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An Aleatory Folk: 
An Historical-Theological Approach 
to the Transition 
of the Christian Church in Canada 
from Fringe to Mainstream 
1792-1898

A Thesis submitted 
 to the Faculty of Wycliffe College 
 and the Historical Department 
 of the Toronto School of Theology. 
 In partial fulfilment 
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 for the degree of 
 Doctor of Theology 
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 the University of Toronto

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Toronto, Ontario 
Spring 1999
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INTRODUCTION

Overview

The Christian Connexion was a group of restorationist movements which arose in the United States around the turn of the nineteenth century. They believed that the primitive church had been debased at a very early date, possibly with the introduction of episcopacy in the mid-second century, or even within the New Testament period itself, as evidenced by the corruption of the seven churches addressed in the Apocalypse. It was, they believed, their duty to restore the church to its primitive purity and unity, in the hope that such action would hasten the coming of God's millennial kingdom. A common set of commitments emerged, which may be condensed to five points: the renunciation of creeds and confessions of faith, substituting the Bible (or just the New Testament) as the only rule of faith and practice; using Christian character as the only test of fellowship; the rejection of denominational labels and the adoption of "Christian" as the only appropriate name for believers; the repudiation of hierarchical government because Jesus is the only head of the church; and the right of individual judgment when interpreting Scripture.

The initial goal of research was to write a dissertation portraying the history of the central Canadian wing of the Christian Connexion, from the 1821 formation of its first congregation at North Gwillimbury, Upper Canada until 1988, when the denomination grew rapidly with the influx of many former members of the United Church of Canada. In order best to grasp the significance of the regional movement, it will be
necessary to place it in the context of its American parents. Detailed factual accounts of the development of the individual American movements are readily available. This thesis will not replicate these, but focus on elements which made the Connexion's groups noteworthy, including only sufficient detail to facilitate analysis. To fulfill the basic aim, it became necessary to develop an ecclesiological model which would help explain a major avenue by which the Christian Connexion moved from the religious fringe to the mainstream.

The entire movement evinced unusual theological traits which most assuredly set it apart from the mainstream of North American Protestantism. Throughout most of its existence, the Christian Connexion's consensus theology included a Pelagian-like theological anthropology and a unitarian Christology. Although they would have been unaware of it, members of the Connexion were, virtually to a soul, Pelagians. Mark Pontifex, in his "Introduction" to Augustine's *The Problem of Free Choice*, lists six basic tenets of Pelagianism: rejection of predestination; the possibility of doing good without grace; grace as simply the exercise of free will; rejection of prayer for the unsaved because grace is accorded for merit; a denial of original sin; and affirmation of death as the common human lot even if Adam had not sinned. Later Pelagians elaborated some logical consequences of their mentor's thought, including rejection of theories of atonement based on compensation. Key elements of Pelagianism reappear in the thought of early Christian Connexion members, who rejected core Calvinist tenets such as predestination and original sin, believed in the possibility of doing good without grace, and
adopted non-compensatory theories of atonement. This generic anti-Augustinianism was not peripheral, an anomaly to be relegated to a footnote, rather this optimistic theological anthropology was foundational to the group's ecclesiology.

The Connexion's unitarianism flowed from the conjunction of their anti-Calvinist religious outlook, a commitment to individual interpretation of the Bible and a folk recension of "Common Sense" philosophy. Unrestrained by subtleties of formal philosophy, many members arrived independently at the same conclusion. This belief is significant not merely as another area in which the group moved from fringe to mainstream. It also had ecclesiological overtones. By mid-century, members had to decide whether the benefits of ministerial education justified the overtly linear organization necessary to maintain a college. It is also important for current members to be aware of this aberration. Unitarian Christology was the last doctrinal peculiarity to disappear; less than four decades have passed since Trinitarianism became required of Ontario Conference pastors.'

The thesis' subsidiary aim, the adumbration of a new ecclesiological model, emerged as preliminary research raised unexpected questions. The Connexion valued 'orthopraxy' over orthodoxy, so that heterogeneity was predictable. There were not only variances in theology between the diverse regional branches, but also within regions, where internal coherence often developed slowly.' The group's early broad agreement on pelagian-like theological anthropology and unitarian Christology reflected not merely the rejection of Calvinist orthodoxy, but what underlay that rejection. The urge to
restore what members held to be true New Testament Christianity possessed radical ecclesiological implications. The group came to demand, in the name of that restoration, total rejection of all overt church order. The root idea was not anarchism, rejection of order for its own sake, but a belief that God would supernaturally induce pure order from the morass of apparent disorder created by destroying church organization. This 'aleatory' approach, set out in the next chapter,' defined the entire movement. The elaboration of this model is not an attempt to deny that the Connexion arose independently in each region, or that regional allegiances held firm after a sense of a national movement developed. The concept is a means to examine the less obvious, nonetheless real, ties both within regions and between sectional movements. The system, understandably, was unstable and did not long survive the removal of the original leading lights who conceived it.

It is at this point that the thesis' secondary purpose comes to the fore. On the one hand, this document presents a simple tale of a portion of one denomination's historical development, normally of little interest to an 'outsider.' On the other hand, the movement under scrutiny cut an unusual path through the nineteenth century, interacting vitally with three of the major controversies which erupted within North American Protestantism: Unitarianism, Restorationism and Adventism. The state of early nineteenth century ecclesiastical historiography may be described as "a story of things left out."

The "canon of American religious history' has been skewed in favour of "respectable" and cohesive
denominations, while religious participation actually included a much higher number of peculiar groups than is usually acknowledged. It is not surprising that the Christian Connexion has received little attention from historians. Always small, it was absorbed almost seven decades ago by a much larger body. That absorption, however, was only possible because the Christian Connexion had moved, in a number of ways, from the fringe to the mainstream. The adoption of the 'aleatory' paradigm was a major point of difference between the Connexion and the mainstream. Abandonment of this anomalous ecclesiology goes far toward explaining why the group's other unusual theological aspects also fell along the wayside.

The timeframe for the thesis, as originally conceived, proved too long, if the salient issues were to be discussed thoroughly. By refocussing the dissertation on a shorter period, ending at the close of the nineteenth century, the ecclesiological point is made more clearly. In addition to this major aspect of the Connexion's transition from fringe to mainstream, there was a series of situations of shorter duration, each situation playing itself out within that larger framework. These tended to be crises which unfolded over shorter periods, usually within the space of a single chapter. Hence the second chapter deals with the rise of the Christian Connexion's regional wings, their initial contacts and the development of their unique ideas. Chapter Three covers the movement's entrance into Upper Canada and the early questioning of the 'aleatory' paradigm. By the 1830s, the fourth chapter's range, there were open divisions, notably an
attempt to dissolve the emerging extracongregational structure and the Western wing's disastrous losses to the Disciples of Christ. The Canadian wing suffered further because of marked demographic change in the wake of the 1837 Rebellion. The 'aleatory' paradigm was renounced fully as a result of the Connexion's encounter with Millerism, the subject matter of the fifth chapter. The next two chapters, which run to the end of the century, overlap chronologically. The sixth details the Ontario Conference's particular elaboration of linear organization and attempts by opponents to thwart centralization, while the seventh deals with the theological and ecclesiological impact of the ongoing relationship with Unitarianism, and the new religious societies as a means by which the Connexion could enter the mainstream.

Canadian Mainstream Setting in which the Connexion Developed

It is essential to set the growth of the central Canadian branch of the Christian Connexion in the broader context of the religious mainstream. The colonial setting differed from both the American and the British. Despite waves of revivalism in England in the 1840s, Nonconformity did not expand beyond its bridgeheads among the urban middle class and skilled working class, so that the Church of England was never dislodged from its hegemony and retained the allegiance of three-fifths of the population. While the nineteenth century witnessed an "extraordinary shuffling of the American religious census," in which Congregationalism' early dominance disappeared and the religious scene became more and more fragmented, the setting in Canada was relatively stable.
By the 1830s, Baptists and Methodists had taken a place in the Canadian mainstream. After that, a process of consensus led to an increasing concentration of membership in just four Protestant groups: the Church of England, the various Methodist fellowships, the Presbyterian factions and the Baptists. In Upper Canada, the Baptists were fewer in number than in the Maritimes. The mainstream denominations, even if they appeared to be at each others' throats at times, generally shared an 'establishment' view of Christianity's place in society. Although there were many Lutherans who likely shared such assumptions, they were divided on ethnic or nationalistic lines, and did not function within the mainstream during the 1800s.

Yet Canadian Protestantism was not monolithic. Consensus was curbed by sufficient numbers of smaller denominations "ranging from Mennonites and Quakers to Primitive Methodists and the Catholic Apostolic Church, as well as new religious movements such as the 'Millerites'," Mormons, Unitarians and Universalists. Members of mainline groups were aware of this fringe, as evinced by the collective holding of the religious breath until William Miller's apocalyptic prophecies were solidly disconfirmed. It is into this group of denominations outside the mainstream, whose success was stymied primarily by Canadian Methodism's doctrinal and disciplinary strength, that the Christian Connexion first fit. One might say that it was into this mélange that they disappeared. Until recently, the group garnered little attention. Reading John Webster Grant's 1972 tome, one could imagine that the "Christians'" only claim to fame was being absorbed by the United Church.
To be fair, Grant's later Profusion of Spires includes what is, for a province-wide survey of religion of all stripes, a significant discussion of the Ontario Conference.  

Groups Antecedent to or Contemporary with the 'Christian Connexion'

The founders of the Christian Connexion were far from alone in their goal of restoring New Testament Christianity. The idea had a long heritage in Europe, antedating the Reformation. It has manifested itself notably in North America. Stephen Marini traces a potent strain of the idea, marked by an aversion to theology and a desire to be known simply as a 'Christian,' back to George Whitefield. Restorationism became a notable aspect of the post-Revolutionary American ethos, finding expression through groups as disparate as Seceder Presbyterians, various "Bible Christian" movements and Episcopal restorationism. Precursors to the Christian Connexion include the Connecticut "Independent Catholic Christian Societies" in the 1790s. The Baptist John Leland was also anti-creedal and opposed cooperative institutions for missionary activity, theological education or Sunday Schools. Nathan Hatch includes the markedly different Methodist preachers Lorenzo Dow and Francis Asbury among restorationists. More important, he also argues that while restorationism reappears throughout church history, it was the combined disorienting influences of radical democratic thought and rampant religious pluralism which made attempts at a "decisive expatriation from the past" a hallmark of the religion of the early American republic.
The Freewill Baptists were the group most intimately linked with the Eastern Christian Connexion, both geographically and ideologically. That section of the Connexion was the culmination of a progressive reaction by some New Englanders to Calvinism. It is quite possible that the Freewill Baptists of the late nineteenth century were also aleatory, although such a discussion is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Suffice it to say that Marini notes the "Randelite rhetoric of familial relation," as opposed to more business-like organizational models, and that some of their contemporaries were horrified by an almost flippant attitude toward solemn vows in ecclesiastical matters. The lines between the Freewill Baptists and Christian Connexion were often paper thin, with preachers operating in both.

More problematic is the Connexion's relationship with the Disciples of Christ. It is certain that the quest to restore the primitive church was not unique to Alexander Campbell. How to relate the movement he spawned to Barton Stone's 'Christians,' and the latter's relations with the bodies in New England and the South, however, are more controversial. This problem is discussed at length in Chapter One, where it serves to highlight the need for a new interpretative framework to settle the issue. At this juncture, one needs merely to establish that there were profound differences between the group for which Campbell was the driving force and the more diffuse native groups; Campbell's body appeared later and drew more heavily on European traditions.

The genesis of 'Campbellism' is generally tied to the 1809 Declaration and Address issued on behalf of the newly-
formed Christian Association of Washington by Alexander's father, Thomas Campbell." The most profound difference between the Campbells and Stone was ideological, specifically their views of organization. The Declaration and Address included markedly linear features. He allowed for regular money management and dictated the creation of a "standing committee...invested with full powers" to act on behalf of the entire group." The group was not left to meet by whim or impression, but met twice per year, with a set agenda."

Winfred Garrison and Alfred DeGroot style this piece one of three basic Disciples manifestoes, along with the Apology for Renouncing the Jurisdiction of the Synod of Kentucky and The Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery." They note that the Declaration and Address appeared only five years after the Last Will." Yet such a claim ignores the years during which Campbell-inspired Baptists continued to refine their distinct theology before they first contacted adherents of Stone's group in the mid-1820s. This stands in stark contrast to the demonstrable early links between the three 'Christian' groups. As even the Disciples historians Lester McAllister and William Tucker freely admit, at the time Stone took a lead in the Cane Ridge revival and set out themes which would be Disciples' standards, Alexander Campbell was only fifteen and Walter Scott seven." If one accepts the link between Stone's Western wing and Southern 'Christians' which James North posits, then Scott had not yet been born and Campbell was only eight when the first nominal 'Christians' met in Virginia! Undeniably their thought was not seminal, even for that section of 'Christians' which largely aligned
with the Disciples.

The European heritage of the thought of Thomas and Alexander Campbell, as well as that of Walter Scott, Alexander's coadjutor, is incontestable. Equally to them applies James O'Kelly's protest that Asbury's birth and nurture "in the land of Bishops and Kings" prevented his full assimilation to American ways of democratic thought and action. Although lumping Alexander Campbell with Elias Smith, O'Kelly and Stone, "Hatch himself notes that Campbell stood out as the only one of the four to be college educated and the only one who had not participated in the American Revolution." This profound disparity in background manifested itself in at least two ways: the impact of Scottish restorationist groups and Scottish Common Sense Realism upon the Disciples' development.

Hatch paints Alexander Campbell as rejecting this background once in America, charting a new course similar to that of Smith, Stone and O'Kelly. "Disciples' historians, on the other hand, are generally keen to draw attention to Campbell's European background and his exposure while in Glasgow to the restorationist traditions of John Glas, Robert Sandeman and the brothers James and Robert Haldane." North emphasizes that Stone differed from Campbell and Scott precisely because he was not Sandemanian. McAllister and Tucker indicate that Alexander Campbell also acknowledged his debt to Glas' and Sandeman's thought and that weekly communion was a Haldanean idea. Thomas Campbell supported Haldanean work while still in Ireland. The disparity between the Reformers and the 'Christian' groups is accentuated when
Walter Scott is considered. He too was educated in Scotland, at the University of Edinburgh. Once in America, he helped form and lead a Haldane-pattern church at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in 1819. It was Scott who devised the Disciples' unusual evangelistic platform, the "five finger exercise" which soon became their norm, a plan which DeGroot admits raised the hackles of some Western 'Christian' preachers. In this light, it is safer to say such ideas had percolated in Alexander Campbell's mind before he emigrated and reoriented, setting him on a different course than the three native Americans.

Scottish Common Sense Realism provided the Campbells with philosophical categories to organize experience. DeGroot argues that Alexander Campbell's theological anthropology and soteriology were firmly rooted in the "Lockian[sic] sensationalism" imbibed during his Glasgow days, that Campbell was firmly convinced of the "efficacy of reason" in the religious quest. The Disciples' abhorrence of creeds, furthermore, was rooted in Enlightenment scientific method and rejection of what Campbell believed to have been a Socratic distortion of Christianity. The Connexion, on the other hand, was an indigenous American movement which relied more on folk formulae of common sense than formal philosophy. Stone objected to creeds and theological infighting, DeGroot agrees, solely because of their negative influence during the Western revivals, rather than on speculative grounds.

The Restoration Movement scholars have not recognized with sufficient thoroughness the philosophical distance between the New World and Scotland. What one encounters in
the thought of Stone, O'Kelly and Smith is what George Marsden labels an "empiricist folk epistemology." Timothy Fulop, who locates Smith within the Scottish Common Sense tradition, freely allows Smith "was heir to a Baptist dissenting primitivism in New England." He counters that while Smith never cited any leading philosophers, the basic outlines of Scottish Common Sense philosophy are present in Smith's writing, indicating "a rich, but otherwise unrecognized fertilization between elite and popular religion." Yet Smith shared a similar vision with O'Kelly and Stone, whose intellectual paths did not include formal Common Sense roots. At most, one appears to be dealing with a naive and native parallel to Locke's notions, "a popular appropriation of Enlightenment thought." This 'Yankee horse sense' seems to have had only limited, even rarefied, links to the European tradition, and stands in sharp contrast to Campbell's direct ties to erudite Scottish tradition.

These differences, when coupled with Campbell's own reticence to admit links with the other groups, are sufficient justification for this thesis to ignore the development of Campbell's 'Reform Baptists,' except when that group's activities impinged directly upon the movements led by O'Kelly, Stone and Smith. Chapter Two includes a detailed demonstration that the restorationism found in the Connexion's earliest phase indeed centred both on the pursuit of Christian unity and restoring the Ancient Gospel, twin concerns allegedly first combined by Campbell. There is limited discussion in Chapter Three of the initial contact with Campbellism. About one quarter of Chapter Four is devoted to
describing and analysing the collision of Reform Baptists and Christians in the West, which sent shock waves through the Upper Canada Conference. Opponents of increased organization in the Ontario Conference, as one finds in Chapter Six, explored local unions with Disciples as a strategy to undermine the Ontario Conference’s growing authority.

The Emergence of a New Ecclesiological Paradigm

What most distinguished the Connexion from its antecedents and contemporary parallels in the quest for apostolic correctness was ecclesiology. O’Kelly, Smith and Stone not only built upon an existing tradition, but expanded it, making explicit and central what had been latent and peripheral, thus creating something new. Whereas groups such as the Freewill Baptists sought “to make the revival permanent,” the Connexion’s goal was no less than to coax into existence Christ’s millennial kingdom. Connexion members constructed an entirely new set of premises, priorities and procedures to help them achieve this goal. These goals, here isolated and described in modern historiographical language rather than the participants’ own words, were fourfold. Members aimed to destabilize the entire existing American religious system by the deliberate induction of chaos to randomize all Christian relationships. Their goal was to create an atmosphere in which individual autonomy, flourishing within faith communities with indistinct boundaries, would allow God freedom to inaugurate the Millennium. Shared information about their activities would, in the interim, act as an organizing force in this nonlinear religious system.
Finally, rediscovered New Testament "love" would bind the egalitarian movement together, not legalities.

To put it in a word, the Connexion developed and adopted a new "paradigm." Hans Küng, expanding upon Thomas Kuhn's theory of scientific models, discusses theological innovation in terms of the succession of sets of ideas. According to Kuhn, "A paradigm is not a theory or a leading idea. It is an entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques and so on shared by the members of a given community." Küng sees paradigms as overarching patterns of thought which provide means to organize solutions to problems. This allows for there to be several theologies within a single paradigm. A new paradigm may develop at one of three levels: micromodel, mesomodel or macromodel. A micromodel is a detailed solution to a particular problem, such as propounding a specific Christology. A mesomodel tackles intermediate level problems, such as the complex of doctrines encompassed by the sacraments. The broadest plane is the macromodel, a solution which provides "a fundamental re-organization," "a new understanding of theology as a whole." Regardless of the scale of the new paradigm, there are, in principle, only three possible fates for it. The new pattern may be absorbed into the older paradigm. The new model may supplant totally the old. The new scheme may fail and be suppressed. In the case of the Connexion, one finds the attempted inception of a new macromodel which resulted in apparent failure.

Some may object that the Connexion's program does not qualify as a new theological paradigm because it was unreflective and unpremeditated. Paradigms, Küng notes, need
not be particularly sophisticated. He points, for example, to tensions within the New Testament, in which the emerging early-Catholic model focused on "salvation history" displaced a "Jewish apocalyptic model of the imminent end" as believers accepted that Christ's return would not be imminent. The church endured another "crisis of identity" in its encounter with Hellenism, particularly the "unhistorical-mythical theology" of Gnosticism. These early paradigms were rudimentary, although the first "mature" macromodel, developed by the Alexandrians, was an extension and encapsulation of shared basic underlying assumptions about the task of theology which prevailed from Irenaeus to the Cappadocians. A new model may just as easily come about as the result of "a sudden intuitive experience" as from "a long and arduous ripening."

The Christian Connexion rejected the "normal science" of the theology of its day. The Connexion's founders sought a radical replacement for Protestantism's orthodox confessionalism, which they saw as failing to reorder the world according to Christian principles. The movement emerged roughly synchronously with the rational-critical theological paradigm in Europe, but embodied a profoundly different impulse. Absolutely no intellectual link existed between them. Instead, the Connexion adopted a thoroughly new and populist "macromodel." Its 'aleatory' system of church non-organization was, to the core, nonlinear and anti-intellectual. The particular crisis which triggered the search for this new paradigm was the apparent persistence of allegedly "British" forms of church order in the post-Revolutionary period. All forms of ecclesiastical government
appeared to be inherently undemocratic. The new political situation demanded parallel ecclesiastical reform, the radical abandonment of all linearity in church order.

The Connexion's 'aleatory' paradigm faced its own crisis when it failed to supplant its predecessor. A radical discontinuity developed between what members experienced and what the paradigm predicted. Much of the Connexion's history may be viewed as the consequence of the overall failure of its macromodel. Problems of various financial irregularities and ministerial frauds led to struggles between 'aleatory' purists and proponents of overt organization. The inability of members in the American West to agree on developing relations with the Disciples left two increasingly linear bodies where there had been one nonlinear movement. Those in the Eastern wing who became involved in Miller's apocalypticism faced profound disillusionment when the Millennium did not arrive. In reaction, members abandoned millenarianism and tightened lines of authority within conferences. The once-divided Southern wing, ostracized for refusing to eschew slavery, closed ranks in the face of extra-regional criticism, thereby creating firm lines of identity. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a series of minor organizational crises in reaction to which the movement divested itself of the last remnants of 'aleatory' government.

The new paradigm for church organization which the Christian Connexion developed was never appreciated in its own time. This was partly because the group appeared odd in other respects, but also partly because its new paradigm may go unrecognized unless an observer approaches the situation with
a concept (nonlinearity) borrowed from a new scientific paradigm, such as Chaos/Complexity theory, as proposed by this thesis.

