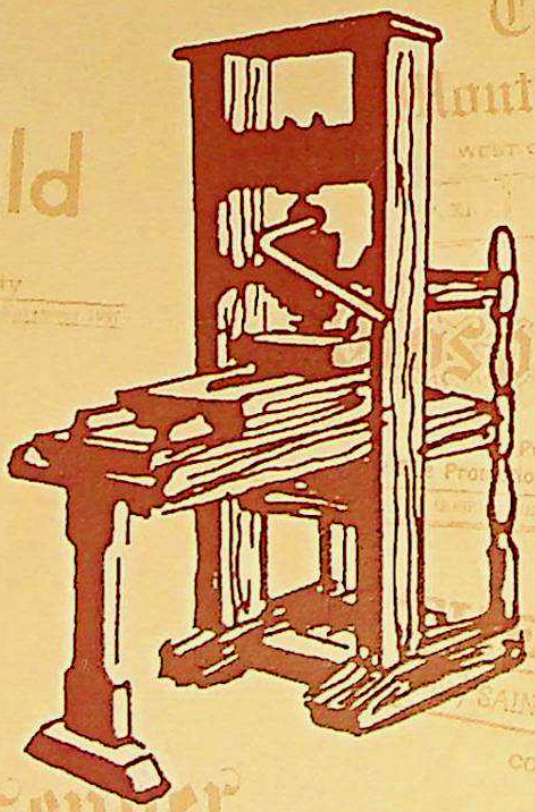
A History of Religious Periodicals in The Restoration Movement in Canada



by

Eugene C. Perry

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The Restoration Movement

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Monograph Series
Gospel Herald Foundation
Beamsville, Ontario

2003

A History of Periodicals in the restoration Movement in Canada, 2003

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Cover design: Irene Romagnoli

This is Volume Four in the continuing series, Gospel Herald monographs, Geoffrey Ellis, editor.

ISBN: 0-2699923-05

Printed in Canada

DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to two women
who have contributed much
in different ways
to making it possible.

To my mother, Grace (Stewart) Perry
who, besides sowing in me the seeds
of interest in the topic,
during her adult life
preserved many of the periodicals
used in the research involved.

To my wife, Evelyn (Huffard) Perry,
who suffered the loss
of my attention and assistance
during the many hours involved.

FOREWORD

Grace Stewart Perry (1891-1980) lived a quiet life at the Spring Creek family farm near Tintern, Ontario. Yet, from the simple setting of her daily life, her mind ranged far a-field, eager to learn of the progress of the church around the world. She was interested in knowing about the church past, present, and future. Over the years, the stacks of Christian periodicals she collected grew. Her keen interest naturally influenced her children—three sons served in far-off mission fields: India, Nigeria and Zambia. One daughter was deeply involved in the work in Thailand. Another daughter served as a librarian in a Christian university. And Grace Perry had special reason to be interested in the church throughout Canada. Her husband, Ernest Perry (1893-1983), a son of the pioneering Perry family of Saskatchewan, had come east to the Beamsville Bible School in response to his dying mother's request. This faithful couple raised their family, served in the nearby congregation—noted for its far-reaching mission support—and went on to their reward.

Their oldest son, Eugene, absorbed a double measure of his parents' love for the church. He also went far away to receive a Christian education, graduating from Abilene Christian College in 1948 and completing his resident work at Pepperdine University in Los Angeles in 1949. He began a career of teaching in Christian schools at Radville Christian College in 1950, going on to Great Lakes Christian College in 1952 and then to Namwianga Christian Secondary School in Zambia in 1974. While doing his graduate work at Pepperdine, he chose the History of the Restoration Movement in Canada as a topic for his Master's thesis. This was later narrowed down to, "The History of Religious Periodicals in the Restoration Movement in Canada" (1971).

The undertaking was daunting. First to be pursued were additions to the collection. Eugene went on a search of attics, closets and out-of-the-way shelves where forgotten copies of Canadian periodicals might be stored. In doing so a rich heritage

of writing was salvaged and preserved. The resulting collection both equaled and complemented the Butchart Collection of similar material held at that time in the archives of Victoria University in Toronto. The project required reading through a mountain of material, grasping the history, identifying times and places of publication, noting editors, format, finances, teachings, circulation, events, and then the writing. The effort was conducted in the midst of a workload that consisted of two major jobs—teaching and soon serving as principal, and serving as managing editor of the **Gospel Herald**, a responsibility that also included operating the Gospel Herald Bookstore. The work stretched into years, into a decade, and then two. Finally, a 21-year effort was finished. Pepperdine, in recognition of the significance of the effort, waived its three-year limit for completion of theses. The Master's Degree was awarded to Eugene in 1971. He had created a treasure for the Canadian churches and for students of Restoration everywhere.

Over 30 years have since passed. Frequently, various ones have desired information contained in this thesis. Numerous requests for published copies have been received. A growing interest in Restoration studies and archival preservation has prompted the publication of this valuable work. It is highly appropriate that the Gospel Herald foundation undertakes the accomplishment of this objective. With appreciation to Eugene C. Perry and gratitude for his parents' heritage, we look forward to the circulation of this valuable study.

—Geoffrey H. Ellis
Monograph Editor
Waterloo, Ontario
July 2003

PREFACE

This book is, basically, the thesis that I completed in 1971 as a part of the requirements for a Master's degree from Pepperdine University. Hence, although being published in 2003, it only tracks the history up to 1971.

The original intention, in 1949, was to research and write a history of the Restoration Movement in Canada. It was soon discovered that the major sources, and in many cases the only sources for such a work, were the periodicals of the times being studied. These began to be published quite early and have continued, with only brief interruptions, up to the present time.

It became apparent that locating, examining and evaluating these periodicals was, in itself, a major project, suitable for a thesis. Such, it seemed, needed to be done prior to the larger project. Consequently, my efforts were detoured to a study researching the periodicals.

The approach has been to treat the periodicals in chronological order giving attention in each case to purpose, nature of contents, circulation, financing and cause of discontinuing. Along the way there are insights into the lives, dedication, hardships and struggles of the editors as well as into the progress and problems associated with the spread of the movement.

This book will be a valuable source for those who wish to research Canadian Restoration History. It gathers in one volume information which was previously scattered and in danger of being lost. The inclusion of quotations, anecdotes and incidents in chronological order provides something of a story-line to capture the interest of the reader.

—Eugene C. Perry, 2003

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Reason for and Importance of the Study

Indigenous efforts to restore New Testament Christianity by severing church connections and by diligently following the scriptures are occasionally discovered and excite interest. These have occurred in various and often isolated parts of the world. Interest naturally turns to consideration of any such effort in one's own country. Have there been such? What are their histories? Such curiosity led this writer to an investigation which has resulted in this study.

There are today in Canada three fairly distinct groups stemming from a restoration effort now almost one hundred fifty years old. Division took place in the latter part of the nineteenth century over the questions of instrumental music and missionary societies, which the more conservative found to be no part of the "ancient gospel." All known previous attempts to record the history of these churches have been by men of the groups known as the Christian Church or Disciples of Christ and have given the group, known as Churches of Christ, only slight mention even for the early period before fellowship was severed.

Thus little is on record regarding these histories, and there are only partial and scattered collections of source material in the form of journals published by those striving for such a restoration. Such publications are known to have been a powerful influence in the spread of this plea on the American

frontier. Might this not also be true in Canada?

Even a cursory investigation of the early history of this movement discloses that the most complete and reliable sources of historical facts extant are the publications which were a part of this history. Information supplied from the memories of individuals does not date far enough into the past nor is it always accurate. Church records were not kept by many congregations while others, having made them, have not preserved them. Therefore, it seems important that the journals be searched out and identified for this use.

Statement of the Problem

Restoration journals have been published in Canada, with but few and brief interruptions, since about 1833. Known collections of these are scattered, incomplete and difficult to locate. Known lists and descriptions of them are few and brief. Therefore, our endeavour is to provide a basic service to those interested in tracing Restoration history in Canada. Our purpose will be to describe the various papers in approximate order of issue and to consider their histories, their editors and their influences. Much space will be involved in recognizing the sacrificial persistence of the editors and in picturing the precarious struggle for financial existence which was experienced by many such papers. The potential number of subscribers appears to have always been so limited as to almost guarantee a lack of stability for any such publication which might venture forth. We shall try to determine why and how, in the face of this, there has been such a continuous flow of these publications in Canada over the years.

Sources

Investigation has produced little or no record of the publication of these journals or their history except in the

journals themselves and in publications contemporary with them. The writer has diligently worked at collecting or locating these rare items over a period of several years and has found that, for the most part, they provide adequate testimony concerning their editors and their circumstances, if not their influences. They will, therefore, serve as the primary sources for this study.

Some brief attempts have been made in books and journals to record the history of such journals of former times. These will be used as secondary source material to fill in blanks as the need arises.

Statement of Procedure

Following this introductory chapter, a chapter will deal briefly with the background and early history of the Canadian Restoration Movement, the place of such journals in the movement and the conditions which seem to have encouraged such religious journalism.

The third chapter will consider the publications appearing in Canada prior to 1845 and will be followed by a chapter about the publishing efforts of David Oliphant during the period from 1845 to 1880. Then a chapter dealing with short-lived journals during this same period will precede a study of the *Bible Index,* 1873-93, in chapter six. A brief account of a contemporary paper, the *Christian Worker*, and a study of a series of publications by the "Disciples" group, will comprise the next two chapters, respectively. Chapter nine will be concerned with the publications by H.M. Evans and his associates during the period 1894 to 1933, and chapter ten will present a history of the *Gospel Herald* to 1971. A closing chapter will summarize giving particular attention to editors, finances and influences.

Appendices planned are a chronological table of the various publications and their dates and a listing of known repositories of

extant journals of this type.

Chapter 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Although Churches of Christ in Canada are, at the present time, by no means significant in the religious picture of the country, the movement of which they are a part is of particular interest. This is because of its peculiar emphases and because it was a part of the fibre of the frontier. Early settlers in Canada were French people of the Roman Catholic religion who settled along the St. Lawrence River and on the eastern seaboard. These and a scattering of other peoples lived in this area before the beginning of the settlement and development, which resulted in a confederation of colonies in 1867. This confederation, called the Dominion of Canada, would extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. The rapid influx of English-speaking peoples from the British Isles early in the nineteenth century brought about rapid settlement and extensive development. This influx also brought the seeds of a new religious movement to Canada.

European Background

This movement is better understood if the European background out of which it sprang is considered. The Reformation in Europe in the sixteenth century rapidly spread to the British Isles where the state renounced Catholicism. Soon after this, various independent or separationist groups began to appear. The state church was quick to take measures against these. The resulting restrictions on religious freedom were resented. Desire for freedom, religious and otherwise,

seemed to be getting into the very blood of these people. Much of this emphasis on freedom resulted from the literature of the period. Of particular interest are the writings of John Locke in the latter half of the seventeenth century. His "Letters of Toleration" and other writings were being widely read. The spirit which they embodied—freedom, toleration and equality—seems to have been a dominant one in that age.

In religion it appeared in the form of many breaks from the established Churches. In 1727, John Glas, in Scotland, finding no connection between the state and the New Testament church and "no warrant for synods" and other disciplinary and standard making bodies, "left the state church and organized an independent congregation"[1] in Dundee in 1728. Many others were led to the same conclusions by his work and that of his son-in-law, Robert Sandeman, who became an outstanding religious leader of a branch of Independents by England in about 1755. "He afterwards came to America and founded societies in New England and Nova Scotia."[2]

The followers of John Glas refused believer's baptism and substituted infant sprinkling. Some were concerned about this. R. Carmichael asked Archibald McLean his thoughts on baptism. The study and discussion that ensued resulted in a trip to London where Carmichael was immersed on September 19, 1765 by Dr. Gill, a predecessor of the famous Spurgeon in Park Street Chapel. He in turn baptized McLean. McClean is credited with giving rise to the Old Scotch Baptists. As adherents of John Glas became aware of these differences on the subjects of baptism, "the Old Scotch Baptists had their ranks largely filled from the Glasite congregation".[3] This step resulted in such severe persecution that McLean lost his printing business and moved from Glasgow.[4]

Many other groups appeared. Men were seeking liberty in religion as well as in politics. Gates writes:

> In 1768 arose the 'Old Scotch Independents'; in 1769, the 'Old Scotch Baptists'; in 1780, the 'Bereans'; in 1798, the 'Modern Congregationalists'; and between 1790-1800, the evangelistic activity of Rowland Hill, the Haldanes and their associates, gave rise to many Tabernacle Churches throughout the British Isles, notably in Scotland and Ireland, which swelled the ranks of independency.[5]

Although these were separate movements, they all emphasized to some degree freedom from the ecclesiasticism of the state church, the importance of the Bible as a religious guide, and the right of the individual to decide for himself.[6]

An example of the manner in which such groups sprang up and developed is found in the obituary notice of one who came to Canada and became an influence in Restoration churches there during the nineteenth century. Born in Dundee, Scotland in 1806, Thomas Chalmer Scott was a diligent Bible student from his youth and studied and discussed religion with six or seven other young men regularly. He married at the age of twenty-seven or -eight, and he and his wife

> . . .jointly and earnestly prosecuted the study of the word of Truth, and in consequence of their becoming convinced that the congregational system of church government was that instituted through His Apostles, by the Head of the Church, they left the Presbyterian Church, in which they had been educated, and joined the Independents. Further study, aided as they both were by their acquaintance with the original language of the New Testament, having led them to the conclusion that the rite imposed upon them in unconscious infancy was not

> Christian baptism, they determined once more to follow where they believed the word of God led them, and again severing their church connections they were immersed in accordance with the command of the Lord. We believe that in this step they were accompanied by about twelve others who had been investigating the subject with them. A church was immediately formed in Dundee, the cardinal principle of which was—*the Word of God the only rule of faith and practice*. This church. . .had no written human creed, . . .they met together every Lord's day for the breaking of bread, prayer and mutual edification. In all the work and exercises of this body Mr. Scott took an active part.[7]

Others who had begun in a similar direction had come to Canada earlier and had, under various influences, paralleled the development of Scott so that when he arrived in Toronto in 1842 his doctrine was "almost identical to that accepted by the Disciples in Ontario, then Upper Canada."[8] This is a typical case of the religious development which took place simultaneously in various individuals in many places independently of each other. It also serves to give a picture of the distinctive doctrines of the Churches of Christ in Canada during the early half of the nineteenth century.

Restoration Beginnings in America

Men who were caught most strongly by the spirit of liberty were not satisfied with political and economic conditions in the old world. In large numbers they broke away completely from old ties and restrictions and came to a new continent, the land of liberty, North America. Some settled in the northeastern part of the United States, others in the eastern provinces of Canada, and still others penetrated as

far inland in Canada as the Great Lakes.

For the most part, those who were responsible for the beginnings of the movement now known as the Churches of Christ in the United States left European soil and came to America while still adhering to the established churches, although holding some independent leanings. Thomas and Alexander Campbell, in Pennsylvania, in 1809, were among these. Some, like Barton W. Stone in Kentucky in 1804, were native-born Americans who grew up in creed-bound institutions and read their way out of them. The movement in Canada, on the other hand, largely grew out of people who were already in the stream of religious "Independents" when they reached "free" soil. Here it is much more difficult to pick out leading personalities, but churches were formed independently in different localities.

Beginnings in the eastern provinces of Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia (New Scotland) and in the then western section of Canada, "Upper Canada," were with Scotch Baptist people. Many were progressing slowly and independently but steadily in their attempt to pattern their practices after those of the churches pictured on the pages of the New Testament. Influences of *The Christian Baptist* begun in 1823, and its successor, *The Millennial Harbinger*, (1830) published in the United States by Alexander Campbell, encouraged them in taking the final short step.

At this time there were still forest trails, Indians, wolves, bears and other wild animals roaming the area. Roads, where they existed, were corduroy, and travel upon them was far from comfortable. Communities were isolated from one another. Settlers disembarked from barges along the northern shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie and trekked inland to carve new homes and livings out of the forests. They must build their own institutions and devise their own means of communication.

Having brought their Bibles in their luggage and in their hearts, and being thrown upon their own resources for religious leadership and guidance, they progressed rapidly in their knowledge of truth. There were several communities of people, including those of Scotch Baptist origin, who independently set up churches. When they later learned of each other and of the Disciples in the United States, they began to associate with each other and to call themselves Disciples of Christ.

The Publishing of These Findings

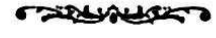
Many were so joyous at their findings that they wanted to share this new-found knowledge of truth. Learning of others who were in similar circumstances of searching brought the desire to be of mutual assistance and encouragement. Then, as churches were formed and began to recognize one another, there seemed a need of some means to draw this scattered brotherhood together into a closer fellowship. A journal of teaching and news would help to relieve the loneliness which was further accentuated by the pressures resulting from the appearance of the established Churches on the scene. The desire was strong to circulate a defense of positions taken and felt to be scriptural and to encourage others to throw off the shackles of creeds and to study for themselves. A periodical would also provide a means of debate and comparison of religious differences with those who opposed the Restoration churches. Thus the reasons for the appearance of religious journals on the scene were manifold.

It has been reported that the first religious newspaper was published by "a pleader of Restoration—the descendants of whose churches—in New England States and in Canada became known as the 'Christian Connexion'."[9] Whether this be true or not, the urge to publicize seems to have been strong among such pleaders.

It is well known that the writings of Alexander Campbell often preceded the preaching of New Testament Christianity in frontier communities and that they contributed much to the success of such preaching. One who attributes much to their influence wrote, "His writings commenced the Movement, in England and Scotland.. . . In the States his writings created a great stir, and were discussed everywhere."[10] His writings also had influence in Canada and no doubt encouraged journalistic efforts there.

Although a large quantity of Restoration material was produced in Canada, much of is has been lost or destroyed. There are records of some which cannot today be found and, therefore, of which little can be known. This difficulty is especially apparent for the early years when little consideration was given to the fact that history was being made.

Journals were, for the most part, private enterprises produced by the zeal and sacrifice of those who published them. One or two efforts at cooperation in publishing a "church paper" were tried. Some were filled with instructive material, expository and controversial, while others were overbalanced with news. Besides serving to teach religious neighbours, encourage the brethren and bind together isolated brethren at the time, these journalistic efforts furnished posterity with an indispensable source of reliable historical information.



[1]Winfred Ernest Garrison, An American Religious Movement (St. Louis: Christian Board of Publication, The Bethany Press, 1945), p. 20.

[2]Robert Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1897), p. 70.

[3]Banner of the Faith, XV (March, 1859), 75.

[4]Ibid., 160, citing Christian Advocate of Edinburgh.

[5]Errett Gates, The Disciples of Christ (New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1905), p. 29.

[6]Richardson, op.cit., p. 64; see also Garrison, op.cit., p. 21.

[7]Bible Index, New Series, I (January, 1877), 18, 19.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Christian Banner, VIII (May, 1852), 142, 143.

[10]The Bible Student, VII (May, 1910), 1.

Chapter 3

EARLY RESTORATION JOURNALS

This chapter will give some attention to three early publications in the Restoration Movement in the United States which found their way to Canada and then study three short-lived efforts in Canada. *The Gleaner* of Halifax, Nova Scotia and the *Gospel Vindicator* of Upper Canada appeared in the 1830's. *The Christian* of St. John, New Brunswick ventured forth for two, two-year periods beginning in 1839 and 1847.

Early United States Journals Enter Canada

Although small independent restoration movements began in the east and in Upper Canada almost as early as the movement arose in the United States, the known journals of the latter country are of earlier date. *The Christian Baptist* was edited and published by Alexander Campbell of Bethany, Virginia (now West Virginia) from 1823 to 1830. At that date he began publication of *The Millennial Harbinger*, which continued for the next 40 years. These, together with *The Christian Messenger*, begun by Barton W. Stone in 1826, were in existence before this movement began to produce journals in Canada. A few of these journals found their way into Canada and were read by those with restoration leanings.

A preacher named F.W. Straight, who made a "blind" purchase at an auction sale in Lewiston, New York, found that he had obtained bound copies of *The Christian Baptist.* He later preached these doctrines in the Niagara Peninsula.

Joseph Ash (1808-1895), who was baptized in 1830 and became a leading influence in the early years, was helped much by these writings and left bound volumes of *The Millennial Harbinger* and *The Christian Messenger* with his daughter, Mrs. A.E. Purcell, Rodney, Ontario.[1]

James Black, who settled on the north side of Lake Erie in 1821 and took the lead of a small group of brethren there, became familiar with *The Millennial Harbinger* in rather unusual circumstances. In 1869 his letter in that paper stated,

> Several years after that, I heard of Mr. Campbell's causing trouble in Ohio, denying the work of the Spirit, the divinity of Christ, etc., etc., and I much dreaded that the fast spreading errors would come to Canada. When someone sent The Millennial Harbinger for 1829 and 1830 to Eramosa where a few of us were organized as a church, taking the Bible for our guide, I had to face the danger and read these volumes in order to guard the little flock from the heresy, and found to my surprise and joy that Brother Campbell was on the same track with ourselves, only far in advance; and from that time I loved and admired him, and considered him specially qualified for taking the lead in the movement to return to the Bible.. . . I have been for years a regular reader of the Harbinger.[2]

Early Canadian Efforts at Journalism

Christian Gleaner

The *Millennial Harbinger* of 1833 contained the following editorial comment:

> . . .we had the pleasure, the other day, of

> receiving the first number of the Christian Gleaner, a periodical issued in Halifax, N.S. devoted to the cause of reformation. The work is neatly executed—an octavo of 64 pages—four numbers to the volume—at six shillings sterling for one volume. The first number contains liberal extracts from the periodicals in this country, dedicated to reformation.[3]

This is believed to be the earliest Canadian Restoration journal and is supposed by some to have been published in 1841.[4] The above notice would indicate that it started in late 1832 or in 1833. It was published quarterly at first by John Naylor and edited by a man named Creed. He seems to have been succeeded in this post by Lewis Johnstone. However, James Sillars, who was united with the little church at River John, Nova Scotia in 1821, gave in 1854 the following report of this paper:

> After many years a portion of the Baptist church in Halifax formed a church on scriptural principals [sic] and having abilities and means they started a periodical called the "Christian Gleaner." This periodical was ably conducted, gleaning from all within its reach, but especially from the "Christian Baptist." After three years exertion the brethren at Halifax gave up publishing, having sunk a good deal of money. (So I am told.) The principles which the "Gleaner" advocated were so far in advance of the age in these Provinces that few could be found to read it and still fewer to pay for it; but it is believed that wherever it was read it forced conviction upon the mind, and it was the first periodical in these Provinces that opened up primitive Christianity.[5]

Despite this indication of a three-year life, further evidence would lead us to believe that it became a monthly and lived at least until May, 1838.[6] Another reporter described this as a Baptist journal which copied articles entitled, "The Bible our Creed" and "The name Christian" from *The Millennial Harbinger* and sent them among the Baptists of the Province,

> . . .as a result of which family after family accepted the Bible as their creed and rejected the name Baptist, accepted the name Christian and observed the Lord's Supper every first day of the week.[7]

Thus it is seen that this early effort was short lived because of financial difficulties but was nevertheless influential. It was evidently an effort similar to Campbell's early publications in that it circulated among Baptists although edited by those who had progressed beyond the Baptists. It is significant that much of its contents were gleaned from other journals. What might its continuance have meant in those provinces?

Gospel Vindicator

When it is remembered that Nova Scotia was not then a part of Canada, there is no surprise in reading that a later publication, the *Gospel Vindicator* of Cobourg, Upper Canada, was the pioneer periodical of the movement in Canada. The first issue was published on June 7, 1837 and it continued for only ten months. There is little indication of how it fared in circulation and finances. The rebellion over responsible government is reported to have been the cause of its death.[8] It appears that the printer, E. Hart, had gained public disapproval as had many others in those troubled political times.

"In order that principles and not men might be prominent,

it was conducted by an unnamed committee."[9] It did not print news but consisted of vigorous essays. Joseph Ash of Oshawa, who admitted to being one of the committee, wrote later, "It was a spicy little monthly and created quite a stir among our opposers."[10] He quoted from it to show "that we laid strong and firmly the true principles."[11] Examination of these issues leads to the conclusion that other members of the committee were Murdock McDonnell of Port Hope and E.S. Hubbell.

The troubled conditions of the time prevented further efforts at publication in Upper Canada for a while. However, efforts were made to persuade W.W. Eaton to move from St. John, New Brunswick, to Toronto with his publication, *The Christian*, While these negotiations, which indicate a strong desire for a publication on the part of "representative brethren," were in process, David Oliphant announced the *Witness of Truth*, which began in the fall of 1845. [12]

The Christian, 1839-41, 1847-48

Meanwhile another paper, *The Christian* referred to above, had been started in the eastern provinces. The prospectus stated, "Our cause is not that of a party or a faction, but the cause of every loyal citizen of the kingdom of Jesus Christ." Referring to the Bible alone "as the authority for the religion of Protestants it pledged to give opponents reasonable space."[13]

When he received the first issue, Alexander Campbell referred to it as,

> . . .a monthly periodical, devoted to the restoration of primitive Christianity. . .edited by our intelligent and excellent brother W.W. Eaton formerly of Eastport, Maine. . .it promises farther to be a useful auxiliary in the good cause in the British provinces.[14]

Many items were reprinted from *The Christian Baptist* and *The Millennial Harbinger* along with the able writings of the editor and others. There was much on the matter of baptism and other controversial matters. A series addressed to mothers, a series on the primitive state of the church, and some church news appeared in its columns.

In the beginning of the second volume the editor disclosed a lack of support and assistance which must have been most disappointing. He wrote, ". . .we purposed writing but little of ourselves, . . .we find ourself engaged in writing the greater part. . . and have not received one pound for our services!"[15] Initially the circulation was greater than had been anticipated, and the first issue had to be reprinted. This was due to the practice of supplying every subscriber with every issue of the volume. Subscriptions were by the volume rather than for the twelve months following payment as is presently the practice. Thus enough of number one had to be printed to take care of the anticipated demand for the next eleven months.[16] Despite the seeming popularity, some had evidently paid for the first number only. Also, the price must have been too moderate. By the January issue it was evident that there was not enough money in sight to pay the publisher and that if the debt could not be retired by the first of May, publication would have to cease.[17]

In the closing issue of this volume those who desired continuance were urged to get new subscribers and money from delinquent subscribers.[18] Matters seem not to have improved much for the second volume. The editor expressed himself quite personally and frankly in the closing issue in regard to his burdens which were borne, "not for gain but for a bare subsistence." His time was occupied with teaching in schools and private classes, with classes after dismissal of evening meetings, with the drudgery of a family, with eight meetings per week and sometimes more, with helping in the

government of the church and with visits of friends. With a lack of funds to pay for either work or paper, he was also involved with packing, addressing and mailing the paper, which left him little time to write for it. On top of all this, all had not paid their subscriptions.

Eaton was seriously considering moving to the United States and making an effort to circulate American publications to the patrons of *The Christian.* However, it seems that at that time, papers sent out of the United States had to bear both American and British postage, which totaled as much as the cost of the publication itself. He felt that the brethren could sustain *The Christian* if they would try. Although the price was too low, the list of subscribers was large. Many had neglected to pay, and only a small number had tried more than "to pay for a single number; and others have looked upon the work as a speculation for the sake of making money!"[19]

This dedicated editor wanted to continue, if only the friends of the publication would assume responsibility for the expenses of publishing. Agents, who received a small percentage of the subscription price, were urged to pledge the number for which they could guarantee payment. A large sum was due from the subscribers, and $150 was owing to the printer. Volume three would not be begun until this was settled with the printer, who was raising his price for the next volume.

The closing statement of this two-year effort was, "The publication of 'The Christian' will be suspended for a short time."[20] It was later revealed that this account was assumed as a personal expense by the editor. In 1848 he wrote, ". . .in the publication of our former volumes we lost between one and two hundred dollars, besides a large portion of precious time for more than two years."[21]

In view of the seeming lack of appreciation and support

there was little reason to think that Eaton would ever consider embarking on such a venture a second time. For two years, 1842-44, he was professor of English in Bethany College, Bethany, Virginia. Then as mentioned earlier, he was corresponding with the brethren in Canada West in regard to their request that he locate in Toronto with his paper about the time that David Oliphant started the *Witness of Truth* in the fall of 1845. He went instead to New Brunswick, and his continued devotion to publishing was demonstrated by a new prospectus published in *The Millennial Harbinger* in 1847 under the datelines September 16, 1846.

The third volume was proposed because of the need of such an "independent journal, in these Provinces devoted exclusively to the dissemination of Bible doctrine."[22] In the prospectus it was promised that the paper would call attention,

> . . .to the pure, holy, life,. . .the gospel facts, commands, and promises;. . .to call back to the word of the Lord. . .; to expose and correct. . .; to oppose nothing which it does not think highly injurious to the peace of Zion and the well-being of man for time and eternity. . .not to permit its pages to be encumbered with either human opinions or vain speculations.[23]

Promising to live up to its name by doing good to all, *The Christian*, a little book-size paper of sixteen pages per month, was offered to the public for half a dollar a year in advance. It was printed at the Brunswick Press, Price Wm. Street, St. John, New Brunswick, by W.L. Avery.

Thus, in January, 1847 the first number of the third volume appeared with the editor stating that,

> . . .good brethren and friends have promised to pay them [the printers] and the paper makers;.

> . . We have abundant proof that our former efforts were beneficial, to our readers, and this gives us courage to renew the task.[24]

Over nine hundred copies were printed and sent everywhere. Three hundred had already subscribed, and three hundred more responded to the samples. This was beyond expectations and resulted in an apology for the smallness and a promise of double the size for the next year.[25]

Volume IV was begun in 1848 with thirty-two pages per number and a subscription price of $1 per year with the promise that any profits would be used to help preach the Word. Editorial effort would be to sustain its reputation for "plainness, impartiality, and attachment to the truth."[26] Readers were promised a lengthy reply "to the Baptist ministers of N.B. and N.S." who had been opposing *The Christian*, a series of essays on the "Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things," "histories of those stigmatized as 'heretics' by. . .Rome," several works on baptism and news of the progress of the gospel including the number of additions to the churches.[27]

About this time correspondence occurred between Eaton and David Oliphant of the *Witness of Truth* in Canada West. There was a desire for closer fellowship between the editors of the only two periodicals of this kind in British America and among the readers, but circumstances prevented it. Postage charges were "unfriendly", and mail between the two areas was slow. Besides, several crop failures and a low ebb in the timber and shipbuilding industries meant that utmost effort would be required in the east to sustain *The Christian* "at its present size and terms"[28] and would hinder the support of the *Witness*. A list of eighteen known publications in 1848 advocating a return and adherence to the Word of God included only these two in Canada.[29]

The financial pressure was being felt again as anticipated

in the above correspondence. Whether the paper would be continued as it was, appear in a smaller size like the former volume, or be amalgamated with some of its fellow papers was under consideration. This volume closed with a statement that

> . . .as soon as we get our printer paid for his past labours, our readers shall again hear from us. . . Unless what is due on the present volume be immediately paid, we shall be unable to meet our just liabilities.[30]

On May 30, 1849, Eaton explained in a letter to *The Millennial Harbinger* that he had not begun this publication because of personal ambition but at the call of others and because of optimism that such a paper would have a circulation sufficient to meet its expenses. He wrote his disappointment stating, "'The Christian' closed its brief career with the year of 1848; for the same reason that it had previously been suspended."[31]

W. Wentworth Eaton was born in Cornwallis, Nova cotia in 1811 and was educated at Wesleyan Seminary in Maine. He started the first congregation in New Brunswick at St. John at the age of twenty-three and was instrumental in establishing many other churches in the Provinces. Time spent in these Provinces evidently included the period 1834-41, 1847-53, and 1858-59. An able scholar and a successful preacher, he had more than an ordinary devotion to duty. He was associated with D. Oliphant in editing the *Christian Mirror* in 1851 and in 1853 was selected to edit *The Sower*, a weekly being begun in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. When this paper was later amalgamated with *Christian Age* in 1855, he moved to Cincinnati. During the Civil War, he went to the front as war correspondence for the Cincinnati *Gazette* and later became an army chaplain.

The last twenty years of his life were spent in Chicago

where he died in 1889. A number of articles on the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, appearing in some of the journals of the period under the signature "Senex," were from his pen.[32]

Another periodical bearing the name *The Christian* appeared in St. John, New Brunswick in November, 1883. A journal-sized news sheet, it differed from the 1848 *Christian* in both size and emphasis. It continued until the end of 1922. The beginning editor was Donald Crawford, and its history will receive some notice in a later chapter.

Summary and Evaluation

There seems to have been a compelling urge to publish the principles of the restoration even in the face of most discouraging circumstances, financial and otherwise. No doubt these brief efforts were the basis of the statement made in 1875 that, "papers published in the interests of the brotherhood in Canada are either starved out, froze out, or frowned out of existence."[33] These valiant and persistent editors did commendable service. They were convinced that their publications were doing good and continued in their efforts despite experiences such as that of Eaton who worked hard at *The Christian* for half of his time for two years and received as a financial reward a debt of $150 to the printer. His feelings on the subject were expressed as follows:

> Although a young man, I have been for some time a careful observer of the progress of the cause in which we profess to be engaged. This cause owes much to our periodicals. . . For example, about 5400 copies of "The Christian" circulate through these provinces, where not a dozen of any of the publications of our brethren in the U.S. ever have been, or would be read.[34]

Similar conviction that no existing paper would serve the need seems to have motivated others who followed these with more encouragement and success.

[1]The Gospel Messenger, II (1895, January 30), 2. See also Reuben Butchart, The Disciples of Christ in Canada Since 1830 (Toronto: Canadian Headquarters Publications, 1949), p. 143.

[2]The Millennial Harbinger, XL (February, 1869), 115, 116.

[3]Ibid., IV (1833), 192.

[4]Archibald Alexander Allan, "Churches of Christ in Canada" (unpublished thesis, The College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky, 1940), p. 95.

[5]The Christian Banner, X (1854), 273, 274.

[6]Those from March 1836 to May, 1838 are in the Library of Christian Theological Seminary, Indianapolis, Indiana.

[7]The Bible Student, III (January, 1906), 4. See also The Christian, III (January, 1848), 6.

[8]Bible Index, III (December, 1875), 361, 362.

[9]The Canadian Disciple, XVII (May, 1939), 1.

[10]Christian Worker, III (September, 1884), 4. (For some reason, perhaps lapse of memory due to age, Ash, in this place, some fifty years later wrote of this paper as The Christian Investigator.)

[11]Christian Worker, IV (January, 1885), 3.

[12]Christian Worker, III (September, 1884), 4.

[13]The Christian, I (June, 1839), 1.

[14]The Millennial Harbinger, X (1839), 431.

[15]The Christian, II (June, 1840), 7.

[16]Ibid., I (June, 1839), second printing, 24.

[17]Ibid., 192.
[18]Ibid., 289.
[19]Ibid., II (May, 1841), 283.
[20]Ibid., 287.
[21]Ibid., IV (February, 1848), 48.
[22]The Millennial Harbinger, XVIII (Extra 1847), 7.
[23]Ibid.
[24]The Christian, III (January, 1847), 1.
[25]Ibid., 44.
[26]Ibid., IV (January, 1848), 3.
[27]Ibid., 4.
[26]Ibid., IV (January, 1848), 3.
[27]Ibid., 4.
[28]Ibid., 62, 63, 64.
[29]Ibid., 126.
[30]Ibid., 382.
[31]The Millennial Harbinger XX (1849), 540.
[32]Bible Index, XVII (November, 1889), 351. Cf. Butchard, op. cit., 132.
[33]Letter by William Brandt, Bible Index, III (1875), 80.
[34]The Millennial Harbinger, XII (1841), 325.

Chapter 4

THE DAVID OLIPHANT PUBLICATIONS, 1845-1880

In November 1845, David Oliphant, Jr., a graduate of Bethany College, began in Picton, Canada West (now Ontario), at the age of 24 years,[1] publication of privately owned monthly journals. These continued for at least twenty consecutive years. His editorial and publishing labours did not terminate entirely until 1882. Some previous short-lived efforts at publishing periodicals among the churches of the Restoration Movement in Canada have already been noticed. The success and continuance of Oliphant's publications presents a noticeable contrast. His was the outstanding journalistic force in the early history of efforts at restoration in Canada and was immensely influential. His efforts depict the difficulties encountered in publishing and sustaining a religious journal in frontier conditions catering to a group numbering at first about 1,000 members.

This part of this study might well begin with the arrival in Canada in 1820 and 1821 respectively of two Scotch Baptists, James Black and David Oliphant, Sr. A parish school teacher at fifteen years of age, Black was disturbed in mind when required to sign the Confession of Faith and teach the Shorter Catechism. When, upon hearing Baptist Elder Dugald Sinclair preach, he was baptized, he lost his position and migrated to Canada in 1820. There, while teaching school in Aldorough along the north shore of Lake Erie, he led in regular Bible studies among the people who seemed hungry to learn. In about one year eighteen persons wished to be

baptized, and an ordained minister was sent for from Scotland to perform this rite. By the time he arrived, months later, further studies had resulted in the conclusion that the administration of the ordinances was not confined by scripture to any one class of Christians. Black had baptized these people and begun regular services including the weekly observance of the Lord's Supper.

In 1830 Black took up farming and teaching in Eramosa (near the present city of Guelph) where he remained, making evangelistic tours on horseback from his farm for the next fifty-seven years.[2] At about the same time, David Oliphant, Sr. moved with his family to a farm just one and one-half miles distant. He had been minister of a Baptist church in St. Andrews, Fifeshire, Scotland, and had married Sophia Watt whom he had met at a Haldane chapel meeting. At forty-three years of age he had preceded his family to Canada in 1821. They had seven children of whom only three were living in the 1830's.[3] One, William, born in 1815, died at forty-two at Eramosa, having preached actively for fourteen years after his father's death in 1841. His name appeared often in the periodicals of the time, and he was general secretary of the first successful attempt at organized cooperation in 1846.

David Junior was born sometime during the same year that his father came to Canada. Forty years later he wrote that his father brought from Scotland "a fair cargo of Scotch Baptist principles and elements," but was very liberal for a Scotch Baptist, not accepting Calvinism and disapproving of clerical dignity.

> To make a trade of preaching, was, with him, a certain mark of the beast. For years he wrought six days every week as a mechanic in the town of Dundas, and exercised his gifts as a Christian teacher on the first day of the week.[4]

When he became acquainted with the monthly paper from

Bethany, Virginia, he was pleased. with and endorsed "what was affirmed against the spiritual locusts who reach for the uppermost places and strike the best bargains for their official words."[5] After moving to Eramosa, he soon made the acquaintance of James Black and loaned him prized copies of *The Millennial Harbinger*, which were almost destroyed in haste for containing heresy. The account of Black's pleasure at their contents has been noted in an earlier chapter.

These sidelights will serve to illustrate the situation in which young David Oliphant spent his impressionable years. Little is known of his early secular education, although it is possible that he received some of it at the feet of James Black. Elders Black and Oliphant and others of like faith taking part in the meetings of the little church in the first church house built in Canada by these groups made a lasting impression on the young man.[6] Of home influence he wrote, "As a lad I witnessed Father Oliphant refer to the pages of the sacred volume, which he kept with him for reference, while active in his daily toil."[7] Perhaps he also observed his father's pleasure in *The Millennial Harbinger*. He read widely and had a keen appetite for knowledge.[8]

Of his education, Oliphant later wrote, "The Spirit of travel came upon me. Bethany was visited. Choice tuition was received at Bethany. Never will it be forgotten. . .but Canada was my home."[9] His studies appear to have begun with the first session of Bethany in 1841, the year of his father's death, and continued until the spring of 1845 when upon graduation he received gifts from Thomas and Alexander Campbell. Among these was a copy of the famous "Declaration and Address."[10]

In the fall of the same year he began zealous activities in the Athol area of Canada West, a very difficult work for a beginning preacher, that of uniting estranged brethren. He was evidently successful in this effort after courageous, firm,

patient and loving effort.[11] During the same fall, some brethren were negotiating to start a paper with W.W. Eaton as a possible editor. Whether Oliphant was unaware of this or ignored it is not known, but he surprised the brethren by venturing out upon the journalistic sea at this time independently.

The Witness of Truth, 1845-50

A prospectus for *The Witness of Truth* monthly was issued under date of November 1, 1845. 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 are, in summary, the stated purposes which were concluded with,

> . . . In brief—whatever may instruct the saint and convert the sinner—whatever may tend to perfect the believer and regenerate the unbeliever. . .
>
> We shall declare our views plainly, fearlessly, fully—and we request you to hear us candidly. . .we are not a sect. We are endeavoring to abolish sects, not make them, nor add one to them.
>
> Our cause, and the community, demand the best periodical, the best paper of any description, in the land; . . . We have the ability, intellectual, literary, moral, and religious. . .
>
> Our motto, then, shall be COURAGE, Christian Courage, Zeal, Energy, and Untiring Effort.[12]

Oliphant solicited the assistance of the brethren, pointing out that the paper was not intended to be a personal enterprise nor a pecuniary or honorary speculation.

When a critic accused the disciples of being quarrelsome and the paper of being more of a warrior than a witness, the young editor replied that "each witness should have the courage of a warrior."[13]

Published in Picton, Canada West, *The Witness of Truth* had twenty-four pages per issue. The subscription price was one dollar per year in advance but the paper was offered free to those who were unable to pay. The page size was five and a quarter by eight and one-half inches; the type was handset; and there was considerable irregularity in paper and presswork. The numbers were left untrimmed in order to be more suitable for binding.

That Oliphant was determined to conduct a top-quality paper is disclosed by the fact that he had to be dissuaded from destroying the first issue and printing it over again because of a few typographical errors.

At first there were many reprinted articles from *The Christian Baptist* and *The Millennial Harbinger* along with much original material from the editor's pen. Some brethren submitted news and articles, but there were frequent pleas for more material and for additional subscribers.

The first volume ended with the October, 1846 issue. Due to financial matters and the heavy burden of work, he resolved to retire from the position of public writer at this time but was prevented by arrangements, promises and pledges of some eight or ten churches. Thus, after a two-month lapse, the second volume began in January, 1847 with the stated goal, "To separate truth from error, and to contrast the real treasure of heaven and its counterfeits."[14] A desire for a table of contents for each issue had been expressed in 1845 and was carried out beginning with the first issue of 1847.

The Christian, edited by W.W. Eaton of New Brunswick, recommenced at this time, and Oliphant manifested a willingness to discontinue, bowing out to the more

experienced editor. Some objections were raised, and *The Witness* continued.[15]

The problem of the financing of such an enterprise is an interesting study. Three members had given twenty dollars each to start the first volume. It had continued by the editor giving time and labour equal to fifteen or twenty times that sum, and part of his own means besides. Brethren met in March 1847, resolved in favour of continuing the paper and having compared the expenses with the subscription list, wrote, "We are of opinion that he cannot long continue the publication without making greater personal sacrifices than the brethren can wish or have reason to expect."[16] An agent was to be appointed to seek subscriptions and contributions throughout the province. This action had not resulted from complaints by the editor but was voluntary, motivated by a feeling that he should have more than printing and paper costs for his work. These efforts must have met with considerable success as a third volume was begun in 1848 with an unprecedented spirit of optimism.

Oliphant put out a good paper, but he needed more writers as well as more subscribers. He complained that, although there was plenty of talent, the brethren were not writing much. As a result, articles were solicited from American brethren.

The quality of the product of Oliphant's sacrificial labours was commended by a contemporary as follows:

> . . .This is a well printed and well conducted work although brother O. is, perhaps, the youngest of the corps editorial, his productions are not a wit [sic] behind any of his seniors. His style is quite original and very interesting. There is something about it so spicy and amusing and yet so sober and christian like, that it is wholly indescribable. A

> little more attention to first principles, and the detail of christian duty and personal devotion, would place the Witness among the invaluable periodicals of the age.[17]

Oliphant's early evangelistic labours were mostly with the churches in Prince Edward County where reconciliation and growth were effected and elders appointed. He participated in a debate with the Presbyterians in Pickering in March, 1847. There is no indication of his source of livelihood during this time. He received no income from his publishing labours.

Early in 1848 he moved from Picton to Oshawa, Canada West and began to travel among the churches rather widely. He appears to have been set up in the printing business.

> Through the influence of some active advocates and warm friends of the "Witness" arrangements have been made by which, in all probability, it will not for sometime be afflicted with the consumption. A press is now under my control.. . . The "Witness" is only a part of its work.[18]

As he began with new zeal in a new office, he wrote that little would be said about temporalities as such suggested one of two things, viz., that the subscribers were unrighteous or that the editor was covetous.[19] However, by the end of the year he was very discouraged both at the want of support and over the tremendous expenditures of labour required on his part. He wrote his brother that his one life would be thrown away if he attempted to "perform singly the work of more than a score."[20]

Labouring among the churches, editing and issuing a floundering monthly paper, and being in charge of a printing business represented a heavy work load. In August, 1847 a group of brethren met and selected David Oliphant to labour for them as an evangelist for twelve months, between Picton

and Pickering, a distance of 120 miles along the lake shore. Fifteen places were named along the shore, and he was also to work further inland. He was very active in this area, but by the end of January wrote giving a number of reasons why he must resign as their evangelist, except for short periods as permitted.[21]

The journal of this period indicated that brethren agreed in the matter of the duty of refraining from "every appearance" of the evil of war. Also many wished to affirm instead of taking the usual oath in giving testimony in court. Some feared that petitioning the government in these points might require them to be "distinguished by some name" which would reduce them to a sect. Oliphant was asked to draw up the papers, but it is not known whether the matter was finalized.[22]

Opportunities to defend the faith were numerous. A written discussion with the Methodists on the Spirit and his influence in conversion ran through several issues of the paper. Oliphant debated a Universalist, Mr. Lavell, at Jordan in February, 1849, and a summary of the main points appeared in *The Witness.*

Discouragement on the part of the editor continued as was indicated by letters to the brotherhood from brethren who knew his state of mind. Complaints were that there were "too few subscribers to sustain it. . . , a want of punctuality in remitting payment," and "a want of correspondence." The importance of the paper to the cause was emphasized, and the brethren were asked to decide whether it should be the property of the churches or of an individual.[23]

Some individuals wrote favouring church ownership. One commended *The Witness* as second only to *The Harbinger* in quality. Churches at Oshawa and Wainfleet met and passed recommendations that *The Witness* become the property of the brethren in Canada with a guaranteed number of

subscriptions, an agent in each church and with Oliphant continuing as conductor.[24] There is no evidence that these resolutions were ever put into effect or that at such an early date a paper became the property or organ of the brotherhood.

About this time Oliphant was strongly encouraged by A.P. Jones and others to move *The Witness* to New York State where the brethren had let their paper die and now realized how much the cause was suffering as a result. Oliphant found many factors favouring such a move. One third to one half of the letters came from Ohio and New York; facilities were better and postage cheaper; and, whereas in Canada there was more talent than was being used, there was a demand for labourers in that area. Besides this, there were many "cold associations relative to Canada," and means of existence seemed much more favourable in a heavily populated area such as Syracuse. On the other hand, the brethren at the June meeting had resolved that the paper stay; postage from the States to British possessions was prohibitive; and the newly organized cooperation would need the aid of the press. Besides this, his personal inherent perseverance prohibited his giving in so soon. He felt his first obligation was in Canada even though not well supported there.[25]

At this time there were twenty to twenty-five churches in Canada West with less than 1,000 members. (A report of 1843 had listed sixteen congregations.)[26] Unworthy preachers, lack of vision, isolation, lack of cooperation and an unlovely spirit in opposing the sects had prevented much growth.[27] With the organization of the Provincial Cooperative and with a greater prosperity as indicated by a visit to eighteen congregations, there seemed a much better prospect of progress.[28]

Oliphant was employed to travel for the Wellington Cooperation in 1849, and when the Provincial Cooperation was formed on September 29, 1849, he was named its

secretary. He agreed to evangelize for this cooperation starting in January,1850.[29] Up to this point Oliphant appears to have favoured such an organization for missionary effort, but he was at this time beginning a serious study of the matter.

The Witness did not remove to New York State, and the organization of this Provincial Cooperation seems to have played a part in encouraging its continuance in Ontario. Arrangements in October to unite the *Witness* with W.W. Eaton's *Christian* did not materialize. *The Christian* suspended for the second time at the end of 1848. Oliphant recommended Eaton to the New York brethren and offered to relinquish interests there and to cooperate in printing for them at half of the Syracuse cost if they wished to issue their own paper.[30] There is no evidence that any of this materialized.

A printed dispute with Elder Davison of the Baptists in 1850 dealt with the question of closed communion which the Baptists favoured. Oliphant took the stand that others should neither be invited nor refused. A series contrasting the Baptists and Disciples, some correspondence with a Methodist preacher on the subject of the Holy Spirit, and a series called "Queries on the Office and Work of Evangelists" appeared during the year.

The paper continued to be a burden. By June it was almost $1,000 behind including a $300 carry-over from 1848. Helpers in the churches had failed.[31] The high hopes that the cooperation would relieve some of the heavy responsibility were fading. Other papers were failing on every hand. As seemed to be customary, the editor had to bear by far the largest share of the burden and responsibility. Benjamin Franklin commended *The Witness* as "meek and unassuming, though firm and unflinching." The paper was good; it was needed; the brethren wanted it, they could afford it; but a sufficient number did not support it.

Oliphant had a Mr. White as partner in the printing

business at this time. He had prospered in business and many brethren excused their neglect on this account. Others criticized him for not letting the indebtedness be known. He had made a resolution in the beginning "not to drop a syllable in relation to pecuniaries" but was now forced to break it. He argued that all who had prospered should share the burden. It was explained that although he was not personally the loser of the amount of the indebtedness, he had lost over the sum ($1,000) in time and means together in five years of publishing.[32]

In these circumstances, one would think that a renewed invitation to remove to New York would have been accepted. However, Oliphant was loyal and persistent. He reasoned that his brethren were doing pretty well when compared with others. The Baptist paper had just failed, being several hundred dollars in debt. These people numbered in the thousands, whereas his brethren were less than one thousand.[33] Besides, he had learned of the opposition of one prominent New York brother to his moving there.

The paper seemed indispensable to the cause in Canada. The cooperation meeting in June had urged support for the paper, writing, "otherwise it must suffer severe loss and ere long discontinue." At the request of this meeting, Oliphant toured the churches telling of the condition of the paper and collecting for it.[34]

A group of friends sent circulars to the churches, and there were many responses over the next few years to "square up what we laid out for the first five volumes."[35] So ends five years of sacrificial publishing and evangelistic labours. There seems no indication that Oliphant was receiving personal support for either. Perhaps he was imitating his father and his former teacher, Alexander Campbell, and did not expect such returns.

It appears that the partnership with White was, for a time,

broken. Hopes were high for the year 1851 as Brother Eaton was expected as an associate. One gets the feeling that the burden of work must have been as discouraging or more so than the financial shortages.

