

the sharp doctrinal distinction is not always possible...a Lutheran, so to speak, might not really be regarded as a Lutheran by other Lutherans!

(2) Territorial arrangement: the Lutheran churches tended to organize themselves in accord with the territories in which the settlers lived. Many enjoyed the word "evangelical" so this name appears in many Lutheran place and church names. The actual difference between two bodies might be small but the alignment by territories made separate communions.

(3) Ethnicity...I am not sure this is a good word but it refers to the ethnic status of many Lutheran churches, particularly in the 19th century when they tended to organize according to national background. Swedish, Norwegian, English, etc., were often very similar in ideas and theology but were made distinct by virtue of language and national origin.

(4) American ideals...and this was a trial to many Lutherans. The very nature of America tended to soften exclusivism in all bodies...even in the Roman Catholic church. As the church (Lutheran) developed in America it took on "liberal" ideals with regard to other bodies...accepting them as legitimate peers, joining in fellowship meetings, etc. When the mass of European migrations came in the 19th century it brought the older conservative ideals of exclusivism and this conflicted with the growing American concepts. Many divisions came thereby. And here is a bit of important semanticism: generally when speaking of liberalism in the Lutheran church in the 19th century, one is speaking of a willingness to share ecclesiastical life with other bodies rather than maintaining a high church independence. Conservatism in the same period is maintaining the exclusive ideals of a previous economy. (These terms are used this way with other groups as well but it is more pronounced in Lutheran theology due to the problem sketched in this paragraph).

(5) Theological leanings...will note that the larger forces are those of pietism and confessionalism. While they are not strictly opposed they often appear that way. The latter argued for a rigid acceptance of the confessional statements but this acceptance could easily be a matter of form. The former argued for a heart religion, a "new birth", etc., and this tended to make it more evangelistic and experience centered. The attitudes of various Lutheran bodies to these things often tended to keep them separate in organization and life.

(6) Immigration was the great factor in Lutheran growth in the 19th century. But the churches in the mid west, in particular, implemented this with evangelism and community action. Therefore the Lutheran bodies in the central part of the country actually grew much more rapidly than would have been expected otherwise.