

PATTERNS OF EVANGELICAL CHARITY IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

One good way to find out what people believe is to watch what they do, as Jesus Christ pointed out to his disciples: “By their fruit you will recognize them” (Matthew 7:16). Presently I am studying the history of ministries of compassion among evangelicals in late Imperial Russia Empire and the early Soviet Union (specifically 1905-1929) with the idea that if we look at how and why they served people in need, it will give us some clues to their identity and help us—their spiritual descendants—to understand our call to Christian service a bit better.

When I first began to think about writing a doctoral dissertation on this topic I tested the idea with a Baptist historian and archivist here in Ukraine. I asked him to keep an eye out for documents or memoirs referring to social service ministries or charitable institutions that might have existed among the evangelicals, especially before the Bolshevik Revolution. His response was prompt and emphatic: “What charitable institutions? They didn’t have any charitable institutions! They couldn’t! They were being persecuted all the time!” He was right, of course, but only up to a point. Evangelicals, both in the Russian Empire and in Soviet times, have always lived within limitations. It must always be kept in mind that their periods of freedom were interspersed by periods of repression. Nevertheless, they also had definite ideas about (like Christ) how to “go around doing good and healing” (Acts 10:38) and realized them quite consistently. From the time of the Pashkovites in the 1870s and, of course, between 1905 and 1929 during their famous “golden age” when they productively and enthusiastically made use of a prolonged period of relative freedom, evangelicals carried out a variety of compassionate ministries.

For example, they cared for orphaned children and organized sewing projects for poor women to earn money. They operated inexpensive dining rooms for impoverished students and workers. They helped prisoners, war prisoners, and exiles. They taught literacy. They sheltered homeless people and alcoholics. They participated in national campaigns in times of war and disaster, from sending medical personnel to help the wounded during the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878) to managing large amounts of money and supplies to feed the starving during the famine of 1921-23.

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In this paper I will describe some basic features of compassionate ministries practiced among evangelicals in both Tsarist times and in Soviet Russia from the late nineteenth century until about the time of the Bolshevik Revolution. Rather than trying to give a chronology and describe all the different types of ministries, I will instead present a brief evangelical theology of compassion based on writings by the movement's leaders, then observe that theology in practice by looking "through the lens" of three different children's homes founded at intervals over a period of twenty-eight years. I will describe each of these three institutions briefly and then summarize what they tell us about the character of the evangelical movement during this early period.

An Evangelical Theology of Compassion. In the years immediately following the Decree on Religious Toleration (1905) when it became possible to articulate their theology and disseminate it more freely, evangelicals also began to systematize their understanding of "doing good." My main source for this information is the evangelical movement's periodicals, especially *Baptist* (founded in 1907 under editor D. I. Mazaev). Many articles touch on a variety of concerns related to compassionate ministries, including almsgiving, concrete acts of service, the place of money and giving in the life of a Christian, the role of a Christian in society, and other topics.

Faith vs. Works. Evangelicals are known for proclaiming that salvation is by faith alone. What does that mean, however, when speaking of ministries of compassion? Criticism was leveled against evangelicals that because they relied on "faith alone"—understood as mere intellectual assent—they did no good works at all and taught others to do the same. One reason for their reputation was, of course, that they no longer contributed to popular expressions of piety such as the upkeep of monasteries, or paying fees for prayers or memorial services.

Vasiliy Vasilevich Ivanov (1848-1919) of Baku wrote several short pieces on the question of works-righteousness that appeared on the pages of *Baptist* from 1907-1909. He argues that giving is not excluded by the message of salvation through the blood of Christ. Not only that, but when people accept Christ, they have more disposable income! They have left behind their drinking, smoking, and other bad habits, and are no longer spending money on funeral masses, and consequently they have extra money. But that money is not intended to store up wealth for this life! On the contrary, Christians must do good with the money they have.²⁵

Biblically-defined good works/Imitation of Christ. However, having established the importance of good works, it is also necessary to perform only those deeds that God has given people to do according to the Bible. For this reason, evangelicals excluded such activities as giving to monasteries on the grounds that they were mere "human inventions."²⁶ In contrast to mere pious

²⁵ Ivanov V.V. Slovo k veruiushchim // *Baptist*. – 1907. – №6. – S. 5-8; *Ispytajte menia* // *Baptist*. – 1908. – №12. – S. 3.

