# The Historic Rites and Ceremonies of Lutheran Worship, with a Special Emphasis on the Liturgical Practice of the Old Norwegian Synod

Divine Service in Bærum, Norway (Harriet Backer, “Alteret i Tanum Kirke,” 1891)

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## REFORMS IN PUBLIC WORSHIP AND REFORMS IN THE PUBLIC MINISTRY

Before the Lutheran Reformation, the Roman Church had come to redefine the essence of the Christian liturgy as basically a series of sacrifices and sacrificial rituals that the church and its ordained priesthood offer to God. On the basis of the New Testament the Lutheran Reformers corrected this misconception, and declared in the Apology of the Augsburg Confession that among the Lutherans,

> priests are not called to offer sacrifices for the people as in Old Testament law so that through them they might merit the forgiveness of sins for the people; instead they are called to preach the gospel and to administer the sacraments to the people. (XIII:9, K/W)

The intimate relationship that properly exists between the ministry of the church's pastors, and the church's worship, was made clear in the Apology's explanation that

> the term "liturgy"...does not really mean a sacrifice but a public service. Thus it squares with our position that a minister who consecrates shows forth the body and blood of the Lord to the people, just as a minister who preaches shows forth the gospel to the people, as Paul says (1 Cor. 4:1), "This is how one should regard us, as ministers of Christ and dispensers of the sacraments of God," that is, of the Word and sacraments; and 2 Cor. 5:20, "We are ambassadors for Christ, God making his appeal through us. We beseech you on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God." Thus the term "liturgy" squares well with the ministry. (XXIV: 79-81, Tap)

The Lutheran Reformers also declared in the Apology that "the chief worship of God is the preaching of the Gospel" (XV:42, Tap). But in the Large Catechism Martin Luther also emphasized the crucial importance of a regular and frequent administration of *the Lord's Supper*, writing that this sacrament "is given as a daily food and sustenance so that our faith may be refreshed and strengthened and that it may not succumb in the struggle but become stronger and stronger" (V:24, K/W). And in the Apology, while the Reformers affirmed that in places of worship "Candles, golden vessels, and similar adornments are appropriate," they also emphasized that "The true adornment of the churches is godly, useful, and clear doctrine, the devout use of the sacraments, ardent prayer, and the like" (XXIV:51, K/W).

In the light of the gospel, the Lutheran Reformers of the sixteenth century corrected the abuses that had gradually crept into the church's worship before their time, while cherishing and retaining the authentic and edifying core of the historic liturgy. The Augsburg Confession described the Lutherans' overall conservative approach, and the limited reforms that they did introduce:

> Our people have been unjustly accused of having abolished the Mass. But it is obvious, without boasting, that the Mass is celebrated among us with greater devotion and earnestness than among our opponents. ... Moreover, no noticeable changes have been made in the public celebration of the Mass, except that in certain places German hymns are sung... for the instruction and exercise of the people. For after all, all ceremonies should serve the purpose of teaching the people what they need to know about Christ. (XXIV:1, 9, 2-3, K/W)

In keeping with the Biblical exhortation to Christians to "offer to God acceptable worship, with reverence and awe" (Hebrews 12: 28, ESV), the seriousness that characterized a proper Lutheran worship service was highlighted in the Augsburg Confession's statement that

> it can readily be judged that nothing contributes so much to the maintenance of dignity in public worship and the cultivation of reverence and devotion among the people as the proper observance of ceremonies in the churches. (Part 2 Intro.:6, Tap)

Regarding ceremonies that are neither commanded nor forbidden by God's Word, the Formula of Concord taught that "the community of God in every time and place has the right, power, and authority to change, reduce, or expand such practices according to circumstances." But this was not an unrestrained and unregulated right, power, and authority. According to the Formula, such changes in ceremonies were to be made only "in an orderly and appropriate manner, without frivolity or offense, as seems most useful, beneficial, and best for good order, Christian discipline, evangelical decorum, and the building up of the church." And the Formula was also quite clear that "useless, foolish spectacles, which are not beneficial for good order, Christian discipline, or evangelical decorum in the church, are not true *adiaphora*" (SD X:7,9, K/W). Nothing should be done in a Lutheran worship service that is out of harmony with the Large Catechism's fundamental conviction that "Places, times, persons, and the entire outward order of worship have...been instituted and appointed in order that God's Word may exert its power publicly" (I:94, K/W).

The Formula of Concord also confessed that "in the administration of the Holy Supper the Words of Institution are to be clearly and plainly spoken or sung publicly in the congregation, and in no case are they to be omitted" (SD VII:79, K/W). Whether these Words were enunciated through speaking or through singing was a matter of *adiaphora*, but the preferred and most common usage among the Lutherans was that they were sung. In the Reformation era and later, the pastor's chanting of these Words over the bread and wine was a distinctively Lutheran usage, and was understood to be a mark of confession over against churches which erred in their teaching on the sacrament. In Roman Catholic churches at that time these words were whispered quietly by the priest, and in Reformed churches the minister read or recited these words to the congregation in the form of a historical narrative.

The Lutherans acknowledged in the Apology that "different rites instituted by human beings do not undermine the true unity of the church," and there were in fact some variations among the sixteenth-century Lutheran church orders. Still, the Lutheran Reformers also declared in the Apology that

> it pleases us when universal rites are kept for the sake of tranquillity. Thus, in our churches we willingly observe the order of the Mass, the Lord's day, and other more important festival days. With a very grateful spirit we cherish the useful and ancient ordinances, especially when they contain a discipline by which it is profitable to educate and teach [the] common folk and [the] ignorant." (VII/VIII:33, K/W)

The thoughtful retention of these "universal rites" and cherished "ancient ordinances" – which are useful for promoting tranquillity and good order in worship and for teaching the faith to worshipers – was understood to be "best practice" for the church under most circumstances, even if other less conservative approaches were seen as permissible or tolerable under certain conditions.