The Christian Mirror, 1851

Whole number sixty-one, the beginning of the sixth volume, appeared faithfully in January, 1851 under the new name, *The Christian Mirror* and with W.W. Eaton as associate editor. Two reasons were given for this change in name:

> . . .first. . .since our Witness was commenced, a number of periodicals and papers bearing this name freely circulate in the province. . . . Again, brother Eaton, in consenting to cooperate, made it the next thing to an indispensable condition to have an unappropriated name.[36]

The idea conveyed was to be that of holding "up a mirror to let men see themselves as they really are. . ."

Eaton affirmed that publishing had been a losing business for him in the past, and Oliphant pled for union of brethren of New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and the more easterly states with those in Canada as more practical than for each locality to try to support an independent paper while their members were so few.[37]

Churches continued to send in resolutions concerning the serious loss to the cause of truth that would result in discontinuance of the publication. They solicited the support of the churches and commended the editor for persevering in discouragements.[38] He visited churches eastward in January "for the double purpose of pleading the gospel. . .and making an appeal in behalf of our past labours in the publishing department."[39] Small amounts were received on this trip and

on a four-week tour westward to Toronto and the Niagara Peninsula. These tours were undertaken at the advice of the Oshawa church which urged "with greatest urgency and earnestness" that every brother sustain the *Witness* (now the *Mirror*) and its editor.

Apologies were made during the year for lack of punctuality and for the indifference of the "brethren's monthly for Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. . . . Our funds were low. . . . Our prospects not flattering. . . ."[40] Only ten numbers were printed in order to get an early start on the new volume which, despite these discouraging circumstances, would issue in 1852 with greater punctuality, a superior quality paper, and better layout, including a uniform head, longer lines to give better proportionate appearance, and ruling around each page, all for the purpose of enlisting help in circulating the work.

An appeal to the brotherhood contained the following:

> . . .Has not every periodical this side of Virginia in the reformation utterly failed? . . .[a number are named]. Shall this work be allowed to die out like its northern predecessors? . . .brethren from the shores of Lake Huron to Rhode Island . . .and from the farthest border of Nova Scotia to the mouth of the Chatham in Canada West. . . . We ask not our living. . .we seek no salary. . .for this labour. . . . But we do ask our brethren. . .to assist us to make the publication pay the simple expenses of its issue. . . .[41]

The churches were reminded of their definite obligation to support the press, "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."[42] Each was encouraged to raise its part of the annual publishing fund in January of each year.

The Christian Banner, 1852-1858

True to resolutions, the next volume appeared in new dress. The name was changed to *The Christian Banner* and the explanation given that, "the Christian Banner is designed to be the successor of the Christian and the Witness; and therefore it appears in its place as volume six."[43] This, together with the statement that no correspondence regarding the name or work of the intervening publication would be admitted to the *Banner*, leads one to suppose that the editors wanted the 1851 publication forgotten. Commenting on the change of name, an exchange wrote, "The Christian Mirror has ceased to reflect the face of our Canadian brethren. They have left the wardrobe and taken to the field under the Banner."[44] This volume and those for the years to follow until 1857 bore the same name and were printed and published at Cobourg by David Oliphant. Eaton of St. John, New Brunswick continued as associate editor.

Public support and commendation were much more encouraging during the early months and promised a successful year.[45] Fifty subscribers were added in January and sixty more in February. Eaton, being afflicted with throat trouble, gave up public speaking and moved to the States. His articles ceased appearing. In 1853 he was editor of a weekly, *The Sower*, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and in 1856 he was an associate editor of the *Christian Age* of Cincinnati, Ohio. Oliphant pled for the continued cooperation of the eastern provinces until "all the provinces form one nation" which he predicted would soon come to pass.[46] An agent was named to receive eastern subscriptions in either American or Canadian bills or the currency of the Maritimes. There were in July, 1853 thirty churches between Owen Sound in the North West and Picton in the East, and the census showed them to number 2,000 members.[47]

This year brought certain obstacles. A serious financial setback due to the dishonesty of some men made necessary the payment of obligations equaling about $1,600 in eleven months. During this time, Oliphant was "managing and writing for two journals", one of which was a secular paper operated for a livelihood. The *Banner* is referred to as the "effort now being made by a cooperation of the brotherhood of all the North American Provinces."[48]

David's brother, William as secretary of the Provincial Cooperation, had written in December to ascertain whether David would serve the committee as an Evangelist during nine months of 1852. He accepted, and in answer to an enquiry, he revealed in 1854 that he was no longer earning his living by editing the weekly newspaper but was engaged with tongue and pen for the advancement of the cause. How long this could last was uncertain, depending on the manner in which the brethren supported him and the paper.[49]

The volume for 1854 began with Oliphant as the editor and publisher and was printed by Oliphant and White at Brighton. Beginning with the May issue the printing was let out to A. Begg. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory. To "hold forth the word of life" and to "speak the things that become sound doctrine" were stated as the supreme aims of this volume. Although subscriptions were one dollar each, clubs of five could subscribe for four dollars, and those who were over three months delinquent were charged an extra twenty-five cents. Any Christian friend who would was requested to act as an agent.

A suggestion of merging with the *Sower*, a weekly of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania was turned down because the brethren at the June meeting decided, and the editor agreed, that there was need for a periodical in Canada and that such a move would be inexpedient.[50]

At the end of 1854 the editor wrote that it had been a

successful year in increase in circulation and that so many new readers had never before been obtained in one year.[51] A series of six articles on the Religion of Jesus and four on the subject of Deacons, Elders and Evangelists seem to be the most outstanding in this volume. The next ran a series on Agreements and Differences between Baptists and Disciples.

The ninth volume was edited by David Oliphant assisted by William Oliphant and published from Sober and Brighton. The printing had been contracted during part of the previous year but soon got two months behind.[52] The January issue carried a hint to churches to place advertisements of the *Banner* in local weekly papers. Some carried out this suggestion, and it resulted in new subscribers.

There was a great need in these times for evangelists to give their full time to preaching. When it was suggested that David Oliphant arrange his business in such a way as to do this he replied that his time was taken up with *The Christian Banner*, with appointments to preach in a radius of thirty miles and with extensive tours among the churches. He was willing, if the brethren wished the paper to cease or had someone else to conduct it, to give his full energies to work with the "living voice." But he wrote,

> My conviction is, that, directly and indirectly, the Christian Banner, allowing a large margin for its imperfections, does more for the cause of reformation in these Provinces than five brothers Oliphant could do by pleading the cause with the tongue without the pen.[53]

Thirty-two instead of twenty-eight pages, better type and a coloured cover were promised for the tenth volume to begin in January 1856. The purpose is restated as follows:

> . . .To elucidate and illustrate the primitive teaching, the primitive faith, the primitive

> church and brotherhood in Christ, as set forth, exemplified and maintained in the inspired oracles, without the aids and appendages of Confessions or Disciplines made by men.[54]

Due to ill health, William Oliphant had been unable to render much assistance. He died in September of the same year. John Butchart, Jr. replaced him in this volume. In June the publishers became Oliphant and Spencer. A series by Benjamin Franklin of Indiana, entitled "Sincerity Seeking the Way to Heaven" ran through almost the entire volume.

Volume eleven had the editorial staff reinforced by the addition of T. Munnell, principal of the Classical Institute, Williamsville, New York, as an assistant. The prospectus describes the character of the *Banner* thus,

> It urges with all the motives in its power a thorough reformation in all things wherein the christianity of modern times is not like the christianity of primitive time. . . . It allows every professor. . .to occupy its pages and reply to any of its positions, provided the language employed be respectful or sufficiently decorous for publication.[55]

Although Oliphant wrote that the *Banner*,

> . . .has been managed with scrupulous caution and economy—and. . .there are not more than two periodicals sustained by the brotherhood of disciples in America which have a better or stronger physical constitution than the Banner . . . ,[56]

it became increasingly necessary to plead for support. The time was "peculiarly depressing." Eight hundred to one thousand subscribers owed some $2,500. Some papers had "taken to the cash plan" but the *Banner* had "steadfastly resisted it." It was the policy to carry subscribers until they

returned an issue or wrote asking to be discontinued. There was a threat to raise the price to $1.50 unless sufficient support was manifested.[57]

This volume contained much on the duties of evangelists with some special emphasis on setting things in order in the congregations by appointing elders. The "missionary society" was severely criticized by the editor in a series addressed to Brother Loos. This controversy continued into the next volume where Benjamin Franklin appeared as the supporter of the society.

W.T. Horner of Pompey, New York became a regular writer in 1858. There seems to have been some intimation that Oliphant would discontinue the publications at the close of the year. "Financial affairs" were "generally out of joint" and "pecuniary pressure" was so severe that a number of journals had been strangled. However, friends, by extra liberality, were saying to "go on."[58] Some had received the paper for five, seven or ten years with no thanks or funds. These were discontinued and a new book of subscribers started with the policy that no one would receive the paper for more than two years unless heard from. It was further stated that three would be sent free for every ten who paid for their subscription.

Oliphant was conscientious and firm in his convictions and at the same time peace-loving and kindly. Being an editor and leading evangelist at a time of much conflict in the matter of organization for evangelism caused him considerable concern. Convictions against organized cooperation were kept silent and he even served cooperations as secretary and evangelist at first. At the same time he was troubled about these proceedings. He later wrote,

> The years 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.[59]

This silence was broken in 1860 when he and the church at Athol published a letter stating their position. It made many uneasy and resulted in Oliphant becoming unpopular with many leading brethren. More and more began to be published on the subject and his stating his convictions appears to have been a major contributing factor to his retirement from the forefront of the publishing arena. Oliphant never found fault with the early practice of a few churches in a given county or area cooperating in sending and supporting an evangelist. When leaders in the Wellington Cooperation had initiated and promoted the Provincial Cooperation in 1845 and 1849, some brethren had been afraid of big meetings or organized efforts. Cooperation advocates referred to these as "almost congealed in the icebergs of north-pole worldiness."[60]

When someone suggested that the Cooperation be disbanded and presented the advantages of groups of two to six churches cooperating according to their ability, Oliphant argued that more had been effected in one year than was previously accomplished in two or three years and that greater uniformity of spirit and action could be accomplished under the larger cooperation.[61] Nevertheless, a number of churches withdrew and caused some concern.

Shortly after this apparent endorsement of organized effort in Canada, he wrote to a brother Mathes of Indiana in 1853 as follows:

> We, too, in Canada, have a cooperation

> 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 and office-bearers 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 all local and general well-doing. . . .[62]

Oliphant was somewhat quiet about these feelings in Canada. He attended a meeting of messengers of five Niagara Peninsula churches at Wainfleet in July 1858 at which the matter of organization was considered and rejected even though there was no direct opposition. That the Provincial Cooperation had been considering starting its own paper is indicated by the fact that this meeting advocated a measure of reformation in the cooperation and suggested that one paper was all that was needed. Oliphant was encouraged to locate the *Banner* in the Niagara Peninsula area.[63]

We are not surprised that the Cooperation was unhappy with Oliphant and *The Christian Banner* when we consider the following. During the years 1857-58 a discussion with Benjamin Franklin of the *American Christian Review* was carried in both papers. Franklin defended the existence of the American Christian Missionary Society and Oliphant opposed it. T. Munnell favoured the Society and argued that it was just a "common sense" arrangement permissible in the absence of a Bible plan. Oliphant restated his opposition to "the modern creation" pointing out that it was not safe but disastrous to have "organized policy." According to him it was too costly, too showy and disloyal to heaven and led to pride and false power. He called the society a partisan organism with its trumpet blowers, life member makers and

dollar catchers. Referring to New Testament times he asked, "did disciples carry the gospel to the unconverted without a society?"[64] He considered "maintainable that there is a divine model for evangelizing the world" and, therefore, believed it error to substitute human discretion.[65]

Franklin later changed his views and adopted many of the arguments of Oliphant and used them against the society. His arguments against Oliphant were then used by J.S. Lamar against him.[66] As Franklin became such an influence in the non-society group one might be justified in crediting the Canadian editor with some part of the formation of this position. He also opposed brother Loos on this matter stating his fear that "Mr. Expedience" was taking over to the extent that the reformation would become a subordinate plea.[67]

Oliphant made a tour of several Nova Scotia churches in the summer of 1859 and took part in the June meeting at Milton. He reported happenings there as proof that he was "a hearty and practical advocate of cooperation." The brethren there agreed to dispose of all Committees and Boards and have the Deacons and Elders at Milton see that the labourers went forth. Other churches would co-work through these officers. He complained that they made one mistake—that of fixing the amount labourers should receive.[68]

He feared that thoroughly established organization was unreformable as those from within would not and those without could not reform it.[69] Nevertheless, he published a letter which was "the beginning of an effort to get nearer perfection in the business of cooperating" in Ontario and requested objections and suggestions from all sources.[70]

Banner of the Faith, 1859-63

As promised in the last issue of *The Christian Banner* for 1858, publishing continued despite the hard times. Due to the fact that a favourable speaking field required increasing

attention and because of the depression, it was purposed to sent out six forty-eight page issues in 1859. It appeared under the new name *Banner of the Faith* aiming to set forth "Jesus as the living salvation."[71]

In spite of the doubtful conditions, the list of subscribers increased rapidly. On his tour to Milton, Nova Scotia, the editor received $185.50 from friends for the paper. In 1860 each issue contained over sixty pages, and there are indications that news and circulation in the Unite States was increasing.

About this time, whether occasioned by the editor's opposition to missionary societies or another cause, there was a shortage of news. It was attributed by the editor to two causes, viz., 1. some omit to report, 2. others incline to report elsewhere.[72] Other evidence of disfavour appeared in the form of a document in Eramosa. There had been "unusual gales and storms of mutterings and bitter representations," for several months previous to this.[73] One paragraph of the document read:

> We have long needed a medium through which the brethren might express their thoughts, notify meetings, report the progress of the truth and narrate incidents connected with the proclamation of the gospel, and the working of the churches; a medium which should be acknowledged, respected and supported by the brethren; not an individual enterprise; but a periodical controlled by the brotherhood at large.[74]

It disclosed "a 'feeling' which prompts to the birth and nourishment of 'an organ' of and for the disciples in this Province," wrote Oliphant.[75]

The brotherhood, he felt, had been a unit in employing the press for the past fifteen years but now disunity seemed

to threaten. A second paper seemed a "Symbol of contention." Oliphant feared that "'feeling' that seeks relief in a new paper . . . may become greatly in advance of faith." He expressed his willingness to be replaced by a "new Man" and asked for counsel. The feeling was expressed that the available funds could best be used to support one paper and that there were not enough brethren to maintain two. Unless for contentious reasons, why this proposal? Oliphant added,

> . . .The Banner is a marked success. No paper established to plead reformation north of Virginia has been able to live except this periodical. 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.[76]

It would seem that Oliphant found a certain satisfaction in this and a challenge to continue. It further appears that his great sacrifice and perseverance had been responsible. He expressed a confidence, based on confidence everywhere manifested, that he could continue. Nevertheless, he would give in for peace. In the following issue it was revealed that there had been "such a response. . .that our course is made clear as daylight. . . . The work will continue. . . ."[77]

The aforementioned document seemed to Oliphant to be a thrust at him. He felt that any such move should have been made known to him after his years of labour with the press. Instead it had been agitated secretly. Could such secrecy be trusted? Was not this action "unbrotherly, injurious, and subversive to the law of the Spirit?" Had not Oliphant been prevailed upon to take the press by all the churches and as a consequence sold the good farm received from his father.[78]

The originators of this effort were not made known to the reader. Some thought that the committee of the cooperation was responsible but others that it was the work of two "sometimes called evangelists. . .(the stronger of the twain residing East of Toronto.)"[79] James Kilgour of Eramosa had endorsed this document and "one or two in Oshawa, one or two in Dorchester, and one or two in another spot not now to be named" were the supporters. The meeting in Erin in June showed that the "brethren as a cooperation had nothing to do in calling into existence this enterprise" and therefore it itself was individual.[80] It is significant to note that *The Adviser* dated at Toronto began in July, 1861 with James Kilgour, C.J. Lister and Edmund Sheppard as writers and was later supported by James Black and Lazarus Parkinson, men of the Cooperation. This publication had as its purpose that of 'rnishing the evangelists a means of communicating with the urches. Thus it was inferred that Oliphant had refused to ive space for such or that his paper was not acceptable. He appears not to have refused space. The new publication was "laid on the shelf" for nearly a year because some feared it might produce division and alienation. It seems likely that this little paper which lasted for about three years was the result of the 'feeling' and that James Kilgour took the lead in its beginning.[81]

The first four months of 1861 were included in two issues but after that *The Banner* again appeared each month with thirty-two pages per issue. It was dated from Brighton where the editor had resided for some time. At meetings in the churches at Athol and Hillier in September it was agreed to sustain "by our means, good wishes and prayers" David Oliphant in publishing *Banner of the Faith* and that the brethren be requested "not to get up another publishing enterprise in Canada since such might foster a spirit of alienation and division of the brotherhood."[82]

Oliphant had taken a firm stand against organized cooperation. This had no doubt resulted in "the mutterings," the lack of news and finally in the suggestion that another publication begin. Many letters were published about these matters but through it all Oliphant remained frank but courteous and Christian. His own words truthfully describe his manner,

> . . .while we may with well-marred severity review movements which have the seeds of serious mischief in them, we carefully guard our utterances from judging motives and strictly avoid and exclude all bitterness against persons; so that our warfare is against evils and not against men; against unsanctified realities but not against fellow workers.[83]

Volume fifteen, for 1861, closed with an Extra summarizing in seven pages the history of the cooperation controversy as conducted in the *Banner* and giving an explanation of what was considered to be scriptural cooperation.

Volume sixteen, for 1862, was conducted, printed and published by David Oliphant in Brighton, Canada West. Friction on the question of organization for cooperation continued. The church at Athol appointed a meeting in Toronto in May "to take into consideration the publishing interests in connection with the work of reformation as pled by the Disciples in the Province of Canada." Many attended and it was agreed that,

> . . .sufficient space in Banner of the Faith up to half its pages. . .be under the control of the evangelists employed by the churches in Canada, for their reports, and that nothing appear in its pages to wound the feelings of any of the brethren, on the subject of cooperation.[84]

Oliphant approved of this, and it was submitted by Alexander Anderson for the approval of the Everton church. These brethren accepted the proposal and appointed Anderson to lay it before "the parties who are engaging in another publishing interest, in order, if possible, to effect such unity."[85] Reports from the evangelists Black and Kilgour appeared for an issue or two but no open agreement was published. The churches in the Niagara District met and submitted their plea that Oliphant, who had devoted sixteen years to publishing and endured opposition and made sacrifices was worthy of support.[86] However, the rival publication, *The Adviser*, continued until the end of 1864.

Oliphant was at this time moving back to his old home at Picton near Athol and, beginning with a combined June-July issue, the date line bore this place. There were several such double numbers in this volume which ended with another Extra. Again it was on the subject of the scriptural method of evangelizing.

Volume seventeen began with thirty-two pages every two months. Six such issues were promised with the assurance that issue would be monthly once more if the proposed harmony in publishing could be completely accomplished. But, we read later, "One year has nearly passed, and yet the proposition has not been accepted by all to whom it was made."[87] *The Adviser* accused Oliphant of circulating a statement "which militates against the 'Old Cooperation'" and held him responsible for the secession of the Niagara churches to form a "New Cooperation." Open conflict between the two papers is thus slightly indicated.[88] Another meeting in Athol, attended by some of the brethren from the West, published a lamentation at the appearance of discord resulting from the introduction of another paper.

The demand for a monthly could not at this time be satisfied because the "American war very seriously

interferes with publishing expenses and receipts." The Extra on the cooperating question was postponed because of the need of first conferring with the churches in Esquesing, Eramosa, and Erin.[89] This Extra was not printed until after the next two volumes when it was again promised to the readers and may have been printed.

The editor's own description of these trying years of controversy among brethren is here given to introduce us to the next publication.

> The Past Five Years:—From the beginning of 1859 to the end of 1963, '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 that 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, as 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.[90]

Message of Good-Will to Men, 1864-65

The volume for 1864 bore the new name *Message of Good-Will to Men*. It was introduced by a greeting to all as

noted above. Two reasons were given for this, the fourth change in name. The new title was given, for this publication hoped to "enjoy a fresh and refreshing campaign in favor of the pure Truth and the sweet Love of God" and because others "request a new title suitable to a promised alteration and amendment of editorial effort and tact."[91] Some had suggested that the previous volume was injurious. Although the editor wondered to whom it was injurious, this new policy seems to have been to avoid even seeming to be so. Controversy on the cooperation question had previously been conducted in the kindest way. Now, although a compromise had not been effected, efforts were made to improve relationships.

When the churches in Toronto, which had been divided for some time, effected a union in July 1863, some began to suggest that this was the logical place from which to publish the paper. A paper of monthly or weekly frequency was suggested by some. The opinions of the brethren were solicited but no action resulted.[92]

In 1865 it was disclosed that 1864 receipts had been sufficient to pay for printing and paper with a balance of fifty dollars for evangelizing. The year 1865 promised to be even more prosperous.

Despite the new title, Oliphant did not forget his convictions or give up his efforts to correct errors in the method of evangelizing. A series of letters in a kindly but suggestive if not persuasive tone, addressed to Dugald Thompson of Erin carried news of developments among the churches and subtly showed that effective evangelism was being done by local cooperation through church officers. References were made to draw the readers to a fair consideration of past arguments with the emphasis on good-will. There were evidences of some success. Space forbids detailed consideration of the correspondence but Oliphant emphasized that, "We are. . .practically one" and closed with,

"in order that the law of brotherhood may be honored and actively sustained."[93] He tried so hard to exercise good-will and liberty that some wondered if he was not wishing the cooperation well, feeling that he might have changed his views.

His "religious home as a labourer in the gospel" was at West Lake beginning in December 1863. Poor health had caused him to cautiously seek relief of responsibility since May of 1861. Now the continued illness of his wife made it necessary for him to be at home. He was not thus restricted for long. Cynthia Maria Oliphant, wife of David Oliphant, died on September 12, 1864.[94] David began now to make more extended evangelistic tours even though continuing with his editorial work.

Among other editorial assistants announced in the July-August issue was Jacob Creath, Jr., of Missouri. This issue carried his condemnation of things "let in under the term expediency" which elicited some response in later issues.

At this point Oliphant explained his comparative silence for a time and his present position on the cooperation issues. A part of the explanation follows:

> A letter sent out by the Church at East Lake, in 1860, met with severe opposition; and several of those who were pleased to oppose were so highly esteemed that it was judged prudent to exercise increasing caution in urging what was in our hearts to urge concerning evangelizing. The developments of time furnish us with renewed arguments and fervency; and therefore this letter is addressed to you.
>
> It seems to us that when we operate and cooperate as individual disciples and as churches of disciples, keeping models of the New Covenant before us, no work will be left

> for any combination of men undescribed and therefore unsanctioned by the inspired word. But it is not in our heart to enter the opposing list with good men in this province who see differently from us upon the subject of which we speak. While teaching what we sincerely hold to be true, and believe to be in harmony with the whole scope of revelation, we have no controversy with any one called a brother, upon this question.[95]

A series of letters entitled "Travels" shows that Oliphant left home on a preaching tour in early March, 1865 and did not arrive back home until mid-November.[96] Space prevents more detailed consideration of these busy days but these activities along with editing the paper will serve to impress upon us the dedication of David Oliphant to the task. No doubt the passing of his wife made easier and even more welcome this prolonged absence from home and the unusually busy schedule. Work and removal from reminding environments are sometimes helpful factors in time of bereavement.

Another notable change in the pattern of his life occurred at this point. The end of 1865 brought to an end twenty years of continuous publishing labours along the north shore of Lake Ontario under most trying conditions, at first financially and later controversially. Dedication and perseverance beyond the ordinary are the only explanation of this long endurance in the face of poor support and frequent discouragement and opposition.

A third Extra of the *Banner of the Faith*, on "cooperation," had been promised and was still to appear after the February 1866 meeting of the Cooperation. This was to "pay what is due the reader."[97] Oliphant appears to have been very conscientious about fulfilling his promises and

obligations so that it seems likely that this one was fulfilled. However, we have no certain knowledge that this Extra was printed.

Later Publications

When urged to publish in 1866 he refused, stating his need of rest. A Company was formed at a meeting in Smithville in October and printing equipment obtained. Oliphant promised to perform "a fervent part." He was later considered the editor, it seems. The Niagara District churches were in sympathy with Oliphant's position in the matter of cooperating and had long urged him to move there. We know little of his activities during the years of 1866 and 1867 and have no definite knowledge of a periodical being published in Canada during these years. An announcement in the *Gospel Advocate* of 1866 told of his assisting four other brethren in publishing a small, neat, cheap hymn book. The letter was mailed from Grimsby in the Niagara District.[98]

The Peace Maker

In 1868 he was living in Hamilton and helping a company of brethren with a paper called *The Peace Maker*. It is possible that this started in 1866 immediately upon termination of the *Message of Good-Will to Men* but no copies are known to be extant and there is no known record of such for these years. He must have been considered the editor as a notice in *the Millennial Harbinger* for February, 1869 announced that,

> . . .Ill health has prevented Bro. D. Oliphant, of Canada from continuing his publication. He desires. . .to request all who are yet indebted to him to remit to him at their earliest convenience.[99]

In the absence of a publication he reported the highlights of

the news to *The Millennial Harbinger* for June. There had been over three thousand present at the June meeting in the grove near Beamsville which had thrilled him immensely.[100]

The Living Laborer

After all these years, Oliphant seemed unable or unwilling to terminate entirely his publishing labours. His paper, *The Living Laborer*, consisting of sixteen double-column pages, began to be issued from London, Ontario, twice a month, in 1876. It was marked Volume VI, New Series. Oliphant had been publishing in conjunction with Elder E. Orvis of Benton, Pennsylvania, U.S. a joint publication, the *Messenger and Laborer* (described as "now a weekly" in 1875). The above volume numbering indicates that it must have begun in 1870. Evidently, *The Laborer* and the *Messenger* were two distinctly separate parts of the same paper. It was entitled, *The Messenger and Laborer* and was described in 1872 as follows:

> . . . The Christian Messenger, E.E. Orvis, Editor, Benton, Columbia Co., Pa., Living Laborer, D. Oliphant, Editor, London, Canada. $1 a year per annum in advance. This is a monthly publication published apparently as a sort of joint enterprise by the brethren named. . . The Messenger and Laborer is a pamphlet shape of twenty pages, double column, neatly printed and stitched in colored cover. . . . Bro. Oliphant has published some interesting and valuable 'discourses,' we would call them. He calls them 'sermons'.[101]

When another Canadian paper, *The Bible Index* started in 1872, Oliphant evidently resented it. It appears that he felt that Canada had a paper even though it was published in the same cover with the one in the United States. Refusing to use

its name, he called it "A Toronto Print."[102] George Clendenan of the *Index* tried to be friendly but Oliphant was evidently very conscious of the competition between the two papers and of some differences of view.[103]

The date of his move to London is not known, but he was there in 1875 and issued *The Living Laborer* from there in 1876. It was "to persuade every man to hear Jesus" and a volume would consist of twelve issues covering six months. His strength was limited, and he purposed to proclaim the gospel and furnish news but declared that his days of controversy were past.[104]

In June he offered to cease publication of *The Living Laborer* if H. McDiarmid would undertake to edit another paper in its place. A prospectus for *The Christian Pathway* was announced but instead of issuing it, McDiarmid took over the *Bible Index* which was offered to him in order that there be only one paper.[105]

During the year 1877 a number of items in the *Bible Index* were credited to "Living Labourer", but it is not know whether they were quoted from such a publication or whether Oliphant submitted them under that pen name. One historian states that *The Living Laborer* issued from 1876 to 1882 but we doubt the correctness of this[106] because Oliphant, in summarizing his publications in 1880, referred to six volumes of *The Living Laborer.*[107] Since Volume 6 concluded in June 1876 when the offer was made to McDiarmid, we incline to the opinion that he did not publish a periodical during the next three years. News items show that he was actively preaching, especially in the London area during this period.

A publication appearing in 1880 under the name *The Living Laborer* made a total of four papers by brethren in Canada that year. Oliphant feared that there was not "wholesome financial food for one" but nevertheless must have felt his was sufficiently different to warrant adding a

fourth. He announced it as follows:

> . . .for excellent reasons, we engage in the work of publishing a book in four parts, each of which is to consist of about a hundred pages, and these served to readers in three issues, each issue embracing nearly the third of a hundred pages, dressed in the best style of the printer's art.[108]

Only the first hundred pages have been seen by this writer. These contain a series of articles on the church of the New Testament and include about ten pages of history of churches in the province for the previous forty years. That fall he wrote, "Our book, Living Laborer, is selling slowly" and it is suspected that his publishing labours ceased at this point. Although historians refer to his publishing labours as ending in 1882 which would be the date of completion of his book, there is no evidence that the second and third parts were printed unless it be the occasional reference to the *Living Laborer* of London, East in other papers up to 1884.[108]

We have no knowledge of his activities from this time until his death on March 17, 1885. His obituary stated,

> . . .For many years he was connected with papers published here and circulated among the brethren. Latterly he wrote in several papers over the signature of 'Living Labourers.' He traveled through many parts and preached the gospel to the people.[110]

Summary and Evaluation

Whether the controversies in the brotherhood at the time of his death, the lapse of twenty years between his continuous editorial work and his death, or the comparative obscurity of his later years was the cause we do not know,

but the *Bible Index* printed only the above brief mention of his great contribution to the cause. A page picturing Ontario pioneer preachers presented as a gift to subscribers by George Munro of the *Canadian Evangelist* in 1894 did not include David Oliphant among the six men chosen. These neglects hardly seem just.

Although a public preacher of wide influence, his most outstanding contribution was in the field of journalism. His publishing years did not fall far short in number of those of Alexander Campbell in the United States. The degree of success he attained in a small brotherhood, living in a sparsely settled part of the continent under pioneer conditions, merits more than passing notice.

After twenty consecutive years of lonely publishing efforts concluding with the end of 1865, he appears to have published a periodical in cooperation with others for the next ten years and then, after an apparent three and one-half year recess, took the pen again for at least one more year, perhaps three. He wrote and preached steadily from age twenty four to age sixty and was unappreciated during much of the time and unlauded at death. His patient publishing activities spread over thirty-seven years and totaled twenty-seven volumes.

These publishing labors may be divided into the early, middle, and late periods. The early period was one of much controversy with the sects, both written and oral. The papers contained many interesting items of controversy with the denominations. The next period, which began in the early sixties, was one of controversy, first with United States brethren following the organization of the American Christian Missionary Society in Cincinnati in 1857, then with a group of brethren in Canada on the method of cooperation for evangelizing. The editor took a firm stand against any organization other than the local congregation for this purpose

although he encouraged small congregations in an area to cooperate to support an evangelist. The end of this period of about five years is marked by a tendency to encourage good-will among brethren who were becoming somewhat alienated because of this controversy. Thus the names *Message of Good-Will to Men* and *The Peace Maker* were employed. During all the period of controversy with sectarians and with brethren, a marvelous spirit of gentlemanly kindness was manifested. However, an admirable frankness and openness in dealing with issues sometimes caused his writings to seem unnecessarily critical. Personalities were seldom discussed, except on occasion when necessity seemed to demand. In such cases the task was very obviously distasteful to the editor. Whenever possible, correspondents were given credit for having honest motives and the issues were dealt with in a firm but kind manner. Had the tactics been otherwise, it appears quite probable that a major split in the brotherhood would have resulted this early in its history in Canada.

The final period, involving the years from 1866 to the termination of his efforts in the 1880's, are years of comparative obscurity. There was no effort at controversy but a studied presentation of truth. Perhaps the somewhat unpopular position he had taken on the cooperation question explains the ease with which the brotherhood permitted this obscurity in later years of one who had served them so faithfully, so long, and so well.

From a financial viewpoint, this editor supported himself apart from his religious publications. He sold the farm which he inherited. Money received for preaching, from a secular paper which he managed for a time, and from the printing business in which he was a partner, furnished the needs of livelihood. He was for a time somewhat prosperous.

Some mention should be made of the financing of the papers. It was and is a recognized fact that, of such papers, few live as long as the twenty consecutive years of his early publications. During its lifetime many were "born" but they were being strangled on every side, especially in the north. This editor considered his success the result of perseverance. He wrote:

> . . .The first five years, the work cost our time in editing and five hundred dollars more than its regular subscription. The next five years the financial outlay was repaid by its subscription, and our time given gratis for 'the cause.' The next two years, its returns were a little more than the expenses, but afforded no adequate reward for the hours which were spent in editing.[111]

After this the paper lived tolerably on its subscriptions. some being left over for evangelizing in the last two years. Little is known of the financing of later publications except that the last was not selling very well. Patience, perseverance, sacrifice, good management and the support of the brethren were and are all necessary to success in such efforts. Oliphant did not always have the support of the brethren.

Regarding publications he once wrote:

> Relative to publications, when the period arrives when we shall enjoy a labourer among us who combines large mental capacity, very considerable learning, a full share of wealth, a happy fund of fervency and generosity, and an interest in heaven's truth that asks reward only 'at the resurrection of the just,' it is very conclusive to my mind that we may enjoy a first class publication.[112]

These are the qualifications he tried to fulfill and

succeeded so well in fulfilling.

His loyalty to a cause, which all too frequently showed little immediate appreciation, was exceptional. Opportunities to move to greener pastures were rejected with "My duty is here." Discouragement and lack of support from the brotherhood were combated with a native perseverance. His labours as a preacher were incessant. "He possessed a rare and sweet Christian spirit, preached and sang also."[113]

One of the contradictions of history is now noticed. David Oliphant's influence is difficult to estimate but appears to be inversely proportional to his great dedication and gigantic efforts. He edited twenty-seven interesting and informative volumes in defense and propagation of the truth. These have not been treasured and are scarcely extant. He stood firmly and courageously for a simple New Testament Christianity but the churches among whom he laboured the most, turned from it. This includes all of the many churches along the north shore of Lake Ontario, where he worked and published for twenty years, all the churches in the Eramosa area where he grew up and was initiated in restoration principles, and all the churches in the London area where he spent the last ten or more years of his life. He spent a brief period in the Niagara District where a number of churches, although severely shaken, were not drawn into the cooperation against which he warned. As mentioned earlier, he did have an influence in the "nonsociety" position in the U.S.A.



[1]Witness of Truth, I (November, 1945), 24. See also The Christian Banner, VII (1853), 1.

[2]Amos Tovell, "Ontario" in Churches of Christ, ed. John T. Brown; (Louisville: John P. Morton Company, 1904), p.

139. See also Reuben Butchart, The Disciples of Christ in Canada Since 1830, (Toronto: Canadian Headquarters Publication, 1949), p. 403 as quoted from page 49 of Trout Family History by William H. Trout; see also The Millennial Harbinger, XL (1869), 115-116.

[3]Butchart, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

[4]Banner of the Faith, XV (1861), 61.

[5]Ibid.

[6]This first meeting house was built on Black's Farm in 1830.

[7]The Living Laborer, I (1880), 89. (The 1876 volume was numbered VI but there appears to have been a renumbering with the new format of 1880.)

[8]Banner of the Faith, XV (1861), 67.

[9]The Living Laborer, loc.cit.

[10]Ibid., 4.

[11]The Message of Good-Will, XIX (March-April, 1865), 55-56.

[12]The Witness of Truth, I (1845), 7-9.

[13]Ibid., 22, 82.

[14]Ibid, II (1847), 4.

[15]Ibid., 73.

[16]Ibid., 98.

[17]W.W. Eaton, The Christian, III (1847), 32.

[18]D. Oliphant, The Christian, IV (1848), 62.

[19]The Witness of Truth, III (1848), 24.

[20]Ibid., 261-262.

[21]Loc. cit.

[22]Ibid., 63.

[23]Ibid., III (1848), 236-238, 261.

[24]Ibid., 263, 287.

[25]Ibid., 66, 68, 127-128, 1657, 283; IV (1849), 93, 208-210.

[26]The Millennial Harbinger, XIV (1843), 376.

[27]The Witness of Truth, IV (1849), 194.
[28]Ibid., 6.
[29]Ibid., 21, 237-238, 257-258.
[30]Ibid., V (1850), 239-242.
[31]Ibid., 189-213.
[32]Ibid., 282-285.
[33]Ibid., 187.
[34]Ibid., 290.
[35]The Christian Banner, IX (October, 1855), inside cover.
[36]The Christian Mirror, VI (1851), 27.
[37]Ibid., 6, 24-26.
[38]Ibid.
[39]Ibid., 78.
[40]Ibid., 248.
[41]Ibid., 249-250.
[42]The Christian Banner, VI (1852), 32. This should have been volume VII in the Oliphant periodicals.
[43]Ibid.
[44]Alexander Campbell, The Millennial Harbinger, XXIII (1852), 234.
[45]The Christian Banner, op. cit., 110, 198.
[46]This prediction was completely fulfilled thirteen years later.
[47]The Christian Banner, XI (1857), 126.
[48]Ibid., VI (1852), 306-307.
[49]Ibid., 251-252.
[50]Ibid., VIII (1854), 263-265.
[51]Ibid., 251-252.
[52]Ibid., IX (1855), 88.
[53]Ibid., 306-307.
[54]Ibid., 336.
[55]Ibid., X (1856), 336.
[56]Ibid., XII (1858), 28.
[57]Ibid., 28, 256, 354.

[58]Banner of the Faith, XIII (1859), 46.
[59]Message of Good-Will to Men, XIX (1865), 56.
[60]The Witness of Truth, IV (1849), 284.
[61]The Christian Mirror, VI (1851), 40-42.
[62]The Christian Banner, XI (1857), 210.
[63]Ibid., XII (1858), 198.
[64]Banner of the Faith, XI (1857), 380.
[66]Earl I. West, The Search for the Ancient Order, Vol. 1 (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1949), p. 197 and Vol. II (Indianapolis: Religious Books Service, 1950), p. 47.
[67]The Christian Banner, XI (1857), 24.
[68]Banner of the Faith, XIII (1859), 91-95.
[69]Ibid., 271.
[70]Ibid., XIV (1860), 301.
[71]The Christian Banner, XII (1858), 384.
[72]Banner of the Faith, 109.
[73]Ibid., 127.
[74]Ibid., XV (1861), 70.
[75]Ibid., VIX (1860), 196.
[76]Loc. cit.
[77]Ibid., 258.
[78]Ibid., 277, 295.
[79]Ibid., 277.
[80]Ibid., XV (1861), 71.
[81]The Adviser, II (June, 1862), 1-2.
[82]Banner of the Faith, XV (1861), 262.
[83]Ibid., 264.
[84]Ibid., XVI (1862), 156.
[85]Ibid., 222.
[86]Ibid., XVII (1863), 31.
[87]Ibid., 95.
[88]Ibid., 119-120
[89]Ibid., 191.
[90]Message of Good-Will to Men, XVIII (1864), 31.

[91]Ibid., I.

[92]Ibid., XIX (1865), 69.

[93]Ibid., XVIII (1864), 60.

[94]Ibid., XVIII (1864), 166.

[95]David Oliphant and five others, "Letters from Disciples," Ibid., XIX (1865), 171.

[96]David Oliphant, "Travels," Ibid., 169-170.

[97]Ibid., 177-178.

[98]David Oliphant, a letter, Gospel Advocate (October, 1866), 662.

[99]The Millennial Harbinger, XL (February, 1869), 110.

[100]Ibid., 416.

[1]Bible Index, I (November, 1872), 10.

Ibid., III (1875), 265.

Ibid., 44.

[4]The Living Laborer, VI (1876), 11, 12.

[105]Bible Index, V (January, 1877), 13.

[106]Archibald Alexander Allan, "Churches of Christ in Canada," (unpublished thesis, The College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky., 1940), p. 95.

[107]The Living Laborer, (1880), 3.

[108]David Oliphant, "Introduction," The Living Laborer (1880), 3; See also The Disciple (September, 1879), 3.

[109]Bible Index and Christian Sentinel (1882), 286; Christian Worker, (November, 1884), 3.

[110]Bible Index, XIII (April, 1885), 127.

[111]Banner of the Faith, XIV (1861), 67.

[112]Bible Index, II (1874), 321.

[113]Butchart, op. cit., p. 233.

Chapter 5

SOME SHORT-LIVED EFFORTS AT JOURNALISM

It has been noted in the previous chapter that some feeling had arisen against David Oliphant because of his opposition to organized cooperation. Some of his opponents went so far as to publish a second paper. It lived only a short life. Another short-lived attempt in 1869 purposed to supply the need for a brotherhood medium of expression and communication in the absence of any other paper. At a later period the Eastern Provinces had a paper for a time. This chapter will consider these three efforts.

The Adviser

The Adviser, published by a committee of brethren, made its appearance in July 1860.[1] It contained sixteen double-column pages and was started for the purpose of furnishing a "medium through which the Evangelists might communicate with the churches, in reference to their intended visits, report their labours, additions and other matters connected."[2] Other matters printed in this paper were secondary to this first purpose. As already noted, David Oliphant of *The Christian Banner*, was somewhat perturbed when agitation to start this, another journal, first came to his attention. He feared that contentious feelings promoted its appearance since one paper was sufficient and it needed all the support available in the province.

James Kilgour, Joseph Lister and Edmund Sheppard wrote for *The Adviser*. Although it was not the product of the

Cooperation, it seems to have originated as a result of Oliphant's stand against this organization. He had, however, not refused to publish news of the Cooperation evangelists and had expressed a willingness to be replaced as editor of *Banner of the Faith.* There had been some desire for a periodical controlled by the enterprise.[3] However, *The Adviser* was the work of a group which was evidently not a committee appointed by the brotherhood.

Its motto was stated as "Light and Love." After only one or two issues it was "laid on the shelf" for nearly a year. There was fear here and there that its continuation might produce division, and alienation.

> . . .So one of the Conductors thought wise to stop and assist in another periodical. . .with a view of having only one instead of two works published for the brotherhood in this Province.[4]

The price at first was thirty cents per year. The first number of Volume II appeared in June, 1862. The subscription price was fifty cents. James Kilgour in conjunction with Joseph Lister voluntarily assumed the responsibility for reissuing this paper and gave two reasons for its reappearance, first, the need (some differed about this), and secondly, it was the wish of many brethren. Edmund Sheppard, James Black and Lazarus Parkinson contributed articles to its pages. It was dated from Toronto where Norris Black looked after its printing.

In May, 1862 a meeting in Toronto, appointed by the church in Athol, recommended that up to half the space in the *Banner of the Faith* be under the control of the evangelists employed by the churches' cooperation and that nothing be printed on the subject of cooperation that would wound the feelings of the brethren.[5] Oliphant agreed to this but those of the rival publication had not, even after one year's time. Oliphant considered it withdrawn at the end of June, 1863.[6]

Meanwhile, both publications continued. The *Banner of the Faith* was issued every two months during this time but a monthly was promised whenever unity of publications could be accomplished. In 1863 *The Adviser* accused Oliphant of circulating that which was contrary to the old cooperation. It was admitted by a writer in *The Adviser* that he had put in one or two unpleasant pieces without consulting the others. However, he wrote, "the Editor of the 'Banner' and the writer have had an investigation before wise brethren, and are upon peaceful terms."[7]

The Adviser was at this time in arrears with the printer. It had been pointed out that all was done "gratis except the printing and actual outlay."[8] Assistance was encouraged by the statement, "Anything received more than will pay the Printer, will be faithfully handed to the cooperation."[9] Volume four began in July of 1864 and revealed that one hundred more paying subscribers would enable the publishers to get along smoothly.[10]

This journals' short and interrupted life ended at the close of 1864. The cause of its death is unknown. It has been noted that no agreement resulted when the committee of brethren of *The Adviser* were asked to accept an arrangement for the uniting of publications. Perhaps difficulties in administering or financing contributed to this failure. Joseph Ash wrote,

> . . .It is a fact I have observed long ago that a paper conducted by a committee does not thrive well, [sic] I have always seen more energy and a great display of talent and promptness in the business department when it is owned and conducted by an individual.[11]

The Bible Indicator

In 1869, Joseph Lister began another short-lived periodical, *The Bible Indicator*. It is thought that the first

number appeared in January. This publication was devoted "to the Discussion, Elucidation, and Defense of the Word of God" and issued the first of each month from Owen Sound. The price was sixty cents per year. Strangely, the second volume began in June, 1869. It was an improvement over the first, with better paper and a margin line about the page. There were two, two and one-quarter inch columns divided by a centre line. The page size was nine by six inches. The editor was ashamed of its irregularity in appearing but had no intention of stopping until the brethren said so by not subscribing. A few had done this but new names had appeared to take their places. J. Rutherford was the publisher.[12]

Joseph Ash describes this as an "excellent little paper and free from personal matter."[13] According to him, it ceased after three years of life and left the brotherhood in Canada without a paper of its own for a little over a year.

Lister lived on a farm six miles out of Meaford, and J.F. Rowe, a contemporary, visiting Meaford for the June meeting, wrote:

> . . .on account of financial embarrassment his hands are tied and his lips closed; and instead of being in the field evangelical preaching the glad tidings of salvation, he is working on his farm like a slave to extricate himself.[14]

Whether these debts were personal or due to his publishing efforts is not know. When he became unexpectedly ill after the June meeting, the *Bible Index* printed,

> . . .We hope he will soon find work more congenial to one who has been so long actively engaged in preaching the gospel and conducting religious periodicals, and leave the farm to

> those who know better how to drive the plough and produce the fruits of the earth in abundance.[15]

Thus from 1845, when *The Witness of Truth* first appeared, until 1865, David Oliphant worked tirelessly to supply the brotherhood with a news and teaching medium. After that we find only occasional indications of any such paper until the *Indicator* appeared in 1869. If this paper lasted three years as reported, there was a lapse of over a year between its death and the birth of the *Bible Index*, its successor.

The Disciple

A paper begun some years later in another part of the country is introduced here because it does not fit particularly well in any other chapter or place.

The Disciple was a small paper begun in Newport, Hants County, Nova Scotia in February, 1879. It was edited by T. H. Blenus and the place of publication varied frequently, evidently with his movements. The date line showed: September 1879, East Rawdon; September 1880, Halifax; and July 1881 to February 1883, River John. Subscription was seventy-five cents per annum.

Devoted to "the Defense of the Doctrines and Practices of Christianity" it consisted of eight, twelve by nine inch, three column pages and issued monthly. The first issue in ordinary newspaper type was not as neat as was desired but new type had been ordered especially.

In the prospectus the editor pointed out that religious publications tended to publish their own peculiar teachings to the exclusion of all the rest; therefore, the need of *The Disciple* whose aim would be the holding up of truth, and the faithful vindication of righteousness. Neither his own reputation, pecuniary interest, nor the prejudices, desires, or

passions of other men should be consulted. It closed, "With these ideas. . .we now commence this periodical."[16]

The plan was for each issue to contain one sermon, essays, scripture comments, and notes from the field. Also, there would be extracts from early writers from time to time. When E.D. Barclay of Salina, Kansas wrote suggesting that the letter "s" be stroked off the word Doctrines since the plural is never used of God's truth in the Scriptures, it was promptly done.[17]

The *Bible Index* described it as,

> . . .nicely printed and well conducted in every way. . . . Its editor, Bro. T.H. Blenus, wields a good pen in fine spirit, and deserves to be well seconded in his effort.[18]

Hugh McDiarmid of the *Bible Index* indicated that he refrained visiting the East lest he in any way interfere with the interests of *The Disciple.*[19]

There were financial problems from the first. In June the editor wrote that he had

> . . .not yet received one dollar for our work in the way of remuneration, rather the paper has been an individual expense to us, but. . .thus far it is free from debt.[20]

He had to take out of private and much-needed earnings to pay for the issue of *The Disciple.* After printing eight issues, the question was asked in September, "Shall we go?" Club rates were announced in the same issue.

The second volume contained a new statement of reason for publication. It was, "the need of a paper in which the Disciples of the Lord Jesus can defend themselves against the public attacks of prejudiced and unscrupulous men."[21]

In September the heading was changed to "An Uncompromising Proclaimer and Defender of Christianity."[22]

Upon moving in October 1880 to River John, Picot

County, Nova Scotia, the mechanical work, which had formerly been done in the offices of other papers would be done in its own office. It was hoped, among other changes, to issue it semimonthly.[23] About one year later a letter urging support stated, "Now it is about almost settled that the paper must discontinue."[24] John T. Gould was listed as the publisher. It had been necessary beginning in 1881 to sell books and take in job printing.

When the question of continuance arose again in September 1882 the editor reported that having edited, proof read, collected and mailed the paper during the first year he had found it necessary to make up a deficit of $84. At the end of the second volume the deficit was $56 and now, at River John, under brother Gould it was still far from paying its own way. Circulation was six to seven hundred including exchanges, and it was suggested that one thousand subscribers would easily enable continued life.[25] It appears that the paper had been issued semi-monthly since January 1881, and it was stated that a weekly was being contemplated if response sufficed. This never materialized. Many subscriptions went to the United States. A New Brunswick column was started under the initials G.F.B.[26] in 1883.[27]

When *The Christian* was revived by the Eastern Cooperation in November, 1883, the question was asked, "What has become of *The Disciple*?" and the next month it was noted that Blenus had moved to Gordonsville, Va.[28] The fate of *The Disciple* was aptly shown earlier in the year by the following quotation, with which this chapter closes.

> We are sorry to note that the publisher of the Disciple has proved recreant to his trust, and has absconded leaving many creditors to mourn their loss. We learn through a card published in the Standard . . .by bro. Blenus (editor) that the Disciple will not be revived. So far as we know

> Bro. Blenus is wholly innocent of any unjust action in the matter. We are sorry to lose the Disciple from our exchange list bro. Blenus going to the States. He seems to be starved out.
> [29]
> . . .

Thus valiant men were frustrated in noble efforts to publish and promote the gospel. It seems that the united and wholehearted support of the brotherhood or more than ordinary perseverance were needed for continuance of such a publication.



[1]Reuben Butchart, The Disciples of Christ in Canada Since 1830 (Toronto: Canadian Headquarters Publication, 1949), p. 233; Cf. Joseph Ash, "Reminiscences No. 21," Christian Worker, III (1884, September), 4.

[2]The Adviser, II (June, 1862), 1.

[3]Banner of the Faith, XV (March, 1861), 70.

[4]Butchart, loc. cit.

[5]Banner of the Faith, XVI (May, 1862), 156.

[6]Ibid., XVII (May and June, 1863), 95.

[7]The Adviser, III (June, 1863), 1.

[8]Ibid., 2.

[9]Ibid., III (December, 1863), 110.

[10]Ibid., IV (July, 1864), 3.

[11]Ash, loc. cit.

[12]The Bible Indicator, II (September, 1869), 64.

[13]Ash, loc. cit.

[14]Bible Index, I (May, 1873), 143.

[15]Ibid., 135.

[16]The Disciple, I (February, 1879), 1.

[17]Ibid., I (March, 1879), 6.

