

**From the Ukraine to the Caucasus to the Canadian  
Prairies: Life as Wandering in the Spiritual  
Autobiography of Feoktist Dunaenko**

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When asked about European religious immigration to Canada, most Canadians would immediately refer to the Mennonites. People from western Canada or those with some interest in history or religion are likely to name Hutterites and Doukhobors. Indeed, those three groups are outstanding examples of religiously motivated mass immigration. All three survive up to this day and have been objects of scholarly and, at times, public interest.

However, there is another quite distinct group of religiously motivated settlers, which is rarely recognized because it followed fairly mainstream Protestant religious practices and has largely assimilated into larger Canadian society. Calling themselves “evangelical Christians,” this group began immigrating to Canada in the first decade of the twentieth century from western parts of the Russian empire, and, after Poland had regained its independence (1918), from eastern Poland. Almost all of them were of Slavic origin – Ukrainians, Russians, Byelorussians and Poles. The Ukrainians were predominant in numbers.

In his *Hidden Worlds* Royden Loewen points to the multidimensionality of the immigrant perception of the world around them. In writing about Mennonite immigrants from Russia, Loewen notes: “This world, shared with other immigrants, was part farm, part German, part continental European, and part capitalist. Ironically, these shared worlds have sometimes been the most hidden, despite the concern of ethnic historio-

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ographies to highlight the unique features of any given community.”<sup>1</sup> The life experience of Feoktist Dunaenko, a Slavic evangelical immigrant pioneer in the Prairies, was a tangible example of a multidimensional world. In fact, unlike many Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor groups, which tended to create insular communities, Slavic evangelicals have always been at the forefront of interaction, diffusion, cross influence, and assimilation, creatively absorbing various influences and amalgamating them into new forms. This makes their “hidden worlds” among the most interesting examples of immigrant experiences in Canada.

The author of this paper is currently conducting field work in Manitoba and Saskatchewan with the purpose of collecting memories, life stories, and other historical evidence among descendants of early Slavic evangelical settlers. Of course, most of them are second generation at best, and what they are able to tell about the earlier period is what they had heard from their parents and grandparents. However, when we consider relevant surviving written sources, I am convinced that Dunaenko’s life story is a compelling example of the hidden world of the Slavic evangelical community.

The autobiography of Feoktist Dunaenko, (ca.1860- after 1917), is a fairly rare example of an autobiographical text produced by an early Russian-Ukrainian evangelical believer, and one of the earliest Slavic evangelical settlers in western Canada. Dunaenko was born into a typical middle income Orthodox peasant family, converted to vigorous evangelicalism as many did at that time, suffered from discrimination and mistreatment along with thousands of his fellow-believers, was exiled, and, finally, joined thousands of other religious emigrants who left Tsarist Russia. He never was a pastor, a famous preacher, or a recognized author. What is highly atypical, however, is that he bothered to write a fairly substantial autobiography. Of course, no one interested in the Russian evangelical movement will miss such classical works as *In the Cauldron of Russia* by Ivan Prokhanov,<sup>2</sup> *In the Flame of Russia’s Revolution* by Nikolai Salov-Astakhov,<sup>3</sup> *Twice-Born Russian* by Peter Deyneka,<sup>4</sup> *Christians under the Hammer and Sickle* and *My Life in Soviet Russia* by Paul Voronaeff,<sup>5</sup> or *With Christ in Soviet Russia* by Vladimir Martzinkovski.<sup>6</sup> However, these autobiographical books are literary works produced by highly educated authors with very specific ideological agendas. They were published and re-published in the West to a large degree due to their political topicality during the Cold War era. Magazines of evangelical Christians and Baptists in Russia and the USSR from 1905

to late 1920s (such as *Khristianin, Baptist, Baptist Ukrainy*) abound with conversion narratives and short autobiographical stories, but the Dunaenko life story is a fairly rare example of a Russian evangelical spiritual autobiography (not just a conversion story) of the early twentieth century written by a rank-and-file believer that would include a narrative of an immigration experience. The very fact that Dunaenko was a simple peasant with no part in the complex politics of the church-building, church administration, and with no expressed political position, gives an attentive reader access to the “hidden worlds” of his life experience. Dunaenko’s life story is marked by an obvious lack of literary sophistication, and an extraordinary level of intimacy and sincerity.

