

A CHANGING STORY: EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN BAPTISTS OF EASTERN EUROPE IN WESTERN PUBLICATIONS

Introduction. It is a cause for thanks knowing that the new generation of Slavic historians are continuing the historical reflections that they begun at Donetsk Christian University four years ago. I am thankful that I was invited four years ago to attend and to offer my thoughts in a presentation. This time unfortunately, I was unable to plan a trip because of limited funding, but as requested I will at least attempt a short paper on the way the Evangelical Christian Baptists of Eastern Europe have been written about in the West, meaning mainly Germany Britain and North America. I will do so by means of a mixture of chronological and thematic analysis.

Much has been written in the popular press, especially as an expression of anti-communism, on which I will say little here since I devoted a chapter to the underground missions in a book known to most of you.¹¹³ But quite recently a book by David Fogelsong appeared. David is a specialist on American intervention against Bolshevism (1917 – 1920) and his book has the catchy title, *The American Mission and the Evil Empire* (2007).¹¹⁴ Reviewing a longer story from 1881 through the present, Fogelsong presented a most fascinating story of how Americans perceive themselves to have a special historic mission to emancipate, convert or reform Russia—in other words to “free Russia”. Whether those efforts came from the American political and religious liberals or from conservatives, their efforts essentially had more to do with their own tradition of a manifest destiny to save the world. Since for much of that time Russia was part of the Soviet Union committed to an atheist ideology, it represented the “antithesis of the American spirit”,¹¹⁵ which helps explain President Reagan’s label of “evil empire” as it was applied to the USSR in 1981. It also helps explain why suffering Christians, especially Evangelical Christians with whom so many thought they shared common values, were treated as martyrs and saints. Alternately Americans viewed the officially approved Soviet

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¹¹³ Walter Sawatsky, *Soviet Evangelicals Since World War II*, Scottdale PA: Herald Press, 1981; *Istoriia evangel'skogo dvizheniia v SSSR*, Russian edition published through Mennonite Central Committee in 1996, see also digital copies in English & Russian in *Istoriia evangel'skogo dvizheniia v Evrazii. Materialy i dokumenty. 4.0*, EAAA, – Odessa, 2005.

¹¹⁴ David S. Fogelsong, *The American Mission and the “Evil Empire”*, Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. An earlier article “Redeeming Russia? American Missionaries and Tsarist Russia, 1886-1917,” *Religion, State and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (December 1997), 353-368.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* – P 6.

churches as false Christians, and only the underground church as faithful.

The original intended audience for my book on Soviet Evangelicals was to help serious Christians in America get away from black and white simplifications, to think through the challenges of living in a society so publicly hostile to Christian faith. As it turned out, the Russian version of that book functioned to allow Evangelical Christian Baptists from at least three traditions to consider their story from more than one perspective. It is of course out of date. Much of what has happened since I have wrestled with by means of published articles in various books and journals, usually in English or German. However, my plans to present a retrospective overview of the dramatic changes between 1988 and the present are still not complete. One problem in writing is to clarify which audience is intended, since American readers and Russian readers see things very differently. The emphasis on themes I will follow here, seeks to draw attention to the quite different contexts within which scholars have tried to understand the Evangelical Christian Baptists. As I have stated in many ways at previous Donetsk conferences, the witness of Evangelical Christian Baptists teaches us much about faithfulness in suffering, about powerlessness, losing hope, and about forgiveness, recovery of life and new vision – yet we learn differently, depending on our context and capacity to understand.

When Western European and American scholars began to pay attention to evangelicals within the Russian Empire, they were usually referring to the sectarians. Among the most interesting serious studies was a two volume history of the Russian Church, appearing in German and written by Igor Smolitsch, of Baltic German origin. The long first volume is a still highly useful detailed review and assessment of 19th century scholarship about the role of the Holy Synod, its place in the Imperial structure, and details about reform efforts.¹¹⁶ Smolitsch drew attention to the many sectarian branches, in addition to the Old Believers, that had emerged since 1666, as well as those sectarians whose theology was closer to that of the Western Protestant traditions, in particular to that of the Mennonite and Baptist traditions. His second volume giving details on sectarianism eventually appeared posthumously, the editor Gregory Freeze had published extensively on Russian Orthodoxy in the 19th century and decided that Smolitsch' materials on the Christian sects needed to be available for the new generation of American scholars starting to have access to Russian archival sources.¹¹⁷

This illustrates two patterns of study related to the Slavic evangelical tradition that have continued to shape Western understanding and thinking. In general, given the role of the Protestant churches in the Baltic countries, and that of Protestant colonies in South Russia, there was greater interest among German historians to take the developments of Protestant traditions within the Russian Empire seriously. The

¹¹⁶ Igor Smolitsch, *Geschichte Der Russischen Kirche 1700-1917*. Band 1. – Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964.

