CONJOINED AND CONTRASTED:
RESTORATION IN MICHIGAN AND ONTARIO

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The adjacent territories separated by Lake Huron and its southern waterways were an important interior to New France in the 17th and 18th centuries. They were included in the region known as "Quebec" that fell under British administration following Britain's capture of Montreal in 1760.[1] Britain reluctantly surrendered its control over the Michigan portion in 1796, 13 years after the Peace of Paris in 1783 ceded the area to the new United States of America. Indeed, present day Michigan and Wisconsin were governed, as part of the province of "Upper Canada," from Kingston, Ontario during 1791-1796![2] In 1796, the European population in Michigan consisted of several hundred French-speaking settlers in two locations, Detroit in the south and Michilimackinac in the north.[3] Meanwhile, into "Upper Canada" (present day Ontario) had arrived from America some 20,000 settlers, conservative Tories for the most part, "United Empire Loyalists" who had the misfortune of being on the losing side of the Revolutionary War.[4] The imposition of the international boundary along the aforementioned waterways, separated the territories which thus began their journeys in an increasing divergence as they took on the distinctives of the two similar and yet quite contrasting cultures of their respective nations. These differences, it will be seen, significantly impacted their Restoration experiences.

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[1] The Quebec Act of 1774 provided for the extended province of Quebec in which Michigan was included within the District of Hesse, one of four administrative districts in the region.

[2] The Constitutional Act of 1791, intended to curb the excesses of democracy believed to be rampant in the former 13 colonies and infecting to some extent the Loyalist settlers who were American frontiersmen, divided Quebec into two provinces, Lower (present day Quebec) and Upper (the territories to the west) Canada. "In 1792, the first election in Michigan history was held to choose the area's members in the provincial assembly." Willis F. Dunbar, George S. May, *Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965, revised 1980), 105.

[3] Five hundred in Detroit in 1796. Dunbar, 123.

[4] Living in the regions of Kingston and Niagara. Dunbar, 105.

This study, dependent chiefly upon the Ontario periodical record,[5] will examine, in outline fashion, the parallels and linkages and, as well, a significant difference in the Restoration developments of the two regions, Michigan and Ontario. It will note the impact on the shape of the Restoration movements in these respective regions of their cultural characteristics and religious self-awareness. It will attempt to illustrate the premise that a more accurate historicity can contribute to a more effective missiology.

PARALLELS

Three parallel influences are detected in Restoration beginnings in Ontario and Michigan.

The first, while indirect, is important. This is the early influence of the New England "Christian Connexion." The first major wave of settlers into Michigan arrived from the Eastern seaboard by way of interim settlements in New York and Ohio.[6] That a number affected by the Jones-Smith reform would make their way to the state could be expected. The Connexion's presence in Michigan was sufficient for it to have conferences as early as 1835. Preachers working in seven counties are listed.[7] While this

[5] With the exception of 1866-1868 and 1871-1872, a periodical record is complete for Ontario from 1845 to 1900 and beyond. David Oliphant Jr published *The Witness of Truth, The Christian Mirror, The Christian Banner,* and *Message of Good-Will to Men* between 1845 and 1865. Copies are not extant for his *The Peacemaker* (1866-68), or for his *Messenger and Laborer* (1869-1875). Published mainly by the Beaty brothers of Toronto, James Jr and Robert, and taking a conservative position, the *Bible Index* began in 1873 and concluded in 1893. The progressive position was taken by *The Christian Worker* (1882-1886), which was replaced by *The Ontario Evangelist* (1886-1889), reissued as *The Canadian Evangelist* (1890-1895), *The Disciple of Christ and Canadian Evangelist* (1895-96), and replaced by *The Christian Messenger* (1897 to the end of the century and beyond). Cf. Eugene C. Perry, *A History of Religious Periodicals in the Restoration Movement in Canada* (Beamsville: Gospel Herald Foundation, 2003).