[18]Bible Index, VII (Mary, 1879), 1

[19]Ibid., (August, 1879), 247.
[20]The Disciple, I (June, 1879), 4.
[21]Bible Index, VIII (March, 1880), 84.
[22]The Disciple, II (September, 1880), 1.
[23]Ibid., (October, 1880), 4.
[24]The Disciple, III (November, 1881), 6.
[25]Ibid., (September, 1882), 132.
[26]These initials likely stood for George F. Barclay.
[27]Ibid., (February, 1883), 1.
[28]The Christian, I (November, 1883), 4.
[29]Christian Worker, II (May, 1883), 3.

Chapter 6

THE BIBLE INDEX

John Malcolm Trout, grandson of a British soldier who came to Canada in the last decade of the eighteenth century, moved from Meaford to Toronto shortly after his marriage in 1863. There he began law studies working as a helper in the law offices of James Beaty, Jr. He took up reporting as a sideline but soon gave up the study of law and gave his attention entirely to the editing and publishing of the *Monetary Times* which he had founded. Beaty's father and uncle had come from Caven, Ireland to Toronto in 1820. Trout and Beaty were the undisclosed initiators and editors in 1872 of the *Bible Index*, a restoration journal which was to live for the next twenty years. It was printed by the *Monetary Times Printing Company.* Trout's untimely death in 1876 left this new paper in the hands of James Beaty, a lawyer and the Mayor of Toronto. Others, with more time and more acceptable to the brethren were involved for a few years and in 1880 his brother, Robert Beaty, a Toronto banker, became editor until its termination in 1893. James Beaty was a regular contributor during this period.

In the previous chapter it was mentioned that there was a lapse of a few months between the death of *The Bible Indicator* and the beginning of the next such paper in Canada. During this period, however, the indefatigable David Oliphant was cooperating with E.E. Orvis of Pennsylvania in publishing *The Messenger and Laborer.* In July, 1872, Oliphant hinted of rumors that another paper was about to be

born. He appears to have thought of *The Messenger and Laborer* as serving the Canadian need even though published in the United States. He thus looked upon any newcomer as "antagonistic" and "competitive."

The new publication, the *Bible Index*, made its debut in November, 1872. Containing sixteen pages and four pages of cover, it was issued on the first of each month. Subscription was $1.25 per annum payable strictly in advance. Readers were encouraged to send in $5 for four names to Drawer E, Toronto P.O., and assured that there need be no fear that the full twelve issues might not appear since the publishers had a guarantee of the cost for one year. However, those in sympathy with these efforts for good were asked to lend a helping hand in supplying "a little earnest, prompt individual exertion to settle in the affirmative the question whether we shall maintain in Canada a publication, . . ."[1] It promised to appear with strict regularity and late subscribers would get the back issues. It was printed at the Office of the *Monetary Times and Trade Review*, 64 Church Street, Toronto.[2]

The Prospectus

A rather lengthy introductory statement emphasized the power of the press in spreading the truth, opposing error, enlightening those in darkness and guiding searchers of light and expressed the hope that the *Bible Index* would have a humble part in such. It was further stated,

> . . .that to spend and be spent in such a service is a privilege rather than a privation, that even the most wearying toil in such a cause will be attended by an ample reward.
>
> It has been felt for a good while that a publication of this kind is a necessity in Canada to those engaged in the primitive teaching and practice. . . The *Bible Index* will, it is hoped, be

> freely used as a channel for the interchange of ideas,. . . to report the progress of truth and the increase of the churches. The editors hope that every Disciple of Christ in the Dominion, or out of it, will be free to communicate. . .in a fair, candid spirit and in respectable language. . . . We shall not hold ourselves responsible for what correspondents say; they may answer one another freely; we are not afraid of fair discussion.
>
> . . .but shall always be glad to give place to the arguments of objectors and opponents, whether sectarian or skeptical, who may seek to controvert our position. . .and if we cannot fairly and truthfully answer them. . .we trust there is in us enough of the grace of humility and the docility of good scholars to admit our error and step into the right path. . . .
>
> The Bible Index is not a denominational paper; . . . It will not advocate the "peculiar views" of any religious party. While we expect it will be supported chiefly by the Christians or Disciples of Christ in Canada, on account of their sympathy with its aims, it will not advocate their 'peculiar views.' They have none; . . . .
>
> We shall not hesitate to speak the truth for fear it will not please everybody. . . .[3]

Contributors were asked to write plainly in ink on only one side of the paper. The editorial prerogative of excluding, pruning and correcting would be exercised in order that the paper would be profitable and contain those things that would instruct and benefit its readers. Correspondence would be printed as sent or rejected, unless correction was requested.[4]

Thus a religious publication was introduced which continued for over twenty years during the most controversial period of the history of the churches of Christ in Canada. Although the identities of the editors and contributors were kept hidden at first, it soon became obvious that they had a "position."

The "Mutual Ministry" Belief of the Editors

An editor described a number of other journals and lashed out at *The Apostolic Times* for its defense of the Louisville Plan and similar things and for the lack of the use of scripture in its writings.

Comments of two contemporaries are of interest at this point. Benjamin Franklin of *The American Christian Review* wrote,

> . . .No editor or publisher is announced, but there is an editor and publisher. The work is intended to stand on its own merits, and not on the fame of popular names. . . . It will be a power against the retrograde movement among us, the new departures and innova-tions.[5]

The aging pioneer preacher, James Black, wrote,

> I have no doubt I may dissent from some of your positions on paying preachers, 'Missionary Societies,' Cooperation of churches for the spread of the gospel, etc. but I will not anticipate . . . . P.S. If I can steady my hand to write you may hear from me occasionally.[6]

Thus, the "peculiar views" of the *Bible Index* were anticipated by those who evidently knew the editors. The position commonly referred to as "mutual ministry" was introduced early. Churches who sent preachers to preach to those who had not heard were to support them but, "the gospel cannot be preached to Christians who have received

and obeyed it." The apostles never did this although they taught the congregations and the individual Christian many other things. Of Missionary Societies it was stated, "as an Index to the Bible we do not point to what is not there."[7] When the first volume was drawing to a close the editors' position was stated in nine consecutive declarations. In brief, they believed that preaching to sinners and edifying saints are two distinct works. The former was to be supported but the latter must be voluntary. Congregations could unite to do the former.[8]

James Black expressed himself as differing but better pleased than he had expected to be. David Oliphant requested back numbers and referred to it as containing *readable* matter and Joseph Ash, another pioneer, complimented it highly as having "a dignity, solidity, truthfulness. . .piety and devotion to the 'Word of Truth'."[9]

The Christian Standard of Cincinnati commented on the "known proclivities" of *The Index* in regarding churches as "positively prohibited" from paying teachers and sneering at any who depart from this as "projectionists."[10] This led to a statement in the closing issue of the first volume to the effect that there would be an investigation with *The Christian Standard* of the manner of edification of churches in the next volume.

After John F. Rowe visited Canada for the June meeting in 1873, he gave the first definite indication of who was editing the paper, which was then eight months old. He wrote,

> . . .Bro. Beaty, now in the prime of life, is editor of the *Bible Index*, the representative paper of the Canada churches, ... Bro. B. is also a lawyer of distinction, as well as an able and acceptable proclaimer of the word. . . . He is a man of great mental activity, very active in

> all his movements, quick of perception, well posted in politics and religion, and scarcely ever taken at a disadvantage. His libraries of law books and literary and ecclesiastical works indicate the bend of his mind.[11]

He indicated that James Beaty, Jr. and John M. Trout were the editors and commended the paper as adhering strictly and conscientiously to the New Testament and as being a financial success and "now a fixture." To correct a report that "Canada brethren are opposed to paying preachers", he wrote, "All the churches have a missionary fund constantly on hand, with which to support evangelists in the field, but not pastors placed over the congregations."[12]

The source of financial guarantee is not known but so many papers of that time had collapsed for want of financial support that many brethren feared the same fate would soon overtake the *Index*. They were assured that their fears were groundless. The management had kept in the black. Additional subscriptions were sought in the hope of reaching ,000 for the first year. If this should be realized, twenty-five umbers of the same size were promised for the next year with only a small increase in cost. Although the exact circulation is not disclosed, evidence indicates that it must have reached about nine hundred the first year.[13]

In the last number of volume one the publisher stated, "When all accounts are adjusted we do not expect to lose a dollar; and yet no journal has ever been published in Canada by the Brethren of equal expense."[14] The whole volume was offered for .75, or bound in cloth for $1.50. Readers were asked to renew and send in one additional subscription. Only one number of volume two would be sent to subscribers if renewal were not received.

A table of contents for the whole volume, a restatement of purpose, and an assurance that the paper was for the

brotherhood and not for a special interest closed the volume. Two friends, A. Anderson and George Clendenan, urged better support and attempted to analyze the reasons why it had not been forthcoming. The "Corinthian spirit so rife among the Canadian brotherhood of placing the man first"; the fact that "a number of the brotherhood are not in sympathy with its teachings," and "the alienation of influential brethren" were suggested as among the reasons. The editors were urged to "change her head a point or two" and the brethren to support the paper and make it theirs by writing for it.[15]

The new volume mentioned many spontaneous expressions of approval, the renewals of most subscribers and the addition of many new names and stated that,

> . . .There appears to be a general determination that the paper must be sustained at all hazards. . . . The Index will be published so long as we have strength and opportunity and the brethren believe it is doing good.[16]

The third number of Volume II, beginning with January 1874, appeared in a pamphlet style, "like the old Millennial Harbinger", with thirty-two pages and at the reduced price of one dollar. In view of this change the first volume would contain fourteen numbers and beginning with January 1874 each volume would contain the issues for a calendar year.[17] The new form was more easily preserved and better adapted for binding and resulted from suggestions of a number of friends.

With this number George Clendenan assumed the editorial management, A. Anderson and E. Sheppard were listed as corresponding editors, and C.J. Lister would receive subscriptions as he traveled. The new editor states his determination to strive to serve Christ rather than to please men. There were repeated indications of success in the circulation and finance departments. Besides the thirty-two pages there was an

attractive blue cover carrying an index on the inside and a full-page advertisement of pianos and organs on the back in which a liberal discount was offered to churches. Although the use of instrumental music in worship had not yet become a matter of controversy in Canada, these advertisements seemed inconsistent with the strict stand taken by the editors on all such matters that came to their attention.

The former editors would continue in their efforts but the new editor was added to gain the benefit of his judgement and energy in editing and circulating the paper. Still dated from Toronto the paper bore the motto "The words that I speak unto you they are spirit and life. *Jesus the Christ.*" John M. Trout edited and conducted the business of the *Monetary Times* and other papers including the *Index.* Matter for publication was to be in by the twenty-fifth of the month to enable publication the first week of the following month.

The contents were somewhat changed. Almost half of ach issue was given to the reports of evangelists George Clendenan, W.N. Crewson and A. Anderson. Brethren Kilgour, Sheppard and Lister were also in the field. The debate with *The Christian Standard* regarding the paying of elders, teachers, and others by the congregation they taught and served was continued. The *Index* continued to oppose such practice for the next twenty years and undoubtedly affected the thinking and practice of the churches for many more.

James Black, C.J. Lister and others complained at the use of so much space for the Beaty-Errett discussion. Black felt that the topic was becoming the "hobby" of the *Index.* Lister felt that it bore no good fruit, that most Ontario brethren did not endorse Errett's "*one man system*" and that the whole movement of the "Progressives," (the organ, the dance, the communion, the one man system) might just as well be discussed but since Canadian brethren were not divided over

such matters, there was no need for debating them. Although obligated to continue the discussion, the editors refused to give space to anything more on the topic.[18]

E. Sheppard's name was no longer included as corresponding editor or agent after May. George Clendenan's name was removed as editor in November. There was no explanation for these changes but the *Index* once more had no identification of its editor. The Beaty brothers, James and Robert, had evidently continued to have a leading part and now reassumed complete control. Robert Beaty, the banker, was henceforth frequently addressed and appears to have been held responsible for the editorial policy. The advertisement of pianos and organs was discontinued.

The announcement of volume three presented a long statement of the purposes of the *Index* and assured that the pages would be open to "free discussion and honorable controversy on all Bible topics, and current religious thought." The new volume would include an exposition of the Book of Revelation.[19]

Volume four for 1876 was announced with the same prospectus as for volume three. This volume contained a series on prayer, some articles on the Tabernacle, and controversial references to the "pastor system" and the "new progress" with special attention to the dance and the organ. There were some indications of an unsuccessful attempt on the part of W.K. Burr to introduce the organ in Jordan-Clinton churches. It appeared that most brethren in Canada at the time were still not taken with these new ideas. Lister, Ash and Black wrote against them, lamented the division in the United States and warned of the need for caution in regard to United States preachers and papers. Evidence indicates that many had written suggesting the need of a "better spirit" in the *Index*.

The *Bible Index* continued to succeed financially although

there were frequent appeals and plans for more subscribers. The editors were involved in "other and perplexing duties" and did not always do as well as they desired but felt that the paper was "readable, presentable, and reasonably regular in its publication. No one about it or concerned in its editing makes a dollar out of it."[20]

McDiarmid Becomes Editor

In view of the warnings in reference to United States influence events took a strange turn. Perhaps the feeling that the "specialty" of the *Index* need not be discussed in Canada, the desire for a "better spirit" and the heavy burden of work together helped to bring about a willingness for a change of editors.

An Ontario boy, Hugh McDiarmid, a fine scholar and keen writer, returned from Bethany College in 1875. In June, 1876 Oliphant of *The Living Laborer* volunteered to cause it to cease if McDiarmid would undertake to edit another paper in its place. In August he addressed a long article to the editors of the *Index* and concluded with,

> . . .In conclusion, let me say your erroneous and indefensible theories in regard to 'the Holy Spirit,' 'the Elders,' and 'the paying of teachers,' give rise to all this *translating* and confusion in which you are surrounding yourself perpetually.[21]

McDiarmid agreed to publish a paper to succeed *The Living Laborer* and a prospectus was announced for *The Christian Pathway*.[22] However, a plea for editorial unity had been addressed to editors present and prospective. It was signed G.C. and quoted Romans 14:1 as follows:

> . . .Receive ye one another unto the editorial corps, and cooperate in publishing without respect to differences of opinion touching

> missionary societies, cooperation meetings, pastors, fixed salery [sic], organs, dancing or anything that is not vital to the faith and obedience to the gospel.[23]

and recommended,

> . . .Brethren let us have no religious 'deadlocks'. . . . For Ontario, one paper, and one editorial staff, to consist of five 'or more' leading scribes, who though differing in opinion are one in faith.[24]

The *Bible Index*, Second Series, volume one, number one appeared in January, 1877. The editors were H. McDiarmid, B. A., E. Sheppard, and C. Sinclair who had announced *The Christian Pathway*. The first two had attended Bethany College. The quotations used in the date line of the new *Index*—"Thou wilt show me the Path of Life." *David;* "In the Pathway of righteousness there is no death." *Solomon*; and "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life." *Jesus*—were those originally intended for *The Christian Pathway*.

It was explained that in announcing *The Christian Pathway* to succeed *The Living Laborer* the understanding was not to add to the number of papers being published. Many objected evidently not realizing that there had been two papers for years. The desire was that there might be only one and appears to have resulted in action described as follows:

> . . .the conductors of the *Bible Index*, with the view, we presume, of having one good paper among us, kindly offered. . .the entire control of the paper. . . . The *Index* thus came under our control, editorial and financial, unsought. It was, however, thankfully received. . .even at the expense of mental unrest, and perhaps of pecuniary loss. We shall aim to furnish a *good paper*, true to our own

> convictions of right, and true to the teaching of Christ and His Apostles.[25]

For a prospectus the new editors reprinted that which has been published for the proposed *Christian Pathway.* It disclosed a different attitude than that of the "Old Index." After pledging faithfulness to the scriptures and the purpose of leading into the way and encouraging those already led, this prospectus promised a courteous style and a Christian spirit. Of the ten points the following best illustrate the intended changes:

> . . .5. In the work of spreading abroad innuendoes, insinuations, evil surmisings or personal thrusts, anonymous or otherwise, it proposes to have no share. . . . 7. It will have a *Critic's Page* for the examination of difficult texts, a page for the consideration of *Mis-applied Texts*, and another for *Questions and Answers*. 8. The teachings of modern skeptics will receive brief attention. 9. Several pages will be devoted to Church News. The work and progress of various denominations will be noticed. 10. . . . aim to be. . .such a visitor as may be introduced without shame to friends and neighbors.[26]

Writers with the courage and willingness to present the truth without fear or favour, "even to their own hurt", were solicited. Although keen criticism of facts was requested, it was stated that no "personal epithets" would be published "no matter by whom written."[27] A friend noticed the "auspicious change" from the "pugilistic" spirit so prevalent among "disciples" speakers and writers in the past.

The size, general layout and price remained the same. A free subscription was offered to anyone who sent in ten. It was offered as a club with *The Christian Standard.* This

suggested possible "progressionist" leanings but McDiarmid explained that such an offer did not mean that the *Index* was responsible for or commended the contents of the *Standard.* However, he then stated that he would rather be held responsible for its character than that of any other except the *Index. The American Christian Review* had refused to club with *Index.*[28] On the other hand an early editorial criticism of the practice of the "Jarvis Street Baptist Church" in using a hired choir at least suggests some opposition to innovations.

O.M. Benedict of Detroit, Michigan accused the *Bible Index* of opening the way for that "progress" which was doing great harm in the States but had been comparatively unknown in Canada. He suggested that a few young "Revs" and "pastors" were beginning to fight against "old fogyism" and our "distinctive plea."[29] The reply pointed out that all the editors were past forty, had lived in Canada for thirty years or more and rejected the title "REV." All charges were flatly denied.[30]

In September a lengthy article entitled "Expediency" began on the front page. Published anonymously, it solicited comments. Although no fault appears to have been reported, W.H. Trout wrote, "The only trouble about expediency is deciding where it shall stop."[31]

Among the contents was a series of articles entitled "Our Reformatory Work" and signed "Living Laborer," a controversy with the *Instructor* (a denominational paper) on Baptismal Regeneration and one with the *Christian Guardian* which had reviewed a tract entitled "Our Position."

In August of 1877, McDiarmid began to add the letters M.A. to his name in the date line. The responsibility for the paper was heavy. It needed "one man's continual presence and attention" which was impossible since about one-third of those receiving it, "only pray for it." Consequently, he had been "trying to do the work of two men,. . .well nigh

impossible."[32] A report of the board of the cooperation was published disclosing that he had been employed almost continually by it and had received $876. Toward the end of 1878 a letter signed by all the elders and deacons of the Everton church commended the *Index* highly and encouraged McDiarmid to continue.[33] This suggests that he might have been considering quitting. Edmund Sheppard's name no longer appeared on the editorial staff after January, 1879.

Although it was stated after three months that subscriptions surpass expectations, the December issue sought assistance in doubling the circulation and revealed that three or four hundred had not yet paid for 1877. This condition continued until such were urged in 1879 to "at least ask that it be stopped" as a stoppage by the publisher "would be declaring that we had lost confidence in their honesty."[34] However, both of the first two volumes under McDiarmid's direction were acclaimed financial successes. The publisher was paid from "paid subscriptions." "We do not know that any of our Canada papers ever succeeded in this before."[35]

Other Papers Enter the Field

The Disciple

The Disciple began to be published in Nova Scotia at this time, and McDiarmid consequently cancelled plans to visit the "Low Provinces" not wishing to offer competition.

The Christian Sentinel

At the end of the year 1879, difficulty in coming to an agreement with the "former editors" resulted in the beginning of a paper of the same size, price and appearance for 1880 called *The Christian Sentinel.* This was announced on the last page of Volume III. It would be named *The Christian Sentinel* and would strive to surpass the past years.

McDiarmid stated that he had no knowledge of the intention of anyone else to publish another monthly in the Dominion. Evidently, the Beatys had maintained some control of the *Bible Index*. Nevertheless, McDiarmid must have thought of *The Christian Sentinel* as replacing it since he solicited both new and renewal subscriptions.

The change was explained as follows:

> 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 without intimating that the least blame attaches to anyone concerned, after making and refusing several proposals—they doing the same—we now publish the *Christian Sentinel*. It is intended that it shall be a faithful sentinel. Those who are clearly departing from the letter and spirit of the Divine word may expect some attention. Unsound men are not expected to contribute to its pages. . . . Our paper will aim to be kind and true.[36]

Readers were asked to send $1, intention to do so, or cancellation in order that the new list might be of "genuine subscribers." Hope was expressed that one or two in each church would make up a list. Those who wished it dropped were asked to let McDiarmid know. The address was 2 Huntley Street, Toronto. Arrears for the *Index* for 1877-9 were to be paid to McDiarmid. He stated that under his management for each of the three years it had yielded an annual profit of about $100 and that formerly its losses had probably been less than this amount each year.[37]

McDiarmid concluded the 1879 *Bible Index* by stating that he had no knowledge that anyone else intended publishing such a paper in Canada. This was written on December 10. A letter dated December 12, 1879 addressed to

Mayor Beaty[38] read,

> . . .learning last night that you would most likely publish the *Index*, I have, at the suggestion of a mutual friend, and with a view of at least apparent harmony, to propose that we select five brethren of influence, and agree to do in the matter publishing what they may advise; or, if not that we, at least, will not go on and publish in opposition to their decision. . .with a view of preventing what hundreds will regret—two papers.[39]

A refusal was received on December 16. There was obvious antagonism between the two papers. Brethren expressed the fear that this would bring injury to "the cause" but were reminded that like Paul and Barnabas in their differences of opinion, it could very well have the effect of "widening their sphere of action."[40]

The aging Joseph Ash wrote of the many papers he had seen begun and of the short and inglorious life of some, and bemoaned the fact that so few had been free from strife and vainglory. He stated,

> . . .Time was when our foes were with-out. . .our foes are mostly within, . . .more insidious and dangerous than those without. . . most dangerous foe, he who comes nearest the truth.[41]

.ne result of these expressions of concern was the merger of the two papers beginning with the 1881 volume.

The problems had to do with more than personality clashes. McDiarmid had printed an article on "Expediency" in September, 1879. Many became suspicious of him for this and accused him of printing it as a "feeler" for the introducing of "Progress." The following May he expressed disappointment at the brethren's readiness to be suspicious of one

another in such a time and revealed that the article had been taken from Alexander Campbell's *Christian System.* Churches in the United States were being divided over the organ and society questions and many feared lest the same occur in Canada.

McDiarmid did not appear to favour the use of organs. Mentioning a Presbyterian church that had been scattered by the introduction of an organ he said that it was not the first to be scattered by this cause and that "such congregations pay too dear for their whistles."[42] However, he evidently considered it a matter of opinion as indicated by the following:

> Will our American brethren ever be done with the 'organ' question. . . . We only hope that neither side may become so warm as to imagine that their neighbor's christianity depends on their views of the organ problem. Let us be followers of the Master with or without the organ, and, if that be the case, charity will set right what our differing opinions might put wrong.[43]

Thus, there appears some justification for the fear that McDiarmid might allow the innovations into Canada. On the other hand, the former editors of the *Bible Index*, after three years of absence from its pages, took up their pens stating, "We have no personal hobbies,. . . We seek to unite all the followers of Christ in one body. . . ."[44] Articles would either be initialed R.B. or J.W.B. or be quoted from other papers. Joseph Ash was a contributor. A letter asking about their position stated that they were "reported to be fossil, and will not allow any progression in christian matters" to which the reply endorsed progress in Christian character and knowledge but not where there was no "thus saith the Lord."[45]

The *Bible Index* contained opposition to the organ. It

criticized the convention of the brethren at Erin which was actually organized under a chairman, and had a secretary who kept minutes. This convention had published an eight-page report of its meeting. It is of interest that McDiarmid was employed for a number of years by the Wellington Cooperation which arranged this meeting. The *Index* called it "The Council at Erin" and "but an infant yet, but developing fast" and mentioned "the folly of loving the world by walking in its ways."[46] One brother wrote of the obvious direction in which brethren were going in seeking to be "like nations about" by calling for pastors, organs, and choirs.[47]

Bitterness began to appear. One brother "did not wish to read or see" the *Index*. A concerned brother using the initials "A.B." wrote,

> . . .I am satisfied that the *Bible Index* of today is standing on the same principles and basis as in 1873 and that some of the brotherhood have changed their course a 'point or two.'. . . I am afraid that there is partyism at the root.[48]

During this year of contention and threatening disturbances, there was competition in the matter of subscriptions. Premiums were offered to those sending in lists of subscribers. The *Index* had a fund which enabled them to offer to send "10 numbers to any friend" for 25¢. The *Sentinel* in turn announced a better circulation than expected with $20 more income by February than the year before. An offer was made to send for ten months to four of the poor for $1. There was no "fund by which the paper could be sent at such low rates."[49] The offer was made on faith.

Two special features of the *Index* at this time were "A Young People's Department" to which they were expected to contribute and a "Question Department." Questions were to be sent to S.P. Groat, Toronto. Much was written on the gift of the Holy Spirit.

In the temporary absence of McDiarmid the September and October issues of the *Sentinel* were edited by James Lediard.

Bible Index and Christian Sentinel

Beginning with the first issue of 1881, by an agreement between the publishers, both papers were given over to a committee of five to be conducted, edited and managed as one paper. The five were William Forrestor of Pickering, J.J. Johnson of Meaford, E. Phillips of Selkirk, A. Anderson of Hamilton, and E. Trout of Toronto.[50] The papers were combined into the *Bible Index and Christian Sentinel* and issued monthly with thirty-two pages. The committee with E. Phillips replaced by Hugh Black of Rockwood remained in control for two years and maintained McDiarmid as editor. He closed his editorial work at the end of 1882 with a rather lengthy comment from which the following is quoted:

> After having conducted the *Bible Index* three years, the *Sentinel* one year and the *Index and Sentinel* two years, I retire from its management. . . . It is well known that during the last eight years I have been constantly employed by the Wellington County cooperation, and have been on the wing a large portion of the time. . . besides taking part in eight public discussions. . . .Notwithstanding these drawbacks, it has received a support which none of our papers in Canada received before. . . . The Board appointed by the churches, have each year renewed their agreement with me, so far as I know without a dissenting voice, ... I separate myself from the work in Canada with many regrets. I was born here and here grew up to manhood. After spending eleven years in the

> United States I returned in the beginning of 1875 at the solicitation of a goodly number of the brethren.[51]

He was leaving to take over as one of the editors of the *Christian Standard* of Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Christian Worker

The *Christian Worker*, edited by H.B. Sherman of Meaford, had begun in November, 1881 as the organ of the Georgian Bay Cooperation. It would be continued and enlarged to serve the brethren in Canada. McDiarmid continued,

> . . .whether the *Index and Sentinel* will continue or be merged into Bro. Sherman's *Christian Worker* is unknown. . . . But in any event the brethren in Canada. . .will not turn aside from their purposes or work to reply for the hundreth [sic] time to objection to their way of working. . . . We understand that it is likely that the *Bible Index* will be continued under its old-time management. It is under-stood that the committee is not taking any interest in its continuance, having taken no steps to appoint another editor. Under the circumstances and in accordance with the contract, the former proprietors of the *Bible Index* are free to continue that Journal with the name *Christian Sentinel* left off. H.M.[52]

The Closing Years

The "original proprietors" of the *Bible Index* decided to continue this paper which had already a nine-year history. The purpose of pointing back to the Bible was restated. There was much criticism of *The Christian Standard* and some

indications of antagonism between the *Index* and the *Worker.* A chapter from a book entitled "Paying the Pastor, Unscriptural and Papistical," which was being written by J. Beaty, was printed and brought forth reactions from both the *Worker* and the *Standard.*

Joseph Ash stated that he only took T*he Christian Standard* for a short time having never fancied it as a true Christian standard. He feared that the *Worker* catered too much to the *Standard.* There were regular articles from the pen of Jacob Creath in the United States. He stated his agreement with the Beatys in the matter of evangelists and their work being in new fields and not with established churches. He commended the *Bible Index* as "one of the truest papers we have, if not the best,. . . . .[54]

C.J. Lister criticized the editors of the *Worker* and the *Index* stating that in reading these papers one would never suppose that Christ taught his people "peace and love." J. Beaty thereupon challenged him to produce one word from his pen "of offensive personalities, except to answer those who offend against truth and righteousness."[55]

The *Index* constantly opposed the "hireling pastor with his appendages, viz., organ, choir, festivals, conventions, etc."[56] and "all combinations, no matter how good the object." On the other hand, the *Worker* stated that it would,

> . . .favor all legitimate efforts to combine the forces for more effective work in spreading our plea before the people. . .we lose all and gain nothing by sitting down and groaning over the manner of work, while doing nothing.[57]

When the proposed formation of the "Ontario Cooperation of the Disciples of Christ" was announced in 1882, the *Bible Index* immediately gave the matter much attention. Unkind words were printed by both papers and personalities were not spared. When the Cooperation became a fact on June 12,

1883, the *Index* was very severe using such expressions as "a new sect organized. . .by a few simple minded ones" and "action to divide the honors with Rome of being the 'seat of the Beast'."[58]

The *Worker* accused J. Beaty who was a Queen's Counsellor and Mayor of Toronto of dancing and licensing vendors of liquors and called him "This Toronto Pope." It was stated that this would be the last of personal wrangling.[59] However, the *Index* later stated that the November 1885 issue of the *Worker* used one third of its space to "create in the *Bible Index* a right spirit and teach it how to argue." The *Worker* was under different editors by this date. The reply, dripping with sarcasm, stated that it was fortunate that the class of writers "who profess to take the Bible and the Bible only for their guide" composed a small part of the brotherhood in Canada.[60]

The *Bible Index* continued during the next few years its usual controversial matter regarding the paying of elders and teachers. Besides this there was a lengthy series of studies in the Apocalypse and considerable correspondence about the Holy Spirit and the indwelling Spirit. There was some controversy with the *Worker* about the ordination of a preacher by A. Scott.

The first issue of Volume IV contained the following in its statement of purpose:

> . . .it will oppose everything that tends to lead from Christ or looks like journeying towards old mother Rome or any of her daughters. It shall urge upon each Christian that he do his duty and that proxy or asking another to do what the Lord commanded, is not obeying Christ. It shall inculcate, with all its power, the congregation as the only society appointed by Christ and that all combinations, no matter how

> good the object, of any kind, are dishonoring to Him, and will become, when they attain power, a source of evil and an opposition to him.[61]

The *Christian Worker* was terminated in 1886 and was succeeded by *The Ontario Evangelist* as an organ of the Provincial Cooperation under T.L. Fowler and George Monroe. The *Index* wrote of them as being a "Headquarters" and referred to "the renowned ordainer, A. Scott."[62]

The eighteenth volume for 1890 contained much about the digression. Included was the note, "*The Ontario Evangelist* is gone the way of all flesh, so it is said." Neither it nor the *Standard* would exchange with the *Index.*

George T. Smith of Beallsville, Ohio, formerly editor of the *Monthly Mention* began as editor of "The States" Department. He also showed an interest in warding off innovations.

In 1892 a series of articles on the Lord's Supper was continued and two written debates started and continued into the next year. They were the Beaty-Tomson and Smith-Wilmeth debates on the eldership. The Beaty-Tomson written debate was with Tomson of Oakton, Indiana and also appeared in the *Christian Leader.* George T. Smith of "the States" Department joined the position taken by Robert Beaty, that the eldership had ceased. This idea, that since the Holy Spirit made elders man cannot make new ones, appears to have been new at the time. It remains among some of the older church members in Canada.[64]

There appears to have been enough subscribers to encourage continuance during these years. The financial conditions and circulation are not known. The earlier mention of a "fund" and the successful continuance of the paper suggests that it might have been subsidized. Joseph Ash mentioned the fact that some had predicted and wished for an early end for the *Index.* But, he writes, ". . .I know the Beatys

too well to believe that. They are men of wealth, and they will carry out what they determined at its commencement, . . .it was not to die. . . [65]

In the introduction to the 1893 Volume, R. Beaty explained the impossibility of publishing weekly, as requested by some brethren.

> The large part of this paper, such as reading, writing, selecting, proof-reading and other work done for it, is done after ten o'clock at night, when the labors of the day are over, so that a month goes round fast enough.[66]

He tended to emphasize that the Lord's work must be "performed of a willing mind and not for gain." Circumstances now prevented his walking out of the city three to seven miles to a house or schoolhouse for an afternoon meeting as formerly. Thus, the paper now provided his means of directing people to the Book.[67]

The "obituary" of the *Bible Index* follows:

> Twenty-one years ago, the *Bible Index* was started by our brother, the late J.M. Trout and James Beaty, my brother, ... Some changes took place in the management until 1880, when I undertook to look after it. Since then much of the writing for it, the selecting, etc., was performed by me. J.B. has had an article at least every month until October. . . . For these years one text did duty for all the writing. This was 'Fear God and keep His commandments' which says do not keep the commandments or resolutions of the clergy at their cooperation. They meet once a year to direct their sheep. . . .
>
> My determination now is to do an act which will make the clergy cry 'Hallelujah!' the paper will cease to be published after next

> month. . . .
>
> The Bible Index has been a thorn in the side of men who do their religious part for money or fame, though they may in words deny it.
>
> A chief reason for stopping the paper is that it required more attention than my health and strength permits.[68]

Thus ended the longest lived paper published by members of this religious group in Canada. George Smith proposed to continue on a small scale with a new name if five hundred subscribers were guaranteed but there were few responses.[69]

Robert Beaty died at his residence, N. 10 Jarvis Street, Toronto in his 77th year on July 16, 1901.[70] Although little is known of the early lives and training of these two brothers who laboured so faithfully to print a paper that would warn, guard and guide the brethren in these years of stress, their motivation must have been strong. Men of position and wealth, they yet found time and interest for a humble and unappreciated task.

Their writings seem harmfully harsh and derisive. Perhaps the situation did not demand this approach but they undoubtedly felt that it did. Their efforts to stop what they termed "digression" were for the most part unsuccessful. Perhaps the constant opposition to paying preachers and later to appointing elders tended to discount their warnings about other things.

It is most difficult to evaluate this publication. Extremely controversial from the first, it lived in the period of excessive controversy within the ranks of the restoration movement. It appears to have left opposition to located evangelists and appointment of elders in the minds of some. This influence is still noticeable and may well have been partially responsible for the slow growth of the church in some of the larger cities

of Canada.

[1]Bible Index, I (November, 1872), 2.
[2]Ibid., 16.
[3]Ibid., 1, 2.
[4]Ibid., 8.
[5]Ibid., (December, 1872), 26.
[6]Ibid., (January, 1873), 35.
[7]Ibid.
[8]Ibid., (October, 1873), 180.
[9]Ibid., (February, 1873), 57
[10]Ibid., (July, 1873), 139.
[11]Ibid, 141 as quoted from The American Christian Review dated June 10, 1873.
[12]Ibid., 142.
[13]Ibid., 49, 57, 118.
[14]Ibid., (October, 1873), 177.
[15]Ibid., 178.
[16]Ibid., II (December, 1873), 25.
[17]Ibid., 17.
[18]Ibid., II (July, 1874), 215; cf. (April, 1874), 141, 151.
[19]Ibid., (November, 1874), 321.
[20]Ibid.
[21]Ibid., IV (August, 1876), 247.
[22]Ibid., V (January, 1877), 13.
[23]Ibid., IV (August, 1876), 249, 250.
[24]Ibid.
[25]Ibid., Second series, I (January, 1877), 13, 14.
[26]Ibid., 3,
[27]Ibid., 18.
[28]Ibid., 308.
[29]Ibid., 308.

[29]Ibid., II (January, 1878), 5, 6.
[30]Ibid.
[31]Ibid.
[32]Ibid., (August, 1878), 249.
[33]Ibid., (November, 1878), 343.
[34]Ibid., III (July, 1879), 246.
[35]Ibid., II (December, 1878), 354.
[36]The Christian Sentinel, I (January, 1880), 2.
[37]Ibid., (March, 1880), 83.
[38]James Beaty was at this time mayor of the thriving city of Toronto.
[39]Ibid., (February, 1880), 63, 64.
[40]Ibid., (June, 1880), 191.
[41]Bible Index, VIII (August, 1880), 237. (Volume numbers began with the 1880 volume to be numbered from the beginning of the old series in 1873 as if there had been no new series.)
[42]The Christian Sentinel, I (January ,1880), 1.
[43]Ibid., (February, 1880), 48.
[44]Bible Index, VIII (January, 1880), 1.
[45]Ibid., (February, 1880), 47.
[46]Ibid., (July, 1880), 197.
[47]Ibid., (December, 1880), 368.
[48]Ibid., 370.
[49]The Christian Sentinel, I (March, 1880), 93.
[50]Bible Index, (December, 1880), 371.
[52]Bible Index and Christian Sentinel, III (December, 1882), 369, 370.
[52]Ibid., 370, 371.
[53]The title was later softened by being changed to "Paying the Pastor, Unscriptural and Traditional." Some accused Beaty of making the change for political reasons. This book was actually published in the year 1866. A copy belongs to Ralph Perry of Beamsville, Ontario.

[54]Bible Index, XIV (April, 1886), 111, 112.
[55]Ibid., XI (October, 1883), 300, 301.
[56]Ibid., XI (September, 1883), 264.
[57]Christian Worker, II (July, 1883), 2. (This publication was called The Christian Worker during November and December of 1881, Canada Christian Worker from January to October of 1882 and Christian Worker for the rest of its life.)
[58]Ibid.
[59]Ibid.
[60]Bible Index, XIV (January, 1886), 9.
[61]Ibid., 2.
[62]Ibid.
[63]Ibid., XVIII (June, 1890), 186.
[64]Ibid., XXI (March, 1893), 66.
[65]Ibid., XIV (April, 1886), 110.
[66]Ibid, XXI (January, 1893), 1.
[67]Ibid.
[68]Ibid., XXI (November, 1893), 321, 322.
[69]Ibid., XXI (November, December, 1893), 335, 362.
[70]The Christian Messenger, V (July 30, 1902), 3.

Chapter 7

THE CHRISTIAN WORKER

Although there were at that time two papers being published in Toronto and one in Nova Scotia another was started in Owen Sound in 1881. It was evidently intended to be of local interest but nevertheless soon claimed a larger circulation than had been attained by any other such publication in Canada.

A Local "News" Paper

Brother Ash in September 1884 concluded his series of twenty-one Reminiscences with a history of publications. He wrote,

> . . .the Christian Worker had its birth on Nov. 1st, 1881, printed in Owen Sound, brother C.A. Fleming manager, and H.B. Sherman editor. It appeared under the auspices of the Georgian Bay Cooperation, and was designed to be a reporter of religious news in that region and was to show how the Cooperative work was prospering, etc. It was a small monthly sheet and had a pretty wide circulation in a short time, [sic] after two months it was moved to Meaford with Bro. J.C. Whitelaw as business manager.[1]

The *Worker* began as a large sheet paper of four, thirteen inch by nineteen inch pages with five columns each, the first of brotherhood papers to take this form. Under the heading was the quotation, "My Father Worketh Hitherto, and I

work." Issued monthly, it sold at thirty cents per year or a club of ten for $2.50 which came to about two cents per paper. Advertising was included, space costing one cent per line. The manager was evidently the head instructor in the Northern Business College of Owen Sound.

Promising to glean and condense news, spread light and correct error, the editor, who had arrived in Meaford with his wife and four children on October 4 from Indiana, acknowledged, "It will be our special object to forward the Meaford Cooperation."[2] Since it was a child of the Cooperation each member was asked to labour to spread the *Worker*. It aimed "to supply a long felt want, viz., a Live, Spicy, Readable Journal, one that every person will become interested in. Not only our Brethren, but everyone."[3] The promotion of Sunday Schools was listed among the purposes. The Georgian Bay Cooperation involved about ten churches in the Meaford area. Sherman was one of the two evangelists then employed by it.

After printing the first issue, the Tribune Printing Company which had contracted to print by the fifteenth of each month had its office taken by the Bailiff for two different parties. The manuscripts were partly lost and the December issue, which appeared in a twelve by nine inch form with three columns, was done elsewhere with difficulty. Much of the work was gratuitous.[4]

Beginning in January, 1882 it was published in Meaford with J.C. Whitelaw as business manager and was printed by the *Meaford Monitor*. The motto was changed to read, "Work While it is called Today." Despite the early difficulties the editor indicated that the *Worker* was gaining very fast. However, when some complained at the use of space for secular advertising, it was pointed out that the present list did not pay for publishing. Four columns could be saved if brethren were willing to pay as much as $2 each to help with

expenses.[5] In late 1883 claim was made to larger circulation than had been attained by any paper ever published for the brethren in Canada.

Change of Editors

After almost three years of service, Sherman retired as editor and starting with the October, 1884 issue H.T. Law and J.C. Whitelaw took over the editorial duties. They had already been responsible for the business management since January, 1882. They were very busy men, active in business and in preaching. The publication continued much the same in form and content as it had been. No explanation was given for the change. Sherman had written a farewell statement but requested that they not print it.[6] He had discontinued labours for the Ontario Cooperation a few months before and at this time moved to Beamsville to work with the church there.

The new editors hoped that three years' experience would make improvements possible. They asked brethren everywhere to assist in making the paper more profitable and instructive. The intention was to serve as a means of communication among brethren, to include in every issue something on First Principles suitable for the outsider, to hold up the Holy Scriptures, and to oppose the traditions of men.[7]

About this time the elderly David Oliphant, old time editor of Gospel papers, wrote, "The Disciples in Ontario, have not hitherto enjoyed a first class publication, either in the form of a weekly or a monthly."[8] To this Law replied expressing the hope of publishing a larger paper and one coming up to Oliphant's expectations. The comment of *The Christian Standard* at the time of the change of editors describes the *Worker* accurately in the statement,

> . . .they will be enabled as in the past to issue rather a newsy monthly. Their proof reader should give more attention to his work in the

future than he has in the past.[9]

The new editors reminded readers that money was essential to successful operation. Many were in arrears. Two sisters in each congregation were asked to spend some time in obtaining subscribers. A list of regular contributors included A. Scott, Walkerton; G. Munro, Wiarton; James Lediard, Ridgetown; George J. Barclay, Toronto; C. Sinclair, Ridgetown; W.M. Crewson, Acton; and A.H. Finch, Owen Sound.[10]

The editors' busy lives were described by A. Scott, whom they had been instrumental in getting to hold a meeting at Cape Rich. He wrote,

> The majority of the readers of the Worker are probably ignorant of the labor these brethren are performing, ... First, their business keeps them busy during office hours, second they have the entire responsibility of the Christian Worker resting upon them. This paper is acknowledged to be the best monthly ever issued by our people in Ontario. . . . Third, in addition to the assistance they render in the Meaford congregation—which is not little—they have been preaching at several mission points for some years, . . .Euphrasia. . . CapeRich. . . . On an average they have preached twice each Lord's day during the past year driving on an average from 16 to 20 miles each day through all kinds of weather and roads. . .all at their own charges. . .yet they have been accused lately by a religious scribe of running a paper for money.[11]

This does not represent the first time that such a sacrificial service has been rewarded by suspicion and false accusation. Perhaps such lack of appreciation, their busy lives and failing

health together explain the discontinuance of editorial labours soon after this, when the *Worker* was issued under a new name and by new editors from a different locality.

Controversy With the Bible Index

The form of the *Worker* and its emphasis on news and evangelism have already been mentioned. As the servant of the Cooperation it was natural that there be some support of the cooperative evangelism and consequently some controversy with the *Bible Index* which strictly opposed every "innovation."

A circular letter had been sent to the churches in the interest of the formation of an "Ontario Cooperation of the Disciples of Christ" for more widespread evangelization. The editorial page explained this in the November, 1882 issue. The editors of the *Bible Index* immediately began giving much attention to this proposition. Unkind words were printed on both sides and personalities were not spared. When the Cooperation became a fact at the Acton meeting of delegates of the churches on June 12, 1883, the *Index* printed a scathing denunciation containing such expressions as, "A new sect organized. . .by a few simple minded ones" and "Acton to divide the honors with Rome being the 'seat of the Beast'."[12]

Although Sherman avowed that he had nothing to do with calling the Acton meeting, he was employed as the evangelist and soliciting agent of the Ontario Cooperation and felt called upon to reply to this attack. He henceforth included lengthy reports of his work in the *Christian Worker* and it became of more widespread interest. He thus appeared as the champion of the Cooperation which the Beatys attacked with such vehemence. Thus the controversy became somewhat personal. Sherman wrote:

> The cause has been kept back by just such

> twaddle as J.B. furnishes for the last thirty years and brethren seems [sic] to have concluded that they will no longer be dictated to by this Toronto Pope.[13]

Upon noticing the personal and unkind writings, as mentioned in Chapter six, C.J. Lister pointed out that the *Worker* had, in its salutatory remarks, stated that it was not "our purpose to be a rival. . .but to put in an oar. . . ."[14] He pointed out that such delving into personalities was repulsive to readers, and lacking in love. Calling it "suicidal method," he wrote, "the manner of argument kills it."[15]

In a resulting resolution to reform, the *Worker* resolved to be a paper that would "endeavor to keep its columns free from all personal wrangling. . .some in this issue—but the last."[16]

Sherman published a request to W.K. Burr of the *Law and Order Advocate* to "leave the handle off our name. It is plain H.B.S. Not 'Rev.'"[17] Nevertheless, when he retired in 1884 the *Index* referred to him in derision as "Rev. H.B. Sherman."[18]

In the latter half of 1885 G. Barclay condemned rather strongly the attitude of the *Index* brethren. There was also some indication of criticism of the *Index*'s attitude in disapproving of an ordination which had taken place at Owen Sound. [19]

Joseph Ash commended the *Bible Index* but wrote, "Our other paper, the Christian Worker is in the hands of two good men, and gives a good deal of good reading, but I sometimes fear it will cater too much to the Standard."[20] There was some further bickering between the two Canadian papers on the question of ordination. An error in punctuation led to Law being accused of printing a falsehood and objections were raised to such harsh accusations among brethren.

A series on the "Gift of the Holy Spirit" ran in both papers for a year or more. A series by Benjamin Franklin, entitled

"Sincerity Seeking the Way to Heaven," ran from January to July, 1882. Twenty-one interesting and lengthy articles on the history of the churches in Canada written by Joseph Ash and entitled "Reminiscences" began in November, 1882 and concluded in September 1884. Along with a variety of shorter doctrinal articles there appears a series on "Our Plea," one on immersion, one on "Sacred Chronology," and one on "Order of Public Worship" from the *Octograph* by D. Sommer. There was also frequent matter on cooperation and some discussion in regard to women speaking in public.

Nature, Content and Cessation

Although the *Worker* enjoyed a good circulation from the beginning and was a surprising success in view of its local emphasis, it was not without problems in this matter.

Plans were made to double the size and issue twice a month as a religious newspaper at $1 per year begininng in the fall of 1882. As the time approached it was pointed out that both the lack of time and insufficient encouragement to meet expenses prevented semi-monthly issue. It was slightly enlarged and improved. Well filled with news items and brief articles, the second volume was a monthly of six columns at fifty cents. Law and Whitelaw were publishers and proprietors. Circulation continued to increase and enlargement and semi-monthly issuance were frequently mentioned as forthcoming. From time to time many encouraged this change and some expressed preference for a change to pamphlet form for ease of preservation of the many valuable pieces. Because of hard times the former change was postponed but the change of form was seriously considered. They hoped to send out 2,000 copies in 1886.[21]

The hard times, however, caused many to be in arrears for volume five. The editors complained,

> . . .We have to spend many long hours

> work to send you the paper for which we do not expect to be paid in money and the least our readers should do, is to pay the small subscription.[22]

Readers were reminded that taking the paper out of the Post Office obligated them to pay for it. All in arrears were asked to pay in view of the forthcoming change in management.

In February, 1886 it was disclosed that the dissolution of the Law & Whitelaw business partnership of seven years' duration would necessitate a change for the *Worker*. Whitelaw had desired for years to give his full time to a work that he felt to be of great importance and Law could not spare the time to continue the paper alone. Those interested in its continuance were asked to let it be known in hopes that arrangements could be made.[23] Another report indicates that Whitelaw's health did not permit him to continue with office work.[24]

J.C. Whitelaw said farewell in a combined March-April number as follows:

> With this number we bid adieu to our readers as editors and publishers of the Christian Worker. Our task in many ways has been pleasant, in some ways trying, ... We are often compelled to let the paper go out without receiving as much attention as it ought, on account of other business pressing upon us, but this we could not avoid.[25]

The proposal by C.J. Lister that, "The two monthlies. . . occupy one incubator and hatch out a weekly,"[26] did not materialize. Whitelaw was pleased, however, to announce that the *Worker* could continue either with that name or one thought more appropriate. George Munro of Guelph and T.L. Fowler of Everton had decided to conduct a paper and were taking over the entire list of the *Worker*. Arrears were to be

paid to the former management and all were encouraged to subscribe to the new publication that the brethren might continue to have a paper.[27]

The *Worker* had been much more of a newspaper in style and content than any of its predecessors. Although its emphasis seemed to be against the traditions and inventions of men in religion there had been some tendencies of an opposite nature. George Munro had encouraged support of the Foreign Christian Missionary Society and there was also encouragement given to cooperate in the Christian Women's Board of Missions.

A few years later, 1907, H.B. Sherman was referred to as "since digressive" and the *Worker* as follows: "This journal changed hands several time and finally turned digressive and died as the Canadian Evangelist."[28]

Further history of this publication under its various names will be found in the following chapter.



[1]Christian Worker, III (September, 1884), 4.

[2]The Christian Worker, I (November, 1881), 1. (The "the" was a part of the name for the first two issues only.)

[3]Ibid., 3.

[4]Ibid., 2.

[5]Canada Christian Worker, I (March, 1882), 2. (The Christian Worker bore this name from January to October 1882 and beginning with Volume II was called Christian Worker.)

[6]Ibid., III (October, 1884), 2.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., IV (November, 1884), 3.

[9]Ibid. (As copied from The Christian Standard).

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid., (July, 1883), 2.
[12]Ibid., 3.
[13]Ibid.
[14]Ibid., II (September, 1883), 1.
[15]Ibid.
[16]Ibid., (July, 1883), 2.
[17]Ibid., III (April, 1884), 3.
[18]Bible Index, XII (November, 1884), 344.
[19]Ibid., XIII (November, 1885), 2.
[20]Ibid., XIV (January, 1886), 9.
[21]Christian Worker, IV (October, 1885), 3.
[22]Ibid., V (December, 1885), 2.
[23]Ibid., (February, 1886), 2.
[24]Bible Index, XIV (May, 1886), 153.
[25]Christian Worker, V (March-April, 1886), 2.
[26]Ibid.
[27]Ibid.
[28]The Bible Student, IV (March, 1970), 1.

