

The Augustana Synod in Light of American Immigration History

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I was honored to be asked to speak to the Augustana Heritage Association's Gathering VIII despite my outsider status and despite my modest knowledge of the in's and out's of Lutheran and Swedish-American history. From the history of my own tribe—namely, Dutch Americans—where I can claim some expertise, I know how important a command of the inside lore, of the flavors and food ways and passwords and seamlessly acquired little rituals, can be to a real comprehension of any particular group. On that score, it is bad news that, after several tries, appreciating lutefisk as a delicacy seems destined to remain a perpetual mystery to me; while, from my side, I lack sufficient space here to unfold for the children of Lars and the stepchildren of Ole the mystical significance for old Dutch Calvinists of the ham-bun wedding reception in the church basement.

Yet I am not without hope, for to listen to Garrison Keillor's Prairie Home Companion in West Michigan is to hear someone talking about your own neighborhood. You can substitute Dutch Reformed for any species of Lutheran referred to on that show and still find the stories to be true. Our Catholics are much like his too, all wrestling with Our Lady of Perpetual Responsibility. As for Keillor's tag-line, it's true that Dutch Calvinists well know that the good looks of the men-folk can simply mask a fickle, wandering heart, and that, given the doctrine of total depravity, all our children are well

below average. But our women are strong and do tend to carry the day. So it would seem that our two groups have enough in common to make effective communication possible.

That was an assurance driven home to me at the very start of my career as a professional historian by an illustrious graduate of Gustavus Adolphus College and a proud son of the Augustana Synod, Sydney Ahlstrom. One of the most distinguished historians of American religion in his generation, Professor Ahlstrom was, to my everlasting good fortune and gratitude, also my doktorvater—a twinkly-eyed genius who belonged to four different departments of the Yale faculty, yet turned out to be the product of small-town (Cokato) Minnesota who could therefore take in hand a most anxious Midwestern boy from a church-related liberal arts college and instill in him (me) the confidence that I really could make it at a big-shot Ivy League university. He did that in part by insisting that I, and each of the others gathered around his seminar room, came from an interesting community with a story worth telling. And tell them many of us did. Definitive works on different varieties of Jewish, Roman Catholic, and African-American religious experience came out of that seminar—and on different Protestant immigrant traditions too.¹

More than that, Professor Ahlstrom taught us that *all* Americans were immigrants, and that all American history was therefore ethnic history in a way—also the histories of those long-established east-coast types who often assumed ownership of the whole country and whose forebears the history books back then talked about as “settlers” or “founders.” They were immigrants too, Professor Ahlstrom explained, drawn by the same aspirations, subject to similar vicissitudes, as those who came later. This truth amply

justifies the theme of this conference and its predecessors, for in looking into the heritage of the Augustana Synod, we are looking into the central dynamics of American history. Now if American history equals ethnic history, then my assignment of considering Augustana in the context of immigration history becomes very wide indeed. For most of my piece, therefore, I will confine myself to the more traditional view of immigration history, taking up the broader scope toward the conclusion of my remarks.

Augustana was first of all an immigrant church, and the prevailing theme about immigration history encountered by those of us who started graduate school in the 1970s was *Americanization*. This theory assumed that the United States was characterized by a uniform and distinctive character, culture, or way of life; that new arrivals sooner or later came into conformity with this pattern; and that this was a very good thing. America was a “new world” with new opportunities that Europeans were desperate to share, and the members of any new group who championed assimilation were therefore celebrated as “progressives,” the heroes of the story. But in the 1970s—in the shadows of Vietnam and Watergate and disco culture—it was not so clear to us budding historians that the United States was an entirely wonderful place. We looked instead for how “old world” modes and values persisted in the new, and concluded that resistance to American conformities could make good sense. This historiographical inclination has helped generate the elevation of *diversity* to its present ruling status in so many sectors of American society.² Yet, our very insistence on diversity might be in part a nervous recognition of how powerful the forces of conformity and rootlessness are in American life. A fair appraisal of the whole process and legacy of immigration might therefore be to balance—better, to

see as intertwined—these two countervailing forces: the continuing power of inherited traditions rooted abroad and the unexpected turns these traditions can take, the interesting consequences that ensue, when inheritance enters a new environment.³

To set the story up that way is still too general, however. “Europe” (or today, “Latin America” or “East Asia”) is far too broad a category of origin; even reference to a single nation of origin—Sweden, in Augustana’s case—can be too generalized. *Which* Sweden—which parts of Sweden or which impulses in Swedish life, particularly religious life—constituted the cultural DNA of those who established and joined the Augustana Synod in America? Likewise, which “America”? Midwestern, not Southern: that entails a lot. A Midwestern core with coastal, and Texan, peripheries: that nuances the picture. “Which” also connects to “when,” for the United States changes dramatically over time, not least in response to all the new people arriving here.