What the reclaimed and cleansed order of the mass, or Lutheran Divine Service, looked and sounded like in the majority of Lutheran territories and cities in the sixteenth century, was described elsewhere in the Apology:

> ...we do not abolish the Mass but religiously retain and defend it. Among us the Mass is celebrated every Lord's day and on other festivals, when the sacrament is made available to those who wish to partake of it, after they have been examined and absolved. We also keep traditional liturgical forms, such as the order of readings, prayers, vestments, and other similar things. ... Ceremonies should be observed both so that people may learn the Scriptures and so that, admonished by the Word, they might experience faith and fear and finally even pray. For these are the purposes of the ceremonies. ... We also use German hymns in order that the [common] people might have something to learn, something that will arouse their faith and fear. (XXIV:1, 3, K/W)

## THE DIVINE SERVICE IN REFORMATION-ERA NORWAY

The Danish-Norwegian Church Order of 1537, prepared under the guiding hand of Lutheran Reformer Johannes Bugenhagen, included this basic description of what Sunday worship in a Danish or Norwegian Lutheran church should be like: "One public Mass should be celebrated on the Lord's Day for communicants, in the customary vestments, at a covered altar, with the customary vessels and lights" (RW, 259). We have an interesting description, by twentieth-century historian Johannes Bergsma, of how the Divine Service was conducted in Norway during this time frame:

> In appearance the service looked very much like the pre-Reformation liturgy. The pastor was vested in the usual vestments (alb, chasuble). The altar was also vested with the usual paraments, chalice, candles, etc.
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> The pastor, kneeling at the altar, would read his *Confiteor,* and pray for the preaching of the Gospel, for the king, and for the government, while the *Introit* or Psalm proper to the day was sung. Where there was no choir a Norwegian hymn was sung.
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> The *Kyrie eleison* was sung according to the melody proper to the day or season. Then the pastor would intone the Song of the Angels (in Norwegian on regular Sundays or Latin on the festivals) and the congregation would continue the song until its conclusion.
>
> The pastor, turning to the congregation, would sing the salutation and the choir would respond. Then, turning to the altar, he would pray one or two collects, proper to the day, or appropriate for the needs of the time. The people answer "Amen".
>
> Then the pastor would turn to the congregation and read the Epistle for the day, in Norwegian, after which the children would sing *Alleluia* (the eternal song of the church) and the appropriate verse. Then a *Gradual* of two verses, or a Norwegian hymn would be sung. On Festival days one of the old (but pure) Sequence hymns...would be sung in alternation with the appropriate vernacular hymn.
>
> Then the pastor would turn to the people and read the Gospel for the day, in Norwegian, after which he would turn again to the altar and sing, "*Credo in unum deum*" followed by the congregation singing, "We All Believe in One True God, Who Created...".
>
> The sermon would follow, in the vernacular, of course, but never to last longer than one hour. At the end of the sermon the pastor would bid the people to pray, including petitions for all spiritual and temporal needs, concluding with the Lord's Prayer. Then the schoolmaster would lead the singing of a vernacular hymn for peace...or another hymn. At times the Litany and a Collect would have been sung or said, the people responding, "Amen".
>
> If there were any communicants the pastor would go to the altar to prepare the bread and wine. He would then turn to the communicants and read an Exhortation. Then, facing the altar, he would sing the Lord's Prayer in a loud voice followed by the Words of Institution, which of all parts of the service must always be in the vernacular. On the high festivals the Preface, proper preface and *Sanctus* would have been sung (in Latin) between the Exhortation and the Lord's Prayer, and the *Agnus Dei* would follow the Words of Institution.
>
> It was very important that the sacristan would have prepared the right amount of elements for the number of communicants so that the Institution would not need to be sung or said again during the communion.
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> The schoolmaster directed the singing of "Jesus Christ, Our Blessed Savior" and other hymns during the communion, as they were needed for the duration of the distribution.
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> Then the pastor would turn again to the people for the Salutation and, facing the altar, pray the Collect of Thanks, and the people would answer "Amen". Finally, facing the people, the pastor blessed the congregation according to the form of Numbers 6. The cantor would then lead the singing of a short closing hymn, in Norwegian, while the pastor removed the mass vestments and knelt at the altar for a private prayer of thanks.
>
> ...if there were no communicants there would be no consecration, for a consecration

without communicants would be a misuse of the sacrament. Instead the pastor, vested in an alb without the chasuble, would stand in the pulpit for the pulpit service and prayers, and the service would conclude with the singing of one or two hymns and the usual Benediction. (Bergsma, 121-27; quoted in Marzolf)

With few exceptions, it was the standard practice among the Lutherans of this period for the full Divine Service to be held on each Sunday, and also on other occasions as needed, if there were communicants who wished to partake of the Lord's Supper and who were properly prepared to do so. The practice of offering the Lord's Supper only on certain predesignated Sundays, and not by default on every Sunday, came into the church at a later time, largely through the influence of Pietism and Rationalism.

## THE USE OF VESTMENTS IN CLASSIC LUTHERAN WORSHIP

With respect to the decorum of public worship and the dignity of the pastoral office, the 1533 Brandenburg-Nürnberg Church Order maintained that while "vestments, altar cloths, gold and silver vessels, candles, etc., are free, and do not at all affect faith and conscience," they are nevertheless – for the sake of order and reverence – "to be retained and used, *especially the vestments*, in order that the ministers may not be in their ordinary clothes, but may fitly minister to the congregation" (Horn, 280-81). Regarding the use of historic vestments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – and in some places even down to his own time – Friedrich Lochner of the Missouri Synod wrote in 1895 that

> The usual clerical attire consisted of a long, ankle-length black *Priesterrock* ["priest's robe"], now called the *Chorrock* ["choir or chancel robe"] or *Talar* ["ankle-length"], and a white linen garment worn over this, approximately of knee-length, called the *Alba* or *Chorhemd* ["chancel smock"]. ... Until the first quarter of our [nineteenth] century, the pastors in the Lutheran churches in Germany wore the *Chorhemd* during the administration of the Sacraments and the performance of the liturgy at the altar. It is still in use in certain churches... In this country [the United States] too, it is, as far as I know, still being used in the handful of congregations which migrated into Texas and belong to the Missouri Synod, as well as among our local Norwegian brethren. In Saxony, in Braunschweig, in the region of Brandenburg-Nürnberg, and elsewhere, the liturgist appeared for the administration of the Supper in the proper eucharistic vestments, among which was, in addition to the *Chorrock* and *Chorhemd*, the *Casula* or chasuble, the sleeveless covering of various colors and decorated with a cross of gold brocade. ... In Nürnberg...the chasuble was still in use during the celebration of the Supper until the year 1790. In fact, at the dedication of a Norwegian Lutheran church in Wisconsin, which the author attended about forty years ago, the synodical president at that time was vested in a chasuble.

The Norwegian Synod president whom Lochner saw vested in a chasuble, about the year 1855, would have been Adolf Carl Preus. Lochner concluded his account with the sad observation that "It was Rationalism which for 'the improvement of religion' committed such vandalism even with regard to the office vestment, at least in the German Lutheran church" (Lochner, 17-18).