²⁶ Prokhanov I.S. Verouchenie, 23; Ivanov V.V. O delakh // *Baptist*. – 1909. – № 5. – S. 7.

giving, believers are to help the suffering as Christ would. Because Christ has loved us, we must love others.²⁷

In addition, believers are expected to recognize Christ's presence among the suffering. Iakov Stoianov, in a 1907 letter to the editor, notes that, "Christ in his earthly life, being in human flesh, had a need for bread; he was also hungry and thirsty. He enjoyed it so much when people served Him through the giving of their possessions and feeding Him".²⁸

Personal involvement. Evangelicals understood Christian compassion as something lively, intentional, and active, in contrast to a lifeless obligation. The parable of the Good Samaritan is the prime illustration of this principle. V. G. Pavlov, in a speech given in Baku at a concert in aid of orphans and the hungry during the 1907 famine, asks: "How would you want to be treated if you were the victim?" He encourages his listeners to be attentive to the people around them and recognize their "neighbor" in everyone, regardless of nationality or class.²⁹ Furthermore, according to Pavlov, true giving is characterized by personal involvement and concern: "Will we pass by them as a priest and a Levite did, or, like the Good Samaritan, will we stretch out a helping hand? To purchase a ticket for a concert or a play with a charitable purpose does not necessarily mean to exhibit charity. How can we really enjoy our lives when (people) are starving to death?"³⁰

Preaching the gospel. However, the most important good work required by God, and to which evangelicals must give their greatest attention, is to preach the gospel (Matthew 28:19-20). Its effects are the most far reaching, striking at the very root of human suffering, which is sin. Ultimately, the only lasting solution for social problems that evangelicals could see was through changed attitudes brought about through obedience to the "law of love," which was put into effect through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. According to V. G. Pavlov: "This simple law of love is able to solve all our social issues. There is no other solution to intense class and economic conflicts."³¹

Three Children's Homes. How did that basic theology of good works express itself in the lives of evangelicals? I would like to illustrate it through the example of three different children's homes.

All three institutions were founded and operated by evangelicals at different times and in different places. The information I have about them is fragmentary. Please note as well that there may have been others—for example, there was a Baptist home for about one hundred children near Omsk from 1917-1921 — but these are three children's homes that I happen to have been able to find out something about and that I will treat as representative.

²⁷ Pavlov V.G. Kto moi blizhnyi? // Baptist. – 1908. – №4 – S. 3.

²⁸ Stoianov Iakov. //Baptist. – 1908. –№5. – S.41.

²⁹ Pavlov V.G. Kto moi blizhnyi? // Baptist. – 1908. –.№ 3. – S 3.

³⁰ Pavlov V.G. Kto moi blizhnyi? // Baptist. – 1908. – № 4. – S. 2.

³¹ Pavlov V.G. Kto moi blizhnyi? // Baptist. – №4. – S. 3.

The first was founded in 1889 in Келломяки, Finland (then part of the Russian empire and today Komarovo, Russia) and existed for about twenty years. The second children's home was started in Balashov, Russia (Saratov guberniia) in about 1912 and continued its work for about ten years. The third example of a children's home lasted only about ten months. It was founded in 1917 in Petrograd.

“Baby Home” in Kellomjaky (Келломяки)-1889. The first example comes from the Pashkovite circle in the northwestern part of the Russian Empire. Laura Grundberg, the founder of the home, was a Swede by nationality. According to her written testimony (1908) she became a believer in 1883 through the preaching of Vasilii A. Pashkov. Also in St. Petersburg she was in contact with a certain Mr. Kilborn from the Anglo-American Church. She discussed with him her desire to become a missionary in China. At first he supported her wish, but then changed his mind and said he felt her place was “here” (St. Petersburg). At first she was disappointed, but John 13:7 was helpful to her: “You do not realize now what I am doing, but later you will understand.”

After a time, Grundberg concluded that her role was to serve “little ones.” Another woman, Госпожа Венберг, joined with her. They started with four Estonian children—sisters—in 1889, and then Finnish, Russian, Polish, and Jewish children joined what she called (for some reason) in English, a baby home, that is, “дом младенцев”.

