugee congregation. Pettegree, Marian Protestantism, pp. 18-19.

<sup>24</sup> Book of Common Prayer, p. 438.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 455 and 461-462.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 446-447.

<sup>27</sup> See above, pp. 83-85.

Scory and Thomas Young. Nine elders and six deacons assisted them in their duties.<sup>28</sup>

These refugees also adopted a Lasco's model for ecclesiastical discipline. In his study of Emden's English congregation, the historian Andrew Pettegree discusses a serious conflict that erupted within this community in 1558 over the ministers' authority, which demonstrates their disciplinary practice.<sup>29</sup> The dispute began when the ministers cancelled worship services following an outbreak of the plague in a nearby house. Not all members agreed with the pronouncement. One critic was John Dowley who, in accordance with the discipline, admonished the leaders privately for their actions. The preachers defended their decision, claiming they had acted in accordance with Scripture.<sup>30</sup> Their critics remained unconvinced and the conflict escalated soon afterwards when the laymen began holding prayers at the homes of their ill brethren. Dowley also admonished the clerics a second time, writing a letter criticising their refusal to visit the sick during a time of plague and for reducing the times of public prayers.<sup>31</sup> Scory and Young responded to this second rebuke the following Sunday when, before the entire congregation, they accused him of being duplicitous and distorting the Scriptures.<sup>32</sup> Dowley believed that the dispute should be resolved by the congregation's authority and proposed that four or six brothers be appointed to judge the matter. The ministers rejected this

<sup>28</sup> Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>29</sup> This dispute is discussed in Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, pp. 20-22. Current knowledge of the conflict comes from two sources. First, John Dowley described the events in his submission to the French and Dutch churches, which has been translated from the Latin original by Bill Naphy and reprinted in *Marian Protestantism*, pp. 172-182. The dispute also is mentioned in the Dutch *Kirchenrat* minutes. Schilling (ed.), *Kirchenratsprotokolle*, vol. 1, pp. 63-64.

<sup>30</sup> Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, pp. 172-173.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 174-176.

proposal, arguing that the elders should resolve the dispute.<sup>33</sup> Dowley then sent a letter to the Dutch and French congregations describing the events and requesting their assistance, but this had little impact. The Dutch church summoned the English ministers to appear before their consistory, but Scory and Young again refused any external mediation.<sup>34</sup> There are no further records mentioning this dispute, so it is unclear if this matter was resolved. What is certain, however, is that it would have been overshadowed by more pressing concerns in the following months. The death of queen Mary in November 1558, and the ascension of Elizabeth, led these refugees to close their Emden church and return to England.

This controversy reveals the similar practices between the Strangers' Church and the English congregation. As a Lasco had done, they employed the steps of private admonitions and public censure, and emphasised the communal rite. Dowley had rebuked the ministers privately before he pursued public admonitions. In his letter to the French and Dutch leaders, he reports that these private attempts had failed so he now wished to turn the matter over to the entire church for their judgement.<sup>35</sup> This conflict also accentuates a key difference between the English and London discipline. Scory and Young maintained that this was a matter for the ministry to judge, rather than the whole church. In contrast, Dowley shared a Lasco's opinion regarding the congregation's authority in discipline. He argued that 'although the pastor and elders wish to judge and determine the case themselves and will not suffer the church to judge and determine the matter, this must be done by the church'.<sup>36</sup> This conflict in the

<sup>33</sup> Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism*, pp. 178-179.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22 and 180-181.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

English congregation reveals two principal points about their discipline. First, they followed the same format as the London Strangers' Church, which was becoming increasingly common among Reformed congregations. Second, although the leaders maintained the ministers' authority in disciplinary matters, there were some among the congregation, such as Dowley, who supported the Polish reformer's congregational approach, granting this power to the entire church.

There is also evidence suggesting a liturgical link between this exile congregation and a Lasco's London church. The historian Robin Leaver discusses this connection in his study of English and Dutch metrical psalms during this period. The author claims that although this exile congregation's liturgy followed the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, there was one exception that could be traced to the Forma ac ratio; they had adopted the Polish reformer's liturgical order for public prayers.<sup>37</sup> The Strangers' Church had instituted a service for communal prayers and fasting to be used when they faced a calamity or public danger. This rite began with a public confession based on Daniel, chapter nine.<sup>38</sup> Leaver demonstrates that, like the London congregations, the English refugees in Wesel and Frankfurt adopted a confessional prayer based on the same scriptural passage. He also concludes that the Emden congregation took similar steps to include a penitential hymn based on Daniel at the beginning

<sup>37</sup> Robin A. Leaver, 'Goostly psalmes and spirituall songes': English and Dutch metrical psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove 1535-1566 (Oxford, 1991). The author discusses the English liturgy on pp. 189-192.

<sup>38</sup> 'Hæc ita pro contione attinguntur, in die ieiunio publico, publicæq[ue] supplicationi destinato, propter præsentem aliquam aut impendentem etiã[m] publicam Ecclesiæ calamitatem aut necessitatem: quibus absolutis hortatur Ecclesiastes totam Ecclesiam ad seriam atque ardentem nominis Diuini, pro omnibus Ecclesiæ necessitatibus, inuocationem, procumbenteq[ue] in genua tota Ecclesia, orditur consuetas Ecclesiæ preces publicas: atque ijs interserit precationem, pro depellenda calamitate illa, cuius nomine instituta publica supplicatio, ad eius imitationem, quæ habetur Danielis nono cap. cum peccatorum confessione'. A Lasco, Forma ac Ratio, sig. Ii5<sup>r</sup>. This biblical passage tells of Jeremiah's prophecy regarding the destruction of Jerusalem and includes Daniel's prayer confessing the sins of his people.

of their worship services.<sup>39</sup> This discovery confirms that a Lasco's rite for public prayers found renewed life among the English exiles, including the refugee community in Emden.

The London ordinance's influence also can be seen among the Dutch community in East Frisia. Vernacular editions of the order began appearing shortly after their arrival in the territory. In 1554, Micron published the Christlicke Ordinacien, his summary of the order for the Strangers' Church.<sup>40</sup> The printers Ctematius and Hill produced this text at the same time that they were beginning work on the first edition of the Forma ac ratio. They followed this with a summary of his eucharistic rite in 1557.<sup>41</sup> As noted above, this group of exiles assimilated into the existing territorial church, and a Lasco's influence can be seen in the practices instituted there. The East Frisian church played a significant role in the development of the reformer's London order. As the superintendent in the 1540s, he introduced many of his ideas about

<sup>39</sup> Leaver, 'Goostly psalmes', p. 192, and Robin Leaver, 'A Penitential Hymn from the English Exile Congregation in Emden, 1555', The Hymn 41, no. 1 (1990), pp. 15-18. The penitential hymn was probably written by Thomas Cottisford and the text can be found in Thomas Cottisford, The accompt re- | kenynge and confession of the faith | of Huldrik Zwinglius byshop of | Zuryk the chief towne of Helvetia, | sent vnto Charles the fyfte nowe | Emperoure of Rome, holdynge a | counsel wyth the moost noble Prin- | ces, Estates and learned men of | Germany assembled together | at Ausburgh. 1530. in | the moneth of | July (Geneva, 1555), pp. 106-109.

<sup>40</sup> Marten Micron, DE CHRIST- | licke Ordinancie[n] der Nederla[n]tscher | Ghemeinten Christi / die vanden | Christlicken Prince Co. Edewaerdt | den VI. In 't iaer 1550. te Londen | inghestelt was. De welcke met de be- | willinghe der Dienaren ende Ouder- | linghen der seluer, ten trooste ende | nutte aller ghelooveghen, getrauwelick | met alder nersticheit t' samen | gheuoecht ende wit ghe- | stelt sijn (Emden, 1554). This work is reprinted in Micron, De christlicke Ordinancien der nederlantscher Ghemeinten te Londen (1554), (ed.) W. F. Dankbaar ('s-Gravenhage, 1956). Micron writes in the preface that the work is a synopsis of a Lasco's London order: 'Ende dat doer t' versouck ende begheerte onses nerstighen ende trauwen Superintendents Jan a Lasco. Dese syne groote weldaet heft hy met eenen openen priuilegiebrief, de welcken hier achter ter eewegher ghedachtenisse an ghedruct is, beuesticht: den voernoemden Superintendent met syne mede Dienaren volle macht gheuende om een ghemeinte na Gods Wort ende d'Apostolische ordinancien, sonder yemandts insegghen, op te richten: so verre als sy haer leere ende Kerckelicke ordinantien met Gods wort souden connen verweeren'. *Ibid.*, p. 36. See also above, pp. 70-71.

<sup>41</sup> Het ghevoelen Joannis a Lasco. | Baroens in Polen, Superintendents | der Ghemeynte der vremde | linghen te Londen. | Of het den Christenen, na dien zij | het word Godes ende de godloosheit | des Pauwstdoms bekent hebben, ee | nighszins verorloft is, dat zy zick | in den Pauwstlicken gods | diensten, ende in zonder | heit inder Misse, vin | den laten. | Wt den Latijne, in Nederduysche spra | ke ghetrauwlick overghezett (Emden, 1557).

administration and practice including the weekly meeting of ministers, seated Communion and ecclesiastical discipline. These elements were, later, refined in London and reintroduced to the territory in their new form upon the exiles' return. The remainder of this discussion will explore the reformer's lasting impact on the churches in the territorial capital. Some key sources remain from the period, making this examination possible including the Emden *Kirchenrat's* minutes, the 1564 and 1573 ministerial orders, the 1576 instructions for deacons and poor relief, and the 1595 ecclesiastical ordinance for Emden.<sup>42</sup>

One of the reformer's principal contributions to the territorial church was the weekly meeting of ministers (*coetus*), which he instituted in the 1540s.<sup>43</sup> The 1535 Lutheran ordinance had ordered the clerics to assemble twice a year to discuss matters relating to doctrine and administration, with the superintendent overseeing these synods.<sup>44</sup> A Lasco drew on this model for his *coetus*, which he introduced in the summer of 1544. Little documentation remains regarding this early form of the assembly, but it is known that the ministers came together each Monday to discuss theological matters and that the meetings were held at various

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<sup>42</sup> 'Ordnunge der vorsamlinge der predicanted und olderlingen, so alhyr underholden wert' (1564, 1573), Sehling, vol. 7, pp. 452-454; 'Eine ordeninge der bedeleren, van den dieneren der gemeinte unde den vorstenderen, oldesten und dyaken binnen Embden utgebracht' (1576), Sehling, vol. 7, pp. 455-463; and Summarische beschryvinge der ordnung in der christlicker kercken to Embden, dat is, van den predigeren, oldesten, diaken und ehrem ampte, und erstlick vanden predigeren un dehem beröp (Bremen, 1594). This 1594 Emden order has also been published in Sehling, vol. 7, pp. 480-513.

<sup>43</sup> The historian Heinrich Schmidt claims that the *coetus* was a Lasco's most important innovation. Schmidt, Politische Geschichte Ostfrieslands (Leer, 1975), p. 178.

<sup>44</sup> 'Idt wil ock de noet vorderen, dat to Embden alle jaer ein- eder twemael gehalten weerde ein gemener synodus, ein vorsamlinge aller pastoren dusses landes, in welchen erforschet schal werden van der lere und levent der pastoren, kappellanen und anderen kerckenderen, effte desulvige rechtscapen gehalten werden, und alletyt geraetslaget mach weerden, wo men den gebreken, so vorhanden sicken geven, bejegenen moege. Und de superattendent schal in den synodo vlitichlick alle saken nagragen und de jegenwardige pastores und andere kerckender hertlick vormanen tom studeren und vlitigen lesen der schriften und anholden der predigen, also Paulus Thimot. Und Titon und de preesteren to Ephesien vormanet hefft, Acto 20'. 'Karckenordenynge vor dem pastoren unde kerckenderen. Wo men doepen schal. Van dem aventmall des Heren und andern kerckengebruyken', Sehling, vol. 7, p. 391.



locations at first, but eventually settled in Emden.<sup>45</sup> He continued the practice in the London Strangers' Church. In the Forma ac ratio, a Lasco clarified the *coetus*, which included some significant modifications. Departing from the rigorous weekly schedule, the assembly of preachers, elders and deacons was held on the first Monday of each month.<sup>46</sup> The superintendent remained in charge of the meetings and would establish the agenda at the beginning by asking if there were any matters affecting individual congregations or the entire church that ought to be discussed. The gathering also had a congregational element; the superintendent was to collect the opinions of all ministers and decisions were to be made in accordance with Scripture and through unanimous consent.<sup>47</sup> This assembly was the principal component of the reformer's ecclesiastical government.

A Lasco's *coetus* remained a significant part of the East Frisian churches throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century. This practice was upheld in the 1564 order containing nineteen points relating to the duties of ministers. This work describes the regular assembly and demonstrates the reformer's continued influence on the practice. The document noted that preachers, elders and deacons should come together each Monday afternoon to discuss matters of

<sup>45</sup> Jürgens, Lasco in Ostfriesland, pp. 305-309. The author addresses this lacunae of sources on p. 307. Ubbo Emmius noted that the *coetus* first began meeting at various towns in the territory, but later settled permanently in Emden. Emmius, Menso Altings Leben, p. 49.

<sup>46</sup> 'PRÆTEREA quoniam plures sunt peregrinorum sub vno Superintendente Ecclesiae, sic vt vna sine altera periclitari non possit, habetur etiam singulis mensibus, primo die Lunæ cuius[ue] mensis, conuentus Ministrorum Seniorum ac Diaconorum, omnium simul peregrinarum Ecclesiarum'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. Gg4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> 'In quo cœtu post nominis Diuini (vt dictum est) inuocationem, rogantur per Superintendentem Ministri singularum Ecclesiarum suo ordine, num quid habeant, quod in eo cœtu tractandum esse putent, quod præsertim in commune ad omnes illas Ecclesias pertineat: aut si quid vnus Ecclesiae Ministri in alijs requirant. Et tum de omnibus, quæ sunt proposita, instituitur deliberatio, quemadmodum [et] in alijs cœtibus: rogantur[ue] (ordine suo) ac demum etiam colliguntur per Superintendentem, omnium illorum Ministrorum (ex omnibus peregrinis Ecclesijs) sententiæ. Atque ad extremum id statuitur, quod verbo Dei consentaneum esse (quemadmodum [et] in alijs cœtibus) [et] ad vnanimem omnium illarum Ecclesiarum consensum ac pacem facere videtur'. Ibid., sigs. Gg4<sup>r</sup>v.

doctrine relating to the whole church.<sup>48</sup> The meetings were to follow the same order as described in the Forma ac ratio; the *coetus* was to begin with a prayer, followed by the participants naming the matters to be discussed.<sup>49</sup> The 1564 order notes that decisions should not be made by individuals, but rather through the consent of the entire assembly.<sup>50</sup> Ubbo Emmius's biography of Menso Alting confirms that this same practice was in place towards the end of the century. Alting served as lead preacher in Emden from 1575 until 1612, and Emmius describes the same form for the *coetus* during this period. He wrote that the assembly began with Alting calling the ministers' names, allowing each one to state the matters to be discussed, which were affecting their congregations or the entire church. He describes the weekly meetings as a medicine to treat the church's illnesses and emphasises that all decisions must be reached through common consent.<sup>51</sup> The author also confirms the link between a Lasco's *coetus* and the current practice, noting that the Polish reformer was a principal founder of the East Frisian church and this weekly assembly of ministers.<sup>52</sup>

This practice continued into the seventeenth century, with the exception of one brief period in the 1590s when it was suspended in the capital city. Following countess Anna's death in 1575, control of the territory passed to her two sons, Johann and Edzard, who split the lands into two administrative units.

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<sup>48</sup> 'Erstlick sollen alle predicanten und olderlingen des Mandages na den middach to ener uhren hyr ein bykumpst underholden, umb ordinarlicke kerckensaken tot upbouwinge der ganzen gemeente to verhandlen, van welker vorsamlinge nemant sick sal lichtverdichlicken absenteren, sonder syn beröpinge truwelick praesenteren'. 'Ordnunge der vorsamlinge der predicanten und olderlingen, so alhyr underholden wert', Sehling, vol. 7, p. 452.

<sup>49</sup> 'De commissionen afgelecht synde, sal praeses nach der ordnunge ummefragen, wat ein jeder tot der gemeine kerckenstiftunge hebbe vortobringen. Darvan sal praeses dan ordentlick vorstellen, umb ein jeder syn gödmeininge darup to verklaren'. Ibid., p. 453.

<sup>50</sup> 'Nemant sal sick weigerich stellen, enige sake antonemen, dem idt per praeses uperlecht, idt geschehe dan ut wichtigen und düchtigen orsaken... Ut deser versamlinge mach nemant henwech na huyß gahn unde blyven ane verloff und consent des praesidis'. Ibid, p. 454.

<sup>51</sup> Emmius, Menso Altings Leben, p. 49.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 110.

This dual leadership intensified confessional rivalries: Edzard's allegiance was to the Lutheran pastors, while Johann encouraged Reformed congregations in his lands, which included Emden. When the latter brother died in 1591, Edzard assumed control of the entire territory and began enforcing his Lutheran policies on all congregations.<sup>53</sup> This included the dissolution of the town's *coetus*. Emden had become the centre of the Reformed movement and the civic authorities resisted the count's proposed changes. With financial and military support from their Dutch neighbors, the magistrates and church leaders forced Edzard into a settlement, which granted them an autonomous civic church separate from the Lutheran territorial one.<sup>54</sup> While it is unclear what became of the weekly assembly of ministers in the territorial church, a new ordinance for Emden appeared in 1594, which reinstated the same practice as described in the earlier orders.<sup>55</sup>

Although the Polish reformer's *coetus* remained a significant part of the Emden churches, there is one noticeable change made to this assembly that reflects the growing influence of Geneva in the region. Under a Lasco's direction, a superintendent led these weekly meetings of ministers, but this position remained unfilled during the second half of the sixteenth century. Ecclesiastical leaders found a solution to this predicament in the Genevan Company of Pastors. Calvin's 1541 Ecclesiastical Ordinances had established this collegial assembly of ministers to govern the city's congregations. As with

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<sup>53</sup> Schilling, Civic Calvinism, p. 32.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> 'Tor handhave solcker christlicken ordnung sind wekentlicke vorsamlinge der prediger und oldesten angestellet, darinne de prediger ein na dem andern praesideren. Und werden de vorsamlingen alletydt mit einem christlicken gebedt van dem praeside angefangen und geendiget. Darna fraget der praeses, effte de commissiones, so in der vorigen bykömpst jemand to vorrichten befahlen, vorrichtet sind? Un na entfangener antwort werd beratslaget, effte etwas wyders in den saken to doen edder nicht'. 'Summarische beschryvinge der ordnung in der christlicken kercken to Embden', Sehling, vol. 7, p. 499.

the *coetus*, they were to meet once a week to discuss matters of doctrine and to promote uniformity in belief and practice. The Genevan company also had the additional responsibilities of ordination, education and missionary work.<sup>56</sup> The leadership of this body was the crucial difference between a Lasco and Calvin's assemblies. The Company of Pastors was led by a moderator, elected annually by the participants, who held no special authority over the other ministers.<sup>57</sup> The refugees borrowed this collegial model to fill the void left by the vacant superintendency. The 1564 ministerial order replaced references to the superintendent with the '*praeses*', or chairman.<sup>58</sup> Likewise, Emden's 1594 ordinance instructed that someone should be chosen from among the ministers to lead the *coetus*.<sup>59</sup> Even Alting's biographer, Ubbo Emmius, noted that a chair was chosen each year during their assembly immediately following Easter.<sup>60</sup> Thus, while the Polish reformer's model for this assembly was retained in Emden, they adopted the more collegial nature of Calvin's Genevan institution.

A Lasco played a similar role in shaping Emden's ecclesiastical discipline. Initially, he had established the practice in the territory following his first visit to Cologne in 1544. Upon returning home, he wrote to his friend Albert Hardenberg that he was considering a disciplinary programme similar to archbishop Hermann von Wied's committee of four ministers and four burghers, who were charged with resolving disputes within the church and held the power

<sup>56</sup> Calvin, 'Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques', p. 3. See also, Robert M. Kingdon, 'Calvin and "Presbytery"', pp. 47-55.

<sup>57</sup> The historian Robert Kingdon noted that John Calvin was the most prominent member of the Company of Pastors and often served as their spokesperson, but he was not the 'Reformed bishop of Geneva'. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>58</sup> Sehling, vol. 7, p. 452.

<sup>59</sup> 'Tor handhave solcker christlicken ordnung sind wekentlicke vorsamlinge der prediger und oldesten angestellet, darinne de prediger ein na dem andern praesideren'. *Ibid.*, p. 499.

<sup>60</sup> Emmius, *Menso Altings Leben*, p. 49.

to excommunicate unrepentant members.<sup>61</sup> The 1545 Police Order instituted this practice in the territory, creating a committee of secular guildsmen and ministers to adjudicate disciplinary cases.<sup>62</sup> Church leaders maintained the right to appoint lay members to this assembly and retained authority over excommunication.<sup>63</sup> The reformer made some key alterations to this early form of discipline during his stay in London, which was reflected in the practice described in the Forma ac ratio. He replaced the lay and ecclesiastical committee with a similar body - the *Kirchenrat* - an assembly of preachers, elders and deacons.<sup>64</sup> He also introduced Calvin's two-step model, emphasising private and public admonitions and the communal rites for reconciliation.<sup>65</sup> The third and most significant change to his discipline concerned authority for excommunication. Instead of placing this in the hands of the ministers, as he had done in East Frisia, the reformer granted this power to the members. In his London ordinance, he explained that a person could not be excommunicated by

<sup>61</sup> 'Meditamur nunc quendam disciplinam in nostra hac Ecclesia, cui omnes fere hactenus manibus, quod dicitur, ac pedibus restiterunt, qui me adiuuare potissimum debebant. Dicebam, nunquam fore, ut sectis careamus, si, dum in alios severi sumus, in vitiis interim ipsi nobis indulgeamus. Quae cum inter nos regnarent, statuendum etiam nobis esse discrimen in nostra Ecclesia, dum ita in alios severi sumus, inter eos, qui sese ad resipiscentiam volunt componere, et qui Dei Ecclesiam eiusque disciplinam contemnunt. Breviter, post multos clamores id tandem effeci, ut nobis ministris adiuncti sint quatuor cives, viri alioquin graves, et, quantum iudicare possumus, pietatis studiosi, qui a tota Ecclesia potestatem nobiscum habeant in mores civium inquirendi, admonendi quenquam sui officii, et ad extremum etiam nomine totius Ecclesiae excommunicandi nobiscum, si quos admonitionum nostrarum contemptores haberemus. Meditamur itaque nunc formam quondam disciplinae in nostra Ecclesia, in qua constituenda magno nobis erit adiumento Episcopi tui Coloneinsis ordinatio, quam mihi Gabriel attulit tuo nomine'. A Lasco to Hardenberg, 26 July 1544. *LO*, vol. 2, pp. 574-575. See also, Jan Remmers Weerde, *Der Emdener Kirchenrat und seine Gemeinde: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte reformierter Kirchenordnung in Deutschland, ihrer Grundsätze und ihrer Gestaltung* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Wuppertal, 2000), pp. 46-52; and Jürgens, *Lasco in Ostriesland*, pp. 283-289.

<sup>62</sup> 'Soe nu henforder wee also daermede moetwillich wurde befunden, de dorch dusse vormaninge nicht wulde afflaten und dat also myt wrevelichem gemote to wederwillen ynt erste den almechtigen, darnegeest sine overich[e]it, dar he under beseten, dede, dartegen soe ordineren wy yn ein yder stadt, fleke eder dorp de oldermans van de gilden und de karkswaren beneven oren pastor eder predicant, wes de horen und voreschen konen, wat stratenmer und molenmer is, de dat myt vorsate doen und nicht willen laten, scholen densulvigen personen antekenen und den gadeslaster, wan de lantrichter yn der stat, ampt eder gerichte kumpt, anklagen, den darup ein bevell gegeven is to richten'. Sehling, vol. 7, p. 399.

<sup>63</sup> Weerde, *Emdener Kirchenrat*, pp. 46-48.

<sup>64</sup> See above, pp. 107-109.

<sup>65</sup> A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. X6<sup>v</sup>-X7<sup>r</sup>. See also Calvin, *Institutes*, pp. 1230-1231.

the authority of the ministers and elders, 'but rather by the unanimous consent and agreement of the whole church'.<sup>66</sup>

The introduction of a Lasco's modified discipline in Emden in the second half of the sixteenth century demonstrates the *Forma ac ratio*'s influence in the territorial capital. The town's 1595 ordinance describes a consistory similar to the Strangers' Church, with elders, rather than guildsmen, joining the ministers in the *Kirchenrat*.<sup>67</sup> The minutes from this assembly survive from the period between 1557 and 1620, and suggest that the Dutch community followed the London practice long before the 1595 order. The case of Jacob Peters, for example, reveals that a Lasco's two-step programme of discipline was employed in Emden as early as 1558. Peters was a local shoemaker who was called before the *Kirchenrat* on charges of having sex with, and impregnating, the prostitute 'Anne up de Trappe'.<sup>68</sup> An entry on 7 March indicated that one of the elders had admonished him privately for his offense, after which the ministers decided he should be rebuked before the congregation on the following Sunday.<sup>69</sup> Peters failed to present himself for the public censure, so two elders were dispatched to remind him of his duty to observe the church's discipline.<sup>70</sup> The following week, they recorded that the offender had agreed to return and he appeared before the congregation on 10 April 1558. He repented his sins and was rejoined

<sup>66</sup> 'Ne[que] vero sola Ministrorum ac Seniorum vna omnium (ne dicam vnus aut alterius Ministri) autoritate ab Ecclesia quisq[ue] eijcitur: sed vnanimi totius Ecclesie consensu atq[ue] approbatione'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. Aa7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> 'Summarische beschryvinge der ordnung in der christlicken kercken to Embden, dat is, van den predigeren, oldesten, diaken und ehrem apte, und ertlick van den predigeren und ehrem beröp', Sehling, vol. 7, pp. 497-499. Heinz Schilling notes that by the end of the century, the Emden *Kirchenrat* was comprised of 17 preachers and 12 elders. Schilling (ed.), *Kirchenratsprotokolle*, vol. 1, p. xxi. See also, Weerde, *Emder Kirchenrat*, pp. 285-287.