The bottom line of this theoretical tour was expressed well 120 years ago by one of my own Dutch immigrant subjects: “We are not and will not be a pretty little piece of paper upon which America can write whatever it pleases.”⁴ Acculturation is a two-way, not a one-way, street. We read the same lesson in the annals of Norwegian and German immigration, among Jews and Catholics of various national origins, and also in Maria Erling and Mark Granquist’s history of Augustana. A good many people in all these groups came to the United States looking not so much to find a new way of life as to preserve an old one.⁵

The North-European Revival and Its Legacies

When we look into the Swedish circumstances of origin of the Augustana Synod, we come across a phenomenon that gives this group much in common with other northern-European immigrants who would cross the ocean in the same waves. (To recapitulate the time-line briefly: the pioneers of all these groups arrived in the years just before the Civil War; a larger tide followed immediately after; the largest wave of all landed between the depressions of the mid-1870s and mid-1890s; and still sizeable but smaller numbers came between 1900 and World War I.) Similar socio-economic forces drove all these migrations: rising population pressure, increasing commercialization and industrialization, etc. But especially in the early phases, emigration from these countries was also religiously selective, or at least religiously charged, and the religion in question was the movement of evangelical-Protestant renewal that had built across northern Europe in the wake of Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815. That event had spelled, for many, the final eclipse of the promise of the French Revolution; young people instead often turned to the prospects of "heart religion"—conservative in theology but dynamic in means and innovative in its social implications.⁶

Like all versions of evangelicalism, this one offered yearning and psychologically displaced people a combination of personal meaning and intense small-group bonding along with a new ethic of earnestness that promised to work as a leaven for the renewal of public life. Sooner or later, however, the movement had to settle in for the long run and so faced some tough decisions. Would intense experience continue to define the membership, or was firm doctrinal ballast—and therefore stricter theological definition—needed as well? Organizationally, would informal networks controlled by charismatic

leaders continue to satisfy; or would strict standards of a pure church be needed to winnow out the mass; or (a third option) would more traditional church ways be restored along formal lines of mutual responsibility supervised by an educated clergy? One's answer to the theological question did not necessarily predict one's answer to the ecclesiological issue. Rather, a complex menu of combinations emerged, and in that matrix (cross-hatched, of course, by ethnicity) can be placed the full variety of denominations and affiliations that populated the German, Dutch, and Scandinavian church scene in the United States from the 1860s to the 1960s. The forge of this pattern, let us remember, was as much European as American.

In this context the road to fastest assimilation was the free-church model of the Baptist or Methodist sort. This populist-oriented, minimally creedal, highly mobile, and liturgically free type of Protestantism had arisen from very modest pre-revolutionary origins to dominate the American religious scene by the 1820s.⁷ The historian can get some idea of how ubiquitous the free-church zealots were by the regularity with which pastors in all these new immigrant groups—Dutch Reformed, Missouri-Synod Lutheran, and yes, also the gentler folk of Augustana—denounced the proselytizing efforts of Methodist “wolves.”⁸ Indeed, a fair number of Swedish souls were seized (or saved) by these revivalists. Thus, the most important development in Augustana history arguably came in the religious response of its founder Lars Paul Esbjörn to immigration itself: “Esbjörn became more Lutheran from the first day he arrived in the [United States].”⁹ That is, this veteran of the awakening back in Sweden pushed back some against the pervasively evangelical atmosphere of antebellum America. He discovered himself to be

more Lutheran in the new world than had been apparent in the old. So did pioneering pastor Erland Carlsson. The next step was for these pioneers to discover themselves to be more adamantly Lutheran than were their collaborators in the Synod of Northern Illinois. They withdrew from that affiliation in insisting that the Augsburg standards were not just “mainly” but fully in conformity to the word of God.¹⁰

