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# **ADAM REINHOLD SCHIEWE – A CROSS-BORDER MAN OF FAITH A BAPTIST TRAILBLAZER IN ESTONIA, POLAND, UKRAINE, GERMANY, AND RUSSIA**

**By Üllas Linder**

Üllas Linder was born 24 April 1953. He received two degrees from the University of Tartu in Estonia, including a M.A. in Applied Mathematics in 1977 and a M.A. in Theology (Religious Anthropology) in 2006. In his previous occupations, he served as a pastor and a prison chaplain. His present occupation is editor of the Christian monthly *Kuulutaja* [The Proclaimer]. His academic supervisor is Professor Tõnu Lehtsaar (University of Tartu).

## **Abstract**

This study aimed at compiling a biography of the preacher Adam Reinhold Schiewe (1843–1930). Schiewe ministered in the territories of present-day Poland, Germany, Ukraine, Russia, and Estonia. His historical significance lies primarily in the formal founding of the first Baptist congregation in Estonia. Schiewe wrote memoirs of his life and is featured in a large number of fragmentary, at times even contradictory, sources. The author pointed out the inaccuracies found therein and reconstructed a plausible biography. The study was originally written in Estonian and was supported by a single scholarship from the ESF programme DoRa activity 8.

## **Introduction**

The purpose of the present study is to compile a comprehensive biography of Adam Reinhold Schiewe. A Polish-German preacher, Schiewe gained a higher profile when he was expelled from Sorochen,<sup>1</sup> Volhynia, by the Russian authorities in 1877. A greater legacy of his, however, was his baptizing of the first members of Haapsalu (Hapsal) Baptist Church in 1884, thereby laying the foundations of Estonian Baptism. The study was prompted by the

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<sup>1</sup> Various transliterations of the name are rendered in sources, the most common being Soroczin and Sorotschin.

incomplete and incorrect information about Schiewe presented in researches on Baptists in the Russian Empire.

The most detailed source on Schiewe is a serial on his two-part Estonian-language memoirs published in the journal of Estonian Baptists, *Teekäija* [*The Pilgrim*].<sup>2</sup> Its spread is limited, however, by the language barrier. Merely translating the memoirs into English would be deficient primarily due to a wealth of additional information in other sources.

Schiewe is often mentioned in studies on German-speaking Baptists of Poland.<sup>3</sup> Important and the most true-to-the-day material can be found in the journals of German Baptists, *Missionsblatt der Gemeinde getaufter Christen* [*A Missions Bulletin of the Congregation of Baptised Christians*] and *Der Wahrheitszeuge* [*A Witness for the Truth*], which Schiewe himself contributed to. The last mentioned journal includes the most authentic information on Schiewe's first year of ministry in Estonia.<sup>4</sup> In Russia, there were some Russian-language writings on German Baptists.<sup>5</sup> Sources that are more recent are in the English language.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> A.R. Schiewe, "Päevaraamatu mälestused" [Diary Memoirs]. In: *Teekäija*, 17 (1911) – 7 (1913); A. R. Schiewe, "Mälestused minu 50 aastase ametiajast" [Memoirs of My 50-Year Tenure]. In: *Teekäija*, 16 (1924) – 23 (1925); (hereinafter jointly Mälestused in footnotes).

<sup>3</sup> For instance, G. L., *Geschichte der Baptisten in Russisch-Polen, umfassend den Zeitraum von 1854 bis 1874* [*A History of Russian-Polish Baptists from 1854 to 1874*] (Hamburg: Verlag von J. G. Oncken, 1874); *Gedenkschrift anlässlich des 50jährigen Jubiläums der Baptistengemeinde Lodz, Nawrot 27* [*A 50th Anniversary Bulletin of Lodz Baptist Church, Nawrot St 27*] (Neue Lodzer Zeitung Publishing Press, ca 1928); Eduard Kupsch, *Geschichte der Baptisten in Polen 1852–1932* [*The History of the Baptists in Poland 1852–1932*] (Zduńska Wola: published by the compiler, 1932); Rudolf Donat, *Das wachsende Werk* [*A Growing Work*] (Kassel: J. G. Oncken Verlag, 1960); Robert L. Kluttig, *Geschichte der deutschen Baptisten in Polen von 1858–1945* [*The History of German Baptists in Poland 1858–1945*] (Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada: published by the compiler, 1973).

<sup>4</sup> "Merkwürdige Erweckungen in Esthland" [Noteworthy awakenings in Estonia]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 8 (1884), p. 85; 9 (1884), p. 96; A. R. Schiewe, "Zweite Missionsreise nach Esthland" [The Second Missionary Journey to Estonia]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 15 (1884), p. 161; "Weiteres über die Erweckungen im Esthlande" [Further Information on the Awakenings in Estonia]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 20 (1884), pp. 210–211; "Fortgang des Werkes in Esthland" [Advancement of the Ministry in Estonia]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 24 (1884), p. 253.

<sup>5</sup> The study makes use of K. Велтистовъ [K. Veltistov], "Нѣмецкій баптизмъ въ Россіи" [German Baptism in Russia]. In: *Миссіонерское обозрѣніе* [*A Missionary Review*], 1902 and 1904. Among others, Veltistov utilized Baptist sources but interpreted them to the detriment of the Baptists.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, Donald N. Miller, *In the Midst of Wolves* (Portland, Oregon: Multnomah Printing, Inc., 2000); Gregory L. Nichols, *The Development of Russian Evangelical Spirituality: A Study of Ivan V. Kargel (1849–1937)* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2011); Albert W. Wardin Jr., *On the Edge* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2013).

The territories in which Schiewe operated were part of either the Russian Empire or Germany (now Poland). For a brief time, Schiewe ministered in the section of Volhynia that nowadays belongs to Ukraine. Estonia was also annexed to the Russian Empire and divided into the provinces of Estonia and Livonia.

The activities of Baptists were legalized in the Russian Empire in 1879. According to a clarification issued in 1882, this applied to foreigners, foreign Baptists acquiring Russian citizenship, and Baptists with Russian citizenship who converted to the denomination by governmental permission from some non-Orthodox confession.<sup>7</sup> In most cases, these definitions also encompassed ethnic German and Estonian Baptists. There were local differences in the laws or their interpretations.

The study makes use of today's toponyms, followed, at first occurrence, by their German form, if different and if both are known.

The study presents Schiewe's biography in chronological order, covering his voluntary and paid work in Lodz and its surroundings, his pastorate in Sorochen, Tczew (Dirschau), St. Petersburg (and contemporaneously in Estonia), Templin, Gorzów Wielkopolski (Landsberg an der Warthe), and Bydgoszcz (Bromberg). The biography is interspersed with some thematic summaries and followed by a brief analysis of Schiewe's relationships with four individuals influential in his life. The study primarily draws on printed sources and secondarily on archival materials.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> С. Н. Савинский [S.N. Savinski], *История евангельских христиан-баптистов Украины, России, Белоруссии (1867–1917)* [*The History of the Evangelical Christians and Baptists of Ukraine, Russia and Belarus (1867–1917)*] (Санкт-Петербург: Библия для всех, 1999), pp. 172–174.

<sup>8</sup> Of the archival materials, the most important is correspondence by Schiewe and others with the American Baptist Missionary Society, referred to as *Letters*, incl. the date. Information about Schiewe's family is contained at the archives in Lodz (Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi). Material on Schiewe's ministry in Estonia is contained in the minutebooks of some Baptist congregations.

## Schiewe's Origin and Family

The Russian regime expedited the textile industry in Poland and created favorable conditions for German and Austrian weavers in Lodz and its surroundings.<sup>9</sup>

Schiewe was born in Zduńska Wola on 10 (OS, 22 NS) May 1843. His father, Adam Schiewe, was a weaver. The maiden name of his mother Joanna (Johanna), Mienichów, implies, but does not prove, her Polish parentage. Schiewe referred to himself by the forename Reinhold.<sup>10</sup>

Under Schiewe's influence, his mother started to seek God and let herself be baptized. His father accepted the literature presented by his son to his friends, of whom many converted to Baptism. His father came to faith only on his deathbed.<sup>11</sup>

In April 1870, Schiewe married Auguste Häuser (16 June 1850 – 29 April 1919), a descendant of weavers. Evidently, the marriage, entered into at a Baptist church, could not be legalized for some time, as it was registered by the civil authorities as late as 4 (16) January 1871. The pastor of the Lodz Baptist Church, Johann Rohner, is given as the officiator.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Kluttig, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> A copy of Schiewe's birth record at the Lodz archives. The use of Reinhold is inferred from Auguste Schiewe's obituary in *Wahrheitszeuge*, 11 (1919), p. 89; furthermore, it is logical for the father and the son to use a different forename. In most of the writings of his day employing only one forename, Schiewe is referred to as Reinhold. The two forenames have obstructed the researchers in compiling a complete concept of Schiewe. For instance, *История евангельских христиан-баптистов в СССР* [*The History of the Evangelical Christian-Baptists in the USSR*] (Москва [Moscow]: Издательство ВСЕХБ [Publishing House of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists], 1989), p. 590, features two Schiewe's in their Register of Names, with A. Schiewe shown to have operated in Estonia and R. Schiewe in Volhynia.

<sup>11</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 24 (1911), pp. 372–373.

<sup>12</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 1 (1912), p. 7; 19/20 (1925), p. 206; copies of the marriage registration certificate and Auguste Häuser's birth record at the Lodz archives; Auguste Schiewe's obituary. The author uses the name form stated in the obituary (the most recent and German-language one). *Gedenkschrift*, p. 6, admits problems in paperwork and mentions that until 1870, the congregation in Lodz was not recognized by the authorities. Kupsch, p. 152, indicates that non-recognition by the state posed difficulties with the registration of vital statistics in Lodz, which, however, were overcome shortly and had no detrimental effect on the work of the congregation. According to "Wichtig!" [Important!] in *Missionsblatt*, 11 (1872), p. 184, vital registration records in Poland were kept by the government. Schiewe himself never mentions two dates, or the state's non-recognition, of his marriage, evidently because of displeasure. Twice, he refers to the date of marriage as April

The first daughter, Emma, was born into the family early in 1871.<sup>13</sup>

Auguste Schiewe died of cancer after the afflictions of the First World War. At an advanced age, Schiewe had eight live children: Ella, Emma, Lydia, Martha, Olga, Alma, Gustav, and Arnold. They were dispersed between Harbin, St. Petersburg, the Caucasus and Germany. Schiewe used the plural form in reference to his dead children, without mentioning their number or names.<sup>14</sup> At least five of his children came to faith at the Baptist church of Gorzów Wielkopolski: Martha, Arnold, Ella, Lydia, and Alma.<sup>15</sup>

Schiewe died on 29 December 1930 in Gorzów Wielkopolski.

### **Schiewe's Conversion to Baptism**

Schiewe was baptized as an infant in a Lutheran church.<sup>16</sup> His journey to the Baptist Church took approximately five years. The process included a vision, a quest, and the negotiation of prejudices.

Schiewe saw a dream: in the heavenly Book of Life, his name was just a note in the margin. This drove him to pray and make promises to God. Conversations with a friend, a grammar school teacher, and literature challenged Schiewe's unbelief. In the spring of 1868, Schiewe's thoughts took a new direction after a conversation with a man unknown to him.

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1870 (without the day): once directly, the second time by stating that the day of his wife's death fell 11 months short of their 50<sup>th</sup> marriage anniversary. Probably, another ceremony was held before the marriage was legalised, as recorded in the document. It is not beyond dispute that the first, or 'real', wedding was also officiated by Rohner, in view of Schiewe's distaste for him.

