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BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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Bulletin of the Canadian Baptist Historical Society
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(Re)Introducing the *Bulletin*

Taylor Murray

The last few years have seen a significant increase in the number of publications relating to Baptists in Canada.¹ The Canadian Baptist Historical Society (CBHS) has made a deliberate effort to contribute to this ongoing conversation. Most notably, since 2012, with the publication of *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*,² it has produced several volumes in its growing book series. Much in the same way that the prolific Baptist Heritage in Atlantic Canada Series stimulated interest in Baptist studies from the 1970s to 1990s, the CBHS hopes that these kinds of contributions will encourage further discussions. The *Bulletin of the Canadian Baptist Historical Society* is an extension of the CBHS's mission to contribute to the field of Baptist studies in Canada.

One will note that this is not the first edition of the *Bulletin*—in fact, it is the third. That is because, in the 1990s, the CBHS published an earlier version of the *Bulletin*. Under the editorial guidance of Dr. Michael A. G. Haykin, it was designed as a “sub-

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1. For a brief overview of some recently published material, see Murray, “Against ‘Historical Amnesia,’” 77–113.

2. Heath and Wilson, eds., *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*.

stantial means of information and incentive for Canadian scholars involved in researching aspects of Baptist history, in particular those relating to Canada.”³

This new iteration of the *Bulletin* retains that same vision. The CBHS plans to publish the *Bulletin* once annually. While the most up-to-date information on the CBHS will be made available on our website (baptisthistory.ca), the *Bulletin* exists to highlight recent work and broadcast announcements in the world of Baptist history and theology.

The *Bulletin*’s academic articles are perhaps its marquee feature. Each edition will contain at least one essay on Baptist history or theology. All articles published in the *Bulletin* are peer reviewed. The editors invite submissions from individuals who are interested in contributing an article or book review to a future edition of the *Bulletin*. While the *Bulletin* exists to promote work on Baptists in Canada, the editors also welcome articles and book reviews on topics relating to other Baptist communities.

The restoration of the *Bulletin* reflects the exciting things happening in Baptist studies in Canada. The editors hope that it will encourage further conversation and reflection.

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3. *Bulletin of the Canadian Baptist Historical Society* 2 (1998), 1.



The Canadian Baptist Historical Society: Its Founding, Objectives, Officers, Early Activities, and Legacy

Paul R. Wilson

On 18 October 2024, the Canadian Baptist Historical Society (CBHS) will celebrate its 159th anniversary. At the time of its formation, the CBHS was only the second historical society to be established in Canada.¹ According to historian Theo Gibson, the Society “enjoyed considerable success” in its early years. But, as Gibson also notes, “it is to be regretted that some of its [the CBHS’s] comprehensive collection of early periodicals and minutes were lost by later generations.”² The CBHS has certainly experienced successes, challenges, and changes in leadership and

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1. For information about the founding of the society see “The Canadian Baptist Historical Society,” *Canadian Baptist*, 2 November 1865. The CBHS is not included in current lists of Canadian historical societies. See, for example, “Historical Societies” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*; and “Canadian Historical Societies,” 356–63.

2. Gibson, *Robert Alexander Fyfe*, 314.

form in its long and storied history. Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive history of the organization.

This brief article offers some historical context for the creation of the society and chronicles the original objectives of the CBHS as expressed in its 1865 Constitution. It provides partial biographies for five of the Society's first officers and examines the early activities of the Society. Throughout, it connects the founding of the CBHS with the present work of the Society. While the CBHS's formation in 1865 may appear modest and without fanfare, its very creation was a recognition that history mattered to Baptists in Canada and must be preserved for the benefit of future generations—a conviction that carries into the present.

Historical Context and Early Supporters

The mid-to-late nineteenth century saw the creation of a number of amateur historical societies in Canada. In the opening chapter of his book titled *The Professionalization of History in English Canada*, historian Donald Wright provides insight into the development of "History as Avocation." Wright demonstrates that in the late nineteenth century, "history had a vital and vibrant existence outside the university and only a tentative one inside it." In fact, "Scores of men and women across English Canada dedicated their leisure time—and in some cases their lives—to collecting, preserving, documenting, and writing their country's history. By 1900, over twenty historical societies and associations had been founded."³

Indeed, within English Canada, one did not have to look far to find clergy and laity who took a keen interest in Baptist history. In the Maritime Provinces, non-professional historians, such as pastors Ingraham E. Bill and Edward Manning Saunders, would research, write, and publish early histories about Baptists in the region.⁴ Likewise, in Ontario, clergy and laity, including, for example, cleric Robert Alexander Fyfe and layperson Thomas S. Shenston, would write and publish church histories that cultivated an interest in and a commitment to educating students about the

3. All of the quotations in this paragraph are taken from Wright, *The Professionalization*, 8.

4. E.g., Bill, *Fifty Years*; and Saunders, *History of the Baptists*.

denomination's history.⁵ This kind of interest in history motivated Baptists in the central region to form the CBHS on 18 October 1865.

The nucleus of the newly-formed CBHS was comprised of well-known Baptists. These men were part of a generation of Baptists who founded, built, and established vital Baptist institutions and infrastructure in Ontario and Quebec. Furthermore, these men knew each other and were, before and after 1865, well-connected with each other.⁶ Among them were the aforementioned Fyfe and Shenston. One of the most well-known Baptists in nineteenth-century Canada, Fyfe was a fierce advocate for Baptist higher education in Ontario and a founder of the Canadian Literary Institute in Woodstock.⁷ For his part, Shenston was a businessperson, provincial officeholder, magistrate, county registrar, philanthropist, and author. He was the author of books that reflected these interests, including *Private Family Register of the Shenston and Lazeby Families* (1864), *Teloogoo Mission Scrap Book* (1888), and *A Jubilee Review of the First Baptist Church, Brantford* (1893).⁸

Alongside Fyfe and Shenston, several pastors in Ontario took a keen interest in the newly formed CBHS. One interested pastor was James Cooper, who pastored in Baptist churches in Woodstock, St. George, and London. Much like Fyfe, he was a strong

5. E.g., Fyfe, *A Forty Years*; Shenston, *Jubilee Review*.

6. At various points, for example, several served together on the denomination's Committee of Nomination. See *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1860, 7; and *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1872, 16. In addition to connections through Convention work and business, another important tie was service to the denominational press (*Christian Messenger*, and later *Canadian Baptist*). Thomas L. Davidson served as editor of the *Christian Messenger* in 1854. R. A. Fyfe served as editor and proprietor of the *Christian Messenger/Canadian Baptist* from 1859–63. Hoyes Lloyd was also editor and proprietor from 1863–71. Finally, William Boyd Stewart was involved on two occasions, as editor from 1871–74 and as co-editor from 1881–82. For details on each of these periods, see Trinier, *A Century of Service*, 32–34, 37–49, 51–56, and 57–63.

7. For biographical details, see Yuille, "Robert A. Fyfe," 12:243–67 and Gibson, *Robert Alexander Fyfe*.

8. The information here and much more about Shenston's life and career is found in Burley, "Shenston, Thomas Strahan," n.p.

advocate for Baptist education.⁹ Another was Thomas L. Davidson, who had long pastorates in Brantford and Aylmer. While in Brantford, Davidson also played a crucial role in establishing the *Christian Messenger* (the forerunner of the *Canadian Baptist*), a weekly Baptist publication.¹⁰ Hoyes Lloyd pastored in Baptist churches in Port Hope and Whitby, and later served a mission church that eventually became College Street Baptist Church in Toronto and the Grande Ligne Mission in Quebec. Beginning in 1863, he was also, significantly, the editor and proprietor of the *Canadian Baptist*.¹¹ A final pastor was William Boyd Stewart, who held pastorates in Brantford, Toronto, and Hamilton. He also served as a Professor of Classics at the Canadian Literary Institute from 1860 to 1863¹² and would go on to hold leadership posts at

9. For details on Cooper, see *The History of First Baptist Church, Woodstock Ontario*, 18. For additional information about Cooper's pastorate at Woodstock, see pages 13–18 of this same source. On his educational advocacy, see James Cooper, "Our Educational Plan," *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1858, 28. According to William Sherwood Fox, Cooper "lived up fully to his known ideals and character" by volunteering in 1877 to take a reduction in his wages so the church could afford to found the Adelaide Street Mission in London. See Fox, *A Century of Service*, 37.

10. Davidson also shepherded his Brantford flock through the sale of an old church building, the purchase of land for a new building, and the completion of a new church facility. The new "chapel" was opened on 19 August 1855. Davidson noted in the *Christian Messenger* that "it is computed to hold 750 persons, and is the largest but one in Canada belonging to our denomination. It has been built at a cost of \$6,000." This information is from Shenston, *A Jubilee Review*, 26–47. It should be noted that soon after the chapel was completed there was a fire that caused heavy damage to the building. Further costs were incurred, including a completion of the basement space, which raised the total building costs to about \$18,000.00 by 1857.

11. According to Harold Trinier (*A Century of Service*, 55), Lloyd's greatest achievement was to "save the paper (*Canadian Baptist*) from the precarious conditions in which he found it." Lloyd also demonstrated a heart for and a deep commitment to home missions. In his 1858 Home Missions Report to the Convention, Lloyd chided, challenged, and called his Baptist brethren to more fully unite in support of Baptist outreach in Canada. See *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1858, 21.

12. Yuille, "A Firm Foundation," 65.

three interracial schools in the United States: he served as President of Roger Williams College in Nashville, Tennessee, from 1882 to 1884; Principal of the Collegiate Academy in Winchester, Kentucky from 1884 to 1890; and President of Berea College in Berea, Kentucky from 1890 to 1892.¹³

Forming the Society

Driven by this nucleus of interested pastors and laypeople, the CBHS took form. A brief article announcing the formation of “The Canadian Baptist Historical Society” appeared in the 2 November 1865 issue of *The Canadian Baptist*. This article included a “Constitution” with six “Articles.” As one might expect, Article I established the name of the organization: “This Society shall be called ‘The Canadian Baptist Historical Society.’”¹⁴ Predating Canadian Confederation, it should be noted that the organizing members’ decision to identify as a “Canadian” society referred to the Province of Canada (today, Ontario and Quebec). To suggest that the founders had a “national” focus (as the CBHS does today) would be anachronistic.

After establishing the name, Article II set out the main “object[s]” of the CBHS. The first objective was “to establish and maintain a library or depository . . . pertaining to the history and

13. Hutchins Library, Berea College, “FAQS about Berea’s Presidents.” Yuille, “A Firm Foundation,” 69. See also Gudgeirsson, “‘We Do Not Have Any Prejudice,’” 43. Unfortunately, Stewart’s foray into interracial Christian education at Berea College was brief and unsuccessful. According to historian Meg Eppel Gudgeirsson (“‘We Do Not Have Any Prejudice,’” 43), although Stewart shared the founder’s “fervor for interracial education . . . he was ill-suited for the position and unable to secure sufficient funding for the college to thrive.” Consequently, after less than two years of service, Stewart was let go by Berea’s Board. Stewart returned to Toronto in 1892, where he became the pastor of the York Mills and Eglinton church plants in Toronto. See *The Canadian Baptist Year Book, 1893–1894*, 190, 200. From 1894 until 1906, he served as the first principal of the Toronto Bible Training School, now Tyndale University. Morgan, ed., *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1064–65.