This squabbling and separation may be mourned in one light, but in a larger view, this series of decisions set the groundwork for Augustana’s real contribution to American life in general and Lutheranism in particular. Augustana would retain a rich and complex body of confessional heritage amid evangelical reductions of the same. It would maintain earnest and living piety without imposing experiential tests of true conversion as dictated by the logic of revivalism—and as embodied in the Mission Friends’ secession of the 1880s. It would establish clerical authority without submitting to the charismatic cult of leadership that typified Erik Jansson at Bishop Hill or Martin Stephan in Missouri. It would intensely nurture its youth without aiming, as those prophets promised, at creating perfectionistic communes. It would insist on an educated ministry, over against all those Baptist and Methodist “wolves.” It would honor and teach the Lutheran confessions without elevating them to the propositional dogma that C. F. W. Walther did in response “Bishop” Stephan’s fall into disgrace.¹¹

The leavening strategy that the northern-European evangelical awakening had promised thus found one avenue of fulfillment within the traditional forms of theology and ecclesiology of the Augustana Synod. In terms of comparative immigration history, over against their Dutch Reformed counterparts, Augustana’s pattern resembles that of

the Midwestern section of the Reformed Church in America, just as the east-coast RCA resembled General Synod Lutheranism and the Christian Reformed Church did the Missouri Synod. Parallel to the peace-church spectrum, Augustana fits in the middle like the General Conference Mennonites as opposed to old-order Amish on the right and Quakers on the left. Likewise, vis-à-vis American Judaism, to the Conservatives that forged a moderate position between Orthodoxy and Reform.¹²

Religion and Ethnicity

Granted this placement, what role did Swedish ethnicity play within Augustana's Lutheran religion? This question is important to ask and quite difficult to answer. We can start by identifying clear outcomes at either end of the spectrum. On the one hand, several historians and theologians have pointed to Augustana's tradition of hymnody and liturgy as powerful carriers of a distinctive Swedish heritage.¹³ On the other hand, attempts at Augustana-affiliated colleges around the turn of the last century to create a Swedish-studies curriculum that would cement their students' identity as an ethnically-defined bloc in American society failed. Indeed, those very colleges at that very time saw the students cultivating American markers—such as athletics and Greek-like fraternal associations—in defiance of administrators' power.¹⁴ Colleges were incubators of “American” initiatives, not Swedish identity.

But that answer does not capture the full and ironic complexity of the record. First of all, as happened with immigrants from the Italian peninsula, from the various German territories, from regions of Poland and the Ukraine, etc., so also with Swedish immigrants, the rank and file of an immigrant group might only discover their ethnic

identity upon arrival in America.¹⁵ Back in the “old country,” one’s label at hand tended to be local or regional. Even among immigrants from so small a country as the Netherlands, for instance, residents of the Dutch Jerusalem of Grand Rapids, Michigan, settled in different neighborhoods according to provincial origins. Yet the real wars in Dutch America turned out to involve religion, not ancestral regions.¹⁶ So also in Swedish America, ideology proved more important than ethnicity: the socialists had little to do with the church people, and the Lutheran church people hammered the tables at each other over how to understand the doctrine of the atonement.¹⁷ Organizations promoting Swedish loyalty per se had occasional moments of glory (“Swedish-American” day at the Chicago World’s Fair, for instance) but did not survive the language change in very vital form. While the Augustana Synod may not have ever housed more than twenty percent of all Swedish Americans, it was far and away the largest organization Swedish America ever formed. Thus, if Swedish ethnicity was invented in America, it found its most persistent home in, under, and around a religious commitment. For Swedish America the maxim is true: ethnicity lies at the heart of religion, but religion is the carrier of ethnicity.¹⁸

Exploring one instance of how that formula worked in practice reveals also how complicated and ironic the process of “Americanization” could be. I’m referring to the pioneering work of Immanuel Church in Chicago in developing within and around the congregation a full slate of organizations calibrated to different age-, gender-, and service-specific interests.¹⁹ This occurred amid the Progressive Era in American history and constituted a fair replica of the so-called “institutional church” that mainline