<sup>68</sup> 'Jacob Peters, shomaker, ys angeclaget, als solde he mit Anne up de Trappe horerie gedreven und und se swanger is. Hermannus sal se vornemen, wo de sake ys'. Schilling (ed.), *Kirchenratsprotokolle*, vol. 1, p. 30.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>70</sup> 'Ock ys Jacob Schomaker genoemet van syn horerye, dat he daer wolde boete van doen und sy nicht gekomen, dat men den Heren voer hem bidde, dat he hem ware boete wolde vorleenen'. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

to the church through the public rite for reconciliation.<sup>71</sup> As this case shows, a Lasco's London additions to the discipline - private admonitions, public censure, and the communal ceremony for reconciliation - had all been incorporated into the Emden discipline following the exiles' return to the territory.

One uncommon characteristic in a Lasco's *Forma ac ratio* was the congregation's authority in matters of excommunication and reconciliation. This same unique element can be found in Emden following the exiles return in the 1550s. Luetke Schroer was a local shop owner who was accused of having children steal on his behalf. After having been privately admonished, he was called before the *Kirchenrat* to answer for his offences. The ministers instructed that he would have to appear before the entire church to explain his sins and receive their prayers. If he refused, they warned, he could be banned through the consent of the entire church.<sup>72</sup> Schroer must not have complied, as an entry in the consistory minutes the following month, on 25 July 1558, notes that a letter was sent to inform him that he had been excommunicated from the church.<sup>73</sup> There was a final entry regarding the matter on 26 January 1561, indicating that he had finally conceded his guilt and had agreed to appear before the congregation. The ministers noted that with the members's consent, he would be

<sup>71</sup> 'Jacob Schomaker heft angenommen, syn boete voer der gemeente tho doen nu negestkomen nachtmael, und begert, dat de gemente hem wyl vorgeven, dat he vorgangen nachtmael nicht gekomen ys'. Schilling (ed.), *Kirchenratsprotokolle*, vol. 1, p. 41. 'Heft men nachtmael gehalten und heft Jacob Schomaker syne boete gedaen und sick (myt) der gemeente versoenet'. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 45.

<sup>72</sup> '2. Luetke Schroer, kremer, woenachtich in de Holtsagerstrate in Here Habben kamer, nadem he befunden was, dat he ander lude kinder vorvoret hadde, dat se hem thogestolen hadde, ys he tolaeste hemlick wechgetogen und den luden mit dat ere entogen und dat sync medegenomen. Ys uns ock schuldich bleven ytlick gelt...Het ys besloten van beyden personen, dat men in negestkomende nachtmael hore sake opentlike voer der gemeente sal vorstellen und de gemeente vormanen thom gebede vor se, und so se stilswigen, dat men se dat anderde nachtmael sal bannen mit der gemeente consent'. This entry was dated 20 June 1558. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>73</sup> 'Het ys beloten, dat Hermannus Luetke Schoer edder Kremer noch sall dorch eyn breff vormanen tor bote, er dat men hem excommunicere'. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

reconciled with the church.<sup>74</sup> In a second case the following year, Anne Holagen was publicly admonished for having missed the Lord's Supper 'for a long time'. She hoped to participate in the forthcoming eucharistic ceremony but the ministers were concerned about her unexplained absence and referred the matter to the consistory for investigation. Alluding to the entire church's authority, the *Kirchenrat's* minutes noted that she could be rejoined to the church once she had alleviated the congregation's doubts.<sup>75</sup> That same year, Jaspas Herman was banned from participating in the Communion. Disagreeing with this action, he sent a letter to the ministers challenging their decision. The consistory decided to investigate the matter before presenting the case to the congregation for their decision.<sup>76</sup> All three cases reveal a common link with a Lasco's London discipline, with the whole church holding authority over matters of excommunication and reconciliation.

<sup>74</sup> 'Lutke Kremer ys irschenen yn der gemene und gefraget, ofte he syck wulde warpen under ydt ordel van der broderen. Daerup he eyn yawort gegeven. Daerup de gemene besloten, dat mehem schulde myt naemen no<sup>o</sup>men, und schulde seggen, wi "dat Lutke syck widder de gemene voertydes gesu<sup>o</sup>ndyget, daervoer he syn letwesent getonet, und so wel ynsegent daer yn syn levant heft, waerum me hem nycht moege wedder upnemen, de macht dat bynnen twe mant vorgeven. Und so numents genochsam ynsage uns voerbrenen wert, so werde wy hem wedder yn der gemene upnemen und voir eyn broder bekennen". Welker form he nycht kunde annemen, und let syck gans swarliken daeryn vallen, unde also van uth der gemene geschet'. Schilling (ed.), *Kirchenratsprotokolle*, vol. 1, p. 123.

<sup>75</sup> Anne Holagen appeared before the congregation on 30 November 1562. The minutes also indicate that she was separated from her husband and the ministers would need to investigate this first to determine if she could be trusted. 'Daer ys Anne Holagen yn der gemene erschenen, um syck wedder tho nachtmal tho geven, daer se syck eyn tytlanck afgeholden heft. Begeret syck hoer schult bekennen und under dat gemene ordel geven. Daerup besloten, dewyle se gen goede tuchenisse heft allenthalven, und syck van hoer man afgeschet, dat me hoer so lichtferdich nycht kan annemen, sunder me muste hoernoch eyn tytlanck proberen, wo se sich muchte dragen. Und dat me muste van hoer man vorvorschen, so he ydt mydt hoer ym syne hedde, ofte he se dachte tho vorlaten, und so se syck kegen hem gedragen heft. Alsdan, so de gemene hoere boete sporet, wert de gemene hoer annemen'. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>76</sup> 'Daer ys eyn bref van Jaspas [Hermans] der gemene geschicket, daer he de gemene yn beschuldiget, dat se hem unrecht gebannet hebben. Daerup men hem schryven schal, dat he komen und syne klachte voerstelle, men schal se tho byllickheit annemen. Und so he uns schult bewyset, wyllen wy se bekennen'. *Ibid.*, p. 154. Jaspas Hermans had been banned from participating in the Lord's Supper on 6 April 1562 because he had fallen out with his wife. *Ibid.*, p. 143.



The minutes also provide significant information about the process for selecting ministers in Emden. These records suggest that although the refugees may have had an impact on elections shortly after their arrival, by the end of the century the churches had adopted a form of elections similar to Calvin's Geneva. As discussed in the previous chapter, a Lasco had advocated greater participation among the laity in choosing ministers, including their nomination and final approval of candidates.<sup>77</sup> A similar approach to elections was reflected in the *Kirchenrat's* entry on 24 April 1564. The ministers noted that Hinrick Wilting and John van Knypes had been chosen to serve as elders but more men were still needed to fill the vacancies. They urged the congregation to nominate suitable candidates for these positions.<sup>78</sup> However, the procedure for selecting ministers changed over the next twelve years. The 1576 instructions for poor relief stated that deacons 'should be chosen by the preachers and elders and presented to the congregation' for their approval.<sup>79</sup> This process of cooption – where the existing ministers select new ones – was reiterated in the town's 1594 ordinance, where church leaders selected suitable candidates before presenting them to the members for their approval.<sup>80</sup> The *Kirchenrat* minutes also reflect this change: an entry on 3 March 1595 notes that the ministers elected six new elders and would be presenting them to the congregation for confirmation the following

<sup>77</sup> See above, pp. 90-91.

<sup>78</sup> 'Den 24 Aprilis. 1. Men scal de gemene voerstellen, dewyle etlyken der oderlingen vortogen syn, also Henrick Wilting unde Johan van knypes, unde etlyke wegen oer beropinge uns neen grote denst konnen doen, unde derhalven wy meer olderlingen bederven, scoelen wy den denst in eren holden, dat de gemene wil thoseen up etlyke personen unde uns angegen (!) den, de se dartho duchtich holden, dat wy se mogen gebruiken'. Schilling (ed.), *Kirchenratsprotokolle*, vol. 1, p. 182.

<sup>79</sup> 'Diese scholen van den predicanten und oldesten erwelet werden und der gemeinte vorgestellet, ut Actorum 6; 2. Corinth. 8.' Sehling, vol. 7, p. 455.

<sup>80</sup> 'Als se dann in der wahl eins geworden unde de erwehede personen up vorgande christlicke vormaninge den beroep angenahmen, werden se in der negestfolgenden communion der ganzen kercken mit namen vorgestellet unde ein jeder vormahnet, soferne ehm einiger mangel bewust, darumme de vorgestelde personen des amptes unwerdich to achten, dat he solckes vor der anstanden communion den predigeren unde oldesten anmelden wolde'. *Ibid.*, p. 498.

Sunday.<sup>81</sup> Thus, when it came to choosing new ministers, a Lasco's greater role for the laity was eclipsed by the more common cooptive model in Emden.

Although the Polish reformer's elections procedure was not maintained in the East Frisian territory, his London ordinance had a profound influence on the Emden church, especially through his *coetus* and ecclesiastical discipline. The German historian Heinz Schilling discusses this crucial relationship in his study of the town during the final years of the sixteenth century. He asserts that a Lasco's institutions became a key part of Emden's defense against Count Edzhard's Lutheran reforms. Following the death of Johann in 1591, his brother gained control of the capital. He dismissed the Calvinist lead preacher, Menso Alting, and suspended the *Kirchenrat*.<sup>82</sup> The community's civic and ecclesiastical leaders refused to join the territorial church and forged an alliance with their Dutch neighbors, which undoubtedly was aided by the refugees in Emden. In response to the military threat, Edzhard conceded to the town's demands and granted their right to an autonomous church free from princely control.<sup>83</sup> Their attempt to assert the town's independence from the central authority was unprecedented in the territory and, as Schilling argues, could not have been possible without a Lasco's *coetus* and ecclesiastical discipline.<sup>84</sup> He explained that the reformer's models for administration and moral reform had vested church leaders with full governmental powers, allowing them to function separately from the territorial authorities. When Edzhard began pushing his

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<sup>81</sup> 'Nach lange christliche beraetslagung unde voergaende opentliche unde private gebeden tot Godt sint ihm Nhamen Gades mit eendrechtigen, inheilligne (!) stemmen unde votae tot oldesten deßer gemhene erwhelet und beroepen als Arent Schinckel, Coert Borcharts, Arent Jansen Brandenborsch, Samuel van Wingen, Gerrit van Norden und Jacques Vägel, welcke den oeck den H(illigen) denst angenhomen. Und sollen alsoe nha christlichen gebuÿck thokumpstigen sondage der gantzen gemhene vorgestellt worden'. Schilling (ed.), *Kirchenratsprotokolle*, vol. 2, p. 224.

<sup>82</sup> Schilling, *Civic Calvinism*, p. 32.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

Lutheran reform programme, the institutions were already in place for an autonomous civic church. Thus, while a Lasco's London order shaped the practices observed in Emden's churches, it also played a crucial part in the town's eventual emancipation from the count in the 1590s.

The experience of these French, Dutch and English refugees shows how the Strangers' Church model found renewed life in Emden in the second half of the sixteenth century. Although the Polish reformer had served as superintendent in the territory during the 1540s, and had experimented with some early forms of his ecclesiastical administration, ceremonies, and discipline, the Marian exiles brought his revised order with them when they returned to East Frisia in 1553. The surviving records show a clear link between the practices observed in London, as described in the Forma ac ratio, and the churches in Emden. Most notable among them were the administrative *coetus*, the discipline, and the public prayers based on the Book of Daniel. The experience of these exiles also demonstrates the potency of a Lasco's ordinance. It served as a model for new congregations, as well as the existing Emden church. The remainder of this chapter will look at two other communities, Frankfurt and Geneva, to judge if other groups of London refugees played a similar role in transmitting the reformer's model when they established their exile communities.

### **Frankfurt**

Following the dissolution of the Strangers' Church, a second wave of London refugees made their way to Frankfurt am Main, where they hoped to rebuild their exile congregations. Valerand Poullain departed England in

December 1553, travelling to Amsterdam and Wesel before arriving in the German town the following March. He had been invited to Frankfurt by the magistrate Claus Bromm, who offered a safe refuge for the French preacher and his exile church.<sup>85</sup> On 15 March 1554, Poullain requested permission from the council for himself and twenty-four other London refugees to remain in the German town and to practice their trades. He also petitioned for a place to hold their own worship services.<sup>86</sup> The city's lead Lutheran preacher, Hartmann Beyer, criticised the émigrés rites, especially their ceremony for the Lord's Supper, and urged the magistrates to deny their request for an autonomous church. However, the council approved it, granting White Ladies Chapel to the foreigners. On 19 April 1554, the French minister preached his first sermon to the newly formed refugee congregation.<sup>87</sup>

Other Dutch and English Protestants followed the French minister. William Wittingham, Edmond Sutton, William Williams and Thomas Wood led a group of English exiles to Frankfurt in the spring of 1555. Upon their arrival, Poullain aided their petition to establish their own refugee church. The magistrates granted their request, instructing them to share White Ladies Chapel and to observe the French confession and rites.<sup>88</sup> Wittingham was chosen as the preacher for this new congregation. A small group of Dutch exiles arrived at the

<sup>85</sup> Denis, *Églises d'Étrangers*, p. 311; Bauer, *Valérand Poullain*, pp. 177-178.

<sup>86</sup> Denis, *Églises D'Étrangers*, pp. 311-312.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312-313. See also Bauer, *Valérand Poullain*, pp. 182-183.

<sup>88</sup> Anne Hooper reports to Henry Bullinger that the Frankfurt magistrates granted permission for the English congregation to share White Ladies church with the French in a letter dated 19 April 1555. *OL*, vol. 1, pp. 110-111. In contrast, Thomas Wood writes that the magistrates approved the petition to establish a church on 14 July 1555 in *A brieff discours of the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554* (Heidelberg, 1575), pp. 5-6. (Patrick Collinson identified Thomas Wood as the probable author of this work in 'The Authorship of *A Brieff Discours off the Troubles Begonne at Franckford*', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 9 (April, 1958), pp. 188-208.) This discrepancy between the dates suggests that the English congregation was allowed to worship at White Ladies church while their petition was being considered. For further accounts of the establishment of the English refugee church in Frankfurt, see Bartel, *Jan Łaski*, p. 171; A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York, 1989), p. 345; Denis, *Églises d'Étrangers*, pp. 330-331; and Leaver, 'Ghoostly Psalmes', pp. 146-155.

same time and attended the French worship services. By the summer of 1555, their numbers had grown and they sought permission to establish their own official church. The magistrates granted their approval in June and the Dutch organisers sent a letter to Emden, inviting a Lasco to come and lead their new congregation. The Polish reformer accepted the offer and departed his home in December 1555, arriving in Frankfurt a short time later.<sup>89</sup> Rather than become their minister, the Polish reformer maintained an advisory role to the Dutch émigrés, and the London refugee, Peter Dathenus, was appointed their first minister.<sup>90</sup>

The surviving records from these exile communities demonstrate the influence the Stranger's Church had on these Frankfurt congregations. In September 1554, Poullain published the Liturgia Sacra, seu ritus Ministerii in Ecclesia peregrinorum Francofordiae, which was an updated version of his order for the French congregation in London.<sup>91</sup> The most notable change to the order was the new preface, in which he explained his reasons for publishing this edition. Poullain recounted how the council had granted a church to the refugees and that this text articulated their doctrine and liturgical practices. He hoped that it would mollify their critics, who had accused the foreigners of heretical teachings and called them Anabaptists. Finally, he defended the work, as a

<sup>89</sup> 'Caeterum Ioannes à Lasco, proximo deinde anno, circiter finem mensis Aprilis, Embda commigrat Francofordiam: ubi à pientissimo Senatu humanissimè excipitur. à [sic] quo etiam non multo pòst impetrat potestatem, Belgicae Ecclesiae in usum piorum peregrinorum erigendae, ac iuxta diuini uerbi regulam constituendae. Ad cuius faciendae initium Micronius per Ioannem à Lasco, et fratres ibi collectos uocatus, Francofurtum profectus ad decimumquintum Septembris diem, anno 1555 primam ei colligendae Ecclesiae habuit concionem'. Utenhove, 'Simplex et fidelis narratio', p. 149.

<sup>90</sup> Denis, Églises d'Étrangers, pp. 331-332.

<sup>91</sup> Valérand Poullain, LITURGIA | SACRA, SEU RITUS | Ministerii in Ecclesia peregrinorum | Francofordiae ad Moe- | num. | Addita est summa doctrinae seu fidei pro- | fessio eiusdem Ecclesiae. | Plasm. CXLIX. | Laudem Deo canite in Eccle - | sia Sanctorum. | Ioan.I. | Veni [et] vide (Frankfurt, 1554). A second edition was published in Frankfurt in 1555. Both editions of this work are printed with the 1551 and 1552 London editions in A. C. Honders (ed.), Valerandus Pollanus Liturgia Sacra (1551-1555): Opnieuw uitgegeven en van een Inleiding Voorzien (Leiden, 1970).

Lasco had done with the London ordinance, claiming it was in agreement with the apostolic Church and God's Word.<sup>92</sup>

The 1554 *Liturgia Sacra* had two key functions in the Frankfurt community. First, as Poullain had indicated in the preface, he hoped it would articulate and defend their practices against attacks from their critics. The town's Lutheran ministers became increasingly suspicious of the foreigners, especially concerning their eucharistic rite, which denied the real presence of Christ in the host.<sup>93</sup> The author published the order to clarify their ceremonies and to prove their purity of doctrine. In the prescriptions for the controversial communion rite, for example, he argued for the commemorative nature of the ceremony and emphasised its origins with the Apostles. Overall, this Frankfurt order repeated the London practice. However, a few changes were made to clarify this symbolic understanding. For example, Poullain replaced the original text of 'the bread, which we break, is the fellowship of the body of Christ (*communicatio est corporis Christi*)', with 'Christ said: take; eat; the commemorative body of Christ (*memor Christi corpus*) is broken for you for the remission of your sins'.<sup>94</sup> Likewise, the words spoken with the distribution of the wine changed from 'the cup which we raise, is the fellowship of the blood of Christ (*communicatio est sanguinis Christi*)', to 'Christ said: take, drink, the

<sup>92</sup> 'En tibi, candide Lector, Liturgiam nostram damus, cum doctrinae, quam profitemur, summa, Amplissimo Senatui Francofordiensi D. D. nostris clementissimis approbatam. Ex his iam cognoscas licet, equosnam viros exceperit in civium suorum consortium Senatus hic pientissimus. Ne deinceps temere credas blatteronibus nonnullis papistis, atque aliis invidis et malevolis malignis hominibus, nos tanquam Anabaptistas criminantibus. Nos nullius haereseos nobis conscii sumus: sed cum sancta catholica consentimus Ecclesia: doctrinamque Prophetarum et Apostolorum universam et solam Dei verbum esse profitemur, atque amplectimur: nos nostraque iudicio piorum omnium submittentes: parati semper monitis et consiliis melioribus obtemperare, modo sine supercilio, et cum Dei verbo coniunctis'. Honders (ed.), *Liturgia Sacra*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>93</sup> Denis, *Églises d'Étrangers*, pp. 314-316.

<sup>94</sup> In his 1551 ordinance, he wrote: 'Panis quem frangimus, communicatio est corporis Christi'. This was changed to 'Christi: accipe, manduca, memor Christi corpus pro te fractum in remissionem peccatorum tuorum' in the 1554 Frankfurt ordinance. Honders (ed.), *Liturgia Sacra*, p. 94.

commemorative blood of Christ (*memor Christum sanguinem*), that he shed for you for the remission of your sins'.<sup>95</sup>

The ordinance also had a more practical function: to instruct the French exiles about the rites and ceremonies to be observed in their church. The work contained detailed instructions for the congregants to follow. For example, the section on Baptism included prescriptions for the order of service, the wording of prayers, a series of questions for the ministers to ask, and the parents' responses.<sup>96</sup> Another example of this didactic function is found in Poullain's directions concerning elections. As in his London order, he emphasised the congregation's role in nominating and approving new ministers. In the Frankfurt edition, he added to this clear instructions on how the nominations were to take place: each congregant who had publicly agreed to the church's doctrine was given a voting implement to place in the urn of the candidate they wished to elect. The person with the most nominations would be examined by the other ministers before being presented to the church for their final approval.<sup>97</sup> These detailed instructions made the *Liturgia Sacra* a key tool for educating the French refugees about their own rites and ceremonies.

The publication of Poullain's Frankfurt ordinance demonstrates the minister's desire to build his exile congregation following the Strangers' Church model. It is through this action that many of a Lasco's ideas about ecclesiastical

<sup>95</sup> He also wrote in the 1551 ordinance: 'Calix cui benedicimus, communicatio est sanguinis Christi'. This was changed in the 1554 ordinance to 'Christi: accipe, bibe, memor Christum sanguinem suum pro te profudisse in remissionem peccatorum tuorum'. Honders (ed.), *Liturgia Sacra*, p. 95.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 122-144.

<sup>97</sup> He explained that the ministers should inspect the urns to see who had received the most votes. 'Ad suffragia porro colligenda dantur viris singulis fidem professis in Ecclesia singuli calculi. Deinde in conspectum Ecclesiae proponuntur totidem urnae, quot fuerint homines ad hoc munus a senioribus propositi, habentes eorum nomina singulae unius ascripta. Tum ordine accedentes suum calculum imponunt cuicunque urnae velint. Quod ut a nemine intelligatur, in quam puta imposuerit, singulis urnis manum imponit. Tum cuius urna plures habuerit calculos, is pro Ministro habetur'. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

organisation and practice made their way into this refugee church. For example, the Polish reformer's principal institutions, the *coetus* and ecclesiastical discipline, found renewed life in this French congregation.<sup>98</sup> Poullain had instructed that ministers were to meet each week to discuss doctrinal and disciplinary matters. These assemblies maintained their congregational format, with each participant allowed to voice their opinion and all decisions to be determined by unanimous consent.<sup>99</sup> Regarding the discipline, these refugees followed the steps of private and public censure, and included the rites for excommunication and reconciliation.<sup>100</sup> Like a Lasco's instructions in the *Forma ac ratio*, Poullain noted that the purpose of this practice was to correct the offender's behaviour and return him to the congregation. It was meant to encourage penitance, rather than cut him off from the church indefinitely.<sup>101</sup> The French community also retained the Polish reformer's uncommon practice of the congregation's authority concerning the disciplinary rites. Poullain explained that if someone was to be reconciled with the church, the congregation must be assembled so that the obstinate member can profess their sins publicly and be readmitted to the body by the entire church's consent.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>98</sup> Honders (ed.), *Liturgia Sacra*, pp. 78-96 and 220-240.

<sup>99</sup> 'Sciendum imprimis quod nunquam habetur conventus aliquis Ecclesiasticus (habetur autem singulis septimanis) sine lectione alicuius loci ex scriptura, et oratione pro dono spiritus sancti. Deinde Pastor toti coetui rem de qua convenerint exponit: et caeteri deinceps, si quid habent, referunt. Deinde rogantur a Pastore, singulorum sententiae. Ac datur opera, ut cuique fiat satis: nisi forte cum populus convenit, et quispiam videtur agere praefractius, tum ubi opus est veritati fert patrocinium autoritas adversus perveraciam'. Ibid., p. 220.

<sup>100</sup> 'In publicis criminibus statim publica poenitentia exigeretur, aut excommunicaretur pertinax. In occultis autem, principio clam et privatim, deinde adhibitibus testibus, ac tandem in concilio Seniorum admonetur. Post ubi nil profici vident, pastor scelus et hominem Ecclesiae palam facit, ut vel hac ratione pudeat. Denique si post trinam eiusmodi monitionem pergit obstinate agere, quarto die Dominico excommunicatur, et sacris omnibus illi interdicitur, nempe Sacramentis et precibus'. Ibid., p. 238.

<sup>101</sup> 'His enim temporibus iubetur ab Ecclesia secedere. A concionibus nunquam arcetur. Imo nunquam desunt qui privatim agant et ad poenitentiam hortentur'. Ibid., pp. 238-240.

<sup>102</sup> 'Cuius si signa certa dederit, tum convocata Ecclesia, iubetur culpam criminis agnoscere, ac deinde consensu universae Ecclesiae ad precum et Sacramentorum communionem admittitur'. Ibid., p. 240.



One of the most unique elements of a Lasco's order was the active level of participation he assigned to the laity in choosing new ministers. In the Strangers' Church, the congregation had the unusual task of both nominating and granting final approval to candidates. The reformer defended this practice, arguing that in the ancient church ministers had been elected 'by a vote of all the people'.<sup>103</sup> The French church in Frankfurt followed this same model for elections. As mentioned above, Poullain instructed that the ministers should place an urn for each candidate at the front of the chapel and that each member would deposit their vote in the appropriate vessel. The congregation also maintained their power to nominate candidates. The French preacher explained that an additional urn was to be placed in the church. If the members knew of a suitable person who was not standing for election, they could write his name on a piece of paper and place it in this container. Upon completion of the voting, the preachers, elders and deacons collected the receptacles to determine who had received the most nominations. Finally, they examined the chosen candidate before presenting him to the entire church for their final approval.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>103</sup> 'Olim invetere post Apostolos Ecclesia designabantur Ministri totius populi suffragijs: iuxta exe[m]plum Apostolorum, circa Diaconorum electionem'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. D8<sup>v</sup>. 'Tota igitur hebdomade illa, Ecclesiae totius suffragia per Ministros ac Seniores priuati[m] colligu[n]tur...FACTA autem instiusmodi electione, accersuntur qui sunt electi, ad cœtum illum Ministrorum, Seniorum, ac Diaconorum omnium: proponiturq[ue] illis eius ministerij, ad quod sunt electi, tota ratio atq[ue] animi illorum (quona[m] pacto ad dela tum sibi ministerium affecti sint) diligenter explorantur'. Ibid., sigs. E2<sup>v</sup>-E3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> 'Ad suffragia porro colligenda dantur viris singulis fidem professis in Ecclesia singuli calculi. Deinde in conspectu Ecclesiae proponuntur totidem urnae, quot fuerint homines ad hoc munus a senioribus propositi, habentes eorum nomina singulae unius ascripta. Tum ordine accedentes suum calculum imponunt cuicunque urnae velint... Tum cuius urna plures habuerit calculos, is pro Ministro habetur. Additur porro urna una caeteris sine nomine, in quam scilicet suos calculos imponant ii quibus non placebit suffragium dare alicui ex iis qui a Ministris et Senioribus fuerint propositi. Et calculum suum chartae involvent cui nomen asscribent illius cui malint dare suffragium... Postquam suffragia sic collecta erunt, tum in quem plures consenserint, si caetera idoneus videbitur, is a Senioribus et aliis pastoribus Minister ei Ecclesiae nominatur. Deinceps certo quodam die iste nominatus a Ministris et Senioribus Ecclesiae examinatur, num iis dotibus praeditus sit, quae Ministerium decent'. Honders (ed.), *Liturgia Sacra*, p. 222.