<sup>13</sup> In a letter dated 22 March 2016 from the Lodz archives to the author, it is notified that no birth records on Schiewe's children were found in the archives. According to Letters, 23 January 1884, the oldest child in the family was a daughter aged 13. According to Mälestused, *Teekäija*, 11 (1912), p. 170; 23/24 (1912), p. 361, Schiewe's wife and daughter Emma went to see him in prison in December 1872, with the daughter wanting to remain with the father, and at the time of the expulsion from Sorothen in 1877, the oldest daughter was 6 years of age.

<sup>14</sup> A. R. Schiewe, "Armas vend Tetermann!" [Dear Brother Tetermann!]. In: *Teekäija*, 7 (1920), p. 109; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 23 (1925), p. 244. Miller, pp. 66–67, claims that the name of Schiewe's wife was Bertha, and at the time of expulsion from Sorothen, there were the following children in the family: Emilia, Karl, Anna and Gustav. Bertha might have been a nickname; Emilia might have stood for Emma. If we consider both lists to be true (doubtful), Karl and Anna died as children or at a young age.

<sup>15</sup> "Telegramme" [Telegrams]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 4 (1899), p. 30; A. R. Schiewe, "Taufe und Erweckung in Landsberg a./W." [Baptism And Awakening in Landsberg a./W.]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 12 (1906), p. 96.

<sup>16</sup> A letter dated 19 October 2015 from the Lodz archives to the author; a copy of Schiewe's birth record.

Another influence was Schiewe's addiction—he was a passionate billiards player—and one afternoon, he gambled away all his money. A 'voice inside' asked him, "What will become of your poor soul?" Contrary to expectations, partaking of the Eucharist did not bring peace either. Sometime previously, Baptists had launched their ministry in Lodz. Schiewe liked neither their leader (evidently Rohner) nor their baptismal doctrine. Nevertheless, he started to regularly attend their services but was critical of the sermons. He disliked the Baptists' elaboration on new birth, which reportedly was even repulsive to him—he thought it was about baptism. Singing had a good effect on him. He sought forgiveness for his sins. Schiewe's views then began to change. The reading of Julius Köbner's booklet *The Congregation of Christ and the Church (Die Gemeinde Christi und die Kirche)* turned Schiewe against infant baptism. On 10 February 1869, Schiewe came to the conviction that his sins were forgiven, and he was accepted for baptism. He was baptized on 18 February 1869 by Gottfried Friedrich Alf, pastor of the Kicin church and the leader of Baptists in Poland, in an ice-hole in a small river near Lodz. The baptism took place clandestinely at midnight, for back then, Baptists were virtually outlawed.<sup>17</sup>

### **Schiewe as a Fledgling Volunteer Minister**

German-speaking Baptism in Poland dates back to 1858. In 10 years, exactly a thousand people were baptized. The congregations were young and lacked experienced leaders. In Germany, the congregations had a creed that was also known in Poland. Now converted, Schiewe felt called to ministry without any preparation (apparently he was conversant with the Bible), which he did with great zeal. His views, however, undoubtedly underwent some development: "Back then, the gospel was not yet proclaimed as clearly and

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<sup>17</sup> A. R. Schiewe, "St. Petersburg." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 20 (1882), p. 208; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 19 (1911), pp. 296–297; 21 (1911), p. 328; *Gedenkschrift*, p. 4. The date of the baptism has been deduced from the description of the events. The date 1868 in Miller, 66, is incorrect.

purely as it is now, in our day,” was Schiewe’s judgment at a later time.<sup>18</sup> Schiewe reminisced that Lodz was the place where he found peace for his soul and ministered for seven years.<sup>19</sup> The period began with Schiewe’s conversion and ended with his relocation to Sorochen.

After conversion, Schiewe’s first field of ministry was witnessing to acquaintances, distributing Yiddish-language folders and selling Bibles and New Testaments, which enabled conversations with people. At one village service in Starowa Góra (Effingshausen) on 23 February, he was unexpectedly appointed to moderate and preach. He spoke for 45 minutes about the blind Bartimaeus (Mark 10:46–52). In his home quarters the following day, he was again offered to speak without warning, for the rumors had already spread. On Good Friday, Schiewe went to Zduńska Wola to see his parents, and also held a service. It was attended by four people. Schiewe’s parents were also present. It was the first Baptist meeting in Zduńska Wola. Previously, the city had already seen one-to-one ministry. By the time of the writing of the first part of the memoirs, it accommodated a big congregation and one of the most beautiful chapels in the Russian Empire. At one point, Zduńska Wola reportedly produced more preachers than any other place.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the city owes part of its spiritual success to Schiewe, who held the first Baptist service there. It appears from the proximity of the dates that Schiewe did miscellaneous jobs contemporaneously, not consecutively.

In August or September 1869, Schiewe undertook a walking mission trip. He went to Kurówek, Zduńska Wola and Dobrosław. In the last mentioned locality, approximately 100 people came to listen to Schiewe and his companions on the first night. By the end of the

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<sup>18</sup> G. L., pp. 264–269; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 21 (1911), pp. 328–329; 20 (1911), pp. 309–310 (some parts of the memoirs have been published in an incorrect order); Kluttig, p. 25.

<sup>19</sup> Mälestused, *Teekäija*, 16 (1924), p. 246.

<sup>20</sup> G. L., p. 147; Karl Ondra, “Gemeindegründung in Zdunskawola (Russisch-Polen)” [Church Planting in Zduńska Wola (Russia-Poland)]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 10 (1885), p. 105; A. R. Schiewe, “Dies und das aus Landsberg a./W.” [This and that about Landsberg a./W.]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 16 (1909), p. 128; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 21 (1911), p. 329; 22 (1911), pp. 343–344; 24 (1911), pp. 372–373; Kluttig, pp. 354–355. Of the persons mentioned in the study, Schiewe, Ondra, Vogel, and Kluttig were born in Zduńska Wola, and Kupsch worked there as pastor.

year, 25 people had come to faith there. In Dobrosław, Schiewe was imprisoned for the first time.<sup>21</sup>

Schiewe's sermons were appreciated, and the people also liked his public prayers. In his own judgment, Schiewe became spiritually proud and self-important. A crisis of faith followed, and Schiewe started to consider himself unfit for ministry. He fell into inaction for some months but continued to attend services. Resuming action, he failed to recover his previous gift of prayer. Thereafter, he prepared his speeches in advance and tried to speak in such a way that each sentence could be proved by the Scripture.<sup>22</sup>

That period saw the first persecutions, a subject that requires a closer look. Schiewe's work as a schoolteacher gives occasion to touch upon educational issues regarding him. After that, chronological coverage can be resumed.

### **Schiewe and Persecutions**

Schiewe was imprisoned six times and exiled once. Three imprisonments can be established with certainty: after services in Dobrosław (was incarcerated with his companions for eight days in Wieluń's prison in August or September 1869), Pabianice (after entering into ministry, thus in 1872) and Pilica (December 1872). At Christmastime 1872, Schiewe managed to flee from arrest somewhere near Warsaw. Schiewe recollected that he had been

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<sup>21</sup> G. L., pp. 145–146, 230; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 20 (1911), pp. 309–311 (the source shows 1896 for the date, which is a misprint; the audience is put at 60 on the first night; on the second, the room was reportedly filled to capacity).

<sup>22</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 1 (1912), pp. 6–7; 6 (1925), p. 68. The only piece of information from 1870 is Schiewe's marriage in April. In the author's opinion, the crisis may be dated to the second half of that year; it is inconsistent with the pre-marriage period, although the account may give such impression. A few months after marriage, Schiewe was offered a schoolteacher's post, but he moved to the new place as late as in May 1871. The non-recognition of the marriage concluded in a Baptist church, an 'extramarital' baby expected in the family and the problems posed thereby outside the congregation might be some of the reasons for the crisis, as well as for the delay in assuming the schoolteacher's office.

escorted for 25 miles once and for 150 miles a second time.<sup>23</sup> Not everything can be reconstructed. The banishment from Sorochen will be discussed below.

All of the known imprisonments were due to worship services held. Apart from enraptured listeners, there were always antagonists, who instigated the persecutions. The prisons or detention cells were squalid and full of parasitic insects, with fellow prisoners being rude and prostitutes detained in the same cell with men. Initially, all this scared Schiewe. He and his companions presented themselves boldly as believers, using the opportunity to witness to both fellow prisoners and officials. The inmates, occasionally also judges, accepted them. Fellow Christians supported Schiewe; on at least one occasion, they bribed the prison governor and were ready to post bail. Sometimes, Schiewe was allowed to stay overnight outside the prison and eat at a restaurant, naturally at his own expense. In addition, the captors and guards had to be fed and transport costs needed to be paid. After release, Schiewe usually proceeded by immediately holding another service.

Apparently, the persecutions impacted Schiewe's future behavior in St. Petersburg and Estonia. At that time, Baptism was already authorized in the Russian Empire, so Schiewe operated as a representative of a legal congregation and secured himself every time with the required documents and permits from higher officials (including the Governor of Estonia), which surprised his opponents in Estonia. In St. Petersburg, he even baptized under police protection.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> G. L., pp. 230–231; “Aus dem Tagebuche des Br. J. Rohner” [From Bro. J. Rohner's Diary]. In: *Missionsblatt*, 2 (1870), p. 29; A. R. Schiewe, “Mein Abschied von Landsberg a./W.” [My Departure from Landsberg a./W.]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 46 (1910), p. 366; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 20 (1911), pp. 310–311; 23 (1911), pp. 359–361; 1 (1912), pp. 5–6; 6 (1912), pp. 85–86; 9 (1912), pp. 136–137; 11 (1912), pp. 169–170; 12 (1912), pp. 186–187; 3 (1925), p. 32. Rohner and Schiewe do not mention the place name Dobrosław, but the text agrees with G. L.'s data. Schiewe visited Pabianice and Pilica several times but did not give details.

<sup>24</sup> A. R. Schiewe, “Petersburg.” In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 1 (1882), p. 7; “Zweite Missionsreise nach Esthland.” In the author's judgment, the information given here to the effect that Schiewe had an appointment with the Governor at the beginning of his second journey to Estonia, not at the end of the first one, as asserted in the memoirs (Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 19 (1924), p. 290; 21 (1924), p. 311), must be considered correct, as it was recorded immediately after the events in question.

This does not mean Schiewe encountered no opposition in Estonia. Problems arose when Prince Sergey Shakhovskoy became Governor of Estonia. However, Schiewe had a supporter in the Ministry, and the charges were thrown into the wastebasket. Counterwork was also done by people who considered him a heretic, and by the rabble amusing themselves by harassing.<sup>25</sup> The press published libelous articles but not replies thereto.<sup>26</sup>

In Gorzów Wielkopolski, likewise, Schiewe had to deal with opponents, who obstructed the congregation in conduction of burials and accused it of causing disturbance. Schiewe managed to evade punishment, but said that such problems did not occur even in St. Petersburg.<sup>27</sup>

After Estonia gained independence in 1918, Schiewe recommended that the Estonians value the full freedom in their country.<sup>28</sup>

## Schiewe and Education

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Miller, p. 67, erroneously writes that Schiewe was repeatedly imprisoned during his St. Petersburg period. In “Adam Reinhold Schiewe,” *Jahrbuch 1930 des Bundes der Baptistengemeinden in Deutschland [The Yearbook of the Union of Baptist Congregations of Germany 1930]* (Kassel), p. 11, Fr. Schäfer states that Schiewe was repeatedly imprisoned in Russia, whereas in reality this happened on the Polish territory of the Russian Empire prior to his St. Petersburg period.