Chapter 8

ANOTHER VIEWPOINT REPRESENTED

The Christian

Among the short-lived journalistic efforts among the exponents of the Restoration Plea in Canada before 1850, an earlier chapter gave some attention to *The Christian* of St. John, New Brunswick. Edited by W.W. Eaton in 1839 to 1841 and revived during 1847 and 1848, it was unable to issue continuously or live long for lack of support. In commenting on these papers, one historian stated, "The contents were of a high quality, similar in type to the journals of D. Oliphant, but somewhat more liberal."[1] Whether or not this evaluation is objective, this paper was the forerunner of another by the same name and openly more liberal than its contemporaries which are studied elsewhere in this work.

In the same city and bearing the same name, there appeared, thirty-five years later, a similar publication "by Convention order."[2] Containing eight pages per issue, it was larger than its predecessor, measuring ten by fourteen inches and having three wide columns. The Prospectus to the first issue read,

> At the Annual meeting of the Disciples of Christ held in Digby County, N.S. in Sept. last, it was decided that a monthly paper, like the present, be published for the Maritime Provinces.[3]

It was issued to circulate encouraging news from the field,

to encourage and promote ited of the Scriptures, and to aid temperance workers. The study intention was to shun questions that might gender strife. Early issues contained a temperance column, secular current events and a page of advertising. Through the years it recorded the growth and attitudes of the "Disciples" in the Maritimes.

Although a child of the organization, it was intended that it be self-supporting. The masthead bore the statement, "published monthly by Barnes and Co., under the auspices of the Home Mission Board of the Disciples of Christ of the Maritime Provinces. 50¢ per annum."[4] Its companion paper in Ontario in 1905 spoke of it as "the organ of the society."[5] There were pleas for cooperation in the matter of subscriptions, and a goal of 1,000 by the end of the first year was set. Started because of the wishes of the representatives of the people, it claimed their support. No one but the publishers would get any money and any surplus would be used to improve the paper or be placed in the Mission Fund. At the end of the second year there were 840 subscribers; publishing had cost $192 for the year and postage $9.49; and there was a balance of $59.96.[6] A $100 surplus from the first year had been used in mission work.[7] *The Christian* did not continue to enjoy such good circumstances. At a convention in Port Williams in 1910, the longest session was used to discuss, "Shall we shut down the Christian (a monthly paper) or shall we try to pay the debt and continue to publish it?"[8]

Branding this as "a paper that glories in being a begging paper" and citing the use of "Rev." in its columns, the *Bible Index* noted that there were 1,000 subscribers and three hundred on the free list in 1889.[9]

Donald Crawford of New Glasgow, Prince Edward Island was the editor, and by 1885 T.H. Capp of St. John, New Brunswick was listed as coeditor and Henry A. MacDonald was welcomed as a contributor. The paper regularly

contained news reports from the various Maritime congregations. Much space was occupied by reports from ladies' Societies and other organizations. An exchange between D. McDougall, who years later edited the *Christian Monthly Review*, and H. Murray of Milton on subjects of "Fellowship" and "Additions and Substitutes" shows that McDougall was voicing some objection to what he felt to be liberal tendencies.

After long editorial service by Crawford, T.H. Capp, O.B. Emery, James W. Barnes, and others became editors until 1912 when W.H. Harding took over this post. It was he who had the vision to first suggest a *national* paper,

> . . .at the time of the International Convention in Toronto (1913). In December, 1922 he stepped aside as editor and the eastern brethren relinquished their journal in order that The Canadian Disciple should appear.[10]

Barnes and Company were the publishers and contributed much to the success of the paper.

The Ontario Evangelist

In the Maritimes the more liberal brethren had started *The Christian* and those of the conservative position had no publication. The objections of some appeared in *The Christian* and papers from other areas were circulated somewhat. However, in Ontario two distinct voices were heard. Although, as pointed out earlier, the *Christian Worker* had printed material favouring support of the Missionary Society and the Women's Organization and had been edited for a time by H.B. Sherman, it can hardly be considered as having been a voice of liberal thought. Although it was later said that it "finally turned digressive and died as the Canadian Evangelist,"[11] Joseph Ash wrote of the Canadian papers in 1884, "None of them have ever stooped so low as to advocate

the deleterious doctrines of expediency and progress so popular over the border."[12]

There had been evidence of rivalry between the *Worker* and *Bible Index* with the *Worker* hinting that the *Index* was a hobby sheet and the *Index* suggesting that the *Worker* had progressive leanings. Neither appears to have really accepted or promoted the various appendages then being organized and promoted as part of the church program. Since the items favouring the Missionary Society had been written by George Munro, and since he, with T.L. Fowler became the editors of T*he Ontario Evangelist*, successor to the *Worker*, more obvious liberal leanings in the new publication are no ırprise.

The Ontario Evangelist took over the mailing list of the *hristian Worker* agreeing to honour all paid subscriptions. Amounts in arrears, however, were to be sent to Law & Whitelaw of the *Worker*. The last issue of the *Worker* was dated March-April, 1886 and the new paper first issued in May of the same year in Guelph, Ontario. It was a large monthly at fifty cents per year. The editors were ministers and evangelists and when the Provincial Co-operation was organized later the same year, they were employed by it. Thus, the *Evangelist* came to be considered an organ of the Cooperation.

The date-line read Erin and Everton, beginning July, 1887, and Owen Sound in May, 1889. From October of that year Monro was alone as editor and the name was changed to *The Canadian Evangelist*. The paper was enlarged and began to be issued on the first and fifteenth of each month. The volumes were numbered consecutively with *The Ontario Evangelist*. Munro moved to a church in Hamilton in 1895. His paper we renamed *The Disciple of Christ and Canadian Evangelist* and date-lined Hamilton. His publishing labours were terminated and the paper discontinued in October, 1896.

Historian Reuben Butchart may well have been somewhat partial to this, the first journal fully synmpathetic with the organizing trend. He described it as "editorially in advance on what had been" and its editors as "keen evangelists and organizers, not only in co-operative work but in the cause of ministerial education."[13] A contemporary complained that hundreds "who prove themselves to be Christ's disciples by abiding in His word are not fairly represented"[14] by this publication. Nevertheless, Munro was not as liberal as some in the organization.

At a Toronto convention in 1896 a proposal to unite with the "Christian" body resulted in severe disagreement over the question of fellowshipping the unimmersed. Munro strongly objected to any change and maintained that the Cooperatior had no power to authorize or arrange such union oi fellowship. Some shared his feelings and no decisive action resulted except that he resigned his publishing and left Ontario.[15]

Whether or not the Cooperation had been involved in financing the paper is not disclosed. Butchart records that Munro enlarged it at his own expense; describes him as a "self-sacrificing editor"; testified that he "had been carrying a far too heavy loss annually on his paper" and expressed his view that "his ten years of journalism for the Disciples had never been surpassed in insight, courage and plain usefulness to the cause."[16]

The Christian Messenger

Volume I, Number 1 of *The Christian Messenger* was dated January 1, 1897 and thus followed close on the heels of Munro's publication. Founded by the Cooperation, it had eight, four-column pages and issued from 26 Adelaide Street, West Toronto. The masthead statement read "Devoted to New Testament Christianity" and further explained, "by the

Co-operation of the Disciples of Christ in Ontario." It was printed by the press of *Saturday Night*, The Sheppard Publishing Company. Subscriptions were $1, and it issued semi-monthly for the first ten years.

Charles T. Paul and W.J. Lhamon were editors and R. Butchart was business manager. After three years Butchart became editor and manager with J.L. Leary as assistant editor. In 1901 S. John Duncan-Clark, of the Cecil Street church, became editor and Butchart continued as manager. The next year May Stephens began to edit a Woman's Page and Fred E. Lumley a Young People's Page. This latter was dropped in 1904 when Butchart resumed control. At this time, M.P. Hayden became editor for Western Canada. Then J.A. Aiken, who had a position in a metropolitan newspaper, was editor for a few months beginning in April but Butchart took over again in August. Then in December, A.T. Campbell became editor. In October, 1905 no editor was listed and Butchart was again editor and manager beginning in November.

After ten years the *Messenger* became a monthly in November, 1906, issuing the first day of each month. There had been annoying delays which resulted in a new printing arrangement. Type was set by Arthur L. Hewitt and printing done by W.S. Johnson Company, both of Adelaide Street West. The change to a monthly was due to the lack of an editor who could put the necessary time on it. Subscription price was cut to fifty cents and due dates were extended proportionately.

In April, 1907, R.W. Stevenson of Toronto became editor and Miss May Stevenson was listed as office editor. Later E. Wyle and J.P. McLeod became editors. The editors cooperated with Miss Stevenson by mail. Publishing under this management was in Owen Sound with Fleming Publishing Company doing the printing. Sunday School supplies could be ordered from this company. Books had

been advertised two years earlier.

The *Messenger* was the organ of the Cooperation and was considered a part of the Home Missions Program. Initially, a number of friends had pledged sufficient subscribers to make the paper self sustaining but only one third of these were realized in three months.[17] Circulation was by subscription. Agents were named in most of the thirty-two churches listed in 1902. It was predicted that the circulation would number 1000 the next year. Nevertheless, the finances were handled by the treasury of the Home Missions Board. It was believed that the mass of the brotherhood wanted the paper but there was "much neglect of duty. . .whereby unpaid debts of honor to the publishers have resulted in a loss to our Home Mission Treasury."[18] Evidently, the editors were paid for their services. Butchart received $100 in 1905 and Campbel received $20.83 for three months.

The report to the convention that year showed slightly diminishing receipts with $497 overdue from subscribers. There were reported to be numbers of individuals and homes without the *Messenger* in every church.[19] Nevertheless, one of the editors wrote years later that "The sheet had a happy financial record, considering how much a labor of love it was. It was the best typographically up to that time."[20]

During the period 1897 to the start of the *Bible Student* in 1904, it could truthfully be said of T*he Christian Messenger* that, "it is our only religious paper published in Ontario."[21] It purposed to advocate the restoration of New Testament Christianity by encouraging the laying aside of all religio-sectarian names, the abandonment of human creeds and confessions of faith, a return to the New Testament and the cooperation of all Christians in evangelism. The paper "seemed to be indispensable to our success" and would serve as "a medium through which the contributors to our mission work, the workers, and the Board might be kept in touch."[22]

Throughout its history, the *Messenger* had much news of Conventions. The Ontario Christian Women's Board of Missions had a page. Sunday School Lessons and Christian Endeavor Topics were included. Churches were encouraged to send in news regularly. The church news page indicated much fraternizing with denominations in Sunday School and such. Preachers were called pastors of the "Church of Christ" and sometimes the term "Reverend" was used before their names. There was some advertising. It was claimed that no other paper furnished such strong mission emphasis at home and abroad to those interested in Ontario. Subscribers were reminded, "Whatever helps this home mission paper helps the cause of home missions."[23]

Butchart mentioned the various departments listed above ıd commented,

> Features. . .were news (illustrated often) and as voluminous as possible. . .and Foreign Society and Home missionary aids were freely provided. . . . With the call of All-Canada it too (with the Christian) was merged in a national paper, after 25 years of consecutive service.[24]

The Canadian Disciple

In 1921 the Ontario Convention took action to determine the possibility of a larger organization. This resulted in the beginning of the "All-Canada Program" by resolutions of the Convention at Poplar Hill, Ontario in 1922. This convention included one hundred fifteen persons from various Canadian churches and had letters of approval from others. Resolution number seven read:

> That we take steps to create an All-Canada paper, formed if possible through the union of the Ontario Christian Messenger and the Maritime Christian; and that the following be a

> Committee to carry out this purpose: W.H. Harding (conveyor), J.P. McLeod, J.W. Barnes, R. Butchart.[25]

Butchart wrote of himself as "godfather and long-time nurse" of the *Messenger* and expressed satisfaction in having a part in the marriage of the "two evangelical papers."[26]

Thus, succeeding the St. John *Christian* and *The Christian Messenger* (each a Co-operation or Convention paper in its area), *The Canadian Disciple* was founded in Toronto in January, 1923 by the All-Canada committee. It was called "A National Religious Journal for the Disciples of Christ" and under its heading was the statement, "published in the Interests of the Churches of Christ in Canada." On the masthead was added, "The Bond of Union and Means of Expression between the Churches of Christ in Canada." For many years the statement "This paper is dedicated to:

- Strengthening the bonds of fellowship
- Communicating information
- Deepening the spiritual life"

has also been included.

Eleven by fourteen inches with twelve to sixteen pages at $1 per year, it was edited by Reuben Butchart for the first seven years. On his retirement he stated that he had been editor, manager or an active contributor to such papers since 1897 except for one year when he was out of Canada.[27] He was succeeded by Hugh B. Kilgour in October, 1929. Kilgour was also All-Canada secretary. In January, 1936 Miss Marion V. Royce became editor and served until November, 1939 in addition to being involved in other All-Canada work. The following month, Miss Grace M. Lediard, also a worker in other branches, took on this added responsibility moving the place of publication to Owen Sound. She continued at least until 1948. Although a complete list is not available, Mrs. Jean Hamilton served from 1949 to 1951 and from 1953 to

1955; O.R. MacDonald and Miss Shirley Muir in 1955; and William M. Porter in 1957. Mrs. O.W. Culley closed seven years of faithful service in February 1965. Former editor, Hugh B. Kilgour, a descendant of pioneer preacher James Kilgour (1812-1893), took up the editorial pen in April. Although in retirement, he was quite capable and produced a very interesting paper until February 1967 when ill health forced his resignation. Temporary editors Elmer S. Stainton, Mrs. J. Hutcheson, Mrs. R. Hambleton and Mrs. H. DeWitt filled in until The All-Canada Executive Committee accepted the recommendation of the Publications Committee and Elmer S. Stainton, Associate General Secretary for All-Canada became the new editor as well in February, 1968. Mrs. J.W. Hutcheson became Associate Editor in March and must have ›orne much of the load as the new editor's other duties ›quired much travel across the Dominion. She is no longer ›ted in 1970.

Published in Toronto for its first ten years, the *Disciple* then moved to Owen Sound for a time. For some years the address has been St. Clair Street, Toronto, but printing and mailing has been from Midland, Ontario. The size has been reduced to nine by eleven inches. Three columns are printed on a glossy book paper, evidently by the offset printing process. Although usually twelve pages in length, shortage of news often resulted in only eight. These were numbered consecutively for each volume. The summer months have for some years seen a combined June-July issue and August-September issue since "July and August are Disciple holiday months."[28]

The Canadian Disciple, successor to *The Christian* and *The Christian Messenger*, was sent to the lists of subscribers for these two magazines. Some leading brethren pledged enough support to see it through the first nine months while obligations to old subscribers were being fulfilled.[29]

"In the first year it reported a circulation of 1,619, from coast to coast, . . . 133 of these being in the United States and other lands."[30] The subscription price was $1 but later increased to $1.50. It is not known whether the publication was ever self-supporting but evidently as years passed, the lack of support became discouraging. Only about 1,000 were being circulated in 1965.

Churches were urged to subscribe for their members under the "Total Coverage Plan" at reduced rates. It was announced that "We must face the fact that *The Canadian Disciple* is published with a financial deficit—this must be paid out of our offerings."[31] A "Disciple Promotion and Circulation Committee" appointed in 1966, tried to excite more interest and to have a representative in each congregation. The ambition was "to reach the point where the *Disciple* pays its way without any subsidy from the All-Canada general fund as has been the case for many years."[32] A fifteen percent increase in printing costs incited greater efforts with some results. It was announced that "There are now 1,055 but there should be more."[33] Costs would be reduced by cutting off all who were two years in arrears. Increased postage rates resulted in many more eight-page issues. Subscriptions were increased to $2. In the absence of copious advertising regular subsidy was necessary.

Low circulation and increased costs were discussed by the committee which strove for a solution. Suggestions such as sending it free to all congregations or publishing a changed and larger quarterly were made but no action taken, except to agree that the publication was important to the life and work of "the church."[34]

The problem in financing and circulation is well understood when one realizes the smallness of the group which it served. Although membership is not stated, most congregations were small and "according to a recent count,

there are forty-two (or seventy-eight) churches of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Canada."[35]

Although there was some variation in content with different editors, the amount of doctrinal material was never large. Efforts, not always successful, were made to include much church news. A report for each church was suggested. There were frequent appeals for news even if in the form of church bulletins. Besides local news, much space was used for "Convention" news. Lengthy announcements of and reports from Provincial, National and World Conventions were frequent. Articles frequently dealt with questions of Union, Unity and Ecumenism as writers strove to solve the problem of maintaining identity and at the same time supporting the ecumenical trend of the times. It was felt that the "Disciples" had much to offer since "Unity" had been one of the strong motivations of the originators of the Restoration Movement.

Regular features in later years were a Woman's Page reporting organizational activities; a Youth Page edited by Gordon MacLean and later called "This Page" as distinct from the "Other Pages"; a question and answer page conducted by Hugh Kilgour, under the heading "Heard Around the Church"; and a missionary emphasis page entitled "Whom We Delight to Honour". Appeals for letters to the editor to be used in such a column brought discouragingly little response.

When the current editor took office in 1968, he stated that under his charge the paper would,

> . . .seek to share with its readers the best thinking of our contemporary world. It will not always reflect the thinking of our brotherhood, nor will it always reflect the thinking of this editor. What you will read here is printed in order to help you think, not to tell you what to think.[36]

The content changed somewhat in keeping with this statement and resulted in one of the few letters to the editor. The writer had enjoyed the paper for years but complained that now,

> . . .it has become nothing but a booster for the Canadian Council of Churches, which is so far from the teaching of the New Testament Church. I always thought the duty of the church was to bring sinners to Christ.[37]

Having continued under organizational control and subsidy for some forty-eight years, this publication appears to have a rather uncertain future. It continues to represent a group which is not numerous and which may well melt into union with other bodies before very long.

Upon the death of C.H. Phillips in January, 1959, mentior was made of his connection of many years with "conservative schools in Canada" and of his having edited a paper called in one place the *Canadian Christian Chronicle* and in another the *Pacific Christian Chronicle.*[38] Nothing further is known of this publication, but since its editor was located for many years in Alberta and later in Washington State, the two names would suggest that he may have published it first in Canada and later in the United States.

The Canadian Christian Harbinger

The more liberal attitude of this Disciple group toward the scriptures and toward fellowship with others, including the "unimmersed," evolved into practices that resulted in yet another division. George Munro, as cited earlier, had, at the cost of his editorship, adamantly opposed such trends. Although there seems to be little further indication of this sort of thing in Canada for many years, it is felt that many churches had little appetite for the "Disciple" efforts at fellowship with denominations such as the United Church of

Canada and the Anglican Church. The effort of the *Gospel Herald* in 1957 to show these people the extreme to which their organization was leading them brought no noticeable response.

At the same time, a similar difference had found shape south of the border and some of the more conservative of these people from Indiana began to do mission work in Canada. They established churches, became affiliated with some existing churches and manifested a considerable amount of energy in publications, youth work, camp activities, radio ministry and Russian and Polish preaching both in Canada and in Europe. Organized under the name "Toronto Christian Mission," the group maintained a fairly large staff which was almost entirely supported by outside donations to the individuals. They claimed very few churches in Ontario[39] but exerted themselves with a surprising energy and optimism.

One manifestation of this was the publication of *The Canadian Christian Harbinger*, which was begun in November, 1962 under the editorship of Gene Dulin, who also lead the mission. Made up of folded, legal size paper, the pages varied from sixteen to forty in number; measured eight and one-half by seven inches; and contained two columns. The format was changed in 1968 to five and one-half by eight and one-half inch page size with book style, one column type on non-yellowing paper. Pictures, diagrams and other art work gave evidence that it was printed by the offset process. Hiring the layout and printing done was found unacceptable resulting in the obtaining of facilities to do type-setting, printing, and mailing early in its history. A $20,000 loan invested in printing equipment in 1968 was paid off a year later. Production was begun in Dulin's home but later the Mission rented quarters in a shopping plaza at 5 Lavington Drive. When the landlord was uncooperative and the rent excessive, in 1970 a vacant Anglican church building in

south-western metropolitan Toronto (999 Lakeshore Road, Mississauga) and worth $250,000 was purchased for $60,000 and used as the center for all of the operations of the Mission.[40]

The identification in 1967 read, "Published monthly by Toronto Christian Mission and Toronto Christian Seminary," but the last three words were removed after April, 1969. It was circulated freely but readers were requested to subscribe at $2 per year. New postal requirements in April, 1969 made it necessary "to have paid subscriptions for at least 50% of each mailing." Twelve hundred were being mailed and,

> . . .as of April 1, we will have to 'trim' the mailing list to allow us to conform to this law. The only way you can be assured. . .is to be certain your subscription is paid up.[41]

Subscriptions were a long way from covering the actual cost, but since there were no paid columnists it should have been possible for them to do so.[42] The editor explained,

> The publication has always been underwritten by Toronto Christian Mission with a subscription charge requested but never demanded until the recent decision of the Canadian government. The mission has valued the paper sufficiently to underwrite its cost at whatever the figure might be. This, of course, is considerably more than that which is received from subscriptions. We do not accept any advertising and obviously this increases the amount that Toronto Christian Mission has to give.[43]

Renewals and gift subscriptions were solicited more urgently because of this requirement even though there were "Christians who are happy to be able to subsidize the journal to the degree necessary to maintain publication."[44]

Those represented by this paper were distinct from those of *The Canadian Disciple.* The latter were "churches which have banded together in their world mission work through the United Christian Missionary Society" whereas the former were those who did their "mission and outreach work independently of the older agency." The division was identified as due to "observed doctrinal departures" even though the visible and apparent difference was "mission methods." The doctrinal differences were identified:

> . . .acceptance of denominational status, the delegate convention representing churches, the ready acceptance of the recommendation of the "Consultation in Church Union" which will recognize three forms of baptism (sprinkling, pouring and immersion) as well as apostolic succession, and the introduction of the "bishop" system of ministerial placement and church control. . . .[45]

By contrast the *Harbinger* group claimed to strictly follow New Testament doctrine. Their North American Christian Convention, reported to be the largest of its kind in North America, was possible because they had "a great deal of cooperation among them, yet without organization, oversight from headquarters, or control from the 'powers that be'."[46]

One is led to wonder at these claims as one observes the smaller organizations such as the Toronto Christian Mission. This one was incorporated in both Canada and the United States (Indiana). Workers raised their own support from sponsoring or "living-link" churches. With Gene Dulin as "Director", there were fourteen or more others involved in 1970, each with a title of some kind.[47] Of course, their activities extended much beyond the publication of the *Harbinger.*

The stated purpose of this journal, edited by Gene Dulin,

until Dewey Thackston took over in 1970, was to be an instrument of evangelism and to edify the saints. It was not a successor to any publication but was originated by the Mission for the purpose

> . . .of distributing information concerning the work of Christ in Canada and to better acquaint the people of the distant parts of Canada with what was going on in other parts of the country. We also had in mind the importance of strengthening the faith of those who are Christian as well as using the magazine to interest others in the cause of New Testament Christianity.[48]

The contents indicate a good measure of success in thi purpose briefly stated as "to share the 'good news' of Jesus Christ". Attractive and interesting, the magazine maintained a fair balance between news and well-written teaching material. Early issues reprinted articles from the past. Teaching articles, sermons, news articles and mission news made up the content. Special regular features were: "Let's Be Practical" by Alan LaRue, "Word Studies" by Gordon Souder, "Thackston's Thoughts" by Dewey Thackston; and "Sermon of the Month" selected. A Youth Page by Vanita Dulin appeared for a time. "The Question Box" by Gene Dulin was frequent as was "The Mail Box" for readers' letters. The cover, of orange-coloured paper, was usually illustrated. The back cover, called "The Last page", carried interesting proverbs, jokes and quotes.

The Canadian Christian Harbinger represented yet another branch of the Restoration Movement in Canada. Make-up and contents were praiseworthy. Produced by persons supported for the purpose and subsidized by the local organization, its existence and continuance seem fairly well assured.

Since 1967 there have been few issues of the *Harbinger* without a fine article from Ed Benoit. Although little else is known of his previous journalistic efforts, it is evident that he had edited a paper in Western Canada. *The Compass* was edited and published by brother Benoit for several years. In mid-1966 he announced that *The Compass* would cease publication with the December, 1966, issue.[49]

Summary

The rift in the Restoration Movement over organizations larger than the congregation seems to have reached a climax in Canada in 1883. The *Bible Index* was "hobbyistic" and ıltra-conservative. The *Christian Worker* chiefly represented ıe Georgian Bay area and, being predominately a newspaper, id not clearly take a position. *The Disciple*, an individually controlled Maritime paper, died in 1883 and in its place appeared *The Christian*, the organ of the Convention. When the *Worker* terminated in 1886, its successor was *The Ontario Evangelist*, which was under the control of the Ontario organization.

The *Bible Index* represented the opposition to such organizations until 1893 and then the *Gospel Messenger* until 1896. For the next seven years *The Christian* and *The Evangelist*, now evolved into *The Christian Messenger*, had the field to themselves. These two combined in *The Canadian Disciple* in 1922 and have since been the voice of this group. The other group was heard from continuously, except for 1934-35, through several successive publications beginning with *The Bible Student* in 1904 and ending with the current publication, the *Gospel Herald*. Another growing group, opposed to the Missionary Society, has since 1962 been represented in Canada by the excellent little monthly, *The Canadian Christian Harbinger*.[50]

Those opposed to the society, except *The Harbinger*, have

been individually owned and operated. They continued their precarious existences because of the long hours of free labour bestowed upon them, and they often required generous financial subsidy from the editor or friends in addition. The pro-society papers, by contrast, sometimes paid their editors for their labours and were subsidized from organizational funds, being thought of as part of the "Mission" program.

Even those, however, must be acknowledged to have been "labour of love." One closely associated with this work for many years commented

> . . .No one who has not been actively involved in the editorship of our national paper has any idea of the amount of time and energy and thought that it takes to produce just one edition of this paper. To collect, sort, edit, type, proofread, paste-up and produce a paper of this size and quality is no small labour, as I am finding out.[51]

Sometimes journals have been responsible for the divisions that occur in church groups. There is little evidence that any of those named in this chapter were guilty of such. In fact, there is surprisingly little recognition or acknowledgement in the pages of any one of them of the existence of the others that were contemporary. The *Bible Index* did lash out occasionally at other publications and the *Gospel Messenger* made rare reference to its contemporaries. It seems, then, that these publications did not perpetrate divisions but served groups who were already distinct from each other.



[1]Reuben Butchart, The Disciples of Christ in Canada Since 1830, (Toronto: Canadian Headquarters' Publications

Churches of Christ (Disciples), 1949), p. 233.

[2]The Christian, I (November, 1883), 4.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

[5]The Christian Messenger, IX (September 18, 1905), 4.

[6]The Christian, II (October, 1885), 7.

[7]Ibid., III (November, 1885), 4.

[8]The Bible Student, VII (October, 1910), 7.

[9]Bible Index, *XVII (October, 1898), 311, 313.*

[10]The Canadian Disciple, IV (May 1939), 1.

[11]See page 150 of this thesis.

[12]Christian Worker, III (September, 1884), 4.

[13]Butchart, op.cit., p. 235.

[14]Gospel Messenger, II (December 30, 1895), 1.

[15]Butchart, op.cit., pp. 235-236; The Canadian Disciple, IV (May, 1939), 1.

[16]Ibid.

[17]The Christian Messenger, II (September 2, 1898), 4.

[18]The Christian Messenger, VIII (December 20, 1904), 4.

[19]Ibid., IX (July 4, 1905), 4.

[20]Butchart, op.cit., p. 236.

[21]The Christian Messenger, I (February 16, 1897), 4.

[22]Ibid., (January 1, 1897), 4.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Butchart, op.cit., p. 236.

[25]Ibid., 180

[26]Ibid., 185.

[27]The Canadian Disciple, VII (October, 1929), 2. (Volume numbering appears to have been begun over again with 1926. The reason for this has not been discovered.)

[28]Ibid., XXXI (June-July, 1966), 12.

[29]The Christian Messenger, XXV (December, 1922), 1.

[30]Archibald Alexander Allan, "Churches of Christ in Canada" (Unpublished thesis, The College of the Bible,

Lexington, Kentucky, 1940), 98.

[31]The Canadian Disciple, XXX (August-September, 1965), 4.

[32]Ibid., XXXI (October, 1966), 2.

[33]Ibid., XXXII (October, 1967), 2.

[34]Ibid., XXXIV (November, 1969), 2.

[35]Ibid., XXXIV (March, 1969), 7.

[36]Ibid., XXXIII (February, 1968), 2.

[37]Ibid., XXXIV (February, 1969), 7.

[38]The Truth, XXV (February, 1959), 9, 10.

[39]A pamphlet entitled "Be a Church Builder," distributed in 1967 to raise support for building churches, stated that, "The Message of New Testament Christianity has barely been heard in this center of Spiritual poverty. Of fifty-four cities in Ontario over 10,000 in population, only six have faithful New Testament congregations and three of these are Russian-speaking. Of 195 towns between 1,000 and 10,000 in population, only two have faithful congregations of New Testament Christians." A goal was set to establish one congregation per year in the Toronto area. When the Gospel Herald editor enquired about the status of the some 100 churches listed in its directory, a letter dated October 12, 19657, signed by Gene Dulin, editor of The Canadian Christian Harbinger stated that 'It appears that your position says, Hear, Believe, Repent, Confess, Be Baptized, and don't play a piano, and you shall be saved. By adding to the revealed will, you therefore become unfaithful."

[40]The Canadian Christian Harbinger, VIII (July, 1970), 14, 15.

[41]Ibid., VII (January, 1969), 18.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Based on personal correspondence between Gene Dulin, Toronto Christian Mission, and the writer.

[44]The Canadian Christian Harbinger, VIII (April, 1970),

19.

[45]Ibid., V (January, 1967), 2.

[46]Ibid., 3.

[47]Ibid., VII (July, 1969), 11, 15.

[48]Based on personal correspondence between Gene Dulin, Toronto Christian Mission, and the writer.

[49]The Canadian Christian Harbinger, V (February, 1967), 2.

[50]The three groups referred to are pretty well distinct from one another. The group, members of which receive the Disciple, is known as the "Church of Christ (Disciples)." The Harbinger goes to those whose congregations are usually called "Church of Christ (Christian Church)" or imply "Christian Church" or "Church of Christ" with the ıame of the city or community placed before it. These are sometimes confused with those among whom the Gospel Herald circulates whose churches are called, "Churches of Christ." A part of this group, which is opposed to congregations helping other congregations financially to enable them to conduct mission radio and television, and benevolent projects, threatens to divide from it. They have taken no distinct name and there is no journal published in Canada to represent them, although many from the United States are circulated among them.

[51]The Canadian Disciple, XXX (March, 1965), 2.

Chapter 9

PUBLICATIONS BY H.M. EVANS AND OTHERS

Although the mailing list of the *Christian Worker* was taken over by George Munro of *The Ontario Evangelist*, who honoured all paid-up subscriptions, it can hardly be considered its true successor. J.C. Whitelaw had encouraged the support of the paper to be edited by Munro in order that,

> . . .We may continue to have a paper that will fairly represent in its articles the belief and practice of the congregations of disciples of Christ as they plead for a return to apostolic teaching and practice in all things.[1]

However, as contrasted with the *Bible Index*, the *Christian Worker* had appeared to encourage organizations and innovations. George Munro had used its pages to encourage support of the Foreign Christian Missionary Society. It had contained, as well, encouragement to cooperate in the Christian Women's board of Missions. Its early editor, H.B. Sherman, and its successor, if the *Ontario Evangelist* might be so called, were both accused of having "turned digressive" by 1907.[2]

The *Bible Index* had terminated in December of 1893. Just one month went by before there appeared on the scene another periodical which appears to be more properly thought of as the successor of both the *Bible Index* and the *Christian Worker*.

Gospel Messenger

This new paper, the *Gospel Messenger*, began to be

published in February 1894 by H.M. Evans through the encouragement of Samuel Keffer. It seems to have been born to serve the more conservative element of this religious movement which was already dividing in the United States and which had been greatly disturbed in Canada. No doubt many of the readers of the new paper had been receiving the *Bible Index* up until its discontinuance even though few were likely in full agreement with its constant and peculiar emphasis.

The *Gospel Messenger* had a very short and shaky existence but nevertheless was a praiseworthy effort. At first it was published at Claremont, Ontario with H.F. Stevens of Beamsville and H.M. Evans of Stouffville as Editors and Proprietors. Corresponding Editors were L.E. Huntsman, Tintern; Jeff K. Snodgrass, Redd, Indiana; and T.S. Hutson. latter for the paper could be addressed to either Beamsville r Stouffville and should be received by the ninth of the nonth so that the paper could be issued on the fifteenth. It contained four, four-column pages.

S. Keffer of Meaford, who had encouraged Evans to start the paper, was added to the list of Corresponding Editors in May. In January, 1895 it began to have Stouffville as the place of publication with H.M. Evans as Editor and Proprietor, H.F. Stevens, S. Keffer and W.H. Hodge[3] as Field Editors and M.D. Baumer and W.H. Devore added to the list of Corresponding Editors. In March, D. McDougall of Riverside, Nova Scotia, was added as a Field Editor. Joseph E. Cain of Belle Plains, Kansas and W.W. Stone of Ellensburg, Washington, former editor of *The Gospel Preacher* became Corresponding and Field Editors, respectively.

In the 1896 volume, L.E. Huntsman was listed as Associate Editor, S. Keffer as Field Editor and Evangelist and the others as Contributors.

A contemporary paper wrote of the *Gospel Messenger* that it made a "bright and breezy appearance" and was "to be devoted to the propagation and maintenance of primitive Christianity."[4] The price was fifty cents per year or five cents per copy. There were many appeals for help in increasing the circulation so that there would be funds to pay the printer.

Among threats to discontinue at the end of the year unless all subscribers paid what was owing were promises to issue twice a month the next year at the same price if all would renew and if five hundred new subscribers could be added. Many were in arrears, yet there were many commendations. There were objections that "it is too small and does not visit the homes often enough."[5]

That the financial situation was not encouraging is obvious from the following: "Now brethren, don't starve us out and then talk about us for giving up the paper."[6] And "Brethren, is it right that the Gospel Messenger should cost us more than our time and postage? If you don't assist us it will."[7] A "Messenger Fund" was started to defray expenses and to send the paper to those unable to pay. The names of donors were published with the amounts. The plea for all to send in to let them know whether to print next year resulted in Volume II being launched, "upon what is now the certain sea of public opinion, for our paper is loved by its readers. . . ."[8]

Although enlarged to eight pages, the *Messenger* did not issue semi-monthly. Hope was expressed of doing this in 1896 and of even producing a weekly. The *Messenger* was offered in a club subscription arrangement with the *Christian Leader*, *Primitive Christian*, *Gospel Echo*, *Firm Foundation* and *Reformer*, two papers for the price of one. The encouragement was evidently not of a financial nature. It appeared that it would be necessary to borrow money or discontinue. An alternative might be to open the pages to advertisers. The law on the matter of such publications was cited. It was fraud

to refuse a paper unless it was paid up. The publisher threatened to discontinue unless back amounts owing were cleared. Even these begging and threatening tactics brought little response.

Volume II issued from Stouffville and the type must have been set in the Evans' home. Evans and his wife are mentioned as "immersed in type composing-sticks, etc." and as "greatly overworked."[9] This was evidently done to economize. A further effort in this direction is indicated by the following notice:

> A Location Wanted for the Gospel Messenger
>
> In order to make this paper a success we must have more help, more type and a press; therefore, we must open a job printing office somewhere. . .there are two printing offices here now, hence we must change out location. . . . We prefer a place within reach of one or more congregations that could engage and support a preacher, either for all or part of his time. We want to move next May or June.[10]

As a result of this, the *Gospel Messenger* moved to Beamsville after April 15 and advertised job printing. The Evans family lived over the Bell Telephone office and the printing office was over Jeffries' boot and shoe store. Both were on Main Street. The need for money was desperate as extra type and a press had been purchased.[11]

A church directory was started on the back page of the January issue with only Beamsville listed, but the offer was made to list all "loyal" congregations free. Bills were sent out with this issue but comparatively nothing was received in return. The editor wrote, "It is hard to have to borrow money to publish the paper when there is so much standing out."[12]

Besides preaching and editing this paper, Evans was editor of the Beamsville Express which he evidently started.

He was described by a visiting preacher as "a man of pronounced ability and rare attainments; young in years and possessing a clear head and an honest heart."[13]

The June issue contained a whole page of farm, garden and household items and some special offers of gift books and tracts which it was urged must be accepted before July 20, "as the life of the Messenger depends on the prompt action of our friends on or before that date. If you want the Messenger to live, help us immediately."[14]

There is no evidence that another issue of *Gospel Messenger* was printed. Eight years later, in his introduction to another paper, Evans reveals to us that the *Gospel Messenger* had been consolidated with the *Gospel Echo* of the United States and that this action was forced because of there being scores of subscribers one or two years in arrears.

After the passing of S. Keffer in February, 1901, Evans wrote:

> He was a special friend of the writer and it was through his encouragement that we began the publication of the 'Gospel Messenger' in 1894, the publication of which was suspended two years later for want of support.[15]

The *Gospel Messenger* was an excellent little publication with a good balance of news and teaching matter and with a good attitude toward all. As one writer commented, it was "sweet spirited but not at the expense of being pure spirited."[16]

Evans was definitely opposed to "The Foreign Christian Missionary Society" and commended churches that had not "bowed to the mandates of this Human Society."[17] A. Campbell of Jura, Ontario wrote:

> . . .I am glad you have started a loyal gospel paper in Canada. It is what we needed. . . . We have no organ, no choir, no (modern)

> 'pastor,' no societies or any modern inventtions to keep up.[18]

Although the pages of this paper were open to discussion on Bible topics, "the writers must, in every respect, be brotherly and courteous or their communications will not be published."[19] The intention of "hewing to the line" was stated, followed by "as soon as it has to compromise the Truth, or sacrifice its convictions or principles to maintain an existence, God grant that it may sink to rise no more."[20] It was advertised as the "only apostolic journal in Canada."

In the January, 1895 issue there began four series which ran for several months. "Reminiscences, or a history of the ıse and progress of our cause in Canada" by Joseph Ash was printed from the *Christian Worker* of a few years before. ıe last of these twenty-one articles appeared in the last issue f the *Gospel Messenger* which came out in June, 1896. Other series were a copy of the Trial of Joe Smith, a series on "Order of Worship" and one on "Type and Antitype."

There continued to be criticism of the *Canadian Evangelist* and its cooperation and mention was made of the hatred that the *Evangelist* had for the *Messenger*. C. MacDonald of Nova Scotia commended the *Messenger* as one religious paper spreading the pure Gospel in Canada and continued:

> Probably some of the brethren have seen the wonderfully convincing arguments in the Christian, published at St. John, in favour of the Y.P.S.C.E. Comparing this paper with the Gospel Messenger is like comparing a bit of green glass with a clear white diamond.[21]

By the end of 1895, there appears to have been rather open hostility between the *Gospel Messenger* and the *Canadian Evangelist*. The failure of many to pay up was in some way attributed to the hatred of the *Evangelist*. It must

have been with great reluctance that Evans gave up this valiant effort. He wrote,

> Those who prove themselves to be Christ's disciples by abiding in His word are not "fairly represented" by the Disciples of Christ or Canadian Evangelist and there are hundreds of such in this country.[22]

Despite this claim and the tremendous personal sacrifice he made to continue this fine paper, there just was not enough support to make it possible. Although the copies on hand do not seem offensive, for some reason they did not command extensive support. Perhaps the *Bible Index* had turned people against such journals as being responsible for stirring up bitterness among Christians.

The two years of this publication contributed well to the readers of the day and provide valuable information for the historian. One is inclined to regret that it lived such a short while. Its editor, however, lived to contribute many years and much talent to later journalistic efforts; his next work made its appearance in the year 1904. In the meanwhile, *The Christian* of St. John, New Brunswick, and *The Ontario Evangelist*, which had by this date become *The Disciple of Christ and Canadian Evangelist* and later became *The Christian Messenger*, continued to represent the more liberal branch of the movement.

In a history of periodicals of the Nineteenth Century Restoration Movement, D. McDougall of Nova Scotia wrote that following the *Bible Index* there was an interval without a home paper in Canada. Then, a young Canadian, H.M. Evans, after conferring with McDougall and gaining assurance of editorial assistance, started "The Christian Messenger."[23] He continued,

> . . .After a short career, however, he decided to move from Ontario to the Coast,

> British Columbia, and found it necessary to suspend. But it was not long before he was back home and trying to start the "Bible Student." In this, he had our encouragement and help through all the years, until his health broke down, and he turned it over to others, in whose hands it soon expired.[24]

This quotation, although evidently written from memory and, therefore, inaccurate in respect to title and suggested interval, will serve to introduce the next publication which continued in Evans' hands until 1910.

The Bible Student

The "not long" was really a period of eight years and presents the longest period that the more conservative branch of this religious movement had been without a publication from 1833 to the present. Evans who had previously started a printing business in Beamsville was in 1904 an Osteopathic Physician in Beamsville and also sold books.

In January he began *The Bible Student*, a monthly of the same size as the Gospel Messenger. It began with only four pages and with the columns divided by-lines. The subscription price, fifty cents per year, would pay for eight pages the next year if there were sufficient subscribers. Printing was done by the Griffin & Kiduer Company, Ltd., Hamilton.

Evans was listed as Editor and Publisher; D. McDougall of West Gore, Nova Scotia as Editor, Maritime Department; and S.M. Jones, W.F. Neal, Samuel Whitfield, Madison Wright, Lution E. Huntsman and Charles E. Petch as "Our Contributors."[25]

Announced as a monthly journal "Devoted to the propagation and maintenance of Primitive Christianity" the

masthead carried the following quotations which show the intended emphasis:

> Search the Scriptures—Jesus
> Study to show thyself approved unto God—Paul
> Learn not to go beyond the things which were written—Paul
> Declare the whole counsel of God—Paul[26]

The paper was needed, it was claimed, to unite the loyal churches and strengthen them. There were thirty-two churches listed in a directory, twenty-three in Ontario, eight in Manitoba and one in the North West Territories. Churches listed in the directory "must be in the Dominion of Canada, and satisfied with 'what is written' without the fads and fancies of modern times. No digressive church will be allowed in our Directory if we know it."[27] The contents indicate controversy with *The Christian Messenger* on the Society and Organ questions.

The previous effort had died for lack of financial support. Evans, "not weary in well-doing," launched this new, small and unassuming publication with hope and yet with apprehension. A goal of seven hundred subscribers by July indicates the hope but the sending of back issues to new subscribers so "that in the event of having to suspend publication for lack of support we will not owe our subscribers anything,"[28] suggests the apprehension. During the months that followed there appeared constant reminders of the uncertainty of continued publication. Although willing to give "about two days of each month in preparing copy, reading proofs, addressing and mailing" the editor wrote, "please don't ask us to pay the printer too, for we cannot do it."[29] Every cent received was used to pay printer and postage, the editor getting occasional kind words as well as abuse.

Subscriptions came in very slowly with no new ones in August. Fifty more with the retention of the present list would insure publication for 1905. Although this number did not materialize, the next volume was promised in the October issue. By July, 1905, continuance beyond a month or two was uncertain unless subscribers paid their subscriptions. The September issue would certainly be the last unless delinquents paid up. Nevertheless, the desire was expressed to enlarge to eight pages if the October crisis was survived. By October, prospects were better and the completion of the volume seemed likely.

The directory, by early 1905, listed churches from the east to the west coasts. David Saunders of Vancouver and Ora H. Tallman were new "Contributors." Church news was olicited to strengthen the brethren.

Evans moved to West Gore, Nova Scotia in the fall of 905 to labour as an evangelist with several congregations nd announced good prospects of publishing in 1906 an enlarged paper.[30] Since nearly all subscriptions expired with the December issue and very few had renewed, the basis of continuance was uncertain. In an effort to establish the paper on "a solid and permanent financial basis and to make enlargement and other improvements possible."[31] D. McDougall, who began to be listed as "Assistant Editor," started an endowment fund by giving $1.50.

It was stated that "The supreme object of The Bible Student is to promote the study of the Bible and the practice of its teaching."[32]

The third volume had eight pages per issue as promised and by March, a semi-monthly was promised as soon as possible. Associate Corresponding Editors were D. McDougall, W.F. Neal, L.E. Huntsman, Ben J. Elston and Charles W. Petch while contributors were S. Whitfield, Madison Wright, O.H. Tallman, O.E. Tallman, L.J. Keffer,

David Saunders and J.D.C. McMurchie. In March, Elston was dropped and William J. Bishop of Japan and S. Whitfield were listed as Associate Editors. J.A. Perry of Indiana was added in July and M. Watterworth in August.

Finances were still a problem even though hope of improvement continued to be expressed. A stereotyped heading and other changes in dress were desired for 1907. The hope of securing a location for a printing office and the need of large contributions to purchase a cylinder and job press and type were expressed. At the same time, five hundred new subscribers were needed and such could have the paper for the rest of the year beginning with the May issue for twenty-five cents.

Some owed for two years. The increased size had almost doubled the expenses. In order to pay the bills it was necessary that delinquents pay, liberal contributions be given or secular advertising be introduced.[33]

This was an era of formation of Bible Schools in Nova Scotia and Ontario. Free advertising space and space for articles by teachers and students of the Beamsville Bible School were offered but seem not to have been accepted to any extent. A "Canada Correspondence Bible College" began in October in *The Bible Student.* Every subscriber could take the course but those wishing their lessons graded had to pay.

It seems that, instead of accepting the offer of space in *The Bible Student*, the brethren at the Beamsville Bible School decided to start "another apostolic Canadian paper," *The Bible School Times* by name.[34] Those of *The Bible Student* did not appreciate what they considered a rival publication, nor did they see any need for it at the time. The result was the estrangement of Evans and L.E. Huntsman which was not adjusted until 1908 when Huntsman was welcomed to the staff of Evans' paper.[35] McDougall affirmed that *The Bible Student* "is, and will remain, the organ and

medium" of the brethren in Canada and suggested that the rival paper might be appearing "in spite." He wrote that such, started "in the face of repeated warnings from the brotherhood, would surely be displeasing to the Lord and could not receive his blessing."[36] There was some fear of losing out to the new paper since Ontario and Manitoba had the largest numbers of subscribers.

The Bible Student, however, crossed both oceans and would soon be going into every State of the Union. A more positive tone began to appear form the pen of McDougall who wrote under the title, "Nothing Succeeds Like Success" that "Even the Editor himself was astonished when he recently counted up the total number of bonafide subscribers."[37] Donations to the endowment fund were increasing with $37.20 in one month, $15 from the editor himself.

It is difficult to know whether a desire to hold subscribers in Ontario had anything to do with the decision to move to Meaford or not, but publication began from that place in December, 1906. The staff remained much the same except that all were called Corresponding Editors and James L. German, Jr., of Texas, D.H. Friend, S.A. Bell and A. Weston were added.

The purchase of type and all the "necessaries except the press" made it possible for the paper to "appear in a dress of its own" and reduced the expense to about one half. The addition of a press soon lent itself to semi-monthly issue which was needed to accommodate the many excellent articles on hand.[38]

In introducing Volume IV, the editor mentioned the uphill struggle from the beginning but claimed to have held "every inch gained from one to five subscribers taking their places on our list to every one leaving us."[39] The value of the Bible Course had been proven. Histories of the churches with pictures would be featured if brethren would send in the

materials. It was felt that *The Bible Student* had already done much in drawing the brethren closer together.

A Toronto Department, "devoted exclusively to the work conducted by the Bathurst Street Brethren," began under the editorship of J. Milligan with a twelve-page, well-illustrated supplement about the history of Bathurst Street and about the June meeting. This department occupied a page which continued for several years under the complete control of these brethren.

As a result of this arrangement and the supplement, some thought that there was an effort being made to centralize power and make the June "meeting an executive body to legislate for and control the churches."[40] These misrepresentations were denied.

The subscription picture was considered encouraging. Toronto had the largest number, followed by Meaford, Winnipeg and Carman in that order.[41] Having begun with forty subscribers the paper had nearly eight hundred by the end of its fourth year.[42]

This provided encouragement toward the obtaining of a printing press. Evans desired to see a publishing house established in Canada. This called for a press and other things which could be obtained if each subscriber would give $1. Two hundred dollars would enable a start. Evans sought a town that needed a printing office.[43]

For the first time, all the work of composition and make-up was done by the publisher and his family and an apprentice in March. It was expected that the press would be installed in time to print the next issue themselves. Although it did arrive, there were difficulties, which made it necessary to run off the April issue on the press of *The Meaford Express*.[44] The May issue was from "our own press."

From a financial viewpoint this was a venture of faith. In four years over one hundred days of time had been given to

work on the paper without remuneration. All cash on hand had been needed to pay the printer and about $80 of the editor's money had been used to buy type and accompanying items.[45] The members of the Meaford church gave an appreciation party and presented $28.85 to the fund in December. Once the press was obtained, monthly payments were due and readers were frequently reminded of the need of their help.

Evidently, Evans considered this the nucleus of a printing and publishing house for the brotherhood. Donations had been received to the press fund sufficient to partially pay for the press and payment was being completed on the type. Having purchased it at a bargain, only $75 was needed to pay he balance due. By August only $35 remained to be paid. lowever, this press proved to be unsatisfactory and the xchange for a No. 3 Gordon Press "suitable for all classes of work" increased the costs by $135. The total value of press, type, stands, and smaller necessary items was placed at $485.

The issue for December, 1908 carried a picture of the editor and his wife (staff) in the composing room. Readers were reminded of the sacrifices being made to provide *The Bible Student.*

> Take a look at the picture and remember that while you may be enjoying your leisure and a competency in this life, that a sister whose fingers are sore from handling type, and whose eyes ache from trying to cipher out that article that was written in such a hurry. . .and without whose help The Bible Student would have been dead and buried long ago, is possibly now at the case with composing stick in hand. . .its 'click' may sometimes be heard at one o'clock in the morning in order to let the pressman off in time to begin a protracted meeting somewhere.[46]

Many tracts were printed, nearly 7,000 by June, and sold at cost. The volume for 1908 had a three column format but did not change in size. Later in the year, space was conserved by using six point type and four columns for the news and directory pages. The directory listed fifty-three churches: thirty-six in Ontario, five in Nova Scotia, eleven on the Prairies and one in British Columbia.

Each month eight hundred copies of *The Bible Student* were produced with Evans and his wife doing all the work for only $15 per month. He reminded others of this and wrote,

> We hope that those who work and write for the paper will remember that they are helping the cause of Christ in doing so, and not the publisher. Financially, we would be better off without the paper.[47]

Evidently, the short-lived *Bible School Times* had discontinued prior to the reconciliation of Evans and Hunstman in 1908. It was, however, followed quickly by *The Canadian Helper* published by S.M. Jones of the Beamsville Bible School. At twenty-one years of age, H.L. Richardson was the office editor of this paper which continued for six or seven years. When the first number reached Evans, he commented more mildly than he had at the appearance of its predecessor. He wrote, "If the interests of the Lord's cause can be served better by two papers than one, we wish it God speed."[48] However, there appears to have been some antagonism as J.L. Saunders and other Manitoba brethren were mediators in adjusting differences between Jones and Evans so that Evans wrote, "We hope to work harmoniously in the future."[49]

There were some changes in editorial staff as time went on. Associate editors in 1908 were W.F. Neal, C.W. Petch, L.E. Huntsman and D. McDougall. Contributors were M. Waterworth, J.A. Perry, O.H. Tallman, O.E. Tallman, A.

