

**THE PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS:
TWO MODELS FOR LAY INVOLVEMENT
FROM THE LUTHERAN AND
PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCHES,**

Thesis

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ABSTRACT

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The Second Vatican Council's Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (Lumen Gentium) did much to correct the unbalanced sense of hierarchy that had been left in the wake of the abbreviated First Vatican Council, yet in many aspects the Catholic Church remains very hierarchical in its structures and practices. This, combined with the lack of historical models for lay participation in the life of the church, presents a dilemma to Catholics who feel called to participate in the life of the church on a deeper level. This paper thus examines two Christian communities which have historically safeguarded active lay participation: the Lutheran Church and the Presbyterian Church. The study begins by examining the teachings of Martin Luther and John Calvin on the "priesthood of all believers," an ecclesiological concept which has been instrumental in shaping the role of the laity in both of these churches. The implications of their teachings for their early congregations are then examined to determine if early Lutherans and Presbyterians were true to the teachings of their founders. The structures and development of liturgical resources of the American churches descended from these early congregations are next studied to show that the lay participation that was intended by them has been safeguarded. Finally, two different models for lay involvement are drawn up to aid Catholics who are struggling to find ways become more involved in their church, and comments are made concerning the extent to which the models may be utilized.

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INTRODUCTION

To twentieth-century Catholics the idea that lay people can and should be involved in the day-to-day operation of the church is relatively new. The Second Vatican Council's document Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (Lumen Gentium) gave expression to concepts such as the Church as the People of God, the common priesthood of the faithful, the sensus fidei, equality in spiritual dignity, the sharing of all the faithful in Christ's triple office of priest, prophet and king, and the universal call to holiness. These developments gave impetus to a new focus on the role of the laity both within the Church and in the world.

With greater numbers of lay people expressing interest in becoming more deeply involved in the day-to-day life of the church, an interesting dilemma arises: there is relatively little in the history of the Catholic Church itself to provide helpful models for lay involvement. There are, however, Christian communities which have long histories of active lay participation. Two of these are the Lutheran Church and the Presbyterian Church, both of which have stressed involvement from their inceptions.

Central to the practice of lay involvement in both of these churches is the ecclesiological concept of the "priesthood of all believers." It is the purpose of this paper to discuss this concept as it is treated in the writings of the early reformers Martin Luther and John Calvin, and as it has been safeguarded in the practices of the early Lutheran and Presbyterian congregations and in the American churches descended from them. Though Luther and Calvin were both working from the same basic definition of the priesthood of all believers, each utilized this concept in a different way, resulting in their attempts to incorporate vastly different structures into their early congregations. Their beliefs found varying degrees of acceptance within their respective

congregations, the Lutherans remaining for the most part true to the ideas of their founder, while the Presbyterians almost immediately shifted Calvin's focus to a stance more in line with the Lutheran position. Yet despite the similarities that developed in focus, the Lutherans and Presbyterians in the United States have chosen different church structures to safeguard the role of the laity that grew out of this focus on the common priesthood of the faithful. In examining these two structures we will find two different models for lay involvement, both based on the concept of the priesthood of all believers and both effectively preserving the role of the laity in all areas of church life.

The goal of constructing these models is to provide Catholics who are struggling to become more involved in their church with some ideas as to how this might be accomplished. This is not to suggest in any way that these models may be adopted as-is by the Catholic laity, for it would be impossible to do this and remain true to the current teachings of the Catholic Church on collegiality and the common priesthood of the faithful. In *Lumen Gentium* the Catholic bishops state that the Church is both a "society furnished with hierarchical agencies and the Mystical Body of Christ." This is not to say that the Church is two different realities, but that it is "one interlocked reality which is comprised of a divine and a human element."¹ Consistent with this view of the Church as both human and divine, the bishops later state that the very structure of the Catholic Church has both human elements and divine elements. The episcopal structure of authority in the Catholic Church and its historical connection to apostolicity is one of the central divinely instituted elements. According to church teaching, Jesus called the twelve apostles and formed them into a fixed group (college), placing Peter at their head, to carry out his mission in the world. This divine mission lasts until the end of time, and so then must the structure that Jesus initiated be passed on in order to continue that

¹Dogmatic Constitution on the Church in The Documents of Vatican II (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1966), I.8. Hereafter referred to as Lumen Gentium.

mission.² As the successors of Peter and the apostles, the Pope and the bishops together have supreme power in the Catholic Church when they act as a college.³ As helpers of the bishops, priests make the local bishop present within the congregation in which they serve. They comprise one priesthood with the bishops, but perform different functions within that priesthood.⁴ The common priesthood of the faithful, in which the laity share, differs from this ministerial or hierarchical priesthood not only in degree but also in essence.⁵ *Lumen Gentium* is not specific as to what the difference between these two types of priesthoods is, though it is clear from the document that the reception of holy orders is the vehicle by which the ministerial priest is admitted fully into the priestly office of Christ.⁶

In addressing the above issues at the Second Vatican Council the bishops were attempting to correct the picture of the absolute monarchy that was left in the wake of the abbreviated First Vatican Council. When the Franco-Prussian War cut short Vatican I deliberations after the enactment of the definitions of papal primacy and infallibility without their accompanying sections on the bishops and the other members of the Church, Roman Catholicism was left with an unbalanced sense of its hierarchy.⁷ While Vatican II did much to provide some balance, it can still be argued that the Catholic Church, relative to other churches, remains very hierarchical in its structures and practices; and while lay people are becoming more involved in the Catholic Church by way of parish councils, advisory committees to the bishops and the pope and other related activities, it would be difficult to claim in any broad sense that the laity are determinatively involved in areas of great importance.

²Ibid., III.19, 20.

³Ibid., III.22.

⁴Ibid., III.28.

⁵Ibid., II.10.

⁶Ibid., II.10, note 30.

⁷Avery Dulles, S.J., Introduction to *Lumen Gentium*, p. 9.

Martin Luther and John Calvin had very different ideas than either the sixteenth century or the current Catholic Church. Neither emphasized apostolicity as the succession of bishops tracing back to the apostles, but rather as fidelity to the apostolic teachings found in Scripture. Luther focused more on the functional nature of the ministry than on its divine institution. While he did recognize that the office of ministry was instituted by God, he felt that the form that ministry takes is considerably less important than its service to the gospel. Calvin, on the other hand, felt strongly that God did institute a certain structure, not the structure used by Jesus and the apostles, but the one used in the earliest Christian communities after the death of Jesus and reported in the Epistles. Since neither of these teachings are immediately reconcilable with those of Vatican II, the models contained herein cannot be simply incorporated into Catholic structure. Hopefully, however, they will be useful in encouraging Catholics to seek their own models by demonstrating that there is more than one way to assure lay involvement, and that it is even possible to do so within a church with a well-defined structure.

We begin with the conditions in the Catholic Church which prompted reformers like Martin Luther and John Calvin to take action to incorporate the laity on a broader scale than was done in the fifteenth century church. We will then examine their writings to become familiar with what they understood the "priesthood of all believers" to mean. The early churches and their American descendants will then be examined to determine their fidelity to and development of the reformers' ideas. Finally, models will be constructed and comparative comments be made in the hopes of providing guidance to those who are attempting to incorporate more lay involvement in the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER I

CONDITIONS IN THE CHURCH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION

We begin this study by looking briefly at the conditions in the Catholic Church of the early sixteenth century which were instrumental in influencing Martin Luther to call for widespread reform of the church, for it was in Luther's early debates with Rome that he began to see the need for a shift in focus away from the hierarchy and toward service to the gospel. As we shall see, it was Luther's perception of the abuses in the Catholic Church which caused him to question the role that the hierarchy had come to play and led him to emphasize the priesthood of all believers as a means shifting emphasis away from the hierarchy so that the way could be cleared for true service to the Word of God.

When Martin Luther issued his Ninety-five Theses on October 31, 1517, he was hardly the first Catholic to call for reformation of the Church. During the fifteenth century and earlier many in Western Europe had sought Church reform, and rightfully so. Widespread abuses plagued the Church: many rectors neither lived nor worked in their parishes, though their parishes were supporting them financially; the buying and selling of bishoprics and parish positions was not uncommon; expensive dispensations from marriages were available to those who could afford them; ecclesiastics who committed crimes were often immune from the jurisdiction of local secular magistrates; the threat of excommunication was used to collect debts; kings were able to reward servants with ecclesiastical offices. Yet before the days of Martin Luther, most thought of reform in administrative, legal, or moral terms, not in doctrinal terms.¹ The church was not commonly seen as promoting bad doctrine, but rather as allowing doctrine to

¹Owen Chadwick, The Reformation (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1972), 11-13, 15.

be used in corrupt ways. Luther himself did not even initially seek doctrinal reform.

Though many were calling for reformation, prior to the early 1500s the climate in many parts of Europe was not such that meaningful reformation could take place. Two factors which aided Luther's efforts are often cited. First, in many parts of Europe it was becoming the case that the rulers of emerging nation states felt the need for strong authority to administer their countries and maintain power. This brought them into conflict with the church, which held a great deal of authority throughout Europe. Indeed, "efficient government demanded restraint upon papal intervention, upon ecclesiastical privilege and exemptions, upon the legal right of an authority outside the country to levy taxes."² Secondly, members of the upper classes, rulers, and merchants were becoming more educated; people began to think more critically.³

Though the atmosphere was becoming more conducive to reformation, a spark was needed to light the fire. That spark came in the form of the St. Peter's indulgence. On March 31, 1515 Pope Leo X authorized Albert of Mainz to sell a plenary indulgence in his provinces of Germany. The money gained from the sale of this indulgence went to the Pope's building fund for St. Peter's, and to German bankers in repayment of a loan which Albert had sought to secure a dispensation which had allowed him to hold three ecclesiastical offices: Archbishop of Mainz, Archbishop of Magdeburg, and administrator of the see of Halberstadt. Albert commissioned the Dominican John Tetzel to preach the indulgence, which had four principal benefits:

*Complete remission of all sins on earth and in purgatory.

*A confessional letter and all of its privileges, e.g. the right of the person to select his own confessor and receive full remission of sins whenever death was imminent.

*Participation in the goods of the Church for one's self and one's deceased parents.

²Ibid., 29.

³Ibid.

*Full remission of sins for souls in purgatory when the indulgence was purchased for them.

Although Luther would object to each of these “benefits,” it was the second that prompted him to take action. Someone for whom Luther was a confessor came to him with the confessional letter explaining the benefits of the indulgence. Luther was shocked that people were being led to believe that if they purchased the indulgence they were in no further need of penitence.⁴ He thus issued his Ninety-five Theses upon Indulgences and announced his willingness to publicly defend them.⁵

Initially, Luther (like many others who had come before him) had no quarrel with the Pope. He felt that if the Pope were made aware of how indulgences were being misused, he would want to correct the abuse. Luther’s main concern was the indulgence’s effect on the people.⁶ However, as time went on and Luther engaged in public debate on and evoked papal response to his theses, he moved steadily away from his allegiance to the Pope, Rome, and the entire hierarchical system of the Roman Church. By the time he was excommunicated by Leo in the bull Decet Romanum Pontificem on Jan. 3, 1521, Luther viewed the papacy as the seat of the Antichrist, and felt that farmers and children understood Christ better than popes, bishops, and doctors of theology.⁷

Luther’s success in initiating reform in Germany prompted reform to begin elsewhere, including Geneva, Switzerland. Initially reformation proceeded in a very unorganized manner in that city, consisting of little more than sermons and broken statues. When John Calvin passed by chance through Geneva in 1536, he was convinced by William Farel to remain. Farel, a

⁴Scott H. Hendrix, Luther and the Papacy: Stages in a Reformation Conflict (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 25-26.

⁵Chadwick, 41-43.

⁶Hendrix, 27, 30-32.

⁷Ibid., 117-119.

Frenchman used by Berne to reform the French-speaking areas of Switzerland, was not a good organizer, but Calvin with his training as a lawyer was. Within four months of his arrival, he proposed to the city council an agenda for reform. Things did not go well for him at first, and he spent from 1538 to 1541 in exile from the city because the Genevans did not favor his reforms. However after his return in 1541, Calvin's ideas began to take root.⁸

An important reform principle for both Martin Luther and John Calvin was the "priesthood of all believers." Though each meant virtually the same thing when they used the phrase, Luther and Calvin placed very different emphases on its importance and two of the churches which have descended from their early congregations have safeguarded their ideas differently. We shall discover after looking at how Luther and Calvin used the phrase and at how the Lutheran and Presbyterian churches have safeguarded their ideas that the Lutheran churches have tended to be very true overall to the spirit of Luther's beliefs. On the other hand, the Presbyterian churches almost from the beginning have placed a different emphasis on the concept of the priesthood of all believers than did their founder. Thus, though the priesthood of all believers was originally much more central to Luther than it was to Calvin, both the present-day Lutheran and Presbyterian churches can claim that this concept is ecclesiological key within their churches. We thus begin the main portion of this study with a look at what the two early reformers meant by the priesthood of all believers, and how this impacted their early churches.

⁸Chadwick, 82-83.

CHAPTER II

MARTIN LUTHER AND THE EARLY LUTHERAN CHURCH

Luther's Understanding of the Priesthood of All Believers

In this chapter we will investigate Luther's understanding of the priesthood of all believers and its implications for the early Lutheran Church. It must be stated at the outset that despite the strong feelings that Luther developed against the papacy and the hierarchy, "the doctrine of the ministry cannot be called a major item in Reformation controversy with Rome."¹ Throughout the controversy Luther's concern was for the gospel. He dealt with the subject of the ordained ministry only as it pertained to preaching that gospel. This does not imply that the subject was unimportant to Luther, but rather underscores the type of abuse he saw in the Catholic Church of his time and shows how he felt that a change of emphasis was badly needed in order for meaningful reformation to take place.

It remains to be said what Luther did say about the ordained ministry and its relationship to the laity because it is in studying this relationship that Luther's beliefs concerning the priesthood of all believers become most apparent. First, and perhaps most importantly, Luther distinguishes between the priesthood, which rightly belongs to all Christians, and the ministry, which is assigned to a few chosen from the community of

¹John Reumann, "Ordained Minister and Layman in Lutheranism," in Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue, vol. 4: Eucharist and Ministry by Representatives of the U.S.A. National Committee of the Lutheran World Federation and the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs, (1970), 228.

Christians. Luther's distinction is not just semantic. The Bible, he says, assigns certain duties to the priesthood, then clearly states that all Christians are priests and are thus bound to carry out these duties. The Church has wrongly usurped these duties by giving them solely to the ordained. ". . . [A] priest, especially in the New Testament, was not made but was born. He was created, not ordained. He was born not indeed of flesh, but through a birth of the Spirit, by water and Spirit in the washing of regeneration. [John 3:6f; Titus 3:5f] Indeed, all Christians are priests, and all priests are Christians."² The priesthood is imparted not by the Church, but by Christ: "Now just as Christ by his birthright obtained these two prerogatives [prayer and preaching] so he imparts them to and shares them with everyone who believes in him according to the law of . . . marriage, according to which the wife owns whatever belongs to the husband. Hence all of us who believe in Christ are priests and kings in Christ. . . ."³ Our common priesthood means that we stand before God, pray for others, intercede with and sacrifice ourselves to God, and proclaim the word to each other.⁴ This is not just the typical Protestant notion of the Christian's freedom to stand in direct relationship to God without mediation, nor is it religious individualism. It is rather a conviction that the Christian has evangelical authority to come before God on behalf of others and the world and a recognition of the reality of the congregation as a community.⁵ In Luther's own words, ". . . the Spirit reminds and admonishes us everywhere that Christians have authorization from God Himself to teach and console one another."⁶ Likewise, "Through the spirit of compassion they themselves will become children of God; and then, as children of God, they will mediate between God and their

²Luther's *Works*, vols. 31, 35, 36, 40 and 51, eds. T. Bachmann, C. Bergendorf, J. W. Doberstein, H. J. Grimm, and A. R. Wentz (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957-60), 19. Hereafter cited as LW with volume and page number.

³LW 31, 354.

⁴Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, trans. Robert C. Schultz (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 314.