The idea of paradigm shift thus works on two levels in this thesis. On one, observation of historical phenomena indicates that the group in question adopted and abandoned an 'aleatory' macromodel which consisted of a totally new view of order. On the other, to understand what was going on requires a realignment of ecclesiological models on the part of the interpreter. The new insights from Chaos/Complexity theory constitute a mesomodel, dovetailing with older theories and not necessitating desertion of accepted historiographical method. The older ecclesiological models, in particular Ernst Troeltsch's church-sect typology and the typical spectrum of ecclesiological types ranging from congregational to episcopal, are in need of revision. The basic concepts are sound, but a minor "crisis," the insolubility of two specific problems enumerated in the next chapter, suggests that they are in need of expansion. It should be noted that while the 'aleatory' model involves a sociological approach, this is not its primary character. It is theological, first and foremost, a concrete expression of a specific theological anthropology.

Placing the New Paradigm in the Context of Existing Scholarship

It should be stressed that this 'aleatory' scheme was not an abstraction arrived at a priori into which the Christian Connexion was forced to fit. This model was developed to deal with problems in interpretation which proved intractable to
traditional analysis. The idea was formulated to augment two common means to conceptualize Christianity: the "church/sect" typology and the continuum of ecclesiologies from congregational to episcopal.

The Christian Connexion does not fall neatly into any of the three categories of the church/sect typology defined by Ernst Troeltsch and applied by sociologists of religion such as Samuel Delbert Clark. J. Milton Yinger expanded the categories substantially, using three variables to propound ten different sociological-organizational possibilities. Of these, eight are charted in terms of the greater or lesser presence of three variables. While this approach allows for more subtle refinement of the applicability of the types, Yinger still linked participation in a sect to some form of deprivation, although the term may be defined extremely broadly, to include tensions endured by members of the middle and upper classes, such as "feelings of inadequacy, confusion, ennui, pain and guilt." Yinger's refinement and extension did not address the critical issue of the degree of linearity present within a system. This lacuna is problematic in terms of the placement of charismatic movements, discussed below. For these reasons, discussion here will be restricted to Troeltsch's classic three-type formulation.

The Connexion most clearly resembles a "sect:" stressing piety and personal ethical achievement; disparaging official theology and theologians; valuing direct personal religious experience; being egalitarian. The Connexion also clearly appealed to the absolute normativity of the New Testament and the ideal of attaining an experience similar to
that of the Primitive Church. The binding force among the members of any sect, the force which Connexion members hoped would transform the world, is love." Yet Connexion members were not quietists. They did not manifest "a purely religious attitude towards life," the sectarian impulse which emphasizes the salvation of souls and leads to quietistic withdrawal from political and social involvement. Members had none of the sectarian scruples against political participation. Preachers were directly involved in politics, at a time when it was uncommon for ministers to do so." Some were sufficiently popular to be re-elected." One served in the convention which drafted the Illinois state constitution."

This activism clearly disqualifies the Connexion as a manifestation of Troeltsch's category of "mysticism." Although organizationally diffuse and indistinct, the Connexion's members highly valued public worship, whereas mystics hold a "fundamental" indifference to public form." Adherents were not introspective members of the "cultured classes,"" believing God's Kingdom to be but an inner reality, "the dominion of the Divine Spirit" devoid of external form." They were highly public and proselytizing, hoping to "turn the world upside down" once more. The Connexion embodied a polar opposite of the ahistorical Romantic mysticism of which Friedrich Schleiermacher, according to Troeltsch, is representative. For mystics, Christ is a symbol to "arouse and enkindle that spark of direct religious life,"" while for Connexion members, Christ was the ever-living head of a church being repristinated in their time.

The Connexion also bears marks of the "church" type.
Members did not, like sectarians, believe their lot to be quiet acceptance of unjust suffering.” The open-ended nature of their vision, to create world-wide affective bonds as a precondition of the onset of the Millennium, is akin to the world-conquering aim Troeltsch ascribes to the primitive Paulinism undergirding the church-type. They did not, like the sects, defer universal submission to God to some distant eschatological future. Instead, exuding a “spirit of universalism” more in line with the church-type, Connexion members envisioned an overlap of the eschatological and the mundane. In essence, they embraced the standing order in America, which they thought merely needed slight adjustment (such as voting for a particular political party) in order to inaugurate the Millennium. They did not “leave the world to its fate.” Far from advocating withdrawal from the world-system, theirs was a form of religion “laced with” robust political rhetoric.

The difficulty in describing the Christian Connexion clearly either as “church” or “sect” arises not simply because Troeltsch painted ideals which do not transfer readily to actual situations. His model is particularly pertinent to Europe, especially Germany, where sectarians (i.e. those not members of the established Protestant or Roman Catholic churches) accounted for a smaller fraction of the population than did the Jews (both less than one percent) at the time he wrote Die Soziallehren. The model, says John Stackhouse, makes little sense in voluntarist North America, where radical sects alone often made up a significant proportion of the population. John Webster Grant allows that evangelicals
in early nineteenth century Upper Canada bore some resemblance to the sect-type, but manifested significant differences as well.¹⁹⁷ William Westfall suggests that the typology, used inappropriately, distorts historical interpretation.¹⁹⁸ Timothy Fulop concurs that the church/sect typology has severe shortcomings when applied to a case such as the Connexion.¹⁹⁹ Even Troeltsch acknowledged that new social thoughts would have to arise to adapt to new emerging social settings.¹¹⁰ In the event, the Christian Connexion's 'aleatory' system appears to have been inherently unstable, one of those "ideals" which "fling themselves in vain" against the "hard mass of social realities."¹¹¹ This does not mean, however, that it is not worthy of study. It is of particular note, as the type may reemerge in North America again.

The 'aleatory' paradigm does not fit neatly into a second major ecclesiological conceptualization. A traditional three-point scale clearly lies behind Southern Connexion historians Durward Stokes and William Scott's ecclesiological understanding: "There are three types of church government: episcopal, presbyterial, and congregational."¹¹² Even more bluntly, Stackhouse writes of evangelical ecclesiology as spanning "the gamut from episcopal to congregational."¹¹³ This, once again, is a European pattern. On that continent, in most eras, one would be hard-pressed to find church structures which move beyond the episcopal, presbyterian or congregational forms. In North America, however, it may be more appropriate to visualize a five-point scale, comprising seven rough ecclesiological types, with the 'aleatory' model and anarchy added to the less-linear end of the spectrum. In
In this case, congregationalism would not be the least organized form, but the median value on the diagram below.

**Diagram 1: Five-point, seven-type ecclesiological spectrum**

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α β γ δ ε
Anarchy "Leader"
Congregational Presbyterial
Aleatory Connectional Episcopal
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"Anarchy," the absence of discernible ecclesiological order, occupies the left quarter of the spectrum (between α and β). The second portion (between β and γ) is the realm of "aleatory" systems. At the mid-point (γ) is congregational polity, the "Believer's Church" model. Connectionalism, perhaps best known through Wesleyan Methodism, lies in the third sector (between γ and δ). Presbyterially-governed networks are clustered around δ. Episcopal systems are mapped in the fourth sector (between δ and ε), while groups with a "charismatic leader" would appear near ε. This diagram is not simply a relabelling of Troeltsch's typology; "sectarians" could have a highly linear ecclesiology, while the less linear pre-Revolutionary New England Congregationalists operated as established churches. Troeltsch's church/sect model deals with the entire subsection from γ to ε. Mysticism, working alongside and within churches,\textsuperscript{14} is not identical with "anarchy," which occupies a separate sphere in this diagram.

There is, on one level, nothing terribly remarkable about this picture. It merely fine-tunes and augments an existing

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Note: Particular nomenclature has been adopted in order to avoid confusion. "Connexion" refers to the entire Christian Connexion, its members or attributes. "Connectionalism" and "connectional" refer to relations between local churches more linear than congregationalism and less than presbyterianism.
idea. As presented, the only element other than 'aleatory' which is likely to be provocative is the placement of the charismatic leader at the extreme right hand of the spectrum. 'Aleatory' is not simply a new label for the antithesis of 'charismatic' against 'institutional.' While 'charismatic' and 'aleatory' may initially appear to be similar, the two encompass profoundly different impulses, the key difference being the degree of linearity each embodies. The absence of formal organizational apparatus has led, naturally, to the assumption that charismatic movements are atomistic and chaotic. This assumption of low complexity undergirded Yinger's discussion of the charismatic sect. Yet, despite appearances, they are not disorganized at all. Charismatic leadership involves linearity, but the lines of authority are centred on the leader. One may argue that it is actually the tightest possible form of linearity, a kind of 'black hole' of leadership, in which all authority becomes focussed on the leader. In the "Children of God" movement, for example, members' loyalty was not focussed on something "Moses" Berg may have said, that is, upon a particular body of doctrine he may have built up, but on his person. In the midst of constantly, even erratically, changing practice and belief, the one invariant reality remains devotion to the leader. The extreme linearity of charismatic organization is evident when one ponders the routinization of charisma. Charismatic leadership is inherently unstable, usually quickly becoming institutionalized. Viewed from the perspective of linearity, routinization is not the foreign imposition of organization upon a disorganized charismatic situation, but
the gradual broadening of lines of authority.\textsuperscript{120} "Patrimonialism," the establishment of structures through which a ruler secures power,\textsuperscript{121} is often the first step in routinization. These structures, in turn, allow the emergence of lesser power structures by which (at least some) members exercise control.\textsuperscript{122} In each case, linearity is diffused, as lines of authority integrate larger numbers of office-holders.

The distinction between charismatic and 'aleatory' is crucial when dealing with the Christian Connexion. Fulop speaks of Smith's charismatic or demagogical character.\textsuperscript{123} This clouds a key issue, the question of the degree of linear organization which was present in the early Christian Connexion. The Connexion did not have a single charismatic leader, nor even a small cadre of them, from whose fingers centralized power had to be pried. What came into being, as the Connexion reacted against its original vision, were lines of authority where none had existed before. This is the precise inversion of the routinization of charisma.

Perhaps the most cogent challenge to the 'aleatory' model as set out in this thesis is the suggestion that it is merely another term, one less linked to the historical experience of the participants, than 'voluntarism.'\textsuperscript{124} While the two ideas may enjoy substantial overlap, in that neither may exist in a coercive religious environment, they are not coterminous. The voluntarist model, as delineated by William Brackney, appears generally to involve substantial degrees of linearity. This is true both of historical manifestations of the voluntarist impulse (such as John Smyth's congregation,\textsuperscript{125} John Locke's \textit{apologia},\textsuperscript{126} Continent Pietists' ordered expressions of ethical
action, or William Carey's defence of ordered "means" to promote foreign mission) and of theoretical reflections upon the life cycle of organizations.

Institutionalization of the voluntarist urge into "formal voluntary associations" does not, of necessity, destroy the voluntarist impulse. Following J.O. Hertzler's model, Brackney discusses the voluntary association in terms of "four predictable stages: incipient, efficient, formal, and disorganization." In the first (incipient) stage, focus remains either on an urgent need, or a charismatic leader. This phase is normally short of duration, leading to the second (efficient) phase, in which rules and regulations are delineated. This stage generally includes a formal process for the nomination of officers, a notably linear initiative. While this is not necessarily at odds with voluntarism, it runs completely contrary to the 'aleatory' model. It is only in the third (formal) phase that the voluntarist impulse may come under significant threat. A professionalized bureaucracy may coopt and dominate the group.

Both James O'Kelly and Barton Stone's branches of the Connexion are characterized by Brackney as manifestations of "come-outism," a constructive critique of existing religious voluntary associations. On one level, it may be fruitful to envision the Connexion's goal, viewed from the voluntarist perspective, as an attempt to enshrine its own incipient phase. Members sought to maintain a basic urge without any formal order. Yet there is more to the Connexion's plan that this. Brackney isolates several potentially fatal threats to the existence of voluntary associations: "oligarchism, goal
displacement, ideological constraint, and competition." In this sense, the Connexion's model, described in this thesis as 'aleatory,' may well prove to be another pathological aberration within the life cycle of voluntary associations.

The 'aleatory' model differs both from "competition" and "goal displacement" because the Connexion founders' aim was not to recreate the pre-existent movements' early days, but to bring into being a radically nonlinear setting from which the millennial Kingdom of God could arise. The rejection of linear structure inherent in the 'aleatory' urge may actually represent an attempt to induce the fourth (disorganization) phase of the organizational life cycle. This decision was made not because the existing groups (Episcopal Methodism, Presbyterianism and the Regular Baptists) had undergone decay and were literally collapsing, but as a deliberate ideological choice in reaction to perceived formalism. The solution was not reorganization, reform or competition, but a fresh start. This would also help illuminate the Connexion's path through the Millerite controversy, which also involved "come-outism," which entailed a reaction against any visible order whatever.

This possibility suggests a complementarity between Brackney's concept of voluntarism and the 'aleatory' model put forward in this dissertation. What is not presently clear, a question which awaits further reflection as the 'aleatory' model is used to study other Christian groups, is whether the 'aleatory' model is simply a subset of 'voluntarism,' or a different phenomenon which happens to overlap significantly with voluntarism.
Aspects Omitted From This Thesis

When this project was first undertaken, concern was raised that there would be insufficient primary material to bring the thesis to the minimum length. In the event, some interesting groups of people, regional material, themes, and even eras had to be omitted in order not to exceed the maximum allowed size. At this juncture it is necessary to take note of three groups which are not represented in this thesis: aboriginal peoples, blacks and sexually-unconventional persons. The latter’s omission arises from the utter absence of reference, save a disapproving allusion to the sexual anomalies of the leader of an unnamed communitarian group in Lower Canada,\textsuperscript{137} to persons whose sexual practice differed from the majority. This underscores that the antinomianism encountered in 1792 among some Nova Scotia New Lights\textsuperscript{138} played no part in the Christian Connexion’s “primitivism.”

Less readily understood is the paucity of references in Canada to blacks. White American members of the Connexion had contact with black Christians from the outset. O’Kelly wrote against slavery.\textsuperscript{139} Elias Smith took great delight in the 1804 formation of a Negro congregation in Boston.\textsuperscript{140} Frederick Plummer worked among blacks in Virginia in 1810.\textsuperscript{141} William Kinkade and David Purviance used their elected positions to oppose slavery.\textsuperscript{142} One impoverished Western preacher inherited slaves resident in Kentucky. He refused a family member’s offer of $4,000 for his share of the slaves, choosing to move them to Ohio at his own expense, in order to free them legally.\textsuperscript{143} There are other scattered references to pre-Civil War evangelistic work among both enslaved and free blacks.\textsuperscript{144}
Austin Craig claimed that the movement's Antioch College was the first college to admit blacks. Stokes and Scott devote an entire chapter to black members in the South. There is, on the other hand, no evidence of 'Christians' in Canada West having direct contact with persons of colour. This is all the more puzzling in light of the possibility that one of their preachers, Jacob Lyburtis, may have been black. The scant reference to blacks in Thomas Henry's biography is not complimentary to his alleged liberalism.

Most puzzling is the virtual absence of mission work among native peoples. Reading the Canadian sources, one is hard-pressed to find intimations that the colony still had an aboriginal population, despite the proximity of members of the Conference to reserves in Ontario County. Henry's biographer notes that Indians were still in the Whitby-Oshawa area when the Henrys settled in 1816, while John Earl alludes to the presence of Indians in the Mariposa region when it was first opened to settlement in the late 1820s. The situation was not much better south of the border. Native believers were usually noted only as portents of the proximity of the end-times, as curiosities, or as proofs of the innate goodness of human nature. As often as not, when Connexion itinerants passed through areas with aboriginal populations, they ignored them. Only late in this century did Ontario Conference preachers make forays into the Georgina Island first nation. The most likely explanation for this inactivity lies in the group's relationship to other religious bodies. Members of the Connexion had more than enough to do simply trying to meet the needs of their small, struggling fellowship, while at the
'same time seeking to entice white members of other factions. The Christian Connexion also spread from the United States into other British colonies: Lower Canada and the Maritimes. The former was omitted because it was never more than a northern extension of the Vermont Conference, virtually wiped out after the 1837 Rebellion. The latter differed so radically from its central Canadian equivalent that the two wings never connected, as did those of Methodism. Only in Upper Canada did the group take root and maintain a distinct local identity and American ties.

There are also several themes which were not pursued in this study. There appear to have been systemic links between early leaders' adhesion to complete religious 'freedom' and belief in lay autonomy in medicine, politics and law. Discussion of these topics, the focus of Kenny's thorough biography of Elias Smith, would have extended this thesis far beyond any acceptable limit. No attempt was made to plumb the political orientation of members, although there is evidence members supported Reform policies. Another socio-political element, opposition to "secret societies," was also omitted. Sections dealing with the prevalence of pacifism within the group and an acceptance of women in ministry were written for several chapters, but excised in order to save space.

Gender analysis may prove to be a fruitful avenue for future expansion of the discussion of the 'aleatory' paradigm. The first draft of the thesis considered women's ordination, yet this interest still fell within "the history of the activities of men ordered by male values." The material on female ordination was excised during the process.
of shortening the thesis on the premise that did not constitute an extreme aberration. Even though the mainstream Protestant churches did not allow women a voice in church government, let alone ordination, lesser Methodist groups and others acceptable to the majority encouraged women to preach.

Another topic given short shrift is the economic status of the Connexion's members. Stephen Marini's study of New England's radical sects reveals that, in cases where the paucity of records and problems created by geographic mobility may be overcome, there is no positive correlation between social standing and membership in a radical evangelical sect. The movements he studied drew from all classes and members participated in government at levels one would expect for their class. The Freewill Baptists, a group similar to the Christians in many ways, were actually slightly better off than average, although with a widely varying range of net-worths. He concludes that they were not socially deviant, but more adept at providing answers to burning religious questions. Although economic issues surrounding the ministry are discussed, no attempt was made to set them in the broader context of labour history; discussion is limited to their ecclesiological impact.

The same picture emerges of the social status of the membership of the Christian Connexion in the East. They were so "typical" of the communities in which they lived that no "clear-cut sociological explanation of what differentiated them from their less radical brethren" is in order. In western New York, sectarian religious movements did not appeal unduly to the endemically poor, but tended to attract a
typical cross-section of the non-elite population, such as farmers and artisans; they were incredibly ordinary. S.D. Clark’s comments on the social marginality of the newer sectarians are clearly out-of-date in light of this recent, detailed research, which plainly undermines any identification of sectarians with an underclass.

The social composition of the Christian Connexion in Upper Canada was similar. Assessment Rolls from 1839 not only identify some Connexional adherents in the colony, but provide indications of relative wealth, and thus, indirectly, of their social standing. The members of the Canadian Connexion appear to have been predominantly affluent farmers or merchants, slightly better off than most of their neighbours. Cursory examination of evidence from the 1871 Census suggests that the group’s socio-economic status was relatively stable at a time when its organization underwent a revolution. This is not to say that social status was irrelevant, but that it was not the key factor shaping the political and religious convictions of the Connexion’s members. There is sufficient extant evidence to permit future detailed study of this question.

The thesis also avoids, for different reasons, the sociological question of the selection of marriage partners: endogamy (marriage within one’s social, ethnical or economic subgroup) versus exogamy (marriage outside it). Albert Schrauwers’ work, for example, suggests a strongly endogamous trend within the Children of Peace, a group with genealogical ties to the Upper Canadian Christians. Even if the present writer had the technical methodological background to interpret the evidence in a manner acceptable to sociologists,
there is insufficient primary material from which to draw sound conclusions about the practice of members of the Christian Connexion in Canada.

Length constraints also precluded discussion of the use of ostensibly objective biographies as apologetical theological tracts. Another potentially fruitful avenue of thought not pursued entails Stephen J. Stein's insights concerning hymnody's canon-forming function. These could be applied both to the Connexion's early 'home-grown' hymns and to the later adoption by mainstream churches of hymns written by Connexion members.

Restoration Movement historians will surely note the absence of sacramental issues (both communion and baptism). As important as these topics may be, they do not impinge upon this thesis' central concern with an organizational issue, the rise and fall of the 'aleatory' paradigm. The matter of the Lord's Supper indeed separated many in the Connexion and Disciples, but the issue was more problematic from the Disciples' perspective. Similarly, instrumental music, divisive among Disciples, was only tangentially significant for the Connexion. Most Connexion members refused to specify their views on these matters, or a larger range of theological questions, fearing that such opinions would supplant Christian character as the primary test of faith. A major exception to the Connexion's anti-theological approach was the prevalence of unitarianism, which will be studied closely.

A larger segment of the community of historians may question why the concept "frontier" plays no role in this thesis. It would indeed be easy to dismiss the Christian
Connexion as a frontier aberration. The Connexional historian Milo True Morrill insisted that Vermont, Maine and Canada were all frontier when Smith et al. began work.¹⁷³ Other modern historians have also stressed the allegedly frontier nature of the "Native Churches" such as the Disciples and Christians.¹⁷⁴ Modern historians must be careful not to take the contents of missionaries' letters at face value, but to read these accounts in the light of information derived from other primary material. The wilderness aspect may have been overplayed by the early biographers and historians in order to accentuate their hardships. They also had theological reasons to overemphasize, and thus distort, the 'natural' aspect of the wild environs.¹⁷⁵ Connexion members never produced sophisticated, reflective, second-order systems of theology. Connexion apologists believed their tenets could be found by any who applied 'horse sense' to the Bible's 'simple' truth.

