

AN INQUIRY INTO THE GROWTH OF
THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST IN 19TH CENTURY ONTARIO

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the
Waterloo Lutheran Seminary
Wilfrid Laurier University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Theological Studies

by

Geoffrey Hudson Ellis

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ABSTRACT

This inquiry seeks to identify the conditions of establishment and factors of growth experienced by the Disciples of Christ in Ontario, 1820-1899. A church growth study in retrospect, the thesis examines the interplay among Ontario Disciples of religious compulsions, frontier energies and group dynamics in the belief that the perceived patterns can be instructive to contemporary church growth insights.

The Ontario Disciples of Christ remained a small communion which did not exceed 100 congregations or a membership of over 6,000 during the 19th century. This is in marked contrast to the parallel movement in the United States where the Disciples surpassed one million members in the same period. While diminutive the Canadian Disciples, who were Restorationists who appealed for the unity of all believers, did have an impact upon the broader community of Churches which inclined increasingly to union concerns as the century progressed.

The Disciples of Christ in Ontario had their roots in Scottish evangelicalism and American revivalism. They emerged in Ontario during the last two decades of the Upper Canada period and developed as a vigorous, indigenous Christian community during the Canada West years. As the Confederation years advanced, the Ontario Disciples opened to the leadership and support of the American Disciples.

Two sociological models -- church-sect typology and church growth theory -- are applied in the study in an exploration of the social dimensions of the Ontario

Disciples' growth experience. The study gives evidence, at the same time, of the presence of strong religious impulses which shaped and drove the Disciples.

Two significant impediments to growth are identified. An internal tension resulted from differing views of ministry held by founding leaders; this tension absorbed energies and spawned division. An external constraint to Disciples' growth prevailed in Ontario where the population was characterized by religious encasement.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Ad</u>	-	<u>The Adviser</u>
<u>BF</u>	-	<u>Banner of Faith</u>
<u>BI</u>	-	<u>Bible Index</u>
<u>BI/CS</u>	-	<u>Bible Index and Christian Sentinel</u>
<u>BId</u>	-	<u>The Bible Indicator</u>
<u>CE</u>	-	<u>The Canadian Evangelist</u>
<u>Cn</u>	-	<u>The Christian</u>
<u>CB</u>	-	<u>The Christian Banner</u>
<u>CM_y</u>	-	<u>Christian Messenger (Kentucky)</u>
<u>CM_s</u>	-	<u>The Christian Messenger (Toronto)</u>
<u>CM_r</u>	-	<u>The Christian Mirror</u>
<u>CS</u>	-	<u>The Christian Sentinel</u>
<u>CW</u>	-	<u>Christian Worker</u>
<u>DC/CE</u>	-	<u>Disciple of Christ and Canadian Evangelist</u>
<u>GM</u>	-	<u>Gospel Messenger</u>
<u>LL</u>	-	<u>The Living Laborer</u>
<u>MGWM</u>	-	<u>Message of Good-will to Men</u>
<u>MH</u>	-	<u>Millennial Harbinger</u>
<u>OE</u>	-	<u>The Ontario Evangelist</u>
<u>WI</u>	-	<u>The Witness of Truth</u>

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CHAPTER I

THE STUDY

Introduction

The religious impulses which drove the people and shaped this land receive too little attention in contemporary Canadian histories.¹ The religious strands which were part of the social fabric of 19th century Ontario were substantial, strong and colourful. This is a study of one of those significant but almost forgotten strands -- the Disciples of Christ. The inquiry will attempt to contribute to the understanding of the time and place of the Disciples of Christ which emerged in 19th century Ontario as a minor but distinctive religious community.

Religious convictions which promote the exploration of new and independent paths are also deserving of attention. Provocative are the circumstances of the coalescing of the Disciples of Christ in 19th century Ontario as an indigenous group. An examination of the dynamics of the Disciples' growth may well prove useful to those examining church growth in contemporary settings.

The Disciples of Christ were one of several small groups which took root in 19th century Ontario. This was a Restorationist effort which sought the primitive forms of the New Testament era. It was a unity movement which decried the prevalent sectarianism of its day. The Disciples, a product of their age, emphasized

¹"With few notable exceptions ... the story of the Christian denominations [Canadian] especially in relation to political problems has been left untold by both secular and religious scholars." John S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959) p. 3.

a reasoned approach to Biblical understanding and religious expression. With antecedents in eighteenth century Scottish dissent and parallels in the nineteenth century Disciples' movement in the United States, the Ontario Disciples emerged in the 1830s, gained followers and presence for the next half century and began to falter in the closing two decades.

Three twentieth century communions in Canada find their heritage in the Disciples of Christ of the previous century: (1) Christian Church (Disciples), (2) Independent Christian Churches/Churches of Christ and (3) Churches of Christ. The 20th century fragmentation of this movement and the eclipse of the "Disciples" name have contributed to a diminishing awareness of their place in the 19th century religious scene.² Nevertheless, in Ontario their plea for the "restoration" of Biblical polity and for the unification of believers solely upon Biblical teaching entered the consciousness of the traditional churches. These in turn filled the Confederation years with significant union movements both within and between their communions.

This inquiry will examine (1) the emergence of the Disciples of Christ in Upper Canada, 1818-1841, (2) the enlargement of the Disciples in Canada West, 1841-1867 and (3) the engagement by the Disciples of early Ontario, 1867-1899.

²Fitch comments on the limited scholarly examination of the American Disciples movement, "the largest religious communion originating on American soil," and of its founder, Alexander Campbell, "preacher, debater, editor, educator, and statesman," by detailing representative contemporary historical works which virtually ignore both. Alger Morton Fitch, Jr., Alexander Campbell: Preacher of Reform and Reformer of Preaching (Austin, TX: Sweet Publishing Co., 1970) pp. 7-8.

Nature of the Study

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to trace the emergence, growth, and attendant difficulties of the Disciples of Christ in nineteenth century Ontario. The intent of the study is to examine this church's response to its social setting even as it endeavored to give expression to its religious values. An objective of the study will be to gain insight into the dynamics of church growth as current theories of church growth are applied, retrospectively in this case, to a church well-defined by time, location and religious description. The over-arching purpose of this study is to contribute to the religious history of the Disciples of Christ in particular and to that of Ontario in general.

The three groups in Canada as noted above which presently regard the Disciples of the 19th century as their common heritage continue to struggle with questions of their own place, purpose and growth. They continue to study their hermeneutic and practice and to ponder their present separation in the face of the unity motif of their common heritage. Specifically, then, this study will reflect upon the ongoing quest for the unity of all believers centered in the Word of God, the vision which brought into being and inspired the 19th century Disciples of Christ in Ontario.

Problem

Europeans, in the main, displaced the native populations and settled 19th century Ontario, either directly or by way of the United States. For the most part their religious practices were imported along with their respective languages, social customs, agricultural and industrial practices. While the demands of pioneering gave special conditioning to these elements, the churches were largely transplants from the old world. To the mid-point of the century the supervision of

most churches was from without the country. It is conventional thinking, therefore, to lump all early Ontario churches in the "made elsewhere" category. Accordingly, the Ontario Disciples of Christ are viewed commonly as being initially the planting of Scotch Baptist churches in the New world and subsequently the acquisition of the American Disciples of Christ.

Further, assessments of the growth of the Disciples in existing studies dismiss the Disciples of Christ as of negligible influence. In turn, disregarding the evident differences, they are lumped together with other minor, and in some cases exotic, sectarian groups and viewed collectively as having limited importance within the broader life of the province.³

Therefore, the question which this study must address concerns both the indigeneity and the influence of the Disciples of Christ in the 19th century. It is the view of this study that the Disciples of Christ in 19th century Ontario in their formative years were qualified as much as any other as a movement indigenous to the region. They developed in response to local conditions which included the pioneer environment of the settlements and the spirit of independence which marked the political efforts of the day. They carried the mindset of the practical and the rational which pervaded the thinking of the Western mind during that period and the burgeoning dissent which was reshaping the religious life both of the New and the Old Worlds. That the Disciples in this period were essentially a

³Typical of the tendency to dismiss the Disciples as an irrelevant minority is this comment: "Closely allied to the Baptists in theology, and to the Baptists, congregationalists, and non-Wesleyan Methodists in polity, were several small denominations such as the Disciples of Christ, and the Christians ... as the combined numbers of these Groups mentioned probably did not exceed a thousand (sic) they can be dismissed by lumping them with the other larger voluntarist denominations." Moir, *Church and State*, p. 12. Note the infrequent references to the Disciples by John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988). (Unless a printer's error, the author reverses Thomas and Alexander Campbell, who launched the American Disciples in the early 1800s, as son and father, p. 73.)

lay movement, dependent primarily upon their own resources for advancement, implies an indigeneity and an influence which deserve a closer examination.

Hypothesis

The hypothesis of this study is as follows: The rise of the Disciples of Christ in 19th century Ontario drew energies from dissent in Scotland, shape from the Scottish Baptist movement, direction from Disciples in America and conditioning from the pioneer setting of the New World and emerged as an indigenous restorationist movement in Upper Canada. It possessed strong religious instincts so that the movement became rooted in Canada West in a manner which reflected its spiritual fervor as well as its social setting. However, it failed in the Confederation years to find its role in a maturing society; its growth levelled, and it became content latterly to be enfolded within the burgeoning influence of the American Disciples' movement.

Premise. A premise of this paper is that the growth of the Disciples of Christ in 19th century Ontario was impeded by the tensions arising between two differing views of church polity. The differences, over ministry and its structure and deployment, reflected as well a divided vision of the place of the congregation in the matter of church growth. The two visions originated in the Scotch and Scottish (English model) Baptists, respectively. The identification of the latter's source was quickly sublimated. In the face of the growing myth of Scotch Baptist ubiquity in the founding phase of the Disciples of Christ in Ontario, later tension was explained by positing emerging progressivism against the legalism and narrowness of the early Scotch Baptists. It is doubtful that the agenda in ministry implicit in early Scottish Baptist efforts in Ontario was remembered or identified by the Disciples in the later decades of the century. In effect the perceived narrowness and recalcitrance of the Scotch Baptists became a straw man to be

repudiated. This approach was more acceptable than to recognize that the agenda had been set by Baptists at the beginning of the movement. This admission would not be made easily by later loyal Disciples whose first line of opposition in Canada was against the Baptist denomination.

Limits of the Study

Definitions

Drawn from the title of this study, the following definitions are given:

Inquiry. "Inquiry" from the Latin quaero, "to seek," by definition is a questioning, an investigation, a search for information. This inquiry will seek to determine the general shape and extent of the growth of the Disciples of Christ in Ontario. It will attempt to uncover some of the causes of the Disciples' emergence, advance, and later difficulties.

Growth. "Growth," with respect to churches, can refer to numerical enlargement or spiritual maturation. While this study will concentrate on the former, it is held that spiritual maturity occasions growth. Attention, therefore, to the religious values of the Disciples is necessary. Numerical growth will be measured in terms of members added, churches planted and workers fielded.

Disciples of Christ. "Disciples of Christ" denotes a communion in which emphasis is upon the individual Christian and the local autonomous congregation. In its recent usage, "Disciple" identifies adherents of the teachings of the Scots-Irish Thomas and Alexander Campbell. The term "Christian" became a common appellation among the Christian Connection which included those in the mid-western states among whom Barton W. Stone was influential. When these two movements merged in 1832, "Disciple" and "Christian" were used interchangeably, as were "Disciples of Christ" and "Churches of Christ."

Nineteenth Century Ontario. This designation signifies the three periods of political history: Upper Canada, (1791)-1841, a colony of Britain; Canada West, 1841-1867, one of two districts of the merged colony, Canada; and Ontario, 1867-, one of the four charter provinces of the Confederation of Canada. Nineteenth century Ontario experience has distinctive characteristics and clearly marked parameters which aid in setting the dimensions of this study.

Assumptions

Certain assumptions are identified which will affect the inquiry and its analysis. These have to do with understanding, application, involvement and receptivity.

Understanding. A religious community is driven ultimately by its religious convictions. Its growth and influence, while affected by external influences, degrees of self-interest, the coincidences of history and more mundane objectives, are, in the final analysis, measures of the spiritual consciousness of its people. Theological understanding supplies motivation and direction for action.

Application. Churches function in a social context. The grounding of religious convictions in the hearts of the people is coloured by the circumstances of their livelihood, relationships, community dynamics, political traditions and ethnic connections. The social framework shapes application.

Involvement. The shape and commitment of the leadership and the participation and enthusiasm of the membership have a direct bearing upon the group's success. How a church deploys the assets of its leadership and structures the support of its people will determine in considerable part its progress.

Receptivity. The openness and responsiveness of the target population linked with the attractiveness of the group's religious offering have a direct bearing on how quickly churches may grow.

Limitations

It is important at this juncture to identify the limitations which set the scope of this study.

Literary. The limitations of this study are implied in the title designation, "Inquiry." The intent is to examine, investigate and uncover in order to gain some understanding of the growth experience. It is anticipated, however, that the results will be less than definitive because findings will be limited by the constraints of source material in a movement not noted for literary production or for centralized record keeping. Seeking a profile for almost a full century requires that the study pursue a more general profile of the subject church and its growth experience. Thus, its chief value will be in its overview.

Historical. While historical in its basic approach, this study does not seek to assemble a detailed history of the Disciples. Rather, the objective is to outline progress in order to understand the Disciples' development as an indigenous church.

Sociological. While the inquiry will be sensitive to the social setting in which the Disciples functioned during the period stated, it does not purport to be a sociology of religion. Social conditions will be explored both as to their causative and modifying influences, but they will not be advanced as sole and final determinants of the Disciples' existence and development.

Prescriptive. The investigation will seek to identify principles of church growth in operation within a specific case study, historically approached, namely the 19th century Disciples of Christ. The resulting conclusions and suggestions, however, while hopefully instructive, will not be presented as a demonstrated and proven prescription for contemporary church growth.

A Theology of Church Growth

A theology of church growth is offered as an introduction to this study, rather than as a depiction of the theological understanding of the 19th century Disciples of Christ in Ontario. Nevertheless, this theology is couched in Biblical images with the confidence that the following statement would not be foreign to them. It is believed that religious concepts such as these which follow were powerful incentives in the Disciples' movement.

Universal God. The Christian's God is perceived to be the Creator of the universe, the world and all within. In Adam the human race through rebellion fell from God's presence. Yet before the foundation of human history, God had prepared a plan for humanity's reconciliation (Eph. 1:9-12). His selection of Abraham was with the promise that through his seed "all peoples on earth will be blessed" (Gen. 12:3). The history of Israel is salvation history as God worked through the vicissitudes of a single nation's life to "the fullness of time" when he sent his Son to become Redeemer among all nations (Gal. 4:4). Incarnated as humanity's servant Jesus the Messiah lived and taught and died in such a manner as to become the embodiment of "all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (Col. 2:3). His death, sacrificially offered, became the gift of God by which those who believed could return to life in God (John 3:16). Calvary has universal implications, "for there is no other name under heaven given to men by which we must be saved" (Acts 4:12), and God has determined "to bring all things in heaven and earth and on earth together under one head, even Christ" (Eph. 1:10). Promised by the prophet Joel and fulfilled at the Pentecost following the

crucifixion of Jesus, God poured out through Christ his Holy Spirit (Joel 2:28; Acts 2:14, 33). The function of the Spirit on earth is "to convict the world of guilt in regard to sin and of righteousness and judgment" (John 16:8).

Universal Kingdom. Both the Harbinger and the Messiah proclaimed the nearness of the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 3:2; 4:17). Christ's preoccupation was with the kingdom, how it would grow (cf. the kingdom parables, Matt. 13), how its citizens should conduct themselves within it and how soon it would come to earth (Luke 21:31,32). The Kingdom of heaven, Christ's Ecclesia (Matt. 16:18), was delivered to earth on the day of his heavenly enthronement (Acts 2:36). This kingdom would be irresistible. It would fill the earth in keeping with Daniel's vision (Dan. 2:36, 44). Its citizens, beginning with the apostles and starting from Jerusalem and in widening circles, would witness to God's saving grace in Christ until are reached "the uttermost parts of the earth" (Acts 1:8). The nations are to be disciplined (Matt. 28:19), and only when "the gospel of the kingdom [has been] preached in the whole world as a testimony to all nations" will the end come (Matt. 24:14).

Universal Church. Christ expected that there should be a congruency between the inward, invisible, spiritual kingdom of heaven on earth and the outward, visible, social church of Christ. Jesus proclaimed, "I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness, but will have the light of life" (John 8:12). He also taught concerning his disciples, "You are the light of the world. A city on a hill cannot be hidden" (Matt. 5:14). Thus, the church in its earthly presence will strive to be catholic. And in its oneness as the spiritual body of Christ which is comprised of the priesthood of all believers, it will "continually offer to God a sacrifice of praise -- the fruit of lips which confess his [Jesus'] name" (Heb. 13:15). The church will rejoice in the work God has called it to do --

the reconciliation of the lost race (Eph. 2:10; II Cor. 5:19). The church's imperative is to disciple the nations and to grow.

A Sociology of Church Growth

People are not removed from the human condition when they become religious. The growth of churches, while driven by spiritual forces, occurs within the surges and recessions of social energy as well.⁴ It is into the human dimension that the Incarnate Christ came; and it is in the human social setting that Christianity must first demonstrate that salvation has come. It is not inappropriate, therefore, to examine the growth of the Disciples of Christ in 19th century Ontario as the expression, in part, of a social phenomenon.⁵ Sociological models have been developed for understanding the dynamics and development of churches. Of value for this study are church-sect typology and church growth theory.

Church and Sect

The church-sect typology, developed by Weber and Troeltsch, has to do with how the church views itself with reference to the world in which it functions.⁶ Weber felt the need for a diagnostic model which would provide a

⁴"A well worn phrase in social psychology is that ideas are socially created, socially sustained, and socially changed. Religion shows no sign of having been granted an exemption from that pattern." Reginald W. Bibby, Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1987) p. 43.

⁵Hill points to three possible perspectives in the sociology of religion: (1) Religious phenomena are beyond human scrutiny, above influences of social environment and outside the scope of an empirically oriented discipline as sociology. (2) Religious phenomena are so much a product of the social environment that a socio-economical explanation is wholly sufficient. (3) Religious phenomena are amenable to the scrutiny of the empirical techniques of sociology as religious beliefs are expressed outwardly, in the social setting, and as science sociology identifies areas where the sociological method cannot touch. Michael Hill, Sociology of Religion (New York: Basic Books Inc., Publishers, 1973) pp. 7, 12, 14.

⁶Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Catholicism (New York: Scribners, 1930) pp. 144-154.

standard for comparison; this would be an "ideal" type; it would not exist in real life. For Weber a church is "simply a religious organization which claims monopolistic power and into which one is born, whereas a sect is a voluntary religious association to which one must apply for membership and be judged worthy."⁷ Troeltsch, a student of Weber, amplified the theory by distinguishing church as accommodating to the world and sect as non-accommodating.⁸

Subsequently, these types were, perhaps all too readily, viewed on a values scale, with "church" having positive and "sect" negative connotations. That they might also involve motivational energies was a predictable extension: movement toward church, implying religious progress; movement toward sect, implying the energizing of rejection.⁹ In this sociological model, the Ontario Disciples of Christ were clearly a sect.¹⁰ Their operation and life will be more readily understood in their social rooting through this perception.¹¹

⁷From Allan W. Eister, "H. Richard Niebuhr and the Paradox of Religious Organization," pp. 355-408, in Charles Y. Glock and Phillip E. Hammond, eds., Beyond the Classics? (New York: Harper and Row, 1973) p. 380; quoted by William H. Swatos, Jr., Into Denominationalism: The Anglican Metamorphosis (Storrs, Conn.: Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Monograph Series, 2, 1979) 5.

⁸For Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Church, church was described as strongly conservative, accepting the social order, dominating the masses, universalistic, utilizing state and ruling classes and part of the existing social order; whereas, sect was comparatively small, featuring direct personal fellowship, renouncing world domination, avoiding surrounding society, connecting with the lower classes and disaffected. Hill, Sociology, p. 53.

⁹"Broadly stated, the functions of church-sect theory is to enable us to understand the interaction of the religious institution with the larger social systems, particularly as these dynamics affect the belief and action structure of each organization." Swatos, Anglicanism, p. viii.

¹⁰See, S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948) pp. 304-7. Clark offers "an explanation of religious change in terms of underlying changes in social conditions." He follows Troeltsch's dictum: "The conflict between the forces of order and separation is fundamental in religious development. It is the conflict between the church and sect forms of religious organization." Church and sect are defined: "The church seeks the accommodation of religious organization to the community; the welfare of society is something for which it feels responsible. The sect emphasizes the exclusiveness of religious organization; the worldly society is something evil of no concern to the spiritually minded." P. xii.

¹¹Wilson expands sect typology to seven, including fundamentalist Christianity "... [the world] is corrupted because man is corrupted ... [when] man is changed the world is changed." He observes, "It seems that conversionist sects are linked with the development of universalism and this perhaps

Church Growth

Church growth theory, as developed by McGavran, has to do with the church's awareness of and response to the social factors which affect the conversion of people and the growth of congregations.¹² With the progress of the behavioral sciences, insights have been gained which are applicable in the religious context. Church relationships and religious persuasion are strongly social in their expressions. The theories of receptive peoples, cross-cultural communication, the homogeneous unit and group dynamics are central tenets of this methodology.¹³ Some understanding of the success and failure of the Ontario Disciples in realizing their universalist goals can be gained by applying these principles in historical retrospect.

This study seeks to avoid the pitfalls of either-or thinking. Social theory is not applied as a total explanation of religious phenomena. Nor are religious incentives viewed as operating in a social vacuum. Rather, both are vital and legitimate aspects of the overall experience.

Survey of Literature

The history of the Disciples of Christ in Canada has received the attention of two exhaustive works. Reuben Butchart's The Disciples of Christ in Canada Since 1830 (1949) is a voluminous work of a Disciple who had a leading role in the movement in the closing years of the century. Butchart assembled

constitutes the *sine qua non* of their appearance." B. R. Wilson, "A Typology of Sects," Sociology of Religion; Roland Robertson, ed. (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1969) pp. 368, 380.

¹²Donald McGavran, Understanding Church Growth (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1970).

¹³See C. Peter Wagner, ed., Church Growth: The State of the Art (Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale House Publishers, Inc., 1986).

recollections, histories and reports from churches and people from across the province.¹⁴

The second work is Eugene Perry's, "A History of Religious Periodicals in the Restoration Movement in Canada" (1971), an unpublished M.A. thesis which describes the movement's growing body of periodical literature.¹⁵ Perry's work is presented in historical context and, as such, is helpful for this study. Publications began in Ontario in 1845 and continued almost without interruption for the remainder of the century.¹⁶

A remarkable editorial career was begun in 1845 by David Oliphant, Jr., whose publishing activities continued until 1876.¹⁷ His publications provide almost the sole original record of the early life and growth of the Disciples of Christ in Canada. During 1845-65, he published under five titles: Witness of Truth, 1845-50; Christian Mirror, 1851; Christian Banner, 1852-58; Banner of Faith, 1859-63; and the Message of Good-Will to Men, 1864-65.¹⁸ As valuable as these are, lacking a parallel record for depth and control, their to-be-expected

¹⁴Butchart, Disciples (Toronto: Canadian Headquarters' Publications, Churches of Christ [Disciples], 332 Bloor St., West). Two helpful indices have recently been supplied for this work: by Claude Cox, 1992, "Selected ... relating to Ontario"; and by Peter McIntyre and Michelle Kinney, 1991, who focus upon the Maritimes. Butchart's materials, collected in the Disciples of Christ and The Reuben Butchart archives, are situated in the Pratt Library, Victoria University, Toronto.

¹⁵Perry, "Periodicals," M. A. thesis, Pepperdine University, 1971.

¹⁶Extant copies of The Peacemaker (1866-1868) and Messenger and Laborer (1871-72) are not available. Perry diligently collected issues of the various publications and a significant number of journals are available in his private collection. Other archival sources are at Great Lakes Christian College, Beamsville; McMaster University, Hamilton; the Wellington County Museum and Archives, Fergus; the University of Western Ontario, London; Abilene Christian University, Abilene, Texas; the Christian Theological Seminary, Indianapolis, Indiana; The Disciples of Christ Historical Society archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

¹⁷In 1880 Oliphant began a history which was to be issued in periodical sections which he called Living Laborer. He was not able to complete this project.

¹⁸Witness of Truth, Vol. I-IV, Picton and Oshawa, 1845-1850; Christian Mirror, Vol V, Oshawa, C. W., 1851; Christian Banner, Vol. VI-XII, Cobourg, Brighton, Canada West, 1852-58; Banner of Faith, Vol. XIII-XVII, Cobourg, Brighton, Picton, 1859-63; and the Message of Good-Will to Men, Vol. XVIII-XIX, Picton, 1864-65.

biases, omissions, and selective reporting tend toward a somewhat skewed and fragmentary picture.¹⁹ Internal tensions and disagreements resulted in Oliphant's becoming increasingly isolated from other leaders, especially during 1860-1865. In 1860 a publishing sequence of a more progressive line began with The Advisor, 1861-1864. Nevertheless, Oliphant's periodicals do supply a profile of the Disciples' growth and a vital record of the middle section of this study.

A second extended publishing tradition began in Toronto in 1872 with the Bible Index, published largely through the efforts of two brothers, James Beaty Jr, one-time mayor of the city, and Robert Beaty. The strongly conservative Index ran for 21 years until its termination in 1893. A successor to it, the Gospel Messenger followed from 1894 through 1896. In 1881 a series of publications began under a number of editors who supported the progressive wing of the movement: The Christian Worker, 1881-86; The Ontario Evangelist, 1886-89; The Canadian Evangelist, 1889-95; The Disciple of Christ and Canadian Evangelist, 1895-97; and the Christian Messenger, 1897-1923.²⁰

The format of these periodicals was remarkably consistent: apolitical and focussed chiefly on church life and teachings. They presented articles which expressed their Biblical viewpoints, engaged in "discussions" with correspondents and other periodicals, gave news of happenings among the churches, recorded

¹⁹Oliphant's publications contributed appreciably to the public's awareness and understanding of the Disciples of Christ. He quotes from several papers in 1853. An unnamed paper in Hamilton comments: "It is a good publication, edited with ability and cannot fail to be useful to the denomination of what it is the organ." The Weekly Press, Kingston, observed: "The Banner, the organ of the Christian sect termed 'Disciples,' is well edited ..." Christian Banner, VIII, 2 (Feb. 1853) 82. Methodist awareness is reflected, however accurately, in the assertion in their journal, Western Christian Advocate: The Disciples are moving from heterodoxy to orthodoxy during the past 40 years of existence. Christian Banner, XI, 3 (Mar. 1856) 91-94.

²⁰The Christian Worker, H. B. Sherman, H. T. Law, J. C. Whitelaw, eds., Owen Sound, Meaford, ON, 1881-1886; The Ontario Evangelist, T. L. Fowler, George Munro, eds., Guelph, 1886-1889; The Canadian Evangelist, George Munro, ed., Owen Sound, ON, 1889-1895; The Canadian Evangelist and the Disciple of Christ, George Munro, ed., Hamilton, 1895-1896; Christian Messenger, C. T. Paul, Reuben Butchart, Toronto, eds., Owen Sound, 1897-1923.

obituaries, and supplied miscellaneous notes, reports and reprintings. In all, the religious periodical record of the Disciples of Christ in 19th century Ontario provides a valuable chronicle of the movement's life, views and growth. This inquiry will concentrate, in the main, upon this periodical record for the statistical evidence of the growth of the Disciples and will seek causative factors for growth and impediment, both explicit and implicit.

Three helpful works provide background for the study: Randall White, Ontario, 1610-1985: A Political and Economic History (1985); John Webster Grant, A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth Century Ontario (1988); and William H. Swatos, Jr., Into Denominationalism: The Anglican Metamorphosis (1979).²¹

An extensive listing of dissertations on Church Growth and Evangelism are available; yet, the Disciples Movement has received scant specific attention. The same can be observed with respect to journal articles. Among those items listed in the Bibliography, three are mentioned here as specially helpful: Helen Ralston, "Strands of Research on Religious Movements in Canada;"²² P. Griffin-Allwood, "To Hear a Free Gospel: The Christian Connexion in Canada;"²³ and Claude Cox, "The Division between Disciples of Christ and Churches of Christ in the Disciples Church at Meaford, Ontario."²⁴ In addition, an unpublished paper by Brian Boden is cited: "The Sectarian Origins of Disciples of Christ on the Frontiers of North America in Terms of the Church Sect Antithesis," McMaster University, 1980.²⁵

²¹White, Ontario (Toronto: Dundurn Press). Grant, Spires (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd.). Swatos, Denominationalism (Storrs, Conn.: Society for the Scientific Study of Religion).

²²Ralston, "Strands," Studies in Religion, 17, 2 (1988) 257-277.

²³Griffin-Allwood, "Connexion," Historical Papers (Windsor, ON: Canadian Society of Church History, 1988) 73-86.

²⁴Cox, "Division," Restoration Quarterly, 27 (1984) 23-36.

²⁵In personal collection of the author of this study.

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

Introduction

The Disciples' movement worldwide identifies its antecedents in the various reform and restoration initiatives which have occurred throughout the history of the Christian church. Its specific beginnings can be traced to stirrings in Scottish evangelicalism of the 18th century and to frontier revivalism in America in the 19th century. The twin emphases of restoration, in the Disciples' viewpoint, are Biblical truth and the unity of believers. While both elements are to be found in the North American development American Disciples, who followed the lead of Thomas and Alexander Campbell, looked first to the unity theme. Canadian Disciples, who held to the early emphasis of Scottish Baptists, stressed Biblical integrity. The Scottish influence came to Ontario directly through the flow of Scottish immigrants. American Disciples' thinking was delivered initially to Ontario through the printed page. These influences converged in pioneer Ontario and produced a potent mix.

This section will treat briefly the context for the emergence and the enlargement of the Disciples of Christ in 19th century Ontario with attention given to Restoration, Scottish Evangelicalism, American Frontier Revivalism and a maturing Ontario. To complete the perspective a brief depiction will be given of the Disciples' movement at the end of the century and subsequently.

Restoration

Restoration is a recurring theme in Christian history. Repeatedly, as Christianity found success and moved to the dominant place, groups arose to protest perceived digression. The monastic movement echoed dissent, as did later sectarian voices, e.g. the Paulicans, Cathari, and Waldensians.¹ The pre-Reformation reformers and the reformers Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, all looked to the Scriptures rather than to the Church for their authority. The Anabaptists, the Brethren, the Baptists and the Independents were dissenters from the entrenchment of churches as national bodies.² Subsequent reaction to growing Protestant fragmentation by unity movements has as well often been restorationist. The same might be said in part of the moves to denominational consolidation and to national church union in the later decades of the 19th century in Canada. <See Appendix B.> The Disciples acknowledge their indebtedness to this restorationist impulse which arose so frequently in the past.³ "Restorationist" was the description of choice for the Disciples when they tried to convey their essential purpose -- to restore primitive Christianity in the pure form of the New Testament model. Their objective was to

¹Hans Grimm, Tradition and History of Early Churches of Christ in Central Europe, trans. H. L. Schug (Austin, Texas: Firm Foundation Publishing House, circa 1955) pp. 20, 25, 30.

²The "Restoration" of the New Testament pattern has been an oft-recurring theme: Mennonites "... were spiritual, and mainly lineal descendants of the Anabaptists who in the sixteenth century had set out to reproduce literally the church life described in the New Testament." Tunkers (after 1870, River Brethren) sought "to adhere ever more strictly to New Testament precedent ..." Reform Presbyterians (Calvin's followers): "Although he regarded himself as essentially a follower of Luther, Calvin imposed a stricter discipline on his followers and made a much more thorough effort to rid worship of medieval accretions and base it on biblical precepts." Baptists (heirs of Puritan tradition) were "For the most part secondary products of 'new light' revival formed by groups of converts who studied the New Testament closely and tried to model their congregational life on the precedures they found there." John Webster Grant, A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988) pp. 23-26, 31.

³See Richard J. Hughes, ed., The American Quest for the Primitive Church (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

overcome denominational division and to achieve the unity of all believers on the basis of New Testament authority. Indeed, it was their justification for existence as a new movement.

Scottish Evangelicalism

What is the theological basis of authority in the church and by whom is it legitimately exercised? Such questions ... had not been examined for many centuries. In the 1830s they were suddenly thrust into prominence throughout Western Christendom by three apparently unrelated movements: ultramontanist in the Roman Catholic Church, the Oxford or Tractarian Movement in the Church of England, and a militant Scottish evangelicalism ...⁴

These three overarching movements impacted pioneer Upper Canada. Lower Canada's ultramontanist Catholicism focussed attention overseas rather than on its lost westward territories which framed Upper Canada's separation.⁵ The failing vision of a British colony nurtured by the English church, well established and ably served by Anglican bishops, provided the foil against which the freer churches and sects did battle.⁶ Evangelical Presbyterianism influenced Scottish dissenters, many of whom migrated to Canada.

The Glasites/Sandemanians were one group of dissenters against the Scottish national church. From them an immersionist group broke away to become the Scotch Baptists. These became linked with the English Baptist

⁴Grant, Profusion, p. 118.

⁵Cf. the Constitutional Act of 1791 which separated the territory into Lower Canada and Upper Canada.

⁶The Oxford Movement, which began in 1833 in Britain, had an impact only on the closing years of Upper Canada. Cf. Rev. George Mortimer: "I quite tremble when I think of the probable results of the present wide spread of tractarian notions ... These principles are exerting no small degree of influence in our province." This movement, which strengthened tendencies toward formalism and a more intolerant attitude toward nonconformity and evangelicalism, "lost to the Church the sympathy of many of those who were more evangelical." S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948) pp. 122-123.

movement in Scotland, and both were influenced by the evangelicalism of the Haldanes. This combination was the heritage of the Ontario Disciples. These developments are traced in the following descriptions: dissent, the Glasites/Sandemanians, Scotch Baptists, Scottish Baptists and the Haldanes.

Dissent.

In Scotland in 1712 the resumption of state "patronage" for the Church of Scotland spawned separation and dissent.⁷ Disagreement over the application of establishment in the Scottish church led to several secessionist movements in the 18th century: the Seceder Presbyterian Church in 1733, Erskine's Associate Synod in 1747, and Gillespie's Relief Church in 1761. Other divisions produced the Burghers and Anti-Burghers, the Old Lights and the New Lights.⁸ The National Church divided into the Moderates who were characterized by "a cultured, rationalistic, somewhat worldly religious conformity," and the Evangelicals who were marked by "the zealous, astringent, missionary fervour of the strictest Calvinistic orthodoxy."⁹ The disagreement intensified for over a century and ended in the latter's separation from the state connection and the formation of the Free Church in 1843.¹⁰ This fractured state of Presbyterianism was transported to Canada. <See Appendix B-1.>

⁷Patronage, "... whether parish ministers should be 'presented,' i.e. nominated, by a lay patron or only 'called,' i.e. elected by the Church itself." Alec R. Vidler, The Church in an Age of Revolution, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1961) p. 56.

⁸Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge X, 299.

⁹Vidler, Age of Revolution, 57.

¹⁰Schaff-Herzog, X, 299.

Glasites/Sandemanians.

Glas. It is not surprising to find a number of dissenting groups arising when a large percentage of 18th century Scottish ministers objected to state dominance over Church affairs. John Glas (1695-1773) and his followers were one of about forty groups which surfaced during this time.¹¹ Glas, a Presbyterian minister, became convinced that the Scriptures supported neither a church-state partnership nor synods for the purpose of fixing doctrines and exercising discipline for the whole church. He left the Scottish Church in 1728.¹² "Glas formed an independent church at Dundee in 1830 and established the first Glasite church in Perth in 1733."¹³ "The basal idea of [Glas] was the restoration of the apostolic Church, realizing the complete independence of each local church from each other and from the state."¹⁴

Sandeman. Glas's son-in-law, Robert Sandeman (1718-1771), joined the Glasite movement and added his name to it. He was something of a thinker and writer and gained notoriety when he challenged a popular work on the importance of divinely prompted emotional experience in conversion.¹⁵ This

¹¹"In the 18th century and early in the 19th there sprang up in the British Isles a considerable number of small and independent movements which used a 'restoration' phraseology ..." One historian claims 40 movements of this kind. No doubt a number were the result of the genius of one leader whose movement died out when he departed. Winfred Ernest Garrison, Alfred T. DeGroot, The Disciples of Christ: A History (St. Louis, MO: The Bethany Press, 1948) p. 46.

¹²There were probably no more than 20 or 30 Glasite/ Sandemanian congregations in Great Britain and even fewer in the U. S. Michael Faraday, inventor, and William Godwin, Shelly's father-in-law, were Sandemanians. Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples, p. 48.

¹³According to the First Statistical Report, 1792, the Glasite church in Dundee, a town of 23,500 inhabitants, had 1,160 Glasites. The membership list of 1782 gave 206; the difference of ten years may have included new members, family members, and hearers. D. W. Bebbington, The Baptists in Scotland: A History (Glasgow: The Baptist Union of Scotland, 1988) p. 19.

¹⁴Schaff-Herzog, X, 202.

¹⁵The widely accepted, Calvinist-based view, namely that a miraculous "change of heart" was produced by the direct act of the Holy Spirit before faith was gained, was developed in the work of the British evangelical leader, James Hervey, Theron and Aspasio (3 vol., 1755). Sandeman wrote a 600 page reply which had a second edition in 1759. Sandeman's work had its fourth edition in 1803 and Hervey's fifth in 1825. Sandeman insisted that human reason's

was a theory that was at the heart of the Great Revival which impacted Upper Canada in the beginning of the 19th century. Sandeman insisted that "saving faith is simply an act of man's mind by which he believes the testimony concerning Jesus Christ" and not unlike any rational act of belief.¹⁶ The Glasites/ Sandemanians, committed to what they considered Biblical practice, insisted upon weekly communion, the plurality of elders and the normativeness of the model of the church in the New Testament.¹⁷

Scotch Baptists.

The Glasites/Sandemanians were content with the Presbyterian practice of infant baptism, but two of their number, Robert Carmichael, a Glasite preacher in Glasgow, and one of his members, Archibald McLean, determined otherwise after a search of the Scriptures. Carmichael accepted baptism from the Baptist John Gill in London and in turn baptized McLean in 1765. The churches they founded became known as "Scotch Baptist."¹⁸ "Like Glas, McLean held that the Scriptures contain not only a complete system of all the doctrines necessary for salvation but also a perfect set of laws and an infallible code of behaviour for all ages and all circumstances."¹⁹ McLean also echoed Sandeman's view of faith when he stated that faith is "... that CREDIT which

belief of evidence produced faith and that a change of heart was the result of that faith.

Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples, p. 48.

¹⁶Garrison and Degroot, p. 48.

¹⁷Sandeman went to America in 1764, founded churches and died in Danbury, Connecticut, 1771. Schaff-Herzog, IV, 493.

¹⁸For a description of the "Old Scotch Baptists" and the leadership of Archibald McLean, see portions of an essay published in Edinburgh in the Christian Advocate, reprinted by David Oliphant in his Banner of Faith, July-August, 1859 and reprinted by Reuben Butchart, The Disciples of Christ in Canada Since 1830 (Toronto: Canadian Headquarters' Publications, Churches of Christ [Disciples], 1948) p. 50-51. McLean became the leading force which saw twelve churches established by the end of the century. See Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples, p. 50.

¹⁹Bebbington, Baptists, p. 21.

we give to the truth of anything which is made known to us by report or testimony," in other words a rational response.²⁰ In spite of a division in 1810 and McLean's death in 1812, the Scotch Baptists grew at a rate of two churches per year during the period 1800-1820.²¹

Scottish Baptists

The Scotch Baptists traced their lineal descent from Scottish dissent through the Glasite-Sandemanian movement in the 18th century from which they acquired a Restorationist tone. Of different origin, Baptist churches after the English Baptist model were established in Scotland beginning in 1801 in response to the broader Baptist movement.²²

The first such congregation was established by James Sinclair in Glasgow in 1801.²³ It closed in 1806 but not before the formation of the Baptist Highland Mission in 1805.²⁴ The second was constituted by George Barclay at Kilwinning in 1803. Christopher Anderson, converted by James Haldane in 1799, accepted baptism soon thereafter under the teachings of English Baptist students while studying at the university of Edinburgh.²⁵ He was ordained by the Baptist missionary Andrew Fuller and then established the Baptist church in Edinburgh in 1806.²⁶ Together Barclay and Anderson established the Scotch Itineration Society in 1807-08. Haldane agents who later

²⁰Bebbington, p. 21.

²¹This included eight churches in England and ten in Wales. Bebbington, pp. 21, 37.

²²George Yuille, ed., History of the Baptists in Scotland: from Pre-Reformation Times (Glasgow: Baptist Union Publications Committee, 1926) pp. 44, 60f. Baptists had existed in Scotland during Cromwell's occupancy but disappeared following its departure. Before 1800 only one Baptist church existed in Scotland: established by Sir William Sinclair of Keiss, Caithness. Following his baptism in England, he gathered adherents in his own neighborhood and in 1750 organized a church. Schaff-Herzog, "Baptists" I, 467.

²³Bebbington, Baptists, p. 33.

²⁴Bebbington, p. 36.

²⁵Dissenters were not permitted to attend English universities. Bebbington. p. 33.

²⁶Schaff-Herzog, I, 467.

accepted baptism had founded several English Baptist churches by 1805: e.g. Thurso in the north, Bellanoch in the Western Highlands and Saltcoats in the lowlands.²⁷ The number of English Baptist churches in Scotland (designated here as "Scottish Baptists," as all Baptists in Scotland would generally be described subsequently) soon overtook the Scotch Baptists in numbers of churches.²⁸

Between 1801 and 1834 the Scotch Baptist and the Scottish Baptists maintained a separate existence.²⁹ They shared a common immersionist rite and a parallel conviction regarding the all-sufficiency of the Scriptures. Yet they had different origins and the distinctive energies which attended to each. "It was in the internal life of the church and its discipline that the Scotch Baptists were most at variance with the Baptists ... The conviction, inherited from Glasite writers, that God laid down in Scripture a perfect church order, led to an intense desire to conform to it ..." ³⁰ A plurality of elders was required, mutual exhortation was practiced, and a trained, supported pastorate was repudiated by the Scotch Baptists.³¹

The Haldanes

"By far the most important factor in the history of the Scotch Baptists was the conversion to evangelical principles and then to Baptist views of Robert and James Haldane."³² The Haldanes reacted against "the formalism and sterility of established church ministers, placeholders with 'livings'

²⁷Bebbington, Baptists, p. 32.

²⁸"The Scotch Baptist movement was about to be overtaken by events. The rise of aggressive evangelism by other types of Baptist, changes in society and inherent weakness, led to the slow decline of the Scotch Baptists order." Bebbington, p. 24.

²⁹Yuille, Baptists, p. 233.

³⁰Bebington, Baptists, p. 23.

³¹McLean was the exception, as were missionaries sent out. Bebbington p. 23.

³²Schaff-Herzog, I, 467.

appointed by land proprietors for whom this 'patronage' was an appanage of their estates ... [and they were] alarmed by the rationalistic theology of these clerics."³³ The Haldane brothers, Robert (1764-1851) and James Alexander (1768-1842), were wealthy laymen who financed evangelical activities in Scotland and northern Ireland and who established independently organized churches. "They adopted congregational independency as being the order of the New Testament churches, and introduced the weekly observance of the Lord's Supper for the same reason."³⁴ Robert, deeply interested in religious and philanthropical matters, from 1793 through 1808, spent \$350,000 in educating and supporting evangelists, building chapels and circulating religious literature. James became the pastor of an Edinburgh Independent church in 1801 for which Robert built a large tabernacle. James ministered in it for 50 years.³⁵ The Haldanes stressed that "the true reformation of the church required exact conformity to apostolic teaching and practice."³⁶ They left the Scottish Church in 1799 and were immersed by Scotch Baptists in 1808.³⁷ Their move brought a number of Independent churches into the Baptist fold: of 41 Baptist churches by 1810 in Scotland, 23 had originated during 1808-1810.³⁸

³³Butchart, Disciples, p. 50.

³⁴Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples, p. 51.

³⁵Schaff-Herzog, I, 467.

³⁶Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples, p. 52.

³⁷Yuille, Baptists, p. 58.

³⁸Yet there were unfortunate results as well. Division took place in the Edinburgh tabernacle; Independents were turned out of their buildings; Greville Ewing was left to direct Independency in Scotland; the Haldane-founded Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home (SPGH) fell apart. Bebbington, Baptists, p. 32.

American Frontier Revivalism

Allen and Hughes identify five factors which supported restoration sentiment in the early years of American nationhood.³⁹ (1) the pristine new land invited restoring the Christian religion as it was when it was fresh, pure and new. (2) American democracy was viewed to be the government God intended at creation; reformed government should be matched by Christian reform. (3) Optimism believed that America would launch the millennial dawn; the primitive church was essential to this vision. (4) European traditions were being set aside; this should apply to Christianity as well. (5) Burgeoning American denominationalism often resulted from and frequently encouraged the quest for the "true church." America was a fertile soil for new religious experiments which claimed the oldest authority. Nowhere was this more vigorously pursued than where settlements were young and where independence and personal initiative were strong. The religious influence which flowed from America into Canada, especially in the earlier years, was often minted in American frontier revivalism. At the same time the conditions cited above, which entered and found a similar pioneer context in Upper Canada, did not have their parallels in the continuing British colony.