## THEOLOGICAL AND LITURGICAL DECLINE AND RESTORATION

Over time, the theology and worship life of Lutherans in Europe, and later in America, came under the harmful influences, successively, of Calvinism, Pietism, and Rationalism. These trends and movements were imbued with assumptions and beliefs that were inimical to the spirit of the Lutheran Reformation.

For many decades the Lutherans who lived in the territories of Brandenburg-Prussia endured various forms of interference and oppression at the hands of their Calvinist electors and kings – culminating eventually in the imposition of the Prussian Union in 1817. A particularly egregious example of this preceding interference and oppression can be seen in what took place in the 1730s, at the hands of Prussian King Frederick William I, who took it upon himself to make the Lutheran congregations of his realm look and sound like Reformed congregations. His long-term goal was no doubt to get the Lutherans accustomed to the Reformed way of worship, so that someday they could more easily *become* Reformed. Peder Severinsen recounts this history:

> Through a Decision of 1733 he "prohibited the remnants of Popery in the Lutheran Church: copes, Communion vestments, candles, Latin song, chants, and the sign of the cross." ... Many complained and counted the whole event a "betrayal of genuine and pure Lutheranism." ... The brutal king repeated the decision in 1737, with the addition: "Should there be those who hesitate or who desire to make it a matter of conscience, we wish to make it known that we are ready to give them their demission." At least one priest was discharged for refusal to submit.

Confessional Lutherans in Prussia resisted these efforts, and Lutherans in other territories encouraged them in this resistence. Regarding the Lutheran ceremonies that were prohibited by the king's decree, the orthodox Lutheran theologian Valentin Ernst Löscher wrote in 1737 that "These things are admittedly not of any inner necessity, but they have become no insignificant mark of our church, and must therefore be safeguarded under these circumstances." The Prussian king's actions were also noticed, and bemoaned, in Scandinavia. Even though he was a Pietist, "The Danish Hallensian, Enevold Ewald, shows no sympathy in his account of the event."

Frederick William I was succeeded by his son Frederick II (the Great) in 1740. Severinsen reports, with respect to the new king, that

> Immediately on ascending the throne, he issued a cabinet order allowing the churches and their priests full liberty in the matter of religious services. A number made use of the liberty granted.

But "Some years of prohibition" had "put the vestments out of use in many places, and the time of Frederick II was the time of Rationalism." The "use of the Communion vestments was decidedly 'catholic' to the mind of Rationalism," which "had an infinite dread of all that was 'mystic' or that was handed down from the 'Middle Ages.'" Among German Lutherans in the eighteenth century, therefore, "Rationalism completed what the Reformed king of Prussia had begun" (Severinsen).

As he recounted these events in 1924, Severinsen observed that "the German Lutheran priest appears at the present time in the black Calvinistic cloak handed him by the Reformed king of Prussia." But Severinsen wanted his readers always to remember that

> the Calvinistic *blackness* of the clergy in the present-day German Lutheran churches – and in her daughters – is a remnant and constant reminder of a period of the greatest helplessness and degradation of the German Lutheran people. ... The original and typical apparel of the German Lutheran – as of all Lutheran clergy when officiating in the sanctuary – is not that of *blackness and gloom*, but the festive apparel of the historic church through the ages.

The effects of Pietism and Rationalism in Denmark and Norway, while noticeable and problematic, were not as overtly destructive. And so Severinsen concludes that "We of Scandinavian ancestry cannot be too grateful for the better conditions prevailing in the Mother-Countries" of Scandinavia (Severinsen).

In its original and relatively conservative form, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Pietism had not directly attacked the Confessional faith, sacramental life, and liturgical

worship of the church. But it did diminish people's understanding of, appreciation for, and commitment to, that faith, life, and worship. Luther D. Reed makes the historical observation that as the spirit of Pietism "entered into the established church, the services of the latter became more and more subjective and emotional. The struggle for personal consciousness of conversion and regeneration led to an undervaluation of the objective means of grace" (Reed, 146).

But when Rationalism arose in the second half of the eighteenth century, it did indeed take direct aim at all the defining features of true, orthodox Lutheranism, in the areas of both doctrine and devotion. A reaction finally came with Claus Harms' "Ninety-five Theses," opposing both Rationalism and the Prussian Union, published on the anniversary of Luther's famous Theses in 1817. This triggered the "Confessional Awakening" within Lutheranism.

Harms and other leaders of the Confessional Awakening, who saw the need for a return to the doctrine of the Book of Concord, also saw a corresponding need for reform and restoration in the area of the church's worship. They therefore led the way in a liturgical movement that strove for the reappropriation of Lutheranism's historic rites and ceremonies: for the sake of the pure gospel that these rites and ceremonies confessed, and for the sake of the reverence in worship that these rites and ceremonies fostered. In the nineteenth century, the approach of the revitalized Lutheran Church, with respect to the historic rites and ceremonies of Christian worship, accordingly differed once again from the approach of the Reformed and sectarian churches of that time. The Missouri Synod's C. F. W. Walther said in an 1871 convention essay that

> It creates a solemn impression on the Christian mind when one is reminded by the solemnity of the divine service that one is in the house of God where the children of God, in childlike love to their heavenly Father, also give expression to their joy in such a lovely manner. We are not insisting that there be uniformity in perception or feeling or taste among all believing Christians – neither dare anyone demand that all be minded as he. Nevertheless, it remains true that the Lutheran liturgy distinguishes Lutheran worship from the worship of other churches to such an extent that the houses of worship of the latter look like lecture halls in which the hearers are merely addressed or instructed, while our churches are in truth houses of prayer in which Christians serve the great God publicly before the world. (Walther EC, I:194)

Martin Guenther, who served with Walther on the faculty of Concordia Seminary in Saint Louis, wrote in 1881 that

> Church usages, except in the case when the confession of a divine truth is required, are indeed *adiaphora*. But they are nevertheless not without an importance of their own. Congregations that adopt the church usages of the sects that surround them, will be apt to conform to their doctrines also, more easily and quickly than those that retain their Lutheran ceremonies. We should in Lutheran services...as much as possible use the old Lutheran forms, though they be said to be antiquated and not suiting this country. (Guenther, 77)

## THE CONFESSIONAL AND LITURGICAL CHARACTER OF THE NORWEGIAN SYNOD

The "old" Norwegian Synod was organized by Norwegian emigrants in 1853. It was more conservative and churchly in its liturgical piety than were many American Lutheran groups in the nineteenth century. In this it was perpetuating certain unique emphases that had always characterized Scandinavian Lutheranism with respect to matters of ritual, ceremony, and vestments. On the retention of vestments in particular, Arthur Carl Piepkorn explains that "the Scandinavian national Churches in the sixteenth century," together with "Lutheran theologians in many German and Central European communities, especially those that had been rescued from or were threatened by Calvinism," regarded "vestments as things indifferent, but held that the retention of some or all of the medieval vestments was a desirable thing as a symbol of the unbroken continuity of the Church

of the Augsburg Confession with her Catholic past and as a witness against Enthusiasts, Sacramentarians, and other radical reformers" (Piepkorn).