It should be made clear from the outset, however, that the Christian Connexion was not primarily a frontier religious movement. Kentucky was certainly on the frontier, but eastern Virginia, seaboard New England and Philadelphia had been long-settled. Marini demonstrates that the frontier era in Vermont, associated with the Freewill Baptists' rise, occurred a generation earlier.¹⁷⁶ It is true that Smith was raised on Vermont's frontier, but he came to his convictions while preaching in the long-settled coastal area.¹⁷⁷ Three key Eastern Connexion figures were born in remarkably stable conditions. Abner Jones first conceived the Christian platform while in Connecticut.¹⁷⁸ Elijah Shaw, later editor of the Christian Herald and a prominent leader, was born in the
same house in which his father had been born. The family had already lived in the area for sixty years before his birth. Similarly, Mark Fernald was from a family which had emigrated from England in 1631; he spent most of his life in the immediate area of his native Kittery, Maine. Whitney Cross discounted the frontier thesis as a significant factor in the Connexion's spread into western New York; Michael Barkun confirms that by 1800 what became the Burned-Over District was no longer frontier. The Connexion took root there later.

Even if the portions of Upper Canada where the Christian Connexion took root had been on civilization's fringe, this does not necessarily mean that the frontier exercised a profound influence on the group's form. Neil Semple has argued that pioneer Canadian Methodism was not an innovation by Canadians facing the rigours of settling, but an imported entity. The Christian Connexion's case was similar. Preachers arrived from the United States upon the invitation of a former member who had emigrated. One of the main weaknesses of the Canadian wing was its derivative nature. While the Ontario branch did provide several individuals with an arena in which to exercise leadership, it only maintained what it received from its southern parent and did not produce a single innovative, original thinker.

Early nineteenth century Upper Canadian census records do not list religious affiliation. They establish only that certain folk who would eventually be active in the Connexion lived in the colony at the time. There is no way to date their conversions. Some may have brought their convictions with them, making the frontier an irrelevant factor. A
pamphlet by J.F. Burnett states that there were a few members living in Upper Canada before Mary Stogdill wrote her 1821 letter to the Christian Herald, requesting itinerants. Some may have converted between 1803 and 1821.

What is clear is that the Connexion did not form in Upper Canada before 1821, after the passing of the frontier phase. It grew rapidly as the result of revivals in the mid- and late-1820s. By then, life was still difficult, but settlers had made headway. In 1829, for example, over three-quarters of homes in Hamilton Township were one-story frame or brick; another fifth were two-story frame, brick or stone. Less than four percent of dwellings were still squared timber. However one explains the Connexion’s collective aberrations, frontier isolation and dislocation do not appear to have played crucial roles in their religious decisions.

From a purely technical standpoint, two items need mention. The precise name of the Conference varied frequently; no exhaustive attempt was made to follow the minute changes from year to year. The mercurial nature of allegiance to the group makes it extremely difficult to determine dates for the birth and death of many members. In order to avoid inconsistent citation, notation of individuals’ lifespans has been omitted universally.

Motivation For Researching and Writing This Topic

Complete objectivity is an unreachable historiographical goal. Effective objectivity is attainable, especially when one’s commitments are made explicit. Here, briefly, are some reasons why this particular topic was addressed, and a few
comments about why the specific methodology proved appealing.

In September 1988, in reaction to decisions at the General Council of the United Church of Canada, a group of clergy and laity, including my spouse Brenda and me, met at the Mount Carmel Spiritual Centre in Niagara Falls to weigh options. Participants set in motion a process to create a "Congregational Church of Canada." Shortly thereafter one of the leaders, a minister named John Tweedie, was approached by Walter Riegert, a credentialed minister and former President of the Ontario Conference of the Congregational-Christian Churches. Tweedie invited Riegert to his home, then asked me to join them. Both sides were leery of each other at first. It soon became clear that Grace Irwin was a minister with Riegert's group. Irwin had addressed Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship meetings at the University of Toronto in the 1970s. Having heard her and discussed the denomination with her then, I was relieved a decade later to discover it was this indubitably evangelical body which now welcomed us. I was granted credentials in February 1989, but soon after felt a sense of rootlessness, as only the most rudimentary outlines of the Conference's history existed, pamphlets which raised more questions for an historian than they answered. As I was finishing a Master of Theology and looking for an appropriate topic for a doctoral thesis, I took up the challenge of preparing a critical denominational history."

Initial investigations highlighted how unusual the group had been; it had clearly once been on the religious "fringe." One question which instantly suggested itself was "How did this group move from the fringe to being so self-evidently
evangelical that learning the denomination included Irwin allayed my concerns?" Terminating this thesis at the close of the nineteenth century precludes answering that question fully; however it does bring to the fore the critical organizational issue which first set the Connexion apart from the mainstream. The opportunity thus presented is unusual, because it entails creating a denominational history, but one which is free from the temptation to hagiography because its members later repudiated the movement's core tenets. If anything, the opposite temptation existed, to distort the group's peculiar history in order to avoid embarrassing the denomination which so freely accepted me.

The methodological aspect was not part of the original idea, but was suggested later by the nature of the information gathered about the group's genesis. The concept of 'nonlinearity' grasped me from the first time I heard it.19 The idea of 'self-emergent order' I found less compelling. Being involved in denominational leadership, I had wondered whether this aspect of chaos/complexity theory might serve as a useful alternative management scheme. As my studies continued (see the discussion in Chapter One), however, I concluded that \( x \)-emergent order (i.e. whether the materialistic 'self-emergent order' of Chaos/ Complexity theory's more radical forms, or the spiritualized 'God-emergent order' which I suggest characterized the 'aleatory' folk considered in this thesis) was not sound science. On the other hand, I became more convinced that 'nonlinearity' is a helpful concept; it provides a fruitful historiographical perspective and, potentially, a useful managerial tool.
REFERENCES

1 O'Kelly, for example, believed the former [Charles Francis Kilgore, The James O'Kelly Schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church (D.F. [Federal District], Mexico, Casa Unida De Publicaciones 1963), pp.41-42] and Smith the latter [Herald of Gospel Liberty (hereafter cited as HGL) I,38 2 February 1810, p.149,c.2; 3,64 1 February 1811, p.253,c.3].

2 These principles were not codified during the movement's early stages. These ideas, however, were clearly the core around which the group coalesced. By 1856, for example, when the Southern Christians created a separate organization, they adopted a precise statement of these five points as expressing their essential shared beliefs [Durward T. Stokes and William T. Scott, A History of the Christian Church in the South ([Elon College, North Carolina] [1973]), pp.85-86].


4 The less precise term "Pelagian-like" is used to features in Christian Connexion thought for two reasons. First, there is no question of any direct link between Augustine's opponent and the American restorationists. Second, a theological anthropology is not "Pelagian" simply because it is anti-Augustinian and anti-Calvinist. In the Connexion's case, as noted here, there are substantial overlaps between their theological anthropology and Pelagius'. Later Connexion apologists specifically aligned their thought with Pelagius, who was portrayed as an anti-Romanist hero [cf. discussion in Chapter 7, p.419].


6 Pontifex, Problem of Free Choice, p.11
This topic was originally dealt with extensively in a tenth chapter. That chapter was removed in order to shorten and focus the rest of the thesis. Mild antitrinitarianism persisted into the 1940s, when the candidates were required to affirm that they were "persuaded that the Holy Scriptures given by God through holy men of old, and through the Holy Spirit, contain all doctrines required for our eternal salvation, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, our once crucified, now risen and glorified Redeemer" [1937 Ordination Service, p.2]. This, along with the document's vague references to Jesus as "Lord," is merely a restatement of "Bible terms for Bible ideas," a slogan used by members throughout the nineteenth century to cavil at the use of the word "Trinity" because it is not in the New Testament. Explicit Trinitarianism was not demanded of ministers until the Ontario Conference adopted a Statement of Faith in 1964 [The One Hundred and Thirty-Ninth Annual Sessions of the Conference of the Christian Church in Ontario 1964, p.29]. Ministers were required to assent to this document in order to receive credentials.

8 Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples of Christ, p.115

9 See the discussion in Chapter One, pp.81ff.


14 David Edwin Harrell, Jr. Quest for a Christian America: The Disciples of Christ and American Society to 1866 (Nashville, Tennessee, The Disciples of Christ Historical
Society 1966), p.3

15 Gauvreau, "Protestantism Transformed," p.61


17 Gauvreau, "Protestantism Transformed," p.65


19 Murphy, "English-Speaking Colonies," p.179

20 Westfall, Two Worlds, p.180

21 Marguerite Van Die, "'The Double Vision': Evangelical Piety as Derivative and Indigenous in Victorian English Canada," in Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond 1700-1990. (Oxford, Oxford University Press 1994), p.258. The Methodists were particularly disrupted by these groups, but VanDie argues that their solidity prevented more serious losses. She also specifically notes the Christian Connexion as one of the sectarian groups.

22 Grant, Canadian Era, pp.7,222

23 Grant, Profusion, p.73. Grant is aware of their multiple American roots, similarities to the Disciples, and the closeness of their ties to the New England/New York branch of the broader Connexion.


25 Marini, Radical Sects, pp.12,14

26 Bill J. Humble "The Restoration Ideal in the Churches of Christ" in The American Quest for the Primitive Church, ed.

27 cf. Holmes, "Restoration Ideology.", p.154. The Evangelical Episcopal restorationists Holmes examines were not, however, anti-creedal [p.156].


29 McLoughlin, New England Dissent, pp.930,932

30 Hatch, Democratization, p.167

31 Hatch, Democratization, pp.168-169


33 Olbricht argues that the Christian Connexion was heir to a line of protest which began with the Separatists (Congregationalist), the Separate Baptists and the Freewill Baptists [Thomas H. Olbricht, "Christian Connexion and Unitarian Relations 1800-1844" in Restoration Quarterly Vol.9, #3, 1966, p.160]. Fulop states more generally that "Smith was heir to a Baptist dissenting primitivism" and of a broader New England radicalism [Fulop, "Smith and the Quest," pp.128-129).

34 Before 1792, it seems Randel may well have been simply unorganized, whereas his 1792 polity bears several of the marks of an 'aleatory' body, especially with his emphasis on the unitive function of information and affective links, reinforced by frequent local access to all "levels" of the body [Marini, Radical Sects, p.119]. William Brackney does not believe the aleatory model applies to the Freewill Baptists [Preliminary reading report, p.1], but that group is a prime candidate for further study. Such study may well confirm Brackney's assessment.

35 Marini, Radical Sects, p.117

36 Connexion preachers who began their careers with, or worked intimately among, the Freewill Baptists include Joseph Bartlett [E.W. Humphreys, Memoirs of Deceased Christian Ministers: or, Brief Sketches of the Lives and Labors of 975 Ministers, Who Died Between 1793 and 1880 (Dayton, Ohio, Christian Publishing Association 1880), p.52], Ansel Bourne
[Kenny, *Passion of Ansel Bourne*, p.75], Nancy Gove Cram
[Philetus Roberts, *Memoir of Mrs. Abigail Roberts*, an account
of her birth, early education, Call to the Ministry, varied
and extensive labors, and the success which attended her in
several states, with many interesting incidents of her life
(Irvington, New Jersey, By Moses Cummings, at the Office of
the Christian Messenger and Palladium 1858), pp.17,35], Mark
Fernald [Mark Fernald, *Life of Elder Mark Fernald*, written by
himself. With an introduction by the publishers.
Newburyport: George Moore Payne and D.P. Pike, and
Philadelphia, Christian General Book Concern, J.R. Freese,
Agent 1852), p.53], Abner Jones [Elias Smith, *The Life,
Conversion, Preaching, Travels, and Sufferings of Elias Smith*
(Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Beck and Foster 1816; reprinted:
Quest," p.71], A. Moulton of Hatley, Lower Canada [E.G.
Holland, *Memoir of Rev. Joseph Badger* 3rd edition (New York,
C.S. Francis and Co. 1854), pp.31-32], Ephraim Stinchfield
[Fernald, *Life of Mark Fernald*, p.20], Benjamin Taylor [Edward
Edmunds. *Memoir of Elder Benjamin Taylor, A Minister of the
Christian Connexion, and Pastor of the Bethel Church in
Providence, R.I. By E. Edmunds, Pastor of the Christian
Church. Summer St., Boston* (Boston, George W. White 1850),
p.9], Zalmon Tobey [Olbricht, "Connexion and Unitarian
Relations," p.182]. Elias Smith applied in 1805 to become a
Freewill Baptist minister, but was turned down, allegedly
because of the objections of a single preacher [Smith, *Life*,
p.354]. Smith happily credited the *Herald of Gospel Liberty*
with attracting several Freewill Baptist preachers to the
Connexion [Smith, *Life*, p.386].

Several union overtures were made by the Christian
Connexion until the mid-1820s (see discussions in Chapters 2
and 3). The two groups drifted apart for most of the century,
but were involved in intense, but unfruitful union
negotiations in the second-half of the 1880s [Morrill,
*History*, pp.258,300-301].

37 The Disciples were also known as "Campbellites,"
"Reformers" or "Reform Baptists."

38 To a list of contemporary restorationists Hatch not only
adds the names of Elias Smith and Barton Stone, but also those
of Lorenzo Dow, Francis Asbury, Joseph Smith, and William
Miller [Hatch, *Democratization*, p.167].


40 Garrison and DeGroot, *Disciples of Christ*, p.147,
particularly Article VI

41 Garrison and DeGroot, *Disciples of Christ*, p.148,
particularly Articles VII and VIII

42 Garrison and DeGroot, *Disciples of Christ*, p.145
43 Garrison and DeGroot, *Disciples of Christ*, p.124

44 McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, p.62

45 Cited in Hatch, *Democratization*, p.70

46 Hatch, *Democratization*, p.69

47 Hatch, *Democratization*, p.71. Hatch suggests that Alexander Campbell made a more successful transition to the North American ethos than had Asbury. Thomas Campbell was also university educated, but not mentioned by Hatch, presumably because he did not exercise the powerful leadership role that his son did.

48 Hatch, *Democratization*, p.71,n.15


50 North, *Union in Truth*, p.160

51 McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, p.95

52 McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, p.117. They indicate that Campbell's aversion to ministerial compensation was also a Haldanean trait [p.116].


54 McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, p.130


57 McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, p.134

58 North, *Union in Truth*, p.157

59 Garrison and DeGroot, *Disciples of Christ*, pp.54-56

60 DeGroot, *Disciples Thought*, p.48

61 DeGroot, *Disciples Thought*, pp.92-93

62 DeGroot, *Disciples Thought*, p.48: i.e. Stone’s concern was pragmatic (they divided otherwise united believers) not speculative (concern for doctrinal rectitude).


64 Fulop, "Smith and the Quest," , p.128

65 Fulop, "Smith and the Quest," pp.136-137

66 Fulop, "Smith and the Quest," p.132

67 Marini, *Radical Sects*, p.20

68 It is not clear at present whether or not millennialism is a necessary component of an aleatory system. It was certainly the driving element in the case of the Christian Connexion, helping to explain their choice of the aleatory model. The thrust of this sentence is that combination of individual autonomy in the absence of linear organizational restraints.


70 Küng, "Paradigm Change," p.175

71 Küng, "Paradigm Change," p.10

72 Küng, "Paradigm Change," p.9

73 Küng, "Paradigm Change," p.21

74 Küng, "Paradigm Change," p.18
75 Küng, "Paradigm Change," p.27
76 Küng, "Paradigm Change," pp.15,21-22
77 Küng, "Paradigm Change," p.15
78 Küng, "Paradigm Change," p.16
79 Küng, "Paradigm Change," p.213
80 Küng, "Paradigm Change," p.25
81 Küng, "Paradigm Change," p.14
82 Küng, "Paradigm Change," pp.18,212-214
83 Marini, Radical Sects, p.23. Marini discusses the varying reactions of Baptists both to the Revolution itself and its aftermath.

84 Troeltsch argues that the three types of social thought (church, sect and mysticism) have existed among Christians since primitive Christianity [Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, tr. Olive Wyon (London, G. Allen & Unwin 1931), p.993].


86 The variables are: i/ "the extent to which a religious system includes the members of a society within its constituency; ii/ "the degree of accommodation between the values of the secular world and those of the religious world;" iii/ "the extent to which the religious structure itself has become organized and differentiated [Yinger, Scientific Study, pp.259-260]. The first and second variables "are strongly inversely correlated" and thus scaled along the same axis [p.260]. The ten forms are denominated as Types A through J.

Two of the types represent extremes in which the society and institution are virtually coterminous. The Universal Institutionalized Church (Type A) dominates the society to a degree that other religious options do not exist [p.257]. Examples are thirteenth century Catholicism and, to lesser degrees, Calvinism and some forms of Islam. The Universal Diffused Church (Type B) represents the opposite extreme, in which members of a small, isolated social unit experience a form of religious unity simply because other options do not exist: "A shared fate is manifest in a shared faith" [p.258].

The remaining eight types are discussed in four clusters: the Ecclesia (Types C and D) [pp.262-264]; the Denomination or Class Church (Types E and F) [pp.264-266]; the Established Sect (Types G and H) [pp.266-273]; the Sect (Types I and J) [pp.273-279]. The sects are further subdivided into the "acceptance," "aggressive" and "avoidance" sects [pp.275-278]. Yinger located the Adventists among the "aggressive" sects
[p.274]. If his typology were applied, this is most likely where the Christian Connexion would fit.

In addition, Yinger devoted about a page to discussing the "cult," the "religious mutants" of the socio-religious world, which represent a radical disavowal of all the prevailing traditions of the society around them [pp.279-280].

87 Yinger, Scientific Study, p.255
88 Troeltsch, Social Teaching, pp.332,336
89 Troeltsch, Social Teaching, pp.331,337
90 Troeltsch, Social Teaching, p.339, cf. pp.331,332; Samuel Delbert Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto, University of Toronto Press 1948), p.221
91 McLoughlin, New England Dissent, p.752
92 David Purviance was re-elected in Ohio in the 1820s [Levi Purviance, The Biography of Elder David Purviance, with his memoirs: containing his views on Baptism, the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement. Written by himself: with an appendix: giving biographical sketches of Elder John Hardy, Reuben Dooly, William Dye, Thos. Kyle, George Shidler[sic], William Kinkade, Thomas Adams, Samuel Kyle, and Nathan Worley, together with a historical sketch of the Great Kentucky Revival (Dayton, Ohio, for the author by B.F. and G.W. Ellis 1848), p.93,98]; Nelson Millar was elected twice to the Virginia House of Delegates in the same era [Gospel Luminary 2,1 Jan. 1826, pp.8-9. Although the paper is dated 1 January, it states Millar was first elected in 1824 and re-elected "in 1826."]
93 Purviance, Biography of David Purviance, pp.275-276. William Kinkade was part of the anti-slavery lobby.
95 Troeltsch, Social Teaching, p.994, cf. p.794
96 Troeltsch, Social Teaching, p.995
97 The allusion is to Acts 17:6, where opponents of the Christians at Thessalonika accused them of having "turned the world upside down." Early Connexion members lionized themselves as also having "turned the world upside down" [HGL 7,13 (174) 23 June 1815, p.694; cf. Hatch, Democratization, pp.230-231].
98 Troeltsch, Social Teaching, p.793, cf. pp.735,739,795
99 Troeltsch, Social Teaching, p.696
100 Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, p.334. James Gray looked forward to the day that the Connexion’s formless, affective bonding would displace all denominations and "AND FILL THE WHOLE EARTH" [HGL I,45 11 May 1810, p.172,c.3; emphasis in original].

101 Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, pp.337,339

102 Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, p.342

103 Hatch, *Democratization*, p.69. Of Smith, Kenny writes: "His revivalist and democratic creed equated primitive Christianity with republican virtue and sought its ends through a rich partisan rhetoric that assimilated Monarchist to Tory to Federalist to Antichrist, an association that was extended to subsume the more mundane local elites of town squire, lawyer, doctor, and pastor" [Michael G. Kenny, *The Perfect Law of Liberty: Elias Smith and the Providential History of America* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press 1994), p.5].

104 Ernest Christian Helmmich, *The German Churches under Hitler: Background, Struggle and Epilogue* (Detroit, Wayne State University Press 1979), p.36. In the 1910 Census, 61.6% of Germans were members of Protestant Landeskirchen, 36.7% were Roman Catholic, 0.9% were Jews, 0.4% were "other Christians" and 0.3% were "Others" (figures do not add to 100% due to rounding). Troeltsch clearly set the "sects" within the context of their relative disabilities when compared to the "official State Churches" [Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, p.334].


106 In Marini’s study, the radical sects alone constituted one quarter of the population of upper New England [Marini, *Radical Sects*, p.1].

107 Grant, *Profusion*, pp.64-65. Grant also admits that the model is better suited to Europe [pp.230-231].

108 Westfall notes Clark’s use of the church/sect typology led to misleading distortions in the latter’s understanding of millenarianism [Westfall, *Two Worlds*, p.169].

109 Fulop, "Smith and the Quest," pp.50-52

110 Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, p.1012

111 Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, p.1012
112 Stokes and Scott, *Christian Church in the South*, p.295

113 Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism*, p.180: emphasis added. His analysis does draw out aspects of linearity. The transdenominational evangelicalism of which he writes is not 'aleatory' because each of the organizations involved has a clearly defined self-image, which led to the emergence of an unwritten set of rules as to when theological bickering would be tolerated [p.180].

114 Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, p.731. He sees the interpenetration of the mystical within the hierarchical played out both in some medieval monasticism and among his contemporary Germans [pp.736,794,796].

115 e.g. Robin Theobald, "The Role of Charisma in the Development of Social Movements: Ellen G. White and the Emergence of Seventh-Day Adventism" in *Archives de Sciences Sociales des Religions* Vol.49, #1 1980, pp.85-86. Theobald refers to groups with charismatic leadership as "under-developed polities" [p.86].

116 Yinger, *Scientific Study*, pp.260,273-274. Yinger visualized "the charismatic sect" as "the sect movement...a few years later - on the road to establishment" [p.274]. While he allowed that the situation was more complicated than that, his characterization exudes a fundamental misconception of the linearity of charisma. While such groups are organizationally simple, in the sense that all members sustain a clear and direct relationship with the leader, they are rich in linearity because of the extent to which all power relationships centre on the leader. Yinger's model [p.260] masks this similarity by placing the "institutional ecclesia" and the "charismatic sect" at opposite poles, when, in terms of linearity, the two groups are quite similar.