⁵Ibid., 314-315.

neighbor, and will serve others and help them attain this estate too.”⁷ This duty to teach and console includes what the Catholic Church has commonly limited to the sacrament of Reconciliation. Luther does not advocate abolishing the sacrament, as he himself had many times found great comfort in it, yet he does not see the need for the confessor to be ordained: “. . . if anyone is wrestling with sins and wants to be rid of them and desires a sure word on the matter, let him go and confess to another in secret and accept what he says to him as if God himself had spoken it through the mouth of this person.”⁸ To those who would object that the average person does not have the knowledge necessary to advise others, Luther points out that though as a Doctor of Theology he has helped many with a knowledge of Scripture, he has also personally experienced help through those without his degree of education, because “Holy Scripture’s inseparable companion is the Holy Spirit, who moves hearts in more than one way and consoles them through the Word.”⁹ Luther even goes so far as to say that Christians can become gods and saviors of the world by their supplication.¹⁰ In short, Luther believes that most of the duties that the Catholic Church has assigned to ordained priests are properly the duties of every single Christian:

. . . as priests we are worthy to appear before God to pray for others and to teach one another divine things. These are the functions of priests, and they cannot be granted to any unbeliever. . . . Therefore we may boldly come into the presence of God in the spirit of faith [Heb. 10:19-22] and cry “Abba Father,” pray for one another, and do all things which we see done and foreshadowed in the outer and visible works of priests.¹¹

If all Christians may perform priestly duties, what is the purpose of having an ordained ministry? In Luther’s eyes, the minister performs the same duties as others (because he is a

⁶Luther’s Works, vols. 13, 24 and 27, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956, 1961, and 1964), 111. Hereafter cited as LW with volume and page number.

⁷LW 24,87.

⁸LW 51, 99.

⁹LW 13, 111.

¹⁰LW 24, 87.

¹¹LW 31, 355.

Christian and therefore a priest), but he performs them on a public level. What a priest does on the private level, i.e., amongst individuals within the community, the minister does for the community as a whole in the name of the community. What rightly began as stewardship in the early Church had become to Luther a display of power and tyranny. The result is that knowledge of grace, faith, liberty, and even knowledge of Christ himself has disappeared and been replaced by human works and laws.

Injustice is done those words "priest," "cleric," "spiritual," "ecclesiastic," when they are transferred from all Christians to those few who are now by a mischievous usage called "ecclesiastics." Holy Scripture makes no distinction between them, although it gives the name "ministers," "servants," "stewards" to those who are now proudly called popes, bishops, and lords and who should according to the ministry of the Word serve others and teach them the faith of Christ and the freedom of believers. Although we are all equally priests, we cannot all publically minister and teach.¹²

Luther grounds his reasoning for this distinction on the scriptural notion of "different gifts, but the same spirit." Although all Christians are called to teach and console one another, there are some within the community who are especially gifted in these areas. These individuals should be called by the community to minister on behalf of all. Indeed, the call from the community is vital: ". . . no one should publicly teach in the Church or administer the Sacraments unless he be regularly called."¹³ The call of ministers is not limited to the community though. The ministry is willed by God as means of handing down the gospel faith through the generations: "That we may obtain this faith, the Ministry of Teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments was instituted."¹⁴ Despite this dual call from the community and God, the ministry as an office is not indispensable. If for some reason ministers are not available, "The father in the home. . . can provide his own with the necessities through the Word and in pious humility do without the nonessentials"¹⁵

¹²LW 31, 356.

¹³"Augsburg Confession," Book of Concord (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1952), 14,14.

¹⁴Ibid., 5,13.

¹⁵LW 40, 10.

We may thus summarize Luther's thoughts on the priesthood of all believers as follows: all who are Christians are priests, and because of this office all Christians are called to come before God on behalf of others, to console and to teach others. Priests differ from ministers only on the level at which they perform these duties: a priest does these things among individuals, while a minister is called by the church because of his special gifts to perform these duties publicly on behalf of the church. While the ministry is very important to the church and is instituted by God as a means of handing on the gospel faith through the generations, it is secondary to that gospel and must take other forms if it in any way precludes the gospel.

Implications for the Early Lutheran Church

Having discussed what Martin Luther meant when he used the phrase "the priesthood of all believers," we next consider what practical implications his beliefs had for the earliest Lutheran congregations.¹⁶ This will allow us to judge whether or not Luther's ideas were faithfully passed on by his followers or whether they were not important beyond the paper on which he wrote.

Though Luther came to see a connection between the priesthood of all believers and his

¹⁶Because of the atmosphere of the time in which Luther and his contemporaries were ministering, a great many of Luther's writings are polemic in style. Whether the Catholic Church was being openly challenged or whether he was simply teaching what he believed to be correct, Luther often writes in such a way as to leave no doubt that his teachings differ from those of the Catholic Church. This is quite evident in his treatment of the priesthood of all believers. In addressing the practical implications of this teaching, Luther often, though not always, focuses not on what the laity can do, but on what the ministers cannot do. A notable exception is his 1523 treatise The Right and Power of a Christian Congregation or Community to Judge All Teaching and to Call, Appoint, and Dismiss Teachers, Established and Proved from Scripture, in which Luther does focus on the rights of the congregation, though even here he does so in terms of limitations on the ordained ministry. Though his thoughts on these matters and on the priesthood of all believers both predate this treatise, Albert Steinhaeuser in his introduction notes that this is the first time that Luther specifically connects the three. This author thus cites this treatise as a demonstration of Luther's ultimate realization of these ideas as interrelated, that is, that the priesthood of all believers implies that the laity has certain powers, though sometimes these may be expressed in terms of the limitations of the ordained ministry (which in the Catholic Church means popes, bishops and priests.)

view of the Church, he did not always link them together, at least not in his writings. As early as 1513 a nearly complete version of the practical consequences of his view of the Church exists in his lectures on the Psalms. The priesthood of all believers, on the other hand, makes its first appearance in his writings in 1519. Yet by 1523 he sees the two concepts as connected, as is shown in his treatise on the rights and powers of congregations, which is considered by one commentator to be “a convenient summary of a view scattered references to which may be found in many of Luther’s previous writings”¹⁷ In this treatise Luther claims that a Christian congregation, which may be known by its preaching of the pure Gospel, has both the right and power to judge doctrine and to teach God’s Word by choosing and calling ministers. Bishops, popes and theologians have the power to teach, but the power to judge the correctness of those teachings, as well as to choose who shall preach has been taken from them by God and given to the congregations. He cites numerous Scriptural supports for this view.¹⁸ The congregation’s power of choice lies in its sharing of Christ’s priesthood: “For no one can deny that every Christian has God’s Word and is taught of God and annointed by Him to the priesthood.”¹⁹

We must look to Luther’s other writings for descriptions of this ministry, members of which must be chosen by the local congregation. In doing so we find that Luther looked upon the ministry in a very different way from the Catholic models of the time, and even from the models that have been in existence as of the Second Vatican Council. He placed considerably less stock in the particular form that ministry should take than the Catholic Church did or does. Collegiality was of little importance to him. Ministry was seen in functional terms and had a number of distinguishing characteristics. First it was instituted by God and was thus not a

¹⁷Albert T.W. Steinhäuser, introduction to The Right and Power of a Christian Congregation in Luther’s Works, vol. 2, trans A.T.W. Steinhäuser (Philadelphia: A. J. Holman Company and the Castle Press, 1915), 73.

¹⁸LW 2,75-79.

¹⁹Ibid., 79.

wholly human construct. Ministry was necessary in the church, though in certain situations the need for ministers could be superceded by other factors. Ministers were ordained by pastor-presbyter-bishops, and just like the laity were primarily of service to the gospel. Ministry worked reciprocally with the laity, but because of its public nature, was not identical to the priesthood of all believers.²⁰

Not accidentally the above characteristics of the ministry say nothing about the forms that ministry could take. Foremost in the mind of Luther and the early reformers was the centrality of the gospel message. Thus the most important characteristic of the ministry was that it be of service to that Word. All else was secondary, including the form:

. . . [T]he ministry in the Lutheran church- precisely because it never was an article on which the church stands or falls, but is in so many aspects a matter of human ordinance- could be subject to trends and changes in ensuing centuries, with a variety of forms which in the eyes of some were almost an embarrassment- the embarrassment of freedom.²¹

A number of Luther's writings, such as his response to a situation faced in Bohemia, demonstrate this openness to various forms.

The Bohemian Catholics had been in schism with Rome for over a century because they had believed since the days of John Huss in receiving communion in both kinds. Popes would not, because of the schism, send them an archbishop, so ministers from that area had to go to Italy for ordination, before which they had to promise to administer communion in only one kind. Upon their return to Bohemia, they had to renounce this promise in front of a consistory of administrators who had been elected to run the archdiocese before they could be assigned to minister in a parish.²² In writing to the Bohemians in 1523, Luther says that ministers obtained in this way are not desirable and that under such circumstances it would be preferable for the father of each household to perform ministerial duties.²³ He does make clear, however,

²⁰Reumann, 242.

²¹Ibid., 241.

²²LW 40, Introduction to "Concerning the Ministry," 4.

that ordination by papal bishops is not in itself undesirable, but their insistence on the promise to administer communion in only one kind as a condition for ordination makes their involvement in the situation intolerable. He therefore proposes that the people come together and cast ballots to elect one or more to be bishop(s), ministers, and pastors, and subsequently use prayer and the laying on of hands by the Bohemian leaders to commend and certify these people to the whole assembly.²⁴ Thus Luther sets up three possibilities for providing ministers for the people of Bohemia: ordination by papal bishops if the bishops do not preclude the ministry of the Word by making unreasonable demands; election of the necessary ministers, pastors, and bishops by the people if papal ordination is not possible; ministry by the fathers of each household if neither of the above can be achieved. What needs to be decided by the Bohemians is how the gospel can best be served. If one form of ministry falls short, then that form becomes expendable and another form must take its place. Elsewhere in his Preface to Deutches Messe (1526) Luther proposes yet another possible form: "those who mean to be real Christians and profess the Gospel with hand and mouth, should record their names on a list and gather in a house by themselves in order to pray, read, baptize, receive the sacrament, and to practice other Christian work."²⁵ This is perhaps the most radical of Luther's possibilities as it seems to express no reliance on an exterior church structure beyond the immediate congregation. Though this proposal never materialized, it gives an idea of just how open Luther was to a variety of forms. As Reumann puts it, ". . . Lutheranism is accustomed to discuss the ministry in light of the word, not to defend a divine order of ministers, as central."²⁶

It is thus clear that Luther's belief in the priesthood of all believers did not lead him to propose any particular practical measures as preferable to any others. Instead he encouraged

²³LW 40, 9.

²⁴LW 40, 40-41.

²⁵Reumann, 242-243.

²⁶Ibid., 230.

local congregations to consider how service to the gospel could best be accomplished in their midst, and to act accordingly. If traditional church structures and practices achieved this end, then those could and should be preserved; but if they stood in the way of fidelity to the Word of God, they must be replaced by structures and practices which more effectively served the gospel.

Some Brief Comments on the Fidelity of the Early Lutheran Church to Luther's Ideas

"Early Lutheran Church" is perhaps a misnomer, for despite his excommunication, Luther did not see himself as founding a new Lutheran Church, but rather as purifying the Catholic Church. He saw his mission as removing abuses that had "recently intruded" on the church.²⁷ He was quite specific about what had to go in order to clear the way for service to the Word of God. In his famous Reformation Treatise To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, he calls on the kings and princes to step in and reform the church where the clergy were unable or unwilling to do so. They should

abolish pardons, dispensations, annates, exactions, the worldliness of popes and the wealth of cardinals, palls, commendams, the secular rule of the Pope and bishops . . . Princes must end the abuse of excommunication, the excess of idle officials in the Roman Curia, the rule of clerical celibacy, they must diminish the number of processions, pilgrimages, vows, jubilees, masses for the dead, mendicants, and beggars. They must reform the curricula of the universities, bring back the studies from the schoolmen to the Bible and a small number of truly good books upon the Bible. The German nation and empire must be freed to live their own lives. The princes must make laws for the moral reform of the people, restraining extravagance in dress or feasts or spices, destroying the public brothels, controlling the bankers and credit.²⁸

Many of these reforms did indeed take place, though not without great civil chaos in some places due in part to the entanglement of church and state. But once this "purification process" was under way, it became necessary to fill the vacuum that was left as old structures

²⁷Chadwick, 65.

²⁸Ibid., 52-53.

and forms of worship collapsed. It is here that Luther's belief in the priesthood of all believers had great impact. Early steps of the reform were relatively easy: German Bibles were distributed to the churches, clergy members were permitted to marry, monks and nuns who wished to be were released from their vows, people were taught German hymns, money was diverted to help the needy. Yet Luther did not replace the old structure with a new one of his own. True to his belief in the priesthood of all, he "made suggestions for reform, he encouraged experiment, he left much to local reforming initiative."²⁹ The very fact that reformation took place at all indicates that early Lutherans were true to the spirit of Luther's beliefs. After years of acceptance of the structure and worship with which they were familiar in the Catholic Church, their acknowledgement of their responsibility for their own forms, whatever these may have been, indicates fidelity to the ideas of their founder.

We have shown thus far that Martin Luther believed that an emphasis on the priesthood of all believers was necessary to shift emphasis away from a hierarchy which he felt had wrongly usurped many of the duties assigned to all Christians and thus precluded true service to the gospel. This belief led him to allow local congregations much freedom in replacing the structures and practices of the Catholic Church that were abolished in some areas during the early years of the reformation. We thus move on to the second generation reformer John Calvin, whose belief in the priesthood of all believers had very different implications for the early Presbyterian churches.

²⁹Ibid., 64.

CHAPTER III

JOHN CALVIN AND THE EARLY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

John Calvin's Concept of the Priesthood of All Believers

We now turn to an investigation of John Calvin's concept of the priesthood of all believers and its implications for the early Presbyterian Church. Relative to the other topics Luther emphasizes in his writings, the priesthood of all believers makes up only a small portion. Yet his treatment is extensive in comparison to the amount of writing John Calvin does on the subject. This may be due in part to the different styles and foci of the two men:

Luther rested much upon the doctrine of the priesthood of the laity and derived part of his practical programme from the doctrine. Calvin recognized that the doctrine was in Scripture and emphasized the theoretical consequences. . . . Calvin believed that in organizing the Church at Geneva he must organize it in imitation of the primitive Church, and thereby reassert the independence of the Church and the divine authority of its ministers.¹

In other words, Luther began with the theoretical concept of the priesthood of all believers (which he found in Scripture) and from that developed the practical concepts needed to run the Church, namely structure and worship. Calvin's starting point was the structure and worship that he found in scripture. The priesthood of all believers was a theoretical form of scriptural support for his arguments for his structure rather than the structure of the Catholic Church. It is thus not surprising that more is found on the priesthood of all believers in Luther's writings since he sees it as foundational to his ideas about the structure and worship of the Church, whereas Calvin sees it as one of the numerous supports for his interpretations of scriptural structure and worship.

¹Chadwick, 83.

In the earliest edition of his most famous work, Institutes of the Christian Religion, Calvin contends that “. . . all Christians are called a royal priesthood [I Peter 2:9], because through Christ we offer sacrifice of praise to God: ‘the fruit of lips confessing his name’ [Heb. 13:15, Vg].”² Similarly in the Catechism of the Church of Geneva, he lays out the following questions with their appropriate answers:

Master. What, next, is the force of the name of Christ?

Scholar. By this epithet, his office is still better expressed- for it signifies that he was appointed by the Father to be a King, Priest, and Prophet

M. To what is the office of priest conducive?

S. First, by means of it he is the mediator who reconciles us to the Father; and secondly, access is given us to the Father, so that we too can come with boldness into his presence, and offer him the sacrifice of ourselves, and our all. In this way he makes us, as it were his colleagues in the priesthood.³

He asserts the above as a correction of those who say that the Mass is a sacrifice and offering to obtain forgiveness of sins, and that priests are priests because they offer this sacrifice:

Therefore, I conclude that it is a most wicked infamy and unbearable blasphemy against Christ and against the sacrifice which he discharged for us through his death on the cross, for anyone to suppose that by repeating the oblation he obtains pardon for sins, appeases God, and acquires righteousness. . . . We also deny that they are priests in the sense that they by such oblation intercede before God for the people and, having appeased God obtain atonement for sins.⁴

Likewise,

²John Calvin, Institution of the Christian Religion, (1536 edition) trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975), 4, 51. Hereafter cited as Institution with chapter and paragraph number.

³John Calvin, Tracts and Treatises on the Doctrine and Worship of the Church, vol. 2, trans. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1958), 42-43.

⁴Calvin, Institution, 4, 50. Similarly, John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, (1559 edition) trans. John Allen (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1949), 4.18.2. Hereafter cited as Institutes with book, chapter and paragraph number.

. . . detestable is the invention of those, who, not content with the priesthood of Christ, have presumed to take upon themselves the office of sacrificing him; which is daily attempted among the Papists, where the mass is considered as an immolation.⁵

Calvin argues not against any type of ordained ministry, but against a priesthood which steps beyond its Scripturally-given mandate.

Calvin, like Luther, objected to applying incorrectly the term priest to a chosen few who claimed to do exclusively what all Christians were Scripturally charged to do. This belief in the priesthood of Christ which is shared by all believers does not affect the relationship between ministers and laity in Calvin's church in the same way as it does in Luther's church. Calvin gives ministers a high position in his church because they are "God's delegates, instruments in the performance of his work, interpreters of his secret will, and his personal representatives."⁶ The faithful should show their humility by obeying God's word as it is preached through the minister.