Note, incidentally, that this work was begun several years after Pashkov's 1884 exile. American historian Sharyl Corrado has called attention to the fact that some scholars maintain that the Pashkovite movement all but disappeared after its suppression in the mid-1880s, but Laura Grundberg's story, among others, suggests that the true situation was more complex than that. Many Pashkovites continued to do charitable work “quietly, privately or in cooperation with Orthodox and secular aid societies.”³²

The children at the baby home were apparently raised to adulthood and measures were taken to equip them to support themselves. Girls, for example, grew up to work as seamstresses or servants. At least three of them, however, had a different calling. One of Laura Grundberg's purposes in founding the home was to raise children to serve as missionaries.

Anna (Agneta, Aniuta) Renberg was born in Estonia in 1883 and orphaned in 1889. She and her three sisters were apparently the four Estonian children who were first brought to the baby home. Anna worked for a time as a house servant but also was interested in Christian service. In 1903-04 she

³² Sharyl Corrado, “The Gospel in Society: Pashkovite Social Outreach in Late Imperial Russia” in Sharyl Corrado and Toivo Pilli, eds., *Eastern European Baptist History: New Perspectives* (Prague: International Baptist Theological Seminary, 2007). – S. 68. Compare Corrado's view with Jennifer Hedda's in *His Kingdom Come: Orthodox Pastorship and Social Activism in Revolutionary Russia* (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008). – S.91.

studied in London at a missionary college and then went to China under The China Inland Mission.³³

Likewise, Anna (Agneta) Smirnova, who was born in 1886 and came to the home in 1889, grew up to train as a medical missionary in London in about 1908. At the same time another child in the home was preparing to train for missionary service in China as well.

The home experienced many difficulties, including hunger, cold, illness, death, and police surveillance. When they moved to a larger residence they had space to “hold meetings”—obviously of an evangelical type—and had problems with the authorities:

Often a police came to our house. Sometimes they came during the day, sometimes – at night. One night they came, examined the house top-down and reported that a police officer would come next morning. And he did come! It was right before the Easter. “The Lord directs human hearts as water flows”. In the same way He directed the police officer’s heart and filled it with a desire to do good by sending the full basket of food: 50 eggs, 50 French rolls and 17 Easter cakes”³⁴

Many times, according to Laura Grundberg, they were without money and feared having to close down, but the Lord always provided. Sometimes complete strangers helped; some help they received from abroad. Once, God sent them a cow. They learned patience and faith as they turned their needs over to God and waited expectantly for answers.

Children’s Home/Home for the Elderly in Balashov-1912. During the first years after Toleration, the Russian Baptist Union consolidated its organizational structure and established its own missionary society. In 1908 the Union designated a fund for the disabled (инвалидная касса); specifically, it was for the support of “widows of our Christian workers who died in the Lord as well as those widows who are alive, but because of their age are not able to work.” «вдов наших почивших в Господе тружеников, а также и здравствующих, но вследствие их возраста, утративших способность к труду».³⁵ The care of Christian workers was a matter of immense concern to evangelicals who remembered the difficulties of prison and exile in pre-Toleration Russia. V. G. Pavlov himself had been exiled twice between 1887 and 1895 and throughout his career emphasized the need for the Christian community to support its own workers. He wrote:

I consider it needless to prove that a Christian worker who thoroughly devoted himself for spreading the Gospel, should not be neglected by his brothers in Christ after he loses the ability to work. In case of his death, his wife

³³ A letter sent by Anna Renberg in July 1907 from China appears in Bratskiy Listok (September 1908). – S.10-14.

³⁴ “Detskiy priut na st. Kellomiaki, finl. zhel. dorogi” Bratskiy listok (September 1908). – S.4.

³⁵ Vozzvanie. // Baptist. – 1908. – №1. – S. 25.

and children should not be left without any support. In those case God's churches should provide for their workers and their families.³⁶

At first, the Baptist Union tried to place its needy orphans and elderly in the homes of individual church members and arrange for their support through the Union's treasury. However, that option did not prove workable, and the need for a shelter or home—presumably for the widows and orphans of church workers—began to be discussed.