¹¹⁷ Igor Smolitsch, *Geschichte Der Russischen Kirche*. Band 2. Edited by Gregory L. Freeze. *Historische Veroeffentlichungen Band 45* Der Osteuropa-Institut an Der Freien Universitaet Berlin. – Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1990.

connecting link for them was the renewing impact of Pietism during the 18th and 19th centuries, not only on Lutherans, Reformed, and Mennonites in Germany, but also their close connection to Protestant colonies in the Russian Empire, who in turn influenced Pietist renewal among Slavic Orthodox and the emerging sects. This included an emphasis on the expectation of Christ's second coming, the German Pietist novelist Heinrich Jung-Stilling had set his story in the Russian east to evoke more specifically an expectation of how a ruler saw himself as God's instrument, who would appear from the east to bring in God's new reign. The writings of Ernst Benz in the 1950s and 60s focus on the spirituality of those Protestant communities and their nearby Slavic congregations: some the result of conversion and others that had formed found themselves spiritually close to the western Pietists.¹¹⁸ Another much more recent German scholar, the late Wilhelm Kahle, built on the writings of Benz and other historians of Pietist communities in Russia, to tell the 20th century history of the Lutherans and Reformed until their demise in 1937. Since some of those German Protestants reorganized fellowships after World War II and eventually were permitted a visiting superintendent from Latvia, Kahle kept writing essays and also turned to the Evangelical Christian history in order to make sense of its profound influence during the Soviet era as a major Pietist tradition. His biographical study of Prokhanov was translated into Russian soon after for use by the AUCECB historical commission when writing the official history of the evangelical Christian Baptists. That Russian manuscript finally became available through its inclusion in the historical CD series produced by EAAA.¹¹⁹

English-language studies of the Slavic and Russian Baptists have tended to focus more on the similarities between British and East European Baptists. In some East European countries Baptist churches had arisen during the 19th century through direct or indirect British Baptist mission efforts. In other countries, such Baptist communities understood themselves more indirectly linked to the longer continental Anabaptist tradition. Initially, the Baptist World Alliance relationship to the Evangelical Christian Baptists in the Russian Empire and Soviet Union, starting in 1903, was shaped mainly by American and British Baptists. Only after the formation of the European Baptist Union (1958) was a German linguistic connection to the Evangelical Christian Baptists of the Soviet Union the more regular and intense relationship base. The reason for that was the common German language for those German Baptists and Mennonites who had joined the Soviet Baptist Union and their common Pietist spirituality. At the time that Kahle was writing about Ivan

¹¹⁸ Ernst Benz, *Endzeiterwartung Zwischen Ost Und West: Studien Z. Christl. Eschatologie*. 1. Aufl. ed. Freiburg [Breisgau]. – Rombach, 1973. See also the booklets of Reformed pastor Herman Dalton.

¹¹⁹ Wilhelm Kahle, *Evangelische Christen in Russland und Der Sowjetunion*. Wuppertal: Oncken Verlag, 1978, see also his *Geschichte Der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeiden in Der Sovetunion 1917-1938*. – Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974; and *Die Lutherischen Kirchen und Gemeiden in Der Sowjetunion - Seit 1938/1940*. Guetersloh: Guetersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn. Band 8 in *Die lutherische – Kirche, Geschichte und Gestalten*, 1985. The Russian translation in typescript V. Kale, *Evangel'skie khristiane v Rossii i Sovetskom Soiuze*, in 4.0 of the EAAA cd series noted in fn 1.