If he were himself to speak from heaven, there would be no wonder if his sacred oracles were instantly received with reverence by the ears and hearts of all mankind. . . . But when a contemptible mortal, who had just emerged from the dust, addresses us in the name of God, we give the best evidence of our piety and reverence towards God himself, if we readily submit to be instructed by his minister, who possesses no personal superiority to ourselves.⁷

Like Luther, Calvin calls on the Biblical notion of "different gifts, but the same spirit." In his Institutes he quotes a lengthy segment of Paul's letter to the Ephesians⁸ to support the position he gives to ministers and the laity's relationship to them. Paul, he says, shows that ministry is the principal bond holding all believers in one body, and that the Church cannot be "preserved in perfect safety" apart from it. Christ's gifts to the church are given to ministers,

⁵Calvin, Institutes, 2.15.4.

⁶John H. Leith, John Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989), 181.

⁷Calvin, Institutes, 4.3.1.

who manifest his presence.⁹ So important are ministers that

[w]hoever, therefore, either aims to abolish or undervalue this order . . . attempts to disorganize the Church, or rather to subvert and destroy it altogether. For neither the light and heat of the sun, nor any meat and drink, are so necessary to the nourishment and sustenance of the present life, as the apostolical and pastoral office is to the preservation of the Church in the world.¹⁰

Calvin was also like Luther in that he recognized the importance of a two-fold call by the community and by God in choosing ministers. The community's call was important in that it legitimized the person's individual feelings of being called by God for the ministry:

. . . [T]hat restless and turbulent persons may not presumptuously intrude themselves into the office of teaching or of governing, it is expressly provided, that no one shall assume a public office in the Church without a call. In order, therefore, that any one may be accounted a true minister of the Church, it is necessary, in the first place, that he be regularly called to it, and, in the second place, that he answer his call, that is, by undertaking and executing the office assigned to him.¹¹

The individual's call by God is not known to the Church. It is a "secret call, of which every minister is conscious to himself before God" and which is "the honest testimony of our heart, that we accept the office offered to us . . . from a sincere fear of God, and ardent zeal for the edification of the Church."¹² Calvin says very little about this aspect of the call to ministry

⁸There is one body and one Spirit, just as you are called to the one hope that belongs to your call, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all. But grace was given to each of us according to the measure of Christ's gift. Therefore it is said, "When he ascended on high he led a host of captives, and he gave gifts to men." (In saying "He ascended," what does it mean but that he had also descended into the lower parts of the earth? He who descended is he who also ascended far above all the heavens, that he might fill all things.) And his gifts were that some should be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to equip the saints for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ, until we all attain to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to mature manhood, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ; so that we may no longer be children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the cunning of men, by their craftiness and deceitful wiles. Rather, speaking the truth in love, we are to grow up in every way into him who is the head, into Christ, from whom the whole body, joined and knit together by every joint with which it is supplied when each part is working properly, makes bodily growth and upbuilds itself in love. Ephesians 4: 4-16 (RSV)

⁹Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.3.1.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 4.3.2.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 4.3.10.

¹²*Ibid.*, 4.3.11.

precisely because of its private nature.

Calvin's thoughts on the relationship between ministry and laity can thus be summarized as follows: from the Christian community ministers are called by God (in secret) and by the community (in public). Upon accepting their call, ministers are elevated within the Church because they hold the Church together, they are the conduits by which Christ's gifts come to the Church, they represent God who works through them, and they are able to interpret God's secret will. The Church must therefore obey them. The priesthood of all believers comes into play only in the sense that it keeps ministers from claiming that by their work they are obtaining pardon for sins. Christ's perfect sacrifice has made this unnecessary, and because all share in his priesthood, all may sacrifice themselves to God directly, with no mediation on the part of the ministers being necessary.

Implications for the Early Presbyterian Church

Because John Calvin's emphasis on the priesthood of all believers is so different from Martin Luther's, we would expect his beliefs to have very different implications for the early Presbyterian churches than Luther's beliefs had for early Lutheran congregations. This is indeed the case. Because Calvin's starting point for his structure is the forms of church government he finds in Scripture, which he sees as expressly intended by God, and because of his background as a lawyer, he has very strong feelings about exactly what that structure should look like, unlike Luther who a generation earlier left the particulars up to the local congregations. It is thus appropriate at this point to examine the structure that Calvin proposed for his churches and how the priesthood of all believers affects it.

When Calvin speaks of ministers, he is not referring only to the Presbyterian analogue of the Catholic priest. Calvin finds Biblical support for four ecclesiastical offices: pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. The Scriptural warrant for the first two comes from the

previously-mentioned passage from Ephesians:

Those who preside over the government of the Church, according to the institution of Christ, are named by Paul, first, "apostles;" secondly, "prophets;" thirdly, "evangelists;" fourthly, "pastors;" lastly, "teachers." Of these, only the last two sustain an ordinary office of the Church: the others were such as the Lord raised up at the commencement of his Kingdom, and such as he still raises up on particular occasions, when required by the necessity of the times.¹³

The other two are found in Romans and I Corinthians:

. . . in the epistle to the Romans, and the First Epistle to the Corinthians, he enumerates others [i.e., other offices aside from those above], as "powers," "gifts of healing," "interpretation of tongues," "government," "care of the poor." Those functions which were merely temporary, I omit, as foreign to our present subject. But there are two which perpetually remain—"government" and "care of the poor."¹⁴

In Calvin's Church, these later two offices are held by elders and deacons. Though Calvin never claims so himself, the eldership and diaconate are considered by some to be his "lay" ministries.¹⁵ As noted above, all of these ministers must be called by God and the community. The community must call only "men of sound doctrine and a holy life" so that those chosen may not be found "unequal to the burden imposed upon them . . . ,"¹⁶ and must do so with religious awe, prayer, and fasting because "knowing themselves to be engaged in a business of the highest importance, they dared not attempt any thing but with the greatest reverence and solicitude."¹⁷ Calvin finds considerable Biblical support for involving the whole Church in the selection of ministers, and thus concludes that

it is a legitimate ministry according to the word of God, when those who appear suitable persons are appointed with consent and approbation of the people; but that other pastors ought to preside over the election, to guard the multitude from falling into any improprieties, through inconstancy, intrigue or confusion.¹⁸

¹³Ibid., 4.3.4.

¹⁴Ibid., 4.3.8.

¹⁵Elsie Ann McKee, "Calvin's Teaching on the Elder," in John Calvin and the Church: A Prism of Reform, ed. Timothy George (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990), 148-149. Similarly, Chadwick, 85.

¹⁶Calvin, Institutes, 4.3.12.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., 4.3.15.

Once chosen, ministers were to be ordained by the laying on of hands by the pastors. Again Calvin cites numerous Biblical passages in support of this requirement.¹⁹

The priesthood of all believers has very little effect on the actual structure proposed by Calvin. Calvin's focus was a church based on the models of the earliest Christian churches as they could be known from Scripture. While the priesthood of all believers is indeed a Scriptural notion, Calvin used it to demonstrate that the Catholic Church's structure could not be valid since Catholics believed that in the Mass the priest was offering sacrifice to God for the remission of sins. Since Calvin believed strongly in the once-and-for-all nature of Christ's perfect sacrifice, he was repulsed that the Catholic Church would claim that a priest is a priest because he offers such sacrifice. The only sacrifice that can be offered is the sacrifice of ourselves, and this can be done by all people, not just someone who is ordained. The notion of the priesthood of all believers thus discredited the Catholic Church's hierarchical structure, leaving room for Calvin to propose his own Scripturally-based model.

Some Brief Comments on the Fidelity of the Early Presbyterian Church to Calvin's Ideas

Even in the days of Calvin, there was already disagreement concerning practical matters of running the church. Though he no doubt would have liked to be, Calvin was not "the absolute ruler of Geneva pictured by legend and his enemies."²⁰ Ideally, he wanted pastors to choose new pastors and teachers, and to be consulted when the city council chose the elders. He attempted to banish taverns in deference to cafes where strict rules governed conduct, tried to abolish the use of non-Biblical Christian names, and very much wanted the church to practice weekly communion. But in all these areas the people were too strong. The city council insisted on being involved in choosing pastors from the very beginning of the process, and though they

¹⁹Ibid., 4.3.16.

²⁰Chadwick, 87.

consulted the pastors on elder selection for a few years, they eventually ceased to do so. The cafes failed due to lack of interest and the people reopened the taverns. They also ignored the 1546 act against using non-Biblical names, and the council decided that four times per year was plenty for the celebration of the Lord's Supper within a particular congregation.²¹ From the very beginning, the Presbyterian people refused to relinquish control of the church to a hierarchy, even if that hierarchy was different from the one they had disliked in the Catholic Church; they have always had a strong role in the government of their church. There is thus evidence that very early in the history of the Presbyterian Church the priesthood of all believers took on some of the more positive tone that was characteristic of the Lutheran concept of the common priesthood.²²

We have now discussed both Luther's and Calvin's ideas concerning the priesthood of all believers and the implications of their beliefs for their early Protestant churches. We have thus set the stage for studying the American churches which have descended from these early congregations so that we may discover how they have safeguarded the common priesthood of the faithful in their structures and worship. We shall discover that American Lutherans have in general remained true to the ideas of their founder, while the Presbyterians have modified Calvin's tone dramatically. The result is two churches with virtually equal amounts of emphasis

²¹Ibid., 83-88.

²²Positive in the sense that it was used to say something about the Presbyterian Church rather than against the Catholic Church. There is still a negative tone evident within its use in the Presbyterian Church. We have already seen that Calvin did not use the priesthood of all believers to justify the positions he gives to ministers and lay people in his church, but a question remains as to whether or not the common priesthood ever came to have any positive implications for the role of lay people. Keeping in mind the atmosphere of challenge of Catholic structures, it is not unusual that we find few references to lay roles, but many references to the ministers roles. With the Catholic Church's emphasis on its hierarchy and the abuses that the reformers saw as resulting from that system, the early Presbyterian focus on defining what a minister could not do is understandable. (A number of Calvin's works exhibit this early polemic stance. See bibliography.) As the Protestant churches moved out of the early Reformation period and were able to look at the situation with the greater degree of objectivity that comes with distance from conflict, lay roles found more thorough treatment in their literature; but at this stage the priesthood of all believers found its greatest expression in its use to limit ministerial power.

on the common priesthood, but which have incorporated the resultant lay involvement in different ways.

CHAPTER IV

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

Structure

There are many branches of Lutherans in the United States. In addition to the three largest bodies, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, and the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod, a number of small collections of congregations remain, as well as numerous independent Lutheran congregations. For the purposes of this study, we will focus on the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, as it provides an interesting alternative to the type of lay involvement we will see exhibited in the Presbyterian church.

Our study of the structure of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (hereafter referred to as the ELCA) will be centered on the Principles of Organization which guide its government and the Constitution and Bylaws which specify its structure. We shall find that the ELCA, true to the spirit of Martin Luther, gives great freedom to local congregations in setting up their governing bodies. It assures lay involvement throughout the entire church government by providing for extensive lay participation at every level through a linear system of voting for delegates to represent the people in the upper tiers of that government.

Principles of Organization

“This church recognizes that all power and authority in the church belongs to the Lord Jesus Christ, its head. Therefore, all actions of this church by congregations, synods, and the churchwide organization shall be carried out under his rule and authority in accordance with the following principles:”

1. Congregations, synods, and the churchwide organization shall act in accordance with the Confession of Faith and Statement of Purpose.
2. This church is inclusive.
3. Congregations, synods, and the Churchwide organization are interdependent partners and separate legal entities sharing responsibility in God’s mission, so primary responsibilities will vary among these. “Whenever possible, the entity most directly affected by a decision shall be the principle party responsible for decision and implementation, with the other entities facilitating and assisting.”
4. Congregations and synods must include the Confession of Faith and Statement of Purpose in governing documents, plus the structural components required by the Churchwide Organization’s constitution. “Beyond these common elements, congregations and synods shall be free to organize in such manner as each deems appropriate for its jurisdiction.”
5. The Church Council will continually review and make recommendations for change in the church structure.
6. All organizational units of the churchwide organization shall be made up of 60% laypersons, of which 50% shall be male and 50% shall be female, and where possible there will be both male and female ordained ministers. 10% of all organizational units shall be persons of color and/or persons whose primary language is not English. The male/female/minority balance extends to executive staff, support staff, lay representatives, and ordained ministers.
7. The same inclusive representation guidelines apply on the synod level.
8. The leaders of the church should demonstrate their positions as servants by words, life-style, and manner of leadership. They are accountable to God, the whole Church, each other, and the specific church organization in which they serve.
9. The church shall make effective use of resources to accomplish its mission.
10. All parts of the churchwide organization are presumed to be properly constituted. Methods of selection and composition of units may not be legally challenged.¹

¹Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. Constitutions, Bylaws, and Continuing Resolutions, 5.01.

Of these principles, principles 3 through 7 are most notably supportive of the priesthood of all believers. Principle 3 assures congregations the right to make decisions that most directly affect them, thus giving lay people great control over what goes on within their congregations. Principle 4 gives congregations freedom of organization so that daily affairs may be managed in the way which is most convenient and acceptable to the people. Though not directly involving the congregations, principle 5 allows for changes in the church structure should it become unresponsive to the beliefs of the people. While it is possible that this principle could be used to take power away from the people, the lay representation insured at the synod and Churchwide levels by principles 6 and 7 makes this unlikely unless the lay people were to wish to have less control. In order now is a more detailed look at the structure of the ELCA so that we may more clearly see the level of lay involvement that is incorporated into this church.

There are three levels of government in the ELCA: the congregation, the synod, and the Churchwide Organization. By constitutional provision of the Churchwide Organization, congregations have great freedom in their own government. A congregation's governing documents must include the ELCA Confession of Faith; the ELCA Statement of Purpose; provisions describing the congregation's relationship to the ELCA; a process for calling a pastor; a list of the pastor's duties; a description of the pastor's role in the congregation's government; a process for the removal of a pastor; provisions regulating the disposition of property; a legislative process; an enumeration of officers with definitions of their authority and the functions of each; definitions of committees, boards, etc.; and a process for disciplining members.² The particulars of each of these areas (except the first two) are left to the discretion of the congregations, though a model constitution with suggestions for each area is provided to aid them. These constitutions must be approved by the synod in which the congregation is situated, but the synods are cautioned against rigid adherence to any one form of congregational constitution: "The synod shall recognize that congregations may organize themselves in a

²Ibid., 8.53.01.

manner which they deem most appropriate and that there are a variety of ways in which the required elements may be stated.”³ The model constitution suggests that a congregation elect a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer for itself and that these officers also hold these positions on a congregational council made up of the pastor and a specified number of elected representatives.⁴ The congregational council could be responsible for such items as long range planning, setting goals and objectives, involving all members of the congregation in the life and work of the church, supporting and evaluating the pastor and other staff members, taking care of the finances and property, insuring that the constitution and bylaws are carried, emphasizing partnership with the synod and the churchwide organization, and other related duties.⁵ The council would be able to establish standing and ad-hoc committees to meet the needs of the congregation.⁶ It should be emphasized that the congregations are in no way obligated to organize themselves in this manner, as long as they somehow address the topics required by the churchwide organization’s constitution and bylaws.

The next level of government is the synod. With one exception, synods are defined by geographical boundaries, and may contain only a few counties (the Metropolitan Chicago Synod is comprised of Cook, DuPage, Kane, and Lake counties in Illinois), an entire state (the Alaska Synod), or any number of states or parts of states (the Southeastern Synod includes all of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee; the West Virginia-Western Maryland Synod contains all of West Virginia plus Garrett County in Maryland). The Slovak Zion Synod is the one exception. It is a non-geographical synod joining congregations which are Slovak in language or antecedents.⁷ Congregations in border areas are free to change their synod relationship as long as both synods involved agree to the change.⁸ Synods are partners of the

³Ibid., 8.53.03.

⁴Ibid., C 12.01.

⁵Ibid., C 12.04-C 12.09.

⁶Ibid., C 13.02-C 13.05.

⁷Ibid., 9.01.11.