[6] Michigan settlers "…were predominantly New Englanders or sprang from New England stock. The largest numbers came from western New York, but were largely the descendents of Yankees who had settled in this region after the American Revolution…The influence of this dominant New England element on the history of Michigan has been profound." Included in the list of influences are "the strength of the Congregational Church in Michigan, and the leadership of New Englanders in the early legislatures, schools, and churches…" Dunbar, 200-201.

[7] *The Christian Messenger,* Vol. 9, Jan. 1835-Dec. 1835.

movement did not transition into the Disciples' cause, as in Lexington, their back-to-the-Bible emphasis would diffuse throughout the state.

The Christian Connexion arrived from New York State in Ontario in 1821 when three ministers of that persuasion responded to the persistent pleas of a settler, Mary Stodgill, in the community of Newmarket, north of York (Toronto).[8] When the movement, that now claimed 20 churches, 20 preachers, and 1200 members, held its annual conference in Whitby in 1834, several of its leaders pushed for the dissolution of the conference. The hope was that the move would make way for a coming together of "Disciples" and "Christians" in Canada as in Lexington, KY two years earlier. The resolution to dissolve lost by the one vote cast by the moderator. The leader in this initiative was Joseph Ash who left the Connexion, because of the failed initiative, to become an influential figure in the Canadian reformation.[9]

A second parallel is the presence of the Scotch Baptist format. Emerging from the Glas-Sandemanian reform, the Scotch Baptists were a part of a protest movement against the church-state structure in Scotland and were strongly anti-clerical. They opted for congregational leadership by a plurality of elders in place of the "ordained pastor." In 1820, a small band believed to be Scotch Baptists and led by John Menzies and Alexander Stewart planted a settlement in the wilderness north-west of Toronto and organized "The Church of Christ in Esquesing."[10] The community was known as Norval.

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[8] P. Griffin-Allwood, "To Hear a Free Gospel: The Christian Connexion in Canada," *Historical Papers* (Windsor, ON: Canadian Society of Church History, 1988, 73-86), 77-78.

[9] Two defrocked Christian Connexion preachers from New York State, Z. F. Green and Benjamin Howard, preached and gathered disciples in Hillier and Athol Townships, Prince Edward County in Ontario during 1834-36. Joseph Ash, "Reminiscences," *Christian Worker*, Vol. II, No. 12, Oct. 1883, 1.

[10] As reported by Reuben Butchart, *The Disciples of Christ in Canada since 1830*, p. 141, 395. Stewart was from Scotland and Menzies from Perthshire. While Butchart incorrectly identifies a number of Scottish workers in Canada as "Scotch Baptists," there is some evidence to suggest that he is correct in this instance, e.g. Stewart's early presence, and the addition of William A. Stephens in 1832 who came in response to the urging of a Scotch Baptist congregation in New York City. See *Bible Index*, Vol. I, No. 11, Nov. 1873, 11.

The Norval church's influence was felt throughout the province during its 53 year life. Merged with the "mutual ministry" practice featured in Great Britain, this became the dominant structure of the Canadian churches until late in the century.

The first church to organize in Detroit had these Scotch Baptist distinctives. This occurred in 1842 when a "delegation from Scotland"[11] joined with the Richard Hawley family and began to meet in the latter's home. Moving to the corner of Plum Street and Fourth Street in 1870, the Plum Street congregation developed as a vigorous leader in Michigan. As John R. Rowe wrote in the *American Christian Review* (and copied in the *Bible Index*), "…because this church were unwilling to swallow down the General Missionary Plan, body, bones and gristle, they have been stigmatized as 'anti-missionary' and as 'stubborn Scotch.'" Rowe spoke glowingly of the mission efforts of Plum Street in the city, of its order of worship including mutual edification, and of the leadership of its stalwart elders seated, typically, upon the platform, P. C. Gray, Alexander Linn, and Maurice Marr.[12]

The third parallel has to do with "progressive" values that were associated with James Black in Ontario and with Isaac Errett in Michigan.