Prokhanov, Baptists in America began doing dissertations on the Russian Baptists. A less well known dissertation on the origins was by Samuel Nездoly, who had immigrant links to the Russians.¹²⁰ Paul Steeves, then an American Baptist, wrote an excellent critical history of the Russian Baptist Union, 1867-1935, which was never published, but copies of the dissertation circulated. A Russian translation helped that Russian ECB historical commission write its official history.¹²¹

When I set out to compose a history of the Russian Evangelical Christian Baptist tradition from World War II to 1980, I treated the careful studies by Kahle and Steeves as a foundation on which to examine the complex relationships between Evangelical Christians and Baptists, who finally formed a union in 1944. The careful reader will have noted how both the long Pietist tradition and the tradition of evangelical revivalism from Britain and America were reflected in the story of the Soviet Evangelicals. The reality was that both Britain and the USA were Protestant cultures in which the evangelical revivalist forms were prominent and respectable, to the extent that when Jimmy Carter became president in 1976, even the journalists and politicians began treating evangelicals as culturally respectable. In 20th century Germany in contrast, the free churches with Pietist and evangelical spiritualities, continued to exist as minorities, seldom taken seriously in general culture. That is a way of saying, that Evangelical Christian Baptists within the Soviet Union shared a minority consciousness more readily with German free churches, than they did with the American and British Baptists who conveyed a greater cultural confidence. To understand the motivations behind Western publications on the Slavic Evangelical Christian Baptist tradition, those differences in culturally perceived significance still matter.

Research Institute and Journals. Another important starting point for comparisons with developments since 1988, was the rise of research institutes on religion in the USSR and Eastern Europe. This had begun with the documentary journal, *Religion in Communist Dominated Areas*, started by Paul Anderson, former YMCA staff member in Russia forced out of the USSR, when circulating reports to the American National Council of Churches. It was taken over by Blahoslav Hruby, following Anderson's death, when it tended toward a stronger anti-communist tone. A new initiative began at the World Council of Churches, in which the American William Fletcher organized a systematic collection of documents and scanning of the Soviet press for materials related to religion. Fletcher published books on Russian Orthodox themes initially and then, when already a history professor at the

¹²⁰ Samuel J. Nездoly, "Evangelical Sectarianism in Russia: A Study of the Stundists, Baptists, Pashkovites, and Evangelical Christians 1855-1917." Unpublished PhD diss. Queen's University, 1972.

¹²¹ Paul Steeves, "The Russian Baptist Union, 1917-1935: Evangelical Awakening in Russia." Unpublished PhD diss. University of Kansas, 1976. Steeves, long professor of Russian History at Stetson University in DeLand Florida, was editor of many volumes of *The Modern Encyclopedia of Religions in Russia and the Soviet Union*. Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1988; assisted in editing translations of documents in the journal *Religion in Communist Dominated Areas*, then after its demise, posted articles on religion in Russia on his website, some of them in English translation.

University of Kansas, he published a serious study of the Pentecostals.¹²² Paul Steeves completed his dissertation on the Russian Baptist Union under Fletcher's direction. Fletcher had also engaged an English clergyman, Michael Bourdeaux, who had spent the year 1960 in Leningrad as an exchange student. Bourdeaux had learned Russian and learned of the new Khrushchev attack on religion through friends from the Baptist Church. Upon his return he wrote several books where he drew on the Samizdat materials obtained from the Initiativniki movement, including the transcript of the trial of a young woman, Aida of Leningrad.¹²³ When Fletcher's study center lost funding and ended, Bourdeaux with donations from British churches, organized a charitable society initially named Centre for the Study of Religion and Communism (1971), renamed Keston College in 1974 when the organization obtained a building in the village of Keston on the southern edge of London. Keston College became well known as primary archive for religious Samizdat, its *Keston News Service* with weekly releases, and a quarterly journal *Religion in Communist Lands* (renamed *Religion, State and Society* after 1990). Bourdeaux had soon concentrated on the Russian Orthodox, other scholars attached to Keston took on responsibilities for Catholics, for the Protestants and Evangelicals, etc. My own book on Soviet Evangelicals began during my time at Keston, when I realized that a careful study was needed. Subsequently Michael Rowe completed a dissertation on Soviet Pentecostalism, and in 1994 published *Russian Resurrection*.¹²⁴ Soon after as Keston's finances declined, he became an adviser to Scripture Union, regularly visiting the various free churches of Ukraine and Russia.¹²⁵

Also in the early 1970 a similar research institute was established near Zurich Switzerland by a Reformed Pastor, Eugen Voss, whose roots were in the German

¹²² William C. Fletcher, *Soviet Charismatics : The Pentecostals in the USSR* American University Studies. Series VII, Theology and Religion,. New York: Peter Lang, 1985; see also his *Christianity in the Soviet Union : An Annotated Bibliography and List of Articles: Works in English*. [Los Angeles]: Research Institute on Communist Strategy and Propaganda, School of International Relations, University of Southern California, 1963.