Weston, W. Eatough, William J. Bishop, M. Wright, J.T. Hinds, H.C. Shoulders, and L.J. Keffer—with James Milligan, Editor of the Toronto Department. In June, G.W. Tovell of Manitoba became an Associate Editor; L.J. Keffer was no longer listed as a contributor, but Fred Cowin was added and by the end of the year John Sim, Wychwood, Toronto and Andy T. Ritchie. The Correspondence Course feature was being crowded out but still advertised.

Writers were requested to avoid a spirit of controversy as much as possible as it was desired to reach the outside world. A staff of Associate Editors, all men of good judgment, was arranged to assist in determining the merits or demerits of rticles of a questionable nature.[50]

Evans planned to hold two meetings in the summer of 908 and intended to abandon his practice "as Osteopathic and Electropathic physician and devote all his time to the preaching of the gospel and the publication of *The Bible Student*, tracts, etc."[51]

The Bible Student called for the names and addresses of isolated Christians in order to get them and a preacher in touch with each other. Brethren were encouraged to use the paper to get acquainted with each other. Articles, news and reports were solicited and the desire expressed to enlarge to twelve pages "as soon as funds will allow, and thus make room for all."[52]

A Western Canada page started in May, 1909. The restrictive clause for use in the deed to church property as a protection from take-over by those introducing instrumental music and the missionary society appeared frequently. McDougall of Eastern Canada made reference to *The Christian*, listed several phrases from it which he termed "the language of Ashdod," and accused it of untruth in claiming every minister in the Eastern provinces as an agent. He stated that some never would act as agents except for "sound and

apostolic papers. . .to which class 'The Christian' does not by any means belong." He pled, "Brethren, why do some of you patronize unsound and digressive papers?"[53]

While the purchase of the press made possible the continuance of the publication without incurring excessive indebtedness, it really just meant that the Evans family was now donating in labour what would otherwise have had to be collected as donations or subscriptions. Subscribers were continued without payment unless they requested otherwise. They were expected to pay off this obligation in due course but many did not. Of $300 owing only $20 was received in response to billing.

The adoption of a "tab" system which would keep all subscribers aware of due dates was planned. The paper had been kept free of advertising. Instead, the subscription list was expected to meet the expenses. Evans wrote, "If you could step into our office and see the amount of work we do every month for almost nothing you would not rest until you paid every cent you owe us. . . ."[54]

A ten cent charge was imposed on subscriptions not paid in advance. Money was needed. Sample copies were offered to any who would canvass for subscribers. Evans stated,

> We have put much of our means into the work at a sacrifice, besides nearly five years of labour and anxiety and now we feel that our financial ability has about reached its limit.[55]

Nevertheless, with only $70 remaining indebtedness and prospects for its most successful year in 1909 the desire was expressed to add a wire stitcher and paper cutter. Eight hundred copies were issued each month, but as the end of Volume VI approached, the editor revealed that *The Bible Student* had not been self-supporting since it had been enlarged to eight pages nearly doubling the expenses and leaving the subscription rate the same. He had begun with a

faint hope that it might pay its way. Since it had failed to do so, the press had been necessary. This had kept the paper going, but had at the same time increased the anxiety, worry and hard work of the editor.

He quoted at length from the *Gospel Advocate* to point out that many religious papers were in debt and that several, then in their twentieth volume, had never been self-supporting. In reference to *The Bible Student*, he wrote, "In doing good the paper is a decided success; but financially it is a failure."[56]

The policy had been to use all donations to pay off indebtedness for equipment and to use the subscription money to pay for the cost of paper, ink, light, labour, and other needs as far as it would go. Evidently the labour came last, meaning hat it was done for about one third its actual value. Despite e publisher thus contributing $8 to $12 monthly, the nances were "still behind." This was not meant to be grumbling but rather a report to contributors.[57] Evidently, the Evans home was the home of *The Bible Student*.[58]

About half the subscriptions were being paid at one point. November, 1909 saw subscribers owing $200 and the editor commented, "The older a paper gets, the more deadheads accumulate on its list. . .dishonest, or just simply careless. . . ."[59] The year closed with further mention of the need for twelve pages to accommodate all the copy. It was assured that two hundred subscriptions would make this possible. New subscriptions were being offered for twenty-five cents.

The press was paid for by April, 1910 as well as most of the interest on the note. Further donations would send the paper to those unable to pay and enlarge it.

Volume III began on schedule. It was devoted to "Systematic Bible Study and to the propagation and maintenance of Primitive Christianity." Subscriptions were fifty cents in Canada and Great Britain and sixty cents in the United States. Bishop and Shoulders were no longer listed as

contributors, but A.E. Hudson and J.M. McCaleb were added. The various departments; "Western Canada," "Eastern Canada," "U.S.A." and "Toronto" were not confined to news of the area but also contained teaching.

The Canada Correspondence Bible College with H.M. Evans as Principal appeared with "Lesson," questions and examination occupying a complete page for a few months and then discontinued. Pictures and historical comments about pioneer preachers such as Alexander Campbell, Barton W. Stone and John Smith appeared on the front of some of the issues of Volume VII beginning in April.

Mrs. Evans, who had been doing the type setting, had been very much overworked, and her health was failing. To relieve the burden, Toronto brethren undertook to print the inside four pages and by October the whole paper. Evans commented that the work had become "too much for us on account of not being able to secure help."[60] Correspondence was to be directed to him at Meaford but postal privileges were transferred to Toronto.

Volume VIII was under new management. It was being published by the Bible Student Publishing Company, 26 Lynd Avenue, Toronto. No editors were named. H.M. Evans was now a contributor along with Albert Brown and the others formerly listed, but the United States names no longer appeared. The new management commended the work done by the Evans family over the past seven years. The intention was to stand for the old policy pleading "for New Testament Christianity in all faithfulness and love."[61] The desire was to make it an "all-Canada paper" of "general interest to the churches."[62] A lengthy statement reiterated the policy of the previous management in striving to restore the truth and contend for the faith in love and meekness.

Evans, whose address was St. Catharines, wrote that he was turning the paper over to more capable hands and made

the following statements:

> . . .I wish to say that the transfer was made on account of the ill health of my wife, my true and faithful partner, through all the trying, and sometimes discouraging circumstances through which the paper has passed. We regret to part with the paper, but trust that the change will be for the mutual benefit of us all, and that under the new management the paper will be more prosperous.[63]

The new volume was somewhat different in format with the directory running across the page instead of in columns and with new features entitled "Platform Echoes," "Questions and Answers" and "News and Notes." It soon became apparent that Albert Brown and Fred Cowin of Toronto were he editors although it was not so stated for two years. In 913, they were listed as editors, O.E. Tallman as Maritime rovinces editor and Charles Bailey as Western Canada editor. Gordon Tovell of Winnipeg had been responsible for this page.

For some reason, perhaps suspicion that a Toronto church owned the paper, there was not much copy from the regular contributors. Most was either reprinted or bore the initials A.B. or F.C. Articles were invited.

In 1913 the directory was reduced, service times being omitted, and the space used for a children's page. A page of foreign missionary items was promised every third month. The editors mentioned the many expressions of appreciation received from those in isolated places, but confessed receiving some criticism.[64]

Income from new subscribers and renewals continued to lag behind expenses. In Toronto, rent and wages were high making the printing more expensive. It was stated, "We have a long way to go in that direction before the amount in

subscriptions will meet the cost of printing and mailing."[65] Frequent appeals for help in getting subscriptions and reminders of the need did not bring success. It was explained that all work was a labour of love and since there was no purpose of making money, any margin of profit would be used to improve the paper. Neither an appeal to double the list by each one winning one nor a club offer with the *Encouragement Magazine* at reduced rates produced sufficient increase. The editors wrote, "If we were to judge our efforts by the way subscribers have paid their subscriptions. . .a failure and our efforts unappreciated."[66]

The publications, it was explained, were not the property of a church but were being published by a few brethren from Toronto and elsewhere who had assumed financial responsibility. One of these was Ira Standish, a nephew of James and Robert Beaty of the *Bible Index*, 1873-1893.[67]

The Bible Student, having lived for ten years, ceased to be published under that name with the end of 1913.

The Gleaner

In January, 1914, the first issue of *The Gleaner*, appeared. It was identified as volume eleven, number one and was obviously the continuation of *The Bible Student* under the same editors but with a new name. The original name had been suitable because Evans had conducted a Bible course as a prominent feature but now it had become more general in its content and a new name was needed. The editors explained,

> . . .While we wish all our readers were Bible students, yet we desire our paper to be a newspaper of the doings of the churches and also to supply other helpful information that does not demand the close thinking of the student.[68]

The editors desired to "glean" news of the doings of the

churches throughout Canada as well as the thoughts of brethren on spiritual topics.

The circulation reached from Great Britain to British Columbia and from northern Alberta to southern Texas. Helpers were sought to increase the number of readers.

Containing two columns, the paper was eight by twelve inches in size. Subscription rates were the same as formerly. There is no indication of who did the printing, but the editorial address appears to have been that of Albert Brown. W.C. Wait, 48 Mountview Avenue, Toronto was the treasurer. Evidently there was a large amount owed by subscribers who failed to respond to notices. In June, 1914 an appeal for renewals was emphasized by the statement "WE NEED THE MONEY NOW."[69] It is not evident how long after this time publication continued but it had stopped by the end of 1915. The diagnosis was "death for want of support."[70]

The Bible Student and *The Gleaner* had both been excellent little papers and had served a far-flung brotherhood well. The carelessness of the readers in regard to financial support showed a lack of real appreciation. The situation was no doubt aggravated by the policy of continuing subscribers until they asked to be terminated.

The financial struggle, apparent from the beginning, was overcome for a time by the tremendous sacrifice of Evans and his wife in providing cheap labour. Moving the publication to Toronto appears to have been a double error. First, it increased the cost of production of a paper which had not been self-supporting under more economical production. Secondly, the Toronto management appears not to have had the same respect and cooperation of the brethren in general as Evans had. No doubt, these two circumstances contributed toward the death of yet another restoration journal.

"Competitive" Papers

The Bible School Times

The appearance of a small journal of twelve, two column, book-size pages and a grey cover in September 1906 was not welcomed by the staff of *The Bible Student.* Evans had already published an invitation to those of the Beamsville Bible School to use the pages of his paper for news, articles and advertising. Instead of accepting this invitation from a publisher then in Nova Scotia, the brethren at Beamsville issued their own little paper with Lution E. Huntsman as Editor and Publisher.

Although Evans wrote, "Too much of a good thing may be a detriment sometime and we do not consider the time opportune for the introducing of a second paper,"[71] the editor of the new paper claimed that it would not be in competitio but was to give the students and others training in writing Although O.E. Tallman commended the publication, he fel that Canada was not yet ready for two apostolic papers and that "all the aims of the new could have been reached by the old."[72]

The Bible School Times was issued the first of each month. The subscription price was fifty cents per year. There are very few copies known to be extant but those available have little by way of news except some in regard to Beamsville Bible School and those connected with it. For the most part it contained teaching articles, a number being written by teachers and students in the school.

In 1907 Huntsman and Jones became estranged. This resulted in Huntsman severing his connection with the School. This seems to have resulted in the discontinuance of *The Bible School Times* soon after September, 1907. An earlier estrangement, between Huntsman and Evans, "on account of the publication of 'The Bible School Times' and

circumstances connected therewith"[73] was adjusted by March of 1908 and Huntsman was welcomed back to the staff of *The Bible Student*, which had meanwhile moved to Ontario.

A successor of *The Bible School Times* appeared in March, 1908.

The Canadian Helper

The Bible Student greeted the new publication as follows:

> The initial number of 'The Canadian Helper', published in Beamsville, Ontario by Bro. Jones and his students, at 50 cents a year, is before us. If the interests of the Lord's cause can be served better by two papers than one, we wish it Godspeed.[74]

Nevertheless, estrangement of Jones and Evans resulted but was quickly reconciled.

Above the dateline was the description, "A monthly journal devoted to sowing the seed of the kingdom." It was nine by twelve inches with eight, two column, wide margined pages. There were four editors: A. Foster, Calgary; S.M. Jones and W.F. Cox, Beamsville; and J.J. Dart, Hubbardsville, New York. Contributors were R.C. White and Arthur Rutledge of Nashville, Tennessee; J. M. Jones of Franklin, Tennessee; Howard L. Richardson of Meaford; S. Whitfield of Wardsville; and Clifford Lumley and Benjamin Brown of Beamsville.

The initial editorial stated that, since it was learned that *The Bible School Times* would not be continued by Huntsman, different persons had suggested that it be continued or a paper under another name be started. Consequently, a group agreed to publish under the new name. The purpose was stated as follows:

> We have no motive other than to do good. One of the prominent features of our work will

> be to reach those who have never understood the way of life. We hope to put 'The Helper' in the homes of many who are aliens. . . .[75]

Papers were sent out without charge for a few issues to give recipients opportunity to decide whether or not they wished to subscribe.

In 1909, J.C. Craig, Hanford, California, replaced A. Foster on the editorial staff. The list of contributors was enlarged to include Robert Mason, Beamsville; C.W. Petch, Fenwick; T.W. Bailey, Selkirk; L.J. Jackson, Riverside, California; and W.C. Shelly, Odessa, Missouri.

The second volume was introduced by an expression of appreciation for helpers, of satisfaction for the first year, and of a desire to do better. Some thought was being given to enlargement to twelve pages. Attention was still being given to the stated intention of reaching those outside of the fold. Many had sent in such subscriptions, some as many as fifty. Most of the space was occupied by teaching articles. A series on the teachings and practices of different religious bodies started in the second volume.

Readers were reminded that all money went to pay the printer and postage and all other work was done free of charge and often at a sacrifice. Students of the Bible School helped do the addressing by hand. One student remembers that 1,200 copies were sent out.

In 1910 Don Carlos Janes of Cincinnati, Ohio and William Richardson, Jr. of Meaford became contributors. H.L. Richardson had moved to Beamsville and at twenty-two was a teacher in the Bible School and office editor of *The Canadian Helper.* In 1911 Hugh Rogers of Carman, Manitoba was added.

The church at Beamsville was divided at this time and the tone of the paper became a little more belligerent making it less suitable to be distributed to outsiders. There were

challenges to the brethren using the meeting house in Beamsville and to the Methodists. A mild controversy as to whether or not the annual June meeting was scriptural was printed. A section entitled "Queries and Answers" was edited by S.M. Jones. Opposition to dancing and tobacco appeared very frequently.

Very little is known of the circulation or financial circumstances of this paper through the years. A method was devised of placing a blue check mark in a certain location to notify subscribers that their subscriptions were past due. Occasional mention is found of need for funds and of appreciation for money to aid in supporting the paper. The paper was in debt at the close of 1913, and there were several appeals for help. It was admitted that the "cash book will show we have maintained it at a sacrifice to ourselves."[76]

New contributors listed in 1913 were Price Billingsley, Meaford; H. McArdle, Hamilton; and M.L. Lawrence, Rector, Arkansas.

It is not known just when *The Canadian Helper* was discontinued but it appears possible that it was in November, 1914. The October issue was almost entirely used to advertise the Beamsville Bible School. This may well have constituted the school's prospectus for that year. The school continued for one more year, but we are not able to determine exactly when or why the publication ceased. A reminder to readers to pay their subscriptions closed with, "In doing this you will help to keep alive a paper that has done much in helping people to see the light as it is in Christ Jesus."[77]

We are surprised that a publication of this quality, containing largely inoffensive teaching material, and continuing for seven years has been so nearly forgotten in just fifty short years. Few copies have been seen even in the area in which it was produced. It was quite well done on good paper and yet no one is known to have collected and saved the

issues.

Further evidence that *The Canadian Helper* was discontinued in October or November, 1914 is the fact that the twenty-one-year-old *Christian Companion* which had been published in Wichita, Kansas moved to Odessa, Missouri under new management in December, 1914, and had S.M. Jones of Beamsville as one of its editors and *The Canadian Helper* listed along with three other papers which had evidently consolidated with it. In introducing the new editor the following comment was made:

> Brother S.M. Jones was one of the first young men to enter the Nashville Bible School twenty three years ago, where he remained for seven years. Before leaving school, he spent several summers in protracted meetings. Afterwards, he went to Canada, founded the Beamsville Bible School in 1904, and is still its President. He was one of the editors of the Canadian Helper, which now unites with the companion.[78]

The *Christian Companion* was a weekly. It was evidently sent to the mailing list of *The Canadian Helper.* There were occasional articles by Jones but there was no news from the Canadian field. Thus, this publication is not considered a part of this study.

Meanwhile, both *The Canadian Helper* and *The Gleaner* having terminated with 1915, there was a felt need for a publication in Canada. Despite the discouraging experience of having given up two poorly supported papers and suffered damage to both his own and his wife's health, because of overwork, H.M. Evans was prevailed upon to undertake yet another publication.

Christian Quarterly

The Bible Student had been moved to Toronto and produced by a group of brethren there in an effort to take the burden off the Evans family. Mrs. Evans was unable to continue. They moved to St. Catharines where she was weak and nervous, unable to stand alone and spent most of the time in bed preventing Evans from being away in evangelistic work. Support in the form of contributions from different churches was gratefully acknowledged.[79]

Later in 1911 there was some improvement. She was able to move but otherwise was much the same. He advertised as agent for Bibles and Books. They moved to Toronto, where he preached at East Toronto and took up the practice of osteopathy and electropathy in December.

A year later she was in the care of a nurse in the country nd a younger son, Franklin, was in Muskoka Sanatorium vith lung trouble. The editors recommended that "practical sympathy" be sent to brother Evans.[80] He closed his work with East Toronto in early 1913 and began with Wychwood. Then the family moved, at the doctor's advice, to a little home on the outskirts of Stouffville. Mrs. Evans still could not walk alone and Franklin was home in bed. Donations were acknowledged and Evans was concerned that he still was not free for evangelism.[81]

Franklin died at Stouffville on January 31, 1914 and Mrs. Evans was an invalid, unable to walk without assistance in January, 1916. The Evans were living in Selkirk keeping and hatching poultry in 1916 when the *Christian Quarterly* made its debut in January. It was six by nine inches, set in two columns with decorations and a listing of the contents on the front. It had twelve pages besides the cover.

H.M. Evans was Editor and Publisher and O.H. Tallman, O.E. Tallman, L.E. Huntsman, Charles W. Petch, S. Whitfield, and D. McDougall, Associate Editors. Subscripton

was twenty-five cents, and it was "Published Quarterly in the Interest of Primitive Christianity and Systematic Bible Study at Selkirk, Ontario, Canada."[82] Evans was also operating a Correspondence School of Sacred Literature which was affiliated with the Maritime Bible and Literary College and offered diplomas and degrees.

The editor introduced this publication with,

> Since the withdrawal of 'The Gleaner' (formerly The Bible Student) from the arena of journalism the writer has seen the need of a medium of communication between the congregations of Christ throughout the Dominion. We will admit that an interval of three months between issues is a long time to wait for news, but out experience in journalism in Canada has taught us that a periodical appearing among us oftener than this is likely to follow in the wake of all its predecessors—death for want of support, ... It will be an easy matter to enlarge to a monthly, or even a weekly if financial circumstances will warrant the change. . . .several departments and short spicy items, a page of 'Church News' and a 'Church Directory,'. . . . We have no room for long sermons, flights of eloquence, or long obituary notices.[83]

Factions, hobbies and trouble would not find space since the paper would circulate to all classes and should be a credit to the church. Readers were asked to bear the $35 per issue printing and mailing costs and the editors would do their work free of charge. Listing in the directory cost $1 to those able to send it and was free to others. Donations would be a help especially in the initial period.

At the suggestion of some brethren, a company was being

formed at $10 per share with E.G. Hoover of Selkirk as the treasurer. There would be no dividends but each share-holder would be a director and would be consulted in any change for the magazine. At press time there was almost sufficient funds for the first issue.

Although positively sure that there was neither money nor amusement in what he was undertaking, Evans was committed to it. He wrote, "We consider a paper a necessity in Canada and we will try and do our duty in this effort until someone else develops better plans than ours."[84]

In 1917, Evans was living and publishing in Wyoming, Ontario where he was proprietor of Maplecroft Rabbitry and Poultry Yards. Additional associate editors were A. Weston and P.L. Pratley. All was not going well as there were appeals for articles and news as well as financial support. Evans pointed out that it belonged to the brotherhood and asked, "Is the paper to live another year, or die now?"[85] A donation from a Vancouver church was accompanied by the suggestion that the twenty-five churches listed in the directory assume responsibility for twenty-five copies each. In his last issue Evans made the following Final Statement:

> This is the closing number of Volume II and this would never have appeared were it not for one eastern congregation that guaranteed to furnish the balance of what was required to pay the expense of printing and mailing it.[86]

Evans had lost $300 by sending *The Bible Student* to readers who did not renew,[87] and he was being more cautious on this publication. Those who wanted the paper continued should send word, not money, by December 1 so that he would know what to do. He would not print unless enough was promised.

D. McDougall, of West Gore, Nova Scotia, who had been an associate editor, suggested that if Evans had no further use

for his mailing list, he turn it over to him. McDougall later wrote,

> . . .I then put out a 'Quarterly' for one year, then founded the 'Christian Monthly Review'. This was in 1918. I continued owner, publisher and editor until July 1, 1926.[88]

Christian Monthly Review

Evans wrote the introductory remarks to the *Christian Monthly Review*. The first issue of five hundred copies was dated January, 1918. Associate editors were H.M. Evans—Biblical Exposition; S. Whitfield—Evangelism; O.E. Tallman—Ecclesiastical History; and O.H. Tallman—Science and the Bible; and J.L. Hines, H.A. Rogers, W.F. Cox and Charles E. Petch without departments. A few months later, departmental designations were removed along with H.A. Rogers' name. The subscription price was only fifty cents per year.

The monthly was welcomed by many whose letters of commendation appeared in its pages regularly. In fact, the editor notified readers that, if he found anything in their letters which he thought useful, it was liable to appear in the paper unless they specified otherwise. Some wanted a semi-monthly or even a weekly. One recommended that it be named *The Weekly Bible Student* in honour of Evans and his work in publishing.

The earlier suggestion that some suspicion of the Toronto brethren might have caused a lack of support and the cessation of *The Gleaner* gets further support from the fact that no Toronto churches were listed among the twenty-five in the *Christian Quarterly* or the *Christian Monthly Review*.

McDougall took pride in his good management of the finances and his notes in this department were quite optimistic by contrast with those from his predecessor. Costs were less than $40 per issue.

The paper was printed by Presbyterians but a change was soon made to the Anslows who printed the *Hants Journal.* The circulation doubled and the size trebled after McDougall took it over. Two pages of secular advertising began to appear and no doubt helped to meet expenses. Rates were one quarter page for $1 insertion or $5 per year.

Although many papers were suffering because of "existing adverse conditions" the *Review* closed its second year without a deficit and announced the intention of expanding to double its size the next year. This was felt more feasible than a semi-monthly. Thus, the next volume would begin with thirty-two pages per issue and subscriptions would be $1 except to the poor, non-members and "those who thought it should be 75 cents."

Although privately owned, it described itself as an "Organ of the Churches of Christ in Canada, a Magazine of Religious News and General Religious Intelligence, Published Monthly for the Promotion of Christian Unity, Truth and Righteousness."[89]

The editor wrote of the paper as a "medium of fellowship, of truth, of edification, of righteousness, . . ." and was grateful to Associate Editors who had not failed in their work; to women who did the mailing; and to those who secured subscriptions. Although most such publications were subsidized he preferred to meet costs by sales.

The contents, besides regular articles by associate editors, included letters from subscribers, articles copied from the *British Advocate*, advertising, and a list of money received for subscriptions and donations. When some complained at the inclusion of advertisements, the editor pointed out that their removal would necessitate the doubling of the subscription price. If brethren wanted this and supplied sufficient copy to fill the paper, it would be done.[90]

Subscribers were urged to renew or request

discontinuance.

> . . .We are not supposed to discontinue to subscribers, nor would it be courteous to do so, till ordered so to do. Orders for discontinuance must be accompanied with payment of arrears to date.[91]

However, this policy had been abused for years and the editor finally announced that "subscribers in arrears must not henceforth expect their papers to be continued without renewal."[92]

At the end of the year, pointing out that he knew of no paper that sustained itself by its regular subscription price, McDougall stated that such would be true of the *Review* if all arrears were paid. The third volume drew to a close with $145 owing. Brethren were asked to help,

> . . .or will one brother at the age of 70 go to the lumber woods and earn money to pay it all himself? There is a brother who has done so before, and, if need be, will again.[93]

The subscription price was increased to $1 for Volume VI. Evans wrote an unsolicited article pointing out that it would take six hundred and fifty subscribers at $1 per year to meet expenses and he doubted it there were half that many at seventy-five cents and half of them were owing. McDougall had been paying the deficit without informing the brethren.[94] The same issue carried an expression of gratitude that all obligations had been met on the previous volume.

Many new subscriptions were listed regularly. A large increase in the West was noted and also in the United States. Some isolated Christians sent their contribution from time to time. The *Review* was endorsed at the 1921 June meeting and the suggestion made that men be appointed in different districts to take subscriptions and send in news.

Despite a general depression the printing costs were

increased by twenty-five percent. Nevertheless, the *Review* was stronger in every way than it had been the previous year.[95] McDougall suffered a severe loss by fire and was not himself able to make up the shortage. The following year drew to a close with a $280 deficit and, for 1924, $300 was lacking. These amounts were paid, however, and the announcement made that "Our subscription list can, should and will be doubled this year."[96] A list of twenty-four *Christian Monthly Review* agents from across Canada and in the United States was printed. The paper was more than self-sustaining in the first half of 1924 which was an improvement over the previous few years.

The editor felt that the "flood" of foreign papers was "a etriment to our own" and that "the welfare of the cause in Canada demands a home paper."[97] Some were neglecting the home paper while supporting others.

Volume X was begun with all debts cleared by means of "commendable zeal and activity in some quarters" and despite "apathetic indifference in others." The editor charged this to the "negligence of the elders or leaders of the congregations."[98] When W.W. Scott of Calgary suggested that a church control the paper and assisted by other churches distribute it free and without paid advertisements, the editor commented that, "Church ownership of papers and schools is at least very questionable."[99] He nevertheless recommended that churches could do good work by seeing that every family in the membership and four times as many others received the "home paper."

Again in 1925 about $200 was needed to pay off the year. When E. Gaston Collins wrote asking the editor to let it be known if he had to use his own funds, the reply indicated that less than $100 remained to be paid and that

> The publisher has never in any year had more than three hundred dollars of the printing

> bill to pay out of his own pocket; and our stock has this year risen to very near par value.[100]

As mentioned earlier, much space was taken up with letters from readers. There was much mention of pioneer labours by H.A. Rogers in Saskatchewan and Alberta and of the need for others to "water." Donations from Rogers were frequently reported. A lengthy series on church history appeared. There was some controversial writing on the "one cup" and "cooperation" with Madison Wright opposed by J.L. Hines of Kentucky and the editor. Hines' review of O.E. Payne's book, Instrumental Music Is Scriptural, was run as a lengthy serial.

Effort was made, with considerable success, to keep the paper free from wrangling, contentions and strife among brethren. Unsuitable articles found their way to the waste basket rather than being returned. Controversy between two "esteemed brethren" was stopped but perhaps not soon enough as there were criticisms of "personal thrusts" having been printed. The publication of an "unfair action of withdrawal at Selkirk" brought a complaint which received the response,

> . . .It is our function to publish church news and notices of action, but it is not ours to assume the role of judge or censor over the churches.[101]

It was further stressed that the editor was about three score and ten and a busy lumberman and could not be expected to be a perfect censor at the same time.[102] Some praised the *Review* as being free of the sarcasm and bitterness found in so many such journals of the times while at least one insisted that "scandalous matter. . .creeps into every issue."[103] For a time a twelve-point statement of purpose occupying one half page was printed each issue. In summary, the purposes were the promotion of Unity on the New Testament, the

abandonment of creeds, encouragement of pure New Testament worship, the dissemination of useful instruction and religious intelligence, the promotion and development of Christian graces, the publishing of activities and services, the defense and maintenance of the autonomy and independence of the congregation and the propagation of the Gospel and evangelization of the world.[104]

A dearth of copy resulted in much space being used for reprints from exchanges and for jokes and quotes and also an appeal for support. Rich articles were requested as a monthly should not be a newspaper.[105] When several lengthy articles on a controversial subject were received, they were returned and short, crisp, scriptural articles of a non-controversial, 'difying nature were requested. At a later date, difficulty in electing from the flood of material was mentioned. A series rom the British *Christian Advocate* opposing evolution, some discussion of the one cup question and a series by H.A. Rogers on the British Israel Question are of note.

Finding suitable printers was a frequent problem. One change has already been mentioned. The difficulty was frequently that of tardiness. A forty-page double issue for January-February, 1921, was an effort to get caught up. With copy supplied nearly a month in advance, the issue was nearly a month late. A change was announced in May, 1923. The new printer soon increased the price by twenty-five percent but proved to have the same fault. The result was an editorial comment, "Brethren, I think we will have to start a Printing Establishment among OURSELVES."[106] However, still another printer was found in early 1925 who promised to be prompt.

There has already been some indication that editor McDougall was a capable writer and an efficient manager. He had written for many other papers before taking on the *Review*. He willingly sacrificed not only the effort and

anxiety necessary to produce and maintain the paper but also stood ready, each year, to earn by hard labour in the forest amounts, which sometimes reached two to three hundred dollars, needed to start the new year without a deficit. This was done with minimal complaint.

At the age of seventy, he continued with this burden and service for eight years before he was finally relieved. He felt very strongly that such a paper was a necessity to the cause in Canada. He wrote,

> . . .We are working to create—what is essential to the unity and prosperity of the Brotherhood in Canada—a safe, sound and strong religious brotherhood magazine. . . .[107]

A combined issue for July-August 1923 was to catch up but also to give the editor a vacation. He had not had "a Summer Vacation—nor a wedding of my own for fifty years come August 4th."[108] On the completing of seven years of publishing the wearying and aging editor communicated his desire to be relieved to Samuel Whitfield who urged him to continue as long as able as he was doing better than "anyone else in Canada could, or would." McDougall, however, felt that since it was not his prerogative to say when this might be, there was need to look around. He proceeded to suggest the kind of man who should be sought,

> A man to successfully conduct a religious magazine for the few loyal disciples of Christ in Canada, must have a combination of qualities and equipment of education, training and experience, rare as angels' visits. Your humble servant, before assuming this work, had memorized most of the New Testament, had studied systematically both Old and New, had forty years experience in writing for the press, as many years in Sunday School work and in word

> and doctrine for some years in the Bishop's work, and on the editorial staff of a half dozen of our religious papers, including the Christian Leader. And yet, I feel like exclaiming: 'Who is sufficient for these things?' The essential things may be classified: High quality natural endowments, talent, tact, capability; good qualities of head and heart; development, education training, experience, faith, determination, perseverance. O how many virtues and graces the poor publisher needs; courage, patience, brotherly kindness—all of Peter's cardinal graces, and I think some peculiar to the editor's tribulations.[109]

S. Whitfield, an associate editor from the first, died in 1925. His work was highly commended. E. Gaston Collins of Meaford replaced him on the staff. The Ontario June meeting was in Meaford that year, and a meeting was held of those interested in the furtherance and expansion of the *C.M.R.*, as it was commonly called. The result of this meeting was the removal of the publishing responsibility from the aged editor as of July 1, 1926. The transfer was described as follows in the "Editorial Emeritus:"

> At the Annual June Meeting at Meaford this year, a most important achievement was consummated. The transfer of the office of publication of the Christian Monthly Review from West Gore, Nova Scotia to Meaford, Ontario, with E. Gaston Collins office editor and chairman of an executive and managing committee of three, acting under the sponsorship and directorate of 18 well-known, loyal and chosen men. In this transfer it has been made impossible legally or otherwise, for

> any but the loyal disciples of Christ to ever acquire possession or control, or for it ever to be diverted from its present position and character of loyalty to apostolic doctrine and practice. We have been admonished of the need of such precaution by cognizance of the fact that schemes of digressive and infidel inclinations have elsewhere gotten control of brotherhood papers. This shall never be, brethren, in the case of your paper.[110]

The *C.M.R.* was henceforth larger in size, seven by ten and one-half inches, had two columns and narrow margins and there were only sixteen pages. The change was an effort to give the same amount of reading matter in half as many pages. Much of the type was, however, far too small for comfortable reading. The statement of purpose remained the same as that printed in 1920. Two new associates were Earl G. Smith and H. McKerlie. An index was printed on the front and the directory on the back. A page of ads from Windsor, Nova Scotia continued. Printing was by The Planet Printing Company of Chatham, Ontario.

Business advertising was invited and needed to pay current expense. It was stated that, "There is no sensible objection to this use of a little cheap paper for wholesome and profitable advertising."[111]

Under the new management the contents and financial situation remained much the same as formerly. Help was requested in getting subscriptions. It was sent free to missionaries. The circulation increased substantially so that in twenty months it had almost doubled. However, it needed to double again to become self-supporting.

Advertisements urging subscriptions were frequent. Many space fillers read "Help us push the Christian Monthly Review, our only loyal Canadian paper" or something similar.

Expired subscriptions were not discontinued. Some received it free. This was paid for by friends who wished to help increase the circulation.

The finances were quite as they had been except that some eighteen or more brethren were involved in the responsibility for any deficit. This often amounted to about half the cost of publication.[112] It was admitted that the $1 subscription price did not pay for twelve copies. A group of interested brethren had agreed to give "so much" each year and this, together with donations from interested readers, enabled the meeting of expenses.[113]

A combined issue for August-September 1927 and some eight-page issues in the fall of 1929 were explained as an effort to cut expenses until bills could be paid. Collins had trouble with gall stones in 1927, lost forty pounds and was hardly able to be up. This further explained the combined issue. His work was "gratis."

Copy was to be on hand by the first of the month and to the printer by the fifth. Writers were asked to submit it typewritten or written plainly with a space between each line with care to punctuating and paragraphing. The editor had had to rewrite some or have it typed.[114]

Advertising gradually occupied less space and several pages were given over to missions including India, Africa, China and Brazil. O.H. Tallman wrote a series presenting a unique position on the Holy Spirit. His idea was that the Holy Spirit enters <u>into</u> believers after baptism, but had merely come <u>upon</u> Cornelius before baptism. H.A. Rogers had a series on the same topic and on other topics. Articles on cooperation of churches and the manner of supporting missionaries indicate one of the concerns of the day. Items referring to the United Christian Missionary Society and divisions among its supporters were included. The *C.M.R.*, its editor was convinced, was "the only paper in Canada contending for a

return to the old paths of apostolic Christianity that can justify the claim."[115]

In January, 1929 Charles Gordon McPhee became an associate editor. He wrote a series on the Lord's Supper. Almost half of the space was occupied by reports and material regarding the various mission fields. The topic of cooperation continued to be a matter of concern. A series on "mixed marriages" drew some attention.

Collins announced that, upon completing four years at Meaford in May, he would be leaving. He stated that some plan would be made to continue the paper and requested suggestions. It had enjoyed a "steady healthy growth" during the nearly three years under this management and had been a "valuable medium. . .for doing good."[116] It had increased by nearly one hundred per year to a somewhat higher circulation than it had ever previously had.[117] The change in management and place of issue, however, did not take place until November. It was due to Collin's removal to Detroit. Two years later, Collins became a part of the editorial staff of the *Gospel Advocate* of Nashville, Tennessee in the capacity of "secretary of the paper and editor of the 'Sowing and Reaping' department."[118]

A suggestion to merge with a paper in the States had been rejected by a called meeting of "supporters, editors, and other friends in Hamilton" in favour of continuing as a Canadian paper. Brother Lloyd G. Snure yielded to a strong invitation to act as business manager; Brother C.G. McPhee agreed to conduct the Editorial department; Brother H. McKerlie, Sr., the Missions Department; and Brother W.H. Cauble, the Contributors department, including the exchanges.

> . . .At the proper time each department manager sends his copy to Bro. Snure, who in turn assembles the copy and forwards to the printer about the 12th or 13th of each month, so

> that the paper may reach the reader the first of each month.[119]

The masthead listed Snure as "Managing Editor" and the others as associates. All communications were to be sent to Snure's home at 77 Dundurn Street North in Hamilton. Evidently the new management assumed an indebtedness, for which $350 in donations was solicited. Two hundred subscribers were in arrears, some from as early as 1927. Those who did not pay would be discontinued at the end of 1929. Thirty-three churches were listed in the directory on the back cover.

During the early thirties there were regular listings of support received. Much of this was for missions and was distributed by McKerlie who defended this method as a service only. Donors were instructed to designate the destination of their gifts. A surprising amount of money was listed for this disposal when it is remembered that these were the years of the Great Depression.

The paper, which had become "thin" through lack of money, had revived. Many were pleased. Goals of five hundred and three hundred and fifty new subscriptions were announced in a drive to make it self-supporting. Special numbers for use in evangelism were printed from time to time and could be ordered by churches with their advertising on the front.

Another change in management occurred one year later when H. McKerlie began a term as editor. It was explained that,

> Owing to pressure of business and many important activities in connection with his home congregation, Bro. Snure has been forced to resign the editorship, of the Christian Monthly Review.[120]

The new editor felt inadequate and inexperienced for the

responsibility which "only the confidence of the Brethren met at the Fall Meeting" encouraged him to undertake. He later confessed that everything had to be learned and that this had "made the job very trying at times, and has absorbed many hours that could ill be spared from other pursuits. . . ."[121]

A.E. Firth of 659 Pope Avenue, Toronto became the treasurer when the paper moved to that city. The financial problem continued. Gifts such as watches and toasters were offered for clubs of new subscriptions. Churches took special collections to help or conducted subscription drives. Books and supplies could be ordered from the treasurer. Special gifts continued to be necessary from a number of brethren who had agreed to help by contributing $12 per year. Two issues were missed in the summer of 1930 because of lack of funds.[122]

Under McKerlie's direction the paper was described as in a healthy state. One hundred and fifty subscribers had been added and mission interest increased in less than a year in a time of extremely bad financial conditions.

There must have been about seven hundred subscribers at this time. About three hundred fifty more were needed to put the paper on a sound basis. A drive to obtain these was encouraged by a thermometer graph showing monthly progress.[123]

In face of evidence of progress in such a short time the brethren were disappointed when McKerlie bade the paper farewell in August, 1931 because of a decision to return to England. For the next several months copy was sent to Firth but no editor was listed. A meeting to appoint a permanent editor was announced for October. However, McKerlie had returned after a few weeks in Scotland and was, at the request of the brethren, editor again for the November issue. He was living at 679 Allard Avenue, Verdun, Montreal. In May, 1932 the editor's address was changed to 41 Winnett Avenue,

Toronto and in October to 1068-A, St. Clair Avenue West where he evidently attempted to enter into a stationery, church and Sunday School supply, typewriting and dup-licating business. These services were advertised and the *C.M.R.* was said to have its own office.

The financial temperature was said to be steadily rising in January, 1932 and hope was expressed that the paper would pay its own way soon. All labour was given free. Nevertheless, publication had to be suspended between June and October "until funds came to meet the Printer's bills." Many had helped out of their poverty. More was needed. Rigid economy was made necessary by continued unemployment.

The next issue, the eighth for that year, was for November-December, had forty, eight and one-half by five and one-half inch pages and was mimeographed. The next was January-February 1933 and it was stated that continuance depended on getting the necessary finances. There were something like five hundred subscriptions overdue. The editor wrote, "The paper is yours" and IS THE C.M.R. TO CONTINUE?"[124]

Number two was for March and April and number three for August. Forty names had been removed, two hundred thirty were behind, some as much as three years, to the amount of $550. The depression made it impossible for the supporters to continue their gifts to cover the publishing deficit. The management had been sending "out the paper as soon as there seemed reasonable promise of ability to pay the printer."[125] The final statement about this made in what was likely the last issue was, "Brethren in Christ, we look to you in confidence that you will not let your paper down."[126]

Editorially there was not much change under McKerlie's management. About half of the space continued to be occupied by mission reports including missions among the

Canadian Indians. The zealous work of Charles Petch and J.C. Bailey in the West under the conditions of the financial depression received much attention. Eastern brethren were sending to the relief of those in the West.

A series of "Letters to a Boy at High School" dealing with subjects such as Christian Evidences and Biblical Criticism continued irregularly for some time. During the period that McKerlie was in Scotland there were many reprints from other sources and some pre-millennial material from the pen of R.H. Boll, who visited Toronto.[127] Club subscriptions were offered with the *Word and Work* magazine published in Louisville, Kentucky. McKerlie had deliberately kept such material out but did give the subject some attention after this happened. Writers were asked to write plainly on one side of the page and to try not to be too upset if their articles "should not be considered in keeping with the tone of the C.M.R . . . ."[128]

On the masthead the editor disclaimed responsbility for contributed articles. The paper was made attractive by the inclusion of a poem or a picture in a frame on the cover. Cauble's name no longer appeared after October, 1932. L.J. Keffer and J.E. Hammond, well-known, faithful brethren, became associates at the second to final issue.

The *Christian Monthly Review* started by H.M. Evans as a Quarterly in 1916 had weathered many changes and struggles but was overcome in 1933 by the Great Depression. It had served well, but there were few issues through all of this period that did not remind the readers of financial need. Subscriptions evidently paid only one-half to two-thirds of costs. One or several individuals supplied the remaining financial needs.

An associate editor, Wallace H. Cauble, described the dedication of those who published as follows:

> . . .Probably only those who are most

> closely connected with the furtherance of the Christian Monthly Review know how much sacrifice has been involved in its publication. How much midnight oil, how much prayer, how much money, and how much time and worry involved in the management of this magazine is [sic] best known to the editors of former years and to our own faithful editor of the present time.[129]

The publications considered in this chapter have been identified with H.M. Evans. He started and struggled to maintain three of them. The great influence of Donald McDougall of West Gore, Nova Scotia in this effort must also be recognized.

Evans, the son of a shoemaker, was born in London, England on March 7, 1862 and came with his family to Canada in 1870. He graduated from the Johnson Bible College in Kimberlin Heights, Tennessee and from the Metropolitan College of Osteopathy in Chicago, Illinois and later received the B.A. degree from the Maritime Bible and Literary College in West Gore, Nova Scotia.[130] He married Ruth N. Storing of Appin, Ontario in 1888. She was stricken with nervous prostration and partial paralysis in 1910 and was henceforth confined to her chair and was a constant care, keeping him from the evangelistic work he wished to do.[131] He went into the rabbit and chicken business to make a living but continued to be active in local preaching and as an associate editor until the fall of 1928 when he suffered a stroke which affected his head and speech. He made some recovery and wrote some afterward but complained that he could not think and was too nervous to write much at sixty-seven years of age. Churches and Christians rallied to his support and attempted to provide the needs of the Evanses since it would be three years before he would receive a

pension.[132] When he died at sixty-nine on January 17, 1931 his dedicated sacrifice and service received only passing mention in the paper he had founded and nurtured.[133]

Evans was a faithful, able editor of unquestionable dedication to the publication of a religious journal on behalf of New Testament Christianity in Canada. Financial and health problems seemed to plague his efforts. He supported himself by practicing osteopathy, editing a town paper, preaching, selling books and raising chickens and rabbits while giving untiringly to these publications. Having failed twice, he started a third publication. Finally, broken in health, he became dependent on the brethren whom he had served through these publications and his preaching.

Donald McDougall had been associated with such publications even longer. He is said to have cooperated with T.H. Blenus in publishing *The Disciple* that was issued in Nova Scotia in 1879. He then acted as Maritime editor for the *Christian Leader* of Ohio which gained a wide circulation in Canada. After the *Bible Index* closed in 1893, he longed for a "Canadian loyal paper" and cooperated with Evans in starting the *Gospel Messenger* in 1894. He assisted editorially with it and with *The Bible Student* and rescued the *Christian Quarterly* from death in 1918 by accepting editorial and financial responsibilities. He continued with these responsibilities in a most capable manner until July, 1926, providing for the deficit each year by hard work in the forests. After this, although past seventy-five years of age, he continued to provide excellent articles regularly. He was "Editor Emeritus." A series on "Salvation" appeared from his pen as late as 1932.

The work of McPhee, Snure, Collins, McKerlie, Brown, Cowin and others who managed these publications for brief periods is mentioned, although their services were of short duration and, therefore, not comparable to those of Evans and

McDougall.

The times were hard. Would there be anyone with the courage and faith to begin another such publication in the face of the experience of these efforts? This question was answered affirmatively in less than three years in a pioneer section of the country where the spirit of adventure was, perhaps, more prevalent.



[1]Christian Worker, V (March, 1886), 2.
[2]The Bible Student, IV (March, 1907), 1.
[3]Hodge had been editor of The Texas Preacher and would now represent the Gospel Messenger in Texas and New Mexico.
[4]Gospel Messenger, I (March, 1894), 1 as quoted from the Christian Leader.
[5]Gospel Messenger, I (July 15, 1894), 3.
[6]Ibid., (September 15, 1894), 1.
[7]Ibid., (October 15, 1894), 2.
[8]Ibid., II (January 15, 1894), 1.
[9]Ibid., 5.
[10]Ibid.
[11]Ibid., II (April 30, 1895), 8.
[12]Ibid., III (March, 1896), 1.
[13]Ibid., III (May, 1896), 1.
[14]Ibid., III (June, 1896), 6.
[15]Undated clipping from The Bible Student.
[16]Gospel Messenger, II (August, 1895), 5.
[17]Ibid., I (March, 1894), 1.
[18]Ibid., 3.
[19]Ibid., II (January 30, 1895), 1.
[20]Ibid.
[21]Gospel Messenger, II (August, 1895), 1.
[22]Gospel Messenger, II (December, 1895), 1.

[23]McDougall was a very old man at this writing and was undoubtedly referring to the Gospel Messenger.
[24]Christian Monthly Review, XVI (November, 1931), 7.
[25]The Bible Student, I (January, 1904), 2.
[26]Ibid.
[27]Ibid., (February, 1904), 3.
[28]Ibid., (July, 1904), 3.
[29]Ibid., (August, 1904), 2.
[30]Ibid., (November, 1905), 2.
[31]Ibid., III (July, 1906), 4.
[32]Ibid.
[33]Ibid.
[34]Ibid., (September, 1906), 3.
[35]Ibid., V (March, 1908), 5.
[36]Ibid., III (October, 1906), 1.
[37]Ibid.
[38]Ibid., (December, 1906), 4.
[39]Ibid., IV (January, 1907), 4.
[40]Ibid., (November, 1907), 4.
[41]Ibid., (June, 1907), 4.
[42]Ibid., V (January, 1908), 4.
[43]Ibid.
[44]Ibid., (April, 1908), 4.
[45]Ibid., IV (November, 1907), 4.
[46]Ibid., V (December, 1908), 4.
[47]Ibid., (March, 1908), 4.
[48]Ibid., (March, 1908), 4.
[49]Ibid., (May, 1908), 5.
[50]Ibid., (April, 1908), 4.
[51]Ibid.
[52]Ibid., VI (March, 1909), 4.
[53]Ibid., VI (October, 1909), 3.
[54]Ibid., V (June, 1908), 4.
[55]Ibid., (October, 1908), 4.

[56]Ibid., VI (October, 1909), 4.
[57]Ibid., (November, 1909), 4.
[58]Ibid., VII (January, 1910), 5.
[59]Ibid., (November, 1909), 4.
[60]Ibid., VII (October, 1910), 7.
[61]Ibid., (December, 1990), 3.
[62]Ibid., VIII (January, 1911), 4.
[63]Ibid., 5.
[64]Ibid., X (January, 1913), 4.
[65]Ibid., VIII (May, 1911), 5.
[66]Ibid., X (January, 1913), 4.
[67]Ibid., (March, 1913), 5.
[68]The Gleaner, XI (January, 1914), 1.
[69]Ibid., (June, 1914), 2.
[70]Christian Quarterly, I (January, 1916), 1.
[71]The Bible Student, III (September, 1906), 7.
[72]Ibid., (October, 1906), 5.
[73]Ibid., (October, 1906), 5.
[74]Ibid., V (March, 1908), 5.
[75]The Canadian Helper, I (March, 1908), 4.
[76]Ibid., VI (December, 1913), 5.
[77]Ibid., VI (October, 1914), 1.
[78]Christian Companion, (Fragment believed to be Volume XI, December, 1914), 4.
[79]The Bible Student, VIII (June, 1911), 1.
[80]Ibid., IX (November, 1912), 5.
[81]Ibid., X (June, 1913), 2.
[82]Christian Quarterly, I (January, 1916), 1.
[83]Ibid.
[84]Ibid., 13.
[85]Ibid., II (October, 1917), 7.
[86]Ibid., 15.
[87]Christian Monthly Review, VIII (March, 1923), 7.
[88]Ibid., VXI (November, 1931), 7.

[89]Ibid., V (January, 1920), 3.
[90]Ibid., (June, 1920), 26.
[91]Ibid., (September, 1920), 28.
[92]Ibid., VI (January-February, 1921), 33.
[93]Ibid., V (December, 1920), 21.
[94]Ibid., VI (January-February, 1921), 6.
[95]Ibid., (September, 1921), 27.
[96]Ibid., IX (January, 1924), 27.
[97]Ibid., (September, 1921), 27.
[98]Ibid., X (February, 1925), 26.
[99]Ibid., (November, 1925), 19.
[100]Ibid., XI (January, 1926), 22, 23.
[101]Ibid., VIII (April, 1923), 4.
[102]Ibid., (May, 1923), 10.
[103]Ibid., IX (March, 1924), 22, 26.
[104]Ibid., VII (September, 1922), 1.
[105]Ibid., VIII (November, 1923), 7.
[106]Ibid., VIII (July-August, 1923), 33.
[107]Ibid., VII (November, 1922), 27.
[108]Ibid., (July-August, 1923), 33.
[109]Ibid., IX (September, 1924), 20.
[110]Ibid., XI (September, 1926), 3.
[111]Ibid.
[112]Ibid., XV (February, 1930), 4.
[113]Ibid., XIII (March, 1928), 7.
[114]Ibid., XII (August-September, 1927), 15.
[115]Ibid., XIV (March, 1929), 12.
[116]Ibid., (May, 1929), 14.
[117]Ibid., XV (February, 1930), 4.
[118]Ibid., XVI (November, 1931), 7.
[119]Ibid., XIV (November, 1929), 3.
[120]Ibid., XV (November, 1930), 2.
[121]Ibid., XVI (August, 1931), 4.
[122]Ibid., (July, 1931), 10.

[123]Ibid., XVI (November, 1931), 14.

[124]Ibid., XVIII (January-February, 1933), 2.