James Black, baptized in Argyleshire, Scotland in 1817 by Dugald Sinclair, arrived in Aldborough Township in southwestern Ontario in 1820. Sinclair, one of the earliest Scotsmen to be converted and trained by English Baptists, became active as a Baptist mission society agent and gained the reputation as "the apostle of the Highlands

[11] Statement included an obituary of Sarah (Hawley) Scott, b. 1807, d. 1887, widow of Thomas C. Scott, that described the beginnings of what would become the Plum Street congregation. Early meeting were in the home of Richard Hawley on the corner of Bates and Woodbridge Streets, early members were: Richard Hawley Sr and his wife, son Richard Hawley Jr and his wife, son Joseph Hawley and wife, daughter Sarah H. Hawley, daughter Rebecca (Mrs. Duncan), Alex. Linn and his wife, Colin Campbell and his wife, and Wm. Linn and his wife. *The Ontario Evangelist*, Vol. I, No. 11, April 1887, 3.
[12] A MONTH IN DETROIT (By R. [Rowe] in *A. C. Review*). *Bible Index*, Vol. I, No. 8, June 1873, 123.

and the Islands." Sinclair immigrated to Ontario in 1831, settling in Lobo Township west of London. "Elder" Black, a lay preacher and teacher, began to move away from the Baptist position while preaching in Aldborough Township, 1821-1825. A vigorous leader for 66 years in Ontario, he took the lead in forming a "co-operation" at Norval in 1843. This co-operation of the churches for forty years was transformed into an independent "society" in 1883. Thus from Black's home in Eramosa Township, Wellington County, "progressive" values were promoted throughout the province. Meanwhile, Sinclair continued to evangelize in south-western Ontario, his growing connection being referred to as "Sinclair Baptists," until Campbell's visit in 1855 further convinced him of the Disciples' stance. These two Scottish Baptists came to Ontario, merged into the Restoration, but, perhaps unwittingly, collectively contributed to the forces that ultimately distinguished the Disciples of Christ from Churches of Christ in Canada at the end of the century.

Isaac Errett moved from Warren, Ohio to Lyons, Michigan in 1856. From 1857 to 1860 he was the corresponding secretary to the American Christian Missionary Society. He traveled extensively in Michigan in evangelistic work, his labors extending to Ionia and Muir. In 1862 he moved to Detroit to work with the second church to be formed in that city, the Central Christian Church that purchased a building from the Congregationalists at Jefferson and Beaubian Streets in 1863. This congregation, formed because of "serious differences" within the original church, was being led by Colin Campbell, brother-in-law of Alex. Linn, and by Richard Hawley. Errett is reported to have placed a name-plate on his office door, "Rev. I. Errett." He produced a "Synopsis of the Faith and Practice of the Church of Christ," a document that was attacked as being a

"creed" by such as Benjamin Franklin and Moses Lard.[13] In the section designated *By-Laws*, it is made clear that the "pastor," namely Errett, would manage the affairs of the church. In 1866, Errett became editor of the new paper, the *Christian Standard.* Years later, the conservative assessment in Ontario was expressed by W. W. Stone: "The founder of the *Standard*, Isaac Errett began sowing the seed of sectism over 30 years ago, at Detroit, Mich. when he devised a creed, which the congregation that he was serving as 'pastor' adopted."[14]

This three-fold common characteristic of beginnings in Restorationism in Ontario and Michigan—early Christian Connexion influences, Scotch Baptist values, and beginnings of "progressivism"—may well be unique in the North American Restoration experience. While the New England Connexion did not "connect," as did the Stone movement, the influence of its reformist views spread widely, particularly in the north-east. The Scotch Baptist emphasis, although typically dismissed as negative in American Restoration appraisals,[15] pointed to the integrity of the local congregation, a view that became the trademark of Churches of Christ world wide. And the early appearance of the roots of "progressivism" in these two regions suggests that, rather than a monolithic continental cleavage, the division recognized in 1906 came about because of a multitude of local fractures that began to occur in the earliest years of the reform movement.