Exile and wandering for Christ’s sake constituted an important part of Dunaenko’s life. The spiritual reinterpretation of and reconciliation with his wandering is an ongoing theme of his autobiography. The main conclusion Dunaenko wanted to convey to his readers was that wandering is a spiritually meaningful and rewarding experience for the followers of Christ. Furthermore, the author of this paper believes that this consideration reflects the motivations and goals behind early Russian and Ukrainian evangelical immigration into Canada.

The autobiography was written by Feoktist Dunaenko when he was already in Canada, probably, towards the end of his life. Nikolai Vodnevsky, an American-based Russian Christian publisher and author, received the old manuscript of the autobiography in the mail, apparently sent to him by some of Dunaenko’s relatives after his death. According to Vodnevsky’s own account, at first he paid no attention to it and he stored the manuscript in his archives. Years later, cleaning up his archives, he discovered Dunaenko’s text again, and was about to dispose of it, but his “inner voice” stopped him. Vodnevsky re-read the manuscript, and was deeply impressed by the author’s sincerity, faithfulness in the face of trials, spirit of forgiveness and love for enemies. Vodnevsky published the autobiography in 1975 in the format of a brochure under the title “*He Endured till the End (Do kontsa preterpevshii)*.”<sup>7</sup> The brochure did not contain any publication data, since most of the literature published by western Christian publishing houses in Russian was meant for sending (often smuggling) into the USSR.<sup>8</sup> Since the break up of the Soviet Union, the autobiography has been re-published by Christian publishers in Russia and the Ukraine. However, in spite of its important position as a source on life experience of early Slavic evangelical settlers in Canada, it has never been the focus of scholarly attention.

This analysis is divided into three parts. The first section examines the pre-history and circumstances of his conversion; the second section is a narrative of the ordeals Dunaenko had to endure for the sake of his faith; and finally I examine his life in Canada.

### ***Dunaenko's Conversion***

Dunaenko was born around 1860 into a peasant Orthodox family near the town of Uman in the south-western part of the Russian empire, now central Ukraine. He was a devout Orthodox believer from his childhood. He even sang regularly in church and had a good reputation with the local priest and congregation. His young adult years coincided with the birth and rapid spread of the Stundist<sup>9</sup> movement in southern Russia. This movement was born in 1860s under the direct influence of such factors as the pietist revival among numerous Mennonite and Lutheran colonies in southern Russia, local traditions of religious dissent such as the movement of the Molokans,<sup>10</sup> and the publication of the Bible in vernacular by 1872.<sup>11</sup> Similar movements appeared at the same time in the Caucasus and in Saint Petersburg. In early 1900s, all three branches were organised into two unions – the Union of Baptists, and the Union of Evangelical Christians – with very similar theology and practice, and in 1944 both unions merged to form the church of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, the largest Protestant denomination of the former USSR.<sup>12</sup>

One of the most prominent early Stundist leaders in the Ukraine was Ivan Grigoryevich Riaboshapka (1831-1900), a miller from the village of Liubomirka near Kherson, an area saturated with German colonies and Molokan sectarians. Riaboshapka converted under the influence of his friend, the German blacksmith Martin Hübner, a member of a local pietist Lutheran community. Later he was baptized by another prominent leader of the early Ukrainian *shtunda*, Efim Tsymbal, who in his turn received baptism from a *Brüdergemeinde* minister Abraham Unger.<sup>13</sup> By the time young Feoktist Dunaenko took an interest in spiritual matters, Riaboshapka was already a famous preacher. Riaboshapka planted groups of believers near where Dunaenko lived. Dunaenko's wife started secretly attending one of these house churches.