<sup>25</sup> “Zweite Missionsreise nach Esthland”; “Weiteres über die Erweckungen im Esthlande”; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 23 (1924), p. 338; 3 (1925), p. 31.

<sup>26</sup> In Mälestused, *Teekäija*, 21 (1924), p. 311, Schiewe writes about a libelous article that he managed to respond to in only one newspaper (*Local-Nachrichten* [Local News], *St. Petersburger Herold* [*St. Petersburg's Herald*], 11 March 1884, p. 3). The style of the article in the Herald differs considerably from that used by Schiewe in Christian journals. Later, Schiewe evaluated the tone of his article as sharp. In “Über die Erweckung in Esthland” [On the Awakening in Estonia], *Wahrheitszeuge*, 23 (1884), pp. 241–242, E. Jacobsen (Jakobson) presents the content of an Estonian-language libelous article and claims that as Schiewe did not want to reply thereto, he did it himself. The article “Fortgang des Werkes in Esthland” is followed by the editorial board’s note stating that Schiewe had sent them information that he had managed to reply to the libel only in one newspaper, namely in the aforementioned article in the Herald. Jakobson actually replied to the review of an earlier article (“Omalt maalt” [From My Own Country], *Sakala*, 7 April 1884, pp. 2–3), which was published only after Schiewe’s article in the Herald.

<sup>27</sup> A. R. Schiewe, “Jahresbericht aus Landsberg a./W.” [An Annual Report from Landsberg a./W.]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 5 (1908), p. 40.

<sup>28</sup> “A. R. Schiewe kiri Saksamaalt” [A.R. Schiewe’s Letter from Germany]. In: *Teekäija*, 8 (1922), p. 120. Estonia declared its independence in 1918, but was occupied by the Soviet Union in 1940–1941 and 1944–1991 and by Germany in 1941–1944.

Schiewe's father could not write, but both parents could read. Likewise, Auguste Schiewe's father could not write. Back then, there were altogether few literate people in Poland.<sup>29</sup> This did not stop Schiewe and his family in their educational pursuits.

Allegedly, no missionary in Poland (Schiewe included) had attended grammar school or university. Schiewe could not be far below the grammar school level, however, as he took private lessons from a grammar school teacher in higher mathematics and other subjects.<sup>30</sup>

Schiewe had enough education to be employed as a teacher in 1871 (apparently at a village school). At the same time, Schiewe cooperated in the congregation that invited him to be a schoolteacher but fell at odds with its virtually illiterate preacher. The children at the school were 8–16 years of age. Although some problems with discipline arose, Schiewe coped. He taught reading and writing in German, Russian, and Polish as well as arithmetic. The inspector of the schools was satisfied with him. However, the disagreements in the congregation and the inadequate salary led to Schiewe's resignation from the teacher's post in April 1872.<sup>31</sup>

Schiewe also tried to acquire spiritual education. The mentality of the German and Polish Baptists was that a gospel preacher primarily required Bible school training and not necessarily university-level theology. One-month courses were provided in Poland, and Schiewe apparently attended one in Kicin in 1872.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Copies of Schiewe's and Auguste Häuser's birth records; G. L., p. 253; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 24 (1911), p. 372.

<sup>30</sup> G. L., pp. 256–257; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 19 (1911), p. 296.

<sup>31</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 1 (1912), pp. 6–7. The subheading states that it was the congregation's school, but this may be the editorial board's insertion. In the author's opinion, a Baptist congregation having its own school recognised by the state is implausible. The purpose for the confidentiality concerning the location of the school and of the congregation was apparently sparing the preacher.

<sup>32</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 3 (1912), p. 37; Kluttig, p. 239. Schiewe's studying in Kicin is the author's inference. As Schiewe resigned from the teacher's post in April 1872, he attended courses and was appointed an evangelist already in July, the one-month course would fit into this space of time. In Mälestused, it is said that the courses were taught in K. Mälestused, *Teekäija*, 12 (1912), p. 187, mentions the courses in Kicin but not Schiewe's having ever studied there.

In 1874, Schiewe already studied at the Hamburg Baptist Seminary. He procured the approval of the congregation, but there was also opposition (to studying in general and to Schiewe's commission in particular). The trial sermon failed, in Schiewe's own judgment. The studies lasted six months and were, by Schiewe's own estimation, of great benefit.<sup>33</sup> At least two of Schiewe's fellow students in Hamburg, Johann Kargel and Julius Herrmann,<sup>34</sup> were also important to him in the future. Both will be discussed in more detail below.

Schiewe deemed it necessary to also teach workers in Estonian Baptist congregations. In March 1890, he opened 'the first Baptist theological school in Estonia' in Haapsalu. Eighteen men attended. Over four weeks, Schiewe taught the Epistle to the Ephesians and gave instruction in homiletics for a total of eight hours a day. An old man, Schiewe recommended that courses for preachers be held in Estonia in winter, for the skills of many were found wanting.<sup>35</sup> The solution to the training of Estonian Baptist preachers came with the founding of the Estonian Baptist Seminary in 1922.

Schiewe tried to provide his children with a solid secular education. His daughter Alma married a professor (which, in fact, is no indication of Alma's education). His son Gustav spent three and a half years in France during the First World War as a staff doctor and his son

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<sup>33</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 16 (1912), p. 246. Schiewe's wife fell ill, and his departure to Hamburg was delayed. Furthermore, he interrupted his trip on Sunday and went to proclaim the gospel. The number of students was reported to be 18. The list of that course is not extant. This has caused confusion, which is tackled by Nichols, pp. 42–43. J. A. Gülzau, "Die Eröffnung unserer Missionsschule in Hamburg" [The Opening of Our Mission School in Hamburg], in *Missionsblatt*, 4 (1874), p. 70, states that the number of student places was 18 and that two more latecomers were awaited, one of them from Poland (thus Schiewe). "Missionsschule in Hamburg" [The Mission School in Hamburg], *ibid.*, p. 71, features the list of timely arrivals with 16 names. This list was obviously borrowed by Donat, p. 258, who in turn was cited by Nichols. According to Fr. Neuschäfer's "Schlußfeier der Missionsschule" [The Mission School's Graduation Party] in *Missionsblatt*, 10 (1874), p. 170, there were 17 beginners but one did not graduate owing to illness. Nichols speculates that the 17<sup>th</sup> student might have been Schiewe. This is plainly stated in Schiewe's memoirs, however, and his study at Hamburg in 1874 must therefore be considered a fact. In Miller, pp. 150, 288, Schiewe's study in Hamburg is erroneously dated as 1871. The list provided by Miller is employed twice by Nichols, once dating it to 1872 and claiming that that lineup did not commence the studies, but leans thereupon in his speculation concerning Schiewe. According to Nichols, after serving in Russia Schiewe returned to Hamburg, where he had contact with the Seminary as late as in 1908–1911, but this is a mistake – the source referred to, William L. Wagner, *New Move Forward in Europe* (South Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1978), p. 27, deals with Alfred Scheve instead.

<sup>34</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 16 (1912), p. 246.

<sup>35</sup> "Venna A. R. Schiewe kiri" [A Letter by Brother A.R. Schiewe]. In: *Teekäija*, 15 (1911), p. 231; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 8 (1925), p. 92; 9 (1925), p. 101.

Arnold was an interpreter at the Harkov circuit court. Funds were repeatedly solicited from America for the schooling of Schiewe's children.<sup>36</sup>

Allegedly, Schiewe could speak six languages. He was definitely proficient in German, Polish, Russian and English. He thought he could also have learned Estonian had he anticipated that the ministry in Estonia would last for 11 years. Even on his first visit to Haapsalu, he made use of the Estonian-language New Testament and some memorized sentences. His inability to speak Estonian caused him difficulties with appointing ministers.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, Schiewe's language proficiency exceeded that of the average person, even if the languages numbered 'only' four.

Schiewe was a man of wide horizons, even if not a learned person in his own eyes. He was capable of successfully debating with clergymen who were formally more educated and critical of Baptism by citing the Bible, Martin Luther, and the Church Fathers. He knew how to be fascinated with architecture and art. At an older age, Schiewe collected stamps, whether out of pure enthusiasm or to make money; he may have been interested in these already in his younger years. At any rate, this required some knowledge. Schiewe had a library of a couple of hundred books, which he was able to read at an advanced age.<sup>38</sup> Schiewe's handwriting was very beautiful.

### **Schiewe as a Paid Minister in the Lodz Region**

After the course in Kicin, Schiewe and four other men were elected as paid evangelists. Schiewe already had three years' experience in volunteer ministry. Schiewe's region of

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<sup>36</sup> Letters, 1 November 1889, 16 October 1895; A. R. Schiewe, "Armas vend Tetermann!" In: *Teekäija*, 7 (1920), p. 109.

<sup>37</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 1 (1912), p. 7; 19 (1924), p. 289; 1 (1925), p. 6; 8 (1925), p. 92; Schäfer, "Adam Reinhold Schiewe."

<sup>38</sup> "Petershof bei Petersburg" [Peterhof near St. Petersburg]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 16 (1880), pp. 122–123; A. R. Schiewe, "St. Petersburg." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 20 (1882), p. 208; A. R. Schiewe, "Kiri Saksamaalt" [A letter from Germany]. In: *Teekäija*, 1 (1921), p. 13; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 7 (1925), pp. 82–83; 8 (1925), pp. 91–92; 23 (1925), p. 244.

ministry was the province of Piotrków Trybunalski (Petrikau), or, in other words, the Kamocin area. The ministry began on 1 July 1872. From 1872 to 1873 he lived in Tomaszow, then moved on to Kamocin (previously having operated in both places). In addition, Schiewe mentioned by name his ministries in Wygranow and Lipionke. In the latter location, the initially successful ministry fell into the hands of false teachers and ranters. In Teronin, Schiewe baptized the first 12 members of the Pabianice congregation.<sup>39</sup>

In the Lodz congregation, which actually was still a branch of the Kicin congregation, problems had arisen. Sources point to various reasons. The initial period of Rohner's ministry is seen as positive. But the mentality of the congregation was not good and bad literature affected even the pulpit. Attempts were made to correct the congregation, and ultimately the leader left with approximately 60 members. There were disagreements and some other negative figures besides Rohner, or Rohner might even have been a victim of one such figure. Alf's estimation should evidently be considered the weightiest. According to him, Rohner became unfaithful. He severed himself, and almost the entire Lodz congregation, from the Kicin mother congregation and planted his own, of which he became the pastor. He was excommunicated from the congregation as a rebel and sinner along with 47 other members.<sup>40</sup>

For the purposes of the present study, Schiewe's opinion is important. He said that Rohner had a lot of knowledge and was a good speaker. However, he venerated himself and showed it off, which had a detrimental effect. In doctrine, he was vacillating—read a new book and presented it to the church. He ended up with the view that Jesus was not the Son of God.<sup>41</sup>

Alf sought help from outside, and the Prussian conference sent the preacher August Penski to his aid. In May 1873, twenty-six departed members returned to the congregation

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<sup>39</sup> G. L., pp. 132, 256; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 3 (1912), pp. 37–38; 4 (1912), pp. 53–54; Kupsch, pp. 189, 306.