LINKAGES

[13] Cf. *Lard's Quarterly*, 1863, 95-100.
[14] "PROGRESSIONISM GONE TO SEED," *Gospel Messenger*, Vol. III, No. 1, Jan. 1896, 5, 8.
[15] Leroy Garrett, in his *The Stone-Campbell Movement*, writes glowingly of the early beginnings of the Canadian Restoration, and from sources independent of those in the United States. He cites the history of the Canadian Disciples movement written by Reuben Butchart and uncritically accepts Butchart's negative assessment of the "Scotch Baptists": "Butchart explains that virtually all the Scotch Baptists that migrated to Canada became Disciples. But this had a debilitating influence and probably explains why the Movement did not continue to grow in Canada as it did in America…" Leroy Garrett, *The Stone-Campbell Movement*, (Joplin, MO: College Press Publishing Company, 1981), 439-440.

In examining the periodical record produced in Ontario, particularly between 1857, the year that the first reference to the Michigan cause appears,[16] until 1900, the limit of this study, attention to developments in Michigan is remarkably light—only forty-three references in forty-three years! This is noteworthy as the Ontario record fairly regularly reported on activities south of the border as well as in the UK and elsewhere. No missionaries came from Michigan for settled work in Ontario, although such are noted from New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and Tennessee.[17] Only one Michigan preacher, P. C. Gray, an elder at Plum Street, is reported to have held meetings in Ontario.[18] No missionaries were sent by Ontario congregations into Michigan, although at least four Canadian preachers are known to have taken up work in Michigan: A. A. Trout,[19] Edward R. Black,[20] D. B. McKellar,[21] and William D. Campbell.[22] And a few men from Ontario conducted meetings in Michigan, e.g. David Oliphant in Detroit,[23] D. B. McKellar,[24] James Black, [25] and Edmund Sheppard in Deanville,[26] Samuel Keffer in

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[16] Wm. M. Roe, from Buchanan, Mich., March 27, 1857, directs a report to the *Christian Banner* edited by David Oliphant Jr, in which he states, "More than nine tenths of the population of this State have never had an opportunity of hearing the gospel in its pristine simplicity…There are probably not more that (sic) a dozen properly organized churches in this State, though brethren good and true are to be found in almost every county…" *Christian Banner*, Vol. XI, No. 5, May 1857, 151-152.

[17] E.g. O. G. Hertzog from New York, H. B. Sherman from Indiana, H. L. Stevens from Illinois, and S. M. Jones from Tennessee. Butchart identifies T. D. Butler from Michigan locating at Bowmanville in the 1880s, 435.

[18] Gray preached at these points in Ontario: at Mosa, 1873; Eagle, 1873; Dorchester, 1874, and Ridgetown, 1879.

[19] At Fourteenth Ave., Detroit, *Bible Index*, Vol. XI, No. 137, May 1884, 156.

[20] Macauley Mission, Detroit, *The Ontario Evangelist*, Vol. II, No. 1, May, 1887, 4.

[21] As reported by Reuben Butchart, *The Disciples of Christ in Canada since 1830*, 497: Donald B. Mckellar, grandson of John McKellar, Argyleshire, Scotland (one of the first known to preach "reform doctrine" and who came to Aldborough Township in about 1818) and nephew of James Black (son of Archibald McKellar and Janet Black), left Aldborough and Mosa for evangelizing in Michigan—"… evangelized in the early days in the eastern section of the state" (John T. Brown, *Churches of Christ*, p. 251), and preached for a time in Yale, Michigan.

[22] Plum Street, *The Canadian Evangelist*, Vo. VI, No. 13, Nov. 2, 1891, 4.