Churchwide Organization and oversee the life and mission of the ELCA in their territories. They are responsible for certifying candidates for ministry and associates in ministry; consulting in the call of ministers and the selection of associates in ministry; disciplining congregations, ministers, deacons, etc.; hearing appeals from congregations; fostering organizations for special interest; fostering relationships between congregations, with universities, colleges, seminaries, camps, preschools, elementary and secondary schools operated by congregations; interpreting the work of the ELCA to the public; providing for an archives; and cooperating with other synods in regional mission centers.⁹

Each synod has the following officers: a bishop (a minister), a vice-president (a layperson), a secretary and a treasurer (both of which may be either a minister or a layperson.) These officers are elected by the Synod Assembly which according to the church's guidelines for inclusive representation is made up of all ordained ministers on the call roster who can attend the biennial meetings, 10% of all active associates in ministry, consecrated deacons and deaconesses, commissioned teachers, and certified and commissioned lay professionals who are elected by this group, at least two lay members who have achieved voting status [footnote on how to get voting status] from each congregation (more from large congregations), the number being split equally split if possible between males and females, plus the above-named officers. If the above guidelines do not result in at least 60% of the Assembly being lay members (not counting the officers) then adjustments must be made.¹⁰ With the exception of ordained ministers who do not reside in the synod in which they are rostered, all members must have achieved voting status in a congregation of that synod. The Synod Assembly is the highest legislative authority of the Synod.¹¹ Since the Synod Assembly meets only every other year, the

⁸Ibid., 9.02.02.

⁹Ibid., 9.21.

¹⁰Ibid., 9.41.01.

¹¹Ibid., 9.41.

Synod Council (i.e., the board of directors) serves as the interim legislative authority between Assembly meetings. The Council is made up of the four officers of the Assembly, between ten and twenty-four other members, and one youth. Each synod decides on how to fill these later positions.¹² Each synod must set up executive, consultation, and discipline committees, as well as any other committees or subdivisions that it sees as necessary. It must also elect or appoint representatives to the coordinating council of the regional center for mission.¹³

The ordination of ministers takes place through the cooperation of the congregations and the synod. Ministry has been instituted by God for the sake of the church: "Within the people of God and for the sake of the Gospel ministry entrusted to all believers, God has instituted the office of ministry of Word and sacrament. To carry out this ministry, this church calls and ordains qualified persons."¹⁴ This call takes place only within the context of the priesthood of all believers:

This church affirms the universal priesthood of all its baptized members. In its function and its structure this church commits itself to the equipping and supporting of all its members for their ministries in the world and in this church. It is within this context of ministry that this church calls or appoints some of its baptized members for specific ministries in this church.¹⁵

The church sees the responsibilities of the ministry "most clearly focused in the congregational pastorate." It thus requires that the first three years after ordination be spent in parish ministry.¹⁶ All ministers regardless of their position must serve under a letter of call by some unit of the church. That is, each minister must be chosen by some congregation or other unit of the church to fulfill a specific need in order to remain active in the ministry. The church will not assign ministers to vacant positions. Ministers may be retained by the Synod Council on the active roster for a maximum of three years without a call if they are endorsed by the bishop

¹²Ibid., 9.51-9.52.

¹³Ibid., 9.61-9.64.

¹⁴Ibid., 10.21.

¹⁵Ibid., 10.11.

¹⁶Ibid., 10.23.18.

of the synod. This may be extended to six years for ministers engaged in graduate study.¹⁷

The church also sustains associates in ministry. All those who held positions as commissioned church staff members, deaconesses, deacons, lay professional leaders, and commissioned teachers in the three churches which united to form the ELCA fall into this category. Associates in ministry are certified, not ordained. They not not serve under a call, but under an appointment by some unit of the church. The same time restrictions for remaining active in the ministry without a call apply to remaining in the associate ministry without an appointment.¹⁸

The final level of government is the Churchwide Organization. In addition to supporting the work of the congregations and synods, this group sets policy for the national church in the areas of mission, ecumenical stance, relationships with those of other faiths, relationships to social ministry organizations, relationships to world governments, and relationships to educational institutions. It supports the regional mission centers, provides churchwide communication, conducts research and evaluation as necessary to the functions of the church, coordinates the financial system of the church, establishes and monitors an appeals and adjudication system, provides pension and other benefits for the church, establishes records management and provides planned giving for financial support for all levels of the church.¹⁹

The structure of the Churchwide Organization mirrors that of the synod. Like the synod, it has the offices of bishop, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer. The Churchwide Assembly and the Churchwide Council are the national versions of the Synod Assembly and the Synod Council. Each synod elects one voting representative to the Churchwide Assembly for every 6500 baptized members in the synod plus one voting member for every fifty congregations within their boundaries. A minimum of two representatives must be sent from each synod,

¹⁷Ibid., 10.23.16.

¹⁸Ibid., 10.42.16.

¹⁹Ibid., 12.11.

regardless of how small the synod is.²⁰ Employees of the Churchwide Organization may not be elected as voting representatives.²¹ The guidelines for inclusive representation apply at this level also.²² The officers plus the bishops of all of the synods are ex officio members of the Assembly. They have voice but no vote. There are also numerous other types of advisory members, all with voice but no vote.²³ There are three standing committees of the Assembly: a Reference and Counsel Committee, a Memorials Committee, and a Nominating Committee. Others may be formed as needed.²⁴

The Church Council is the interim legislative authority between meetings of the Assembly.²⁵ Its voting members are the four churchwide officers and thirty-three other persons who are elected using the guidelines for inclusive representation by the Assembly.²⁶ All synods are invited to suggest eligible nominees. There can be no more than one person elected from a given synod on the Council, and no more than two-thirds of the synods in any one of the nine regions may be represented, excluding officers. All regions must be represented.²⁷ The Church Council maintains an Executive Committee and committees for Budget Development, Program and Structure, Information and Records, Nominating, Legal and Constitutional Review, and Mutual Ministry. Other committees may be formed as needed.²⁸ As would be expected, the national government of the ELCA has numerous offices, divisions, boards, commissions, and organizations within its structure, the particulars of which are unimportant for this study. It suffices to say that at all levels the guidelines for inclusive representation must be met, and all

²⁰Ibid., 13.41.11.

²¹Ibid., 13.41.15.

²²Ibid., 5.01.

²³Ibid., 13.41.21, 13.41.31.

²⁴Ibid., 13.51.

²⁵Ibid., 15.13.

²⁶Ibid., 15.31, 5.01.

²⁷Ibid., 17.01.17.

²⁸Ibid., 15.40.

representatives must have achieved voting status in their own congregation before being eligible to serve.

As can be seen from the above outline of the structure of the ELCA, lay people may indeed involve themselves a great deal in the church structure. Their high rate of representation in the synods and the Churchwide Organization allows them to have significant influence not only in policy decisions, but also in discussions concerning doctrine. We can conclude that the structure of the ELCA safeguards the level of lay involvement that is called for by the church's belief in the common priesthood of all its baptized members. Our next task is thus to evaluate the development of the Lutheran worship resources to determine whether this lay involvement extends into that area also.

Worship

Early Lutheran worship showed great variety of form, much as early organization and structure did:

There was much variety of religious doctrine and practice among the Lutherans of the various settlements. Even among the congregations of a single colony there was little uniformity of organization. This reflected their European origin, for the leaders of the church there, as followers of Martin Luther, had not sought uniformity. When these people and pastors came to America, where Lutheran diversity was compounded by variety of national origin and by colonial isolation, they produced a tradition of congregationalism that left enduring marks on the spirit of American Lutheranism.

From the beginning of their life in America, Lutherans have manifested comparative unity in faith, but have allowed themselves great variety of organization and practice.²⁹

The Swedish Lutherans who settled on the Delaware decorated their church at Tinicum (the first Lutheran church in America, 1646) according to Swedish custom and used the Swedish "High Mass" in the Swedish language. Outlying settlers worshipped in homes or barns, with laymen reading sermons or from the Bible. Ministers would occasionally visit, bringing with them the

²⁹Abdel Ross Wentz, A Basic History of Lutheranism in America, revised edition (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964), 22-23.

Word and Sacrament. The Dutch Lutherans of New Netherland were often without ministers, but had devotional literature and guidance from the Lutheran Consistory in Amsterdam. Many times laymen conducted the worship services. Being a small minority in a predominantly Reformed population which tried to suppress them, many were forced to attend Reformed services for nearly 25 years, and thus adopted numerous customs from that church. One notable difference was their insistence on the sermon being based on the Gospel of the day. The worship of the German Lutherans in New York showed similar Reformed influence in its lack of rigid structure in the order of worship. Each German pastor in Pennsylvania used a liturgy that he knew from Germany or a liturgy from whatever handbook he happened to have until a common liturgy was available in 1748.³⁰

Many of the German Lutherans came from pietistic backgrounds, and it was in this tradition that early Lutheran ministers Justus and Daniel Falckner and Anthony Jacob Henkel ministered. With few facilities for liturgy, these men were able to hold inspirational services in people's homes or barns. In the true spirit of Martin Luther, "[t]heir only concern was to preach the Word and minister to the spiritual necessities of their bretheren" Each ministered according to their own tastes and each congregation had its own forms of worship.³¹

These and other German pietists were instrumental in inspiring lay involvement in American Lutherans:

One of the fundamental principles of the German pietists of Halle had been to encourage laymen to participate actively in the government and services of the church. Those who desired to cultivate intensively their spiritual lives were accustomed to hold special meetings for the inner circle of the pious.³²

This spirit of independence and involvement often brought laymen into conflict with ministers of Old-World European backgrounds who wished to preserve the church-state relationship of the

³⁰Ibid., 23-28.

³¹Ibid., 28.

³²Ibid., 45.

churches in which they had been schooled and the pastor-layman relationships to which they were accustomed.³³ Also contributing to the independence of the Lutheran layman was the lack of substantial financial and organizational ties with England and Germany. Though many of their pastors had personal ties with Europe, American Lutherans were accustomed from the start to paying their own expenses, conducting their own worship, and ordaining their own ministers. This stands in stark contrast to their Catholic, Episcopalian, Reformed, and Methodist neighbors, who achieved organization somewhat independent from Europe only after the American Revolution.³⁴ Lutherans never, as a group, had the experience of someone else being responsible for their spiritual lives.

The first known common liturgy dates to 1748, the founding of Muhlenberg's Synod by Henry Melchior Muhlenberg.³⁵ It featured six hymns, followed the historic Lutheran order for worship with a few pietistic features, and featured a sermon based on the Bible as its high point. Muhlenberg based it on the liturgy of St. Mary's Lutheran Church in Savoy, London, but adopted it to North American circumstances.³⁶ It was never published, but it circulated in manuscript form. It was unable to bring any uniformity on a large scale to American Lutheran worship partly because only a small percentage of American Lutheran congregations joined the infant synod.³⁷ In the years following its circulation, there was a tendency

in the direction of less formality, less conformity to the church year, more extempore prayers with intercessions for definite individuals, and more adaption to circumstances. . . . When a liturgy was first published in 1786, it showed, therefore, a decided decline from the purer Lutheran service that Muhlenberg and his colleagues had prepared thirty-eight years earlier.³⁸

³³Ibid., 46.

³⁴Ibid., 50.

³⁵Ibid., 39. See Appendix A for a summary of the development of Lutheran synods and general bodies.

³⁶Phillip H. Pfatteicher and Carlos R. Messerli, Manual on the Liturgy: Lutheran Book of Worship (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1979), 2.

³⁷Wentz, 58-59, 45.

³⁸Ibid., 58.

The liturgy was translated into English in 1795, but its use did not extend outside of the state of New York.

In the following years very little attention was given to liturgy. Not until 1817 did the New York Ministerium (1786) publish a new liturgy, followed by a Ministerium of Pennsylvania liturgy of 1818. They both reflected the "relaxed confessional position" of the early 1800's in their structure:

Brief Confession of Sins
Prayer
Kyrie
Scripture Reading
Hymn
Sermon
Free Prayer
Closing Verse
Benediction

This structure was noticeably lacking substantial participation by the people, and no evidence is found of their widespread use.³⁹ The structure of these services was not the only thing working against their use. Frontier life discouraged formality of worship. Other factors, including revivalists who preached against "religions of form," the influence of rationalism, and union services with groups who did not use liturgical structures contributed to the Lutherans of the early nineteenth century losing their appreciation for their rich liturgical heritage and their treasury of hymns.⁴⁰

In 1820-21, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the North Carolina Synod and the Maryland and Virginia Synod joined to form the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States. Pennsylvania withdrew for thirty years beginning in 1823, though numerous other synods joined in the 1840s, 50s and 60s. It rejoined in the 1850s, but began its final withdrawal in 1864, and in 1867 joined the newly formed General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America along with the New York Ministerium, and nine other

³⁹Ibid., 90.

⁴⁰Ibid., 91.

synods.⁴¹ During this time Pennsylvania continued to revise its service. In 1830 the Joint Synod of Ohio published an English liturgy,⁴² and in 1839 Pennsylvania completely revised its liturgy again, which appeared in print in 1842. The English translation of this service was published by the General Synod in 1847. Another revision took place in 1855, followed by its English translation in 1860. By this time the responses had been restored, many of the primitive orders had been used, and the service was more scripturally pure. All of the essential elements of a true Lutheran service were present, but there was a great deal of superfluous material, and according to one commentator the service was not constructed well.⁴³ In 1868 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania published the Church Book, which was subsequently adopted by the General Council. It was based on a thorough scientific study of liturgical and hymnological sources, mostly by Dr. B.M. Schmucker.⁴⁴

Meanwhile in the depleted General Synod, Dr. S. S. Schmucker, the head of the Committee on Liturgy, had submitted a "Provisional Liturgy" to the Synod. This liturgy was never adopted. Two years later a new liturgy committee was formed, which submitted a new liturgy to the General Synod's meeting in Washington in 1869. This liturgy, dubbed the "Washington Service," was enthusiastically adopted. It depended on Schmucker's liturgy, but added the Gloria Patri, Kyrie, and the Gloria in Excelsis.⁴⁵

Even before the formation of the General Council, the General Synod had sustained two blows when in 1860 the Swedes and Norwegians withdrew to form the Augustana Synod and in 1862-63 when the Southern synods broke away to form the General Synod of the Confederate States (later the United Synod of the South.) Unlike the German and English Lutherans

⁴¹Ibid., 223.

⁴²Pfatteicher and Messerli, 3.

⁴³Wentz, 223.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid., 225.

already mentioned, the Augustana Synod Lutherans did preserve much of their liturgical heritage. After the Norwegian Lutherans left this synod in 1870, the remaining Swedes selected a liturgical committee. In 1898 it provided an English translation of the 1894 improved service of the Church of Sweden, and by 1905 the entire Swedish missal was available in translation.⁴⁶

The reactions to the various common liturgies that were presented within the General Council helped to bring into focus what Lutherans wanted from a liturgical form.

It had become clear that, to find general acceptance in the Lutheran Church, a liturgy must conserve the treasures of the past and also adapt them to the devotional needs of the present. The time was ripe at last for a preparation of a common order of service, a common hymnbook, and a common order of ministerial acts.⁴⁷

But it was not the General Council which made the first moves toward such a liturgy. In 1876 the United Synod in the South invited the General Synod and the General Council to cooperate in preparing a common service for English-speaking Lutherans in America.⁴⁸ There were some initial delays in the acceptance of the invitation. The General Council wanted the "pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century" to be used to decide all questions as a liturgy was prepared, or the "consent of the largest number of those of greatest weight" if they did not all agree.⁴⁹ In the meantime, the General Synod was trying to put together a revision of its Washington Service that would be more pleasing to its churches. However in 1883 the Synod received a petition from fifty-five of its pastors asking for a new service that was more historically Lutheran and which more clearly enunciated the doctrines of the church. At that point the General Synod decided that the time for cooperation had come, and thus accepted the United Synod's invitation with the same condition that the General Council had set forth earlier. In 1885 the liturgy committees of the three general bodies were organized into a joint

⁴⁶Ibid., 229.

⁴⁷Ibid., 225.

⁴⁸Pfatteicher and Messerli, 3, and Wentz, 225.

⁴⁹Wentz, 225.

committee. Its task: to “place on record the undisputed facts as to what constitutes a Lutheran Order of Service.”⁵⁰ All agreed that the service would not be made binding on any congregation. The service was completed in 1888, was adopted immediately by all three general bodies including the Augustana Synod which had joined the General Council and included it in its Service Book and Hymnal of 1924, and eventually by the Joint Synod of Ohio and the English Synod of Missouri. The Common Service, as it was called, received wider acceptance than any of the more than forty different liturgies that had appeared in various sections of the church to that point.