A conflict erupted in 1555 within the French community that challenged this pronounced lay role in elections. Poullain had established this congregation with other exiles from the London Strangers' Church and their numbers grew as new refugees arrived in Frankfurt, including a group of Walloons from Glastonbury and those who came directly from France. Although Poullain had served as preacher in London, a growing number of critics from within the congregation claimed the new church had not elected him to the post. It was this question over the laity's power to choose their minister that was the focus of this conflict. Many of the new arrivals including Augustin le Grand, Francis le Clerc, and Jean de Poix (*seigneur de Séchelles*) opposed Poullain's entitlement to the office. In the summer of 1555, le Grand, de Poix and a third unidentified man quit their posts as elders to protest against Poullain's authority.<sup>105</sup> The ministers held new elections to replace the men and began proceedings to excommunicate the dissenters.<sup>106</sup> Le Grand and his supporters complained to the town's magistrates, who formed a committee to investigate the matter. They appointed three local men to carry out this task: the recent arrival John a Lasco, the French elder Nicholas Walet, and the English minister Robert Horne. They were assisted by five others from outside the town: John Calvin, the Genevan printer John Crespin, the Genevan bookseller Laurent de Normandie, the Spanish theologian Jan Pérez de Pineda, and the Lusanne physician Eustache Du Quesnoy.<sup>107</sup> This group concluded that although many of the accusations were difficult to prove because of insufficient evidence, Poullain should accept some fault for claiming incorrectly that he had received the church's approval. The

<sup>105</sup> Denis, *Églises d'Étrangers*, pp. 327-335; and Bauer, *Valérand Poullain*, p. 240.

<sup>106</sup> Bauer, *Valérand Poullain*, p. 240; and Denis notes that they were excommunicated the following year. *Églises d'Étrangers*, p. 340.

<sup>107</sup> Denis, *Églises d'Étrangers*, p. 344.

minister accepted their verdict and a new election was held, in which the congregation returned him to his former position as preacher.<sup>108</sup>

The dispute over the laity's authority in electing ministers, however, continued after Poullain's reelection. The following October, the French minister contradicted his 1554 ordinance when he confirmed three new deacons in the church without involving the elders in their examination. All six elders resigned in protest, leaving the church without a consistory.<sup>109</sup> Poullain eventually relinquished his post over the matter and the congregation chose Francis Perussel as their new preacher. This conflict over elections procedure reveals the significant support for the Strangers' Church model among the French congregation in Frankfurt. Poullain had instituted the practice for this exile community in his 1554 Liturgia Sacra, which had duplicated the London format for choosing new ministers including a Lasco's emphasis on an uncommonly high level of lay participation. The French congregants embraced this power and fought to defend the right in the dispute over elections. In both cases, the congregation's authority in choosing new ministers was upheld. Unfortunately for Poullain, the practice he had brought from London became a key instigator in ending his clerical career.

A Lasco also influenced the French eucharistic rite observed in Frankfurt. While it is uncertain if they adopted the reformer's seated Communion, there are several key similarities between the Forma ac ratio and the 1554 Liturgia

<sup>108</sup> Denis, Églises d'Étrangers, pp. 345-346.

<sup>109</sup> Bauer, Valérand Poullain, p. 241. The six elders to resign were: Nicholas Walet, Piat Du Cheune, Hans Rosenzwyg, Jaques Huain, George Paindavoine, and Jean Bara. Denis, Églises d'Étrangers, pp. 347-349. Denis notes that Poullain remained in Frankfurt until his death the following year. *Ibid.*, p. 349.

Sacra.<sup>110</sup> Both documents begin their discussion of the Supper's institution with nearly identical statements about its apostolic origins, and they prescribe a similar order of service. (See Figure 4.2) The Frankfurt ordinance also emphasises the symbolic nature of the ceremony; Poullain explained that participation represents their membership in Christ's body and that the bread and wine are exterior signs to feed and nourish their eternal life.<sup>111</sup>

Like the other London refugees, this French congregation encountered opposition to their eucharistic rite from local Lutheran clerics. Most notable among their critics was the lead preacher Hartmann Beyer, who attacked the symbolic understanding of their ceremony, which denied transubstantiation and Christ's real presence in the elements. In October 1555, the clerics urged the council to require the foreigners to follow the Augsburg confession and the sacramental rites of the city's churches. All of the exile congregations refused this request but proposed that a disputation should be held concerning the matter. The local preachers refused to debate the issue, asserting that their ordinances had made clear the unorthodox ceremonies.<sup>112</sup> The magistrates attempted to solve the impasse the following February, ordering the foreigners to observe the Lutheran practices, but the refugees again refused to comply. The conflict

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<sup>110</sup> Poullain's order described the distribution of the bread and wine in a similar manner to the Forma ac ratio, but omitted any reference to sitting at the table. 'Ce fait le Ministre premierement rompt et prend du pain, et boit de la coupe de vin, et puis le distribue au diacre. Et apres il conuie le peuple, lequel y vient en grande reverence et bon ordre, les hommes premierement, et apres les femmes. Et reçoivent de la main du Ministre à un bout de la Table une petite piece de pain: et du Diacre à l'autre bout le hanap pour boyre, et ainsi chascun ayant communicquée retourne en sa place'. Honders (ed.), Liturgia Sacra, p. 93.

<sup>111</sup> 'Premierement donc, croyons à ces promesses, que Iesus Christ, qui est la verité infallible, a prononcé de sa bouche, assavoir, qu'il nous veut vrayement faire participans de son corps et de son sang, à fin que nous le possedions entierement: en telle sorte qu'il vive en nous, et nous en luy. Et combien que nous ne voyons que du pain et du vin: toutesfois, que nous ne doutions point, qu'il accomplit spirituellement en noz ames, tout ce qu'il nous demonstre exterieurement par ces signes visibles: c'est à dire, qu'il est le pain celestiel, pour nous repaistre et nourrir à vie eternelle'. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-91.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 351.

Figure 4.2 – Eucharist in the *Forma ac ratio* and 1554 *Liturgia Sacra*

<u>Forma ac ratio</u>	<u>1554 Liturgia Sacra</u>
<p><b>Institution</b>            ‘COENÆ Dominicæ vsum summo olim studio summaq[ue] religione sub Apostolis obseruatu[m] esse, facile è scripturis apparet. Siquide[m] Paulinæ illæ apud Corinthios...abundè testa[n]tur’.<sup>113</sup></p> <p><b>Order of ceremony</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Public prayer</li> <li>▪ Sermon on the institution of the Lord’s Supper</li> <li>▪ Lecture on the dangers of not observing the rite</li> <li>▪ Administration of bread and wine (men first, followed by women)</li> <li>▪ Public prayer of thanks</li> <li>▪ Brief oration on the Eucharist’s signs and their meaning<sup>114</sup></li> </ul>	<p><b>Institution</b>            ‘EScoutons [sic] comme Iesus Christ nous a institué sa sainte Cene, selon que saint Paul le recite au chapitre 11. de la premiere Epistre aux Corinthiens’.<sup>115</sup></p> <p><b>Order of ceremony</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Public prayer</li> <li>▪ Sermon on the institution of the Lord’s Supper</li> <li>▪ Lecture on the dangers of not observing the rite</li> <li>▪ Administration of bread and wine (men first, followed by women)</li> <li>▪ Public prayer of thanks<sup>116</sup></li> </ul>

appears to have subsided without resolution, but reappeared two years later, in June 1557. Prince Philipp hoped to unite the German towns and territories under a common doctrine before the forthcoming colloquy in Worms. To accomplish this goal, he called on the princes and theologians to attend his assembly in Frankfurt. Martin Micron was among the men invited to participate, although he was unable to attend the meeting. The prince was successful in bringing these temporal and spiritual authorities together and they published a series of conclusions at the end of June. However, they failed overcome the confessional

<sup>113</sup> A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. M5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. T3<sup>v</sup>-V7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> Honders (ed.), *Liturgia Sacra*, p. 83.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 79-96.

divisions and unite all the Protestant churches in their lands, as the decisions from this assembly made no mention of the refugee congregations.<sup>117</sup>

There was one final dispute among the French exiles in 1559 leading, ultimately, to the closure of their church. The problem began when some leaders proposed making radical changes to the consistory. This disciplinary assembly was modelled on a Lasco's London church, where the elders and preachers served on this committee. In January, Perussel announced that the nine participating elders would be replaced by six popularly elected ones and two jurists appointed by the town council. The ministers were divided over this proposition. Augustin le Grand and Jean de Glaubourg, the council's advisor to the foreigners, supported the plan, while the preacher William Houbraque and six other elders remained opposed to it.<sup>118</sup> Perussel's critics called for a suspension of elections and the Lord's Supper until the matter could be resolved. Their chief concern was that the autonomy of the French church would be diminished by the civic authorities' power to appoint the jurists.<sup>119</sup> The council appointed three magistrates to investigate the matter, Jean de Glaubourg, Daniel zum Jungen and Conrad Humbracht, and they concluded in September 1560 that the refugees should be given a new order for their churches.<sup>120</sup> The congregation rejected this verdict and both sides of the conflict continued to urge the council for a resolution. The magistrates took an unexpected step and closed the French church before the end of the year. A small number of the refugees remained in the town and in December 1561 they elected Arnaud Banc as their new minister. He hoped the council would reconsider their decision and submitted a revised

<sup>117</sup> Honders (ed.) *Liturgia Sacra*, pp. 354-355. The conclusions are printed in Sehling, vol. 8, pp. 161-165.

<sup>118</sup> Honders (ed.) *Liturgia Sacra*, p. 363.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 364.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 371.

confession to the magistrates. However, this too was rejected and the civic authorities refused to reopen the exile church.<sup>121</sup>

As with the French congregation, the Dutch refugees in Frankfurt also were influenced by a Lasco's ecclesiastical model. Many had emigrated from London and their preacher, Peter Dathenus, was a former member of the Strangers' Church. This connection was strengthened further when, in 1555, the Polish reformer accepted an invitation to come to Frankfurt and help organise this exile community. In the months following his arrival, he finished publishing the *Forma ac ratio*, providing a useful blueprint for these refugees. It is difficult to trace the reformer's influence on this first wave of Dutch Protestants in the town because few records remain from this period and, like their French counterparts, the magistrates closed their church in 1560. However, the number of Dutch emigrants continued to increase and the council eventually agreed to reopen their church. On 18 November 1570, the first sermon was preached to this new Dutch congregation.<sup>122</sup> They began holding regular worship services in the ministers' homes until the magistrates granted a permanent place for services on 28 August 1571.<sup>123</sup> Although no ecclesiastical ordinance survives from this second Dutch church, consistory minutes remain from the period between 1570 and 1581, providing important clues about their activities. These records reveal

<sup>121</sup> Honders (ed.) *Liturgia Sacra*, pp. 383-387.

<sup>122</sup> 'Den 18. Novembris is veroordent in de jeghenwoordigheijt der zelve broederen, dat men moorghen een predicatie doen zal ten huijse van Gillis van Muijsenhole tusschen 7 ende 8 uren smerghens, daer alleen de manspersonen zullen beroupen wezen'. Hermann Meinert and Wolfram Dahmer (eds.), *Das Protokollbuch der Niederländerschen Reformierten Gemeinde zu Frankfurt am Main 1570-1581* (Frankfurt, 1977), p. 61. The increasing number of Dutch Protestants in Frankfurt was caused, most likely, by Duke Alva's counter-reform measures in the Netherlands during this period.

<sup>123</sup> 'Na anderen woorden hebben ons het herckhuijs gheconsenteert, om over anderen dagh daer in te predicken, ende over anderen dagh in den hof, het welcke, dewijle wijt niet anders krijghen conden, wij hebben angenomen. Item besloten in de consistorie, dat men, waert mogelick, dat huijs heuren zoude naest der Walen kerckhuijs, om deze misse te predicken. Ende daer op zijn gegaen Storea, [Lauwereijns] Ackerman ende [Pieter] Bisschop ende Hans Gestens hebbent gheheurt voor thien gulden'. Meinert and Dahmer (eds.), *Protokollbuch*, pp. 86-87.

significant information about the rites and practices observed by these refugees, and demonstrate a Lasco's lasting impact, especially on their elections, discipline, and the rite for public fasting and prayer.

The extant minutes reveal that this second Dutch church instituted a similar form of administration and elections procedure as found in the London Strangers' Church. It was recorded that on 17 November 1570, Gaspar van der Heyden reestablished the consistory following the appointment of four new preachers: Jan de Hossche, Lauwereijns Ackerman, Pieter Bisschop, and Gillis van Muijsenhole. Two days later, six deacons were chosen to oversee alms collection and poor relief: Antheunus Seedt, Hans Gestens, and the four preachers.<sup>124</sup> The following year changes were introduced, bringing the administration closer in line with a Lasco's model. De Hossche, Ackerman, Bisschop, and van Muijsenhole agreed that they could not perform the duties of both offices, so new deacons were to be chosen.<sup>125</sup> The minutes also note that a third position was to be added, with the election of two elders to aid the preachers of the Word.<sup>126</sup> On 25 November 1571, the church selected Nicolaus van der Voorde and Johan Martruijt for this new post by a vote of the congregation (*in de ghemeijnte bij keurstemmen*). The ministers instructed the assembly that if anyone knew of a reason why the candidates should not be

<sup>124</sup> 'Den 17. Novembris 70 zijn ettelicke manspersonen door Gasparum von der Heyde t'zamen gheroupen gheweest ten huijse van Lauwereijns Ackerman, alwaer deze 4 navolghende veroordent hebben gheweest tot versoorghers van den dienaer des woorts: Jan de Hoosche[,] Lauwereijns Ackerman[,] Pieter Bisschop[,] Gillis van Muijsenhole...Den 19. Novembris zijn vercooren gheweest ten huijse van Muijsenhole tot dijaconen deze zes navolghende personen: Peeter Bisschop[,] Gillis van Muijsenhole[,] Antheunus Seedt[,] Hans Gestens[,] Jan de Hossche[,] Lawereijns Ackerman'. Meinert and Dahmer (eds.), *Protokollbuch*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>125</sup> 'Den 9. Novembris 1571 hebben de diaconen bij mij gheweest, begeert, dat zij ontslaghen moghten wezen van haren dienst, dewijle het jaer nu omme was, dat men zoude angheven, datter andere in hare plaetse moghten ghecooren wezen, ende is besloten, dat ment sondaghe naestcommende doen zal...Den 16. hebben de diaconen eendraghtelick overghebraght, dat zij begheerden ontslaghen te zijne ende hen niet te stellen onder de verkiesijnghe'. Ibid., p. 89-91.

<sup>126</sup> 'Ten zelve daghe [den 15en] is besloten gheweest, dat men in sonndaghe naest angheven zoude van twee olderlijnghen te verkiesen in sonndaghe dat comt in acht daghen'. Ibid., p. 90.



ordained, they ought to approach the other ministers with their objections between Tuesday and Friday of the following week.<sup>127</sup> On the next Sunday, the members chose Fredericus Schurman, Regnier le Blancq, Jan de Wolf, and Antonius de Broucker as their new deacons and, since no complaints were made about van der Voorde and Martruijt, they were confirmed as elders.<sup>128</sup> The accounts of the 1571 elections reveal two key points about their administration. First, the use of preacher, elders and deacons resembled the practices of the Strangers' Church and the earlier refugee congregations in Emden and Frankfurt. The minutes also reveal a shared emphasis on the congregation's role in nominating and approving ministers, which was a unique characteristic of a Lasco's order.

Since many members of this new Dutch community had not come directly from London, the other exiles who had belonged to the Strangers' Church played a key role in conveying the London practices to this second generation of refugees. Emden's influence, for example, can be seen in the changes to elections adopted in 1572. The Frankfurt ministers judged that choosing new deacons and elders each year was too disruptive. To maintain some continuity, they increased their term to twenty-four months and decided that only one-half of the officers would stand for election each year. They also expanded the period for congregants to raise objections about newly selected ministers, giving members eight days rather than four to voice their concerns.

<sup>127</sup> 'De ouderlijnghen, die gecooren waren, zijn de ghemeijnte vooren ghestelt gheweest, zoo'er ijemant ware, die'er wat op wiste te zegghen, dat hij dat tusschen dien dagh ende den vrijdagh an brijnghen zoude, want zoo 'er niet segghen ghebracht en ware in sondaghe naest, souden zij in haren dienst treden'. Meinert and Dahmer (eds.), *Protokollbuch*, p. 92.

<sup>128</sup> 'Den 25. zijn vercooren gheweest in de ghemeijnte bij keurstemmen tot ghedeputeerde ofte ouderlijnghen[:] Nicolaus van der Voorde[,] Johan Martruijt... Ten zelven daghe [den tweeden Decembris 1571] zijn vercooren gheweest vier diaconen. Fredericus Schurman[,] Regnier le Blancq[,] Jan de Wolf[,] Anthoine de Brouckere'. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-94.

The consistory minutes note that, in both cases, these alterations reflected the current practice in Emden.<sup>129</sup> Similar to other refugee churches, they also incorporated elements of cooption. The ministers noted in 1571 that they would choose candidates for the church's offices, rather than nominations coming from the congregation, which was similar to the Emden practice.<sup>130</sup>

Other refugee groups also influenced this Frankfurt community.

Following the closure of the exile churches in 1560, the preacher Dathenus and his Dutch followers reestablished their congregation in the Frankenthal region, and many sought to assist this new Frankfurt community. In 1571, the former minister aided the new Frankfurt congregation's search for a permanent chapel and he sent Gaspar van der Heyden to help organise them.<sup>131</sup> He also advised the exiles on doctrinal matters. On 10 March 1572, for example, he sent a letter to Frankfurt warning them about the dangers of embracing the Lutheran understanding of Christ's real presence in the Eucharist (*vleeschelicke*

<sup>129</sup> 'Den 10. is onder de consistorie verhandelt van der verkiesijnghe, dewijle den tijt anstont, ende van dat wij van der advijse waren, de forma der verkiesijnghe te veranderen onder onse ghemeijnte, ende om te conformeren na de ordonnantie t'Embden gemaect den [date left blank]...Eerst, of men maer deen helft van de consistorie veranderen zoude, ten anderen, of men de forma der verkiesijnghe, die wij gebruijct hadden, zoude blijven volghen, of dat wij volghen de oordonnantie g'Embden gemaect...Item men zoudet de gemeijnte angeven de forma der verkiesihnghe t'Embden besloten, ende dat wij van den advisje waren die te volghen. Zoo ijement daer jeghen ijete wiste te zegghen, die zoudet an brijngen bin de naeste acht daghen. Dit was gedaen den 16. novembris sondaechs smergens'. Meinert and Dahmer (eds.), *Protokollbuch*, pp. 116-117. These changes were the last alterations to the elections policy for the remainder of the period covered by the minutes.

<sup>130</sup> 'Den 18. [1571] hebben de broederen in de consistorie onder hen overzien, wat mannen dat zij hadden inde ghemeijnte, die zij verkiesen moghte. Zoo zijnde ettelicke onder hen opheteekent gheweest'. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>131</sup> On 22 March 1571 the ministers sent a letter to Dathenus in Frankenthal requesting his help in obtaining a place of worship in Frankfurt. The preacher was unable to travel to Frankfurt, but sent Dathenus to aid the Dutch refugees. 'Den 22<sup>en</sup> Martij is angegeven gheweest, dat Mons<sup>r</sup> Bannois reijssen zoude na Heijdelbergh an den Paltzgrave tot verwoorderijnghe van den tempel alhier te ghecrijghen. Zoo hebben wij briefven mit gheschicht an Dathenum, dat hij zoude willen onse zake voorderen'. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

*wijsheit*).<sup>132</sup> Thus, a Lasco's London model was conveyed to this new refugee church by the other exile communities, such as those in Emden and Frankenthal.

One clear example of a Lasco's impact is on the Dutch congregation's ecclesiastical discipline, which can be seen in the case of their former deacon Antonius de Broucker. The consistory had ordered him to appear before their assembly to answer questions about a dispute between himself and one of his colleagues. He refused the ministers' first two requests, but finally conceded and appeared before the consistory on 26 August 1575. The preachers and elders settled the matter and ordered de Broucker to appear before the congregation, admitting his guilt and confessing his sins relating to the dispute and to his absence from the church over the previous fifteen weeks.<sup>133</sup> Unhappy with the verdict, he refused the ministers request. The next mention of de Broucker came the following August, when his wife reported that he was ready to reconcile with the church. However, the consistory summoned him to appear the following month but he refused again. Around this same time, his mother-in-law reported that he had been violent towards her and had mistreated his wife,

<sup>132</sup> 'Item zij hebben ons grootelicks beschuldicht van eenen brief, die Dathenus ghescreven hadde an Johan de Blond, die Sebastiaen van Heijdelberghe mede ghebracht hadde, waer in zij scherpelick vermaent waren, dat zij hen van ons ghesepareert hadden ende ons niet mede vervaet in hare verantwoordijnghe, onse ghemeijnte alzoo stellende in perickel. Item zeijde, dat het maer enn vleeschelicke wijsheit was, ende dat God zulcke procedure niet segenen en zoude'. Meinert and Dahmer (eds.), *Protokollbuch*, p. 105.

<sup>133</sup> 'Den 26 Junij is besloten, dat Maijliert Roset met Roel soude ghaen tot Antheunis de Broucker, om voor hem sijne schult te bekennen, daerin hij jeghen hem misdaen heeft. Ende de wijle Anghuenis voornaemt hem tot tweer reijssen toe gheweijsghert heeft voor de consistorie te commen, salmen beraedtslaghen, op wat wijse men jeghen hem sal handelen'. *Ibid.*, p. 134. 'Den 26. Augusti 1575 is Anthonis de Broucker met Roelant van het gheschil, dat sij met malcanderen ghehadt hebben, verreenicht. Ende de broeders hebben voor goet ghevonden, dat Roel sijn schult opentlick soude inde kercke bekennen aenghesien dat een opentlicke schult gheweest is...ten anderen hebben de broeders hem voorgheleijt, dat hij moeste opentlick sijn schult bekennen, dat hij in 15 weken ofte meer noijt in onse kercke gheweest hadde. Want hij daer duer de gantze ghemeijnte onsticht hadde'. *Ibid.*, p. 136. Various spellings are used for de Broucker, including Antheunis de Broucker, Anthenis de Broucker, and Antonis de Brockere.

aggravating the situation.<sup>134</sup> The preachers and elders continued to admonish de Broucker, who finally appeared before them on 30 August 1577. They informed him that over the previous two years his offenses had grown to include excessive drinking, refusing his families private admonitions, and associating with prostitutes.<sup>135</sup> He again rejected their verdict and on 28 February 1578, the ministers decided to relate the whole matter to the congregation for their prayers and, if he remained obstinate, for his excommunication. The situation worsened over the next twelve months as more complaints were made against the offender. The last mention of this case was made on 5 March, 1579, when he appeared a third time before the consistory and again refused to recognise his guilt and spoke out against the ministers.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>134</sup> 'Den 31 Augusti [1576]...Item Anthonis die Broucker heeft door sijn huisvrouw die consistorie aenlaten geven, dat hij sich mit die gemeente begeerde te versoenen'. Meinert and Dahmer (eds.), *Protokollbuch*, pp. 142-143. 'Den 4. Novembris [1576]...Sijn aengegeven die claechten van Anna Blondeels over haer schoonsoen Anghonis de Brouckere van t'gewelt, dat hij haer gedaen heeft, op haer daer te lopen, die ende quade handelinghe sijner huisvrouwen'. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>135</sup> 'Den 30. Augusti...daerna heeft men hem int bijzonder sijn schulden voorgeleijt. 1.) die dronckenschap en heeft hij niet konnen loochenen, maer en heeft niet willen kennen, dat hij daer jemant in geergert hadde...2.) van sijn swager geslagen te hebben en heeft hij niet ontken, noch oock sign schoonmoeder qualick toegesproecken te hebben, dan dat sij hem eerst in sijn gekomen qualick toesprecken. 3.) aengaende dat hij mit sijn maert afgetrocken soude weesen, heeft geseijt, dat hij van haer niet en wiste, dan dat hij se tot Bacharach gevonden heeft sijnde int geselschap van lansknachten, ende dat hij van daer mit haer voort afgetrocken is. 4.) belangende sijn wandel van Antwerpen, daer men ons aengegeven hadde, dat hij on oneerlicke plaetsen gedomineert hadde, heeft geseijt, dat hij hem t Antwerpen eerlick gedragen heeft ende geensins misgragen...5.) gevraecht, waer hem Martin de Bary saliger gevonden heeft opt Visservelt (die Welcke verclaert heeft, als hij leefde, dat hij hem daer schendelick bevonden hadde mit een straethoere), heeft geseijt, dat hij van Martin de Bary niet en wist, ende dat hij noijt opt Visservelt eenige oneerlicheijt bedreven en hadde, ende dat Martin voorscreven anders seggen soude, waert dat hij leefde. 6.) belangende van tuijsschen aen die Bockemer poort, segt, dat het so is geweest, wanner twee of drie enen nae schieten (want hij was daer schietende mit de busse), dan werpen sij mit steenen wie het hebben sal, ende segt, dat hij so mach geworpen hebben mit die steenen, ende anders niet. 7.) aengaende dat hij mit een hoere gesien is geweest hier op die straet, ende dat die kinderen hem naworpen mit steenen, heeft gesejt, dattet sijn dienstmaecht was ende dat hij met haer ginck, om een camer te hueren voor haer, ende dat sijn swager hem te spijt also die kinderen tegen hem oppitste'. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-168.

<sup>136</sup> 'Den 5. Martij. Op huden is Antonis de Broecker in de consistorie verschenen. Ende na vele vermaningen hem gedaen van sijn ergerlick leven ende wederspannicheijt heeft hij noijt eenige particuliere schult willen bekennen van geenen dingen, maer veel trotsige woorden ende verachtelicke tegen den dienst des woorts gesproken, noemende trotz, schelmerije ende fenijn tgeen, dat mit vermaninge aen hem gedaen is geweest tot sijner bekeerigen, in sonderheijt die uitroepinge in der kercken geschiet'. *Ibid.*, p. 186.