[125]Ibid., (August, 1933), 13.

[126]Ibid.

[127]R.H. Boll, editor of Word and Work, was the leader of a premillennial group which was causing a stir among churches of Christ in the United States during this period.

[128]Ibid., XVIII (February, 1932), 10.

[129]Ibid., XVI (January, 1921), 10.

[130]The Maritime Bible and Literary College was opened by Ora H. Tallman in 1909 in the small community of West Gore, Nova Scotia and continued until the first World War.

[131]Ibid., (April, 1921), 6, 8.

[132]Ibid., (June, 1929), 15.

[133]Ibid., (February, 1931), 15.

Chapter 10

THE CONTINUING PAPER—THE GOSPEL HERALD

1936 TO 1971

Initiators and Early Struggles

The *Christian Monthly Review* fell a victim of the hard times in August, 1933. There were only three issues that year as the management waited until it was apparent that expenses could be paid before printing an issue. Less than three years later, a successor appeared on the scene.

In December, 1935 two zealous young men, J.C. Bailey and Robert Sinclair, were holding meetings north of Punnichy, Saskatchewan and during one of the long, cold drives home, behind a team of horses, they discussed the possibility of starting a gospel paper. No decision was reached, but shortly afterward Sinclair wrote Bailey his intention to start a paper, to be printed by mimeograph. Although he originally intended to issue every two weeks, a monthly was launched in March, 1936.

A contemporary paper introduced it with the following descriptive statement:

> . . .The current issue has twenty-eight pages, all mimeographed instead of standard printing. Practically all the space is filled with discussions of Bible themes.[1]

Robert Sinclair, then twenty-one years old, was the editor with eight others also listed as such: six in Saskatchewan,

Robert Sinclair, D.A. Sinclair and G.S. Sinclair, Wishart; J.C. Bailey, Ogema; W. Orr, Radville; and M. Jacobs, Horse Creek: two in Manitoba, D.W.D. Sinclair, Carman and W. Eatough, Winnipeg: and one in Ontario, C. W. Petch. The West was new country and especially in reference to the gospel. During the preceding decade this was a mission and relief area receiving preachers and benevolence from the East and from Ontario through the efforts of the *Christian Monthly Review* of Nova Scotia, Meaford and Toronto. Evidently, the pioneer spirit of the young western area provided the strength of the new publication.

Reports and manuscripts were welcomed. J.C. Bailey would answer any Bible questions. Articles were promised on church history by D. W. Sinclair, Christian evidences by J.C. Bailey, and "Studies in Hebrews" by C.W. Petch, besides sermon outlines and a page for children.

Sinclair introduced it by the statement that, "Since the Christian Monthly Review ceased publication several years ago we have felt the need of a Christian paper."[2] He gave the threefold purpose—to spread the gospel; to strengthen Christians and to encourage each other and hoped to avoid two pitfalls—teaching that which is not true and unkindness in the teaching. Affirming that nothing personal or unkind would be published, he stated that debating among brethren hinders the work of Christ.[3]

Mechanical make-up was quite well done for mimeographic duplication. Pages were eight and one-half by eleven inches with two carefully margined columns and wide margins giving a readable appearance. Type was typewriter size and it was produced on a flat-bed duplication which had cost $4.[4] The second issue stated a desire to get a press in the near future. Four pages were added in May.

The work was being done in a nine by ten foot room in the editor's father's home near Wishart. He printed one hundred

eighty of number one, two hundred twenty-five of number two and six hundred twenty of number three and stated that a larger place in which to print would be necessary. Help would be appreciated.

Smaller and less readable type was used for thirteen of the twenty pages in number five, and it was claimed that they contained more than the previous twenty-four pages per issue. A printing office was started but shortage of time and money made progress slow. The editor's involvement with construction work caused the next few issues to be late. It was important to finish this before the early prairie winter arrived. The old office was too small and too cold for winter use.

A new and faster duplicating machine was obtained in time for the September issue. The paper had been moved into the unfinished new building for the October issue which was late because of construction work and because of trouble with the printing outfit. More regular issuance on the first of each month was assured since the editor was giving full time to the work by January, 1937.

The second volume had larger pages, nine by twelve inches with much wider columns and a picture of a trumpeter or "Herald" on the front page. The size and appearance continued until the combined April and May issue of 1939, when the back page was in letter type. The June, 1939 issue was smaller and completely done on a letter press. Although no explanation was printed, the date line, which bore the statement, "Published monthly in the interest of the Church of Christ," showed that the place of publication had moved from Wishart, Saskatchewan to Carman, Manitoba in time for the December, 1937 issue. It was published by the Gospel Herald Publishing Company of Carman.

J.C. Bailey visited the Carman office of the *Gospel Herald* in early 1938 and as a result commended the remarkable job done by an inexperienced editor and referred

especially to the problem of keeping arguments out of the paper. He wrote, "The work is long and tedious and he needs our cooperation."[5]

A printing press large enough for job printing had been announced in April, 1938, but the paper continued to be mimeographed until June, 1939. The first issue to be printed on a press was felt to be a milestone even though,

> . . .Setting type by hand and printing with a handfed press is much slower than cutting stencils with a typewriter and printing with an automatic duplicator; and as time must be counted as money, the paper costs a great deal more than formerly.[6]

It was urged that brethren help increase the circulation. The paper was more attractive and the extra expense demanded an increased income. Donations and subscriptions did not pay for the paper. The publisher paid the balance. There were twelve, eight and one-half by eleven inch pages with three printed columns in the news section and two for the teaching articles.

Because of a move, the next issue was a combined one for July and August and was published by *The Holland Herald*, date-lined Holland, Manitoba. Sinclair continued as editor and publisher in Holland until December, 1939, when a new editor was announced. Sinclair continued as business manager and publisher for some time thereafter. In June, 1940 he moved to Morris, Manitoba where a half-time position gave him time to print the *Gospel Herald*. Most of the work had been hired but this had proven to be too costly.

The financial arrangements of this new publication are of interest since its predecessors suffered so much in this matter. The income as listed each month with the amounts for the directory, subscriptions and donations listed separately. Returns for subscriptions were sometimes as low as $7 per

month. At first, personal support for the editor, who was evidently giving full time to this work, was also listed. It was, however, soon announced that as it was "necessary to use nearly all for the paper, I will not report it separately."[7] Thus, the personal income of the editor in return for his labour was evidently nothing. Instead, he found himself making up the deficit.

The *Gospel Herald* was offered in a club offer with five United States publications at reduced rates. Bibles and books were advertised. When six hundred twenty copies of the third issue were printed, this was more than five for every paid subscription. Later that year editor Sinclair mentioned the many complaints received on the improvements in the paper and humbly stated his desire to do better. At the end of the year, those who had not paid were reminded that they would receive no more issues. Donations were far in excess of subscription income for many of the early months. Ontario churches were asked to "stand by" the *Gospel Herald.*

Thus, income was used to print, to buy the primitive equipment and to build the office. In the beginning the editor gave full time to the work and reminded that, "We depent [sic] entirely on donations and subscriptions for support."[8]

There were six churches in the directory in the early issues, eight by fall and sixteen by March, 1937 and for some years thereafter.

C.B. Perry of Wishart and A.H. Beamish of Winnipeg were added as associate editors during the first few months. There was, for some time, no masthead nor listing of the editorial staff and accompanying information. A series by J.C. Bailey dealing with the attitude of the Christian towards war was printed. There were frequent pleas for short articles, reports, and subscriptions. Writing about this early period a few years later, Bailey stated that,

> During all this time the paper was fin-

> ancially embarrassed. Brother Sinclair was going into debt more and more each month. And I am going to tell something that has never been told before. Brother D.A. Sinclair came to the rescue more than once in a financial way or the Gospel Herald would have long ceased to be.[9]

The series on Hebrews, Christian evidences and church history continued for many months. A series by Petch on Galatians and a series entitled "Our Canadian Preachers" started in 1938. There were occasional articles by J.C. Bailey, Gordon Pennock, Hector MacLeod, A.H. Beamish, D.A. Sinclair, and J.C. Roady with a regular series by C.G. McPhee. Some issues were rather heavy with reprints from the *Gospel Advocate*, *Firm Foundation*, and *Christian Leader*. The cause of this was revealed as follows:

> The Gospel Herald is a Canadian paper and we want Canadian writers. Three years ago eleven Canadians promised to write each month; and since then some have promised to write monthly and many to write often; but there is now only one Canadian whom I can count on to write an article each month. Some excuse themselves on account of being busy; some admit that the only reason is carelessness; while there are others we do not hear from at all. Our subscribers want those they know to write, and nothing worthwhile was ever done without an effort.[10]

Mentioning the same failure of the editors, J.C. Bailey asked where were their resignations. He pointed out that this was not fair to the publisher and asked to be crowded out as "I love to preach but write from a sense of duty."[11] As a result the February, 1939 and following issues were much improved

in these points. Lillian M. Torkelson had recommended a monthly page "Especially for the Young People" and became the editor of such a page beginning with this issue.

Sinclair had also appealed for monthly news from the churches to make the paper more interesting. There had been a number of extremely long articles. Short ones were recommended as best.

An abundance of short articles and news reports continued for most of 1939. Beginning in October considerable space was given to articles on the question of the Christian going to war. They supported conscientious objection to enlistment. Even the medical corps was discouraged in view of the problem of not being able to assemble with the saints.

Robert Sinclair had done a commendable job in launching the *Gospel Herald* in the dry prairies during the depression. The evidence is that he gave much in sacrificial labour in early years and that later, when much of the work was hired he had supplemented the earned and donated income of the paper. Times were so hard that brethren felt unable to afford the paper. Some subscribed by paying twenty-five cents for three months.

At the start it was a joint effort but after a time Sinclair was chastising the brethren for neglecting to supply copy. He got results and the paper was much more interesting for a time. As well, there was steady improvement in the mechanical reproduction. His affiliation with the young paper as editor ended in 1939, but he continued as publisher until March, 1942. He was evidently with the Sherbrooke Street church in Winnipeg two years later when an article from his pen appeared in the special issue prepared by that church. It is sad to state that he, who so valiantly laboured, is no longer affiliated with the cause he then supported.

The circulation department had been the most constant concern. It appears that it was, to a large extent, in the hope

of improving this department that J.C. Bailey became editor, beginning in January, 1940. He had been a loyal writer and a steady supporter in obtaining subscriptions.

J.C. Bailey Editorship

An all-time low was reached in the fall of 1939. Of the original editors, J.C. Bailey alone was writing regularly; the subscription list was falling and Bailey suggested that an editor be appointed to share the burden and arouse new interest. Although he disclaimed interest in the job, Sinclair soon wrote him that he was the only acceptable person he could think of. Bailey accepted and new interest was aroused for a time.[12]

In announcing the new editor, Sinclair stated,

> It is not our intention to make any great change in the Herald, but we believe that Brother Bailey can create interest and make the Herald a better paper.[13]

He made mention of the widespread respect in which Bailey was held. News and subscriptions were to be addressed to the publisher at Holland, Manitoba and articles to the editor at Radville, Saskatchewan.

The new editor began his task by affirming that he had undertaken a bigger job than he felt he could do. He would therefore seek the Lord's help. He had taken it because he believed that a paper was needed and because Sinclair had more work than one man could in fairness be expected to do.[14] When someone expressed concern that the paper would take him away from his preaching, Bailey affirmed that his work on the paper was entirely extra and that, "I do not expect to preach one sermon less this coming year."[15] Throughout his long term as editor and later as business manager and publisher he tried valiantly to live up to this statement by employing help and keeping later hours. As the burden

increased with the acquirement of a print shop and book store, he found that his evangelistic work was being hampered and finally, primarily because of this, sought and found new editors and publishers in 1953.

Bailey had been involved in the visionary but casual discussion from which seed the *Gospel Herald* sprang forth. Of the eleven men who originally agreed to write regularly, he was the only one who continued to do so faithfully during the early years when the paper was under Sinclair's control. When he gave the control over to new editors in 1953, Bailey was able to report that he had written for every issue of the *Gospel Herald* except one.[16] Thus, his dynamic personality, optimism and courage were a prevailing influence from the start. His popularity and widespread respect, together with his many travels throughout the Dominion, enabled an increase in circulation to a peak not reached before nor since. His shrewd business management and sacrificial service made possible a stable financial existence even in a time of inflationary price increases.

The June, 1939 issue, the first which was fully produced on a letter press, bore the front page caption, "Published Monthly in the interest of the Church of Christ for the Promotion of New Testament Christianity." When Bailey became editor in January, 1940 the term "Church of Christ" was changed to "Churches of Christ." Bailey was both honest and courageous. Although making every effort to keep offensive and harmful controversy out of the paper, he, at the same time, attempted to meet all challenges and answer or have answered all questions. When criticized for the frequent appearance of "Church of Christ" or "Churches of Christ" with the first letter capitalized, he acknowledged that the lower case usage was more in keeping with the scriptures and desirable to avoid denominational connotation. Effort was made to change this practice and to correct it in the writings

of others. So that the paper would not be thought to be a denominational organ, the caption was changed in January, 1943, when the printing began to be done in Meaford, Ontario, to read simply, "Published Monthly for the Promotion of New Testament Christianity." This has remained as the statement of purpose of this monthly journal up to the present time.

As a busy evangelist, Bailey was not seriously hampered by his editorial duties while Sinclair remained news editor, business manager and publisher. However, as one by one the other functions fell on his shoulders, he began to organize a staff of associate editors who were expected to write regularly for the paper.

Allen Killom of St. Catharines replaced Lillian Torkelson s editor of the Youth Page in August, 1941 but resigned in)ecember when he moved to Kentucky. He was replaced in this function by Gordon J. Pennock, a frequent writer and Manitoba evangelist.

Because of financial problems and a shrinking subscription list, Bailey became business manager in October, 1940, but Sinclair remained news editor and publisher. There were repeated complaints about the shortage of news reports until 1942 when the news reports and publishing also became Bailey's responsibility. Sinclair's name was no longer listed as publisher and news editor beginning in April, 1942. In October of the same year readers were instructed to send all communications to Meaford, Ontario. It was stated that "Robert Sinclair is not now at Morris and is not printing the paper."[17] The printing continued to be done at Morris by the "very fine printer" there for the rest of that year.

It was at this point that two new associate editors were announced. Bailey described Wilfred Orr as a "coworker in the Kingdom for more than a score of years," and continued, "His life is above reproach and I am sure he shall prove a rock

of strength to the Gospel Herald." Of Dryden Sinclair of St. Catharines it was reported that he had "made a success of financial affairs in the business world and at considerable sacrifice has turned to preaching the gospel full time again." Orr would write on subjects pertaining to Christian living and Sinclair, a brother of the founder, on first principles.[18]

Even with these associates, who, as often seems the case, did not write as frequently as might have been expected, Bailey found that with a growing paper there was more and more work falling on his shoulders. W.F. Cox of Beamsville, Ontario became an Associate Editor in July, 1943. Soon afterwards, a brief note from Dryden Sinclair requested release from his duties and wished the paper every success.[19]

The desire in selecting associate editors was to have as many provinces represented as possible. It was felt that thi would widen interest and circulation.

After publishing from Meaford for less than two years, the editor announced his plans to move back to Western Canada, where he felt he could do his best work. He had been in Meaford for four years. He was sponsored by the Sherbrook Street church in Winnipeg to evangelize in the prairies. The purpose was evidently to solicit his support from other areas so that the churches established in the West could begin to have their own programs putting young preachers to work rather than being burdened with Bailey's support.[20]

Although he spent much time away from Radville, Saskatchewan, the new point of publication, the editor was in daily contact by mail.

Allen Killom returned to St. Catharines and became an Associate Editor with the beginning of 1946 but resigned again when he moved to Tennessee in the fall of 1948. In September of the same year, T.H. Bostock of Calgary, Alberta, was added to this group. He had, evidently, broken away from the "instrumental music group" in Calgary and left

them very resentful. He was at this time publishing a small mimeographed paper called "The Way" but a year later he was "waging a noble fight against error" in a publication named "The Christian Review."[21] He was expected to write every month for the *Gospel Herald* but, although his name remained on the masthead until November, 1953, he did not contribute many articles.

The editor's brother, Cecil T. Bailey, began to edit the Youth Page in 1946. The former Youth Page editor, Gordon J. Pennock, continued as an associate editor. Although there was no explanation, Wilfred Orr's name was removed from the list in June, 1950. The August issue announced the addition of Bruce C. Merritt of Niagara Street, St. Catharines, as an associate. He wrote quite regularly for a time on worship and related subjects.

The editorial staff at the close of Bailey's term of control consisted of W.F. Cox, Hamilton, Ontario; T.H. Bostock, Calgary, Alberta; Bruce C. Merritt, St. Catharines, Ontario; Gordon J. Pennock, Bismarck, North Dakota; Cecil T. Bailey, Winnipeg, Manitoba; and Mrs. W.F. Stebbing, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

A number of special issues and special themes were featured during Bailey's editorship. A special issue in March, 1940 featured writers from across Canada. There was considerable material by H. McKerlie, the last editor of the *Christian Monthly Review*. A special evangelistic number appeared in July, 1940 and was publicized for distribution by the churches. A similar issue on "Conversion" by nine writers from four provinces was produced in June, 1943.

Churches or groups of churches were invited to use an issue for their history and to provide the teaching material as well. Churches in Winnipeg and Carman, Manitoba accepted this offer for March and April of 1944 and the church in Sarnia, Ontario for June. The Toronto churches did the

November, 1946 issue and seven churches in the Niagara Peninsula were featured in September, 1947. The March, 1950 issue contained a history of the work in British Columbia and four churches in Hamilton, Ontario used the space in November, 1952. In January, 1953 many writers from across the Dominion responded to the editor's invitation to write on what could be done to advance the cause in Canada.

The editor, his associates, and many others filled the pages with a great variety of subjects. Several good articles had been submitted by Albert F. Wadlow of Calgary who died at eight-seven years of age in 1948. Morris W. R. Bailey probably wrote more than any other person not on the staff and more than most of those on the staff. He wrote a series on the Holy Spirit, a lengthy series entitled "The Bible is God's Word," which was later published in book form, and several articles on premillennialism. H. McKerlie supplied a series of fourteen articles entitled "The World in the Melting Pot.' Radio sermons and other lengthy articles by W.F. Cox, C.G. McPhee and D.H. Perkins were frequently included. In addition, from time to time, when there was a shortage of copy or if something caught the editor's fancy, reprints from United States publications were used. Sermon outlines by W.F. Cox were almost a regular feature.

Although topics varied widely there was frequent attention given to baptism, the Christian and warfare, the effects of tobacco, the harm of movies, instrumental music, pre-millennialism, and the New Testament church. Mention was made that the paper was often prepared with a consciousness that isolated brethren depended on it for fellowship. False teachings received their share of attention, especially those of the Pentecostals, Adventists, Roman Catholics and Jehovah's Witnesses. Their teachings were dealt with in a very uncompromising although inoffensive

manner.

The sixteen pages were usually nearly one-half filled with news including wedding notices, often lengthy obituaries and a directory page listing churches and their services. The number of churches listed increased from twelve in 1939 to thirty-two in 1941, to fifty-two in 1943, to fifty-seven in 1945, and leveled out at sixty during 1947-1953. The directory was always on page sixteen, but news, teaching articles and features were often scattered throughout the paper with no apparent plan or system. This was especially true during the time that production was done by the editor and his helpers. Evidently, pages were made up and printed as the copy came to hand.

Frequent appeals for more news reports during the early ears appear to have resulted in a somewhat regular reporting rocedure by many churches and evangelists. News reports were printed without journalistic coloration or rearrangement. Headings were monotonously uniform following the pattern "Sarnia News" or "Brother Guild Reports." The effort was obviously more in the direction of producing a representative paper than a polished paper.

The Youth Page and the Woman's Page were supposed to be used by these groups but the various editors often found themselves filling the space with materials collected or written by themselves. The Youth Page did enjoy some periods of popularity.

In 1947, Bailey journeyed to the Abilene Christian College lectures and caught the world wide mission spirit of the post-war period. He wrote,

> I love my brethren, I love my country and under God's grace the pages of the Gospel Herald are going to be used more and more to urge and persuade men to a greater effort in evangelizing.[22]

Thereafter, there were many long articles about and reports of the mission efforts in Germany, Italy, France, Holland and Japan.

Started on a shoestring, the publication depended on donations of funds and labour from the start. If the money did not come from others, it fell to the editor to make up any deficit. Subscription income could not pay the bills unless the circulation increased. Cheap methods of reproduction and the donation of labour kept the paper going at first, but when the printing was done by letter-press, the financial pinch began to show.

Subscriptions were on the decline in October, 1939 and Sinclair was discouraged. It was hoped that a new editor would revive interest. This proved true for a time but did not last. The cost of printing should have been $70 per month, but Sinclair was willing to do it for $40, but for over a year he did not average $25.[23]

When the publisher threatened to suspend operations because he could bear the burden no longer, Bailey persuaded him to hang on another month. Bailey then found out what was needed and proceeded to arrange for help. He wrote to thirty-five or forty persons asking them to make up in gifts or new subscriptions whatever was short each month. Only one declined.[24] The result was Bailey's installation as business manager and the routing of all subscriptions to him. At that time there were four hundred seventy on the list. By November it was claimed that the financial position was better than at any time since the beginning. A campaign to increase the circulation received frequent space in the paper.

Some books and Bibles had been advertised as on hand for orders beginning in December, 1937. Profits from these sales helped to pay expenses. The editor explained the situation as follows:

> The Gospel Herald is published for the

> good it can do. The publisher is working for only the barest wages The editor does his work gratis and spends more for stamps than the sale of books and Bibles pays for.[25]

At the beginning of 1941 a number of long overdue subscriptions were cut off. It was pointed out that every gospel paper in Canada had failed in the past, and an appeal was made for cooperation in increasing circulation. There was enough encouragement to enlarge to sixteen pages in February. The circulation must have been about seven hundred as it was stated that one new one per day would be necessary to reach one thousand by the end of the year.[26]

The fifth birthday having passed, the editor wrote,

> This baby was born in very poor circumstances and it was very sick one time last fall. In fact, we were afraid it would die but it pulled through its sickness and today is in very good health. . . . We have a good publisher who works long hours for little. . .editor. . .loves the baby and spends a lot of time over it.[27]

Despite all this effort, losses were greater than gains in August. It cost the editor money as well as work each month. One thousand subscribers were needed to meet expenses, but there were only eight hundred on the list. There was fluctuation from twelve to sixteen pages as finances permitted. Costs for printing and mailing were $59 per month in February, 1942 and circulation was just eighty short of the goal.[28] The big day arrived on March 22, when Mrs. W. McArthur of Collingwood handed the editor the one thousandth subscription. There was immediate talk of a higher goal, perhaps 2,000, or of publishing twice a month to 2,500 for $1.50 each.[29] The new business manager had more than doubled the circulation in slightly over a year.

Although a new goal of 2,000 was hinted at several times,

it was not definitely stated until December.

> . . .our aim to send the subscription list of the Gospel Herald up to 2,000 this coming year . . .depends on readers. . . . That the Gospel Herald has proved a tower of strength to many has been proven many times in letters received by the editor.[30]

Bailey proceeded to work hard towards this new goal. The progress of the campaign was frequently publicized in the paper. The number of subscribers in the larger centers was printed from time to time showing changes that had occurred. Subscriptions were solicited in his travels but in all likelihood he obtained the largest response from personal letters. He wrote over one hundred per month to those whose subscriptions had expired. During April, May and June besides writing, he held four gospel meetings and proofrea and arranged four issues of the *Gospel Herald.* His doctc reminded him that he was "burning the candle at both ends."

Beginning with this drive and for some years, a Bible and a book were offered each fall to the persons sending in the most subscriptions. During November and December of 1944 there were two hundred seventy-six new subscriptions and over two hundred twenty renewals.

This taste of success, coming at the time of the move from Meaford, Ontario to Radville, Saskatchewan may have encouraged a venture into printing equipment and a print shop. The idea was to find a young man to learn the business and thus to make the work of the paper even more permanent.[31]

The result of this plan was an additional urgency in the matter of subscriptions. Money was needed; $400 for equipment, $176.42 for freight; and $800 for the new shop. Monthly income above expenses was used for these things and also the editor was using part of his book sales money. It

is thus hinted that the book business was considered his rather than a part of the business.[32]

A twenty by sixteen foot shop was built by volunteer labour and the press and stapling machines installed before the end of the year. The date-line address changed to Radville in 1944 and it began to be printed in its new home later that year. The year 1944 had seen more changes for the paper than any other year.

It had been a good year financially. Only $600 was owing. Bailey wrote:

> We have paid all expenses incidental to publishing the paper and we have paid out in cash more than one thousand dollars for equipment and a building to house our printing establishment. . . .
>
> Religious papers depend on their book sales to help pay expenses.[33]

Type was set by hand but when necessary by linotype in Weyburn and later in Regina. Job printing was advertised. Evidently, R.A. Farr was the young man who operated the print shop at this time.

Circulation continued to increase despite the policy of removing all names that were three months past due. A commission of twenty-five cents per subscription was offered to young people wishing to raise funds to attend the Bible Schools of the time. The new goal was reached when Mrs. Popplebaum of Punnichy, Saskatchewan turned in the two thousandth subscription in June, 1945.[34] This appears to be the peak circulation ever attained by such a Canadian publication.

Two innovations were made in 1946. A heavier book-type paper replaced the newsprint which had been used since beginning to print by letter press. The extra cost was $150 per year. Also, bound volumes were made each year beginning

with volume XII for 1946. These were sold at the same price as a subscription. They were bound in a heavy paper binding.

There was frequent mention of heavy increases in the price of paper. The cost of living was higher, wages were higher, and other papers had increased their rates, but the *Gospel Herald* would try to hold the line at $1. Despite this and the offer of a free book to everyone sending in three new or five renewal subscriptions, the list was falling and a smaller paper, cheaper paper or a raise in price appeared inevitable. Paper was now $30 per month in contrast to the $10 of the "good old days."[35]

The *Gospel Herald* became the Canadian Branch of the Bible School Book Store of Athens, Alabama in 1947. Catalogues were offered.

Bundles were offered to churches at five cents each per month for ten or more and $3.50 per month for one hundred. An offer to send a nice announcement card encouraged the use of the paper as a gift. In an announcement of the twenty-fifth wedding anniversary of the editor it was suggested that four silver quarters would pay for a subscription and readers were requested to "shower us with subs; yes, shower us."[36]

Another strategy to get subscriptions was the listing, under the heading "Honour Roll," of all who sent in new or renewal subscriptions other than their own. This was continued for the next four years with some success, although space for it was not always available.

The cost of paper was stated to have advanced 300 per cent and everything else was up. The burden increased monthly. More subscriptions and book orders were needed. In the hope of keeping costs down and keeping the news more up to date, a used linotype was purchased in 1952. Cooperation was needed to pay for this and to maintain the traditional policy of paying all bills in time. Bailey stated that there had never been a bill not paid on time since he became

business manager. One reader advocated doubling the subscription price to eliminate "the present unethical and unscriptural practice of one being burdened and many others eased."[37]

For many years new subscriptions had only cost fifty cents. Widows could subscribe for fifty cents up to the end of 1952 even though $1 did not pay expenses. Despite this, the paper had "broken even" in 1952 with "our book and Bible sales."[38] The low price policy could not continue, and finally it was announced that subscriptions would be $1.50 as of September 1, 1953, although gift subscriptions would continue at $1.

The cause of this change besides the general inflation already faced was explained as being twofold. Bailey's youngest son, John, who had been doing most of the mechanical work, was leaving home to attend college.[39] Enquiry disclosed the fact that it would cost from $50 to $75 more per month than the present income of the paper to have the work done commercially. Bailey and his family had thus been contributing this amount in labour each month. Some heavy investments in machinery or a change in set-up would be necessary.

The second cause of the increase in rates is revealed in the following:

> . . .In fact, there is some prospect that the Gospel Herald may pass into other hands. It shall not do that until we have assured ourselves that such can be done without putting too much of a strain on the new editors. The Gospel Herald restricts my work as far as going into new places and developing the work and I have prayed much about it, and if the Gospel Herald can continue to be as useful as it is, perhaps more so, and I can do more pioneering work

> then the change shall be made. . . . I have utmost confidence in the soundness of those who are willing to take over the paper and will cooperate with them fully if the change seems for the good of the Cause we all love.[40]

Bailey had been prominent in the Gospel Herald's operation from the beginning and as well as editing and publishing had been business manager for more than a decade. During much of this time, he had also been business manager for Radville Christian College. Both were "hand to mouth" operations, and his accomplishments in keeping them in "the black" have been equaled by few. Besides being a talented writer and zealous evangelist, Bailey was a shrewd manager.

In his closing issue in October, 1953, his attachment t(that for which he had worked so hard is revealed. To give i up was a hard decision, but he had to curtail something. He wrote,

> I shall continue to do some writing. We shall miss your yearly letters. To me the Gospel Herald has become a part of my life. I have said several times that it was almost like giving up one of the children.[41]

He had been assured that the policy would remain the same under the new management, which was announced as a cooperative editorship by Eugene C. Perry of Beamsville, Ontario and Roy D. Merritt of Hamilton. This would move the publication back to Ontario and might, it was feared, result in a lessening of interest in the West. However, the change was made and became effective with the November, 1953 issue.

Bailey stated his intention to keep the print shop and book business for a time, but the removal of Radville Christian College to Weyburn, Saskatchewan and Bailey's own change

of residence soon terminated this enterprise. A side light on the printing operation is the fact that it also supplied some employment through the years to hard pressed young students in the High School and Bible Departments of the College whose campus was just across the river from the town of Radville.

Bailey had sometimes acknowledged the difficulty of deciding what to print. The policy of promoting New Testament Christianity must be satisfied and he was pledged to contend for the faith once for all delivered to the saints. At the same time he promised to avoid contention as much as this policy would permit. He strove to ride no hobbies and to hate the sin rather than the sinner. The paper was not a church paper and strove not to regulate nor interfere in the affairs of local churches.[42]

How well he succeeded in this might best be shown in a tribute written by H.A. Rogers, an early and effective prairie evangelist. He wrote that credit was due the editor,

> . . .for the very fine way in which he has handled the Gospel Herald for the years past—it is a credit to you, Bro. Bailey. You have kept it clean and free from squabbles and unpleasant cuttings and sarcasms. It is not an easy job to edit a paper.
>
> The Gospel Herald can be handed to anyone without fear of its policy being offensive. It has been carrying very fine reading and stands for the Truth without any compromise—that is saying much.[43]

When the change was completed, Eugene Perry, who had been collecting such periodicals and studying their history, included a tribute to Bailey in his first editorial as follows:

> . . .I take this opportunity of commending the pioneer editor for service well done.

> Having lived in Radville for two years and observed the conditions under which the work was carried on, I cannot but marvel that the paper has been so well done. I happen to know that Brother Bailey is not fond of writing. Yet, he has written more for the Gospel Herald than any other person.
>
> Besides his editorial work and the wide correspondence entailed in managing the paper and book sales, Brother Bailey and his family have worked day and night, during a part of each month, setting type, printing, folding, stapling, mailing and wrapping, etc. These long hours of work freed him to hold meetings and teach classes during the rest of the month. The personal sacrifices involved in these years of faithful service cannot be overestimated.[44]

Essentially a pioneer, Bailey had seen the paper through its pioneer period, built up a good circulation and made it an effective tool in informing and edifying and also in stirring up the brethren to nation-wide and world-wide activities for Christ. Its monthly visits were welcomed by many, especially those who were isolated from other Christians. The circulation had dropped from the 2,000 peak and after a few months, with the removal of overdue subscribers, the new management found it at about 1,450. Bailey expressed the hope that the change might excite more interest and enlarge the circulation.

His pioneer bent has since been directed elsewhere. Visits had already been made to Newfoundland, the new tenth province of Canada, and now he found time to revive the work in Nova Scotia. The challenge to evangelize India came his way resulting in new years of pioneering hardships under most difficult circumstances. In India he has published papers

and tracts, taught training schools and evangelized villages so that, through his efforts and those of others he has influenced, over 80,000 have been baptized into Christ since 1963 (December, 1970). Much credit is due this man of faith whose energy and drive have been so fruitful. His involvement in such challenging and far-flung activities has prevented his writing for "his" paper as much as he intended, but he has continued as an associate editor.

The arrangement with the new editors included an understanding that if he desired it, he could have the paper back under certain circumstances. The *Gospel Herald* was edited by Robert Sinclair from 1936 to 1939, by J.C. Bailey from 1940 to 1953 and the new editors have continued it from that date to the present. Although Bailey's statement that it had "been printed consecutively"[45] longer than any other such paper published by the brethren in Canada might have been questioned at the time it was made, it cannot be questioned today.

Other Papers During This Period

During the more prosperous and more technically advanced period following World War II, it is not surprising that many churches and some individuals undertook to produce bulletin-type publications. Some were in the form of weekly church bulletins containing news, both local and general, along with some teaching material. Usually these were for local distribution only, but editors began to exchange them. In some isolated cases mailing lists were obtained and larger circulations were built up. This was usually for the purpose of spreading a particular position or, as some thought, of warning the churches against apostasy.

Others were monthly papers and were supported by subscription or solicitation of some kind. These did not attract much attention in the *Gospel Herald*, the general and

representative paper for the Dominion.

Christian Messenger

The *Christian Messenger* was announced in 1944 as a new paper, evangelistic and encouraging, to be published monthly without profit or remuneration to the editor and publisher. Jardine McKerlie of Toronto, son of the last editor of the *Christian Monthly Review*, was the editor. Evidently, this paper was intended for use by congregations as a teaching tool in their local work. It was especially directed to the non-member and would be non-controversial and contain no news except for a space provided for the use of the church distributing the paper.[46] The length of life or extent of use of this publication is not known.

The Canadian Christian

In 1950 another monthly appeared on the scene in the form of *The Canadian Christian*. This was a small six and one-half by ten inch teaching paper containing twelve pages of teaching material. It was printed on newsprint type of paper, but evidently professionally done. Coloured ink was often used and occasionally a second colour added to its general attractiveness.

The editor and publisher of this new venture was D.A. Sinclair in whose home his son, Robert, had produced the first few issues of the *Gospel Herald*. He is credited with anonymously providing it with financial help during the early years of struggle. Another son, Dryden, had been an associate editor of the *Gospel Herald* for a brief period and was, at the time of the start of *The Canadian Christian*, proprietor of a prosperous printing business in Thorold, Ontario.

Although the editor's address at the start was St. James, Manitoba, the place of publication was Thorold, Ontario. Evidently, Dryden was doing the printing and possibly

providing a considerable amount of editorial assistance. Such could not be publicized as he was at this time not in fellowship with the churches in the Thorold area. The father later moved to Thorold and was thus closer to the publishing point.

The first issue appeared in January, 1950. It and the next two were distributed free as samples to get the paper introduced. It was charged up to all subscribers beginning with the April issue. Sinclair wrote,

> This is my first venture in anything of this kind and I am finding it much more complicated than I imagined it would be. . . .
>
> I now have about 1,100 on the list. I think that is pretty good for less than four months and I just started to make arrangements for it.[47]

A Bible was offered as a prize to the person sending in the most subscriptions in a two-month period. The subscription price was fifty cents per year and thirty-five cents in bundles of ten. After two years, the paper was increased to sixteen pages and the subscription price was increased to $1; 85 cents in bundles of ten. Bound copies of the 1951 issues were announced and offered free to anyone sending in ten or more subscriptions at a time. By early 1951 distribution included sixteen foreign countries and

> . . .the following number of different post offices in the Canadian provinces mentioned: 156 in Saskatchewan, 144 in Ontario; 73 in Manitoba, 65 in British Columbia, 41 in Alberta, 22 in Nova Scotia, 10 in New Brunswick, 7 in Quebec, 6 in Prince Edward Island, 6 in Newfoundland.[48]

The editor considered his paper a missionary effort and asked for others to join him in the work. Although it was evidently the policy to drop the names of past due subscribers,

many must have received it without paying. Those who could not afford it were asked to let it be known. A few did. Bundles were sent here and there free as a missionary work. Many sent in funds to provide for this. Many names were submitted for sample papers.

> . . .One list of eight thousand names was given with the request that The Canadian Christian be sent to each. Another list of sixteen hundred also was handed in with the same request.[49]

Some sent it to jails and hospitals. Congregations were having it sent to mailing lists in their localities. Although the number of paid subscriptions is not disclosed, it was stated that, "Ten thousand were printed of the last two issues. We hope by the end of the year to have that amount nearly doubled each month."[50] Names and addresses of elders and ministers were solicited and bundles were sent to them.

The year 1953 saw frequent mention of the number of subscriptions in arrears. There were pleas for renewal of these. It appears that the publisher had over-extended himself in sending out so may free papers. A circular issued in early 1953 stated,

> It is necessary for us to get a number of new subscribers in order to get The Canadian Christian on a self-supporting basis.
>
> Since The Canadian Christian started three years ago, it has gone behind financially several thousands of dollars. We do not seek the recovery of this money, but we do ask you as one of our readers to help get the paper to pay its own way. The more readers there are, the less it costs per reader to produce the paper.[51]

Sinclair was not content to restrict circulation to a paid subscription list and possibly lost second class mail

authorization because of this. Such authorization was published in April, 1953, but the August issue did not bear it nor the subscription rate. Instead, the masthead read,

> Subscription price. . .as God enables. Help us to save postage dollars by using bundles lots. We believe you cannot use better material than The Canadian Christian to help win men and women to Christ.[52]

It was advertised as "free for you to use, as the Lord enables us. Send postage and we will fill your requirements."[53]

An undated circular requesting prayer for the publication mentioned a paper account of $1,500 that had to be paid. Just at that time, evidently in answer to prayer, an elderly farmer, who had been blessed with a good crop, donated $1,450. It was stated,

> . . .Nearly twice as much money is needed to carry on this work as we receive from subscriptions each month.
>
> Out of every subscription dollar we receive, 24¢ goes for postage, 6¢ for envelopes or wrappers, 10¢ for bookkeeping and addressing. That leaves 60¢ to pay for printing 12 issues of the paper. Every month many hundreds of papers are given away.
>
> As the March and April issues reach you, there are more than 1,000 readers whose subscriptions are past due.[54]

Thus, it appears that publication and distribution were done somewhat recklessly or perhaps one should say, in faith. Subscribers who would receive the paper whether or not they renewed, apparently neglected to renew and it is no surprise that this publication did not continue very long after the change of policy.

Most of the content was not identified as to source or

author. It is assumed that much of it was written by the editor himself. It was a good quality and presented fundamental truths in a kindly but firm manner. The editor, who was not a young man, wrote,

> . . .From the hundreds of letters received, I know the paper is helping save souls and strengthen Christians. New congregations have been started through its teaching. Your editor is putting in from twelve to fourteen hours a day at work connected with the paper. A lot more is spent publishing it than is received from the paper. It is just a missionary effort to preach the gospel and save souls for eternity.[55]

The purpose of *The Canadian Christian*, printed at the top of each page opening as, "For the Advancement of New Testament Christianity," was almost identical to that of its contemporary, the *Gospel Herald.* The evidence is that it succeeded reasonably well in this purpose during its short life.

The publisher also undertook to edit a monthly magazine for children. It was announced, "The Little Christian will be a small booklet type magazine with 24 pages of good, wholesome reading just for children."[56] The first issue came off the press in August, 1952. Subscriptions were $1 per year. Sample copies were sent to all subscribers of *The Canadian Christian* in hopes of building up a good subscription circulation.

It is not known how this little paper fared in circulation nor how long it lived. No copies are known to be extant.

Living Stones 1961-70

Living Stones, its long title, "Calling all men to be LIVING STONES in the house of God", was the name of a small (8½" by 5½") sixteen-page monthly edited by Clinton Brazle beginning in 1961. Although there might be some question,

for reasons given below, as to whether it should be included in a history of Canadian Restoration Publications, we add it here.

Brother Brazle started this monthly in September 1961 in Anaconda, Montana in an effort to provide "a bit of regular encouragement" for scattered Christians in that state. When he moved to Weyburn, Saskatchewan two years later, he edited it from there. Early issues were done "on our used offset press". Later, arrangements were made with a friend, Claude Johnston, in Wichita, Kansas to print and mail it. It is not known whether this publication was ever mailed from a Canadian post office even though the editor resided in Canada, and several who wrote regularly were Canadians, and it had a fair circulation in Canada. It continued for ten years and was printed and mailed by Dryden Sinclair of Western Christian Foundation in Wichita Falls, Texas during its final years.

In his first editorial, the editor stated,

> We confidentially hope that each reader will determine from the start to be a 'living stone' in God's house, the church. . . . That we can stimulate you to more growth and greater activity in the Kingdom of God. We would like to awaken you to the wonderful active life. . . ."[57]

Issues usually contained seven to nine articles, often by the same writers month after month. Among the Canadian writers and their topics were: Roger Jeal of Prince Albert (Restoring New Testament Christianity), E.D. Wieb of Western Christian College (Christian Education), Ivan Weltzin of Calgary (Teaching Them to Observe All Things That I Commanded You), J.E. Pennington of Estevan (Questions Considered), Faye Brazle of Weyburn (After Thoughts), Ray McMillan of India (Unto the Uttermost Part), and Cecil Bailey of Winnipeg (Viewpoints).

South of the boarder, some regulars were: Charles Moore

of Newark, Delaware (Leadership in the Church), Ron Milton of Tulsa, Oklahoma (Faith Our Greatest Need), Gerald Beasly of Winfield, Kansas (". . .fervent in Spirit, serving the Lord"), Dryden Sinclair (Cordial Contacts), and Ken Samuel of Jeffersonville, Indiana ("Reaching Forth Unto Those Things Which Are Before").

The little paper was attractive and an "easy read". News, usually on the back page, was very condensed. Beginning in June 1967, the front pages featured interesting pictures. The May 1968 issue was a Special on the mission work being done in India.

The editor occasionally apologized for being late and often appealed for new subscribers. He explained that "both time and money seem to be at a premium".[58] In 1968, readers were urged to send in two extra subscriptions at the reduced price of $1.00. New paid subscriptions were urgently needed to meet the costs. Subscriptions were normally $1.25 in the U.S. and $1.50 in Canada, but gift subscriptions were encouraged at $1.00. Brazle reports that, "Circulation grew to 800 (with many gratis copies sent. . . Finally, I called a halt, after 10 years, because I owed the printer too much money."[59]

This little paper was a worthy effort and appears to have served its purpose fairly well. Once again, we see an editor sacrificing much personal time and money to serve the brotherhood by keeping his paper afloat.

The Prairie Proclaimer

Some time prior to the *Gospel Herald* moving from Saskatchewan to Ontario in November, 1953, Alvin Jennings, energetic young evangelist in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, began publication of a small mimeographed quarterly entitled *The Prairie Proclaimer.* Although the details are not definitely known, it is believed that this publication was financed by funds from a number of cooperating churches.

Almost entirely a news medium, it is now being published by offset press at Western Christian College, North Weyburn, Saskatchewan. There may have been interruptions in its issuance as the 1970 volume is numbered eleven.[60] Even though no subscription rates are published, it had second class mailing authorization. It appears that the Prairie churches continue to cooperate in paying the costs of production and distribution. Many churches never did their part and the publisher often had to make up the deficit from his own funds.[61] Format, size of page and number of pages have varied but it has been of the church bulletin size and appearance.

Others became responsible for editing and publishing because Jennings moved from Saskatchewan to Quebec and later to the United States. It is, and has for some time been, in the hands of Ernest W. Andreas of Western Christian College.

Very little editing is done. Occasional poems, advertisements and a directory of churches in the Western Provinces appear. News reports, written by individuals in each congregation, are printed pretty well as received. The writers often appear to be short of news of interest and thus strive to find something to write. When something newsworthy is included, it often reaches the reading public many weeks or even months later.

No doubt this little paper has served a worthwhile function in recording history, encouraging effort, sharing news and announcing events. There was some feeling by J.C. Bailey that it was not needed, as the *Gospel Herald* served the same purpose in addition to providing much more. The present publishers of the *Gospel Herald* tend to share this doubt and to feel that the existence of this publication might have contributed to the poor circulation of their paper in the West and encouraged an already existing sectionalism.[62]

Neither *The Canadian Christian*, a teaching medium for

general distribution, nor *The Prairie Proclaimer*, a sectional quarterly news reporter were intended to compete with or replace the *Gospel Herald*, which combined both functions and strove to serve the whole Dominion.

Under the Co-Editors

The new editors of the *Gospel Herald* had the advantage of having much more formal education than their predecessors but were handicapped considerably in experience. Both had been in the armed forces during World War II but neither had seen active duty. Each had, upon discharge, entered Abilene Christian College, and having completed baccalaureate degree programs, had proceeded to take Graduate studies—Perry at George Pepperdine College in Los Angeles, California and Merritt at Butler University in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Perry had spent a year with the church in Niagara Falls, New York before moving to work with Radville Christian College in Radville, Saskatchewan. There, he was associated for two years with J.C. Bailey and became somewhat familiar with the production of the *Gospel Herald.* He had returned to his home province of Ontario to help launch Great Lakes Christian College in the fall of 1952.

Merritt had begun working with the church in Hamilton, Ontario after receiving his Master's degree and had been active in establishing the Fennell Avenue congregation in a new section of the city. Both had written a number of articles for the *Gospel Herald* during the months preceding the change of editors.

There was talk of forming an editorial council, organizing into departments and dividing the labour rather widely. Bailey feared that such an arrangement would not prove practical and insisted on one or two men having major responsibility for the publication. Neither Merritt nor Perry

felt equal to the whole responsibility in addition to their full-time activities in other work; so, it was taken on as a joint effort.

Bailey advised a firm stand on certain doctrinal issues then in focus, encouraged the use of shorter articles than had been appearing and recommended regularity and punctuality of issuance. He thus gave into other hands that which had been both a great burden and a labour of love.

The new editors made an arrangement with *The Beamsville Express* to print the monthly issues for a reasonable price which varied with the number printed but provided little savings per paper if the number was increased. The cost was $140 per month at that time but did not include gathering, folding, stapling and mailing. These operations were done by Mr. and Mrs. Perry on the dining room table in their upstairs apartment on the Great Lakes Christian College campus, usually in one twelve-hour period from 3 p.m. to 3 a.m. Later, student help was used and this work was done in a basement laboratory; and still later, the Perry children fulfilled this responsibility.

Perry had started a small book dealership a few months earlier as a result of a desire to see Dr. J.P. Gibson's book, **The Church at Work**, more widely read by church leaders in Canada. George M. Johnson of Beamsville had been selling books for some years and soon arranged to sell his display rack and stock to Eugene Perry and his brother, Ralph Perry. The two had formed the Perry Brothers' Book Supply and set up the display in a small room in the main building of the new college. When the *Gospel Herald* was offered to Eugene, his brother was quite willing to drop out of the book dealership, feeling that distribution would be better accomplished through the *Gospel Herald*, which would also depend on the profits for financial stability. Personal funds had been invested. An investment of $250 each by Merritt and E. Perry bought out

the Perry Brothers' Book Supply and paid Bailey for the address plates and addressing equipment which he had been using. With a printer, a subscription list, addressing equipment, an editorial staff, and a stock of books and Bibles, the new management was ready for business.

The two new editors pledged to carry on with the same general policy as before, affording a voice to Christians and maintaining an evangelistic tone. The plan and purpose were stated as follows:

> . . .Our aim is to please God. We intend to describe true New Testament Christianity: to discriminate between it and all substitutes and to defend the divinely revealed order in religion. All of this will be done in the spirit of love. There is room for objective discussion of controversial questions. There is no room for indiscriminate name-calling, temper tantrums, and the destructive strife of conflicting personalities.
>
> An attempt will be made to include in each issue teaching articles suitable to the needs of the unconverted. It is also needful that Christians be exhorted and encouraged doctrinally and practically. We want to encourage the Christian life, work and worship taught in the New Testament.[63]

It was stressed that no material profit was expected, rather extra work and possible financial sacrifice. Each editor already had a normal work load. The extra was being assumed to provide a needed service and to free Bailey "for the evangelistic work for which he is so well suited."[64]

The inclusion and length of news articles had, in the past, depended pretty well on what and how much the brethren in various places saw fit to report. Many were busy or

preoccupied, or, perhaps, too modest to report. Those reporting often felt that their reports would be judged by their length. Thus, the reader had many times to extract the kernel from the chaff. In an effort to provide more widespread coverage, and at the same time to get the news in the small space available each month, two new features were started in February, 1954 and have continued for seventeen years as popular features of the *Gospel Herald*. Condensation of the highlights of activities in foreign fields have been written by Mrs. Roy Merritt, a graduate of Abilene Christian College, under the heading, "Gleanings from Foreign Fields." Contents have been gleaned from field reports of missionaries and from exchange publications. A similar feature condensing news activities and progress in Canada has been done by Eugene Perry, who has used correspondence and the many church bulletins as his sources. These two pages have been located in the center of the paper and have generally divided the teaching section from the news and advertising section. Many have, through the years, stated that this is the first thing that is read when the paper is received. Longer news reports, obituaries under the title "Our Departed," and wedding reports continued to be printed pretty well as received. These, along with advertising and the directory headed, "Worship with the Lord's People," filled up the back half of each issue.

Another feature, a Book Review column, appeared spasmodically in 1954, and a few months later began to appear regularly under editorship of Keith Thompson, the evangelist of the Owen Sound, Ontario, church. This column has continued under the same writer to the present time.

There had been no arrangement with Mrs. W.F. Stebbings of the Woman's Page, and Cecil T. Bailey of the Young People's Page, to continue when the paper changed hands and locations. The new editors were too busy to contact them

immediately and, as a consequence, Bailey was not heard from and the Woman's Page only appeared a few times, under the new management and has not been revived. In 1960, Buford E. Pitman of Lloydminster, Alberta began to edit a "Page for Christian Youth." This has continued as a monthly feature under different editors since that date. Much more of the content has been written by the editors and others to young people than has been produced by young people. The latter had been the hope of the editors.

Other special features included a Bible Quiz with answers supplied in inverted type or on a different page for self-rating. The "I" of Bible and the "Q" of Quiz have been enlarged in such a way as to depict "IQ," signifying "Bible Intelligence Quotient." This feature was initially written by Geoffrey H. Ellis, graduate of Abilene Christian College and staff member of Great Lakes Christian College and has been published regularly since March, 1956. Since August, 1960, H. Ralph Perry, brother of one of the editors and evangelist with the young church in London, Ontario, has edited a very practical page entitled, "Teaching God's Word."

At first the teaching content was the responsibility of the individual editors on alternate months. They also took turns in writing the editorial, which always appeared on page four with the masthead. This arrangement was not really an even division of labour from the first as Perry lived in Beamsville and had to oversee the final submission of copy, reading of proofs, compilation of news and advertising, and assembling and mailing of the paper each month. In addition to these duties, he received the mail, answered much of it and managed a book business. This business was predominately mail order, but also served customers on a walk-in basis. Nevertheless, despite the evident imbalance of this arrangement, it continued for a number of years until Merritt moved from Hamilton (twenty miles from Beamsville) to

Ottawa (about three hundred miles away) in 1958. After that date, Merritt was responsible for editorials and teaching content and Perry acted as managing editor continuing with all other responsibilities. Consultation was infrequent and difficult and deadlines came rapidly.