It was the “Common Service of the Christian church of all ages,” the fruit of a historical growth whose roots go back to the earliest days of the church, whose essential parts were universally recognized by the Reformers, and whose development through the Christian centuries were possible only because it satisfied the devotional wants of the Christian heart and the worshipping congregation. It gave evidence of fervent love for the old faith and placed the church of our day in communion with devout assemblies of ancient days . . .⁵¹

Though the new service was very successful in promoting unity in Lutheran worship, its introduction and acceptance caused some problems as well. In form the Common Service looked more like the General Council’s Church Book service of 1868 than like the General Synod’s Washington Service. Fights over the respective merits of the two services broke out. The General Synod settled the dispute by publishing both the Common Service and the Washington Service in its Hymnal. In 1895 an “Abridged Common Service” was published separately by the Synod. This service eventually won the popularity contest and became more widely used.⁵²

In the mean time the Joint Committee had made a standard English translation of Luther’s Catechism. It had also been authorized to prepare a common book of ministerial acts and hymns. The Committee finished work on The Hymnal in 1915, and in 1917 it appeared in The Common Service with Hymnal. This edition simplified the rubrics of the Common Service,

⁵⁰Ibid., 226.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid., 227.

improved and standardized the musical settings of the service parts, and presented the hymns within the context of the church year.⁵³ In that same year the Joint Synod of Ohio adopted the Common Service, and other large Lutheran bodies such as the Missouri Synod began to use it as English became the preferred language in the church.⁵⁴

In the year following the issuance of the Common Service with Hymnal even more union was achieved. In 1917 lay people within the three cooperating bodies asked that unification plans be formulated. A committee was thus formed to prepare a constitution for submission to the meetings of the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod in the South. All three adopted the constitution, as did forty-five of the forty-six district synods which composed the general bodies. Thus in 1918, the three held their final meetings as separate entities and officially joined to become the United Lutheran Church in America.⁵⁵

In 1944 the United Lutheran Church in America invited all Lutheran churches in the United States to join it in the preparation of a new service book.⁵⁶ The following year the Joint Commission on a Common Hymnal was formed to explore the possibility of widespread cooperation, and in 1946 the representatives to this committee formed the Joint Commission on a Common Liturgy at the urging of the Augustana Synod. Cooperating on these commissions were eight Lutheran bodies, representing close to two-thirds of all Lutherans in the United States and Canada.⁵⁷ The only major Lutheran group that did not participate was the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. This group had just finished work on its own Lutheran Hymnal in 1941.⁵⁸ The Commission used the text of the Common Service of 1888 as a basis for its work, but did not bind itself by the "common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid., 228.

⁵⁵Ibid., 272-273.

⁵⁶Pfatteicher and Messerli, 4.

⁵⁷Wentz, 388, 295.

⁵⁸Pfatteicher and Messerli, 4.

century" condition that had been instrumental in the preparation of the Common Service. Important liturgies of the ecumenical church were studied, as well as the "rules of modern liturgical scholarship in all communions, particularly in matters relating to the worship of the Early Church."⁵⁹ The result of this cooperation was the Service Book and Hymnal of the Lutheran Church in America which was approved by all the groups who had authorized the project in 1954 and introduced to the congregations in 1958.⁶⁰ Its popularity was widespread; by 1963 approximately 90% of the congregations in the cooperating groups were using the new book,⁶¹ perhaps because its basis was broader than the basis of the Common Service had been:

The Common Liturgy, as it was called, was "grounded upon both the Common Service and upon other forms significant to American Lutherans, especially those of Scandinavian origin." Beyond the creation of broadly representative Lutheran liturgy, there was a desire also to reflect "the rich treasury of ecumenical liturgy, especially in the ancient Greek tradition antedating the Roman Rite from which European usage had been derived." Moreover, it recovered some elements lost in the controversies of the Reformation, such as the Prayer of Thanksgiving and the use of the term "catholic" in the creeds. The collects and prayers and the variety in the musical settings of the liturgy reflected a growth in congregational devotion. The Common Liturgy then was "rooted in the developed worship of the ancient and medieval Christian Church, both East and West, and grounded on the historic German, Scandinavian, and American uses of the post-reformation centuries."⁶²

Just as successful revolt had bred revolt in the early years of the reformation, in the twentieth century successful cooperation bred cooperation. In 1965 the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod invited all other Lutheran bodies in the United States to begin work on a common liturgy, a common core of hymn texts and musical settings, and a variant selection of hymns if necessary. Even though the Service Book and Hymnal had appeared only seven years earlier, the American Lutheran Church and the Lutheran Church in America, both of which had formed through unions of the bodies which had cooperated on the book, accepted the invitation. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada and the Evangelical Lutheran Churches (Slovak

⁵⁹Wentz, 388.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid., 389.

⁶²Pfatteicher and Messerli, 4.

Synod) joined this group, called the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship. Meetings began in 1966. Between 1970 and 1976 this group published a series of ten exploratory booklets containing provisional services for trial use. The topics were Hymns; Holy Communion; The Marriage Service; Hymns for Baptism and Holy Communion; Services of the Word; The Church Year, Calendar and Lectionary; Holy Baptism; Affirmation of the Baptismal Covenant; The Great Thanksgiving; Daily Prayer of the Church; and Burial of the Dead. The Commission collected responses and reactions to these booklets and revised the services accordingly. The end result of this long process was the publishing of the Lutheran Book of Worship in 1978.⁶³

The introductory chapter of the Lutheran Book of Worship is careful to remind all that liturgy means “work of the people,” not “work of the pastor.” The presiding pastor is not the only leader of worship. The restriction of presiding at the Eucharist to the ordained is based on the Biblical notion of “different gifts, but the same spirit,” and the understanding that the church must guard the right-use of the sacrament from abuse. It thus entrusts it to its ordained ministers who represent the whole Christian church and who are trained in this task. These ministers are accountable to the church which ordains them, and must therefore preside not only with fidelity to tradition but also with attention to the people.⁶⁴ In modern liturgy leadership is expanded to include lay people, both men and women. Their role is not just to help the presider; they have their own roles to fulfill.⁶⁵

In evaluating the preceding and history of liturgy in light of our focus on the priesthood of all believers, the following points are clear:

1. Throughout the history of the Lutheran church in America, individual congregations have continually taken responsibility for their own worship. They did so when the absence of

⁶³Ibid., 5-6.

⁶⁴Ibid., 9-10.

⁶⁵Ibid., 10-11.

ordained ministers made this necessary, but were also reluctant to relinquish all control when ministers were available. (Witness the conflict that arose between Old-World European ministers and American Lutherans.)

2. Congregations have always had the final say as to whether the numerous liturgies that developed were accepted. Though the general bodies did not consult individual congregations in making decisions regarding the acceptance or rejection of a given liturgy, congregations were free to use or ignore these recommended liturgies. When congregations did not use them, the liturgies became obsolete; when congregations did use them, governing bodies continued to pursue revision of old services and the writing of new services.

3. Modern liturgy has restored the role of the lay person that Martin Luther initiated and which was so common in colonial America.

It is thus fair to conclude that the common priesthood of the faithful has had significant influence on both the structure of the ELCA and on the development of Lutheran liturgy. Before moving on to study the American Presbyterian Church, we will briefly tie in these developments to Luther's original teachings.

Some Brief Comments on the Fidelity of the American Lutherans to Luther's Ideas

The above summaries of the structure and worship of American Lutherans portray a church that for a time moved away from the ideas of its founder, but has come full circle to reincorporate much of what Martin Luther initially intended. In the early days of this country, the American Lutheran settlers were quite true to the spirit of Luther when out of necessity they conducted their own worship services in the absence of ordained ministers. Even when ministers became available, they were for a time reluctant to relinquish the control to which they had become accustomed. However, as the church grew and congregations began to organize themselves into synods, the liturgy began to become removed from the people. The liturgies

that were published in 1817 and 1818 by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the New York Ministerium had evolved to include very little congregational participation; that is, they had become the "work of the pastor." This is hardly what Martin Luther, who gave the German people the Bible and liturgy in their own language, would have wished. Yet this period in Lutheran worship was relatively short. The 1817/1818 liturgies were not widely used, not only because of their structure, but also because the life situations of most of the American Lutherans did not lend itself to liturgical worship. During the next fifty years numerous revisions were made in these liturgies, restoring the part of the people in the service. As services came to better reflect the liturgical heritage of the Lutheran people and as their participation was restored, the liturgies found continually greater acceptance in the church. None of the recommended liturgies were ever made binding on the congregations within any of the general bodies, but by 1963 90% of the congregations in the general bodies responsible for the 1958 Service Book and Hymnal were using it. This is significant in that it shows the degree to which the work of the Joint Commissions was successful in fulfilling the worship needs of the individual congregations. This is exactly the type of process of which Martin Luther would have approved, for he was not opposed to particular structures or forms, as long as they aided the church in serving the gospel.

Keeping in mind that Luther's policy was not to impose structures on people, but rather to let local congregations decide what was necessary for their efficient operation, we must conclude that Lutheran church government is also true to the spirit of Luther's teachings. Though we might at first wonder what Luther would have thought about a structure as large as the government of the ELCA, we must recall that Luther was not opposed to structure, but rather to anything that precluded service to the gospel. The size of the regional and national levels of the ELCA government makes it improbable that lack of some sort of well-defined structure would result in efficient handling of the work that goes on at these levels. Their

structure, then, contributes to their ability to carry out their missions, and we may thus conclude that Luther would not disapprove. There is no doubt that the freedom that is given to local congregations in running their churches is in line with his teachings.

Having fulfilled our stated objectives with regard to the Lutheran Church, we move on now to look at the Presbyterian Church's structure and worship.

CHAPTER V
THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

Our last task before constructing the two models for lay involvement is to examine the American Presbyterian Church's structure and worship, and to evaluate these in light of the priesthood of all believers as presented by John Calvin. In this section we will find that the Presbyterian churches do indeed incorporate the common priesthood throughout, but they do so in a way that is very different than Calvin intended. In fact, we shall see that though the priesthood of all believers was much less central to Calvin than it was to Luther, it has come to be just as important an ecclesiological concept to the Presbyterians as it has always been to the Lutherans.

Structure

Since coming to the United States in the early years of this country, the Presbyterian Church has developed forms of government based on the forms of its European ancestors, but which are intended to meet the needs of American Presbyterians. The most logical place to begin a study of this government is with the eight principles of church order which have guided its development and the fundamental and basic principles of Presbyterian Church government and discipline. The Principles of Order were formulated by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia and published in 1788, and have guided the formation of the system of church government ever since.¹ The principles of Government were first adopted in 1797 by the

¹Office of the General Assembly, The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.): Part II, Book of Order (Louisville, Kentucky: By the Assembly, 100 Witherspoon Street, 1988), G-1.0300, note 3.

General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.² (See Appendix B).

The Historic Principles of Church Order

1. The rights of private judgment in all matters that concern religion are “universal and inalienable.”

2. Every Christian church or group of churches has the right to declare the “terms of admission into its communion, and the qualifications of its ministers and members, as well as the whole system of its internal government.”

3. Christ has appointed officers to preach the gospel, administer the Sacraments and exercise discipline. These officers and the whole church must censure or cast out whatever is erroneous and scandalous according to the rules contained in the Word of God.

4. “Truth is in order to goodness” and shall be known by its tendency to promote holiness. There is an inseparable connection between faith and practice, and between truth and duty.

5. “There are truths and forms with respect to which men of good character and principles may differ.” Mutual forbearance is in order.

6. Election of people to exercise authority in a particular society is in that society.

7. Church power is only ministerial and declarative. “The Holy Scriptures are the only rule of faith and manners.”

8. Discipline contributes to the glory and happiness of the church.³

The Historic Principles of Church Government

The radical principles of Presbyterian Church government and discipline are:

That the several different congregations of believers, taken collectively, constitute the Church of Christ, called emphatically the Church; that a larger part of the Church, or a representation of it, should govern a smaller, or determine matters of controversy which arise therein; that, in like manner, a representation of the whole should govern and determine in regard to every part, and to all the parts

²Ibid., G-1.0400, note 6.

³Ibid., G-1.0301 through G-1.0308.

united: that is, the majority shall govern; and consequently that appeals may be carried from lower to higher bodies, till they finally be decided by the collected wisdom and united voice of the whole Church. For these principles and this procedure, the example of the apostles and the practice of the primitive church are considered the authority.⁴

The priesthood of all believers is most notably supported by the first, third, fifth, and sixth principles of order and the statements concerning government by the majority and the appeals process from the principles of government. The first order principle clearly sets bounds on the power that the church has over the individual. Its placement on the list underscores the importance of the individual within the American Presbyterian Church. Immediately evident is the difference between the tone of this principle and Calvin's attitudes on the private lives of early Presbyterians, which he felt very free to restrict in numerous ways. American Presbyterians in no way shun any sort of discipline (see principle 8), but the principles of order reflect a need for balance between church power and individual freedom that respects the ability of people to make valid choices for themselves.

The third principle of order states that not only the officers, but the whole church is responsible for allowing only what is true and good to be a part of the church. Taken seriously, this principle gives ample responsibility to the people in the pews for the day-to-day operation of the church.

The fifth principle recognizes the validity of differing opinions within the church and calls for tolerance on the part of all. Absent is any implication that "men" refers only to members of the clergy, implying that truths and forms may be known by anyone. Numerous instances of the tolerance called for in this principle will be evident when the development of liturgical resources is studied.

The sixth principle of order gives the people the power to choose those who exercise authority over them. How this is done in the American Presbyterian Church according to the

⁴Ibid., G-1.0400.

Principles of Government is the topic of this section.

All church government begins on the level of the local congregation.⁵ All active members may be involved in the selection of representatives to the local governing body, called the session of elders, in two ways. First, all active members are involved in the call of a pastor to serve the local congregation.⁶ The pastor automatically becomes the moderator of the session.⁷ He does not vote unless there is a tie. The congregation votes for the pastor after a number of candidates have visited the local church and preached at various services. Secondly, congregations also elect lay representatives to the session. These lay people are called ruling elders, and are ordained for their position.⁸ The session is responsible for all worship, programs, theological education, etc. for that local community.⁹ The pastor cannot act apart from the session, except by constitutional provision, nor may the elders of the session meet and act apart from the pastor, again except by constitutional provision.¹⁰

The congregational involvement in the election of representatives to its local session is key because it is from these elders and ministers that higher levels of government are formed. The next highest level is the presbytery, similar to the Catholic diocese. (The local presbytery is the Presbytery of Miami, which is roughly equal in size and location to the Archdiocese of Cincinnati.) All ordained ministers within the set geographic boundaries are members of the presbytery whether or not they are associated with a congregation and make up at most one half

⁵Dr. William P. Anderson, interview, Dayton, Ohio, March 28, 1990. The framework for this section was supplied by this interview. Supporting statements from church documents has been supplied where relevant.

⁶Book of Order, G-14.0502.

⁷*Ibid.*, 10.0103.

⁸*Ibid.*, G-14.0100-G-14.0200.

⁹*Ibid.*, G-10.0102.

¹⁰For example, the pastor may choose material for sermons apart from the session, and the session may meet in the absence of the pastor in cases of illness if another minister of the presbytery, upon agreement by the session, agrees to act as moderator, or if an elder agrees to act as moderator. See Book of Order, G-10.0103.

of its membership. The remaining positions are held by representatives sent from each local session. Congregations of less than 500 members send one elder to the presbytery. Those with 501 to 1000 members send two elders, and so on up to five elders from congregations of more than 2000 members. If the total number of ministers is more than the number of lay representatives after each congregation has sent the appropriate number, the presbytery decides how to best correct the imbalance.¹¹ At-large representatives may be elected, or certain congregations may be asked to send extra representatives. In any case, even the smallest congregations with no full-time ministers are represented in the presbytery by at least one person: a lay elder.

The Presbytery is charged with a number of duties. It examines and approves candidates for ordination. It establishes standing committees (whose members are nominated through local sessions) for the coordination of mission and programs, on Representation, on Ministry, on Preparation for Ministry, and for Nominating, and it maintains a Permanent Judicial Commission to handle matters which are not satisfactorily settled in local sessions. It may create other standing committees as necessary, as well as ad-hoc committees as needs arise.¹² An executive presbyter and staff may be hired to handle administrative tasks if this becomes necessary. The sessions do not need to be involved in nominations for these positions.¹³

The structures of the next two levels, the synod and the General Assembly, are similar to that of the presbytery. These levels fulfill similar roles in the Presbyterian Church to the roles taken by the synods and the Churchwide Organization in the Lutheran Church. Representatives to each come directly from the presbyteries. Again, a balance is kept between the number of ministers and lay representatives. The ratio of representatives to presbytery members sent to each synod is determined by that synod with the approval of the

¹¹Book of Order, G-11.0101.

¹²Ibid., G-9.0900.