117 The simile suggests that the distortion of power within a charismatic system caused by the focus on the leader is not dissimilar to the distortion of light as it is bent into and trapped by the gravitational force of a black-hole.

118 Roy Wallis, "Charisma, Commitment and Control in a New Religious Movement" in *Millenialism and Charisma*, ed. Roy Wallis (Belfast, Northern Ireland, Queen's University Press 1982), pp.114-115,134]. Also note Theobald's comments on Weber's insight that one surrenders directly to the leader [Theobald, "Role of Charisma," p.85]. Wallis speaks of "spheres of authority and competence" being "not clearly delimited" [Wallis, "Commitment and Control," p.107]. This is because the lines of authority are kept short, each member relating directly to the leader.

119 Wallis, "Commitment and Control," p.115
120 Wallis notes that fixed leadership forms often set in as members of charismatically-led groups begin to raise families and have stronger expectations of predictability in finances, housing and amenities [Wallis, "Commitment and Control," p.116]. From the perspective of this thesis, this is a broadening or diffusion of the linearity inherent in charismatic leadership.

121 Theobald, "Role of Charisma," pp.86-87

122 Wallis, "Commitment and Control," p.116

123 Fulop, "Smith and the Quest," pp.1,84,120,241,247

124 This discussion of 'voluntarism' relies heavily upon William H. Brackney's volume on the subject: Christian Voluntarism: Theology and Praxis (Manlius, New York, REV/Rose Publishing 1997).

125 Brackney, Voluntarism, p.33

126 Brackney, Voluntarism, p.36

127 Brackney, Voluntarism, p.39

128 Brackney, Voluntarism, p.46

129 Brackney, Voluntarism, p.xviii

130 Brackney, Voluntarism, pp.85ff.

131 Brackney, Voluntarism, pp.86,110. In terms of the linearity model put forward in this thesis, the incipient phase may involve either an increase or decrease of linearity. If the focal point has been a cause, the incipient phase will probably entail greater linearity, as the new association develops a sense of identity which distinguishes it from the rest of society, or even from other Christians who may not share (or are opposed to) the particular concern. If the focal point has been a charismatic leader, however, the process of organization will almost certainly involve a loss of linearity. As the association moves from the incipient to the efficient stage, its membership will wrest some degree of operational control from the leader. Its long-term vitality, as Brackney clearly notes, is tied to the degree to which a broader base of leadership successfully emerges [pp.86-87].

132 Brackney, Voluntarism, p.114

133 Brackney, Voluntarism, pp.69-70,103

134 Brackney, Voluntarism, pp.125ff.

135 Brackney, Voluntarism, p.70. It is significant that, as discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis, that there were at
least two forms of "come-outism" during the Millerite crisis. Some would fit Brackney’s suggestion of critique, while others represent a final resurgence of the 'aleatory' impulse.

136 The Gnostics, the early work of Francis of Assisi and the early Swiss Anabaptists are particularly strong candidates for further study.

137 Holland, Memoir of Badger, p.160; cf. Kenny’s comments on Cochrane and his excesses with females [Kenny, Perfect Law pp.132f.].


139 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, pp.6-7

140 Kenny, Perfect Law, p.126. Smith viewed this departure from staid Boston’s traditions as another indication of the overthrow of "Babylon." His joy soured when Thomas Paul, the preacher, received ordination at the hands of Baptist ordinations. This return to 'linearity' struck him as just another form of slavery [pp.125,128].

141 HGL 3,58 9 November 1810, p.230,c.3


143 Purviance, Biography of David Purviance, p.281

144 CP III,16 December 15, 1834, p.261,c.2; IV,14 16 November 1835, p.210,c.1; XII,23 10 April 1844, p.355,c.2; Gardner, Matthew, The Autobiography of Elder Matthew Gardner, a minister in the Christian Church Sixty-three Years, ed. Nicholas Summerbell, (Dayton, Ohio, Christian Publishing Association 1874), p.112; Fernald, Life of Mark Fernald, p.333

145 William Summer Harwood, Life and letters of Austin Craig (New York, Fleming H. Revell 1908), p.217. It is not necessary, for the purposes of this thesis, to adjudicate this claim. A proposal to make the college integrated from the outset drew sharp reaction in the South [Christian Sun VIII,8 7 May 1851, p.2,c.5]. At the end of the Civil War, the trustees voted 9 to 4 to accept students regardless of race.
146 Stokes and Scott, *Christian Church in the South*, pp.129-148

147 The Canada Conference did pass resolutions condemning slavery [*The Canada Conference Minutes July 8th 1844-66* manuscript minute book 1856, pp.71,75; 1857, pp.82,83].

148 Humphreys, *Deceased Christian Ministers*, p.211. Lybertus (also spelled Libertis) was ejected from the Ontario Conference for unspecified reasons in 1858 [*The Canada Christian Conference Minutes July 8th 1844-66* (Manuscript minute book) 1858, p.97].


151 *Christian Palladium* (hereafter cited as *CP*) IX,23 1 April 1841, p.364,c.2

152 *HQL* 3,55 28 September 1810, p.220,c.1; cf. references to Elder Isaac Wanby, an Indian preacher [4,14 28 February 1812, p.366,c.2; 5,15 19 March 1813, p.476,c.3].

153 To L.D. Fleming, the Indians were a bit of a curiosity; he related a gruesome tale of savagery [*CP* III,10 15 September 1834, p.165,c.2]. An Indian choir performed at an 1868 Newmarket Tea meeting [*Newmarket Courier* 6 February 1868, p.2,c.5]. Millard notes the theory of a "Mr. Noah" that the Indians were actually displaced Israelites [*Gospel* Luminary, 2,2 February 1826, p.64]. Millard lauds the aboriginals for worshipping "one Supreme Being" [p.65] and having Cherubim-like images (presumably totem-poles).

154 Badger showed some interest in them, [cf. Holland, *Memoir of Badger*, p.244], but in this he appears to have unique. A few anecdotes in the *Christian Palladium* reveal a variant of idea of the unsullied "noble savage." [cf. III,16 December 15, 1834, p.250,c.1 and p.259,c.2]. His point was anticalvinistic, intending to demonstrate that those unsullied by European civilization could live good, thus presumably godly, lives. Thus aboriginals served to prove, to his mind, the rightness of his Pelagian-like views. Joseph Thomas, the "White Pilgrim," intimated that aboriginals were just as likely to respond positively to evangelistic preaching [Joseph Thomas, *The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, containing an accurate account of his trials, travels, and gospel labours, up to the present date* (Winchester, Virginia, J. Foster, ...
155 In January 1817, Elijah Shaw had passing contact with some Indians in the Rochester area [Letitia J. Brown, Memoir of Elder Elijah Shaw by his daughter. With an Introduction by Elder D. Millard (Boston, L.J. Shaw; Philadelphia, Christian General Book Concern 1852), p.64]. On the other hand, Fernald admitted failing to preach to the Narraganset Indians because his schedule both in 1820 and 1824 prevented him [Fernald, Life of Mark Fernald, pp.151,181]. When excusing omitting interfering preaching to the Tuscarora in western New York, he cited the lack of a translator [Fernald, Life of Mark Fernald, p.202. This happened in 1827]. Ben Taylor preached to the Pottawatomis of Michigan beginning in 1831 [Edmunds, Taylor, pp.67-70], but in 1836, Millard passed through an Indian reserve in Michigan, but no note is made of contact with the people [David Edmund Millard, Memoir of Rev. David Millard: with Selections of his writings. By his son, David E. Millard (Dayton, Ohio, Christian Publishing Association 1874), p.161].

156 In 1918, Elder D. Prosser, aged 72, preached at least once on Georgina Island to the first nation there [Newmarket Era 30 August 1918, p.2,c.4]. Wally Riegert held Bible studies there in 1987 and 1988 [Tidings Spring 1987, p.10; Winter 1988, p.18].

157 The situation in Lower Canada also deteriorated rapidly after the 1837 Rebellion. Although Elijah Shaw visited Lower Canada and claimed to find good work at Hereford in 1840 [Brown, Elijah Shaw, p.205], William Sweet reported that only the church at Stukeley had survived, the others having been scattered by the troubles, with many members moving to the United States [GP VIII,22 15 March 1840, p.349,c.1]. By comparison, the churches across the line in northern Vermont prospered. The cause suffered a severe blow in late 1841, when Davis Wyatt left Stukeley to serve in the New York Northern Conference [GP X,15 1 December 1841, p.237,c.1; cf.p.227,c.2].

158 For a discussion of the union of Maritime and central Canadian Methodism, cf. C. Mark Steinacher, "The Homogenization of Methodism: an examination of the convergence of aspects of polity and revivalist practice in Upper Canadian Methodism, 1824-1884." (Th.M. thesis, Emmanuel College, Toronto School of Theology, 1992), passim. The two groups cannot be easily compared. The Methodists, for example, were engineered into pan-colonial union by British parent bodies, while the Christian Connexion was an exclusively North American movement. The group's ecclesiology also differed radically, the Methodists being connectional. The Maritime Christians merged with Baptists, eventually becoming part of the United Baptists [Philip Griffin-Allwood, "To Hear a Free Gospel': The Christian Connexion in Canada" in Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History, ed. Michael Owen 1988), pp.80-84].
159 Kenny, Perfect Law, pp.3,5 and Chapter 6, pp.194ff. Hatch discusses the urge to jettison the religious past also in terms of the medical and legal professions as targets [Hatch, Democratization, pp.28-29]. Also note Holland's affirmations about Badger's resistance to the oppression by established parties in "religion, medicine, science and politics" [Holland, Memoir of Badger, pp.23,68]. For a Canadian example, see the work of W.S. Clark of Toronto, Ontario Conference member and "Clairvoyant Physician" who treated the elderly Thomas Henry [Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.154] and the comparatively young wife of John Shoults [Shoults' diary #18, p.56, 19 July 1881].

160 See, for example, Newmarket Era 4 April 1856, p.34,c.2; 11 November 1870, p.2,c.3, or the Oshawa Vindicator 7 December 1864, p.2,c.5; 19 June 1867, p.2,c.5.
Another potentially fruitful research approach would entail examining the Connexion's competition in Upper Canada for the religious affections of the politically disaffected. Henry Ryan's Canadian Wesleyan Methodist church is one likely competitor. George Rawlyk's The Canada Fire Radical Evangelicalism in British North America, 1775-1812 (Kingston and Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press 1994) would be a helpful secondary source.

161 This material has been kept and will be assembled as articles for submission to scholarly journals.

162 This suggestion was made by Pamela Klassen.


164 Marini, Radical Sects, p.95

165 Marini, Radical Sects, pp.97,100

166 Kenny, Perfect Law, p.52


168 Clark, Church and Sect, p.328

169 William Trull's obituary indicates his family emigrated in 1796 and were relatively prosperous; in 1835, after having captained schooners for a time, he launched his own [HGL LXXVI,18 1 May 1884, p.277,c.3]. Obadiah Rogers, a Christian, was sufficiently prominent to be entrusted with the role of Assessor for Mariposa Township in 1840 [Provincial Archives of Ontario Microfilm MS-16 Reel 7, 1840 Census of Mariposa Township]. Thomas Henry was a farmer-entrepreneur [Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, pp.13-14,79]. Henry's father purchased a farm in 1816, while Thomas bought another 110 acres north of it shortly afterwards. Henry's widow still lived on the original farm in 1880. In addition to his agrarian pursuits, he was involved from the beginning with the highly successful Oshawa Harbour Company [Leo A. Johnson, History of the County of Ontario 1615-1875 (Whitby, Ontario, The Corporation of the County of Ontario 1973), p.136]. He often spent more time as harbourmaster than preacher [Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.111].

170 Kenny, Perfect Law, p.50


172 cf. Stephen J. Stein, "America's Bibles: Canon, Commentary, and Community" in Church History 64,2 June 1995

173 Perhaps the hymn most familiar in evangelical circles is Rufus Henry McDaniels's "Since Jesus Came Into My Heart" [HGL CXX,30 26 July 1928, p.690, c.2].

174 Morrill, History, p.243


176 When, for example, Badger returned to the United States from Lower Canada circa 1814, his grandmother was allegedly astounded that someone raised in the wild, natural north without a conventional education could preach so well [Holland, Life of Badger, p.104].

177 Marini, Radical Sects, pp.27-28,175
178 Fulop argues it is "problematic" to assign the frontier a large place in shaping Smith's thought [Fulop, "Smith and the Quest," p.13]. It is true that Smith, during his years in Boston, looked nostaligically back to life in a simpler and what he believed to be a more democratic Vermont [p.14], but the link between Smith's Vermont roots and radicalism have been overstated, while the emigrant's desire to establish more conservative communities have been underplayed.

179 *HGL* 3,54 14 September 1810, p.216,cc.1-2

180 Brown, *Elijah Shaw*, p.15

181 Fernald, *Life of Mark Fernald*, pp.11,13

182 Cross, *Burned-over District*, pp.12,40. He also discounts a frontier explanation for the success of Mormonism [pp.139,146,150].

183 Barkun, *Crucible of the Millennium*, p.105


185 *Christian Herald* IV,2 16 August 1821, p.42,c.1. The letter is reproduced, with minor editing, in Henry, *Memoir of Thomas Henry*, pp.185-186

186 For example, the 1803 census of Darlington Township indicates that several Burk and Conet/Conat families, later known to be members of the Christian Connexion, were among the nineteen households that had already settled there. It is not clear whether the Sergeant and Fletcher families listed are related to the later ministers of those names [Provincial Archives of Ontario Microfilm MS-16, Reel 3].

187 J.F. Burnett, *Early Women of the Christian Church Heroes All* (Dayton, Ohio, by the author 1921), p.32

188 S.D. Clark's observation that sectarian activity in Ontario and Alberta occurred about 15 years after the opening of settlement, in Ontario predominantly among second-generation American immigrants, [Clark, *Church and Sect*, pp.xi,170] does not disturb the key point being made here. As the Hamilton Township material establishes, the strong growth of the Christian Connexion occurred roughly three decades after initial settlement. This is significant not simply because the figure is twice that mentioned by Clark. The assessment rolls clearly indicate that the area had developed economically and was not a backwoods cultural wasteland. Life would still not have been easy, but the basic point is that the rigours of the raw frontier had long passed.
This township was selected because it included the home of Joseph Ash, Jr. His father is listed in the 1804 Census, while the younger Ash first appears in the 1808 Census (i.e. as a "male under 16." By 1832, he began to clear the farm beside his father's while still living at home. Twenty-six of the 29 two-storey brick or frame homes listed in 1829 had additional fireplaces, an amenity added to the Ash home in 1833 [1833 Assessment and Census of Hamilton Township].

The titles varied both in official and common use. In general, the terms shift from chapter to chapter, reflecting the dominant common use of the era. The participants, who themselves often did not use the official title, would recognize the forms used in this thesis.

I have since been appointed "Historian" by the denomination's Board of Directors. This position entails not only making available information about the denomination, but serving as a consultant when constitutional amendments are proposed.

The first exposure was a non-scholarly summary in Macleans Magazine, an older issue read while at the dentist's office. I first encountered the scholarly use of this set of ideas when Alan Hayes brought chaos/complexity theory into a lecture in his fall 1994 course on the history of the Church to 600 A.D. I was his teaching assistant at the time.
CHAPTER ONE
Chaos/Complexity Theory: An Historiographical Discussion

Introduction

Wisdom dictates that one not introduce a controversial method into a doctoral thesis unless it contributes substantially to historical explanation. The necessity of exploring a new historiographical methodology became apparent soon after research for this thesis began. Two problems arose which led to reflection on theoretical issues: the range of options to describe the mode of relationship of American restorationist groups; and a related problem, how to create a linear representation of the relationship of groups which were antecedent or collateral to, or derivative from, the Ontario movement. This chapter will discuss the problems which suggested the profitability of exploring an alternative historiographical philosophy; examine a non-Newtonian philosophy of science, Chaos/Complexity theory,¹ as a potential model to solve those problems; discuss issues associated with applying Chaos/Complexity theory concepts in the Humanities, with special attention to the concept of "nonlinearity;" and outline criteria by which to determine if the structure of a particular movement is a specific type of nonlinear system, an 'aleatory' system.

Problems Suggesting The Need For A New Approach

Around the beginning of the nineteenth century, several independent, but highly similar, restorationist movements arose in widely separated areas: the South (Virginia, under
the leadership of James O'Kelly), the North-East (New England, instigated by Elias Smith and Abner Jones) and the West (Kentucky and Tennessee, shepherded by Barton W. Stone). They aimed to restore to the present church what they believed to have been the New Testament church's experience. This program included rejecting all labels but "Christian" to describe both believers and congregations. During the 1820s, a fourth group arose, under Alexander Campbell's leadership, which separated from the Baptists and united in the early 1830s with a sizeable portion of the group led by Stone.

The vastly different assessments of these early groups' relations, written by competent historians using the same stock of information, suggested a profound problem lay unresolved. Solutions advanced range from insisting that none of the movements were connected integrally before Stone's contact with Campbell's "Disciples," through various pairings of groups, to suggesting a form of comprehensive unity. Ideology, the need to align events with a tradition, may play an important role in the differing interpretations. Ideology alone, however, does not explain why none of the suggested explanations is fully convincing.

Several scholars accept that the 'Christian' groups of the South and North-East, as well as some portion of that in the West, eventually united, but insist it was after 1830. Winfred Garrison and Alfred DeGroot imply that these movements really only became united after the Stone/Campbell union. Similarly, Lester McAllister and William Tucker consider the non-unionist Christians in Kentucky and Ohio to have been quite separate from the other Christians before 1832. Thomas
Olbricht downplays early links, asserting that there was no real influence on the New Englanders from the other movements until the 1830s, with "no effective cooperation...prior to the Civil War."'

There appears to be an ideological component to these constructions. If one admits substantial unity before 1830, then one must also admit that Campbell's drive for union actually disrupted an existing entity, the Christian Connexion. Another tack for evading the charge of disruption is to suggest Stone was not truly "restorationist" prior to uniting with Campbell. The implication is that Stone's previous connections were irrelevant compared with discovering the true ancient gospel. As the Restoration Movement was in danger of formal division in the middle of the twentieth century, it served the Disciples' purposes to argue that the "first division" of the movement was the exodus of 'non-instrumental,' 'non-society' churches (that is, those churches which refused to use musical instruments in worship or to contribute to missionary societies), first recognized officially in the 1906 United States' Census, rather than admitting the movement had been divisive from its inception.

David Harrell and Lynn Waller's variant admits a vital link between the two movements east of the Alleghenies (i.e. O'Kelly and Smith's followers). This has the advantage of portraying the eastern movements as profoundly distinct from Stone's. This view frees Campbell of the charge of disuniting the Connexion as Stone's folk were never truly part of it.

James Crain, Brian Boden and James North posit a link between the O'Kelly and Stone fellowships. North insistently
shunts the New England Christians aside, alleging their only formal connection with the south to have been a merger with a schismatic Southern faction," and dates New England's contact with the Stone movement in the 1820s." From a different stream of the Campbell-Stone movement than Garrison and DeGroot, North finds in O'Kelly a useful example of one who valued fidelity to biblical authority above unity," validating his own faction's break from the Disciples by casting it in the same light.

In an interesting twist, Southern 'Christian' historians Durward Stokes and William Scott note that there was no early formal union of Smith's and Stone's movements, but rather growing ties between a dissenting remnant of Stone's and the Easterners after 1832." They also distance the O'Kelly faction from the rest of the Christian Connexion." Technically correct, because there were no formal bureaucracies to merge, this position allows them to distance the O'Kelly branch from the unitarianism found in the Christian Connexion." While this is an attractive position, it does not adequately explain continuing close cooperation between the North and South throughout the nineteenth century.

At the opposite end of the interpretive spectrum are historians who argue that the three movements which formed around O'Kelly, Smith and Stone had always enjoyed vital institutional links. The most forceful representation of this position was put forward by the American Christian Convention (ACC) just before the turn of this century." It was, in essence, a tradition created in order to cement the recent (re)merger of the northern and southern wings of the Christian
Church. Although it laid an unwarranted, or at least premature, claim to catholicity, this view was not without some reasonable basis. Writers from the second quarter of the nineteenth century (e.g. Abner Jones and Edward Edmunds) had spoken of the Christian Connexion's three-pronged origins and its spread to include folk in each of the United States, the British North American provinces, and England.

The fluidity of that mid-nineteenth century imagery undermines the ACC's case. It is unlikely Jones, for example, was arguing for the existence of a clearly-defined rigid organization linking the "three formidable branches" of the Christian Connexion in the North-East, West and South. Closer to reality is the contention that the three streams were somehow united, but not as straightforwardly as later apologists insisted. DeGroot admits, in a later work, that there was an "emerging new movement for a redefinition of Christianity" which included not only Stone's western movement, but the eastern and southern 'Christians.'

By 1965, when DeGroot wrote Disciples Thought, the Disciples had suffered another division: the emergence of the Independent Churches of Christ from under the aegis of the Disciples. The issues which led to the Independents' estrangement were clear by 1926, but suggestions for a date when the partition became concrete range over a quarter of a century, from the early 1940s to 1971. DeGroot's estimate falls in between, arguing in Disciples Thought that the split occurred in 1955. Although the second edition of Garrison and DeGroot's collaborative effort came out in 1958, its twenty-first chapter, "New Issues and Agencies, 1900-1948,"
did not admit that any clear division had yet occurred. Ironically, divisions were becoming an accepted part of the life of the Restoration Movement and by the mid-1960s, as the Disciples prepared to "Restructure," it was no longer necessary for DeGroot to argue on ideological lines that the 1906 rift was anomalous. Michael Kenny, Elias Smith's biographer, writing from outside the tradition, simply states without controversy that the Christian Connection was a "transregional ecumenical movement."