There are no minutes remaining from the period between May 1579 and April 1580, when this case would have been resolved, and no further mention is made of de Broucker in subsequent records. Although the final verdict is in doubt, this case reveals much about the Dutch form of discipline. Like the Strangers' Church and the other refugee communities, this congregation followed a Lasco's programme for private and public admonitions, as well as the communal rite for reconciliation. In the London practice, the consistory would call an offender to appear so they could admonish him regarding his sins. If he remained obstinate, they called him before their assembly a second time to warn him of the dangers of his sins. If he accepted the censure, the transgressor would be reconciled to the congregation through the public ceremony. If he refused to repent, the matter would be related to the congregation the following Sunday for their prayers. If he rejected the ministers' admonitions three times, a date and time would be set for his excommunication.<sup>137</sup> These same steps were followed by the Dutch consistory in the conflict with de Broucker. The ministers admonished the former deacon twice, once in 1575 and a second time in 1577. In both cases, he rejected their judgement. The church leaders then related the matter to the entire congregation for their prayers. De Broucker was given a third chance to repent when he appeared before the assembly on 5 March 1579, but he again refused their admonishments. Unfortunately, the records end before

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<sup>137</sup> 'Quod si aute[m] is qui propter contemptas priuatas duntaxat in priuato peccato admonitiones, ne post alteram quidem in cœtu Seniorum admonitionem, culpam adhuc suam agnoscere, eamq[ue] nec apud fratres offensos, nec apud Seniores Ecclesiæ deprecari velit: tu[m] illi te[m]pus adhuc cogita[n]di derespicientia p[er]mittitur, ad proximu[m] D[omi]ni cum diem. Ante quem diem nisi [et] cum fratribus offensis, [et] cum Ministris ac Senioribus Ecclesiæ reconcilietur: tum eo ipso die Dominico Ecclesiastes in publica concione peccatum fratris illius, simulq[ue] [et] contemptum admonitionum ordine omniu[m], cora[m] tota Ecclesia exponit: supresso tamen adhuc illius nomine, si quo modo per peccati duntaxat sui illam sine nomine denunciationem, frater ille accusatus ad respicientiam adhuc, culpæq[ue] in cœtu Seniorum agnitionem ac deprecatione[m] induci possit'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sigs. Y7<sup>r-v</sup>.

the case was resolved, making it difficult to judge if the Dutch congregation also had adopted a Lasco's model for excommunication.

The final example of the Polish reformer's influence on these Dutch exiles can be seen in their rite for public prayers and fasting. The refugee churches in London and Frankfurt both used this ceremony when faced with a public calamity, and entries in the consistory minutes demonstrate the similarity between their practices. For example, the ministers recorded that they were joining the French in observing public prayers and fasting on 9 December 1576. They also provided a description of the ceremony to take place in both congregations. The French church followed a modified format, calling the laity to the chapel where they would remain for the entire day listening to sermons, reading Scripture, praying and singing. The Dutch community, in contrast, followed a Lasco's order; the congregation was to come together in the morning for a sermon, after which they would be sent home to spend the day fasting and praying. The ministers then reassembled them in the afternoon for additional sermons and prayers.<sup>138</sup> This Frankfurt rite followed the same format as a Lasco's Strangers' Church and, most likely, was conveyed through the other refugee groups, such as those in Emden, who continued to use the ceremony.

<sup>138</sup> 'Den 30. Novembris [1576]...Hier uut so is bemerckt het verschil tusschen die Walsche ende die Nederlansche: dat die Walsche verstonden eenen vassdach mit sulcken ceremonien, dat men den ganschen dach in die kerck blijven soude predickende, leesende, biddende, singende. Maer die Nederlansche, dat men die actie wel wat langer maecken soude, maer het volck wederom laten thuijs gaen tot na den noen, ende dan wederom predicken ende bidden'. Meinert and Dahmer (eds.), *Protokollbuch*, pp. 149-150. And, 'Quod si Ministris ac Senioribus utile uideatur, iubetur rursum Ecclesia conuenire hora secunda pomeridiana: habeturq[ue] rursum admonitio, quæ ad institutum faciat. Ac demum instituitur Prophetia, quæ ieiunio illi ac supplicatione publicæ subseruiat, ut totus ille dies cultui Diuino [et] sacrorum tractationi impendatur, publicumq[ue] ieiunium in omni abstinentia ciborum tot eo die aduesperam usque obseruetur, sine ullo interim ciborum discrimine: præterquam si cuius ualetudo id ferre (sine incommodo) non posset. Sabbatum enim propter hominem: non homo propter Sabbatum'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sig. li5<sup>v</sup>.

The third exile congregation established in Frankfurt was comprised of the English Protestants who had emigrated with the foreigners from London during the early years of Mary's reign. Here again, the Strangers' Church provided an important model for these newcomers. Poullain had played a crucial role in shaping the doctrine and practices for this group. Upon granting approval for the church, the town's magistrates ordered that they should share White Ladies chapel and observe the French doctrine. They agreed and five English ministers added their signatures to Poullain's confession in the *Liturgia Sacra*'s second Frankfurt edition published in 1555.<sup>139</sup> One of these preachers, William Wittingham, also produced a liturgical order for these refugees. He sought to bring together the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* with the French confession by eliminating those English practices that contradicted the new doctrine. For example, he expunged such elements as the responses to ministers, the litany, wearing the surplice and, as he explained, 'many other things also omitted for that in those reformed churches such things would seem more than strange'.<sup>140</sup> The historian Robin Leaver confirmed this link between the English and French orders, noting that Wittingham had included Clément Marot's metrical version of the Ten Commandments in his order, which was a unique feature found in the *Liturgia Sacra*.<sup>141</sup>

Not everyone approved of this new confession. The ministers sent letters to the other English refugees in Germany and Switzerland promoting their order, which they described as 'free from all dregs of superstitious ceremonies'. They

<sup>139</sup> 'SUBSCRIBUNT ETIAM ANGLI ob Evangelium profugi totius Ecclesiae suae nomine. Ionnes Makbraeus. M. Ioannes Stannto. Vuilliermus Hamonus. Ioannes Bendallus. Guil. Vuhytinghamus'. Honders (ed.), *Liturgia Sacra*, p. 208.

<sup>140</sup> Wood, *A brieff discours*, p. 7. The first liturgical order for the English congregation in Frankfurt was dated 29 July 1554 and is discussed in Wood's work.

<sup>141</sup> Leaver, 'Ghoostly Psalmes', p. 220. See also Wood, *A brieff discours*, p. 7.

invited their fellow countrymen to join them in Frankfurt.<sup>142</sup> The response was not favourable; the English community in Zurich responded with a letter reaffirming the 1552 Book of Common Prayer. The refugees in Strassburg urged them to choose more moderate leaders suggesting John Ponet, John Scory, John Bale or Richard Cox as possible candidates to replace Wittingham. They also wrote that if a suitable preacher was not chosen, they would appoint one with the help of the Zurich ministers.<sup>143</sup> Attempting to solve the conflict over their liturgy, the Frankfurt congregation invited John Knox from Geneva, James Hadden from Strassburg, and Thomas Lever from Zurich to lead their church. Although Hadden declined, both Knox and Lever accepted the offer and moved to Frankfurt in 1555. The two men disagreed over the church's liturgy, intensifying the conflict within this refugee community. Knox was a powerful advocate for Wittingham's order, while Lever joined the prayer book's supporters.<sup>144</sup> According to one contemporary account of the dispute, Calvin had sent a letter expressing his disappointment over the events in Frankfurt, urging the English exiles to avoid such strife in their church.<sup>145</sup>

The quarrelling factions attempted to resolve the dispute over the congregation's liturgy. Both sides agreed to compromise, which came in the form of a new order instituted on 6 February 1555.<sup>146</sup> Unfortunately, no copy of

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<sup>142</sup> Wood, A brief discours, p. 9.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-20.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>145</sup> Thomas Wood indicated that Calvin had sent this letter to the Frankfurt congregation in January 1555. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37. It was thought that the manuscript 'The text of the order | Thorder of cof[m]mon praier | The mministraco[n]n of Christes holye Sacrame[n]tes | And of Christian disciplyne vsede in the | English congregaco[n]n at | Ffranckeforde (1555)' was this compromise liturgy written by Lever, Parry, Wittingham and Knox. However, both Christina Garrett and Thomas Leaver have shown that Knox could not have authored this order, which was probably written after the reformer was expelled from Frankfurt at the end of 1555. See Garrett, Marian Exiles, p. 58; and Leaver (ed.), The Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles 1555 (Bramcote, 1984), pp. 3-4.



this document survives and the peace it brought was quickly disrupted. The following month, the outspoken proponent of the English Book of Common Prayer, Richard Cox, appeared in the German town and upset the fragile agreement. The Sunday following his arrival, Cox led a group of men in disrupting the congregation's worship services by voicing the responses to the minister. One of his supporters read the Litany from the pulpit the next week, reigniting tensions within the community over their liturgy.<sup>147</sup> Upon hearing of the controversy, the town's council attempted to mediate the conflict. The magistrate Jean de Glaubourg ordered that two men from each side should come together to create a new order for the church. Knox, Wittingham, Cox and Lever were chosen for the task but they failed to reach an agreement.<sup>148</sup> Instead, the prayer book's supporters attacked Knox, complaining to the magistrates that he had made treasonous attacks on the English queen in his Faithful Admonition.<sup>149</sup> The council agreed and, not wanting to upset Charles V, they ordered the preacher to leave their city. They also concluded that the English congregation should observe the rites prescribed in the 1552 Book of Common Prayer.<sup>150</sup>

The Scottish preacher's expulsion from Frankfurt was a victory for the prayer book's proponents. In the following months, Cox wrote a new liturgy for the congregation, the 'Order of common prayer', which survives in manuscript form.<sup>151</sup> This work reinforced the traditional English practices in the liturgy, catechetical instruction, and discipline to be observed by the refugees. However,

<sup>147</sup> Wood, A brieff discours, pp. 37-38. See also: M. M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism (Chicago, 1939), pp. 117 and 127-128; and Hermann Dalton, Johannes a Lasco, p. 346.

<sup>148</sup> Wood, A brieff discours, p. 40.

<sup>149</sup> John Knox, A FAYTH | full admonition | made by Iohn[n] Knox, unto the profes | sours of Gods truthe in England, wher | by thou mayest learne howe God wyll | have his Church exercised with | troubles, and how he defen | deth it in the same (Emden, 1554), STC 15069.

<sup>150</sup> Wood, A brieff discours, pp. 40-45.

<sup>151</sup> The original manuscript was discovered in the nineteenth century and is now housed at the British Library, MS Egerton 2836. The text of the liturgy has been reprinted, with a brief introduction, in Leaver (ed.), Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles.

as Robin Leaver notes in his study of this document, the author also included some more moderate compromises between the 1552 Book of Common Prayer and Poullain's French order. For example, he reinstated the prayer book's eucharistic liturgy but removed the controversial practice of kneeling when receiving the host – something a Lasco and the refugee congregations already had eliminated from the ceremony.<sup>152</sup>

A comparison of the Liturgia Sacra and Cox's text reinforces the link between the Strangers' Church and this English congregation. The influence of Poullain's order can be seen in the similar contents of both works. (See Figure 4.3) This is especially clear in the administration and discipline described in the new order. Cox prescribed an ecclesiastical polity that combined the offices in a Lasco's Strangers' Church with the traditional English administration. A pastor was to lead the church who, like the London superintendent, was charged with preaching, administering the Sacraments, exhorting, admonishing and rebuking the congregation, and was the body's chief spokesman.<sup>153</sup> Below this position came the ministers, who aided the pastor in preaching and observing the sacramental rites. Like the foreigners in London, he added elders to ensure that congregations followed the order and to oversee compliance with the discipline. Finally, he instituted deacons to care for the poor.<sup>154</sup> Following the customary English practice, Cox maintained the elders' role in collecting alms and the

<sup>152</sup> Leaver (ed.), Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles, pp. 23-33; and First and Second Prayer Books, pp. 377-393.

<sup>153</sup> 'The Pastor accordeinge to the comaundement of the holy ghost in the Scriptures ought [with] all pasturall care diligentllye to attende to his flocke in preacheinge gods worde, in ministrynge the sacramentes, in example of good life, in exhortinge, admonisheinge, rebukeynge, and as the cheife mouthe of the Churche to open [and] declare all orders taken bye hym and thelders whiche are to be opened and published, to whom no man maye in the face of the congregacon repleye, but yf enye thinke hym selfe to haue cause to speake, let hym come before the Elders in the place appoynted for ther meetinge, and ther to open his mynde and to be heard, [with] all charitable indifferencye'. Leaver (ed.), Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles, p. 19.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

deacons' responsibility for education. These duties were reversed in the Strangers' Church. Likewise, the English congregation adopted a Lasco's disciplinary model, which was characterised by the steps of private and public censure, and included the communal excommunication and reconciliation rites.<sup>155</sup> The only difference between a Lasco and Cox's discipline was the number of chances given to an offender to repent. In London, and in the French congregation in Frankfurt, the accused had two chances to admit their guilt and reconcile before the matter would be related to the church for their prayers and, if necessary, their excommunication. Cox instructed in his new order that an offender only had one chance to repent before such action would be taken.<sup>156</sup>

Figure 4.3 – Contents of the 1554 *Liturgia Sacra* and 1555 'Order of Common Prayer'<sup>157</sup>

1554 <i>Liturgia Sacra</i>	1555 'Order of common prayer'
Preface	Preface
Order of service	Order of service (Common Prayer)
Lord's Supper	Lord's Supper (Communion)
Daily and Other Prayers	
Baptism	Baptism
Marriage	Marriage
Visitation of the Sick	Visitation of the Sick
Burial	Burial
Confessions of Faith	
Order of the ministry <sup>158</sup>	Catechism
Discipline	Order of the ministry
	Discipline

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., pp. 19.

<sup>156</sup> 'But yf enye p[er]son shalbe a notorious knowen offendour, so as he is offenseful to the whole congregaco[n]n, then shall the Pastor and elders imediatlye call the offender before them, and travaile [with] hym to reduce hym to trewe repentaunce and satisfieinge of the congregaco[n]n, which yf he obstinatlye refuse to do, then [the] pastor shall signifie his offence and contempte to the whole congregation, desireinge them to praye for hym, And further to assigne hym a daye to be denounced exco[m]municated before the congregaco[n]n, except in the meane tyme the offender submitte him selfe before the Pastor and Seniors to thorder of disciplyne'. Leaver (ed.), *Liturgy of the Frankfurt Exiles*, p. 19.

<sup>157</sup> This table comes from Leaver, 'Ghostly Psalmes', p. 225.

<sup>158</sup> The order of ministry was among the contents of the *Liturgia Sacra*, although it was omitted from Leaver's discussion.

This new order quieted the unrest among the refugees regarding the rites and liturgy. However, this peace was disrupted the following year when a new conflict arose over the ministers' authority. On 13 January 1557, the English congregant John Asheley was having dinner with the preacher Robert Horne, during which the former criticised the church's ministry. The following week, the consistory called him to appear, having been accused of slandering the preachers and elders.<sup>159</sup> The matter was further complicated when the offender refused to accept any judgement from the ministers because they were his adversaries in the case and could not remain impartial.<sup>160</sup> Trying to resolve the dispute, another member of the church, John Hales, assembled a group of learned laymen to settle the matter. They met on 29 January and concluded that it was lawful for the church's members to speak their opinion without fear of reproach, as long as it was done in a sober manner. They also defended their right to assemble, which the ecclesiastical authorities had criticised as unlawful. They concluded that the church held authority over the ministers rather than the clergy having power over the church.<sup>161</sup> A Lasco and the other refugee congregations shared this same understanding of the discipline. The English preachers and elders rejected Hale's verdict and responded by cancelling worship services.<sup>162</sup> At this point, the Frankfurt magistrates stepped in to resolve the dispute. On 14 February, the French and Dutch ministers delivered the council's edict, ordering the English preacher and elders to be restored to their

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<sup>159</sup> Wood, *A brief discours*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>161</sup> 'He [Horne] had not anie authoritie / or any ma[n]ner of right either to gather together or to break up the assemblie. And although it were graunted that he were their lawfull pastor / yet / it was affirmed that the churche was aboute the pastor and not the pastor aboute the church'. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

full authority while the magistrates investigated the matter.<sup>163</sup> Two weeks later, both parties were reconciled in a public ceremony and the magistrates delivered their final verdict: the preachers, elders and deacons should be relieved of their offices and new elections were to be held. They further ordered that the deacons should be responsible for collecting alms, which reflected the practice in the other refugee congregations. Finally, they decreed that the church should write a new discipline, so that they could avoid any more quarrels.<sup>164</sup>

The exiles set about this task and on 3 March 1557, they elected fifteen men to write the new constitution. They produced instructions governing elections and discipline, which were accepted by the congregation by the end of the month.<sup>165</sup> When it came to choosing new ministers, the document moved away from the model of the Strangers' Church. The authors instructed that a committee of five men should be chosen from among the community to elect the ministers. Although the lay members maintained the power to select this committee, it is uncertain if they retained the right to nominate candidates. What is clear, however, is that their direct participation in choosing new preachers, elders and deacons was diminished. The English congregant Thomas Wood reported that on 22 March two preachers, six elders and two deacons were elected following this new procedure.<sup>166</sup> In contrast, the prescriptions for discipline moved closer to the London model by reaffirming the laity's authority

<sup>163</sup> Wood, *A brieff discours*, p. 85.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87. The text of both the old and new discipline are provided by Wood in *A brieff discours*, pp. 111-133.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89-91.

<sup>166</sup> 'That there might be some better forme off a well ordered church: five were appointed off the church the 20. off marche to nominate certeine from amonge whom / accordinge to the Magistrates decree schulde be chosen / the Ministers off the worde / Seniors and Deacons. The 22. off marche the names off twentie men or there abowte were proponed to those five appoynted off the church and therwithall declared that yffany woulde or coulde reprove anye off them that were named / either in doctrine or manners / they schulde shewe it the 23. daie after'. Wood, *A brieff discours*, pp. 96-98.

in disciplinary matters. The authors retained the steps for private and public admonitions, as well as the rites of reconciliation and excommunication. Following the recent controversy, the document clarified that ministers could not make binding decrees without the approval of the entire congregation, reaffirming their communal authority.<sup>167</sup> In addition, they added instructions for disciplinary cases involving the ministers and for appealing to the town's council for resolution.<sup>168</sup>

These surviving records reveal much about the struggle between the supporters of the 1552 Book of Common Prayer and those who favoured a Lasco's London model. Eventually the moderate preacher Cox and his allies prevailed. However, this congregation, like their French and Dutch counterparts, demonstrated the persistent influence of the rites and practices of the Strangers' Church. Especially noteworthy was the lasting impact of the Polish reformer's ecclesiastical discipline and polity. These exile communities in the German town also reflect another key element in the transmission of this model. The former members of the London congregations brought these ideas about church administration and ceremonies with them when they emigrated from London and reestablished their refugee churches. In turn, they conveyed these practices to others including the English community and the second Dutch congregation in the 1570s. The remaining section of this chapter will explore a final refugee congregation that had its roots in Frankfurt: the English church that Knox joined following his expulsion from the German town.

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<sup>167</sup> Wood, A brieff discours., p. 125.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., pp. 128-133.

## Geneva

The refugee congregation in this community began when a small group of men and women arrived from London in the spring of 1555.<sup>169</sup> John Calvin approached the town's council in June, asking for permission to establish an exile church for English Protestants.<sup>170</sup> While the magistrates were considering the matter, a second wave of emigrants made their way to Geneva from Frankfurt. These new arrivals had supported the more radical order in the dispute with Cox and included William Wittingham.<sup>171</sup> The council granted permission to the exiles in early November and ordered them to share Marie la Nove chapel with the Italian refugees. The English community quickly organised themselves; before the end of the month it had elected Christopher Goodman and Anthony Gilby as preachers, William Williams and Wittingham as elders, and John Staunton and Christopher Seburne as deacons – all of whom had come from Frankfurt.<sup>172</sup> The church's most famous resident, John Knox, would eventually arrive the following year, in September 1556, and become a preacher to these refugees.<sup>173</sup>

This second wave of emigrants played a significant role in shaping this new English congregation. An ordinance governing their practices, The form of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments, was published by Jean Crespin's

<sup>169</sup> The first of the English exiles arrived in Geneva sometime around 29 March 1555. They were Sir William Stafford, his wife Dorothy, his sister Jane, their cousin mistress Sandes, William's children Edward and Elizabeth, and four servants. William Wittingham, John Knox, *et al.*, "Livre des Anglois" or register of the English Church at Geneva under the pastoral care of Knox and Goodman 1555-1559', (ed.) A. F. Mitchell, in 21 Pamphlets Ecclesiastical and Controversial, vol. 28 (no colophon or date), p. 7.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3. The establishment of an English church in Geneva is also discussed in Leaver, 'Ghostly Psalmes', p. 226; and Dan Danner, Pilgrimage to Puritanism: History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1555-1560 (New York, 1999), pp. 23-24.

<sup>171</sup> Wittingham, Knox, *et al.*, 'Livre des Anglois', p. 6.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> Knox was elected as preacher in November 1556. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11.

press in February 1556.<sup>174</sup> This document was a revised version of the controversial Frankfurt order. Although the author is unknown, Wittingham is the most probable source since he was already in Geneva and the text closely resembled his earlier work, which he had cowritten with Knox.<sup>175</sup> This new ordinance continued to address the perceived errors of the Book of Common Prayer, bringing their rites closer to the Reformed practices on the continent. The new Form of prayers was intended to instruct the refugees about the administration, ceremonies and liturgy to be observed in the church. The author also had a second reason for writing the document, which went beyond the borders of Geneva. He addressed the ordinance 'to our brethren in England, and elsewhere', which indicates the larger intended audience.<sup>176</sup> He also included passages defending the order and had the work translated into Latin, suggesting his intention to enter the wider European debate over church reform.<sup>177</sup> Two more English editions followed in 1558 and 1560, indicating a considerable amount of interest in the work.

The desire to provide a model for reform and the influence of a Lasco's Strangers' Church can be seen in the preface to the text. The author recounted the foreigners' departure from London and their experiences in places like Emden, Wesel, Frankfurt and Geneva. He included the English refugees in the story of this emigration and criticised his fellow countrymen on the Continent

<sup>174</sup> The forme of pray- | ers and ministra- | tion of the Sacraments, [et]c. vsed in the | Englishe Congregation at Geneua: and | approved, by the famous and godly lear- | ned man, Iohn Caluyn. (Geneva, 1556), STC 16561. The preface of the ordinance was dated 10 February 1556.

<sup>175</sup> Leaver has speculated that the preface to the order was written by Wittingham. Leaver, 'Ghostly Psalmes', p. 226.

<sup>176</sup> Forme of prayers, sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>177</sup> RATIO | ET FORMA | PVBLICE ORANDI DE- | VM, ATQVE ADMINISTRAN- | DI SACRAMENTA, | ET CAET. | IN ANGLORVM ECCLE- | SIAM, quæ Geneuæ colligitur, recepta: cum iu- | dicio [et] comprobatione d. Iohannis Caluini (Geneva, 1556). This work was also published by the press of John Crespin and was an exact translation of the English edition. The only difference was the date of the preface: 13 February 1556. 'Geneuæ Id. Februaruii, Anno millesimo quinge[n]tesimo quinquagesimo sexto', sig. B1<sup>v</sup>.



who fought to uphold the Book of Common Prayer. He wrote that while God had granted them liberty to develop their rites and practices according to Scripture, they chose to maintain those elements in the prayer book contrary to God's Word.<sup>178</sup> The author presented the ordinance as a model for other exile congregations. He explained 'we...do present unto you which desire the increase of God's glory, and the pure simplicity of his Word, a form and order of a reformed church, limited within the compass of God's Word, which our saviour has left unto us as only sufficient to govern all our actions by'.<sup>179</sup> The preface ended with a call for unity among the refugees and the wider Protestant movement. The author explained that it is necessary for all to agree on the church's doctrine and confession, and promoted this ordinance to be the purest form of Christ's model for all to follow.<sup>180</sup>

The historian Robin Leaver explores this connection between the refugee communities in his study of Dutch and English metrical psalms. He argues that the French exiles had a significant influence on the liturgy found in the Form of prayers. His study focuses on the fifty-one psalms included in the ordinance, the majority having been written by Thomas Sterneholde.<sup>181</sup> Leaver notes that the 1556 edition reflects the English tradition, with only one of the works having been modelled after the Frenchman Clément Marot.<sup>182</sup> However, the historian argues for the increasing French influence, demonstrating that the seven new psalms added to the 1558 edition, and the twenty-nine added in 1560, had their foundations in the French-Genevan psalter.<sup>183</sup> He also notes other links between

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<sup>178</sup> Forme of prayers, sigs. A4<sup>v</sup>-A5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. A5<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. B4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. F8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>182</sup> Leaver, 'Ghoostly psalmes', p. 231.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 231-237.

the Strangers' Church and the Genevan refugees, seen in their prosaic form of the Creed, the exhortations at the Lord's Supper and the prophecy.<sup>184</sup> Leaver's discussion of the Form of prayers raises key evidence for the London ordinance's continuing influence on this congregation's liturgy. This relationship, however, goes even further than the author claims, with a Lasco's model also shaping their ecclesiastical administration, eucharistic rite, and discipline.

A comparison of the Strangers' Church, and the refugee congregations that followed, with the 1556 Form of prayers demonstrates this relationship between their practices. For example, a review of the contents reflects the influence of the Forma ac ratio and the Liturgia Sacra on the English ordinance. Figure 4.4 shows this similarity in subjects, with the Genevan work addressing the same topics as the earlier orders. The only differences are the addition of the psalter and the omission of a detailed order for worship services. A closer examination of some of these elements confirms the impact of the London foreigners on this new order.

The Form of prayers describes the ministry of the refugee congregation, which followed the model of their Genevan hosts. Calvin had instituted four offices in the city's churches, which were repeated by the English newcomers: preachers, doctors, elders, and deacons. The author describes the familiar duties of ministers to preach the Word and administer the Sacraments, elders were to enforce discipline, and deacons were charged with poor relief.<sup>185</sup> The fourth office of doctors was unique to Calvin's order and not seen in the other refugee congregations. The doctors were responsible for instructing the laity about

<sup>184</sup> Leaver, 'Ghostly psalmes', p. 227. The influences on these other areas of liturgy are not the focus of Leaver's study, so little attention is given to these matters.

<sup>185</sup> Forme of prayers, sig. C7r.