¹²³ Michael A. Bourdeaux, *Religious Ferment in Russia*. London: Macmillan, 1968 (the story of the rise of ECB dissent, the Orgkomitet and Sovet Tserkvei Samizdat record in English translation through 1966). Other relevant books were: *Faith on Trial in Russia*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1975 (on the trial of Georgi Vins in 1974 and the background to it).

¹²⁴ Michael Rowe, *Russian Resurrection. Strength in Suffering - a History of Russia's Evangelical Church*. – London: Marshall Pickering, 1994. Rowe also illustrated Keston's growing focus on religious rights, the book conveying many stories of individuals witnessing to faith under persecution.

¹²⁵ For short histories of Keston and other research centers and their publications, see REE. Subsequent to that issue, Keston Institute was dissolved in 2006, wherafter its archive was moved to Baylor University in Texas, a well endowed Baptist university. For more details see Davor Peterlin, "Publishing Activity of Keston Institute, Oxford 2003-2006," *Religion in Eastern Europe*, XXX, 1 (February 2010) 1-17. Its Samizdat and newspaper clipping archive, now at Baylor, remains a singularly unique resource for research.

colonies near Odessa. Called *Glaube in der 2ten Welt* (Faith in the Second World), and supported by Swiss and German church bodies (Catholic, Reformed and Lutheran in particular) its monthly journal *Glaube in der 2ten Welt* continues to the present with documents and articles, and many book reviews. After historian Gerd Stricker joined it he became the specialist on Protestants, including some interest in the free churches. Another research center was organized by the inter-church ecumenical and missiology center in Utrecht NL and headed for several decades till his death by Hans Hebly. It tended to produce books in Dutch, sometimes in English and organize conferences. There had been interest in eastern Europe through persons with background experience (studies and service) who formed Christians Associated for Relations with Eastern Europe (CAREE) in 1969. One of its members, Paul Mojzes, born and raised in Macedonia as a Methodist, started *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe* in 1982, and renamed *Religion in Eastern Europe* as a regular bimonthly in 1986. Mojzes dropped out as editor for a time (1996-2004) when this writer took on those duties, since then Mojzes and I co-edit, and the journal (quarterly since 2006) has carried articles from writers across eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union representing a very wide spectrum of traditions - Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant and Evangelical. Finally, through a grant from the Billy Graham organization, a Center for Christianity and Marxism was established at Wheaton College in 1987, lead by Mark Elliott. Elliott soon started the quarterly *East West Church and Ministry Report*, a short (8 -12 page) paper intended for American Evangelical readership who were actively engaged in mission to the former Soviet Union and eastern Europe, but too often sending mission societies lacked training for its workers and even its board. For a time Elliot worked closely with the library of resources accumulated by Wheaton based Slavic Gospel Association mission. When the Deyneka founding family and several others formed Russian Ministries, the remaining part of Slavic Gospel Association took a different direction. Headed by Robert Probst, SGA became a primary funder of schools in the former Soviet Union fostering a distinct theological orientation, but the research interest ended. Since then Mark Elliott has maintained his very valuable journal while teaching at Beeson Divinity School and Southern Wesleyan University. Two themes Elliott's journal has regularly returned to are studies of leadership training, and sociological findings on church developments and growth.

My reason for this short summary of the rise and decline (but not disappearance) of research centers who fostered study of changes among the churches of eastern Europe, is to indicate that much vital and valuable historical research of interest to Slavic Evangelicals has been produced over the past two decades. I will not detail individual articles except to draw attention to the materials regularly written by Steeves, Bourdeaux, Mojzes, Sawatsky, Elliott, and a newer list of younger scholars noted below.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Elliott and Sawatsky have regularly reviewed developments in the theological schools, Elliot's most recent analysis is appearing serially in EWCR, and the book Peter F. Penner, ed. *Theological Education as Mission*, Schwarzenfeld: Neufeld Verlag, 2005, also includes such articles.