¹³Ibid., G-9.0700.

presbyteries.¹⁴ Representation to the General Assembly is one lay representative and one minister for each 10,000 presbytery members.¹⁵

The synods are regional bodies which have many of the same duties and structures as the presbyteries do. (The Presbytery of Miami is a part of the Synod of the Covenant, which encompasses all presbyteries in Michigan, Ohio and Kentucky.) Some synods maintain ties with colleges or universities. (Wooster College in Wooster, Ohio, while not directly run by the Presbyterian Church anymore, does maintain ties with the Synod of the Covenant.) Synods also run educational programs and workshops in their regions as well as summer camps for young people.¹⁶

The General Assembly is a similar body on a much larger scale: it is the "national church." Like the synods, it meets only once a year and new representatives are chosen to attend each meeting. It is the responsibility of the General Assembly to draft new statements of faith, but it may do so only with the approval of two-thirds of the presbyteries. It is also responsible for approving changes in the Book of Order; this it may do upon the approval of a majority of the presbyteries.¹⁷ Communication to the General Assembly about concerns on any level (local, presbytery, or synod) is done by means of an overture proposed by any representative to a presbytery or synod.¹⁸

The above summary of the government of the Presbyterian Church makes four points quite evident. First, local congregations have a great deal of representation throughout the governmental structure in that both ministers and lay representatives must pass the scrutiny of the majority of the local congregation in order to even enter into the lowest levels of church

¹⁴Ibid., G-12.0101.

¹⁵Ibid., G-13.0102.

¹⁶Ibid., G-12.0102.

¹⁷Ibid., G-18.0201-G-18.0301.

¹⁸"Power Structure in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)," The Presbyterian Layman, March/April 1990, 10.

government. In order to keep a person out of the General Assembly, the synod, or the presbytery, the local congregation merely needs to keep him or her off of the local session of elders. Second, because of the standard maximum terms of representation at each level (three years on the session and, as mentioned earlier, one year each for the presbytery, the synod, and the General Assembly), there is constant opportunity for adjustment if any level does not accurately reflect the views of the people. Third, since representation at each level is based on the number of members at the previous level, and is either balanced between lay people and ministers or weighted in favor of lay people, representation at least theoretically gives an accurate reflection of the spectrum and balance of opinions and ideas of the wider Presbyterian population. Fourth, since changes in the confessional statements or Book of Order must be approved by either two-thirds or a majority of the presbyteries to which every single congregation elects representatives, every congregation has the opportunity to directly affect the confessional statements and organizational structures of the Presbyterian Church.

These four points combine to give a picture of a church governed by its people, not a people governed by its church; but no system of government, despite how good it looks on paper, is immune from abuses. A 1990 article in the Presbyterian Layman, a newspaper published by a rather conservative and fundamentalist group within the Presbyterian Church, charges that the upper levels of government are becoming increasingly politicized, with opinions being considerably more liberal and to the left of those of the majority of the local congregations.¹⁹ Certainly as any group grows to the size that the main-line Christian religions have, there is more and more opportunity for abuse of power systems because the majority of local congregations are far-removed from these power systems. But as the article also points out, the average person does not have to ignore church government beyond the session in the hopes that the problem will go away:

¹⁹Ibid., 8.

If we wish to witness effectively rather than ineptly we must understand the basic principles of this ecclesiological world beyond the local church. Just as a missionary entering a foreign country should know the language, customs, and terrain, . . . so we must understand the structure of our denomination if we are to be useful for renewal.

We pray that this document will encourage Presbyterians who are called by the Holy Spirit to be leaders in the Church of Jesus Christ to witness to their faith by playing a greater role in the governing bodies of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) to the glory of God the Father.²⁰

As our summary of Presbyterian Church structure has clearly shown, the Presbyterian lay person has ample opportunity to have a profound effect on the policies of his or her church, and we may thus conclude that the priesthood of all believers is indeed safeguarded within this structure.

Worship

Having looked at its basic power structure, we now turn to the development of liturgical resources within the Presbyterian Church. Just as the common priesthood of the faithful was shown to be central in the structure of the church, we will see that it has also played a key role in the development of the Presbyterian liturgical resources.

A controversy over whether or not it is even appropriate to use liturgical resources shook the Presbyterian Church of the eighteenth century. This controversy had its roots in a much deeper issue: should worship be strictly scriptural, or should it be conscious of effects?²¹ A bitter feud that took place in a Presbyterian congregation in New York City in the 1750s illustrates this. The majority of the people wanted to replace Francis Rous' traditional book of metrical psalms with Isaac Watt's hymn book because they felt that the hymns were more

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Julius Melton, Presbyterian Worship in America: Changing Patterns Since 1787 (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1967), 12.

effective in stirring people's emotions. The vocal minority claimed, however, that hymns of human composure violated the Calvinistic view that "no elements not specifically authorized by Scripture" should be used in worship.²² Psalms were in the Bible; hymns were not. The colonial synod was divided on the matter, but its final decision was to allow the hymns to be used due to the majority opinion. This crucial decision was the first step toward further liturgical development in America.

In 1786, American Presbyterians (again) adopted the Confession of Faith and received the Directory for Worship and Form of Government as they had been carried to America from England and appointed a committee to revise the Directory in preparation for the first Presbyterian General Assembly which was to be held in 1788. (The Confession of Faith and Directory for Worship had been adopted in 1729, though somewhat ambiguously.) All sections of the Directory were thoroughly revised in an attempt to promote worship that gave worthy homage to God and impressed the worshipper. There was also an attempt to give some uniformity to the worship of American Presbyterians. In the first draft there was even a suggested liturgy. But many of these revisions were defeated when the Directory draft reached the synod, which contained a broader representation of the people. The Directory that was finally approved in 1788 by the first General Assembly described no underlying theory of worship and avoided detailed instructions for the conduct of services. It has, in fact, been described as a non-directive Directory, and was largely ignored.²³ There were both drawbacks and advantages to this. On the one hand, while many changes were taking place in worship in the nineteenth century, what should have been a key document was left uninvolved and unamended. On the other hand,

the tentative and undogmatic approach of the synod- seen in its careful substitution of phrases like "it seems proper to" for the committee's "the minister is to"- indicated its openness to and faith in the future of the new nation and the new church organization. It scrupulously avoided binding the church to eighteenth

²²Ibid., 11-12.

²³Ibid., 20-21.

century practice, enabling its worship to be reshaped by the changing culture.²⁴

Though there were numerous developments during the next 50 years (see Appendix C), we move on to 1837, when after many years of strife American Presbyterianism split into Old School and New School General Assemblies. The split was caused by the same issue that fueled the New York controversy between psalms and hymns. "Uppermost in the mind of a New School Presbyterian leader was evangelistic effectiveness. An Old School minister was more sensitive to the scripturality and decorum of his services."²⁵ The differences in their positions can be seen in the way each party handled loss of membership to the Anglican Church. In 1844, Albert Barnes of the New School published an article in which he made radical anti-Episcopal statements. (Barnes was fanatical about "freedom of the spirit" and thus scorned the doctrinal rigidity that was characteristic of the Old School.²⁶) He viewed the liturgy of the Episcopalians as evidence of a "religion of forms" comparable to Pharisaic Judaism or medieval Catholicism. His scathing anti-Episcopal, anti-liturgical statements caused the Old School to make what amounted to pro-Episcopal statements. Old School leaders Charles Hodge and Joshua Addison Alexander and many other Old School members confronted the problem of loss of membership to the Anglican Church not with polemics, but by examining what it was about the Anglican Church that was so appealing to Presbyterians, and then asked if perhaps Presbyterian worship could not also be made so. Thus, the end effect of Barnes' scathing comments was a softening of the Old School's attitude toward liturgical worship.²⁷

Once the door to liturgical worship was unlocked, it would never be barred again. The years following the Anglican controversy saw many, like Thomas Peck from Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, continue opposition to any type of liturgical uniformity, but many more people began to experiment with it. In 1853 Levi Ward, a Rochester, New York insurance

²⁴Ibid., 27.

²⁵Ibid., 29.

²⁶Ibid., 62.

²⁷Ibid., 63.

broker built St. Peter's Church of the City of Rochester on his own property. During the following years, he printed the Church Book of St. Peter's, Rochester which contained orders for morning and evening worship, sacraments, weddings and funerals, responsive readings, and hymns with tunes. His services were designed for lay participation, with less emphasis on the role of the minister, which may explain why so many ministers came and went during the church's 70 year history.²⁸

At about the same time, Charles W. Baird was in the process of collecting and translating elements of the pre-Puritan Reformed liturgical heritage. Because of the fact that American Presbyterians' experience of liturgical worship was through the Episcopalian or Catholic churches, many felt that the utilization of liturgy was totally unacceptable. In Baird's book, which was titled Eutaxia, or the Presbyterian Liturgies: Historical Sketches and was published in 1855, American Presbyterians were first made aware of the existence of devotional literature that was authentically Presbyterian: Calvin's liturgy, the liturgy of the French Huguenots, John Knox's liturgy, Richard Baxter's liturgy, a liturgy of the Dutch Reformed Church and one from the German Reformed Church of the Palatinate, plus some model prayers from the original draft of the 1788 Directory for Worship. Baird accompanied these with historical sketches.²⁹ In his introduction, Baird quotes the Rev. Samuel Miller, a late professor of Ecclesiastical History at the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, as saying

We are very far from pronouncing, or even thinking that it is unlawful to conduct prayer, either in public or private, by a form. We should deem such a sentence or opinion altogether erroneous. There is no reason to doubt that many a truly fervent and acceptable prayer has been offered in this manner. Some of the most excellent men that have ever adorned the Church of Christ have decisively preferred this method of conducting devotions of the sanctuary, and have no doubt found it compatible with the most exalted spirit of prayer. We only contend that such forms are not indispensable, as some contend, to orderly and edifying prayer. . . . And that to impose forms of prayer at all times, and upon all persons who publicly minister in holy things, and to confine them to use of such forms, is by no means either desirable or wise.³⁰

²⁸Ibid., 93-97.

²⁹Ibid., 72

Baird goes on to define four methods of liturgy:

1. "Imposed ritual, which is responsive in character and prescribed to the minister and people for all to use." [This is the type of liturgy that Presbyterians know of from Catholic and Episcopalian churches and for which they held contempt.]

2. "Discretionary ritual, which is not responsive and is supplied only to the minister. Leaves freedom of variation." [This is the form that Baird's book sought to promote and with which European Presbyterians were familiar.]

3. "Rubrical provision, which is direction without example." [This is the form of worship with which American Presbyterians were familiar from their own churches.]

4. "Entire freedom, which leaves all to the option of the minister." [Baird did not know of any denominations that used this form.]³¹

In general, Baird's book was received enthusiastically by the Old School, with Charles Hodge calling for the denomination to produce an official prayer book. In 1857, Baird took it upon himself to supply such a book and published A Book of Public Prayer Compiled from the Authorized Formularies of Worship of the Presbyterian Church by the Reformers Calvin, Knox, Bucer, and Others; with Supplementary Forms. Shortly thereafter, Joel Parker and T. Ralston Smith, two New School ministers with their party's characteristic distaste for turning to the past when the present generation was capable of fulfilling its own worship needs, published The Presbyterian's Handbook of the Church. Their book differed from Baird's in that they collected compositions of their contemporaries instead of from those of the early days of the Reformed tradition. Unfortunately, most of the material they collected was of poor quality. Despite their efforts, the New School General Assembly in 1867 sensed that the average Presbyterian was not bothered by the state of worship in the church, and thus resolved to take no action toward providing liturgical forms of worship.³²

³⁰Samuel Miller, "Public Prayer," in Charles W. Baird, Presbyterian Liturgies: Historical Sketches, 1856 edition (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, reprint edition 1960), 6-7.

³¹Baird, 8-9.

³²Melton, 78.

During the following years many private individuals began to assemble manuals to aid in public worship. (The authors and titles of many of these appear in Appendix C.) The average Catholic might find it shocking to consider the idea of an average church member suggesting forms of worship and even writing books so that others might make use of their forms. But in the Presbyterian Church it was (and is) not at all strange. While the General Assemblies were very slow to become involved in preparing liturgical aids, they never stood in the way of others preparing them. In fact, the General Assembly in the North,³³ though it would not respond to overtures from its synods and presbyteries regarding worship manuals, did in 1882 remind its ministers that they were free to use Calvinistic and other Reformed devotional forms.³⁴ In effect, the Assembly was saying that each minister was responsible for collecting, evaluating, and choosing his own worship material.

Though the General Assembly did not officially refuse help in assembling forms until 1882, many in the preceding years sensed that this was to be the case. One such person was Archibald Alexander Hodge, who in 1877 published his Manual of Forms. Hodge supported the Assembly's official hands-off position and defended its decision not to recommend any specific forms, thus giving the impression that certain rituals were in any way being imposed on local congregations. Nevertheless, he did see the value of liturgical aids being available, so he took it upon himself to write a manual. His book stayed away from the Sunday service, dealing mainly with specific occasions (weddings, funerals, etc.). His book became very popular, and after five years he published a new, expanded edition. Hodge's book and others like it were followed in 1889 by A General Liturgy and book of Common Prayer by Samuel M. Hopkins. Hopkins' book dealt with the Sunday service.³⁵

³³In 1861, the Civil War caused the Presbyterian churches in the South to be cut off from those in the North. Thus, until 1983 when the two were reunited, there were two General Assemblies. In general, the Southern Presbyterian Church developed along more conservative lines than the North.

³⁴Melton, 108.

³⁵Ibid., 108-109.

The move was on. As more and more liturgical resources surfaced, it became evident that a growing number of people found liturgical worship appealing. The General Assembly in the South was the first to provide "official" help. Between 1867 and 1895, the Southerners revised their Directory for Worship. The final draft contained forms for special occasions only, and the committee that worked on the revisions was careful to explain that the forms were NOT being authoritatively recommended by the church.³⁶

With the General Assembly in the North still dragging its feet into the 1890s, frustration reached its peak. In 1897 two ministers, Henry van Dyke and Louis Benson formed the Church Service Society. It was modeled after a society of the same name formed by Scottish Presbyterians who sought to promote worship reform.³⁷ The group undertook two studies. The first was a survey of current Presbyterian worship practices, and the second was a study of the "treatment of worship in the education of ministers."³⁸ The survey began that same year, but because the questions were too vague and were not sent to a representative cross-section of local congregations, the results were almost impossible to interpret. The survey, however, aroused interest. The Synod of New York decided in 1898 to do its own study, which it began in 1901. It rectified the problems of the Church Service Society's survey, and in 1902 presented its analysis: there was unanimity of tone, but not in arrangement, of the services. The survey found that only 8% of the ministers who replied were completely satisfied with the existing diversity of worship.³⁹ Because of these and other survey results, the synod committee came to the conclusion that there was a "strong sentiment" for a model service, and that "a great proportion feel that there is room for enrichment and improvement in our services with no danger of a fixed liturgical service."⁴⁰ The New York Synod thus overtured the General Assembly of

³⁶Ibid., 112.

³⁷Ibid., 119-120.

³⁸Ibid., 123.

³⁹Ibid., 125-126.

⁴⁰Minutes of the Synod of New York, 1902, in Melton, 126.

1903 to appoint a committee to prepare "tentative forms of public worship on the Lord's Day."⁴¹

With this overture and one from the Presbytery of Denver asking for a book of forms for special occasions, the General Assembly finally agreed to act. A committee was organized, of which Henry van Dyke became chairman. Louis Benson was also a member. By 1905 the first drafts of the book were ready. It contained services for Sunday morning and Sunday evening, a Communion service, orders for baptism, the reception of a person into communicant membership, weddings, funerals, and ordination to the ministry, and a Treasury of Prayers. After heated debate at the 1905 General Assembly, the draft was sent back to the committee for completion and revision. The size of the committee was increased, and members were asked to seek out the opinions of pastors as its work progressed. The Book of Common Worship, as it was called, appeared in print on May 6, 1906, just seventeen days before it came before the 1906 General Assembly. After further debate over how to word the subtitle so as not to give the impression that use of the book was either recommended or required, it was decided that the subtitle "Prepared by a Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. for Voluntary Use" did not sound like any official endorsement.⁴² At long last Presbyterians had the help for which many of them had been hoping.

Since 1906, the Book of Common Worship has gone through numerous revisions. Since 1970 it has been called The Worshipbook and has been used by the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which still exists separately today, and the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), which formed when the Presbyterian Church in the United States and the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America merged in 1983.⁴³ The preface still stresses that the book is for

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Melton, 132-133.

⁴³William P. Anderson, "The Reunited Presbyterian Church," Ecumenical Trends, vol. 13, no. 5 (May 1984), 66.

voluntary use.⁴⁴ Some congregations place The Worshipbook in the pews for use by those who attend services, while others supply copies only to those responsible for the preparation of worship. Each congregation makes its own decision based on its own needs.

The Joint Office for Worship of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) has published other resources as well. One such resource is a book called The Service for the Lord's Day, which came out in 1984. It contains outlines for different types of services, sample prayers for different parts of the services, notes on leading worship, and comments and historical notes on the components of the services. This resource supplements the Book of Common Worship and The Worshipbook, and similar volumes on baptism, daily prayer, psalms, Christian marriage, Christian burial, the Christian year, ordination, ministry to the sick and dying, the lectionary, and service music were scheduled to follow.⁴⁵ Some of these have since appeared. Again, the optional nature of such resources is stressed.