Conversion narratives of early Russian Evangelical Christians have been studied in detail by Heather Coleman of the University of Alberta. She calls these conversion narratives “a major literary art form of the Russian Baptists.”<sup>14</sup> Coleman argues that one of the recurring themes of

the early Baptist conversion narratives was an emphasis on the genuine, internal, and domestic nature of their conversion. She notes that “the Baptist faith was widely perceived as ‘foreign’ but converts rejected this view, portraying evangelical conversion as a natural outgrowth of broader Russian popular aspirations and, indeed, as the solution to the ignorance, hatred, hierarchy, and spiritual emptiness.”<sup>15</sup> According to Coleman, these conversion narratives explored themes such as the manner in which “an ordinary person [made] his way in a changing world . . . the search for salvation in Russian popular religion . . . the cultural conflict within oneself and in relation to others brought on by leaving the Orthodox Church, and the emergence of a Russian evangelical community.”<sup>16</sup> As we will see, Dunaenko also perceived his conversion as a genuine and natural act. In fact, Dunaenko’s conversion story includes many themes in common with other such narratives.

Dunaenko described his conversion as the process that started with his authentic interest in the Bible. In a sincere attempt to figure out the biblical message, he undertook an uneasy task of reading a copy of the Bible in Old Church Slavonic, the sacred liturgical language of the Orthodox church in Slavic countries. Although the liturgical language is in some ways similar to modern Russian or Ukrainian, it is difficult for an average untrained person to understand it. We do not know what formal training Dunaenko received, but considering his peasant and rural background, and limited material resources, there is no reason to believe that his education went far beyond basic literacy. To try to read and understand the Old Church Slavonic text is a sign of the exceptional importance that Dunaenko attributed to his personal spiritual development. Reading the Bible prompted Dunaenko to seek spiritual community with like-minded believers, and he joined a local evangelical group planted by Riaboshapka.

In an attempt to halt the spread of heresy, the Orthodox church sent trained missionaries to areas particularly affected by sectarian movements. Typically, these missionaries set up public discussions with sectarians. Typically, these missionaries had much more formal education than sectarian leaders. Their ultimate goal was to dissuade sectarians and bring them to repentance. However, the recurring motif of many Russian sectarian narratives is one of how the educated and arrogant missionary and his “worldly wisdom” were crushed by the clear arguments brought forth by simple sectarians.<sup>17</sup> Dunaenko’s autobiography contributes to this tradition. During a public meeting with a missionary, Dunaenko asked a

church ministrant, an elderly man respected for his piety, to explain in the vernacular some of the Old Church Slavonic expressions frequently used at the liturgy. It turned out that the ministrant did not know their meaning, which provoked laughter of the gathered. More importantly, the missionary had to confront Dunaenko, asking him whether he knew the meaning of those expressions, which gave Dunaenko an ample opportunity to speak about his religious views.

Immediately after the dispute, the missionary in a private conversation with Dunaenko threatened him with exile: "Remember, you will be exiled! You'll die in exile. There you will see people who dance during their prayers. You'll have to leave your so called brothers, and, possibly, for good. Is it worth leaving your wife and children?"<sup>18</sup> To that Dunaenko replied: "Lord's will be done." He expressed his willingness to accept exile and interpret it as wandering for Christ's sake as so many in Russia had done before him.