The bibliographer played an unusually important role in the beginnings of serious historical study in the Russian Empire. Even for early history of the Slavic Evangelicals the old thick journals remain a source not to be overlooked. In this western survey, however, a similar such scholar/bibliographer, without whom so much research could not have been accomplished, is Albert J. Wardin, Jr., professor emeritus of history at Belmont University, Nashville Tennessee, having taught there from 1967 to 1993. His most valuable contribution for our topic is his nearly 1000 page bibliographic guide to *Evangelical Sectarianism in the Russian Empire and the USSR*.¹²⁷ Organized chronologically and topically, with thorough cross-references, it will remain for some time a basic starting point for identifying the sources without which good historical work on the Evangelical Christian Baptists of Eastern Europe cannot be done.

Themes Shaping Publications After 1988. Celebrations of the millennium of Christianity in the Russian lands (1988), new freedoms for mission and Bible distribution that followed, the then new legislation on religion—even as the Soviet Union dissolved and the former republics became autonomous countries, all contributed to a tremendous rise of interest in the West for the growth of Christianity in the former Soviet Union; indeed also across Eastern Europe. There is no need to review here the rise and fall of missions to Slavic lands, including the major changes in relationship between Evangelical Christian Baptists and Evangelicals in the West. I am limiting myself mostly to sketching a story of changing interest as expressed in published materials.

There was a flurry of publications in English to draw attention to the changes, in particular to stress the new opportunities for mission. Kent Hill, an American Evangelical from the Church of the Nazarene published *The Puzzle of the Soviet Church*, a 300 page background survey of developments, relying heavily for the evangelical treatment on my writings and others noted above, and presenting the recent changes under the theme of gaining religious rights.¹²⁸ When Hill became the president of a Nazarene College and no longer wrote about the Slavic region, another new scholar became interested as sociologist and social ethicist in examining the work of Co-Mission, which had been a major initiative by over 20 American mission societies, most of them new to the Slavic world, to send thousands of short-term

¹²⁷ Albert J. Wardin, jr. *Evangelical Sectarianism in the Russian Empire and the Ussr. A Bibliographic Guide* ATLA Bibliography Series No. 36. Lanham MD: Scarecrow Press, 1995. Also of specific interest is his Gottfried F. Alf. *Pioneer of the Baptist Movement in Poland*, Nashville TN: Baptist History & Heritage Society, 2003. Alf was Wardin's great-great grand uncle, hence his interest, but Friedrich Alf, as usually referred to, among other things was also the first president of the German Baptist Union in Russia.

¹²⁸ Kent R. Hill, *The Puzzle of the Soviet Church. An inside Look at Christianity and Glasnost*. 2nd ed. Portland: Multnomah Press, 1991. Six years later his article "Christian Mission, Proselytism and Religious Liberty: A Protestant Appeal for Christian Tolerance and Unity." *Religion, State & Society* 25, no. 4 (1997): 307-332; illustrated the issue of proselytism, where he argued in favor of proselytizing.

missionaries to teach ethics to schoolteachers.¹²⁹ Glanzer's critical analysis of that project, whose impact was also linked to the showing of the Jesus film across the former Soviet Union, included identifying the reason for its essential failure by 1997. Glanzer published several articles in which he pursued related missiological themes. Rare are Western scholars of indigenous missions, as Scott Klingsmith, editor of *Acta Missiologiae* noted in the first issue of that journal, published by the newly formed (2007) Central and East European Association of Mission Studies (CEEAMS), regional branch of IAMS.¹³⁰

In that early period too, American evangelicals who encountered the Russian Orthodox context with little advance preparation found themselves writing theological interpretations of Orthodoxy, from an evangelical Protestant perspective. This was a response to the reality that most Protestant colleges and seminaries even when including history and theology courses, ignored the Orthodox tradition entirely, thus missionaries with such training were quite unprepared for a theology of icons, for example, or to distinguish between Catholic and Orthodox practices and theology. These new books included a "Western Perspective on Eastern Orthodox Christianity, and a reader on Orthodox theology, the latter introducing Evangelicals to writings of the previous three decades by Orthodox theologians living in the European and American diaspora, such as Lossky, Schmemmann, etc.¹³¹ Daniel B. Clendenning had participated as theology professor in the early 1990s at several Russian universities as they made space for religious themes. Don Fairburn, who had been a missionary teacher as seminary graduate, subsequently obtained his doctorate in theology, taught at an Evangelical Reformed seminary in America and wrote a book on Eastern Orthodox theology to assist fellow evangelicals and their understanding.¹³² Another scholar with Reformed Evangelical Protestant background, James R. Payton Jr. published an introduction to Eastern Orthodoxy for use in American colleges.¹³³ All of these sought to help American Evangelicals understand their ministry in Eastern Europe with a fuller and appreciative grasp of Orthodox thinking and practice and all were published by well known Evangelical publishers. Peter F. Penner's recent assessment of the role of Western missionaries in Central and eastern Europe also sets the new wave in a longer historical context.¹³⁴

