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Latvian Baptist Traditions in Transition*

VALDIS TĒRAUDKALNS

I intend not so much to write about Latvian Baptist traditions in the past as to reflect on the challenges Baptists in Latvia face as part of a society which is in the process of being integrated into Western Europe. It is important to try to avoid stereotypes: as others have pointed out the declaration that 'such and such is the Baptist tradition' may mean only that 'we have done it thus ever since I can remember' or 'this is how it was done in the Baptist circles where I used to live'.¹ Although by no means the largest denomination in Latvia, the Baptist Church occupies a distinct place in society. Statistics show that it is growing: in 1985 there were 60 congregations with 4,852 members; in 1998 the Baptist Union included 76 churches with 6,180 members. In 1998 membership grew in 33 congregations.² The Baptists are now considered to be a 'traditional religion'³ and together with representatives from the Catholic, Lutheran, Orthodox, Old Believer and Jewish religious associations they are members of the Consultative Council for Religious Affairs of the Ministry of Justice. With other denominations, in 1988 the Baptists signed an agreement with the state on military chaplaincy, and they are one of the denominations which have a legal right to teach in state schools on religion (the Baptists and Lutherans have worked out a joint curriculum for these classes).

Aspects of Tradition

Continuity and Variability

Tradition provides continuity with the past. The Christian tradition is the setting in which the work of the Gospel of Christ continues: 'without tradition, no Gospel'.⁴ The Holy Spirit works through living and dynamic tradition; the sense of mission given by the Spirit has helped Latvian Baptists to live through years of restrictions and to maintain that activism which is characteristic of evangelical groups.

Baptists trace their origins to the radical wing of the European Reformation. Although the continuity of the Latvian Baptists in this respect is not direct, Protestant radicals were active in the Baltic region from the beginning of the Reformation. The lay preacher Melchior Hofman arrived in Riga around 1521 and from the beginning associated himself with the lower classes. His radical social-religious agenda and his belief that the community, not the privileged hierarchy, was central to the Church were not well received by those in power. He had to leave Latvia in 1526 and his supporters merged with the Lutherans.⁵ However, nonconformism received a new

*This article is based on a lecture given at a conference of the Latvian Baptist churches in Riga, 7 September 1997.

impetus in the eighteenth century with the arrival of the Moravians.

Nowadays a substantial proportion of practising Christians of all denominations in Latvia, including Baptists, comprises people coming from unchurched backgrounds. Awareness of historical continuity is thus problematic. We need to look at this problem in the context of general modern estrangement from tradition. Evaluation of the past, while avoiding glorification, is one of the key factors in the reemergence of new collective historical awareness.

We are speaking of living tradition, contrasting it with traditionalism. Because it is living, tradition is also variable. Religious identity is something which should be redefined in each generation. Nowadays the landscape of Baptist churches in Latvia is very diverse – from churches trying to preserve the model of the prewar Baptist movement at one end of the spectrum to churches influenced by charismatic restorationists at the other. Dialectics of tradition and renewal are complex and are showing themselves in high tension between innovators for whom tradition is synonymous with ‘spiritual dryness’ and traditionalists for whom any kind of change is equal to heresy. In these circumstances the denominational leadership is under a great deal of pressure to act as a guardian of identity. In his speech to the 1998 Congress Bishop Andrejs Šterns warned about the inclination of some ministers to transform their flocks into groups looking more like other traditional or nontraditional denominations and asked for honest resignations in such cases.⁶

Universality and Particularity

The Latvian Baptist *Credo* (*Kristīgas dzīves kredo* (*The Credo of the Christian Life*)) adopted by the Council of the Union of Baptist Churches in Latvia in April 1998 speaks about ‘the invisible Church which includes all true Children of God in heaven and on earth, past and present, without regard for their national, racial and denominational background’. The same Council had earlier accepted the Apostolic Creed, with its emphasis on the catholicity of the Church, as the basis for Baptist beliefs.