14. “The Canadian Baptist Historical Society,” *Canadian Baptist*, 2 November 1865.

present condition of the Baptist denomination.”¹⁵ A second related objective was “to collect and preserve all works written, or, for or against Baptist faith and practice.”¹⁶ Here we have the origins of the Canadian Baptist Archives (CBA). The available evidence about the early activities of the CBHS indicates that these objectives were also a primary focus in the Society’s early years.¹⁷ The contributions today of the CBA, currently under the leadership of Gordon L. Heath and Archivist Adam McCulloch, are legion. Genealogists, historians, clergy, students, and other members of the academy and the public at large draw on the invaluable resources housed in the CBA every year.¹⁸

Having established their name and primary objects, the founding members turned to consider their membership and finances. Article III stated, “The Society shall consist of persons who contribute annually, in money or otherwise, towards its objects.”¹⁹ Unfortunately, the original Treasurer’s reports are no longer extant, meaning we have no record of the original amounts paid for membership fees. Today, a life membership of \$500.00 and annual membership fees of \$30.00 for employed participants and \$5.00 for students are the primary means through which the Society sustains itself. The CBHS also benefits from an annual donation from the Canadian Baptists of Ontario and Quebec. The funds received are used to support the CBHS book series that is produced in cooperation with the McMaster Divinity College Press. To date, four volumes about Canadian Baptist history have been published,²⁰ with a fifth in the final stages of development

15. “The Canadian Baptist Historical Society,” *Canadian Baptist*, 2 November 1865.

16. “The Canadian Baptist Historical Society,” *Canadian Baptist*, 2 November 1865.

17. Only a few of the early CBHS annual reports from 1867 (covers 1865–67) to 1869 are extant. The first three reports were published in the *Canadian Baptist Register* in 1867–69.

18. For more details and to contact the Canadian Baptist Archives, see <https://mcmasterdivinity.ca/canadian-baptist-archives/>.

19. “The Canadian Baptist Historical Society,” *Canadian Baptist*, 2 November 1865.

20. They include Heath and Wilson, eds., *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*; Heath and Haykin, eds., *Baptists and War*; Bowler, ed., *Can-*

and a sixth in the initial stages of preparation.

With membership and finances in place, Article IV appointed “a Board of Managers.” This Executive Board included a President, Vice Presidents, a Secretary-Treasurer, a Librarian, the Principal of the Canadian Literary Institute, and the Editor of *The Canadian Baptist*. In 1865, “the Board” was to “hold and carefully manage the property of the Society.” The Board was required to meet “at the call of any two of its members, five to form a quorum for business.”²¹ Cooper was elected President; Davidson, Llyod (Editor of *The Canadian Baptist*), and Fyfe (Principal of the Canadian Literary Institute) as Vice Presidents; Stewart as Secretary-Treasurer; and Shenston as Librarian. Today, the executive of the CBHS consists of five officers: President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Webmaster, and three Members at Large. Meetings are held as needed, and correspondence related to business matters is primarily conducted by email.

The CBHS’s early structure prioritized public meetings. Article V required an annual “public meeting of the Society” that included a presentation of the “Treasurer’s account, and such address or addresses made as may be provided.”²² Today, the CBHS retains this public-facing emphasis with an annual general meeting, usually held in the Spring, during which officers present reports on the CBHS’s status, followed by three or four historical presentations.

The final article in the CBHS’s Constitution focused on policy changes. Article VI allowed for “alterations” to the Constitution “by a two-thirds vote of the members present,” provided such changes did “not conflict with the objects of the Society as stated in Article II.”²³ This requirement remains in place. Other changes have certainly happened over the years. The CBHS has, however, stayed true to the spirit and intent of Article II.

adian Baptist Women; and Murray and Wilson, eds., *Canadian Baptist Fundamentalism*.

21. All of the quotations in this paragraph are taken from “The Canadian Baptist Historical Society,” *Canadian Baptist*, 2 November 1865.

22. *Canadian Baptist*, 2 November 1865.

23. *Canadian Baptist*, 2 November 1865.

Notable Observations

Three realities stand out when one examines the earliest extant CBHS annual reports. First, according to the first annual report published in 1867, the collection and preservation of Baptist historical records was a primary focus for the CBHS. The report began by emphasizing the need to prioritize this focus: “Few things are more worthy of the attention of Canadian Baptists than the collection and preservation of the records that pertain to the origin and progress of the churches of our beloved denomination in the Province.”²⁴ In line with this focus, the CBHS Vice-Presidents undertook a concerted effort to gather historical records. The report highlighted the results of their efforts:

During the year there have been collected, 3 bound volumes, 65 Nos. of Baptist Magazines, 120 different copies of Minutes of Associations, 7 sermons, 1 photograph, 20 miscellaneous pamphlets and reports; and also valuable contributions towards complete files of the *Christian Messenger* and *New York Chronicle*. When we record the fact that we have already a larger collection of material than the American Baptist Historical Society has been able to gather during the first seven years of existence, it will be seen that we are not without abundant reasons for thanking God and taking courage to prosecute the work so well begun.²⁵

These results were impressive; however, the CBHS was not satisfied and issued calls to all Baptists for further help.

Second, the CBHS continually and consistently pressed on their fellow Baptists the need to make further “contributions.” As they wrote: “The officers of the Society will gladly work without fee or hope of reward; but annual contributions in money as well as in book documents, will be required from those who can appreciate the great work of the Society, so that it may be successfully carried on.”²⁶ Both materials and money were required if the CBHS hoped to achieve its aims.

24. “The First Annual Report of the Canadian Baptist Historical Society,” *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1867, 61.

25. *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1867, 61.

26. *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1867, 62.

Third, by 1869, it was clear that the CBHS was struggling. The third annual report noted that “It is a matter of regret that its [the Society’s] work, during the past year, has been scarcely so successful or abundant as during either of the two previous years of its existence.”²⁷ The same report also noted that a critical barrier to the Society’s “carrying forward of its necessary work” was “the scarcity of funds.”²⁸ The conclusion of the third annual report included a desperate plea for support: “While we are grateful, then, for the good work done in the past, we again respectfully and urgently claim a helping hand from every Canadian Baptist.”²⁹ Despite these struggles the CBHS would continue its work.

Of course, this was certainly not the only time the Society experienced hard times and challenges to its survival. The recent COVID-19 pandemic certainly presented the CBHS with challenges. After years of holding its Annual Meetings in person, the pandemic prompted the CBHS to conduct its Annual Meeting online for a couple of years, a technical innovation never imagined by the founders of the CBHS. Today, the CBHS uses a hybrid approach where Annual Meeting attendees can choose to join the meeting online or in person.

Conclusion

To this day, the CBHS—through online blogs, the *Bulletin*, book publications, the fine archival processing and research assistance work of the CBA staff, and paper presentations—continues to fulfill the objectives the organization’s founders set out. The CBHS has also expanded beyond an exclusive focus on Baptists in Ontario and Quebec to include Baptists from Atlantic and Western Canada. Also, Fellowship Baptists, Ukrainian Baptists, and even a few non-Baptists who share an interest in Baptist history have and continue to participate in the Society’s activities. Participation by pastors like Cooper, Davidson, Lloyd, and Stewart in the CBHS is testimony to the long-standing practice of pastoral participation in the work of the Society. Today, although the CBHS is classified as a “Learned Society,” it remains open to

27. “The Third Annual Report of the Canadian Baptist Historical Society,” *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1869, 81.

28. *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1869, 81.

29. *Canadian Baptist Register*, 1869, 81–82.

pastors, interested laypeople, academics, and students. While we celebrate all that has been accomplished in the last 159 years, we also look forward to more fully realizing the founders' vision and mission for the CBHS as the Society pursues and presents historical scholarship that has many benefits for Canadian Baptists today.

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Huang Pin-san (1823–1890) and Early Baptists in Shanghai

Baiyu Andrew Song¹

The development of World Christianity as an academic field has caused many scholars to shift their attention and perspective, which has led to an increase in the publication of monographs and articles on the lives and thoughts of indigenous Christians.² Re-

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1. Special thanks to Dr. John Sampson of the Toronto School of Theology, without whose enormous help and encouragement, the present research could not proceed. I also want to thank Adam Winters, archivist at the Archives and Special Collections, James P. Boyce Centennial Library, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, KY, for sending a digital copy of Martha Foster Crawford's biography of Huang Pin-san.

2. According to Dana L. Robert ("Historiographic Foundations," 141–54), the concept of "World Christianity" was first developed in the mid-twentieth century by scholars like Kenneth Scott Latourette (1884–1968), Henry P. Van Dusen (1897–1975), Stephen Neill (1900–1984), Max Warren (1904–1977), and Francis John McConnell (1871–1953). By the late 1980s, Andrew F. Walls (1928–2021) and Lamin Sanneh (1942–2019) "recalibrated the term and conceptualized it as 'Christianity

garding Chinese Christianity, recent publications have focused on “the Chinese experiences.”³ In other words, scholars have taken phenomenological and holistic approaches to present Chinese converts in light of their contexts. Furthermore, forgotten Chinese Christians were rediscovered, their works were critically edited, and their life and thoughts were reappraised.⁴ Nevertheless, little

as a non-Western religion with multiple local manifestations’ . . . or . . . as ‘a wide variety of original, indigenous expressions that do not necessarily share the Western Enlightenment frame.’” See Frederiks, “World Christianity,” 13. With the formation of the Yale-Edinburgh Group on World Christianity and the History of Mission in 1992, World Christianity, as envisioned by Walls and Sanneh, is further developed as a subject matter, a field, and an approach. See Hanciles, ed., *World*; Young, *World Christianity*; and Shenk, ed., *Enlarging the Story*. For some examples of this reorientation, see Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity*; Kim and Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity*; Hiroshi and Shin, eds., *Living for Jesus and Japan*; Bediako, *Theology and Identity*; Bebbington, ed., *The Gospel in Latin America*; and Stanley, *Christianity in the Twentieth Century*.

3. For instance, Kilcourse, *Taiping Theology*; Chow, *Theosis*; Chow, *Chinese Public Theology*; Wu, *Understanding Watchman Nee*; Inouye, *China and the True Jesus*; Ireland, *John Song*; Wang, *Zhang Yijing*; Luen, *Christ-Man*; DeLong, *Use Faith to Abrogate Practice*; Yijuan, *Sheng-Sheng Theology*; Keung, *The Rise of Modern Chinese Pastors*; and Starr, ed., *Modern Chinese Theologies*. Also see the “History and Culture Series,” edited by Wu Chang-Shing of Chuang Yuan Christian University, Taiwan, and published by Taiwan Christian Literature Council.