It is possible that DeGroot was hampered in his description of the links between the early restorationists by a lack of an interpretative framework in which to understand the loose gatherings of the different groups. Olbricht, writing the year after DeGroot's *Disciples Thought*, concedes that work remained to be done regarding the question of the groups' interrelationship. Apparently no such research has been conducted, for the most part likely because that relationship defies reduction to a simple solution. One of the benefits of Chaos/Complexity theory is its ability to shed new light by which to reexamine problems previously abandoned because they involved 'nonlinearity.' Chaos/Complexity theory provides conceptual tools to clarify the less rigid and affective links among restorationists.

It is not uncommon, once institutional relationships are clearly grasped, for historians to create charts depicting linearly those relationships. Charts of major Presbyterian unions in Scotland and in Canada, for example, are reproduced in John Moir's volume on Canadian Presbyterianism. Diagrams of this type are the quintessential Newtonian representation
of organizations which are generally stable, fixed and linear.

When dealing with the various Christian groups, which were initially unstable, amorphous and in which lines of authority were indistinct, creating such charts becomes difficult. Members and clergy seceded from several American denominations, including the Baptists (Calvinistic and Freewill), Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians in order to form the early Christian movements. The American Christian Convention (re)united with the Congregational Church in 1931, this body in turn joining with the Evangelical and Reformed Church in 1957 to form the United Church of Christ. In Ontario, non-uniting Congregational churches entered the Christian Conference in 1936 and 1940, and independent congregations joined in 1923, 1937, 1957 and 1973.

If one looks at the other side of the equation, fragmentation of the movement, the matter is no clearer and attempts to chart denominational losses are equally unhelpful. In the 1840s, the Connexion was a major source of converts to Millerism. In the twentieth century, Christian congregations in Ontario formally seceded from the Conference and united with the Associated Gospel Churches, the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the United Church of Canada (an amalgamation of Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians) and the United Missionary Church. To cap off the confusion, in 1968 the remaining Christian churches in Ontario affiliated with the Conservative Congregational-Christian Conference in the United States, a faction created in reaction as the United Church of Christ formed. Any chart created is not only
incomprehensible, but it also misses the point; a different perspective is required to resolve the matter.

Chaos/Complexity Theory: A Non-Newtonian Solution

The issue common to the problem of describing the groups’ relationship and that of charting unions is asking the right question. Just as it “was pointless for scholars to...speculate on the reasons why long-distance mariners avoided sailing over the edge of the world,” so it proves futile to ponder “What were the precise institutional union arrangements between these early restorationist groups?” The question is rather: “What is the philosophical problem underlying the virtual impossibility of aligning these groups neatly?” Such a question points to the limitations of language grounded in the Newtonian philosophy of physics to describe institutions. This section explores and discusses a new perspective, Chaos/Complexity theory, which offers the promise of solving the underlying conundrum.

Although Chaos/Complexity theory is new, its central concepts antedate its formulation. Unsystematic and inexplicit expressions of 'nonlinearity,' for example, are found in folklore. The work of the nineteenth-century French mathematician Henri Poincaré on the so-called “Three Body” problem provided the theory's academic roots. Arising from the same set of quandaries which led to the conception of Quantum Mechanics and the Theory of Relativity, Chaos/Complexity theory is a medley of old and new techniques by which modern physicists seek to explain phenomena which Newtonian physics cannot. With the advent of computers,
which permitted exploration of elaborate mathematical problems, Chaos/Complexity theory became a formal branch of science in the 1970s." While the explication and interconnection of the various concepts is new, it is not clear whether Chaos/Complexity theory "is only a slight change of analytical perspective, or a fad, as opposed to being...a 'paradigm shift,' that is, a major, fresh conceptual configuration that moves perspective to a whole new order.""

Two main responses have emerged among advocates: one suggesting that the new theory is merely a useful extension of current scientific thought; the other that it is a revolution." Katherine Hayles argues the rise of Chaos/Complexity theory was more than the concatenation of technological advances, but also a result of the rise of postmodernism." On the other hand, while admitting that Chaos/Complexity theory might provide new insights, Kenneth Knoespel sees it as a ruse to "re mythologize" science." Even its more extreme advocates admit that Newtonian science is not wrong, but merely incomplete." This thesis will argue for the theory's less radical form, asserting that it provides what Hans Küng would term a new 'mesomodel.'" It is not a 'macromodel' because the significant insights it provides do not supplant the present historiographico-scientific paradigm, but dovetail with it. It is, on the other hand, more than a new 'micromodel' because the sets of insights it provides to aid analysis are applicable to a number of problems across many disciplines.
The Implications of Chaos/Complexity Theory for the Humanities

The question whether concepts from physics are applicable to human problems, such as sociology and historiography, is open, but also somewhat contrived. Historians currently use scientific vocabulary analogically to describe human action, as in "the New Light Stir precipitated the organization of a Baptist Church." It is noteworthy that the Oxford English Dictionary's earliest citations for "precipitate" to describe a chemical process and to depict human behaviour are both from the English philosopher of science Francis Bacon. In terms of sociological studies, Malthus' observations on the disparity of geometrical and linear rates of growth are classic. Chaos/Complexity theory is used to analyse information-oriented subjects such as traffic flow, information overload, and communications. Recently, the theory has also been used to probe the formation of businesses and patterns of international trade.

As cross-disciplinary use of terminology already exists, it is valid to ask to what degree historians may appropriate insights from Chaos/Complexity theory. Ged Martin notes that "History has at least a superficial affinity with the physical sciences in that it seeks to arrange events into ordered explanations," but that it is also a literary form. As much as historians might wish their work to share the physical sciences' implied certainty, this is impossible for several reasons, the simplest being that historians have no recourse to validation by repetition of events." On the other hand, as Künig reminds the theologian, the icon of the physical sciences' alleged absolute objectivity has been tarnished by
recent insights concerning the "hermeneutical dimension" of science, that the form and direction of research is conditioned by the researcher's expectations. With such caveats in mind, the transferability of insight falls into three rough categories: direct mathematical modelling, trope," or non-arithmetic analog.

Before the advent of Chaos/Complexity theory, most scientists' approach was to attempt to transform the nonlinear into the linear, typified by Galileo's quest to render measurable the unmeasurable, Descartes' and Newton's philosophizing which resulted in "the 'mathematization' of nature," and Kelvin's notion that one had said nothing until one uttered numbers. Kelvinian numerical certainty may not be possible with chaotic systems. Limited numerical data about the Christian Connexion precludes mathematical modelling in this thesis. It is possible that Chaos/Complexity theory will provide a means to model reality which escapes the Newtonian fixation upon the numeric.

Concepts from Chaos/Complexity theory may also be used by humanists as a source of tropes. Trope, as distinct from metaphor, connotes the discontinuity between the original item and the application of insight. There are instances where an historian may legitimately employ scientific concepts figuratively to evoke images. Using concepts as tropes, however, involves inexactitude, limits their usefulness and exposes writers to at least two dangers: simple sloppiness and impressionism. When circumstances in human history display merely "external similarity to...biological phenomena[a]" there is a temptation to transfer scientific
vocabulary indiscriminately. A prominent nineteenth century example was Social Darwinism. Recently a complexologist compared "information" within organizations to "solar energy." This is a trope, since the comparison is imprecise and obscure. It is possibly illegitimate precisely because solar energy has one clearly defined source, unlike information, which is ubiquitous and which that same writer affirms to be "self-generating." Her trope becomes merely a starting point for subjective rambling through otherwise uncharted territory. Some ordered chaotic phenomena occur in such precisely defined conditions that insights may not be transferred to the humanities, even metaphorically.

More than one writer on Chaos/Complexity theory warns of the danger of "impressionism." In the fine arts, "impressionism" refers to a style of painting, music or literature which relies upon sensation and appeal to an object's ethereal character rather than overt statement. Painters sought to capture immediate impressions, rather than emphasizing permanent structure, with the result that the actual "object [depicted] tended to lose prominence." In literature, the style involves the imaginative use of symbolism, rather than sparse prose, to evoke qualities inherent in the object observed, "impressing them upon the senses of the reader in such a way that he[sic] shares the experience of the author." Roger Lewin and Margaret Wheatley seem to share Christopher Langton's outlook that science must become less rigorous and more "poetic," both employing an evocative narrative style to present insightful surveys of Chaos/Complexity theory.
The threat of impressionism is not stylistic. Critics see in the original label "chaos theory" an attempt to remythologize science by placing its inquiries "within the context of metaphysics," validating the theory by situating it alongside cultural foundation myths. This suspicion gains credibility in light of Michel Serres', Ilya Prigogine's and Isabelle Stengers' insistence that Chaos/Complexity theory is significant not simply because of the phenomena studied, but because it entails an unfairly neglected set of values. Flight from the tyranny of matter-of-fact discourse may be used as a cover to reintroduce the mystical or intangible into historical argument. This may appear in attempts to explain events by means of "invisible forces," an "act of faith," "non-local causes" or "morphogenic fields." Suggestions that becoming "synchronized with [a] system," may harness nonlinearity and result necessarily in greater impact in that system imply teleology. Admissions that they are "influences that we can't see or test" undercut scientific validation and amount to a "reenchantment" of nature.

This "theological imperative" is understandable, even predictable in settings where "'normal' scientific practices find themselves straining against the limits" of theory. Lewin notes accusations that Santa Fe Institute researchers are reverting to a Paley-style natural theology and is himself keenly sensitive to charges of mysticism or vitalism. Although the tendency to theologize Chaos/Complexity theory is understandable, it is to be resisted. Analysis must still be done within the present canons of historiography. Moderate complexologists insist that science need not add a "new force"
to account for the emergence of order from chaos." The present macromodel accommodates this new perspective, so that one may adopt aspects of Chaos/Complexity theory as a mesomodel within the broader scientific paradigm, without indulging in mystification.

A final avenue by which insights from Chaos/Complexity theory may be transferred to historiography is non-arithmetic analogy. The use of analogy will result in an ad hoc borrowing of concepts whose scientific definitions are mathematical but which defy reduction to arithmetic expression when applied to the humanities. Deliberate deemphasis of the mathematical allows one to stress the qualitative, concentrating on those areas of Christian community which do not lend themselves to representation by number. Using concepts analogically emphasizes substantial equivalence and proportionality within adaptation to non-numeric expression, yet without essential oneness." It is difficult middle ground to maintain, less than metaphor yet also falling short of univocal mathematical articulation." Tension surrounding the analogical interdisciplinary use of concepts is eased if the flow of information is conceived as arising simultaneously from several "sites," rather than simply emanating from the sciences and being appropriated by the humanities."

Described apophatically, the use of non-arithmetic analogs is the avoidance of the extremes on either side: impressionism and mathematization. A.B. Çambel tries to avoid numerical fixation by creating several "dimensionless parameters" to quantify social processes." His "Leadership parameter" suggests that there exists an optimal length of
time for a leader to remain in office, long enough to achieve change but not to become calcified." Even this non-mathematical formula may be criticized. As Martin's depiction of Sanfield MacDonald's short but pivotal ministry illustrates, drafting and implementing change is not a linear task, reducible to formula." Wheatley rejects out of hand any attempt to describe human behaviour in terms of "equations" covering all "variables," while J.B. Brebner judges that any "algebraic formula...would be an inexact thing at best."\(^2\)

This thesis makes no attempt to propound symbolic formulae. The concept of nonlinearity is applied to ecclesiology in a broadly allusive analogy.\(^3\) There were, of course, no literal 'ribbons' or 'strings' to depict 'lines of authority' emanating from leaders. Yet to speak of such 'lines' and thus 'linearity' is certainly not a trope. There is a close analogy which builds in substantial continuity with a commonly used turn of phrase. It is the extension of the analogical use of scientific terminology, such as "precipitate," to newly-described scientific phenomena.

**Chaos/Complexity Concepts Utilized in this Thesis**

When one encounters Chaos/Complexity theory, one confronts a cluster of concepts comprising an alternative or supplementary philosophy of science. Its precise contents are not universally agreed upon by theorists; one researcher compiled a list of 31 different definitions of complexity."\(^4\) One of the difficulties of Chaos/Complexity theory is that complexity (the object of study) seems to appear in a wide range of systems, from the physical to the social, and in a
vast range of sizes, from the minute to the grand." With some theoretical questions unresolved one must thus be satisfied, at present, with "operational descriptions."

This will not be an exhaustive discussion of Chaos/Complexity theory, but an overview of two major components, nonlinearity and self-emergent order, which figure in the definition of the 'aleatory' ecclesiological paradigm. Selecting these two ideas was not arbitrary. Nonlinearity provides a framework in which to seek fresh solutions to the problems raised earlier in this chapter. The importance of self-emergent order became apparent as research progressed. Although Connexion members could not have used the precise verbiage of Chaos/Complexity theory, their unpremeditated, intuitive approach to nonlinear ecclesiology involved what may be termed a 'mythologized' form of self-emergent order. The modern concept illuminates action two centuries old.

Nonlinearity is one of several major concepts making up the "sciences of complexity." Folk expressions indicate that its essence has long been understood. "The straw that broke the camel's back" captures the gist of the disproportionate impact of small inputs," also known as 'sensitivity to initial conditions.' Contrary to Newton's law, small inputs may have disproportionate impact, nudging even large systems into chaotic behaviour." The concept was popularized by Edward Lorenz, a meteorologist puzzled why increased computing capability did not lead to more accurate weather forecasts. He coined the term "butterfly effect" to visualize how very slight differences in initial conditions far away may produce widely different outcomes: a tornado in Texas instead of sun
because a butterfly in the Amazon flapped its wings. This disproportionate impact is the result of "cascading effects from initially small causes." Such sensitivity to initial conditions precludes general solutions to nonlinear equations and helps explain why research into nonlinearity has centred in disciplines where behaviour is never exactly repeated.

A baseball witticism, "It ain't over 'till the fat lady sings," epitomizes unpredictability, a nonlinear idea underscoring the impossibility of predicting future events on the basis of even a regular and lengthy set of observations. Unpredictability stems from slight variations of initial conditions and multiple factors acting upon the system. Unpredictability is not uncertainty. Uncertainty relates to lack of information; one may have all the information it is possible to gather about a problem, such as a century of major league baseball statistics, but still find it impossible to predict a specific outcome, as complexity retains chance's unpredictability. Even if historical research could be conducted in an environment which eliminated uncertainty, questions involving only limited numbers of factors would defy analysis, due to the onset of computational intractability. Tracking the interactions of thousands of members of a religious institution, let alone predicting their behaviour, becomes impractical. The price for limiting inquiry to what is humanly manageable is an admission that all historical interpretation is provisional.

A major insight from nonlinearity is that "minor" events may lead to catastrophe, while concerted efforts by an organization may have little or no discernable effect. The
coexistence of many factors necessary for an event to occur does not ensure that it will happen; sometimes nothing meteorologically significant results when a butterfly flaps its wings. On the other hand, a situation may appear to remain stable while actually approaching a far-from-equilibrium state. The addition of a single further influence may cause the appearance of sudden destabilisation because that single factor, in concert with other preexistent factors, nudged the system into a true far-from-equilibrium state. Nonlinearity undercuts the idea that small variations will average, making it possible to speak meaningfully of "micro factors," and shedding "a less pejorative light on terms like... 'trivial,' 'spurious,' and 'marginal.'"

History is no longer the preserve of the "idea [of] a collision of simple, major force vectors in the dialectic model lying at the heart of Marxist-Leninist philosophy." Nonlinearity suggests that the study of a 'fringe' religious group is important not only for its own sake but because its impact on developments within major groups may be greater than once supposed. This flexibility does not imply that historical explanation is impossible, but rather, at worst, that monofactoral analyses are rarely legitimate, as consideration of only a single factor tends to induce distortion. While multifactoral explanation will undergird the more durable interpretations, even the best crafted historical argument will always be open to a full range of new understandings, from simple adjustments of nuance to complete revision. "Definitive" historical treatments, in any absolute sense, cannot exist. At best, interpretation is provisional."
All natural systems are open dynamic systems, inherently unstable and in constant interaction with their environments. Some dynamic systems, such as electrical circuits, are "near-to-equilibrium." An electrical system is imbalanced, but the flow of electrons within it is so predictably linear that safety codes may be written which assume its invariant activity. Other dynamic systems are "far-from-equilibrium," that is, less than rigidly structured, but more than random. Lasers emit light while in a far-from-equilibrium state. The far-from-equilibrium state is the basic precondition for all 'complex' phenomena. Human systems are more likely to change when destabilized into such a state.

The concept of 'self-emergent order' is as straightforward as it is controversial. Proponents argue that some degree of ordered activity will emerge on its own within far-from-equilibrium systems, systems on the "boundary of chaos." It posits a local reversal of Newton's Second Law of Thermodynamics, the spontaneous creation of order from chaos, rather than linear degeneration to the lowest possible state of energy. Proponents describe self-emergent order as an holistic approach which recognizes that the overall response of a system is more than the sum of many tiny responses. This radical notion, also labelled self-organized criticality and anti-chaos, is the centre of contention between Chaos/Complexity theory's two main streams.

The primary image used to convey the concept is the orderly collapse of a "sand pile." In this experiment, developed by Per Bak, single grains of sand are dropped continuously, creating a pile. The pile soon passes from a
sub-critical state, in which the sand is stable, to a critical state, in which the surface of the pile collapses regularly but unpredictably. If sand is added too quickly, the pile enters a super-critical state, in which the surface shifts completely erratically. When in a critical state, the form of the pile is said to organize itself within narrow limits, regulating itself to maintain a somewhat pyramidal form. The principle deduced from such observations has been applied to a stunning array of subjects, including a controversial study of the rise and collapse of the Anasazi's Chaco Canyon culture."

The concept has radical implications, especially in biology. It is urged as a solution to the "astronomical improbabilities" of unguided random selection in the Theory of Evolution. From self-emergent order's view, evolution is not an open-ended process with virtually inexhaustible developmental variations, but rather a system with a limited range of possible forms. These few forms, however, would 'self-emerge' with almost predictable regularity. The formation of the eye, a Darwinian 'Achilles heel,' becomes a commonplace, a "high-probability spatial transformation," said to have recurred independently at least forty times.

Critics challenge whether research into "self-emergent order" is science done well. Oscillating chemical reactions, touted as examples of molecules spontaneously adopting a higher state of order, are not perpetually reactive but sustainable only in open systems receiving fresh inputs of chemicals. Critics also note that Bak's iconic model is not even a good description of a sand pile and that few researchers have been able to reproduce Bak's results.
either model, the alleged organization occurs as classical Newtonian science would predict. There are no real-life models of a system capable of organizing itself against the laws of classical physics, for example, a sand pile becoming an inverted pyramid, or a cube. Precisely what is missing from the simpler models is the upward organization that is posited for the self-emergent evolution of both eyes and cultures. The concept has the appearance of being a sophisticated attempt to reintroduce into science the discredited concept of autogenesis.

There is also sharp debate over the role which proponents of self-emergent order assign to information. Both those who do and do not endorse self-emergent order note information's centrality in complex systems, and would concur with Hayles: "An important turning point...occurred when complex systems were conceptualized as...rich in information rather than poor in order." Ways part when radical theorists argue that a key contrast between complex systems (e.g. turbulence) and complex adaptive systems (e.g. biological evolution) is the presence of useable information. Adaptive systems are said actively to "seek out" and process information. This computational ability, maximized at the edge of chaos, is alleged to inhere in systems without a specific "brain." This includes collectives, such as ant colonies, in which the cumulative computing power is said to exceed the sum of the computing capabilities of its individuals. The self-organizing power of information is even suggested to extend to the creation of a world collective-consciousness.

Proponents assume that the reversal of entropy posited in
self-organization will be emancipatory. A more optimistic notion of cooperating with the forces of nature is touted as a means to minimize frustration and increase institutional well-being. It is also alleged that making information freely available within an organization creates a reiterative feedback loop which amplifies the level of useful information, creating a self-reinforcing cycle of growth which is a key to unlock a system's potential to change for the good. Others are not so sanguine, well aware of the negative practical implications of feedback in systems. Noise in military communications causes disruption, often with fatal outcome, a muddle unameliorated by technological innovations in command and control systems. Nor do proponents of self-emergent order usually consider seriously the "dark side" of information, which includes deliberate miscommunication, a centring strategy used by enslaved Caribbean aboriginals. Admissions that the emergence of order "is irresolvably ambiguous" are rare.

Anti-chaos' supporters rely heavily on computer simulations; critics say too much so. The concept is, ironically, subverted by the simplicity of its models. Without simple models, one quickly encounters computational intractability. Yet the use of simple models atomistically to show how complex systems function runs contrary to the basic nonlinear premises of Chaos/Complexity theory by reintroducing reductionism and ignoring differences of scale. Some attempt to deflect this reproof by comparing simple models to political cartoons. Ironically, this defence admits that models introduce both distortion and
ideology. Caricature is a form of distortion essential to political cartooning, while the cartoon's humour is driven by lampooning an opponent's ideology. A related criticism is the inherent contradiction between Chaos/Complexity theory's general aversion to binary logic and the creation of simulations on machines limited to binary processing. "Researchers do not appear to consider seriously the possibility that the results of experiments may be skewed by the conscious or unconscious encoding of expectations into programs. The flaw is inadvertently admitted by Wheatley, who notes that the shapes of fractally-created designs (touted as examples of self-emergent order) are "built into the numbers."  