In 1800 the young American nation had a population of slightly over five million, of which only 10% lived west of the Alleghenies. Liberty for many meant freedom from religion: only 10% of the population participated in the organized churches.⁴⁰ The next thirty years saw rapid population growth to

³⁹C. Leonard Allen, Richard T. Hughes, Discovering our Roots: The Ancestry of Churches of Christ (Abilene, Texas: ACU Press, 1988) pp. 90-94.

⁴⁰Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples, p. 59.

almost 13 million. Settlers filled the territory between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi which now contained 30% of the population.⁴¹ Revivalism swept this region and new communions emerged. Echoing the New England Great Awakening 1740, for which Jonathan Edwards and George Whitfield are remembered, the "Second Awakening," known also as the "Great Western Revival," occurred at the turn of the century and peaked in 1803. Centered in Kentucky, Tennessee and Georgia, revivalism drew together large camp meetings and became "a tidal wave of religious interest and excitement."⁴² This section will sketch the development from 1800 to 1830 of the "Christians" and "Disciples" in America during 1800-1830. Both of these groups affected the rise of the Disciples in Ontario.

"Christians"

Three "Christian" movements developed in America which had links with similar efforts in Canada.

O'Kelly. Under the leadership of James O'Kelly, a group known at first as the "Republican Methodists" withdrew from the Episcopal Methodist Church in Virginia and North Carolina in 1792. Reacting to the heavy handedness of bishop Asbury, they declared themselves free of traditional names and forms to become known as merely "Christians."⁴³

Smith/Jones. A similar development which began in 1801 took place in New England under the leadership of Baptist preachers, Elias Smith and Abner Jones. They were reacting against the Calvinism and authoritarian ways of the churches with which they had been associated. "Smith insisted on the recovery

⁴¹Garrison and DeGroot, p. 76.

⁴²Garrison and DeGroot, pp. 69, 70, 98.

⁴³Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples, p. 82-87.

of a primitive church in which members would be simply Christians."⁴⁴ Congregations were independent, but regional conferences were held. There were thirty regional conferences of "Christian Connection" churches in the north-eastern states and Canada by 1832.⁴⁵

Stone. The third "Christian" movement originated in Kentucky. The primary mover in this development was Barton W. Stone (b. 1772, Maryland).⁴⁶ Stone was the Presbyterian minister at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, where the 1801 Cane Ridge revival drew 20,000 people. Stone had grown up in North Carolina where the O'Kelly Christian-only movement was taking place. Censured by their synod for unorthodox preaching during the revivals, Stone and four others withdrew and established their own Springfield Presbytery in 1803, only to dissolve it in 1804 with the publication of the "Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery."⁴⁷ In this dramatic way they opted to become a company of "Christians." "By the end of 1804 there were at least eight Christian churches in Kentucky and seven in southwestern Ohio," and one report gives 12,940 members in seven states by the year 1827.⁴⁸ Stone was one among many preachers, but he gained recognition because of his frequent writings: he began publishing the monthly Christian Messenger in 1826.⁴⁹ This periodical was soon circulating in Upper Canada. Stone's "Christians" would enter into union with Campbell's "Disciples" in 1832.

⁴⁴Allen and Hughes, Discovering, p. 102.

⁴⁵Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples, p. 92.

⁴⁶Garrison and DeGroot, pp. 98-102.

⁴⁷Charles Alexander Young, ed., Historical Documents Advocating Christian Union (Chicago: The Christian Century Company, 1904) pp. 19-26.

⁴⁸Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples, p. 112 and quoting from Morning Star and City Watchman, July 2, 1827.

⁴⁹Barton Warren Stone, Christian Messenger, Georgetown, Ky.; Jacksonville, Ill., 1826-1837, 1839-1845.

"Disciples"

Thomas Campbell. Virulent sectarianism within Scottish Presbyterianism discouraged many, such as Thomas Campbell, an Old Light, Anti-burgher, Seceder Presbyterian preacher in County Armagh, Ireland. He recognized that these separations were not driven by local necessity, and he pressed for a unification of the several branches of Presbyterianism in Ireland in 1805. However, his efforts were thwarted by intransigence in Scotland.⁵⁰ Campbell was exposed to Haldane evangelicalism prior to his departure for America in 1807. In the frontier setting of western Pennsylvania where Campbell was assigned to minister there was even less justification for perpetuating Presbyterian separation. He was soon embroiled with his church over lines of communion. He appealed to Scriptures rather than to the Confession, rejected creeds as tests of fellowship and urged reliance solely upon the express teaching of the New Testament as the basis of Christian unity. He held to the view that faith is first reasonable. He led some followers in 1809 to form "The Christian Association of Washington" for which their motto would be, "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent."⁵¹ Campbell prepared a statement of the Association's objectives and principles in a "Declaration and Address."⁵² This was to become one of the basic historic documents of the Disciples. Campbell was deposed as a minister of the Seceder Presbyterian Church in April 17, 1810.⁵³

⁵⁰Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples, p.126, 127.

⁵¹"Association" in the tradition of the pious clubs at Oxford and Wesley's societies, not as a church. Cf. Young, Documents, p. 32.

⁵²Young, pp. 71-209.

⁵³Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples, pp. 128, 140, 145.

Alexander Campbell. Thomas' son, Alexander, spent portions of 1808-09 at the University of Glasgow where he was exposed to the evangelicalism of the Haldanes through association with Greville Ewing, director of the Haldane seminary of that city.⁵⁴ He then followed his father to America in 1809.

Father and son were gratified, upon their reunion, to find that their developing reformatory ideas coincided. The pilgrimage of the Campbells to the goal of Christian unity based on the Scriptures alone had begun. Their journey would take them through acceptance of adult baptism to temporary association with the Baptists as Reform Baptists. They would then move to independence as Disciples by 1830. Alexander would be the foremost mentor of the Disciples' movement.⁵⁵ Campbell published the Christian Baptist, 1823-1830, and the Millennial Harbinger, 1830-1864, issues of which circulated in Canada.⁵⁶

A brief sketch of 19th century Ontario will follow in which attention will be given to the land and its people and to trade and the church.

19th Century Ontario

Land and People

Frontier. The land shaped the people, and the people shaped the land. The nineteenth century saw southern Ontario emerge from a relatively untouched Carolinian forest to become a prosperous area of farms, towns and

⁵⁴Was Alexander Campbell's movement a continuation of the Sandemanian movement? Yes, says W. H. Whitsett, a Baptist, in The Origin of the Disciples of Christ (New York, 1888). No, says G. W. Longan, a Disciple, in Origin of the Disciples of Christ (St. Louis, 1889). Campbell is quoted as saying he spent a winter studying Sandeman's book, and while appreciating him Campbell rejected his "system as a whole" that he agreed with only four of 15 distinctive points of Sandeman. Christian Baptist, III, 227; V, 398. Quoted by Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples, p. 49.

⁵⁵Garrison and DeGroot, pp. 141-144.

⁵⁶Christian Baptist, Buffaloe and Bethany, Va. 1823-1830; Millennial Harbinger, Bethany Va., Bethany W. Va. 1830-64; and continued to 1870 by Pendleton, Loos, et. al.

cities. At first the settlers came largely from the new America, then waves of them came from Scotland, England and Ireland and then from western and eastern Europe. Increasingly they forged a new and distinctive life. Settlement in Upper Canada after 1783 did not constitute an extension of the boundaries of the agricultural community which had much earlier been established in the valley of the St. Lawrence. French Canada, geographically and ethnically, remained largely isolated from the new frontier opening up.⁵⁷

Religion. A high percentage of settlers came with their religious traditions in place. They did not come primarily to gain freedom for new religious expression. Yet the freedoms gained gave new shape to their faiths: "It was in the open frontier that the most complete breakdown of traditional organization of religion occurred ..." ⁵⁸ In the resulting cultural transformation religious concerns were vigorously present, shaping both the people and the land. Neither church nor sect of the Old World pattern could resist the reshaping influences of the frontier, maturing politics and growing wealth. It was inevitable that new forms of religious organization would develop in pioneer Upper Canada. Traditions of establishment gave way to voluntarism. Dissent found a setting for advance. Yet early sectarianism gradually yielded to unity movements, even as Ontario gained a single identity -- first as a pioneer colony, then as an uncertain partner in the Canadas and then as a leading province in the new Confederation.

There was an influx of the United Empire Loyalists into the western territories of Quebec before 1791 and of the "later Loyalists" into the area designated Upper Canada after the Constitutional Act of 1791. It is clear that...

⁵⁷Clark, Church and State, p. 165.

⁵⁸Clark, p. 145.

the American connection was decisive in determining the form taken by religious organization in Canada during the early period of settlement. When advantages secured through an evangelical tradition were combined with advantages of geography, the American religious movement was placed in a particularly strong position.⁵⁹

Trade and the Church

Mercantilism. At the turn of the century Britain had both mercantilist and imperialist policies with respect to its colonies. The vision was of a self-sufficient circle of resources, manufactures and markets between the homeland and its far-flung dependencies. For the cohesion of Britain and its dependencies it was essential that Anglo-Christian culture be transplanted to its colonies.⁶⁰ In the early 1800s the established Church of England was very much at the heart of English official life, even though Dissenters and the dislocated poor of the Industrial Revolution combined over half of the population.⁶¹ Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe believed that with a reasonable supply of Church of England ministers the small population in Upper Canada, consisting in the main of settlers from the republican United States, could be shepherded into the Church's fold. The Church established in

⁵⁹Clark, p. 166.

⁶⁰As keeper of culture, the Church of England traditionally conducted the school system. The Anglicans in Upper Canada expected that control to continue. Cf. Strachan: "The true foundation of the prosperity of our Establishment must be laid in the Education of Youth, the command and direction of which must as far as possible be concentrated in our clergy." Clark, p. 130.

⁶¹The British government was, understandably, anxious to maintain the underlying condition of British order. This involved the imperial connection, aristocratic form of government, Church establishment and a political and social status quo. Thus, "The resources of empire were brought to the support of the Church form of religious organization." Simcoe wrote in 1791 about preventing "enthusiastick & fanatick Teachers" from gaining "a superstitious hold on the minds of the multitude" when "the aim of the Sectaries is avowedly to destroy the national establishment." Clark, p. 91.

Upper Canada would insure the settlers' loyalty to British traditions as well as bring to them the Church's civilizing influences.⁶² This was not to be.

Establishment. Tory Anglicans were in the minority in Upper Canada at the outset. Church of England ministers were recruited with difficulty and in insufficient numbers. Those that came did not adjust readily to the needs and conditions of the pioneers. Their liturgy and requirements for ordination handicapped their enlargement locally. Prior to 1812 the increasing flow of American settlers was followed by the American-centered missionary efforts of the American Methodist Episcopal Church.⁶³ Its populist approach and circuit-riding methods made it ideal for penetrating scattered settlements. Its preaching force, drawn from the common people, was at home with the rude conditions of the pioneer settlements. Fired by the Great Revival, the Methodists made considerable inroads among the people of Upper Canada. Both the settlers and the Methodist faith favoured an egalitarianism which would ultimately challenge the class, privilege and establishment of the colonizing officials, their families and circle of influence.⁶⁴ Following the War of 1812, with its

⁶²The Church of England bishop of Quebec wrote in 1794, "Of the settlers in Upper Canada, the majority is composed of Dissenters of various descriptions: But I have the strongest reason to believe that if a proper number of ministers of the Church of England be sent among them, before each sect shall become able to provide ministers of its own, they will to a man conform to that Church." Clark, pp. 91-92.

⁶³"The strength of the Methodist movement in the American frontier favoured its rapid growth in the new frontier of Canada ... Methodism was a movement of religious expansion, depending little upon traditional loyalties for its strength and influence ... [it] emphasized the importance of religious revivals ... The Methodist was the dominant evangelical religious movement which developed out of the Great Revival in Canada after 1790..." By 1830, the Methodists had 11,348 members, 62 itinerant preachers and a great number of local preachers. Clark, pp. 93,94, 100.

⁶⁴The Methodists reflected the broader issues of evangelicalism which were stirring in both Europe and the New World in the early 19th century: "Evangelicalism was a well organized movement in all English speaking countries. Enhanced by the French Revolution which seemed to place in jeopardy the religious values English society rested upon, it took shape in England, developed further in the U. S., and percolated into Upper Canada. Leaders on both sides of the Atlantic maintained regular contact with one another. Methods, materials, and information readily passed across national borders. Central to evangelicalism was the conversion

American invasion of Upper Canada, a conservative backlash developed against the American connection. Churches in Upper Canada, such as the Methodists, whose direction originated in the United States, were somewhat constrained. Britain determined to step up its policy of populating Upper Canada through the emigration of portions of its perceived surplus population back home and thus insure the colony's commitment to things British. The British Methodists, who by tacit agreement had left Upper Canada to their American counterparts, now entered the field.

Yet the varying conditions of the New World, the distance from a preoccupied Great Britain and the entrenchment of Dissenting churches were all too great for the British vision to carry the day.⁶⁵ Other church-type communions were gaining their foothold: Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Lutheran and Roman Catholic. They argued for their share of state funding, drawn from the Clergy Reserves, for their operations.⁶⁶ Certain sect-type churches in transition to churches, such as the Methodists, now increasingly influenced by their British connection, and the Baptists, were demanding their

experience. Whether Calvinist or Arminian, all appropriate means were used to induce conversion, consciously, instantaneously, to faith. Evangelicalism was innovative in its methods: every person canvass, well-planned conventions, personalizing of appeals by the use of anecdotes, mass production of printed materials, lay leadership." Grant, *Spire*, pp. 104-105.

⁶⁵"The Church of England through its favoured position strengthened itself among the official and privileged classes within the colony but weakened its position among the great body of rural farmers." Through its political involvement, it was weakened as a spiritual agency: "The Church assumed increasingly the role of a secular institution ... In the final analysis, it failed to capture the support of the unattached masses of the Canadian backwoods settlement because it was a church." Clark, pp. 130-132.

⁶⁶A quasi-establishment existed: "Until 1815 the state paid the stipends of Church of England missionaries, and governors were not slow to claim the voice in the appointments to which this subsidy entitled them." Grant, *Spire*, p.37. Strachan wrote to the Bishop of Quebec, 1817, while seeking appointment to the Legislative Council: "This attack on the Clergy sevenths and the failure of the bill for educating young men for holy orders twice successively in the Upper House point out the necessity for strengthening the establishment and the time is come when the Church ought to have in the Legislative Council several friends judiciously alive to her interests." Quoted by Clark, p. 130.

share. These did not so much object to the linking of church and state but only to their exclusion from the arrangement. In the end these competing claims cancelled each other out, and establishment was eliminated from what was to become Ontario.

Ferment. Frontier conditions, religious "enthusiasm" and a popular discontent, which culminated in the 1837 Rebellions, provided a fertile environment for spawning new sectarian groups.⁶⁷ Perhaps as an answer to the dreary conditions faced daily by the bush clearing settlers, sects with esoteric and mystical features were attractive. In the 1820s and 1830s sects, such as the Mormons,⁶⁸ Irvingites,⁶⁹ and Swedenborgians,⁷⁰ gained their followers in Upper Canada. At the same time, in keeping with the spread of rationalism in the Western world, the down-to-earth conditions experienced by the settlers and the back-to-the-basics emphasis of the Dissenters in their Biblical reforms, a "common sense" approach to Christianity was also gaining its adherents.

⁶⁷"... an onslaught of aggressive new religious groups. During the 1830s one such movement after another arrived on the scene, threatening to take the province by storm." Grant, Spires, p. 72.

⁶⁸Mormons (tablets of gold): "Brigham Young and his brothers Joseph and Phineas actively propagandized the eastern part of the province in the early 1830s, and John E. Page was especially successful in the same area in 1836, 1837 ... John Taylor, a convert from Toronto, was to become Young's successor ... Methodists around Toronto lost members to the movement, and in 1838 a shipload of 150 converts from Prescott and Brockville were reported on their way to the 'land of promise.'" Grant, Spires, p. 73.

⁶⁹Irvingites (glossalalia), i.e. the Catholic Apostolic Church: Introduced to the province in 1834 by Wm. R. Caird who denounced "those blessed institutions, founded and reared by men whom we had ignorantly thought wise and holy, Missionary, Bible, Tract, Peace, Temperance Societies, and all the other parts of the machinery employed by the world's improvers." They owed most of their following to their cultivation of millennial expectations, but held "high" views of liturgy and ministerial office. Two leading names were among their converts: George Ryerson, eldest son of a family of distinguished Methodist ministers (cf. Egerton), and Adam Hood Burwell, an Anglican priest from a prominent Loyalist family. Grant pp. 73, 115.

⁷⁰Swedenborgians (mystical New Jerusalem): Its converts adhered to the views of a Swedish visionary, Emmanuel Swedenborg. Converts came largely from Lutheran circles (cf. the Waterloo area). This sect was in Markham by 1830 and Berlin (Kitchener) by 1833. They were described as the "most esoteric of all the sects." Grant, p. 74.

Representative of this emphasis were sects such as the Christian Connection⁷¹ and the Disciples of Christ.

A brief depiction of the Disciples of Christ, today and yesterday, will conclude this chapter.

The Disciples of Christ

In August, 1989, in Indianapolis, the 1.1 million member American Disciples of Christ denomination joined in "full communion" with the 1.7 million member United Church of Christ.⁷² Thus began the process which will lead to the eventual disappearance, as a separate entity, of the namesake portion of one of the most remarkable religious developments indigenous to the United States.⁷³

The Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches, 1989 cites a membership of 2,500 for Disciples of Christ in Canada.⁷⁴ A decade earlier, then 5,000 strong, this communion had participated in unity discussions with the Anglican and United Churches of Canada. The 1881 and 1981 Canada censuses each reported 20,000 of its citizens showing preference for the Disciples and its successors, i.e. Christian Church (Disciples), Christian Churches/Churches of Christ, and Churches of Christ. Traditionally exclusivist,

⁷¹In Upper Canada in 1821, and by 1834 the Christian Connection ("Christians only") claimed 20 congregations, 1,200 members. Christian Worker, II, 1 (Nov. 1882) 3. See P. Griffin-Allwood, "To hear a free gospel: The Christian Connexion in Canada," Historical Papers, Canadian Society of Church History, Annual Meeting Papers, University of Windsor, June 2, 3, 1988, pp. 73-86.

⁷²Christian Chronicle, 46, 9, Sept. 1989.

⁷³"If all the heirs of the Restoration Movement were to be counted together today, they would constitute the third largest religious body in the nation [USA] behind Catholics and Baptists." Flavil Yeakley, Jr., "Rhetorical Strategies Analyzed by Social Movement Theory as Applied to Conflict within the Restoration Movement," M.A. thesis, University of Houston, 1972; p. 18.

⁷⁴Constant H. Jaquet, Jr., ed., Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches, 1989 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1989) p. 246.

as well as congregationally independent, Disciples have generally had a low profile, verging at times even upon invisibility.

The Disciples of Christ's *raison d'être* is restoration. Disciples view revelation to be complete in the first century. Christian history could only be commentary upon the New Testament order. The apostolic model alone should be authoritative in subsequent ages. Human alloys must be purged in order to gain the pure metal of revealed faith.

Nineteenth century concern for the fragmented Christianity of the 17th and 18th centuries merged with the conviction that division was perpetuated by the very creeds which were framed to defend orthodoxy and protect unity. These views prompted the solution: simple Christianity based on a common sense reading of the Scriptures could draw believers to unity. Yet, considered presumptuous and consigned to a minority position, the Disciples were viewed as yet another sect. In turn, they had difficulty in dealing with separation impulses within themselves. Resisted, rejected, themselves divided, their 19th century Ontario achievement has faded gradually from the record.

This chapter has explored the setting in which the Disciples of Christ formed and developed their communion in 19th century Ontario. Their religious values which they brought to this land as settlers were shaped by dissent in Scotland and restorationism in America. Their spiritual convictions were in the process of change even as their lives were subjected to the special demands of building a new society. <See Appendix H.>

The following chapter will examine the emergence of the Disciples of Christ as a minuscule but clearly defined communion. The Disciples' beginnings were experienced in the pioneer settlements of Upper Canada. In the year 1818 the faint light of the future movement began to glimmer.

CHAPTER 3

THE EMERGENCE OF THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST IN UPPER CANADA

Introduction

Reformatory ideas arrived in the Talbot Settlement in 1818, Esquesing township in 1820, Newmarket in 1821, the Niagara Peninsula in 1829, Eramosa township in 1830 and Prince Edward county in 1834. These ideas arrived in a variety of shapes which included Scotch and Scottish Baptist polity, Christian Connection liberty and the American Reformed Baptist cum Disciple unity vision. The reform ideas fed small groups in widely separated pioneer settlements as they assembled their spiritual affairs. The ideas came to some maturity at about the same time in both Canada and America and were open to the catalytic thinking of Alexander Campbell in nearby Bethany, Virginia (subsequently West Virginia) in the early 1830s. Identification of mutual interests occurred in the thirties which led to a loose association of churches which by 1841 had begun to think of themselves as Disciples of Christ.

This chapter will trace out this emergence by examining the Scottish and American connections and the resultant shape of the embryonic movement. An assessment will complete the chapter.

Scottish Connections

Setting

There were some 100,000 settlers in Upper Canada by 1812; by 1831 the population was 237,000. A decade later it had more than doubled to 487,000.¹ By 1841 there were two centers of population with over 10,000, Kingston and Toronto. This growth reflected British government policy following the War of 1812 which aimed to offset the influx of Republican minded settlers from the States by encouraging emigration from Great Britain. "The province became the haven for the old world rural population displaced by the rapid progress of the industrial revolution in Great Britain following the end of the Napoleonic Wars."² Irish immigrants outnumbered the English and the Scots. "Many Scottish immigrants were refugees from the 'Highland Clearances' that accompanied the modernization of agriculture in north Britain."³ It was chiefly the Highlanders, particularly those from Argyle, who carried the ideas of Christian reform to the new land.

This section will examine the Scotch/Scottish Baptist distinction and give details of developments in Lochgilphead in Scotland and Aldborough, Esquesing, Eramosa and Toronto in Ontario. The churches which develop in these areas are initially independent groups with Scottish roots.

¹Statistics Canada, discussed by White, Ontario, p. 340.

²White, p. 82.

³White, p. 82.

Scotch/Scottish Baptists

The Ontario Disciples of Christ later in the century cherished the idea that their roots were predominantly in the Scotch Baptists. Joseph Ash, writing in his "Reminiscences," 1882-1884, affirms, "When Elder Black went to Eramosa [1830] the Scotch Baptists had a church there ..." ⁴ Reuben Butchart presents this viewpoint in his history. He writes of the "Old Scotch Baptists" and states, "We deal here with a religious body which, in a number of localities throughout Canada, provided a school wherein the religious faith of some was reborn to a new freedom." ⁵ Butchart identifies six Ontario congregations as originally "Scotch Baptist": "Eramosa, Esquesing, Lobo, Mosa, Aldborough, Howard ... that amicably became Disciples of Christ in early days." ⁶ As well, Butchart identifies as Scotch Baptists two of the subsequent leading Disciples, James Black and Dugald Sinclair. He says that James Black "... of Argyleshire, in 1821 (sic) came to Ontario as a Scotch Baptist, and develops as a leading follower of the Campbells." ⁷ Butchart also identifies Sinclair as a Scotch Baptist and suggests that the congregation that he established in Lobo was a Scotch Baptist church in accordance with his "Scotch Baptist faith." ⁸ The evidence indicates, however, that these two leaders were Scottish Baptists of the English order. The likelihood is

⁴Joseph Ash, "Reminiscences," written by memory, published in the Christian Worker, Meaford, (Nov. 1882-Oct. 1884); reprinted in the Gospel Messenger (Jan. 1895-Aug. 1886); reprinted in the Gospel Herald, beginning July 1987. Quoted from "Reminiscences, 12," Christian Worker, III, 2 (Dec. 1883) 1.

⁵Butchart, History, p.50

⁶Butchart, p. 52.

⁷Butchart, p. 55. Black, in fact arrived in Canada in 1820. He landed in Aldborough in the fall of that year, but proceeded immediately with his younger brother, Donald, to work with his older brother Hugh as a member of Hugh's survey crew which was surveying the townships of Tosoronto and Mulmar. He returned to Aldborough in the spring of 1821 to take up his teaching, preaching, and farming. Black in later years did not welcome the suggestion that he was a disciple of the Campbells even though he respected their teaching.

⁸Butchart, p. 394.

that a number of Scottish settlers in Aldborough, Lobo, and Eramosa included a predominant number who came out of the Scottish Baptist experience. It appears that later descriptions blurred this distinction and labelled most early Scottish Baptist settlers as "Scotch." A tiny village, Lochgilphead in Argyle, Scotland, holds the key to this minute but significant distinction regarding the faith of the newcomers to Upper Canada.

Lochgilphead

The villages of Lochgilphead and nearby Bellanoch in the North Knapdale district of Argyle have a number of interesting connections with the developments in Ontario. <See Appendix C.> To Canada from this locality came Donald McVicar to Aldborough township by 1818, James Black to the same location in 1820 and Dugald Sinclair to Lobo township thirty miles north of Aldborough in 1831. As well, a number of Scottish settlers known to these men came into this area. Many of these would be Baptists, Scottish of the English order but not necessarily Scotch Baptists.

Donald McVicar was a Haldane agent who arrived at Bellanoch by 1801. There were "a considerable number of Baptists about Knapdale in 1800."⁹ McVicar accepted baptism in 1803 by Christopher Anderson, a Scottish Baptist preacher who subsequently ordained McVicar as a Baptist preacher in 1805. On April 27, 1805 McVicar organized the Baptists in the area into a church at Bellanoch -- after the English order. There McVicar served until 1815 when his pastorate was passed on to Dugald Sinclair.¹⁰

⁹Bebbington, History, p. 283. The Edinburgh Scotch Baptists had established a mission to the Highlands in 1798. P. 22.

¹⁰Bebbington, p. 288.

Dugald Sinclair (1777-1870) was also from Bellanoch. He was baptized by James Lister in Glasgow in 1801. Lister was the first to establish a Scottish Baptist church in Scotland in the 19th century, a few months following Sinclair's baptism. Sinclair began immediately to preach.¹¹ In 1806 he entered Bradford College, an English Baptist institution and studied there for four years. Upon the completion of his studies he joined the Itineration Society as a Highlands missionary. This society had been established in 1808 by Anderson and George Barclay. Barclay had established the second Baptist church in Scotland after the English order, at Kilwinning in 1803. So effective were Sinclair's missionary efforts that he gained the distinction, "Apostle of the West."¹² Sinclair succeeded McVicar as minister of the Bellanoch Baptist church in 1815 and in that year relocated the congregation in Lochgilphead. There a new church building was constructed which the deed assigned to the "Society of Calvinistic Baptists in Lochgilphead."¹³ In 1824 the Haldanes established the Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland (BHMS). The Itineration Society was merged into this organization and Sinclair was named its first missionary.¹⁴

Sinclair developed peculiar prophetic views which predicted a total conflagration in Europe, centered in Britain. The Church of Christ would be saved only in America. Sinclair's views quite likely added to the impetus for settlers to head for Canada. Seventy families from his area are reported to have made the move, and when Sinclair removed himself to Ontario in 1831 sixteen from his congregation accompanied him.¹⁵ With some of these, no doubt, he would be associated in Canada. They were Scottish but not necessarily Scotch Baptists.

¹¹Bebbington, p. 283.

¹²Yuille, History, p. 118.

¹³Bebbington, History, p. 298.

¹⁴Bebbington, p. 295.

¹⁵Yuille, History, p. 117. In this prophetic vision, Sinclair paralleled the millennial optimism which moved Campbell and the American Disciples.

Dugald Sinclair baptized the 19 year old Presbyterian, James Black, in nearby Loch Awe in January 1817. Black had been born in Lochgilphead on August 15, 1797.¹⁶ His baptism resulted in Black losing his small teaching post in the National Church system. With his parents, one sister, Janet, and two younger brothers, Donald and John, he emigrated to Aldborough where an older brother, Hugh, and sister, Catherine, had preceded them. For the next 66 years Black was the dominant leader among the Disciples in Ontario. His spiritual connection in Lochgilphead was with the Scottish Baptists.

Aldborough.

Port Glasgow was the auspicious name given to the limited landing on the Lake Erie shoreline southwest of St. Thomas in Elgin county. Here settlers from overseas arrived by lake boat ready to deal with the imperious Colonel Talbot for land grants. Pioneer accounts report 20 families arrived directly from Argyle in 1820 to a settlement in which 60 families had already taken up land. The Black family was part of this group.¹⁷ For the period 1821-1825, Black taught school, farmed and preached. He found ten or eleven who had been Baptists in Scotland worshipping together and ministered to them. The usual assumption that they were Scotch Baptists is without evidence. Donald McVicar, the Baptist preacher, is said to have served them before Black's arrival, but his presence is shadowy in the existing accounts.¹⁸

One experience illustrates the Scottish Baptist orientation of Black and the settlers with whom he worked. It also suggests an explanation for his accepting later in his ministry a posture more typically Scotch Baptist. Black had brought six

¹⁶Frank Day, Here and There in Eramosa (Rockwood, ON: Leaman Printing Co., 1953), p. 141.

¹⁷The Pioneer Days in Aldborough (Aylmer, ON: West Elgin Historical and Genealogical Association, 1981) p. 25.

¹⁸Butchart, History, p. 385. McVicar is called a Scotch Baptist by Butchart, p. 385.

or seven to the point of Christian baptism. Not being ordained he wrote the mission board in Scotland and requested that a minister to be sent to preach and baptize (it is unclear where McVicar is in this situation).¹⁹ A minister was promised but delayed in his coming. Black became convinced finally that the restraint upon him was not Biblical and proceeded to administer baptism himself. The late-arriving missionary declared Black's course to be unauthorized and illegal; that the subjects must now be baptized by him, a lawfully ordained Baptist minister. Black ignored him.²⁰ New setting, new freedom, new understanding: James Black evidently moved a little from his Scottish Baptist conditioning to an appreciation of Scotch Baptist polity. He would never be more than "Elder" Black.

Colonel Talbot by 1820 had ceased to give 50 acres of free land to the settlers. Newcomers, therefore, penetrated northward into the bush to avoid having to deal with the despotic Talbot. One John McKellar and eight others with their children moved in 1820 thirty miles north to Lobo township, Middlesex county to carve their homes from the wilderness.²¹ McKellar has the distinction of being the earliest Scotsman who came from Argyle to Canada to have been reported preaching "reformatory ideas" in his homeland, about 1798. McKellar, because of the silence of the record, remains somewhat of an unknown. He was probably influenced by Scotch Baptist missionaries at the end of the century, perhaps in the Knapdale area. There is little doubt that McKellar was exposed to the Haldane movement and as well to the organized Scottish Baptists. These associations would have been available to him prior to his removal to Canada in 1818. He was

¹⁹A group meeting at Ridgetown as early as 1829 mentions McVicar's presence; he also had contact with the group in Lobo in the latter half of the 1820s. Butchart, History, p. 139.

²⁰William H. Trout, Trout Family History (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Printed by Meyer-Rotier Printing Co., 1916) pp. 49, 50.

²¹One of McKellar's sons, Archibald, married James Black's sister, Janet. The youngest son, Neil (1809-1890) was baptized about 1840 by Dugald Sinclair. Obituary. Christian Evangelist, V, 11 (Oct. 1 1890) 7.

a leader among the group in Lobo, Ontario in the 1820s. They maintained Bible study and prayers informally, but they would only take communion when McVicar visited, perhaps every six months. This was a typical Scottish Baptist response.²²

Dugald Sinclair arrived in Lobo in 1831 and constituted a church there in that year. His practice and position would insure that it was a Scottish Baptist congregation, even though moderated by frontier conditions. Sinclair appointed McKellar a deacon, an important post in Baptist polity, but not an elder. Until Sinclair died on October 18, 1870, just two weeks out of the pulpit at age 90, he permitted none but himself, an ordained minister, to preside at the Lord's Table.²³ Sinclair developed a circuit around Lobo which included Aldborough, Mosa and Howard. His churches, before 1855 and a personal visit with Alexander Campbell, were described as "Sinclair Baptist."²⁴ Sinclair was 48 when he married and 54 when he arrived in Upper Canada. He remained active as a preacher for 36 years in Canada, but neither his strength nor pioneer conditions would permit, apparently, a repeat of the success which attended his career of 21 years as an evangelist in Scotland.

Esquesing

In 1819 a group of settlers applied for land in the Norval area of Esquesing township, north of Lake Ontario, northwest of Toronto. Included in their petition was a statement of their religious intention. The "Church of Christ in Esquesing" was organized in 1820. Butchart describes this congregation as Scotch Baptist.²⁵ Leaders in this initiative were Alexander Stewart, a preacher from Scotland and

²²Butchart, History, p. 393.

²³Butchart, p. 394.

²⁴Butchart, pp. 141, 395.

²⁵The Norval settlement might parallel the settlement in 1820 in New Glasgow, PEI, of a number of silk weavers from Paisley, Scotland, all of whom were reported to be Scotch Baptists. Butchart, p. 102.

John Menzies, a pastor from Perthshire.²⁶ The congregation met for a number of years in John Menzies' home until in the late 1830s a log meeting house was constructed on Menzies' farm, at lot 8, tenth line.²⁷

The Norval church record lists first John, a pastor and his wife, Isabella. Other names and dates follow: Duncan McKinnon, deacon, 1824; James Mitchell, pastor, 1835; Alexander Anderson, pastor, 1835; William Trout, pastor, 1838 (Trout's second wife, Kathrin McKinnon, of Mull, had been baptized by Dugald Sinclair in Scotland); James Menzies (John's son) deacon, 1839.²⁸ The record also lists William A. Stephens who was added as a member in 1832. He is one of two men who came to Canada earlier in response to the urging of a Scotch Baptist congregation in New York City.²⁹ Trout identifies one of these men as William A. Stephens and describes him as a Carson Baptist from North Ireland, cultured and having a fine education. His family of seven sons and four daughters had a prominent place in subsequent Disciples history in Ontario.³⁰ Menzies, a blacksmith and farmer, was possessed of a fine memory and described as a "walking concordance" of the Bible. He was one of three elders at Norval in the late 1830s along with James Mitchell and William Trout. With such leadership this pioneer church became an influence in the area: Alexander Anderson went out

²⁶Ric Ruggles, Georgetown Herald, Aug. 1984. Both are described as Scotch Baptist. Stewart by Butchart, p. 502; Menzies by Joseph Ash, Christian Worker (Nov. 1883).

²⁷John Menzies came from Dull, Perthshire, to Montreal in 1817. After one year he moved to Toronto, and after two more years to Esquesing in 1820. Obituary: James Menzies. Gospel Messenger, I, 6 (July 15 1894) 2.

²⁸Butchart, History, p. 390.

²⁹This is recorded in a report concerning Walter Scott, who was to become an outstanding evangelist of the American Disciples. He had located Scotch Baptist congregations in New York, NY; Paterson, NJ; Baltimore, Md.; Washington; and Pittsburgh, PA. Garrison and DeGroot, History, p. 182-182, 454. Isaac Errett, editor of the Christian Standard, in comments written at the passing of Thomas Chalmers Scott mentions that that his father and Wm. Ovington were elders at the New York City Scotch Baptist church where W. A. Stephens and his father were members. Bible Index, I, 11 (Nov. 1873) 11.

³⁰Trout, History, p. 51.

from it to become an itinerant worker and earned the distinction "Pioneer Preacher." Anderson and William Trout went on a preaching mission in about 1841 or 1842 to assist, by request, the young churches in Prince Edward county. Trout moved to the Georgian Bay in the 1840s and helped plant churches in that area. The Norval congregation also helped to plant two churches in neighbouring townships: Toronto and Chinguacousy.

Norval's early prominence as "one of the strongest if not the strongest church in Canada"³¹ made it the logical choice for the meeting in which the first initiative was taken to establish a "co-operation" for evangelizing Canada West in 1843. In the late 1830s Menzies began to read The Christian, W. W. Eaton's publication from Nova Scotia which reflected Campbell's teaching, as well as copies of Campbell's own Millennial Harbinger. In about 1838 Menzies was visited by elder Jacob Snure of Jordan and a former "Christian Connection" preacher, Z. F. Green, both of whom considered themselves Disciples by this time. Menzies was favorable to the suggestion that the Norval congregation be identified as Disciple.³²

Eramosa

When James Black moved in April, 1830,³³ to what would be his permanent home in Eramosa township, at lot 7, concession 7 there were no settlers between him and the first settler in the area located at the township's southern perimeter.³⁴ From Black's "Lismore" farm and from the church in the village of

³¹See Alexander Anderson's eulogy of William Trout. Trout, History, p. 173.

³²Ash, "Reminiscences, 11," Christian Worker, II, 13 (Nov. 1883) 1.

³³Date given by Black in a handwritten autobiographical note. The original is in the Wellington County Museum and Archive, Reference 978.30.288.ms.1545.

³⁴Day, Here and There, pp. 65, 173. Eramosa township in Wellington county was in the third tier of townships north of Lake Ontario. The first white settler was Robert Ramsey who arrived in 1823.

Everton which developed later on the nearby Eramosa River was generated a religious energy which would move the Disciples for much of the century.³⁵

Joseph Ash in his 1883 "Reminiscences" recollects:

When elder Black went to Eramosa, the Scotch Baptists had a church, and David Oliphant, Alexander Stewart, Thomas Stephens, Donald McLean and others were preaching advanced views before he went there. This was the Eramosa East church, organized in 1831.³⁶

Ash admits elsewhere that his acquaintance with the Eramosa church came after the passing of these men.³⁷ He does not specifically say that they were Eramosa settlers. They were, in effect, teachers and preachers in the area.³⁸ David Oliphant Jr writing in 1859 gives the names of early leaders in the Eramosa church: W. Elliott, Robert Royce, Alexander Anderson and William Oliphant. But the presence of these men would fit the late 1830s, not the pre-1830s.³⁹ The sequence seems to be: Black arrived in Eramosa, 1830. He organized in 1831 a church of a few settlers which met in his home. These were chiefly Scottish, perhaps some Scotch Baptist, others Scottish Baptist, Seceder Presbyterian and others. David Oliphant Sr and his family arrived in Eramosa from Dundas in 1832. Black built a log church building on his farm in that year. Black would not, given his background and earlier action, have organized a Scotch Baptist congregation.⁴⁰

³⁵Everton was surveyed in 1857. Day, pp, 120-124. "Lismore" is the island north of Oban in Scotland, the ancestral home of the Black family.

³⁶Christian Worker, Dec. 1883; quoted by Butchart, History, p. 407.

³⁷Quoted by Butchart, Old Everton, p. 12.

³⁸Oliphant was in Dundas; Stewart in Norval and Toronto; Stephens in Norval; McLean, unknown, was perhaps confused with Donald McLaren, an early elder in Erin township.

³⁹David Oliphant, Jr., Banner of Faith (Nov.-Dec. 1859); quoted in Butchart, p. 401.

⁴⁰Black lived in Nassagaweya, the township south of Eramosa, during a portion of the period 1825-1830. It is uncertain whether Black organized a church there during this period. Ash says that Black established a church at Nassagaweya "on the understanding that it would receive all baptized (immersed) believers of good character, whether Scotch Baptists, English baptists, or association baptists." Joseph Ash, "Reminiscences, 12," Christian Worker, II, 2, (Dec. 1882) 1. This church planting may have been at a later date. The obituary of Donald Robertson, Nassagaweya resident, d. Dec. 25, 1892 in his 90th year, describes his travels on foot, alone to the

Ash's reference to a pre-1830 Scotch Baptist church in Eramosa is viewed, therefore, as an unfounded conjecture. David Oliphant Sr, before he came to Eramosa, had preached for a decade at Dundas. Twenty years senior to Black, his influence likely began to colour the congregation as Scotch Baptist and thus account for Ash's late-in-the-century impression. Oliphant Sr is described by his son, David, as a bona fide Scotch Baptist.⁴¹

Black provided for his family as a pioneer farmer and teacher. At the same time he increased his preaching activities by weekend circuit riding.⁴² Others from Eramosa such as Lazarus Parkinson and Alexander Anderson went out preaching also. Churches were established in the west side of Eramosa and in Erin township to the east. David Oliphant Jr writing later in the century credits ten church plantings to Eramosa's influence: "... the most fruitful church in Ontario among churches adopting the creed prepared by the Lord's ministry whom he inspired, was the little body at Eramosa."⁴³

By his own admission, Black began to read Campbell's Millennial Harbinger in 1833.⁴⁴ These writings were introduced to him by the senior Oliphant. Oliphant Jr reflected on this experience:

Eramosa East church for 14 years. This would have occurred between 1831 and 1861. A church was established in Nassagaweya in 1865. CE, VII, 19 (Feb. 1 1893) 3.

⁴¹David Oliphant, Jr., editor, Christian Banner, XII, 6, p. 164, writes concerning his father and mother: "The first years of life we lived on Scotch Baptist milk. Our first whippings ... were Scotch Baptist whippings. Our first prayers, religious lessons, and profession, were all of the Scotch Baptist stamp. Father Oliphant was ... an esteemed Scotch Baptist for over forty years, and from him, as also from one of the most exemplary mothers [Sophia Watts whom Oliphant had met at a Haldane chapel], we enjoyed a flow of pure Scotch Baptist instruction, a portion of which we expect to carry over Jordan ..."

⁴²Ash ruminates extravagantly, "My desire would carry me with Elder Black through the forests of Nassagaweya, Eramosa, and Erin, on foot, travelling 50 miles and back to preach twice on Lord's days and be back Monday to attend his farm." Christian Worker, II, 2 (Dec. 1883) 2.

⁴³Letters of a Living Laborer, 1880; quoted by Butchart, p. 74.

⁴⁴In a letter of 1840 to the church in Jordan. Butchart, p. 404.

A reformatory publication, highly prized by Father Oliphant [the Millennial Harbinger] having been placed in the hands of elder Black for perusal, escaped very narrowly a martyr's fate [Black's first impulse was to throw it in the fireplace]; for at that date the zealous elder was so earnestly attached to certain portions of the Geneva theology that he not only disrelished but strongly opposed what did not fit with the teachings he had received by tradition from his theological fathers. Nobly, though not speedily, he allowed his mind and heart to acknowledge reformatory truth, and took the lead in more than a few movements in the direction of reformation. He was happily qualified by a variety of gifts and graces, to instruct and move his Gaelic countrymen. Family after family of these Highland relatives settled in Eramosa and Erin, numbers of them bringing with them from the eastern coast of the Atlantic, their reformatory principles. Others of them brought over from their native land cargoes of such information as Calvin and Knox advocated. Among all -- so it was then cordially decided -- elder Black was at once a scholar of the Lord and exemplary teacher.⁴⁵

Toronto

The Disciples' beginnings in Toronto are shrouded, but they did include elements of Baptists, Scotch Baptists and independent spirits. The record of their mixing is not clear, and Scottish connections are not as defined as in the previous three locations examined. The Disciples failed to build a substantial presence in the province's capital. Yet it became a center for both of the movement's conservative and progressive elements. Here was mirrored the cancelling effects of the tensions which became characteristic among the Disciples of Christ in 19th century Ontario.

The leading conservative figure was James Beaty Sr (1798-1892) from County Cavan, Ireland. Beaty arrived in Toronto by way of New York City in the year 1818.⁴⁶ The population of Toronto at that time was about 500. Independent studies of the Scriptures brought this Anglican to the conviction that he should be baptized as an adult believer. He accomplished this in the mid-1820s in the

⁴⁵Living Laborer, Jan. 1881; quoted by Butchart, p. 59.

⁴⁶Joseph A. C. Robertson, "The Beaty Family Tree," Toronto, 1938, p. 39 (typescript).

Toronto Bay: Beaty and another man [Shanklin or Shecklin] each baptized the other.⁴⁷ Beaty married Sarah Armstrong about this time, and when it came time to christen his two children he refused. A clergyman upon hearing his views advised he had been "in bad company." Beaty replied, "If I have, it has been that of Christ and his apostles."⁴⁸

There were Baptists in Toronto at this time (c. 1820-1830). Beaty became part of a fellowship which included Alex Stewart (reported as a Scotch Baptist, active in the Norval settlement), William McMaster (later benefactor of the university by that name), Neil C. Love and the Lesslie family (Joseph Lesslie, postmaster; and James Lesslie, publisher of the Daily Examiner).⁴⁹ When this group experienced a division, Stewart, McMaster and several others joined the Baptists.⁵⁰ Beaty, the Lesslies and others withdrew to worship in the home of James Armstrong, Beaty's brother-in-law, at 104 Yonge St. in about 1836.⁵¹ The congregation was organized in 1838, and in 1841 it located at the corner of Shuter and Victoria streets in a building made of two frame houses supplied by Beaty.⁵² Beaty, a dominating presence in Toronto as well as this congregation, injected his conservative influence in the Disciples movement. His spirit was akin to that of the Scotch Baptists which no doubt influenced him, but his spirit was also derived through his own independence.⁵³

⁴⁷Mail and Empire, Toronto, March 6, 1892.

⁴⁸Butchart, History, p. 501

⁴⁹Joseph Ash, Christian Worker, June-July 1883.

⁵⁰Stewart along with the groups in Norval and Eramosa are described by Butchart as Scotch Baptist. Yet when troubles arose in Toronto, Stewart left an independent group for the regular Baptists. This response would more likely be taken by a Scottish Baptist.