<sup>40</sup> G. F. Alf, "Kicin." In: *Missionsblatt*, 6 (1874), p. 96; G. L., pp. 129–130; *Gedenkschrift*, p. 6; Kupsch, p. 152.

<sup>41</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 12 (1912), p. 187.

(they were restored one by one, based on their personal testimony); for some, however, the way back took 30 years. About Schiewe's role, it is only mentioned that after Rohner's withdrawal, the congregation was without a preacher for a while, and Eduard Aschendorf and Schiewe served it on an alternate basis.<sup>42</sup>

In his memoirs, Schiewe naturally speaks primarily of his own part. In February 1873, he was sent with Ludwig Heinrich Pufahl from the Kicin conference to solve the problems in Lodz. The conference defrocked Rohner and gave the errant members time to repent. Pursuant to Baptist principles, however, the conference had no right of defrocking, so it authorized Schiewe and Pufahl. The objective was first to bring the preacher to repentance. Their mission was unsavory to the congregation. Thirty people remained in the church and 65 left. The church of the departed soon collapsed. Some of those who departed sought help from Schiewe, but no solution could be found. Schiewe recovered the property of the congregation. From Germany, an elderly expert (evidently Penski) came to Lodz with companions and operated there alongside Schiewe for 10 days. The majority of the departed returned to the congregation. The matter was settled outwardly but not on the inside. There was no preacher; neighbors lent a helping hand but grew weary for being severely criticized. Schiewe was tired, young, and unqualified. It served him as a good lesson for the future, however.<sup>43</sup>

Apparently, Schiewe's cooperation with Penski in Lodz flourished, for Schiewe called Penski a friend. Instead of Sorochen, Schiewe could have gone to Grudziądz (Graudenz) as a preacher and collaborate with Penski there. After his expulsion from Sorochen, Schiewe was invited by Penski to Germany, and the latter was a guest of the congregation in St. Petersburg on the day it gained autonomy at the outset of Schiewe's work there. Likewise, ties with

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<sup>42</sup> G. L., pp. 130–131; *Gedenkschrift*, p. 6; Kupsch, pp. 152–153 (the date 1874 is erroneous).

<sup>43</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 12 (1912), pp. 187–188; 15 (1912), pp. 230–231. According to A. Penski's "Ueberblick über das Missionswerk in Polen" [An Overview of the Mission Work in Poland] in *Missionsblatt*, 1 (1874), p. 5, Schiewe and Pufahl met with Penski at the railway station, but there is no reference to their role.

Aschendorf and Pufahl remained—Ashendorf was Schiewe’s fellow student in Hamburg, and Schiewe met with both during his St. Petersburg period while visiting Poland. Later, he was on the leadership team of the union of German-speaking Baptists in Russia together with Pufahl.<sup>44</sup>

The year 1873 saw Schiewe’s second crisis of faith. On a problem-solving trip to Lodz, he suffered from carbon monoxide poisoning while staying overnight and needed resuscitation. Back at home, temptations came. Schiewe started to doubt in eternal life but did not dare to tell anyone. A whole year passed. Reading Luke 16:23, 25 resolved the matter.<sup>45</sup>

In 1874, Schiewe studied at the Hamburg seminary, and was ordained on 28 December that year.<sup>46</sup> Sometime later, Schiewe started to search for a new place of ministry. He was invited to visit Sorochen. He went to have a look and was unexpectedly elected preacher (pastor). However, he also had other options available. He was sent by the conference to preach in Prussia, where he stayed for seven weeks. He visited the congregations in Bydgoszcz, Książki (Hohenkirch) and Gajdy (Goyden). The initial reception of him as a preacher from Russia was not favorable, but in the end, he was invited to be a preacher at Grudziądz. He could not accept the invitation as he was awaited in Sorochen.<sup>47</sup>

Schiewe’s plans to leave became known in Lodz. Someone wrote him an offensive letter; Schiewe resigned from the ministry in Lodz as of 1 July 1876 and accepted the offer from Grudziądz. This caused a storm. The general opinion was that if he were to leave at all,

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<sup>44</sup> “Missionsschule in Hamburg.” In: *Missionsblatt*, 4 (1874), p. 71; A. R. Schiewe, “Petersburg.” In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 21 (1880), p. 167; A. R. Schiewe, “St Petersburg.” In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 5 (1884), p. 58; Veltistov, 1904, p. 1326; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 21 (1912), p. 328; 7 (1913), p. 107 (the name of Penski is misspelled in both).

<sup>45</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 12 (1912), pp. 187–188; 15 (1912), p. 230.

<sup>46</sup> G. L., p. 256.

<sup>47</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 21 (1912), pp. 327–328.

then only to Sorochen. Sorochen acceded to Schiewe's terms and conditions and sent money for travel. So Schiewe went to Sorochen.<sup>48</sup>

Was Schiewe pastor of the Lodz congregation in 1872–1876?<sup>49</sup> Neither the sources of Schiewe's time nor his memoirs state that. According to the history of the congregation, its preachers (pastors) were Rohner (1868–1873) and Julius Vogel (1875–1877). In the interim, the congregation was without a preacher.<sup>50</sup> It can be inferred from the above that Schiewe was a paid preacher (missionary) in Lodz and its surroundings from 1 July 1872 to 30 June 1876, but never the pastor of the Lodz congregation.

Attempts to find a pastor for the congregation in crisis were made as far away as Germany.<sup>51</sup> The author deems it possible that Schiewe might have wanted to become a pastor in Lodz. However, he was young, had done paid ministry only for a very short time, and perhaps was too close to the people of Lodz. As a solver of problems, he could not be loved by everybody. The personal crisis after the carbon monoxide poisoning and the half-year study in Hamburg must have taken their toll, too. Their unwillingness to let him go is a usual reaction in congregations: We are short of workers ourselves! Perhaps the very fact that Schiewe did not become the pastor there might have occasioned the tense and embittered tone exuding from the descriptions of the final part of the Lodz period.

Schiewe's relationships with Lodz did not terminate altogether. After his expulsion from Sorochen, Schiewe came to Lodz. In 1877, Karl Ondra became a pastor there, whom Schiewe considered his friend and who was banished with him from Volhynia. There was a lot of work to do in the church, and Ondra would have been glad to collaborate with Schiewe,

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<sup>48</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 22 (1912), p. 345.

<sup>49</sup> "Aus der Schmiede" [From the Smithy]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 4 (1931), 29; Schäfer, "Adam Reinhold Schiewe" (their content is up to interpretation as to the meaning of the phrase 'he served the congregation'); Miller, p. 66, 288; Nichols, p. 43.

<sup>50</sup> *Gedenkschrift*, pp. 6–7, 9. In his "Ueberblick über das Missionswerk in Polen," op. cit. in *Missionsblatt*, 1 (1874), p. 10, A. Penski specified the area of operation of Schiewe, who lived in Kamocin, as Lodz, but said that Lodz would need a suitable local minister, without regarding and proposing Schiewe as pastor. Schiewe's name is difficult to identify due to misspelling.

<sup>51</sup> G. L., p. 131.

but the latter went to Germany instead. During Ondra's tenure, a new sanctuary was built for the congregation. At the foundation stone-laying ceremony thereof, a sermon was held by 'Schiewe from St. Petersburg.' Schiewe made at least one more trip from St. Petersburg to Lodz and Zduńska Wola.<sup>52</sup>

### **Schiewe in the Period between Lodz and St. Petersburg, Expulsion from Sorochen**

In 1876, Schiewe became the pastor of the Sorochen congregation. In the previous year, he had already visited the place, along with at least two others in Volhynia: Rozhyshe and Koloverti. In the last mentioned location, the first to minister, and blessedly so, was said to be Schiewe.<sup>53</sup> Probably, the idea to visit there had been inculcated in Schiewe by Pastor Kargel, who was about to leave Sorochen.

Sorochen was a big congregation of German colonists. The members were poor, some scattered in the forests, some even living in mud huts. Schiewe was everything in Sorochen—a teacher, a judge, an advisor, a healer (homeopath), and would even have taught children on weekdays had he been permitted to do so. The courts did not accept cases of quarrel between Baptists themselves, so the Baptists had a hearing of their own on a monthly basis. Schiewe served in Sorochen for less than a year.<sup>54</sup>

The sources focus on Schiewe's expulsion from Sorochen and, afterwards, on fetching his family from there. Nonetheless, it is known that in 1876, Schiewe baptized 66 people in Sorochen and the congregation had a membership of 414. In a mission station outside Rovno,

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<sup>52</sup> Karl Ondra, "Lodz." In: *Missionsblatt*, 12 (1878), p. 204; "Lodz." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 16 (1881), p. 169; Schiewe, "St. Petersburg." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 5 (1884), p. 58; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 6 (1913), p. 93; *Gedenkschrift*, p. 8.

<sup>53</sup> Kupsch, pp. 374, 380; Kluttig, pp. 95–96. The date 1874 is incorrect.

<sup>54</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 22 (1912), pp. 345–346; 16 (1924), p. 246. The court proceedings were in compliance with the confession of faith (G. L., p. 268). Nichols, p. 40, incorrectly states that Schiewe remained in Sorochen for five years and proceeded from there to St. Petersburg. The error is corrected in Nichols, pp. 64, 317, where Schiewe's expulsion is addressed.

he baptised 33 people and found many seekers of truth there. In Schinne, a branch of Sorochen congregation, he baptized the first eight people.<sup>55</sup>

In 1877, war broke out between Russia and Turkey. The pastor of the Neudorf Church, Ondra, wanted to do something patriotic. The decision was made to found an aid society in the style of the Red Cross. Schiewe was not fascinated but still signed the letter sent to the Russian Emperor. It is seen as Ondra's attempt to attain recognition for Baptists in the Russian Empire by indirect means. The Emperor even responded with a statement of gratitude. In May 1877, however, Ondra, Schiewe, and four other men were suddenly arrested and expelled. The expulsion was based on the accusation that Schiewe and the other deportees had disseminated propaganda among Orthodox Christians and baptized them. They were to confirm with their signature that they would never return to Russia. Instead of the dreaded Siberia, all were sent back to their previous homes, thus Schiewe and Ondra to Russian Poland. Ondra immediately sought help from the Russian Emperor, and those banished to Prussia from the German Kaiser.<sup>56</sup>

All the exiled, except for Ondra, attended the conference of the Prussian Baptists shortly after the expulsion. The primary subject of their speeches was their families, who were still in Volhynia. The conference sent a petition to Russia's Interior Minister. Ondra and Schiewe wrote a declaration that they had never either baptized Orthodox Christians or endeavored to entice them away from that church, and stressed that no efforts had been made to even prove their guilt. Their signatures were to be counted as their oaths. Calls were made to distribute the declaration far and wide and to take action on behalf of the exiles. The

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<sup>55</sup> A. R. Schiewe, "Soroczin." In: *Missionsblatt*, 6 (1877), pp. 108–109 (to the author's knowledge, it is the first article penned by Schiewe himself); J. Marks, "Anerkennung einer Gemeinde in Schinne, Rußland" [Legalisation of a congregation in Schinne, Russia]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 24 (1881), p. 243.

<sup>56</sup> "Neudorf." In: *Missionsblatt*, 5 (1877), p. 83; "Aus Wolhynien" [From Volhynia]. In: *Missionsblatt*, 6 (1877), p. 109; "Neue Verfolgungen" [New Persecutions]. In: *Missionsblatt*, 7 (1877), pp. 122–126; A. R. Schiewe, "St. Petersburg." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 20 (1882), p. 208; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 23/24 (1912), pp. 359–361 (in the source, the reason for expulsion remains a mystery; perhaps disclosure thereof was banned; the date of the arrest is given as 1 May, must be 12 May 1877); Veltistov, 1902, p. 1033 (according to the source, those exiled were only charged with propaganda, not with baptism of Orthodox Christians); 1904, pp. 1320–1321.