Protestants were building at the same time. Traditionally, historians took this to be a key marker of “Americanization,” a clear departure from traditional rural parish life in Europe. But notice how well the change served to quicken and perpetuate young people’s affiliation with a Swedish Lutheran church. The new model church made religion more than theological assertions or mere familial inheritance. It gave the newcomers flocking to Chicago—whether from the Midwestern countryside or directly from Sweden—a harbor and a launch-pad. It prompted new ways of thinking in the Synod, becoming an incubator for change and the church’s positive interactions with modern life and people of other Christian traditions. The “church” and “American society” did not become exclusive options for the rising generation but formed a creative interface that perpetuated loyalty to, and critique of, both.

To review: a key element of standard Americanization theory with respect to religion is that, upon arrival in the USA, the newcomers adopt the voluntaristic mode of church organization and activity. The insight gained from diversity theory is that immigration (and from the Immanuel Church example, we can extend that to internal migration from country to city as well) is a “religifying” experience. That is, an immigrant population is likely to become more involved with religious organization in the new world than it had been in the old. The Augustana story proves that both propositions can be true.

Crisis Moments

Religion and ethnicity can thus dwell in a creative tension but can also erupt into pointed conflict. These conflicts have particularly troubled American Catholic history

from time to time because of the many ethnic groups that made up that church's membership and the disproportionate place that Irish-Americans held among its clergy and hierarchy. For instance, critics of German background claimed that many of their compatriots had been lost to the church owing to Irish neglect, while (in subsequent generations) Polish immigrants could be frustrated by German-American bishops who refused to allow them to name a new church after a Polish saint. Rome's solution was to permit the creation of "ethnic parishes" whereby people of a certain nationality could cross geographical boundaries to worship with members of their own background and language.²⁰ Augustana and other nineteenth-century American Lutherans avoided this problem by establishing a pattern by which each ethnic group had its own distinct synod. Augustana also avoided most of the wars within these synods over how loose or strict theology should be (à la Iowa vs. Missouri) or over what type of piety was right (à la happy Danes vs. gloomy Danes). Augustana's historians point with pride to the fact that (absent the Mission Friends) no separate *Lutheran* synod has ever broken off within Swedish America. That does not mean, however, that the dynamics of immigration and ethnicity did not shake Augustana's foundations from time to time. The early 1930s revolution at the Rock Island seminary can be further illuminated in this light.

The dramatic changing of the guard and the decisive new direction undertaken at Augustana Theological Seminary in 1930-31 must be seen against the turbulence of the American scene in the 1920s, and that turbulence can only be understood against the backdrop of World War I. The war spelled harrowing days on the home front since American sentiment about the conflict had been divided right down to the declaration of

war in April 1917.²¹ The United States at the time numbered millions of first- and second-generation immigrants, many of them thickly clustered in cities, many of them with their own native-language newspapers, and many of them descendants of nations with which the United States was now at war. German-Americans were particularly suspect, but Irish-Americans too, since they felt little love for Great Britain, the USA's new best friend. To this situation state and federal governments responded with acts of official repression and propaganda crusades that generated suspicion of all things "foreign," including the use of non-English languages in public. The pressure fell not only upon overt "enemies" but also upon neutral nationalities like the Swedes and Dutch. Accordingly, the language change to English went forward rapidly in most Protestant ethnic churches during the 1920s. The erosion of that traditional marker of denominational boundaries was one reason that the '20s was so fractious a period in these churches' histories.²² Besides that, extreme war-time demands for loyalty and conformity could not be turned off with the flick of a switch, and the closure of much further immigration from abroad, entailed by the mid-'20s immigration laws, meant that further growth would have to come from internal sources alone. For many reasons, then, it was important for these churches to (re-)define exactly who they were and how they were going to move forward. Yes, "Americans" they would be, but which type of American?

All the while these ethnic Protestant denominations, like Augustana and the Dutch-American Christian Reformed Church, could read daily headlines about doctrinal wrangling in long-established churches of British descent. In the North, the Presbyterian and Baptist churches were occupied with loud, protracted wars between "Modernists"

and “Fundamentalists” over how traditional creeds were to be understood, while down South, in Dayton, Tennessee, the Scopes Trial seemed to provide a showdown between biblical literalism and modern science over questions of human origins and the standards of cultural authority.²³ The result of these conflicts was not necessarily a triumph for the Modernists but did entail a clear defeat—worse, a humiliation—for the Fundamentalists. They went underground into autonomous subcultures that would only resurface after the 1960s as the “evangelical” movement. For the moment, then, ethnic Protestants, called into full conformity with American life, had clear examples from the outside of what might be at stake—and how these stakes could be settled.