### ***Dunaenko's Ordeals***

A life of a member of a dissenting religious community in Tsarist Russia in many cases meant wandering. Sectarians and religious dissenters were among the most mobile classes of the Russian society from as early as 1660s. At that time Old Believers, a large dissenting group of the Orthodox who rejected reforms introduced by Patriarch Nikon, started moving out of the immediate reach of authorities, to Caucasus, northern Russia, Urals, Siberia, and, in some cases, abroad. Later, in nineteenth century, dissenting groups such as Molokans, Doukhobors and Sabbatarians joined Old Believers in their internal migrations in search of peace and freedom and moved to the Caucasus in 1830s.<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that such migrations were not always exile; at times, sectarian migration was voluntary. The metaphor of exodus, a religiously motivated move to a new land, appears to be a recurring topic and a rhetorical tool underlying many religiously motivated migrations across the Christian world. This mode of thinking characterized Russian religious migrants as well.

Dunaenko was not exiled immediately after his debate with the missionary. He had to endure detention and brutal beatings until in May, 1894, he was ordered to settle in Transcaucasia. Dunaenko had to go there by himself, leaving his family at home. Russian Transcaucasia at that time was densely populated by religious dissenters, who comprised the vast majority of the Slavic population of the province. He did meet people who

danced while praying, that is, Molokans. His experience with them, as we will see, proved to be very positive.

Dunaenko soon realized that even forced exile proved to be a better choice compared to the mistreatment and discrimination he suffered in his native village. As he noted: "I wrote a long letter to my wife about how I live and how I settled. In response, my wife described her life in detail. I saw that my current situation is easier than hers. She wrote that the police every day disturb her, forcing her to baptize children in the Orthodox church."<sup>20</sup> Finally Dunaenko's wife decided to leave her home village and go to Transcaucasia to join her husband. Normally, at that time one needed a notice of safe conduct from the old residence in order to move. Dunaenko's wife, suspecting that her petition for safe conduct would likely be refused, fled from her village, and finally joined her husband in exile. Later she managed to get a notice of safe conduct from her previous residence by mail.

The family endured many hardships before they were firmly established. More than once Molokans helped them in need. Dunaenko noted that "Three days later a few people from the Molokan brotherhood came to see us. They saw our misery and lack of clothing. We couldn't even clothe our children, though it was February. One Molokan took off his sheepskin coat and gave it to my wife, crying from sympathy for us. Another took three rubles out of his pocket and gave them to me with tears in his eyes."<sup>21</sup> People despised by missionaries and the establishment, those who "danced as they prayed," proved to be Dunaenko's partakers in wanderings for Christ's sake. Like him, they left their homeland in the interior of the country, and wandered to the Caucasus. Later, just as Dunaenko, they sailed to the so-called New World in search of freedom and refuge. Most Molokans went to the Caucasus voluntarily to take part in the glorious millennial kingdom of Christ, while Dunaenko arrived against his will, leaving his family and fellow believers. However, his exile proved to be a spiritually meaningful and rewarding experience. The example of Molokans, wanderers for Christ's sake like himself, invigorated and encouraged him throughout his exile.

Materially, Dunaenko's life was extremely difficult, as is evident from the story of the kind-hearted Molokans. There was not enough work, and earnings were inadequate for a family. In addition, Dunaenko had to spend money on rent. Nevertheless, "in a word, it was difficult, but we glorified God that neither the police nor Orthodox priests oppress us here."<sup>22</sup>

After seven years in exile, by 1901 the Dunaenkos were expecting to be able to return to their native village; however, their exile was extended for two more years. When they were finally given freedom, they returned to the Ukraine to discover that their house, land and mill had been taken over by Feoktist's brother. However, after some time Dunaenko regained some of his reputation among his neighbours, and was elected a representative of his rural community before higher administration, "possibly because I was a bit more literate than others and have seen a lot."<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that in 1905 the Manifesto of Religious Toleration came into effect. The Manifesto permitted many groups of religious dissenters to legalize their existence. Among other rights, sectarians received the right to conduct the registry of civil statistics of their members independently from the Orthodox church.