From the very beginning of the process of establishing their churches the Latvian Baptists did not remain in isolation but sought contacts with fellow-believers elsewhere. One of the first Latvian Baptists, Ādams Gertners (1829–75), got in touch with the German Baptist Brantmanis who was a member of the Baptist church in Klaipėda (at that time Memel) in Lithuania but who lived in Grobiņa, a small town in Latvia. On 2 September 1860 nine Latvians were baptised in the church in Klaipėda.⁷ Continuing contacts with Western European Baptists as well as the distinct cultural environment in the Baltic States left a lasting impression which persisted during the period of the compulsory ‘marriage’ between the Baltic Baptists and Baptists in the other Soviet republics (from 1945 to 1990 the Baptists in Latvia were part of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians–Baptists), who were more isolationist in their ecclesiology and legalistic in the code of conduct they imposed on the members of their churches.

Baptists (and others) from abroad are sometimes surprised by Latvian Baptist traditions which are untypical for the denomination such as, for example, the existence of the office of bishop.⁸ In these cases we should remember that

it is always a matter of studying a religion as it is expressed in the lives of a people in a given place and time. We must always be prepared to ask: Christianity when? Christianity where? ... When we study religion we study the way of perceiving and transforming the world by particular

people in particular times and places.⁹

The Latvian Baptist movement exists in a country where the dominant religious groups are Lutheran and Catholic. This environment has influenced both Baptist theology and Baptist liturgy in ways which will be described later. Tradition is shaped by a particular cultural environment, which is its human face.

In the nineteenth century the Latvian Baptists developed as the movement which turned against the formalism of the Lutheran Church. At the Lutheran synod in Kurzeme in 1862 Rev. Schultz, the editor of the daily newspaper *Latviešu Avīzes*, said that the Baptists from one side and the 'New Latvians' from the other were endangering Church and faith.¹⁰ Nowadays relations with the Lutheran Church are different and misconceptions and barriers on both sides have broken down. With this process of 'ageing' the 'protesting' character of the Baptist movement has become weaker. In his memoirs the scholar Haralds Biezais writes:

During the time of the first period of Latvian independence, when the pastor himself was a Latvian coming from the ordinary people, the Baptists as a Latvian religious movement did not have motives for opposition. The Baptist movement is a tradition which, once started, deserves to continue in one way or another even if the original deeper motivation is now absent.¹¹

I would disagree with Biezais about the lack of motivation: the survival and growth of the Latvian Baptist movement shows that the vitality and democracy of the free-church tradition still significantly enriches Latvian religious life as a whole. As the director of the Baptist Seminary, pastor Jānis Riss, puts it:

Christianity expresses itself in two tendencies: it nurtures a nation's spirituality and shapes crowds; and it places particular individuals under the influence of the Gospel of Christ. The larger Churches are taking care of the first tendency; the Baptists are working with individuals, setting them into direct relationships with God. We have been especially active in this mission and now the larger Churches are taking over a lot of our activities and methods.¹²

Voluntary religious groups such as those which exist among the Baptists can be successful in nurturing new practices of participation. Teaching in Sunday School, bearing public witness to the faith, taking responsibility in church choirs, in the women's groups and in congregational life in general fosters development of interpersonal communication. However, the words of Biezais remind us of an undeniable truth: it is important for a Church, if it is to survive, to formulate not only what it stands against but also what it stands for. The Latvian Brethren Church (Moravians), which was connected with the first Latvian national renaissance in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was not able to face the challenges of the time and finally vanished from the religious landscape. The Baptists face a similar challenge: in certain sections of society they are known more for what they do not do than for what they do. Time will show whether the Baptist movement will be dominated by forms of contemporary fundamentalism or whether the Latvian Baptists will be the true radicals of their time. Certainly the contemporary Anabaptist model, with its appropriation of insights from liberation theology, is not intended to be world-denying but world-affirming, which means sharing the world's joys and sorrows.

Types of Tradition

Theological Traditions

It is impossible to speak today about a uniform Lutheran, or Catholic, or Anglican theology. The same is true of the Baptists, who according to a study paper issued by the Division for Theology and Education of the European Baptist Federation in 1993 'encourage a spiritual freedom among their churches, welcome and accept differences of outlook and diversity of practice'.¹³ It is not always easy to affirm this ideal in practice, however, and many Christians still live with black-and-white images, viewing reality with sharp duality. New ideas have often been met with suspicion, and academic theology is often considered to be 'destroying faith'. It will take time to understand the succinct formulation of the famous Catholic theologian Hans Küng that 'theology cannot provide reasons for faith, neither can it destroy faith'.¹⁴ For Latvian Baptists theology is still something which is expressed more in *praxis* than in academic discourses. They have produced only one book in the field of systematic theology (*Kam mēs ticam?* by R. Inķis, published in 1934). The Soviet period, when the local seminary (1922–40) was closed and the only option for ministers was to study in correspondence courses from Moscow, was understandably not a fruitful period for theologians either. There is a hope that young people now graduating from local and foreign seminaries and universities will fill the gap. The first fruits of this process are E. Mažis and G. Līdums, both teaching in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Latvia, and E. Neilands, a member of the Bible translation committee of the Latvian Bible Society.