Neudorf congregation sent two envoys to the Russian Emperor's headquarters in Turkey; their written application was accepted for legal proceedings. A letter of request was addressed to the Ministry. The women of the congregation sent another petition to the Empress. The banished Prussians turned to the German Kaiser, but Russia refused to let them return. Schiewe and Ondra appealed to the Governor in Warsaw and wrote a petition to the Russian Emperor; they were backed by the evangelical alliance, etc. Even a song was printed in support of Ondra and Schiewe, which could be sung to the tune of a hymn.<sup>57</sup>

Schiewe was invited to Germany, but as a person under police surveillance, he had no hope of obtaining documents. The officials had granted him a fairly free rein in return for a bribe. For a three-ruble note, he was allowed to disappear for four to six weeks. Schiewe crossed the border with another man's passport. He went to Penski's place in Gdansk (Danzig) and became a pastor in Tczew in January 1878. As he had been separated from his family for 14 months, he went with another fake passport to Warsaw and on to Sorochen to fetch his family.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> J. Lehmann, "Die Konferenz der Preuß. Vereinigung zu Königsberg" [The conference of the Prussian Association in Königsberg]. In: *Missionsblatt*, 9 (1877), p. 153; Karl Ondra, A. R. Schiewe, "Erklärung" [A Clarification]. In: *Missionsblatt*, 10 (1877), pp. 179–180 (here and in Miller, p. 66, it is stated that the exiles were accused of having ties with Shtundists, but this probably concerned Ondra – Veltistov, 1902, pp. 1032, 1036); "Die verfolgten Brüder" [The Persecuted Brothers]. In: *Missionsblatt*, 11 (1877), p. 196; "Von den verbannten Brüdern" [On the Banished Brothers]. In: *Missionsblatt*, 1 (1878), p. 8; "Dank für Unterstützung der verbannten Brüder Ondra und Schiewe" [Thanks for the Support for the Banished Brothers Ondra and Schiewe]. In: *Der Zionsbote* [Zion's Messenger], 5 (1878), p. 37; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 6 (1913), pp. 92–93. According to Joseph Lehmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Baptisten. Erster Teil* [The History of German Baptists. Part One] (Hamburg: J. G. Oncken Nachfolger, 1896), pp. 308, 315, Ondra and Schiewe also testified under oath that they had never baptized Orthodox Christians nor disseminated the respective propaganda, as a result of which the expulsion decision was annulled three years later.

<sup>58</sup> A. R. Schiewe, "Mein Abschied von Landsberg a./W." [My Departure from Landsberg a./W.]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 46 (1910), p. 366; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 7 (1913), pp. 106–108 (both state that the separation from the family lasted 14 months). The time of the beginning of ministry in Tczew is inferred. Schiewe arrived in Germany already in 1877 (A. Penski, "Danzig." In: *Missionsblatt*, 3 (1878), p. 33), and the previous pastor resigned in November 1877 (Donat, p. 83). Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 17 (1924), pp. 261–262; according to A. R. Schiewe, "Petersburg," in *Wahrheitszeuge*, 21 (1880), p. 166, Schiewe stayed in Tczew for two years and eight months and left for St. Petersburg on 1 September 1880 (the date in Mälestused is inaccurate). According to Miller, p. 67, the assertion that Schiewe went to retrieve his family three months after expulsion from Sorochen is erroneous. According to Donat, p. 83, Schiewe was separated from his family for approximately a year, and his previous solitary migration to Germany was not mentioned. Mälestused were interrupted at the point of Schiewe's arrival in Volhynia, although at the end there was a note "To Be

The fetching of the family failed, and Schiewe continued as pastor in Tczew until his transfer to St. Petersburg. Ministry in Tczew became impossible after conflict with the planter of a branch of the congregation who had slipped into drinking.<sup>59</sup>

The expulsion from Sorochen had a substantial effect on Schiewe's subsequent life. On the one hand, emotionally—when he subsequently described the separation from the family, he said the picture had stayed on his mind for decades. While working in Germany, however, Schiewe acquired German citizenship in 1878 but did not renounce his Russian one. Schiewe admitted that this made his situation precarious, but the severity of it was manifested only years thereafter.<sup>60</sup>

### **Schiewe in St. Petersburg**

In 1880, Kargel resigned from the pastorate of St. Petersburg's German-speaking Baptist church, and Schiewe succeeded him in this office. He came at the invitation of the American mission committee and of the congregation. The position of Baptists in the metropolis was very weak compared to other churches. The members of the congregation, approximately 70 souls, part of whom resided in Moscow, decided to declare the congregation autonomous. What precisely that meant is difficult to say. Kargel had registered the congregation already in 1879, but had not completed some formalities before leaving. This may have meant severing legal ties with the former mother congregation in Klaipeda (Memel) or separating from the Moscow members.<sup>61</sup>

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Continued'. Possibly, the censor did not like the description and banned further publication of the story. Upon resumption of *Mälestused* in 1924, it was alleged that the reason for the interruption was unknown.

<sup>59</sup> *Mälestused*. In: *Teekäija*, 16 (1924), pp. 245–246; 17 (1924), pp. 261–262.

<sup>60</sup> *Mälestused*. In: *Teekäija*, 23/24 (1912), p. 361; 11 (1925), pp. 126–127.

<sup>61</sup> A. R. Schiewe, "Petersburg." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 21 (1880), pp. 166–167; Nichols, p. 64; Wardin, *On the Edge*, pp. 45–46. A. R. Schiewe in "St. Petersburg," *Wahrheitszeuge*, 20 (1882), p. 208, and W. E. Galling in "Moskau" [Moscow], *Wahrheitszeuge*, 1 (1883), p. 6, show that Schiewe subsequently visited Moscow at least once and conducted church ordinances there.

Schiewe's first ordeal proved to be a conflict with Lorenz Johannes Schwan, an Estonian. Schwan had been out of the congregation for years but considered himself a legitimate leader thereof and looked with suspicion on rivals. Fourteen days after his arrival in St. Petersburg, Schiewe learned that Schwan had complained about him to the Interior Ministry and cast doubt on the legality of Schiewe's ministry. Furthermore, he spread rumors about Schiewe. Schiewe reached St. Petersburg on 4 September 1880, but his installation succeeded only on 25 June 1881. Another source of uncertainty for Schiewe was the fact that not long ago, he had been banished from Russia. Fortunately, no one was aware of his being a German subject.<sup>62</sup> The relationships between Schiewe and Schwan are discussed in more detail below.

In the author's opinion, Schiewe's period in St. Petersburg may be considered a success, particularly on account of church planting in Estonia. By the year 1893, the number of people baptized in Estonia had risen to 550 and those in St. Petersburg to 220. However, there were also problems in St. Petersburg that did not occur in other major cities—the number of languages spoken there was 11, of which the congregation reached the representatives of five: Germans, Swedes, Latvians, Estonians and Russians. At the same time, the work of the congregation was not stable—services had few attendees in summer, for everyone escaped the city. At the very outset, there was a period of the membership shrinking considerably. Schiewe was forced to communicate intensively with the authorities—first of all because of Schwan's accusations, but also because of people who wanted to take advantage of the legal protection extended to Baptist churches but were, in Schiewe's opinion, not Baptists. Then there were also troublemakers. Schiewe's conduction of affairs

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<sup>62</sup> A. R. Schiewe, "Petersburg." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 21 (1880), p. 166; "Br. Schiewe's Bestätigung in Petersburg" [The Installation of Bro. Schiewe in St. Petersburg]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 16 (1881), p. 169; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 17 (1924), p. 263; 18 (1924), p. 277.

with the authorities was not collusion but a public activity, of which his fellow workers and the readers of his writings were aware.<sup>63</sup>

St. Petersburg was home to diverse ecclesiastical activity. Schiewe communicated with the ministers of other denominations and famous persons. In this, Schiewe evidenced a conservative frame of mind and did not submit to the hegemony of other churches or conform to their positions.<sup>64</sup>

While in St. Petersburg, Schiewe consistently bemoaned his poor working conditions and money pressures, so the next subsection is about Schiewe and financial problems.

### **Schiewe and Financial Problems**

Beginning from 1 July 1872, Schiewe was a paid minister. The author has no information concerning Schiewe earning income from any other job thereafter.

Schiewe was able to cope even in trying circumstances. In Volhynia and Estonia, he sometimes had to visit very poor people, where both the sanitization and the food offered were substandard. Nonetheless, he valued cleanliness and orderliness and considered these natural characteristics of a believer.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> A. R. Schiewe, "St. Petersburg." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 5 (1884), p. 58; Letters, 23 January 1884, 9 September 1893; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 18 (1924), p. 277.

<sup>64</sup> In Letters, 23 January 1884," Fr. Kiefer purports to portray Schiewe as superior to or at odds with other evangelical figures and movements: the Pashkovites, George Müller, Spurgeon, Lord Radstock and dr. Baedeker (the last two names were misspelled). The letter has attracted attention—see Wardin, *On the Edge*, pp. 298–299. In the author's opinion, one should take into account that it was a private letter and regard it as an attempt to present Schiewe in a most positive light in the eyes of a conservative sponsor, and the American contributors as more understanding than the German ones. Schiewe's views should be sought primarily from his own writings, where Lord Radstock, Pashkov, Spurgeon and Müller are referred to on a positive note: A. R. Sch., "Eine Versammlung bei Graf Paschkow" [A Gathering at Count Pashkov's place], in *Wahrheitszeuge*, 24 (1880), pp. 186–187; Mälestused, in *Teekäija* 1 (1925), p. 6. Kiefer also displayed a desire to help Schiewe and the congregation in St. Petersburg in the article F. Kiefer, "Br. Kiefer in Rußland" [Bro. Kiefer in Russia], in *Wahrheitszeuge*, 3 (1884), p. 27, and it contains no contrasting. Some contrasting between the Americans and the Germans is found in Letters, 8 April 1882 and 9 June 1882, however, with the aim of raising money from the Americans.

<sup>65</sup> "Weiteres über die Erweckungen im Esthlande;" Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 19 (1912), pp. 296–297; 6 (1925), p. 69.

Schiewe started on a small salary. Fortunately, he had some supporters. The income of other paid ecclesiastical workers in Poland was poor, too; some would have made much more money as artisans or businessmen.<sup>66</sup>

In order to keep Schiewe in Lodz, some offered him financial support, which, however, failed to ever arrive. With the Sorochen congregation, Schiewe managed to bargain a 1.5 times higher salary than initially proposed. After his expulsion from Sorochen, Schiewe had a hard time; Johann Gerhard Oncken sent a little money from the fund for the persecuted. The congregations in Volhynia paid Ondra's and Schiewe's salary to their families even after the expulsion of the fathers, who in turn received some help from believers in their expulsion locations.<sup>67</sup>

In St. Petersburg, Schiewe's salary, which was too small to live on in that expensive city, came from America and was paid retroactively. So he got into trouble right away. There were good supporters, whom he remembered by name even some 40 years later. At least part of the time Schiewe's family lived in the church's meeting rooms, but his children also suffered from severe contagious diseases. Schiewe avoided incurring debts himself. A true-to-the-day example to describe his poverty is that his wife had to work at night, since she could not afford to hire a servant. Luckily, the bailiff did not come after their furniture. This evidently implies rent arrears. The schooling of children cost a lot of money.<sup>68</sup>

The authorities wanted to close the meeting rooms for sanitary and fire safety reasons, and it took much labor from Schiewe to beg for an extension. Schiewe found that the congregation in St. Petersburg needed its own house. He surmised that if American, British and German congregations would come to their aid, a solution could be found. There were

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<sup>66</sup> G. L., p. 257; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 4 (1912), p. 54.