The Dutch Christian Reformed Church responded with its own version of the Presbyterian and Baptist battles. The particular issues at hand need not detain us here, but the outcome was clear: through a series of heresy trials and ethical pronouncements, the CRC scotched both its most progressive and reactionary elements and put into power a regime of strict confessional orthodoxy and strict behavioral boundaries over against American popular culture.²⁴ “The Fundamentalists are brethren in Christ,” Arminian though many of them might be, declared the editor of the CRC’s English-language magazine. “The Modernists are enemies of the Cross.” This regime would only begin to change after the *next* world war, when in the early 1950s the entire faculty at the CRC’s Calvin Theological Seminary would be purged and replaced with a group of young moderates interested in a more supple understanding of Reformed theology and a more positive interaction with American society.²⁵ That same change occurred at Augustana College and Seminary twenty years earlier.

Interestingly, the archival record of this turnover seems to be less available in the Swedish than in the Dutch case, but the contending profiles and the final outcome are clear enough. In the promotion of Conrad Bergendoff to dean, the appointment of A. D. Mattson in ethics, and of Eric Wahlstrom in biblical studies, Augustana finished its passage through the turbulent waters of the 1920s by elevating a moderate regime that no longer understood the Augsburg standards as dogmatic propositions but as a dynamic framework for engaging a world in flux.²⁶ It would undertake conversations with partners both within and beyond the larger American Lutheran community from a stance of confidence and openness. This was precisely the progressive “Americanization” that the classic understanding of that term expected. But as the Christian Reformed case teaches, and as other contenders within the Augustana episode indicated, another path of acculturation was possible. Adopting the English language and reaffirming American loyalties did not necessarily spell a “progressive” posture; historians Erling and Granquist remind us that in Augustana circles “modernizers” (in the sociological and not the theological sense of the term) “came from left and right.”²⁷ The conservative option was voiced by faculty at Augustana’s Bible institutes—an all-American institution if ever there was one—who advocated a platform of strict confessionalism, personal piety, and familiar biblicism as the Synod’s standpoint going forward. Furthermore, the icon of the progressive cause and the bane of the conservatives was a Swedish personage of a most hierarchical “old-world” office, Bishop Nathan Söderblom, whose visit to Augustana communities in 1923 intensified the decade’s stakes of controversy. In sum, viewing the Synod’s pivot around 1930 through the lens of immigration and acculturation reveals the

socio-cultural issues behind the theological and institutional wrangling, and reminds us that Americanization is not a uniform or set path.

Merger as American Incorporation

Over the long term, the 1920s brought American Protestants to a fork in the road: one could thereafter go underground as Fundamentalist/evangelical or one could travel the “mainline” of acceptability and public responsibility. Augustana took the latter path, although carrying along a traditional piety, liturgy, and theology that made it a distinct traveler on that road. Still, it could not avoid the momentum that the mainline itself seemed to spell, and that important parties on it certainly pushed forward. Internally, this momentum entailed the push toward corporate management techniques in running the church’s affairs; externally, it prompted a search for partners with which to merge. These were mirrors of another signal phenomenon of the 1920s, the corporation complex exemplified by the creation of General Motors as the nation’s largest private enterprise and run by new management techniques innovated by GM’s celebrated head, Alfred Sloan.²⁸ Over time this momentum eventually brought about the merger—or submergence—of Augustana into two successively broader Lutheran bodies. When the first of these mergers occurred, in 1962, General Motors commanded over a 50% market share in American auto sales; a half century later, GM is finally emerging from government-mandated bankruptcy, a radically smaller company but with clear signs of revived health. To invoke an infamous line from American history: though “what was good for General Motors was good for America” during the Eisenhower administration, was GM ever a good model of how a church should run?