[23] *Message of Good-Will*, Vol. XIX, No. 7 & 8, July/Aug. 1865, 138.

[24] *Bible Index*, Vol. IV, No. 5, May 1876, 139.

[25] *Bible Index,* Vol. 1, 2nd Series, No. 7, July 1877, 219.

[26] *The Ontario Evangelist*, Vol. I, No. 7, Nov. 1886, 2.

Deckerville,[27] and James Beaty Jr. in Detroit.[28] Reflecting on the larger context, it is observed that the flow of settlement was westward and the mercantile axis between the two nations was north-south. The younger cause in Michigan would not readily target the older Ontario region. And the region immediately east of Michigan in south-western Ontario was only lightly touched by advances of the Disciples. Nevertheless, while adjacent, each region seemed primarily preoccupied with its own challenges and existed largely as two solitudes in terms of their kingdom activities.

The main focus of Ontario interest in the Michigan cause, as expressed in the periodicals, was in the progress of the Plum Street congregation. Eighteen of the forty-three references to Michigan church activity refer to this congregation. Its conservatism pleased that of the editors of the *Bible Index*. Copying the *Review,* editor Robert Beaty described how "Detroit 'Sounded out the Word,'" in opening a mission at Ash and Fourteenth streets, "…The number of brethren is about 200…" and listed sixteen men from Plum Street who did the preaching rather than give "one hireling pay."[29] A. A. Trout reported to the *Christian Worker* regarding a five week meeting in February and March, 1885 conducted by James A. Harding in which 37 baptisms took place.[30] An obituary of Sarah H. Scott (nee Hawley, daughter of Richard Hawley, Sr.) and wife of Thomas C. Scott, founder and leader of a congregation in Toronto, was presented, including an extended review of the founding of the congregation that would become Plum Street.[31] E. R. Black reported in the *Ontario Evangelist*, April 9, 1887 on the church in Detroit: two

[27] *Gospel Messenger*, Vol. I, No. 5, 6, June 15, July 15, 1894, 2, 2.
[28] *Bible Index*, Vol. XIV, No. 167, Nov. 1886, 348.
[29] *Bible Index*, Vol. XI, No. 126, June 1883, 184-185.
[30] *Christian Worker,* Vol. IV, Nos. 4 and 5, Feb., March 1885, 2 and 2: DEAR BRO. WHITELAW, "… best meetings during the past four weeks ever held in the Fourth and Plum st. meeting house…36 additions…nearly all from families not previously connected with the church." By A. A. Trout, Mich. March: closed five week meeting with 37 baptisms.
[31] *Ontario Evangelist*, Vol. I, No. 11, April 1887, 3.

churches (including the Central Church of Christ), and three mission points: "east," the Macauley mission; "west," where Bro. George labors, "as yet its members work with Central; and "north," almost self-sustaining.[32] One of the more able evangelists to be developed in Ontario, W. D. "Willie" Campbell, moved to work with the Plum St. congregation in 1891. In *The Canadian Evangelist*, he is described as "…the chief speaker, not the pastor of the church exactly…" filling mission points in the afternoon, and in the evening at Plum, where "after the announcement, 'The gospel will be preached here this evening,' the house fills."[33] Philip G. Sanderson reported in *The Canadian Evangelist*, in the June 1893 issue, that when W. D. Campbell speaks, the 500 seat capacity at Plum Street is taxed; since January 1, 39 additions have been received, only five from church families. And in the fall, the church sent Campbell to Ludington where "a few faithful brethren meet house to house."[34] Campbell continued to work with the church in Detroit until1899 when he returned to Canada to work with the church in Toronto. This interest in Plum St. can be attributed to the Ontario connections with that congregation.

DIFFERENCE

As this study is based primarily on the Ontario periodical study, it is not possible for this paper to draw a detailed comparison between the two Restoration communities. However, the statistical evidence is revealing of a significant difference, and the known cultural contrasts of the two nations are informative.