Nevertheless, mistreatment of religious dissidents, especially those that were deemed "foreign" did not stop. Coleman states that even after the 1905 Manifesto, sectarians were still perceived as dangerous, not just by the authorities. Indeed, there existed "popular violence against evangelicals in the villages. For in the village, too, the converts were perceived as dangerous – to traditional, social, family, and religious relationships."<sup>24</sup>

### ***Emigration to Canada***

After a series of threats from the local police officer Dunaenko decided to apply for a passport to travel abroad. The police officer replied: "Good riddance. You have nothing to do here. You just make people's heads spin [with your preaching]." Dunaenko and his family were happy the authorities did not interfere with their decision to leave the country. They got their passports without hindrance, and packed up to sail to Canada. Of course, his previous experience as a Caucasian exile allowed Dunaenko to see a new stage of wandering from a positive perspective. He knew that it was God that made his life meaningful and happy, no matter where he went.

Dunaenko and his family of six children came to Canada in 1910. He never mentioned specifically any geographical names in the new country, but it is evident that they lived somewhere on the prairies and made their home near a larger Ukrainian rural settlement. Most other people in the neighbourhood were Galicians. At that time Galicia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Dunaenko calls his neighbours "Austrians." Apparently, he was given a standard homestead of virgin land

where he had to “cut the trees, root out stumps, break large stones.”<sup>25</sup> As many other immigrants in the Prairies at that time, Dunaenko was not able to live off his farm right away, and had to seek temporary employment that would give him an immediate source of income. He worked for a railway, apparently, a CPR line, that was located 85 miles from his homestead. After having earned a bit of money, he returned to the homestead and built a sod house together with his wife. “We carried building materials on our own shoulders, fell down of tiredness, yet we built a hut, and covered it with sod. When it was raining, water was dripping into the house. We both thought: “When will our misfortunes and poverty end?”<sup>26</sup> Compared to the level of material well-being before the exile (Dunaenko had a house, a mill, and some land), his life in Canada seems to have been exceedingly hard. However, Dunaenko and his family felt happy, because, as he plainly stated, “there are no . . . zealous priests, but freedom of word and conscience.”<sup>27</sup> So, wandering that was so hard from the fleshly point of view proved to be a fruitful spiritual experience, and, indeed, realization of God’s will. Dunaenko referred to a popular proverb, trying to make his point clear: “Without God do not step over your threshold, but with God you may go even overseas.”<sup>28</sup>

Dunaenko defined his own identity in terms of ethnicity, language, and religion. First, it is notable that Dunaenko very rarely spoke of himself in clear ethnic terms. He was born in the heartland of the present-day Ukrainian state. Apparently, his mother tongue was an eastern dialect of the Ukrainian language. However, he must have been highly proficient in standard literary Russian, for he constantly read the Bible in the Russian vernacular. In the trans-Caucasian exile, where people of Slavic origin comprised only a small minority, Dunaenko and his family associated mostly with Russians, and were perceived as such as an autochthonous population. In Canada, where Galicians, immigrants from what is now western Ukraine, prevailed, he identified himself as Ukrainian, although showing an awareness of a linguistic, cultural, and religious differences between Galicians and “Russian” Ukrainians. As he noted: “It’s difficult for me to speak to them. Both I and they are Ukrainians. But I’m a Russian Ukrainian, and they are Austrian.”<sup>29</sup> At the same time, he reports reading the gospel in the Ukrainian language in Canada.<sup>30</sup> Catholic Poles engaged in religious conversations that Dunaenko conducted with his Galician fellow workers.<sup>31</sup> Apparently, they were able to elaborate a common Slavic lingua franca to comprehend each other. What his example shows is that Dunaenko did not perceive himself as “not quite Ukrainian,” or “insuffi-

ciently Russian,” or as a victim of russification, polonization, canadization or any other “malicious influences.” As we know him from his autobiography, Dunaenko was wholesome and happy, in spite of all hardships. First, he did not see Ukrainian or Russian identity as necessarily separate or opposing each other in terms of culture, language, and mentality; it simply did not appear to create any internal conflict. Second, for Dunaenko and for Slavic evangelical immigrants in general, ethnicity was not the primary means of self-identification. Rather, it was their religious convictions, common background, shared aspirations and partaking in the same process of a spiritually meaningful wandering, that shaped their identity.