Keeping in mind the focus of the priesthood of all believers, six points come to the forefront in examining the preceding history:

1. The colonial synod's decision to allow the use of hymns instead of psalms was made because the majority of the people in the congregation involved felt that hymns were helpful in worship. The synod was thus showing respect for the people's ability to provide meaningful worship for themselves.

2. The suggested liturgy that was proposed by the General Assembly committee for the 1788 revision of the Directory for Worship was not included in the final draft. The preference of the General Assembly for more uniform worship gave way to the preference of the

⁴⁴Joint Committee on Worship for the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, The Worshipbook: Services (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1970), 6.

⁴⁵Joint Office for Worship for the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, The Service for the Lord's Day: Supplemental Liturgical Resource 1 (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1984), 8.

more broadly representative synod that worship be left to the local congregations.

3. Almost 60 years later, when the Presbyterian Church was losing members to the Anglican Church due in part to the appealing liturgy in that church, many Old School and even some New School members softened their resistance to liturgical forms. That is, as the people became more interested in liturgy, so did the higher governing bodies.

4. In the following years people were not discouraged, and eventually were even encouraged, to collect and make use of liturgical resources as they felt the need.

5. Following the New York Synod's survey, when it became evident for the first time that in general people favored the availability of liturgical resources, the General Assembly in the North agreed to work on such resources. This 1903 action followed the General Assembly in the South's provision of liturgical forms for special occasions in 1895.

6. As more and more resources have been made available by committees of the General Assembly, there is still continued stress on the optional nature of such resources and the responsibility of members of each congregation and their ministers to finally decide on proper liturgical practice for that congregation.

These points demonstrate that the common priesthood of the faithful has had great impact on the development of liturgical resources in the Presbyterian Church. At all times during the history of this development great respect has been shown for the ability of the people to discern what forms of worship will best suit their needs, and the Presbyterian General Assemblies have been very careful to continually stress the optional nature of any resources that it makes available to them.

Having shown that the priesthood of all believers is central to Presbyterian structure and worship we will look briefly at how the American concept compares to what John Calvin originally intended. In doing so we will see that American Presbyterians have developed it far

beyond what Calvin originally intended.

Some Brief Comments on the Fidelity of the American Presbyterians to Calvin's Ideas

In some ways American Presbyterians have been faithful to Calvin's beliefs. His four ecclesiastical offices (pastors, teachers, elders, deacons) all remain in some form. "Ministers of Word and Sacrament" have replaced pastors and teachers. These ministers may hold positions as a pastor (a permanent pastoral office) or as a teacher (one of a number of designated offices).⁴⁶ Pastors still preach and administer the sacraments, and share in all the duties assigned to elders and deacons.⁴⁷ Elders and deacons exist in much the same form as in Calvin's time, though their duties have expanded as the needs of the church have grown and become more well-defined. All ministers are ordained using the laying on of hands, elders and deacons by members of the session, and ministers of the Word and Sacrament by the representatives to the presbytery.⁴⁸

In other ways American Presbyterian policy is quite different from what Calvin would have thought ideal. Calvin, as noted above, felt very strongly about frequent communion. The Book of Order allows for the session of each congregation to decide on the frequency, specifying that it must occur at least quarterly and at most weekly, with provisions for celebrating it at additional special times and places.⁴⁹ In general the tendency is to celebrate the sacrament only a few times per year.

American Presbyterians are considerably more democratic than the tone of Calvin's writings calls for. Though the presbytery, synod, and General Assembly were not yet developed in his time (which is not surprising since Calvin's situation in Geneva was considerably different

⁴⁶Book of Order, G-6.020.

⁴⁷Ibid., G-6.0202.

⁴⁸Ibid., G-14.0209, G-14.0405.

⁴⁹Ibid., S-3.0500.

than the situation faced by American Presbyterians), one can hardly imagine Calvin insisting on appointing equal numbers of pastors and lay people to these higher governing bodies if they had existed when he did not even wish to have lay people involved in the initial stages of choosing new pastors.⁵⁰

These differences highlight the difference in the place that the priesthood of all believers held in Calvin's "grand plan" for the church and the place that it has come to hold in the centuries since the Reformation. As mentioned earlier, Calvin's writings suggest that he did not see the priesthood of all believers as central to his structure and worship. He instead saw it as one form of Biblical support for his ideas versus the structure of the Catholic Church. Some of this polemic tone is evident in the Second Helvetic Confession of 1566, the earliest confessional statement still in use by American Presbyterians that addresses the topic of priesthood, though the statement is not nearly as anti-Catholic as many of Calvin's own words:

PRIESTHOOD OF ALL BELIEVERS. To be sure, Christ's apostles call all who believe in Christ "priests," but not on account of an office, but because, all the faithful having been made kings and priests, we are able to offer up spiritual sacrifices to God through Christ. (Ex. 19:6; I Peter 2:9; Rev. 1:6) Therefore the priesthood and the ministry are very different from one another. For the priesthood, as we have just said, is common to all Christians; not so is the ministry. Nor have we abolished the ministry of the Church because we have repudiated the papal priesthood from the Church of Christ.⁵¹

But very early in the history of the American Presbyterian Church, the priesthood of all believers took on a more positive tone; that is, it came to spell out what the Presbyterian Church should be, not what the Catholic Church shouldn't be. Indeed, in the governing structure and development of liturgical resources outlined above, the attitude of respect for the lay people's ability to make valid choices is directly connected to the acceptance of the practical implications of the priesthood of all believers. As noted in chapter III, the lay people of the

⁵⁰Chadwick, 87.

⁵¹Office of the General Assembly, The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, The Constitution of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: Part I, Book of Confessions, 2nd edition (New York: By the Assembly, 475 Riverside Drive, 1970), 5.153.

earliest Presbyterian congregations, not John Calvin, kept the Presbyterian Church from having an alternate form of the hierarchical system they found so distasteful in the sixteenth century Catholic Church. Their presence in the governing structure from the start has been a safeguard against the attitude that lay people can not or should not make decisions of real consequence for the Church. Whether intentionally or inadvertently, the priesthood of all believers has become much more central in the life of the Presbyterian Church than perhaps its founder would have wanted or allowed, had he had more control.

CHAPTER VI

TWO MODELS FOR LAY INVOLVEMENT

We now have sufficient information to construct our two models for lay involvement. In the introduction of this paper, note was made of the Catholic church's teachings on the common priesthood of the faithful as distinct from the ordained priesthood and on collegiality as presented in the documents of the Second Vatican Council. Because of these teachings it would be impossible for the Catholic Church to simply adopt one of these two models as a way of increasing the level of involvement of lay people. That does not mean, however, that to set up the models is a futile task. Even if the specifics of the individual models are not useful, the fact that two such different models can both guarantee the participation of the laity in all levels of church function can give hope to Catholics that structures can possibly be formed that will allow them such active participation too. In addition, the existence of widespread lay participation in the Presbyterian church proves that it is possible for the laity to be actively involved in a church with definite structure throughout. The following two models are thus presented toward that end.

The Lutheran Model

The structure of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America is very linear in the sense that each level of government is formed by the preceding one, and decisions made at any level are binding on those in the preceding levels who wish to remain affiliated with the ELCA. There is great freedom at the congregational level in the structural sense. That is, each congregation is free to govern itself in the way that it sees fit, and each is responsible for

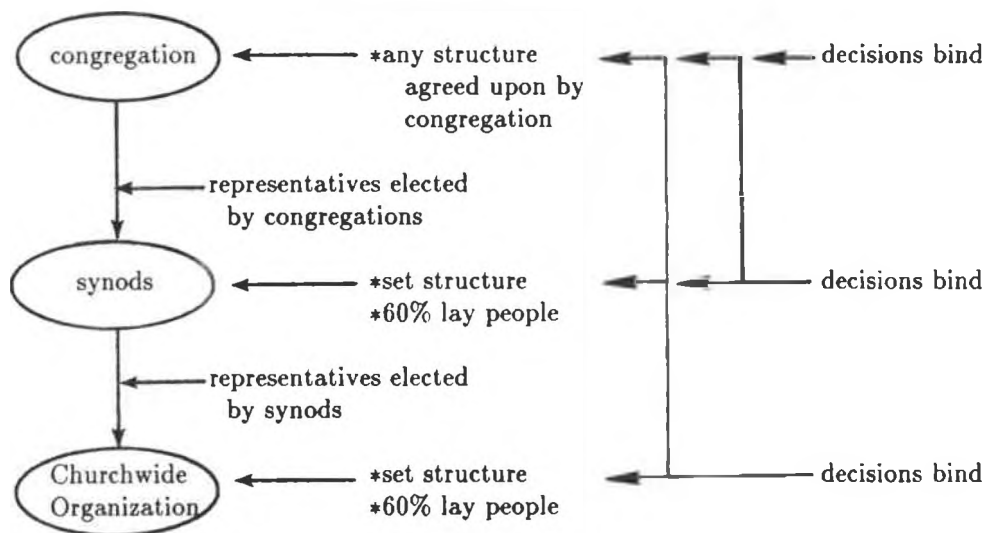
maintaining the involvement of the lay people in that congregation. Though there are many similarities in the structures of various congregations, these similarities are due to each congregation's individual decision to use particular governing styles, not to their conformity to a predetermined or imposed structure. By way of example, many congregations may choose to elect representatives to a council that would run their local church, but it is also possible, according to the constitution of the Churchwide Organization, for a congregation to gather as a whole for discussion and vote every time there are decisions to be made.

Beyond the local congregations there is more conformity to set structures, though there is some room for variation should specific needs arise. Representatives to the synods are chosen by the congregations, and representatives to the Churchwide Organization by the synods. The types of decisions that are able to be made at each level are specified by the church's constitution. That is, certain decisions may be made only at the congregational level (qualifications for ministers called to serve in the congregation, for example) while others are reserved for the synods or the Churchwide Organization (certification and ordination of ministers, or the qualifications necessary for ordination.) Decisions made at one level are binding on all members of the previous levels who wish to remain affiliated with the ELCA. Communication between the congregations and the Churchwide Organization takes place through the synods; there is no direct link between them.

The priesthood of all believers has its greatest impact at the congregational level, though because of the guidelines for inclusive representation and the election process that fills positions in the synods and the Churchwide Organization, it affects these levels as well. The ELCA's commitment to "the equipping and supporting of all its members for their ministries in the world and in this church" is evident in the freedom given to local congregations to run themselves and in the level of representation that it affords lay people in the synods and Churchwide Organization (at least 60% of these bodies, as noted earlier.) Though decisions made at any one level of the government do not need the approval of those at previous levels, it

was shown clearly in our study of the development of the liturgy that care is taken to assess the opinions and needs of those in the congregations before these decisions are made. And as was seen during the years of the development of the Common Service, where possible synods and the Churchwide Organizations make recommendations rather than binding decisions and allow time to tell whether these recommendations are indeed faithful to the spirit of the the mission of the Lutheran people.

The ELCA thus offers the following model for our consideration:



1. A church structure which affords maximum involvement of lay people at the level which most directly affects them--the congregation.

2. A church structure which, though it is able to make decisions at the upper levels of its government that are binding on its congregations, assures that lay representation at all levels constitutes a majority of voting members to guard against such decisions being contradictory to the beliefs of those in the congregations.

3. A church structure which has listened to the needs and desires of its lay people as it has developed its liturgical services and resources, thus assuring that its liturgy is indeed the "work of the people."

The Presbyterian Model

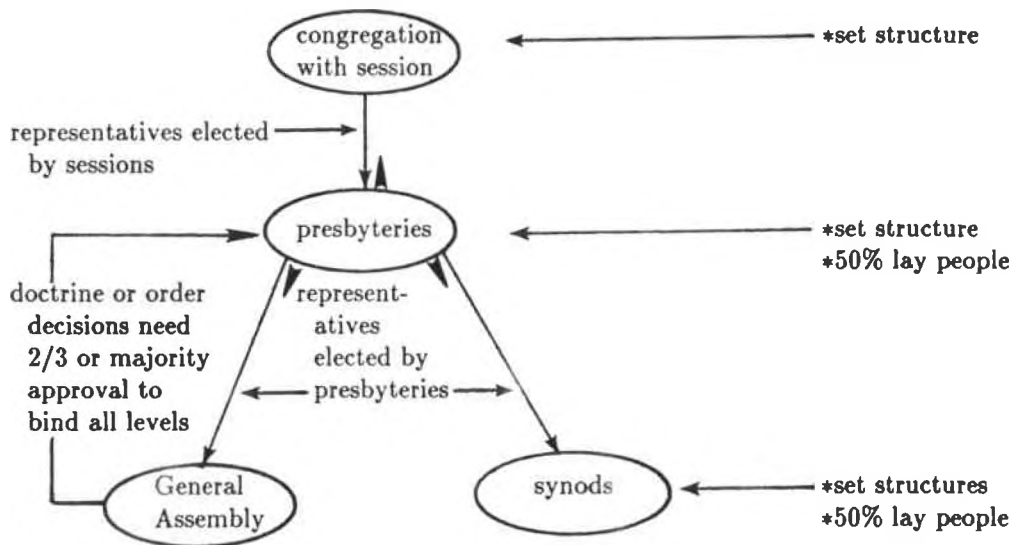
Contrasting the Lutheran model, the Presbyterian structure is more cyclic in nature. Congregations elect representatives to the presbyteries, but the remaining two levels of government do not follow in succession to the presbyteries. Rather, the synods and the General Assembly both derive directly from the presbyteries. Also, though policies to be enacted must go through the General Assembly, they do not become binding on the congregations unless they are approved by two-thirds of the presbyteries in matters of confession and a majority of the presbyteries in matters of order. Since the presbyteries are constructed of lay and ministerial representatives from every congregation within their geographic boundaries, this means that every congregation is involved directly on decisions of consequence through its representatives to the presbytery. Once approved by the requisite number of presbyteries and the General Assembly, decisions are binding on all levels of the church.

Lay involvement is also incorporated directly into the presbytery, synod and General Assembly structures by constitutional requirements that at least 50% of the representatives to these bodies be lay people. As these representatives are chosen directly from the the elders previously elected within the congregations to the presbyteries, and from there to the synods and General Assembly, lay people effect these upper levels of government by their choices of elders for their own congregations.

Finally, lay people are also influential in the worship within their own congregations. In studying the history of the development of their liturgical resources, we noted that Presbyterian congregations had direct effect on the availability of resources through their efforts at compiling

such resources when none were available. They were also influential when through their pastors, presbyteries, and synods they overtured the General Assemblies to begin work on such resources. Their autonomy was respected throughout the process of compilation, writing, and editing by constant reminders by members of the committees that all resources were for optional use and that congregations were ultimately responsible for their own forms of worship. This optional nature of resources still exists to this day.

We can thus describe the Presbyterian model of lay involvement as follows:



1. A church structure which incorporates a great deal of lay involvement at the congregational level. Though the structure of the congregation is set by the Book of Order, there is ample lay representation within that structure.

2. A church structure which involves laity at a level of 50% representation at all levels of government, and returns policy decisions to the presbytery level where every congregation is represented.

3. A church structure which throughout its history has respected the autonomy of the individual congregations in constructing their own forms of worship and which, when asked by the representatives of those congregations to make resources available, moved to do so.

Comparison of the Two Models

The models outlined above exhibit a number of similarities: both churches organize themselves on regional and national levels, with similar responsibilities assigned to the organizations at each level; both assure lay participation at all levels by having established quotas of lay representatives at levels beyond the congregation (Lutheran 60%, Presbyterian 50%); and both recognize that decisions approved beyond the congregational level are binding on all previous levels of their churches. But it is the differences between these two that are more useful for our purposes. The immediately noticeable difference is the lack of a set congregational structure in the Lutheran Church as opposed to a well-defined structure in the Presbyterian Church. The freedom that the Lutheran congregations possess reflects the previously-mentioned belief of Luther that service to the gospel is far more important than any particular forms or structures. While it would be quite unreasonable to allow this sort of freedom on the regional and national levels, which encompass such large geographic areas, Luther's ideas are preserved at the most fundamental level of church government. Likewise, the set structure of the Presbyterian congregation reflects John Calvin's emphasis on a Scripturally-mandated form of church government. Though many of the responsibilities have shifted from minister to lay people, Calvin's four ecclesiastical offices have survived at the congregational level. This is of great significance for our study. The reason that neither of these models may be adapted by Catholics is that there are fundamental differences between the Vatican notion of church structure and Luther and Calvin's notions; yet Luther's notions and Calvin's notions are themselves very different from each other, and both the churches descended from them practice active lay participation. It is thus not necessary to conclude that lay involvement presupposes

any one particular notion of church structure, nor that it is impossible to involve lay people actively in a church that wishes to have a well-defined format for its government. This can only give Catholics great hope that a model exists for us as well. Another difference is that the Lutheran model relies on a higher rate of lay representation beyond the congregation to assure that the laity's beliefs and opinions are safeguarded in the structure and teachings of the church, whereas the Presbyterian models balances lay and ministerial representation, but requires that policy decisions return to a level with wider church representation for approval to provide that safeguard. It is thus obvious that there is more than one way to assure that the voice of the laity is heard in all levels of church government. If Catholics cannot be represented to the high degree that their Lutheran and Presbyterian counterparts are, perhaps whatever level of representation they can achieve may be augmented by other modes of participation.