Developments in Baptist thinking in Latvia have been influenced by revival movements. Revivalism in Latvia has a long history and is especially linked with the name of Viljams Fetlers (1883–1957)¹⁵ who during his studies at Spurgeon's College in London was influenced by Welsh revivalism and by *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* by Charles Finney.¹⁶ He was also in touch with early Pentecostalism: Donald Gee says that

William Fetler, of Latvia, was first used to bring the wide spiritual harvest fields there [Eastern Europe] before the Pentecostal friends in both America and England, but he never maintained full connection with the Movement. Among some of his official co-workers there came into being the fully Pentecostal organization known as the Russian and Eastern European Mission and this agency, with Headquarters in Chicago, and branch offices in England and Australia, became responsible for assisting much of the Pentecostal Movement throughout the lands of Eastern Europe.¹⁷

Differences in attitude towards new methods of evangelism and Pentecostal ideas created tensions exhibiting themselves, for example, in the dispute between Pēteris Lauberts (1875–1964) and Fetlers. Lauberts wrote a book *Vai V. Fetlers ir baptists? (Is Fetlers a Baptist?)* and, of course, his opponent was not at a loss for an answer. In this polemic we can see the clashing of two strong personalities; but ideological differences are clearly at issue. Lauberts is harsh in his conclusions: 'Because of our vagueness and carelessness Latvian Baptists have suffered from the consequences of the Pentecostal Movement more than Baptists in America, England, Germany or Sweden'.¹⁸ A formal agreement between Soviet Pentecostals and Baptists in August 1945 did not change the situation either in the USSR as a whole or in Soviet Latvia. In his account of Soviet Pentecostalism Steve Durasoff writes:

There wasn't even a honeymoon period. In local congregations where Pentecostal members of a merger church were in the majority and their pastor was a charismatic preacher, the services were conducted in Pentecostal fashion. But even where they were in the minority, Pentecostals would pray out in other tongues as they were blessed.¹⁹

In some cases Latvian Baptists with Pentecostal orientation continued to hold separate prayer meetings besides the main church service. The Soviet authorities tried to stop these gatherings. For example, the plenipotentiary of the Council of Religious Affairs, Jānis Restbergs, wrote in a report:

It has become known that the minister at Riga Golgotha Church, Strēlis, who has a Pentecostal background, organises additional prayers after the service in the prayer house where speaking in 'tongues' is practised. These prayers are attended by 10–15 persons. Ļevindanto²⁰ has been informed in order to clarify the situation and to stop these occurrences.²¹

Today revivalism has received new impetus through the contemporary charismatic movement and from western evangelical groups, especially Southern Baptists, one of whom once said to me 'Only a person who answers the question "Where is Jesus?" with "In my heart" is truly converted.' The Latvian Baptist *Credo* does not stress the emotional aspects of 'new birth' and does not state that it is an instant event; but the problem raised openly by Rev. Pēteris Egle (1903–93)²² remains:

In many cases it seems as if a person has been persuaded but that the main thing – change of heart – has been forgotten. We organise large meetings with more ministers involved and when warmth has been created and souls have been touched we make sudden offensives. People who easily get excited surrender.²³