The Norwegian Synod's identity as an orthodox and liturgical church body was also shaped by the influence of the Confessional Awakening, with which its leading pastors were associated. The Norwegian Synod aligned itself with the Missouri Synod, and its leading pastors befriended Walther, since it and he were also associated with the Confessional Awakening. Yet many of the German emigrants who belonged to the congregations of the Missouri Synod – due to the influence of Calvinism, Pietism, and Rationalism in their homeland – were uncomfortable with some of the historic Lutheran worship practices that Walther and his pastoral colleagues wanted to reintroduce.

Walther observed in a convention essay that "when they see the truly Lutheran practices of chanting at the altar, burning of candles, the crucifix, kneeling, etc., they often think: 'That is all papistic.'" Walther sought to correct these misunderstandings and to persuade his people to see the benefit and value of a restoration of these usages. When a convention attendee objected – stating that "these practices cannot simply be called 'nicer' than what is practiced somewhere else," and that "in such matters much depends on custom and on personal taste" – Walther responded that this was not a matter of *personal* taste but of *churchly* taste, and therefore that "We most certainly can say that these practices are more beautiful; however, in order to make such a judgment, we must first of all develop our churchly taste" (Walther EC, I:129). In another place Walther stated that "Whoever regards the mere acceptance of certain innocent ceremonies...as papism cannot possibly know what papism actually is..." (Walther DOLLR, 267).

The success of Walther and others in promoting and reintroducing the historic worship customs of the Lutheran Church, within the Missouri Synod, can perhaps be gauged by the report that was prepared in 1857 by Norwegian Synod Pastors Jakob Aall Ottesen and Nils O. Brandt, following visits to the Missouri Synod's two seminaries and to several Missouri Synod congregations:

> We have described the zeal with which the young theologians are indoctrinated in the pure old-Lutheran faith at this university [Concordia Seminary in Saint Louis]. The same situation obtains in the congregations throughout the entire church. The complete old-Lutheran ritual and altarbooks from the days of the Reformation are very faithfully followed. The lovely old Lutheran hymns, chanting from the altar, lighted candles at Holy Communion, ...vestments – in short, their whole worship life is marked by a deep love for the fidelity to the traditions of the fathers. In this regard, their worship life has much in common with our own. (Ottesen/Brandt, 71)

The texts, music, and ceremonies of the liturgy continued to be matters of mutual fraternal interest among leaders of the Norwegian and Missouri Synods. Gerhard Lee Belgum tells us that

> In the spring of 1873 Koren was engaged in preparing...a revised order of service for the Norwegian Synod. Walther answered his appeal for help, writing a brief letter extolling the historic musical setting for the liturgy, and sending selections from the Roman Gradual for Koren's consideration. Walther was relatively unconcerned about the threat of Rome as compared with the weaknesses of Protestantism. Above all he feared that Lutheranism itself might lose its distinctiveness, its confessional character, and its mission. Liturgically therefore he was not iconoclastic with respect to Rome, and in this respect also he reinforced the moderately high-church views of the [Norwegian] Synod pastors. (Belgum, 372)

The Norwegian Synod's identity as an orthodox and liturgical church body was further reinforced and crystalized in the context of the Synod's ongoing struggle with the Norwegian-American lay preacher Elling Eielsen (who had been ordained irregularly if at all) and with his "Ellingian" followers, who represented an extreme form of Pietism. They severely criticized the Confessional doctrine and practice of the Norwegian Synod, and therefore also criticized the liturgical usages that

embodied, testified to, and accompanied that doctrine and practice. They decried the Synod's high standards for the pastoral office, and its adherence to the historic rites of the Church of Norway, as an elitist clericalism and a superficial formalism that inhibited the development of a genuine interior Christian spirituality. Article 6 of "The Old Constitution" of the Ellingians declared:

> With popish authority and also the common ministerial garb we henceforth have absolutely nothing to do, since there is no proof in the New Testament that Jesus or his disciples have used or enjoined it. On the contrary, we can read in Matt. XXVIII.5, Mark XXI.38, and Luke XX.46 that Jesus chastised those who went about in long clothes and performed [acts of] piety to be well thought of by men. Experience also teaches, that both minister and hearer [worshiper] often place a blind confidence in the dead church ceremonies and clerical garb, and through this do away with God's command because of their custom (Matt. XV.6). (Nelson/Fevold, I:338)

Historian John Magnus Rohne describes Elling Eielsen's idiosyncratic version of Pietist worship:

> Eielsen...believed in an extremely free, almost unorderly, form of church worship in which the spirit should be untrammeled. Anyone who had the inner call could preach, whether man or woman; indeed it was said that Mrs. Elling Eielsen preached better than her husband did. Eielsen also had something that approached the "inner light" of the Quakers. Eielsen, of course, did not share the Quaker view that the Sacraments should be dispensed with, but he laid such stress on subjective feeling, particularly in conversion, that the objective need of the Sacrament was somewhat left out of consideration. In such a scheme of things the pastor was not of much use, as he was by no means to have undisputed right to religious leadership in this spiritual priesthood of believers. Nor were his services in connection with the administration of the Sacraments of paramount importance where subjective values overshadowed the objective. (Rohne, 50)

## WORSHIP IN THE NORWEGIAN SYNOD

Pastor J. A. O. Stub – a grandson of one of the Norwegian Synod's leading ministers – intrigues and inspires us with his first-hand reminiscences of a typical Divine Service in the old Synod, which had very little in common with what went on in the worship gatherings of the Ellingians:

> My sainted grandfather, Jacob Aall Ottesen, always celebrated the Communion, robed in the colorful, and, as it seemed to me, beautiful vestments of the Lutheran Church. On ordinary Sundays he wore the narrow-sleeved cassock, with its long satin stole, and the white "ruff," or collar. But on "Communion days" and on all festival days he also wore the white surplice or cotta. As he stood reverentially before the altar with its lighted candles and gleaming silver, the old deacon, or verger, placed over his shoulders the scarlet, gold embroidered, silk chasuble. This ancient Communion vestment was shaped somewhat like a shield. As it was double, one side covered his back and the other his chest. Upon the side, which faced the congregation when he turned to the altar, was a large cross in gold embroidery; upon the other was a chalice of similar materials. As a child I instinctively knew that the most sacred of all observances of the church was about to be witnessed. As grandfather turned to the altar and intoned the Lord's Prayer and the words of consecration, with the elevation of the host and the chalice, I felt as if God was near. The congregation standing reverentially about those kneeling before the altar, made me think of Him who, though unseen, was in our midst. I forgot the old, cold church with its bare walls, its home-made pews and its plain glass windows. I early came to know some words of that service, such as: "This is the true body, the true blood of Christ"; "Forgiveness of sins"; "Eternal life." I venture that all who, like me, early received such impressions of the Lord's Supper, will approach the altar or the Communion with a reverence that time will but slowly efface. (Stub, 3-4)

Stub also states that long-time Norwegian Synod president Herman Amberg Preus "undoubtedly regularly used a chasuble at the Communion, as did so many of the fathers of our Church" (Stub, 18).

Another early leader in the Norwegian Synod was Pastor Ulrik Vilhelm Koren. When he began his ministry in northeastern Iowa in December of 1853, his congregation had no church building in which to meet. So, services were held in the house of one of the members. But these rustic frontier conditions did not cause Koren or his parishioners to forget that they were, even in such an improvised setting, gathered as the holy church of God, in his fear and with reverence before him. In her diary entry for Epiphany Day, 1854, Koren's wife Elisabeth noted:

> A crowd gathered today, and there was communion for the first time. It is really remarkable that the service can be conducted with as much order and dignity as it is. (Koren, 119)

The Divine Service as conducted in Norwegian Synod congregations – wherever they may have met – was very different from the emotion-laden and unstructured services of the Ellingians. And the Lutheran Divine Service nurtured within worshipers a different kind of spirituality. This truly Lutheran spirituality was oriented around the forgiveness, life, and salvation that God graciously bestows upon Christians by means of the external Word and sacraments of Christ, through which the Holy Spirit engenders and sustains the faith that receives these blessings.

The Danish-Norwegian *Ritual* of 1685 and *Agenda* of 1688, which preserved the basic structure of Bugenhagen's 1537 church order, had remained as formal standards of liturgical practice in Denmark and Norway. But the influence of Pietism and Rationalism had resulted in many departures from these standards in actual practice. Craig A. Ferkenstad observes that the so-called *Rescript,* which was issued in 1802,

> officially abolished the singing of the *Kyrie*. With the omission of the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria in Excelsis* (in hymn form) became the opening hymn. In time other opening hymns were used and such became a part of the service. In other changes, the Creed and *Gloria in Excelsis* were being used alternately every other Sunday and soon were completely omitted except on the great festivals. The Gospel was no longer read from the Altar. Eventually this led to the development of what was known as the "Shorter Order" of service. It was the "Shorter Order" which was in common use when the Norwegian immigrants came to America. This was the service used by the Norwegian Synod's pastors... (Ferkenstad AGS, 24)

The Norwegian Synod's first constitution in 1853 stated: "The Ritual of 1685 of the Church of Norway and Denmark and the altar book used in the same kingdoms are approved for use, modified, however, as the synod may decide." The 1868 revised constitution had a similar provision. But it was an abbreviated order, with modifications and abridgments similar to what had been called for in the *Rescript*, that was actually followed. This abbreviated order was, however, followed in a reverent and churchly manner, contrary to the spirit of the Pietism and Rationalism that had originally inspired those modifications and abridgements.

Rohne describes a Sunday service as it would have been held in a typical congregation of the Norwegian Synod in its earlier years:

> First and foremost stands the pastor. ...the Synod pastors wore the Norwegian clerical garb. This consists of a black gown hanging straight from the shoulders to within a few inches of the floor. Over the gown is a stiffly padded, inch-wide, satin-covered stole, or "yoke," which hangs around the neck and down both sides of the front the full length of the gown. ... At the back of the neck, the stole, or "yoke," is raised somewhat so as to support the white, fluted collar or ruff. The ruff, which is three inches wide and one inch thick, is worn...over the pastor's ordinary wing collar... This white fluted collar with the black gown gives the pastor a worthy and dignified appearance when he approaches the Altar of God

or preaches God's Word from the pulpit. On the three major church festivals and on other very important occasions, the pastor wore a white surplice over the black gown. ...

Of the services, the *höimesse* (high mass), or morning service, was overwhelmingly preferred to the more informal *aftensang* (literally even-song or vesper). Even in the early days when the service was held at whatever time the travel-worn pastor arrived in the settlement, the liturgical forms of the *höimesse* were retained as far as time and circumstances would permit. In the more favored congregations where there was a church building and a church bell, ...on special days the stately *höimesse* began on Saturday evening when the bell was tolled at five, or at sundown in the country congregations. On Sunday morning, the *kirkevärge*, or the church-warden, tolled the bell at three separate half-hour intervals. At the third tolling of the bell, the people quietly took their places in church, the men on the right, and the women on the left. The pastor meanwhile having proceeded to the altar, the service was formally opened by the three concluding taps of the bell, whereby the Holy Trinity is symbolically invoked. The *klokker*, or sexton, who was usually also *forsanger*, or precentor, stepped with great dignity to the chancel and read the opening prayer, which prayer for this reason was called *klokker bön* (bön=prayer), even when read by the pastor. The pastor, who had knelt before the altar during the opening prayer, rose and faced the altar during the singing of the first hymn by the congregation under the vocal leadership of the *forsanger*, who was held responsible for the pitch of the tune as well as its proper singing. The hymn sung, the pastor turned to the congregation and, after the proper pastoral salutations and congregational responses, chanted the *Collect for the Day* and read the *Epistle for the Day*, the congregation standing meanwhile. After a second hymn, the pastor read the *Gospel for the Day*. The congregation, having risen to hear the Gospel lesson, remained standing while the *Creed* was repeated in unison by pastor and congregation. The congregation again sang a hymn, at the concluding words of which the pastor mounted the pulpit and, after three taps of the bell, offered a free prayer, usually along the general lines of his sermon. He then read his text to the risen congregation and preached his sermon, the sermon culminating in the *Lesser Gloria*. Thereupon the pastor read, while yet in the pulpit, the *General Prayer*... This was concluded with the *Lord's Prayer*, and after the announcements were made the congregation rose to receive the *Apostolic Benediction*. The congregation then sang another hymn. If there were no Baptism nor Holy Communion, the pastor chanted, with the proper salutations and responses, the *Collect for the Word* and the *Aaronitic Blessing*. Then followed the fifth, and closing, hymn, whereupon the *klokker* read the closing prayer from the chancel, the pastor kneeling meanwhile.