It has been the goal of this paper to demonstrate that the Lutheran and Presbyterian churches can provide meaningful models of lay involvement. We have shown this to be the case by examining the beliefs of the reformers Martin Luther and John Calvin regarding the priesthood of all believers, for it is this concept which has been instrumental in safeguarding the involvement of the laity in both of these churches. We have shown that the early and American Lutheran and Presbyterian churches incorporated the priesthood of all believers into their structures and forms of worship as much or more than their founders intended, and that the common priesthood of the faithful continues to be a central force in both churches. It is the hope of this author that the models which have emerged as a result of this study may be of some use to Catholics by their demonstration that lay involvement can occur under a variety of circumstances and in many different ways, and that Catholics called to deeper levels of involvement will be thus encouraged to seek out models which will both afford them this involvement and be true to the teachings of our Church.

APPENDIX A

DIVISION AND UNION IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

Synods Uniting Congregations	Federations	General Bodies	General Body Mergers
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Before 1748: individual congregations (70) in Pennsylvania and adjacent states.

1748: Muhlenberg's Synod/United Congregations, later called Ministerium of Pennsylvania, formed by Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. Initially contained 10 congregations but grew rapidly.

1786: New York Ministerium

1803: North Carolina Synod

1818: Synod of Ohio and Adjacent States (from Ministerium of Pennsylvania)

1820: Tennessee Synod (from North Carolina Synod)
 Synod of Maryland and Virginia (from Ministerium of Pennsylvania)

1820: General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States (Ministerium of Pennsylvania + North Carolina Synod + Synod of Maryland and Virginia)

1823: Ministerium of Pennsylvania withdraws from General Synod.

1824: South Carolina Synod (from North Carolina Synod)

1825: Synod of Western Pennsylvania (from Ministerium of Pennsylvania)

1829: Synod of Maryland
 Virginia Synod (both from split of Synod of Maryland and Virginia)

1830: Hartwick Synod (from New York Ministerium)

1836: East Ohio Synod (from Joint Synod of Ohio)

1837: Franckean Synod (from Hartwick Synod)

1842: Allegheny Synod
 East Pennsylvania Synod (from Ministerium of Pennsylvania)
 Southwestern Virginia Synod

- 1844: Synod of Miami
- 1845: German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States
Buffalo Synod
- 1846: Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America/Eilsen Synod (later
called Hauge's Synod)
- 1847: Wittenberg Synod
Missouri Synod
- 1848: Olive Branch Synod
- 1851: Northern Illinois Synod
Texas Synod
Synod for the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (also
called Norwegian Synod)
- 1854: Synod of Iowa and Other States (from Missouri Synod)
- 1855: Northern Indiana Synod
Synod of Iowa
Mississippi Synod
Central Pennsylvania Synod
- 1857: Melancthon Synod (from Maryland Synod)
- 1860: Georgia Synod
Holston Synod (from Tennessee Synod)
Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America
(from Synod of Northern Illinois)
- 1860: General Synod Membership is
approximately 2/3 of the Lutheran churches in
the United States.
- 1860-66: General Synod loses 1/2 its
membership.
- 1860: Loss of Swedes and Norwegians when
Augustana Synod formed.
- 1862-63: Southern synods break away to form the
General Synod of Confederate States (later United
Synod of the South).
- 1864-67: Ministerium of Pennsylvania withdraws.
- 1861: District Synod of Ohio
Canada Synod
- 1862: Central Illinois Synod

1866-67: General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America formed. (Original members: Ministerium of Pennsylvania, New York Ministerium, English Synod of Ohio, Pittsburgh Synod, Wisconsin Synod, English District Synod of Ohio, Michigan Synod, Augustana Synod, Minnesota Synod, Canada Synod, Illinois Synod.)

1867: Susquehanna Synod

1868: Synod of Kansas

1870: Conference of the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
Norwegian-Danish Augustana Synod (later called Augustana Lutheran Church. Both from split of the Augustana Synod)

1871: Synod of Nebraska
Indiana Synod (later called the Chicago Synod)

1872: Synodical Conference
German Wartburg Synod

1872: Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (Missouri Synod + Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin and Other States + Norwegian Synod of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church + Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church of America)

1876: Eilsen Synod (from Hauge's Synod)

1887: Anti-Missourian Brotherhood (from Norwegian Synod)

1889: Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church of America/Suomi Synod

1890: German Nebraska Synod

1890: United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America (Conference for the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America + Norwegian-Danish Augustana Synod + Anti-Missourian Brotherhood)

1891: Rocky Mountain Synod
California Synod
English Synod of the Northwest
Manitoba Synod

1892: Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, and Other States (also known as the General Synod of Wisconsin/Synod of the Northwest. Wisconsin Synod + Michigan Synod + Minnesota Synod.)

1897: Lutheran Free Church (from United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America.)

1901: Pacific Synod

1903: Nova Scotia Synod

1904: Synod of Nebraska (Nebraska Conference + Nebraska District of the Wisconsin Synod.)

1904: Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan and Nebraska (Synod of Nebraska + Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, and Other States.)

1908: Central Canada Synod

1917: Norwegian Lutheran Church of America (Hague's Synod + Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America + United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America. Later called Evangelical Lutheran Church.)

1918: National Lutheran Council (Norwegian Lutheran Church + American Lutheran Church + Augustana Synod + United Danish Lutheran Church + Lutheran Free Church + United Lutheran Church.)

1918: The United Lutheran Church in America (General Synod + General Council - Augustana Synod + United Synod of the South.)

1919: The Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States (Wisconsin Synod + Michigan Synod + Minnesota Synod + Synod of Nebraska. Later called the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod.)

1930: American Lutheran Conference (all members of National Lutheran Council except United Lutheran Church.)

1931: The American Lutheran Church (Ohio Synod + Iowa Synod + Buffalo Synod)

1960: Church of the Lutheran Confession (32 congregations from Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod + 1 congregation from Evangelical Lutheran Church + 1 congregation from Missouri Synod.)

1960: American Lutheran Church (Evangelical Lutheran Church (formerly Norwegian Lutheran Church) + American Lutheran Church + United Danish Lutheran Church (formerly United Danish Lutheran Church).)

1962: Lutheran Free Church joins American Lutheran Church

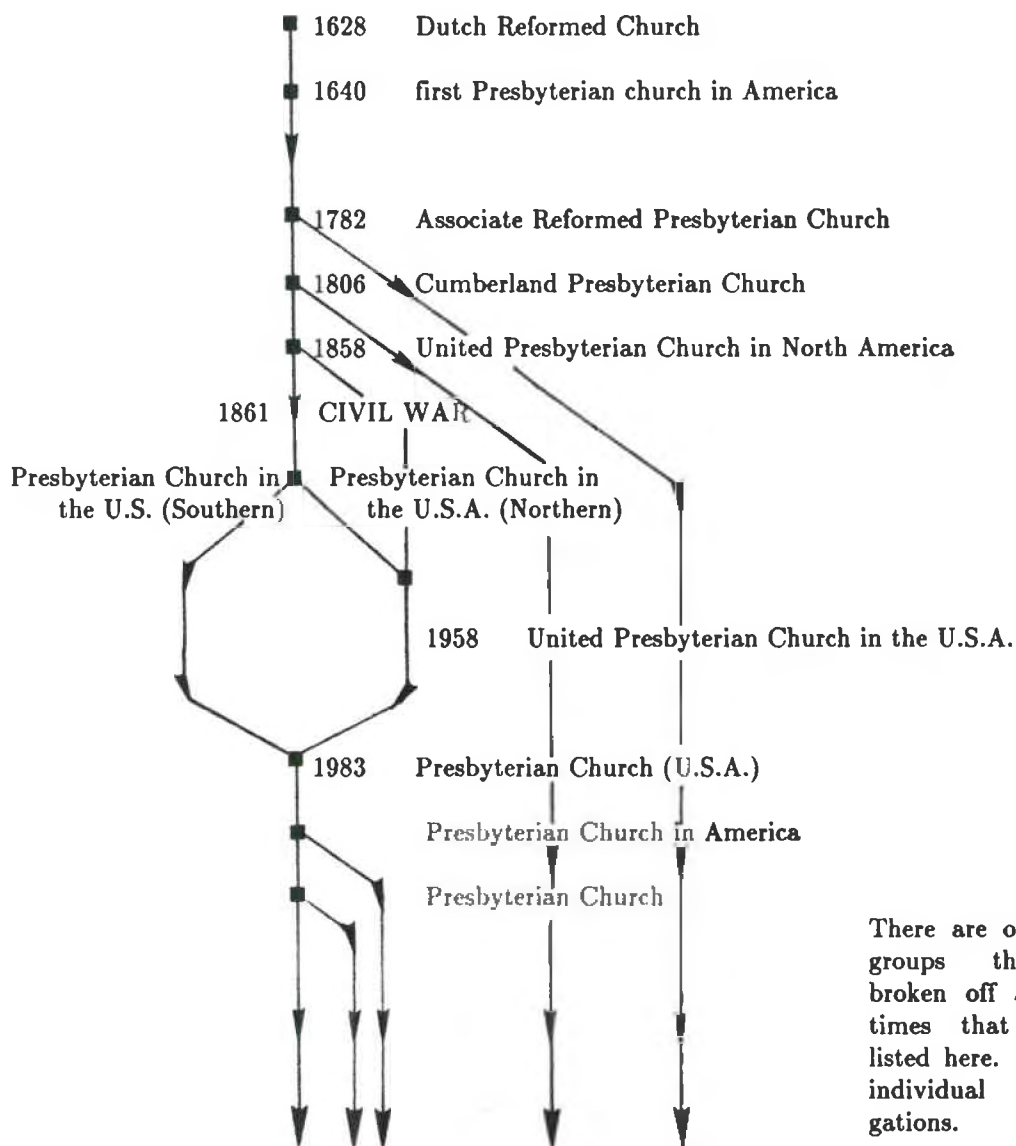
1963: Lutheran Church in America (Augustana Lutheran Church + United Lutheran Church in America + American Evangelical Lutheran Church (formerly Danish Lutheran Church) + Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church of America/Suomi Synod.)

1988: Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (American Lutheran Church + Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches + Lutheran Church in America.)

Note: This chart does not contain all synods, federations, etc., but only a representative number.

APPENDIX B

DIVISION AND UNION IN THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH



APPENDIX C

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRESBYTERIAN LITURGICAL RESOURCES (from Presbyterian Worship in America by Julius Melton, and Other Sources)

- 1644 Westminster Assembly of Divines formalized developments since Calvin and Knox in the Directory for Worship (England)
- 1750s Controversy in the New York City Presbyterian Congregation: psalms versus hymns. Majority wants hymns and is supported by the New York Synod.
- 1786 Presbyterians adopt the Confession of Faith and receive the Directory for Worship and Form of Government as brought over from England. Committee forms to revise the Directory.
- 1788 General Assembly created. Directory revisions complete.
- 1798 John Mitchell Mason publishes Letter on Frequent Communion.
- 1800-1806 Camp meetings popular. Popularity of protracted meetings increases.
- 1817 First Presbyterian Church of Alexandria, Virginia installs an organ amidst controversy.
- 1830s Thomas Hastings unsuccessfully tries to form an evangelical society to improve congregational singing.
- 1835 Collection of Dr. Samuel Miller's essays published: Presbyterianism the Truly Primitive and Apostolical Constitution of the Church of Christ.
- 1837 Severing of American Presbyterianism into Old School and New School General Assemblies following several years of party strife.
- 1840s Presbyterians begin to use Gothic architecture for their churches. Some are uneasy with this, thinking that it reflects the Middle Ages and the Catholic faith.
- 1844 Albert Barnes publishes an article in which he makes radical anti-Episcopal statements and scorns liturgical worship. Members of the Old School challenge his statements.
- 1849 Samuel Miller's Thoughts on Public Prayer published.
- 1853 Levi Ward builds St. Peter's Church of the City of Rochester.

- 1855 Ward prints Church Book of St. Peter's, Rochester. Charles W. Baird publishes Eutaxia, or the Presbyterian Liturgies: Historical Sketches.
- 1857 Baird publishes A Book of Public Prayer Compiled from the Authorized Formularies of Worship of the Presbyterian Church as Prepared by the Reformers Calvin, Knox, Bucer, and Others: With Supplementary Forms.
- 1858 Prayer Meeting Revival prompts an unknown layman to compile the Presbyterian Church Union Service, or Union Book of Worship, from the Liturgies of the Reformers.
- 1860-1893 Thomas Peck uses Directory to argue against uniformity in worship.
- 1861 Joel Parker and T. Ralston Smith publish Presbyterian's Handbook of the Church.
- 1862 Charles W. Shields prepares a manual of worship for the Union forces. He later publishes an article in which he argues that since the Book of Common Prayer dated from the time before the separation of Presbyterians and Episcopalians and the expulsion of the Presbyterians from the Church of England, it belonged to the Presbyterians as much as to the Episcopalians.
- 1864 John Preston requests the introduction of a few Scriptural and well-constructed forms of prayer requiring congregational response.
- 1867 Shields publishes The Presbyterian Book of Common Prayer. New School General Assembly resolves to take no action on liturgical forms of worship.
- 1867-1895 Southern Presbyterians revise the Directory for Worship.
- 1869 The small Old School presbytery containing St. Peter's Church becomes part of a larger presbytery dominated by New School churches.
- 1877 Alexander Hodge introduces his Manual of Forms.
- 1880 A Southern presbytery asks for a funeral service which laymen could use.
- 1882 General Assembly in the North refuses to publish an authorized but optional manual for worship.
- 1883 Samuel M. Hopkins publishes A General Liturgy and Book of Common Prayer.
- 1885 Benjamin Bartis Comegys publishes An Order of Worship with Forms of Prayer for Divine Service. Supports less preaching and more prayer and praise.
- 1889 Herrick Johnson publishes Forms for Special Occasions.

- 1890s General Assembly in the North continues to refuse to take action to provide liturgical assistance.
- 1893 Comegys compiles A Manual for the Chapel of Girard College and A Manual for the Chapel of the House of Refuge.
- 1895 Comegys prints a new edition of his 1885 book, entitled A Presbyterian Prayer Book for Public Worship.
- 1897 Church Service Society in America formed. Begins surveys of worship practices and worship in the education of ministers.
- 1898 Comegys publishes Euchologian: A Book of Common Order, an experimental liturgy from the Scottish Church Service Society, with alterations and a responsive psalter.
- 1901 New York Synod undertakes a survey of worship within its own area.
- 1903 New York Synod overtures the General Assembly to produce tentative forms for public worship for the Lord's Day. Presbytery of Denver overtures for a book of forms for special occasions. Assembly agrees to take up the task and appoints a committee to prepare a draft.
- 1905 Book of Common Worship ready. Assembly sends it back to committee for revision and completion.
- 1906 Book of Common Worship published and sold for 35 cents per copy. Approved for voluntary use by the General Assembly.
- 1923 St. Peter's Church dissolved.
- 1932 Book of Common Worship revised. Used church year order rather than secular year order. Southern Presbyterians accept this edition.
- 1946 Book of Common Worship revised in line with the 1940 edition of the Scottish Book of Common Order. Incorporated lectionary, Nicene Creed, and a Common Service.
- 1955 Directory for Worship revised as a preliminary step to altering the Book of Common Worship. United Presbyterian Church of North America and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. (Southern) participate in this revision.
- 1961 Revisions of Directory completed and accepted, though not by the Southern church, which had begun its own revision.
- 1964 Revisions of Book of Common Worship begin. Southern and Cumberland Presbyterian Churches join this revision.
- 1966 Revisions are completed and published as The Book of Common Worship: Provisional Services.
- 1970 Book of Common Worship revised again. Post-Vatican II lectionary adopted. Now called The Worshipbook.

1984 The Service for the Lord's Day: Supplemental Liturgical Resource I appears. Other resources on baptism, daily prayer, psalms, Christian marriage, Christian burial, the Christian year, ordination, ministry to the sick and dying, the lectionary, and service music are scheduled to follow.

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