There is no distinct 'liberal' school amongst the Latvian Baptists. Liberal initiatives have been isolated occurrences. One of the great controversies amongst the Latvian Baptists before the First World War concerned the publication by J. A. Freijs' publishing house of a Latvian translation of the *Life of Jesus* by the French historian of religion and Semitic philologist Joseph Renan.²⁴ One Latvian Christian newspaper published a militant appeal to burn copies of the book: 'Away with modern, liberal theology! Away with higher criticism!'²⁵ After the First World War there were a number of developments reflecting modern thought. Ē. Rimbenieks wrote an article²⁶ about Walter Rauschenbusch, who is known as 'the father of the social gospel'. The publishing house of the Baptist Union published a translation of H. E. Fosdick's book *The Meaning of Prayer*. Fosdick was a liberal Baptist famous for his attacks on the fundamentalists. Charles W. Singer wrote about an unnamed pastor A.K. (probably Ādolfs Klaupiks (1900–79), the editor of the publication *Kristīgā Balss*) who according to Singer 'in the USA, attending the liberal Northern Baptist Seminary, lost much of his spirituality. He was a different man returning to Latvia.'²⁷ Singer is also critical of Latvian Baptist leader J. A. Freijs: 'most of the friends he made in America were from the liberal Northern Baptist Convention ... we did not say that Dr Freijs was a modernist, but most of his friends in America were liberals.'²⁸ Viljams Fetlers was horrified by liberal theology in the USA and recorded his experiences in a book.²⁹ Pēteris Lauberts, who reacted against Fetlers' charges of modernism, did not stand for liberalism himself but stated that 'it is certainly disputable whether modernists are Baptists. They should be judged and

perhaps even excommunicated from the Church.’³⁰

Nowadays conservative evangelicalism is still dominant and its proponents defend it not only by appeal to the authority of the Bible but also by pragmatic arguments about church growth.³¹ It should be noted, however, that most Latvian Baptists are not fundamentalists. The Baptist *Credo* does not speak of the ‘entire truth’ of Scripture but states only that ‘Holy Scripture is the living word of God’. The *Credo* also avoids dispensational premillennialist tones (the Russian translation of the *Scofield Reference Bible* is known in Latvia but is mostly used amongst Russian-speaking Baptists) and simply speaks of the Second Coming of Christ and general resurrection.

As far as differences between Baptists and Lutherans are concerned it seems that the debate on believers’ baptism versus infant baptism, on autonomy of local churches versus strict centralisation and on doctrinal succession versus episcopal succession will continue to define the watershed between these groups. However, we should note the more sacramental emphasis that many Latvian Baptists place on communion: the *Credo* speaks of the ‘celebration’ of the Lord’s Supper and at least to the authors of this document the visible elements ‘testify to the presence of Jesus Christ in Holy Communion’.

Liturgical Traditions

Innovations in liturgy have always raised hot dispute. A pastor is more likely to be able to preach strange doctrines unnoticed than he is to be able to change something in the order of service without anyone objecting. However, change is coming in this area too. People in today’s consumer society choose churches less out of theological conviction than because of what they offer, and this includes the style of worship. The role the Church as a whole plays in society is now quite different from the role it played during the Soviet period; and the Baptist Church is now recognised as one of the so-called traditional denominations. These developments, too, have put pressure on the liturgical style. There are historical parallels with the fourth century when after Christianity received official status in the Roman Empire liturgical life experienced transformation.

The choir has traditionally played an important role in Latvian Baptist worship. This is to a large extent because there is a rich tradition of Latvian musical life in general. During the First Republic the Latvian Baptists were already organising their own festivals of songs: the first one took place in 1925 in Liepāja with 1,100 singers. Especially in larger churches, it would be unthinkable to have a Sunday morning service without a choir. In the Soviet period the church choir was the only permitted activity in the local church which brought together so many participants, young and old. Most local congregations traditionally had a service once a month with special emphasis on music. It took great courage to sing openly at the front of the people knowing that there were informers among them. One challenge has always been to balance the tastes of parishioners and the maintenance of high musical standards. There is also the question of the involvement of the whole congregation in worship. Baptist composer Viktors Baštiks (born 1912) has observed that ‘in the past, in order to please the listeners or because of bad taste, we often have presented “cheap” pieces of low quality’.³² The ‘charismatisation’ of evangelicalism has brought new accents in worship. When some congregations started using choruses instead of hymn books they were heavily criticised at pastoral conferences, but gradually the new style is taking hold. Questions remain about the theological and linguistic rich-

ness or poverty of these songs. Choirs will probably continue to play a role in worship, but they will have to develop greater flexibility.