Table 4.4 – Comparison of the *Form of prayers*, *Forma ac ratio*, and *Liturgia Sacra*

<u>Form of prayers</u>	<u>Forma ac ratio (1555)</u>	<u>Liturgia Sacra (1554)</u>
Preface	Preface	Preface
Confession of Faith		Confession of Faith
Order of the Ministry	Order of the Ministry	Order of the Ministry
Prophecy	Prophecy	
Daily and Other Prayers	Daily and Other Prayers	Daily and Other Prayers
Lord's Supper	Lord's Supper	Lord's Supper
Baptism	Baptism	Baptism
Marriage	Marriage	Marriage
Visitation of the Sick	Visitation of the Sick	Visitation of the Sick
Burial Directions	Burial Directions	Burial Directions
Discipline	Discipline	Discipline
Catechism	Catechism	
Psalmes		
	Order of Service	Order of Service

doctrine and maintaining the pure Gospels. Although the English community instituted this post in their church, the author of the *Form of prayers* explains that it would have to remain vacant for some time. He wrote that their dispersal throughout Europe made it difficult to maintain doctors in their churches. Instead, he offered, the position would have to wait until the English Protestant church could be reunited.<sup>186</sup> In addition to the Genevan offices, this group of refugees also adopted Calvin's congregational model of administration. The ordinance instructs the ministers to assemble each week to discuss doctrine, judge disciplinary cases, and to ensure conformity in the church.<sup>187</sup> It also emphasises the collegial nature of this committee, explaining that the preachers were to have no special authority over the other ministers and 'in consultations,

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., sigs. C8<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., sig. D1<sup>r</sup>.

judgements, elections and other political affairs, [their] counsel, rather than authority, take place'.<sup>188</sup>

While the offices resembled Calvin's ecclesiastical polity, the Strangers' Church influenced the elections procedure. A Lasco had instituted a programme for choosing new ministers that prescribed an uncommonly high level of lay participation, and this practice was continued with varying degrees of success in the refugee congregations. The Form of prayers describes a similar procedure. The ordinance instructs that the whole church should be called together when elections are needed. The ministers explain the vacant office's duties and urge the congregation to consider and advise who among them would be best suited to execute these obligations.<sup>189</sup> This power to nominate candidates was a common characteristic shared with a Lasco's London order. The ministers would then examine the men concerning their doctrinal knowledge and their sound life before presenting the most qualified person to the congregation for their approval. The lay members were given eight days to make known any objections they might have to the appointment and, if no reasonable protestations arose, the new minister would be ordained the following Sunday.<sup>190</sup>

This dual influence of Calvin and a Lasco can be seen in other parts of the ordinance. Like the Forma ac ratio, the Form of prayers identified three marks of the true Church: preaching the Word, observing the Sacraments, and ecclesiastical discipline.<sup>191</sup> The Genevan reformer, in contrast, did not view this third element as a mark of the church. When it came to doctrinal instruction, these refugees adopted Calvin's catechism for use in their congregation. Their

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<sup>188</sup> Forme of prayers, sig. C6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. C6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. C7<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. C3<sup>v</sup>-C4<sup>r</sup>.

ordinance gives three reasons for this decision. First, the author argues that the purpose of catechetical education is to teach the faithful about all points of religion, and Calvin's text provides the best explanation of doctrine.<sup>192</sup>

Criticising his fellow countrymen in Frankfurt who continued to support the Book of Common Prayer, he writes that the Genevan exiles are concerned about the 'present signs of certain barbarousness and puddels of errors' and that this catechism was the most agreeable with Scripture.<sup>193</sup> Finally, he notes a more practical consideration in choosing Calvin's text, asserting that it is the most read and already has been translated into Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch and English.<sup>194</sup>

A Lasco's London church had other significant influences on the English ceremonies in Geneva. For example, their new ordinance instituted the same rite for public prayer and fasting as found in the Forma ac ratio, including the emphasis on Daniel, chapter nine.<sup>195</sup> They also borrowed the Polish reformer's weekly prophecy, where the congregation was invited to ask questions about the sermons they had heard during the week. A Lasco emphasised its role in educating the laity about doctrine and for combating religious sects within the community.<sup>196</sup> The Form of prayers instituted the same practice in Geneva, instructing that 'every week once, the congregation assemble[s] to hear some place of the scriptures [sic] orderly expounded. At which time, it is lawful for every man to speak or enquire as God shall move his heart...so it be without pertinacity or disdain, as one that rather seeketh to profit than to contend.'<sup>197</sup>

<sup>192</sup> Forme of prayers, sig. B4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. B4<sup>v</sup>-B5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. B5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. D2<sup>v</sup>-D4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>196</sup> A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sigs. K6<sup>r</sup>-K7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>197</sup> Forme of prayers, sigs. D1<sup>v</sup>-D2<sup>r</sup>.

This congregation also adopted a modified version of the Eucharist found in the Forma ac ratio and the Liturgia sacra. The author of the English ordinance described a ceremony that moved away from the Book of Common Prayer, eliminating such elements as the public confession of sins and responses to be spoken by the congregation.<sup>198</sup> The impact of the Strangers' Church is seen when comparing the prescribed order for the communion ceremony. (See Figure 4.5) The Form of prayers describes a rite similar to the other French and Dutch refugee communities, although it omitted the sermons on the dangers of not participating in the ceremony and on the signs and their meaning. The author wrote that the Lord's Supper should begin with the minister explaining Christ's institution of the practice, followed by an exhortation on the meaning of the rite and the distribution of the bread and wine. The ceremony ended with a prayer of thanks.<sup>199</sup> The Genevan refugees rejected the traditional English practice of kneeling during Communion, instead adopting the Polish reformer's seated service, writing that 'the minister commeth down from the pulpit, and sitteth at the Table, every man and woman in likewise taking their place as occasion best serveth'.<sup>200</sup> They also adopted the symbolic understanding of the rite that was common among the London church's descendants. The author criticised the 'error of the papists', who believed in the physical presence of Christ in the bread and wine. Instead, they wrote:

We restore unto the sacraments their own substance, and to Christ his proper place. And as for the words of the Lord's Supper we rehearse them not because they should change the substance...but they are read and pronounced to teach us how to behave ourselves in this action that Christ might witness unto our faith as it were

<sup>198</sup> The Communion ceremony in the 1552 Prayer Book can be found in First and Second Prayer Books, pp. 377-393.

<sup>199</sup> Forme of prayers, sigs. E4<sup>r</sup>-E8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., sig. E6<sup>f</sup>. See also a Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. M8<sup>f</sup>.

with his own mouth, that he has ordained these signs for our spiritual use and comfort.<sup>201</sup>

Table 4.5 – Eucharist in the *Form of prayers*, *Forma ac ratio* and *Liturgia Sacra*

1556 <u>Form of prayers</u>	1555 <u>Forma ac ratio</u>	1554 <u>Liturgia Sacra</u>
Institution	Prayer Warning against non-participation Institution	Prayer  Institution Warning against non-participation
Exhortation on the meaning of the rite	Exhortation on the meaning of the rite	Exhortation on the meaning of the rite
Distribution	Distribution	Distribution
Prayer of Thanks	Prayer of Thanks Exhortation on the signs and their meanings	Prayer of Thanks

Following the model of the other refugee congregations, the English community also adopted a Lasco's form of ecclesastical discipline. Like the reformer, the author of the *Form of prayers* emphasises the practice's role in promoting moral behaviour and in removing evil influences from the church. It was not, however, meant to cut a person off from the community, but rather to urge them to recognise and repent for their sins.<sup>202</sup> They followed the same steps for private and public admonitions, and communal reconciliation and excommunication, as found in the London church. In addition, they adopted a Lasco's unique notion about congregational authority. Unlike Calvin and Bucer, for example, the Polish reformer granted authority in such matters to the entire congregation, claiming that their consent was necessary for reconciliation and

<sup>201</sup> *Forme of prayers*, sigs. E8<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. F5<sup>r-v</sup>.

excommunication.<sup>203</sup> The Form of prayers described this same approach to authority in the English refugees' discipline. The author wrote:

As unto excommunication (which is the greatest and last punishment belonging to the spiritual ministry) it is ordained, that nothing be attempted in that behalf, with out the determination of the whole church, wherein also they must be wary, and take good heed, that they seem not more ready to expell from the congregation then to receive again those, in whom they perceive worthy fruits of repentance to appear.<sup>204</sup>

He also explained that ecclesiastical leaders were not vested with this authority on behalf of the church, but that if the congregation had agreed to excommunicate an offender, the ministers' must pronounce the sentence and follow through with the judgement in an orderly manner.<sup>205</sup>

The influence of the London Strangers' Church on this order for the English refugees is significant, given that the most recent and detailed study of this community failed to see this connection. In Pilgrimage to Puritanism: History and Theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1555-1560, the author Dan Danner explores the origins of this refugee congregation, as well as their theology and worship practices.<sup>206</sup> While he recognises the impact of Calvin and Bucer, no mention was made of the significance of a Lasco's Strangers' Church or Poullain's French congregation in Frankfurt, which played a large role in shaping the Form of prayers. For example, Danner notes the difference between Calvin and the English refugees regarding the marks of the true church. The Genevan reformer claimed that there were two signs: preaching the Word and obervance of the Sacraments. The author of the English ordinance added discipline to this list, like the other refugee congregations. Danner attributes this unexplained emphasis on discipline to their English ecclesiology, rather than the

<sup>203</sup> See above, pp. 115-116.

<sup>204</sup> Forme of prayers, sigs. F6<sup>v</sup>-F7<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid*, sig. C6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>206</sup> Danner, Pilgrimage to Puritansim.



model provided by a Lasco's London church and the exile congregations that followed.<sup>207</sup> However, his conclusion fails to explain the conflict that erupted in Frankfurt within the refugee community over their radical order. More importantly, the author failed to recognise the Form of prayers's foundations; it was a revised version of the first Frankfurt ordinance that had been modelled after the Liturgia Sacra – Poullain's vernacular recording of the London administration and rites. This document clearly had its origins in the refugee churches and the influence of a Lasco can be seen in his practices that were retained by the English exiles in Geneva.

The large number of editions of the Form of prayers suggests considerable interest among the Marian exile community in this work. In the five years following its original publication, Genevan printers produced another four English editions. The first two appeared in 1556 and 1557, containing only the psalter and catechisms, and were intended for use by this refugee congregation. The latter two appeared in 1558 and 1561, and were complete copies of the original work. A Latin edition appeared in 1556, and other English editions followed in Paris, London and Edinburgh, demonstrating the Form of prayers appeal beyond Geneva. The proliferation of this text contributed to its role as a conduit for a Lasco's London model. The Genevan order contained many elements from the Strangers' Church, and carried them to wider audiences beyond the refugee communities. The clearest example of this transmission can be seen in Scotland, where the Form of prayers provided the principal foundation for ecclesiastical reforms in the 1560s. This case will be examined in greater detail in the following chapter.

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<sup>207</sup> Danner, Pilgrimage to Puritansim, pp. 117-119 and p. 124.

The archbishop Thomas Cranmer had hoped that the Strangers' Church would serve as a model for reform, and the experiences of the refugee congregations discussed in this chapter suggest he was successful in this attempt. The experience of the Marian exiles who fled to the Continent following King Edward's death in 1553 reveals the impact of the Polish reformer's vision. A Lasco's order, instituted in the London church and articulated in his Forma ac ratio, found renewed life among the refugee congregations outside England during the second half of the sixteenth century. In some cases, as with the French émigrés in Emden and Frankfurt, they reestablished their communities following the same familiar practices they had observed in London. However, the true potency of this work is seen in its ability to go beyond the former members of the Strangers' Church. For example, the Dutch refugees initiated changes to the existing Emden order, demonstrated by the adoption of a Lasco's revised discipline. In a similar manner, the second Dutch congregation in Frankfurt and the English exiles in Geneva observed many elements of the reformer's order, which had been conveyed to them indirectly through former members of the London congregations.

In addition, the foreigners' model provided a framework for the refugees to protect their doctrine and rites: The *coetus*, consistory and elections procedure reduced their reliance on external civic or territorial authorities who, like the Bishop of London, had attempted to restrict their autonomy. In London, the foreigners used this administrative framework to protect their Sacramental rites, while in Emden it contributed to the church's ability to assert their independence from territorial authorities in the 1590s. In a similar way, it helped

the other refugee communities withstand attacks from local clerics and magistrates regarding their controversial Eucharistic ceremony. As this examination demonstrates, a Lasco's model had a significant impact on the exile congregations and the foreigners who had emigrated to the Continent played a crucial role in conveying his message about ecclesiastical administration and reform. The following chapter looks beyond these refugee churches to explore the lasting impact of his order on national reform movements.

*Chapter Five***The wider legacy of the London Strangers' Church in Poland,  
Scotland and France**

Sixteenth-century religious refugees had distinct motives for seeking asylum, distinguishing them from earlier European exiles. Unlike their predecessors who had emigrated for economic reasons and could assimilate into their host communities, these men and women were forced to leave their homes in order to find a place where they could live according to their religious convictions. However, their expatriation was temporary: they established autonomous churches in foreign locations only until they could return safely and restore the Protestant faith in their native land. The London Strangers' Church, and the subsequent refugee congregations in the German and Swiss lands, shared this common goal. This chapter explores the impact they had on national reform movements when they returned home following their religious exile abroad.

The French, Dutch and English groups discussed in this study had built successfully independent churches under the protection of foreign magistrates, where they maintained their religious practices. A Lasco's ecclesiastical order, created for the Strangers' Church, provided a powerful model for these refugee communities. Yet, what happened when his blueprint for a civic exile church was applied to larger national reform movements? This chapter examines the experiences in Poland, Scotland and France in the second half of the century in order to understand the influence these émigrés had upon their return home and to identify the lasting impact of a Lasco's ordinance in these lands. These case studies reveal two significant points concerning the *Forma ac ratio's*

transmission. First, the foreigners' continued to play a key role in conveying the reformer's message across Europe. Second, the potency of his work is demonstrated by its influence in these national movements.

## Poland

Since leaving Poland in 1538, a Lasco had hoped to return home. That chance finally came nearly twenty years later when he was granted permission to return in 1556. During his absence, support for Calvin and Bullinger had grown among the clergy and nobility, and Reformed congregations appeared in the duchy of Little Poland as early as 1550. However, these disparate churches were not united by a common doctrine or ecclesiastical administration. In April 1556, the territory's leaders assembled and wrote letters to Calvin and a Lasco, inviting them to come and organise their church. The Genevan reformer declined, but the former London superintendent, who had come from a noble family in the province, accepted their summons. He wrote to his friend Albert Hardenberg, 'concerning the whole matter, I decided that a new plan should be undertaken. I resolved that my work, which had been devoted to others abroad, should not be withheld from my homeland by myself (so I have been invited [home])'.<sup>1</sup>

Although he had been requested to organise the duchy's Reformed congregations, a Lasco had larger aspirations concerning a national church. Many shared his ambitions, thinking King Sigismund August was moving in that

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<sup>1</sup> 'Mihi ego horum omnium rationem ineundam esse iudicavi, ut neque meam mihi operam, quam peregre aliis impendebam, patriae meae (ita praesertim vocatus) denegandam esse existimarem'. *LO*, vol. 2, p. 739. The letter to Calvin is found in John Calvin, *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. 16, no. 2445. The Genevan reformer explained to the Polish assembly that as long as a Lasco was there, his presence was no longer urgently needed. *Ibid.*, no. 2602. For additional accounts of a Lasco's return see: Walerjan Skorbohaty Krasinski, *Geschichte des Ursprungs, Fortschritts und Verfalls der Reformation in Polen*, (trans.) Wilhelm Adolf Lindau (Leipzig, 1841), pp. 96, and 107-110; Adolf Henschel, *Johannes Laski, der Reformator der Polen*, vol. 10 (Halle, 1890), p. 40; and Eduard Kneifel, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Augsburgischen Kirche in Polen* (Niedermarschacht, 1962), pp. 29-30.

direction. The monarch had married Barbara Radziwill in 1550, the sister of the powerful Protestant noble Nicholas Radziwill. Reformers were encouraged further when, following a Diet in 1555, the king temporarily suspended the ecclesiastical courts' power over lay justices, until a national church assembly could be held, and ordered that nobles were free to choose the religion for their territories.<sup>2</sup> He also requested the Pope's permission to hold vernacular Masses, to allow priests to marry, to administer both bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, and for the right to hold a national ecclesiastical assembly to address the Protestants' concerns. Pope Paul IV declined all of these requests.<sup>3</sup> However, with the proposed changes, it is not surprising that a Lasco dedicated the 1555 Forma ac ratio to the monarch, or that he thought he had found a suitable candidate to follow in the footsteps of Edward VI.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately for the Polish reformer, the king had no intention of severing his ties with Rome and most of these measures were meant to appease powerful Protestant nobles. There was no official support at the highest level for a national reform movement, so a Lasco would have to settle for building a territorial church with the support of the nobles and clergy in Little Poland. Unlike his experiences in East Frisia and London, he would have to carry out this task without the backing of the regent or monarch.

<sup>2</sup> Janusz Tazbir, 'Poland', in Bob Scribner et al. (eds.), The Reformation in national context (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 168-169; and Kneifel, Geschichte, pp. 26-27.

<sup>3</sup> William J. Rose, The Protestant Churches in Poland (London, 1940), p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> In the Forma ac ratio, the Polish reformer presented the English monarch as an example of the 'most Christian king' and urged Sigismund to follow his lead and establish a national church based on the foreigners' apostolic model. 'Quam praesertim certu[m] esset, à primæva illa post Apostolos Ecclesia, unanimiter obsruat am fuisse'. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. a2<sup>r</sup>. 'Haec ergo nobis etiam consilij nostriratio fuit, in restituendis cultus diuini ritibus totaq; adeò ministerij instauratione, posteaquam (diuino beneficio) Ecclesiam nobis per pientissimum Principem, atq[ue] æterna dignum memoria EDVARDVM, eius nominis sextum Angliæ [et]c, Regem concessam haberemus...Ita enim fore, ut Angliacae quoq[ue] Ecclesiae et puritatem Apostolicam aplectenda[m] unanimi omnium regniordinum consensus excitarentur'. Ibid, sig. ß3<sup>r-v</sup>.

The unique multi-confessional nature of the kingdom also set the reformer's experience apart from his earlier endeavours. Sigismund ruled over Poland and Lithuania, which were formally conjoined in 1569. This territory was distinct from other Western European countries because of its multi-lingual and multi-confessional nature. The historian Janusz Tazbir noted that prior to the Reformation, the ecclesiastical divisions were tied to ethnic identities: Catholic Poles accounted for forty percent of the population, with the remainder comprised of Orthodox Ruthenians, Islamic Tartars and a sizeable Jewish population.<sup>5</sup> Luther's ideas entered in the 1520s, spreading among the German inhabitants in the duchies of Royal Prussia, Greater Poland, and Silesia. Royal edicts issued between 1557 and 1558 guaranteed their doctrinal liberty. Descendants of the Hussites, the Bohemian Brethren, came to Poland in 1548 after they had been expelled from their homeland. In addition, support for the Swiss and Genevan traditions was growing among the nobles during this same period, especially in the territory of Little Poland.<sup>6</sup> Although the Roman Church remained the realm's official religion, these other groups were allowed to coexist rather than assimilate into a national ecclesiastical body. This toleration was unique to the kingdom and allowed the authorities in Little Poland to organise their Reformed congregations without the monarch's support.

A Lasco arrived in December 1556, and set about uniting the disparate congregations in the duchy. Although no ecclesiastical ordinances remain from this period, the surviving synodal records and the reformer's own correspondence reveal his impact on the new territorial church. His greatest contributions are found in two areas: the administration and doctrine he

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<sup>5</sup> Tazbir, 'Poland', p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 168-171; and Bartel, *Jan Łaski*, pp. 211-212.

instituted to unite the congregations. The superintendent's office had been created in 1554, and the Polish reformer was appointed to this post shortly after his arrival. The following June, he summoned the ministers together for their first assembly.<sup>7</sup> As in London, these regular meetings were a key part of his administration, in which the participants made decisions through their common agreement. He explained to his friend John Cerny how this assembly would work, writing that 'each [minister] is required to attend, so that the unanimous consent of all can be obtained from everyone about the business'.<sup>8</sup> A Lasco presided over this first meeting in Wlodzislaw, during which they declared their desire for a vernacular Bible and agreed to establish a new printing press. They also began to adopt the Polish reformer's ecclesiastical polity, creating the lay office of elders to aid preachers. During a second assembly the following month, the ministers accepted Calvin's 1545 catechism and the Genevan order for excommunication for use in their churches.<sup>9</sup>

There were some key changes made to the London administrative model, reflecting the Polish nobility's customary role in ecclesiastical affairs. Through their traditional patronage rights, they had appointed priests to the parishes on their lands. This privilege was integrated into the new office of elders established by the assembly in 1557. Unlike these ministers in the Strangers' Church, who had been chosen from among the lay congregation, the Polish elders were to be selected from the nobility's ranks. Alterations were also made to a Lasco's procedure for elections. His uncommonly high level of lay

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<sup>7</sup> Bartel, *Jan Łaski*, pp. 246-247.

<sup>8</sup> 'Nondum enim coetum hic nostrum in Minore Polonia habuimus, ad quem id quoque referri adhuc oportebit, ut unanimi omnium consensus tandem ea quoque de re statuatur'. A Lasco to John Cerny, 25 July 1557, in Dalton (ed.), *Miscellaneen*, vol. 3, p. 356.

<sup>9</sup> George Hutston Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Kirksville MO, 1992), pp. 1019-1020.



participation in choosing ministers was replaced with cooption: the assembly appointed people to fill these posts. These changes allowed the nobles to maintain a greater role in temporal and ecclesiastical affairs in the territory.

Although the exact eucharistic ceremony instituted by a Lasco is unknown, he continued to support his symbolic understanding of the practice while in Poland. In April 1558, he sent a letter to the Lutheran ministers defending his position. He challenged the notion of transubstantiation and emphasised the commemorative rite's agreement with Scripture.<sup>10</sup> The reformer argued that the doctrine of Christ's real presence in the bread and wine contradicted such things as his ascension, as well as the power and dignity of his sacred body.<sup>11</sup> A Lasco promoted, instead, the spiritual presence in the elements, writing that the Lord's Supper was an external action that signaled the internal communion with Christ.<sup>12</sup> This understanding, he noted, had been confirmed by St Paul, therefore having its roots in the Apostolic Church.<sup>13</sup>

A Lasco died in January 1560 and no records remain from the church during the last two years of his life. However, two synods were held in the months following his death, in September 1560 and January 1561, which show that his supporters continued to build a church following the London model.

<sup>10</sup> 'Horum igitur singulorum rationes paucas e multis ponemus, non eo tamen consilio, ut longam hic ea de re disputationem institui iam postulemus – hoc enim nobis ipsa itineris nostri acceleratio non permittit ullo modo – sed ut ostendamus nos non temere neque sine causis gravissimis, ex verbo Dei petitis, assentiri istis non posse. Corpus Christi cur in pane ipso aut sub pane reipsa esse non possit in coenae usu rationes.' A Lasco to the Lutheran ministers in Prutenica, 15 April 1558, in *LQ*, vol. 2, p. 755.

<sup>11</sup> 'Ita Christus Dominus ascensionem suam corporali carnis suae manducationi opponit et quod ipse opponit nos conciliare frustra conamur... Adimit doctrina haec vim ac dignitatem sacerdotii Christi'. *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> 'Fatetur item et credimus Coenam Domini quemadmodum et alia sacramenta esse signum externum et unternum in cordibus nostris obsignaculum (autore spiritu sancto) iustitiae nostrae fidei', *Ibid.*, p. 756.

<sup>13</sup> 'Pugnat haec doctrina cum natura et proprietate omnium sacramentorum. Omnia enim sacramenta in mysterio unum sunt sacramentum, quemadmodum Paulus patres nostros in Israele baptizatos, nos rursum circumcisos et illos eandem nobiscum escam edidisse eandemque potionem bibisse docet, nempe Christum, etiamsi neque corpus neque sanguis Christi reipsa adhuc tum extarent, 1 Cor. 10'. *Ibid.*

The first assembly was held in Xions, during which the ministers reaffirmed an administrative framework similar to that found in the Forma ac ratio. They described the superintendent as an 'overseer', responsible for maintaining doctrinal unity, and explained that he should not attach himself to any single parish, but rather be available to all congregations. They further noted that this officer should visit each church at least once a year, examining ministers to ensure compliance with the confession.<sup>14</sup> This synod also addressed the office of elders, noting that they were to maintain the church's doctrine, aid other ministers in their work, make sure preachers followed God's Word, and lead an honest, exemplary life.<sup>15</sup> Finally, the assembly concluded that the superintendent should convene regular meetings of the clergy to discuss administrative and doctrinal matters.<sup>16</sup> Although the frequency of these meetings was not stipulated, it is likely that they occurred monthly or biannually, rather than weekly, given the size of the duchy.

The Xions assembly also adopted a form of ecclesiastical discipline similar to a Lasco's Strangers' Church. They described the practice in the conclusions from their synod, emphasising the steps of private and public

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<sup>14</sup> 'De superintendente conclusum est. Superintendens non erit alicui parochiae alligatus, verum liber erit a cura parochiali, ut visitationem ecclesiarum exequatur et quoties vocatur ab aliqua ecclesia juxta exigentem necessitatem praesto veniat liber ab omnibus impedimentis... Der Superintendent soll an kleine Kirche gebunden sein; wird er von irgend iener Gemeinde gerufen, soll er verpflichtet sein, dorthin zu fahren. Der Superintendent soll die Gemeinden einmal im Jahre besuchen und wo er irgend etwas fehlerhaftes vorfindet, sowohl die Geistlichen als auch die Senioren streng ermahnen; d[as] h[heisst] wenn sie sich nicht nach der Ordnung ihrer Ämter aufführen, soll er die Senioren und Geistlichen zur Verantwortung ihrer Unachtsamkeit und Fehler und zur Beratung, wie sich vor Übertretung zurückzuhalten, zusammenberufen'. 'Die Synode von Xions. Vom 14. 19. September 1560. B. Die Conclusiones', Sehling, vol. 4, pp. 270-271.