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[32] *Ontario Evangelist*, Vol. II, No. 1, May 1887, 4.
[33] *The Canadian Evangelist*, Vol. VII, No. 1, May 1892, 5.
[34] *The Canadian Evangelist,* Vol. VIII, No. 4, June 15, 1893, 7. "Many have been the predictions when the old eldership passed away, we would forsake the 'old paths,' and wheel around into 'progression,' but the early and constant training has gained a strong foothold and Plum Street congregation continues to 'speak where…'"

Restoration activities began in the pioneering stage of both regions. By 1820, the beginning point for the Ontario restoration, the population stood at approximately 130,000 in Ontario, with only about 9,000 in Michigan.[35] The first identified Restoration activity in Michigan is dated at 1841[36] The 1857 report of a dozen established congregations in Michigan[37] contrasts with 35 churches then active in Ontario.[38] Populations had reached 749,113 in 1860 in Michigan and 1,396,000 in Ontario in 1861. By the end of the century, when the populations of our respective regions were now 2,420,982[39] in Michigan and 2,182,000[40] in Ontario, the Disciples totaled 10,600 members in 124 churches in Michigan,[41] and, in contrast, 4,500 members in eighty churches in Ontario.[42] A comparison of these numbers is revealing: by the end of the century Michigan Disciples had reached one in 228 in their state with their message, whereas Ontario Disciples had reached only one in 485 in their province, a rate of 47% of the former.

This reversal of numbers calls for an understanding. With a twenty year head start and with a larger population in the earlier years, Ontario fell behind Michigan in numbers of churches and members by the end of the century. In the beginning stages they shared a three-fold similarity in the influences of the New England Connexion, the Scotch Baptist format, and the early features of "progressivism." They were preoccupied in the work of

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[35] The 1820 Federal Census gave 8,765 in the Michigan Territory. Dunbar, 195.
[36] "The population of Michigan, which stood at just under 175,000 in 1837, the year that Michigan gained statehood, grew to 212, 267 in 1840, to 397,654 in 1850, and to 749,113 in 1860. Dunbar, 287.
[37] *Christian Banner*, Vol. XI, No. 5, May, 1857, 151-152.
[38] Geoffrey H. Ellis, "An Inquiry into the Growth of the Disciples of Christ in 19th Century Ontario" (Unpublished thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1993), 188-189.
[39] www.nwmcog.org/data/CensusTrends/MI-Counties-Pop-1900-1990.pdf.
[40] ww.chrc-ccdp.ca/en/getbriefed/1900/population.asp.
[41] These figures are based on the 1906 US Census that gave 116 churches and 9,791 members for Disciples of Christ, and 8 churches and 838 members for Churches of Christ. These were supplied by Monroe Hawley in a private letter.
[42] Ellis, 161.

their respective regions as the century advanced. The progress of the cause relates, therefore, both to the local efforts and to the prevailing conditions in their respective regions. The premise is advanced that, rather than the result of a superior performance by the Disciples in Michigan versus that of their brethren in Ontario,[43] the distinctives of American culture seem to have kicked in as the century progressed, supporting the Michigan advance.

The American Disciples, in 1899, celebrated their "Jubilee," i.e. fifty years of growth from 1849, the year of the founding of the American Christian Missionary Society. They claimed one million members in 1899, a significant growth from the estimated 120,000 Disciples in 1849. In Canada, in total, there were approximately 12,000 Disciples at the end of the century.[44] A comparison of the national populations in 1900, i.e. 76 million in America and 5.3 million in Canada, shows the latter at 7% the size of its neighbor.[45] All things being equal, a comparable number of adherents in Canada in 1900 might well have been 70,000. Thus the Canadian Disciples' growth achievement stands at about 17% of the advance made by its American counterpart.