During the earlier period, the editors often wrote articles in addition to editorials. Preachers who moved to the Canadian work were invited to submit an article and a picture as a means of introducing them to the brotherhood. A number of these accepted the invitation during the early years but the practice appears to have discontinued with the change in arrangements.

The same associate editors continued as listed under Bailey's editorship. Frequent writers included J.C. Bailey of Saskatchewan, H.A. Rogers of Manitoba, John Mallory of British Columbia, John S. Whitfield of Ontario, Gordon J. Pennock of Montana, Donald E. Perry of Ontario, H. Ralph Perry of Ontario, Alvin Jennings of Quebec, Joseph Cannon of Japan, Morris W. R. Bailey of Saskatchewan and Keith Thompson of Ontario.

Subject content was varied with considerable emphasis on first principles, Christian living and denominational errors during these years. Baptism, mixed marriages, Christian education, the Holy Spirit, the dance, the Sabbath, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Mormons, and Roman Catholicism received their share of attention. Keith Thompson wrote a lengthy series on "The Necessity of Baptism;" Roy D. Merritt on "The Early Church and Carnal Warfare;" J.C. Bailey on Mormonism and Jehovah's Witnesses; and Morris W.R. Bailey submitted replies to the advertisements of the Knights of Columbus in popular magazines as well as writing on the Adventists and the Lord's Day. Murray Hammond wrote a series on "Evolution and Creation;" Luther Martin of Missouri, a series on Roman Catholicism; Keith Thompson, a

series on "What Think Ye of Christ?" and Joseph Cannon, a series on "Christ and His Mission."

There were few and infrequent changes in the editorial staff. In March, 1955 two new associate editors were added. They were Keith Thompson of Owen Sound, Ontario and Alvin Jennings of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. The next year the name of T.H. Bostock of Calgary was removed since he had not been heard from for years, although the directory listed him as secretary of the Calgary church until September, 1955. Gordon J. Pennock, who had been in the United States for some years, and Alvin Jennings, who moved to the States, were discontinued as associates in November, 1960.

When Buford Pitman moved from Lloydminster to the United States, he was replaced as editor of the "Page for Christian Youth" by Ray L. Miller. Miller had attended Great Lakes Christian College and Freed-Hardeman College an was serving the Ivon Avenue church in Hamilton, Ontario.

The name of W.F. Cox was removed from the listing i 1963 when he died at the age of eighty-six. An article from his pen had appeared in the issue previous to his death. One of his sermon outlines had been included each month for many years and, after this was discontinued, he frequently contributed very fine teaching articles. In addition, he had constantly and voluntarily been concerned about the circulation of the paper and had obtained many new and renewal subscriptions. His faithful participation and active concern were refreshing to the editors who had otherwise experienced considerable difficulty getting associates to write regularly, to say nothing of helping with circulation.

When Donald Perry left Great Lakes Christian College to go with his family to preach the gospel in India in the fall of 1963, his name was removed. H. Ralph Perry, Ray Miller and Geoffrey H. Ellis, all of whom had been editing regular features, were added.

For the year beginning in the fall of 1963, Keith Thompson was made responsible to oversee the teaching portion of the paper. Merritt spent this year in Abilene, Texas in preparation for a new work at the Lakehead in Northern Ontario under Abilene support and direction. He did, however, continue to write the monthly editorials. Thomspon was listed with Merritt and Perry as an editor from that time until 1969 when he moved from Beamsville to Niagara Falls, Ontario. In reality, he was book review editor and associate editor after the close of 1964.

In order to make the publication more representative of the whole Dominion with the hope of gaining interest and circulation in the West, Jim Hawkins of Victoria, British Columbia, and Murray Hammond of Winnipeg were added as associates in 1963. Daniel Wieb of Weyburn, Saskatchewan, was included in March, 1964. These new associates, along with the others listed, did not turn out to be prolific writers or ardent supporters, although there did appear occasional articles by them.

The content of the paper was not always obviously well planned or well balanced to fulfill the stated purpose of the publishers. Both of the editors being fully, and often more than fully, occupied with other responsibilities, the paper often contained the gleanings of what happened to be on hand. Sometimes this involved including items from outside the Dominion and often from others besides the editors and associates. Because of this tendency, the paper may not have been as effective as it could have been with more systematic planning. On the other hand, it did tend to show the attitudes and emphases of those who voluntarily submitted copy and thus, possibly, of the brotherhood in Canada. If this be true, then there would appear to be a trend away from a strict emphasis on first principles and religious error to a less rigid and more general pattern of thought.

Because of the dearth of copy and the lack of time to solicit it, all brethren who wrote were invited to submit copy for publication to keep the *Gospel Herald* representative and interesting. It was stressed that no other publication could take the place of the *Gospel Herald.*[65]

Although there had been many good articles submitted from brethren in the United States, a policy to encourage more from the Canadian field and to give these precedence, was announced.[66] This was partly for the reasons stated and partly because there had been some effort by outside brethren to introduce to readers certain problems that were disturbing many United States churches. The editors felt that these did not need to be published as they were not likely to need answering in the Canadian situation.

A new feature was offered in 1965 in the form of a "Question and Answer" column to be edited by Keith Thompson. Questions were invited but those who submitted them were asked to "avoid wording questions which would be calculated to lead us into using space in a manner contrary to the stated purposes and policies of this paper."[67]

An effort to direct the teaching content of the paper more fully is displayed in the Special Issues which appeared quite frequently at first and continued from time to time. Some of these had coloured covers. All bore identification in the form of a title or theme. A reduced news section and the regular features were usually included in these specials.

In 1955 there were four of these issues entitled, "The Gospel Plan of Salvation," "Christian Living," "New Testament Conversions," and "Personal Responsibility." The next year saw two: "Conversions" and "The Lord's Church in Canada." The latter was edited by Perry and contained a map with statistics which are of historical interest. It was an attempt to survey the situation at the time.

In 1957 there was a special issue entitled "Behold the

Fields Are White Unto Harvest" containing the same map as used the previous year, but emphasizing needs and opportunities in the work. The same year, the news that the Church of Christ (Disciples) was proposing union with the United Church of Canada brought forth an issue addressed to these people. This was encouraged and partially edited by J.C. Bailey, the former editor. It was circulated to all of the "Disciples" whose addresses could be obtained in the hopes of causing them to see the results of the direction they had taken years before.

Another effort to stir interest in evangelism in Canada was a special issue with a different map in March, 1958. Entitled "Canada—The Need," it was distributed in the southern states and may have had some influence in bringing evangelists and support from that area to this field. At least the 1960's showed an increased interest from that area and a growing number of new churches established in population centers across the country.

June, 1960 saw a special entitled "The Bible." The next special issue was on "Unity" and did not appear until November, 1961.

Then in December, 1963 there began a series of special issues dealing with the histories of churches in various sections of the country. These were edited by brethren in the local areas being reported. There were ten of these altogether, the last appearing in May, 1965. They should serve as a valuable source of information to the historian.

June, 1965 saw an issue entitled, "Special on Campaigns" featuring a number of such efforts scheduled for that summer. The next issue featured the "Merger of Two Toronto Congregations" and was largely edited by members of these churches. Sadly, the great vision displayed in these reports became bitter disappointment in a few short months.

India was featured in a special edited by J.C. Bailey in

March, 1966. August saw a large printing of an issue containing short, pointed, fundamental articles by representative brethren across Canada. It was attractively arranged for free distribution at the Canadian National Exhibition held annually in Toronto.

The January, 1967 issue, introducing the volume for Canada's Centennial Year, contained a survey of the churches in 1966 and was meant to help in evaluating the progress made since the first such survey was published ten years before. The results were not very encouraging numerically although they did indicate an increase in the number of churches.

"Fellowship" was the topic of the May, 1967 issue. In April, 1969 an issue was especially prepared for distribution in Grimsby, Ontario where a new congregation was being established. Another special issue was edited by Clyde Lansdell and Steve May in May, 1970, featuring Canadian Christian Camps.

The purpose of the publication was restated in the beginning of volume 22 as follows:

> Our basic purpose, of encouraging those of the world to become New Testament Christians and those of the church to be more faithful and zealous, remains the same. Effort is always made to produce a paper suitable to hand to or send as a gift to unbelievers, but at the same time to provide 'meat' for the Christian.[68]

The promotion of New Testament Christianity was attempted

> . . .by teaching the truth, by directing attention of workers to needy works and by stirring up Christians in general to an awareness of their own possibilities in this work and of the need of those who have gone 'to the work.'[69]

The publishers were not interested in "making a name for themselves, nor winning arguments, nor acquiring money," but rather in conducting the paper in such a way as to promote unity and growth. Certain efforts to involve the paper in controversy were resisted. Merritt wrote:

> The editors of the Gospel Herald have tried to remain unencumbered with party loyalties and divisive line-drawing. They know that such a course can call forth denunciation from those who would make their own opinion their brother's law. Similarly, this course will not suit those who are inclined to mistake the liberty in Christ for license.
>
> Brother Perry and I have found ourselves in agreement on the purpose and policy of this paper. . . .We seek to give a factual report of news that will interest our brethren and inspire them to greater activity.[70]

A studied effort was made to avoid the kind of controversy which prevailed in many such publications and which tends to result in bitter name-calling and parties. This pledge was renewed in the beginning of the 1966 volume as intention was stated to bring to readers

> . . .the teachings of the Scriptures as they are in truth in the spirit of Christ. Although not fearful of controversy, we hope to succeed in keeping from our pages the bad spirit and dogmatic, judgmental attitudes so prevalent in much of the controversy of today. Articles manifesting this spirit of [sic] attitude or judged likely to lead to it will not find space in our pages. Often this will not be because of what is said so much as because of the way it is said.[71]

Some religious periodicals seemed to thrive on

controversy. The temptation to enter the fray and champion a partisan cause was not absent. The period 1950 to 1970 saw a disturbance in the churches in the United States over questions having to do with cooperation of congregations in evangelism and other projects. The violation of congregational autonomy seemed to be a central question in the controversies. Those who opposed such cooperation visited Canada through their publications and in person and won over some churches to this position. These then began to look on their brethren as being in error and exercised efforts to teach them more accurately on these matters. The *Gospel Herald* could easily have become involved.

The refusal of the editorial staff to do so resulted in their paper continuing to issue with a good spirit. It also resulted ir some on both sides looking on the editors as being weak an cowardly. The position taken and the reason was wel expressed by associate Ray L. Miller under the title, "The Straw Man," as follows:

> . . .nearly all of the cotroversy [sic] existing in this country exists in theory only (and would not even trouble us in theory without the "help" of certain brethren). To fight and divide (in our feelings, if not literally) over such questions is to fight a straw man that does not exist.
>
> Let us concern ourselves with the awesome task of converting Canada to Christ (not to a certain "branch" of restored Christianity). To ruin our effectiveness by squabbling over opinions of men is more than dangerous and foolhardy; it will be the cause of our own condemnation.[72]

Although news from the churches of this persuasion was printed, their teachings were refused space. A news item commending a series of lectures by F. Yater Tant at Jordan

received editorial comment concerning the manner in which matters bordering between faith and opinion had been presented as matters of faith and conscience.[73] The editors received angry letters from some of the leaders. None of these were published.

In 1963 while the managing editor was attending a six weeks postgraduate course in Texas, the home forces decided to surprise him by having the September issue printed when he got home. The result was the inclusion of a strongly-worded article by Alvin Jennings entitled, "Congregational Fellowship and the Canadian Cause."[74] Some demanded equal space to reply while others threatened to cut off support of Great Lakes Christian College, where Perry was Principal, if the matter received further space.

Perry apologized, and said that to continue would be to heap one mistake upon another, and pledged to keep the paper free of the matter and of the bad spirit associated with it.

When the church at the Lakehead, where Merritt was occupied as evangelist, was erecting a building in 1965, he chose to write an editorial on the use of such buildings. He pointed out that they are "merely tools" and warned "against a false attitude of reverence toward the church building."[75] Tom Bunting of Miami, Florida submitted a response, picking the editorial to pieces. It as printed in the August issue and Merritt commented on the reply in the same issue. Perry reluctantly allowed these items to be printed because of the printing deadline and the difficulty of consulting with Merritt on the matter. He apologized for the appearance of terms such as "confused" and "ridiculous" in these articles. This is the only evidence of friction existing between the two editors.

Those who were opposed to the cooperation of congregations were obtaining mailing lists and mailing their bulletins and some publications from south of the border to the membership of other churches. This was being done with

the approval and evidently under the oversight of elders. When a deliberate effort of this kind was made to stop cooperative support for the Canadian National Exhibition booth in 1966, editor Perry wrote an article entitled "Feed the Church." in which he took elders to task for thus involving themselves in the teaching program of other churches. Neither the Exhibition, places, nor people were named in the article, but none was left in doubt of the point being considered.

He wrote,

> A church with an "ax to grind" or a "hobby" to promote can, by use of its own printing facilities and the mails, very easily reach tentacles of influence into the affairs of other churches and influence the beliefs and practices of the members affecting their peace, destroying their fellowship and dampening their zeal.
>
> We think of a number of church bulletin [sic] that cross our desk, some of which are mailed to membership lists of sister churches, in which there is noticeable evidence that the intent is to teach that which the elders do not wish taught, to thwart programs approved by the elders and to sow seeds of division and sedition among churches, which would otherwise worship and serve the Lord in peace.
>
> Such action on the part of a church is harmful, unethical and unscriptural. . . .
>
> . . .Thus, church autonomy is being violated in order to warn against this same wrong in some other form.
>
> . . .A continuance of this type of unscriptural interference will, we believe, mean the

formation of a new denomination.[76]

This threat was further noted when Perry itemized higher theological education, materialism, and "a few brethren causing division by striving to bind their opinions on others rather than practicing Christian charity"[77] as three threats to the church.

The brethren referred to seemed more anxious than others to have their news printed in the news columns. The "Here and There" page contained frequent mention of the happenings among these churches. No discrimination was shown. However, others complained about this and accused the editors of promoting this cause by this means. A check disclosed the fact that very few of those holding to this position were subscribers. Why should their news be printed?[78] These circumstances resulted in a new policy for the "Here and There" page. Previously, Perry had read much and gleaned widely in an effort to include all that was newsworthy. Henceforth, he would give first space to items sent in for publication.[79]

Because of modesty, reluctance to write, carelessness or other cause many Canadian brethren did not submit news copy to their paper. Thus, even after the above statement of policy, there was often room for items gleaned from correspondence and bulletins. The news section at the back of the paper was often overbalanced with obituaries, advertising and news from outside of Canada. Several Canadians being occupied in mission work in India resulted in some issues carrying more India news than news from the Canadian churches.

Under this management, for the first time, a gospel paper in Canada did not suffer financial hardship. From 1953 to 1970 the finances never went in the "red" and the management never declared financial need. There were several factors responsible for this. One of these was the

business conditions that prevailed. Another was the fact that *The Beamsville Express*, which later became Rannie Publications, continued to print the paper at a very reasonable price. But the greatest cause was, no doubt, the growing book and church supply business which was managed by Perry at no charge.[80] Besides the editorial work he usually put in from ten to thirty hours per week in filling orders, ordering supplies and answering correspondence. These hours of free labour, through the years built up a stock of over $20,000 value and a reasonable bank balance. At the same time, every effort was made to make the publication pay its own way. Small circulation figures and increasing postage made this an unrealistic goal. Income from advertising varied but was sufficient to help considerably. Thus, the monthly subsidy from the store operation never had to be very large.

Advertisements were largely religious or related to moral principles. The Gospel Press, an organization in the United States whose purpose was the placing of advertisements in secular publications, placed many full page advertisements soliciting support beginning in 1957. This was also true of the Herald of Truth, radio and television production under the oversight of the Highland church in Abilene, Texas. The two Canadian Christian colleges placed many ads. June meetings were advertised each year. Insurance for non-drinkers has been advertised regularly for many years. A Correspondence School, operated by Floyd Lord of Toronto, under the title Christian Education Institute, was also a regular advertiser for some time. There were many advertisements for evangelists and frequent publicity was given to items sold in the book store. Advertising rates of $15 for the back page, $10 for an inside page and so on were struck in 1953 and were not yet increased in 1970.

Before the new management took over, the former editor wrote, "I trust they shall be more successful than I," and

added, "They are both capable and you need feel no qualms in giving then [sic] your unstinted support. They will not fail you."[81] Although there remains some doubt as to whether they were more successful in the circulation and content departments, there is no doubt that in the matters of financial well-being and physical make-up, the publication was now more successful. The paper was white, margins wide, the columns narrower and the print job much cleaner and more professional. It is no surprise that Bailey commented that the reader only got two-thirds as much reading. It was much less crowded in appearance. There were some improvements in physical appearance from time to time. The directory, which had been on the back page, was moved inside and the back page became more attractive with a full page display advertisement each month. Coloured covers were used occasionally and sometimes full-size pictures added to the attractiveness of the front page. For a time the name of the paper was printed in red ink. In 1963, Howard Ellis, father of associate editor Geoffrey H. Ellis, donated his artistic talent in the form of a new script heading for the paper and artistic design for the regular features. These continue to be used. The greater adaptability of offset printing was used occasionally, but for the most part the paper has been printed by letter press.

In November, 1959 an increase to twenty pages was proposed since the space was needed. This involved an increase of subscription rates to $2 per year and became effective with the new volume. Bound volumes were made up each year and advertised at the same price as the subscription cost. The special issues in 1964 enabled the completion of the two hundred forty pages of the volume by the December issue so that the management was able to take a much-needed two-week vacation. The next volume started with the combined January-February issue and ended with the

calendar year. This meant that each volume thereafter was for the calendar year.

The church directory included sixty listings in 1953. By 1956 there were seventy-eight with one from New York State. This increased to eight-nine in 1960, to ninety-six in 1964 and to one hundred seventeen in 1970. Only four of these are located outside of Canada. This listing does not include all of the congregations, although all are encouraged each year to maintain a listing. They are contacted each year to confirm the content and pay the $2 fee or request free listing as mission points. Although taking up two pages of space regularly, this listing has proven to be a very useful service to traveling brethren as well as to those wishing to solicit assistance.

The big disappointment has been in the circulatior Bailey had hoped that this would see improvement under nev management. There were two strikes against this. One was the likelihood of some loss in interest in the West and the other the fact that the new editors could not move about as freely as Bailey had done. The presence of *The Prairie Proclaimer*, which had been circulated in the West quarterly without subscription, the distribution of news by means of church bulletins and the change in the reading habits of the public due to electronic means of communication were added factors mitigating against increased circulation. On the other hand, increasing numbers of congregations and renewed activity at home and abroad ought to have accomplished some increase.

There were less than 1,500 on the list in 1953, and a goal of 2,000 was immediately mentioned. This proved to be quite unrealistic Some were being sent to overseas addresses and were years overdue. Appeals, gift subscriptions at lower prices, the offering of club rates, clubbing with other papers and the offer of commissions or book premiums were all tried

through the years but none resulted in a dramatic change in the total circulation. Keith Thompson was appointed circulation manager for a time and sought to obtain a volunteer agent in each church with some willingness manifested but little real increase. All who sent in five subscriptions at once were listed in "Our Helpers" column for a time. Requests for five subscriptions on the fifth anniversary of the new management and ten on the tenth resulted in only spotty responses.

The desire was to have a larger circulation in order to accomplish greater good. The financial aspect of this had very little to do with these efforts. A number of congregations were influenced to send the paper into each ıome represented at reduced rates. This practice continues to ɔe encouraged but many are cautious about thus seeming to endorse all that is taught or recognize the *Gospel Herald* as a church organ.

Despite poor success up to that point, a goal of 2,500 was mentioned in 1959 to be attained by the end of that year. Little increase resulted. Thereafter, there was little mention of goals until August and September of 1967, Canada's Centennial Year. Full page advertisements set as a Centennial Project a circulation of 2,000. Bailey had reached this number in 1945. Surely it could be done. Letters were sent individually to all subscribers. Subscriptions came in slowly at first but gained in momentum until in December and January over two hundred new ones came in. There appeared some hope of success. The drive would continue through the first half of 1968. However, a slacking off was almost immediate and the resulting peak of this effort was 1,600, which included a bundle of fifty sent as gifts for distribution in Ireland. The bundle to Ireland has been continued by means of support solicited from subscribers. Within a year of the subscription drive many of the new subscribers let their

subscriptions expire and by 1970, the circulation was back to the approximate level of the period preceding the drive. This number included the bundle to Ireland and thus represented a new loss.

The editors thus learned that a constant promotional program was needed to keep up the circulation. Neither was particularly talented for this nor did they have time for it. Until some dramatic change occurs, it appears that this publication will continue with an issue of from 1,300 to 1,500.

When the centennial drive ended in 1968, the management had had fifteen years of experience. Suggestions for a better paper and improved circulation were invited and readers were asked if the circulation should not be better by this time. The 2,000 goal would be kept before them in hopes of reaching it some day.

The *Gospel Herald* has been issued regularly from its beginning in March, 1936 to the date of this writing, July, 1970. At first, under pioneer conditions, it lived a precarious life. Survival must be credited more to the untiring efforts and sacrificial service of Robert Sinclair and J.C. Bailey, whose dream child it was, than to its great popularity or generous support by Canadian Christians. Sinclair piloted it through the period of economic depression and Bailey through the war years. Sinclair contended with hard times and could only keep the paper going by personal contribution of time and donation of money, which evidently often came from his father. Bailey, likewise, with his family, worked long hours and sacrificed to keep it going. Money was more plentiful but inflation made it necessary to publish for many dollars per month less than it would have cost to have it printed commercially.

Since 1953 the *Gospel Herald* has done fairly well financially. Rather than striving to economize by doing it themselves, Merritt and Perry took advantage of the more

affluent time by serving the churches and Christians through a book and religious supplies store. A large stock of Bible Class supplies and books enabled fairly efficient service to all of Canada. Donated labour helped to build up a reasonable reserve.

The circulation department had been a struggle from the first in a country in which adherents were few in number. It has been less than 1,500 during most of its thirty-five years and has only exceeded that figure temporarily at times of energetic effort on the part of the management.

Physically, it varied from mimeograph quality to professional printing. Contents were, for the most part, maintained in keeping with the stated purpose of promoting New Testament Christianity and seldom manifested the quarrelsomeness and bitterness of some of its predecessors. It is difficult to evaluate the service thus rendered to a cause dear to the hearts of the publishers. Some have been influenced to become Christians, some to be more faithful and some to become involved in mission work. Isolated Christians have been encouraged and workers have been directed to needy works. In evaluating this publication and commending the editors, Geoffrey H. Ellis, an associate editor, who traveled much in behalf of Great Lakes Christian College, stated:

> . . .Commendations are due them for a consistently well produced, spiritually worth-while publication. They have provided an invaluable benefit to the Cause identified on the Herald masthead. . . .
>
> The caliber of the Gospel Herald is high. The editorial approach of the paper is positive. Its contents provide interesting reading for Christian and the seeker alike. Widespread awareness of, and enthusiasm for, the progress

> of the Church have been stimulated by the "Here and There" and the "Gleanings from the Foreign Fields" columns. The special departments. . .combine to satisfy a variety of interests.
>
> Although the Herald's circulation is primarily Canadian, many copies go monthly to the U.S. This has, no doubt, been responsible in part for the growing interest in the Canadian Mission field in that area.[82]

As with the Bailey family, the whole Perry family was involved each month in getting the paper out. Weariness was sometimes inevitable. Perry once wrote, "It is too late in the night to start, we are tired; but the deadline must be met another month. . . ."[83] And in the same issue stated "We have been publishing the Gospel Herald for seven years. The whole family helps get it into the mail each month."[84] Accompanying this statement was a picture of the family including four children ranging in age from three to twelve years. On the other hand, signs of increased zeal and activity brought a compensatory joy and optimism.

On another occasion, apologizing for not writing personally to many, he wrote:

> These notes are being written this month from a sick bed after two days of high fever. . .near the end of the busiest year of our lives. . . . After our teaching and preaching duties, we find that writing that must be done usually keeps us busy until the early hours of the morning.[85]

Nevertheless, the following year, he began a continuing responsibility as Principal of Great Lakes Christian College.

Like the others, this gospel paper was begun because of conviction that it was needed. It has been kept alive by the continuing personal and sacrificial involvement of its editors.

The *Gospel Herald* continues and no doubt will continue as other persons and perhaps other papers follow in the footsteps that are herein described.



[1]Gospel Advocate, LXXVIII (June 11, 1936), 556.
[2]Gospel Herald, I (March, 1936), 2.
[3]Ibid., 4, 5.
[4]Ibid., IV (June, 1939), 10.
[5]Ibid, III (May, 1938), 14.
[6]Ibid., IV (June, 1939), 10
[7]Ibid., I (May, 1936), 28.
[8]Ibid., (April, 1937), 12.
[9]Ibid., VIII (December 1942), 4.
[10]Ibid., IV (January, 1939), 12.
[11]Ibid., 16.
[12]Ibid., VIII (December, 1942), 14.
[13]Ibid., (IV (December, 1939), 1.
[14]Ibid, IV (January, 1940), 4.
[15]Ibid., IV (February, 1940), 4.
[16]Ibid., XIX (October, 1953), 1.
[17]Ibid., VIII (October, 1942), 12.
[18]Ibid., VIII (December, 1942), 4.
[19]Ibid., IX (December, 1943), 4. (At about this time the Niagara Street church in St. Catharines withdrew from Sinclair, its evangelist, because of matters to do with his personal life. His resignation was, evidently, a result of this. He returned to the church sometime later.)
[20]Ibid., X (August, 1944), 12.
[21]Ibid., XIII (September, 1947), 4; XIV (September, 1948), 1.
[22]Ibid, XIII (April, 1947), 5.
[23]Ibid., XIII (April, 1947), 5.

[24]Ibid., VIII (December, 1942), 4.
[25]Ibid., V (December, 1940), 5.
[26]Ibid., VI (March, 1941), 14.
[27]Ibid.
[28]Ibid., VII (February, 1942), 12, 14. (Note: An error was made in changing the volume number in January, 1942 before volume six was completed. It was changed again in March, 1942 so that the volume number has since been one greater than the age of the paper. Volume seven has only the January and February issue.)
[29]Ibid., VIII (April, 1942), 7.
[30]Ibid., VII (December, 1942), 5.
[31]Ibid., IX (February, 1944), 4.
[32]Ibid., X (July, 1944), 4.
[33]Ibid., X (December, 1944), 4.
[34]Ibid., XI (July, 1945), 4.
[35]Ibid., XIII (October, 1947), 4.
[36]Ibid., XIV (December, 1948), 3.
[37]Ibid., XVII (February, 1952), 4.
[38]Ibid., XVIII (January, 1953), 4.
[39]John's experience here stood him in good stead as it enabled him to work his way through college in the print shop.
[40]Gospel Herald, XIX (August, 1953), 1.
[41]Ibid., (October, 1953), 1.
[42]Ibid., XVI (February, 1951), 4, XVII (January, 1952), 4.
[43]Ibid., XVI (January, 1951), 10.
[44]Ibid., XIX (November, 1953), 5.
[45]Ibid., XIX (August, 1953), 1.
[46]Ibid., X (February, 1944), 15.
[47]Based on personal correspondence between D.A. Sinclair and the writer, April 24, 1950.
[48]The Canadian Christian, III (May, 1952), 10.
[49]Ibid., III June, 1952), 11.

[50]Ibid.
[51]Circular issued in March, 1953.
[52]The Canadian Christian, IV (August, 1953), 2.
[53]Ibid.
[54]Circular probably issued in early 1953.
[55]The Canadian Christian, III (June, 1952), 4.
[56]Ibid., (July, 1952), 3.
[57]Living Stones, Vol. 1, No. 1, September 1961, 2.
[58]Ibid., Vol. II, No. 8, April 1969, 2.
[59]Personal, undated letter received in May, 2000.
[60]There seems to be some confusion as the 1967 volume is numbered 13.
[61]Statement by Ernest Andreas, personal interview, December 14, 1970.
[62]The Prairie Proclaimer has been discontinued with the summer of 1970 as Andreas has moved to the United States.
[63]Ibid., XIX (November, 1953), 4, 5.
[64]Ibid.
[65]Ibid., XXI (February, 1956), 4.
[66]Ibid., XXX (March, 1964), 18.
[67]Ibid., XXXI (March, 1965), 10.
[68]Ibid., XV (February, 1956), 4.
[69]Ibid., XXIV (August, 1958), 4.
[70]Ibid., XXVII (November, 1961), 4.
[71]Ibid., XXXII (January, 1966), 4.
[72]Ibid., XXIX (January, 1964), 13.
[73]Ibid., XXVI (April, 1960), 19.
[74]Ibid., XXIX (September, 1963), 2.
[75]Ibid., XXXI (August, 1965), 4.
[76]Ibid., XXXII (July, 1966), 6.
[77]Ibid., XXXIII (January, 1967), 17.
[78]Ibid., XXXV (August, 1969), 10.
[79]Ibid., XXXIV (July, 1968), 10.
[80]On one occasion, May 1954, just a few months after the

change, it was mentioned that just as they were wondering how to meet the printer's bills, eighteen subscriptions came in from two people in the west. Ibid., XX (May, 1954), 4.

[81]Ibid., XIX (October, 1953), 1.

[82]Ibid., XXX (November, 1964), 1.

[83]Ibid., XXVI (January, 1961), 10.

[84]Ibid., 16.

[85]Ibid., XXI (January, 1956), 9.

Chapter 11

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The earliest papers in Canada (then the British North American provinces) were short lived. Little is known about the editors of the *Christian Gleaner* of Halifax. Begun in 1833, it appears to have suffered financial loss, which was shared by a number in the Halifax church. The contents were largely reprints but its circulation among the Baptists was effective in turning many to the New Testament.

The *Gospel Vindicator* of Canada West was published for only ten months in 1837 and its editors not disclosed. Political turmoil contributed to its termination.

W.W. Eaton published *The Christian* in New Brunswick in 1839-41 and 1847-48 at great sacrifice in labour and personal funds. It contained his own writings and reprints, most of which were pointed toward errors of denominations. Although convinced of the good being done, he gave up in discouragement because of lack of support. He later assisted David Oliphant in his publications for a time; edited a paper in Pennsylvania and still later was involved in secular journalism.

The outstanding journalistic efforts of the early period in Canada were those of David Oliphant, who edited and published twenty consecutive volumes from 1845 to 1865. These volumes were printed in book format and largely contained essay-type material, although some news and short articles were printed. The five different names used during the twenty volumes marked changes in emphasis. The early

issues contained many items of controversy with the "sects." Later issues showed much evidence of disunity among brethren on the subject of organizations involving delegates from congregations. Oliphant was opposed to such and with his paper became unpopular with some leading evangelists. Desirous of contributing to peace and harmony, later publications were named *Message of Good-Will to Men* and *The Peacemaker*. While laying a firm basis of teaching in favour of congregational autonomy and against organizations, Oliphant's kindly manner and gentle spirit may well have averted an open division during these early years.

His personal sacrifice in the interest of publishing was considerable in extent and duration. Having sold an inherited farm to take up this work, he gave of his time toward the publications, supporting himself by his income from preaching, from publishing a secular paper and from a printing business which evidently prospered for a time. Besides this, they cost him $500 during the first fives years. After that subscriptions paid the costs and even left a small amount as surplus, but no adequate return for the time and effort which he once stated to be the labour of a score or more.

Only perseverance, devotion to duty and great loyalty to a cause coupled with business shrewdness enabled successful publishing from age twenty-four to age sixty-four, serving a small brotherhood in a country of small population and in times when papers were suffering financial failure on every hand. He published a good quality paper and served the cause well.

The Adviser, 1860-64, was irregularly published by a committee. Joseph Ash noted that papers operated in this way did not thrive well. It was in competition with Oliphant's publications and intended to foster a divisive spirit.

Short-lived efforts by C.J. Lister with *The Bible Indicator*

in 1869-71 and T.H. Blenus with *The Disciple* in 1879-83 proved to be financial failures even though the only such papers serving their particular areas at the time. The editors laboured without remuneration and were involved in making up the deficits.

The Beaty brothers, James and Robert, learned and successful men, were the editors of the *Bible Index*, the most controversial paper ever published in this movement in Canada. James was a Queen's Commissioner and Mayor of Toronto while Robert was a banker. They used the *Index* to propagate hobbyistic views while at the same time attempting to warn against the innovations that had disturbed churches south of the border and had been threatening in Canada since the mid-1850s. There were well written articles but also many evidences of sharpness and harshness. At the urging of brethren and in the interest of peace, others were given control for a time, but after 1883 the Beatys resumed full control. Possibly their wealth enabled their publication to succeed financially, although it was frequently implied that it paid its own way. Despite their high positions, these men personally spent the hours after ten in the evening editing, corresponding, proof-reading and such for the good they wished to accomplish. They also journeyed out of the city to teach small churches as there was opportunity and need. Their efforts spanned twenty-one years and displayed great persistence and determination to spread their convictions and warn the brethren.

The brief efforts of Alexander Anderson were followed by those of Hugh McDiarmid from 1877 to 1882. These men served the Cooperation, and it is surprising that the Beatys were willing to permit them to edit the *Index*. They did not find the arrangement satisfactory and published in opposition during 1880 when McDiarmid edited *The Christian Sentinel*. He was capable but suspected of "progressivism." He was

responsible to a committee of five during 1881-82 in publishing the combined *Bible Index* and *Christian Sentinel.*

Despite the appearance of the local paper, *The Christian Worker*, in 1881, the Beatys revived the *Index* in 1883 and continued this dedicated effort until old age and failing health made termination necessary in 1893.

The *Worker* was edited capably by H.B. Sherman from 1881-84. He was employed by the Georgian Bay Cooperation and tended to support it and thus incur severe criticism from the *Index.* There was much by way of personal wranglings between the editors of the two papers and this continued during the two-year editorship of the *Worker* by Law and Whitelaw. This antagonism naturally resulted in the *Worker* subscription list going in 1886 to the new and more liberal *The Ontario Evangelist* instead of to the *Bible Index.*

The rift which had been shaping up for some time came to a head in the 1880's with the appearance of a "convention" paper, *The Christian* in the Maritimes and another, *The Christian Worker* in Ontario. The first, along with a number of its successors, was subsidized from the funds of the organization. There is no evidence that this was true of the *Worker. The Christian* continued from 1883-1922 with a variety of editors. Little is known of their relationship to the Cooperation. Some of them were likely in its employ. Sherman of the *Worker* was evangelist for the Cooperation, but Law and Whitelaw were business men who sacrificed much time to produce the paper.

George Munro and T.L. Fowler of *The Ontario Evangelist* were employed by the Ontario Cooperation. Munro ably edited *The Canadian Evangelist*, 1889-95, and *The Disciple of Christ and Canadian Evangelist*, 1895-96. His relationship to the Cooperation is not known but personal sacrifice is indicated.

The Christian Messenger, 1897-1922 had a variety of

editors. It was a Cooperation paper and its editors were connected with the organization. Some of them were employees while others appear to have served voluntarily. Reuben Butchart had editorial or managerial connection and appears to have played the larger part of this twenty-five year period. There was some mention of pay for the editors. The paper was subsidized with fees from the organization.

The Canadian Disciple, succeeding *The Messenger* and *The Christian* in 1923, was also under Butchart's wing until 1929. There have been many editors, a number of them women and most of them employees of the "All-Canada" organization. Self-supporting at first, *The Disciple* ran a deficit for many years and appears to be steadily losing circulation.

These papers have been heavily balanced with news and may well have done more to perpetuate the various organizations, extra and intra congregational, than they have to emphasize Bible doctrine. Emphasis on unity and broader brotherhood has had its influence and promises to lead the group into some form of union. This will likely mean compromise of doctrine and its disappearance as a distinctive group.

The energy and zeal of the producers of *The Canadian Christian Harbinger*, Gene Dulin and his staff, is noted in their many activities and their lively little paper. It is evidently produced by those employed to do the work, rather than by volunteers. Canadian circulation has been small, but this paper appears to have been effective in stirring up loyalty to its position, zeal and activity among many of its Canadian readers and generous support from south of the border.

The more conservative position was represented by the *Gospel Messenger* which was begun by H.M. Evans only one month after the termination of the *Bible Index*. Circulated to uphold "primitive Christianity" among the "loyal" brethren, it

failed after only slightly over two years. Evans and his wife set the type by hand to save costs. After a lapse of eight years, Evans tried again with *The Bible Student* to unite and strengthen loyal churches. Evans preached, practiced osteopathic and electropathic treatments and gave of his time and effort to producing the paper. Mrs. Evans also worked at producing the paper until her health broke and new management took over briefly. A change in name to *The Gleaner* occurred before financial failure in 1914. Evans' time was consumed in caring for a sick son and wife.

Despite these hardships, he again started publication with the *Christian Quarterly* in 1916 and continued for two precarious years before giving over to Donald McDougall in 1918. McDougall changed it to the *Christian Monthly Review* nd continued valiantly until 1926. He was succeeded by E. aston Collins, Lloyd G. Snure and Henry McKerlie for brief eriods until financial failure in 1933.

Evans and his wife gave time and effort in both editing and producing and also made up for deficits. He lost some $300 on *The Bible Student* and frequently pled for support for the paper. He became quite insecure and tended to delay issuing until money was on hand. McDougall was much more optimistic but, even though in his seventies, worked in the forests each winter to pay off deficits of up to $300 per year. Later managements had similar problems but deficits were covered by a group of brethren until the depression made this impossible and another paper was starved out.

During the time of these publications, L.E. Huntsman edited *The Bible School Times* for three years. It was largely the voice of the staff and students of the Beamsville Bible School. S.M. Jones followed this with *The Canadian Helper* which was more widely representative. In debt at the end of 1913, it terminated the following year.

J.C. Bailey and Robert Sinclair pioneered another paper,

the *Gospel Herald*, in 1936 while times were still quite difficult. Sinclair was editor for four years. Subscription income had to be subsidized by donation of time and by donations of money by Sinclair and his father. Sinclair laboured sacrificially but the paper was failing when Bailey took over and obtained help to pay off the indebtedness. He increased the circulation by three hundred percent in about three years and managed by this income, by a book business and by, with his family and others, providing cheap labour, to keep the paper on an even keel despite inflating costs. A press and other equipment enabled production at $75 to $100 per month less than the commercial rate.

The Prairie Proclaimer under Jennings and others appears to have been a newspaper serving the churches and securely financed by them. *The Canadian Christian*, a mission effort of D.A. Sinclair in his retirement, was widely circulated at the cost of twelve to fourteen hours of daily labour and many hundreds of dollars on his part. It failed for lack of support.

The *Gospel Herald* under the management of editors Merritt and Perry has not been successful in gaining wide circulation but has had financial stability. This has been largely the result of free editorial work by all writers and of a personal contribution of an average of sixty hours per month, by Perry for many years in managing the bookstore and distributing the paper.

Thus, it becomes evident that, almost without exception, the gospel papers which have been studied have been started and maintained by individuals who undertook to provide a service. In most cases they expected to do the work as an extra to full-time activities and without remuneration. Nearly all have required financial donations from the editors, in addition to the actual editing time.

The highest paid circulation attained by any was likely the 2,000 reached by the *Gospel Herald* in 1945. Sacrifice, zeal,

persistence and good management have enabled some to continue for long periods where others have been short lived. There has seldom been a fair support from those being served. Through the years many accepted and read their monthly but failed to pay the costs.

No papers are known to have paid their full costs by subscriptions for any length of time. Occasionally small surpluses were noted but deficits were far more common. The Oliphant publications struggled financially but might have continued longer but for the failing health of their editor and their waning popularity because of the society issue. Likewise, the *Bible Index* terminated because of the aging of its editors and seems to have been financially able to continue. Others, except those subsidized by churches or by ›rganizations supported by the churches have failed inancially after valiant struggles. The *Gospel Herald* ›ontinues on but is stabilized by a book business of low overhead.

Larger circulation, much paid advertising or high subscription rates or a combination of these might enable such a paper to pay its own way over a period of years. As none of these appear likely, those who serve in this way must expect to sacrifice in a "labour of love."

It is difficult to evaluate the influence of these oftentimes gigantic personal efforts to serve. The early publications in frontier times served well in linking a scattered brotherhood and influencing many to leave denominational connections for simple New Testament Christianity. Others were antagonized and prejudiced against the churches by the debating and challenging content which was so common in these paper. Probably more people from other religious connections were reached and influenced during this early period than has been true since.

During the latter part of Oliphant's work and on through

to the turn of the century, papers were involved in a division in the movement. Oliphant and the editors of the *Bible Index* used their papers to warn against what they considered departures. Those who favoured organic cooperation of churches cooled toward these publications and began to start their own. For a brief period scattered and bitter antagonism appeared in these. The papers appear to have been servants to the opposing groups rather than having caused the divisions. They may have helped them to grow farther apart to the point of being distinct fellowships hardly recognized by or even known of each other. By and large an absence of fighting between these groups in their papers seems to have prevailed. The *Bible Index*, although it might be credited with exposing innovations and helping many to stand firm must also be held responsible for some influences which appear to have retarded the growth of Canadian churches. It was opposed to supporting evangelists to work with local congregations. limited "mutual ministry" remains in some areas.

Papers such as *The Bible Student* and its successors, no doubt, caused scattered and disheartened "loyal brethren" to marshall and gradually revive in zeal and effort. The *Christian Monthly Review* and the *Gospel Herald* were influential in a new frontier in helping scattered brethren who settled in the west by furnishing teaching and encouragement and helping to keep up contacts and establish churches. Both have been firm and persistent in exposing cultism, worldliness and other forms of error. Both have spent much space and effort in reporting and encouraging missionary work at home and abroad.

The many editors who have laboured so hard with so little indication that their efforts were appreciated, attest to their conviction that the Canadian brotherhood needed such papers. They felt that this was a way of serving the Lord. Many of these served sacrificially and effectively and deserved

recognition and appreciation which they did not receive at the time.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

KNOWN LOCATIONS OF PUBLICATIONS

Note 1. Although these locations were valid in 19770, in many cases, due to deaths and relocations, they may no longer be so.

Note 2. The Archival Collection, formerly held in the Victoria College Library, has, we are informed, been relocated to the Disciples of Christ Historical Society in Nashville, Tennessee.

Note 3. The author's collection will eventually be a part of the Archives of McMaster University, Divinity College, of Hamilton, Ontario, being held in behalf of the Canadian Churches of Christ Historical Society.

1. Christian Gleaner, 1833—:

   (a) The Archives of Dalhousie University Library, Halifax, Nova Scotia, have Volume I, Number 1 and Volume II, Numbers 1-12, March 1836 to February, 1837.

   (b) The Archives of Acadia University Library, Wolfville, Nova Scotia have Volume I, Numbers 1-4, and New Series Volume II, 1836-1837, Volume I, 1837-1838.

   (c) The Christian Theological Seminary, Indianapolis, Indiana, has March, 1836 to May, 1838.

2. Gospel Vindicator, 1837 to 1838.

   (a) The Christian Theological Seminary, Indianpolis,

Indiana, has June, 1837 to March, 1838.

3. The Christian:

(a) Volumes for June, 1839 to May, 1841, are in the Archives of the Victoria College Library, Toronto, Ontario. These two volumes are also in this author's collection in one binding in Beamsville, Ontario.

(b) Volumes III and IV for 1847 and 1848 are also in Victoria College Library.

(c) The writer's collection has Volume IV of 1848 except for a few missing pages and the December issue.

d) November, 1883 to December, 1917 are in four bound volumes in the Victoria College collection.

(e) Copies from 1902 to 1922 are in the Library of the Maritime Christian College, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island.

4. The Witness of Truth:

(a) Volume I, Numbers 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10; Volume III, Numbers 1, 4, 5, 9, 12; Volume IV and V are in the possession of Blake Gieg of Barrie, Ontario.

(b) Victoria College Collection has Volume III except for ten missing pages and Volumes IV and V.

(c) Volume I beginning at page five and all of Volume II except Number 7 is in this writer's collection.

5. The Christian Mirror, 1851:

   (a) Bound Volumes for 1852, 1853 and 1854 belong to John Williams of Beamsville, Ontario (now deceased).

   (b) This writer's collection contains one complete volume for 1853 and a second volume with Number 12 missing. The volumes for 1855 and 1856 except the January, 1855 number and some missing pages are also included.

   (c) The Victoria College Collection has from 1853 to 1857.

7. Banner of the Faith, 1858-1863:

   (a) Volumes for 1859-61 are in the Victoria College Collection.

   (b) The Volume for 1862 is in the collection of the writer.

   (c) Volumes for 1861-1863 are in the possession of John Williams of Beamsville, Ontario (now deceased).

8. Message of Good-Will to Men:

   The 1864 Volume except Numbers 11 and 12 and the 1865 Volume are in this writer's collection.

9. The Peacemaker:

There are no known extant copies. It may never have been printed.

10. The Messenger and Laborer:

There are no known extant copies.

11. The Living Laborer:

1876, Volume VI, Number 1 and 1880 Volume I are in Victoria College Library.

'2. The Adviser:

1862, Volume II, Numbers 1, 10, 12: 1863, Volume III, Number 7 and 1864, Volume IV, Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, are in the Victoria College Library.

13. The Bible Indicator:

(a) Volume I, Number 11, April 1869 and Volume II, Numbers 1, 8, 12, 1869-1870 are in the Victoria College Collection.

(b) Volume II, Number 4, September, 1869 are in this writer's collection.

14. The Disciple:

Volume I, (1879), Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9; Volume II, Numbers 9, 10; Volume III, July and November, 1881; Volume IV, September, 1882; and Volume V, February, 1883 are in the Victoria College Collection.

One listing includes "Bound file, November, 1881-April 1886 (incomplete)."

15. Bible Index:

(a) Volume I for 1873 is in the possession of Hedley Whitelaw of Toronto, Ontario and a microfilm copy is in this writer's collection.

(b) Volume II for 1874 is in the Library of Great Lakes Christian College and March, June, August and December numbers of 1874 are in the writer's collection.

(c) This writer's collection contains a bound volum for 1875 besides copies of the February, May, June, August and October numbers and two copies of April and December numbers.

(d) This writer has March, May, July and October copies of Volume IV, 1876.

(e) Bound Volumes of new series; Volume I, 1877 are in Victoria College Library and in this writer's collection. It also contains extra copies of the October and December numbers.

(f) There are no known extant copies of New Series, Volume II, 1878.

(g) New Series Volume III, 1879 is in this writer's collection.

(h) The Bound Volume I for The Christian Sentinel for

1880 is in the writer's collection along with one extra copy of the November number. The Bible Index, old series, Volume VIII, 1880 is also in the writer's collection.

(i) There are few known extant copies of the Bible Index and Christian Sentinel for 1881 to 1882. The Victoria College Library has April and October and June, 1882. The writer has May, 1881 and May and June, 1882.

(j) Bound volumes of the Bible Index for 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1889, 1890, 1892, 1893 are in the Victoria College Library Collection. This writer has January, 1883; March, May, June, July, September and October, 1884; February, June and October, 1885; January, February, 1886; July (three copies), August and September, 1887; June, 1888; April and December, 1889; January, September, October and November, 1891 and the complete closing Volume for 1893.

(k) This writer's notes indicate that the Christian Theological Seminary in Indiana has copies of the Volumes for 1874, 1880, 1883 to 1893, a total of thirteen volumes.

16. Christian Worker:

A complete file from November, 1881 to April, 1886 is in the Victoria College Library. A similar file is in the possession of Mr. J. H. Whitelaw of 541 Lauder Avenue, Toronto, Ontario and a microfilm copy is in this writer's collection.

17. Gospel Messenger:

Publication was from February, 1894 to June, 1896. This writer's collection contains all except February and December, 1894; February, 1895; and February and April, 1896.

18. The Ontario Evangelist:

May, 1886 to April, 1890 are in the Victoria College Library Collection.

19. The Canadian Evangelist:

May, 1890 to May, 1895 are in the Victoria Colleg Collection.

20. The Disciple of Christ and Canadian Evangelist:

April, 1895 to October, 1896 copies are believed to be in the Victoria College Collection although not listed separately from The Canadian Evangelist.

21. The Christian Messenger:

Volumes from January, 1897 to December, 1922 are in the Victoria College Collection. Scattered copies, especially during the years 1902 to 1906, are in this writer's collection.

22. The Canadian Disciple:

(a) Bound files for the period 1923 to 1930 are in the Victoria College Collection.

(b) The Volumes for the period 1931 to 1955 are not in any known collection, but are likely in the publisher's files in Toronto.

(c) The author's collection contains those issued from 1956 to the present.

23. The Canadian Christian Harbinger, November 1962 to the present.

(a) Complete files are kept at the office of the Toronto Christian Mission in Mississauga, Ontario.

(b) This writer's collection contains those issued since 1966.

24. The Bible Student, January 1904 to December, 1913:

(a) Complete Volumes 1 to VIII are in the author's collection.

(b) Scattered and somewhat mutilated copies of Volumes IX and X are also in this writer's collection. Only about half of the copies are on hand.

25. The Gleaner, January, 1914 and following:

A complete copy of the first issue and mutilated portions of February, March and June are in this writer's collection.

26. The Bible School Times:

Copies for November and December, 1906 are in this writer's collection.

27. The Canadian Helper, March, 1908 to October or November, 1914:

This writer's collection contains copies, some mutilated and partial, as follows: February, 1908; January to March, 1909; June to October, 1910; April to September, and November, 1911: January, February, April, June, and November, 1912; September to April, June, and November, 1912; September to December, 1913; and February to August, and October, 1914.

28. Christian Quarterly, January, 1916 to October, 1917:

January, 1916 and October, 1917, the first and last issues, are in this writer's collection.

29. Christian Monthly Review, January, 1918 to August, 1933:

(a) There are no known extant copies for 1918.

(b) The writer's collection contains all copies from February, 1919 to August, 1933 except: May, 1920; January and February, 1922; March, June, July and October, 1926; and January, February, March, July and December, 1927.

(c) J.E. Pennington of North Weyburn, Saskatchewan has the volume for 1920 (except the December issue); August, 1921; December, 1926; all for 1927 and 1928; all but September, November and

December of 1929; October, 1930; and April and May of 1932.

30. Gospel Herald, March, 1936 to the present:

(a) This writer has a complete file except the following issues: June and December, 1936; September and October, 1937; and June, 1938.

(b) Norman Straker of North Weyburn, Saskatchewan has a complete collection.

31. The Prairie Proclaimer:

A fairly complete file of this quarterly is in this writer's collection.

32. The Canadian Christian, January, 1950 to December, 1953:

This writer's collection contains all of the four Volumes except the November, 1950 issue.