In September 1910 at the Baptist Union Congress in St. Petersburg, the very active Balashov Baptist church in Saratov guberniia was designated as the organizing body for the home and I. A. Goliaev, the local delegate, stated that the issue had already been discussed in Balashov and the “brothers” there were in favor of establishing a Union home. He concluded by saying, “If the suggestion to start a Union orphanage in our city comes from you, it is an honor for us. If it is from the Lord – it is a blessing.” «Если предложение устройства союзного приюта в нашем городе от вас, то это для нас честь; а если это от Господа—то благословение». Accordingly, a resolution was entered into the minutes: “The Baptist Union Convention decided to establish an orphanage and a senior house. It is applying to Balashev congregation to take upon itself all the issues needed for organizing the house for orphans and seniors. The Union also encourages all the churches to take part in this ministry”.³⁷

Balashov seems to have been chosen as the site because of its active, committed, and relatively well-to-do church membership. The area was originally an important Molokan center that was visited in 1890 by Baptist evangelist V. I. Ivanov. Many of the local believers were imprisoned during the 1890s. In 1909 the Balashov Baptists dedicated a new prayer house, an imposing building of red and white brick with towers and seating for nine hundred worshippers.³⁸

In about 1912 the home for orphaned children between the ages of 2 and 16 and for the elderly began to function and it apparently existed until about 1922 or 1923 when it had to close down for lack of funds.³⁹ The Balashov church was responsible for supporting the home financially and for administering it through a committee elected by the congregation. The residents of the home were Baptists: “seniors and orphans of our confession without distinction of social level or a nationality”.⁴⁰

Children's Home in Petrograd-1917. Immense changes came to Russia, of course, during the fateful year of revolution. At that time in Petrograd an

³⁶ Pavlov V.G. Vozzvanie. //Baptist. 1908. – №10. – S. 24.

³⁷ Bratskiy listok. – 1910. – №10. – S.7-8.

³⁸ Mazaev G. I. Balashevskiy s'ezd // Baptist. – 1909. – №4. – S.14-15; Chas. T. Byford, Peasants and Prophets (Baptist Pioneers in Russia and South Eastern Europe), 3rd ed. (London: The Kingsgate Press, 1914). – S.124-125; “Pis'mo s' puti,”// Baptist. – 1910. – №2– S.16.

³⁹ “Zapis” No. 65 o zasedanii Kolegii VSB, 6 April 1923, Historical Papers of Mrs. I. V. Neprash.

⁴⁰ Baptist. – 1914. – № 1-4. – S. 29-30.

important center for evangelical activity was the Baptist prayer house, Dom Evangeliiia, which was formally opened at a great celebration in 1911. It seems to have functioned something like a modern mega-church with seating in the main hall for several thousand, as well as classrooms, lecture halls, and space for a publishing enterprise.

At times the building also functioned as a residence. For example during the winter of 1913-1914 it served as a halfway-house for as many as fifty alcoholics and homeless people who had been touched by the preaching of pastor William Fetler and others and wanted to change their way of living. The ministry was headed by Maria Miasoedova, a Russian aristocrat who had joined the Salvation Army in France and served there for six years before returning home to Russia.⁴¹ In 1915 when Fetler was exiled abroad, the tradition of lively community ministry at Dom Evangeliiia continued under other leadership.

The youth of the church, in particular (and there were several groups) were actively engaged in service. In about 1916 some youth, as well as other church members, began to feel concern for the many homeless children—war orphans and refugees—on the streets of Petrograd. They decided to organize a shelter and hire women to care for the children. To raise money they held a Christmas bazaar and sold items that they had made. With those funds and private donations they were able to secure three rooms with a kitchen and porch and start their shelter.

By the summer of 1917 they were caring for ten children from single-parent families. There were two women in charge, but the rest of the work was done by volunteers from the youth groups and church: sewing, laundry, chopping wood, shopping, and making items to sell.

At first there was great enthusiasm for the project, but they found that it was difficult to sustain: "... it is one of the strongest temptations when numbers of Christian workers and struggles are diminishing. One can feel a decrease of interest to the common work, and therefore, less prayer for it".⁴² Those who stayed on claimed it was a lesson in learning to walk by faith alone and not rely on donations or rapid success.