4. Besides the already-mentioned titles, there are also PhD dissertations, such as Seitz, “The Comparative ‘Merits’ of Christian Conversion”; Sampson, “Chinese Theology in Countercultural Perspective”; Qin, “The Evolution of Evangelical Socio-Political Approaches”; Sun, “War, Revolution, and Chinese Protestant Intellectuals.” Regarding critical editions of Chinese Christian works, see “Sino-Christian Classics Library 漢語基督教經典文庫集成,” which was first established by Chow Lien-hwa (1920–2016), and now edited by Ken-Pa Chin of Fu Jen Catholic University and Wu Chang-Shing of Chuang Yuan Christian University, Taiwan. Regarding reappraisal, see Daryl R. Ireland’s biography of John Sung (1901–1944), in which Ireland reconstructed Sung’s life and ministry, which was in contrast to popular hagiography, and stood Sung’s conversion and message as to both Jesus

has been done on Chinese Protestants in the late Qing dynasty (1830s–1890s). Indeed, they have been hidden behind the radiance of Western missionaries in English literature and scattered in Chinese texts.⁵ Regarding Chinese Baptists, the current scholarship is still in need of development. Though not the first Chinese Baptist pastor, Huang Pin-san's life and thought illustrates the development of early Baptist churches in China, especially the tension between the Christian message and culture.

In contrast to Protestants in the Republican era (1910–), there are at least two historiographical problems when studying late-Qing writers: first, the accessibility of their works is comparatively difficult; and second, their writing style requires careful reading and interpretation. The latter issue significantly increased the difficulty of understanding Huang Pin-san. Since the vernacular writing style was only popularized during the New Culture Movement in the 1910s and 1920s, late-Qing writers, such as Huang, wrote with a semi-literary style, using a different syntax and referring to classical texts. For instance, in his 1869 article, Huang used “分外營求” and “天爵,” both Confucian concepts, to understand sinful motivations.⁶ The problem, for Huang, was the human failure to pursue wisdom and “the nobility of heaven,” which was James Legge's (1815–1897) translation of “天爵.”⁷ Etymologically, “分外營求” derived from Xunzi's 荀子 (c.310–c. after 238 BC) concept of “本分,” which means knowing one's boundaries. “天爵,” on the other hand, came from Mencius 孟子 (372–289 BC), which constitutes “benevolence, righteousness, self-consecration, and fidelity, with unwearied joy in these virtues.”⁸ Thus, to understand Huang, one needs to think beyond the

and a modern temporality. Also, see Wu's study of Watchman Nee.

5. For a brief survey of Chinese Christians during this period, see Lutz, “Early Chinese Protestants,” 247–60; Cheung, “Chinese Protestants, 1860–1900,” 261–77; Leung, *Shanghai in Late Qing*, 133–53.

6. Huang, “黃品三答路教友：後半再印,” 5–6. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations of Huang's works are my translations.

7. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 2:294. On Legge and his legacy, see Chow, ed., *Scottish Missions to China*; Pfister, *Striving for “The Whole Duty of Man.”*

8. 《孟子·告子上》. For English translation, see Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 2:295.

modern concept of certain Chinese words and phrases and apply a working knowledge of the Chinese classics. Furthermore, since modern punctuation marks were not used until 1919, readers have to determine pauses and sentence breaks by self-discernment, which creates an additional hermeneutical problem.⁹

Despite the difficulties, this article aims to recover a significant chapter in Chinese Baptist history by reconstructing Huang's life in light of his socio-political and historical contexts and examining some of his published newspaper articles to understand Huang's thought and theological contribution to the early Baptist community in Shanghai.

Biographical Sketch

Besides Huang's short article about his conversion experience, which was published in 1877, there are three chapter-length biographies of Huang in Chinese and one booklet written by Martha Foster Crawford (1830–1909) in English.¹⁰ Among these texts, H. L. Zia 謝洪賚 (1873–1916) provided lengthy details based on Huang's works and probably personal interviews. Crawford, on the other hand, provided an account from the missionary's perspective, though she omitted many details. The following biographical sketch depends primarily on Huang's account and Zia's biography while considering other sources.

Huang Pin-san (Wong Ping-San), or Huang Xin 黃鑫, was born at Yanxia Ge 煙霞閣, the Huang family's ancestral house in Nanhui county 南匯 (now merged into Pudong New Area, Shanghai), Jiangsu province, in 1823, the third year of Daoguang Em-

9. Hu Shih's (1891–1962) *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (1919) was the first book printed with modern punctuation. See Zhang, "The Process," 280–83; Guan, *History of the Development*; Sun, "How China Adopted Western Punctuation," n.p.

10. The Chinese texts are Zia 謝洪賚, *Protestant Missions in China*, 252–60; Hsu 徐松石, *History of Chinese Baptist Churches*, 43–44; Cha 查時傑, *Concise Biographies*, 15–20. The English biography is Crawford, *Wong Ping San. The Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Christianity* has also produced two contemporary entries on Huang. The Chinese entry was written by Shen Liang, and the English entry was written by G. Wright Doyle. They are available at www.bdcconline.net. Both entries depend on the above-mentioned texts by Zia, Hsu, and Cha.

peror's reign.¹¹ Huang came from a noble family, which can trace its history back to the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). He received a classical Confucian education from an early age and became known for his outstanding intellectual capacities. According to Zia, Huang was an omnivorous reader and was a capable poet, musician, and painter.¹² Huang's intellectual prowess and artistic skills gained the admiration of local gentries who regularly accompanied him and purchased his paintings.¹³ Still, it seems that Huang never passed the provincial exam, which he gave up in his

11. Both Princeton S. Hsu and James Shih-Chieh Cha mentioned that Huang was also known as Huang Xin. H. L. Zia indicated that Huang later also called himself “遇安山人.” Zia was the only one who indicated the specific location of Huang's birthplace (Zia, *Protestant Missions in China*, 252). According to Yang Jieqi, “煙霞閣” is formally known as “黃家樓,” which was located on the north bank of Er-zao Gang 二灶港, about 1.2 kms from the west gate of Nanhui county, which was in Songjiang Fu, Jiangsu province (Yang, “Old Building of Nanhui,” n.p.). Shanghai was created as a special city by the Republican government in 1927, and Songjiang became one of the administrative districts.

Interestingly, three significant men were also born in 1823: Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (Li Hung-chang, 1823–1901), Hu Xueyan 胡雪岩 (born as Hu Guangyong, 1823–1885), and Li Xiucheng 李秀成 (born as Li Yiwen, 1823–1864). The former two later served as leading statesmen of the Qing government. Li Hongzhang later served as the Grand Secretary of the Wenhua Hall and played significant roles in foreign diplomacy and treaty negotiations. Former US presidents Ulysses S. Grant (1822–1885) and Grover Cleveland (1837–1908) were impressed by Li and considered him the “greatest Chinaman since the days of Kublai Khan” (Zhang, *China Through American Eyes*, 64). Hu was known for his business success and ethics. He was one of the best-known business officials. Li Xiucheng was one of Hong Xiuquan's (1814–1864) early followers; later, he was granted the title the Loyal King and served as a general in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Rebellion against the Qing government. He was captured following the final Battle of Nanjing in 1864 and later executed by the order of Zeng Guofan (1811–1872). During his imprisonment, Li Xuequan wrote an autobiography of about 50,000 words. After reading it, Li Hongzhang wrote to Zeng praising Li Xiucheng as heroic. See Curwen, *Taiping Rebel*.

12. Zia, *Protestant Missions in China*, 252.

13. Zia, *Protestant Missions in China*, 252.

late adulthood.¹⁴

Huang lived in changing times. Though Robert Morrison (1782–1834) and William Milne (1785–1822), two Protestant missionaries, arrived in “China” in the 1800s, due to the sea ban policy, neither was permitted to evangelize in the mainland.¹⁵ Nevertheless, Morrison and Milne finished translating the Bible into Chinese and published it in 1823 in Malacca (modern-day Malaysia).¹⁶ In the same year, Liang Fa (1789–1855), later the

14. The imperial examination system 科舉 was first invented in 587 by Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty (541–604). Until 1905, all succeeding dynasties inherited it, which was the primary system for the central government to validate the qualifications of civil servants. Since the Ming dynasty, students have experienced life transformation through examination as successful candidates could serve in high-ranking offices. Nevertheless, the examination subject did not change for over a millennium, as candidates were tested primarily on their knowledge of the nine Confucian classics. In the Ming and Qing dynasties, the imperial examination system was divided into three stages: (1) the village examination, which was held once in three years; (2) the provincial examination, which was held the year after the village examination; and (3) the royal examination, held after the provincial examination at the Royal Palace, usually chaired by the emperor. Those who graduated from the village examination were given the title *juren* 舉人, who, besides being qualified for the provincial examination, could also enjoy certain privileges, such as tax exemption, monthly reimbursement, and the right to not kneel before all officials. According to Zia (*Protestant Missions in China*, 252), Huang quit “舉子業” in his later adulthood. Though Zhao Xiaoyang and Zhao Duo, the editors of Zia’s work, have suggested that Zia’s term meant that Huang quit his studies for the village examination before obtaining the title of *juren*, I favour an alternative reading, which reads “業” as “career” (see Zia, *Protestant Missions in China*, 252n4). Thus, “壯年棄舉子業” means that Huang quit his career as a *juren* in his later adulthood. On the imperial examination system, see Wang, *The Chinese Imperial Examination System*; Miyazaki, *China’s Examination Hell*; Elman, *A Cultural History*; Elman, *Civil Examinations*; Lee, *Education in Traditional China*. Also see Naquin and Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century*.

15. On Morrison and Milne, see Hancock, *Robert Morrison*; Daily, *Robert Morrison*; Harrison, *Waiting for China*; Song, *Training Laborers for His Harvest*.

16. On the Morrison-Milne version, see Lee, “Revisiting the Bible

first ordained Chinese minister (1827), returned to his home in Canton and began to launch various evangelistic tours in southern China.¹⁷ Though Huang and his family did not know any of these missionary activities, their views toward Christianity and the West were transformed when Huang was seventeen years old. With diplomatic failure, trade imbalance, and China's harsh treatment toward British merchants and opium smugglers, the British navy arrived in Canton in June 1840, went northward, and arrived at Zhoushan islands 舟山群島 (less than 200 km from Songjiang) by 4 July 1840.¹⁸ After occupying Dinghai 定海, the British and Chinese fought subsequent battles at Ningbo 寧波, Zhenhai 鎮海, Zhapu 乍浦, and Wusong 吳淞, none of which were far from Huang's family home.¹⁹ Later, Shanghai became one of the five treaty ports, according to the Treaty of Nanking, signed by the British and Qing governments on 29 August 1842.²⁰ Besides the

Translation," 301–18; Mak, *Protestant Bible Translation*; Mak, "Chinese Protestant Bible Versions and the Chinese Language," 163–80; Tong, "The Protestant Missionaries as Bible Translators"; Zhao, "An Examination of the Relationship," 6–34; Choi, "The Baptist Endeavours," 341–64.

17. On Liang, see McNeur, *Liang A-Fa*; Seitz, "The Comparative 'Merits' of Christian Conversion"; Seitz, "Liang Fa (Liang A-fa)," 49–65; Song and Haykin, eds., *"With Hope for True Blessings."*

18. See Haijian, *The Qing Empire and the Opium War*; Chen, *Merchants of War and Peace*; Fay, *The Opium War*; Derks, *History of the Opium Problem*; Gao, *Creating the Opium War*; Melancon, *Britain's China Policy and the Opium Crisis*; Waley, *The Opium War Through Chinese Eyes*; and Grace, *Opium and Empire*.