⁵¹Butchart, History, pp. 502-503; 104 Yonge St. later became the site of the building for the British and Foreign Bible Society. Ash, "Reminiscences, 6," Christian Worker, II, 8 (June 1883) 1.

⁵²J. Ross Robertson, Landmarks of Toronto, 1904, Vol. 10, p. 256.)

⁵³Beaty published the Leader which he began in 1852 for 25 years. He also gained control of the Colonist and the Patriot. He was practically the founder of the Toronto General Hospital; he was a director of the Northern Railway, a charter director of the Western Assurance Co., and a president of the Toronto Roads Co. Beaty was elected a member of the first parliament of the Dominion of

American Connections

Upper Canada was not the target of church planting designs by the Baptists from Scotland as was the case with the British Anglicans through their Society for the Propagating of the Gospel. Canadian church planting was only casually the objective of the American "Christians" and "Disciples." This was in contrast, for example, to the American Methodists. As has been noted reformatory ideas came with the settlers from Scotland as "cargoe." The American connections in the beginnings of the Disciples of Christ in Ontario are faint, generally coincidental and occasionally the result of rejection. They were transmitted powerfully through the printed word, however, as the 1830s progressed. The Christian Connection supplied the people, the Disciples the system. The merging of these two streams of American religious interest in the Canadian colony introduced contrasting emphases which would prove difficult for the Disciples to meld as they attempted to grow in Upper Canada. "The Disciples [in America], who formed a distinct identity between 1825 and 1830, emphasized a rationalistic adherence to the 'ancient gospel' in contrast to revivalistic emotionalism of the 'free gospel' denominations [i.e. such as the Christian Connection]." ⁵⁴

This section will trace these developments on Ontario's north shore, in Prince Edward county and on the south shore in the Niagara district.

North Shore

The Christian Connection had a presence in the counties of Durham and Northumberland, which lie eastward from Toronto, as the result of their

Canada, for East Toronto in 1867. The Canadian Evangelist, Geo. Munro, ed., VI, 22 (Mar. 15 1892) 7.

⁵⁴Griffin-Allwood, "Free Gospel," p. 78.

considerable work during the 1820s. Some "Christians" in this region, however, elected to move into the Disciples' position. Dissatisfaction was felt because of the Connection's failure, as perceived by some, to move fully into the New Testament position. This view resulted from their exposure to the writings of Alexander Campbell.

A settler, Mary Stodgill, who had been immersed in New York by a Christian Connection preacher in 1817, moved to Newmarket from New York state in 1821. Repeated letters from her to those of this group in New York resulted in three ministers being sent the same year. These were able to take advantage of a revival which was occurring among American migrants in that area, a revival which was an extension of the Great Revival of the American frontier.⁵⁵ Increasing labours resulted in churches planted "in the New Testament order." In 1825 the Connection organized a Conference in Upper Canada. By 1834 the conference reported about 20 churches, 20 preachers and a membership of 1,200.⁵⁶

The Conference's annual meeting was held in Whitby (Oshawa of today) in June, 1834. Several of the delegates were hoping for the merger of the Canadian Connection churches with the broader Disciples movement as had occurred in Kentucky in 1832. Joseph Ash was the clerk of the conference. Ash (1808-1895), a former Anglican from Cobourg, had experienced an adult conversion to Christ in 1829. "A little evidence from my blessed mother and much Bible reading, showed me that ... Episcopal [infant baptism] was no baptism. So in September 1830, I was baptized (immersed) by a minister of the New Lights, or as they called

⁵⁵Griffin-Allwood, pp. 77-78.

⁵⁶Griffin-Allwood, p. 78. Joseph Ash, clerk of the Conference in that year, reported to B. W. Stone in a letter from Cobourg, U. C., 30th June, 1834, and carried in the Christian Messenger, August issue, pp. 241-242: "From Bay of Quinty to Niagara 27 churches, 17 travelling elders, and about 12 not ordained."

themselves Christians, and as a body Christian Connexion."⁵⁷ Then Ash requested of a Christian Connection preacher reading material that he might progress in his new commitment. He was directed to Campbell's new Millennial Harbinger and Stone's Christian Messenger. On Nov. 1 Ash "eagerly" read the first eleven numbers of Volume I of the Harbinger and eleven numbers of the Messenger. This gave Ash the "first intimation" that "there were such people on earth as the Disciples of Christ, or Christians."⁵⁸ He also subscribed to the Connection's publication, the Christian Palladium which came out of New York. He began to note the contrasts in teaching and practice and found himself leaning more and more toward the Disciples.⁵⁹

Ash attended his first Christian Conference in 1833 at Newmarket and was appointed clerk. His reading, however, gave him a grand vision of the Canadian Connection churches which might dissolve their Conference and join "the Great Kentucky Union." At the 1834 Conference meeting, a friend submitted a resolution calling for the dismantling of the Conference and its regulatory authority and turning all power over to the churches. Half of the delegates voted in favour of the motion but the tie vote was defeated when the chairman cast his No vote. No churches chose to leave the Connection but Ash's disappointment resulted in his choosing personally for the Disciples.

Ash, with the help of a Carson Baptist, John Ford, from Dungannon, Ireland, began to teach and to baptize in Cobourg. Their first convert was John Hancock, a Methodist preacher. Others followed, and they organized a

⁵⁷Ash, "Reminiscences, 1," Christian Worker, II, 1 (Nov. 1882) 3. The details which follow in the text are drawn from this reference.

⁵⁸Ash cherished a letter received from Alexander Campbell in 1832 which wished Ash well. BI, I, 3 (Jan. 1873) 43.

⁵⁹The Christian Connection did not require baptism. Thomas Bradt, a Christian Connection member from the north shore moved to Niagara where he was baptized about 1835 by Elder Straight in Mud Creek. Obituary. BI, XIV, 159 (Mar. 1886) 96.

congregation in Cobourg in 1836. Ash, a ripe 26 years, and Ford were appointed elders, and Charles Pomeroy Sr deacon. Soon Ash began to travel to Port Hope to teach his new beliefs to friends in that area. He baptized Robert Wades, a leading Methodist and wealthy farmer and several others and organized "a group of believers" of about a dozen members.⁶⁰ In 1841 he moved to Oshawa where he had friends among the Connection. These were unhappy with their church's unwillingness to celebrate the Supper on a weekly basis. Three men, Farewell, Cornell, and McGill came to Ash and requested, "Brother Ash, we want you to go with us and form a church after the Apostolic pattern where we can worship acceptably." Ash took the lead in organizing a church there in the same year. Ash and Abram Farewell were appointed elders.⁶¹

Religious periodicals were circulating in abundance among the settlements and were influential in disseminating ideas, reform and information. An illustration of this influence is given by Ash:

During those years from our beginning in Cobourg, "the old christian connexion" was on very friendly terms with us and I have no doubt that if they had not been interferred (sic) with, by members of that connexion in the U. S. a very great majority of them would have come in the reformation fully. The principal opposers were "Joseph Badger and David Millard of the Christian Palladium."⁶²

Ash and three others formed a committee to publish "the first paper among us in Canada," the Christian Vindicator. The first issue came out on June 5, 1837. It ran to eleven numbers when the printer moved and the publication ceased.⁶³ From this beginning and during the next several decades churches were added in other communities along the north shore.

⁶⁰Ash, "Reminiscences, 2," Christian Worker, II, 4 (Feb. 1883) 1.

⁶¹Ash, "Reminiscences, 4," Christian Worker, II, 6 (April 1883) 1.

⁶²Ash, "Reminiscences, 3," Christian Worker, II, 5 (March 1883) 1.

⁶³Ash, "Reminiscences, 3."

Prince Edward County

Two American preachers appeared in Prince Edward county in the early 1830s. They were Benjamin Howard and Z. F. Green. Both had been Christian Connection preachers in New York state where each had been expelled from the Conference, for "bad and unmoral conduct" and "drunkenness and other bad conduct" respectively. The accounts of the trials of both of these men appeared in the pages of the Christian Palladium. Howard later preached in Cobourg but was resisted by Ash who had read about him in the Palladium. With that Howard left Upper Canada. He next appeared in Nova Scotia.⁶⁴ Green remained for the decade and reports exist of his preaching at Norval and Jordan.⁶⁵

Howard preached first in Prince Edward county in Hillier and Athol (Cherry Valley) townships around the period 1834-36. He was joined by Green in this effort. It appears that the churches "were gathered by ... [them] but were not properly organized ..."⁶⁶ Those drawn into these congregations later remonstrated with Ash "for holding out so long against Green ... whatever he had done in New York, we know not; but we have never seen anything amiss in him. They considered him a good man."⁶⁷ Nevertheless, later churches such as Eramosa, Esquesing, Toronto, and Jordan excluded him.⁶⁸

Later the Cherry Valley group shifted to West Lake in Hallowell township (where a church still serves). Ash lists a "host of preachers" who had spent much time in the county but observed that the cause there did not expand beyond the

⁶⁴See Howard's report of a preaching tour in Nova Scotia to W. W. Eaton, ed., The Christian, St. John, NB, II, 3 (August 1840) 102.

⁶⁵Ash, "Reminiscences, 1." See 8. "He [Green] preached for his living and the fun of it."

⁶⁶Ash, "Reminiscences, 10," Christian Worker, II, 12 (Oct. 1883) 1.

⁶⁷Ash, "Reminiscences, 8."

⁶⁸Ash, 8. Green went on to crime and a near lynching in Rockford, Ill., and to an obscure death in Michigan.

early church planting. Ash ponders the "cause and effect" of this non-growth and quotes a "wise bro.":

The character of men who start any cause is stamped upon it, and though some of its adherents may be excellent men they cannot throw off the curse if the doctrine and character of those who start it are bad.⁶⁹

This was as close as the Disciples' cause got to Kingston, Upper Canada's second seat of power.

South Shore

Congregations which became identified as Disciples of Christ were planted in Clinton and Louth townships on the south shore of Lake Ontario in 1832 and 1840, respectively. Early influences from the American Connection and Disciples, though faint, are detected. The Niagara peninsula which connected Ontario and Canada between Lakes Erie and Ontario was the natural bridge for the flow of American settlers such as the "late Loyalists" into Upper Canada.⁷⁰ The first Baptist Church building west of the Maritimes was erected in Beamsville in 1776, and the first resident minister, elder William Holmes, preached there in 1882-83.⁷¹ It was in the setting of this Baptist Church that traces of the Restoration were first detected.

The Beamsville Baptist church minutes record the baptism of a Daniel Wiers on February 1, 1827. On March 2 of the same year Wiers was engaged to preach for them half-time for one year. (The minutes also record that Lois Humphrey was baptized on February 5, 1826. James Black, still casting around, had come to Beamsville in 1827 to teach school. James and Lois were married on February 15, 1828.) Wiers completed his one year appointment and was succeeded

⁶⁹Ash, 8.

⁷⁰White, Ontario, p. 69.

⁷¹Historical Atlas of the Counties of Lincoln and Welland (Toronto: H. R. Page, publisher, 1876).

by Black who was called to preach for one year on half support. He would also teach school. In this appointment Black behaved as a Scottish Baptist preacher, not as a Scotch Baptist.⁷² In the next year, 1829 Wiers was back in the Beamsville Baptist pulpit again, and Black was home in Nassagaweya. But by December Wiers was under the threat of dismissal. It was charged:

(2) that he ought to acknowledge to the Chh that he was imprudent in saying that he would wage war against the sentiment of the Chh (3) that he was wrong in speaking slightly of the present Translation of the Scriptures -- and recommending Campbell's Testaments and writings of others.⁷³

Wier⁶ was dismissed and Black returned to replace him once again, possibly in January of 1830. His stay was brief, however, because he returned in April to Eramosa and his permanent home. These proceedings identify Wiers as being conversant with Campbell and the Restoration movement in the American frontier.⁷⁴

Wiers' activities during 1830 and 1831 are unclear, but in the summer of 1832 he baptized 15 persons "for the remission of sins" and "constituted a church upon the New Testament alone."⁷⁵ This he reported to Stone's Christian Messenger in a letter dated November 27, 1832.⁷⁶ His awareness of both streams of Restorationist influence from America is indicated by these reports.⁷⁷

⁷²I.e. Black served as a paid preacher, albeit half-time, with a Baptist congregation built on the English model.

⁷³Beamsville Baptist Church minutes, Dec. 26, 1829.

⁷⁴Similar exclusions of "Reform Baptists" were taking place in the American West during the period 1827-1830. Campbell discontinued his Christian Baptist in 1830.

⁷⁵Quite possibly included in this number was Mrs. Maria Bertran (Sept. 14, 1786-Feb. 24, 1876) wife of Cornelius Bertran who was baptized by Elder Daniel Wiers and "... said to be the first one that was baptized by the Disciples in the province." BI, IV, 5 (May 1876) 158-159.

⁷⁶Stone, Christian Messenger, Jan. 1833

⁷⁷Ash repeats a story, which has had wide circulation. The story says that Wiers bought a set of books at a Lewiston, NY, auction without knowing their titles. They turned out to be seven bound volumes of the full set of Campbell's Christian Baptist, 1823-1830. To Wiers' discovery of these works has been attributed his introduction to Campbell's Restoration teaching. But how quickly would bound sets of seven years of publishing circulate, then recirculate through an auction? The Beamsville Baptist Church minutes suggest Wiers' awareness of Campbell in the late 1820s. He

Wiers was not unaware, either, of the activities on the north shore. He visited Ash in 1834 and presented a prospectus for a monthly periodical he proposed to publish -- "advocating the ancient gospel." Ash comments that Wiers "was not working entirely independent of the Christian Connexion church ... his object was the same as mine, to lead the connexion further into the truth." The paper was to be directed to the people agreeable to that position. Ash says that after the disappointment of 1834 Wiers left the county, never to be heard of again.⁷⁸ Ash also reports that Wiers had contact with Green and Howard whom Wiers believed ought not to be fellowshipped.⁷⁹ From the Clinton township (Beamsville) church, Louth township members established the church at Jordan in 1840. Ash claims that it had been planted by Green.⁸⁰ William Bradt, writing from Jordan, Upper Canada, 20th August, 1840, reports, "We number upwards of one hundred in the Niagara district."⁸¹

Shape of the Movement

This study has traced the Disciples of Christ emergence in 19th century Ontario in six localities: (1) Sinclair provided leadership in Elgin and Middlesex counties; (2) Black in Eramosa township, Wellington county and Erin township, Halton county; (3) Beaty in Toronto; (4) Ash in Durham and Northumberland counties; (5) Green in Prince Edward county; and (6) Wiers in the Niagara district. The ideas which shaped their early practices were drawn from five sources: (1) Scotch Baptist: dissenter compelled, 2 above; (2) Scottish Baptist: English Baptist

reported to Stone in the Messenger in 1832 which implies an earlier awareness of that movement and its literature as well. The "find" was probably later than these events, informative, but not in the "first discovery" mode. "Reminiscences, 8."

⁷⁸Ash, 8.

⁷⁹Ash writing in 1883 says that Wiers' letter, Sept. 1, 1834, "lies before me." "Reminiscences, 8."

⁸⁰Butchart, History, p. 425.

⁸¹The Christian, W. W. Eaton, ed., St. John, NB, II, 3 (Aug. 1840) 102.

polity, 1; (3) Irish independency: 3; (4) American Christian Connection: revivalism, 4, 5 and 6; and (5) American Disciple: Bible shaped unity, 5 and 6 above.

The settlements were widely separated, but the mail moved considerable quantities of religious teaching. Writings from Glas, Sandeman, McLean and the Haldanes came with the settlers' effects. Campbell's publications were widely read. Black and Sinclair corresponded. Green and elder Jacob Snure from the Peninsula visited the Eramosa brethren. Southshore and northshore Christians made connections. Norval members encouraged the congegations in Prince Edward county. Gradually awareness grew and relationships were established on perceived common ground. By the end of the 1830s the idea had gently settled upon most: We are Disciples of Christ.

James Menzies, deacon at Norval, reported the gathering of representatives from congregations throughout the region in 1843 to the Millennial Harbinger.⁸² Included are sixteen churches identified by locality, year of establishment and the number of members. Twelve of these had been organized by 1841. This study has identified eight additional congregations not included in Menzies' listing in 1843 which would identify as Disciples at some point. Seventeen of these 24 churches in total were functioning by 1841 and would have a combined membership of over 500.⁸³

⁸²Millennial Harbinger (August 1843) 376.

⁸³These churches are listed as follows (those marked [*] were included in Menzies' list): Norval* (1820), Aldborough (1821), Lobo (1831), Eramosa East* (1831), Clinton (Beamsville) (1832), Hillier* (1834), Hallowell* (1834), East Lake (1835), Erin West* (1836), Cobourg* (1836), Oshawa* ("Whitby" 1837), Port Hope* (1837), Erin East* (1837), Shuter Street* ("Toronto" 1838), Jordan* (and "Clinton" 1839), Cooksville (1840), Chinquacousy* (1841).

Assessment

Religious hope and the attractions of new discoveries within the sacred Word warmed and excited the pioneers in the midst of their bleak surroundings. Religious compulsions were especially strong in the face of the adversity and struggle the settlers faced. At the same time the very conditions of pioneer life worked their shaping forces, affecting even the settlers' religious expression. Independence, self-reliance, home-spun values, the need for co-operation -- these nurtured a vigorous expression. As well the grinding toil fed the narrow spirit. What follows will review the social implications of this setting and expand somewhat the religious surges and formulations.

Church/Sect

The well-connected worked to assure the expected establishment of the Anglican Church. The Presbyterians were expecting the same for the Old Kirk. The humbler migrant could readily imagine a free church. The subtle linking of the latter's aspirations with political ambitions was a natural consequence of an evolving Ontario. Sectarion churches multiplied. The few writings of the Disciples give little voice to this linkage. Yet the hints are present. While in Aldborough, Black led a settlers' protest against Talbot's despotism and earned a place in the historical atlas of his day.⁸⁴ The "Eramosa Misunderstanding" during the 1837 Rebellion involved men from Disciples families on the reform side. And why did the two fugitives, Samuel Lount and Edward Kennedy, go to David Oliphant's home and with his help avoid detection by their pursuers?⁸⁵ James Beaty Sr was

⁸⁴Wellington County Historical Atlas, p. 19.

⁸⁵Day, Here and There, pp. 181-185; Edwin C. Guillet, "Affairs of 'Eramosa Martyrs'," Early Life in Upper Canada, (Toronto, 1933) p. 676.

rising in society, but he was opposed implacably to the privileges of the Clergy Reserves. When he was suspected of being a rebel during the Rebellion and ordered shot, he was saved only when his friends refused.⁸⁶ Social reactions of this sort stirred their parallel feelings of religious suppression and separation.

Homogeneity on the Frontier

The church growth principle that religious ideas communicate most readily through those culturally akin is expressly illustrated in the progress of the Restoration idea among the Scottish community in Upper Canada. Black was successful because he was driven and capable as a religious leader. Yet he was successful, as well, because he moved a great deal among his own, even preaching in Gaelic at times. Black had found a familiar context in which to work. Early Connection missionaries from New York found kindred spirits in the revival mode among the American settlers. At the same time religious encasement characterized the settlers: most came with distinctive religious and cultural identities in place. These established tight communities which were resistant to a new, home-grown variety of religion.

Scotch/Scottish Baptists

The presence in Upper Canada of two types of immersionists from Scotland has been noted in the study. Two dominant leaders, James Black and Dugald Sinclair, were demonstrably Baptists after the English order. Two influential men who served in Norval and Dundas in the 1820s, John Menzies and David Oliphant Sr, respectively, were undoubtedly Scotch Baptists. Among the many Scottish settlers, no doubt, were many who had been English Baptists in the old country. Sinclair's influence in that regard has been noted. Also, among the

⁸⁶The Canadian Evangelist, VI, 22 (Mar. 15 1892) 7.

newcomers were Scotch Baptists, in considerably smaller numbers, because the Scotch Baptist fellowship in Scotland was not large.⁸⁷ Members of these two groups would mingle in the settlements. The demands of pioneer life tended to reduce the significance of such differences. Independent churches were organized.⁸⁸ In the absence of numbers of ordained ministers lay "elders" provided suitable leadership.

Yet the differences were present, latent, ready to emerge when the limitations of untrained leaders became more evident and the availability of trained leadership developed. That these differences were present and even troublesome in the early years is deduced from the fact that (1) the presence of the Scottish Baptists was treated in silence and (2) a myth developed which identified most immersionists from Scotland as Scotch Baptists. The latter point is partially modified by the fact that unlike usage in the 20th century "Scotch" was commonly an adjective of people in the 19th century. Its application was, therefore, often descriptive of people's roots, not their religious posture.⁸⁹

However, in the later years the Disciples understood that "Scotch Baptists" were widely present among their spiritual forebears. This was Joseph Ash's emphasis. This was Reuben Butchart's thesis. Colin Sinclair was content to describe his father, Dugald Sinclair, as a Scotch Baptist. For later conservative Disciples such as Ash, belief in the Scotch Baptist rooting was reassuring. For progressive Disciples such as Butchart, this supposed source of the Disciples was disconcerting because it contained the regrettable elements of legalistic thinking.

⁸⁷In 1800 there were only 12 Scotch Baptist congregations in Scotland with a membership of about 500. Bebbington, *History*, p. 21.

⁸⁸There is no clear written account of any Ontario church consciously constituting itself as a "Scotch Baptist" church.

⁸⁹See: "[Archibald and Margaret Brown] ... esteemed by all our Scotch brethren in Western Ontario being in communion with the late Dugald Sinclair ..." Obituary. *CE*, V, 11 (Oct. 1 1890) 7. See: "They [brethren from Ice Lake] are mostly Scotch and as firm and solid in their religious integrity as ..." Edmund Sheppard, "Manitoulin," *CE*, VIII, 8 (Aug. 15 1993), 4.

Neither group remembered the strong presence of the Scottish Baptists in the movement's early years in Ontario.⁹⁰ The polarization which will be noted among the Disciples after the Upper Canada years bears strong testimony to this early hidden dichotomy.

Overview

The Ontario Disciples emerged as a populist movement. The movement held, strongly at first, to the anti-clericalism of the Scotch Baptists. It promoted "mutual edification" and supported only itinerant preachers. This was a Biblical movement in the tradition of the Seceder Presbyterians, the English Baptists and the Scotch Baptists. It opted for a Zwinglian outlook which respected the silence of the Scriptures. It was a unity movement, decrying division, but it increasingly found itself isolated as a sect because it demanded an abandonment of denominationalism in favour of union with the Disciples. The Disciples, in turn, borrowed from the Christian Connection as they attempted to be "Christians only." It was a "common sense" movement in the tradition of John Locke and the Scottish philosophers. It rejected the "enthusiasm" of the revivalist sects and taught that saving faith comes "by hearing (i.e. obeying) the Word of God." The movement was immersionist and claimed that salvation comes at the point of baptism which was seen as the ultimate expression of an obedient faith. It was a congregational movement which objected at first to any supra-congregational organization.

The Disciples of Christ in Upper Canada, while not simply reconstituted Scotch Baptists, did flourish among the growing community of Scottish immigrants in Canada. This ethnic concentration no doubt exposed them to Scotch

⁹⁰In 1855 David Oliphant Jr did look back and assert that James Black, David Oliphant Sr and Dugald Sinclair "were all Baptists." "Agreements and Differences between Baptists and Disciples, No. 3," Christian Banner, IX, 11 (Nov. 1855) 285.

and Scottish Baptist influences to a greater degree than to those of the American Disciples. The latter's connection with Seceder Presbyterians and General Baptists was followed by a broader appeal to a cross-section of settlers in the American West. The Scotch Baptist anti-clerical conviction no doubt hindered their development of an effective preaching force. Their Biblicism mixed with Scottish obduracy had the danger of tending toward an unattractive legalism. Their rational approach to Christian doctrine, while appealing to practical minded settlers, seemed not to match some settlers' appetite for a more emotional, less intellectual expression of religion such as that typical of the Methodists.

Church/state developments in Canada were in marked contrast to the American determination to keep separate these two provinces of community life. The Disciples in Upper Canada, sectarian and exclusivist, were not, in this context, in a position of strength to advance their program of uniting all believers on the Scriptures alone. The Canadian Disciples, unlike their American counterpart, seemed consigned to a marginal presence in the growing religious community of Ontario.

A small but convicted fellowship faced a new era in provincial life, the years of Canada West, 1841-1867. During this period the Disciples of Christ consolidated their position and tripled the number of their congregations. The following chapter, *The Enlargement of the Disciples of Christ in Canada West*, will explore this growth.

CHAPTER 4

THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST IN CANADA WEST

Introduction

The year 1841 was a watershed year for both Ontario and the Disciples of Christ. In that year David Oliphant Sr died, the man who had significantly influenced the two men who would be the major leaders of the Disciples of Christ for the decades ahead, James Black and David Oliphant Jr. That year marked the beginning of a new era for Ontario as it entered into a period of consolidation and agrarian advance from the pioneer stage of its Upper Canada years. By the end of the period the colonies of British North America were poised on the threshold of a remarkable experiment in nation building, and Ontario would be the engine of Canada's achievement. A microcosm, the Disciples were a populist movement with eastern and western sectors. Their accomplishments of religious consolidation and reformatory advance were remarkable in their own way. The Canada West years supplied a setting of vigorous change for the activities of the emerging Disciples.

Canada West

The "United Province of Canada" came into being on February 10, 1841 when Lower and Upper Canada were merged into one jurisdiction. Two regions were recognized, Canada East and Canada West. Equal representation was given to each even though population in Canada East was 50% greater than in Canada

West. This amounted to a not-so-subtle British move toward French Canadian assimilation.¹ Settlement of Canada West continued apace until, by the mid-1850s, its population was 50% higher than in Canada East. Then the cry in the west became "Rep. by pop." Popular politics overcame the sway held in the legislative council by the privileged few. The Reform Party won the elections of 1847 and formed the government in 1848. Boom times in the 1850s gave way to depression in 1857-58. Political instability followed with four successive governments falling during 1861-64. The alarm raised by the American Civil War added to the conditions which worked in favour of the confederation of the colonies of British North America in 1867.

By the middle of the period most of the arable land of southern Ontario had been taken up. Settlement was aided by better transatlantic passage: the steam "liners" of Allan and Cunard were available in the 1840s. The telegraph was placed in Canada West in 1846. The railway came to Canada West in the mid-1850s.² Advances in education signalled a maturing society. Egerton Ryerson began in 1844 a 30 years' service as superintendent of education, and compulsory elementary education was not slow in coming. The University of Toronto was formed out of church colleges in 1827 as a secular institution. A separate-school system for the minority Roman Catholics, allowed in 1827, was buttressed by the Education Bill of 1850 which caused much agitation among the Protestant population. The secularizing of the Clergy Reserves by 1856 brought to an end a long and acrimonious debate and ruled out the possibility of an Anglican establishment. It was a time of consolidation and advance. Pioneer conditions gave

¹French was abolished as an official language until 1848.

²The Great Western Railway (Hamilton-Windsor) was completed by 1855, the Northern Railway (Toronto-Collingwood) 1855, the Grand Trunk Railway (Montreal-Toronto) 1856 and (Toronto-Sarnia) 1859, and the Buffalo and Lake Huron Railway (Fort Erie-Goderich) 1858. Randall White, "This Progressive, Well Farmed Country," Chapter 6, Ontario 1610-1985: A Political and Economic History (Toronto: Dundurn Press Ltd., 1985) pp. 101-128.

way to structured agrarian life. In this environment the churches exerted a dominant influence, and the Disciples of Christ worked hard to establish their presence in the advancing society.³

Features

Two features characterized the Disciples during the years of their establishment in Canada West: lay leadership and evangelicalism

Lay Leadership. With the exception of Dugald Sinclair, the predominant leaders were not ordained ministers. Elder James Black, a self-supporting teacher and farmer, had been associated for the decade of the 1830s with two Scotch Baptists, Elder John Menzies and Elder David Oliphant Sr. Menzies, the preaching blacksmith of Norval, was a lay preacher in to the Scotch Baptist tradition. Oliphant while in Dundas worked as a "mechanic" during the week for his living and preached on the Lord's Day. Accordingly Black accepted the practice that an "elder" could accept pay while itinerating but not for preaching to the home flock.⁴ Beatty in Toronto was strongly anti-clerical. Joseph Ash, who came from a Christian Connection background in which preachers were ordained, was nevertheless an unordained lay leader. Howard and Green were defrocked Connection preachers who lived off their preaching but not on the strength of their ordination. Echoes of the Scottish anti-clericalism of the 18th century are present in these arrangements. The practical settlers took matters into their own hands. Lay elders freely nurtured the local flocks as their privileged duty. Itinerating elders were remunerated for the simple reason that their travels required them to be away from productive labour on their farms.

³See White, pp. 101-128.

⁴Black was not doctrinaire on this point. But for the time he turned his back on paid appointment preaching as he had done for the Presbyterians in north Eramosa and for the Baptists in Beamsville in the late 1820s.

Evangelicalism. James Black had the example of his spiritual father, Dugald Sinclair. During Black's impressionable years as a youth and young Christian Sinclair was involved in vigorous outreach as a missionary throughout the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland. The fusion of Haldane evangelicalism with that of the Scottish Baptists produced a spirit that characterized Black throughout his adult years. The corps of preachers who surrounded him in Ontario exhibited an unusual fervor for heralding the gospel and for church planting. While the Disciples were not generally successful in winning the Ontario population to their position, a church connection was formed, and the broader religious community did take notice.

As the Canada West era opened the Disciples of Christ included a dozen and a half small, widely scattered, loosely associated communities of believers. They were linked by similar interests in Restoration and attracted to the unifying views of the Campbells. They were assisted in their consolidation as a single body by the literary leadership of David Oliphant Jr and in their expansion by a "co-operation" for evangelism.⁵ Unfortunately, they were also to be hindered in their desire to grow by diverging views regarding the appropriate structure for evangelism. This chapter will detail these developments, i.e. "Editorial Leadership," "Organizing for Evangelism" and "Diverging Views." It will also describe the growth of the Disciples of Christ during the quarter century of the Canada West era and conclude with an assessment.

⁵In the early years of the "co-operation" the periodical literature consistently used the lower case "c" to indicate, perhaps, the informality of the arrangement. This study will follow this usage throughout this chapter.

Editorial Leadership

The Disciples of Christ in Canada West opted for the independence of the local congregation. In this they reflected the Glasite and Baptist practice of the Old World and the American Disciples and Christian Connection polity of the New. In the absence of a co-ordinating superstructure -- the Disciples eschewed even the conference arrangement of the Baptists and Christians -- the position of the editors of the communion's publications took on a role of special influence. The monthly journals supplied both a focus and a sense of broader community. Their pages contained the statements of doctrinal positions and the arguments by which these positions were defined and refined. Differentiation between the Disciples' distinctives and those of surrounding churches was hammered out in written debate and heated discussion. News of the "brotherhood" encouraged a sense of belonging. The pen and person of David Oliphant Jr dominated twenty of the twenty-six years of the period under study. He edited continuously during the years 1845-1865 and intermittently thereafter. In this activity he exerted a considerable power both to unify and to divide.

David Oliphant Jr

The junior Oliphant lived his first decade in Dundas, his second in Eramosa. During the first he was exposed to his "Scotch Baptist" father's preaching. During the second he observed his father who served as an elder of the Eramosa East congregation, a pioneer church which was experiencing the dynamics of change. During this decade he was also in the company of James Black, the leading influence in the Eramosa church and, quite possibly, David's school teacher.

His father's death in 1841 brought disruption and a significant decision for David Jr. Using his share of the farm which was sold he entered Campbell's Bethany College which had just opened in [West] Virginia.⁶ He was in the first graduating class in 1844.⁷ A leading student he received as a graduation award a copy of the "Declaration and Address" from the hands of its author, Thomas Campbell, and his son President Campbell. It is not difficult to imagine the formative influence of these years upon Oliphant. His subsequent writings show that he was quite conversant with the American Disciples movement and comfortable among its leaders. His education, it would seem, gave him the tools and the confidence to launch a religious paper in Picton, Prince Edward county, Canada West, in 1845.

It is not known why Oliphant chose to locate in Picton, a point remote from his home in Wellington county, at the eastern edge of Disciple influence in Canada West. Nevertheless, his connections with Eramosa and his awareness of the Disciples in southwestern Canada West contributed to the drawing together of the two religious communities, east and west, with their varied backgrounds, into the single entity of the Disciples of Christ in Canada West.

Oliphant's Publications

There had been some discussion of a publication in Canada West along the lines of W. W. Eaton's The Christian (1839-41, 1847-48)⁸ which had served the

⁶An extant letter from Alexander Campbell to James Black, dated June 29, 1842, which acknowledges Black's letter of May 7 and \$4 received for the Harbinger, states, "Bro's Stewart and Oliphant request me to express their affectionate remembrance to their Mothers, brothers, sisters, etc., and all the beloved in Christ, as also to yourself and family. Probably Bro Oliphant will be in Canada about three weeks from this date. He expects to leave here next Thursday and visit the churches in Ohio on his way. [P.S.] David Oliphant rec'd a letter from his friends date April 11th." Wellington County Museum and Archives.

⁷Oliphant identifies 1844 as the year of the first graduating class of Bethany College. The Christian Banner, XII, 12 (Cobourg and Brighton, Dec. 1858) 382.

⁸W. W. Eaton, The Christian, (St. John, NB).

Maritime Disciples. In fact, Eaton had been considered as a possible editor. It was with some surprise that Oliphant's prospectus for the Witness of Faith was received in November of 1845 from a 24 year old! Off to a shaky start during the first year Oliphant persevered and provided editorial leadership for twenty consecutive years under five different titles. His publications contributed to the consolidation of the Disciples of Christ in Canada West during the first decade. They also both reflected and contributed to the diverging views which polarized the Disciples in the second decade and beyond. It is significant that his entire publishing activities of this period were conducted from the north shore. He published first at Picton, then at Oshawa, Cobourg, Brighton and again to Picton at the last. The Witness of Truth was published monthly from December 1845 through to December 1850 with the exception of November and December 1846. Oliphant's objective as stated in the prospectus was: to open up the Scriptures, to disentangle from all isms, to contrast churches with those of the New Testament, to strengthen the brethren, to promote activity and to report news.⁹ Oliphant found that it was difficult to get others to write. The earlier issues contained, in addition to his articles and editorials, reprints from the Christian Baptist and the Millennial Harbinger. He relocated his operation to Oshawa in 1848. In that year he resisted the appeal of an invitation to move his paper to Syracuse. He completed his first five years of publishing with a loss of \$1,000.

The Christian Mirror was published from Oshawa for one year, 1851 with W. W. Eaton serving as associate editor. Oliphant desired the churches to see the paper as a means "to scatter and extend the truth everywhere among our fellow men, and carry religious news from point to point among our churches and throughout the land."¹⁰ The next title change took place in 1852: his paper

⁹Witness of Truth, I, 1 (Picton, Nov. 1845) 7-9.

¹⁰Christian Mirror, VI (Oshawa, 1851) 249-250.

became the Christian Banner (1852-1858). The first year of the Banner was numbered volume VI and followed volume V of the Witness. Seven volumes under this title were produced, published in the beginning from Cobourg. In 1854 the Banner was printed in Brighton with a Mr. White assisting. From 1855 until his death in 1858 William Oliphant, David's brother assisted. When it was suggested that he should turn from publishing to full-time evangelism, he replied that it was his conviction that the paper "does more for the cause of reformation in these provinces than five brother Oliphants could do by pleading the cause with the tongue without the pen."¹¹ He completed 1858 with 800 to 1,000 subscribers owing some \$2,500.

The fourth title, The Banner of Faith (1859-1863) produced in Brighton, was moved to Picton as a bi-monthly for the last two years of its life.¹² The final two years of the 20 years of consecutive publishing were under the title Message of Good-Will to Men (1864-65), and again it came from Picton where Oliphant had begun. Oliphant in this periodical worked to heal the rift growing in the fellowship that his publications had helped both to unite and to divide.

Growth Factors

Oliphant made a significant contribution through his papers to the growth of the Disciples of Christ in Canada West. At the same time there were limitations to such growth due to the heavy dependence upon journalism dominated by a single editor for most of the period. These factors -- of the editor's activity, the movement's consolidation and inherent impediments -- need to be touched upon.

¹¹The Christian Banner, IX, 12 (Cobourg and Brighton, Dec. 1855) 306-307.

¹²The dislocations of the American Civil War may have contributed to this curtailment. Banner of the Faith, XVII, 5-6 (Picton, Nov.-Dec. 1863) 191.

Editor's Activity. Oliphant earned the regard of the Disciples for his selfless publishing efforts and for his in-the-field efforts as a spokesman and evangelist. His twenty years as publisher and editor were without remuneration. He absorbed the financial losses his papers entailed, as noted above. He supported himself and, as required, his papers by job printing, publishing a secular paper and serving periodically as an itinerant evangelist.¹³ His was the unremitting burden of monthly deadlines, writing, editing, corresponding, publishing and accounting. For the greater period of his publishing activity he would not write of his financial burden.¹⁴ He would not drop even those in arrears for seven or more years unless requested. As editor he was exposed to the criticisms of his religious community and the challenges of those who spoke for of other churches.¹⁵

Oliphant's influence was enhanced by his field activity. He served as an evangelist for the north shore churches in 1847.¹⁶ With members from Oshawa he spent the summer of 1848 campaigning from Athol, Prince Edward county westward to Scarboro.¹⁷ Also, he served the Wellington county co-operation and the provincial co-operation as evangelist in 1849 and 1850, respectively.¹⁸ He

¹³Oliphant gained control of a press in 1848 by which he did job printing and produced the Witness. The Christian, VI, 2 (Oshawa, Feb. 1848) 62.

¹⁴Oliphant pledged that little would be written about "temporalities." Witness of Truth, III, 1 (Picton, Jan. 1848) 24.

¹⁵The difficulties attendant to publishing a religious paper were evidenced in Oliphant's assessment: "No periodical established to plead reformation north of Virginia has been able to live except this periodical [Banner of the Faith]. Four papers arose and expired in Pennsylvania. Two in Northern Ohio, one or two in New York. One in Massachusetts. One in Maine. One in Nova Scotia. Two in New Brunswick. One in Canada. Twelve or thirteen papers thus appeared, lived, languished and died." Banner of the Faith, XIV, 4 (Brighton, Jul.-Aug. 1860) 196.

¹⁶Oliphant was selected by a group of north shore brethren in Aug. 1847 to serve as an evangelist for twelve months. He was to cover the territory from Picton to Pickering, a distance of 120 miles. He worked with the churches in Port Hope, Cobourg, Bowmanville and at preaching points inland at Darlington, Brock, Mariposa and Eldon. He resigned the responsibility at the end of Jan. 1848. Witness of Truth, III, 12 (Oshawa, Dec. 1848) 261-262.

¹⁷He joined Ash, McGill, and Farewell. Witness, III (1848) 141ff.

¹⁸Oliphant was employed by the Wellington county co-operation in 1849. When the co-operation was organized provincially in September, 1849, Oliphant served as secretary for one year and as evangelist for a year beginning Jan., 1850. Witness, IV (1849) 21, 237-38, 257-58.

counselled congregations facing difficulty. He was invited to officiate when new buildings were opened.¹⁹ In a day when religious debates were popular Oliphant was called upon to defend the Disciples' position.²⁰ Over his two decades of editorial work he made repeated circuits through the provincial churches as well as the Maritimes and the border states. His editorial ability, his knowledge and his visibility among the churches were positive factors in the growth of the Disciples during the period.

Consolidation. Through Oliphant's papers the Disciples were aided in gaining a sense of identity.²¹ Doctrinal articles contributed to the sense of the "rightness" of the movement, an essential factor for a group protesting perceived error and unscriptural organizations.²² His pages were open to the writings and reports of various people. These reports and news of the churches helped to develop a sense of community. Announcements of future meetings facilitated broader contact. Articles were published which upheld the vision of the movement succeeding in a Godly cause. The Ontario Disciples were conscious of their growth, made comparisons with the more rapid growth experience of the Disciples south of the border and engaged in analysis of causes and conditions.²³ Oliphant's journals became the voice of the Disciples of Christ in Ontario.

¹⁹Oliphant officiated at the opening of the Oshawa church building, Oct. 15, 1848, and the South Dorchester building, Aug. 1850. Witness, III (1848) 144, 261-262.

²⁰Oliphant debated with a Presbyterian at Pickering in 1847 and with a Universalist (Lavell) at Jordan in 1849. Witness, IV (1849) 59, 62.

²¹Oliphant's own assessment is not immodest: "For fifteen years the brotherhood in Canada have been a unit in employing the press ... So far we all [the brotherhood] labored in this department with one mind and one spirit. Great therefore has been the success attending the efforts put forth." Banner of the Faith, XIV, 4 (Brighton, Jul.-Aug. 1860) 196.

²²E.g. The 1850 volume contained a written dispute with a Baptist elder about closed communion, a series contrasting the Baptists and Disciples; correspondence with a Methodist preacher concerning the Holy Spirit. Witness of Truth, V, (1850).

²³Reasons for the slow growth of the Disciples were advanced: (1) unworthy men preaching in the early period, (2) lack of acquaintance among the churches, (3) lack of co-operation among the churches, (4) lack of vision, (5) an unlovely spirit in opposing the sects. Witness of Truth, IV (1849) 194.

Impediments. There were, however, weaknesses inherent in the dominance of the Oliphant publications in a fellowship which had no other formal means of expressing communion-wide concerns apart from the voices of itinerating evangelists. The Disciples were in danger of being a "paper run" church and this under the aegis of one man. The bulk of the writing was done by Oliphant. Oliphant's youthful exposure to the American Disciples and to the Campbells themselves conditioned him to be generous with space for American materials. The various printed discussions and debates, no doubt, added to the view, held within and without, that the Disciples were argumentative, doctrinaire and narrow.²⁴ As well, the tone of the papers conveyed the thought that the essence of the church consisted more of rationality than of feelings. The disruption to the movement fueled by his writing was severe in the later 1850s. Oliphant found himself at odds with the majority of the leaders of the Disciples on the matter of organizing for evangelism.

The topics "Organizing for Growth" by the Disciples of Christ through the development of the "Co-operation" and "Diverging Views" regarding it are examined in what follows.

Organizing for Growth

The Co-operation

The nascent Disciples had a message to deliver, but their spokesmen for the most part were tied to their farms. Individual congregations were too small and cash-starved to provide the needed funds that a co-operation of churches could. The touring evangelist was the model that Black and other Highlanders had

²⁴A critic described the Disciples as "a company of quibbling, cavilling, hypocritical lawyers [rather than] pious and devoted followers of the Saviour ... representing themselves as the only Christians in the world." Witness of Truth, I, 1 (Picton, 1845) 22.

witnessed. Financial support was appropriate, it was believed, for such.²⁵ James Black and Alexander Anderson had conducted an evangelistic tour during the winter of 1843 with the result that 25 had been immersed. Encouraged, the congregation at Norval hosted a meeting in June, 1843 for surrounding congregations for the purpose of organizing for evangelism. At that meeting the "co-operation" was born. Reporting to the Millennial Harbinger James Menzies wrote:

Pursuant to notice given to the various congregations of disciples in Canada West, a meeting of delegates and brethren took place in Esquesing, near Norval, on the second Friday of the present month, for the purpose of promoting the cause of truth and disseminating the principles of our common Christianity ... It was resolved to employ two Evangelists for the present season and to sustain them by free will offering of the churches.²⁶

James Black and James Menzies, likely the promoters of the meeting, remained active as travelling evangelists. A June meeting was held again in Norval in 1844, but details of evangelistic activities, accomplished or planned, are not available.²⁷ Ash speaks of an "old provincial Co-operation ... [being] formed about 1845 ... under the direction of the Elders of Pickering, Oshawa and Bowmanville churches for several years."²⁸ In 1846 a fresh attempt was made to organize for evangelism, this time at Eramosa East, Black's home church. On February 8 "messengers from Erin, Eramosa, and Esquesing" met in the home of John Stewart. Officers were appointed, objectives established, "brethren Black and

²⁵W. H. Trout recalls an early 100 mile mission taken from Norval to Prince Edward county by his father, William Trout and Alexander Anderson, at the bidding of the Norval congregation in about 1842. A visiting brother Leslie from Toronto spoke up, "Brethren, you have not provided for the expenses of these brethren, nor for their time, this (sic) should be done at once, and I will give one dollar toward the fund." W. H. Trout, Trout Family History, p. 63.

²⁶Millennial Harbinger (August 1843) 376-377.

²⁷Ash reports two personally memorable experiences associated with this meeting.

"Reminiscences, 11," Christian Worker, II, 13 (Meaford, November 1883) 1.

²⁸This likely accounts for the employment of Oliphant as evangelist in 1847-48. "Reminiscences, 12," Christian Worker, III, 2 (December 1883) 1.