<sup>67</sup> Karl Ondra, Reinhold Schiewe, "Dank" [Thanks]. In: *Missionsblatt*, 8 (1878), p. 147; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 22 (1912), p. 345; 6 (1913), p. 92.

<sup>68</sup> Letters, 8 April 1882, 23 January 1884, 1 November 1889; A. R. Schiewe, "Weiteres aus Petersburg" [More from St. Petersburg]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 11 (1886), p. 115; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 17 (1924), pp. 262–263.

those who doubted about the seriousness of the situation. Rich Russians—the Pashkovites—would have supported Schiewe had the Lord’s Supper been open, but Schiewe did not agree. Schiewe could not avoid incurring debts on behalf of the congregation. He had to send constant reminders by praising those who donated and dispraising those who did not.<sup>69</sup>

Schiewe also undertook fundraising trips abroad. In 1885, he went to Sweden, and in 1886, to England. The fundraising did not succeed. In England, there was a constructive meeting with Charles Haddon Spurgeon, who advised him to go to America.<sup>70</sup>

In Schiewe’s opinion, a flourishing fundraiser needed to have courage, tenacity, and not a meagre measure of importunity, but there was not a speck of the last mentioned quality in him. Upon someone’s good advice, he did not accept money in America personally but asked it to be sent to the mission fund. Schiewe considers it a mistake, as ultimately he never received the money promised. Without knowledge of this fact, it is difficult to understand those letters of his that he sent following the trip to America. Even as late as 1895, Schiewe hoped that the money would arrive, in vain. The commission sent over from America found that owing to the unstable situation in Russia, it was not yet expedient to grant funds to the St. Petersburg congregation. Rumors of misuse of funds had to be refuted. In actuality, the advance payments for the new sanctuary were forfeited due to insufficient fundraising.<sup>71</sup>

After leaving St. Petersburg, Schiewe continued to solicit funds from America, for the departure did not solve his personal problems. He had to sell his property cheaply, the

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<sup>69</sup> Letters, 8 April 1882, 23 January 1884, 12 March 1886, 29 March 1895; A. R. Schiewe, “Petersburg.” In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 5 (1885), p. 56; “Die gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse unsrer Gemeinden in St. Petersburg” [The Current Circumstances of Our Congregation in St. Petersburg]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 8 (1886), p. 85; A. R. Schiewe, “Weiteres aus Peterburg.” In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 11 (1886), pp. 115–116; A. R. Schiewe, “Weiteres über die Verhältnisse unsrer Gemeinde in St. Petersburg” [More on the Circumstances of Our Congregation in St. Petersburg]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 17 (1886), p. 175; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 18 (1924), p. 277.

<sup>70</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 24 (1924), pp. 348–349; 1 (1925), p. 6.

<sup>71</sup> Letters, 9 September 1887, 24 September 1888, 31 October 1888, 10 January 1894, 11 March 1895; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 2 (1925), pp. 22–23.

resettlement of the family was expensive, and even in Germany, the pastor's salary was too small to sustain a large family.<sup>72</sup>

Living on the minister's salary alone led to Schiewe's being penniless and dependent on his children's aid in old age. He did not consider it normal that a person in lifelong ecclesiastical ministry was deprived of livelihood in his advanced years. A real plight came during the First World War, when the family was on the verge of starvation and the food went to his terminally ill wife.<sup>73</sup>

### **Schiewe in Estonia**

The full Bible had been available in the Estonian language since 1739. The largest denomination in Estonia was the Lutheran Church. According to the 1897 census, 91.2 percent of the population of Estonia could read and 77.7 percent could write. The upper class in Estonia was composed of Baltic Germans and Russians, and Estonian place names were known in other languages by their German versions.

Schiewe considered the years ministered in Estonia the most beautiful ones in his life. He had come into contact with Estonians already in St. Petersburg. There were Estonians in St. Petersburg's congregation prior to his arrival. Divine services were even held in the Estonian language.<sup>74</sup>

In 1874, Lutheran missionaries from Sweden started work among the Swedes living in western Estonia, and an awakening broke out. The movement spread to Estonians. On 13 September 1882, awakened Estonians held the first communion between themselves in Ridala (Röthel) outside Haapsalu; this marked the birth of the local '*priikogudus*' (free

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<sup>72</sup> Letters, 29 March 1895, 26 June 1895, 1 August 1895, 16 October 1895.

<sup>73</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 18 (1925), pp. 196–197; 19/20 (1925), p. 206.

<sup>74</sup> J. G. Kargel, "Wieder etwas aus St. Petersburg" [Again Some News from St. Petersburg]. In: *Missionsblatt*, 11 (1876), pp. 184–185; A. R. Schiewe, "Dies und das aus Landsberg a./W." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 16 (1909), p. 128.

congregation). Having come to the persuasion that infant baptism was not correct, they started to baptize between themselves by sprinkling. By the summer of 1883, the number of those baptized was already about 150.<sup>75</sup>

Three Estonians from Haapsalu went to see Schiewe in St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1883: August Johannson, Karl Höövel, and Mihkel Krabi. They informed him of the spiritual awakening as well as the accompanying confusion that required resolute correction. As Schiewe did not go to the site immediately, the confusion grew, and other ways were sought to legalize the movement. In this situation, Schiewe finally travelled to Haapsalu and singled out from the awakened those he considered fit for a Baptist congregation. Those awakened were mostly simple and ignorant peasants who lacked coordinated leadership. Schiewe noticed 10 different false practices and doctrines. The baptism in a hole cut into the ice of a river in the evening of 23 February or in the first hours of 24 February 1884, which marked the birth of the Haapsalu branch of St. Petersburg's congregation.<sup>76</sup>

This was the formal beginning of Estonian Baptism. After the baptism, Schiewe was no longer a guest in Haapsalu but operated in a branch of his own congregation. The members of Haapsalu congregation were no longer outlawed converts but protected by the law.

The Lutheran Church had also tried to gain control of the awakening.<sup>77</sup> Schiewe resolutely refused subordination to the leaders of the Estonian Lutheran Church and did not

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<sup>75</sup> *Eesti Baptisti koguduste ajaloolik Album 25 Juubeli aasta mälestuseks [A Historical Album of the Estonian Baptist Congregations to Commemorate the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary]* (Tallinn: J. Felsbergi ja A. Tetermanni trükk, 1911), pp. 3–5; M. Busch, *Ridala ärkamise ajalugu [A History of the Awakening in Ridala]* (Ridala Baptistikogudus, 1928), p. 29.

<sup>76</sup> An introductory entry penned by Schiewe in the Haapsalu Baptist congregation's minutes book on 13 (25) February 1884; "Merkwürdige Erweckungen in Esthland"; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 19 (1924), pp. 289–290. There are differences in the dates of the baptisms. The author prefers the older and more immediate sources, according to which the first baptism took place on Saturday, 23. February (14 people baptised); on Sunday, Schiewe held two Estonian-language and two German-language services; the second baptism occurred on Monday (13 people) and the third on Tuesday (two people). The information given in Veltistov, 1904, p. 1325, is incorrect.

<sup>77</sup> According to "Die religiöse Erweckung in Esthland" [A Religious Awakening in Estonia], in *Wahrheitszeuge*, 7 (1881), pp. 68–69, the Lutheran synod saw in the awakening the work of the Holy Spirit, which, in spite of abundant human sin and aberrant Methodist style, would have abundant blessed results. There were also those who expressed doubt about the movement. It was deemed necessary to recover the trust of the awakened people

coordinate his activities with them. Schiewe's mission, of course, was unsavory for them. In the first year, Schiewe visited Estonia four times and baptized 202 people. At one time, he stayed in Estonia for 10 consecutive weeks and held five to seven services a week, two of them in German.<sup>78</sup>

Schiewe's work was not confined to Haapsalu. He was instrumental in the birth of the Kalju congregation in Tallinn (Reval) and the Kärkla (Kertel) congregation on Hiiumaa (Dagö) Island, both of which date their origin back to 1884, as does the Immanuel congregation in Pärnu (Pernau), as a result of Herrmann's work. Apart from these, there were also mission sites, of which a number developed into independent congregations.

In addition to Baptists, the awakened people also formed the Free Church, the beginning of which is traced back to the founding of Ridala congregation. The divergence of views surfaced already at the meeting between Schiewe and the Haapsalu delegation in St. Petersburg—the awakened people had been baptized by sprinkling, and Schiewe demanded their rebaptism. The schism had direct implications on the men from Haapsalu—Johannson became Schiewe's interpreter and later pastor of Haapsalu congregation whereas Krabi remained in the Free Church. Furthermore, Schiewe did not accept the emotionality of the Freechurchers, who were eager to burst into jubilation and jumping. Schiewe regarded Freechurchers as spiritually defective but confessed that their services were fascinating and that he had had to muster all his strength to resist the urge to start shouting and jumping himself. Particularly resolute were his actions on Hiiumaa Island in 1886, when he excommunicated all the members of the local congregation and then started to readmit them

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to keep them from falling prey to cults. In the opinion of "Merkwürdige Erweckungen in Esthland," the Lutheran church was too late to realize that violence against those awakened would lead nowhere and thus totally discredited itself in their eyes. Of importance from the historical perspective of Estonian Baptism is that the first article was authored by Herrmann.

<sup>78</sup> "Zweite Missionsreise nach Esthland"; "Fortgang des Werkes in Esthland"; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 19 (1924), p. 290; 21 (1924), pp. 311–312; 23 (1924), p. 338.

one by one. In half an hour's time, 93 people were readmitted to the congregation. The Freechurchers, of course, deemed Schiewe's views as negative.<sup>79</sup>

While Baptists operated legally, Freechurchers had to endure persecution. Having stemmed from the same spiritual awakening and knowing each other personally, the Freechurchers and Baptists made several attempts to unite. The most important development in this process was the merger of Ridala Free Congregation with the Baptists in 1898. Johannson had a solid role in this.<sup>80</sup>

Schiewe's years in Estonia proved to be intense. For instance, in 1890, he held a Bible school in Haapsalu for eight hours a day, and additionally services for six hours, and all this for four weeks without a single day of rest. An awakening emerged, in which 120 people were converted. Meetings were held on Hiiumaa for three days and three nights. Back at home, it took him a whole week to recover. Schiewe came to Estonia every two to three months. None of his trips to Estonia passed without new converts. Schiewe would have been pleased to work in Estonia to the end of his life.<sup>81</sup> But then his period in St. Petersburg drew to a close.

Even prior to problems in St. Petersburg, Schiewe wanted Haapsalu and Kärkla congregations to become autonomous. He could not speak Estonian and lived far away; the congregations actually acted as autonomous already. In 1884–1888, Schiewe had conducted all the ordinances in Haapsalu himself. Later, Johannson took over. He was elected as head of

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<sup>79</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 23 (1924), p. 338; 24 (1924), pp. 347–348; 6 (1925), p. 69; A. Seppur (compiler), *Jees. Krist. Evg. Priikoguduse tekkimine ja levinemine Läänemaa ärkamises* [The Emergence and Spread of the Evangelical Free Church of Jesus Christ in the Awakening in Western Estonia] (Toronto, 1970), pp. 30–35. The minutes of Kärkla Baptist congregation of 18 June 1886 show that 87 people were readmitted and 6 were baptised.