19. See Waley, *Opium War Through Chinese Eyes*, 186–96; D'Arcy-Brown, *Chusan*; Elliott, "Bannerman and Townsman," 36–74.

20. It has been recognized that there were disputes regarding the translation of Article Two of the Nanking Treaty. In English, it stated that "His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees, that British Subjects, with their families and establishments, shall be allowed to reside, for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint at the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foochow-fu, Ning-po and Shanghai, and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, &c., will appoint Superintendents, or Consular Officers, to reside at each of the above-named Cities and Towns" (*The Treaty of Nanking, Signed August 29th, 1842. And the Supplementary Treaty, Signed October 8th, 1843. In*

increasing presence of foreign nationals, Shanghai also experienced substantial cultural and economic transformation.²¹ Though unlike Canton, Shanghai did not have “constant rioting and a bitter cycle of anti-British attacks by rural militias and urban mobs,” residents of Shanghai and its surrounding towns did not have a favourable view towards these Westerners and the Christian missionaries, as Martha Crawford pointed out: “The religion of the foreigners as well as everything connected with them, was suspected and hated by [Huang’s] countrymen, and he found it difficult to acknowledge that the ‘outsiders’ could possess anything superior to what might be found in the ‘Central Kingdom.’”²²

These were formative years for Huang. He began to read Taoist texts such as the *Treatise on the Response of the Tao* 太上感應篇 (twelfth century) and *Lord Superior Wen Chang’s Tract on the First Step Towards Non-Abidance* 文昌帝君陰騭文 (thirteenth century) by the age of seventeen.²³ By the age of twenty, Huang began to read and memorize Buddhist and Taoist texts such as the *Dia-*

the Chinese and English Languages [Macao: Office of the Chinese Repository, 1844], 6). However, in the Chinese treaty, only British “Superintendents, or Consular Officers” could reside in the cities and towns, their family could only live at the port. A copy of the original treaty is archived at the National Palace Museum in Taipei, Taiwan. See Jiang, *The Imperial Mode of China*, 177–254; Auslin, *Negotiating with Imperialism*.

21. Jeffery N. Wasserstrom argues that 1850 was a turning point in Shanghai’s globalization. See Wasserstrom, *Global Shanghai, 1850–2010*.

22. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 161; Crawford, *Wong Ping San*, 4. Crawford’s remark is similar to that of Paul A. Cohen (*China and Christianity*, 60), who believed that “Christianity was simply the most conspicuous and irritating expression of a civilization which, in all its dimensions, they heartily detested.” For Cohen, there was a consistent anti-Christian tradition in Chinese thought. Thus, the wars, unequal treaties, and the presence of Western missionaries magnified and legitimized their hatred.

23. Huang, “信主起因記,” 8. Huang only indicated a young age, but according to Crawford (*Wong Ping San*, 4), Huang became “a diligent enquirer after truth” by the age of seventeen.

mond Sutra 金剛經 and *Tao Te Ching* 道德經.²⁴ At night, Huang also engaged in divination and various chants.²⁵ In 1845, Huang and his fellow students organized the society of *san-yuan* 三元社. At this polytheistic meeting, they would offer sacrifices to Buddhist and Taoist deities and practice fasting and prayer four times a month. During the famine of 1848, Huang urged his fellow members to use their subscriptions for almsgivings. Though Huang thought his charitable work would bring divine favours, his one son and two daughters died within two weeks of March 1848.²⁶ Worse, both Huang and his wife suffered from severe disease for at least three months.²⁷ Huang was perplexed by what he had experienced. Seeking answers and relief for his misfortune, Huang attended a Christian service but quickly lost interest.²⁸

When Matthew Tyson Yates (1819–1888) and his wife Eliza Moring Yates (1821–1894) arrived in Shanghai on 13 September 1847, there were about five other foreign missionaries from the London Missionary Society and the Church Mission Society. A

24. Huang, “信主起因記,” 8.

25. Huang, “信主起因記,” 8.

26. Huang, “信主起因記,” 8. Huang’s date was according to the lunar calendar, which was in February 1848.

27. Huang’s marriage life was not mentioned in any of the biographical accounts, though it is known that his tenth son Huang Xunshan 黃郇山 later served as a deacon at the Baptist churches in Shanghai. Both of the latter’s sons, Huang Jiachen 黃家琛 and Huang Jiacong 黃家琮, also served the Shanghai Baptists (Hsu, *History of Chinese Baptist Churches*, 5:44). Regarding the disease, it is quite possible that Huang’s family infected cholera. See Macpherson, *A Wilderness of Marshes*; Yu and Wang, “The New Plague on the Eve of a Great Change,” 205–20.

28. Shortly after the Treaty of Nanking, Walter Henry Medhurst (1796–1857), a London Missionary Society missionary and former colleague of Morrison and Milne, moved to Shanghai. As Leung Yuen-Sang noticed, there were only three to five missionaries in the first few years when Shanghai became a treaty port. By the mid-1840s, the number of missionaries in Shanghai increased to less than 20. Even in 1850, it was reported that there were only thirteen missionaries in Shanghai. The number decreased to nine in 1866 (see Leung, *Shanghai in Late Qing*, 135–36). Though William Dean (1807–1895) and Jehu Lewis Shuck (1814–1863) were the first missionaries who arrived in mainland China, their works were primarily in Guangdong.

few months later, Jehu Lewis Shuck (1814–1863) and his second wife, Eliza Gable Shuck (1824–1851), returned from America, along with Thomas William Tobey (r.1820–after 1881) and his wife, Isabella Hall Tobey (1823–1857). Yang Ching (or Yong Seen Sang, d. 1882) and Mun Seen Sang joined Yates.²⁹ Renting a house outside of the old North Gate, they formed the first Baptist church in Shanghai on 6 November 1847, which became known as the Old North Gate Church 老北門浸信會.³⁰

The Baptist church in Shanghai faced many threats in its infancy. Since the Jintian Uprising on 11 January 1851, Hong Xiuquan (1814–1864) and his followers fought and occupied cities and towns in the name of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. In September, members of the Small Swords Society, led by Liu Lichuan 劉麗川 (1820–1855), allied with the Taiping army and occupied Shanghai's Old City centre.³¹ Though the foreign con-

29. The first Chinese Baptist minister was Yang Ching 楊慶 (or Yong Seen Sang 楊朝林, or Yeung Chin Sam, 1811–1882), who came to faith through the influence of Jehu Lewis Shuck and was baptized by the latter in 1844. In October 1845, Yang went to the United States with Shuck to study theology. Upon return, Yang and Shuck went to Shanghai to plant First Baptist Church in Shanghai with Yates and Tobey. Yang was later sent back to Canton. See Tupper, *A Decade of Foreign Missions*, 128–29, 265–66; Hsu, *History of Chinese Baptist Churches*, 5:13–15; Oey, “Yang, Qing (Yong Seen Sang),” 1228–29.

30. In the minute book, besides the six foreign missionaries, there were also two “native assistants”: Yang Ching and Mun Seen Sang. The congregation then chose Shuck as their pastor, Yates as the secretary, and Tobey and Yang Ching as deacons (Shanghai First Baptist Church, *The Centennial History of Shanghai First Baptist Church*, 29). According to Wu Liyue, the missionaries held regular worship services at their rented chapel, which was located on a main street. During the services, a member stood at the entrance to welcome people; another remained in the chapel to preach a sermon. They also distributed evangelistic pamphlets on the street (Wu, ed., *Brief Historical Sketches of Baptist Missions in China*, 82).

31. It should be noted that the seizure was not an uprising *per se*, as it was supported by the citizens' collaboration. See *Historical Collections of Shanghai Small Swords Society Uprising*, 5–27; Favre, *Les sociétés secrètes en Chine*; Chesneaux, *Les sociétés secrètes en Chine*; Bianco, *Mouvements populaires et sociétés secrètes en China*.

cession was comparatively safe, the foreign missionaries still felt threatened. Furthermore, the leadership also fell into a bitter feud between Yates and their pastor Shuck, as the latter was accused of “unseemly financial activities and of sexual misconduct with several Chinese women.”³² Around the same time, Tarleton Perry Crawford (1821–1902) and his wife Martha Foster Crawford arrived in Shanghai in late 1852. Despite the difficulties of learning the Chinese language, Crawford was severely against the practice of paying native preaching assistants, as he believed that they were “inferior moral characters . . . simply foreign employees, on so many dollars per month to gather in converts for the satisfaction of their masters.”³³ Being separated from his colleagues, Crawford went to the countryside and preached to the farmers while living in the chaotic city.³⁴ His wife, on the other hand, operated a girls’ day school at home and paid her pupils “ten cash, a little less than a penny a day, to attend.”³⁵ Their first Chinese teacher, however, stole money from the school for his opium addiction.³⁶ As a result, Huang and a “Mrs. Yee” were introduced

32. Hyatt, Jr., *Our Ordered Lives Confess*, 8. Furthermore, it was recorded that the three early Chinese members were excommunicated by 1850 due to their apostasy (Shanghai First Baptist Church, *Centennial History of Shanghai First Baptist Church*, 3).

33. As quoted in Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess*, 9. Also see Huang, “讀教會聚集記,” 9–10.

34. The church history book recorded that on 7 September 1853, while serving as an interpreter for the American Commissioner Humphrey Marshall (1812–1872), Yates carried a letter from Marshall to Liu Lichuan’s headquarters at Dianchun Tang in the Yu Garden (Shanghai First Baptist Church, *Centennial History of Shanghai First Baptist Church*, 4). On Marshall, see Schneider, “Humphrey Marshall,” 97–120. Crawford, on the other hand, had a friendly relationship with the Taiping army, as he once hid two Taiping soldiers in his home for several months and even visited Nanjing, the rebel capital (Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess*, 10).

35. Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess*, 10. The church opened three girls’ schools on 28 February 1849, and all located on the outskirts of Shanghai, which were in Nanhui 南匯, Zhoupu 周浦, and Hejiazhai 何家宅 (Shanghai First Baptist Church, *Centennial History of Shanghai First Baptist Church*, 31).

36. Crawford, *Wong Ping San*, 3; Cha, *Concise Biographies of*

and hired as the school's new teachers, who would read Confucian texts in the morning and the Bible and catechisms in the afternoon.³⁷ Crawford later praised Huang for being "a man of character" who "performed well and faithfully the duties assigned him and made the school quite a success in its way."³⁸ Nevertheless, Huang hesitated to embrace the Christian faith.

Huang's Conversion

Regarding his conversion, Huang's account differed from Crawford's, as the latter attributed Huang's translation of the Gospel of Matthew to his conversion and placed it during the Taiping occupation. For Huang, the Crawfords' example and care helped him to embrace the faith.³⁹ In the autumn of 1854, Huang finished reading the New Testament while resting for illness at home. During one of Crawford's regular visits, Huang told Crawford that he now knew that the Bible was a "good" book, as he believed that "since the book's teaching of abandon evil and do good confirms my belief, I know it is good."⁴⁰ Crawford, in reply, used the meta-

Important Chinese Christians, 17.