Menzies receive[d] approval for their [past] evangelistic efforts," and "two brethren [were to] be sent over the previous route used."²⁹

Black's Influence

Because Black was the moving force behind these developments or because of his forty-three year advocacy of the arrangement or both, he was viewed as "the father of the co-operation."³⁰ The co-operative arrangement was neither unique to the Disciples nor an innovation by Black. This was an age for the proliferation of societies with Christian aims: e.g. Bible publishing, temperance unions, benevolent fraternities and missionary societies. Black was the first agent of the British Bible Society in Upper Canada. He organized a society for producing the Bible in the Chippewa tongue. He had witnessed the missionary societies operating in the Scottish Highlands. In a letter from Lobo, June 8, 1847 Dugald Sinclair acknowledges Black's earlier letter in which he, Black, had proposed "the establishment of a branch of the Highland Baptist Missionary Society in Canada," and replies, "I wish from my heart it may take place."³¹ In these matters Black is acting as a typical Scottish Baptist. The Scotch Baptist model would have designated the Norval or the Eramosa East congregation as the supervising church rather than arranging for a board of management. Black was always aggressive for the growth of the co-operation, for its funding and for evangelists to serve in its

²⁹This is the first reported formally organized co-operation. The meeting chairman, W. A. Stephens, was elected president. Officers were appointed: L. Parkinson, treasurer; William Oliphant, general secretary. The objective was established: "adoption of measures for the more efficient spread of truth by means of evangelists." Semi-annual meetings were to be conducted in June and December. Witness of Truth, I. 10 (July, 1846) 210.

³⁰"He [Black] was foremost in organizing the first co-operative." Butchart, Old Everton and the Pioneer Movement Amongst the Disciples of Christ in Eramosa Township, Upper Canada from 1830 (Toronto: Reuben Butchart, 27 Albany Ave., 1941) p. 38.

³¹"James Black" file, The Disciples of Christ Historical Society Archives, Nashville, TN.

ranks.³² He worked regularly as an evangelist under its auspices and for a number of years served as its president. Black's energy and influence stood behind the co-operation.

Difficulties

Because the evangelists were self-supporting farmers for the most part, it was difficult to find men who could work full-time, particularly during harvest periods.³³ In 1849 the vision of a co-operation with a provincial identity was revived at Bowmanville, with a broader circle of churches participating. For the first time, Alexander Anderson and James Kilgour were called to serve for a full year. They were promised \$300 each in advance. These men worked resolutely from January, 1850 through to January, 1851. They "visited nearly all the brethren in the province ... held nearly 365 meetings ... baptized 114 persons."³⁴ In spite of this success the churches were reported to be unenthusiastic, and it appears that no workers were in the field during the spring of 1851.³⁵ The June Meeting in Eramosa that year gained the consent of Alexander Anderson to "take to the field as the messenger of the churches in Canada," i.e. to seek their co-operation and support. Anderson was successful in this effort, and James Black agreed to serve as evangelist provided he had a "companion." David Oliphant was prevailed upon

³²During 1860 Black spent five weeks visiting churches on behalf of the co-operation, securing pledges amounting to \$1,200, preaching 25 times, and travelling 500 miles. Banner of the Faith, XV, 2 (Mar.-Apr. 1861) 79.

³³Black's letter to Oliphant, reporting a two weeks' tour with James Kilgour, from Eramosa, Jan. 22, 1848, commented: "You know that the few churches in this section of the country have for several years been organized in a co-operation for spreading the gospel. We have generally selected proclaimers from among ourselves; and in consequence of the way our brethren are engaged with their farms and families, there are only certain seasons that they can leave home; and then frequently under the most unfavorable circumstances. When shall we be in apostolic order, with an efficient eldership at home, and zealous 'men of God' as evangelists abroad?" Witness of Truth, III, 4 (April 1848) 91.

³⁴Christian Mirror, I, 1 (January 1851) 29.

³⁵Mirror, I, 3 (March 1851) 82-83.

to work as well even though he would have only nine months to give because of the pressures of his editing responsibilities. Oliphant accepted for he believed "... a crisis has arrived in our progress in Canada -- a point at which we must either fall away and become comparatively nothing as a people, or advance and prosper like a living, healthy body ..."36

A Tradition

From that time the co-operation began to take hold. In 1853 the Disciples acknowledged "ten years of co-operation effort." A tradition was being established. Nevertheless, there was the continuing problem of finding men agreeable to spending an extended time in the field.³⁷ Black's discouraged comment to an American periodical, The Christian Age was recorded in the Christian Banner in 1855:

The Board of Evangelizing Co-operation have tried during the two years past, but laborers cannot be obtained ... Our Annual meeting will soon take place, and what to do, in respect to dissolving it, and still to get evangelists ...³⁸

In 1857 it was acknowledged: "Not one evangelist [is] constantly in the field ... within the past three years a plurality of evangelists have travelled and labored portions of each year."³⁹

The co-operation, in fact, did not become a communion-wide involvement. For the nine years in which churches supporting the co-operation are listed in the periodicals, only 33% of the available congregations on average participated. The years 1860 and 1861 reported the best averages with 40% and 45% respectively.

³⁶VI, 7 (July 1851) 218-219.

³⁷James Kilgour, president of the co-operation in 1853, in reporting to the annual meeting held at Williamsville, Wainfleet township, June 18, states that in the "difficulty in finding an evangelist for annual work, this is the worst year yet." Christian Banner, VII, 8 (August 1853) 219-220.

³⁸Banner, IX, 6 (June 1855) 167.

³⁹XI, 7 (July 1857) 210.

Preachers

The arrangement of the co-operation nurtured a small group of field-trained, itinerant preaching "elders." Nine listings of co-operation agents are found in Oliphant's publications for 1853-1863. Three of sixteen men listed served extensively. James Black was reported as serving a few months each for most years. Charles J. Lister, formerly a bank employee from Bowmanville, served full-time for at least five different years. James Kilgour, a school teacher who came to Canada in 1845, served for shorter stints for most years throughout the 1850s and 1860s. Also active were Alexander Anderson who came to Canada from Perthshire in 1832 and Edmund Sheppard who came from Nottingham in 1843. (He was a student at Bethany College, 1846-1849.) The preachers were of Scottish, English and Canadian birth. It is noted that no individuals of American descent took a leading role in the establishment of the Disciples of Christ in Canada West.

The 1859 report of the support of the Evangelists, recorded in the Banner of the Faith, reported that Charles Lister worked full-time (\$426), James Kilgour half-time (\$200), Edmund Sheppard three months (\$45) and James Black and Robert Royce one month each (\$17 and \$18).⁴⁰ A similar pattern follows for 1860, 1861 and 1862, with Lister the only fulltime worker for those years.⁴¹

Oliphant's periodicals record evangelistic visits to various locations, churches and preaching points by the several evangelists. By marking each reported visit per preacher the following profile emerges. During a twenty-one year period some 269 evangelistic visits to established churches were recorded by some 19 named Canadian preachers. Thirty-two such visits were recorded for 16 named American evangelists who were non-resident and chiefly from New York

⁴⁰Banner of the Faith, XIII, 2 (Mar.-Apr. 1859) 88.

⁴¹Faith, XIV, 6 (June 1860) 296; XV, 2 (Feb. 1861) 78; XVII, 3-4 (Mar.-Apr. 1863) 58.

and Ohio states.⁴² In addition, 95 evangelistic visits were made by Canadian preachers to "preaching points," i.e. where churches did not currently exist and nine by American preachers.⁴³ The ratio of Canadian versus American evangelistic visits is nine to one.

Diverging Views

Alternative

An alternative to a co-operation governed by a collective committee was evangelism directed by the local congregation, singly or with the assistance of several sister congregations. Joseph Ash emphasized the primacy of the local congregation in a comment written retrospectively in 1882 in his "Reminiscences." He expressed this viewpoint:

I had learned a lesson [c. 1833-34] through the Harbinger that I had not forgotten. It was this, that the Church or Congregation of Christ, is the highest tribunal on earth, that every individual congregation, or church is entirely independent of any other in the management of its own affairs of church order and discipline. That the Church of Christ properly set in order "is the pillar and support of the truth." That it is all that Christian men and women need or can lawfully desire. It is a Missionary Society, a Bible Society, a Benevolent Society, a Protective Society ...⁴⁴

The 1843 "co-operation" involved only a few churches and was viewed as a legitimate extension of the churches. When delegates elected a board of management, some feared that this was the first step toward a supra-church organization. W. W. Eaton, editor of The Christian attended the second "June Meeting" in 1844. He noted the uneasiness present:

⁴²J. C. Stark of Massilon, Ohio, reported his preaching tour in Canada where he spent eighty-one days, spoke seventy-six discourses and had fifty-three additions, travelled over 500 miles, and visited four different congregations. Christian Banner, X, 12 (Dec. 1856) 384.

⁴³American preachers included Michael Correll, A. B. Green, A. S. Hayden, Haywood, A. P. Jones, Lanphear, L. Southmayd, J. C. Stark, Daniel Stewart, Straight.

⁴⁴Ash, "Reminiscences, 1," Christian Worker, II, 1 (Meaford, Nov. 1882) 3.

... fearful that their yearly meeting might grow into a calf, an ox, or something worse (Exod. 32:19) ... it was agreed that future [June] meetings should be only for the cultivation of Christian union, edification, and evangelism.⁴⁵

"R. R." wrote January 22, 1851 from Eramosa to the Christian Mirror and suggested that the co-operation be dissolved in favour of smaller groups of churches working together directly in evangelism in their own areas.⁴⁶

Thus, very early in the development of the Disciples of Christ in Ontario a conflicting vision arose about how the churches should function together. The respective positions can generally be associated with the Scottish and Scotch Baptist approaches, respectively. The disagreement contributed to the impairment of the co-operation's effectiveness in the earlier years and finally to the separation of the groups adhering to the two positions by the end of the century. David Oliphant Jr, son of the Scotch Baptist, Oliphant Sr led the opposition to the co-operative movement.

Oliphant's Shift

At first Oliphant was both supportive and involved. Indeed, he was at various times one of the co-operation's evangelists and served as its secretary. He spoke favourably in 1851 of its accomplishments: he accepted the responsibility in that year as evangelist because of "... a desire to show the same personal and practical interest in the co-operation now that I have shown in days past when first striving to get up and keep up such an organization."⁴⁷ However, in 1849 a parallel development in the United States had climaxed in the formation in Cincinnati of the American Missionary Society. This Society was a fully

⁴⁵Eaton reported to the Millennial Harbinger, (1844) 379.

⁴⁶Thought to be Robert Royce. Christian Mirror, VI, 2 (Feb. 1851) 40. See the move to smaller co-operations in 1870 reported on page 142.

⁴⁷Mirror, VI (1851) 218.

incorporated entity, independent of the churches, yet drawing on the churches for funding to assist the churches in doing their work. A warning bell rang for Oliphant. While he continued to be involved directly in the Ontario co-operation, for several years he studied the matter privately. He admitted his uneasiness publically a number of years later (1865):

The year 1848 and 1849 dawned and closed. Chosen to be a scribe to a fervent company of disciples seeking to devise ways and means to sustain proclaimers, my studies were directed to the action of disciples at work in primitive days as described in the sacred writings. After my best attention, I concluded that my readings and reflections did not fit with many beloved men, and my studies were measurably laid away in silence.⁴⁸

While this reservation was held by Oliphant privately, he still endorsed the co-operation in 1851 and agreed to serve again as an Evangelist in 1852.⁴⁹ Yet in 1853 he wrote to a brother Mathes in Indiana in a letter, not published until 1857, as follows:

We, too, in Canada, have a co-operation arrangement in the form of a special organization with a name ... Some of our brethren look upon these organizations and their offices, separate from the organization of the Church of Christ, with a degree of distrust; and I frankly avow that I believe the Lord's Church, officed and equipped according to the original model, will be found perfectly adapted to local and general well-doing ...⁵⁰

Opposition

While the co-operation as a voluntary extension of the churches might be open to some objection in Oliphant's view, the American missionary society was clearly in violation of the movement's position, i.e. no organization should exist greater than the local church.⁵¹ Accordingly, he began to attack the American

⁴⁸Message of Good-Will to Men, XIX, 3-4 (March 1865) 56.

⁴⁹Christian Banner, VI, 9 (Sept. 1852) 251-252.

⁵⁰XI(1857) 210.

⁵¹In the report to the churches by the co-operation published in July, 1849, in which the Wellington district churches invited a "more extensive union," the co-operative arrangement was

model in his periodicals, starting in 1856. His objections and arguments were published in the Christian Banner and offered for publication in the American Christian Review edited in Cincinnati by Benjamin Franklin.⁵² The arguments against the American arrangement hit close to home, however, and made those in favour of the co-operation unhappy with Oliphant.⁵³ There was talk of the provincial co-operation starting its own paper.

In the summer of 1859 Oliphant toured churches in Nova Scotia. He reported that happenings there proved that he was "a hearty and practical advocate of co-operation." In fact, the churches there also maintained a co-operation. They had determined to dispose of boards and committees and have the elders and deacons at Milton, Nova Scotia see that the labourers went forth. Milton would be aided by funding from sister congregations.⁵⁴ However, Oliphant became increasingly isolated in Ontario. Then, in 1860 Oliphant together with the leaders of the church in East Lake, Athol township, Prince Edward county sent out a circular letter stating their position which called for evangelism to be accomplished through the churches themselves, co-operating in small regional arrangements.⁵⁵

stressed: "Each congregation will have a voice in determining who shall be the laborers in the gospel field." Witness of Truth, IV, 7 (Oshawa, July 1849) 164-166.

⁵²Oliphant dismisses the main arguments put forward by the supporters of the U.S. society, namely: The union is for the world's conversion; it expresses zeal for man's conversion. He argues: (1) Disunion is feared when "expedients" are pushed as more or less obligatory. (2) True zeal promotes true conversion: "there are few broader signs of carnality than those seen in expedients, schemes, organizations, arrangements to impart or increase this zeal to save the unsaved, or to perfect those who are saved." Christian Banner, XII, 8 (1858) 251-255.

⁵³XII (1858) 198.

⁵⁴Banner of the Faith, XIII, 2 (Mar.-Apr. 1859) 91-95.

⁵⁵In "Joint Labor, No. 2," Oliphant repeats the "chief part of the Athol communication" given a year earlier. The appeal was "to appoint, send, and sustain proclaimers as originally ... [i.e. in the New Testament plan] ... each church who can enlist each qualified worker available and send them forth." Those churches without workers can assist those who have, sending funds to appointed deacons in respective churches. "A number of churches have already expressed a readiness to co-work in some such manner ..." Now the operative word would be "co-working" in place of "co-operating." Faith, XV, 3 (May-June 1861) 126-127.

The Adviser

A second paper in Ontario, The Adviser was begun in July 1860. It was clearly a rebuke of Oliphant and was so perceived by him.⁵⁶ After only one or two issues publication was suspended until June, 1862 when it resumed its activity. It continued until the end of 1864. It folded due to financial difficulties at the close of 1864. Its editorial activity was handled by a committee comprised of James Kilgour, C. J. Lister and Edmund Sheppard and later supported by James Black and Lazarus Parkinson. It is noted that these were the most active evangelists in the employ of the co-operation during the 1850s.⁵⁷

Distress

Dissension in the ranks had now brought its unhappiness and distraction.⁵⁸
The stress was great for Oliphant:

The Past Five Years: -- From the beginning of 1859 to the end of 1863, 'our paper' -- Banner of the Faith -- gave forth its testimony amid many conflicts. Our publishing trials are past; we mean the extra trials. While sending out perpendicular articles in 1858, it became abundantly clear to us that a severe storm was gathering and it was in our heart to retire from editorial life at the close of the year. Remonstrances and counsels prevailed to keep us in the field, less as a writer and more as a proclaimer. We can never again suffer as it has been our lot to suffer during the past five years. To be burned at the stake as a martyr would have been less painful. Still the truth of God has been vindicated in the conflict, the past campaign will be forgotten only as its bright and beneficial side may be edifyingly remembered, and at this moment we greet every man, helper and opposer, with a message of good-will.⁵⁹

⁵⁶The Adviser was edited by a committee and promoted by men in favour of the co-operation.

⁵⁷The Adviser, II, 6 (Toronto, June 1862) 1.

⁵⁸The word that the co-operation was "dying" was reported to be a mistake. Black wrote: "There are influences at work against the co-operation, but the Lord will overrule." The Adviser, II, 1 (Jan. 1862) 16.

⁵⁹Message of Good-Will to Men, XVII, 1 (Picton, Jan. 1864) 31.

The co-operation system of evangelism was working less and less adequately for the enlarging movement. For the moment, because of the position Oliphant championed, growth was augmented by various churches using the congregation-based arrangement.⁶⁰ This was the approach which had earlier been advocated by Royce and latterly by Oliphant. Now six evangelists were out working in place of two.⁶¹ The Disciples returned to church planting.⁶² By the end of the period of this study, 1867, 50 churches existed, a three-fold improvement over the congregations of 1841 (17). The Disciples' roots were down; their presence was being felt.⁶³

The Growth of the Movement

The Disciples of Christ did grow during the Canada West period in spite of dissension and the failure of the co-operation to fulfill its potential. The increase will be examined in terms of (1) churches planted, (2) the growth curve, (3) baptisms reported and (4) membership estimate.

⁶⁰William Trout reports in 1863 from Meaford: "With regard to evangelizing the brethren have concluded that with the assistance of the neighboring congregations, they will engage the service of some evangelist to labor in this section of the country." Banner of the Faith, XVII, 5-6 (May-June 1863) 94.

⁶¹Message of Good-Will to Men, XIX, 1-2 (Jan.-Feb. 1865) 34. Oliphant reports local church-directed co-operatives working in Prince Edward county, in the Bowmanville-Oshawa area, the Wellington district, the Niagara district, southwestern Ontario, and in the Georgian Bay region. Banner of the Faith, XVII, 5-6 (May-June 1863) 87-89.

⁶²Oliphant writes in 1864: "There has been more labor given the past year by the co-operation than any year yet, and when we consider that many churches have withdrawn their pecuniary aid and are employing evangelists themselves, we can say the present state of things are (sic) truly encouraging." Message of Good-Will to Men, XVIII, 3-4 (Mar.-Apr. 1864) 62.

⁶³References to opposition from surrounding churches occur frequently in the periodical record, indicating that the community was very much aware of the Disciples. E.g. concerning a reported meeting in King township: experiencing "a great amount of prejudice and ignorance that prevails in reference to us as a people." Witness of Truth, V, 6 (Jun 1850) 43. Black, when he preached at Brooklin, reported that the community "gave credit to the evil reports of unscrupulous men who called us 'Campbellites' and say we have no religion." Christian Banner, XII, 7 (July 1858) 222.

Churches Planted

At the beginning of the period there were seventeen congregations either Disciples or potentially Disciples. By 1867 there were some fifty churches.⁶⁴

Church plantings occurred through a variety of circumstances:

- (1) Disciples moved to new settlements and rallied others around them, as in the instance of Wainfleet (1846) and St. Vincent (1847).
- (2) Small groups of Disciples in localities invited evangelists into their midst to labour for a time and to organize them as churches, as in the case of North East Hope (1847), Hamilton (1848), Nottawasaga (1849) and Derby (1858).
- (3) Preachers worked in new areas where they gained converts and constituted them as congregations, as in the case of Omagh (1845), Dorchester (1850), Stouffville (1852), Butterfield (1858) and St. Anns (1863).
- (4) Local churches reached out through their own membership into adjacent regions and developed congregations, as in the case of Toronto township (1843), Collingwood (1860), Marsville (1862) and Mimosa (1863).
- (5) In a few instances Baptist churches were organized which later identified as Disciples congregations, as in Lobo (1831), Howard (1861) and Mosa (1862).
- (6) Two leading churches came into existence when four township congregations merged, Erin Centre (from Erin East and Erin West, 1860) and Everton (from Eramosa East and Eramosa Center, 1861). <See Appendix A.>

⁶⁴Somewhat fewer than 50 churches may have been functioning by 1865. Announcements of church plantings were more likely to be made than announcements of churches' demise. The church in Berlin (1843) was reported not meeting in 1850. The church in Toronto township (1843) faded from activity at some undetermined date. The numbers reported include the subtractions of these and others judged to have been removed.

Growth Curve

The growth curve of churches established according to the periodical reports is of significance. Two six year periods of accelerated activity in church planting are separated by a nine year period in which the growth flattens. From 1845 to 1850 15 churches were established. From 1851 to 1859 eight churches were established. From 1860 to 1865 16 churches were established. For the period of Canada West overall 47 congregations were added and 14 dissolved leaving a net gain of 33 and a total of 50 congregations at the end of the period. <See Appendix A.>

Baptisms Reported

Baptisms were reported regularly in the periodical record. As "believer's baptism" was regarded highly by the Disciples, this was an important marker for the progress of the movement. Once again the picture is fragmentary. The average number of baptisms per church reported during 1845-1865 was 7.7. Examining the three growth periods for church planting cited above, the average baptisms per church is 7.0 (1845-50), 10.0 (1851-59) and 6.0 (1860-1865). The middle period, a time of reduced expansion of the number of churches, appears to be the time of greater congregational enlargement. Nevertheless, the periodical report is limited in the extreme: only 15% of the churches reported baptisms.⁶⁵ Projecting a flat 7.7 baptisms per church per year, not an unlikely number, produces for all churches 7,346 baptisms for the 21-year period. The number registered in periodical reports

⁶⁵It cannot be assumed that the churches that did not report baptisms (85% of the churches on average) baptized at the average rate of 7.7 per church per year. Neither can it be assumed that the baptisms reported were the only ones which occurred.

totals 1,076, or 14.6% of the potential. The actual total of baptisms must be somewhere between the two figures.

Membership Estimate

It is difficult to determine precisely the size of the membership of the Disciples during this period. Menzies reported 16 churches and 505 members at the 1843 Norval gathering or an average of 32 per church. Yet another eight churches, which were or which soon were to be Disciples churches, can also be indentified in that year. This does not include scattered individuals and groups of individuals who by then considered themselves Disciples. When the organization of a church is reported in the periodicals, the size of its charter membership is frequently given. The reports of several annual meetings of the co-operation list supporting churches and include both the membership sizes and the number and causes of increase and decrease of members. However, this occurs for only five years in the records and accounts for between only 1/4 and 1/2 of the churches in those years reported. The average sizes of these congregations is: 59 (1854), 58 (1857), 53 (1858), 56 (1859) and 56 (1861). Combining all citings of membership sizes for the period 1842-1865 the average size is 47 members per church.⁶⁶ One can project from this an overall membership of roughly 850 in 1842 and 3,000 in 1865.⁶⁷ On three different occasions Oliphant gives a broad-brush estimate of the size of the church: In 1849 he reports 20-25 churches and 1,000 members.⁶⁸ In

⁶⁶The average size of all congregations of all denominations in North America stays consistently at about 45 members.

⁶⁷Butchart, drawing statistics from the Christian Banner and the Banner of the Faith, reports on the growth of the three Eramosa churches during a five year period. The totals reflect a 37% increase for the period for the three churches; and average sizes for the period for the three churches collectively is 67, and for each individually is East, 70; Centre, 97; West, 38. Disciples, pp. 376-377.

⁶⁸Witness of Truth, IV (1849) 194. However, the accumulated record of Oliphant's periodicals totals some 37 churches.

1853 he reports 30 churches between Owen Sound and Picton and gives the census report of 2,000 of those who indicate preference for the Disciples.⁶⁹ In 1857, including the Maritimes, Oliphant claims "six or seven thousand" members.⁷⁰

Assessment

The Disciples of Christ in Canada West inherited religious perspectives from their former homes. They were influenced by an exploding parallel movement in the United States.⁷¹ Nevertheless, they were almost totally dependent upon their own energies, leadership and developing convictions for their expansion. Given their commitment to a non-clerical preaching force and to self-governing congregations they developed a grassroots religious movement remarkable at that time in Canada.

The section which follows will deal with growth assessment, Church versus Sect considerations, Church Growth applications, Scotch versus Scottish Baptist development and a summary.

Growth Assessed

From the examination of the co-operation it is clear that the Disciples had not succeeded fully in settling upon a viable arrangement for the sustenance and the growth of their churches.⁷² While their growth was substantial it was not remarkable. It did not capture the mind of the public in general. The established

⁶⁹Christian Banner, VII (1853), 126. The accumulated record gives some 41 churches.

⁷⁰XI, 1 (Jan. 1857) 6.

⁷¹The Disciples were conscious of their slower than desired growth. Oliphant regularly reported American "accession" totals which at times were astounding.

⁷²D. M. H. writing to the Christian Banner, Nov., 1856, observes: "Considering our numbers I believe we have less laborers in the field than any other people in the province." 2,000 Disciples were estimated to be in the province of Canada West at a time when the provincial population was over one million. "Is it sufficient for 2,000 Disciples that they send only one or two laborers occasionally into the field?" Banner, XI, 1 (Jan. 1857) 25-26.

churches and sects with their more traditional polity remained undeterred before the Disciples' criticisms.⁷³ Most had growth rates greater than the Disciples.⁷⁴ Indeed, the Disciples' growth did not keep up with the population increases. Their growth shared as well in the migration flow. Included were immigrants from Scotland and England who were identifying themselves as Disciples in their former homelands.

However, the Disciples did grow.⁷⁵ Their enlargement reflects upon the efforts of ordinary people "to be the church" wherever in the province their settling instincts would take them. The continuance of a number of congregations indicates that the elder-deacon arrangement which rejected an ordained clergy had a practical strength. The men who circulated as evangelists for the co-operation or who preached locally without remuneration manifested a zeal and a perseverance which account, in considerable measure, for the advance of the Disciples.⁷⁶

Church/Sect Typology

Did the tenacity of the Disciples reflect a social or a religious impulse? Were they motivated as a sect (i.e. sociological), uncomfortable in their minority

⁷³The Grand River Baptist Association discussed the difficulties which arose over the Baptist church in Dundas when it accepted four or five Disciples into its fellowship without requiring doctrinal alteration. Banner, VII, 11 (Nov. 1853) 290-292.

⁷⁴Oliphant reports the statistics of the Congregationalist churches in Canada East and West in 1857: 69 churches, 66 ministers, 3,125 members. Banner, XI, 12 (Dec. 1857) 384.

⁷⁵Oliphant reflects in 1861: "Meanwhile the principles pled with some fervency and great harmony spread slowly yet steadily in the society of Canada. We first numbered tens - then scores - then hundreds - then thousands. Humble efforts among humble people were successful beyond expectation." Banner of the Faith, XV, 2 (Mar.-Apr. 1861) 68.

⁷⁶Oliphant remembers in 1865: "[In 1845) not only were the disciples few and feeble in Prince Edward county, but they were few and feeble in the province. If my memory be reliable there were in all of Western Canada precisely five meeting houses belonging to the brotherhood: one in Jordan, two in Eramosa, one in Esquesing, and one in Toronto. Of these, the one in Esquesing and the one in East Eramosa were log houses." [By 1860-61, two stone buildings capable of seating 200 each had been constructed, at Erin Centre and Everton, respectively.] Message of Good-Will to Men, XIX, 2 (Mar.-Apr. 1865) 55.

position, which found stimulus in their reaction to the society at large? Or, was their energy derived more genuinely from a religious impulse? Oliphant's periodicals studiously avoided discussions of politics and economics.⁷⁷ The impression is left, even with Oliphant's editorial restraint, that the Disciples were unselfconsciously a part of the broader community. Politics and economics were taken in stride. The Disciples shared the general subsistence conditions of the settlers at the beginning of the period. Many also rose to some affluence as successful farmers as the period progressed.⁷⁸ Thus, they did not evidence that zeal which is fanned by feelings of being a disadvantaged, underprivileged and oppressed minority. The "sect" status during this period does not capture their essence fully. Apart from the work of James Beatty Sr in Toronto there is little evidence that they participated in the debate over the Clergy Reserves.⁷⁹ On the school question Oliphant supported a non-sectarian, national system; his opposition to the Catholic initiative for their own separate schools was on religious grounds.⁸⁰

"Church Growth"

Homogeneity. In addition to examining the Disciples of Canada West from the perspective of the church-sect typology the retrospective application of church

⁷⁷Rarely did Oliphant indulge in socio-political comment. An exception is in an article he wrote on "Catholics and Schools" when he alludes to Canada West's: (1) achieving responsible government against "English Aristocracy" and (2) (veiled) rejection of "English Churchmen," i.e. "established privilege." He then warns, because of the anti-Catholic tenor, Roman Catholics to be careful! Banner of the Faith, XIV, 1, (Jan. 1860) 53-55.

⁷⁸As early as 1849, the assessment of the Disciples was given: "No people are more affluent." Witness of Truth, IV, 1 (Jan. 1849) 6-9.

⁷⁹The American preacher, A. P. Jones, who worked in the Niagara district for the year, 1851, enigmatically commented: "Let the Clergy Reserve and Rectory questions be decided in favour of the State Church establishment, or popular education, as now understood. Sectarian jealousy has almost, if not quite, banished the Bible from the Common School, and in none of the high schools that I have heard of is the Bible taught." Christian Mirror, I, 7 (July 1851) 198.

⁸⁰Christian Banner, VII, 7 (July 1853) 174-184.

growth theory is also useful. Two population streams affected Disciples' growth: those from Great Britain and America. The former fed the growth of the Wellington district and the southwest region of the province. The latter flowed into the Niagara district and the Prince Edward district to the north shore of Lake Ontario, east of Toronto. The churches in Erin and Eramosa townships were enhanced definitely by the steady arrival of Scottish settlers. Dugald Sinclair ministered among the Baptist settlers who came into his area. Here was the unconscious experience of the "homogenous unit" principle, i.e. people are attracted to groups of their own kind.

Behavioral factors. Behavioural factors also have a place in this assessment. The polarization of the movement's two primary leaders, Black and Oliphant, invites examination. Black was a durable worker in the cause, repeatedly going forth from his farm, "Lismore," in evangelistic and organizational endeavours. His activity, more than that of anyone else, was a catalyst for the growth of the Disciples. His persevering support of the co-operation consistently given throughout the Canada West period supplied the movement with continuity. He was universally respected by his communion. Few centers of Disciple activity were not visited and helped by his efforts. Yet while he was an admired teacher, a pithy writer of letters to the periodicals and a vigorous thinker, he did not exert a literary influence. Opportunity for teaching through the pen came almost every month throughout the period of Canada West in Oliphant's publications. Black, however, did not submit general teaching articles. Did he feel too strongly, because of his limited elementary education and his rougher suitability for being a farmer-preacher, a sensitivity to Oliphant's education and to the better education of other preachers who came along such as Kilgour, Lister, and Sheppard? Was he blind-sided to the possibility of there being a "better way" than the organized co-

operation in which he had invested so much of himself? Did its protection become a matter of ego for him?

On the other hand, there was David Oliphant Jr, likely Black's student as a boy, 26 years younger who had been raised in a Scotch-Baptist cum Disciple family. Verging on the precocious Oliphant was 24 when he began to publish his first periodical, the Witness of Truth. In spite of his youth he showed a maturity and depth of insight beyond his years. Did his prominence as an editor make it difficult for others to accept his leadership? A certain testiness -- a quality of editors? -- crept into his writings. How did Oliphant handle the notoriety he gained at so young an age? He was incensed by the suggestion that another paper be published. Was that because this was done behind his back or because it would stand for a method he opposed or because he had become used to being the editor of the sole paper of the Disciples?

Whatever the answer it is clear that two strong minded men, widely regarded in the community, moved in diverging directions. Ego generated energy cannot be dismissed as a social driver from this study. That Oliphant could not consciously, or subconsciously bring himself to be a successor to Black had its repercussions in the later years of the period under review and as well in the years after it.

Receptivity. The co-operation supplied a limited, minimal outreach provision. On the other hand, the "mutual exhortation"⁸¹ method in local congregations consigned the churches to a low common denominator in edification: spiritual robustness often did not follow. The Ontario Disciples were coloured strongly by the Scotch Baptist influence which stressed doctrinal purity. Conditioned by Scottish tenacity and obduracy the Disciples were inclined toward

⁸¹"Mutual exhortation" or "mutual ministry" rejects preaching by a regular, supported minister in favour of various members of the congregation who take their turn in presenting sermons.

legalism and the sectarian spirit. They admitted that they were not attractive at times for this reason. On the other hand, the American Disciples who had learned to separate faith and opinion had a moderating influence on Ontario Disciples.

Beyond the outreach efforts and attractive qualities of the churches growth rates were also affected by the receptivity of the people. Settlers in Canada West were characteristically "churched," whereas church affiliation in the American West was remarkably low. This contrasting condition precluded Ontario Disciples from achieving the growth rates they observed occurring south of the border.

The Disciples reflected their surroundings as much as altered them. Theirs was a predominantly rural development. A farm boy from the backwoods David Oliphant settled in Picton near Kingston, the most populous city of Canada West in the 1840s. Even so, a church was not planted in Kingston. Churches were planted in a dozen villages around Toronto, but two small, separated churches constituted the Disciples' presence in that city throughout the period. The church in Hamilton arrived early, but its record is shadowy. No churches were established in St. Catharines, London or Ottawa during the Canada West era. The Disciples' largest congregations were in rural settings, e.g. Everton and Erin Centre. Of the some 50 congregations active in the period 21 were situated in rural townships, 17 in small villages, nine in towns and three in cities.

Analysis. The Disciples were involved in careful analysis regarding doctrinal positions and practices of the other Churches. Yet there is little evidence that they analyzed either: (1) the makeup of the population they were seeking to win or (2) the effectiveness of their arrangements for securing growth. They were, however, frequently prompted to consider their failure to advance. Typically, they attributed this to a lack of zeal rather than to structural weakness or to social restraints. For the supporters of the co-operation its limitations were perceived to be difficulties in finding willing evangelists and in winning the support of the

churches. The question which exercised the detractors of the co-operation concerned its scriptural propriety. The Disciples were so sharply focussed on these two issues that they failed to evaluate the co-operation's practical worth. At the same time they were distracted from considering the potential of congregationally generated evangelism, which might well have been the genius of their movement.

Scotch versus Scottish Baptist

It is striking where the cleavage which developed over the co-operation question arose. Opposition to the arrangement developed in the American-influenced areas of Prince Edward county and the Niagara district. Support was centered in the Scottish Baptist-rooted Disciples in the Wellington area. This is the very opposite of what might be expected. On the one hand, Oliphant, the American-trained and American-influenced Canadian editor of the Ontario Disciples' periodicals, pursued a polity position more in keeping with Scotch Baptist sentiments. On the other hand, those church leaders in centers traditionally linked with Scotch Baptist origins opted for a polity position more in line with American Disciples practice. One senses that social differences fed the growing disengagement.

An explanation for this irony is possible when it is remembered: (1) imbedded in the Disciples of the Wellington and southwestern areas was a Scottish Baptist memory amenable to organizational developments. The later characterization of this region as having "Scotch Baptist" origins, which if present would have reversed this acceptance, has been demonstrated to be considerably overdrawn. (2) The true Scotch Baptist mantle was carried by David Oliphant Jr into the north shore by the coincidence of his choice of location for beginning his career. The north and south shore churches generally aligned themselves with Oliphant. No doubt his active presence in the region influenced their stand. At the

same time, north shore and south shore churches were distinguished from the Wellington and western area Disciples because of their Christian Connection roots. These imperceptible differences had their effects.

Summary

The Disciples of Christ in the final years of Canada West were a small church but solidly rooted. Some 50 congregations and approximately 3,000 members made up the fellowship as Confederation approached. They shared the experience common to other Churches in Ontario which were under the dual religious influences which issued from Europe and America. Yet more than most the Canada West Disciples were dependent largely upon their own resources. They were a religious movement indigenous to the region in which they developed. Chiefly rural in their setting and predominately Scottish and American in their ethnic connections they faced the challenges of an urban shift and of a melding, expanding population. Seeking to replicate the church of the New Testament order they were simple in the extreme. They were a non-clerical fellowship, loosely associated in self-directing congregations and served by lay leaders who functioned chiefly out of their native abilities and self-developed capacities. Doctrinally they were strongly coloured by the Baptist commitment to the Bible as their only creed, by Haldane evangelicalism and by the unity concerns of the American Disciples. It is in the balancing of these influences, while at the same time recognizing their social drives and reactions, that an understanding of the growth of the Disciples of Christ in Canada West is to be found.

The following chapter will examine the progress of the Disciples of Christ as they attempted to engage more effectively the people of the province during the early Confederation years of Ontario.

CHAPTER 5

THE ENGAGEMENT BY THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST OF EARLY ONTARIO

Introduction

Confederation in 1867 for Ontario meant a release from the unwanted constraints of past political arrangements and the beginning of an era both of self-direction and of broader association.¹ Horizons expanded appreciably as Ontario began to engage in "province building." The Disciples of Christ in Ontario were not alone in sensing the expansive spirit. They also wished to move beyond the constrictions that troubled their movement in the later Canada West years. They desired a better integration of their congregational efforts. They were challenged to engage the broader Ontario community in a more effective role. Required for this advance were: an improved ministerial leadership, better co-ordination of collective efforts and the presence of their churches in urban centers. All segments of the churches needed the advantage of organized activity: children, young people, women and men. The message of the Disciples needed to be presented in a more favourable light and relationships with other bodies upgraded. The Disciples were confident that these improvements could be effected while they maintained

¹"From Ontario's standpoint the Confederation of 1867 was to no small extent a response to perceived repressions of Upper Canadian aspirations in the United Province of Canada during the 1850s and 1860s ... a response ... [to] a broader field of ambition in the new kind of Canada defined by the wider Confederation ... [and to] a return to the region of its own provincial government." White, Ontario, p. 132.

their distinctive plea for Biblical practice and Christian unity. They were challenged to engage the province in the name of Christ.

Unfortunately, this progressive vision did not include a practical remedy for the problem of the spiritual fault line which existed in the Disciples' foundations. The underlying differences, inherited at the beginnings of the movement, were still present. The tensions which had hindered the Disciples in the late 1850s and 1860s remained latently present. The persisting divergence would frustrate the achievement of the stated goal above. Indeed, it would fracture the Disciples by the end of the century. The Disciples' quest for unity in Christ evaded their best effort.

Ontario

Oliver Mowat, leader of the Reform Party, was elected the third premier of Ontario in 1872. He continued to hold power for most of the rest of the century. A stable, somewhat dull, provincial life characterized the period of Mowat's pragmatic approach. At the same time Mowat was dedicated to "the views which become a Christian politician."²

Ontario was caught between the Great Reform party's commitment to reciprocity in trade with the United States and MacDonald's federal trade strategy known as the "National Policy." Yet Tory protectionism did foster "industrial growth inside Canada, and much of this growth gravitated toward ..." Ontario.³ By the 1880s the province had lost its dominant position as a producer of wheat in the face of developments in Manitoba and beyond. At the same time industrial opportunities developed in the province. These developments led to a shift of the population from the rural to urban centers: in 1871 the population was 78% rural,

²White, Ontario, p. 139.

³p. 151.

in 1901 57%. At Confederation there were five cities with 10,000 plus populations; by the 1880s, ten cities. Toronto grew fourfold: from 50,000 in 1867 to 200,000 in 1900. Overall population growth was slower, however, during the last three decades of the century than during the Canada West years. There were increases of one-half million in each of the decades, the 1870s and 1880s, compared to one million in each decade of the 1840s and 1850s. Limited growth took place during the 1890s. A million people emigrated from Ontario to the United States, and many moved to Western Canada during the final third of the century. Slow times were matched by two periods of depression, the "Panic of 1873" which caused five years of hardship and the "Panic of 1893" which suppressed development for the balance of the decade. By 1871 70% of the population had been born in Ontario, 82% by 1901.⁴ Ontario had moved in a brief 70 year period from pioneer struggles to urban stability. These changes challenged church groups such as the Disciples of Christ to adjust to the new realities of the final decades of the 19th century in Ontario.

This chapter will concentrate on decadal developments: I. The 1870s: Years in Transition, II. The 1880s: Troubled Years and III. The 1890s: Years on the Threshold.

I. The 1870s: Years in Transition

The antagonisms which in the 1850s and 1860s grew out of the Disciples' differing visions of how the church was to pursue its evangelical mandate exacted a heavy price of their proponents. Oliphant was broken by the mid-1860s. Church activity on the north shore, Oliphant's former base of activity, began to decline. As well, the early Confederation years were a time of uncertainty and discouragement

⁴White, pp. 132-161.

for the Disciples. Joseph Ash's words, directed in 1874 to James Beaty Jr, one of the editors of the new Bible Index, captured both the resultant dejection and the hopefulness of revival:

Dear Brother, As the large gatherings of the brethren for the proclamation of the gospel, the renewal and formation of acquaintances, called June meetings, have just closed, I have passed in my mind conversations and plans you and I had years ago when we saw the coldness and laxity of the brethren; our Christian papers all failed; the June meetings given up, a deep gloom followed which seemed to hover over every church nearly -- what could be done to revive the cause, rebuild the harmony and confidence of the saints, stimulate them to renewed action and zeal. My suggestion was a periodical on a firm basis, and the renewal of our old June meetings, then a united and positive action in sending out a host of evangelists, *well paid and well sustained*. I remember well your cordial approval with this excellent addition. Yes, let us have June meetings, and more than one; let us have five or six. Not further to recapitulate, the paper is and the June meetings are I hope, firmly inaugurated; the effect to me is cheering and encouraging in a high degree.⁵

The decade of the 1870s which followed the dissembling of the 1860s was seen as a time to rebuild. The vision of harmony and expansion drew the Disciples onward. The separation could be bridged and the great calling of the movement realized. These were transitional years to a better future. Editorial leadership shifted to Toronto -- where the "center" should properly be. A new generation of leaders was emerging to replace the founding fathers. Evangelism was revived in multiple regional "big meetings" held in June. The Wellington co-operation remained small. Perhaps it could realize its destiny after all. Others like it could well be spawned, east and north and west. The movement edged slowly toward the ministry of the located preacher. Ontario Disciples opened up warmly to the influence of the more successful American Disciples' movement. The Ontario Disciples moved toward a more effective engagement of the citizens of Ontario.

⁵ Bible Index, II, 8 (Toronto, Aug. 1874) 240-241.

The 1870s were years in transition for the Disciples. The features of this period will be examined in: (1) the editorial shift, (2) a new generation of preachers, (3) "big meeting" evangelism, (4) located preachers and (5) American influence. The section will close with a growth profile and a summary.

Editorial Shift

Editorial leadership shifted from the north shore to Toronto. The twenty year record of continuous publication by David Oliphant Jr was exceeded by twenty-one years of shared efforts by the brothers, James Jr and Robert Beaty. The Scotch Baptist conservatism of Oliphant was surpassed by the ultra-conservatism of the Beatys who operated in the spirit of their uncle, James Beaty Sr. The senior Beaty's independence had made it difficult for him to get along religiously with all but a few.⁶ The movement of the Beaty position toward ultraconservatism as conveyed in the Bible Index both reflected and contributed to the polarization of the Disciples of Christ in the last quarter of the 19th century.

The Co-operation interests had failed to keep their paper, The Adviser, alive past 1864.⁷ Oliphant published the last issue of his Message of Good-Will to Men at the end of 1865.

The Niagara District churches were in sympathy with Oliphant's position in the matter of co-operation and had long urged him to move there. We know little of his activities during the years 1866 and 1867 and have no definite knowledge of a periodical being published during these years.⁸

Publishing groups with whom Oliphant was identified were formed in Smithville and Hamilton. Probably with his involvement, The Peace Maker was published in Hamilton where Oliphant was living in 1868, but no copies are

⁶Beaty split from the independent Toronto Baptist group in the mid-1830s, from T. C. Scott and the Lesslie brothers in the mid-1840s and from his own Shuter St. group sometime before 1873.

⁷Volume I appeared in 1860 for one or two issues; volume II-IV in 1862-1864.

⁸Perry, Restoration, 79.

known to be extant. The Millennial Harbinger, February, 1869, announced "... Ill health has prevented Bro. D. Oliphant from continuing his publication."⁹ Oliphant then joined forces with E. E. Orbis of Benton, Pennsylvania and published The Messenger and the Laborer (1870-1876). The paper's two sections reflected the two regions, respectively. Evidently this arrangement did not satisfy the Ontario communion's needs as his earlier papers had done. However, when the Bible Index was launched in 1872, Oliphant could only call it "A Toronto Print."¹⁰ Joseph Lister moved to fill the absence of a paper in 1869 and published The Bible Indicator. Ash reported that it closed in three years.¹¹

Bible Index. In 1872 the Bible Index was begun by unnamed "conductors." These were in fact John M. Trout and James Beaty Jr. Beaty was a lawyer and later mayor of Toronto. Trout was publisher of the Monetary Times. The ultraconservative spirit of Beaty Sr seems to have descended upon his nephew, James Jr. Trout's father was William Trout, in the 1830s an elder in the Scotch Baptist congregation in Esquesing and in the 1840s and 1850s one who had helped to establish churches in the Georgian Bay area. The Index attempted in the beginning a generous approach and a posture which would make it congenial to the entire fellowship. The paper took the lead in resuscitating the June meetings and urged regional meetings for the purposes of evangelism and fellowship at some center each Sunday in June. At times "June Meetings" extended into weekends of May and July.

Beaty had an axe to grind, however. He struck out in Volume I against "paying the pastor" and returned to the subject repeatedly in Volume II.¹² Also, in

⁹MH, XL (Feb. 1869) 79.

¹⁰BI, I, 1 (Jan. 1872).

¹¹The failure of this effort may have been the cause of Lister's financial distress which kept him tied to a Georgian Bay area farm and away from evangelism for several years.

¹²BI, I, 6 (April 1873) 95; II, 2 (Feb. 1874) 37, 56; II, 3 (Mar. 1874) 69, 91-94.

Volume II he began an exchange on the subject with the Christian Standard in Cincinnati.¹³ For the rest of 1874 he focussed on the subject.¹⁴ In short order, the main paper for the Disciples had set an ultraconservative course which exceeded even Oliphant's leaning. This effected a growing dissatisfaction among elements within the Disciples.