In spite of the fact that Dunaenko never was a famous or prominent person, research has turned up external evidence of his life, although rudimentary and brief. Ludwig Szenderowski, engineer, pastor, and a son of a leader of evangelical Christians in Poland, mentioned Dunaenko in his historical essay on evangelical Christians. In the section on evangelical Christians in Canada, he wrote: “First Evangelical settlers in Canada from around year 1900 were the following families: Saveliev, Pavlov, Fedorov, Gavrillov, Muzyko, Lemberg, Mazurenko, Dunaenko, Egorov, Shcherbinin, and many others. All of them without exception settled in free Canada on homesteads granted by the government in western Canada – in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.”<sup>32</sup> Some of the aforementioned family names (though not Dunaenko) can also be found in the published reflections by the leader of Ukrainian Baptists in Canada, Petro Kindrat, who was among the first Baptist immigrants from Kiev and Caucasus that formed the nucleus of the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist church in Winnipeg.<sup>33</sup> Dunaenko, as related in his autobiography, preached in his local church which apparently took place in a rural setting.

It is not clear when Dunaenko passed away. The last time reference he mentioned specifically in his life story was Easter of 1917, when his friend’s wife converted. However, according to Dunaenko, “I have missed much in my notes. If I wrote in detail, it would have been a thick book.”<sup>34</sup> The main conclusion Feoktist Dunaenko wanted to share with his readers was that he “had seen many people, had been to many cities until finally arrived in a foreign land. But with Christ one is at home everywhere.”<sup>35</sup> Thus, physical wandering was perceived by Dunaenko as an integral and a tangible expression of walking with Christ, which emphasized and confirmed that an earthly homeland is temporary, and that he unconditionally belongs only to God.

### **Conclusion**

The life story of Feoktist Dunaenko is a perfect exposition of the motivations, moving forces, and the background that stood behind the immigration of Slavic evangelical believers to Canada in the beginning of twentieth century. It shows that religious considerations were the unique reason for Feoktist Dunaenko's immigration to Canada. Both genetically and typologically his motives for immigration belong to the old and recurring biblical pattern of exodus, the search for a land of freedom, and the spiritual significance of wandering. This particular rhetoric topos is hard to overestimate when considering the self-identity of Slavic evangelical immigration into Canada. Dunaenko's case shows that Slavic evangelical Christians were a distinctive group of religious settlers in Canada, different from the majority of the Ukrainian or Russian immigrants to this country.

We can compare Slavic evangelicals in western Canada to more famous religious groups such as Mennonites, Hutterites and Doukhobors. The three mentioned religious bodies are widely recognized in the scholarship and in public opinion as important streams of religiously motivated early settlers who helped to shape the cultural and religious mosaic of western Canada. The case of Feoktist Dunaenko illustrates that Slavic evangelicals are another group of essentially the same sort.

### **Endnotes**

1. Royden Loewen, *Hidden Worlds: Revisiting the Mennonite Migrants of the 1870s* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 2001), 7.
2. Ivan Prokhanov, *In the Cauldron of Russia* (New York: All-Russian Evangelical Christian Union, 1933).
3. Nikolai Salov-Astakhov, *In the Flame of Russia's Revolution with God and the Bible* (Ephrata, PA: Grace Press, 1999).
4. Peter Deyneka, *Twice-born Russian: An Autobiography* (Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1944).
5. Paul Voronaeff, *My Life in Soviet Russia* (Tulsa OK: Christian Crusade, 1969); and *Christians under the Hammer and Sickle* (Wichita, KS: Defender Publishers, 1935).
6. V.Ph. Martzinkovski, *With Christ in Soviet Russia* (Prague: Edited and published by the author, 1933).