37. Mrs. Yee, or 葉俞氏, was baptized on 27 May 1855, being the first female member of the First Baptist Church in Shanghai (Shanghai First Baptist Church, *Centennial History of Shanghai First Baptist Church*, 33). Huang, "信主起因記," 8.

38. Crawford, *Wong Ping San*, 3.

39. Huang, "信主起因記," 8.

40. Huang, "信主起因記," 9. Crawford recorded this conversion at a different time: "[Huang] was requested in his leisure hours to transcribe into a newly-invented system of phonetic writing, a translation of the gospel of Matthew. As he wrote sentence after sentence of this holy book his heart was touched. He felt that it *must* be true; it had life and power in it. Eternal life, then, was attainable—but only through following Christ. While pondering the subject, especially the necessity of giving up ancestral worship, he said to Mr. Crawford, 'My heart and the heart of Jesus are very near together.' Mr. C. replied, 'Your remark shows that your heart is very far from that of Jesus. Your self-complacency arises from a misapprehension of what constitutes sin.' Wong answered, 'I have broken only a few of the commandments, and think I can henceforth keep them all.' 'Whosoever shall keep the whole law and yet offend in one point is guilty of all,' said Mr. C., referring him to the text in James 2:10: 'Obedience is what God demands, and to disobey one command is

phor of being in a dark room and stated that “since there are sins in your heart, you cannot know, as your heart is in darkness. If enlightened by light, you will see the need to repent.”⁴¹ As Huang was seeking that light, Crawford told him to ask the Creator, who is the “only God, able to grant you [that light]” in secret prayers.⁴² Huang followed Crawford’s instruction and went to pray in solitude. He did so in the morning and evening for four days without letting anyone know.⁴³ When Crawford visited him again and asked if he had prayed, Huang complained that it had been ineffective. Crawford then urged him to be patient, explained the Law and salvation, and answered Huang’s questions.⁴⁴ After another seven or eight days, Huang saw all his past sins listed in a vision during his evening prayer.⁴⁵ He then realized that those deeds that he had once considered good turned out to be evil, as none of them were done out of benevolence 仁愛. Huang then prayed for God’s forgiveness and felt God was near and listening to his prayers.⁴⁶ After he placed all his troubles and anxieties upon Jesus, Huang went to bed.⁴⁷ During his sleep, he heard a voice

to trample his law under foot” (Crawford, *Wong Ping San*, 5–6).

41. Huang, “信主起因記,” 9.

42. “須求造化之主即獨一之神能賜爾也 It is necessary to ask the Lord of creation, the only God, who can grant you” (Huang, “信主起因記,” 9).

43. Huang recorded that he prayed: “望獨一之真神賜吾以光俾吾避之所當避而行所當行也 May the only true God grant me the light, aid me to avoid what I ought to avoid, and do what I ought to do” (Huang, “信主起因記,” 9).

44. Huang, “信主起因記,” 9.

45. Crawford stated that this episode happened on the eve of Qing’s siege of the occupied city in February 1853, as she wrote: “On the eve of the seige [sic] we had removed to temporary lodgings without the walls, two miles distant, and so were not at hand when Wong felt the bliss of eternal life welling up in his soul. To one of his friends, a ‘native assistant’ preacher in another mission he hastened and related his new found hopes and joys. He was surprised at the blank looks of the preacher as he said: ‘I know nothing about this sort of thing’” (Crawford, *Wong Ping San*, 10–11).

46. “遂祈之懇切覺神與我較前切近如在於上俯聽我祈 I then prayed and sincerely felt God and I are closer than before. He is listening to my prayer as if he is just above me” (Huang, “信主起因記,” 9).

47. “以心中一切憂懼付於耶穌任其處置禱畢而睡 I consigned all my anx-

telling him, “I am pleased to forgive sin. As your sins are forgiven, you should become a good person with your whole heart.”⁴⁸ About two days later, Huang told Crawford about his experience, and the missionary congratulated Huang for being changed by the Holy Spirit and asked him to receive baptism.⁴⁹ Crawford then brought Yates the next day to examine Huang’s faith further. According to Crawford, when Huang was brought to the church, he was asked if he would join the church. He replied:

If the church is what you say it is, and what I read of it in the Holy Book, I wish to do so. There are many vile things said about the foreigners and their religious ways. I do not believe these stories, but if you have any secret rites or practices I do not pledge myself to them. If Christianity is what I see and believe it to be I wish to unite with you and follow the Lord.⁵⁰

Yates baptized Huang on 4 March 1855, in the Huangpu River.⁵¹

Though Huang did not immediately tell his extended family about his conversion, he took months to read and explain various Bible stories to those willing to hear.⁵² He then explained the meaning of prayer. When his relatives wrote books to mock him, Huang replied without fear. Thus, when he was baptized and joined the church, no one criticized him.⁵³ Huang’s evangelistic work did not stop with his family, as he continued to serve with

ieties to Jesus and let him deal with them. After prayer, I went to bed” (Huang, “信主起因記,” 9).

48. “朦朧中若有語我者曰我固以赦罪為樂也今爾罪已去可盡心為善士矣” (Huang, “信主起因記,” 9).

49. Regarding the Holy Spirit, Huang recalled that Crawford explained that the Holy Spirit is “God’s upright spirit [正氣], like wind that no one knows where it blows. If one is influenced by the Holy Spirit to know is sin and repent, it is called [receiving] the light” (Huang, “信主起因記,” 9).

50. Crawford, *Wong Ping San*, 11.

51. The date Huang provided was January 16, according to the lunar calendar. According to Zia (*Protestant Missions in China*, 257), when Huang received baptism, his heart was so affected that he could not stand up until others came to help him.

52. He called these “動聽者” (Huang, “信主起因記,” 10).

53. Huang, “信主起因記,” 10.

the missionaries. About eighteen people came to faith through Huang's ministry.⁵⁴ On 15 November 1857, Yates ordained Huang and Mrs. Yee as deacons. A year later, the church minute book began to be written in Chinese and adopted the Chinese lunar calendar.⁵⁵ As Leung pointed out, Huang's conversion significantly contributed to the life and growth of the Baptist church in Shanghai.⁵⁶ When Huang became a deacon, there were only 16 members in the church. Three years later, the number increased to 24. In 1872, the church had 52 members.⁵⁷

Huang's Pastoral Ministry

Though Huang's conversion brought hope to the mission, the Baptist church faced another existential crisis. Besides the aftermath of the Second Opium War (1856–1860), the Taiping army returned to Shanghai in June 1861 and sought to occupy the city. The mission was significantly affected, as only four members were left in the congregation in 1860.⁵⁸ A year later, when the American Civil War broke out, all financial support was cut off from the mission board. The missionaries were forced to find ways to support themselves.⁵⁹ Worse, in 1863, Crawford contracted cholera, and his wife developed liver trouble. In addition, as Crawford did not see much growth, they left Shanghai in August for Penglai, Shandong (formerly known as Tengchow).⁶⁰ Yates was left by himself. As Yates became busy with other work, he became increasingly dependent on Huang. By 1869, Yates was diagnosed with aphasia and required to leave for retreat. In his absence, Huang baptized three candidates and sent Chinese preachers to

54. Zia, *Protestant Missions in China*, 257.

55. Shanghai First Baptist Church, *Centennial History of Shanghai First Baptist Church*, 6.

56. Leung, *Shanghai in Late Qing*, 141.

57. Leung, *Shanghai in Late Qing*, 141.

58. Shanghai First Baptist Church, *Centennial History of Shanghai First Baptist Church*, 6.

59. Shanghai First Baptist Church, *Centennial History of Shanghai First Baptist Church*, 6. Also see Goen, *Broken Churches, Broken Nation*; Harvey, "'Yankee Faith' and Southern Redemption," 167–86; Granade and Greer, "Translating China to the American South," 65–90.

60. Hyatt, *Our Ordered Lives Confess*, 11–12.

plant new churches in Kunshan.⁶¹ In 1870, the church ordained Huang as their pastor, making him the first Chinese Baptist minister in Shanghai. During his pastorate, Huang wrote two unpublished books, numerous articles, and hymns, and did not receive any salary.⁶² Regarding his character, Crawford commented:

As a preacher he spoke to the consciences of men, earnestly, faithfully warning them to flee from the wrath to come, urging them to trust in Christ for salvation and to seek the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit. He often related the story of his own conversion. He remained to the last, modest and unpretending in manner, never presuming upon the influence he had gained over others. Socially he was a genial companion, interesting and instructive in conversation, possessed of a ready wit and a philosophical turn of mind which often led him to utter expressions which fixed themselves in the mind of his hearers.⁶³

After serving the church for more than twenty years, Huang passed away on 20 February 1890, and more than 200 people attended his funeral.⁶⁴

Huang's Articles and Theology

According to Zia, Huang contributed to at least four journals or magazines: *Church News* 教會新報 (1868–1874), *A Review of the Times* 萬國公報 (1874–1883; 1889–1907), *The Chinese Illustrated News* 畫圖新報 (1881–1914), and *The Children's Paper* 小孩月報 (1879–1915).⁶⁵ Due to their significance, the following section

61. Shanghai First Baptist Church, *Centennial History of Shanghai First Baptist Church*, 7.

62. Zia, *Protestant Missions in China*, 260.

63. Crawford, *Wong Ping San*, 16–17.

64. Zia, *Protestant Missions in China*, 260.

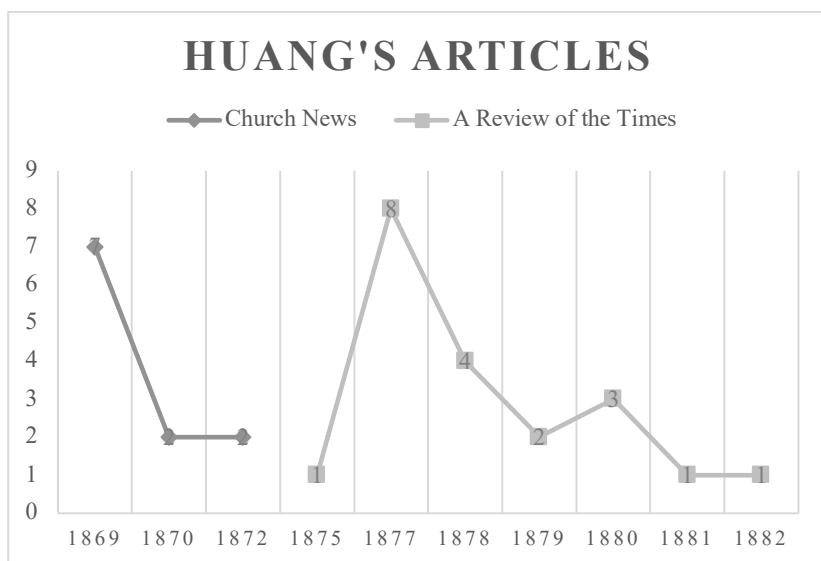
65. Zia, *Protestant Missions in China*, 258. *The Chinese Illustrated News* was founded by John Marshall Willoughby Farnham (1830–1917), a North American Presbyterian missionary, in May 1880, with the Chinese title 《花圖新報》 and published by the Chinese Religious Tract Society. In May 1881, the magazine changed its Chinese name to 《畫圖新報》. Later in June 1914, its Chinese title was renamed 《新民報》 (see Lai, ed., *The Chronicles of Christian Publishing Enterprise*, 294, 303).

will only consider Huang's articles published in *Church News* and *A Review of the Times*, which were founded and edited by Southern Methodist Episcopal missionary Young John Allen (1836–1907).⁶⁶ Since Allen's magazine was founded during the Qing government's Self-Strengthening Movement (1861–1895), *Church News* and *A Review of the Times* were "the most important magazines of ideas published in China before the Sino-Japanese war of 1894–95. . . . During the twenty years before the war, they served as primary sources of information for Chinese interested in the West."⁶⁷ According to the Chinese Periodical Database, Huang published 38 articles in Allen's magazines, among which six were short announcements, public inquiries, and songs of Bible books. When considering his longer articles, the following diagram helps to visualize Huang's contributions:

The Children's Paper was founded by Julia Walling Plumb (1847–1907), wife of American Methodist Episcopal missionary Nathan James Plumb (1845–1899) (see Lai, ed., *Chronicles of Christian Publishing Enterprise*, 198).