Alexander Anderson had served for a time as an evangelist in the province supported by assistance from Beaty's congregation. Not deterred by this relationship, Anderson frankly assessed the position of the Index as it drew to the close of its first year. He answered his own question, "Why are there not a 1,000 subscribers?" He responded:

A number of the brotherhood are not in sympathy with its teachings. This may seem extravagant, but we write from the field and know whereof we affirm ... Dear brethren of the Index, suffer the word of exhortation -- change her head a point or two.

Another reason submitted by Anderson was "the alienation of influential brethren. This we believe is inexcusable [i.e. the influential brethren's refusal to be supportive]. If we refuse to co-operate until we can all see it alike we will never do anything."¹⁵ Another example of reaction to the Index can be inferred in C. J. Lister's comment: "I wish Bro. Colin Sinclair would give us a scrap of news now and then in the Index. He is doing a good work; he travels some 5,000 miles a year, preaching different stations. Immerses quite a number each year."¹⁶ It is noted that Sinclair was the son of Dugald Sinclair who served as a "located pastor" during his years in Canada.

The Toronto Disciples. Toronto, with a population of 70,000 in the early 1870s, was the most likely location for the paper. Yet the estrangement of the two

¹³II, 5 (May, 1874) 155.

¹⁴BI, II, 6 (June 1874) 165, 183-185; II, 7 (July 1874) 197, 216-222; II, 8 (Aug. 1874) 231-234.

¹⁵BI, I, 12 (Oct. 1873) 178.

¹⁶III, 7 (July 1875) 210.

congregations of the Disciples within the city mirrored the Disciples' broader conflict and added to the polarization which threatened to reduce the influence of the Index. On the one side was the Shuter Street church. This might be termed Beatty Sr's church in that he owned its building and maintained a strong presence, at least in the early years.¹⁷ The congregation relocated temporarily in 1874 at the corner of Yonge and Albert Streets, moved to Alice Street in 1877 and then moved to Louisa Street by 1879.¹⁸

The second congregation came into being some time after 1842 when Thomas Chalmers Scott with the Lesslie brothers, James and Joseph, and about a third of the congregation removed from the Shuter Street church. This split came because of "radical differences ... in respect of vital matters of faith and otherwise ..." with the "other members of the congregation, of whom Mr. James Beatty (sic), senior, was the most prominent."¹⁹ This group met first on Richmond Street and then on Pembroke Street in 1873 in a building largely financed by Scott.²⁰ A union between the two groups was achieved temporarily in 1863. The estrangement of these churches was the backdrop for the Index. The Toronto differences were reflected across the province.

A New Generation of Preachers

One of the reasons why the Disciples were able to become a viable religious communion in the middle decades of the 1800s was the presence of a corps of preaching laymen. These served with a remarkable constancy. The future

¹⁷He reclaimed the building in 1874 with the result that the congregation withdrew from him. BI, II, 12 (Dec. 1874) 359-360.

¹⁸BI, IV, 3 (Mar. 1876) 75-76; I, 2 (New Series, Feb. 1877) 60.

¹⁹I, 1 (New Series, Jan. 1877) 19.

²⁰Scott died, Dec. 13, 1876.

vitality of the Disciples depended upon a successful transition to the next generation of preachers.

In the June, 1874 issue of the Index, George Clendenan fantasized about "a model June meeting." He summoned the stalwarts of the past, mostly still active and deftly characterized each with a pithy phrase. He gave the roll call: James Black, Thomas Scott, Edmund Sheppard, David Oliphant, James Beaty Jr, Charles Lister, Alexander Anderson, Amos Clendenan, James Kilgour, William Stephens, Colin Sinclair and William Trout.²¹ Lister recognized that the older men, however, had had their day. To Black he commented: "The 'old co-operative' preachers have a pretty large range of friends and acquaintances and generally command a good hearing. Their manner and style are not so enticing as those brought later into the field; but the old Bible readers love to hear them."²² Joseph Ash was concerned about the need for replacements, particularly as he saw the brightest younger men head for the States. He wrote to Eli Barclay, a young Canadian who had recently been appointed to a professorship at Bethany College. He stated:

From the first day, I encouraged you to devote your ... talents ... to the work of the Lord as a preacher ... I had hoped too, that your native country Canada, would receive the benefit of your labors ... It is lamentable that we are constantly raising talented young men who find it to their honor and interest, to leave their native land so full of attractions and beauty, and spend their life among a strange people ... I look upon it that a new era in our church affairs in Canada is about to be ushered in ... We must depend upon younger men to do the work.²³

²¹BI, II, 6 (June 1874) 162-164. A similar list is given by the "conductors" of the BI the next year: J. Black, A. Anderson, J. Kilgour, J. Ash, C. J. Lister, W. A. Stephens, E. Sheppard, C. Sinclair, H. McDiarmid, A. Clendenan, N. Wardell, G. Clendenan, D. Oliphant, "and others." BI, III, 6 (June 1875) 170.

²²He named, incidentally, Anderson, Black, and Kilgour. BI III, 11 (Nov. 1875) 344.

²³I, 3 (Jan. 1873) 42.

Lister also drew this need to the attention of Black and the readers of the Index when he wrote in January 1875:

Younger men should be stimulated by the example of such an aged veteran [Black]. It has often occurred to me that your special field would be among the churches ... It will appear plain to you that young disciples are surrounded by perils and dangers ... A church possessed of sufficient amount of love of truth ... is undoubtedly the best place to qualify a young disciple to fight successfully the battles of life.²⁴

Gradually the older men, through infirmity or passing, gave way to the younger as the decade of the 1870s advanced, men such as George Clendenan, Hugh McDiarmid, James Jr and Robert Beaty, William Crewson, W. K. Burr, Samuel Keffer, John Butchart Jr, D. B. McKellar and Alexander Trout.

"Big Meeting" Evangelism

The 1870s saw the return to vigorous, fellowship-wide evangelistic efforts by the Disciples. These were centered in the "big meetings," i.e. meetings hosted by a central congregation, conducted regionally in the month of June -- that time of respite on the farms between seeding and haying. The new Index took a leading role in encouraging these events. The "conductors" wrote:

It has been suggested as advisable to have a meeting in the month of June announced to be held with some congregation where as many brethren may assemble as may choose to greet each other and talk of the 'things pertaining to the Kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ.' This is right; we would, however, further suggest meetings to be held at different localities on every Lord's day of that month [i.e. five Sundays in 1873] ... Let there be then a general assembly of Brethren with a congregation ... and let the announcements of time and place be made in the April number of the *Index* ...²⁵

They identified the proposed regions with central churches suggested for the meetings: (1) Niagara district, Jordan or Smithville; (2) Western country,

²⁴III, 1 (Jan. 1875) 27-28.

²⁵BI, I, 5 (Mar. 1873) 71.

Dorchester or Ridgetown; (3) Northern section, Meaford or Priceville; (4) Eastern section, Westlake or Hillier; (5) Central section, Everton.²⁶ The congregations responded positively. The meetings took place and continued in subsequent years and became a feature of Disciples' outreach during the 1870s.²⁷ The practice grew in which the "June meeting" weekend was followed by evangelistic meetings which might run from one to six weeks. Such a six weeks' meeting was held in Meaford by A. Ellemore of Frankfort, Indiana, in June and July, 1879 which resulted in 82 conversions, "... the most successful ... ever held among Disciples in Canada."²⁸

The communion-wide response to the initiative taken by the Index with regard to the June meetings gives evidence of the early general acceptance of this paper. At least it demonstrated the willingness of the churches to be led by a representative journal. In these multiple meetings in June one hears an echo of Oliphant's principle which centered evangelism in local congregations. One church was designated the host co-ordinator for each regional meeting. This was a responsibility which rotated among the various congregations from year to year. The "Central section" June meeting, held either at Everton or Erin Centre each year, included on the preceding Friday and Saturday the annual business meeting of the Board of Management of the Co-operation.

During the 1870s co-operation activity centered mainly in Wellington county. According to the periodical record financial support was received for this Co-operation from twelve congregations in 1873, thirteen in 1874 and eleven in

²⁶I, 5 (March 1873) 71.

²⁷I, 9 (July 1873) 132-143; II, 7 (July 1874) 202-207; and II, 8 (August 1874) 236-238; III, 7 (July 1875) 203-210; IV, 7 (July 1876) 195-204; I, 7 (New Series, July 1877) 215-219. In the renewed June meetings of 1873, over 4,000 were in attendance overall, of which only some 1,500 were adult Disciples. P. 132.

²⁸BL, III, 8 (Aug. 1879) 250-251.

1879.²⁹ The possibility was considered of organizing co-operations in other regions. At the 1870 June meeting several churches which had supported the Co-operation in the past spoke in favour of regrouping into smaller co-operations. The following resolution resulted:

Resolved that the present General Co-operation, represented here this day, be and is hereby dissolved by mutual consent, and that, consequently, all Churches hitherto connected with it previously are at perfect liberty to unite or co-operate together for the purpose of Preaching the Gospel in the most efficient and desirable manner they think proper.³⁰

Six Wellington county congregations were designated as having the privilege of sending delegates to the Co-operation which would continue in that region. Delegates from the "Christian Church of the Grey County" had met earlier, on the 5th of May, to establish a Co-operation. Eight churches including Stayner in Simcoe county joined this venture. C. J. Lister was asked to serve as evangelist.³¹

A smaller Co-operation made up of churches in Wellington, Halton and York counties was to be established in mid-summer, but it is unclear if organization took place. Four years later G. Clendenan, while he served as an evangelist for "the Central Co-operation West," asked, "When shall we have a *Central Co-operation East* extending from Toronto to Bowmanville, when, dear brethren?"³² Some doubts concerning the propriety of the co-operation continued to be expressed, but neither its size nor resistance against it were large during this period.³³

²⁹BI, I, 9 (July 1873) 138; II, 7 (July 1874) 208; III, 8 (Aug. 1879) 252.

³⁰Bible Indicator, 3, 2 (July, 1870) 30. (The meeting was designated "The Annual June Meeting of the Churches of Christ co-operating for the spread of the Gospel ..." and held in Everton, June 25, 1870. P. 29.)

³¹P. 32. A report that funds had been received by the "Grey Co. Co-operation" was published in the Indicator in January 1871. BI, 3, 8 (Jan. 1871) 124.

³²BI, II, 1 (Jan. 1874) 16-17.

³³An editorial in the Index (II, 4 [Apr. 1874] 97-98) attacked the "organization and corporate effort" as "the devil's work." Black responded by the next issue in a letter to Lister and rejected the blanket attachment of evil to all organizations. He cited the Bible Index, Bible societies, unions,

Located Preachers

It was lamented frequently that the visiting evangelists were present only briefly. They would often depart when possibilities for an advance in the community were just beginning to open up. Their departure, often hurried in order to meet the next appointment, usually left raw converts behind with inadequate facilities for training in the Christian life. It was insufficient, so it seemed, to depend solely upon the eldership to accomplish this need. To locate the preacher with the congregation for extended periods, or permanently, in response to these two conditions seemed to be a logical solution. The persistence of the opposition to the located preacher reflects both the tenacity of Beaty and a considerable deposit of agreement among certain elements of the Disciples. However, the idea and practice of the located minister made advances throughout the 1870s.

The anti-clerical sentiment is illustrated by the following statement from Joseph Ash in 1873 as he compared two orders of worship. One order was led by the elders and centered in the Lord's supper, and the other was led by the preacher and centered in the sermon:

No one can fail to see the striking contrast between the two orders of worship. I know of no more fruitful source of cultivating and perpetuating 'the one man system,' or of establishing a separate class of persons called ministers, pastors, or clergy than this. Where the minister is the man, the churches (sic) manhood, dignity and power is gone. The whole is centered in one man.³⁴

§
C. J. Lister relected the same view in his comment to James Black
^
concerning the Beaty-Errett (written) discussion on "paying the preacher."

and translation societies as cases in point. "Our co-operation here is still in existence, and I have no doubt will continue and increase in usefulness." BI, II, 5 (May 1874) 152.

³⁴BI, I, 4 (Feb. 1873) 62.

Bro. Errett approves of having one hired pastor over each church, and that *he* is the one who shall be paid. Bro. Beaty does not believe it right to have one man make it his *only* business to teach and rule one church, and of course opposes paying him. The brethren in Ontario, with few exceptions, do not endorse Bro. Errett's *one man system*. They approve of each church having a plurality of overseers, and do not pay except for the time they spend out of that which is necessary for their lawful vocation.³⁵

Black responded later in the same year:

The Beaty-Errett discussion is now closed, I hope. Let it sleep. You say, 'We are not divided on the subject in debate' and I think you try to *expound* the text a little to help us understand it better, but we see it better without the exposition and understand the difference well and settle down contentedly. I heard of no conversions either way. Paul remained three years at Ephesus before he left them. He declared unto them all the counsel of God, and yet he besought Timothy to abide there still and charge some that they teach *no other doctrine*. I think we might learn a lesson from this not to abandon new churches to themselves too soon. Experience proves the wisdom of Paul's conduct.³⁶

Beaty remained adamant, however. Lister in 1875 spoke favourably of having "scripturally qualified overseers" in every congregation who deserved to be "fairly and justly remunerated for the time given to the church ... whether five or fifty days in the year." Beaty's response was, "If our churches were all in good order in this respect, these 'would-be pastors' would find no place in the flock. The Bible gives them no countenance."³⁷

Colin Sinclair, son of Dugald Sinclair an ordained Baptist minister, inherited his father's satisfaction with the pastoral arrangement. The younger Sinclair served Ridgetown for over a decade, even while he preached throughout the province.³⁸ Hugh McDiarmid was engaged in 1875 by the Wellington co-operation to serve it and three churches full-time. Black comments: "He

³⁵II, 7 (July 1874) 213.

³⁶8 (Aug. 1874) 238.

³⁷III, 11 (Nov. 1875) 329.

³⁸II, 2 (Feb. 1879) 62.

[McDiarmid] is engaged in Everton, Erin Centre, and Pembroke Street, Toronto, for three months each, and by the Co-operation three months more, making out the present year. He is not to be *The Pastor*, nor will any of our preachers be silenced by the arrangement."³⁹ Finally, in 1879, a full-time preacher was in place at Bowmanville:

Bro. T. D. Butler is now engaged by the Church in Bowmanville. We are glad that our Churches are becoming alive to the necessity of having able preachers of the Gospel to present the claims of Christ to the people. The conviction is becoming general that the disciples must go forward in this matter in order to go forward in the great work before us. Experience is teaching this lesson.⁴⁰

The next decade saw the widespread acceptance of the located minister in the churches.

American Influence

In about 1842 William Trout went from Esquesing into Ohio to look for a preacher who might evangelize in Canada West.⁴¹ Four Ohio preachers attended the first June meeting at Norval in 1843: brothers William and A. S. Hayden, Drs. Belding and Robinson.⁴² From these days and even earlier -- cf. Wiers in the Niagara district in 1832; Green in Prince Edward county in 1834 and throughout the decade in the province -- there were American preachers working steadily as Disciples in various regions of Ontario.⁴³ As has been determined, however, the contribution of American preachers was comparatively small during the Canada

³⁹III, 2 (Feb. 1875) 48.

⁴⁰II, 7 (July 1879) 217.

⁴¹Trout attended a monster June meeting at Bedford, Ohio, on that trip. Perhaps the preacher he brought back was the Mr. Williams of Trout's eight year old son, William H. Trout's memory. The preacher brought back was "the only one he could get, not the one he wanted." Trout Family History, pp. 62, 173.

⁴²History, pp. 62, 173.

⁴³Alexander Campbell toured the province in 1855.

West era. Nevertheless, there was growing openness to American influence in Ontario during the transitional years of the 1870s.

This connection was fostered through the "big meeting" and the concomitant desire for a "big preacher" to lead the meetings. John D. Rowe, assistant editor of the American Christian Review, Cincinnati, was the featured speaker at several June meetings in 1873. Benjamin Franklin, the Review's editor, filled the same position in 1874. Rowe returned to the June meetings of 1875, along with O. G. Hertzog of Suspension Bridge, New York and J. Harrison Jones, Mount Union, Ohio. Franklin returned in 1876 and was accompanied by Alexander Linn of Detroit. Franklin's son, Joseph, was the featured guest in 1877 who spoke in Toronto, Cobourg, Smithville and Pickering. Joseph Franklin returned in 1879 and preached at Beamsville and A. Ellemore at Meaford in the same year. Not only did the "big name" American preachers excite the Ontario Disciples, they appealed to the broader communities as they drew crowds and multiplied converts. Other Americans came to evangelize, some to serve the Co-operation, others by invitation of various congregations: J. D. Benedict, John Boggs, George W. Colston, Mr. Dungan (Iowa), Isaac Errett, George Lobingin (New York), T. B. Scovil and W. A. Watkins.

With the Americans came an aggressive spirit and a readiness to advise. The advice was tinged frequently with a condescending air. George Colston of Illinois spent several years in the 1860s preaching in the north shore area. He wrote of a return visit in the fall of 1872. En route he visited the office of Brother Beaty of "Saturday sermons" notoriety, thus cheerfully denigrating Beaty's routine secular work week and Sunday preaching.⁴⁴ He returned for a second visit in 1875. At one point he had arranged to preach at a school house. He waited 30

⁴⁴BI, I, 5 (Mar. 1873) 73.

minutes past the appointed hour and then left when no one showed up, only to find that the school had filled shortly after his departure. He commented: "Had I have taken a second thought that I was in Canada, and that Canadians are rather slow in comparison to our folks on this side of the line, I would have waited a few minutes longer."⁴⁵

On the other hand, the Americans were quick to compliment. Rowe gave this assessment after his 1873 trip: "In all my travels I have not found such an inviting field as in the Dominion, where people are unusually candid and openhearted, intelligent and enterprising." He also observed, "What they need most is leadership and rousing up from inactivity. They meditate long and are slow to act, but when once set in motion they move with powerful momentum."⁴⁶ As well, it was feared that the Americans would bring "progressionism." Rowe, in 1873, compared the Ontario Disciples with Disciples of his memory in Ohio 26 years earlier:

Their worship was sweet, simple, and spiritual; reminding me of those blissful days when the churches as yet were unannoyed by the introduction of organs and selected choirs, unmolested by graceless adventurers seeking to improve on the divine model, and, departing from the independency of the congregations, talking learnedly of courts of appeal, high-toned literature, college-bred pastors, wide liberality and mock sympathy in favor of sectarians.⁴⁷

The Canadian Disciples, just "26 years" behind, soon caught up with these American ways!

⁴⁵III, 8 (Aug. 1875) 233.

⁴⁶I, 9 (July 1873) 142-143.

⁴⁷P. 142.

Growth Profile

Fifty churches of the Disciples of Christ were in place at the time of Confederation. Through to 1879 21 churches were planted. At the same time 13 churches discontinued which left a total at the end of the decade of 58 churches. This is a net gain of eight churches over the Canada West period. The net gain of churches planted per year for the period is .67. (This compares with .76 during the Upper Canada years and 1.31 during the Canada West years.)

Memberships reported randomly by 20 congregations gave an average of 62 members per church. This is based on a six year sample: 1873-1877, 1879.

Baptisms were reported by an average of 22 churches per year in the periodical record. An average of 8.6 baptisms per church per year is the church baptismal average for the 1870s.

The resultant growth picture is one of steady but unimpressive progress.

Summary

The 1870s were a decade of gradual change for the Ontario Disciples. By its end they were ready to engage the commonly practiced pastor system. They were more open to American progressive initiatives. The Co-operation had been kept alive, and thoughts of a grander role stirred some. Oliphant's vision of congregation-centered evangelism faded. Oliphant had been relegated to the fringe of the fellowship. The Index was the dominant voice during the decade. Yet its extremism spurred a reaction which in turn set the stage for a resurgence of the corporate vision of the church in ministry during the final decades of the century. The Beatys had experimented with a moderating position when they turned editorial duties over to the more progressive Hugh McDiarmid in 1877. Not satisfied, and troubled with what they saw as a growing tide, the Beatys prepared

to take over editorial duties again as the new decade dawned. They reasserted their presence and position. The following decade was necessarily a troubled one for the Disciples in Ontario.

II. The 1880s: Troubled Years

The 1880s were troubled years for the Disciples of Christ in Ontario. A second paper was added to their publishing activity. The two papers, in turn, championed competing views regarding the churches' methods of outreach and edification. Decades of simmering disagreement broke into public debate. Intemperance marked the exchange. Energetic American workers, untutored in Canadian ways, or young Canadians trained in American schools, brought their approaches to Ontario and acted as catalysts in the confrontation. A growing alignment took place between leading papers in the U.S.A. and the Canadian productions so that the Ontario disagreement became just one field of battle in a continental debate. The resulting division made the Disciples' appeal to unity less compelling to the broader community, particularly during a time when other church bodies were surmounting divisions successfully in union drives.¹

The intensity of the debate hardened positions and pushed proponents into extreme stances. These extremes diminished the Disciples' practicality for advancing their cause and their attractiveness to those they wished to reach. The drive for an Ontario-wide organization for evangelism responded to a growing awareness of the impact of the urban shift occurring in the province. It was felt that from a rural fellowship led by lay, farming elders the Disciples had to move toward a town and city-based church led by educated pastors. The Disciples had to engage the changing society through congregations well directed by pastors and

¹The merger of four Methodist groups was the topic of an article in the Bible Index, XI, 130 (Oct. 1883) 293-296. At the end of the decade a communication was directed to the June, 1889, convention of the Disciples from Rev. A. R. Best, Mount Forest, in which he asked that the subject of union between the Disciples and Free Will Baptists be taken into consideration. The letter was referred to a committee to examine and report during the convention. No such response was recorded in the published report. BI, XVII, 199 (July 1889) 212.

well co-ordinated by convention arrangements. The churches would have to provide Sunday schools for the children, endeavor groups for the young people, mission bands for the women and, eventually, colleges for future leaders. Accelerated growth would surely follow.

These developments which occurred during the 1880s will be examined in the following which will (1) survey the Disciples' periodical record, (2) consider again the American influence, (3) look at an explosive controversy centered in the Co-operation and (4) note other divisive issues. The section will conclude with an examination of decadal growth and a summary.²

The Publications

The Beaty brothers had, in 1877, turned the publishing and editorial duties of the Bible Index over to a committee headed by Hugh McDiarmid.³ Their purpose in this surrender was to have "one good paper among us."⁴ McDiarmid, an Ontario native and graduate of Bethany College, assumed the full editorial activity of the Bible Index through the end of 1879. For his personal support he drew from subscription revenue and was active as an evangelist in the employ of the Wellington county Co-operation during the years 1875-1882.

Some disagreement arose between the Beatys and McDiarmid in the closing months of 1879. The Beatys returned to direct the Bible Index. McDiarmid launched The Christian Sentinel in 1880, published from 2 Huntley Street,

²The periodical record for the decade is available for each year with the exception of 1882 and 1888.

³The committee included, as well, E. Sheppard and C. Sinclair. McDiarmid had prepared a prospectus for a new paper in 1877 to be called The Christian Pathway (cf. BI, I, 1 [Second series, Jan. 1877] 13-14). In this action McDiarmid responded, it was reported, to the encouragement by David Oliphant who volunteered to cease publication of The Living Laborer if McDiarmid would publish a paper in its place (Living Laborer, IV, 9 [Jan. 1877] 247).

⁴BI, I, 1 (Jan. 1877) 13-14.

Toronto.⁵ McDiarmid later released correspondence which indicated his eleventh hour attempt to forestall "what hundreds would regret -- two papers" by offering to submit the Index to a committee of five influential brethren. The Beatys declined.⁶ The year 1880, consequently, was a contentious period with barbs flying at times between the papers. Peace returned temporarily when the two papers merged in 1881 to form the Bible Index and Christian Sentinel under a publishing committee of five.⁷ McDiarmid continued as editor for the two-year life of the combined papers, 1881-1882. He stepped down as editor in order to move to Cincinnati where he had accepted an editorial position with the Christian Standard. In January 1883, with the departure of McDiarmid, the Beatys resumed editorial direction of the Bible Index.

The goal of "one paper" was realized for only ten months in 1881. In November of that year The Christian Worker, edited by H. B. Sherman of Meaford, was begun. The Worker was to be the organ of the resurrected Georgian Bay Co-operation. Sherman stated that the paper's purpose was "not to rival any of the good papers published by our brethren ... our special object is to forward the Meaford co-operation."⁸ In fact, clearly unhappy with the Index, the Worker settled in to serve as a second paper in Ontario. The Beatys' return to editorial responsibility for the Index was just in time to deal with, in their minds, the most

⁵Editorial explanation for this move was offered. "We were not able to come to a satisfactory agreement with the former editors of the *Index* in regard to its continuance under our management, and ... after making and refusing several proposals -- they doing the same -- we now publish the *Christian Sentinel*." The Christian Sentinel, I, 1 (Jan. 1880) 2.

⁶CS, I, 3 (Feb. 1880) 63-64.

⁷Managing committee: E. Trout, Toronto; A. Anderson, Hamilton; W. Forrester, Pickering; J. Johnston, Meaford; H. Black, Rockwood. Writing to editor McDiarmid, the American evangelist in Ontario, Wm. Rowzee, stated, "I trust the union of the two papers may do much for the cause of Christ in the Dominion." BI & CS, I, 5 (May 1881) 157.

⁸Christian Worker, I, 1 (Nov. 1881) 2. For the period Jan.-Oct. 1882, the paper was named The Canada Christian Worker. After two months, the Worker was moved from Owen Sound to Meaford where it was published until its cessation in April, 1886.

flagrant departure to date among the Disciples, the creation of what they saw as a "missionary society" at Acton in June of that year. The papers went to war over the Ontario Co-operation (1883) and the Ontario convention (1886). Other innovations, in the view of the Beatys, such as the ordination of evangelists, the paid pastor, the use of organs and religious titles, sparked debate.

Sherman edited the Worker for three years, November 1881 to September 1884. The publishers, H. T. Law and J. C. Whitelaw of Meaford, then edited the paper through to the March-April, 1886 issue, after which the Worker ceased operations. The Ontario Evangelist succeeded the Worker in May, 1886 under the editorship of two young men, George Munro, Guelph and T. L. Fowler, Everton. As these men were evangelists of the provincial Co-operation, the Ontario Evangelist was considered a publication of the Co-operation. In October, 1889 the publication was renamed The Canadian Evangelist.

The papers were clearly the vehicle of choice as the means by which to advance the positions of the various parties. More than that the prominence attached to their editors, abetted by the aggressive nature common to those who accepted the demanding role of editor, elevated the papers as major players in the efforts to promote their respective positions. McDiarmid, in 1877 offered Index subscribers club privileges to the American Christian Standard. Some viewed this as a demonstration of McDiarmid's inclination toward "progressionism." The American Christian Review would not accept the Bible Index for subscription sharing. Perhaps this was because of the extreme positions taken by the Index's editors. Yet these papers along with the Gospel Advocate, Nashville, became associated in a common emphasis. Joseph Ash feared that the editors (Law and Whitelaw) of the Worker were too much influenced by the Standard.⁹ Jacob

⁹BI XIV, 157 (Jan. 1886) 9.

Creath Jr observed to Ash: "We now have four or five sects virtually in our papers ..."¹⁰ Whether initiators or channels of dissension the Ontario papers during the 1880s were linked with the troubles, and their editors held first rank in the debate.

American Influences

In the transition from the first generation of Disciples leaders to the second, quality, home grown leaders were slow to emerge.¹¹ Talent, however, was readily available from among the rapidly expanding Disciples' movement south of the border. As has been noted, the orientation had shifted during the 1870s from local and overseas influences to that of the Americans. Predictably, the leadership vacuum in Ontario in the 1880s was filled by several Americans of considerable ability who stepped in.

H. B. Sherman. Henry B. Sherman was an American of high ambition and demonstrated ability. Sherman came to Meaford from Indiana in the summer of 1881. In short order he effected the formation of a new Georgian Bay Co-operation and became one of its two evangelists.¹² By November of the same year he had founded the Christian Worker, a "news" journal. He took the initiative by December 1881 of planting a church in the village of Collingwood, "after three months' labor." He then promptly set about to raise funds for a 300 seat building even though the congregation had only 16 charter members. When the ten

¹⁰160 (April 1886) 111.

¹¹McDiarmid was clearly a very capable Canadian. He excelled as a writer, preacher, and debater. Yet, he was past forty when he returned to Canada from the U.S.A. after an absence of eleven years, during which time he graduated from Bethany College. He remained in Ontario only seven years before returning to the U.S. BI & CS, II, 12 (Dec. 1882) 369-370.

¹²The GBC had been "discussed for several years." In July, 1881, plans began to come together in meetings at Meaford. Two evangelists, Sherman and Duncan Stirling, would be under the direction of an advisory committee composed of the evangelists and representatives from each participating congregation. There were ten: Glencairn, Collingwood township, Stayner, Euphrasia, Cape Rich, Meaford, Wiarton, North Kappel, Kilsyth, Owen Sound. The first half-year report indicated that only \$541.73 of the required \$1,600.00 had been raised from eight churches.

churches of the Co-operation were unable to raise their targetted \$1,600 in the first year, September 1881-August 1882, Sherman was ready to abandon it. He advocated in its place smaller co-operations involving three or so churches, each to do their own work. His suggestion paralleled Oliphant's proposal of twenty years earlier.¹³

Sherman, however, had larger goals in mind: an all-Ontario evangelistic enterprise with himself to serve as provincial agent. He took the initiative of mailing a circular to the Ontario churches in November, 1882 in which were contained his proposals.¹⁴ This statement was reprinted and discussed in the December issue of the Worker. His personal interest was immediately identified through a supportive letter published in the Worker from the young preacher, H. A. MacDonald, Cobourg: for "what is designed to be accomplished by the new missionary co-operative movement in Ontario" it is proposed "to send H. B. Sherman into the general field for one year as an evangelist and soliciting agent."¹⁵ Sherman's proposal came about with accompanying furor (see "Controversy" below). Sherman served as general evangelist for a little over a year, July 1883 through August 1884.

In the midst of this frenetic activity Sherman had contracted to move to Oregon to become state evangelist for the association there.¹⁶ Only the death of

¹³Sherman suggested three mini co-operatives: Meaford with Collingwood, Euphrasia and Cape Rich; Owen Sound with Kilsyth and Wiarton; and Stayner with Glencairn and Priceville. "These three co-operations can do more good than they all can do in one. Each can sustain a man all the time." CW, I, 8 (June, 1882) 2.

¹⁴Five proposals were made:(1) An evangelist be constantly in the field both to preach and to "explain the co-operation." (2) Five year pledges with annual collections be made. (3) A board of managers be selected with representative persons from the north, south, east, west and center, of the province. (4) Collected money support the general evangelist and subsidize needy preachers in the churches. (5) A meeting be held soon to select the board of managers. CW, II, 2 (Dec. 1882) 2. 15p. 3.

¹⁶Correspondence between Sherman and David T. Stanley, editor of the Christian Herald published in Oregon, details Sherman's reluctant withdrawal of his availability for State Evangelist for which he had contracted with the State Board. He gave two reasons: (1) his wife's refusal to go

his daughter kept him from carrying through on his intention. His distraught wife, Rebecca, refused to move.¹⁷ This tragedy occurred in the midst of the explosive debate over the Acton initiative. The next year was very demanding for Sherman because it involved publishing duties, fund raising for the Co-operation and a number of evangelistic meetings.¹⁸ In September, 1884 Sherman resigned both from the Worker and from the Ontario Co-operation. He moved to the Niagara district where he encouraged the formation of a regional co-operation for which he would serve as evangelist. The Niagara Co-operation, which was smaller than he had hoped for, did challenge Sherman for a time. Included was the work in Beamsville where he was living. He encouraged most of the Lakeshore congregation in Clinton township to move to town and build a meeting house. The Beamsville structure was opened in the fall of 1885. It was, in his mind, "the handsomest and best house owned by the Disciples in Canada."¹⁹ Sherman, who had worked in Ontario for five years, left in May 1886 for his home in Indiana. Ontario Disciples and their cause would never be the same.²⁰

Other American Preachers. Over twenty names of American preachers who served in Ontario during the 1880s appear in the periodical record. This compares

following the death of their daughter, (2) the protests of Canadian brothers and sisters against his going. Christian Herald (Aug. 1883) 3; (Feb. 1884) 6. This record was supplied by Dr. Jerry Rushford, Pepperdine University, Malibu, CA.

¹⁷Matti M. Sherman, 12 years, six months, 26 days, died June 26, 1883. BI, XI, 127 (July 1883) 22.

¹⁸The periodical record reports that Sherman conducted 17 evangelistic meetings during the five years that he worked in Canada, no doubt an incomplete record.

¹⁹CW, V, 1 (Nov. 1885) 3.

²⁰BI, XIV, 164 (Aug. 1886) 252. Sherman exhibited the tendency, frequently characteristic of those not native to Canada, to misread the cultural situation and to superimpose American familiarities into the work. For example in comparing growth rates of the Disciples in Canada and the U.S., he states, "... we are sorry to say that progress of our cause in Canada is not equal to that of the States. There is no *good reason* for this." CW, I, 3 (Jan. 1882) 2. After one year as evangelist with the Georgian Bay Co-operation, he reported 36 baptisms and 21 reclaimed for a total of 51. His comment was, "I must say this is the lowest number that I have reported as the result of one year's labor." I, 10, (Aug. 1882) 2.

with approximately 45 preachers and elders native to Canada who were active in evangelism in Ontario during this decade. The Americans served as featured speakers at June meetings, participants in debates, evangelists for the co-operations or workers for local churches for brief or extended periods.

J. A. Harding from Kentucky, corresponding editor of the Gospel Advocate (1882-1887)²¹ held a number of meetings in Ontario during this period.²² In 1884 Harding debated I. L. Wilkinson, Toronto, in Meaford on the subject of Baptism.²³ Other debates involving American Disciples included: Aaron Walker of Kokomo, Indiana against C. Watts, England, on Freethought in Welland, March 1885;²⁴ Clark Braden, popular American apologist, on the same subject at Walkerton, December, 1886;²⁵ and J. S. Sweeney, Paris, Kentucky against Wilkerson on Baptism in Beamsville, June 1887.²⁶ Outstanding American preachers continued to be invited to speak at June meetings. In 1880, Thomas D. Garvin was invited to St. Thomas and A. Ellemore of Indiana to Lobo.²⁷ J. T. Hawkins, Ghent, Kentucky, in 1882;²⁸ H. W. Elliott, Kentucky, 1883;²⁹ and A. Ellemore in 1886³⁰ were invited to Meaford .

A number of evangelistic meetings were conducted on Ontario soil by American preachers during the 1880s. For example, O. G. Hertzog, Niagara Falls, N.Y., served extensively. The periodical record reports 25 meetings conducted by

²¹Earl Irvin West, The Search for the Ancient Order, Vol. 2, 1866-1906 (Indianapolis: Earl West Religious Book Service, 1950) p. 335.

²²E.g. Kilsyth 1883, Meaford 1884 and 1885.

²³The debate created a considerable stir in the region. CW, IV, 2 (Dec. 1884) 2; BI, XIII, 145 (Jan. 1885) 27-28.

²⁴BI, XIII, 147, (Mar. 1885) 93.

²⁵XIV, 157 (Jan. 1886) 28.

²⁶CW, V, 2 (Dec. 1885) 2; BI, XIV, 157 (Jan. 1886) 28.

²⁷CS, I, 6 (June 1880) 189.

²⁸CW, I, 6 (April 1882) 1.

²⁹BI, XI, 125 (May, 1883) 156.

³⁰XIV, 163 (July 1886) 217.

him in Ontario during the decade. Americans located in Ontario in order to work as well. For example, H. B. Sherman, who was based in Meaford initially, brought William C. Card of Indiana to Collingwood where he worked for a year, 1883-1884.³¹ The co-operations, in addition, utilized American workers. O. G. Hertzog served the Wellington Co-operation, and G. W. Martz was employed by the Ontario Co-operation.³²

The Americans, according to the periodical records, made a considerable contribution to the growth of the Disciples during the 1880s. Their Canadian counterparts, however, noted differences and registered some complaints. Joseph Ash observed to Jacob Creath Jr: "In one respect your people [Americans] and ours [Canadians] are quite different. We are not so spasmodic, excitable, and ready to jump to a conclusion too soon. Bro. M. E. Lard and B. Franklin observed this very soon after their first arrival in Canada ..."³³ The young Canadian preacher, Andrew Scott, expressed unhappiness because he believed that the American preachers overshadowed the Canadian preachers:

In looking back over the history of our course in Canada, we find so far as our home preachers are concerned, they have been rather unfairly dealt with ... the custom ... so long among us [is to call] to our assistance preacher brethren from the U.S., to hold meetings for strong churches under favorable circumstances and favorable pay, whereas our own evangelists -- some of whom are equally able and talented who have been bearing the 'burden and heat of the day' play 'second fiddle' and hold meetings in weak churches.³⁴

The periodical record available for the 1880s indicates that at least 70 evangelistic meetings were conducted by these 20 or so American preachers, an average of 3.5 meetings per worker. This contrasts with approximately 140

³¹CW, II, 5 (May 1883) 138.

³²Martz gave his final report, Nov. 1, 1886, to the Co-operation prior to his return to Indiana: travelled 2,025 miles, delivered 196 lessons, baptized 41. Ontario Evangelist, I, 10 (Feb. 1887) 3.

³³Here Ash described the debate between the editors of the Index and the Worker. BI, XIV, 160 (April 1886) 110.

³⁴"Home Talent." CW, IV, 10 (Aug. 1885) 3.

meetings for some 45 Canadian preachers or an average just over three meetings per worker. In comparison to earlier decades these ratios of one American worker for every 2.25 Canadian workers and one meeting by American evangelists for every two by Canadians indicate that the American presence in the Ontario field had increased considerably.

Education. The Ontario Disciples were aware of their failure to provide a provincial facility for training their young men for ministry. They could see, for example, what the Baptists had done with their college at Woodstock.³⁵ Andrew Scott wrote in 1884 about the Disciples' neglect of their young people while education in the province had made rapid strides. Those opposed to young people entering the U.S. for their education had made no effort to open a college in Canada. A beginning should be made. "Under present arrangements, our sons and daughters become secularists and sectarians."³⁶ The decade passed with no action having been taken. The Ontario Co-operation's Committee on Missions could only "urge upon our young men to patronize the colleges in our own country in preference to going abroad and trust that we may have a college of our own at no distant day."³⁷

In the meantime more and more Canadian young people crossed the border for their education at institutions operated by American Disciples. In 1880 seven Canadians were reported attending Bethany College. Included was George Munro of Lobo.³⁸ Munro, who became an influential editor in the late 1880s and on into the 1890s, was later reported to be a graduate of the Bible College at Lexington, Kentucky. This was also where Silas Moot of Gainsboro was a student.³⁹ Andrew

³⁵Cf. CS, I, 2 (Feb. 1880) 48, 50.

³⁶CW, IV, 1 (Nov. 1884) 2.

³⁷BL, XVII, 199 (July 1889) 211-215.

³⁸CS, I, 5 (May 1880) 144.

³⁹BL, XI, 128 (Aug., 1883) 249.

Scott and William D. Campbell, who both became effective workers in Ontario, attended Hiram College together. Scott wrote to McDiarmid in December, 1879 and detailed the history and personnel of this college in Ohio.⁴⁰ When he became editor of the Ontario Evangelist, Munro featured Kentucky University, Lexington, Kentucky, which included the College of Bible from which he graduated.⁴¹ A student by the name of Baker from Vaughan was reported to be studying at Lexington in the winter of 1887.⁴² American influence in Ontario was channelled through the education of Canadian leaders. This became increasingly evident as the decade of the 1880s drew to a close. During the 1890s both the traffic and the influence increased.

Controversy

The struggle among the Disciples of Christ over issues of unity, e.g. "one paper" or two, and truth, e.g. "progress" or conservatism, was reflected in the manouvering by the editors McDiarmid and the Beatys at the beginning of the decade. The presence of the two papers in 1880 marked the advance of alienation which would continue until the end of the century.⁴³ The vision of the Disciples who sought to bring restoration to the Christian world faded. Momentarily, though,

⁴⁰This letter was published in the Sentinel in June, 1880. Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio, began in 1850 as the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute, with A. S. Hayden the founding principal. He was succeeded by J. A. Garfield, later president of the U.S. The institution became Hiram College in 1867. B. A. Hinsdale, A.M., was named by Scott as the current president. Eight teachers were listed. Hiram became a favourite school for young Ontario Disciples during the 1890s. CS, I, 6 (June 1880) 187-188.

⁴¹President Loos reported that the university included the College of Arts, 200 students; Commercial College, 200 students; and the College of Bible, 100 students. OE, I, 4 (August 1886) 3.

⁴²OE, I, 10 (Feb. 1887) 3.

⁴³McDiarmid became testy in certain references to Robert Beaty. He described Beaty's teaching as "miserable theology ... being palmed off upon the brethren." CS, I, 3 (Mar. 1880) 90. His veiled language in the next volume vented sarcasm against Beaty: "Now, since said 'B' has become 'RB' (Ready Bearer) and runs a paper, if he draws a bead on you, it will be as if a cannon were fired to kill an owl or something." CS, I, 4 (April 1880) 116.

difficulties were surmounted in 1881. The two papers became one. Healing could begin. Then came Sherman and the Worker. Progress could not be denied. The evangelical imperative moved the Disciples to mount three province-wide meetings in which potential for disagreement was considerable: (1) the convention at Erin, 1880; (2) the provincial Co-operation at Acton, 1883 and (3) the provincial Co-operation at Everton, 1886. The succession by the Ontario Evangelist of the Christian Worker in 1886 plus the continuance of the Bible Index insured that controversy would be supplied channels of expression to the end of the decade and beyond.

The Convention at Erin, 1880. In May 1880 a group of well-known leaders sent an invitation to the churches to send their "representative brethren" to meet with "all who are engaged in preaching the Gospel in Ontario."⁴⁴ The purposes were to stir up "zeal in spreading the Gospel" and to secure "greater harmony in our methods of working."⁴⁵ Topics were announced and speakers assigned. When James Lediard reported on the meeting later, he noted that James Black was among those who had gathered. Present as well was a Brother Winstanley of Toronto who represented the Bible Index. McDiarmid, one of the speakers, addressed the topic, "A Thus saith the Lord." He demonstrated that "this principle was in danger of being carried to a greater length than it was ever designed to go, and that the result would lead us to absurdity and confusion ..." Alexander Anderson, in his address, urged that "the brethren in the church unite to send out suitable men to strengthen weak churches and establish new ones, *remaining with them until they become self-sustaining*." Proposals were made to form mission committees in order to target places in Manitoba and Ontario (e.g. Cobourg, Orillia). In response to the

⁴⁴Edmund Sheppard, J. D. Butler, Alexander Anderson, James Kilgour, William Rowzee, Hugh McDiarmid, O. G. Hertzog, James Lediard, preachers; John Thompson and Hugh McMillan, elders at the Erin congregation.

⁴⁵CS, I, 5 (May 1880) 156.

Manitoba appeal, Colin Sinclair invited the sisters of the church to unite in a missionary effort to reach this field. Another proposal encouraged the fellowship "to form a co-operation of churches east of Toronto, similar to that in the west. Lediard concluded: "So closed the convention of 1880. The first of its kind, though I hope ... not the last."⁴⁶ The extant record of the Index's assessment of this meeting is limited due to the fragmentary deposit of the Index for 1880. However, a December letter from an unnamed reader offered a biblical critique of the meeting and commented: "Now, though the storm over our June convention is over ..."⁴⁷ In fact, the storm was just beginning to brew.

The Provincial Co-operation at Acton, 1883. A province-wide co-operation had long been a goal of those committed to a regional co-operative arrangement. In name at least for brief periods in 1845 and 1849-50 the Wellington Co-operation claimed a provincial mandate. There was no specific opposition to a co-operation as had been practiced among the Ontario churches. Oliphant's target was the independent society which operated in the United States. James Beaty claimed pointedly in the heat of the 1883 argument never to have condemned the co-operation as maintained by the churches.⁴⁸ Sherman's proposal aroused vigorous passions precisely because it was seen as a departure from the arrangement which had been in place since 1843. He proposed, in fact, the Ontario counterpart of the American missionary society, run by an independent board, financed by the churches, to spear-head the work of the churches in evangelism. The support which his proposal received reflected a growing desire for communion-broad, province-wide action, a vision stirred and advanced by the Erin convention.

⁴⁶CS, I, 7 (July 1880) 207-211.

⁴⁷BI, VIII, 96 (Dec. 1880) 369.

⁴⁸BI, XI, 13 (Oct. 1883) 302.

While Sherman's circular letter, November 1882, and its subsequent promotion in the Worker prompted the meeting, the actual invitation came in the spring from six well-known leaders.⁴⁹ Committees were struck, five managers were selected and nine articles were produced as a statement of purpose and procedure.⁵⁰ Sherman commented on the two day meeting: "The unanimity and despatch with which the work was done was the best I ever saw." ⁵¹

The articles were vague about who had voting privileges in the annual meetings. Information on this point came indirectly through a report in an American periodical, the Old Path Guide (January 11, 1884) which was reprinted in the Bible Index. The report stated that the new Co-operation was not a co-operation of churches but of disciples. The meeting which set up the Co-operation was not made up of delegates sent by churches. The report went on to state: Thus far there have been "four men found that are opposed to the co-operation. One of them is a Member of Parliament and editor; two money-brokers and one a hotel keeper. Against these four we have about 10,000 in favor of the work." James Beaty in his comment on this article, "so reckless and untruthful," wrote: "There is at least one man in Canada who would be willing to write so much, and that is H. B. Sherman."⁵²

James Beaty's reaction to the establishment of the Co-operation was immediate, explosive, bordering on the apopleptic. His July 1883, Index article was titled, "New Sect to be Organized." Acton was designated the "Seat of the

⁴⁹James Black, Alexander Anderson, Samuel Woolner, James Kilgour, Edmund Sheppard, John Thompson. BI, XI, 126 (June 1883) 185.