There is a large gap between churches in rural areas and churches in towns. The latter tend to have more formal worship services with a clear liturgical structure. Regular use of the Lord's Prayer, the appearance of vestments, candles on the altar table and Bible readings according to the lectionary are just some signs of Baptists becoming more like older Churches. Worship in the rural churches is more unstructured and there is usually a space for sharing religious experiences. Those who give testimonies often have a literary understanding of religious symbols. As Bernhard Lang writes in his book on liturgy,

perceiving the world in a religious way, those who give a testimony inhabit a Christian universe. If a crisis is overcome, it is the Lord who has helped. If a bad dream has shown evil powers entering a house like swarming insects, this is taken to be evidence of Satan's last assault before the Lord's return. What to the outsider may appear as mere rhetoric is in fact deeply ingrained in the minds of the faithful, who cannot suppress the automatic functioning of a perceptual set nourished or 'conditioned' by the biblical story as well as by other testimonies they have heard.³³

However, testimonies have a therapeutic value in the process of self-affirmation which is important in rural Latvia today, with its high unemployment and the consequent psychological pressure.

The Eucharist is traditionally celebrated on the first Sunday of the month, but some churches have a tradition of celebrating it on special occasions as well, such as baptisms or particular days of the liturgical year like Maundy Thursday. Latvian Baptists are divided on the issue of 'closed' or 'open' table, but slowly congregations are moving towards the acceptance of all communicants regardless of their denominational background. Traditionally communion has been separated from the liturgy of the Word, but some churches now incorporate both in one unified service.

Because Baptists do not have a fixed liturgy, in principle they should find both ancient liturgy and modern forms acceptable. Unwritten customs and inherited stereotypes are strong, but they are slowly giving way. A determining factor here is the strength of the desire of the congregation to become more directly involved in the service.

Social Traditions

Like Baptist theology, Baptist social life has been influenced by revivalism and pietism, which in the past distanced themselves from cultural life (theatre, cinema, dancing and so on). Even now the main activities at Latvian Baptist summer camps are sports and games (and, of course, religious activities). A traditional Baptist youth camp takes place during the national midsummer *Līgo* festival, which has become a Christian festival. The concern of the Baptist leadership with ethics is clear from the title of the Latvian Baptist creed: *The Credo of the Christian Life*. This document is on conservative evangelical lines, affirming the values of the traditional nuclear family and enjoining abstinence from smoking and drinking. According to 1997 data there are 32,000 alcoholics in Latvia,³⁴ so total abstinence is not something which needs to be criticised. The question is only whether imposing abstinence might not produce a reaction amongst adherents of a particular religious group. The younger generation of Latvian Baptists is increasingly questioning this strict code of

behaviour. In fact, features such as total abstinence cannot be considered to be inseparable from traditional Baptist identity. We should remember that at the beginning of the nineteenth century many American Baptist ministers received as part of their wage not only bushels of potatoes and a certain amount of meat but also gallons of corn whisky.³⁵ Now that the Baptist movement has become a mainstream denomination in Latvia, time will show whether it will be able to cope with the pragmatic coexistence of different lifestyles, or whether developments will be on the following lines:

Religious schisms are inevitable. Because inequality is fundamental to organised human life, there always exist strong demands for both worldly and other-worldly faiths. No religious group can be both church and sect, congratulating powerful members for obtaining scarce rewards while promulgating compensators that substitute for them.³⁶

As for all groups under revivalist influence the question of the place of women in the Church is paradoxical. On the one hand we can see the ‘feminisation of piety’: the majority of members in the local Latvian Baptist churches are women and they are playing a significant role in the activities of the Church. Already at the beginning of this century Emīlija Kančberga-Andermane was travelling around Latvia as an evangelist, and before the Second World War Anita Koņštāle-Matisone was working as a leader of a congregation in the town of Saldus.³⁷ However, the current prevailing conservative view on the family is hostile to the ministry of ordained women. Latvian Baptists do not have women ministers and women deacons do not usually play a role in the communion service. (To my knowledge the only exception here is Bauska Baptist Church.) Only in 1998 was the first woman (Līvija Lāme) elected by the annual Congress as a member of Union Council.