Self-emergent order, a controversial and open question in the physical sciences, is singularly problematic when dealing with human behaviour. Specific criticisms such as over reliance on simplified computer simulations, models with self-defeating logic and models that are not unequivocally non-Newtonian take on even more weight when placed in the context of the exercise of human will. These criticisms, when harnessed with a more fundamental challenge regarding the reproducibility of results, brings the entire notion of self-emergent order into serious question. A recognition that societal change may occur more readily in a far-from-equilibrium setting is not an admission that human societies are autopoietic. This thesis affirms that while order exists within chaotic systems, it is not self-generating. Systemic change does not flow from an organizational ability inherent within cultural information, but requires an input of
'energy,' either intellectual or physical, from human participants.\textsuperscript{121}

Criteria For Describing And Defining 'Aleatory'

The religious atmosphere of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries in the United States was highly charged, as the nation came to grips with the implications of independence. The Christian Connexion's founders believed rejection of the status quo in the name of "freedom" included abandoning rigid structures with clear lines of control.\textsuperscript{122} They differed profoundly from the non-separatist forms of restorationism arising within contemporary "mainline" groups.\textsuperscript{123} The peculiar form of these 'Christian' groups calls into question assumptions about organization. The disparity between religious organizations with clearly defined structures and loosely-defined restorationism is akin to the variance between cultures which have a written language and those which do not. The apparent ubiquity of literacy tempts one to speak of "non-" or "pre-literate" cultures, but to do so involves assumptions of superiority which may or may not be valid.\textsuperscript{124} Literacy is far from omnipresent, creation of literature even less so.\textsuperscript{125} Analogically, to refer to the Connexion as "disorganized,"\textsuperscript{126} or its founders as lacking "clear visions of institutional order,"\textsuperscript{127} is to assume their rusticity and the superiority of ordered organizations. At least one Chaos/Complexity theorist insists that the assumption of the superiority of fixed organizational structure is open to challenge.\textsuperscript{128} The particular institution under consideration, the Christian Connexion, did not stand
the test of time, and one may cogently argue that its system was inherently unstable and thus unworkable, but one cannot assume a priori that the movements' founders were merely disorderly 'country bumpkins.'

Newtonianism was not simply an approach to science, but "an ideological structure of beliefs" used in eighteenth-century Britain "to promote and defend the hierarchical ordering of society...and the justification of 'order' for its own sake." The American Revolution precipitated a crisis for some because it did not translate political freedom into religious freedom; it did not bring an end to ecclesiastical establishment. A strong anti-monarchical, anti-British tone pervaded Smith's journalism. In particular, he characterized the Methodist episcopacy as part of British order. Smith, O'Kelly and Stone had all been exposed to British military action during the conflict. The rejection of stratified pyramidal order in ecclesiology by some Americans seems to have been one facet in a larger process of disentanglement from British order. A crisis of form developed in which some not only deemed old ways to be inappropriate, but also a positive threat to spirituality. Faced with institutions which appeared intractably distorted, folk in several different locales independently arrived at similar conclusions that Christian liberty could be achieved only by jettisoning structure per se and starting over with the Bible in hand. A new organizational paradigm was born.

The Christian Connexion's approach to order, from a Newtonian perspective, was not so much a 'view from below' as a 'view from the side.' It attempted to create form without
hint of hierarchy. Although the Connexion appears simple and primitive, it actually was quite complex. Their institution had visible form, form which encapsulated order within disorder. Most members of the Christian Connexion were not simply 'disorganized' in the sense of being lackadaisical, or 'antiorganized' in the sense of being anarchistic, but a people who determinedly rejected Newtonian organization. They were 'not-organized.' In order to avoid both the use of a negative compound of "order," as well as confusion with terms already imbued with meaning within Chaos/Complexity theory, a new category will be elaborated in this thesis to describe this organizational (un)activity: 'aleatory.'

The term aleatory is borrowed from musicology, where it refers to forms of music employing deliberate randomization in composition and/or performance. The Christian Connexion actively eschewed linear organization, instead deliberately randomizing religious activity at all levels from internal congregational order to relations between congregations. Aleatory bespeaks the participants' belief that they should trust God to create order spontaneously from within apparently random circumstances rather than through a humanly-organized structure. Although aleatory is not the only category by which to discuss the Connexion's move from periphery to mainstream, it is a crucial and powerful one.

Just as unsystematic and inexplicit tokens of nonlinearity may be found in folklore, so it appears that the aleatory paradigm forged by the Christian Connexion was an unreflective, intuitive sort of organization. Members eschewed formal theology, but the outline of their beliefs may
be pieced together from literary and journalistic sources. Even if specific Chaos/Complexity terms had been available to them, it is unlikely they would have adopted them to describe the Connexion's platform. That platform, it will be argued in this thesis, included nonlinear elements as well as belief in a form of self-emergent order which might be termed 'God-emergent order' or 'God-organized criticality.'

What follows is an "operational description" of the aleatory paradigm. 'Aleatory' draws upon concepts from Chaos/Complexity theory to suggest a nonlinear phenomenology of the fringe. Aleatory systems are not stable and rigid; elements may or may not be present and their appearance may not be uniform. An aleatory system is a far-from-equilibrium system which will display many, usually all, of the following characteristics: the attempt to destabilize an existing religious system by means of deliberate randomization; indistinct denominational systems and boundaries, with an emphasis on individual autonomy; the role of information as an organizing force in a nonlinear religious system; and the nonlinear affective basis for affiliation. One alleged mark of Newtonian organization is its penchant to assume the worst and to plan against foreseeable problems. Aleatory systems, conversely, are undergirded by an optimistic theological anthropology which assumes a near universal goodwill among members and their inherent ability to choose good. The aleatory paradigm thus appeals to the semi-Pelagian and is not an option for the Augustinian.

Aleatory systems are marked, first of all, by deliberate attempts to destabilize ecclesiastical formations. The
Connexion adopted various means of chaos induction: unscheduled itinerancy; renunciation of systematic money management; dreams and portents for guidance. Preachers were expected to be in 'fellowship' with a conference, but individuals' itineration schedules were not mandated. Indeed the Connexion valued itinerancy only if it were unplanned. The scheme was not just a practical expedient forced upon them by too great a territory to be covered with available resources, as was the case with the Baptists and Methodists, but a device adopted for ideological reasons, a belief that a settled, professional ministry restricted true freedom. Preachers should not be tied to a particular group, but free to wander in response to any dream or "impression" which was believed to reveal divine purpose. God was expected to direct preachers to where they were most needed. In practice, it often resulted in congregations having no preacher for weeks, only to have several arrive on the same day. This was not a mishap arising from poor communications, which occurred at times in other denominations, but a weakness inherent to their aleatory system. Preachers often organized small, ineffective congregations, many of which quickly died out for lack of regular care. Again, this was not an indication of indifference or apathy, but a fundamental commitment to nonlinear church government. Individual congregations often displayed indeterminate financial arrangements, offering 'gifts' instead of a salary. They also had a propensity to reorganize relatively frequently, yet did so within a perceptible, on-going association. This continuity suggests the presence of an element of randomness within organization,
rather than mere anarchy.

The induction of chaos has long played a key role in warfare, some armies consciously adopting chaos-induction as a central concept. "Unveiling a "secret" weapon or mounting a surprise attack often results in more psychological than physical damage." The result is nonlinear, the psychological distress being disproportionately great. This may lead to the creation of a far-from-equilibrium state in which an otherwise stable and coherent formation becomes destabilized. The purpose of the Connexion's randomizing efforts was a destabilisation of the religious belief and experience of individuals as a means to push the entire North American religious system into a far-from-equilibrium state. They were convinced that the elimination of "party," i.e. distinct denominational organizations, would create true gospel unity, clearing the way for the Millennium. Connexion members were not Anarchists, who are more atomistic and make no pretense of establishing community. Anarchists seek the destruction of order as an end in itself; the disorder is the utopia. Those who embraced the aleatory paradigm saw the destabilisation of ecclesiastical form as merely a necessary stage, the creation of a morass from which God could induce the true millennial order. Thus chaos-induction was not an incidental technique, but integral to the Christian Connexion's 'aleatory' nature.

Aleatory systems are, next, marked by the absence of fixed linear organizational structures at any level. In one sense it is inappropriate to speak of "levels" within the Connexion, as they rejected the authority of any legislative or constitutive body above the local church. Without
referring to distinct tiers, one may speak of randomization being manifested from the broadest through to the narrowest scale. Nonlinear elements may appear at certain levels in otherwise rigidly organized systems, but an aleatory system entails deliberate nonlinearity at all levels.

Although often stereotyped as rigid and inflexible, the nineteenth-century Prussian general staff adopted a circumscribed form of nonlinear structure, allowing local field commanders great degrees of freedom to act according to the needs of the moment, having received in advance only "mission-type orders" instead of detailed plans. A similar type of loose parameter order fueled the success of the American Methodist circuit-riders of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Although answerable to higher authority and possessing little real power to guide the general direction of the denomination, frontier Episcopal Methodist preachers enjoyed considerable local autonomy. The Discipline, Wesley's Sermons and a fixed territorial circuit provided the parameters within which they were to exercise their initiative. Neither of these systems, roughly contemporary with the Christian Connexion, qualify as aleatory systems, because of their rigid overarching linear structures. The Connexion featured nonlinear interrelationship throughout.

Aleatory systems are, third, marked by information's role as an organizing force. In the military, "the ritualized linearity of military drill, discipline, military codes of honor, and tactical formats" is a powerful force for conformity, order and control. A religious system which
rejects the ritualized linearity of creeds, statements of faith, vestments, deference to the clergy and hierarchies must find an alternative means to promote uniformity. Information, circulated through periodicals such as North America's first religious newspaper, The Herald of Gospel Liberty,\textsuperscript{180} rendered yeoman service in maintaining and expanding the Connexion. The function of periodicals in ordering an aleatory 'not-organization' is both to keep members aware of developments as well as the creation and maintenance of consensus in the absence of institutional machinery. Aleatory systems require large inputs of information to avoid collapse into anarchy. Acknowledgement of information's organizational role does not necessitate affirming the self-emergence of order somehow latent within the information. Editors' restriction of the type of information published and their industry in distributing it easily accounts for the information's impact, without appealing to quasi-magical autopoietic power.\textsuperscript{181}

Aleatory systems are marked, last of all, by a positive complement to negative randomizing, an expectation that God will supply order where love is present. This "affective" basis for organization is a crucial concept. It was not simply a matter of the Christian Connexion's being ultracongregationalist, although each congregation was fully autonomous. The seventeenth-century Puritans expressed the immediate Lordship of Jesus Christ\textsuperscript{182} over each congregation in terms verbally similar to the Connexion's slogan of "Jesus Christ the only head of the church." The rest of the Puritans' doctrine, however, was adopted in substance both by New England Congregationalists and Baptists.\textsuperscript{183} As the
Connexion was a reaction specifically against these groups, the similarity of this particular doctrine was not likely substantial, the Connexion holding a different ideal. Again, the Connexion was distinct from Campbell's Disciples, who were also millenarian and ultracongregationalist but not aleatory. The Disciples had no commitment to deliberate randomization and their congregationalism operated from a different premise. Affective intercongregational relationship existed among the Disciples for a negative reason: an inability to find overt reference in the New Testament to anything resembling congregational interdependence. The Connexion had the specific functional goal of substituting affective bonds in place of fixed structure, in hope of inducing the Millennium.

Membership may be perhaps too strong a word to describe the attachment of individuals to the Christian Connexion. Affiliation within an early Christian congregation or conference was, in essence, by "feeling." Anyone present was invited to share in conference deliberations. Unity between aleatory systems was also conceived in affective and personal, rather than juridical and institutional, terms. The sort of affective bonding Elias Smith shared with Virginia Christians in 1811 was no different from the way he believed himself united with his fellow New Englanders. Friction was common between the New York and New England wings within the Eastern Connexion, at times becoming vitriolic, yet interrelationship was somehow maintained. Ties with the West were similarly affective. While it is true that the interregional transfer of personnel was probably limited before 1820, this may be for a number of reasons which would not preclude substantive
intellectual and affective interchange. The affective basis for union and membership at all levels is a key reason why attempts to construct linear representations of the relationship of antecedent, collateral and derivative groups are irrelevant.

The transition of the Christian Connexion from the fringe to the mainstream entailed several theological and organizational shifts. One of the group's most significant organizational anomalies was its original embrace of the 'aleatory' scheme. The eventual compromise of the 'aleatory' model's key elements, culminating in its abandonment, marked an important phase of the Christian Connexion's movement from periphery to centre.
REFERENCES


8 James A. Crain, The Development of Social Ideas Among the Disciples of Christ (St. Louis, Missouri, Bethany Press 1969), p.15

9 Brian F. Boden, "The Disciples and Frontier Religion: The Scottish Baptist Roots of the Restoration Movement in 19th

10 James B. North, Union in Truth: An Interpretive History of the Restoration Movement (Cincinnati, Standard Publishing Co. 1994), pp.1x,57,63

11 North, Union in Truth, p.227. The Southern schismatics were those led by William Guirey. North admits the New Englanders were restorationist, but not part of the "mainstream."

12 North, Union in Truth, pp.63-64,155; cf. pp.xiii,30. North either is unaware of or suppressed evidence to arrive at this interpretation.


15 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, pp.41ff. They did admit William Guirey's split and the links between the (Eastern) Virginia Conference and the rest of the Christian Connexion.

16 cf. Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, pp.40-41. Note the open speculation about the controversy between Plummer and O'Kelly. The Southerners' later sensitivity to charges of Unitarianism is discussed in detail, in Chapter Seven, pp.424ff.

17 E.g. Milo True Morrill, A History of the Christian Denomination in America 1794-1911 A.D. (Dayton, Ohio, Christian Publishing Association 1912), pp.110,115-117. Nicholas Summerbell's attempt to trace all three groups' genesis to 1793 [Nicholas Summerbell, History of the Christian Church, from its Establishment by Christ to A.D. 1871. Including the Rise of the Roman Heresy, all the Popes, the Temporal Power, the Abominations of Popery, and the Reformation, 3rd edition (Cincinnati, The Office of the Christian Pulpit, 1873), pp.515-517] clearly borders on fiction, in keeping with the general tenor of his polemical tome. This dating appears to have been motivated by eschatological considerations [cf. O.J. Wait's dating of the fall of Rome to 1793 in Christian Palladium (hereafter cited as CP) VIII,18 15 January 1840, p.278,cc.1-2].
Written at the time of the Stone-Campbell union, this article may reflect the wishful-thinking of Eastern leadership.


DeGroot, *Disciples Thought*, p.219. He labelled the new movement: "Church of Christ Number Two."


Olbricht, "Connection and Unitarian Relations," p.180


For details of these relationships, see discussions ad loc.


Expressions such as "the straw that broke the camel's back" [Margaret J. Wheatley, *Leadership and the New Science: Learning about Organization from an Orderly Universe* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers 1992), p.125) or the ditty "for want of a nail" [Beaumont, *War, Chaos, and History*, pp.65,107] involve nonlinearity, as does the ancient myth about "cutting the Gordian knot." Phyllis Airhart drew my attention to Wheatley's book.


32 Čambel, pp.xii-xiii, 14, 21 Complexity was originally believed only to occur in the extremely minute (the province of quantum mechanics) or on the grandest scale (the domain of relativistic mechanics), but it now known to occur in systems of any size.

33 Čambel, *Applied Chaos Theory*, p.16; William L. Ditto and Louis M. Pecora, "Mastering Chaos" in *Scientific American*, Vol.269, #2, August 1993, p.78. Moderate advocates of the theory note the complementarity of Chaos/Complexity theory with its Newtonian antecedent. Čambel notes: "The fact that the computer I am writing this manuscript on processes information in accordance with modern physics does not change the fact that the computer itself remains at rest on my desk in accordance with classical physics" [Čambel, *Applied Chaos Theory*, p.21]. A double-jointed pendulum is often used to explain "strange attractors" and "basins of attraction," important Chaos/Complexity concepts. A double-jointed pendulum moves according to Newtonian principles, just as a single-joined pendulum does, but its trajectory moves beyond the linearity of the single-jointed pendulum into unpredictable, chaotic behaviour [Hayles, "Complex Dynamics", p.9].


35 Beaumont, *War, Chaos, and History*, p.11

36 Hayles, "Complex Dynamics", p.12

37 Hayles, "Complex Dynamics", pp.5-6. Beaumont also allows that non-technical factors may have played a role in integrating those elements of Chaos/Complexity which had long been understood [War, Chaos, and History, p.170].

38 Knoespel, "Instability and Narrative Order," p.105


47 Ruthen, "Adapting to Complexity," p. 133


49 Martin, *History as Science*, p. 2


51 Hayles, "Complex Dynamics", p. 20. "One way to understand the connection between literature and science is to see science as a repository of tropes that can be used to illuminate literary texts."

52 Robert Markley, "Representing Order: Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, and Theology in the Newtonian Revolution" in *Chaos and Order: Complex Dynamics in Literature and Science*
53 Čambel, *Applied Chaos Theory*, pp.11,28

54 Čambel, *Applied Chaos Theory*, p.29

55 The sentiment is attributed to Wolfram, cited in Horgan, "From Complexity to Perplexity," p.108


57 Horgan, "From Complexity to Perplexity," p.104


59 Hayles, "Complex Dynamics", p.15. Lewin specifies the impact of the cultural concept of "progress" as the reason for the illegitimate association [Lewin, *Life on the Edge*, p.147].


62 Beaumont notes the unavoidable distortion of strictly defined concepts as they are removed from their native disciplines, such as mathematics or engineering. [Beaumont, *War, Chaos and History*, pp.xiii,170]. One such phenomenon is the Rayleigh-Bénard induction coil [Čambel, *Applied Chaos Theory*, pp.52-53].


64 Ian Chilvers and Harold Osborne, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of Art* (Oxford, Oxford University Press 1988), pp.249-251. Although the original group's name was "Société anonyme des artistes peintres, sculpteurs, graveurs" [p.250], the article is restricted to a discussion of Impressionist painters.


67 Chilvers and Osborne, *Oxford Dictionary*, p.250

68 Steinberg, *Encyclopedia*, p.290

69 Horgan, "From Complexity to Perplexity," p.107

71 Hayles, "Complex Dynamics", pp.13,18. Similarly, Wheatley's talk of "the Principle of Complementarity," "the unifying dance of the great polarities of the universe" or "mythic pairing" sounds suspiciously like the yin and yang of Eastern philosophy or Valentinian Gnosticism rather than 'value-free' science [Wheatley, Leadership and the New Science, p.35,99,125].

72 Wheatley, Leadership and the New Science, p.3; cf. "unseen forces...nonvisible influences" [p.136].

73 Wheatley, Leadership and the New Science, pp.33,45; cf. p.117

74 Wheatley, Leadership and the New Science, pp.39,41,47ff. She also writes of information's ability to defy "the laws of matter and energy" [p.145].

75 Wheatley, Leadership and the New Science, p.51


77 Wheatley, Leadership and the New Science, p.41, emphasis added.

78 Prigogine [cited in Horgan, "From Complexity to Perplexity," p.108] favours such a reenchantment as a potential bridge between the sciences and the humanities.

79 Markley, "Representing Order," p.143

80 Lewin, Life on the Edge, p.193. The Sante Fe Institute is one of the major centres for cross-disciplinary research into elements of Chaos/Complexity theory.

81 Lewin, Life on the Edge, pp.24,128,180-181,189

82 An unusual occurrence during the research for this thesis may help illustrate. While on a research trip to Boston, the writer came across two newspaper articles on same day, the second of which clearly plagiarized the first. If one had known that both articles existed, one could have searched for days without finding them. The likelihood of discovering them the same morning is slim. There are several ways one might choose to interpret this unusual find: the result of random chance; providence; an inherent order within the material which sought to express itself. If one approaches the documents using good historiographical method, however, it does not matter what one believes. The analysis of the relationship and significance of the documents should be the
same regardless of underlying belief.

83 Horgan, "From Complexity to Perplexity," p.108

84 Cf. "Analogy," in John Murray, et al., eds., Oxford English Dictionary, Vol.I, P-Z (Oxford, Oxford University Press 1971), "A," p.304. An example is just as birds' and bats' wings are analogous, but of different essence. This example could be extended to include aircraft wings, which are of a different essence than birds' or bats', but functionally similar.

85 Hayles, "Complex Dynamics," p.18

86 Hayles, "Complex Dynamics," pp.15,19

87 Cambel, Applied Chaos Theory, pp.50-51. He lists three: Education, Engineering and Leadership parameters.

88 Cambel, Applied Chaos Theory, p.52

89 Martin, History as Science, p.12

90 Wheatley, Leadership and the New Science, p.141

91 Cited in Martin, History as Science, p.28

92 This will be similar to Patrick Baker's analogical use 'entropy' to facilitate his analysis of socio-economic developments in Dominica [cf. Baker, Centring the Periphery, passim, but particularly Chapter One].

93 Horgan, "From Complexity to Perplexity," p.106); Cambel affirms that much work remains to be done [Applied Chaos Theory, p.172]; Lewin, Life on the Edge, p.113

94 Cambel, Applied Chaos Theory, p.3

95 Cambel, Applied Chaos Theory, pp.xi,2

96 Concepts passed over include entropy, fractals, fuzzy logic, self-similarity and strange attractors. While these concepts are related to varying degrees to nonlinearity and self-emergent order, and discussion might prove illuminating, elucidation of these concepts is not essential to a definition of 'aleatory.'

It should be noted that this is not the only order in which the items could be presented. In a more lengthy discussion, "far-from-equilibrium," information, unpredictability and "sensitivity to initial conditions" would each be discussed under separate headings. The fluid relationship between the various elements reveals the frustratingly elegant nature of Chaos/Complexity theory, which allows one to select different points of departure for discussion of the same basic material.

Furthermore, Baker's contribution to the use of
Chaos/Complexity theory in the humanities was to combine this concept with dependency theory to analyse social development on the Caribbean island of Dominica: "These [Chaos/Complexity theory] ideas will be drawn on in reworking the dependency theorists' concepts of centre and periphery to produce a diachronic analysis of Dominican society" [Baker, Centring the Periphery, p.6]. This thesis intends to break new ground, rather than duplicating, or at least reapplying in a different context, Baker's work.

97 Hayles, "Complex Dynamics", p.1; Cambel, Applied Chaos Theory, pp.8, 16

98 A terse definition of sensitivity to initial conditions is "the propensity...of systems to change properties far out of proportion to the scale of forces changing their original state" [Beaumont, War, Chaos, and History, p.xiv].