⁵⁰Committees: worship, enrollment, order of business and plan of work. Managers: J. Lediard, Hillsburg, President; A. Yule, Aurora, Secretary and Treasurer; H. T. Law, Meaford, George J. Barclay, Toronto, and J. Fry, M.D., Selkirk. Articles (in part): (1) name: the "Ontario Co-operation of Disciples of Christ." (3) The election or re-appointment of these officers to take place at annual meetings of the Co-operation. (6) Pledges of from one to five years encouraged, payable half yearly, before the 1st day of May and 1st day of November.

⁵¹BI, XI, 127 (July 1883) 217-218.

⁵²BI, XII, 134 (Feb. 1884) 37-38.

Beast." Beaty vented a stream of vituperation. The nine articles were "rubbish, dirt, dust." The Co-operation itself was a "little horn" of "impudent countenance." Sherman was not a "respectable disciple." Beaty concluded, "Give way old sects for this new one!"⁵³

H. B. Sherman, for his part, noted that Beaty's condemnation of the Co-operation and the meeting which formed it advanced no scriptural objection nor logical argument.⁵⁴ Sherman questioned Beaty's claim to being a "man of culture and Christian gentleman" in view of the invective Beaty spewed out. Sherman then attacked Beaty for considered personal lapses.⁵⁵ His article concluded: "The cause has been kept back by just such twaddle as J. B. furnishes (sic) for the last thirty years, and brethren seems (sic) to have concluded that they will no longer be dictated to by this Toronto *Pope* ..." ⁵⁶

These passions were modified in subsequent articles on both sides, but the Disciples' cause suffered from the inflammation.⁵⁷ The Co-operation itself suffered because of the cloud which had descended upon its founding. However, Sherman, selected as provincial evangelist, worked ahead diligently for the scheme's approval, for funding and for converts during his year in the Co-

⁵³Beaty described the plan as "small, petty, sectional, provincial, weak, narrow, peurile, imbecile, puny, earthly, miserable, pestilent." And "only Satan was left to endorse it." *BI*, XI, 127 (July 1883) 198-201.

⁵⁴Sherman's July 1883 reply to Beaty's "A New Sect Organizes!" appeared in the same issue as Sherman's extended eulogy written for his deceased daughter. *CW*, II, 9 (July 1883) 3, 2.

⁵⁵Beaty (1) "took dancing lessons" a few years ago so that he could dance with H. R. H. the princess; (2) "toadied to the licensed victuallers association." P. 3. Beaty subsequently defended himself vigorously against these charges. *BI*, XI, 128 (Aug. 1883) 243-247; XI, 129 (Sept. 1883) 277-281.

⁵⁶p. 3.

⁵⁷C.J. Lister chided both editors. "From reading the last issues of the *WORKER* and *Index* one would not suppose that the Master taught his Disciples lessons of peace and love ... If the editors ... knew half of what a portion of their readers say about the last issues they would feel sorry and ashamed." *CW*, II, 11 (Sept. 1883) 1. Sherman subsequently apologized in print. Beaty would not.

operation's employ.⁵⁸ With Sherman's resignation in September, 1884 the effort began to stumble. H. T. Law reported in September 1885: "Owing to circumstances but little evangelistic work has been done the last year."⁵⁹ C. W. Martz of Indianapolis was engaged in mid-November, 1885. Martz completed one year of service before returning to Indiana, November 1886.

The creation of a province-wide Co-operation in 1883 fell on the 40th anniversary of the founding of what Black called the oldest co-operation in North America, at Norval in 1843.⁶⁰ The controversy which surrounded the latest effort demonstrates the tenacity with which the positions held originally by the Scotch and Scottish Baptists were maintained by those who fell heir to their views. These difficulties may appear inconsequential to the outsider. However, the cleavage remained and intensified until complete separation occurred at the turn of the century. The forcefulness of the disagreement with its self-evident inhibitors to growth is illustrated in this early 1880s confrontation.

The Provincial Co-operation at Everton, 1886. During his year as provincial evangelist, 1883-84, Sherman met some opposition to the Co-operation, but he claimed that in most cases he was able to sell the churches on the idea.⁶¹ In June,

⁵⁸Animosity developed between Sherman and C. J. Lister for some unexplained reason. Lister went to print and blistered Sherman, charging him of being mercenary. Lister felt that the Ontario Co-operation was not necessary. It would have been better to extend the former, i.e. the Wellington Co-operation. "One man, however, blew the trumpet, raised the flag, and was determined to be all hands in general and boss in particular." The first evangelist [Sherman] demanded \$1,000 which was a "salary grab." "The conviction of all the brethren where I travel was too much." BI, XIII, 148 (April 1885) 112-113. The "Boss" had agreed with Meaford for \$800. Oregon held up \$1,000. Then the "OC" offered \$1,100. Now the OC was rid of that "incubus" and doing a legitimate work. "Rev." H. B. Sherman drove a hard bargain. "How antiapostolic." BI, XIII, 150 (June 1885) 174-176.

⁵⁹CW, IV, 11 (Sept. 1885) 2.

⁶⁰IV, 8 (June 1885) 2.

⁶¹Wainfleet was "fearful" but later convinced; Isaac Wardell at Smithville was opposed but soon convinced to change his mind. CW, II, 11 (Sept. 1883) 2. The same occurred at Stratford. BI, XII, 1 (Jan. 1884) 18; CW, III, 10 (Aug. 1884) 2. Meaford, however, "signalled, standing firm." BI, XII, 2 (Feb. 1884) 37-38. J. A. Harding joined the debate when he was in Meaford. He indicated

1884 the second provincial convention for the Co-operation took place in Aurora. James Beaty in his comment referred to Sherman as "the leader in this departure."⁶² Indeed, Sherman's activity as evangelist had kept him in the forefront.⁶³ The 1885 convention took place at Guelph, Wednesday and Thursday, June 3-4. The ailing Black attended the first afternoon session briefly. It was reported, "Attendance was not large."⁶⁴ Robert Beaty commented on the convention. "The two-year old sect had [only] '18 preachers and brethren' [in attendance]." He complained, "No regular report of the proceedings has been published and we have only scraps."⁶⁵

Eighteen eighty-six was a crucial year for the provincial Co-operation; it had to overcome its shaky beginning and move ahead.⁶⁶ James Black, the "father of the co-operation," had passed away in April of that year. Perhaps the emotions surrounding this marker event would spur the Disciples to a greater effort. Appropriately, the convention was held at Everton, home-base for Black's 56 years of leadership. Delegates came to Everton from "30 churches."⁶⁷ "Nearly every preacher in the Province was present ... and a few who not there would have been,

he could find no authority for forming the Ontario Co-operation of Disciples of Christ. BI, XII, 140 (Aug. 1884) 255.

⁶²BI, XII, 7 (July 1884) 201.

⁶³His year's report cited 216 discourses, at 30 places, two churches organized, 78 baptized, and 21 added for a total of 99, plus 29 baptism for Lediard and Hertzog for a total of 128 for the year. BI, XII, 139 (July 1884) 215-218.

⁶⁴CW, IV, 8 (June 1885) 3. It is curious that the Christian Worker did not offer a write-up on the Guelph convention. The Index did carry a report. Some evangelistic work had been done by Hertzog, Moot, Brown, and Sinclair. The "Reporter" stated, "I forgot the number of additions, it was small, however." The treasurer reported, "No funds." An admission was given that a mistake had been made concerning the selection of last year's laborers. Explanation was not given. BI, XIII, 151 (July 1885) 211-212.

⁶⁵BI, XIII, 152 (Aug. 1885) 229-230.

⁶⁶The Ontario Evangelist carried an announcement of the annual meeting to be held at Meaford, Friday-Monday, June 4-6, 1886. A. P. Cobb, Decatur, Ill., was to be the principal speaker. I, 1 (May 1886) 4.

⁶⁷Actually, only 27. Several attended from Meaford, Cape Rich, and Clinton as observers, not participants and demanded the record be set straight. BI, XIV, 167 (Nov. 1886) 345.

no doubt, if circumstances had been favorable."⁶⁸ The convention, in fact, merged the business meetings of the Wellington and Ontario Co-operations. The proposal was made to combine the two organizations. Most seemed in favour, but representatives of the "old co-operation" insisted that the meeting could not decide the question without their consent. Finally on Saturday it was agreed that the board of managers of the Ontario Co-operation, along with two men, L. Parkinson and H. Black, should be managers for the new arrangement. But dissatisfaction was evident. On Monday members of the two former boards met and concluded that the former Wellington board plus three men, J. Lediard, G. J. Barclay, and H. T. Law, would manage the reconstituted Ontario Co-operation.⁶⁹ T. L. Fowler concluded, "We have maintained our position and now are ready for an onward move."⁷⁰ As reported in the Evangelist's "June Meeting Notes," "It was said by the old brethren that there never was such a large and enthusiastic convention of church *representatives* in Ontario."⁷¹

The provincial Co-operation conducted its 1887 convention at Guelph. Again, it was "the best meeting of the kind held by the Disciples in many years." A. P. Cobb preached.⁷² One initiative taken was to organize the Women's Board of Missions. It was reported that J. Lediard, provincial evangelist, had raised \$1,742.27 for the Co-operation during the previous year.⁷³ The 1889 annual meeting of the Co-operation, conducted in St. Thomas, framed a constitution. George Munro had submitted the draft proposal for the constitution. "Some opposed the idea of a written constitution in use for the co-operation." The

⁶⁸OE, I, 2 (July 1886) 3.

⁶⁹BI, XIV, 163 (July, 1886) 209-211.

⁷⁰OE, I, 2 (June 1886) 2.

⁷¹P, 3.

⁷²OE, II, 2 (June 1887) 2.

⁷³P, 2-3.

amended version carried.⁷⁴ To Robert Beaty this was the final insult. "This convention or society business is an injury to the Church of Christ."⁷⁵

Other Issues

The subject of the Co-operation was not the only matter troubling the Disciples during the 1880s. The Index reprinted "Causes of Offence," an article from the American Christian Review which itemized issues which had arisen in the U.S. In the thinking of the Beatys these issues troubled or would soon trouble Ontario Disciples: "We find no authority in the Scriptures" for stationary salaried pastors, select choirs (proxy worship), one man (exclusive) preaching in the congregation, church festivals and worldly artifices to raise money, horns, violins, pipe organs, and trumpery (artistic, operatic, and spectacular display), and missionary institutions (distinctly organized, constitutionally different from the churches) operating without the direct co-operation of the churches.⁷⁶

Considerable space was taken up in both the Index and the Worker over the appropriateness of the action of Andrew Scott, who ordained A. H. Fitch at Owen Sound in the fall of 1885. Scott's intention was to set Fitch apart for mission work in Manitoba.⁷⁷ The action of ordination smacked of clergyism to the Beatys. James Beaty Jr wrote a small book on "Paying the Pastor, Unscriptural and Papistical."⁷⁸ However, by the middle of the decade the "located preacher" was common among Disciples in Ontario.⁷⁹

⁷⁴P. 212.

⁷⁵BI, XVII, 199 (July 1889) 193-197.

⁷⁶BI, XII, 139 (July 1884) 218.

⁷⁷BI, XIII, 154 (Oct. 1885), 293-296; CW, V, 1 (Nov. 1885) 2; BI, XIV, 157 (Jan. 1886) 4-5; CW, V, 3 (Jan. 1886) 2-3.

⁷⁸Beatys' book was later titled, "Paying the Pastor, Unscriptural and Traditional." Note Sherman's two reviews. CW, II, 7 (May 1883) 3; II 8 (June 1883) 2.

⁷⁹E.g. Lobo advertized for a preacher "to labor there ... send references, salary required." CW, V, 3 (Jan. 1886) 2. Ridgetown, Dorchester, Beamsville were all "desiring preachers." OE, I, 2 (June

The introduction of the organ among a few of the congregations of the Disciples in the 1880s raised concern. McDiarmid concluded it was "not a fellowship issue."⁸⁰ He rejected the opinion that the organ was a matter of "faith."⁸¹ Sherman attended the St. Thomas church January 1884. He remarked, "The organ really sounded strangely in one of our congregations."⁸² The Index reported that the introduction of the organ at Selkirk in 1885 had caused division.⁸³ The Ontario Evangelist commented in 1885: "There is only one [organ] in regular service [in the churches], as far as is known."⁸⁴ At the end of the period, Robert Beaty, in an article, "Intreat but do not Separate," listed the troubling "innovations." Included were: the missionary society as "it gives official position," the Christian endeavor society, the pastor "to do the worship," and the organ "to do the praising." "Such devices [are not found] in His law."⁸⁵

Postscript. As a postscript to the controversy of the 1880s an article carried by the Index (November 1899) presented news of the establishment of the Spadina Avenue church by conservative Disciples in Toronto. In the same issue was included the comment of aged James Beaty Sr, the first noted from his pen in the publications under review. At the opening service, October 20, 1889, of the Spadina Avenue church this statement was read (in part): "Our purpose is ... to teach and practise only that which they ["Christ and His apostles"] have authorized ... Our faith is common. Our opinions being our own, we ask no man to accept them, nor do we bind them on any. Christians are sons of liberty, God's free men.

1886) 3. W. H. Swayze is "now located" at Welland. BI, XV, 180 (Dec. 1887) 380. J. C. Wright was installed at Lobo "by invitation and covenant." OE, II, 2 (June 1887) 3.

⁸⁰I, 2 (Feb. 1880) 48.

⁸¹I, 11 (Nov. 1880) 327.

⁸²CW, III, 3 (Jan. 1884) 2.

⁸³BI, XIII, 151 (July 1885) 219-220.

⁸⁴I, 1 (May 1886) 3.

⁸⁵BI, XVII, 198 (Jan. 1889) 5-9.

We aim to exalt Christ above all human creeds and confessions of faith."⁸⁶ Beaty Sr's letter, addressed to the Globe, stated:

To the Church of Christ (Disciples) Broadway Hall, Spadina Ave., Dear Brethren: I beg to congratulate you on the noble stand you have taken in practically resisting retrogression. I am glad I have lived to learn that there are yet those who have courage to trample under foot hirelings calling themselves Disciples. As one of the oldest Disciples in Toronto I charge you that when you reiterate the Gospel to the world you will not mince the matter ...⁸⁷

A hand written comment on the copy of the Index from which this quotation was taken reads: "The finest example of senile misunderstanding."⁸⁸ As the 1890s began the spirits of James Black and James Beaty Sr stirred uneasily.

Growth

At the beginning of the 1880s the Disciples had 58 congregations in Ontario. During the decade 31 churches were planted and 4 congregations were dissolved which left 85 congregations by the end of the decade.⁸⁹ Church planting, at a rate of 3.1 churches per year and church dissolution, at a rate of .4 churches per year, reflect energy in the midst of turmoil during the decade.⁹⁰

Various estimates of the total membership and number of churches among the Disciples of Christ in Ontario in the 1880s appeared throughout the periodical record. The Christian Worker cited the Canada Census of 1881 which reported 16,000 Disciples in Ontario.⁹¹ This statistic, which includes members, those having a preference for, and children of Disciples' families, is, as such, less than

⁸⁶As reported in the Globe. BJ, XVIII, 193 (Nov. 1889) 337-338.

⁸⁷P. 351.

⁸⁸James Beaty Sr died March 5, 1892, at age 94 years.

⁸⁹The total of 85 churches at the end of the 1880s is considered to be somewhat higher than actual. The periodical record is often silent about churches which fade away.

⁹⁰The view is held by some that church growth occurs best during times of turbulence.

⁹¹II, 3 (Jan. 1883) 2.

precise. Sherman expansively set the membership between 15,000 and 20,000 in 1882.⁹² The 1884 annual meeting of the provincial Co-operation reported 16,000 members, over 80 churches and 22 preachers.⁹³ James Lediard, provincial evangelist (1886-87), reported on a thorough study he had made of the Disciples in that year. He concluded there were some 3,500 members plus possibly 500 scattered or a total of 4,000. Twelve full-time preachers were serving 18 churches, and three were working in the province full-time, for a total of 15. His observation was that there were fewer Disciples than expected. About 27 churches conducted Sunday schools, and about 26 churches scheduled prayer meetings.⁹⁴

From time to time in the periodical record various congregations reported their membership totals. This record gives a random sampling. Most often the numbers are given at the time that churches were established or when they had reached some maturity. The results are, therefore, non-determinative. However, during the decade 60 churches reported memberships which total 3,420 members or 57 members average per church. Projected upon the 85 congregations at the end of the decade the total membership would stand at approximately 4,800.

Baptisms were regularly reported in the periodical record. The average number of baptisms per church per year is 7.7 during the 1880s. The periodical records report on the baptisms of an average of 27 churches per year or about one-third of the existing congregations.⁹⁵ A total of 1,461 baptisms are recorded for seven years. Projected over ten years the total could reach some 2,000. A projection of total baptisms to non-reporting churches is not attempted.

Removals. The Disciples in Ontario grew during the 1880s. Yet the congregations were also subject to a significant number of removals as members

⁹²CW, II, 2 (Dec. 1882) 2.

⁹³BI, XII, 139 (July 1884) 218.

⁹⁴OE, I, 3 (July 1887) 3.

⁹⁵Numbers were not reported for the years 1881, 1888, 1889.

moved on to Western Canada or the United States.⁹⁶ Glencairn complained that it had lost church members because of "Manitoba fever."⁹⁷ The Priceville church lost 33 in the same year.⁹⁸ Oshawa, Luther and Omagh reported heavy losses through removals.⁹⁹ Postville was closed due to removals.¹⁰⁰ Belleville lost "20 to the grave" in 1883, and Hillier was near to closing in 1883 because "so many had died and (sic "or") moved away."¹⁰¹ Louisa St. church in Toronto (about 100 strong) experienced 26 removals in 1885.¹⁰² Meaford reported in 1886 that 82 had moved away.¹⁰³ Congregational division was infrequent during the period, but Jordan divided in 1883 and again in 1887 "scattering the brethren."¹⁰⁴

North Shore. The north shore churches continued to decline.¹⁰⁵ Lack of vigorous evangelistic outreach and the continuing presence of Christian Connection churches are the two most likely factors for the Disciples' difficulty in that period along the north shore. H. B. Sherman intervened in a Christian Connection church dispute in the Mt. Carmel church of Vernonville, Northumberland county. He won over the preacher, Royal Ainsworth and most of the congregation. The congregation remained unsettled, however.¹⁰⁶ In Oshawa the Disciples shared evening worship with a Christian Connection church during a

⁹⁶Even at the end of the century population loss concerned the Disciples: "The great streams of emigration which have gone westward from Ontario have carried many of our people with them." CM, 2, 12 (June 17 1898) 4.

⁹⁷CW, I, 5 (March 1882) 1.

⁹⁸p. 245.

⁹⁹BI, XI, 121 (Jan. 1883) 29; XI, 126 (May 1883) 188; XI, 124 (March 1883) 119.

¹⁰⁰131 (Nov. 1883) 348.

¹⁰¹132 (Dec. 1883) 383.

¹⁰²BI, XIII, 152 (Aug. 1885) 245. Nine to the U.S., 6 to Western Canada, 5 to the West End, 2 to death, 4 to the world.

¹⁰³XIV, 167 (Nov. 1886) 350.

¹⁰⁴XI, 122 (Feb. 1883) 61; OE, I, 12 (April 1887) 4.

¹⁰⁵Notice of Oliphant's death. BI, XIII, 148 (April 1885) 127. David Oliphant Jr passed away in London March 17, 1885, aged 64. Neither the Index nor the Worker honored his memory with an eulogy.

¹⁰⁶BI, XII, 137 (May 1884) 138-139, 147-149.

period in 1885 and had merged with the Christians by 1890. G. J. Barclay observed that "they should be one" church.¹⁰⁷ The relationship between the Disciples and the Connection was such that the Connection formed a committee in November 23, 1883 to confer with the Disciples concerning "a common ground [upon which] the two bodies [might agree to] unite."¹⁰⁸

Slow Growth. Various reasons were advanced by Disciples during the period for the growth, or its lack, in their fellowship. Sherman, in saying "there is no good reason" for the slow growth in comparison to the remarkable growth in the United States, implied that hard work would make the difference.¹⁰⁹ A writer, using a nom de plume, pointed to the sad condition that "many of the children of our best brethren upon leaving home and settling in the cities either neglect religious connections altogether or affiliate with some other Church more fashionable and popular ..."¹¹⁰ T. L. Fowler addressed the annual meeting in 1886 on the issue of growth and judged that the progress of the last 10-20 years was "not creditable to the advocates of the noble plan." He cited the following reasons for the slow growth: (1) insufficient labor, (2) neglect of towns and cities, (3) preoccupation with "first principles" and religious debate and (4) lack of liberality.¹¹¹ J. Lediard in his report to the annual meeting the next year concluded: "In many churches, teaching and preaching is almost exclusively by elders, many of whom have grown old in the work. It is rare to see young men sharing in public services of the church."¹¹²

¹⁰⁷CW, V, 5 (March 1885) 2.

¹⁰⁸CW, II, 13 (Nov. 1883) 2. J. Gilfillan, chairman, was from Bowmanville. Other committee members were from Orono, Oshawa, Toronto and Newmarket. The Connection at that time was reported to have 1,200 members, 10 or 11 preachers in Canada or about the size of the body in 1833.

¹⁰⁹CW, I, 2 (Dec. 1881) 2.

¹¹⁰BI, XII, 137 (May 1884) 139-141.

¹¹¹OE, I, 1 (May 1886) 2; 2 (June 1886) 2; 3 (July 1886) 2.

¹¹²OE, II, 3 (July 1887) 3.

Summary

By the 1880s the Ontario Disciples had functioned within a six decade experience of persistent variance. The arrival in the early part of the decade of the second and opposing paper augured ill for the movement's harmony. The entry into the province by able and ambitious leaders from America carried the potential for further aggravation. Continental objectives tended to subordinate respect for provincial concerns or local sensibilities. The 1880 convention, the 1883 inauguration of the Ontario Co-operation and the 1886 assertiveness of the Co-operation's board of management achieved the congruence of two agendas. One originated in Scotland, the second in America.

Most of the pioneer leaders died during the decade so that its closing years witnessed the final transition from the first generation to the next. The provincial Co-operation was in place and active. Preachers were located in the churches. The 1890s were viewed as a threshold to the next century and an expected major advance for the Disciples in Ontario.

III. The 1890s: Years on the Threshold

The Disciples of Christ in Ontario in the 1890s sensed that they stood on the threshold of a better day. A new century approached. The inhibitions inherent within extreme congregational independence were about to be set aside. This occurred at the cost of the departure of the conservative faction which emerged in the 20th century as Churches of Christ. As an influence within the movement, the "loyal" disciples' efforts to preserve the "old paths" faltered and faded. Pastoral leadership was accepted by more and more congregations which insured, it was believed, improved local edification. Ministerial training was available in nearby American Disciples' institutions. In mid-decade the Ontario Disciples launched their own college. The Co-operation consolidated its strategic leadership by employing the press, evangelistic agents, finances, education and societies to move the Disciples toward a corporate life. As the decade drew to a close, the Disciples shifted subtly from preoccupation with outreach and growth to consolidation and identity among the churches of the broader religious community.

The decade included three dates of significance. Eighteen hundred and ninety-three marked fifty years of co-operative effort among the Ontario Disciples (from 1843). With characteristic turmoil 1896 marked ten years of the province-wide Co-operation (from 1886). Ontario Disciples joined in the celebration of the American Christian Missionary Society's "Jubilee Year," 1899 (from 1849). This was an event which held symbolic meaning for Ontario Disciples whose movement was enfolding into the larger American Disciples' enterprise.

This section will examine the following aspects of the Disciples' efforts during the 1890s which defined their movement and affected their growth: (1)

publications, (2) "loyalism," (3) collectivity and (4) pastoral preparation. A decadal growth profile and a summary will conclude this section.

Publications

The Beatys' Bible Index ceased publication in November, 1893. It was the victim of advancing years for the Beaty brothers and of a shrinking influence, the result of their holding positions on church leadership which many thought were extreme. The Index was succeeded for two years and three months by the Gospel Messenger which began in February, 1894. The Messenger was edited initially by H. M. Evans, Stouffville, together with H. F. Stevens, an American, Beamsville.¹ An effort by this paper to rally the "loyal" disciples and congregations was not successful.² The Messenger was discontinued after June 1896: financial difficulties were cited.³ For almost five years of the century's last decade the conservative forces did not have the influence of a journalistic voice.

The "progressives" had the advantage of consistent publishing throughout the decade except for the months of November and December, 1886. George Munro published the Canadian Evangelist (November 1889-1895) and the Disciple of Christ and Canadian Evangelist (1895-October 1896). Munro concluded ten and one-half years of editing when he terminated the latter paper in protest against what he considered a dangerous initiative by the Co-operation, i.e. its presumption to speak for the churches on a doctrinal matter. The replacement, the Christian Messenger (1897-1923), was published officially as the organ of the Co-operation

¹The Gospel Messenger was published at first at Claremount. Three issues were published in Stouffville, Jan.-Mar. 1895. The publication was then moved to Beamsville. H. M. Evans became sole editor in January, 1895, and H. F. Stevens became a field editor.

²The "loyal" label seems to have originated in the U.S.A. The Gospel Messenger was offered in club subscriptions with the Christian Leader, Primitive Christian, Gospel Echo, Firm Foundation, Reformer, American publications -- two papers for the price of one. Perry, History, p. 185.

³The Messenger subscription list was turned over to the Gospel Echo. Perry, p. 187.

under the editorship of Charles T. Paul.⁴ For the last three years of the decade the press was dedicated to the interests of the Co-operative movement without the distraction of a contrary voice.

Loyalism

The editorial differences between the Canadian Evangelist on the one hand and the Bible Index and Gospel Messenger on the other continued to reflect the growing rift between the progressive and conservative Disciples. By the end of the century the two groups were differentiated. Attempted accommodations of differences planted seventy years earlier were insufficient in the later years. The impact of this internecine struggle impeded the Ontario Disciples' efforts to convince others and to grow. Sadly, the end of the century division within the Disciples was their final failure to demonstrate that truth and unity could be restored and enjoyed in healthy balance. The fellowship divided on a 60/40 ratio, progressive and conservative respectively.⁵

Several elements will be considered in the following section which illustrate the fading conservative influence among the Disciples: the Toronto locus, the "loyal" rally and the innovations.

Toronto Locus. The centers of conservatism among the Disciples were located in the Niagara district, the Georgian Bay area, for a time in Aldboro and in Toronto.⁶ Toronto, while equally a center for the progressive forces, was a locus

⁴Reuben Butchart, business manager, became editor as well in July, 1899.

⁵This ratio is determined by examining the list of churches organized before 1890 which supported or did not support the Co-operation throughout the decade of the 1890s. L. E. Huntsman, Tintern, corresponding editor of the Gospel Messenger, quoted the statistics reported by the Ontario Co-operation for 1893-94: namely, of 67 congregations, 38 contributed (57%) to the co-operative effort. Huntsman questions the Co-operation's claim to "fairly represent the people known as Disciples in this country." Rather, he says, "the methods divided us." Gospel Messenger, I, 7 (Aug. 15 1894) 1.

⁶The conservative influence in Aldboro seems to be connected with Joseph Ash's presence in the area. Ash identified creeping societyism in Rodney. BI, XXI, 246 (June 1893) 177-178. The

for the conservative influence. The Spadina Avenue congregation, established in 1891, included leaders such as G. J. Barclay, William Forrester and the elderly James Menzies Jr. These were described by Ash as having "bolted from the innovation."⁷ These men and leaders from the Louisa Street congregation, such as James and Robert Beaty, Edward Trout and (young) Jonathan Scott, filled Sunday appointments around the province. Barclay preached monthly at Stouffville and Acton. Forrester did the same at Vaughan and Acton. Several of these men preached occasionally at Beamsville and Smithville and at the new congregation at Attercliffe near Selkirk. The Beatys extended their influence to Omagh, Oakville and the Niagara district. R. Beaty wrote sarcastically that "young ministers" [i.e. paid ministers] should be "careful to avoid infant congregations like Oakville, East Toronto ... where members are too poor to pay a preacher."⁸ Yet the Toronto influence was shrinking. The Index soon closed. Little news from "among the churches" appeared in the publication's later issues. Few younger Toronto speakers surfaced.⁹ The Beaty era, with its characteristic overstatement, came to an end. Robert Beaty exclaimed bitterly in his closing issue of the Index, November, 1893, "The clergy [a pejorative reference to paid ministers within the Disciples] [will] cry 'Hallelujah!'" He was resigned that now "priestcraft as promulgated by the co-operation will spread across the land."¹⁰

Loyal Rally. Samuel Keffer, Meaford, urged the young H. M. Evans to launch the Gospel Messenger, which opened after two months of silence which followed the Index's demise. The Messenger was influenced strongly by American

Gospel Messenger reported on the work of F. W. O'Malley, a preacher "among the progression." "Aldboro brethren could not believe that he would be disloyal." GM, II, 7 (July 30 1889) 1.

⁷BI, XVIII, 205 (Jan. 1890) 21.

⁸XXI, 249 (Sept. 1893) 271.

⁹Jonathan G. Scott moved to the U.S.A. "We need faithful preachers of the primitive Gospel."

GM, I, 8 (Sept. 15 1894) 3.

¹⁰BI, XXI, 251 (Nov. 1893) 321.

writers and articles. An "Indiana Connection" is noted: joint editor H. F. Stevens was from Van Buren, Indiana; corresponding editors included Jeff K. Snodgrass, Reed, Indiana and T. S. Hutson, Stout, Indiana. The label "our loyal paper" was given to the Messenger by Snodgrass.¹¹ Those opposing the "innovations" associated with the Co-operation were described frequently as "loyal disciples."¹²

Those working with the Messenger attempted to rally the conservative churches. A call was sent out in January, 1895 for a "mass meeting of loyal disciples of Canada" to discuss "a scriptural plan for spreading the Gospel." This meeting would not be a convention or establish a provincial board; it would not provide pay for "officers" or "pastors" or build \$20,000 meeting houses or pay for "church organs."¹³ The March issue suggested "Beamsville would be good for a mass meeting." The April issue acknowledged that "no Church [has] offered to host" the proposed meeting and concluded, "It is a lamentable fact that the church of Christ is growing cold ... Brethren why not have a grand rally of all the loyal disciples of Canada?"¹⁴ The conservative churches were either skittish of another attempt at collectivity or too wearied by conflict to go into the lists again. The Messenger offered to place "free" any "loyal" congregation in its church directory. Apart from Beamsville no churches accepted the offer.¹⁵

The Messenger asserted that "Ontario needs several evangelists in the field all the time ... is able to sustain at least one all the time."¹⁶ Samuel Keffer from Meaford became that evangelist. He had worked for a year at Attercliffe and established a church there in 1892.¹⁷ By August, 1895 Keffer was an "evangelist

¹¹GM, III, 1 (Jan. 1896) 4.

¹²II, 1 (Jan. 1895) 1.

¹³I (Jan. 1895) 1.

¹⁴4 (April 1895) 1.

¹⁵III, 3 (March 1896) 1.

¹⁶II, 1 (Jan. 1895) 1.

¹⁷BI, XXI, 244 (April 1893) 126.

in the field." He travelled at his own expense, dependent upon the people, not on "a conference, convention, or board." The Messenger urged "loyal support" for a "loyal preacher."¹⁸ In September, 1895 Keffer moved to Stouffville and the congregation there determined to keep him in the field. By May of the next year the Messenger reported that Keffer was "forced to retire from the field on account of insufficient support." After 18 months in the field he had probably not "received \$150 in that time." The "Loyalist" churches were castigated by the paper.¹⁹ Evans wrote at the end of 1895 that "Hundreds of disciples in Ontario are not 'fairly represented' by the Disciple of Christ or Canadian Evangelist." However, "Many loyal churches are either asleep or dead."²⁰ The Messenger closed in June, 1896; it still carried its ad, "The only apostolic journal in Canada." The movement of the Oliphants, the Beatys, Joseph Ash and Samuel Keffer appeared to be a spent force.²¹

Innovations. The practices which struck conservative Disciples as departures from the New Testament model drew more and more attention during the decade. The conservative group hardened its position on these "innovations." Joseph Ash expressed his concern in 1890, "The outlook is discouraging ... [we are] fighting sectarians within."²²

The paramount issue concerned centralized organizations. Dr. O. S. Winstanley, former Torontonion, summarized parallel developments in the state of California as a warning to Ontario:

¹⁸II, 8 (Aug. 1895) 1. Keffer had been active in debating: with W. H. Cooper, a Methodist from Thedford, Ont., at Jura, on Baptism (BI, XXI, 232 [April 1892] 141); with R. C. Evans, a Latter Day Saint, at Grand Valley (BI, XXI, 251 [Nov. 1893] 338-339); with E. K. Evans, a Mormon, at Stromness (GM, I, 5 [June 15 1894] 2); with R. C. Evans, on Mormonism at Selkirk (GM, II, 1 [Jan. 30 1894] 1).

¹⁹GM, III, 5 (May 1896) 1; 6 (June 1896) 1.

²⁰II, 12 (Dec. 1895) 1.

²¹S. Keffer died in 1901.

²²BI, XVIII, 205 (Jan. 1890) 21. Joseph Ash died August 3, 1894, in his 87th year.

We see so much of this in California, where I have been living of late years, the Pastors, falsely so called, assisting to form State boards, missionary societies, and other unauthorized ecclesiastical bodies, sending messengers out to dictate to the churches -- to collect money for these irresponsible self-elected conventions to use in furtherance of their designs, to hold the pre-eminence ...²³

Another form of centralized activity which included external control was the acceptance by a number of Disciples congregations, seemingly overnight, of membership in international societies. Among these were ties with the International Sunday School organization, Christian Endeavor societies for young people both Junior and Senior, Mission Bands for children, and the Christian Women's Board of Missions.²⁴ Ash commented to Beaty, "Societyism seems to be the rage now."²⁵ A letter from D. Sinclair, refused by the Disciple/ Evangelist but printed by the Messenger, objected to George Fowler's description of the Christian Endeavor Society as "God ordained" and to Sister Lediard's confidence that the Junior Endeavor Society was "God approved." The societies, Sinclair insisted, were filled with non-converted persons.²⁶

The ordination of ministers (the practice which divided the Scotch and Scottish Baptists in Scotland in 1801) continued to disturb, William Fleming, with several others in Owen Sound, met no longer with the majority of Disciples there since the "farcical ordination" (cf. Scott of Fitch, 1885, p. 135).²⁷ James Beaty Jr

²³XIX, 226 (Oct. 1891) 295-297. Dr. Winstanley had lived in Toronto for some 25 years before his move to California in 1885. His warnings were included in a guest address on a return visit to Louisa Street given Sept. 6, 1891.

²⁴The OCWBM was organized in Guelph in 1888 with 12 members. By July 1895 there were 22 societies among the Disciples with 751 women participating. DC/CE, X, 5 (July 1895) 1. The YPSCE grew from 19 societies in 1893 to 30 in 1897. There were 4 Children's Mission Bands organized within the churches in 1889 and 17 bands with 400 members by 1893. CE, VIII, 5 (July 1893) 2-3.

²⁵BI, XXI, 246 (June 1893) 177-178.

²⁶GM, III, 3 (March 1896) 1.

²⁷BI, XVIII, 206 (Feb. 1890) 51.

protested the ordination of eight ministerial graduates at Bethany ^{College} ~~Bethany~~.²⁸ This became a common practice at Disciples' colleges in the United States.

The use of the organ and other instruments of music received attention in the 1890s as a major feature of "digression." The Christian Messenger described instrumental music as "a late departure."²⁹ John D. Rowe, editor of the American paper, the Christian Leader, a respected conservative paper, accepted finally "a small organ."³⁰ Snodgrass's response, circulated among conservative Ontario Disciples by the Gospel Messenger, might be considered typical. "Because of the new departure of the Christian Leader, I have decided to withhold further support and contributions to it."³¹ In the next issue of the Messenger the editor observed, "The 'progressive' papers are rejoicing over the stand taken by the editor of the Christian Leader with reference to the 'small organ.' It seems to please them."³² C. J. Lister offered \$25 to anyone who could find "one command or example in the New Testament for instrumental music in church worship." Munro, Canadian Evangelist editor, countered by demanding a biblical command or example for hymn books (with or without notes), harmonized music or for congregational singing. The absence of Biblical authority did not deter their use, he maintained.³³ Munro, after further exchanges with Lister, concluded, "We are drawing nearer the latter end of the bitter controversy concerning the organ."³⁴ The Christian Messenger, which reflected the majority view of the Disciples in 1899, concluded,

²⁸XIX, 225 (Sept. 1891) 262-265.

²⁹GM, II, 3 (March 1895) 1.

³⁰Rowe's reasoning was reported in the Messenger. The twenty-five year debate on the organ came about "because the practice was treated as a crime rather than impudence ... [It was] a mistake to disfellowship over it ... As a logical and inevitable consequence, a deep indignation was aroused against the anti-organ party, and the reaction has told with fearful odds against them." GM, III, 2 (Feb. 30 1896) 1.

³¹GM, III, 1 (Jan. 1896) 4.

³²2 (Feb. 1896) 1.

³³DC/CE, X, 17 (Jan. 1896) 6.

³⁴22 (March 1896) 1. See also X, 24 (April 1896) 2, 6.

"No serious opposition is made to the organ which is being used in church services."³⁵ The conservatives with their preoccupation with "innovations" were dismissed summarily at the end of the century as driven solely by "A Creed of Negatives." They were "against" foreign missions, missionary societies, Christian Endeavor societies, instruments and heart-felt religion.³⁶

Collectivity

The Co-operation. The Ontario Co-operation had backed away somewhat from H. B. Sherman's 1883 intent that it be a co-operation of disciples rather than of churches. Contributing churches were encouraged to send delegates. However, voting delegates were also drawn from the various societies and from individuals who were dues paying members, who paid either annually or as "life" members. The larger issue concerned the prerogatives the board of managers took in directing the course of the movement.

C. J. Lister, who characteristically attempted to mediate, raised some questions at the beginning of the decade regarding the direction that the Co-operation seemed to be taking. He confessed that he had remained "aloof" in the Sherman era when it appeared that the Co-operation would become a missionary society. Now seven years later concerns were arising again. "I may have to do so again."³⁷ He directed an open letter to the Canadian Evangelist which was returned shortly thereafter. He then offered it for publication in the Index. "I am trying to perform conscientious duty; while working with the Co-operation, I shall

³⁵Christian Messenger, 3, 6 (March 21 1899) 2.

³⁶2, 12 (June 17 1898) 4. R. A. Burriss in, "The Best Way of Meeting the Needs of the Province," struck out against this "narrowness." "Congregations should close, once and for all, pandering to the prejudices and narrow minded ideas of these people who mistake altogether the spirit and basis of our movement, interpret the New Testament as a code of rigid laws, instead of a text book of the principles of righteousness ... These people, in my opinion, are and always have been the great 'millstone' of the movement, the chief stumbling block to success." DC/CE, XI, 5 (July 1 1896) 2.

³⁷BJ, XVIII, 205 (Jan. 1890) 3.

protest palpable departures." The old provincial Co-operation had voting messengers from the churches and voting by "visitors" was the exception; in the new Ontario Co-operation voting by visitors was the rule. The old provincial Co-operation would not maintain Sunday Schools, encourage union with different religious bodies, support colleges and publications ("as an organ"), employ pastors for cities and towns at \$1,500 nor interfere with individual congregations. The Ontario Co-operation, on the other hand, was involved in these activities and had made no effort to employ an evangelist for weak churches or to preach where there were no churches.³⁸

Co-operation leaders, however, maintained a positive tone. Hugh Black, in his address as president of the board of managers to the annual meeting in 1891, cited (1) a mission spirit which imbued the churches, (2) the number of young men which had entered the ministry, (3) the sisters who had become active (from doing a little a few years ago), (4) children's mission boards and (5) the Christian Endeavor groups which supplied indispensable service.³⁹

George Munro of the Disciple/Evangelist struck later a moderate tone in an editorial: "It [the Co-operation] is an association of brethren and churches to which funds may be entrusted, and which can undertake enterprises as no single church would care to be responsible for." He went on to observe:

The Co-operation of the Disciples of Christ in Ontario has the sympathy and support of the major portions of the congregations of the Disciples in the province. A number of churches, we are sorry to say, do not consider the co-operation a proper means of spreading the gospel, and therefore do not work with it. They are none-the-less churches of Christ on that account.⁴⁰

However, Munro was soon deeply disappointed by the actions of the Co-operation board, and as a consequence he withdrew from the Co-operation and

³⁸XIX, 210 (June 1890) 183; 214 (Oct. 1890) 298.

³⁹CE, VII, 5 (July 1 1892) 1.

⁴⁰DC/CE, IX, 13 (Nov. 1 1894) 4.

from the editorship of the Disciple/Evangelist through which he had faithfully promoted the Co-operation's activities.

That decision came about as follows: at the invitation of the president of the Christian Connection churches, now known as the Christian Church in Ontario, two Disciples had attended the Christian convention in Altona in June, 1895. The intent was to explore the possibility of union between the Disciples and the Christians.⁴¹ A joint committee had examined the issue and found points of agreement and differences "which were not expected." The three Christian Connection representatives on the committee were fearful that any agreement reached would not carry among the Disciples congregations. Lediard replied, "Are we not carrying congregationalism to the extreme?"⁴² The committee's conclusion was that "union was not possible or desirable, but closer fraternal relations, looking toward union, were." Munro's uneasy assessment was reported in the Christian Connection's publication, the Ontario Christian Magazine: The Ontario Christian Church is an organized incorporated denomination. Disciples as a people are not. The Co-operation is merely a voluntary association for mission work and has no jurisdiction, desires none and can only speak for them in a general way. The Ontario Christian Church Conference would bind the Christian Churches. The Co-operation of the Disciples of Christ would not bind a single congregation.⁴³

⁴¹J. Lediard, one of the two representatives (the other was J. Lhamon), reported the 1894 statistics for the Christian (Connection) Church: 25 congregations, 885 members, 20 ministers. Lediard indicated that the Christian Church was active in Sunday Schools, Christian Endeavor and home and foreign missions and were congregational in governance. Church property reverted to the Conference in the event a church dissolved. "Disciples should do the same." They had a practical method of certifying delegates and their voting practice was described and commended. DC/CE, X, 7 (Aug. 1, 1895) 1.

⁴²DC/CE, X, 6 (July 15 1895) 4.

⁴³Quoted in the DC/CE, X, 10 (Sept. 16 1895) 1.

The 1896 annual meeting of the Ontario Co-operation proceeded to move the acceptance of the joint committee's recommendation. Munro described the event:

The matter came up ... and there ensued a discussion, the most protracted, the most excited, the most important, the most farreaching in its present effects and future influence, of any discussion ever carried on at an Annual Meeting of the Co-operation ... The plain and solemn fact is ... that a large majority of the Annual Meeting ... were ready to recommend the Disciples of Christ to take membership with a Church which receives unimmersed persons ... [Munro cried out] Brethren where are we at?⁴⁴

The minority had taken the position that to pass such a recommendation was "wrong in principle and entirely outside the proper competence of the Co-operation, the entering of the thin wedge of ecclesiasticism." Munro, in protest on that day, "withdrew from the Co-operation."⁴⁵ Those who spoke for the Co-operation, in a revealing comment, defended the action taken.

Surely it is not at this stage of its history to be argued that the operations should be confined to money-getting and spending. Is a movement tending to the unity of Christendom, to which the Co-operation can lend its influence without the sacrifice of truth, to be blocked by formal objections or uncharitable suspicions of heresy?⁴⁶

Collectivity for the Disciples was in place.

The Ontario Co-operation operated in the name of home missions. As the collective vision advanced, however, the Co-operation viewed its role increasingly as an agent of change for the fellowship. Its redirection was indicated early in the 1890s: "The professed object of the Co-operation is to build up churches ... The apostolic plan of building up the cause at central points was undertaken a few years ago ... none of the missions are as yet self-supporting."⁴⁷ The "missions"

⁴⁴XI, 4 (June 15 1896) 6.

⁴⁵Pp. 6-7.

⁴⁶6 (July 15 1896) 4.

⁴⁷CE, VII, 8 (Aug. 15 1892) 4.

were, in fact, churches in the major urban centers, Cecil Street in Toronto, Hamilton, and London. These received the major portion of the Co-operation's annual allotment.⁴⁸ Churches in lesser centers such as Collingwood, Welland, Owen Sound and Georgetown received considerably smaller amounts.⁴⁹ In 1893 the first three received \$1,562 from the Co-operation, the last four \$479, of the total \$2,041 allotted for the year.⁵⁰ Except for a disappointing effort in 1894 by Robert Moffet, no evangelists served the Co-operation in the field during the years 1890-1896. Evangelists W. C. Charlton and W. D. Cunningham, who served from 1897 to 1899, spent a portion of their time promoting the Co-operation's objectives.