Many Latvian Baptists have been active in politics. Before the First World War Rev. J. A. Freijs (1863–1950) was a member of Riga City Council, Kr. Freijvalds (1865–1923) was a member of the People’s Council which on 18 November 1918 announced the independence of Latvia, Rev. Ē. Rimbenieks (1888–1943) was for a while during the First Republic minister of finance and mayor of Liepāja, and J. Jirgenšons (1891–c.1943) was mayor of Aizpute. In 1924 a ‘Baptist party’ was established: the Union of Christian Labourers (chairman Rev. Ē. Rimbenieks and general secretary Rev V. Freimanis (1900–73)) existed until 1934 when the authoritarian regime of prime minister Kārlis Ulmanis dismissed parliament and suspended the political parties.³⁸ During the national revival in the 1980s an active social role was played by pastors A. Šķuburs and J. Šulcs. In the 1990s politicians belonging to the Baptist denomination have included M. Vītols and U. Lakševics, parliamentary deputies, and O. Brūvers, director of the National Human Rights Office.

My conviction is that in the postcommunist countries we are living in a liberating time when in the midst of creative and sometimes desperate tensions a new community is slowly emerging – the open society. Time will show whether an open Church, ready to take the risk of living with others and for others, will take its place in this society. Living in freedom is a dangerous responsibility, but it is the way in which we can live a fully Christian – that is, fully human – life.

Notes and References

¹ Brooks Hays and John Steely (eds), *The Baptist Way of Life* (Mercer University Press, Macon, 1981), p. 48.

- ² 'Draudzes Latvijā', *Kristīgs Draugs*, no. 1, 1988, p. 12.
- ³ There was a proposal to incorporate this vague term into the Law on Religious Organisations, naming religious groups which were to be granted the status of 'traditional denominations', but in its final debate in February 1998 Parliament did not accept this proposal. See Elmārs Barkāns 'Grozījumi likumā *Par reliģiskajām organizācijām*', *Svētdienas Rīts*, no. 5, 7 March 1998, p. 2.
- ⁴ Emil Brunner, *The Misunderstanding of the Church* (Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1953), p. 35.
- ⁵ See the article by Canadian church historian W. O. Packull who was a guest lecturer in the University of Latvia: Verners O. Pakuls, 'Melchioris Hofmanis Livonijas reformācijā: sektu veidošanās', *Ceļš*, no. 48, 1996, pp. 21–48.
- ⁶ Arbijs Lauva, 'LBDS 1998. gada kongress', *Kristīgā Balss*, no. 5, 1998, p. 60. The annual Congress is the forum to which member churches send delegates and where policy decisions for the Baptist Church are made.
- ⁷ The date 2 September 1860 is considered to mark the beginning of the Baptist movement in Latvia, although the first known Latvian Baptist Fricis Jēkabsons had been baptised in Klaipēda in 1855. Historical information and data about Latvian Baptists in this article have mostly been taken from Jānis Kronlīns (ed.), *Uz augšu! Latvijas baptistu draudžu 75 gadu darbības apskats* (Latvijas Baptistu Draudžu Savienības Apgāds, Rīga, 1935); and Jānis Tervits, *Latvijas baptistu draudžu savienības draudzes pašreiz* (Latvijas Baptistu Draudžu Savienība, Rīga, 1995).
- ⁸ The first Latvian Baptist bishop was Ā. Gertners (in office 1866–74). The title was revived in 1945 with K. Lāceklis (in office 1945–46). During the Soviet period the authorities of the All-Union Council used the title 'senior presbyter' for the Latvian Baptist leader, but Latvians themselves continued to use the title 'bishop'. According to bylaws 8:1 and 8:2 of the Union the bishop represents the Union in the local churches, in international denominational and ecumenical organisations, and in relations with the state. Congress elects the bishop for a three-year period and for not more than two subsequent periods. It is interesting that two of the three Pentecostal Unions in Latvia also have bishops, as does the 'Holiness' Church of God.
- ⁹ Richard E. Wentz, *Religion in the New World: The Shaping of Religious Traditions in the United States* (Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1990), p. 14.
- ¹⁰ Quoted from J. A. Jansons (ed.), *Tautiskās atmodas laikmeta darbinieki* (Militārās Literatūras Apgādes Fonds, Rīga, 1939), p. 22. The 'New Latvians' movement was the name of the movement for Latvian national rebirth in the mid-nineteenth century. Its main figures were: J. Alunāns, Kr. Barons, K. Biezbārdis and A. Kronvalds.
- ¹¹ Haralds Biezais, *Saki tā, kā tas ir* (Svētdienas Rīts, Rīga, 1995), p. 116.
- ¹² Jānis Kronlīns, 'Latvijas baptistu draudžu 75 gadu jubilejas svinību ievadījums Savienības namā', *Kristīgā Balss*, no. 11, 1935, p. 201.
- ¹³ Paul Beasley-Murray, *Radical Believers: The Baptist Way of Being the Church* (The Baptist Union of Great Britain, 1993 (reprint)), p. 123.
- ¹⁴ Hans Küng, *On Being a Christian* (Image Books, New York, 1984), p. 161.
- ¹⁵ Minister of the large Salvation Temple Church in Riga, Fetlers (in the English- and Russian-speaking worlds known also under the name Basil A. Malof) was one of the leaders of the Second Union of the Latvian Baptist Churches which broke away from the First Union in 1926. The two Unions were reconciled and reunited in 1934.
- ¹⁶ A. McCaig, *Wonders of Grace in Russia* (The Revival Press, Rīga, 1926), p. 12.
- ¹⁷ Donald Gee, *The Pentecostal Movement* (Elim, London, 1949), p. 159.
- ¹⁸ Pēteris Lauberts, *Uz Latvijas baptistu 1927.g. robežām* (P. Lauberta Apgāds, Liepāja, 1927), p. 6.
- ¹⁹ Steve Durasoff, *Pentecost Behind the Iron Curtain* (Logos International, Plainfield, 1972), p. 28.
- ²⁰ Nikolajs Ļevindanto (1896–1966) was senior presbyter in the Baltic region from 1945 to 1966.