In any case, their shelter did not last long: ... this project has been suspended because of the acute food crisis in Petrograd. Another reason was that some soldiers were freed from the military service and their parents were able to have their children back... Although, if the Lord put a desire in brothers and sisters' hearts to provide for poor children, we will be happy to accept it, since there are so many children in Petrograd without warm clothes and almost without any food.⁴³

⁴¹ Sevasti'ianov S.V. Mariia Petrovna Miasoedova (Ocherk zhizni) // Al'manakh po istorii russkogo baptizma, vypusk 2, Karetnikova M.S. – St. Petersburg: Bibliia dlia vsekh, year? – S. 258-259.

⁴² E. N. K. Sem'ia' detei v Levashove (iz opyta raboty v kruzhhkakh molodezhi pri Dome Evangeliiia) // Gost .–1917. – №6. – S. 86.

⁴³ Nechto o priute v Levashove // Gost. – 1917. – №11. – S. 175.

Actually, a short time later Dom Evangeliiia itself would serve as a shelter again, this time for some of its own members. M. N. Iasnovskaia wrote from Petrograd in 1920, “The House of the Gospel ... has been a safe refuge in times of every horrors... The Lord is miraculously providing a daily bread for us”.⁴⁴ American researcher P. D. Steeves comments that by that time the church membership numbered fewer than 200 because most had gone south in search of food.⁴⁵

The End of all the Stories. At this point in my research the details of the closing of the home in Kellomaki or in Balashov are not known. No doubt government pressure played a part.⁴⁶ However, the “food crisis” that affected the children’s home in Petrograd and the lack of funds that forced the Baptist Union to close the shelter in Balashov suggest that the social disaster that surrounded them was finally too big to handle. A completely different era was dawning.

One part of that new era was the replacement of charity and the idea of charity with the claims and ideology of the Soviet state. In the aftermath of war, revolution, and famine there would be an immense population of orphaned children, but for ideological as well as economic reasons, it would no longer be possible for any Christian community to care for them. Instead an entirely new system of state-sponsored care would be developed and a new theory of pedagogy would be invented to accommodate Soviet reality.

Conclusion. What do these three examples of children’s homes tell us about the evangelicals, their life, and their understanding of compassionate ministries? I would suggest that they illustrate a clear connection between the evangelicals’ theology of social ministry and their practice and also show that the same principles were sustained in quite different settings for at least thirty years. According to the theology articulated by their leaders after 1905, biblically-defined “good works” were a distinct part of the believer’s calling. They were a means of expressing active faith and were intended to further the spread of the gospel.

First of all, it is obvious that the question of whether or not “good works” are necessary in the life of a Christian was never an issue for the evangelicals involved in these ministries to children. Their approach was direct and personal: in all three cases they simply perceived a need and took it upon themselves to do something about it.

Second, their approach was biblical. As people who saw themselves as having come to spiritual life out of a moribund Orthodox Church, they distinguished between useless works, such as contributing to the support of a monastery, and works of lively faith commanded by God in Scripture. Jesus

⁴⁴ Iasnovskaia M.N. //Blagovestnik. – 1920. – №11. – S. 179.

⁴⁵ Steeves P.D. The Russian Baptist Union, 1917-1935// Evangelical Awakening in Russia.– University of Kansas, 1976. – P. 111-113.

⁴⁶ N. I. Salov –Astakhov presents a grim, fictionalized account of the takeover of a Christian children’s home by Soviet authorities in Khromoi Volodia.Molodoi geroi very (Ephrata, Penn.: Grace Press, n.d.).

made a direct connection between “welcoming” little children and receiving Him (Matthew 18:5), and the three children’s homes indicate that the evangelicals got the message.

Above all, ministries of compassion among the evangelicals never existed apart from what they saw as their primary calling of preaching the gospel. For them, that was the ultimate act of mercy because it cut off sin—the cause of human suffering—at its root: “... sin is the mother of the social question...”⁴⁷ Or, according to the organizers of the Petrograd home: “It is our desire – not only to provide good living conditions to our children in this difficult time, but also to plant in their souls the seeds of truth and love towards God and neighbors.”⁴⁸

The children’s homes were not, however, a means of direct outreach to the wider community. Because of the evangelicals’ sectarian status, not only the Baptist Union home at Balashov, but each of the other two homes very likely also primarily served the needs of the evangelical community. It was part of the survival of a “society within a society.” Nevertheless, the care of children also related to the imperative to preach the gospel. If the Word of God was going to go out to the world, then it was the obvious responsibility of the church to care for its messengers, as well as their widows and orphans, and to raise up new servants from among them.