Rohne also explains that when it is administered,

> Baptism is an integral part of the Lutheran service. The font is placed at the worshiper's left and the pulpit at his right as he faces the altar, which is in the center. After the hymn at the close of the sermon the first verse of the baptismal hymn was sung, during which the child was brought forward by the godmother and the sponsors. After the reading of the baptismal formula, in which Bible passages are quoted to explain the nature and regenerating power of Baptism, the child is baptized by "sprinkling" into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. In early times the *forsanger* assisted by certain responses.

And in regard to the Sacrament of the Altar, Rohne observes that the common practice of the old Norwegian Synod was that

> The Lord's Supper, though theoretically a part of every Lutheran service and to be administered at any church service at the demand of five, was usually administered at stated seasons of the year. ... At those stated seasons, the whole service was dedicated to the intent and meaning of the Communion. The communicants knelt at the circular altar-railing when absolved and communed by the pastor. Non-members, unbaptized adults, and the unconfirmed were not admitted to Communion... Both sexes communed at the same time, the men kneeling at the right half of the railing and the women at the left half. (Rohne, 85-87)

The "stated seasons" sacramental practice of the Norwegian Synod was not fully in accord with the original practice of the sixteenth-century Reformers, but the Norwegians did preserve some salutary Reformation-era customs with respect to the pastoral care of communicants. Regarding the pastoral practice of two of the earliest Norwegian Lutheran ministers in the state of Wisconsin, Rohne recounts that

> Rev. C. L. Clausen, at the suggestion of Rev. J. W. C. Dietrichson, insisted that the people of [his congregation in] Muskego announce themselves for Communion on Saturdays in order to give time for a proper confessional and also to avoid possible embarrassment in case someone had to be denied Communion on account of his sinful life. (Rohne, 87)

In 1899 the Norwegian Synod formally adopted a new agenda, which was very similar to the new agenda that had been adopted by the Church of Norway in 1889. These agendas were actually more *old* than "new," in that they restored, at an official level, the essential components of the historic *Ritual* of 1685 and *Agenda* of 1688, and became the mechanism through which a fuller and richer liturgical practice was brought about in Norwegian Lutheran congregations. Arve Brunvoll describes the significance of the improved order of service for Lutherans in Norway, and by extension for Norwegian Lutherans in America, when he writes that, before it was issued, "the Norwegian service was essentially a 'hymn' Mass, i.e. the Ordinary was sung in metrical form to hymn tunes, following the tradition from Luther's German Mass." The introduction of the new service therefore represented "a minor liturgical revolution, first of all by introducing a 'prose' Mass for the first time in two centuries, and for the first time one totally in the vernacular." He adds that this new order "was, of course, a Norwegian reflection of the liturgical movement of the nineteenth century" (Brunvoll, 68). One place where the Norwegian Synod version differed from the Church of Norway version was in its inclusion of public absolution (after the confession of sins), which had become a very meaningful and highly valued practice among the Lutherans of the Norwegian Synod.

Ferkenstad comments on the impact of this liturgical revision and renewal on the congregations of the Norwegian Synod in particular, especially when the more historic form of service first appeared in print:

> ...in 1903, the synod's *Salmebog* was revised and reprinted by the Norwegian Synod. ... For the first time the "liturgy" was printed in a hymnbook! Even though the "liturgy" covered only five pages, it was the first time...musical notes [had been] printed in a church hymnbook. ...until this time, ...Norwegian Synod congregation[s] had used a service which was very simple and was referred to as the "Shorter Order" of Service. But in Norway a royal decree had authorized a new Book of Service and restored a fuller use of the Ritual of 1685. The Norwegian Synod felt the impact of this decree and urged their congregations to use this longer form of the liturgy. On June 17,1899, the following constitutional revision appeared in the Norwegian Synod's *Synoden*: "In order to preserve unity in liturgical forms and ceremonies, the Synod advises its congregations to use, as far as possible, the liturgy of 1685 and agenda of 1688 of the Church of Norway, or the new liturgy and agenda adopted by the Synod at Spring Grove, Minnesota, June 1899, according as the several congregations may decide" (the "new liturgy and agenda" was basically the New Liturgy of the Church of Norway). (Ferkenstad SSS, 4)

A description of the liturgy of the Norwegian Synod as it would have been conducted in this later period comes from Leigh D. Jordahl's essay on "Worship at First Lutheran Church" in Decorah, Iowa – a church "which was constructed in 1876 as the temple of the Norwegian Synod" (Ferkenstad ELS, 78). Jordahl writes:

> The service adapted at First Lutheran...consisted, in modified form, of the Catholic mass up to the communion. According to that church order, the bell was rung during which the pastor stationed himself facing the altar, the *klokker* read the opening prayer (by the

1900s *klokkers* were disappearing and the pastor himself read the prayer), then an opening hymn, followed by the confession of sins with a sung *kyrie* (*Oh God, the Father in Heaven*...), the absolution pronounced by the pastor, the so-called "short gloria" sung as versicle and response by pastor and congregation, then the collect for the day chanted by the pastor, followed by the epistle or gospel for the day. The sermon hymn was sung, and the pastor mounted the steps of the pulpit. The text was read (depending upon which of the two lessons for the day had been read at the altar) and the sermon preached. Sermons...rarely lasted less than thirty minutes. ...the long "general prayer" was read from the pulpit after the sermon and concluded with the Lord's Prayer. A hymn followed during which an offering might be taken. On Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and "mission Sunday" the people walked in procession to the chancel where they deposited their offerings on the altar. ... The Sunday service concluded with the pastor chanting both the "collect for the Word" and the benediction. (There were some pastors who couldn't chant and that was always regarded by the people as a liability.) A closing hymn was sung and the final prayer was read by the pastor, or, in early days, by the *klokker*. The Lord's Prayer was sometimes prayed a second time and then the bell was rung nine times.