- ²¹ Latvian State Archive, register no. 101, file description no. 14, file no. 73, p. 111.
- ²² Pēteris Egle was an influential leader among the Latvian Baptists and served as bishop 1966–77.
- ²³ Pēteris Egle, 'Domas par mūsu draudžu pieaugumu', *Kristīgā Balss*, no. 17, 1934, p. 280.
- ²⁴ It is probably this book which J. A. Freijs' biographer Jānis Kronlīns is referring to when he describes a book the content of which was not checked in advance and which defended a liberal theological position. (Jānis Kronlīns, *Gaišā Ceļā* (Amerikas Latviešu Baptistu Apvienība, Toronto, 1964)), p. 80.
- ²⁵ 'Uzsaukums bbr. J. Inķim un Mārtiņam Tiltiņam', *Evaņģēlists*, no. 10, 21 April 1907, p. 5.
- ²⁶ Ēvalds Rimbenieks, 'Valters Raušenbušs', *Kristīgā Balss*, no. 22, 1932, pp. 330–31.
- ²⁷ Charles W. Singer, *From Childhood to Old Age: Stories Old and New* (The International Refugee Mission, Los Angeles, 1986), p. 81.
- ²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 48.
- ²⁹ Wiljam Fetler, *How I Discovered Modernism Among American Baptists and Why I Founded the Russian Missionary Society* (The Russian Missionary Society, Chicago, 1924), p. 12.
- ³⁰ Pēteris Lauberts, *Vai V. Fetlers ir baptists?* (Latviešu Baptistu Draudžu Savienība, Rīga, 1926), p. 36.
- ³¹ For example, in his lectures Rev. P. Eisāns defends conservatism using theses proposed by sociologists of religion D. Kelley and R. Stark. Pēteris Eisāns, 'Baptisti ceļā no šodienas uz rītdienas', *Baptistu Vēstnesis*, no. 64, 1998, p. 53.
- ³² Frīdrihs Čukurs, Rūdolfs Ekšteins and Augusts Mēters (eds.), *Dzīvības Ceļš* (Amerikas Latviešu Baptistu Apvienība, 1960), p. 135.
- ³³ Bernhard Lang, *Sacred Games: A History of Christian Worship* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1997), p. 50.
- ³⁴ Inese Kļava, 'Inde no saldenās pudeles', *Diena*, no. 157, 9 July 1998, p. 10.
- ³⁵ Hays and Steely (eds), *op. cit.*, p. 86.
- ³⁶ Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival and Cult Formation* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1985), p. 184.
- ³⁷ Čukurs *et. al.* (eds), *op. cit.*, p. 184.
- ³⁸ The list of prewar Baptist politicians is taken from *ibid.*, pp. 198–206.