Concluding Note:

It seems very desirable to have as complete a collection as possible of these rare materials in one place. This writer would seek the cooperation of others in completing his collection and would be pleased to assist others wherever duplications permit. Perhaps collections can be completed by the copying or microfilming processes.

CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF PUBLICATIONS

Key to Graph



Represents a period of uninterrupted publications.



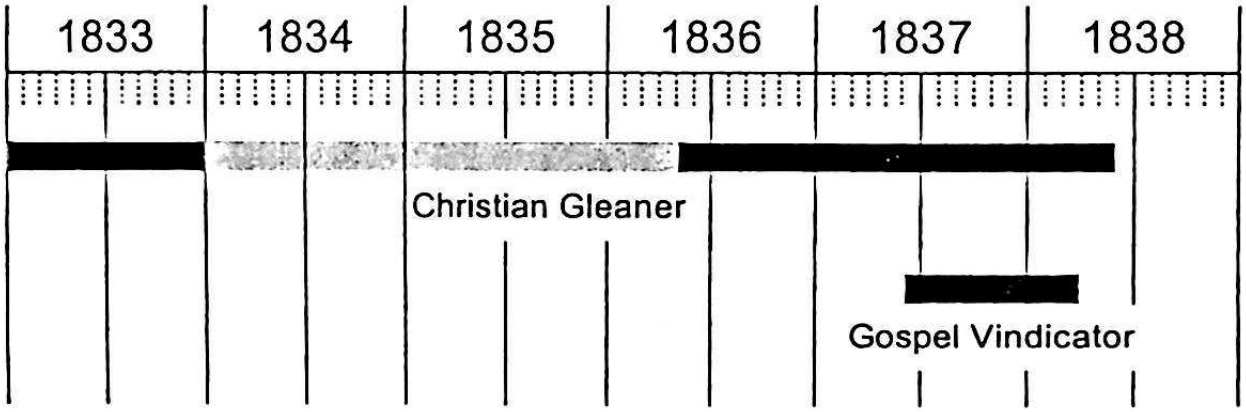
Represents a period of spasmodic publication or of uncertainty as to whether there was a publication at the time.

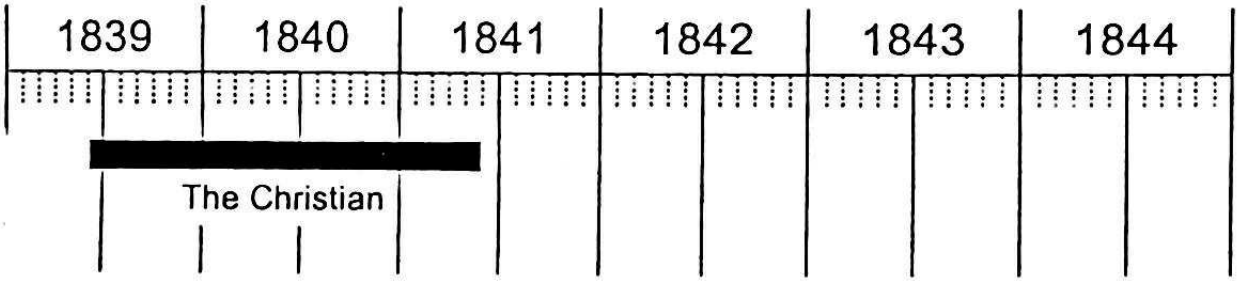


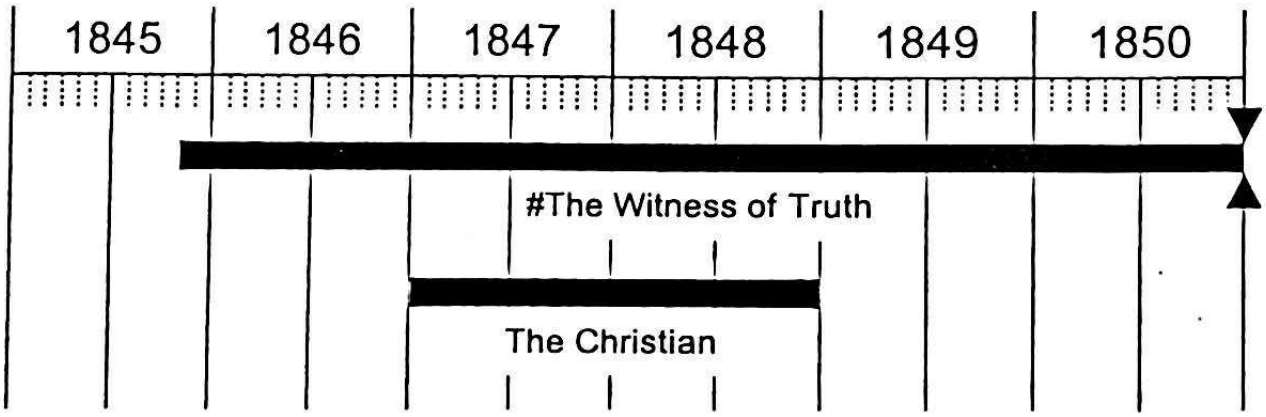
Indicates succeeding publications but change cf name and/or control.

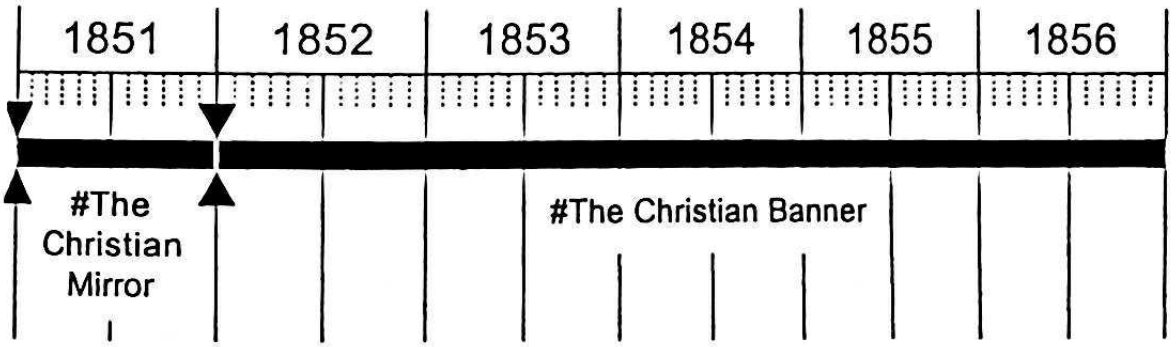
\# Indicates a paper opposed to organized co-operation.

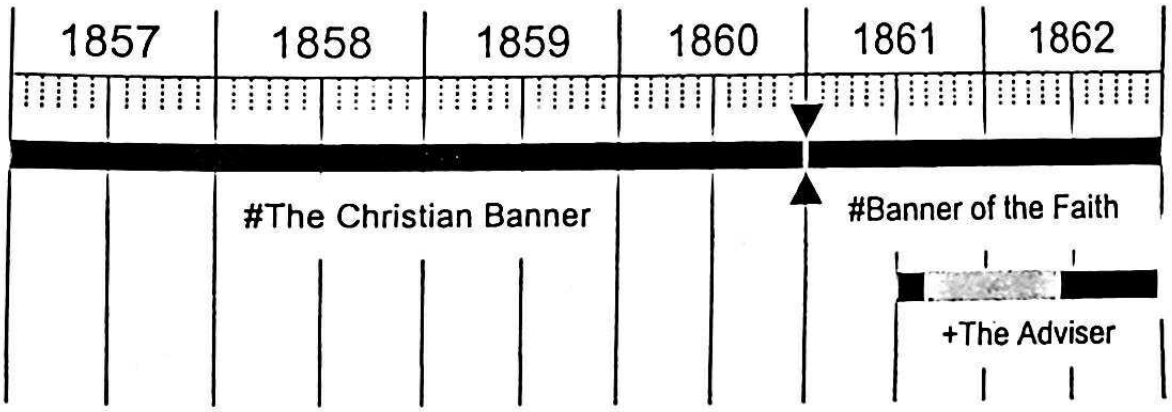
\+ Indicates a paper favouring organized co-operation.

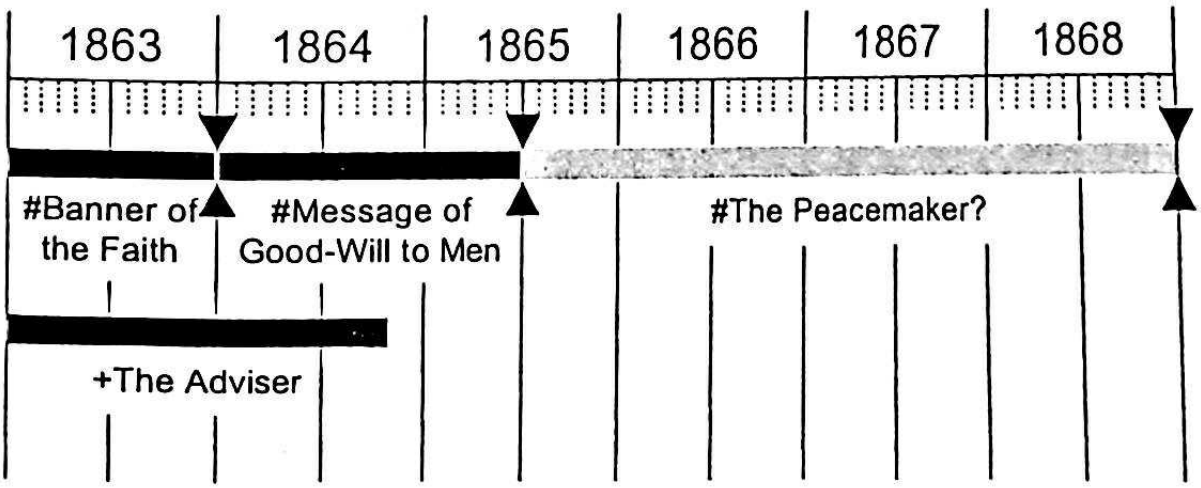

1833
1834
1835
1836
1837
1838
Christian Gleaner
Gospel Vindicator

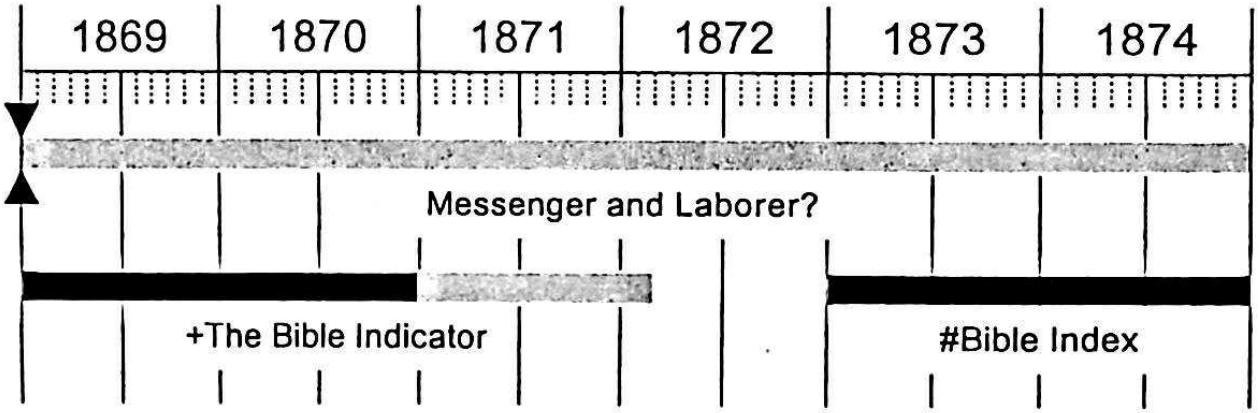

1839
1840
1841
1842
1843
1844
The Christian

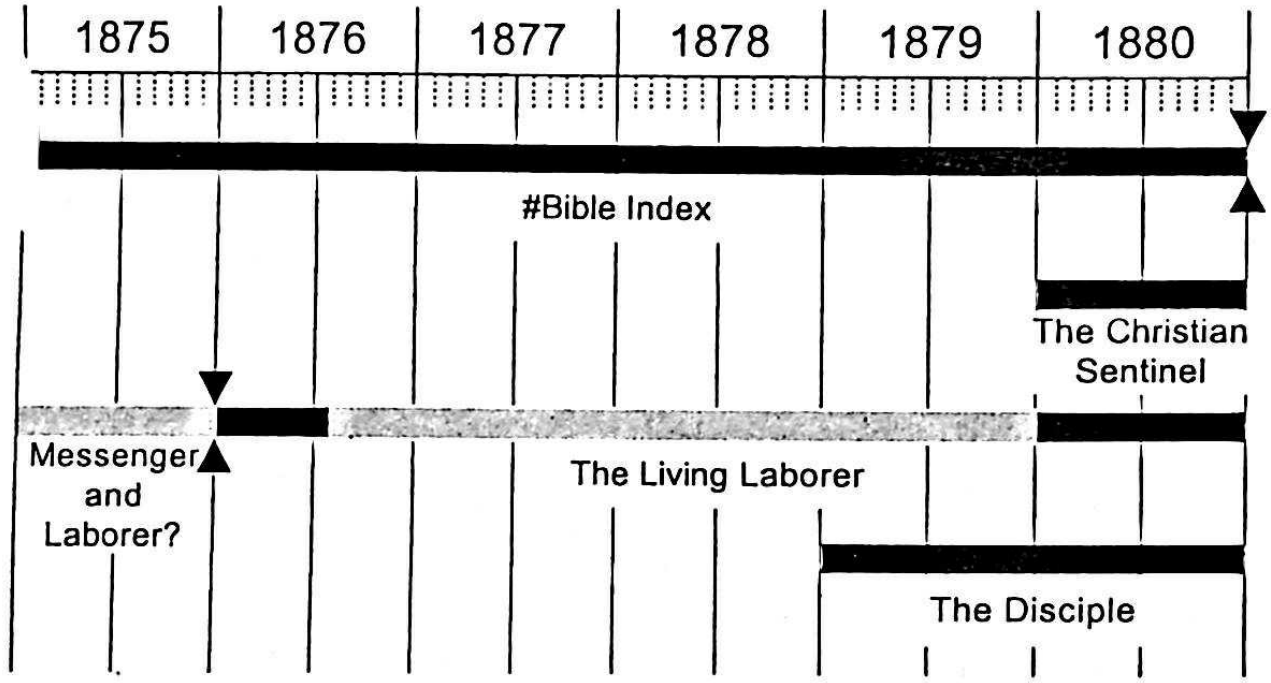

1845
1846
1847
1848
1849
1850
#The Witness of Truth
The Christian

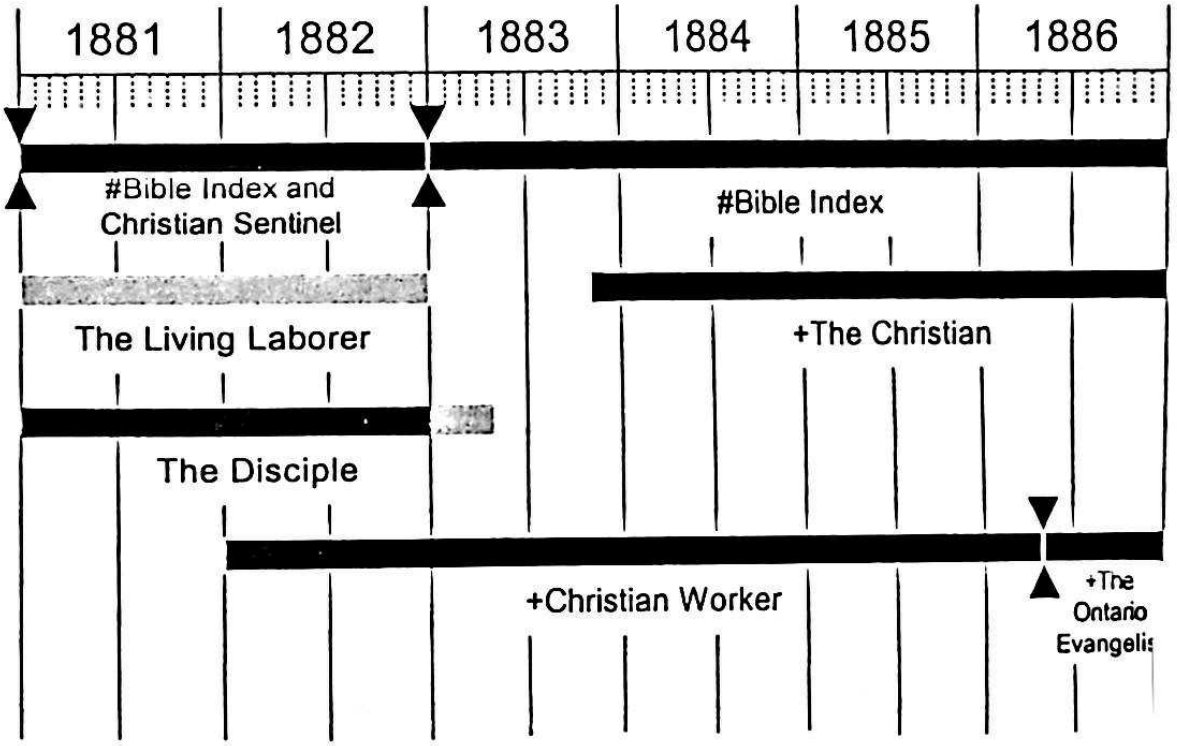

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1852
1853
1854
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1856
#The Christian Mirror
#The Christian Banner

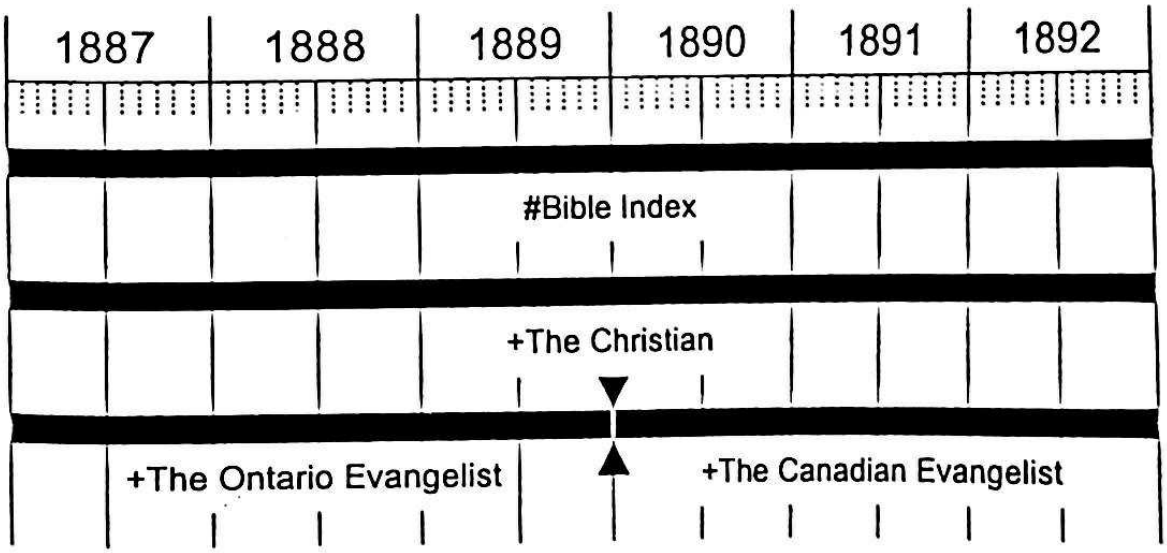

1857
1858
1859
1860
1861
1862
#The Christian Banner
#Banner of the Faith
+The Adviser

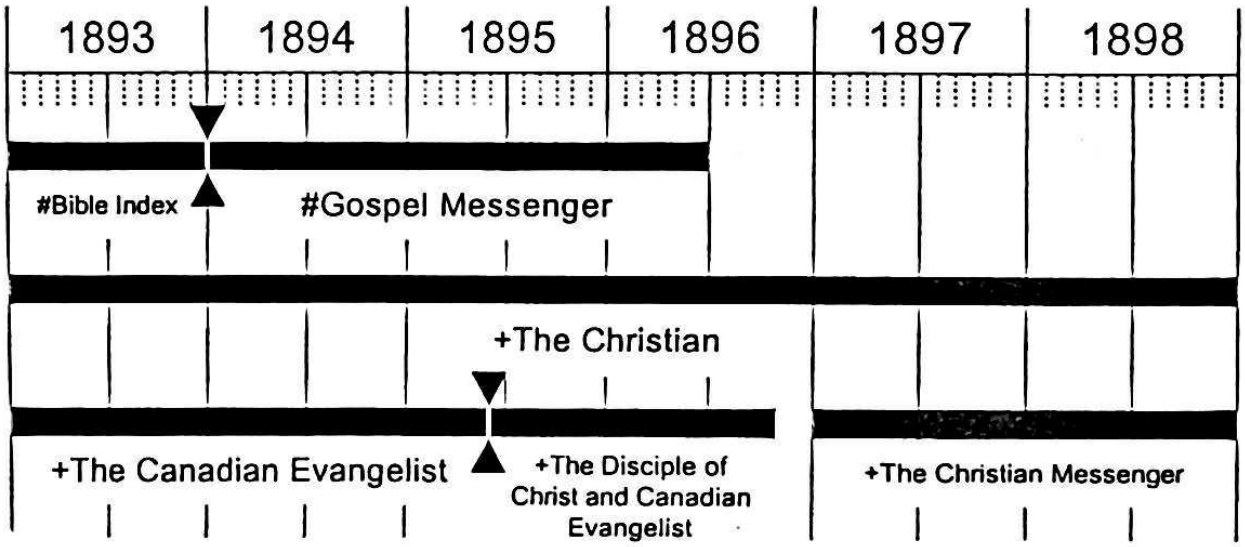

1863
1864
1865
1866
1867
1868
#Banner of the Faith
#Message of Good-Will to Men
#The Peacemaker?
+The Adviser

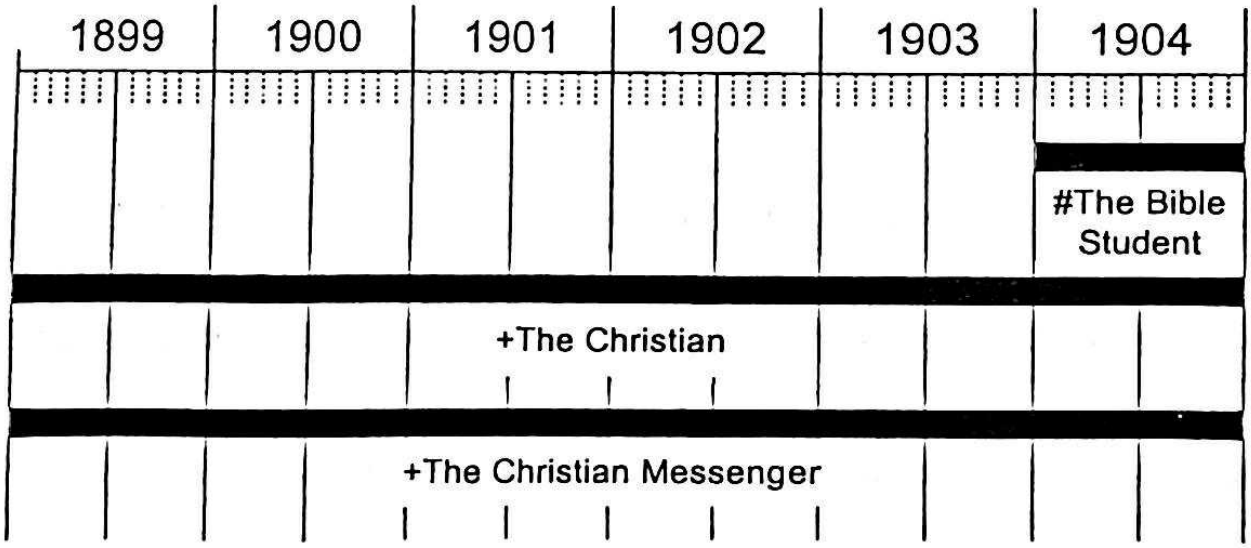

1869
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1872
1873
1874
Messenger and Laborer?
+The Bible Indicator
#Bible Index

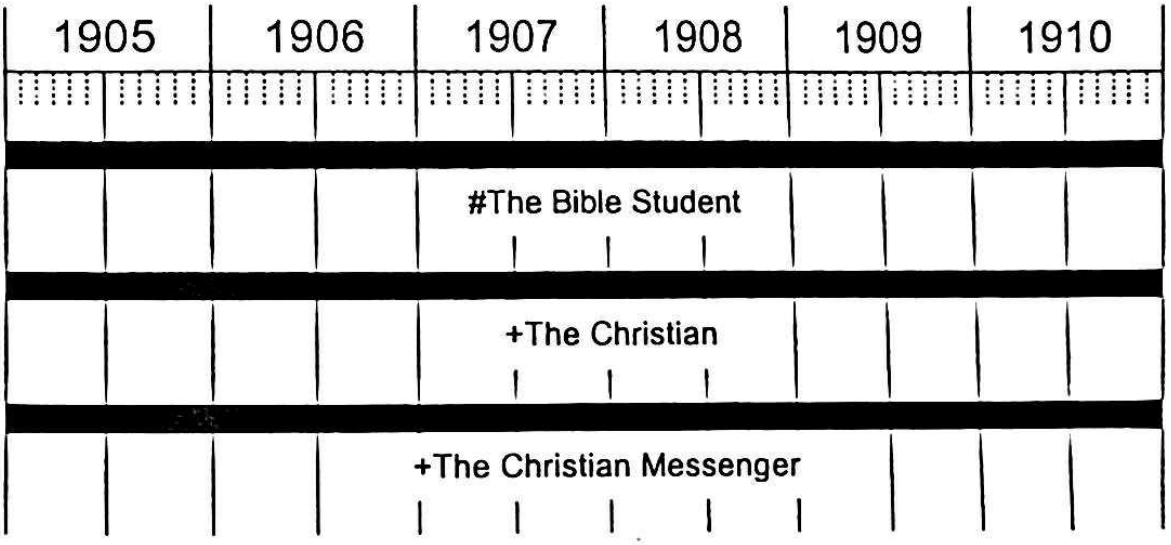

1875
1876
1877
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1879
1880
#Bible Index
The Christian Sentinel
Messenger and Laborer?
The Living Laborer
The Disciple

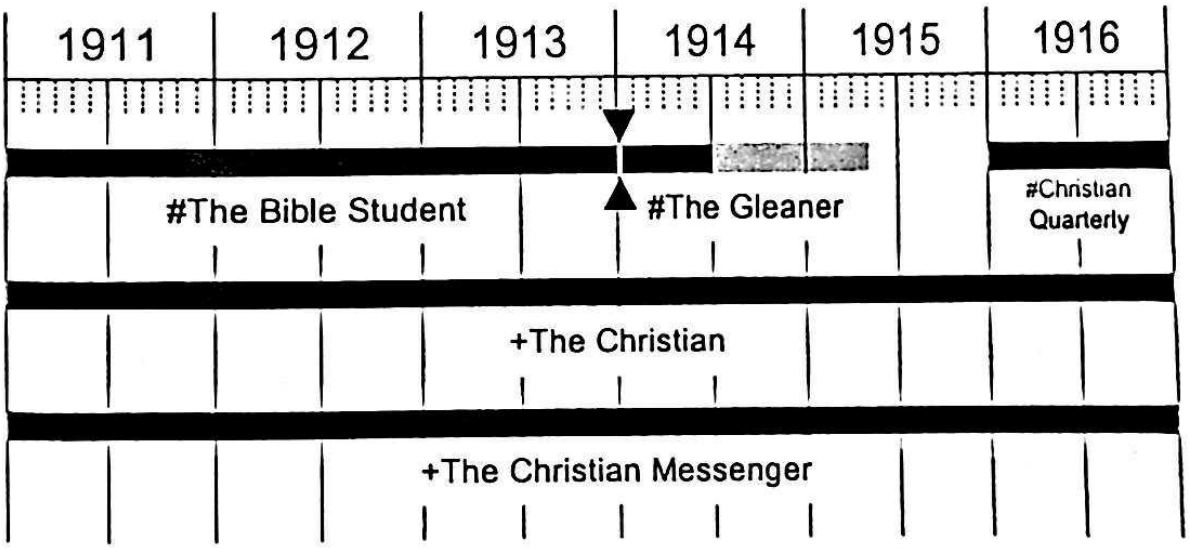

1881
1882
1883
1884
1885
1886
#Bible Index and
Christian Sentinel
#Bible Index
The Living Laborer
+The Christian
The Disciple
+Christian Worker
+The
Ontario
Evangeli

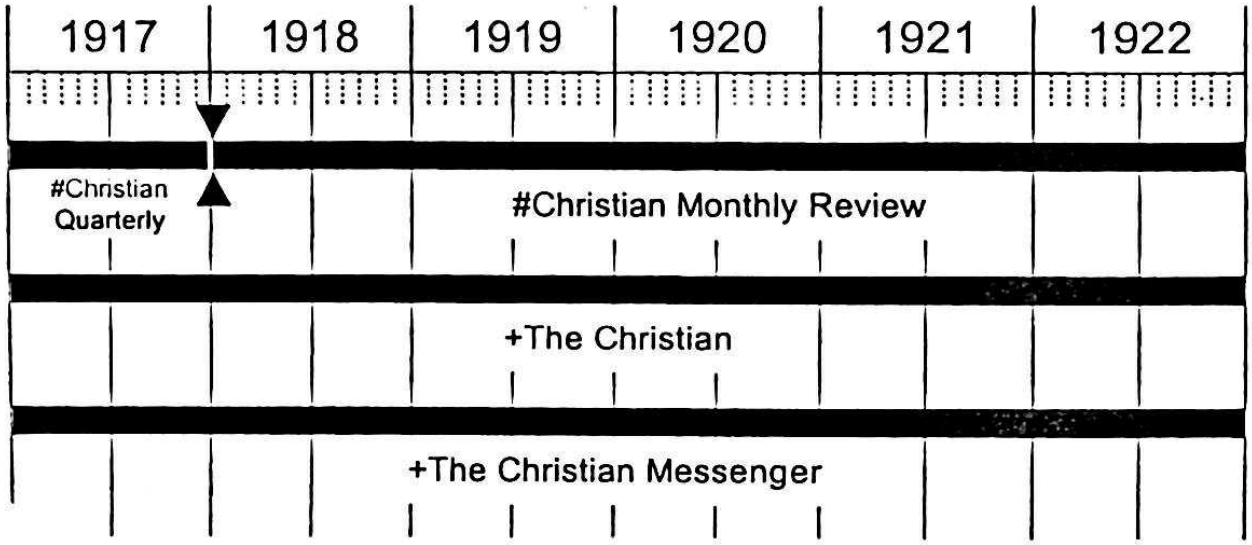

1887
1888
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1890
1891
1892
#Bible Index
+The Christian
+The Ontario Evangelist
+The Canadian Evangelist

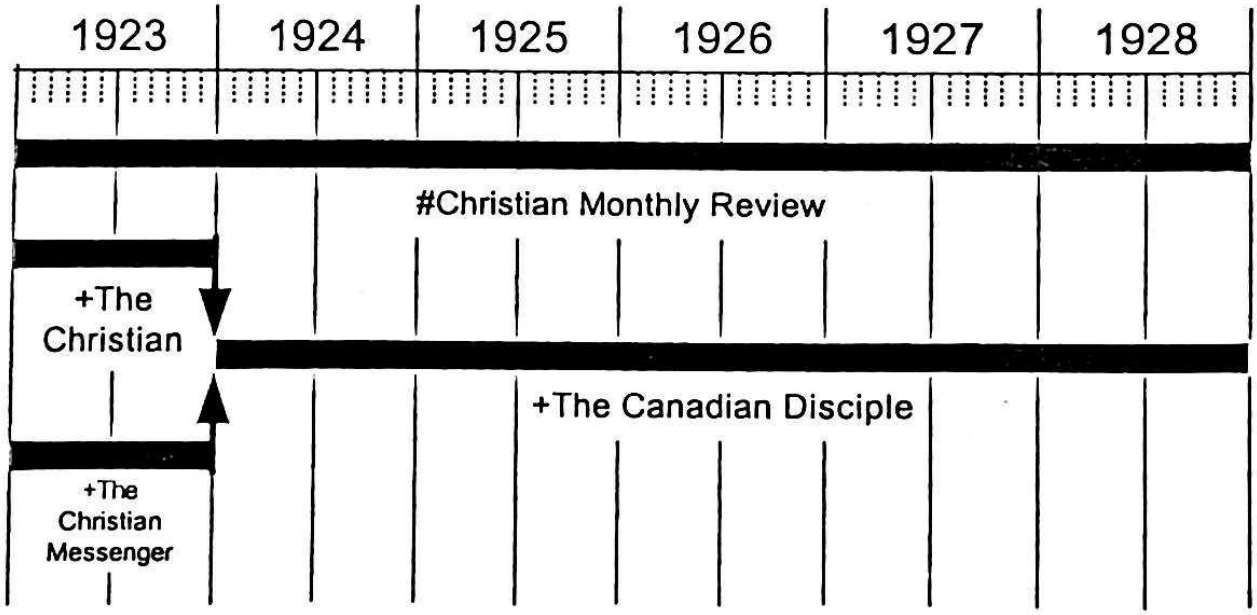

1893
1894
1895
1896
1897
1898
#Bible Index
#Gospel Messenger
+The Christian
+The Canadian Evangelist
+The Disciple of Christ and Canadian Evangelist
+The Christian Messenger

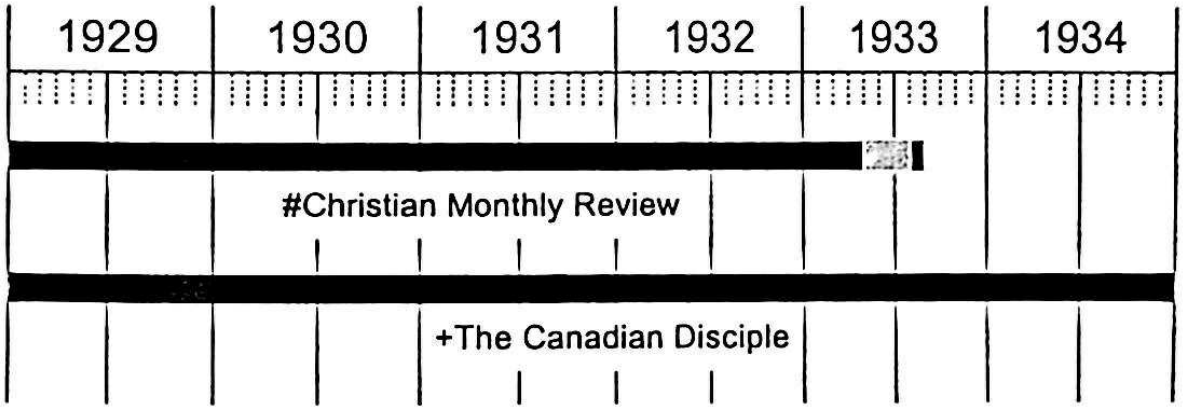

1899
1900
1901
1902
1903
1904
#The Bible Student
+The Christian
+The Christian Messenger

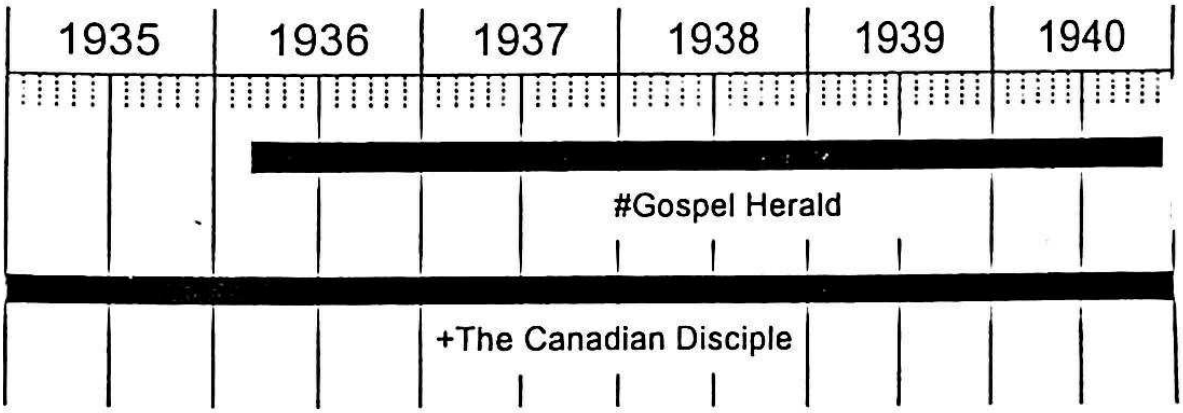

1905
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1910
#The Bible Student
+The Christian
+The Christian Messenger

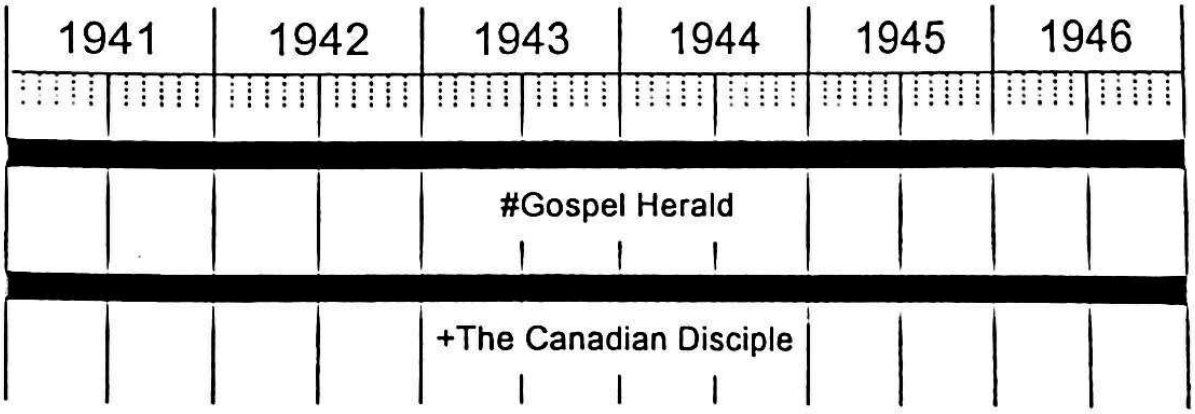

1911
1912
1913
1914
1915
1916
#The Bible Student
#The Gleaner
#Christian Quarterly
+The Christian
+The Christian Messenger

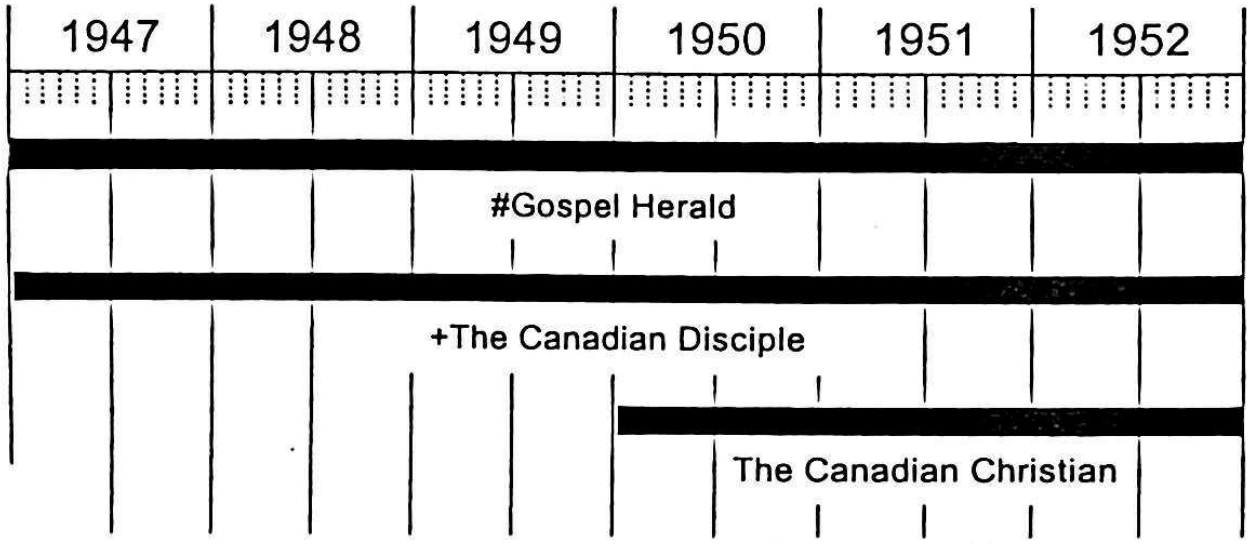

1917
1918
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1920
1921
1922
#Christian Quarterly
#Christian Monthly Review
+The Christian
+The Christian Messenger

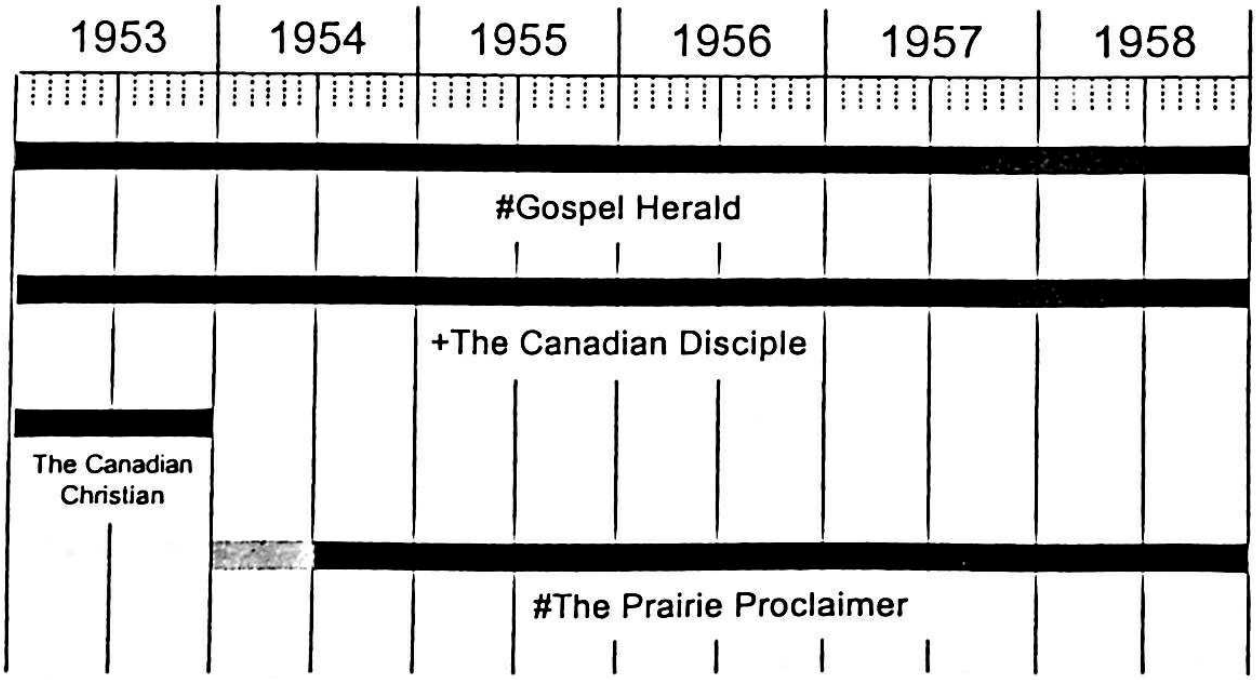

1923
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1926
1927
1928
#Christian Monthly Review
+The Christian
+The Canadian Disciple
+The Christian Messenger

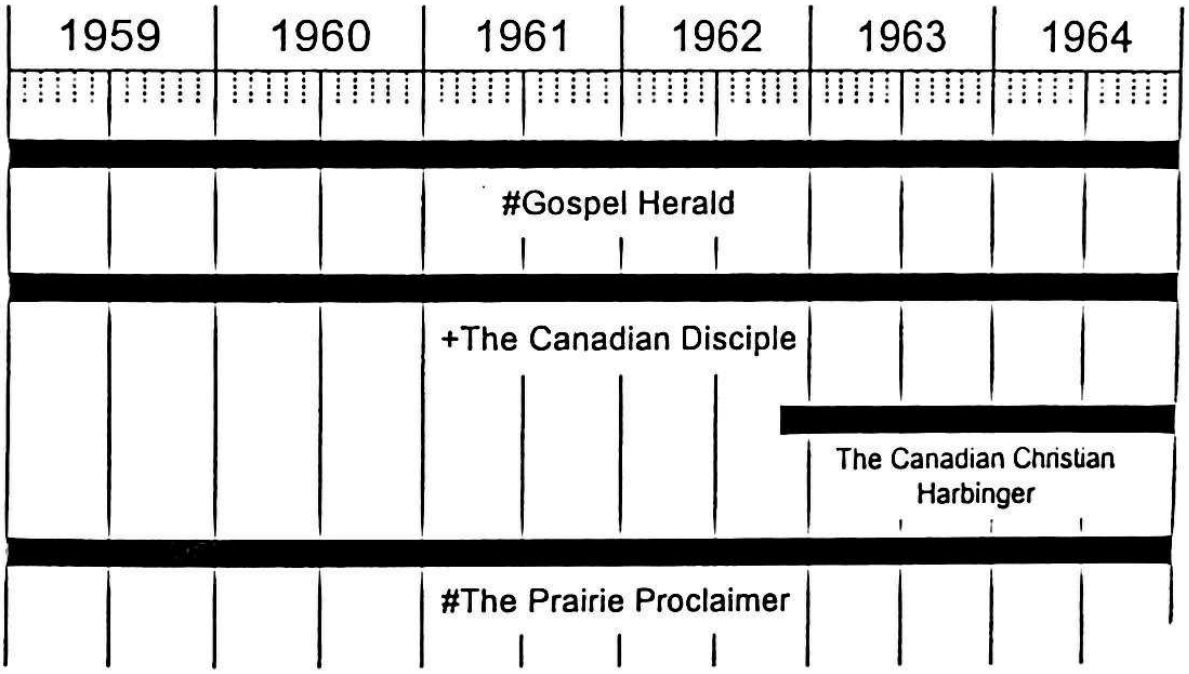

1929
1930
1931
1932
1933
1934
#Christian Monthly Review
+The Canadian Disciple

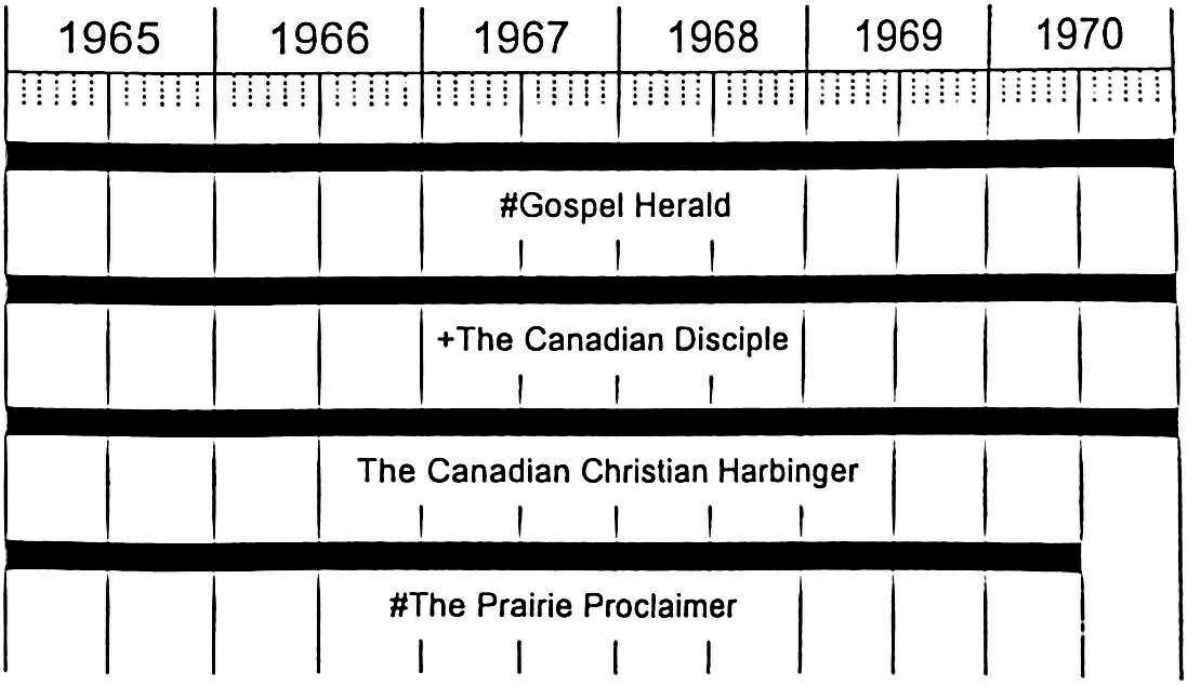

1935
1936
1937
1938
1939
1940
#Gospel Herald
+The Canadian Disciple


1941
1942
1943
1944
1945
1946
#Gospel Herald
+The Canadian Disciple


1947
1948
1949
1950
1951
1952
#Gospel Herald
+The Canadian Disciple
The Canadian Christian


1953
1954
1955
1956
1957
1958
#Gospel Herald
+The Canadian Disciple
The Canadian Christian
#The Prairie Proclaimer


1959
1960
1961
1962
1963
1964
#Gospel Herald
+The Canadian Disciple
The Canadian Christian Harbinger
#The Prairie Proclaimer


1965
1966
1967
1968
1969
1970
#Gospel Herald
+The Canadian Disciple
The Canadian Christian Harbinger
#The Prairie Proclaimer



ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Eugene Charles Perry, second oldest of four boys and four girls born to Ernest and Grace Perry, was raised on the same farm where his mother grew up. A mixed/dairy farm, it provided plenty of hard work.

His parents had met at the Beamsville Bible School and actively participated in the activities of the small country church whose building had been erected by ancestors on property they donated. After completing eight grades in the local one-room school and five more in High School, Eugene served in the Royal Canadian Electrical Mechanical Engineers for three years of WW II. Upon discharge in 1945, he completed a BA degree in Bible and Greek Abilene Christian College (where he met and later married Evelyn Huffard in 1946) and an MA in Church History at Pepperdine University. This book is the thesis written for that degree.

After graduation, he served the church in Niagara Falls, New York for one year; taught at Radville Christian College, Radville, Saskatchewan for two years; at Great Lakes Christian College in Beamsville, Ontario for 24 years (14 as principal); and was headmaster at Namwianga Christian Secondary School in Kalomo, Zambia for six years. The Perrys continued in mission work in Zambia for an additional three years. He served part-time and did pulpit service for many churches during all these years.

Except for the years in Africa, he co-edited the Gospel Herald and managed the Gospel Herald Bookstore from 1953 to 2002. These other priorities have delayed the publication of this book.

The Perrys have four grown children all of whom are involved in church and service activities.

ISBN 0-9699923-0-5