Norwegian Synod pastors invariably wore the old church gown. It was a slightly loose black robe coming to the ankles. Over the gown was a stiffly padded, inch-wide satin yoke which hung down the full length of the gown. ... The yoke was raised in the back so as to support the white, three inch wide ruff... On the three major festivals the pastor wore an ankle length white surplice open in the back...and tied together with a string. ...

Communion services at First Lutheran were mostly scheduled...for a Sunday afternoon or evening. They were occasions of great solemnity and prospective communicants announced themselves to the pastor the afternoon before in the sacristy or during the hour before the service. The liturgy began with a hymn, a Bible reading, and then a confessional sermon. Following the sermon the entire congregation crowded into the chancel area where they knelt in turn at the rail for individual absolution with the laying on of hands. ... And even in the days when men and women sat separately, families usually came to the communion rail as a unit. Women often took their hats off for the laying on of hands and left them off until after receiving communion. Following the sermon and absolution, the pastor proceeded with the communion liturgy. It reached its climax when the pastor sang the Lord's Prayer and the Words of Institution. Again..., the communicants came up to the chancel and took their places at the rail. The bread was always placed directly on the tongue and never were there lay assistants at the rail. In fact, pastors generally waited to receive communion until they could go to a pastors' conference. What is certain is that no one went to communion without serious thought. It had, after all, been drilled into Lutheran confirmands that communion was a most awesome event and that it was better not to go at all than to go unworthily. (quoted in Ferkenstad ELS, 78-80)

When the the Lord's Supper was celebrated, the Preface and Sanctus were generally not used in the service. This followed a pattern that we see in much of Reformation-era Lutheranism (reflected also in the Danish-Norwegian Church Order), according to which – except for major festivals – those ancient components of the historic Christian liturgy were often replaced by an exhortation to communicants. So too in the Communion services of the Norwegian Synod, where the Preface and Sanctus would traditionally have been found in the western rite, what would usually have been found instead were a preparatory Communion hymn sung by the congregation and an exhortation read by the pastor. This was followed by the Lord's Prayer and the Words of Institution, both chanted by the pastor. This way of celebrating Holy Communion remained in general use even into the early twentieth century.

Chanting and singing have always been an important component of traditional Christian and Lutheran worship. And as we would expect, chanting and singing were especially prominent in the services in Norwegian Synod congregations. Among other things, the new agenda called for the chanting of the Epistle and Gospel, by the pastor, in the Sunday service. This was a longstanding

custom in Christian and Lutheran worship. In his *Deutsche Messe* of 1526 Luther gave very detailed instructions on how it was to be done (LW 53:72-78, 84-89). Christian Anderson observed in 1957, however, that "It seems that by common consent the chanting of the Gospel and Epistle lessons has not been carried out except perhaps at the great festivals" (Anderson, 14). But otherwise, as Historian O. Rolf Olson observes,

> The liturgical practices of the Dano-Norwegian Church were carefully followed by the Synod. Traditional forms of worship were maintained, including the chanting of the collects (prayers), the benediction, and the communion service. Five congregational hymns were standard for Sunday worship. Worship in Synod congregations was always very formal. The old forms were maintained. The entire worship heritage was scrupulously preserved. In all forms of worship, the Synod employed and contributed greatly to church music. The historic vestments of the Norwegian state church pastors were carefully preserved: the loose-fitting black cassock, the stole, and the white-fluted collar. (Photos show that pioneer pastor J. W. C. Dietrichson also wore a heavy chasuble.) (Olson, 57)

Regarding that last point, Pastor Dietrichson – who served congregations in and near Koshkonong, Wisconsin, from 1844 to 1850 – was certainly not the only Norwegian clergyman in America who wore a chasuble for the celebration of Holy Communion. Once the Norwegian Synod was organized, this was the normal practice for the pastors of that church body. And this practice never fell into disuse during the entire history of the Norwegian Synod, until its merger with two other less orthodox and less liturgical church bodies: the United Norwegian Lutheran Church and the Hauge Synod. Piepkorn reports:

> Dr. Herman A. Preus of Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, in 1953 told this writer that the chasuble was used on occasion in the chapel there until the absorption of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church into the Norwegian (later Evangelical) Lutheran Church of America in 1917. (Piepkorn)

In the old Synod the chasuble was worn only in the chancel, and only for the Communion Rite. (It was occasionally worn by the officiating minister also for certain special occasions – such as church dedications and ordinations – even if the Sacrament was not celebrated.) For the administration of Holy Communion, the most common usage in the days of the old Synod – which was also the practice in Norway – involved the chasuble being placed on the left side of the altar before the service, with part of it resting on the top of the altar and part of it hanging down and visible at the front of the altar. After the sermon, when the pastor entered the chancel, the klokker (referred to as the "deacon" or "verger" by Stub), or another assistant, would help him put it on. Then after the distribution, before the pastor left the chancel at the conclusion of the service, the klokker or another assistant would help him take it off and return it to the altar.

Important elements of the Norwegian Lutheran patrimony were brought into English through the publication of the *Lutheran Hymnary* in 1913. This was a joint project of the Norwegian Synod, the United Church, and the Hauge Synod. The Norwegian heritage in worship can be seen in this hymnal especially in the translation of the Norwegian "Order of Morning Service or Communion," with full musical notation, that it included.

From the perspective of his own ministry in the twentieth century, Stub writes:

> Of one thing I am convinced by experience, and that is, that "Young America" will love and revere the historic and colorful vestments of our beloved Church. ... If possible I would like to prevent that any visitor at my services, departs with the impression that we Lutherans are one of the Reformed Church denominations. Particularly does this hold in reference to the Communion services. ...we are a distinct communion with a doctrine, faith, hymnology, liturgy, and church practice all our own. We believe that historically and doctrinally we are the

> true heirs of the ancient Christian Church. ... Let us not be ashamed of, nor disinclined to confess in every way, the faith, usage, and practice of our fathers. Why should we American Lutherans be so influenced by the Calvinistic-rationalistic customs of the old countries, and the "kill-joy" usages of Puritanism, as to deny to ourselves and to our children the joy of beauty in color, music, and architecture? (Stub, 18)

## SOUND AND SUITABLE HYMNS

For many years after its organization in 1853, the Norwegian Synod made use of hymnals published in Denmark and Norway that included much-loved hymns by Danish hymnists Hans Adolph Brorson and Thomas Kingo, and the Norwegian hymnist Magnus Brostrup Landstad; and that also included translations of the more important German Lutheran chorales. The synod finally published its own Norwegian-language hymnal, or *Salmebog,* in 1870. Koren was one of five editors for this project, but as Laurence N. Field observes,

> Koren did the bulk of the work and was represented by twenty-seven original hymns and twenty-one translations. In fact, he, with Brorson, Kingo, Landstad, and Luther account for about three-fifths of the hymns. (Field, 381)

In the nineteenth century, many Lutherans in America were lured away from the hymnody of their own church – which would have cultivated and reinforced within them a piety and spirituality built upon the external Word of God – and were drawn instead to the kind of "gospel hymns" that were promoted and popularized by revivalist preachers and song-writers such as Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey. Norwegian-American Lutherans did not remain untouched by these influences in their adopted homeland. Those of a Pietist bent were easily drawn to this kind of music, but some within the Norwegian Synod were also adversely affected.