<sup>80</sup> A. Johannson, "Unser Werk in Esthland" [Our Ministry in Estonia]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 7 (1898), p. 55; *Eesti Baptisti koguduste ajaloolik Album*, p. 14.

<sup>81</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 9 (1925), pp. 101–103; 10 (1925), pp. 115–116.

the Haapsalu congregation and Peeter Kaups as that of Kärkla congregation.<sup>82</sup>

In 1894, the congregations of Haapsalu and Kärkla, and in 1897, the congregation of Tallinn, became independent from the congregation in St. Petersburg, and in 1896, the Pärnu congregation from the congregation in Riga.<sup>83</sup> After his departure to Germany, Schiewe succeeded to visit Estonia again in 1896 and 1911. In 1896, he went to Rummu, Tallinn, Haapsalu and Hiiumaa, ordained Peeter Kaups and arranged the affairs of the Rummu congregation. He also wanted to visit Estonia in 1902, but in vain. Back then, he still entertained hopes of returning to work in Russia. In 1911, he went to Tallinn, Haapsalu and Rummu, but the authorities did not permit him to preach in Haapsalu.<sup>84</sup>

### **Schiewe's Departure from the Russian Empire and the Subsequent Period**

The reason for Schiewe's departure was his acquisition of German citizenship in 1878. He had not renewed his Russian passport since 1876. His son was under the conscription of both the German and the Russian military. He was threatened with both fines and deportation to Siberia. Apparently, they expected a bribe from him. He decided to leave for Germany.<sup>85</sup>

Schiewe hoped to presently return to Russia. Attempts at resolving the situation with petitions and petitionary telegrams were unproductive. The transfer of the family to Germany took time. As Schiewe was moneyless, he had to accept, following five months of fruitless searches, the pastor's post at Templin on October 1895, which he did not regard as a good

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<sup>82</sup> The minutes of the Kärkla Baptist congregation of 17 February 1894; the minutes of the Haapsalu Baptist congregation no. 86 of 20 February 1894, no. 87 of 6 August 1894; *Eesti Baptisti koguduste ajaloolik Album*, p. 14.

<sup>83</sup> R. Kaups (editor), *50 aastat apostlite radadel* [Fifty Years in the Apostles' Footsteps] (E. B. K Liidu kirjastus, 1934), pp. 18–19.

<sup>84</sup> "Telegramme." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 25 (1896), p. 198 (it contains four misspellings of names); the minutes of Rummu Baptist congregation of 19 May 1896, 8 September 1902; the minutes of Kärkla Baptist congregation of 14 July 1896; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 13/14 (1925), p. 152; 18 (1925), pp. 195–196.

<sup>85</sup> "Verfolgung in Rußland" [Persecution in Russia]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 22 (1895), p. 172; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 11 (1925), pp. 126–127. In "Adam Reinhold Schiewe," Schäfer incorrectly states that Schiewe was indeed sent to Siberia.

solution. Schiewe was allowed in 1896 to visit St. Petersburg and Estonia, where he had enjoyed success in contrast to the ministry in Templin. He left Templin in 1898.<sup>86</sup>

In 1898–1910, Schiewe was pastor of the congregation in Gorzów Wielkopolski. His longest life period is connected with this city, and there he also died. Schiewe continued the tradition of writing on his ministry successes in *Der Wahrheitszeuge*, but it was predominantly brief notices about conversions and baptisms. In a more compendious article, Schiewe said that there were 53 people baptized in the congregation in 1906 but ‘only’ six in 1907. Perhaps 1906 was the most successful year indeed.<sup>87</sup>

Schiewe did not stay put but visited neighbors as well. An awakening started in a subdivision of the congregation and Schiewe started to actively attend and hold services there. Sunday School classes and a dynamic music ministry were also conducted.<sup>88</sup>

After resignation, Schiewe travelled for the last time to St. Petersburg and Estonia in February 1911 in the company of his wife and a younger daughter. Back at home, he could not stand idleness. He was acting pastor of the First and Second congregations of Bydgoszcz in 1911–1913. He saw his role in Bydgoszcz as a temporary one and was looking forward to a regular successor. Nevertheless, he continued to report of baptisms; over a period of time, he

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<sup>86</sup> “Telegramme.” In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 41 (1895), p. 326; 25 (1896), p. 198; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 13/14 (1925), pp. 151–152; Donat, p. 339 (the date of Schiewe’s departure from Templin is deduced).

<sup>87</sup> A. R. Schiewe, “Jahresbericht aus Landsberg a./W.” In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 5 (1908), p. 40; Ad. Pasche, “Allerlei aus der Geschichte der Gemeinde Landsberg a.d. Warthe” [Miscellaneous on the History of the Congregation in Landsberg a.d. Warthe]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 4 (1923), p. 30. In Mälestused, *Teekäija*, 13/14 (1925), p. 153, the awakening is dated to 1903, with 54 people baptised. The correct date appears to be 1906, for the only report from 1903 and the first brief report from 1904 do not refer to such number of baptised people (“Telegramme,” *Wahrheitszeuge*, 18 (1903), p. 143; 24 (1904), p. 191).

<sup>88</sup> Gustav Rohloff, “Unser Missionsfest in Gr. Mellen” [The Celebration of Our Mission in Gr. Mellen]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 30 (1899), p. 239; A. R. Schiewe, “Ein herrliches Tauffest in Tschernow” [A Glorious Baptismal Celebration in Tschernow]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 24 (1901), pp. 190–191; A. R. Schiewe, “Erweckung in Guschterbruch” [Awakening in Guschterbruch]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 7 (1906), p. 55; “Telegramme.” In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 2 (1908), p. 16; 44 (1910), p. 352; E. Straus, “Sängerfest in Landsberg a./W.” [A Song Festival in Landsberg a./W.]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 17 (1908), pp. 135–136.

had baptized 17 people already. Of that period, he had worked with the new pastor for six months.<sup>89</sup>

The First World War caused economic misery, and shortly after the war, his wife Auguste died. But Schiewe was still in action. His memoirs and some of his letters were published in *Teekäija*. In 1926, he attended the German Baptist Union's conference in Berlin and met with representatives of Estonia there. His health, however, no longer permitted him to visit Estonia.<sup>90</sup>

Schiewe died on 29 December 1930. His decease did not go unnoticed with Estonian and German Baptists.<sup>91</sup>

## Individuals of Importance to Schiewe

### Gottfried Friedrich Alf

Alf was one of the founders and a long-time leader of German-speaking Baptism in Poland. Schiewe came into contact with Alf already at the beginning of his journey of faith—he was baptized by Alf. Schiewe was one of Alf's most important co-workers. Later, Alf led the German-speaking Baptist Union of Russia, the leadership team of which also included Schiewe.<sup>92</sup> No information is available on whether Alf was the officiator of the 'real wedding' of the Schiewes, as would be logical in the author's opinion.

Alf's third spouse, Pauline Amalie Mürson, was from Estonia, and the couple got acquainted in St. Petersburg. Mürson left the Kuressaare (Arensburg) Lutheran congregation

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<sup>89</sup> A. R. Schiewe, "Eine Mutter in Israel heimgegangen" [A Mother in Israel Has Gone Home]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 51 (1911), p. 407; "Telegramme." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 18 (1912), p. 136; 24 (1912), p. 192; Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 18 (1925), pp. 195–196.

<sup>90</sup> D. H. Matson, "Isiklikke muljeid A. R. Schiewe'st" [Personal Impressions of A.R. Schiewe]. In: *Teekäija*, 3/4 (1931), p. 43; Kaups, p. 114.

<sup>91</sup> "Aus der Schmiede." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 4 (1931), p. 29; "Adam-Reinhold Schiewe." In: *Teekäija*, 2 (1931), pp. 23–25 (this is an inaccurate summary of Schiewe's memoirs); *ibid*, p. 18 are obituaries of the Baptist congregations of Haapsalu, Tallinn, Kärkla and Rummu-Valkla.

<sup>92</sup> Kluttig, p. 53; Veltistov, 1904, p. 1326.

for St. Petersburg in 1887, and probably converted to Baptism there. Mürson and Alf married in 1894.<sup>93</sup> The author deems it possible that they met in Schiewe's church and/or Schiewe was their matchmaker.

#### Lorenz Johannes Schwan

Schwan is the first known Estonian Baptist.<sup>94</sup> He preached the first Baptist sermon on Estonian soil, on the island, Saaremaa (Ösel), on 5 June 1865. Schiewe gave the delegation from Haapsalu that had come to seek help from St. Petersburg two Estonian-language books, of which at least one was translated by Schwan.<sup>95</sup>

Oncken baptised Schwan in St. Petersburg in 1864 and set him up as a deacon (not pastor). In 1874, Ondra searched for Baptists in St. Petersburg at Schwan's address. In Ondra's opinion, the congregation's situation was not good at that time. Schiewe described Schwan's period in the congregation as one of almost 18 years without leadership that harmed both the congregation and Schwan himself. Schwan complained and spread rumors against Schiewe whereas Schiewe spread a negative image of Schwan in his articles. During interrogation, Schiewe said that Schwan was educated but all his screws were loose, or one was missing altogether. Schwan never became a serious rival to Schiewe and lost his connection with St. Petersburg's congregation in 1881.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> *Eesti Baptisti koguduste ajaloolik Album*, pp. 2, 16a (Mürson's name is misspelled); Rahvusarhiiv [Estonian National Archives] EAA.3151.1.193, p. 54; Albert W. Wardin Jr., *Gottfried F. Alf* (Nashville, Tennessee: Baptist History and Heritage Society and Fields Publishing Inc., 2003), p. 85.

<sup>94</sup> Aldur Vunk, „*Kuningamäng*” ärkamisaja koidikul [*The 'King's Game' at the Dawn of the Estonian Age of Awakening*] (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2012), pp. 59–94, contains the most in-depth biography of Schwan, and rehabilitates the latter. Schwan was negatively portrayed in a number of writings (primarily non-Baptist ones), not only Schiewe's. Evidently, there is also need for a more detailed biography of Schwan in English, for even his full name is unknown. See Wardin, *On the Edge*, pp. 40, 42–43.

<sup>95</sup> *Eesti Baptisti koguduste ajaloolik Album*, p. 8; Vunk, pp. 73, 82.

<sup>96</sup> “Reise nach St. Petersburg” [A Trip to St. Petersburg]. In: *Missionsblatt*, 11 (1874), p. 194; “Br. Schiewe's Bestätigung in Petersburg.” In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 16 (1881), p. 169; A. R. Schiewe, “St. Petersburg.” In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 5 (1884), p. 58 (the text is allegoric but evidently alludes to Schwan); Mälestused. In: *Teekäija*, 18 (1924), p. 277; Donat, 139.

Regrettably, these two men never saw eye to eye. At the same time, Estonian Baptist sources see Schwan in a positive light, although they make very little mention of him. In the author's opinion, the conflict with Schwan (or at least the way of handling it) is a dark spot on Schiewe's reputation, but Schwan himself is definitely not guiltless either.

Johann G. (Ivan Veniaminovich) Kargel

Kargel was Schiewe's schoolmate at Hamburg's seminary. Schiewe succeeded Kargel as pastor in Sorochen and St. Petersburg. In the author's opinion, Kargel palmed pastor's places that he wanted to free himself from off on Schiewe—when a new minister was in place, he could leave with a tranquil heart.