66. On Allen and the journals, see Bennett, *Missionary Journalist in China*; Lin, *Xixue and Reform*.

67. Bennett, *Missionary Journalist in China*, 97. According to Bennett, the total circulation of Allen's magazine was 501 issues a week in January 1869. Among these, 270 copies were sent to Shanghai (Bennett, *Missionary Journalist in China*, 104). Furthermore, with the decline of its religious nature, the magazine published more secular news, which reached out to many non-Christian audiences in China. One of these Chinese readers was Kang Youwei (1858–1927), who later led the Hundred Days' Reform (1898) and advocated a Chinese version of constitutional monarchy. On Liang, see Wan, *Science and the Confucian Religion*. On Liang's contribution to the Protestant Term Question, see Wan, *Science and the Confucian Religion of Kang Youwei*, 63–67.



As the diagram shows, most of Huang's articles were published in 1869 and 1877. The remainder of this paper will focus on selected articles published in these two years.

Selected Articles in 1869

In 1869, Huang published seven articles answering various faith-related questions. In the first article, Huang faced the question of the relationship between wealth and poverty and blessing and misfortune.⁶⁸ In his answer, Huang first denied the causal relationship between these concepts and distinguished the present from the afterlife. For him, blessing (or fortune) and misfortune are self-defined and cannot be measured by wealth or poverty. Much like Prov 30:8–9, Huang counselled that one ought to pursue 天爵 “the nobility of heaven,” and become established in heaven.⁶⁹ Thus, the person could live a content life regardless of the circumstances. By quoting a popular Buddhist saying, Huang reminded his readers about judgment in the afterlife.⁷⁰ Thus, Huang pointed

68. Huang, “答或問善貧惡富之論,” 3–4.

69. “其所尚者乃天爵而積業於天上也 What he advocates is *Tianjue* and he accumulates wealth in heaven” (Huang, “答或問善貧惡富之論,” 3).

70. “惡者雖富而終日戚戚善者雖貧而履道坦坦一日大限到來盡皆拋去一則

out that the only way to understand this way of life is to pray for the Holy Spirit's influence.

In the second article, Huang addressed questions about the effectiveness of prayers. For Huang, “求則有應” (lit., “grant whatever is requested”) reflects one's unbelief, which led many astray in history.⁷¹ Thus, instead of questioning God, Huang asked his readers to pray for divine enlightenment to strengthen their faith, examine and deny themselves, and live as a faithful disciple of Jesus.⁷²

The third and fourth articles should be read together as they concern the origin of evil.⁷³ By examining Adam and Eve's temptation in Gen 3, Huang pointed out that humans were made with free will (自權). Thus, they are responsible for their choice of good and evil. In light of Rom 7:7, Huang argued that though Eve did not know the Law, her delight and desire for the fruit made her forget God's commandment. Thus, though our moral choices are determined by covet (貪), God's promise to Adam and Eve reveals the hope for salvation. Since shame (羞) is socially constructed, shameful feelings are distinguished from repentance and salva-

身順死安登明宮而膺永福一則身亡孽聚入暗府而受永刑諺云萬般將不去惟有孽隨身是也 Though the evil are wealthy, they are distressed day and night; the good may be poor, they are always satisfied and composed. When the day comes, everything will be given up. One will die peacefully and to step into heaven to enjoy eternal blessing; the other will die with their guilts and enter hell to receive eternal punishment. As it said, millions will not follow [after one's death] except *nie* [calamity, or evils that were committed]” (Huang, “答或問善貧惡富之論,” 3). “惡者雖富而終日戚戚善者雖貧” probably came from the *Analects*, where Confucius said: “The superior man is satisfied and composed; the mean man is always full of distress 君子坦蕩蕩小人長戚戚.” “萬般將不去惟有孽隨身” probably came from Yuan Qu in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

71. Huang, “答求解疑思,” 6–8.

72. “爾我共祈天父賜以靈光助以聖力俾信心堅固不涉異端省身克己為耶穌忠義之徒 You and I ought to pray to the Heavenly Father to grant us the spiritual light aided by his divine power. So that our faith will be strengthened; we will not embrace heresy but always examine and deny ourselves, and become Jesus' faithful and righteous disciples” (Huang, “答求解疑思,” 7).

73. Huang, “黃品三答路教友後半再印,” 5–6; Huang, “接刊答路教友後半,” 6–7.

tion.⁷⁴ While recognizing the difficulty of understanding the relationship between conscience and the Law, Huang affirmed his assumption of God's superiority. By recognizing God's virtue of life-loving (好生), Huang shifted the issue to the positive effect of Jesus' salvation.⁷⁵

Selected Articles in 1877

Among Huang's 1877 articles, four dealt with the question of "terms," namely, "how to find a suitable Chinese term for 'God.'"⁷⁶ Such a theological interest should be read within the larger historical context, as missionaries from nineteen societies (including four independent missionaries) gathered in Shanghai for the first General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries in China in May 1877.⁷⁷ Toward the end of the conference, J. S. Roberts, an American Presbyterian missionary in Shanghai,

74. “羞字因風俗而起以之為則羞矣以之為常則常矣譬如有一人裸體而行於市上必為人所羞辱人所厭惡若在於浴室中則彼此皆無羞恥因厭以之為常也 Shame is caused by culture: if we regard certain behaviour as shameful, it is shameful; if we regard it as normal, it is normal. For instance, if a person nakedly walks on the street, people will consider him shameful and wicked. However, if a person is naked in a bath house, since everyone is naked, then no one considers it shameful” (Huang, “黃品三答路教友後半再印,” 6).

75. “上帝好生救主贖罪依賴得救悔過遷善已往之罪 God loves life and the Saviour redeems sin. We need to trust, repent, desire good, so to have our past sins forgiven” (Huang, “接刊答路教友後半,” 7). It is interesting to notice that the concept of “好生” came from the *Book of Documents* 《尚書·大禹謨》, where Gaoyao 皋陶 praised Yu, one of the most virtuous kings: “Your virtue, O emperor, is faultless. You condescend to your ministers with a liberal ease . . . Rather than put to death an innocent person, you will run the risk of irregularity and error. This life-loving virtue has penetrated the minds of the people, and this is why they do not render themselves liable to be punished by your officers” (Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 59).

76. Choi, “A History of the Chinese Bible,” 30.

77. The conference was inspired by the Presbyterian Synod of China, which met at Yantai (Chefoo) in August 1874. On the conference, see *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, Held at Shanghai, May 10–14, 1877*.

presented an essay on the principles of translation into Chinese.⁷⁸ While discussing the importance of applying the “doctrine of practical and analogous (or homologous) translation,” Roberts used the word *shen* 神 as an example.⁷⁹ The Protestant “term question” was thus reignited.⁸⁰ As Lauren Pfister pointed out, since James Legge’s sophisticated support of *shangdi* and Elijah C. Bridgman’s (1801–1861) support of *shen*, later debates became “fuelled by more intense arguments about Chinese and missionary history, cross-cultural theology, as well as comparative religious and philosophical questions.”⁸¹ In the end, though a committee was appointed by the General Conference to discuss the term question, its members were “unable to discover any satisfactory basis of agreement,” except suggesting “mutual forbearance, and a prayerful waiting on God for further light and guidance.”⁸²

Among the Chinese Christians, Huang’s article, “聖號論,” published on 21 July 1877, initiated a similar debate.⁸³ Substantial responses were published in Allen’s *A Review of the Times*, as sixty-four articles were published over a year. Huang considered both *shen* and *shangdi* as a last resort, as the ancient Chinese con-

78. Roberts, “Principles of Translation into Chinese,” 418–26.

79. Roberts, “Principles of Translation into Chinese,” 420.

80. On the Protestant term question, see Pfister, “Bible Translations and the Protestant ‘Term Question,’” 361–70; Spelman, “Christianity in Chinese,” 25–52; Williams, “The Controversy among the Protestant Missionaries,” 732–78; Starr, “Reading Christian Scriptures,” 32–48; Oak, “Competing Chinese Names for God,” 89–115.

81. Pfister, “Bible Translations and the Protestant ‘Term Question,’” 366. The term question can also be understood as a question about the relationship between Christianity and Confucianism. Hu Weiqing argues that the popular notion that some nineteenth-century missionaries adopted the “Jesus *plus* Confucianism” was imaginative; instead, Hu proposes the distinction of strategy and tactics in understanding the missionaries’ use of Confucianism. Furthermore, Hu pointed out the missionaries’ different tones in their Chinese and English writings (see Hu, “Missionaries in Modern China,” 135–91).

82. *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China*, 471.

83. On the Chinese debate, see Wong, “The Rendering of God in Chinese by the Chinese,” 589–614.

cept of *shangdi* differed from the Hebrew term.⁸⁴ By engaging texts from the Classic of Poetry 詩經 and the Book of Documents 尚書, Huang concluded that the Chinese people have consistently used *tian* 天 (heaven) as an equivalent to both *shangdi* and *shen*.⁸⁵ However, since *tian*, like *shangdi* and *shen*, does not communicate the idea of creation, Huang suggested using the term *zaohuazhu* 造化主 (Lord of Creation) to address God, especially since neither Buddhism nor Taoism had used such a term before.⁸⁶ Later, Huang also pointed out the tension of unity and diversity (獨一與眾類) in the Godhead.⁸⁷ While confirming classical trinitarianism, as expressed in the Nicene Creed, Huang frankly stated that he still could not understand it. The question he proposed concerned the unity of the divine persons, as he asked: “If God and the Spirit are formless, how could there be unity with the visible Jesus?”⁸⁸ Overall, as Huang explained, his purpose was to create the most perceptible term in the Chinese context while also preserving the meaning of the Bible.⁸⁹

84. Huang, “聖號論,” 21.

85. “齋戒沐浴可以事上帝存心養性所以事天則帝即天矣天曰神地曰祇則神即天矣 If one adjusts his thoughts, fast, and bathe, he may sacrifice to *Shangdi*; to preserve one’s mental constitution, and nourish one’s nature, is the way to serve Heaven. Thus, *di* is heaven. If heaven is called *shen*, and earth is called *qi* [spirit], thus *shen* is heaven” (Huang, “聖號論,” 21). Here Huang quoted Mencius, who argued that “though a man may be wicked, yet if he adjust his thoughts, fast, and bathe, he may sacrifice to God 雖有惡人，齋戒沐浴，則可以祀上帝” (Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 206), and “To preserve one’s mental constitution, and nourish one’s nature, is the way to serve Heaven 存其心，養其性，所以事天也” (Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 325). Here Legge translated 心 as “mental constitution,” which can be literally translated as “heart.”