As the initial flurry of missionaries coming to Russia and Ukraine began to

¹²⁹ Perry L Glanzer, *The Quest for Russia's Soul. Evangelicals and Moral Education in Post-Communist Russia.* – Waco: Baylor University Press, 2002.

¹³⁰ Scott Klingsmith, "Factors in the Rise of Missionary Sending Movements in East-Central Europe," *Acta Missiologiae*, Vol 1 (2008), 153-176.

¹³¹ Daniel B. Clendenin, *Eastern Orthodox Christianity : A Western Perspective.* 2nd ed. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2003, 1st ed. 1994.; *Eastern Orthodox Theology : A Contemporary Reader.* 2nd ed. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2003 (1st ed 1995).

¹³² Donald Fairbairn, *Eastern Orthodoxy through Western Eyes.* 1st ed. Louisville, – Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002.

¹³³ James R. Payton, jr. *Light from the Christian East : An Introduction to the Orthodox Tradition.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2007.

¹³⁴ Peter F. Penner, "Western Missionaries in Central and Eastern Europe," *Acta Missiologiae*, Vol. 1 (2008) 33-53.

ebb, and the more sensitive ones sought to learn from, and work more closely with, the Evangelical Christian Baptists and Pentecostals, of whose existence too many had been unaware before they arrived, one can detect another theme of scholarship that the historians in Ukraine and Russia may find helpful. On the one hand there were those helping to establish colleges and seminaries, who later returned to America to complete doctoral studies in which they assessed the approaches to theological education, often utilizing questionnaires and in-depth interviews with students and teachers. Some of the dissertations to notice are one MA thesis by Linda Eilers on the new clash between Calvinist and Arminian beliefs among faculty and students at the new school, two doctoral dissertations at Trinity International University in Chicago (Evangelical Free Church) - David Bohn on perspectives of church leaders on theological education, and Miriam Charter examining indigenous views on educational methods and styles. A more recent dissertation by Scott Edgar (via University of Wales) focused on pastoral training among Baptists in Ukraine.¹³⁵

In several cases known to me, American university and college professors accompanied students on cross-cultural experiences in which they familiarized themselves with new patterns of church life. In one case, Naomi Smith came with students to the same area of southern Ukraine on short-term evangelism. It resulted in an attempt to study the difference in what Ukrainian evangelicals and evangelical young people from Minnesota understood as salvation. The conclusions need not be taken that seriously, but the way the persons she interviewed articulated their thinking would be useful even if read differently by someone deeply rooted in Ukraine or Russia and its evangelical culture. More widely circulated was a book by a professor of history and anthropology at Penn State University, Catherine Wanner concentrating on the post-communist church planting efforts in the Ukraine.¹³⁶ It started with immigrants from the Ukraine settling in Pennsylvania, whose practice of faith and its intensity drew her attention. After some years of annual visits to Kharkov and Kiev as cultural observer engaging in extended interviews over time with the evangelists and with their converts, Cornell University published her *Communities of the Converted: Ukrainians and Global Evangelism*. Proceeding from a sympathetic secular sociological perspective she attempted an affirmative inquiry about what seemed to be happening in cross-cultural evangelism. Her lack of familiarity with theology, and limited historical orientation, account for glaring

¹³⁵ Linda Eilers, "When Calvinist and Arminian Beliefs Collide: Facilitating Communication Between North American Professors and Russian Bible Students," MA Thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1998; David Bohn, "The Perspectives on Theological Education Among Evangelical Church Leaders in Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and Russia," PhD diss. Trinity International University, 1997; Miriam L. Charter, "Theological Education for New Protestant Churches of Russia: Indigenous Judgments on the Appropriateness of Educational Methods and Styles," PhD diss. Trinity International University, 1997; Scott Edgar, "Pastoral Training Among Baptists in Ukraine: Conversation Between Indigenous Voices and Theoretical Perspectives," PhD diss. University of Wales, 2007.