It is difficult to know precisely what other option Augustana might have pursued. The consolidation of the once 66 different synods of American Lutherans into two predominant bodies makes the prospect of Augustana standing on its own over the long term a rather fanciful prospect. At the same time, the merger compulsion that entranced so much of the Protestant mainline's leadership in the middle third of the 20th century seems a bit bemusing these days, and turns out to have been particularly ill-timed. The cultural revolution that swept the United States in the 1960s was profoundly hostile to "bigness," and bland corporate identities have long since given way to boutique special branding. Mainline churches' steady decline in membership ever since seems tied to an inability to retain their youth more than to anything else. A sad irony on two counts. First, a strong impression that comes from reading Augustana history is that the Synod was especially successful over the years at cultivating loyalty and leadership in the next generation.²⁹ Second, the distinctive liturgy that Augustana preserved from its Swedish past is exactly the sort of marker that would set a religious body apart with real integrity.

But eras come and go, and who knows which new age is now dawning, has already risen? The ancient-future fascination amid the emerging church shows that young people disaffected with the established styles of both evangelical and mainline churches are in want of just the sorts of resources that particular bodies like Augustana once offered.³⁰ And while there is no such thing as a virtual church, the internet does allow the recovery and exchange of resources from long ago and far away. The future of American religion lies with intentional local communities clearly committed to values and prospects different from those mass-mediated for maximum market share. The United States has

always been a land of new migrations, also internally, mentally, and spiritually, and who is to say that a new cohort of the faithful will not fall upon Augustana's, amid other Lutheran voices, as an anchorage for vital and winsome Christianity?

ENDNOTES

¹ To cite just a few exemplary works: Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Jonathan D. Sarna, *Jacksonian Jew: The Two Worlds of Mordecai Noah* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1981); *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Robert A. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); and Robert Bruce Mullin, *Episcopal Vision/American Reality: High Church. Theology and Social Thought in Evangelical America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

² Two classic surveys of immigration history exemplify the two approaches: Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951); and John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985).

³ Micro- and macro-historical treatments of this pattern from the colonial American era are, respectively, David Grayson Allen, *In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transferal of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981); and David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

⁴ F. M. ten Hoor, writing in 1897, quoted in James D. Bratt, *Dutch Calvinism in Modern America: A History of a Conservative Subculture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984) 41.

⁵ Maria Erling and Mark Granquist, *The Augustana Story: Shaping Lutheran Identity in North America* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2008) 16.

⁶ Gustav Adolf Benrath, *Der Pietismus im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); M. Elisabeth Kluit, *Het Protestantse Réveil in Nederland en Daarbuiten 1815-1865* (Amsterdam: Paris, 1970); Frederick Hale, *Trans-Atlantic Conservative Protestantism in the Evangelical Free and Mission Covenant Traditions* (New York: Arno Press, 1979); Kenneth J. Stewart, *Restoring the Reformation: British Evangelicalism and the Francophone 'Réveil' 1816-1849* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2006).

⁷ Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Russell E. Richey, *Early American Methodism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991).

⁸ For Missouri Synod Lutherans, see Friedrich C. D. Wyneken, "The 'Swarming Pests' of Methodism," in James D. Bratt, *Antirevivalism in Antebellum America: A Collection of Religious Voices* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006) 109-20; for the Dutch Reformed, see Bratt, *Dutch Calvinism*, pp. 58-60; among the Swedish Lutherans, M. Erling and M. Granquist, *Augustana Story*, 68-69.

⁹ M. Erling and M. Granquist, *Augustana Story*, p. 11.

¹⁰ On Carlson, *ibid.*, 27. The break with the Synod of Northern Illinois is covered on pp. 32-35.

¹¹ For detail, see a standard history of American Lutheranism such as E. Clifford Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975). The complexity is aptly summarized in Sydney Ahlstrom, *Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972) 523-29, 756-62.

¹² On the Dutch Reformed and Anabaptist cases, see James D. Bratt, "Protestant Immigrants and the Protestant Mainstream," *Minority Faiths and the American Protestant Mainstream*, ed. Jonathan D. Sarna (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998) 110-35. The American Jewish spectrum is mapped in any number of good studies, among which is J. Sarna, *American Judaism*.