<sup>15</sup> 'Zuerst sollen sie darauf achten, zumal das Wort und die Kirche Gottes ihnen das aufs Gewissen gelegt hat, dass die Geistlichen, denen sie zur Hilfe gesetzt sind, fleissig mit dem Worte Gottes und den anderen Heiligthümern der anvertrauten Herde dienen; ferner dass sie sich zur Zeit und zur Unzeit und zwar nicht nur auf der Kanzel, sondern auch im persönlichen Verkehr bemühen, den Weinberg Gottes zu mehren und sich dabei nicht mit der Wirtschaft und Küche behelligen'. Ibid., p. 271.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

censure. They explained that if a congregant had committed a sin, the offended person was to admonish him privately. If he refused to repent, two or three other members were to rebuke the transgressor. If these warnings failed, the matter was to be conveyed to the ministry for public admonitions. Finally, if he remained obstinate following censure from the preachers and elders, the case would be related to the entire congregation for their prayers and judgment. As in the London church, if he rejected his guilt, the offender would be cut off and refused participation in the Lord's Supper.<sup>17</sup> The one difference between the London and Polish churches concerned disciplinary authority. Whereas the reformer had placed the power over excommunication and reconciliation with the congregation, this assembly reaffirmed the 1557 verdict to follow the Genevan model, retaining the right for themselves. After a local consistory had made the decision to ban an offender, they were to relate the matter to the territorial assembly for their advice and approval.<sup>18</sup> This alteration to the discipline reflected two significant trends in a Lasco's Polish church. First, it reinforced the traditional social hierarchy: nobles maintained their authority over the general population through the offices they held in the church. Second, this change resulted from the larger geographical nature of the ecclesiastical body. Unlike in London, the congregations were spread across the duchy and a

<sup>17</sup> 'Daran sollen sie ernstlich nach dem Befehle des Herrn Jesu absque praejudicio alicujus erinnern. Wo sie durch solch Ermahnen keine Besserung erreichen, da sollen sie zwei oder drei ehrbare Personen aus der Gemeinde mit sich nehmen und erinnern, bitten überreden, ein solches Ärgerniss, zuerst sich und dann auch den Anderen zum Fall, nicht zu begehen. Wenn auch dies nicht hilft, dann sollen sie es dem Geistlichen, den es angeht, sagen. Der soll dann mit ihnen nochmals einen solchen mit dem Worte Gottes ermahnen. Falls er auch auf solch Ermahnen und Lehren sich nicht bessert, so soll es der Gemeinde angezeigt werden ohne Namensnennung, nur mit Angabe des Vergehens. Hilft auch das nichts, dann ist der Geistliche verpflichtet, einen solchen mit Schmerz und Ehrerbietung öffentlich zu ermahnen und die Brüder zu bitten, den Störrigen von seinem Thun abzuhalten oder ihn aufzufordern, sich aus der Gemeinde zu entfernen. Sollte er so hartnäckig sein, dass er sich weder solcher unrechtmässigen Bereicherung enthielte, noch sich von der Gemeinde trennen liesse, so soll der Geistliche die Abendmahlsfeier unterlassen, für sich aber soll er zur Innehaltung aller kirchlichen Ordnung verpflichtet sein'. Ibid., p. 271.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 272.

centralised framework of discipline was needed to ensure that the practice was observed correctly in the congregations.

These same trends can be seen in the synod of Pinczow, held in January 1561. During this assembly, the ministers took additional steps to create an administration that resembled the London model. They added a second type of elder who, unlike the earlier office, were chosen from among the laity in the towns and villages. Like their noble counterparts, they were charged with assisting the other ministers in running the church, ensuring the correct discipline was followed, and setting an example for parishioners through their lives and work.<sup>19</sup> In addition, they instituted the lay office of deacons to collect alms and care for the poor. They also followed the Polish reformer's procedure for confirming new ministers. They explained that 'the form of ordination, together with the whole ordinance, shall be carried out according to the form prescribed by John a Lasco'.<sup>20</sup> As in the Strangers' Church, this practice included the other ministers laying their hands on the new officer in view of the entire congregation, visibly demonstrating his induction into the ministry.<sup>21</sup> When it came to elections, however, the laity's participation was curtailed and a greater role was assigned to the church's leaders. In the annual elections for noble and lay elders, the current officer would nominate their replacement. The superintendent would examine them and, those who were found worthy, would

<sup>19</sup> 'Hierzu erwählt einige adligen Standes, ebenso welche aus der Stadt und Leute vom Dorf, damit sie alle zusammen über die Kirche Gottes beraten; omnes enim unius corporis membra esse.' 'Die Conclusiones von Pinczow. Vom 27. Januar 1561', in Sehling, vol. 4, p. 272.

<sup>20</sup> 'Die Art der Einführung nebst der ganzen Ordnung soll sich nach der von H[errn] v[on] Laski hierüber vorgeschriebenen Form vollziehen'. Ibid., p. 272.

<sup>21</sup> 'Wenn ein Geistlicher für den Dienst Gottes vonnöthen ist, dann soll der geistliche Senior den Kandidaten zunächst den Senioren seines Gebietes namhaft machen und ihn dann zur Prüfung an den Superintendenten schicken. Nachdem derselbe ihn gründlich geprüft, soll er ihn mit einem Zeugnis in sein Gebiet zurückschicken. Dort wird ihn der Gebietssenioren im Verein mit den übrigen Senioren und Geistlichen vor der Gemeinde, der er dienen soll, durch Handauflegung öffentlich einführen'. Ibid., p. 272.

return home to be installed publicly before the church. The congregation only managed to retain authority in the deacons' election. This synod agreed that it was the member's responsibility to choose honest and God-fearing deacons, who would then be given final approval from the general synod.<sup>22</sup>

These records suggest that the Polish reformer and his London model had a large impact on the administration of the territorial church. By 1561, the ecclesiastical polity contained the four offices of superintendents, preachers, elders and deacons, and the congregations were governed by a collegial general assembly. However, there were also some key differences with a Lasco's order. A special position had been created for noble elders, and the procedures for elections and excommunication were altered to maintain their traditional rights over religious affairs. The reformer experienced similar success in his second task – to join together the scattered congregations in the duchy under a single doctrine. He focused on two areas: to develop a common confession for all of the churches, and to resolve their doctrinal disputes with the Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren. He reported to Philipp Melanchthon that this was part of his plan for a national Protestant church in Poland.<sup>23</sup>

Not everyone agreed with a Lasco's doctrinal reforms. For example, Peter Gonesius, a preacher and supporter of the Bohemian Brethren, challenged the superintendent's understanding of the Holy Trinity. He argued that there was

<sup>22</sup> 'Damit dieser Schatz treu in jedem Gebiete verwaltet werde, soll die Kirche Gottes ehrlich und gottesfürchtige Diakonen wählen, aus welchem Stande sie will, denen sie ihn anvertraut, demit sie ihn unter ihre Obhut nehmen und nach den Bestimmungen der Generalsynode verwalten'. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

<sup>23</sup> 'In hoc nunc igitur incumbimus, ut animos nostrorum omnium consciamus ante omnia atque ita demum ad unanimem etiam doctrinae consensum perducamus per gratiam Dei. Hac de causa potissimum iter hoc jam meum institui, primum in Prussiam ad Ducem ipsum, deinde in Majorem Poloniam... Scopus igitur consilii nostri est, ut universi regni nostri confessio aliqua doctrinae consentienter in futuris comitiis Regi et senatui offeratur. Eam vero jam constrictam et a tota minore Polonia (de ordine Nobilium loquor) approbatam habemus, neque dubitamus a Boëmicis quoque approbatam iri, nam ejus rei fundamenta sunt jacta jam qualiacumque'. A Lasco to Melanchthon, 23 March 1558, Dalton, *Miscellaneen*, vol. 3, p. 361.

only one God, the Father, who was not triune, and that Christ could not be equal because of his human nature and his role as mediator.<sup>24</sup> A Lasco rejected these anti-Trinitarian views and convened a synod in Wlodzislaw in September 1558 to address the matter. The ministers reaffirmed the Apostles', Nicean, and Athanasius's creeds, which supported the Holy Trinity, and condemned the followers of Gonesius.<sup>25</sup>

The synod's actions failed to resolve the doctrinal dispute. The Italian minister Francis Stancaro, published his Collatio doctrinae Arii the following year, in which he asserted that a Lasco's churches had erred in their confession and that the Nicene Creed mistakenly had created three Gods: the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.<sup>26</sup> He argued that Christ should be viewed as subordinate because of his human nature and his role as mediator between the temporal and spiritual realms. Responding to these new attacks, the superintendent held a second synod to discuss the matter and to defend Melanchthon, whom Stancaro had attacked in his work. This assembly convened in Pinczow on 7 August 1559, during which the anti-Trinitarian author was allowed to defend his claims. The exchange between a Lasco and the Italian preacher became so heated that the Polish reformer threw a Bible at his opponent. The ministers decided to excommunicate Stancaro. Three days later, the leaders of the Reformed church published the Confessio de Mediator generis humani Jesu Christo Deo et homine, reaffirming their view of the Trinity and of Christ's dual role.<sup>27</sup> This

<sup>24</sup> Williams, Radical Reformers, p. 1009-1010.

<sup>25</sup> The assembly also condemned other anti-Trinitarians including Servetus and the ancient Cerinthus. *Ibid.*, p. 1023.

<sup>26</sup> Francis Stancaro, Collatio doctrinae Arii (Cracow, 1559).

<sup>27</sup> Williams, Radical Reformer, pp. 1028-1029; Confessio de Mediator generis humani Jesu Christo Deo et homine (Pinczow 1559). The Latin version is printed in Lorenz Hein, Italienische Protestanten und ihr Einfluss auf die Reformation in Polen während der beiden Jahrzehnte vor dem Sandomirer Konsens (1570) (Leiden, 1974), pp. 259-262. Excerpts have been translated into English and are printed in Williams, Radical Reformers, f.131, pp. 1030-1031.

orthodox statement argued that as mediator Christ was not inferior. They explained that such a role does not equate with being subordinate, writing that 'God [had] installed Prophets, Priests, and Kings in order that we understand what pertains to the title of Christ, this is the Word incarnate, and how all this pertains to the office of Mediator'.<sup>28</sup>

A Lasco died before this anti-Trinitarian conflict could be resolved, but church leaders continued to push for a common doctrine and to remove the religious radicals' influence in the duchy. Four months after his death, in May 1560, the ministers assembled in Pinczow and expelled the preacher Gregory Orsatius because of his agreement with Stancaro on the Trinity.<sup>29</sup> However, the conflict intensified the following year when the new superintendent, Felix Cruciger, split the territorial church into five synods as part of his administrative reforms. This weakened the central control over doctrine and the individual assemblies were divided over this issue. Gaining consensus among them became increasingly difficult. The historian George Huntston Williams notes that by 1563 it had become clear that the divisions were too great for these groups to unite. Any hope of reconciliation vanished the following year when a royal edict was issued on 7 August 1564, ordering the anti-Trinitarians and Anabaptists to leave the kingdom.<sup>30</sup> In defiance, many remained in Poland. The following year, the schism in the territorial church was completed when the radicals broke away and formed their own synod.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Williams, *Radical Reformers*, pp. 1030-1031.

<sup>29</sup> Williams, 'The Polish-Lithuanian Calvin during the Superintendency of John Laski, 1556-60', in *Reformatio Perennis: Essays on Calvin and the Reformation in honor of Ford Lewis Battles*, (ed.) B. A. Gerrish (Pittsburgh, 1981), p. 146.

<sup>30</sup> Williams, *Radical Reformers*, p. 1048.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1050.

Although a Lasco had failed to unite the duchy under a common confession during the remaining years of his life, he had instituted an administrative structure and key practices that ensured the territorial church's success. Many of these elements came from his London model and focused on promoting a single doctrine, eliminating the influence of radicals, and educating the laity about the faith. As in the Strangers' Church, he instituted elders to ensure that the other ministers observed the confession and to enforce compliance with the discipline. He established an assembly of church leaders who, like the *coetus*, governed through mutual consent. Finally, he brought his disciplinary programme to the territory, which allowed them to protect the community from religious radicals. These institutions played a key role in the conflict with anti-Trinitarians. A Lasco had urged the publication of an orthodox statement regarding the Trinity, which appeared in the 1559 Confessio de Mediator. The assemblies upheld this doctrine and ministers used the discipline to expel critics like Gonesius, Stancaro and Orsatius. His institutions enabled the Reformed congregations to articulate and defend their beliefs, and to resist the anti-Trinitarian challenge, successfully creating a foundation for a united territorial church.

### **Scotland**

As in Little Poland, a Lasco and his London Strangers' Church influenced the national reform movement in Scotland during the second half of the sixteenth century. The Genevan refugees played a key role as the conduit for his model, which they experienced when they had joined the exile congregations on the Continent. After 1558, these Scottish Protestants returned home and,



although small in numbers, they became an influential force in shaping the new Reformed Kirk. The impact of a Lasco can be seen in the principal works that created this ecclesiastical body: the 1560 confession of faith, the ordinance in the First Book of Discipline, and the liturgy in the Book of Common Order.<sup>32</sup> All three had their origins in the Form of prayers, the Genevan refugees' order. As with the other civic and national churches discussed thus far, a Lasco's strongest contribution was to the administration and rites. The clearest marks of his influence can be seen in the administration, Lord's Supper, prophecy, and ecclesiastical discipline instituted in the kingdom.

John Willock and John Knox were among the most influential leaders of this national reform programme and both had spent time living among the refugee congregations on the Continent during the 1550s. The former had joined the exiles in Emden, while the latter had spent time in Frankfurt and Geneva.<sup>33</sup> The connection between Knox and a Lasco went even further, preceeding the Marian exile movement. Both reformers had resided in England during the reign of Edward VI and had shared their opposition to the English practice of kneeling during the Lord's Supper. Knox gave a sermon to the court in September 1552 criticising the practice and the historian Diarmaid MacCulloch notes that the Polish reformer probably helped Knox write his response to the Black Rubric,

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<sup>32</sup> The 1560 Scottish confession of faith is reprinted in William Croft Dickinson (ed.), John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, vol. 2, (Edinburgh, 1949), pp. 257-272. The 1560 First Book of Discipline remained in manuscript form until its first publication in the seventeenth century in The first and second books of discipline. Together with some Acts of the Generall Assemblies, clearing and confirming the same: And an Act of Parliament, (ed.) David Calderwood (Amsterdam, 1621). A modern edition is published in James K. Cameron (ed.), The First Book of Discipline (Edinburgh, 1972). The liturgy is printed in George W. Sprott and Thomas Leishman (eds.), The Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland, commonly known as John Knox's Liturgy, and the Directory of the Public Worship of God, agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster (Edinburgh, 1868), pp. 1-235.

<sup>33</sup> See above, pp. 179-181 and 186-196. For Willock, see Garrett, Marian Exiles, pp. 336-337. Philip Benedict noted that Knox and Willock were the two principal leaders of the Scottish Reformation in Christ's Churches, p. 157.

which was a defense of kneeling appended to the 1552 prayer book.<sup>34</sup> Once in Frankfurt, Knox adopted a Lasco's unique practices of the seated Communion, prophecy, and ecclesiastical discipline, and he continued these in the English church in Geneva. When the exiles returned to Scotland, they found support among the Protestant nobles and some took up influential positions in the church. In 1559, Knox was appointed to preach in Edinburgh, while Willock became a minister in Glasgow. Other exiles that returned to take up ecclesiastical offices were David Lindsey and Christopher Goodman. Both had joined Knox's refugee congregation in Geneva and, upon their return, took up ministerial positions in Leith and St Andrews, respectively.<sup>35</sup>

The success of the Scottish Reformation was tied to the growing tension between the nobility and the crown. The Fifth Earl of Argyll, Archibald, and the Third Earl of Ruthven, Patrick, joined other Protestant nobles in opposition to the crown's traditional religious policies. They called themselves the 'Lords of the Congregation' and defended Protestants from the Queen Regent Mary's, attempts to fortify the traditional faith. The religious situation changed dramatically following her death on 9 June 1560. The nobles, with the support of their English neighbors, were able to force a settlement with the French ambassadors who acted on behalf of the Scottish crown. The terms of the peace agreement included the withdrawal of all French troops. It also granted greater powers to the nobility: a council of twenty-four men was to be established for administration of the realm. The king and queen would appoint seven members to this council, while the nobles would choose the remaining seventeen men.

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<sup>34</sup> MacCulloch, 'The importance of Jan Laski in the English Reformation', in Strohm (ed.), *Johannes a Lasco*, pp. 337-338.

<sup>35</sup> Dickinson (ed.), *Knox's History*, vol. 1, p. 334. See also Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, pp. 162-163 and 221.

More importantly for the reformers, the settlement ordered Parliament to convene the following month to address religious reforms in the country.<sup>36</sup> This 'Reformation Parliament' would play a crucial role in creating the national Reformed Kirk.

The Protestant nobles dominated this convocation, which met in Edinburgh between 10 July and 17 August 1560. The assembly passed two important acts regarding religion: the first abolished the Mass and the second rejected the Pope's jurisdiction in Scotland.<sup>37</sup> The former exiles, Knox and Willock, along with John Winram, John Spottiswoode, John Douglas and John Row, submitted a new confession of faith and ordinance for the Parliament's consideration. The assembly approved the doctrine on 17 August, but the ordinance, which was an early draft of the First Book of Discipline, continued to be revised until it was accepted by a general council of the ministers the following December.<sup>38</sup> Both documents, the confession and the subsequent ordinance, laid the foundation for the Scottish Kirk.

The 1560 Scottish confession was a revised version of the one written for the English refugees in Geneva four years earlier. The authors wrote that the document was to educate the laity about the faith, as well as to protect the church against critics. They defended the text on the grounds that all points agreed with

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<sup>36</sup> Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, vol. 1, pp. 322-331. For additional discussions of the events leading to the Reformation in Scotland see: Jane E. A. Dawson, The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots: The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 87-104; Benedict, Christ's Churches, pp. 152-172; and Julian Goodare, 'Scotland', in The Reformation in national context, (eds.) Bob Scribner, Roy Porter, and Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 95-110.

<sup>37</sup> Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, vol. 1, pp. 338-339. The acts abolishing the Mass and rejecting the jurisdiction of the Pope are printed in vol. 1, pp. 340-341.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 343; and Benedict, Christ's Churches, p. 161. The Scottish confession is printed in Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, vol. 2, pp. 257-272. No copy of the original draft of the First Book of Discipline has survived.

God's Word.<sup>39</sup> The similar wording used for the first chapter of both confessions, which addressed the nature of God, supports this claim that the Genevan work provided the model for the Scottish confession. (See Figure 5.1) Likewise, the similarity in content also supports this connection between the two documents: the latter work addressed the same topics as the Genevan order. However, this new document went beyond its predecessor by extending the scope of the confession and adding sections to defend the church's beliefs. For example, the Scottish text included sections defending the authority of Scriptures, defining the Sacraments and their proper administration, and the duty of temporal authorities to defend the true church.<sup>40</sup> These additions reflect the situation in Scotland in 1560, where Protestant leaders were attempting to reform the established national church, and the additional explanation and defense of these controversial points of doctrine became necessary.

The new confession's treatment of the Eucharist's meaning and predestination reveals Calvin's influence on the church's leaders. Although they continued to follow the Polish reformer's order for the Lord's Supper, as the Frankfurt and Genevan exiles had done, they moved towards the Genevan spiritual understanding of the Sacraments. The authors of the Scottish doctrine criticised those men who, like a Lasco and Zwingli, held the Lord's Supper to be merely a sign of God's promise. They argued for the spiritual presence in the host and that Christ is joined to the believers to nourish their souls through their participation in the Lord's Supper.<sup>41</sup> They asserted that the practice was not just

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<sup>39</sup> Dickinson (ed.), *Knox's History*, vol. 2, pp. 257-258.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 267-271.

<sup>41</sup> Dickinson (ed.), *Knox's History*, vol. 2, pp. 268-269. 'Yet we affirm that the faithful in the right use of the Lord's Table have such conjunction with Christ Jesus, as the natural man cannot comprehend', p. 269.

Table 5.1 – Comparison of Genevan and Scottish confessions<sup>42</sup>

1560 Scottish Confession	1556 Genevan Confession
<p>We confess and acknowledge only one God, to whom only we must cleave, whom only we must worship, and in whom only we must put our trust; who is eternal, infinite, unmeasurable, incomprehensible, omnipotent, invisible: one in substance, and yet distinct in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: By whom we confess and believe all things in heaven and in earth, as well visible as invisible, to have been created, to be retained in their being, and to be ruled and guided by his inscrutable Providence, to such end as his eternal wisdom, goodness, and justice has appointed them, to the manifestation of his own glory.</p>	<p>I believe, and confess my lord God eternal, infinite, unmeasurable, incomprehensible, and invisible. One in substance, and three in person, father, son, and holy ghost, who by his almighty power and wisdom, hath not only of nothing created heaven, earth, and all things therein contained, and man after his own image, that he might in him be glorified: but also by his fatherly providence, governeth, maintaineth, and preserveth the same, according to the purpose of his will.</p>

a visible mark of God's covenant, but that participation also '[sealed] in their hearts the assurance of his promise, and of that most blessed conjunction, union, and society, which the Elect have with their head, Christ Jesus'.<sup>43</sup>

This work also articulated a modified form of Calvin's doctrine of predestination. The Genevan exiles' Forme of prayers had included his double notion of the elect and the damned. The authors of this confession had noted that only God knows who has been chosen for membership (the elect) in Christ's invisible Church, and who has been condemned. They further explained that the 'church is not seen to man's eye, but only known to God, who of the lost sons of Adam hath ordained some as vessels of wrath, to damnation: and hath chosen

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 258; and Forme of prayers, sig. C1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 268.

others, as vessels of his mercy, to be saved'.<sup>44</sup> The Scottish order repeated this understanding of Christ's Church and the elect, but backed away from the notion of those chosen by God for damnation. The authors explained that 'the Kirk is invisible, known only to God, who alone knoweth whom He has chosen, and comprehends as well (as said is) the Elect that be departed (commonly called the Kirk Triumphant), as those that yet live and fight against sin and Satan as shall live hereafter'.<sup>45</sup> They omitted, however, any discussion of those who had been condemned.

There are also key indicators revealing a Lasco's influence on the new Scottish Kirk. The confession's authors repeated his unique claim that there were three marks of the true church: preaching of the Word, the correct administration of the Sacraments, and ecclesiastical discipline.<sup>46</sup> This work was followed by a new ordinance, the First Book of Discipline, which was written by the same authors as the confession and set forth the government, rites and discipline to be observed by the Scottish congregations.<sup>47</sup> This document also was a revised version of the Genevan refugees' Form of prayers and included several crucial elements from a Lasco's London model. The ordinance covered many of the same themes as its predecessor, and was divided into nine 'heads', or chapters, covering doctrine, the Sacraments, abolishing idolatry, the ministerial offices and their elections, payment of employees, church incomes, ecclesiastical discipline and worship services. The relationship with the Genevan text is demonstrated in the instructions for the sacramental ceremonies, where the authors noted that the Baptism and Lord's Supper should follow the

<sup>44</sup> Forme of prayers, sig. C3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, vol. 2, p. 265.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266; and a Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. P2<sup>v</sup>. See also Forme of prayers, sigs. C3<sup>v</sup>-C4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> The authors indicated that the nobles had assigned them the task of writing the new ordinance on 20 April 1560. Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, vol. 2, p. 289.

Form of prayers. They explained that some communities had already adopted these practices, suggesting that the refugees had already begun to implement the Genevan order immediately following their return to Scotland.<sup>48</sup> The First Book of Discipline incorporated many elements of the London Strangers' Church, and a Lasco's impact can be seen in the administration, elections procedure, the prophecy and ecclesiastical discipline.

The authors had presented a draft of the ordinance to the Reformation Parliament, but the delegates declined to ratify the document. Knox and his supporters continued to revise the text and in December 1560, he convened an assembly of ministers who accepted the work. It is not certain why the nobles hesitated to approve the order and the original manuscript no longer exists, making it impossible to compare the draft with the final version. However, the church historian James Cameron speculates that it was not ratified by the Parliament because of the proposals regarding the ministry.<sup>49</sup> The First Book of Discipline radically reformed the traditional ecclesiastical polity by rejecting its hierarchy and system of benefices, replacing it with a congregational administration and salaries paid by the church. These provisions proved to be controversial in the decade following the ordinance's introduction, suggesting that they may have contributed to Parliament's hesitation. While the reformers could not secure an act in support of their ordinance, they continued to push for official sanction of the work. Following the ministers' approval, it was presented to the Lords of the Congregation and a majority of them subscribed to

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<sup>48</sup> Dickenson (ed.), Knox's History, vol. 2, p. 282.

<sup>49</sup> FBOD, pp. 4-6.

the new order.<sup>50</sup> This is as close as the reformers would come to official approval of the ordinance.

The First Book of Discipline instituted an ecclesiastical administration that followed the model of a Lasco's Strangers' Church. The ministry was comprised of four offices: the superintendent, ministers, elders and deacons. The first of these was charged with overseeing the church, while the ministers were to preach the Word, administer the Sacraments, supervise the congregations, and ensure that the discipline was observed.<sup>51</sup> They were assisted by lay elders, also called seniors, who were to aid the ministers in running the church and to enforce the ecclesiastical discipline in the community – 'judging, discerning causes, and admonishing all within their charge'.<sup>52</sup> The lay deacons were the final office and were responsible for poor relief, collecting rents and alms, and distributing the funds according to the wishes of the church's ministry. As in a Lasco's London church, they also assisted the preachers and elders in enforcing discipline and, if necessary, could read during worship services.<sup>53</sup> Calvin's office of doctors, which had been included in the 1556 Form of prayers, was omitted from this new Scottish administration.

The authors of the First Book of Discipline introduced two significant changes to the Polish reformer's model in response to the unique situation faced by their Protestant church. First, they introduced lay readers to the ministry. In 1560, supporters for reform were a small minority in Scotland and they recognised that it would be difficult to find enough suitable candidates to fill the ministerial posts throughout the country. The ordinance instructed

<sup>50</sup> Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, vol. 1, pp. 344-345. The act was signed by the nobility on 27 January 1561 and is printed in vol. 2, pp. 324-325.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 282-283.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 311.



congregations to appoint qualified preachers who supported the Kirk's new doctrine. The authors warned against the ordination of unsatisfactory men and the position of readers was created to fill these vacancies until a minister could be found. They were not to preach or administer the Sacraments, but could read the common prayers and Scriptures, and teach the children in the parish. They could also pursue additional training to allow them to administer the Sacraments and to become preachers.<sup>54</sup> This office allowed Scottish communities to hold worship services in the absence of suitable preachers, and sought to prevent communities from appointing ministers who remained loyal to the traditional Roman doctrines.