¹³⁶ Catherine Wanner, *Communities of the Converted: Ukrainians and Global Evangelism*. – Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007.

inaccuracies. Nevertheless, a point of key interest to Ukrainian evangelical readers is her focus on the ecclesiology of evangelicals, as “communities of the converted”, with an activist expectation of each member, in contrast to more passive understandings of adherence among Orthodox and main line American Protestants.

Her rather limited reading on Evangelical history, may account for her disproportionately heavy focus on the achievements of the ministry of Sunday Adelaja, a Nigerian who came to Belarus in 1986 to study journalism, started a church in 1989, then relocated to Kiev in 1993 to establish what became known as the Embassy of the Blessed Kingdom of God for All Nations. This church, very different from Evangelical Christian Baptists in style with its heavy use of television, cultivating of the political elite, women in leadership, is also cited in mission journals as an illustration of the impact of an African missionary, to be compared with similar church plants in British and American cities. The uniqueness of the Embassy of God ministry, is that the majority of the members are Ukrainians, whereas in Britain and America it is immigrant Nigerians and other Africans. Wanner presents the claims of Adelaja, including inflated statistics, with less attention to how it is viewed by local evangelical leaders, so the primary value may be her exploration of the “remaking of the moral self” as a central element in the conversion experience.

The opening of access to archives has been an important incentive for the new historians emerging among Slavic Evangelicals to attempt to construct a more comprehensive history of many parts of the story that scholars from the West during the Soviet era were unable to gain access to. Since 1991, one can name perhaps a dozen or so doctoral students in the West who focused on religious themes. So far scholars on Slavic evangelicals remain rare, perhaps because the specialists of the earlier era have focused on assisting Ukrainian and Russian students and their work, or their research centers were not connected to universities offering doctorates. In any case, thus far the most serious treatment of an aspect of the Russian Evangelicals is the published dissertation of Heather Coleman.¹³⁷ Her interpretation follows that of Paul Steeves, by focusing on the Baptists, and following the English language literature of conversionism, in contrast to interpretations such as Hans-Christian Diedrich writing from the GDR on Russian free church beginnings in ways similar to Kahle, then continuing on an incomplete project (following his death in 2009) to prepare an encyclopedia of Russian Protestantism.¹³⁸

Several other important dissertations resulted from missionaries to Russia after 1990, who then returned for doctoral studies. With their language facility and experience they searched libraries and archives in the former Soviet Union, west

¹³⁷ Heather J Coleman, *Russian Baptists and Spiritual Revolution, 1905-1929* Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005. Several other students of Diane Konker at the University of Illinois did parallel work on the social role of Orthodox Church reformers in pre-revolutionary Russia.

¹³⁸ Hans-Christian Diedrich, *Urspruenge und Anfaenge Des Russischen Freikirchentums*. Vol. 21 *Quellen Und Studien Zur Orthodoxen Theologie*, ed. Fairy v. Lilienfeld. Erlangen: OIKONOMIA, 1985; more recently his *Wohin Sollen Wir Gehen? : Der Weg Der Christen Durch Die Sowjetische Religionsverfolgung ; Eine Russischekirchengeschichte Des 20. Jahrhunderts in Ökumenischer Perspektive*. Erlangen: Martin-Luther-Verlag, 2007.

Europe and America. Sharyl Corrado gained a deeper picture of the early developments of Pashkovism, and has published for a Russian readership also.¹³⁹ Greg Nichols, now on staff at the International Baptist Theological Seminary (Prague) completed (in 2009) his thorough study of Ivan Kargel, tracking Kargel's many associations through letter and travels to show the complex intertwining of Pietist, Baptist, Mennonite, and British dissenter theology that became Kargel's theological contribution to Evangelical Christian Baptists.

Such highly detailed studies, asking questions of the sources based on current issues under debate about Evangelical Christian Baptists, lends these studies the particular strength of scholarship from the west in close conversation with the new scholars of the ECB from within. Indeed, this attempt at a cursory review of western scholarship on Evangelical Christian Baptists strikes this writer as unsynchronized, since I have avoided references to scholars from the Slavic world, and was uncertain whether to include major scholars such as Peter F. Penner, since he counts as much among scholarship from within the former Soviet Union, as he does as German or westerner. Perhaps it is therefore appropriate to end by reminding readers of the book, *Mission in the Former Soviet Union*, edited by Peter F. Penner & Walter Sawatsky,¹⁴⁰ in which chapters by the editors are integrated with chapters by post-Soviet writers.