86. “中國既稱天為造化不若加一字而稱造化主 Since Chinese call Heaven the creator, it would be better to add an additional letter and call God *zaohua zhu* [Lord of creation]” (Huang, “聖號論,” 21). Notice the idea of “造化” probably came from *Zhuangzi*, a Daoist classic (see “The Great and Honoured Teacher” in *Zhuangzi* 《莊子·大宗師》). Also see Huang, “作聖號論原意,” 6; Huang, “論餘偶筆,” 6–7; Huang, “致和平論,” 16.

87. Huang, “首要稱名論,” 8.

88. “神乃無形靈亦無形耶穌有形如何合一” (Huang, “致曲問,” 12).

89. “不失聖經之本旨 It does not lose the Bible’s meaning” (Huang, “首要稱名論,” 8).

Conclusion

Given the need to rediscover the first indigenous Baptist minister in Shanghai, this paper has disproportionately focused on Huang Pin-san's life. Nevertheless, even with a glimpse of a small selection of Huang's writings, we can appreciate Huang's tireless experiments in theological reflection and contextualization. As a first-generation Christian in the late Qing dynasty, Huang had limited access to theological resources besides the Chinese Bible, booklets and translations by the missionaries, and Confucian classics. In all of his articles, Huang determinedly criticized Buddhism and Taoism, viewing their teachings and practices as far-fetched, without enquiring about the true meaning.⁹⁰ Even with Confucianism, though Huang freely quoted Confucian texts, he did not see the Chinese ancient teachings as equivalent to the Christian faith; instead, he considered Confucian teachings as merely mirroring Jesus Christ, the true substance.⁹¹ In some cases, Huang was able to quote Chinese classics to argue for the Christian faith.

Thus, when facing the "Western" religion in light of an inherited sino-centrism, instead of justifying Christianity with restorationism or primitivism—as Hong Xiuquan did with his Taiping Heavenly Kingdom—Huang understood that it was by divine providence and predestination that the "true form" or "true substance" was mysteriously revealed through the scriptures at this historical moment.⁹² Nevertheless, Huang believed the necessity

90. For instance, in Huang's "認喻為真論," 6–7, Huang criticized the practices of worshipping Caishen 財神 (deity of wealth), Wenchang Dijun 文昌帝君 (deity of culture and literature), Kui Xing 魁星 (deity of examinations), Guanyin 觀音 (Chinese interpretation of the Mahāyāna bodhisattva), and Mazu 媽祖 (deified shamaness and being revered as a tutelary deity of Chinese seafarers). For Huang, these were personified symbols and analogies invented by ancient Chinese based on tales and fables. They were not divine. Without enquiring into their origin, people turned away from the Creator and worked God's creatures that were made without the Spirit.

91. Huang, "道影類編小錄," 3–9. On contemporary discussion on Confucianism and Christianity, see Chia, ed., *Confucianism and Christianity*.

92. For Hong Xiuquan and his followers, Hong was not introducing

of faith proceeds to understanding, as he stated in 1869: “learning and reason are for sincere practice; repentance and believe the Lord is for persevering faith. Thus, a learner ought to first anchor in faith, and faith believes what is not seen.”⁹³ As Huang came to faith through prayer by requesting the Holy Spirit’s enlightenment, he also taught others to believe in God’s sovereign grace in salvation.

Though his theology was not sophisticated, Huang Pin-san’s impressive knowledge of the Chinese culture and language, outstanding rhetorical skills, and genuine desire for a virtuous Christian life significantly contributed to the construction of the Chinese Baptist church, if not Chinese Christianity altogether, in eastern China.

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a foreign God to the Chinese people; instead, Hong believed that the Chinese people used to worship this God. They were led astray for about 2000 years to worship the devil. Thus, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was primarily a spiritual renewal to restore an ancient Chinese belief system without adding innovations. See Kilcourse, *Taiping Theology*.

Huang wrote: “今真型既至則原影與傳影作已往當捨虛而從實矣。神之永能與全德其所以預定之旨屆期而顯者奧妙莫測誰能共議哉 . . . 聖經與中土之陋俗兩兩對勘真假自見 Since the true image is now arrived, we need to consider the original shadow and inherited shadow as something of the past. We need to give up *xu* [empty, vain] and follow *shi* [real, true]. Who can contemplate God’s eternal power and full virtue, who determined the time for his mystery to be revealed . . . Putting the Bible and Chinese vulgar customs in contrast, it is easy to distinguish what is true and what is false” (Huang, “道影類編小錄,” 9).

93. “學問思辨所以篤行也，悔改賴主所以篤信也。學者先定以信心者，信所未見也” (Huang, “答路從周,” 11).

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Baptist Fundamentalism in Canada: A Bibliography

Taylor Murray & Paul R. Wilson

Fundamentalism has always been a major topic of interest for historians of religion. Among those who study Baptists in Canada, this has been especially true over the past few years. The recent publication of *Canadian Baptist Fundamentalism, 1878–1978* (Canadian Baptist Historical Society Series 4; Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2022) shows just how substantial this field has become. The following is a list of historical secondary sources published on Baptist fundamentalism in Canada. Without question, we will have missed some important documents; however, we have endeavoured to include as many publications as possible.¹

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1. E.g., This bibliography does not include encyclopedia entries or newspaper articles.

Putting together a bibliography on such a contentious topic poses several challenges. Perhaps the most significant is the fact that historians do not agree on how best to define “fundamentalism.” This bibliography has opted to cast a wide net, which means including those studies that have looked at the evangelical heirs to the early twentieth-century fundamentalists. This includes the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches in Canada and studies that look at the evangelical character of other Baptist groups in the country. Even if these groups and individuals do not use the term “fundamentalist” anymore, they have close connections to the historical movement. We hope that this bibliography will encourage further research on this growing field. Moreover, we are optimistic that including a list of what *has* been published might help identify certain gaps in the literature.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Hummel, Daniel G. *The Rise and Fall of Dispensationalism: How the Evangelical Battle Over the End Times Shaped a Nation*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2023. 382 pages.

With *The Rise and Fall of Dispensationalism*, Daniel G. Hummel has delivered a masterful historical analysis of a well-known but seldom understood evangelical doctrine and movement. This book is required reading for anyone who wants a more fulsome and textured picture of dispensationalism and its contribution to American religion, theology, culture, politics, and social change.

Essentially, Hummel argues that “the rise and fall of dispensationalism contributes in unique ways to explaining the state of modern evangelicalism.” To prove this thesis, Hummel focuses primarily on the groups of “key historical actors.” Between 1830 and 1900, founders, such as John Nelson Darby and Charles H. Mackintosh, created and propagated the core teachings of dispensationalism. From 1900 to 1960, American builders, such as Lewis Sperry Chafer and Cyrus I. Scofield, created a more systematized dispensationalist theology and a scholastic institutional infrastructure that propelled the movement forward. Finally, in the period from 1960 to 2020, a third group of American populists—most notably authors Hal Lindsay and Tim LaHaye, and televangelists Jerry Falwell, James Robison, and Pat Robertson—promoted the dispensationalist movement into the cultural mainstream and on to commercial success.

Beginning as early as the 1960s, however, some dispensationalists, including academics such as Kenneth Gentry, Rousas John Rushdoony, and Gary North, broke with the movement and sowed the seeds of its scholarly decline. Neo-Calvinists, including John Piper and Timothy Keller, also rejected the tenets of dispensational theology.

Hummel presents a compelling case based on first-order primary and secondary research. The bibliographic essay at the end

of the book and the explanatory footnotes add texture, nuance, and depth to an already extensive analysis.

In my view, there is one apparent shortcoming in this fine book. While Hummel certainly traces and identifies the impact of dispensationalism on American culture, politics, and social change, a fuller and deeper analysis of these impacts is lacking. Obviously, one cannot be expected to fully address and analyze every dimension of a movement as complex and complicated as the dispensationalist movement in a single volume. Therefore, Hummel's work to date points to the need for a second volume that examines in far more detail the cultural, political, and social domains identified in this volume.

In sum, *The Rise and Fall of Dispensationalism* addresses a serious gap in our knowledge and understanding of a key theological doctrine and movement. This book should be at the top of the reading list for historians, theologians, and those who want to know far more about the development and impact of dispensationalism.

Paul R. Wilson, PhD
Canadian Baptist Historical Society

Murray, Taylor and Paul R. Wilson, eds. *Canadian Baptist Fundamentalism, 1878–1978*. Canadian Baptist Historical Society Series 4. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2022.

Canadian Baptist Fundamentalism brings together a number of chapters that help broaden our understanding of the impact of fundamentalism on Canadian Baptists up to the 1960s. While the chapters look at material that has been discussed in different contexts, each author acknowledges the contributions of others while then adding new primary research and nuances to what was there before. While the chapters do not follow a common form, they fit well together to make a common theme.

One is struck by the fact that “all roads lead to T. T. Shields,” for, in varying degrees, he figures in each chapter. In some in-

stances, his personality and beliefs dominate the topic while in others he becomes the figure of contrast. His role magnifies the importance of leadership, for the movement was driven by people with strong personalities and uncompromising convictions. As the lives of various fundamentalist leaders are opened to historical review, they are seen as people seeking to uphold a historic set of assumptions in a world that was opened to new ideas.

The role of education was important in many chapters. Almost every college in Canada in the nineteenth century had church connections. As Michael Gavereau has pointed out, these schools were changing in their scientific view of the world and increasingly open to new ideas, particularly in their understanding of Scripture. Fundamentalists found the question of who would educate the next generation to be one of the crises of the age. These articles highlight these concerns with McMaster University and Brandon College becoming focal points of disruption. In a different way, Shields' struggle to control education for the fundamentalists in the fifties reflects a similar concern. It is interesting that when controversial issues are raised about Acadia University, it does not become a major divisive issue until after World War II.

The chapters also demonstrate the typical Canadian regionalism with the important influences running south to north rather than east to west. The religious tensions in the United States were imported into the Canadian context. While there was some interaction across Canada, Baptists had been slow to penetrate the Prairies and consequently Ontario fundamentalists would not have major influence in the west until later. Many westerners saw parallels in their struggle over Brandon with what had happened at McMaster. One has to wonder why Maritime Baptists were not influenced in the same way. Perhaps it is because they began the century with the creation of the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces in 1905/6. It was not until the twenties that a fundamentalist influence, centred on the outsider J. J. Sidey, became an issue.