There was much public discussion in late imperial Russia about social needs and charity,⁴⁹ but it would not appear that the evangelicals were part of the wider conversation. For one thing, as a persecuted minority Russian evangelicals did not engage in charitable activity on a scale that would have caused them to participate in public discourse on the topic. Indeed, considering the police surveillance Laura Grundberg experienced, it would appear that evangelical compassionate ministries were not anxious to call attention to themselves in the first place! I would add that there is also little evidence that they ever thought through all the social implications of their charitable work. The exception to this general rule is, of course, I. S. Prokhanov, who articulated a much broader social agenda.⁵⁰

Evangelical compassionate service was physical in expression, but its nature was spiritual. Indeed, the descriptions of the children’s homes in the evangelical press are presented almost exclusively in spiritual language. That is, the evangelicals do not perceive the needs of children in terms of social or economic injustice or advocate government intervention; instead, they see social

⁴⁷ Drug iunoshy. Sotsial’nyi vopros. // Molodoi vinogradnik. – 1911. – №1. – S.2.

⁴⁸ E. N. K. Sem’ia’ detei v Levashove (iz opyta raboty v kruzhekakh molodezhi pri Dome Evangeliiia) // Gost. //1917. – №6 – S.86.

⁴⁹ For a thorough study of charity in the Russian Empire, see Adele Lindenmeyr, *Poverty is Not a Vice: Charity, Society and the State in Imperial Russia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

⁵⁰ See: Tati’iana Nikol’skaia’s overview of Prokhanov’s program in *Russkiy protestantizm i gosudarstvennaia vlast’ v 1905-1991 godakh* (St. Petersburg: Izdatel’stvo Evropeiskogo universiteta v Sankt-Peterburge, 2009). – S. 66-79.

needs as spiritually based. Nor do they (at least in their publications) describe their work in terms of numbers of children, specific amounts of money, or the making of policy decisions. Instead, they are engaged in telling a story of God's faithfulness and provision.

Ultimately, then, the evangelicals in late imperial Russia were not philanthropists, patrons of charitable organizations, or sociologists, first of all because the wider society did not allow them to be, but also because they had different concerns. Above all, they saw their service as simple obedience to the biblical imperative to do good, "especially to those who belong to the family of believers" (Galatians 6:10).

А н о т а ц і ї

У статті М. Рейбер показано євангельську теологію служіння милосердя через призму діяльності трьох будинків для сиріт, вдів, людей похилого віку, заснованих баптистами та євангельськими християнами в Келломяках (1889), Балашові (1912) та Петрограді (1917). Також проаналізовано роботу цих громад серед нужденного населення в періоди революцій та війн. Зазначено, що служіння ближньому для євангельських віруючих було питанням віри і послуху Богові, тому милосердя ставало невід'ємною частиною їхнього життя, будучи практичним підтвердженням того, що вони проповідували.

Ключові слова: євангельська теологія, богослов'я милосердя, притулки, баптисти, євангельські християни.

В статтє М. Рейбер освещена євангельская теология служения милосердия через призму деятельности трех домов для сирот, вдов и престарелых, основанных баптистами и євангельскими христианами в Келломяки (1889), Балашове (1912) и Петрограде (1917). Также проанализирована работа данных общин для нуждающегося населения в периоды революций и войн. Указано, что служение ближнему для євангельских верующих было вопросом веры и послушания Богу, поэтому милосердие становилось неотъемлемой частью их жизни, являясь практическим подтверждением того, что они проповедовали.

Ключевые слова: євангельская теология, богословие милосердия, приюты, баптисты, євангельские христиане.

M. Raber clarifies in her article the evangelical theology of the ministry of charity through the prism of the activity of the three houses for orphans, widows and elderly people, established by Baptist and Evangelical Christians in Kellomyaki (1889), Balashov (1912), and Petrograd (1917). She also analyzes the work of those communities for the needy people in the periods of revolutions and wars. M. Raber points out that evangelical believers considered their ministry to neighbours as an issue of faith and obedience to God, so that mercy became an integral part of their life, being a practical confirmation of what they were preaching.

Keywords: Evangelical theology, theology of charity, orphanages, Baptists, Evangelical Christians.