А н о т а ц і ї

У статті Вальтера Заватські висвітлено тематику досліджень з історії євангельсько-баптистського руху Східної Європи в наукових публікаціях західних науковців. Охарактеризовано діяльність науково-дослідних інститутів з вивчення релігії, зокрема Кестон-коледжу, центру в Утрехті, коледжу у Вітоні; зазначено основні теми досліджень з даної проблематики: сектантство в Російській імперії, зародження і розвиток баптизму і п'тидесятництва, православна церква і євангельський рух, релігія і комунізм в Радянському Союзі. Відзначено наукові доробки Ігоря Смолича, Ернста Бенца, Пола Стівза, Вільяма Флетчера, Майкла Бурдо, Марка Елліота, Альберта Вардіна, Дона Ферберна, Пітера Пеннера, Хезер Коулман, Кетрін Ваннер.

Ключові слова: наукові публікації, євангельські християни-баптисти, науково-дослідницькі інститути.

В статтє Вальтера Заватски освещена тематика западных исследований по истории евангельско-баптистского движения в Восточной Европе. Охарактеризована деятельность научно-исследовательских институтов по изучению религии, в частности: Кестон-колледжа, центра в Утрехте, колледжа в Уитоне; указаны основные темы исследований по данной проблематике:

¹³⁹ Sharyl Corrado & Toivo Pilli, eds. *Eastern European Baptist History: New Perspectives*. Prague: International Baptist Theological Seminary, 2007; which includes her essay, as well as other authors cited above. Corrado's MA thesis was published in Russian as Sheril Korrado, *Filosofia sluzheniia polkovnika Pashkova*. St. Petersburg: Biblia dlia vsekh, 2005.

¹⁴⁰ Walter W Sawatsky & Peter F. Penner, eds. *Mission in the Former Soviet Union*. Schwarzenfeld Germany: Neufeld Verlag, 2005.

сектантство в Российской империи, зарождение и развитие баптизма и пятидесятничества, православная церковь и евангельское движение, религия и коммунизм в Советском Союзе. Проанализированы научные труды Игоря Смолича, Эрнста Бенца, Пола Стивза, Уильяма Флетчера, Майкла Бурдо, Марка Эллиота, Альберта Вардина, Дона Ферберна, Питера Пеннера, Хезер Коулман, Кэтрин Ваннер.

Ключевые слова: научные публикации, евангельские христиане-баптисты, научно-исследовательские институты.

Walter Sawatsky's article reviews the topics of Western researches on the history of Evangelical-Baptist movement in Eastern Europe. The author describes activities of research institutes working in the field of Religious studies, such as Keston college, Utrecht Center, and Wheaton college; points out main directions of research, e.g. sectarianism in Russian empire; origin and development of Baptist and Pentecostal movements; Orthodox Church and Evangelical movement; religion and Communism in the Soviet Union. He mentions the findings of Igor Smolitsch, Ernst Benz, Poll Steeves, William Fletcher, Michael Bourdeaux, Mark Elliott, Albert Wardin, Donald Fairbairn, Peter Penner, Heather Coleman, and Catherine Wanner.

Keywords: research publications, Evangelical Christian Baptist, research institutes.

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УДК 27:316.723-053.6"1920"

РОССИЙСКОЕ МОЛОДЁЖНОЕ ЕВАНГЕЛЬСКОЕ ДВИЖЕНИЕ В НАЧАЛЕ XX ВЕКА

Цель этой статьи состоит в том, чтобы показать, в каких условиях формировалось молодежное евангельское движение в Российской империи и СССР в первые десятилетия XX века и какие задачи оно перед собой ставило в это время. В отношении территориальных рамок исследования, то мы охватываем этнические российские территории. Однако будем концентрироваться, главным образом, на центральном регионе, так как именно здесь события, связанные с развитием молодежного евангельского движения, приобрели особенную динамику.

В эпоху формирования евангельской конфессии в Российской империи (рубеж XIX-XX веков) страна переживала значительный демографический подъем. Она достигла самого высокого уровня рождаемости в своей истории. Рост населения России в это время опережал рост населения западноевропейских стран почти в три раза. За период с 1890 г. по 1914 г. годы численность населения возросла более чем на 60 миллионов человек. В это время Россия занимала первое место в мире по

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