The second significant modification concerned the superintendent's office. Knox, Willock, and the other former refugees would have been familiar with a Lasco's institution in London and its use among the exile congregations. The First Book of Discipline prescribed similar duties to the position: they were to supervise the preachers and maintain doctrinal unity in the church.<sup>55</sup> However, the reformer's civic model required some alterations to fit the national movement in Scotland. The ordinance's authors divided the country into 10 provinces and instructed that a superintendent be appointed for each territory. They added that these officers should erect new churches in their provinces, see that the congregations observe the Kirk's ordinance, and maintain doctrinal unity through parish visitations. They also charged them with travelling throughout their territory to examine ministers and the laity, and to preach at least three

<sup>54</sup> Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, vol. 2, pp. 287-290.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291. Cf. A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. C1<sup>v</sup>. See also Rodgers, Lasco in England, p. 163. Philip Benedict argued that the description of the office in the First Book of Discipline suggests the influence of German territorial ordinances as well as the Forma ac ratio. Benedict, Christ's Churches, p. 163.

times each week.<sup>56</sup> This use of multiple superintendents may have come from the territorial churches in Germany. The collegial general assembly and the superintendents' parish visitations became the key elements for maintaining doctrinal unity in the Scottish Kirk.

The ordinance's authors also adopted an elections procedure similar to a Lasco's London order, especially regarding the active participation of the laity in selecting new ministers. They asserted that it was the entire congregation's duty to elect officers.<sup>57</sup> In the Strangers' Church, elections had begun with the members nominating and choosing candidates for vacant offices. The other ministers would examine them publicly before presenting them to the church for their final approval. The congregants had a week to voice any concerns they might have about the chosen candidate. If no complaints were made, they proceeded with ordination.<sup>58</sup> This same procedure was followed in the Scottish Kirk. The only difference concerned the examinations and reflected the broader geographical reach of the ecclesiastical body. Nominated candidates would travel to the principal city in their territory, where the superintendent and a council of learned men would examine them. Following this, they would return to be examined publicly by the preachers and elders of their own congregation.<sup>59</sup> The introduction of a second examination came about because, unlike the civic

<sup>56</sup> Dickinson (ed.), *Knox's History*, vol. 2, pp. 291-293. The ten dioceses of superintendents were described as: Orkney (including the isles of Orkney, Shetland, Caithness, and Strathnaver), Ross (Ross, Sutherland, Moray, with the North Isles of Skye and Lewis), Argyll (Argyll, Kintyre, Lorne, the South Isles, Arran and Bute, and Lochaber), Aberdeen (the land between the rivers Dee and Spey, including the sheriffdom of Aberdeen and Banff), Brechin (the sheriffdoms of Mearns and Angus, and the Brae of Mar to Dee), St Andrews (Fife and Fotheringham to Stirling, and the whole sheriffdom of Perth), Edinburgh (the sheriffdoms of Lothian and Stirling, on the south side of the Water of Forth, Merse, Lauderdale and Wedale), Jedburgh (Teviotdale, Tweeddale, Liddesdale, with the Forest of Ettrick), Glasgow (Clydesdale, Renfrew, Menteith, Lennox, Kyle and Cunningham), and Dumfries (Galloway, Carrick, Nithsdale, Annandale, with the rest of the Dales to the West).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 284. MacCulloch, 'The importance of Jan Laski', p. 341.

<sup>58</sup> A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. C2<sup>v</sup>-E4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Dickinson (ed.), *Knox's History*, vol. 2, p. 284.

churches, the superintendent might not reside in the same town, and it was necessary that he question and approve candidates in order to maintain doctrinal unity in his territory.

Parishes had some liberty to develop their own procedures for electing lay officers. Concerning the selection of elders and deacons, the First Book of Discipline notes that it was up to each congregation to choose whether or not to follow their instructions. The one element that must be observed, they asserted, was the voice and vote of the congregation. The authors explained that 'how the votes and suffrages may be best received, so that every man may give his vote freely, every several Church may take such order as best seemeth to them'.<sup>60</sup> They also introduced a temporary irregularity to the selection of superintendents. The authors wrote that it was not practical to hold elections for this office at this time and requested that the Privy Council appoint ten men to these posts. After three years, elections could be held according to the following procedure: the preachers, elders, deacons, magistrates and privy council would nominate two or three suitable candidates, who would then be elected to the office by a vote of the congregations.<sup>61</sup> Although the church's members lost their ability to nominate superintendents, they retained an active role in choosing the other ministers.

John Spottiswood's appointment as superintendent in Edinburgh, in March 1560, confirms the presence of a Lasco's elections procedure.<sup>62</sup> The

<sup>60</sup> Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, vol. 2, p. 310. It is likely that the form of election for elders and deacons followed the model established for the Kirk in Edinburgh in March 1560, which was recounted by Knox in his History. Here, the ministers selected candidates for the offices of elders and deacons, who were then elected by a vote of the congregation. Ibid., pp. 277-279.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., pp. 293-294.

<sup>62</sup> Spottiswood's election is recorded in 'The Form and Order of the Election of the Superintendents, which may serve also in Election of all other Ministers. At Edinburgh the 9<sup>th</sup> of March 1560, John Knox being Minister', is printed in Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, pp. 273-279.

London ordinance included three questions to be asked of newly elected superintendents concerning their calling by the Holy Spirit, their understanding of the Scripture, and their duty to uphold the doctrine of the church.<sup>63</sup> These same elements were included in Spottiswood's public examination, emphasising a Lasco's influence on the Scottish practice. The new ordinance expanded the number of questions to ten, but covered the same topics as the Polish reformer's prescriptions. The Forma ac ratio and First Book of Discipline also employed similar language in this examination.<sup>64</sup> Figure 5.2 compares the text of two such questions, supporting this claim that the London ordinance served as a model for this practice in the Scottish Kirk.

Although the overall authority of the congregation was affirmed in the Scottish ordinance, provisions were made for special circumstances where this could be circumvented. The authors were concerned that parishes might rebel against the reforms and refuse to elect evangelical ministers. According to the First Book of Discipline, if a congregation refused to accept a candidate who had been examined and approved by the superintendent and his council, the general assembly could force them to ordain the minister under penalty of censure. The community still had the option to nominate an alternative, but the ordinance clarified that the synod's recommendation would supercede the church's nominee. The authors of the Scottish order defended this action by saying that the vote of the church must be honoured in elections, but the council's intervention was not a 'violent intrusion' and was necessary in cases where the congregations rejected qualified candidates.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sigs. E8<sup>r</sup>-F1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Rodgers, Lasco in England, p. 163.

<sup>65</sup> Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, vol. 2, p. 284.

Figure 5.2 – Examination of superintendents in the London and Scottish churches

<b>1555 <u>Form ac ratio</u></b>	<b>1560 'The Form and Order of the Election of Superintendents'</b>
<p>Do you believe that the doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, found in the old and New testaments of the Bible, is the one, true, and absolute foundation of the universal catholic Church of God in Christ, and that in the scriptures all matters are fully contained which are necessary for salvation?</p> <p>Do you not wish to follow this very foundation of the Church of God, which you have confessed here, in all manner (to the best of your ability) in your office, without going beyond the boundaries by any means, and to promote it alone by your doctrine and life?<sup>66</sup></p>	<p>Believe ye not that the doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles, contained in the books of the Old and New Testament, is the only true and most absolute foundation of the universal Kirk of Christ Jesus, insamekill [insomuch] that in the same Scriptures are contained all things necessary to be believed for the salvation of mankind?</p> <p>Will ye not contain yourself in all doctrine within the bounds of this foundation? Will ye not study to promote the same, as well by your life as by your doctrine?<sup>67</sup></p>

Besides the selection of ministers, a Lasco's London model shaped the Scottish ceremonies, including the weekly prophecy. The ordinance instituted the Polish reformer's unique practice, writing that 'it is most expedient that in every town, where schools and repair of learned men are, that there be one certain day every week appointed that exercise, which Saint Paul calleth

<sup>66</sup> 'Creditisne, Prophetica[m] atq[ue] Apostolica[m] doctrinam veteris [et] noui testamenti, in Biblicis scripturis comprehe[n]sam, esse vnicum, verum; atq[ue] absoluti[b]imum fundamentum catholice Dei Ecclesie in Christo... Vultisne huic ipsi fundame[n]to Ecclesie Dei, quod iam professi estis, modis omnibus (pro summa virili vestra) in vestro Ministerio insistere, septa illius nusquam transcendere, illud solum, [et] doctrina [et] vita vestra promouere'. A Lasco, *Forma ac ratio*, sigs. E8<sup>v</sup>-F1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> Dickinson (ed.) *Knox's History*, vol. 2, p. 274. Rodgers points to the first question regarding the doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles to demonstrate the similarity of language between the ordinances in *Lasco in England*, p. 163.

prophesying'.<sup>68</sup> Like in the Strangers' Church, this assembly was held each week, during which a minister would offer an exhortation on some part of Scripture. Afterwards, a second minister would comment on the sermon before the assembled congregation could raise any questions or concerns they might have about what they had heard. They could also discuss any sermons from the previous week.<sup>69</sup> The practice was meant to allow members to speak their opinion and to resolve disunity in doctrine, rather than stir controversy or debate in the church. The authors explained, that 'for avoiding contention, neither may the interpreter, neither yet any of the assembly, move any question in open audience, whereto himself is not content to give resolution without reasoning with any other; but every man ought to speak his own judgment to the edification of the Church'.<sup>70</sup> They further ordered that if someone should ask a question that demonstrated a strange or foreign doctrine, the ministers and elders ought to admonish them immediately to purify the community of false beliefs. They emphasised the ceremony's educational function, writing:

These exercises, we say, are things most necessary for the Church of God this day in Scotland. For thereby (as said is) shall the church have judgment and knowledge of the graces, gifts, and utterances of every man within their own body; the simple, and such as have somewhat profited, shall be encouraged daily to study and proceed in knowledge; the Church shall be edified (for this exercise must be patent so such as list to hear and learn); and every man shall have liberty to utter and declare his mind and knowledge to the comfort and edification of the Church.<sup>71</sup>

The Polish reformer also left his mark on the eucharistic ceremony observed in the Scottish Kirk. Although the confession revealed a shift towards Calvin's spiritual understanding of the Sacraments, the First Book of Discipline

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<sup>68</sup> Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, vol. 2, p. 315.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 316.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 315.

instituted an order for these services that closely followed the London practices. The authors noted that this influence came through the refugees' Form of prayers, writing that 'the Order of Geneva, which now is used in some of our kirks, is sufficient to instruct the diligent reader how that both these Sacraments may be rightly administered'.<sup>72</sup> They continued the Polish reformer's unique seated Communion, which had been adopted by Knox in Frankfurt and Geneva. The First Book of Discipline defended this practice, rather than kneeling or standing, based on its Scriptural precedent. Like a Lasco, they argued that 'the Table of the Lord is then most rightly ministered when it approacheth most nigh to Christ's own action. But plain it is, that at the Supper Christ Jesus sat with his disciples, and therefore do we judge that sitting at a table is most convenient to that holy action'.<sup>73</sup>

The final connection between the London and Scottish churches was their common ecclesiastical discipline. The new ordinance followed the Polish reformer's programme, which included the steps for private and public admonitions, as well as public rites of excommunication and reconciliation. Congregants were encouraged to rebuke offenders privately for their sins. If the accused refused to repent, or if he had committed a public sin, the consistory was to admonish him. If he remained obstinate, the matter would be related to the church for their prayers and judgment and, if necessary, his excommunication. Beyond these steps, there are two key similarities between the Scottish and London practices. First, the composition of the consistories was similar. It was common practice in Reformed communities for preachers and elders to serve on this disciplinary assembly. However, a Lasco had adopted the uncommon

<sup>72</sup> Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, vol. 2, p. 282.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.

practice of including deacons, which was repeated in the Scottish Kirk. Moreover, the First Book of Discipline prescribed the same unusual authority to the church's members in matters of excommunication. A Lasco had ordered that 'any person is not expelled from the church by the authority of one or two of the ministers and elders alone, but rather by the unanimous consent and confirmation of the whole church'.<sup>74</sup> The authors of the Scottish ordinance reaffirmed the congregations' power, instructing that the ministers should grant the accused three weeks to repent, following their admonitions, after which they would be excommunicated 'by the mouth of the Minister, consent of the Ministry, and commandment of the Church'.<sup>75</sup>

With the confession and ecclesiastical administration established, the ministers turned their attention towards producing a liturgy, which was published in the 1564 Book of Common Order.<sup>76</sup> This work was a revised version of the Form of prayers' liturgical elements. Here again, the Genevan refugees played a key role in shaping the Scottish Kirk. Figure 5.3 confirms this close relationship by comparing the contents of both documents. The new work addresses the same topics as the refugees' order including the confession, elections procedure, sacramental rites, ministers' assembly, prophecy, and ecclesiastical discipline. The authors also expand the scope, adding a calendar of holy days and fairs, prescriptions for electing superintendents, and additional prayers to be used in the Kirk.

An examination of this liturgical order confirms a Lasco's influence on the Scottish Kirk, which was conveyed through the Genevan refugees. The Book of Common Order reaffirms the Polish reformer's election procedure,

<sup>74</sup> A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. Aa7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, p. 307.

<sup>76</sup> Spratt and Leishman (eds.), Book of Common Order.



Figure 5.3 – Contents of the *Forme of prayers* and *Book of Common Order*

<b>1556 <u>Forme of prayers</u></b>	<b>1564 <u>Book of Common Order</u></b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Confession of faith</li> <li>- The order of electing ministers, elders and deacons (and their office and duties)</li> <li>- The weekly assembly of ministers (and prophecy)</li> <li>- An order for interpretation of the Scriptures and answering of doubts</li> <li>- Orders for confession of sins</li> <li>- A general prayer after the sermon, for the whole estate of Christ's Church</li> <li>- The administration of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper</li> <li>- The form of marriage, the visitation of the sick and the manner of burial</li> <li>- An order of ecclesiastical discipline</li>   <li>- The Psalms of David</li> <li>- Calvin's Catechism</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A calendar of holy days and fairs</li> <li>- Confession of faith</li> <li>- The order of electing ministers, elders, and deacons, and of their office and duties</li> <li>- The weekly assembly of ministers (and prophecy)</li> <li>- An order for interpretation of the Scriptures and answering of doubts</li>   <li>- The administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper</li> <li>- The form of marriage, the visitation of the sick and the manner of burial</li> <li>- An order of ecclesiastical discipline</li> <li>- The order of excommunication and of public repentance, with the form of absolution</li> <li>- The Psalms of David</li> <li>- Calvin's Catechism</li> <li>- The form and order for electing superintendents</li> <li>- The order of public worship</li> <li>- Other public prayers</li> <li>- A treatise and order for fasting</li> <li>- Doxologies</li> <li>- Hymns</li> <li>- Prayers for private houses</li> <li>- Other prayers</li> </ul>

prophecy, eucharistic ceremony, and ecclesiastical discipline. Like the earlier ordinance, it reasserts the members' role in choosing new minister, emphasising

their responsibility to nominate and approve candidates.<sup>77</sup> It repeats the instructions for the weekly prophecy, where the laity could actively participate in questioning the preachers about sermons.<sup>78</sup> A Lasco's seated Communion was retained, with the liturgical ordinance instructing that 'the Minister cometh down from the Pulpit, and sitteth at the Table, every man and woman in like wise taking their place'. This practice would remain in place until kneeling was reintroduced in the 1630s.<sup>79</sup> Finally, the Book of Common Order reinforces the authority of the whole church in matters of discipline, and especially in determining excommunication and reconciliation. The authors explain that the accused could not be expelled 'without the determination of the whole Church'. Likewise, when an offender wished to reconcile, he would need to make a public confession before the whole congregation. After his display of public penitence, 'the minister shall ask the Congregation if they judge any further to be required for their satisfaction and reconciliation of that brother'. If no objections were raised, he could be rejoined to the church.<sup>80</sup>

The First Book of Discipline and Book of Common Order were implemented with varying degrees of success. The latter was approved by the church's general assembly, and remained the principal liturgy until the ministers and an act of Parliament replaced it with the Westminster Directory in 1645.<sup>81</sup> Reaction to the First Book of Discipline was less decisive because of the radical proposal regarding the Kirk administration, which sought to dismantle and replace the traditional hierarchy and system of ecclesiastical benefices and

<sup>77</sup> Sprott and Leishman (eds.), Book of Common Order, pp. 12-13.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125 and xvii. See also Margo Todd, The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland (New Haven, 2002), pp. 88-89.

<sup>80</sup> Sprott and Leishman (eds.), Book of Common Order, pp. 30 and 49.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

patronage. This ordinance was approved by the assembly in December 1560, and by the Lord's of the Congregation the following month, although it was never ratified by parliamentary act. There are signs, however, that it was supported at the highest levels of government: the Privy Council appointed five of the ten superintendents after 1561, as the work had requested.<sup>82</sup> However, the radical proposals concerning the polity were too controversial and failed to gain widespread support. The First Book of Discipline had called for benefices to be dissolved and the incomes transferred to the Kirk. The Privy Council undermined this proposal with their 1561 act, the 'Assumption of the Thirds of the Benefices', which ordered that these office-holders should receive two-thirds of the revenues for life. The remaining third would go to the crown and the ministers' salaries.<sup>83</sup> Those men who still wished to dissolve the benefices were losing ground. In 1566, the Privy Council agreed to grant the smaller benefices (those under 300 marks per year) to the Protestant clergy as they became vacant. This was approved by Parliament the following year.<sup>84</sup>

Disagreements over clerical reform and the future of benefices continued and in 1572, a committee of nobles and church leaders came together to resolve the matter. Their verdict, known as the Leith agreement, recommended that the larger entitlements should remain intact and that the crown and council should select a committee to make these appointments. In contrast to the 1560 ordinance, which had argued that the power to select ministers belonged to the congregation, the nobles and ministers placed this authority with the secular leaders, reaffirming their right to appoint men to the larger benefices. The

<sup>82</sup> This argument is made by James Cameron in FBOD, pp. 70-72. See also Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, pp. 344-345 and 373.

<sup>83</sup> 'Acts of the Privy Council Relating to the Thirds of the Benefices', in Dickinson (ed.), Knox's History, pp. 326-332. See also SBOD, pp. 15-16.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

agreement also reestablished the traditional office of bishops in the Kirk, who were to be nominated by the crown, examined and elected by a council of ministers, and held no greater jurisdiction than the superintendents.<sup>85</sup> However, rather than resolving the dispute over administration, the Leith assembly added to the confusion over benefices and jurisdiction in Scotland.

The general assembly responded to the new proposals by commissioning thirty ministers to write a new ordinance governing the ecclesiastical administration. The Second Book of Discipline was published in 1578 and contained thirteen chapters addressing matters relating to ecclesiastical polity. The work defined the jurisdictions of church and civil leaders, described the offices in the administration and their election, and clarified the role of Christian magistrates. This document was not meant to eclipse the First Book of Discipline, but rather to provide an alternative to its radical reforms for the ministry and benefices. The new work combined the traditional role of bishops with Knox's collegial polity to create a new and unique ecclesiastical government. The authors wrote that there were four 'ordinary' offices in the Kirk: 'the office of pastors, minister or bishop; the office of doctor; presbyter or elder; and the deacon'.<sup>86</sup> They reaffirmed the traditional diocese and duties of bishops, including their function as parliamentary representatives.<sup>87</sup> However, they were described as 'overseers' like the superintendents, and not as superiors or 'Lords'.<sup>88</sup> This new ordinance also retained the benefices, with current holders being granted the income until their death. The larger ones would remain intact, while incomes from the smaller ones would pass to the ministers

<sup>85</sup> SBOD, p. 23.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 176. The office of doctor had been omitted from the First Book of Discipline, but reappeared in this second ordinance.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p. 226.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 222.

once they became vacant.<sup>89</sup> Thus, the Second Book of Discipline provided a moderate alternative to Knox's radical clerical reforms.

Although a Lasco's institutions concerning the prophecy, Lord's Supper, and discipline were retained in the Scottish churches, this second ordinance shifted away from his administrative and electoral models. The traditional bishops, as well as Calvin's office of doctors, were added to the ecclesiastical government. The Second Book of Discipline also introduced changes that limited the congregation's role in choosing new ministers. The authors reaffirmed the idea that officers should be elected by the church, but proposed that the ministers could act on the members' behalf. They explained that 'in the order of election, it is to be followed (*eschewit*) that no person be instituted (*instusit*) in any of the offices of the kirk contrary to the will of the congregation to whom they are appointed or without the voice of the elders.'<sup>90</sup> The congregation also lost their power in excommunication. The new ordinance moved in the direction of Calvin and Theodore Beza by removing this authority from the whole church, and placing it in the hands of the elders and the consistory. The authors wrote that this assembly was responsible for maintaining order in the church and 'it has power to excommunicate the obstinate'.<sup>91</sup>

Even with the changes introduced in the Second Book of Discipline, a Lasco and his London church had a significant impact on the form and order of the Scottish Kirk. The proliferation of his ecclesiastical administration, prophecy, seated Communion, and discipline demonstrate the potency of his Forma ac ratio not just for civic churches, but also for national reform

<sup>89</sup> SBOD, pp. 119-121.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., pp. 179-180.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., pp. 200.

movements. This case also underscores the key role played by the refugees in transmitting his reform model across Europe. Many of the principal founders of the Scottish Reformation had lived among the exile congregations on the continent, of which the Frankfurt and Genevan communities were particularly influential. Their Form of prayers had been modelled on the Strangers' Church and became the foundation for the country's confession, First Book of Discipline and liturgical Book of Common Order. In some cases, the Polish reformer's contributions remained in place for some time. As mentioned above, his seated Lord's Supper was not replaced until the 1630s, and the liturgical elements continued until 1645. In contrast, the powers he granted to the laity in governing the church did not enjoy the same longevity, and were curtailed with the new 1578 ordinance. Such changes reflect a shift towards the Genevan model of government. This same trend away from a Congregationalist polity can be seen in the final case study concerning the Protestant movement in France.

## France

In 1559, many prominent nobles and church leaders came together and created the country's first national Calvinist church. Prior to their assembly, the Reformation in France had been, primarily, a territorial phenomenon. The synod's participants sought to change this by uniting the disparate Reformed congregations into a single ecclesiastical body, and they approved a common confession and discipline as part of their plan.<sup>92</sup> Geneva served as the principal model: they adopted many of the city's ecclesiastical institutions and practices

<sup>92</sup> A modern edition of the discipline is published in F. Méjan (ed.), Discipline de l'Eglise réformée de France (Paris, 1947). For the first national synod see: Benedict, Christ's Churches, p. 135; Philippe Denis and Jean Rott, Jean Morély (ca 1524-ca 1594) et l'Utopie d'une Démocratie dans l'Église (Geneva, 1993), pp. 154-155; and Mark Greengrass, 'France', in Reformation in national context, p. 56.

for use in their communities. Among them were Calvin's procedures for elections and discipline, both of which granted a high level of authority to magistrates and ministers. Not everyone agreed, however, with the synod's proposals. One of the most notable critics was the nobleman Jean Morély, who argued that the church's members ought to hold greater powers in governing their congregations. The conclusions of this first assembly ignited a conflict among French Calvinists over the best form of ecclesiastical polity. It is within the context of this Congregationalist debate, that the influence of a Lasco and the London Strangers' Church can be seen.

In his study of the relationship between the Genevan and French movements, the historian Robert Kingdon asserts that this controversy focused on two key elements of the new order: the procedure for selecting ministers and discipline.<sup>93</sup> In Calvin's churches, the Company of Pastors nominated candidates for ecclesiastical office. The city's magistrates confirmed their selection, before presenting him to the congregation for their final approval.<sup>94</sup> The French synod instituted a modified form of this procedure. Reformed churches were either illegal or lacked the lay magistrates' support, so the preachers and elders assumed the duty of confirming new candidates.<sup>95</sup> Thus, they used cooption, with the current ministers appointing their replacements. Changes were also made to the discipline, reflecting the different geographical

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<sup>93</sup> Robert M. Kingdon, Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement 1564-1572: A Contribution to the History of Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, and Calvinist Resistance Theory (Madison, 1967), pp. 38-39.

<sup>94</sup> 'C'est que les ministres elisent premierement celluy qu'on debvra mettre en l'office *l'ayant fait à scavoir à la Seigneurie*; après, qu'on le presente au Conseil. Et s'il est trouvé digne, que le Conseil le recoyve et accepte *selon qu'il verra ester expedient*, luy donnant tesmoignage pour le produire finalement au people en la predication affin qu'il soit receu par consentement commun de la compaignie des fideles. S'il estoit trouvé indigne et demonsté tel par probations legitimes, il faudroit lors proceder à nouvelle election pour en prendre un aultre'. Calvin, 'Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques', p. 2

<sup>95</sup> Benedict, Christ's Churches, p. 136; and Kingdon, Geneva, pp. 40-41.

reach between the civic and national churches. Local assemblies were formed to oversee the practice in towns and rural areas, and functioned like the Genevan consistory. Above these came a hierarchical framework of provincial and national synods. Although participation in this latter assembly was open to all churches at first, Kingdon notes that the territorial bodies assumed the power to appoint delegates to attend the national meeting.<sup>96</sup> These Genevan institutions, and the changes introduced in France, limited the lay members' involvement in governing their congregations.

Jean Morély published the Traicté de la discipline [et] police Chrestienne in 1562, criticising these practices and reasserting the laity's active role in ecclesiastical administration.<sup>97</sup> The author, who had served as tutor to Jean d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, provided the clearest statement of the Congregationalists' position during the period. This was not the first time he had spoken out against the Genevan institutions. He had been arrested in the city in 1560 for spreading rumours about the ministers' support for the Conspiracy of Amboise.<sup>98</sup> He recorded his criticisms of the city's church in an early draft of the Traicté in Geneva during this period. The text was the first book of a proposed two-part project, although it seems that the second book was never completed. He explained that churches had strayed from the ecclesiastical government and discipline instituted by Christ, and he presented his proposals for correcting these errors.<sup>99</sup> In contrast to the order adopted by the 1559 synod,

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<sup>96</sup> Kingdon, Geneva, pp. 41-42.

<sup>97</sup> Jean Morély, TRAICTÉ | De la discipline [et] police | Chrestienne (Lyon, 1562). The complete text was republished by Slatkine Reprints, Geneva, in 1968. Subsequent references are drawn from this most recent edition.

<sup>98</sup> Kingdon, Geneva, pp. 45-46.

<sup>99</sup> 'SI aucune societé [et] assemblee d'hommes ne peut estre conseruee sans quelque forme de gouvernement [et] sans police: par ce qu'elle seule la maintient en repos domestique, [et] l'asseur des ennemis externes, à beaucoup moindre raison l'Eglise de nostre Seigneur, que est son Royaume eternel, pourroit subsister sans son ordre [et] propre constitution. Car combien que



Morély argued for greater powers for the laity in running their churches which, he claimed, had been instituted by Christ among the Apostles.