99 Cambel, Applied Chaos Theory, p.194

100 Poincaré, in his seminal 1880 paper, isolated this concept as a major source of unpredictability in dynamic systems [Cambel, Applied Chaos Theory, pp.21-22, 63].

101 Beaumont, War, Chaos, and History, p.3; Lewin, Life on the Edge, p.11

102 Hayles, "Complex Dynamics", p.15. It should be noted that Wheatley invests this concept with semi-magic properties [Wheatley, Leadership and the New Science, pp.126-127].

103 Cambel, Applied Chaos Theory, pp.13, 16

104 Beaumont, War, Chaos, and History, p.3

105 Alan A. Brown and Egon Neuberger, Transformation Theory: Catastrophe, Chaos, and Entropy: Application to Reforms in Centrally Planned Economies (Toronto, Department of Economics, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute 1990), p.33

106 Cambel, Applied Chaos Theory, p.8. Of course, the introduction of randomness increases uncertainty [p.205].

107 Cambel, Applied Chaos Theory, p.2

108 The solution to an apparently "simple" mathematical puzzle, the question of the minimum number of guests one would have to invite to a party to ensure everyone present had four mutual acquaintances and five mutual strangers, took the equivalent of eleven years' computing time for the average desktop machine of 1993. Cf. Horgan, "The Death of Proof," p.101

109 The obstacle of intractability is not one which technology can surmount. The so-called "universal Turing machine," a
mental construct of a computer with infinite computing capabilities is a physical impossibility [Joseph F. Traub and Henryk Wozniakowski, "Breaking Intractability" in Scientific American, Vol. 270, #1, January 1994, pp. 102, 104; cf. Lewin, Life on the Edge, p. 27; Ruthen, "Adapting to Complexity," p. 134]. There are absolute limits to computation, even if every molecule in the universe were a computing cell. Aside from the problem of the exhaustion of computational resources, some questions could literally require lifetimes in order to process a solution, which would still be beyond any one person's ability to comprehend [Horgan, "From Complexity," p. 108; Ruthen, "Adapting to Complexity," p. 134].

110 Lewin, Life on the Edge, p. 11; cf. Baker, Centring the Periphery, p. 10; Cambel, Applied Chaos Theory, p. 206

111 Cambel, Applied Chaos Theory, pp. 48-49. He makes specific reference to the multi-factoral causation of social unrest.

112 Wheatley, Leadership and the New Science, p. 125

113 Beaumont, War, Chaos, and History, p. 98

114 Beaumont, War, Chaos, and History, p. 168

115 Beaumont, War, Chaos, and History, p. 165

116 Beaumont's third chapter [War, Chaos, and History, pp. 47ff.] is an examination of the problems created by the linear projection of only one factor during the design of military hardware. Cambel [Applied Chaos Theory, p. 171] reflects upon the miscalculation of the cost to generate nuclear power which resulted from a linear projection of a single factor.

117 John Horgan, "The Death of Proof," p. 93. Horgan writes about the growing uncertainty among mathematicians induced by the increasing complexity of formal proofs. Mathematician William P. Thurston, reacting to Horgan's article, argues that the "death" of proof is an exaggeration [Letter to editor, Scientific American, Vol. 270, #1, January 1994, p. 9]. Others note that computational intractability stands in the way of absolute proofs of complicated questions [Traub and Wozniakowski, "Breaking Intractability," p. 105]. Some questions may actually prove "unanswerable" [Traub and Wozniakowski, p. 107]. This problem is amplified when dealing with chaotic systems, where sensitivity to initial conditions is important. Even where all initial conditions are specifiable, it may prove impossible to reduce them to a digital form which the computer could handle [Traub and Wozniakowski, p. 108]. The philosopher Naomi Oreskes argues that even if absolute proof remains possible in "closed" systems such as mathematics, only approximate proofs are possible in natural systems, which are "open" systems [Horgan, "From Complexity to Perplexity," p. 107]. Complexity may help
define the limits of the knowable [Horgan, p.108].

118 Baker, *Centring the Periphery*, pp.9-10. It has been said that "Complex systems are dynamic and not in equilibrium; they are like a journey, not a destination" [Çambel, *Applied Chaos Theory*, p.4].

119 Çambel, *Applied Chaos Theory*, pp.15,47-48

120 Çambel, *Applied Chaos Theory*, p.15

121 Eric Charles White, "Negentropy, Noise, and Emancipatory Thought" in *Chaos and Order: Complex Dynamics in Literature and Science* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1991), p.264. This reversal of the Second Law may also be expressed as a local reduction of entropy. Yet another term for the alleged process of self-emergent order is negative entropy, or "negentropy."

122 Bak and Chen, "Self-Organized Criticality," p.46,c.2

123 Hayles, "Complex Dynamics", p.12


125 Lewin, *Life on the Edge*, pp.1-10,17-22,70,192-193. This culture has also been studied thoroughly from more traditional perspectives (e.g. Stephen H. Lekson, Thomas C. Windes, John R. Stein, and W. James Justice, "The Chaco Canyon Community," *Scientific American*, July 1988).

126 Lewin, *Life on the Edge*, pp.23-25; Stuart A. Kauffmann, "Antichaos and Adaptation" in *Scientific American*, Vol. 265, #2, August 1991, p.78,c.1; Horgan, "From Complexity to Perplexity," p.108. Lewin, Kauffman and Horgan each make the point that the number of happenstances necessary to result in all the steps involved in Darwinian evolution renders that theory statistically improbale.

127 Lewin, *Life on the Edge*, p.72

128 Lewin, *Life on the Edge*, p.40


130 Horgan, "From Complexity to Perplexity," p.108

131 Horgan, "From Complexity to Perplexity," p.108. Another critic suggests that proponents of self-organized criticality are merely "permitting chance to acquire a meaning *a posteriori*"
[Paulson, "Literature, Complexity, and Interdisciplinarity," p.41].

132 Hayles, "Complex Dynamics", p.6

133 Hayles, "Complex Dynamics", p.6, cf. p.1

134 Lewin, Life on the Edge, p.14

135 Lewin, Life on the Edge, p.26,137; Wheatley, Leadership and the New Science, pp.19,97


137 Lewin, Life on the Edge, pp.170,175. Radical complexologists apparently have not propounded a precise and accurate means to measure either the "I.Q." of individual ants or that of an entire ant-hill.

138 Lewin, Life on the Edge, pp.114,128,191-192

139 Wheatley, Leadership and the New Science, p.17

140 Wheatley, Leadership and the New Science, pp.96,115

141 Beaumont, War, Chaos, and History, p.85. A particular example is the inability of "hi-tech" communications to prevent so-called "friendly fire" incidents (i.e. combatants unintentionally firing upon members of the same army during the confusion of pitched battle) during the Gulf War [p.177].

142 Baker, Centring the Periphery, p.78

143 White, "Negentropy," p.275

144 Horgan, "Death of Proof," p.104. cf. p.99: "...veteran computer enthusiasts know better than most that computational experiments...can be deceiving." Note the title of Lewin's fifth chapter, "Life in a Computer" [Life at the Edge, p.84]. It is also noteworthy that Lewin's rebuttal of Oxford University ecologist Robert May's criticism of Chaos/Complexity's overreliance on simplistic computer-simulation is merely ad hominem criticism of May's "arrogance" [Life at the Edge, p.184, cf. pp.118,123].


146 Cambel, Applied Chaos Theory, p.23; Bak and Chen, "Self-Organized Criticality," p.46,c.2; Ruthen, "Adapting to Complexity," pp.132,134. Those normally opposed to reductionism, such as Lewin, Life on the Edge, who notes that understanding water's atomic structure gives no clue why it goes down a drain in a vortex [Lewin, Life on the Edge, p.35],
do not seem to grasp that simplified computer models reintroduce reductionism.

147 Čambel, *Applied Chaos Theory*, p.171

148 Ruthen, "Adapting to Complexity," pp.132-133

149 Horgan, "Death of Proof," p.99. Computers can only deal with integers, and directly only in binary terms, as "0"s and "1"s.

150 Wheatley, *Leadership and the New Science*, p.130. One critic spoke of such research as being "infected with mathematics" [Horgan, "From Complexity to Perplexity," p.105]."

151 As Jane Jacobs notes, many may encounter the same problem without innovating; "the logic of the process is supplied by the person who is adding the new work" [Jane Jacobs, *The Economy of Cities* (New York, Random House 1969), p.60].

152 Kenny, *Perfect Law*, pp.10,19

153 For a discussion of the makeup of the "mainline" or "mainstream," cf. Introduction, pp.6-7.

154 Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy, the Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York; Methuen 1982), p.2

155 One study indicates that only 106 languages have produced "literature," of which only 78 are presently in use [Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, p.7]. There is no indication what percentage of the total number of languages the 106 literary tongues represent.

156 Marini, *Radical Sects*, p.82

157 Marini, *Radical Sects*, p.102

158 Wheatley, *Leadership and the New Science*, p.21

159 Markley, "Representing Order," p.142

160 Marini, *Radical Sects*, p.23. In contrast, revolutionary thinking had led to new patterns of troop deployment by the War of 1812. Beaumont draws attention to the defeat of the linearly-deployed British troops at the hands of nonlinear, guerilla-style Americans forces at New Orleans [Beaumont, *War, Chaos, and History*, p.5].

161 HGL 1,23 7 July 1809, p.91,c.2: "It is a part of British government received in America." The article appeared just after the Fourth of July. Three years later, he characterized the Methodist episcopacy as a threat to American liberty [HGL 4,19 8 May 1812, p.388,c.2].
162 Only O'Kelly actually served in the militia [Morrill, History, p.17; Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.4]. Both Smith, who was a mere child [Kenny, Perfect Law, pp.35-36] and Stone [John Rogers, ed., The Biography of Eld. Barton Warren Stone, Written by Himself: with additions and reflections (Cincinnati, For the Author by J.A. and U.P. James 1847; reprinted New York, Arno Press 1972), pp.2-3] were merely exposed to the effects of the Revolutionary War. All three, however, developed a profound antipathy to all things British.

163 Marini, Radical Sects, p.23

164 Cambel notes that complex behaviour may exist in relatively simple systems [Applied Chaos Theory, p.20].

165 This is not a Chaos/Complexity technical term. Although coined for the occasion, 'not-organized' summarizes succinctly some of the insights from the theory.


167 Cambel, Applied Chaos Theory, pp.xi,2

168 The French "Impressionist" painters may have been a secular aleatory group. Far from being a distinct, rigid school, they were a collection of individuals, some of whom merely had an Impressionist phase. They formed in reaction to the Salon's refusal to show their works: an attempt to destabilize a rigid, authoritarian system. No one technique is found in the work of all members of the group. Manet, an important member of the group, never once exhibited a painting in an Impressionist show [Chilvers and Osborne, "Impressionism," pp.249-250].

169 Wheatley, Leadership and the New Science, pp.17,26,44,78

170 It is interesting that the Christian Connexion, which acted upon a rejection of Newtonian organization, and Wheatley, who questions the viability of Newtonian organization, both share an optimistic view of nature [cf. Wheatley, Leadership and the New Science, p.105].

171 See discussion ad loc. Cf. Marini, Radical Sects, p.188. At least one Freewill Baptist congregation selected officers by lot. There is no evidence to date of this practice in Christian Connexion, but the paucity of information precludes settling the question.

172 Beaumont, War, Chaos, and History, p.94
173 Beaumont, *War, Chaos, and History*, p.93

174 Beaumont, *War, Chaos, and History*, p.10

175 Personal recollection of the agenda of the anarchist "Weathermen" of the 1960s and 1970s is that destruction of order was their primary goal. Such destruction was not an instrument to bring into being a 'not-order' situation from which some other form of order could evolve, but a self-contained desideratum.

176 The principle is *Selbstandigkeit*, independence of initiative [Beaumont, *War, Chaos, and History*, p.9].

177 "Auftragsbefehl" Beaumont, *War, Chaos, and History*, pp.8,79

178 The Chinese Rites Controversy of the early seventeenth century also involved the exercise of nonlinear local autonomy by Jesuit missionaries. They had virtually free-hands in the field, but still answered to the papacy.

179 Beaumont, *War, Chaos, and History*, p.81,96


183 Garrison and DeGroot, *Disciples of Christ*, p.73. The Congregationalists adopted a revised version of Savoy as the Saybrook Declaration, while the Baptists affirmed the Philadelphia Confession, itself derived from the Particular Baptists' Second London Confession, which was a revision of the Savoy Declaration [C. Mark Steinacher, "The Puritans and the 'Believers' Church' Model: A Consideration of Some Documentary Evidence," an unpublished course paper (TSH 6532S: The Radical Reformation) prepared for Professor Rodney Sawatsky, 1993].

184 See discussion *ad loc.* in Chapter Two, pp.119-120.
CHAPTER TWO:
Creating an Aleatory Folk: The Christian Connexion, 1792-1818

Introduction

A brief overview of the genesis of each regional movement is followed by a discussion of the flow of personnel between those groups. Next is an examination of elements which indicate their 'aleatory' ecclesiology: deliberate randomization of the existing religious system; an indistinct, nonlinear substitute system of governance, which emphasizes personal autonomy (e.g. the absence of formal structure beyond the congregation and the rejection of internal congregation form and a number of corollaries of it); the role of periodicals in fostering interregional connectivity; inculcation of nonlinear, affective relationships.

The next major set of questions treated deal with the degree to which the Connexion may rightly be called "restorationist:" the balance of "restoration" versus "unity;" the New Testament's absolute normativity not merely for doctrinal content, but also for theological vocabulary; the import of defining all other Christian groups as "Babylon;" the place of dreams, impressions, portent observation; using the concept "liberty" and the Pelagian-like theological anthropology to explore the interrelationship of the attitudes toward politics, millennialism and structure.

The Connexion's relationships with other denominations will be surveyed. This will be followed by an investigation of tenets, atypical for their day, which were commonly accepted by the Connexion's members, particularly antitrinitarianism. The chapter will close with a perusal of
initial indications of the instability of the 'aleatory' paradigm and the movement's first probes toward a more conventional ecclesiology.

The Emergence of the Early Christian Movements

The earliest 'Christian' movement took shape in Virginia, led by James O'Kelly, a Methodist Episcopal Presiding Elder. Concerns about episcopal power came to a head at the 1792 Methodist General Conference. The following spring O'Kelly and others formed a "Republican Methodist" conference. When this group met again in 1794, Rice Haggard suggested that they forswear all denominational names, simply calling themselves a "Christian" conference. The group attracted significant numbers of Episcopal Methodists in Virginia and the Carolinas and gradually expanded into parts of Georgia and Alabama. In 1810, shortly after coming into contact with the New England movement, the Southern wing split. The key issue was baptism: O'Kelly favoured infant baptism, by pouring; William Guirey touted adult immersion. Guirey was willing to tolerate paedobaptists, but O'Kelly was not as indulgent. The immersionists founded the Virginia Christian Conference, which maintained close ties with the Eastern group during this era.

The Western 'Christians' (i.e. those arising in Kentucky, Ohio and Tennessee) were predominantly Presbyterians. A small coterie of preachers, impressed by a practical display of Christian unity during the Great Cane Ridge Revival of 1801, began to question the formal organization which they believed hampered unity. Matters came to a head when Richard McNemar was charged with heresy for preaching that Christ had not died
solely for the elect. Other dissenters, realizing that they might suffer the same fate, withdrew in the fall of 1803 to form the independent Springfield Presbytery. These 15 churches in Kentucky and Ohio, for reasons discussed below, in June 1804 voted to dissolve the Presbytery. Rice Haggard was present and repeated his suggestion that the only proper name for believers was "Christian;" the Westerners also eschewed all other labels. In the summer of 1805, two of the six who had signed The Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery embraced Shakerism. By 1811, two other signatories of The Last Will had returned to Presbyterianism. The Christians, under Barton Stone's leadership, survived these challenges and grew rapidly in the Mid-West and upper South.

A number of Baptist preachers in New England came to similar anti-Calvinist conclusions around the same time. Abner Jones led the first secession at Lyndon, Vermont in 1801. Elias Smith began preaching in 1802 that "Christian" was the only appropriate name for believers and formed a church in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. A "Christian conference" was held in 1802 but this attempt at formal organization sputtered out only five years later. Early growth was slow, mainly at the Baptists' expense. The movement gradually spread along the coast into the District of Maine, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and north into Vermont. The Connexion entered what became the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada before the outbreak of the War of 1812 and into eastern New York state around the same time. Itinerants penetrated the western reaches of New York shortly after the War. Churches also formed in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. This wing did not
suffer schism during this period.

Isolated groups which had come to similar conclusions associated with the larger wings.\(^1\) Jonathan Foster of Virginia stresses the independent arrival at "Christian the only name" by many in the South.\(^2\) Guirey explicitly stated that workers "in Virginia, &[sic] in the lower part of North Carolina, and in S. Carolina, in Kentucky, and in Philadelphia...were entirely ignorant of each other" at first, but that they united their efforts once they discovered each other.\(^3\) Southerner Robert Punshon introduced an independent group of German-speaking restorationists in Pennsylvania to Smith.\(^4\)

Several smaller groups in the West came into closer connection with either Stone's or Smith's branch. A group of former Separate Baptists in Fleming County, Kentucky entered the Connexion's sphere after making contact by means of the \textit{Herald of Gospel Liberty}.\(^5\) So did a group of "Free Communion Baptized Ministers" in Pennsylvania and New York.\(^6\) Writing to the \textit{Herald} from New York City, Abel Sarjent stated he was from the West, where he had for several years been "in the same kind of contest."

Within New England, Ephraim Stinchfield reported a former Calvinistic Baptist congregation in Bowdoin, Maine affiliated because it shared the Connexion's convictions. They had, quite independently, rejected all names but "Christian" and all rules but the Bible.\(^7\) Badger's biographer, however, portrayed him as having derived his "Christian" beliefs independently.\(^8\) To the convinced this convergence of thought seemed miraculous, a work of the Holy Spirit.\(^9\) It is not surprising to the historian, given the general social,
religious and political ferment of the era, that similar conditions led folk to make similar deductions.

Aleatory Interrelationships

The mode in which the Connexion's congregations related to each other, both within regions and between regions, has perplexed scholars. Milo Morrill, the Connexion's historian, seems baffled by the lack of denominational spirit and the slowness with which denominational consciousness developed. His comments are worthy of scrutiny: "Churches had no defined relations with each other and no prescribed methods for co-operation. All associations had been purely voluntary and thoroughly independent." His first sentence drives to the heart of the matter, identifying relations as more than anarchic, yet not formally defined. Historians must attempt to grasp and describe these indeterminate connections.

Morrill's second sentence reveals the challenge of attempting to resolve the problem with an inappropriate mental construct. His logic is both linear and digital. Having established that relationships exist, he must assign the Connexion's structure to a category, hierarchical or independent. This thesis contends for another option, in which alliances are real yet indeterminate, in which autonomous congregations are vitally interconnected. Nathan Hatch comes closer, but lumps Francis Asbury, Stone and Smith in the same category of non-organization, a revolt against "static religious forms." The feature thus accented is 'nonlinear' local command, the ecclesiastical equivalent of the Prussian army's "mission-type-orders." Yet detailed
comparison betrays profound differences. Asbury exhibited a strong centralizing tendency, insisting upon 'linear' national command structures. It was against these controls that O'Kelly rebelled, creating within his movement an atmosphere similar to that of Stone's and Smith's. The three movements resembled each other because each was 'aleatory.'

A key 'aleatory' feature is nonlinearity. A group functioning under the 'aleatory' scheme has no hierarchy external to, and minimal or nonexistent lines of authority or procedures for the exercise of power within, the local congregation. They are thus radically egalitarian, with pronounced levelling tendencies usually in evidence. Hatch is aware of this element:

By appealing to abstract principles such as the Bible alone and the ancient order of things, Christian churches were constructing roofs over their heads. But they lacked the ecclesiastical walls of liturgy, governance, theology, and instruction that are normative in a given church tradition."

He too assumes that linear organization is not optional, while recognizing that the Connexion attempted to function nonlinearly.

Aleatory systems contain components intended to break down existing linear order, randomizing elements. The "walls" of which Hatch speaks were anathema to the Connexion. Rigid denominational arrays, perceived as disrupting the Holy Spirit's unpredictable workings, were to be dislocated by means of randomizing techniques. These included irregular management of finances, unscheduled itinerancy, or belief in the revelatory power of erratic phenomena such as dreams or impressions. God was expected to evoke new order from the intentionally created disorder by means of "love," hence the
affective rather than juridical basis for relationships. Aleatory religious associations may foster strong eschatological urges. Randomization and nonlinearity were not prized for their own sake, but for their supposed utility to advance the Connexion's goal of inducing the ultimate new order, the millennial kingdom.

From its inception, the "Christian" movement in the South exhibited 'aleatory' characteristics. O'Kelly described the 1794 Surry County throng as "cordially renouncing all human institutions in the church, as being a species of Popery." The shift away from formal, linear organization, exemplified in the renunciation of all distinctive denominational designations, was too radical for some of the preachers, who seceded from the secession to remain as continuing "Republican Methodists." The "Christians," determined never again to submit to mere human rules, allegedly burned all conference minutes at the rise of the session, in order to obviate the establishment of extra-biblical precedents." O'Kelly's primitivism had a strong levelling tendency, evinced by insistence upon the right of individual interpretation of Scripture. Robert Punshon summed up matters succinctly: no formal constitution existed by which they cohered as a distinct entity, but "we were united only by the bond of love, on the precious word of God." It was the nebulous view of membership which attracted the youthful Joseph Thomas to the Christians in 1806. There was no formal machinery to recognize associates; those who adopted the basic Christian principles where simply "esteemed as being in the Christian Church." The open-ended, nonlinear
nature of the Southern Christians' understanding of unity emerges from Thomas' description of an 1807 general meeting in North Carolina. Neophyte preachers came not seeking credentials, but merely "to join the general union of the Church of God." Thomas highlighted this open-ended concept of unity, noting that the only condition for membership was giving evidence of being "born-again." A person "received into full fellowship" was not "a member of a particular sect or party," bound "from uniting with all the children of God" by human regulations. The Christians' goal was not to create a new denomination, but rather to replace denominations with a partitionless Christendom in which "party would dissolve, and...all the children of God...walk together in love and union; have one name and worship one God." With a turn of phrase reminiscent of The Last Will, he later lauded the expressed intentions of a group of Delaware Methodists "to fall into a greater union" with Christians in general.