Gerhard Cartford explains that

> Most Lutheran hymns dealt with doctrines fundamental to the faith. These the people were accustomed to from church, and many of them were dear to them. But in the nineteenth century there was an insistent demand for a new type of expression. It sprang from the revivals of the century, and with the revivals came a type of music which was at the same time more superficial and more emotional than the regular hymns of the church. The Norwegians were caught up in it, as were most of the Americans around them. (Cartford)

Norwegian-language versions of these "gospel hymns" were made available in hymnals or song books with names like *Harpen* ("Harp") and *Frydetoner* ("Joyful Tones"). The Norwegian Synod wanted to protect its people from this material, and wanted to avoid giving the impression that either the synod or its agencies endorsed or encouraged its use. And so at its convention in 1896 the Norwegian Synod passed this resolution: "Books such as *Harpen* and *Frydetoner* ought not to be distributed by Lutheran Publishing House in Decorah" (quoted in DeGarmeaux).

Regarding hymnody for the church's children and youth in particular, these concerns and recommendations were offered in the Introduction to the *Lutheran Hymnary, Junior,* of 1916 – a companion volume to the 1913 *Lutheran Hymnary:*

> The songs of childhood should be essentially of the same character as the songs of maturity. The child should therefore learn the easiest and best of the songs he is to sing as a communicant member of the Christian Congregation. Old age delights in the songs learned in childhood. The religious songs learned in childhood should therefore be worthwhile. We want childlike songs, but not childish songs. ... In the same manner as he is taught the rudiments of Christian theology through Luther's *Smaller Catechism* and the chief Bible stories

through the *Bible History*, should he also be taught the words and tunes of our most priceless church songs and chorales. ... It should be done, for a child should be trained up in the way he should go (Prov. 22:6). The songs of Lutheran children and youth should be essentially from Lutheran sources. The Lutheran Church is especially rich in songs and hymns of sound doctrine, high poetical value and fitting musical setting. They express the teachings and spirit of the Lutheran Church and help one to feel at home in this Church. Of course, there are songs of high merit and sound Biblical doctrine written by Christians in other denominations also, and some of these could and should find a place in a Lutheran song treasury. But the bulk of the songs in a Lutheran song book should be drawn from Lutheran sources. We should teach our children to remain in the Lutheran Church instead of to sing themselves into some Reformed sect. (LHJ)

Both the *Lutheran Hymnary* and the *Lutheran Hymnary, Junior*, included English translations of many classic Lutheran chorales, and of many beloved Lutheran hymns of Scandinavian origin. Regarding the 1913 *Lutheran Hymnary*, Carl F. Schalk writes: “In its return to the hymnody of the 16th century Reformation, it was by far the best of the English hymnbooks produced by the various Scandinavian groups” (Schalk, 156).

## THE PAST AND FUTURE OF LUTHERAN FAITH AND WORSHIP

In the twentieth century, many if not most Lutherans in America began to slip away from the strongly Christ-centered and means-of-grace-oriented piety that the Confessional Awakening had restored to the church in the nineteenth century. Lutherans increasingly allowed their thoughts and feelings about worship to be shaped by the dominant non-Lutheran and even anti-Lutheran Protestant religious culture of the country. This was all noticed by Walter E. Buszin – formerly a member of the faculty at Bethany Lutheran College – and he warned against this trend in a 1950 essay on “The Genius of Lutheran Corporate Worship”:

> America is to a very great extent Calvinistic and Protestant. It is not at all surprising to note, therefore, that Lutherans are constantly exposed to Calvinistic thoughts and ideals. Many Lutherans see no danger in such developments. Those who are afflicted with catholicophobia will rarely admit that Calvinism has made more perilous inroads into Lutheran worship life in America than has Roman Catholicism.
>
> ...Calvinistic worship has torn itself away from the great historical expressions of Christian worship of pre-Reformation days and has thus become sectarian. ... This same Calvinistic spirit is strong among many Lutherans. We find among such Lutherans an antipathetic attitude against sound liturgical practice, undue emphasis on stark simplicity, and a disdainful attitude towards great and genuine church art. These attitudes by no means bespeak the spirit of unadulterated Lutheranism. They are basically unevangelical and at times “teach for doctrines the commandments of men.” There are indeed good reasons to believe that much catholicophobia has been injected into Lutheranism by...Calvinistic sources. ...
>
> Much of what has been said of the Reformed may, of course, be said also of other Protestant groups. ...some Protestant groups employ means to worship God which are not only anthropocentric in character, but which plainly and flagrantly militate against all good taste. The church building is to them a meeting house rather than a sanctuary.

Buszin is especially troubled to see that some Lutherans in his time

> are trying to introduce revivalism and the Gospel hymn into the Lutheran concept and spirit of worship. ...that it is being done...indicates clearly that those involved are not taking into serious consideration the great damage that has been done to the corporate worship services of others who have introduced revivalistic practices in the past...

Buszin also offers positive encouragement for a better Lutheran future, with which we close:

> Church history proves that those church bodies have fared best in the long run which have conducted a decent type of worship, a type of worship which...shows due regard for the holiness and majesty of God. We owe God not only our love, but also our respect; our worship life should indicate this... The Lutheran Church will best serve her exalted purpose and objective if she will adhere to the Word of God and likewise make diligent use of the rich and unique liturgical, musical, and hymnological heritage God has given her. (Buszin, 270-72)

*This essay is adapted from material that appears in the author's longer monograph, "The Divine Service in Confessional Lutheranism and in the Evangelical Lutheran Synod," available online at bugenhagen.institute/essays-studies-and-other-resources*

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