The Co-operation promoted the various para-church societies regularly: the Ontario Christian Women's Board of Missions (OCWBM), the Young Peoples Society for Christian Endeavor (YPSCE), the Ontario Children's Mission Bands and the Sunday Schools. These in turn contributed to the Co-operation's annual budget and had delegate voting privileges, namely one delegate for each society which contributed (cf. two delegates per contributing congregation). Throughout the 1890s the churches collectively gave less than the total given by the societies and individual members. For most years the churches as a block had fewer votes than the latter.⁵¹ While the Co-operation had taken a strong lead in the collective

⁴⁸Cecil Street began with a major debt when it built a 600 seat building, the first to be owned by Disciples in Toronto, for a price of \$19,200 including land in 1891. The church at Hamilton remained weak in spite of the Co-operation support. London continued to need support even though it had a membership of 225 in 1897.

⁴⁹Collingwood, prematurely organized by Sherman in 1882, required support throughout the 1890s. Welland had a shaky existence throughout. Owen Sound, an old congregation, had its troubles and went into debt when it purchased a new building in 1892. Georgetown finally dissolved in 1900.

⁵⁰CE, VIII, 4 (June 15 1893) 1; 5 (July 1 1893) 1-4.

⁵¹In 1894, 36 churches had 72 votes while the societies, individual members and visitors enjoyed 135 votes. This was the year that the OCWBM amalgamated with the General Home Mission Board (GHMB) as the Co-operation managers were now describing themselves. CE, IX, 4-5 (June 15-July 6 1894) 1-6.

affairs of the churches, support directed to it by the churches was largely nominal. For much of the decade the churches, 40 on average, subscribed an average \$900 annually or about \$22.50 per church.⁵² Thinly veiled, the Co-operation had devolved into a device for collective leadership of the churches while it maintained its existence in the name of evangelism.

Pastoral Preparation

The progressive Disciples during the 1880s had accepted generally the principle of the located pastor. In the final decade the movement was served by a growing team of young men who, whether Canadian or American, had prepared for the ministry in American Disciples' colleges.⁵³ The young pastors brought their enthusiasm and American ideas and influenced the Ontario churches. The American Disciples' drive for a college in every state was soon matched by the determination of the Ontario Disciples to locate a college in the province. Established in 1895, the College of the Disciples, located in St. Thomas, soon made its presence felt particularly in southwestern Ontario where new congregations were established and people were baptized by the student preachers.

American Trained Ministers. The periodical record gives clear evidence of a sudden influx into Ontario congregations of college trained pastors from American schools. Samuel Keffer and F. C. Lake, Meaford, and D. J. Yake, Chatham, studied by correspondence through the Gospel Messenger endorsed School of the Evangelist, Kimberlin Heights, Tennessee.⁵⁴ Students studied at

⁵²Figures of church contribution totals are available in the reports for the years 1892, 1893, and 1894; they average \$917. Total contribution amounts are available for 1890, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1896, 1897; these average \$1,966. It can be concluded that at no time during the 1890s did contributions from the churches exceed \$1,000 in a given year.

⁵³E.g. Bethany College, Bethany, West Virginia; Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio; College of the Bible, Kentucky University, Lexington, KY; Butler University, Indianapolis, Indiana; School of the Evangelist, Kimberlin Heights, TN; Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁵⁴GM, I, 5 (June 15 1894) 2; II, 5 (May 30 1895) 1.

Bethany and preached in Ontario during their summer vacation before returning for full-time service: A. C. Gray (Lobo), D. H. Stewart (Guelph), J. D. Stephens (Mimosa). These were supported by the Co-operation in their summer evangelism.⁵⁵ Other Canadian students who studied at Bethany were: Alfred Harris (Muskoka), George Black (Everton), and W. G. Charlton (Dorchester). W. C. Cunningham, who later became influential in Ontario, was a Bethany College graduate from the United States.⁵⁶ Hiram College in nearby Ohio attracted large numbers of Canadian students. Their presence drew American graduates into the Ontario field as well. Ministers listed as Hiram students or graduates in the periodical records include: M. Putnam (Smithville), D. D. Burt (Ontario), R. Bulgin (Clayton, Maryland), "two ministerial students" (one possibly C. T. Paul, Bowmanville), A. C. Gray (graduate degree), Bruce McCully (Walkerton), Oliver McCully (Mull), F. C. Lake (Meaford), W. D. Ward (to Owen Sound), W. McM. Logan (to Walkerton) and a Mr. Greening (to Hamilton). J. P. Reed, W. C. McDougall and Frank D. Butchart went to Hiram College, September, 1899.⁵⁷ In July, 1899, along with F. C. Lake, "seven other Hiramites are working in Ontario."⁵⁸ The College of the Bible, Kentucky University, Lexington, drew students from Canada. Several received graduate degrees in Bible there after attending the University of Toronto, Bethany, or Hiram: R. W. Ballah (Aylmer), Robert Stewart (Ontario), G. N. Stephenson (P.E.I.), A. Martin (Muncie, Ind.) and James McLeod (Walkerton). Supplied by the American colleges and accepted by churches who desired trained young ministers the preaching force in Ontario swelled from approximately 50 workers during the 1880s to some 100 during the 1890s.

⁵⁵CE, V, 4 (June 16 1890) 4.

⁵⁶DC/CE, IX, 8 (Aug. 15 1894) 5.

⁵⁷CM, 3, 15 (Sept. 16 1899) 8.

⁵⁸15 (Aug. 1 1899) 6.

College of the Disciples. John A. McKillop, who was to become a trustee of the Ontario Disciples' college, admired the "armies of young preachers" who went out from the American colleges and was determined to have the same benefits locally. He cited these compelling reasons: (1) the spread of New Testament Christianity would be augmented, (2) sectarians ably met, (3) infidelity and secularism combatted, (4) many Biblical precedents fulfilled.⁵⁹ O. G. Hertzog, an effective evangelist in Ontario in earlier years, who joined Hiram College as a "financial agent," gave his judgment as to why a Canadian school was needed.

We wish Hiram College well; but there are those of us who think that neither Hiram College nor any other United States College can meet the needs of Ontario. The national feeling of the United States is intense, not to say narrow. The United States is not, therefore, a suitable place for the education of preachers who think it their duty to spend their lives in the Dominion of Canada.⁶⁰

The Ontario Co-operation received its education committee's report at the annual meeting in 1890 which endorsed a Bible school in conjunction with the University of Toronto. The committee also recommended that \$20,000 be raised to endow a chair of Biblical literature.⁶¹ The next year it was reported that three courses had been arranged and taught under the auspices of the University.⁶² The University of Toronto was described as "one of the best on the continent." A student could take a degree there and go to American schools for studies in Bible.⁶³ Three short courses were again taught during 1892-93.⁶⁴ The small

⁵⁹DC/CE, XI, 12 (Oct. 15 1896) 1, 5.

⁶⁰5 (July 1 1896) 5.

⁶¹CE, V, 5 (July 1 1890) 5.

⁶²Courses were taught by John Munro B.A., Toronto Junction; T. B. Knowles, St. Thomas ("Evidences of Christianity"); and J. R. Gaff, Denison Ave., Toronto ("The Bible").

⁶³VII, 7 (Aug. 1 1892) 4. Amos Tovell graduated from the University of Toronto in 1892. VII, 10 (Sept. 15 1892) 4.

⁶⁴T. B. Knowles, H. McDiarmid, T. L. Fowler (four lectures on the "Science of Biblical Interpretation"). CE, VII, 14 (Nov. 15 1892) 4.

number of students which attended these lectures, however, prompted the education committee to recommend that the lectures not be attempted during 1894-95.

Instead, it was felt that a school should be set up in Toronto: one teacher could be secured to teach six months and evangelize six months; the Co-operation should commit \$150 yearly for this purpose. The committee's resolution passed: the school should be not just "a preacher school for males" but a more general school for both male and female students.⁶⁵ T. L. Fowler, who had resigned recently as president of Fairfield College, Fairfield, Nebraska, was invited to serve as principal of the "Proposed Bible College." An opening was announced for October in the facilities of the Cecil Street church in Toronto.⁶⁶

October 3 was a "red letter day" for the Disciples. Four students enrolled, two were expected, and three were in correspondence. By the time the first session concluded ten students had enrolled.⁶⁷ At the 1895 annual meeting of the Co-operation the "long continued commercial depression" was offered as a reason for fewer students than desired. A resolution was passed that the Bible school be continued but that "it be made self-supporting as soon as possible."⁶⁸ Not everyone was satisfied, however. An editorial in July, 1895, pointed to some misunderstanding regarding objects and methods, "hence the heat."⁶⁹ Then two separate announcements were made in September, 1895. (1) The Co-operation's board of managers, after "a careful, deliberate, prolonged consideration" relinquished responsibility for the school. It would be in the best interests of the

⁶⁵CE, IX, 4-5 (July 1/July 15 1894) 4-5.

⁶⁶8 (Aug. 15 1894) 4.

⁶⁷Comparisons were made with the opening of Knox College in a private home with seven students in 1844. CE, IX, 12 (Oct. 15 1894) 2; DC/CE, IX, 22 (March 15 1895) 6.

⁶⁸DC/CE, X, 5 (July 1 1895) 1-2.

⁶⁹Four possible positions were reported: (1) The American schools were sufficient. (2) The college is good if it could be afforded but it cannot be. (3) Continue the school if the money is in hand or in sight. (4) The school is needed, affordable, keep it going. DC/CE, X, 6 (July 15 1895) 6.

school to be under management of a separate and independent board rather than in the hands of the mission board. (2) Notice: the College of the Disciples would open in St. Thomas, in the school rooms of the Church of Christ, October 1 with T. L. Fowler as president. There was some regret expressed regarding the school's departure from Toronto and a hope expressed for its return.⁷⁰

The College of the Disciples initially offered two programs: (1) ministerial and (2) normal. By the conclusion of the second year there were 23 students enrolled. A site was chosen for the college building (at the corner of Owaissa and Hiawatha Streets). By the third year five teachers were working in the new college facility, the college was incorporated and four courses were offered. Enrollment dropped from 33 at the end of the second year to 20 for the first term of the third and grew to 28 for the last term of the fourth year. Included were 19 ministerial students.⁷¹ No doubt the depression of the period impacted the slow growth of the school. Although a small student body attended, the ministerial students spread throughout southwestern Ontario in active church work. The picture brightened in 1899. The college affiliated with Northwestern University in Illinois. The fall enrollment reached 45 and 55 or 60 were expected in the second term. Some 20 Canadians were preparing for the ministry. During the summer student preachers had baptized 129. During the three years student preachers had helped to increase the number of churches in the Western District from nine to twenty-four.⁷²

Growth

The Disciples of Christ in Ontario began the decade with 85 churches and concluded the century with approximately 80. In the 1890s 34 congregations were

⁷⁰DC/CE, X, 10 (Sept. 16 1895) 1, 6.

⁷¹Student preachers listed in January, 1899: N. D. Wells, H. Genders, D. Bedford, J. H. Coultard, W. J. Jelly, F. D. Butchart, H. E. Stafford, E. Harlow, O. D. Fournier. CM, 3, 2 (Jan. 20 1899) 3.

⁷²CM, 3, 22 (Nov. 20 1899) 5; 23 (Dec. 1 1899) 1.

organized and 39 ceased to meet.⁷³ The net growth rate for the decade was -.5 churches per year. The decline of the Disciples of Christ had begun.

On average 30 churches a year, or about one-third of the total number, reported baptisms. The accumulated number of baptisms reported was 2,643. This gave an average of 9.6 baptisms per church per year. This compares favourably with the 7.7 average for the decade of the 1880s and 8.6 for the 1870s. The results appear to confirm the benefit of increased ministerial activity among the congregations which characterized the 1890s.

From the random report of membership totals by various congregations 77 church memberships are noted in the 1890s publications.⁷⁴ These totalled 4,736 or an average of 64 per church. Projected to 80 churches the membership of the Disciples of Christ in Ontario at the end of the century was approximately 5,000. A statistical report gathered by the Co-operation for the year 1898-1899 gives a total of 4,500 members.⁷⁵

Editorial attention was drawn to the remarkable decline in the numbers of Disciples of Christ which appears in a comparison of the Canada Census of 1881 and 1891: from 20,193 to 12,763 respectively. Robert Beaty, inexplicably, takes the numbers at face value as does an unnamed paper and editor whom he quotes. The latter blames the Bible Index, self-edification and hypercriticism for the decline. Beaty reacts and in turn blames the supposed decline on the spread of the "pastor system" which in turn, he says, killed effectively self-edification. "This has

⁷³As drawn from the periodical record. To determine the year of the demise of a congregation based on this evidence is an exercise which is lacking in precision. It is likely that several of these 39 churches closed before 1890.

⁷⁴Statistical reports of church numbers, membership and baptisms were presented at the Co-operation's annual meetings. These were based on reports submitted by some of the congregations and estimates made for the others. See Appendix D.

⁷⁵CM, 3, 12 (June 17 1899) 2. The report gives 3,868 members who were connected with congregations and 632 scattered members. The fact that these two figures total 4,500 exactly leaves some doubt as to their preciseness.

occurred in Ontario, in Canada, chiefly in the last ten years, and hence the decline in the number of Christians."⁷⁶ Munro, in the Canadian Evangelist, is more accurate in his assessment. The numbers are down because: "The brethren have not been sufficiently careful and determined to report themselves as Disciples." Those who reported their preference as "Church of Christ" were counted with "Other Denominations."⁷⁷ The conclusion might be drawn that the polarization which resulted from the "troubles" which multiplied during the 1880s was well advanced by 1891, the year of the census.

Summary

Over an eighty-year span in 19th century Ontario the Disciples of Christ had established some 150 congregations. Seventy had ceased to meet or had merged by the end of the period. The eighty which remained constituted 53% of the total number of churches organized during the century. Broadly examined, one church survived for each two organized.

In the final decade of the century the Disciples found themselves badly divided. Forty percent of the membership was alienated by the initiatives taken by the majority. Ironically, the steps taken by the progressive wing were specifically on behalf of vigorous outreach. The minority had defended the primacy of the local church to be the agent of evangelistic outreach. Yet during the 1890s only one itinerating evangelist served full-time under the auspices of this group. And he had lasted in the field only a year and a half before shortage of funds forced his withdrawal.

The provincial Co-operation strengthened its position among the progressive congregations. Most seemed satisfied with the broader mandate

⁷⁶BI, XXI, 244 (April 1893) 104-108.

⁷⁷CE, VIII, 6 (July 15 1892) 4.

assumed by the Co-operation's board of management. The Disciples had devolved from an association of independent congregations to a collectivity of churches linked by a network of para-church organizations and by the Co-operation's co-ordinations. The annual review of these efforts and associations was accomplished at the conventions in June. The pastor system had been accepted fully by the churches and a ready supply of young men was available, trained in American schools and latterly at the St. Thomas college.

The presence of a number of prominent Ontario Disciples at the Jubilee celebration in Cincinnati in 1899 of the American Christian Missionary Society's fifty years of service suggested that the Ontario Disciples were now willing partners in a continental fellowship of the Disciples of Christ.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

In Memoriam

Black. Died in Eramosa on Thursday 23rd, March 1880, Lois Black, aged 71 years 19 days.

Our sister whose death is recorded above was the wife of our highly esteemed brother James Black, the elder. She was born in 1809 in this country and was married in 1828. Her departure was sudden. She and her husband drove a short distance from home on Tuesday ... On returning in their buggy, sister Black became concerned for the horse in drawing them up a hill, and persisted in getting out to walk. Half way up she weakened and had to lie down on the road. Brother Black managed to get her into the buggy and they reached home, but she was not able to rise from her bed until she departed this life on the following Thursday morning. She died without pain ... During her short illness she spoke of hearing music, "songs of Zion," and used similar expressions, and asked her husband if he had heard it ... Our sister had nine children, eight sons and one daughter, of whom six sons survive, thirty-six grand children, and two great grand children ... Most of her children have always shown a strong feeling, combined with a thorough knowledge of the truth as revealed in the Scriptures. A short acquaintance with any of them, reveals the fact that the word of God is paramount with them as it was with their mother ... Her hospitality was unbounded ... Bro. Black's name has been known far and wide in the Dominion. His active efforts in the cause were well supported by our dear sister ... We have known them about forty years. One brother tells us he knew them over fifty years in Christ ... To write an account of her life would be to write a history of the disciples of Christ in Ontario ...¹

The study of the growth of a religious movement is more than the accumulation of growth statistics and an inquiry about cause and effect. At its best

¹By Hugh McDiarmid. Excerpts selected from the death notice are given in a somewhat different order than in the original. BI, VIII, 88 (April 1880) 127-128.

it is an effort to understand the heart of the people involved and to see their community within the dimensions of the human condition. The real issues are love and family, faith and piety, hardship and achievement, aspiration and discouragement, fellowship and disagreement, birth and death. This inquiry concludes in a high sense of privilege -- the privilege of encounter. The observation of the community of the Disciples over a span of eight decades supplies a rare experience. Found was an earnest, driven people, courageous in their efforts to win a place in the land, in the society at large and in the kingdom of heaven on earth.

The Disciples achieved a common life in which continuity was enjoyed because of their common faith. They held together because of their motivation to share a spiritual discovery -- that of unity and truth combined, biblically determined, simply experienced, practically possible. Their discovery, worked out in the pioneer days of new settlements in Upper Canada, reduced to a single understanding -- the Disciples had a mandate to grow. Their 19th century efforts to grow were confronted, however, by the impediments of the human condition. And herein lies the value of this study to those who in later centuries might return to the Disciples' record.

The eulogy to Lois Black is valuable as a vignette of those times. It is valuable as a study about people and about the verities of life and death. It is also valuable as a reminder that much of the story of the Disciples of Christ of 19th century Ontario did not reach in any detailed and appropriate fashion the pages of the periodicals produced. Rather, in the brief and fleeting passages contained in the obituaries there is the recognition that the whole community rested in, was nurtured by and sustained through the quiet devotion of the women for its tasks. The public efforts in preaching and pen were conducted by the men and so the record is shaped. The women's service and central role are no less significant for

their not having been done "before men, to be seen by them" (Matt. 6:1) The final assessment of this inquiry proceeds on the recognition that the periodical record upon which it was based was, at best, a partial depiction of the life and works of the Disciples of Christ in the last century in Ontario.

Summary

The earliest traces of the Disciples of Christ in 19th century Ontario are found among Scottish Baptists in Aldborough township, Elgin county in 1818, among Scotch Baptists at Norval in Esquesing township, Halton county, in 1821 and among Christian Connection people from America in Newmarket, East Gwillimbury township in 1821.

Scottish Baptist leadership was active when James Black drew together a church in Eramosa township, Wellington county and when Dugald Sinclair organized the group in Lobo township, Middlesex county, both in 1831.

American influences which included both that of the Christian Connection and Campbell's Disciples were felt in Beamsville where Daniel Wiers constituted a church in 1832, in Cobourg when the former Christian Connection conference clerk, Joseph Ash, helped to organize a church in 1834 and in Prince Edward county when Z. F. Green and Benjamin Howard, defrocked Connection preachers from New York state, planted churches in Athol and Hallowell townships around 1834-1835.

Reformation ideas from Scotland came to Ontario and met the same reformation ideas, somewhat modified, which had travelled from Scotland to America and back to Ontario. These principles were grasped with clarity and communicated widely by Alexander Campbell of Bethany, Virginia. Campbell's written enunciation of these ideas circulated in Upper Canada in the late 1820s and

early 1830s. By 1843 sixteen congregations existed which had come to view themselves as Disciples of Christ. Another eight were present which would shortly come to this position.

While catalytic thinking for the Ontario Disciples was drawn from the United States, leadership was drawn from both those native to the province and recent immigrants from Great Britain. Consequently, Canadian Disciples were distinguished from American Disciples by the Canadians' exposure to a greater influence by Scottish dissent and Scotch Baptist polity. Scotch Baptist conservatism was centered in John Menzies, Norval, David Oliphant Sr, Eramosa and James Armstrong, Toronto. This influence was felt at first locally and then provincially through William Trout (Georgian Bay), David Oliphant Jr (north shore) and James Beaty Sr (Toronto), respectively.

Scottish Baptist polity was maintained by Dugald Sinclair (ordained) in southwestern Ontario, modified to some extent by pioneer conditions. This polity was sublimated by James Black (unordained) in his activities in central Ontario. While Black accommodated those Scotch Baptist approaches which surfaced in Ontario, he did not embrace the Scotch Baptist position per se.²

Preaching and church planting in the 1830s occurred in Upper Canada because lay people, who were building new homes and new communities, felt constrained to arrange their spiritual affairs as well. There were no authorities -- provincial, American, or British -- which ordered these initiatives. By the early 1840s preaching activities began to respond to the momentum which developed as the Disciples grew as a community. The churches in 1843 organized for a co-

²See Appendix E for Black's late-in-the-century assessment of the doctrinal advancement and preparedness of the early leaders of his acquaintance in Ontario, a leadership almost entirely from Scotland. Cf. CW, IV, 10 (Aug. 1885) 3.

operative effort in order to be more intentional in their evangelism. By 1851 there were forty churches in place.

From 1845 onward the periodicals of David Oliphant Jr provided for the Disciples a focus and contributed to their sense of community. His American education positioned him to include a flow of material from American Disciples' publications. This hastened the day of full integration between Disciples north and south of the border. Having expanded the process by which Ontario Disciples were exposed to the American Disciples' activities, Oliphant drew back. When the Americans opted for a para-church missionary agency, the AMCS (1849), Oliphant reacted fiercely. His opposition proved offensive to Ontario Disciples who possessed Scottish Baptist leanings: these were the more comfortable with the co-operation arrangement. The issue came to a head with the 1860 Athol resolution in favour of congregation-centered evangelistic outreach. A leader in the Athol initiative Oliphant stood in a minority position among the Disciples. Increasingly wearied by the opposition, Oliphant finally abandoned his role as editor-leader for the Disciples by 1865. There were fifty Disciples' congregations which served in Canada West in 1861.

The dislocations of the 1860s -- the Disciples' quarrel, the American Civil War and Canadian Confederation -- created their distractions for the Disciples. The periodical record fades. It was not until the beginning of the Bible Index and the return to "big meeting" evangelism in 1872 that it is sensed that the Disciples were back on track. Congregations of the Disciples active in Ontario in 1871 remained at the level of a decade earlier, fifty.

The Co-operation, chiefly a Wellington county enterprise, had continued to serve throughout these years. As a result the Disciples had their largest churches there, namely Everton and Erin Center and the greater cluster of churches in central Ontario. Persistent disagreement neutralized the two churches in Toronto.

Work along the north shore languished. The cause in the Niagara district was troubled by feebleness (e.g. Hamilton), congregational division (e.g. Jordan) and limited outreach (e.g. the planting of a church in St. Catharines just before the end of the century). Growth was slow but consistent in southwestern Ontario where central, semi-annual meetings of the churches had been established by Dugald Sinclair. The number of Disciples churches by 1881 was sixty-one.

Two groups were present among the Ontario Disciples. Their underlying variations in approach had been inherited from their Scottish and Scotch Baptist forebears. In spite of these differences the Disciples still viewed themselves as one people in the early 1880s.³ Yet events occurred during the 1880s which divided effectively the Disciples into two camps, of progressives and loyals. The 1880 Convention at Erin addressed the Disciples' flagging efforts in evangelism. The special June assembly in 1883 at Acton produced the Ontario Co-operation, an independent organization for "home missions." The 1886 convention confirmed the role of the Co-operation as the agency for Disciples' outreach. The funds from the churches and the now present and multiplying societies began to be diverted from field evangelism to build up churches in the urban centers, e.g. Toronto, Hamilton, and London. Convinced that these moves were "digressions from the old paths" the Beaty-led group began to withdraw. Vigorous American leadership had contributed to these developments, e.g. a competing paper and the 1883

³The unity of the Disciples in the year 1880 can be gauged from the action taken by the Beatys relative to the publication of the Bible Index. In the announcement that the Index would be continued for the year 1880, the editors [James and Robert Beaty] recalled their actions in 1876: "To avoid what seemed unnecessary and unprofitable [i.e. the emergence of a second paper under Hugh McDiarmid], the originators and conductors of the Bible Index gave up the editorial control to [a committee] Bros. E. Sheppard, H. McDiarmid and C. Sinclair." The Beatys continued, "This is now changed." McDiarmid had undertaken to produce his own paper the Sentinel. The Beatys determined to continue the Index. "Every effort will be made ... to make it a common means of communication for all Christians ..." BI, VIII, 88 (April 1880) 129.

initiative. Disciples' congregations, numbering seventy-eight by 1891, were divided in a 60/40 ratio.⁴

In the first half of the last decade of the century the Bible Index succumbed, and the Toronto locus of conservative influence faded. A Beamsville-centered effort, carried on through the Gospel Messenger, attempted to rally the conservative congregations through an American concept of "loyalism." The churches were non-responsive. Meanwhile the progressives were strengthened by a consistent periodical voice which began in 1882. They were determined to normalize their relations with the broader religious community through participation in international societies (for children, youth, and women) and through a respectable presence of Disciples' congregations in urban centers. The Disciples had now accepted the concept of pastoral leadership for the churches (i.e. the Scottish Baptist preference at the beginning of the movement) just when nearby American Disciples colleges were able to supply ministerial graduates in increasing numbers. Buoyed by the prospects of a home-trained ministry the St. Thomas college was launched mid-decade. Only in the strong reaction by the long-time editor, George Munro, to the 1896 initiative of the home mission board to mediate a possible merger between the Disciples and the Christians of the Connection was there a discordant note as the progressive Disciples faced with growing optimism the new century. The Disciples completed their eighty-year effort to build and to grow with some 80 churches in place, somewhat more than one-half of the total number of churches (150) planted during the period. The following growth profile will detail the congregational increases.

⁴See Appendix D for a summary of support received by the provincial Co-operation during the 1890s.

Growth Profile

The Disciples of Christ during the 19th century in Ontario remained, in spite of their commitment to grow, a small although not insignificant communion. One hundred and fifty congregations were organized between 1820 and 1900. Eighty of these were active at the end of the century or 53% of those organized. Four congregations merged to net two. Nine congregations were active in thirteen relocations. Of the original nine three were Toronto churches which accounted for seven of the relocations. The church plantings were predominantly rural: 90% pre-Confederation congregations began in rural townships or villages; 26% of the post-Confederation churches were located in towns and cities. The comparisons are given:

LOCATIONS OF CONGREGATIONS Disciples of Christ, 19th Century Ontario

<u>Period</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Vill.</u>		<u>Town</u>	<u>City</u>		<u>Total</u> <u>Chur.</u>
Pre-1867	42%	48%	90%	6%	4%	10	65
Post-'67	34%	40%	74%	10%	16%	26	98

During the Canada West years the number of congregations realized a net increase of 33, from 17 to 50, a 66% increase overall or a 2.5% average increase per year. During the Ontario years the number of congregations realized a net increase of from 50 to 78, a 37% increase or 1.2% average increase per year. Totals are given as follows according to the major divisions of this study.

writers and articles. An "Indiana Connection" is noted: joint editor H. F. Stevens was from Van Buren, Indiana; corresponding editors included Jeff K. Snodgrass, Reed, Indiana and T. S. Hutson, Stout, Indiana. The label "our loyal paper" was given to the Messenger by Snodgrass.¹¹ Those opposing the "innovations" associated with the Co-operation were described frequently as "loyal disciples."¹²

Those working with the Messenger attempted to rally the conservative churches. A call was sent out in January, 1895 for a "mass meeting of loyal disciples of Canada" to discuss "a scriptural plan for spreading the Gospel." This meeting would not be a convention or establish a provincial board; it would not provide pay for "officers" or "pastors" or build \$20,000 meeting houses or pay for "church organs."¹³ The March issue suggested "Beamsville would be good for a mass meeting." The April issue acknowledged that "no Church [has] offered to host" the proposed meeting and concluded, "It is a lamentable fact that the church of Christ is growing cold ... Brethren why not have a grand rally of all the loyal disciples of Canada?"¹⁴ The conservative churches were either skittish of another attempt at collectivity or too wearied by conflict to go into the lists again. The Messenger offered to place "free" any "loyal" congregation in its church directory. Apart from Beamsville no churches accepted the offer.¹⁵

The Messenger asserted that "Ontario needs several evangelists in the field all the time ... is able to sustain at least one all the time."¹⁶ Samuel Keffer from Meaford became that evangelist. He had worked for a year at Attercliffe and established a church there in 1892.¹⁷ By August, 1895 Keffer was an "evangelist

¹¹GM, III, 1 (Jan. 1896) 4.

¹²II, 1 (Jan. 1895) 1.

¹³I (Jan. 1895) 1.

¹⁴4 (April 1895) 1.

¹⁵III, 3 (March 1896) 1.

¹⁶II, 1 (Jan. 1895) 1.

¹⁷BI, XXI, 244 (April 1893) 126.

CHURCHES ORGANIZED AND CLOSED
Disciples of Christ, 19th Century Ontario

	<u>Upper</u> <u>Canada</u>		<u>Canada</u> <u>West</u>			<u>Ontario</u>			
	<u>20s</u>	<u>30s</u>	<u>40s</u>	<u>50s</u>	<u>60s</u>	<u>70s</u>	<u>80s</u>	<u>90s</u>	<u>Tot</u>
Organ	2	13	22	11	16	21	31	34	150
Closed	0	0	0	4	9	14	5	38	70

Records are limited for the period 1867-1872, and the continuance of a number of rural churches in the 1890s is uncertain. The numbers available as a result weaken the analysis, particularly for the 1880s. At face value the 1840s and the 1880s were the two decades with the strongest net growth, namely 22 and 26 churches respectively. Each of the decades of the 1850s, 1860s and the 1870s increased seven churches net. The 1890s had a negative growth with a net reduction of four churches. The decline during the 1890s reflects a number of church closings in the Muskoka and Parry Sound areas. Here the work depended almost solely on one man, William C. Crewson who died in 1900. The collapse of agriculture in this region as settlers found soil and climate unsuitable hastened the decline. As well churches planted and served in southwestern Ontario by student preachers suffered from their comings and goings. Thus in the later years more churches were planted, but fewer survived. <For details of the organization and demise of the various Disciples' congregations see Appendices A and G.>

Assessments

The hypothesis of this inquiry suggests factors of stimulation which, it is held, contributed to the emergence and enlargement of the Disciples of Christ in 19th century Ontario. These are the factors of dissent and reformation in Scotland and revivalism and restoration in America. Further, the hypothesis identifies social factors which both encouraged and impeded the Disciples' growth. The encouragement came because energies were unleashed in the pioneer setting. The impediments were linked with dynamics inherent within social interaction. The insights which can be gained in church-sect typology and church growth theory, it is suggested, are helpful in understanding these restraints. The hypothesis also proposes that the Disciples acted upon their inherited restoration convictions to create an indigenous religious movement by the late years in Upper Canada and on into the Canada West era. The Disciples' self-direction diminished, however, as the Confederation years advanced. The Disciples moved toward some accommodation with inter-church associations and to broader interaction with the wider church community. Their self-reliance was reduced as the vision, energy and personnel from America were accepted as means to realize their provincial growth objectives.

Included in the hypothesis is the premise that a tension arose over views held which concerned church polity as expressed by the Scotch Baptists and the Scottish Baptists. These differences, it is contended, were present at the very beginning of the movement, threatened the Disciples' equilibrium throughout the decades of the study and contributed finally to the division of the movement by the end of the century. The energies expended and the unfortunate controversies

stirred up resulted in a serious hindrance to growth by the Ontario Disciples of Christ.

This assessment, consequently, must give attention to (1) theological motivations, (2) sociological conditions, (3) indigeneity, (4) external engagements and (5) internal conflict.

Theological Motivations

John Webster Grant in his work, A Profusion of Spires, a description of religion in 19th century Ontario, divides the century into two main periods: (1) pre-Confederation where a "shaping pattern prevailed," i.e. "formation," and (2) post-Confederation where "opportunities and challenges led to adaptations," i.e. "reformation." The early period, essentially post-1812, was characterized by local initiatives, community assemblies, missionary saddle-bag preachers and a rising level of piety among waves of immigrants. And during the early period there was a general optimism in the province regarding the "arrival of the millennium."⁵

The early Disciples readily fit this profile. It would be inaccurate, therefore, to describe the Disciples' movement as extraordinary within the Ontario context. However, within that framework, an energy and drive were present which can be identified properly as a spiritual impulse. The Ontario Disciples were not focussed in one charismatic leader (e.g. Smith, Swedenborg). They were not carried along by larger movements centered elsewhere (e.g. American Methodists, Baptists, and Christian Connection). Their efforts were not augmented by missionary personnel or imported ministers (e.g. Anglicans, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel). Their leaders were laymen for the most part, farmer-preachers, bank clerks, teachers.

⁵John Webster Grant, A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth Century Ontario (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1988) p. 226.

The Disciples were carried by a conviction, generally termed "sectarian" by onlookers, that they had discovered the truth and it must be shared. This impulse drove James Black on week-end circuits and later in provincial circuits. It prompted church planting as settlers opened new territories (cf. Meaford, Owen Sound). It drew rather disparate and independent minded people into a single communion (cf. American Christian Connection, English Disciples, Irish Independents, Scotch and Scottish Baptists.) The Disciples' vision was to achieve the unity of all believers. Their goal was to restore the primitive church. Their standard was solely the Scriptures. Their appeal was to the reasonableness of human intelligence which could understand the wisdom of the Scriptures and respond. The energy which early formed and later advanced the Ontario Disciples was religious energy. The record of almost a century of activity by the Disciples suggests strongly that they were motivated by their theology.

Sociological Conditions

Grant, as well, identifies the social dimension in 19th century religious expression in Ontario. He suggests a link between "a time of unbridled free enterprise and mercantilism" during the "formative phase" and the "intense" denominational competition of that period. "... The resolution of the controversy [i.e. competing theologies] left the contending churches looking remarkably alike, in social function if not in theology."⁶ The Disciples fit this duality as well. Their "evangelism" was directed primarily to believers of other faiths. Their "converts" were mostly Protestants who were lapsed from their previous church connection or who were drawn into a more vital commitment or who were convinced to exchange "error" for "truth." The Disciples were intensely competitive religiously. Their religious aggressiveness was matched by their drive in the secular realm.

⁶Grant, p. 223.

Their periodical record describes them to be a people successful in their business affairs (cf. wealthy Disciples in Toronto, Bowmanville).

This study has identified church-sect typology as a model for understanding the social dimension of the Disciples' corporate life. Grant assesses correctly that Ernst Troeltsch's dichotomy of church and sect was more suited to the European situation in his day than to the Denominationalism of America. Grant does acknowledge, however, that the Canadian situation could not be equated with the American. For example in American eyes Canadian churches were too restrained while in European eyes they were too casual. In fact, American denominationalism was not the Canadian way. Four Canadian denominations -- Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican and Roman Catholic -- held 87% of those Canadians expressing a religious preference in 1842. The same condition prevailed in 1871 with an 88% preference. This "remarkable stability" meant that "... no new movements were able to achieve more than the establishment of a bridgehead for possible future expansion."⁷ While an established church did not develop in Canada in the formative period the Anglican church assumed some of the prerogatives of such. In the post-Confederation phase the tight hold by the top four churches resulted in a similar position of privilege. Grant observes that while there was not to be an established church "... the major churches would parcel out among themselves the functions of an unofficial moral and educational establishment. In effect, 19th century Ontario society would be the sum of its religious constituencies."⁸ The Disciples necessarily experienced the constriction both of the "tightness" of the religious community and of their own lack of empowerment. The net result for the Disciples was energy generated from their "sect" status reaction. (It is noted here that the dynamic subsequently derived in

⁷Pp. 224-225.

⁸p. 231.

the church-sect antithesis is advanced as the point for consideration in this study, not the typology's original application as a classification mode.) The connections between Eramosa Disciples and the 1837 Rebellion and the reactionary mindset of well-to-do members of the conservative Disciples in Toronto are two illustrations of "sect" reactions among the Disciples. These energies joined with those of their religious motivations and propelled the Disciples as a people.

Church growth theory was also introduced in this inquiry as a means of sociological assessment. The homogeneous unit, group dynamics and receptive peoples are elements identified in this model for investigation. The above description of the saturated and stable condition of the Ontario church community ruled out the possibility of the Disciples finding a pocket of receptivity from which a "people movement" into the Disciples' community might take place. This was in marked contrast to the American scene where only 17% of the people were "churched" in the early years of the 19th century. The American Disciples found and exploited such a pocket, and the people movement took place for them. In addition their particular appeal both suited a country where denominational difference was acceptable and was well tuned to capture the interest and values of the American people. The Ontario scene was the reverse. Failing to note the fundamental social differences, both Americans and Canadian Disciples castigated the Ontario Disciples for their failure to grow. This discrepancy increased as American workers entered the province in growing numbers. Their presentation of a message honed in the American setting, a message which did not readily correspond to the Canadian mind, resulted in a further separation of the Disciples from Ontario society. The discouraging growth experienced by the Disciples in Ontario can be attributed in considerable degree to their failure to sense these sociological realities.

The homogeneous unit principle (i.e. people more readily make their way spiritually in association with people of like culture) operated naturally in the early stages as Scottish settlers continued to flow into the Wellington and Middlesex districts. They found their way to Disciples' congregations where the Scottish burr was common and even Gaelic could be heard. American settlers moved into the north and south shore regions of Lake Ontario where they found communities of people whose roots were similar to their own. In the later years in the province the principle worked in the reverse. Ontario society became more and more homogeneous, and it was time for the church to recognize the format and fit in. People would cross the bridge if familiarity welcomed them at the other end. The Disciples began as a rural movement. They became increasingly disadvantaged as the urban shift accelerated. The attempt by the Home Mission Board to engineer the presence of churches in urban centers was not successful. The homogeneous principle was clearly at work among the Ontario Disciples both early and late.

Group dynamic principles, familiar to the 20th century, were perceived intuitively prior to their surfacing in the behavioral sciences and were no less operative for their lack of conscious classification. Insights derived from them, however, give retrospective examination a basis for a better understanding of the forces which worked within the Ontario Disciples for the length of the period under study. The struggles between the two groups within the Disciples and between various individuals supply numerous examples of group dynamics in play. Illustrations of these were noted between individuals (e.g. Black and Oliphant, Lister and Sherman), between groups (e.g. the mutual exclusionary tactics of the progressives and the loyals) and in the role of the leader (cf. periodical editors, Co-operation management officers, American evangelists). A portion of the internal conflict which reduced the Disciples' success in effective outreach rested not so much in doctrinal differences, as was generally perceived,

but in the interactions of the more subtle social forces at work among their leading individuals and within their groups.

Indigeneity

Grant observes, "Religious impulses were almost invariably imported." Throughout the period imported clergy were both numerous and prominent. British and American books, tracts and periodicals circulated freely. Religious problems faced in Ontario (e.g. church-state relations) religious emphases (e.g. evangelicalism) and assumptions about religion (e.g. linkage between belief and personal morality) were conditions prevalent in other English speaking areas of the world. If there was a distinctiveness in Canadian religious affairs, it involved only variations in emphasis and differences in outcome. Several differences by way of example are identified between Canada and the United States. In Canada the Anglican population was large and that of the Baptist small; these were reversed in the U.S.A. In Canada, unlike in America, there was resistance to multiplication of church bodies: the later enthusiasm in Canada for church union reflected a bad conscience with regard to the existing divisions.⁹

An understanding, therefore, of religion in Ontario in the 19th century must include the consideration of similarities and differences between conditions in Canada and those in regions from whence influences converged in the Ontario setting. Similarly, an understanding of the Ontario Disciples requires a determination of their shape and character in relationship to out-of-the-country influences and formations and to those prevalent within the province. To what degree did the Disciples hew their own path or to what degree were they shaped by forces external to themselves? The question concerns their indigeneity. The study has identified the links which were strongly determinative involved in

⁹P. 231.

religious experience in former homelands, e.g. Scottish dissent and evangelicalism and American revivalism and restorationism. It then observed that in the later years of Upper Canada and on into the Canada West period, the Disciples as a movement developed their own momentum with leadership, resources and teaching insights flowing from their own resources. Little help or guidance was sought or received from without. During this period the Disciples were the more successful in understanding and fitting into their contemporary Ontario setting. As the Confederation years advanced, on the other hand, the Ontario Disciples were drawn more and more into the orbit of the American Disciples' influence. The Ontario Disciples were reduced in their "fit" in the Canadian setting. This fact was obscured for the moment in terms of their potential for growth as a Canadian church by the increase which resulted from the intervention of American-sourced effort. In the long run, however, legitimate growth for the Ontario Disciples was a measure of their indigeneity.

External Engagements

The balance is delicate for a group which might seek to engage the external world for evangelistic purposes or might seek such engagements for purposes of self improvement. In the former case what the group has to offer benefits and shapes those who accept it. In the latter the group is shaped and either helped or hindered by what it accepts from those it engages. The Ontario Disciples in their desire to grow sensed in the later years a need to be more centrally located, i.e. in the urban centers, and to have a more attractive message. The Disciples had advocated Christian unity persistently. As the Canadian churches were caught up with a vision of a national church union -- to match the Confederation union of the colonies -- what would be the Disciples' response? Union discussions with the Baptists and the Christian Connection were engaged in by the Disciples in the

mid-1890s. Munro's abrupt departure over the Board's handling of the latter reflects the Disciples' continuing ambiguity over the matter of their engagement of the world at large.

Internal Impediments

Many viewed the Disciples as too controversial. They engaged repeatedly in debates with their religious neighbours. (It is noted, however, that debates were not unique to the Disciples in the last century.) Their periodicals conducted disputations with the publications of other groups. Their preaching, while sounding out the positives of the Gospel as they understood them, often appeared negative and condemnatory of other churches. The Disciples were caught up in contention. Their growth came in spite of this condition or because it appealed to those who were in reaction already to present religious ties.

In fact, the plea of the Disciples to a divided Christendom went hand in hand with their criticism of the divided state of Protestantism. The call to repent of this shortcoming was not different from the call of all sinners to repent. What made it difficult for the Disciples was the presence of a controversial spirit within. The movement in its beginning in Ontario drew together people who shared two varying views of ministry: leadership by a plurality of lay elders or leadership by an ordained pastor; outreach by congregations in independent initiatives or outreach through integrated associations of congregations, i.e. the positions of the Scotch and Scottish Baptists, respectively. While these differences do not appear to be earth-shaking, they were sufficiently troublesome, or at least their respective proponents were sufficiently partisan in their employ, that the Disciples' energies were seriously neutralized and their growth hindered throughout much of the century as a consequence. That one of the positions was sublimated and became a hidden or unconscious agenda made the situation even more subject to constraint.

The study has traced the controversy as it touched the Disciples repeatedly as the decades passed. Then, when an American-based cleavage was superimposed on the Canadian separation (cf. "innovations"), the Ontario Disciples' two groups could not endure the strain and they parted company. In the final analysis a movement dedicated as a unity movement to achieving rapid growth experienced disunity and failed in its objective to grow.

Prescriptions

The growth experience of the Disciples of Christ in 19th century Ontario, while set in another century and responsive to never-to-be-repeated conditions, does offer insights which may be useful generally. The prescriptions for church growth which follow are drawn from that experience. It is admitted that their inclusion reflects values which under-girded the Disciples' outlook and values which are shared by the author of this inquiry. The subjectivity of this section is, therefore, acknowledged. The prescriptions are offered in a series of imperatives.

1. Accept the mandate. The Disciples sensed that inherent within the divine initiative and the essence of the church were growth implications. They were commissioned by Christ, they believed, to "disciple the nations" (Matt. 28:19). The measures of truth they possessed must be shared. The unity of believers everywhere must be restored. Likewise, the theology of the expanding kingdom of heaven on earth directs a mandate of growth to all disciples of Christ.

2. Value history. The Ontario Disciples of the 19th century were locked in the iron embrace of their time and place. Clearly, they were in many ways the children of their age. Their perception and employment of universal values were constricted by the narrowness imposed by the present realities which pressed upon them. Yet such binding conditions prevail in each century. Only insights gained

from a study of the struggle of people in other centuries can offer escape from contemporary myopia.

3. Live the theology. The Disciples were dedicated to upholding the "truth" and yet were embroiled in controversy. They appealed for unity and yet were afflicted with divisive forces within. These conditions curtailed the Disciples' growth. To be taken seriously any group must be able to practice its preachment, to demonstrate the achievability of the goals it announces.

4. Set obtainable goals. If the Disciples had their way, all existing churches would be dissolved and merged in one restored fellowship. Patently, that was not about to happen. Implicit within the proposal was an underrating of the values of the several communions present and an overestimation of the Disciples' accomplishment. Better had the Disciples determined to perfect their own fellowship within the demands of their chosen goals and thereby to win the approval of the broader community. Involved here are (1) the required balance between edification and evangelism and (2) the serious application of Christ's "beam-speck" teaching (Matt. 7:1-5).

5. Critique growth. The Disciples frequently -- in their periodicals and no doubt in their assemblies -- examined their growth rate. They were disturbed by their limited results and troubled by the contrast of their accomplishment with that of the American Disciples. The progressive group viewed their approach, i.e. the co-operative effort, to be an expedient which would have been effective had the effort received greater support from the churches. The conservative group insisted that their approach, i.e. the scriptural way, would have been productive if all had united in the "right" method. Rather, a critique of growth efforts should include as well (1) an assessment of the actual results of "expedient" approaches instead of concentrating on "what might have been" and (2) an examination of those

initiatives viewed to be in keeping with "scriptural" patterns with a view to their potential to be practically productive.