Morély's prescriptions were similar to the practices found in the London Strangers' Church and his case exemplifies the crucial role refugee congregations played in moulding French Calvinism. The historian Mark Greengrass asserts that it was a 'refugee reformation', with forces from outside of the country having a tremendous impact.<sup>100</sup> Besides the Genevan community, French exiles in London, Emden and Frankfurt also influenced the church's formation. Morély himself had experienced life among the refugee churches during the previous decade. He became familiar with a Lasco's ecclesiastical model when, in 1553, he travelled to London and attended services with the French congregation. From there, he went to Geneva where, as mentioned above, he began composing his *Traicté*.<sup>101</sup> The connection with the London refugees is significant, as his Congregationalist proposals are strikingly similar to the practices found in a Lasco's Strangers' Church.

Morély began his text with a discussion of discipline. He criticised the church's current practice, charging that they had deviated from God's doctrine and that there were two signs of this corruption. First, he complained that some ministers placed themselves above the ecclesiastical laws, believing that they were exempt from the discipline. He also claimed that most congregations had removed the popular element, noting that in most churches a small group

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Dieu face tout en nous, [et] que le Seigneur Iesus Christ gouverne son Eglise par vne vertu incomprehensible du Sainct Esprit, eternel conducteur, [et] Cocteur d'icelle, si est-ce qu'il luy a pleu de tant nous honorer, qu'ils'est voulu seruir du ministere des hommes pour auancer le bien d'icelle, [et] la conseruer'. Morély, *Traicté*, sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> Greengrass, 'Scotland', pp. 54-55.

<sup>101</sup> Denis and Rott, *Jean Morély*, pp. 32-33.

selected new ministers, rather than the entire membership.<sup>102</sup> He denounced both Papists and Protestants who had moved away from communal elections, describing them as 'aristocratic'. He condemned them for allowing ministers and consistories to govern churches, in place of the congregation, and asserted that this form of administration was contrary to Christ's institution.<sup>103</sup> In a nod towards a Lasco, he wrote that the disciplinary programme in the refugee churches was closest to the ancient and apostolic traditions.<sup>104</sup> Like the Polish reformer, Morély placed authority with the entire membership, 'which was given by the Lord Jesus to his Church'.<sup>105</sup> He described a similar system for admonitions and repentance and, again like the foreigners, noted that excommunication was to be decided by the entire body, rather than by the clergy.<sup>106</sup> He also recognised the need for local assemblies to oversee the discipline, as well as the territorial and national synods, but he continued to stress that the true authority in these matters rested with the congregation and not these larger assemblies.

<sup>102</sup> 'La doctrine s'est depuis perdue en l'Eglise de Dieu'. Morély, *Traicté*, sig. b4<sup>v</sup>. 'Toutefois ie passeray outre, [et] nieray vn tel gouuerneme[n]t que nostre Seigneur Iesus a institué, estre vne democratie, [et] estat populaire. Car vn tel estat a deux marques, qui demonstrent sa corruption: L'vne, que le peuple se met par dessus les loix, [et] fait à sa fantasie force decrets les vns sur les autres: L'autre, qu'il n'y a conseil public qui le conduise: ains seulement certains flateurs populaires, qui tiennent le main les vns aux autres, [et] complotent entre eux, ce qu'ils veule[n]t estre passe [et] approué par le peuple'. Morély, *Traicté*, sig. d4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> 'Ne pareillement preten-ie parler de la discipline que nous pouons nommer, pour parler bien doucement, violente, don't nous auons traité cy deuant, ne de la Papistique desguisee [et] marquee de l'Euangile: esquelles il n'y a raison ne fondement quelconque (les vices desquelles ne se demonstrent que par trop) mais de celle qui est gouueree par les Ministres [et] Consistoire, qui pourroit estre à bon droict nominee Aristocratique, par ce que elle consiste és meilleurs personnes, [et] plus graues selon qu'on en peut iuger en apparence'. Ibid., sigs. e1<sup>v</sup>-e2<sup>f</sup>. 'Parquoy Iesus Christ fondant son Eglise [et] ordonnant ses loix, il n'institue vn gouuernement Aristocratique, mais, il ordonne loix eternelles en son Royaume eternel'. Ibid., sig. h3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> 'En quoy je n'enten specifier la discipline de certaines Eglises dispersees ça [et] là par nations estranges, lesquelles sont ou plus ou moins parfaites en ceste partie'. Ibid., sig. e1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> 'Mais ceste autorité [et] puissance, qui est donnee par le Seigneur Iesus à son Eglise, concerne à tousjours entierement [et] continuelleme[n]t tout le gouuerneme[n]t [et] particuliere application d'icelle'. Ibid., sig. h4<sup>f</sup>. He also discusses the congregation's authority on sig. kr<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> 'Je vien maintenant au second poinct de la discipline qui est de la correction des mœurs, pour lesquels gouuerner le Seigneur Iesus a attribué [et] donné la iurisdiction du glaue spirituel à son Eglise'. Ibid., sig. q2<sup>v</sup>.

In elections, Morély also upheld the rights of the members to choose new ministers, in contrast to the cooptive French practice. In the third chapter of the Traicté, he describes the current system for elections, where preachers and elders choose their replacements and, in some cases, the magistrates confirm them in their new post.<sup>107</sup> As a Lasco had done, he recounted the story of Matthew's election as pastor in the apostolic church 'by a voice and vote' of the people.<sup>108</sup> He proposed an alternative form for choosing ministers based on Christ's institution, which resembled the refugees' procedure. Morély wrote that on the day of elections, both the current office-holders and the congregation should nominate candidates. The preachers and elders would examine them, before presenting the most suitable one to the members for their final approval.<sup>109</sup> He asserted that each church should be granted the 'liberty' to carry out such elections.<sup>110</sup> The only difference between his proposals and the London order was his additional instructions for removing preachers and elders. Morély

<sup>107</sup> 'Les Ministres s'assemblent seuls en leur co[n]seil, là ils sont l'election pour maintena[n]t au mieux qu'il est possible de souhaiter. Lequel conseil pour estre ordinaire [et] de peu de personnes [et] d'un ordre, nous auo[n]s mo[n]stré n'estre sans soupeon pour l'aduenir. Le Ministre eleu est apres présenté au Magistrat, lequel aussi le co[n]ferme'. Morély, Traicté, sig. z4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> 'Et est escrit que Paul [et] Barnabas [Mathew] ayans ordo[n]né les pasteurs par chacune Eglise, qui estoye[n]t eleus par la voix [et] la suffrage d'icelle, apres auoir prié avec ieunes, ils les reco[m]manderent au Seigneur'. Ibid., sig. A2<sup>v</sup>. See also: A Lasco, Forma ac ratio, sig. C3<sup>v</sup>; and OAB, Acts 1:1-26.

<sup>109</sup> 'Toutefois si seroy-ie d'aduis, que quand il seroit question de l'election pour aucun lieu, on denonçast le jour à l'Eglise qui en auroit faute, à ce que qui voudroit il se trouuast à l'election, à fin qu'aucune Eglise ne fust mesprisee, de quelque petite condition que fussent les membres d'icelle. Mesmement ie seroye d'aduis que si ces Eglises auoye[n]t quelque personnage notable, ou en demandoyent vn certain, pourueu que celà se feist legitimement, que l'Eglise matrice en cognust pour leur accorder s'il estoit vtile, ou refuser s'il estoit inutile. Hors ce cas ie desireroye que l'election faicte aux villes principales, apres la deno[n]ciation don't nous auons parlé, toutesfois auant l'imposition des mains [et] l'ordination don't nous parlerons maintena[n]t, les Ministres eleus fussent présentés aux Eglises, qui en auroyent besoin, à ce que si en leur vie, ou leur doctrine aucun sçauoit quelque scandale, ils fussent reiettés ou acceptés ces cas cessans'. Morély, Traicté, sigs. B4<sup>v</sup>-C1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>110</sup> 'Par ce moyen nous ne frustrerio[n]s aucune Eglise de sa liberté, [et], ce qui est vne marque d'une braye liberté, chacune Eglise auroit autant de puissance, que sa suffisance le porteroit'. Ibid., sig. C1<sup>r</sup>.

argued that this same power to select ministers also gave congregations the authority to depose them.<sup>111</sup>

The third indicator of a Lasco's influence is seen in the French nobleman's institution of the prophecy. Here again, the author of the Traicté reaffirms the congregations' right to participate actively in doctrinal discussions. Like the Forma ac ratio, he describes a ceremony where a preacher would give a sermon, followed by a forum where all congregants could raise any questions or concerns about what they had heard.<sup>112</sup> The French Protestants had followed the Genevan church, which had stressed the importance of such assemblies to maintain unity among the ministers. Like a Lasco, Morély argued for a broader audience, criticising the 'private' practice and arguing that the prophecy should be done in public. He asserted that there were two additional benefits of the service, beyond the agreement of the ministry: the edification of the whole church and the elimination of false doctrines.<sup>113</sup> As with the elections and discipline, he promoted a greater role for the congregation in doctrinal discussions through their participation in this practice.

Although Morély's Traicté found support among other Congregationalists, the official response was negative. The work was published shortly before the synod met in Orleans, in 1562, and it was thought that he intended it to encourage debate at this assembly regarding the ecclesiastical administration. It failed to have this effect, and the assembled ministers

<sup>111</sup> Morély, Traicté, sigs. C4<sup>r</sup>-D3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>112</sup> Denis and Rott, Jean Morély, pp. 159-160.

<sup>113</sup> 'Premierement que telle Prophetie [et] exposition de l'Escriture ne doit estre, priuee, ne d'un certain ordre, ne de peu de personnes qui s'assemblent en lieu priué: mais qu'elle se doit faire en l'Eglise [et] publique assemblée, quand il dit que celuy qui prophetise, qu'il edifie l'Eglise. Item qu'il faut chercher d'abonder en dons spirituels pour l'edification de l'Eglise... si est-ce que telle coustume n'est à reprendre, à ce que si quelque fause doctrine auoit esté traittee'. Morély, Traicté, sigs. I2<sup>r-v</sup>.

denounced the book.<sup>114</sup> The Genevan church went further and excommunicated him.<sup>115</sup> The work again was condemned by four more synods in 1564 and 1565.<sup>116</sup> The following year, the author of the 1559 French confession, Antoine de la Roche Chandieu, published the official response: La confirmation de la discipline ecclesiastique, obseruee eglises reformees du royaume de France.<sup>117</sup> Here, the author defends the Genevan model and asserts that the members could participate in ecclesiastical government through the lay elders and deacons, but maintained the ministers' authority in doctrinal matters.<sup>118</sup> The dispute finally was settled in 1571, when the La Rochelle synod accepted a version of the Genevan confession for the national French church.<sup>119</sup>

Although the official reaction condemned the Traicté, Philip Conner's recent study of the Reformed church in Le Mans suggests that some communities actively followed a Lasco and Morély's Congregationalist model.<sup>120</sup> The author notes that the French refugees had brought the London practices to this town. He argues that the Polish reformer's *coetus*, elections procedure, and deaconate, with their emphasis on the congregation's uncommon role in governing the church, found renewed life in this community.<sup>121</sup> Le Mans, like other towns, was eventually forced to conform to the national church, but one element from the London order seemed to remain: the deacons continued to

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<sup>114</sup> Kingdon, Geneva, p. 63.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., pp. 69-70.

<sup>117</sup> LA CONFIR- | mation de la discipline ec- | clesiastique, obseruee e- | glises reformees du roya- | me de France. | Avec la response aux obiectio[n]s | proposees alencontre (Geneva, 1566).

<sup>118</sup> Kingdon, Geneva, p. 81.

<sup>119</sup> Philip Conner, 'Huguenot Identities During the Wars of Religion: The Churches of Le Mans and Montauban Compared', Journal of Ecclesiastical History 54, no. 1 (January, 2003), p. 35.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., pp. 23-39.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., pp. 28-30.

serve on the local consistory after 1571, which was a departure from the Genevan church.<sup>122</sup>

Although a Lasco's influence was not as far-reaching or as long lasting in France as it was in Poland and Scotland, the reformer's London model played a crucial role in the debate over ecclesiastical polity in the kingdom. Morély drew on the refugees' example, emphasising the congregations' authority in governing the church. Recognition of this connection between these two men is not new. Phillippe Denis and John Rott addressed the Polish reformer's influence in their study of Morély. More recently, Philip Conner noted this relationship in his examination of Le Mans and Montauban.<sup>123</sup> As mentioned above, the French noble even reported the influence of the refugee congregations in his Traicté. What this study offers, then, is a comparison with other communities, which helps place the Congregationalist movement in France within the larger context of a Lasco's influence. This approach reveals that the exile communities played a crucial role in bringing the London model to France, just as they also had done in Poland and Scotland. In addition, this Congregationalist polity, with its emphasis on the laity's active participation in running the church, provided an alternative to the Genevan practice of cooption for Reformed congregations. However, it failed to gain universal support. Although the offices of lay elders and deacons, and the prophecy survived in some of these churches, lay authority in elections and excommunication was diminished, restricting their administrative powers.

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., pp. 31-32.

<sup>123</sup> See footnotes 93 and 120 for these studies.

The Reformation experiences in Poland, Scotland and France suggest the potency of a Lasco's London model. During their asylum, the exiles established their temporary churches in London and on the Continent, waiting for the opportunity to return home. A Lasco's civic model provided a key foundation for these refugee communities. When the time came for these Protestants to return home, they took the Polish reformer's order with them and sought to incorporate certain elements into their national reform movements. Many had to be reconciled with local circumstances. In Poland, for example, elections procedures were changed to accommodate the nobility's traditional patronage rights. Conflicts between church leaders and the nobility in Scotland led to a reduced role for the laity in elections, where ministers would choose candidates on the church's behalf, but the members maintained the right to give final approval. Other practices including the seated Communion, prophecy and discipline enjoyed more success, especially in Poland and Scotland. Regardless of the support these ideas received, the Polish reformer played a key role in shaping discussions over reform in each country. The potency of this order, thus, is not measured strictly by the number of institutions adopted from the London order, but also by its impact on shaping discussions that it generated about church reform.

## *Chapter Six*

### **Conclusion**

As we have seen, John a Lasco's Forma ac ratio provided a powerful model for European Protestants in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Ironically, however, this work seems to have had little impact in the country where it originated. Cranmer had invited the Polish reformer to England in 1550, hoping that the refugees would lead the way to more radical reforms in his own church. Although this plan was suspended three years later, following King Edward's death, there are indications that the foreigners had at least a modest impact on their hosts. The English exiles who fled to Frankfurt during Mary's reign maintained the Book of Common Prayer, but their counterparts in Emden and Geneva followed the example of the Strangers' Church. Some of the Protestants who remained in the realm during Mary's reign were also drawn toward a Lasco's order. The historian Brett Usher notes that the London underground church employed the foreigners' ordination ceremony when they confirmed Thomas Simpson as their preacher in 1557.<sup>1</sup> These cases are atypical, however, and advocates for a Lasco's model failed to gain widespread support for these more radical practices. Queen Elizabeth's 1559 religious settlement reestablished the Protestant church in England and reaffirmed the moderate ceremonies of the Book of Common Prayer.

Although the Polish reformer had no impact on the official Elizabethan church, his influence is evident among the early Puritans, who continued to push

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<sup>1</sup> Brett Usher, 'In a Time of Persecution: New Light on the Secret Protestant Congregation in Marian London', in David Loades (ed.), John Foxe and the English Reformation (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 238-242.



for reforms modelled after continental practices. The historians Patrick Collinson and Patrick McGrath have demonstrated this connection, arguing that the English radicals borrowed much from the foreign refugees.<sup>2</sup> Support among these men for Calvinist and Reformed practices led to the printing of the Genevan Bible in London in 1560, and the Form of prayers the following year. The latter document is especially significant, given its foundations in a Lasco's Strangers' Church. The foreigners' influence also can be seen in the Puritan proposals submitted to the 1563 Convocation, which sought to remove from the Baptism ceremony the action of signing the cross, asserted that kneeling during Communion should be voluntary, and argued that surplices should not be mandatory.<sup>3</sup> The assembly narrowly defeated these measures, and the ecclesiastical authorities responded by reaffirming the traditional prayer book and enforcing conformity with the 1559 religious settlement.<sup>4</sup>

In contrast, a Lasco found audiences in other European locations more receptive to his model for church administration, ceremonies and discipline. Refugee congregations formed in Emden, Frankfurt and Poland imitated his London order, and substantial portions of it were assimilated into the existing civic church in the East Frisian capital. The Forma ac ratio also shaped the national reform movements in Poland, Scotland and France. Not all of these communities adopted the order *in toto*. The English exiles in Geneva, for example, drew on both a Lasco and Calvin when constructing their church. However, this does not discount the tremendous impact of the Polish reformer

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<sup>2</sup> Patrick Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London', Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London 20 (1964), pp. 528-555. This has been reprinted in Collinson, Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism (London, 1983), pp. 245-272. Patrick McGrath, Papists and Puritans Under Elizabeth I (London, 1967), 73-99.

<sup>3</sup> McGrath, Papists and Puritans, pp. 84-85.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 85-87.

on these religious movements: in each case he influenced their ecclesiastical organisation and practices, and shaped their discussions about reform. Even in France, where the Congregationalists were defeated soundly at the La Rochelle synod in 1571, a Lasco's order affected the debate over ecclesiastical authority. This supraregional and supranational appeal makes the Forma ac ratio one of the most significant of all sixteenth-century ordinances.

The exceptional nature of the Forma ac ratio also contributes to its status as a key text for Protestant congregations during the period. This study has compared it with other German ecclesiastical orders, highlighting the unique characteristics of a Lasco's work. Like other ordinances, it represents the confluence between Protestant theology and law, and grew out of the need to replace Roman institutions and to control religious reforms. It follows a format familiar from earlier orders, and addresses similar matters. However, the Polish reformer's publication remains distinct from these other works because of its comprehensive nature and its extensive use of polemics, which had not been employed to this degree before. The Forma ac ratio marks a pivotal point in the development of ecclesiastical orders during the century. It was among the first to offer such a thorough blueprint for Reformed congregations, and, furthermore, to justify and defend the prescribed practices. It was intentionally directed at a much larger, European audience. Both these characteristics became more common in ordinances written after 1555, and reflect two notable social realities: the changing religious climate following the Peace of Augsburg legalising the religious divisions in Germany, and the increasing conflict between the confessional camps in Europe.

A Lasco's text is significant because it also articulates his unique vision concerning ecclesiastical organisation and ceremonies, shaped by his own experiences in Poland, Basel, Cologne and Emden, and influenced by men such as Bucer, Zwingli and Calvin. Like the Genevan reformer, a Lasco emphasised discipline and the ministers' collegial assembly. However, there are key differences that reflect the variations within the Calvinist movement. Among the Polish reformer's most notable contributions to ecclesiastical organisation and practice was his administrative framework, which combined northern German episcopacies with the Genevan collegial assembly: a remarkable combination, given the confessional tensions during the period. Furthermore he grants the members an uncommonly high level of authority in governing their own church, an authority which was exercised through the lay elders and deacons, the elections procedure, the prophecy, and the communal authority over excommunication. These elements make a Lasco's ordinance one of the earliest articulations of the Congregationalist model; they were implemented with varying degrees of success across Europe.

Besides emphasising the ordinance's unique nature and its contribution to European Protestantism, this study has demonstrated the role of orders in confession building, through the example of the Forma ac ratio. Two key points were made regarding the dissemination and promotion of confessional identities. First, ideas about ecclesiastical organisation and practice were conveyed in written form – in books, manuscripts, pamphlets and broadsheets. For example, more than ten editions of the 1539 Wittenberg ordinance were published, and the work influenced future Lutheran orders in towns and territories as far away as

Cologne, Prussia, and Pfalz.<sup>5</sup> Second, the movement of people also transmitted such ideas across civic, territorial and national borders. The Wittenberg student John Aepinus, for example, produced a Lutheran order for Stralsund after having been invited there by the town's magistrates in 1524.<sup>6</sup>

A Lasco's model was communicated to his pan-European audience through the first Latin edition of his text, and the French and Dutch versions that followed. The nature of the Strangers' Church also put him in an especially fortuitous position to promote his reform model: the foreign congregations would play a key role in transmitting his ecclesiastical institutions across the Continent. After their expulsion from England in 1553, the French exiles, for example, reestablished the London model in their Emden and Frankfurt churches. When they returned to their homeland in the 1560s, they again carried with them this organisational model. Likewise, a Lasco transported his form for administration and practices to Poland, when he returned home in 1556. Indeed, the exile congregations played a crucial role in spreading this reformer's message beyond London.

The Forma ac ratio's dissemination demonstrates the complexities associated with tracing the reformer's impact on Protestant congregations. His influence travels across an intricate web of relationships. In some cases, there is a direct connection: for example, a Lasco personally advised the refugee churches in Emden and oversaw the creation of a Calvinist church in Little Poland. But the message also could be passed indirectly through an intermediary, as with the second Dutch congregation in Frankfurt. Although they had little direct connection to the Strangers' Church, they were advised and

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<sup>5</sup> Sehling, vol. 11, pp. 89-90.

supported by their compatriots in Frankenthal, many of whom had come from London. The case of the Scottish church exemplifies both types of connections. John Knox, residing in London during Edward's reign, was familiar with a Lasco's congregations. Both men had criticised the English practice of kneeling during Communion, and it appears that a Lasco helped the Scottish reformer write his response to the Eucharistic rite in the 1552 prayer book.<sup>7</sup> The Polish reformer may have directly influenced Knox through this relationship. However, English exiles in Geneva also exerted a powerful influence over the national reform movement with their Form of prayers. This work was a revised version of the Frankfurt ordinance, which had been modelled on the Liturgia Sacra – the French order for the Strangers' Church. Although not as direct as Knox's relationship with a Lasco, these connections have the same effect in conveying the Polish reformer's model for ecclesiastical reform.

The significance of the Forma ac ratio in the European Protestant movement has been overlooked because historians have focused on this work within the context of a Lasco's religious career, or as part of the localised reform movements.<sup>8</sup> This study has attempted to draw attention to the document's wider impact by providing the first detailed examination of the reformer's unique message and its influence in Europe. A Lasco's ideas about church organisation and practice enjoyed renewed life beyond London among the refugee congregations, and in their native lands following their return home. In the case of France, its impact was short-lived. The Scottish church, in contrast, continued to follow his Eucharistic rite and liturgy well into the seventeenth

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<sup>6</sup> Scheible (ed.), Melanchthons Briefwechsel, vol 2, pp. 369-370. See also p. 44 above.

<sup>7</sup> See above, pp. 214-215.

century.<sup>9</sup> Such cases underscore the magnitude of his text, which left an indelible mark on Protestant churches across Europe. A Lasco ought to be noted among the other European reformers, such as Martin Bucer and Johannes Brenz, who made significant contributions to Protestant ecclesiastical organisation and practice. Given its unique message and its legacy, the Forma ac ratio is a Lasco's most important work, and remains one of the most influential ordinances of the sixteenth century.

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<sup>8</sup> Many of these studies were discussed in the introduction to this thesis and include MacCulloch, 'The importance of Jan Laski in the English Reformation', in Johannes a Lasco, (ed.) Strohm; Rodgers, Lasco in England; and Jürgens, Lasco in Ostrriesland.

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 231.

Appendix A: Table of church orders arranged by type and location

Location	Confessions of Faith	Church Ordinances	Visitation Articles	Synodal Statutes	Consistory Articles	Police Orders	Mandates	Other	Total
TERRITORIES									
Anhalt	-	16	10	1	-	1	1	5	34
Baden	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Brandenburg	-	15	46	1	1	-	-	9	72
Brandenburg-Ansbach/Kulmbach	-	16	4	4	-	-	3	9	36
Braunschweig	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	3
Braunschweig-Grubenhagen	-	6	1	1	1	-	-	-	9
Braunschweig-Kalenberg	-	8	2	1	-	-	2	-	13
Braunschweig-Lüneburg	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
Castell	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Diepholz (grafschaft)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
East Frisia	1	11	-	2	-	1	3	4	22
Eichstätt	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Estland	-	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	5
Freising	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hadeln	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Halberstadt	-	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	9
Henneburg	-	22	4	-	-	-	1	-	27
Hesse	-	14	2	13	-	-	3	5	37
Hildesheim	-	4	-	1	-	-	12	-	17
Hoya (grafschaft)	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Kurpfalz	1	16	3	2	6	6	12	19	65
Kurland	-	4	5	-	-	-	1	1	11
Lauenburg	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Livland	-	2	-	-	-	-	5	-	7
Magdeburg	1	11	4	-	1	-	2	1	20
Mainzischen Besetzung	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	1	5
Mecklenburg	-	13	20	2	-	-	3	3	41
Münster	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
Nassau	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Öttingen-Öttingen	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Oldenburg-Jever	-	6	-	-	-	2	1	6	15
Ortenburg	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	3

Location	Confessions of Faith	Church Ordinances	Visitation Articles	Synodal Statutes	Consistory Articles	Police Orders	Mandates	Other	Total
Osnabrück	-	4	-	-	-	-	1	2	7
Pfalz (Oberpfalz)	-	3	2	1	1	1	5	6	19
Pfalz-Neuburg	-	8	4	-	1	-	4	7	24
Pommerania	-	13	20	2	2	-	3	3	43
Preussia	1	16	12	-	1	-	2	-	32
Reineck	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Reuss	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	6
Saxony	2	112	94	2	6	4	5	23	248
Thüngen	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Wertheim	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Wolfstein	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Württemberg	-	13	15	-	3	5	24	44	104
Wurzburg	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
CITIES									
Augsburg	-	9	-	-	-	1	3	8	21
Bremen	-	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	8
Cologne	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	3
Dinkelsbuehl	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	7	9
Donauwörth	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Frankfurt	-	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	5
Hamburg	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Kempten	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lindau	-	4	-	-	-	-	3	-	7
Lubeck	-	3	-	-	-	-	6	-	9
Memmingen	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
Nordhausen	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Nordlingen	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Nuremberg	-	14	3	2	-	-	6	-	25
Regensburg	-	12	-	-	2	-	1	10	25
Rothenburg	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
(Schwäbisch) Hall	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
Strasbourg	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	5
Ulm	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Weissenburg	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Windsheim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Totals	7	457	260	36	25	26	115	188	1114



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