As the editors note, eschatology was another issue that emerges in the chapters for the fundamentalist impulse. While there was a divergence in views, especially around Shields, the various leaders saw their role in the faithful advancement of the Kingdom

toward the return of Christ. There was a distinct move from the prevailing postmillennialism of the nineteenth century to premillennial views that precipitated a greater urgency in upholding the truth for time of preparation for the rapture was short. This reflects the growing alienation of the fundamentalists from the changing norms of culture that was increasingly dominated by science and nonreligious ideas. Modernism had become the enemy.

As one reads the chapters, there is the assumption that Shields and the others were right in their analysis of the culture at the time, particularly in relation to the McMaster issue. There does not seem to be a recognition that some who did not choose disruption may also have upheld the historic doctrines. While that was not the purpose of this work, fundamentalism had its influence on those Baptists as well.

The volume clearly achieves the aims laid out by the editors in the introduction. The exploration of fundamentalism and Baptists certainly helps put not only the past in context but also helps the reader understand the present. While the articles reflect a scholarly approach to their themes, they are easily accessible to the lay reader. It is a useful volume and clearly requires a sequel of evangelicalism and Baptists and a growing common vision of Baptist ministry after 1970.

*Robert S. Wilson, PhD
Acadia Divinity College*



BOOK NOTES

Haykin, Michael A. G. “Jesus, Wondrous Savior”: *The Roots and Legacy of Some Ontario Baptists, 1810s–1920s*. Ancaster, ON: ALEV, 2023.

With “*Jesus, Wondrous Saviour*,” Michael A. G. Haykin has provided a good entry point for those looking to study Baptists in Ontario. In particular, Haykin focuses on the so-called “long nineteenth century” and identifies several areas of note within Ontario Baptist history. Without question, the book’s strength is its focus on higher education. The book covers a lot of ground by tracing the history of support for the Canadian Baptist College, the creation of the Literary Institute in Woodstock, and the eventual formation of McMaster University and the rival Toronto Baptist Seminary. While Haykin focuses almost exclusively on influential men in the southern part of the province (and especially Toronto), his contribution is a welcomed one to the sparsely-populated field of Ontario Baptist history.

*Taylor Murray, PhD
Tyndale University*

Bell, D. G., ed. *The Canadian Journal of Ziba Pope*. Baptist Heritage in Atlantic Canada Series 20. Wolfville, NS: Acadia Divinity College, 2022.

The Canadian Journal of Ziba Pope is the twentieth entry in the prolific Baptist Heritage in Atlantic Canada Series, which began in 1979. It is edited by David G. Bell, a long-time contributor to the series. As intimated by the title, it contains portions of the early

nineteenth-century journal of businessman and New Light-turned-Baptist preacher Ziba Pope. Following a brief introduction, the volume contains three chapters written by Bell, which explore Pope's (occasionally salacious) business dealings and his conversion and ministry. The chapters contain the usual incisive analysis one familiar with Bell's other work might expect. The journal itself covers the years 1812 to 1826 and includes entries from Pope's travels throughout Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland. The volume provides insight into those ever-important early nineteenth-century years, during which time the Baptist denomination in the Maritimes took shape (Pope himself accepted believer's baptism in 1821). The nature of Pope's conversion and the shape of his ministry speaks to the lingering influence of Henry Alline in the region, even decades after the death of the New Light divine. There remain several mysteries surrounding Pope that the volume cannot answer due to a paucity of source material (e.g., why did he abruptly leave the ministry?), but, nevertheless, it is a solid contribution to the Baptist Heritage series.

*Taylor Murray, PhD
Tyndale University*



ANNOUNCEMENTS

CBHS Announcements

Call for Chapter Proposals: The CBHS is pleased to announce that it is now accepting chapter proposals for a book tentatively titled *Themes in Ontario Baptist History*. Edited by Paul R. Wilson and Taylor Murray, suggested topics include (but are not limited to): Ontario Baptists and—women, education, Indigenous Peoples, labour, missions, evangelism, theological tensions and conflict, empire, war, sociocultural challenges, politics, ecumenism, the arts, the Black experience. The editors are looking for overview chapters that cover an extended timeframe and the broad sweep of Baptist activity, contributions, and experiences. For more information, see the full Call for Chapters on the website. If you are interested in contributing, please contact the editors at tmurray@tyndale.ca.

Annual General Meeting: On 15 April 2023, the Canadian Baptist Historical Society met for its annual general meeting (AGM) at Jarvis Street Baptist Church in downtown Toronto. It was the first opportunity to gather in person since 2019. With twenty-five attendees (both in person and online), it was the society's highest attendance at an AGM to date. Paul R. Wilson, the President of the CBHS, opened the meeting with words of welcome. He spoke briefly about the society's book series and the status of the next edition, *The Black Baptist Experience* (edited by Dudley Brown and Gordon L. Heath), which is currently at the peer review stage. As part of its regular business, the society also elected Dudley Brown to serve as Member at Large.

With the conclusion of the business portion of the program, the society heard four presentations from the CBHS's forthcoming volume on Black Baptists in Canada. The first paper was "'It has Pleased God to Make us of a Different Colour': Black Baptists in

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Victoria, British Columbia, 1876–1881” by Taylor Murray. Glenn Tomlinson presented the second paper, titled “Washington Christian (1776–1850) and the Founding of the First Coloured Calvinistic Baptist Church of Toronto.” Newly-elected Member at Large, Dudley Brown, presented the third paper, “The Underground Railroad and its Intersection with the Black Baptist Church in Canada.” The fourth and final paper was Gordon L. Heath’s “National Identity in the African Baptist Association, 1855–1914.” The next AGM is scheduled for Heritage College and Seminary in April 2024.

Memberships: Membership dues for the Society are as follows: Life Membership, \$500.00; Membership, \$30.00 annually; Student Membership, \$5.00 annually.

Book Series: The Canadian Baptist Historical Society published its latest volume, *Canadian Baptist Fundamentalism* (edited by Taylor Murray and Paul R. Wilson), in 2022. Its next edition, *The Black Baptist Experience in Canada* (edited by Dudley Brown and Gordon L. Heath), which is the fifth volume in the series, is expected in 2024.

To date, the CBHS Series has four volumes in print: *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*, edited by Paul R. Wilson and Gordon L. Heath (2012); *Baptists and War*, edited by Gordon L. Heath (2015); *Canadian Baptist Women*, edited by Sharon Bowler (2016); and *Canadian Baptist Fundamentalism*, edited by Taylor Murray and Paul R. Wilson (2022).

Other Announcements

International Conference on Baptist Studies: The International Conference on Baptist Studies X will take place at Westminster College, Cambridge, United Kingdom, from 7 to 10 August 2024. The theme of the conference is “Baptists and Education.” More information is available at baptiststudies.org.

Julian Gwyn Essay Prize in Baptist and Anabaptist History and Thought: The Acadia Centre for Baptist and Anabaptist Studies invites submissions for the Julian Gwyn Prize, which is awarded for the best article approved for publication in a peer-reviewed journal (including peer-reviewed student journals, open access journals, and hybrid journals) by a doctoral- or masters-level student, in French or English. For more information, visit the ACBAS website: acadiadiv.ca/acbas/essay-prize.

Atlantic Baptist Built Heritage Project: In partnership with the Canadian Baptists of Atlantic Canada, the Atlantic Baptist Built Heritage Project is a catalogue of historic Baptist church buildings from across New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland and Labrador. It includes photographs, historical descriptions, and key information for hundreds of churches—some that are no longer standing, some that have been moved, and many that are still active today. Visit atlanticbaptistheritage.ca to learn more.

Called to Serve: Hear the voices of dozens of ordained Baptist women through this new project from Dr. Melody Maxwell at Acadia Divinity College. Called to Serve preserves, shares, and analyzes the stories of women ordained to ministry by Baptist churches in Atlantic Canada between 1950 and 2020.

To learn more, visit calledtoserve.ca or search for “Called to Serve” on Spotify or Apple Podcasts.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

****If you have an announcement that would be of interest to the broader CBHS community, please submit it to the Managing Editor (tmurray@tyndale.ca).**



RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS

****Publications on this list include works published in the previous two years. If you have a volume to submit to this list, email its title and bibliographical information to the editor.**

For information on older publications, see:

Griffin-Allwood, Philip G. A., et al. *Baptists in Canada, 1760–1990: A Bibliography of Selected Printed Resources in English*. Hantsport, NS: Lancelot, 1989; and Murray, Taylor. “Against ‘Historical Amnesia’: A Bibliography of Baptists in Canada, 1990–2017.” *Journal of Baptist Studies* 9 (2018) 77–113.

Bell, D. G., ed. *The Canadian Journal of Ziba Pope*. Baptist Heritage in Atlantic Canada Series 20. Wolfville, NS: Acadia Divinity College, 2022.

Geldbach, Erich, ed. *Baptists Worldwide: Origins, Expansions, Emerging Realities*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2022.

Harris, Paul L. et al., eds. *Keeping the Faith: Essays in Memory of Roger H. Prentice*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 2023.

Haykin, Michael A. G. “Jesus, Wondrous Savior”: *The Roots and Legacy of Some Ontario Baptists, 1810s–1920s*. Ancaster, ON: ALEV, 2023.

Haykin, Michael A. G. et al, eds. *A Glorious Fellowship of Churches: The History of the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches in Canada, 1953–2023*. 2nd ed. Guelph, ON: Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches of Canada, 2023.

RECENT WORKS

Haykin, Michael A. G. with Jonathan N. Cleland. *“Rooted, Strengthened, Thankful”: The Story of West Highland Baptist Church, Hamilton, Ontario, 1972–2022*. Hamilton, ON: West Highland Baptist Church, 2022.

Maxwell, Melody and T. Laine Scales, eds. *Baptists and Gender: Papers for the Ninth International Conference in Baptist Studies*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 2023.

Murray, Taylor and Paul R. Wilson, eds. *Canadian Baptist Fundamentalism, 1878–1978*. Canadian Baptist Historical Society Series 4. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2022.



RECENT DISSERTATIONS AND THESES

Brown, Dudley A. “William Andrew White Jr.: Portrait of an African Canadian Pastor, Chaplain, and Activist.” PhD diss., McMaster Divinity College, 2023.

Goetting, Brittany P. “Bound by Print: The Baptist Borderlands of Maine and the Canadian Maritimes, 1770–1840.” PhD diss., University of Maine, 2022.

Hutton, Kallie Malena. “Participating in Kingdom *Shalom*: Rediscovering the Practice of Integral Discipleship Among Bolivian Baptists.” MA Thesis, Acadia Divinity College, 2023.

McGuire, Seán. “Transformative Reading: An Evangelical Meta-modern Approach to Understanding Biblical Interpretive Practice.” DPT Thesis, McMaster Divinity College, 2023.

Murray, Taylor. “‘A Call to [Fundamentalist] Baptist Women’: Caroline Holman and the Women’s Missionary Society of the Regular Baptists of Canada, 1926–1933.” PhD diss., McMaster Divinity College, 2023.

Pitman-Knowles, Marlene. “Opening the Door: To the Possibility of Changes in the CBAC with Respect to Homosexuality and Same-Sex Relationships.” DMin Thesis, Acadia Divinity College, 2022.

Worden, Paul D. “Atlantic Canadian Baptists: An Ecclesiology for Christian Mission in the Twenty-First Century.” DMin Thesis, Carey Theological College, 2023.

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