In fact, there are major differences between the cultures of America and Canada as the result of conditions in the early years of their founding:

USA	CDA
- Many immigrants came to this new land to escape religious	- A large number of the early immigrants were United Empire Loyalists, Tory con-

[43] The Ontario Disciples had worked at advancing the Cause, planting 150 churches in 80 years. Ellis, 162.
[44] THE JUBILEE CONVENTION: 20,000 present. Growth in 50 years (sic) from 12,000 in 1830 to 1,118,396. Four Canadian delegates were in attendance, John Campbell, Thomas Whitehead, M. N. Stephens, and C. T. Paul. Their comment: "Our advance in the US has been phenomenal. Prayer by our churches may do much to hasten the advance we long for in Canada." *Christian Messenger*, Vol. III, No 16, Aug. 15, 1899, 2, 4.
[45] Typically, Canada's population is one-tenth of that of the USA. In Jan. 1, 2007, Canada at 32.8 million, USA at 334.5 million gives Canada at 9.8% of America.

oppression.

- In the 1820s only 20% of US settlers were "churched." This produced a "sellers" market for the rest of the century.

- Americans were under the influence of political liberalism, e.g. "inalienable rights."

- "Separation of church and state" was a key item in the Constitution.

- "Denominationalism" was added to the two categories: "Church and Sect," and competition among denominations in a "free market" system was promoted

- Americans were enthralled with the concept of "Primitivism in their political experiment. Cf. "Novus Ordo Seclorum."

servatives.

- Some 80% of the settlers brought their religious identification with them and remained faithful to their main-line churches' creeds.

- Canadians were noted for their political conservatism, i.e. "order and good government."

- Religious "establishment" was common in Canadian colonies, e.g. "Clergy Reserves" were abolished only in 1854 in Canada West (Ontario).

- The great majority of Canadians were of the "Church" classification, did not respect "Sects," and had no reason to support the middle category of "Denominations." (Religious debates, while common, were not "politically correct.")

- The motto for the Canadian effort selected in the 1867 Confederation was selected from the Psalms (72:8), "And He shall have Dominion from Sea to Sea." This tended to con-

Five major values of Restorationism were parallel to the values of the former.[46] firm the status quo of traditional politics and religions. "Restorationism" was not a value that resonated with the Canadian population.[47]

Our conclusion is that the American condition was highly favorable to the advance of Restoration efforts, i.e. "Restorationism" was as American as "apple pie." The Canadian condition was highly resistant to the advance of restoration efforts. Restorationism swam against the current in Canadian life. Restorationism was uniquely successful in America because, in part, it was aided by confirming cultural conditions. By 1900, Restorationism in Michigan was experiencing the favorable influences of American culture as its advanced, outstripping its cross-border brethren in Ontario in their efforts to advance the cause. (Note also that the Canadian growth contrast was experienced in similar ways in the UK, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia.)

The Ontario periodical record includes repeated and increasing concern with the slow growth of the movement in Canada, especially as glowing numbers were being reported and contrasted from America.[48] Low grade faith, poor efforts, legalistic attitudes

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[46] C. Leonard Allen, Richard T. Hughes, *Discovering our Roots: The Ancestry of Churches of Christ* (Abiline, TX: ACU Press, 1988), 90-94.

[47] Hughes and Allen explore the importance of the primitivism myth for the American ethos in *Illusions of Innocence: Protestant Primitivism in America, 1630-1875* (1988), and Hughes in *Myths America Lives By* (2003). No similar myth energizes Canada, however. Darrell L Guder, in *Missional Church: A Vision for the Sending of the Church in North America,* together with project team members writes: "Unique factors influenced Canada's experiences…One of the most significant and defining differences between the United States and Canada was Canada's constitutional formation. In the 1860s the province of Ontario led a confederation movement designed to move beyond England's direct role. The English throne and Parliament concurred in this effort, and confederation was born as a political solution to buffer Canada from the expansionist interests of the United States while providing the government for a diverse set of provinces. This solution lacked any notion of destiny, any military battles, any brave heroes, or any national symbols. Consequently, most Canadians wear national identity lightly as they simply live out the freedoms and rights of their citizenship. Canada lacks the type of national myths that provide for patriotic loyalty and personal sacrifice for a higher cause…" Published by William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI, 1998, 34.