¹³ I find very instructive the essays by Peter T. Beckman, "The Heart of Augustana," and Harold R. Lohr, "The Liturgical Core: Augustana at Worship," *The Heritage of Augustana: Essays on the Life and Legacy of the Augustana Lutheran Church*, ed. Hartland H. Gifford and Arland J. Hultgren (Minneapolis: Kirk House Publishers, 2004) 113-42, 181-86. See also Lyman T. Lundeen, "The Piety and Polity of Augustana," and Robert B. Bagnall, "The Ordained Ministry of the Augustana Synod in Light of Its Liturgy," *The Augustana Heritage: Recollections, Perspectives, and Prospects*, ed. Arland J. Hultgren and Vance L. Eckstrom (Chicago: Augustana Historical Association, 1999) 11-23, 25-38; and Arland J. Hultgren, "Augustana and Lutheran Identity in America," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 39/3 (2012) 188-205.

¹⁴ M. Erling and M. Granquist, *Augustana Story*, 69-74.

¹⁵ Josef J. Barton, *Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians, and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975). Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York & London: Verso, 1991) casts the phenomenon in larger theoretical context.

¹⁶ For settlement patterns, see David G. Vanderstel, "The Dutch of Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1848-1900: Immigrant Neighborhood and Community Development in a Nineteenth Century City (Ph.D. dissertation, Kent State University, 1983). For religious conflict, see J. Bratt, *Dutch Calvinism*, 93-121.

¹⁷ M. Erling and M. Granquist, *Augustana Story*, 43-46; and Mark A. Granquist, "The Augustana Synod and the Evangelical Covenant Church," *Heritage of Augustana*, ed. A. Hultgren and H. Gifford, 161-69.

¹⁸ Statistics are given in M. Erling and M. Granquist, *Augustana Story*, 149-50. On religion and ethnicity more generally, see the classic articles by Harry S. Stout, "Ethnicity: The Vital Center of Religion in America," *Ethnicity* 2 (1975) 204-24; and Martin E. Marty, "Ethnicity: The Skeleton of Religion in America," *Church History* 41/1 (March 1972), 5-21.

¹⁹ This summary relies on M. Erling and M. Granquist, *Augustana Story*, 63-64. For further elaboration on women's role in spearheading this work, see Kathleen S. Hurty, "Emmy Carlsson Evald: Passion, Power, and Persistence," *Heritage of Augustana*, ed. A. Hultgren and H. Gifford, 254-61.

²⁰ The Catholic phenomena are summarized in S. Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 828-35. For more detail, see James Hennesey, *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981) 116-27, 173-83, 194-96. Joseph John Parot, *Polish Catholics in Chicago, 1850-1920: A Religious History* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1981), gives a close case study.

²¹ Still the best overview of the American Home Front is David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

²² J. Bratt, "Protestant Immigrants and the Protestant Mainstream" covers three particular ethnic churches. The broader American church scene is covered in Martin E. Marty, *Modern American Religion, vol. 2: The Noise of Conflict, 1919-1941* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

²³ On the denominational wars, see George Marsden, *Fundamentalism in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) 164-83. On the Scopes Trial, see Edward J. Larson, *Summer for the Gods* (New York: Basic Books, 1997).

²⁴ J. Bratt, *Dutch Calvinism*, 93-121.

²⁵ Quotation, *ibid.*, 127. For the post World War II episode, see pp. 187-97.

²⁶ M. Erling and M. Granquist, *Augustana Story*, 235-52; Bernhard Erling, "Augustana's Theological Tradition," *Augustana Heritage*, ed. A. Hultgren and V. Eckstrom, 89-92; and Arland J. Hultgren, "Holy Writ and Living Word," *ibid.*, 108-16.

²⁷ M. Erling and M. Granquist, *Augustana Story*, 240.

²⁸ On the cult of efficiency and management in Protestantism, see James H. Moorhead, *World without End: Mainstream American Protestant Visions of the Last Things, 1880-1925* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999) 124-69; Milton J. Coalter, et al., *The Re-forming Tradition: Presbyterians and Mainstream Protestantism* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992) 95-115.

²⁹ See the excellent analysis in M. Erling and M. Granquist, *Augustana Story*, 273-90.

³⁰ Of the burgeoning literature on this subject, start with Robert Webber, *Ancient-Future Faith: Rethinking Evangelicalism for a Postmodern World* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999).