Reportedly, there was a discord between Schiewe and Kargel late in 1883 or early in 1884, when Vasily Pashkov advised Kargel to become co-pastor of the Schiewe-led congregation. The problem probably lay in the views on congregational practices—Kargel was moving away from conservative Baptism.<sup>97</sup>

The supposed discord did not impede Schiewe's and Kargel's subsequent cooperation. In one of the most complicated moments in Schiewe's work in Estonia, the 'purification' of the church in Hiiumaa in 1886, it was Kargel, then on the spot, who advised him to do that. During Schiewe's trip to America in 1886, Kargel served as his substitute in St. Petersburg.<sup>98</sup>

Could there be discord between them also in 1887, when Kargel had reportedly done very successful interdenominational work in Haapsalu and on Hiiumaa?<sup>99</sup> The author found

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<sup>97</sup> Nichols, pp. 98–99. The author unsuccessfully tried to find Schiewe's letter of complaint; to his oral inquiry, the Oncken-Archiv in Elstal, Germany, responded that the correspondence of the German Baptist Union was destroyed in the fire at the archive during the Second World War. According to Nichols, p. 105, the actual objective might have been the accommodation of the Pashkovites and Baptists in the same building. However, Schiewe was opposed to those who actually were not Baptists taking cover at the Baptists.

<sup>98</sup> Mälestused. In: *Teeküija*, 24 (1924), p. 347; Nichols, p. 115.

<sup>99</sup> Nichols, pp. 140–143. Schiewe's name is not mentioned.

no other sources on that work. Probably, some groups of believers held meetings with Kargel, but disbanded after Kargel left.

Could Kargel have become the founder and leader of Estonian Baptism? He repeatedly visited Haapsalu and probably baptized in Estonia already before Schiewe. He may even have had some mastery of Estonian.<sup>100</sup> In the author's opinion, Kargel's reach extended far beyond Estonia, and he had no intention of a prolonged ministry there. He left this job to Schiewe, as he had already done in the congregations of Sorochen and St. Petersburg. Nowhere in his memoirs did Schiewe criticize Kargel.

#### Julius Herrmann

Herrmann was pastor of the German-speaking Baptist congregation of Riga. Up until now, Estonian Baptist historiography has regarded the advent of Baptism to Estonia as two independent episodes—Schiewe baptized the first members of the Haapsalu congregation on 24 February 1884 and Herrmann, the first members of the Pärnu congregation on 18 August 1884. Yet it is known that Schiewe studied with Herrmann in Hamburg, thus they were old acquaintances. Written records on cooperation between Schiewe and Herrmann (both before and after 1884) are mostly in the German language; those in Estonian are extremely laconic and apparently were underestimated later by Estonian Baptists.

Herrmann was visiting St. Petersburg upon the local congregation's becoming independent, and immediately wrote about Schiewe's difficult situation. Schiewe, in turn, attended the official opening of the congregation in Riga, and there were subsequent visits, too. Together with Schiewe, Herrmann sent a petition to America (requesting help for the

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<sup>100</sup> Miriam R. Kuznetsova, *Early Russian Evangelicals (1874–1929): Historical Background & Hermeneutical Tendencies Based on I. V. Kargel's Written Heritage* (University of Pretoria, 2009), p. 284; Nichols, p. 141.

Riga congregation, among others). Both Schiewe and Herrmann were on the leadership team of the union of German-speaking Baptists of Russia.<sup>101</sup>

Herrmann wrote about his ties with the Estonians and Estonia and about being aware of Schiewe's activity there. In 1888, a conference was organized jointly in Haapsalu. They both had a role in the sending out of Andres Tetermann to become a pastor in Tallinn.<sup>102</sup> After his escape from St. Petersburg, Schiewe asked the Americans to correspond with him via Herrmann.<sup>103</sup>

Pärnu was situated on the southern verge of the awakening in western Estonia. The people converted in Pärnu were aware of the existence of Baptist churches in Haapsalu and Tallinn and paid visits to them for familiarization purposes, but had already established contact with Herrmann. Pärnu was part of the province of Livonia, the center of which was Riga, and Herrmann already had license for operating in the province.<sup>104</sup> Considering the above, it is obvious to the author that the birth of Baptist congregations in Haapsalu and Pärnu were interrelated.

Why was Herrmann's role in Estonia restricted to the founding of a congregation in Pärnu, and why did Schiewe become the leader of Estonian Baptism? After all, Herrmann had better qualifications. He wrote about a spiritual awakening in Estonia in response to

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<sup>101</sup> A. R. Schiewe, "Petersburg." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 21 (1880), p. 167; J. Herrmann, "Riga." Ibid; E. Herrmann, "Riga." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 9 (1882), p. 91 (the correct initial should be J); A. R. Schiewe, "St. Petersburg." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 5 (1884), p. 58; "Reisepredigt der Ostpreußischen Vereinigung" [The Guest Preachers of the East Prussia Association]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 16 (1887), p. 164; J. Herrmann, "Die neue Kapelle in Riga" [The New Chapel in Riga]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 6 (1889), p. 55; Letters, 8 April 1882; Veltistov, 1904, p. 1326.

<sup>102</sup> J. Herrmann, "Verschiedenes aus Riga" [Miscellaneous from Riga]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 18 (1884), p. 191; J. Herrmann, "Eine Reise unter den Esthen" [A Trip to the Estonians]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 4 (1885), p. 37; J. Herrmann, "Verschiedenes aus Riga." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 3 (1886), p. 28; J. Mill, "Aus Pernau in Esthland" [From Pärnu, Estonia]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 7 (1888), 67; *Eesti Baptisti koguduste ajaloolik Album*, p. 55.

<sup>103</sup> Letters, 29 March 1895 (the address is strangely scant: Danzig, Germany).

<sup>104</sup> *Eesti Baptisti koguduste ajaloolik Album*, pp. 46–48, 52.

questions posed in *Der Wahrheitszeuge* before Schiewe's arrival in the country.<sup>105</sup> Herrmann's role and reputation in German Baptism were much weightier than Schiewe's.

In the author's opinion, the reason probably was that in his Riga-period, Herrmann saw himself as the only German Baptist preacher in the Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire and thus dealt with other ethnic groups only insofar as urgently needed in the work of the congregation.<sup>106</sup>

Another factor might have been the fact that unlike Schiewe, Herrmann belonged to a better-off and more educated stratum of society. He was able to live for years in Riga on his own assets and even erect a small house of worship.<sup>107</sup> He probably would not have withstood such living and working conditions that Schiewe had to put up with in his ministry among poorer people.

Thus, Herrmann left the work in Estonia in the care of Schiewe, whom he trusted. A negative consequence thereof was that the development of Baptism in southern Estonia (the province of Livonia) was considerably slower than in northern Estonia (the province of Estonia).

### **The Author's Assessment of Schiewe**

Schiewe was a gifted preacher. To preach his first sermon 13 days after conversion and five days after baptism and to speak with no preparation for three quarters of an hour in such a manner that the audience would not get bored and would spread positive reports is definitely not within the powers of any neophyte.

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<sup>105</sup> "Kurze religiöse Nachrichten. Eine religiöse Bewegung in Estland" [Religious News Briefs. A Religious movement in Estonia]. In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 1 (1881), p. 3; "Die religiöse Erweckung in Estland." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 7 (1881), pp. 68–69.

<sup>106</sup> J. Herrmann, "Riga." In: *Wahrheitszeuge*, 21 (1880), p. 167; Letters, 8 April 1882. W. Haupt asserts in "Nach und in Riga" [To and In Riga], in *Wahrheitszeuge*, 3 (1889), p. 27, that in Herrmann's congregation services were also held in Latvian and Estonian.

<sup>107</sup> Letters, 8 April 1882.

Before starting out as a pastor, Schiewe witnessed the launch of several congregations and gained practical skills. One can find in Schiewe's activity in Estonia echoes of his previous experience: the first baptism in Haapsalu bore resemblance to his own baptism, the purification of the congregation on Hiiumaa to that of the congregation in Lodz and the Bible school in Haapsalu to that in Kicin. Without underestimating Schiewe's ministry elsewhere, one must agree with himself that his principal work was carried out in Estonia.

One cannot agree with the view that Schiewe was a middling, faithful servant of God, who did not do anything special that any other Baptist preacher would not have been able to accomplish in Estonia in his stead. Or, that he was narrow-minded and unreasonable towards the Freechurchers, and a foreigner unable to comprehend the Estonian soul and demanding unreasonably stringent church discipline.<sup>108</sup> Schiewe had to have a solid doctrine and solid views on church discipline in order to elicit from the awakening in western Estonia the part befitting a Baptist congregation. An ordinary, middling pastor would not have been able to stand the spontaneous hotchpotch of the awakening in western Estonia. Schiewe molded a chaotic mess into organized congregations and a Baptist union. He also set an example of organization for the Freechurchers, albeit they were unsatisfied with him.

Schiewe was a man of great working capacity and stress tolerance.<sup>109</sup> He had a propensity for an authoritarian leadership style.<sup>110</sup> He was not successful in cooperating with some people (Rohner, Schwan). Schiewe expressed his views straightforwardly and uncompromisingly, at the cost of real suffering. He should not be projected into the 21<sup>st</sup> century but be left in his own age, where political correctness was an unknown phenomenon and society was full of corruption.

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<sup>108</sup> Kaups, pp. 112–113; Vunk, pp. 91–92.

<sup>109</sup> In the opinion of Miller, p. 68, Schiewe suffered burnout. The claim might perhaps be undergirded by the two crises of faith, but both occurred too early in Schiewe's ministry.

<sup>110</sup> According to Seppur, p. 106, German Baptists considered Schiewe a conceited and selfish leader. This is not substantiated by the sources known to the author.

Schiewe deserves a solid place in the history of worldwide Baptism, because he introduced baptism to a new country of Estonia. He should also gain a stronger standing in the history of the countries he served in—Estonia, Poland, Russia, Germany and Ukraine.

## **Summary**

The objective of the present study was to compile a biography of Adam Reinhold Schiewe (1843–1930), a Polish German preacher. Schiewe operated in what are now five countries: in 1869–1876, as a volunteer and later as a paid preacher (missionary) in Lodz and its surroundings, Poland; in 1876–1877 as a pastor in Sorochen, Ukraine (from where he was expelled by the Russian authorities); in 1878–1880 in Tczew, Poland; in 1880–1895 in the German-speaking congregation in St. Petersburg, Russia; in 1895–1898 in Templin, Germany; in 1898–1910 in Gorzów Wielkopolski, Poland; in 1911–1913 in Bydgoszcz First and Second Baptist congregation, Poland (as acting pastor).

Schiewe left his paramount legacy in Estonia, where he founded the first official Baptist congregation in Haapsalu in 1884 and was the actual leader of Estonian Baptism for 11 years. The study modifies the existing notion of early Baptism in Estonia by identifying its supposedly two sources as one.

The research resulted in concretizing and systematizing many episodes of Schiewe's life. The author pointed out gaps, errors, and discrepancies found in the sources and gave his contribution to the reconstruction of reality.

The present biography may be quite close to Schiewe's understanding of himself, as use has been made primarily of Baptist materials as well as those from Schiewe's pen. The discovery of new sources by other researchers may complement the picture, and the author will be eagerly looking forward to such complements.

Translated from Estonian into English by Sulev Kivastik