7. Feoktist Dunaenko, *Do kontsa preterpevshiy*, foreword by N. Vodnevsky (n.p.: n.d.), 6-7.
8. On the smuggling of religious literature into the USSR during the Cold War please, see Brother Andrew (Andrew van der Bijl), with John and Elizabeth Sherrill, *God's Smuggler* (Old Tappan, NJ: Spire Books, 1967); and Brother Andrew, *The Ethics of Smuggling* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, Inc., 1974).
9. This name derives from the German word *Stunde* – “the [prayer] hour.” The first Ukrainian evangelicals either attended German prayer meetings in nearby colonies or modeled their own meetings after the German example.
10. Molokans were an egalitarian Bible-based movement of the Russian religious dissent that evolved in the second half of the eighteenth century. Molokans rejected Orthodox ritualism, icons, and sacraments.
11. Andrew Blane also mentions such social and economic factors as “the extraordinary social ferment that accompanied the Crimean War and the Emancipation of 1861” (see his “Protestant Sects in Late Imperial Russia,” in *The Religious World of Russian Culture*, ed. Andrew Blane [The Hague: Mouton, 1975], 269).
12. Walter Sawatsky, *Soviet Evangelicals since World War II* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1981), 56-61.
13. See, for example, J.H. Rushbrooke, *Some Chapters of European Baptist History* (London: The Kingsgate Press, 1929), 91; and Steve Durasoff, *The Russian Protestants* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1969), 40.
14. Heather Coleman, *Russian Baptists and Spiritual Revolution, 1905-1929* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005), 47.
15. Coleman, *Russian Baptists*, 48.
16. Coleman, *Russian Baptists*, 49.
17. See A.L. L’vov, *Chtenie Biblii i ritorika nachetchikov*, <http://www.ruthenia.ru/folklore/lvov1.htm> (accessed 5 April 2008).
18. Dunaenko, *Do kontsa preterpevshiy*, 21. “People who dance while praying” as mentioned by the missionary was not a wild metaphor used to scare Dunaenko. It is a direct reference to so-called Jumper Molokans, a religious community that emerged in 1830s. It is rooted in the enthusiasm caused by predictions of the beginning of the millennium in 1836 by the famous German pietist Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752), and the subsequent mass

immigration of Württemberg pietist enthusiasts into southern Russia in search of refuge from the coming tribulation.

19. On the Molokan and Doukhobor migration, see Nicholas Breyfogle, *Heretics and Colonizers. Forging Russia's Empire in the South Caucasus* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 49-83.
20. Dunaenko, *Do kotsa preterpevshiy*, 39.
21. Dunaenko, *Do kotsa preterpevshiy*, 45.
22. Dunaenko, *Do kotsa preterpevshiy*, 40.
23. Dunaenko, *Do kotsa preterpevshiy*, 46.
24. Coleman, *Russian Baptists*, 68.
25. Dunaenko, *Do kotsa preterpevshiy*, 47.
26. Dunaenko, *Do kotsa preterpevshiy*, 47.
27. Dunaenko, *Do kotsa preterpevshiy*, 49.
28. Dunaenko, *Do kotsa preterpevshiy*, 50.
29. Dunaenko, *Do kotsa preterpevshiy*, 47.
30. Dunaenko, *Do kotsa preterpevshiy*, 48.
31. Dunaenko, *Do kotsa preterpevshiy*, 48.
32. Ludwig Szenderowski, *Evangel'skie Khristiane* (n.p.: Canadian Union of Evangelical Christians, 1980), 318.
33. Petro Kindrat, *Ukrain'skyi Baptysts'kyi Rukh u Kanadi* (Winnipeg: Doroha Prawdy, 1972), 40.
34. Dunaenko, *Do kotsa preterpevshiy*, 51.
35. Dunaenko, *Do kotsa preterpevshiy*, 51.