[48] H. B. Sherman, an evangelist from Indiana who exerted considerable influence in Ontario in the 1880s, stated, "There is no good reason" for the slow growth in comparison to the remarkable growth in the United States and implied that hard work would make the difference. *Christian Worker*, Vol. I, No. 2, Dec. 1881, 2.

(cf. "Scotch Baptists"), etc., were advanced as reasons for their lackluster performance.[49] Those promoting 'progressivism" used the poor results to prove that the "society way" was the best.[50] No one in either the American or Canadian church communities identified that the "receptivity" level in the US was not matched in Canada. Recent research confirms that from the year of Confederation, 1867, until the present, four out of five Canadians, while highly secularized and nominally religious, have held tenaciously to their inherited religions, i.e. the mainline churches, while that the Evangelical community has been able to claim over the period only 8% of the population.[51]

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[49] T. L. Fowler, in addressing the Ontario Provincial Co-operation, identified four causes for the slow growth, (1) insufficient labour, (2) neglect of towns and cities, (3) preoccupation with "1st principles" and religious debates, (4) lack of liberality. *Ontario Evangelist*, Vol. I, No. 1, May 1886, 2. Fowler again, in THE CAUSE IN CANADA, "…we have been required to dwell on matters of detail and in justification of our position have been driven into controversy with the other religious bodies. Yet the great mistake we made was to look upon the *incidental* as the real object of our mission…" *Ontario Evangelist*, Vol. I, No. 3, July 1886, 3.

[50] One, "Juvenis," identified as a "young man," writes in the *Bible Index*, "If we consider the length of time our people have been established in this country, it would appear that they have not made the progress which was possible and desirable…there is not system to collect and direct their energies…But some have a dread of systems, and schemes, and plans…" *Bible Index*, Vol. III, No.4, Apr. 1879, 119-120.
H. T. Law writes, MISSION WORK, "In Canada the missionary spirit has not been fostered as it has been in the United States, and consequently our common cause has not progressed nearly as rapidly here as there. In Canada our membership would not exceed 15,000 while in the states it is estimated at seven hundred thousand. This disparagement cannot be accounted for on the ground of inequality of the population of the respective countries for assuming the above figures to be correct one out of every 80 of the population in the US is a Disciple, and only one out of every 335 of Canada's population is such… owing to the absence of a Provincial or Dominion Missionary Society…[cf.] Acton, June 12, 1883…it was felt that a want long felt…had been supplied, and a true missionary spirit would permeate the brotherhood in Ontario at least…in two years 150 have been added…" *Christian Worker*, Vol. IV, No. 12, Oct. 1885, 2.

[51] Reginald L. Bibby, Lethbridge University, has researched Canadian religion in five year surveys since 1975. In his most recent study he refers to the staying power of the Mainline churches: "Most [Canadians] tenaciously stick with the choices of their parents and grandparents' traditions. In the last part of the 20th century, no new or old religious 'company' made significant headway in moving in and recruiting Catholics and Protestants, who ostensibly, were no longer involved in their respective groups. What's more, there is little indication that such a preference for the groups of their parents and grandparents is about to change." On the other hand Evangelicals in Canada have remained consistently at 7-8% of the population in spite of the fact that it is the group which is the most vigorous in proselyting. "Dating back to the first Canadian census in 1871, the proportion of Canadians who have been identifying with Conservative Protestants [i.e. "Evangelicals"] has remained steady at about 8%." Reginald W. Bibby, *Restless Gods: The Renaissance of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Stoddart, 2002), 38, 72.

The comparative study of Restoration in Michigan and Ontario in the 19th century reinforces the premise that effective mission efforts will begin with an accurate assessment of the culture in the target community.