6. Dissect the dichotomies. As the century advanced the Disciples seemed less certain of their stance in relationship to the other churches and the world at large. Would they continue with a disengagement typical of "sect"? Or, would there be movement toward a greater engagement with society, that which in general terms is typical of "church"? Would it be restoration or ecumenism? Would theological concerns outweigh societal? Would an incarnational emphasis displace the numinous? The same challenge faces any group -- to have a clear sense of its chosen direction and understanding of the opposing alternatives. Better still, potential for growth is improved when groups move creatively beyond either-or categories to "third" possibilities.

7. Sort out the sociological. The Disciples seemed unaware that major growth would come only if a people movement kicked in. The saturation of the church scene in Ontario precluded that. The Disciples enjoyed the early benefits of the Scottish migration to central Ontario and the American flow of settlers to the border areas. However, these movements declined, and the Disciples were left with a base less diversified than desirable. The dynamics of leadership in a movement of independent churches were interesting, e.g. lay elderships, trained ministers, itinerant evangelists, American missionaries with an entrepreneurial spirit. All point to a sociological dimension which had a direct impact upon growth. Even groups majoring in spiritual matters must sort out the sociological components of their life and activity.

8. Surface hidden agendas. Two groups of Scottish settlers found their way into the Disciple community: those with Scotch Baptist backgrounds and those of the English model Baptist church. Two groups of restorationist American settlers also became part of the Disciples in Ontario: those of the more emotional-centered

Christian Connection and those of the more rational-centered Disciples of Christ. While the tensions between these differing approaches remained, the source of the differences passed from memory. The early roots became hidden agendas which drove Disciples in their subsequent polarizations. Only by thoughtful analysis can sublimated forces be surfaced and, once in the open, dealt with constructively. Growth is blind-sided by the presence of hidden agendas.

9. Move to indigeneity. The Disciples in Ontario in the 1800s were "not an island" to themselves. They were shaped by the religious experiences of their respective homelands. The Disciples were, as were all the churches in Ontario, affected by the world-wide developments in religion among English speaking people. In the middle decades of the century, however, they moved toward a commendable degree of indigeneity. Yet as the century wore on they became more and more amenable to and dependent upon the leadership of the American Disciples. While this trend offered a strength of sorts, it reduced ability to deal with the particularities of the Ontario setting. When churches are able to govern, finance and reproduce themselves, there is the greater possibility of a perceptive treatment of the local situation. Permanent growth is more apt to result.

10. Avoid empty rhetoric. The Co-operation was promoted year after year in the name of "evangelism." Yet the Co-operation became less and less active in outreach in the field and turned increasingly to the management of the Disciples as a collectivity. Again, the more conservative Disciples appealed to biblical patterns in evangelism. Yet repetition of their appeal took increasingly the place of action. A growing church requires more than slogans and labels; words must describe actions accurately.

11. Connect the generations. The feature of the Disciples' movement in the 19th century in Ontario was the constancy of the pioneer preachers. Yet a crisis of leadership arose when their depleting ranks were not filled with younger workers

of equal ability and energy. Elder-dominated churches moved too slowly to admit the younger generation to responsibilities. The movement waited too long to provide its own training facilities for ministry. Failing to provide for the transition, the later changes were abrupt and extreme for the movement and resulted in alienation. A growing movement will work to connect the generations.

12. Assess configurations. The Everton church only began to assemble records of its activity in the 1870s. The St. Thomas church lamented in the 1880s the absence of record keeping. The Co-operation assembled communion-wide statistics in the 1890s. The movement did not have a central clearing house for annual reporting even though the June meetings demonstrated sporadically some effort in gathering numbers. As a general rule, however, Ontario Disciples did not pay close attention to record keeping. Growth can take place spontaneously. Yet growth is more likely to happen on a sustained basis when the intention to grow is matched with planning, when planning is based on analysis of the past, and when the past is preserved carefully in accurate record keeping.

13. Plan church plantings. A feature of the Ontario Disciples in the last century was their aggressiveness in church planting. The early evangelists were determined to reach into new fields. David Oliphant Jr has a long list of "preaching points" visited. Churches emerged from a number of these initiatives. The movement was handicapped, however, by its seeming inability to nurture the new congregations adequately. Church plantings were often the initiatives of individual evangelists rather than the commitments of adjacent congregations. More often, church plantings were in remote townships, obscure corners and hamlets. Consequently, a number of the new efforts did not survive, and the movement perpetuated its status as a rural communion primarily. Church planting is a concomitant of growth. Church planting ought to be high on the agenda of each congregation. Church planting ought to be engaged strategically .

14. Target the unchurched. In the early stages of settlement churches tended to be more community oriented. The log church built by James Black on his farm in 1832 was available for any group to use. During the 1830s James Black served the Eramosa community as the sole minister available to officiate at weddings. As communities stabilized the various church groups consolidated, and religious activity became more segregated. The Disciples' attempt to win members from the various Churches was resented and resisted. Alienated, the Disciples both appeared to be and became more and more confrontational. They, in turn, were in increased danger of judgmentalism. By targetting the unchurched a purer gospel is preached by spokesmen who are less presumptuous. Converts are more devoted to the distinctives of the movement which had excited their early obedience. The movement is less likely to be handicapped by a negative image. And even in communities, such as 19th century Ontario which was statistically saturated with church preferences, the number of "unchurched" people which remains can provide a field of endeavor which will more than challenge any church.

15. Avoid reactionism. The Disciples of Christ began their eighty-year history in Ontario in the last century on a fractured foundation. Polarities hardened over the decades. Reaction bred reaction. The compulsion to grow claimed a higher priority than the need for compromise and biblical consensus. Contention blocked out the biblical prescription by which unity would be achieved. Contention cancelled the prospects for enlargement and a long and bright future. It is incumbent upon disciples everywhere that reaction be avoided and that rather they "speak the truth in love" (Eph. 4:15).

APPENDIX A

CONGREGATIONS - DISCIPLES OF CHRIST - 19th Century Ontario - Drawn from the Periodical Record and Reuben Butchart

<u>Location</u>		<u>County</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Preaching</u>		<u>Decadal Reference</u>										<u>Reorganized</u>		<u>Ceased to Meet</u>	
<u>Town</u>	<u>Township</u>			<u>Point</u>	<u>Organized</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>Merged</u>	<u>Relocated</u>	<u>Reported</u>	<u>Assumed</u>		
<u>Upper Canada</u>																			
Norval	Esquesing	Halton		1820											1873		X		
Aldborough	Elgin			1818										1873 Eagle					
Lobo	Middlesex		Poplar Hill	1821															
Eramosa	Wellington		East	1830															
Clinton	Lincoln		Lakeshore																
Hillier	Prince Edward													1861 Everton					
Hallowell	Prince Edward													1885 Beamsville					
East Lake	Athol	Prince Edward	CherryValley											1891 revived		(1912)			
Erin	Wellington		West														X		
Cobourg	Northumberland													1863 West Lake			X		
Oshawa	Durham		Whitby											1860 Erin Centre			X		
Port Hope	Northumberland															1874 ?	83+?		
Erin	Wellington		East													1890			
Toronto	York		Shuter St.											83-85 active		1885	X		
Jordan	Louth	Lincoln												1860 Erin Center		1874 Yonge/Albert			
Cooksville	Peel																X		
Chinquacousy	Peel																X		
Totals				(17)		2	15	17	15	11	5	4	3						

Legend: ----- Active (xx) Last Mention [xx] Ceased to Meet {xx} Demise Assumed

Location Town	Township	County	Description	Preaching Point	Year Organized	Decadal Reference 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90	Reorganized Merged Relocated	Ceased to Meet Reported Assumed
<u>Canada West</u>								
Owen Sound		Grey		1840	1842	-----		
Toronto		York	Richmond St		1842	-----{73}		X 1873 Pembroke St. →
	Eramosa	Wellington	West		1842	-----{76}		1876 Guelph
Dundas		Wentworth			1843	-----{xx}		X
Berlin		Waterloo			1843	-----{50}{xx}		X
Pickering		Ontario			1843	-----		(1906)
Bowmanville		Durham			1843	-----		?
	Toronto	Peel			1843	-----{50}{xx}		X
Omagh	Trafalgar	Halton			1845	-----	1851 not meeting	
	Eramosa	Wellington	Centre		1847	-----{61}	1861 Everton	
	North E. Hope	Perth			1847	-----{50}{xx}		X
Selkirk	Rainham	Haldimand			1848	-----		
Meaford	St. Vincent	Grey		1845	1848	-----		
Brighton	Northumberland				1848	-----{73}		1873 1876?
Hamilton	Wellington				1848	-----		
Bronte	Halton			1848	1849	-----{xx}		X
Norwich	Oxford				1849	-----{50}{xx}		X
Pictou	Prince Edward				1849	-----{xx}	1896-97 meetings	X
Darlington	Durham				1849	-----{57}{xx}		X
Stayner	Nottawasaga	Simcoe			1849	-----		
	King	York		1848	1850	-----{77}		1877
Mapleton	S. Dorchester	Elgin			1850	-----		
	Sydenham	Grey			1850	-----{xx}		X
Stouffville	York				1852	-----		
Clarke	Newcastle	Durham		1849	1856	-----{61}{xx}		X
Ridgetown	Howard	Kent		1829	1856	-----		
Kilsyth	Derby	Grey	Morpeth PO	1854	1858	-----		
Charlesville	Durham				1858	-----{65}		1865
Butterfield	Durham				1858	-----{65}		1865
Villanova	Townsend	Norfolk		1853	1859	-----{64}{xx}		X
	Glenelg	Grey			1859	-----{79}{xx}		X
Collingwood					1860	-----{81}		
Erin	Wellington		Centre		1860--M	-----	1881 Collingwood Village (Erin E/W)	

Legend: ----- Active (xx) Last Mention [xx] Ceased to Meet {xx} Demise Assumed

Brooklin

1861-1861

Location		Township	County	Description	Preaching		Year Organized	Decadal Reference										Reorganized		Ceased to Meet	
Town					Point	Organized		20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	Merged	Relocated	Reported	Assumed		
Everton	Eramosa	Wellington			1853	1861--M								(Eramosa E/C)	X		X				
Rosedene	Gainsboro	Lincoln				1861										1872					
Postville	Trafalgar	Halton				1861					[72]						X				
Canboro		Haldimand				1861					{xx}										
Grand Valley	Luther		Little		1860	1862											X				
Dufferin			Toronto																		
	Mosa	Middlesex			1831	1862															
Marsville	E. Garafraxa				1858	1862									X						
Dufferin																					
Uxbridge		Durham				1862											X				
West Lake	Hallowell	Prince Edw				1863--R									(East Lake)?		X				
	Minto	Wellington			1858	1863											X				
Mimosa	Erin	Wellington				1863									X						
Dunnville					1854	1863											X				
Haldimand																					
	Yarmouth	Elgin				1864															
Dublin	Erin	Wellington			1863	1864									1879 St. Thomas		X				
	Murray	Northumberland				1864											X				
	Nassagaweya	Halton			1827	1865											X?				
Smithville		Lincoln			1863	1867															
						(2-R)															
			Totals			(47) (1-R)	20	29	39	28	25	23									
5,000,000																					
Ontario (1867-1879)																					
Blenheim	Aldborough	Elgin	Plains		1864	1873											X?				
Priceville		Kent				1873											X?				
Toronto	Glenelg	Grey			1861	1873											X?				
Belleville		York	PembrokeSt			1873--R									(Richmond St.)	1877					
Hastings						1873											X				
Warwick		Lambton																			
Eagle	Aldborough	Elgin				1873									(Aldborough)		X				
Whitby		Durham				1873											X				
Sweet's Corners	Rainham Hald.				1864	1873											X?				

Legend: ----- Active (xx) Last Mention [xx] Ceased to Meet {xx} Demise Assumed

<u>Location</u>		<u>County</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Preaching</u>		<u>Decadal Reference</u>										<u>Reorganized</u>		<u>Ceased to Meet</u>	
<u>Town</u>	<u>Township</u>			<u>Point</u>	<u>Organized</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>Merged</u>	<u>Relocated</u>	<u>Reported</u>	<u>Assumed</u>	
Goderich		Huron		1873	1874								-----	(86){xx}			X		
Cape Rich	St. Vincent	Grey		1873	1874											X ?			
	Dunkeld	Bruce		1873	1874								(77){xx}					X	
Toronto	Erin	York	Albert Hall		1874--R								(77)		(Shuter St.)	1877 Alice St.			
Erin		Wellington	Village		1875											X ?			
Rodney		Elgin		1873	1875											X ?			
Sherwood	Vaughan	York	Maple	1873	1875								-----	[96]		1896			
Guelph		Wellington			1876--R										(Eramosa W)				
Acton		Halton		1875	1877											X ?			
Toronto		York	Alice St.		1877--R								(79)		(Albert Hall)	1879 Louisa St.			
Griersville	Euphrasia	Grey			1878														
Toronto		York	Louisa St.		1879--R								-----	(98)	(Alice St.)	1898 Brunswick Ave.			
Toronto		York	OccidentHall		1879								-----	(86)		1886 Denison Ave.			
Walkerton		Bruce		1873	1879											X			
Seaforth	Wintrop	Huron		1873	1879								-----	(80){xx}				X	
Warton		Grey		1877	1879								-----	(92)-					
	Harwich	Kent	Township	1853	1879								--[xx]-----		Revived 1883				
St. Thomas		Elgin		1864	1879--R										(Yarmouth)				
Gore Bay		Manitoulin			1879										(With Ice Lake 1882-85)				
Totals					(21) (7--R)								25	22	16				

Ontario (1880-1889)

Orillia		Simcoe			1880								(80){xx}					X
Marchmount					1880								(84){xx}					X
Glencairn		Simcoe			1880													
Collingwood		Simcoe	Village		1881--R													
Ice Lake		Manitoulin			1882													
Dunchurch		Parry Sound			1882								(86){xx}					X
Douglas		Dufferin			1882								(82){xx}					X
Springfield		Elgin			1882								(84){xx}					X
Appin	Ekfrid	Middlesex		1882	1883								-----	[91]			1891	
Aurora		York		1876	1883													
Stratford		Perth			1883								(87){xx}					X

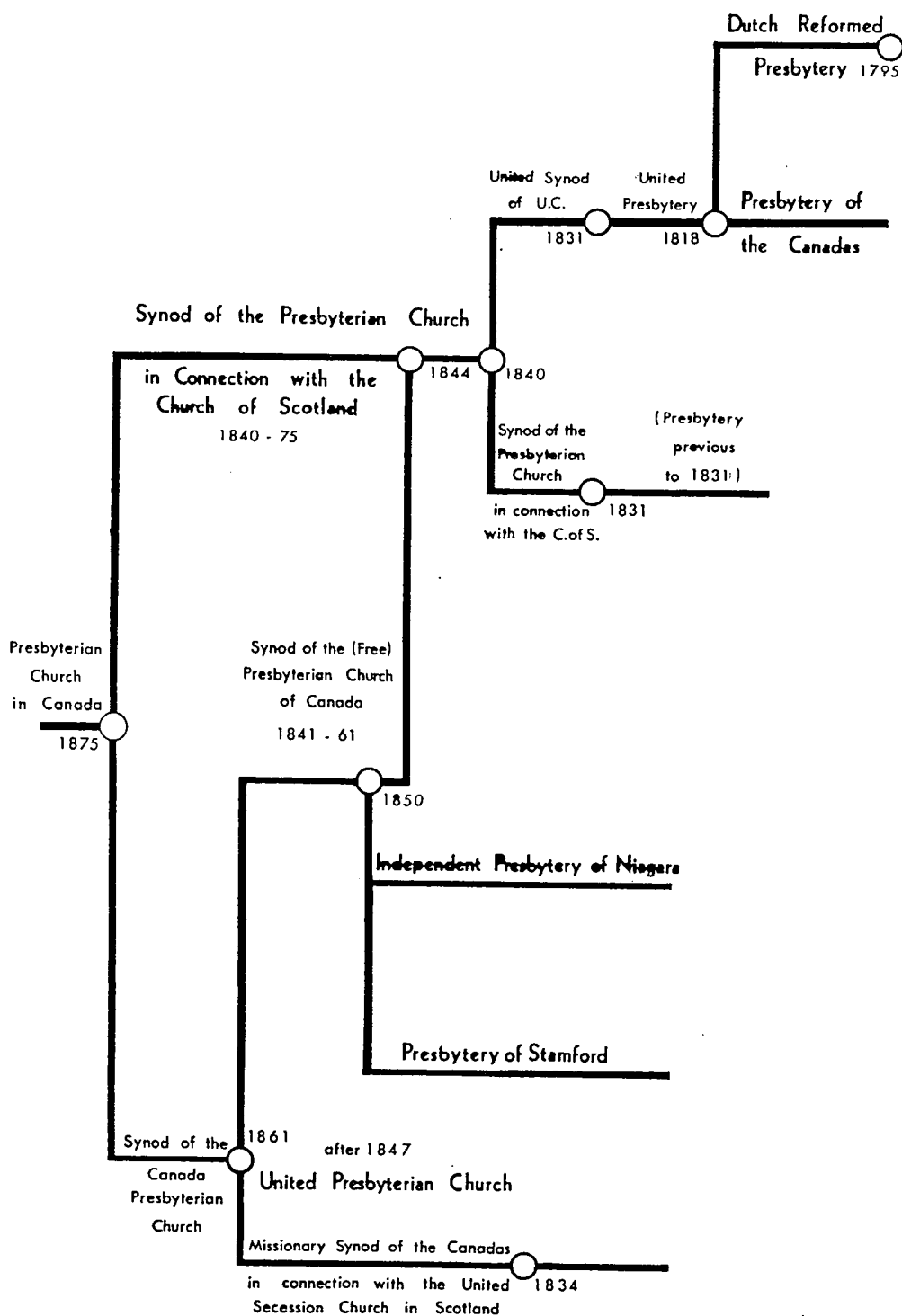
Legend: ----- Active (xx) Last Mention [xx] Ceased to Meet {xx} Demise Assumed

<u>Location</u>		<u>County</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Preaching</u>		<u>Decadal Reference</u>										<u>Reorganized</u>		<u>Ceased to Meet</u>	
<u>Town</u>	<u>Township</u>			<u>Point</u>	<u>Organized</u>	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	<u>Merged</u>	<u>Relocated</u>	<u>Reported</u>	<u>Assumed</u>		
Vernonville	Northumberland		Mt. Carmel		1884							(84){xx}						X	
Baysville	Muskoka				1885							-----				(1900)			
Beamsville	Clinton	Lincoln	Village		1885--R							-----				(Lakeshore)			
	Ridout	Muskoka			1885							-----				(1900)			
St. Mary		Muskoka			1885							(86){xx}						X	
Euphemia		Elgin			1885							-----							
Aylmer		Elgin			1885							-----							
Ameliasburg	Prince Edward				1885							(85){xx}						X	
Parry Sound	Parry Sound				1885							-----						X	
Trenton	Hastings			1880	1885							(85){xx}						X	
Magnetewan	Parry Sound				1885							(85){xx}						X	
	St. Vincent	Grey	11th Line		1885							(86)-----							
	Macauley	Muskoka			1885							-----				1899			
Nipissing	Parry Sound			1884	1886							-----						X	
Toronto	York		Denison Ave		1886--R							-----			(West End)	1891 Cecil St.			
Sheguindah	Manitoulin			1885	1886							(86){xx}						X	
Galt	Waterloo				1886							-----							
Cecebe	Parry Sound				1886							(86){xx}						X	
Cataret	Muskoka				1886							(86){xx}						X	
Brunel	Muskoka				1886							-----				(1900)			
Toronto	York		SpadinaAve.		1889							-----				1898 Brunswick Ave.			
Tintern	Lincoln				1889							-----							
Toronto	York		Junction Keele St.		1889							-----							
					(31) (3-R)							34	14						
<u>Ontario (1890-1899)</u>					Totals														
Green Bay	Manitoulin				1890							{90}						X	
Bracebridge	Muskoka				1890							(90)-				(1900)			
Carnarvon	Haliburton				1890							{90}						X	
Lehman's Landing	Manitoulin				1890							{90}						X	
Little Current	Manitoulin				1890							{90}						X	
Huntsville	Muskoka				1891							(97)-							
Hillsburg	Wellington				1890							-----							

Legend: ----- Active (xx) Last Mention [xx] Ceased to Meet {xx} Demise Assumed

Location		Township	County	Description	Preaching		Decadal Reference										Reorganized		Ceased to Meet	
Town	Year				Point	Organized	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	Merged	Relocated	Reported	Assumed		
Toronto			York	Cecil St.		1891--R								(Denison Ave.)		X				
Emerson						1891														
Georgetown			Halton			1891									(1900)					
Orangeville			Dufferin			1891									1897					
Menominee			Muskoka			1891										X				
London			Middlesex			1891														
Toronto			York	Main St.		1891														
West Lorne			Elgin			1891														
Port Severn			Muskoka			1892										X				
Attercliffe					1891															
Bridgeburg			Welland	Intn. Bridge	1891															
Glencoe			Middlesex		1891															
Oakville			Halton		1892											X				
					1893															
Rainham Ctr.					1893															
Haldimand																				
			Kent	Northwood		1893														
			Kent	Creek Rd.		1893														
Jura						1894										X				
Pine Orchard			York		1892															
Egmont			Grey		1894											X				
Harwich			Kent	S.S. No. 9		1895														
Inwood			Lambton			1896										X				
Iona			Elgin			1896														
Alvinston			Lambton			1897														
Hamilton			Wentworth			1897														
Toronto			York	BrunswickAv		1898--R								(Louisa St.)	(1902 Bathurst)					
St. Catharines			Niagara			1899														
Fenwick			Welland			1899														
Toronto			York	Wychwood		1899														
Port Arthur			Thunder Bay			1899														
				Totals		(34) (2-R)										24				
				Grand Totals		(150) (12-R) (2-M)	2	15	37	44	50	58	85	80						
Legend:	-----	Active	(xx)	Last Mention	[xx]	Ceased to Meet	{xx}	Demise Assumed	--R	Relocated	--M	Merged								

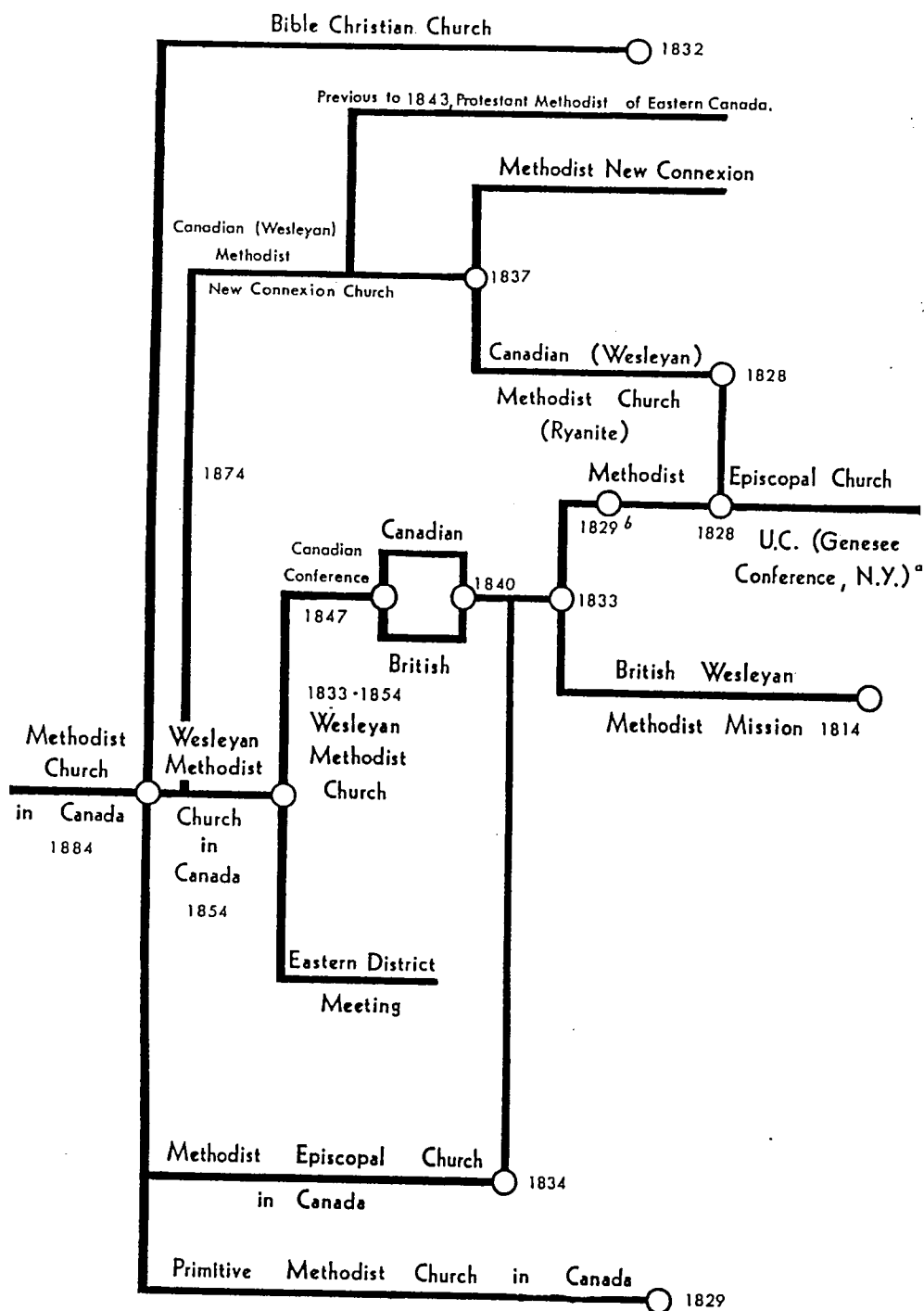
APPENDIX B-1

Development of the Presbyterian Churches in Canada

(Source: John S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West [Toronto:University of Toronto Press, 1959] p. 186.)

APPENDIX B-2

Development of the Methodist Churches in Canada

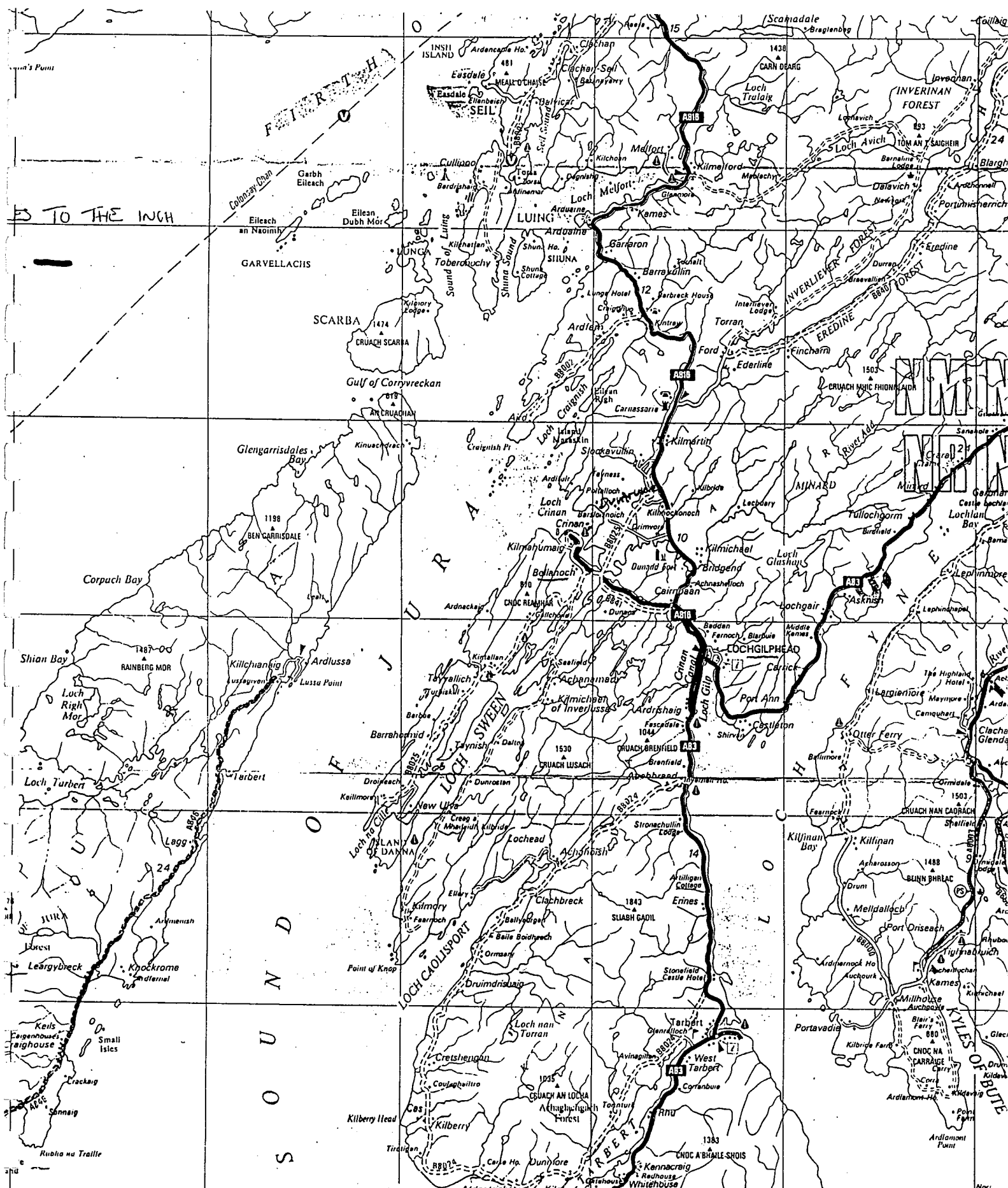


^a 1828: Independence from American Body; secession from Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church.

^b 1829: Continuing independence, change of name to Canadian Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church.

(Source: John S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959] p. 187.)

Locale of Bellanoch and Lochgilphead, Region of Argyle, Scotland



APPENDIX D

Statistical Reports by the Ontario Co-operation of Disciples of Christ for the 1890s

<u>Year</u>	<u>Site/June Meeting</u>	<u>No. of Congreg.</u>	<u>No. of Members</u>	<u>Contri- Congreg.</u>	<u>-butions Others</u>	<u>Baptisms Reported</u>	<u>Accum.*</u>
1890	Owen Sound			Total	1,822.13		311
1891	Cecil St., Toronto						
1892	Bowmanville	65	3,358 (55)	902.49	871.62		
				Total	1,774.11		
1893	Everton			941.43	1,169.03		
				Total	2,110.46		
1894	Hillsburg	67		909.97	1,432.11	273	314
				Total	2,342.08		
1895	London	64	c. 4,000			300	387
1896	Cecil St. Toronto	68	4,335			500	327
				Total	2,259.81		
1897	St. Thomas	72	4,500 est			286	169
				Total	1,487.80		
1898	Ridgetown	72	4,500			286	42
1899	Cecil St. Toronto	70	4,500			229	217

* Baptisms accumulated from those reported in the periodical record available.

APPENDIX E

James Black's Testimony

[James Black in his 88th year attended briefly the 1885 meeting of the provincial Co-operation at Guelph. Some conversation occurred there which concerned early views regarding support for evangelists in the field. Black was moved to send a comment to the editor of the Christian Worker. This statement has value for this study because of the people Black names, the conditions he describes and the convictions which he holds at the end of his life and service. IV, 10 (August 1885) 3.]

Bro. Editor.

I was pleased to meet one of you at our co-operation meeting in the city of Guelph in June. ... I thought some of the brethren at the convention were under the impression that the old disciples were opposed to sending out qualified men to preach the gospel and paying them. A few old men now may oppose it, but older men and older disciples, and many of them were in favor of it. Is it right to think that none are disciples but those who appropriate that name? It is not seldom we hear of men now living, being the *first* disciples in Canada, and I read not long since "That Elder Geo. Barclay and James Beatty sen. and 6 others, organized *in Toronto* the first church on the Apostolic model known in Canada." I doubt that any man now living can truly claim to be the first disciple even in Ontario. I came to Canada in 1820, and I believe there were disciples and churches on the Apostolic model in Canada before that time. I may change my mind if I learn a better definition of Disciple and "church on the Apostolic model" than I now know, but until that takes place I remain unchanged. If faith in Jesus Christ, repentance towards God, and submission to Christ in baptism; as Saviour and Lord constitutes a person a disciple, I know some such nearly 80 years ago, who refused to follow any human made religious creed, they accepted the Bible only as the God-given revelation of his will and studied it carefully, especially the New Testament, as teaching the christian religion which they tried to learn, teach and practise. If such were not disciples I cannot define the term. They were called Missionaries, Haldean's Baptists, etc. I do not think they appropriated any particular name themselves. Some of them came to Canada and laboured faithfully and successfully, early in the century, at least in 1817. I mention a few of their names well known yet among us: Malcolm Robinson and John McKellar in Aldborough; Donald McVicar, and Dugald Sinclair in Lobo and many other places; Dr. Miller in Niagara and round about; David Oliphant in Dundas and Eramosa, Francis Hutcheson, Eramosa; Thos. Stephens, Alexander Stewart and John Menzies, in Esquising and Little York (now Toronto); Geo. Barclay, Pickering and other places. Five of them went through a course of college training for preaching the Gospel, viz: - Donald McVicar and Thos. Stephan in Glasgow, Alexander Stewart in Edinburgh, Dugald Sinclair and Francis Hutcheson in Bradford. Those

who had not a college training, were men of good natural endowments, which they cultivated carefully. All were good Bible students and acceptable teachers, and as sound in the faith as Thos. and Alexander Campbell or Professor Loos of Kentucky University. We owe them much. The majority of them died before the Millennial Harbinger was generally circulated among us, but every one of them that lived till they learned Bro. Campbell's views from his own pen, fraternized with him and appreciated his labour and so did all the churches of which they were members. The descendents of these old disciples are among our best representatives in Ontario. I have selected these names because I was acquainted with them all but one. I was very intimate with the majority of them. They loved the truth and took pleasure in preaching it, without money and without price, according to their opportunity; but farms and families and trades, and other circumstances prevented their becoming entirely devoted to preaching. All of those with whom I associated were anxious that capable men should be constantly employed and sustained in building up the cause of God and humanity at home and abroad. I heard no opposite doctrine among old disciples. I guess the opposite is among new disciples.

James Black, Rockwood, P.O.

APPENDIX F

Cunningham's Summary

[W. D. Cunningham, provincial evangelist for the Ontario Co-operation of Disciples of Christ, November 1899 to June 1900, attempted to visit every congregation of the Disciples during the period of his engagement. He began with the December 1 issue of the Christian Messenger to report the "history" of each congregation he visited. In the May 1900 issue of the Messenger he supplied an extended report of his travels and his findings. The submission was his report to the Co-operation which was to meet in June for the annual convention of the Disciples. (Cunningham concluded his work as evangelist with the Co-operation in order to enter Japan as a missionary.) The "histories" and the report supply an important contemporary assessment and summary of the Ontario Disciples of Christ at the end of the 19th century. Excerpts from the report are given in the following.]

[Activity]

It is not without some regret that the facts in the case will not permit a better showing, but [it is] with a sense of duty done that I submit the following report of my work and observations in the province since November 1, 1899. In these seven months I have visited nearly every church in the province including the non-co-operating churches. In doing this I travelled about 1,800 miles by rail and about 250 miles overland. I paid my own travelling expenses.

[Aim]

It was my aim to present to each church as fully as possible all our work, including missions, home and foreign, The Messenger, the College and the need for closer co-operation. I also advocated the holding of an annual business meeting in each church. I found that some churches do not hold business meetings oftener than the death or removal of church officers makes it necessary. While others claimed that a business meeting had not been held in twenty years.

[Experiences]

I was received kindly by nearly all the churches. At one place I was not permitted to address the church, at another place I was allowed to do so, but was told by the minister in charge that inasmuch as I represented the Co-operation nothing I could say would interest or influence the congregation. In many other cases I failed to do nearly all I had hoped to do. I knew that twenty-five of our churches did nothing for our Foreign Missions through our Foreign Board. I hoped, by plainly stating the advantages of co-operation, to enlist most of these this year. In this I failed. I knew that twenty-one of our churches had not regular preaching. I hoped to much improve this state of affairs. While more successful in this than in any other one undertaking, there are still sixteen churches without regular

preaching. Last year at this time twenty-two preachers were giving all their time to the work. Twenty-eight are doing so now. I assisted in locating several of these. I knew that thousands of our members were not reading our Ontario paper and hoped to take several hundred subscriptions. I secured only about forty. In short, I have failed in most that I undertook to do.

Churches

We have in the province 69 churches with an aggregate membership of about 4,500. Besides the 68 [sic] churches mentioned above there are 16 points, most of them missions, where regular meetings are held. There are in the province fully one thousand isolated Disciples making a total number of 5,500. Not all of these churches co-operate in mission work. In at least three places there are two or more organizations caused by difference of opinion in regard to co-operation.

Church Buildings

We have in the province 54 meeting-houses and one parsonage; four of them are stone, valued at \$8,700; twenty of them are frame, valued at \$27,400; twenty-eight of them are brick, valued at \$82,100; one log and one rough-cast, making a total value of \$118,600. The number of houses reported last year was forty, valued at \$84,700. The total debt on these houses is about \$23,499. There are at least four unoccupied houses. One at Bowmanville will be sold or traded for a parsonage. One each at Oshawa, Sherwood and Pickering might be secured by this Co-operation and sold and the money used to help some poor congregation build a house. New houses are needed at Alvinston, Bridgeburg, Bracondale, Dorchester, Emo, Glencairn, Lobo, Mull, and West Lorne. Bracondale, Glencairn and West Lorne expect to build in the near future. The new house at Northwood, built this year, is a substantial brick building, and places that congregation well to the front in their neighborhood. Winger has the only parsonage in the province.

Pastors

Besides the twenty-eight pastors who are giving all their time to the work, there are several who are giving part time. Very few churches are now opposed to employing a pastor, and the number is decreasing. Twelve of those now employed are being assisted by our Co-operation. We have yet all too few pastors. The College will, in time, correct this. The list of changes and removals for the year is all too long to give here and affects several of our most important churches, including Toronto, Toronto Junction, Bowmanville, Everton and Hamilton. In the past we have had to look to the States for our preachers. I have no hesitation in saying Ontario would be better off to-day if we had never gotten a preacher from the States, providing we had kept our own. The inducement held out to attract preachers from the States has not been such as to draw men, and the result generally is that inferior and sometimes unworthy men are brought in. The ruin wrought by them is too well known to need discussion here. Closer co-

operation is already making this a less desirable field for "queer" American preachers.

Sunday Schools

I found forty-four Sunday schools having enrolled about 2,450 pupils and teachers. Some of these ... meet only in the summer. Three are mission schools. This leaves twenty-seven churches without Sunday schools. Twenty-eight schools observed the day this year and contributed \$320 to Foreign missions. A number of schools make a monthly offering to Missions, while a few give a percentage of their weekly offerings. Another improvement in Sunday school work is the fact that the Christmas treat is taking the form of an offering to the poor, rather than the selfish distribution of presents among themselves. Who is responsible for the fact that we have no part in the Sunday School Association of the province?

Prayer Meeting

I was surprised to find that less than forty of our churches hold a mid-week prayer meeting. It is noticeable that the cottage prayer-meeting is growing in favor. Twelve or fifteen persons gathered in a neighbor's parlor will hold a better prayer meeting than they will do in a meeting-house.

Christian Endeavor

Christian Endeavor is no longer an experiment. We have thirty-seven societies, including four or five Junior societies. Christian Endeavor has done so much for Christian Union that it is no matter for surprise that the people who stand for Christian Union should heartily endorse it. Our 5,000 societies in the United States place us third in strength in that country.

C.W.B.M.

Our sixteen Auxiliaries to the C.W.B.M. are doing much to foster missionary interest. The five original Auxiliaries were Rosedene, Everton, Guelph, Toronto and Lobo. Besides raising half of Miss Rioch's [missionary to Japan] salary, they contribute to the College and look after the organizing and training of the children.

Messenger

At present about one Disciple in seven in the province subscribes for The Messenger. The paper is one of our strongest forces at work in the province. It has stood for all our work. It has preserved a sweet spirit.

The College

That our Bible College should in five short years grow to its present proportions argues most conclusively both the urgent need for it and our recognition of that need. During the year forty-seven students, eight of whom were granted diplomas in April. Students are in attendance from several provinces of Canada, the United States and England. Seventeen men are preparing to preach the Gospel. Two

young men and one young woman are preparing for the Foreign Mission field. ...every year has closed with all obligations met.

Finances

In 1887 we raised for self-support \$9,000. Last year we raised \$14,000. This year we raised about \$17,000. In 1887 we raised for both Home and Foreign Missions \$2,500. Last year we raised for Home Missions \$2,569 and for Foreign Missions \$2,042. Last year we raised for the American Christian Missionary Society \$85. This year we contributed one-tenth of our Home Mission offerings. Our India Famine Fund as contributed through The Messenger reached about \$600. About \$400 was raised for building purposes, and \$1,300 for education. While all figures are not at hand, I believe we raised for all purposes this year about \$27,500, \$10,500 of which was for other than local current expenses of the churches. This means about \$4.82 per member. The truth is we have been taking collections instead of making offerings.

Ontario Missions

It is generally understood that ten percent of our offerings is paid over to the American Society. In return for this that Board invests in our province more than twice as much as they receive from us. Seventeen churches received aid from the Co-operation last year.

Foreign Missions

Last year thirty-nine churches contributed \$1,961 through the Foreign Society. This year forty-one churches contributed. A few churches have been opposed to working through an organized society, and have contributed to two natives in Japan. One of these has proven himself unworthy and has been dropped. What effect this will have upon the anti-society churches remains to be seen. It cannot help but shake their faith in unorganized effort.

Evangelization

During the year comparatively few of our churches held special evangelization meetings. I tried to get every pastor in the province to hold at least one meeting. My success was meagre. So far as I could learn less than three hundred persons were added by our sixty-eight churches last year.

Districts

About five years ago the first district organization was affected among the churches of the western part of the province. This proved to be such a good thing that since then the central southern and northern districts have been organized. The Eastern district will be organized at Bowmanville in October.

Apportionment System

Most of the churches have increased their offerings and some of them have more than doubled their offerings since this system was adopted [in 1898]. Fear that it would meet with opposition on the ground that it would seem like an assessment proved groundless. It will take some years yet to adjust the apportionments in proportion to financial strength.

APPENDIX G

Cunningham's Statistics

[The statistics which W. D. Cunningham assembled during his visits to the congregations of the Disciples of Christ, November 1899 to June 1900, are included here. There is some variance between the years of establishment reported by Cunningham and those which emerge from the periodical record as given in Appendix A. It is noted that Cunningham would report the year "remembered" by older members. The year of establishment could refer to when a group first began to assemble, to break bread regularly, to have regular preaching, to have elders appointed or the year in which the present church building was acquired. Cunningham managed to give a description of about half of the congregations, one-third of which contained statistics which are gathered below. Christian Messenger, December 1899-July 1900.]

<u>Church Location</u>	<u>Year Es- tablished</u>	<u>Present Number</u>	<u>Church Location</u>	<u>Year Es- tablished</u>	<u>Present Number</u>
Alvinston	1887	22	Acton	1865	80
Aylmer	1889	50	Cape Rich	1885	25
Erin Centre	1840	190	Erin Vill.	1874	34
Everton	1861	200	Rosedene	1847	55
Glencoe	1892	16	Marsville	1862	45
Glencairn	1880	60	Guelph	1879	106
Hamilton	1875	58	Kilsyth	1857	60
Luther	1864	125	Iona	1896	33
Harwich	1893	66	Mimosa	1863	
Mosa	1862	84	Owen Sd.	1840	90
St. Cathar.	1898	30	T.Junction	1889	79
Winger		130	Walkerton	1878	86
Warton	1877	20			

APPENDIX H

The Disciples of Christ

[Statistics of the Disciples of Christ world-wide for 1900 were published by the Christian Messenger, (Vol. 4, No. 10 [May 18 1900] 12), which quoted the N. Y. Independent, March, 1900, The report is as follows.]

According to the Year Book of the Disciples of Christ, just published, the total membership of this faith in the world is 1,185,200, of whom 1,141,600 are in the United States. Those in other lands are distributed as follows. British America, 16,100; Australia, 13,000; Great Britain, 12,000, and in foreign missions 8,500. In the United States they report 7,900 Sunday schools and 749,555 scholars and teachers. Their ministers number 6,659 of whom 6,205 labor in the United States. The strongest work is in Missouri, with 1,530 churches and 162,872 communicants. Their Christian Endeavor statistics show a total of 5,011 societies, which is a gain of 388 organizations during the year. The number of missionaries under the care of the Foreign Christian Missionary Society is 229, and the membership in the mission churches is about 6,500. There is a large number of native teachers and helpers, and scores of homes, chapels, hospitals and other mission houses have been built at a cost of something over \$300,000. In only twenty-four years more than one-third of the churches and Sunday Schools have been enlisted in the work of the society, and last year they gave \$152, 727 which was a gain over the previous year of something more than \$20,000. The amount raised by the society during the twenty-four years of its existence is \$1,292,587.69. This is the silver jubilee year of the society, and an effort is being made to raise \$200,000 with every indication of success. The American Christian Missionary Society, for home work, reports 109 missionaries in 820 localities; 63 churches organized, 6,046 admitted by baptism, and 3,950 otherwise. They also planned and assisted in the building of 14 houses of worship. In addition to these there are State boards affiliated with the National Society, so that the total is 234 new churches; 203 Bible or Sunday Schools, 19,617 additions to the churches, 11,780 being by confession of faith and baptism.

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