The Christian movement which arose in the West also displayed aleatory attributes. The rise and demise of the Springfield Presbytery over a few months in 1803-1804 has puzzled historians who assume that linear organization is normal and indispensable. Winfred Garrison and Alfred DeGroot observe that "[t]here is no account of any actual organization" and appear to be mystified by the "very slow" development of organization in following years. An entity with no officers and no list of the churches represented, the Springfield Presbytery appears to them to have been a loose gathering of independent Presbyterian churches with reformist urges, rather than an ecclesiastical body. Yet those who
penned *The Last Will and Testament of the Springfield Presbytery* lamented that there were "weak brethren" who were prone to make even this minimalist organization "their king" in place of the lordship of Christ, so that it had to be "dissolved." In the Presbytery's wake lay not anarchy, but a peculiar form of organization.

The nascent 'aleatory' traits are revealed in the language of *The Last Will* and allied documents. *The Last Will*'s most arresting phrase describes an intention to "sink into union with the Body of Christ at large." The image of all believers united without boundaries or distinctions built upon the signatories' experience of unity during the Great Revival, when Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist preachers had proclaimed the same barebones evangel. Robert Marshall, defending the actions of the seceders, asserted that "true religion consists mainly in a feeling sense of divine truth," so that when believers focus on "the simple truths of the Gospel" love and zeal will invariably unite them. No matter how prevalent love might be, the "Witnesses" declared that no formal organization, even the Presbytery, had biblical precedent and so stood in the way of true union. The eradication of all delegated ecclesiastical bodies, a demand repeated three times in *The Last Will*, was a key means to effect affective assimilation. The substitution of "practical religion" in the place of creeds was also essential. According to John Thompson, creeds were inherently disunitive, indicative of an unspiritual tendency to rely on system rather than piety to maintain uniformity.

The goal of paring away human customs and embracing
affective union was to create conditions in which God was free to induce a uniquely spiritual order. Millennialist hopes were underscored by a call to observe the "signs of the times." The Western movement also manifested a levelling tendency, renouncing the honorific title "Reverend."

Candidates for ministry could be tried by a local church in terms of faith, consistency of life and gifting, but otherwise a preacher's only "license" was that obtained from a sense of call. Those operating with such levelling, eschatological expectations had no need of lists to identify themselves to each other, for they were united by affection. Nor could they compile lists to identify themselves to those outside their circle, because such lists would betray the system's 'nonlinear' essence by bowing to the outsiders' expectations of formal organization.

In 1811 David Purviance published a pamphlet which contained his mature theological reflection on his concept of the nature of the church and its government, an essentially 'aleatory' vision which had survived two major challenges in the seven-year interim, the disillusioning loss of John Dunlavy to the Shakers in 1805 and Marshall and Thompson's return to Presbyterianism. Purviance did not believe that mere negative attack on "human systems and party names" could bring unity, but that the cultivation of "fervent charity and undissembled love" almost invariably caused believers to "overleap all human walls, crying, union, union, with all the lovers of Jesus," as they refused to "be confined to sect or party." His seemingly guileless solution to division was to "walk in love, cultivate the spirit of unity, and let Jesus
manage the affairs of his own kingdom." He was not a mere iconoclast, despite his call to supersede denominationalism, but a visionary expecting order to emerge from the subsequent randomness, if folk would "let Jesus manage" the kingdom's affairs. What Purviance expected, to use the language Chaos/Complexity theory, might be described as a mythologized version of self-emergent order: God-emergent order. More than anarchy, less than traditional linear ecclesiology, this God-emergent order could be achieved only by dismantling all formal organization. From the disarray God would bring order by means of "LOVE," the summary of Purviance's religion, upon which he believed all Christians could agree."

Purviance elaborated the ecclesiological implications of his 'aleatory' vision. Churches had at least four duties: receiving members; disciplining members; commissioning preachers; supporting preachers." The categories in themselves were unexceptional, but his explication was. The crucial issue concerning the reception of members was an expectation that theology could differ significantly among those who were otherwise unified, if an apostolic spirit prevailed." It is more important that believers "flow together in love" through God's Holy Spirit than that they agree on theological minutiae." The pneumatic emphasis undergirded Purviance's comments on discipline, which must be undertaken in "the spirit of meekness and love" if it is to be beneficial." The church might err using God's perfect standard, the Bible, but it is almost certain to err if it uses imperfect human guides such as creeds. His comments on the commissioning of preachers most likely reflect the
movement's reaction to the Shakers. Marshall and Thompson apparently solved the problem by returning to the well-defined Presbyterian system. Purviance turned to the New Testament, culling instructions about the laying on of hands and apparent references to the use of letters of commendation, rather than abandoning the 'aleatory' experiment. His fourth point deals with what he perceived to be a lack of balance. Members had overreacted to "mercenary business" arrangements between congregations and preachers, allowing their provision for preachers' needs to descend into anarchy. Purviance suggested a medial ground, giving with a generous spirit.

The meeting of any early New England Christian conference, Fernald later recalled, was never "an Ecclesiastical court, but a Christian school." The New England leaders intended that the affective union of Christians be in direct contrast to the formal amalgamations of associations which were then termed "union." The limitations of human organization were belittled as the predictable byproduct of the vagaries of the human mind's operations, no more controllable than the weather.

Even formal associations of ministers were suspect. "General meetings" were intended "to increase our union and knowledge of each other mutually." Those gathering at a Quarterly Meeting in 1810 did all their church business locally beforehand, so that the larger gathering was purely for fellowship." The 1,500 people said to have attended a similar meeting at Bradford, Vermont began their meeting with "singing, exhortation and praying," shifted to hearing testimonies, then heard more preaching and singing. The next
day included yet more preaching, reception of three ministers already ordained by another denomination, then a baptism. The report summed up the meeting as "promoting union...increasing knowledge" and pointing sinners to God. The union thus portrayed was far from concrete, one which reflected union first of all with God and truth, more like the convergence of "drops of water."

Affective, nonlinear bonds also forged links between regions, not just within regions. Smith, in an article in which he claimed that the 'Christians' were a revival of an ancient biblical sect, listed 18 states where 'Christians' allegedly were "one." His implicit claim was that they were, in some affective way, indeed united. An incident in 1811 provided Smith with a fitting picture of affective union. Walking through Philadelphia, he had met a black "barrowman," a day-labourer seeking work. On the side of his wheelbarrow the man had painted: "United with all Religious Societies in America." Smith stopped to discuss the slogan and soon discovered that it was irrelevant to the barrowman whether others accepted him as readily. God was no respecter of persons, he explained, so that all who were accepted by God must be accepted by him. His duty was to ensure that there were no barriers on his part which would keep others from uniting with him when they also came to realize this truth. This story summed up Smith's belief that a "feeling" of union was a key criterion for unity; one could feel united to all, even if they might not agree in detail.

The most prominent example of interregional affective union was that of a portion of the Southern wing with the New
Englanders. Initial contact was made in 1808 by Robert Punshon, a Southerner ministering in Philadelphia. He had recently come across one of Smith's books and the Herald's first issue. Seeing that Smith was already aware of the Kentucky movement, he decided to inform Smith of the older Southern movement. The next two issues of the Herald included letters from Virginia, the second of which, from William Lamphier, raised the prospect of mutual recognition. Guirey then wrote suggesting union might be possible if the New England group had no tinges of episcopacy or Calvinism.

Smith's response drew from the Old Testament book of Nehemiah. He alluded to its third chapter, in which sections of the wall were rebuilt by those living nearby. As each section was built, it was incorporated into the greater project. Likewise, Christians in New England and in the South had laboured in ignorance of each other but now those parts of the restored church were ready to join in "Christian Union."

Enthusiastic letters from the South were soon followed by a more formal "Overture for Union." They espoused an affective, rather than forensic, vision of union. Constitutions are void as rules for church government, they insisted, "wresting the government from his shoulder, and belittling the Holy Scriptures." They destroy true union, which results only from "faith, holiness, and love." Written documents also undermined the right of "private judgment." Guirey soon after took up the city walls image from Nehemiah. Fellowship between the two branches of Christians would be an extension of the integration already achieved within the South without resort to constitutions, articles of faith, creeds or
disciplines, which he despised as fully as Smith. Both
expressed an aversion to the creation of a general
constitution to link them and would not have tolerated such a
formal move. In the summer of 1810, Smith proposed a meeting
between New England and the South, in order to become better
acquainted and to spread "useful knowledge." This nebulous
unity of affection and information, although not organic
fusion, was as real as it was vague.

The "walls" image lay dormant until Smith reported on his
1811 foray into Virginia. He now turned to the end of
chapter six and beginning of chapter seven of Nehemiah, which
relate the completion of the walls. He stated that he
believed that while the walls were indeed in place, it
remained to erect the gates of union. Smith seems to have
believed that the mere public statement of acceptance of each
other in spirit, signified by the exchange of the right hand
of fellowship, was the sole requirement for the inauguration
of union. Practical details remained to be settled, but they
had created the framework for doing so. Smith's use of the
"walls" imagery clearly indicates that he did not believe the
regional Christian groups were perfectly united. Yet he
realized that there existed a fundamental unity of vision and
purpose. A common hatred of all conventional organizations
renders it inappropriate to remark that there was no formal
organizational union of these two groups as neither Smith nor
his colleagues ever contemplated such. They perceived an
imperfect but growing affective unity which displaced formal
organization as New Testament belief was restored.
Personnel Links between Regions

The interregional interchange of people delineates concrete links, even if the groups were not "unified" in any official sense. From the earliest days, preachers circulated between the Southern and Western branches. Stone noted three elders coming from the O'Kelly wing." Two of them exerted a profound influence in shaping the nascent western body. Haggard suggested "Christian" as the sole moniker." Clement Nance, celebrated as founder of the cause in Indiana," was a 'late' O'Kellyite, not leaving the Episcopal Methodists until 1800, over the issue of Local Preachers' rights." Writing to the Herald in 1812, Nance claimed first to have heard of Smith through some of Frederick Plummer's Virginia converts." Nance had embraced baptism by immersion," removing an obstacle to fellowship that Smith encountered with some 'O'Kellyites.' The pseudonymous "IMPRIMATUR," dating his letter from Nance's Indiana home, spoke highly of the shared convictions of the three groups." These two letters present a remarkable snapshot of affective bonds: a Southerner in Western territory welcoming a New Englander.

A letter from Joel H. Haden, also published in the Herald, further epitomizes the open-ended, affective, regional interconnectivity which existed in the early period." Links may appear insignificant because they were limited and ephemeral, but links in an 'aleatory' system are necessarily impermanent and weak. Converted in the South before O'Kelly and Guirey parted ways, Haden began a two-year western tour in the fall of 1810." Staying long enough to feel part of that branch, he clearly identified himself as one of the majority
who opposed Marshall, Thompson and Andrews when they returned to the Presbyterians." He reported that the Westerners were part of the grand 'Christian' movement. During his 1810 tour of the West, Joseph Thomas (the "White Pilgrim") met Haden in West Tennessee." Haden first became acquainted with the New England movement in mid-1811, when John P. Thomas, the Frankfort, Kentucky agent for the Herald, sent him a copy."

Several Eastern Connexion preachers conducted preaching tours in the South, the first known to do so being Frederick Plummer. In 1810 he made two tours to Virginia," during which he immersed Punshon, the pastor at Philadelphia." Smith later replaced Punshon and moved the Herald there in July 1811." The church was the node around which a conference, firmly in the Eastern orbit, eventually developed. Smith used his Philadelphia base to reach into upper Virginia." At a fall 1812 general meeting in Woodstock, Vermont, a "Br. H. Martin" was encouraged to tour Virginia." John Gray undertook extensive excursions in 1812," 1813 and 1814."

The flow of people was predominantly westerly," in keeping with general demographic trends, but the trail between these regions was a two-way street for ministers." Writers from both South and West independently record westerner Reuben Dooly's tours of Virginia between 1807 and 1810." Joseph Thomas welcomed Dooly and another unnamed western preacher, introducing them to churches and leaving them touring the circuit which he had formerly served.

The Rejection of Internal Congregational Form

Some may object that what is depicted as an 'aleatory'
system is nothing more than congregationalism under a novel label. The latter, however, entails drawing clear lines around the limits of the congregation. Fixed lines of authority usually exist within the group's confines, with membership conditions generally stated concisely. No one beyond that line has official status, whether individuals within a community who merely adhere to the church or hierarchs from without. A congregationally-governed body is a well-defined, covenanted local body constituting what the members believe to be a visible outpost of God's Kingdom, not answering to higher authority and potentially not needing broader association."

George Knight, typical of many historians, states that the Connexion "emphasized Christian freedom by avoiding all church organization above the congregational level." While close to the truth, this assessment misses the mark on two counts. First, the Connexion existed as an entity beyond the congregation, but in an organizational form not easily recognized, the 'aleatory' type. Second, there were no clear lines of organization within or around churches. The affective basis for union typical of an 'aleatory' system applied within the Connexion's congregations as well.

It is crucial to recognize that an 'aleatory' system, although entailing voluntary community, is not just ultracongregationalism. There is no true official status within an 'aleatory' congregation, nor was there, in the Connexion's early days, a line drawn around the congregation. Connexion members were radically egalitarian, to the point that the 'line' of authority was drawn, as it were, around the
individual. Their insistence upon the "right of private judgment" bespeaks the rejection of all authority exercised over individuals. The only bonds to exist either within a congregation and between congregations were affective. Local Connexion fellowships displayed an amorphous internal non-structuredness similar to the non-structuredness evident on a regional level. The Connexion insisted on union, but without stipulated form. The affective bonds at the heart of 'aleatory' systems appear in all levels, from the congregational to the sense of national coherence.

The rejection of internal congregational form was a deliberate move to eschew formal organization. The bulk of the Connexion's converts came not from liturgical churches, but from the Baptists and Congregationalists. The Baptists in particular were accustomed to free-wheeling ecclesiastical arrangements. Regarding forming churches, in 1794 the O'Kellyites asserted simply that "any number of christians[sic] united in love, having Christ for their head, and center of union, constitutes a church." Smith rejected his earlier ideas that a codified text, even his own 1802 "Articles of Faith and Church Building," was an indispensable basis for order.

In it he had propounded a central tenet of the emerging Connexion, that the only appropriate label for a believer was "Christian," but he had not yet advanced the radical 'aleatory' organization." The "Articles" increasingly appeared to the 'Christians' to be transitional between the old creeds and the new liberty. Jones showed Smith that they were "hurtful," indeed stumbling blocks to Jones' joining the
Conference. That body tossed the Articles out in 1805. Smith was so disillusioned with the experiment by 1806 he stopped going to "Christian Conference" meetings. By 1807, the Conference in New England was evaporating, with the amorphous and evanescent Connexion, represented by "a general meeting of the christian[sic] Elders and brethren," arising in its place.

One of the earliest printed descriptions of the informal creation of a church, that of the 1810 formation of the Portland, Maine congregation "according to the New Testament," involved five steps. The first was to gather for fellowship, as they believed there could be no true union without the bonding created by public worship. Next came the formal repudiation of all creeds, doctrinal summaries, covenants, church associations and missionary plans. Third, the group agreed to have the New Testament, "the perfect law of liberty," as its only rule. They then proceeded to adopt the generic 'Christian' label in place of all "party" names. Finally, they accepted into fellowship all who give evidence of new birth, regardless of doctrinal beliefs. The harmony engendered by this process was likened to the building of Solomon's Temple: because there was unity, and Christian character replaced doctrine as basis for membership, there was no sound of "ax or hammer." They also specifically rejected the intervention of a council of outsiders.

Other churches formed simply by agreeing together to "consider themselves a church according to the new-testament[sic]." A short article on "Puteoli" (Acts 27:13) explained that the church in that city was formed without
fanfare, without even the presence of an apostle. The writer affirmed that a church could be gathered by any baptized Christian." Morrill contends that this simple approach also prevailed in the West.100 Evidence for the contention is meagre, but includes "The Witnesses' Address" which accompanied the 1804 Last Will. The 'witnesses' not only renounced all extracongregational forms of government, but also indicated that they failed to find scriptural precedent for "Church Sessions," that is, for formal organization within the congregation itself.101

The repudiation of stipulated forms of organization was not taken lightly. Reaction to the Philadelphia church's incorporation under Pennsylvania law was shift and harsh. Smith fulminated that any such incorporation was an "accursed thing in the camp, which God abhors" and "the mark of the beast."102 "Acts of incorporation" were duly added to the list of "human appendages" to be rejected, along with disciplines and creeds. Several ministers wrote immediately to approve heartily Smith's denunciation of a former church turned "body politic."103 A group sympathetic to Smith reacted by creating a new local fellowship, simply meeting with a view to "considering ourselves a church" and signing a declaration to that effect. It would be easy to describe Smith as "iconoclastic,"104 whereas "holocaustic" might reach closer to the mark. All structures, seen as hindrances to the Millennium's onset, became Smith's targets.

It would be easy to mistake Connexion members for mere anarchists. Even Smith, however, admitted there had to be order, but insisted there was a fundamental conflict between
the manner in which the act of incorporation provided for the
election of deacons and New Testament order. A group in New
Hampshire claimed to be a Church of Christ, but had neither
records nor a Deacon. They instead appointed appropriate
officers, including "one to keep the words," to whom was
entrusted a book containing "a proper record of all the
proceedings of the meeting." This incident passed without
further comment, likely because apostolic precedent may be
found for the initial appointment of officers by those outside
a church.

Corollaries of Rejecting Internal Congregational Form

There are at least three corollaries of the rejection of
internal congregational form. The first was to renounce a
settled pastorate and to insist upon itinerancy as the
apostolic model. This pattern, in varying degrees, was
adopted in all three sections of the Connexion. The second
was a levelling reaction, refusal to allow any form of
deference to ministers. This tendency was most pronounced in
the East, where there were still state churches whose
ministers' salaries were paid from taxes. The third is
related, rejection of systematic money management. A key
reason for Smith's revolt was the state's role in maintaining
religion, especially its enforcement of the payment of taxes
to support the clergy. The trend was, conversely, weakest in
the West, where a religious free market operated in which the
problem was a paucity of preachers.

The Southern wing kept the itineracy, as O'Kelly's
contention with Asbury had not been the itinerant system per
se, but the issue of episcopal assignment of preachers. Preachers, O’Kelly insisted, should be free to go or to settle where they believed God wanted them. Many regularly and predictably toured large circuits which could extend hundreds of miles. For this they were criticized by Joseph Thomas, who decided that the true apostolic precedent must include randomness as well as mobility. He had always employed at least one procedure to induce randomness in his travels. He travelled unfamiliar roads, believing that God would order his itinerary if Thomas himself set aside all plans. He elevated this principle to a personal requirement in 1814, after having itinerated in the common manner for seven years.

Itinerancy also became the norm in the East. Smith may have decided upon the principle as early as 1792. He viewed reverses in his ministries at Salisbury and Woburn as divine ire for binding himself in a fixed-term contract rather than modelling apostolic peregrination. The urge ran deeper than mere lack of restraint. Itinerancy was not an option, but a necessity if the church were to be delivered from “sectarian bondage” and restored to primitive purity. Smith later averred that to abandon the itinerancy is to enter “Babylon.” Tales of itinerant exploits, including tallies of distance travelled and sermons delivered, became the staple of letters published in Connexion newspapers and the backbone of what became a flood of preachers’ biographies. After the War of 1812, as the Connexion expanded into the broad expanses of western New York, some preachers began to patrol somewhat regular circuits.

The Western Connexion also adopted a randomized approach
to supplying preachers. The assumption in the early days, according to Daniel Roberts, was that a preacher would itinerate. "'Going preaching,' as Samuel Rogers recollected, meant touring for one to three months, usually twice a year. The rationale for avoiding external human organization, according to David Purviance, was a belief that preachers should simply tour as they felt "led" by the Holy Spirit, allowing God to orchestrate the details. Their acts reflect two key elements of 'aleatory' practice: nonlinearity and randomness. The 'aleatory' approach is perhaps most clearly represented in Rice Haggard's ministry. The last decade of his life he mainly preached in Kentucky to a group of about twenty-five congregations. They had no visible church organization, local or general, as a matter of conviction rather than inattention.

The adoption of "Elder" as the appellative of preachers in all three regions reveals an egalitarianism which refused to show deference to the clergy. Elders, according to O'Kelly, were not a separate order but merely notable members with gifts to preach. Smith advanced at least two arguments against ministers adopting the title "Reverend." The New Testament, he noted, did not use it. Arguing from a Psalm, he claimed the title took God's name in vain; its use was to take the name of the "beast". Thus early ordinations were low-key affairs. When hands were laid on the candidate, participants merely "approv[ed] of him as one sent of God." At Thomas' ordination at Philadelphia in 1811, the only words uttered were by a layperson, praying.

The Connexion's reliance on self-educated itinerants did
not solve the chronic problem of a paucity of preachers. This is ironic, as the system was designed to make up for ministerial shortages.\textsuperscript{124} Ideology played an important part in their refusal to pay preachers regularly. Resistance to the payment of regular ministerial salaries was weakest in the West, where no state church had ever been established, and strongest in the East, where ecclesiastical disestablishment was still underway. Most preachers in the West were farmers, touring to preach when able.\textsuperscript{127} While absent, the support of their families devolved upon their wives.\textsuperscript{128} David Purviance urged upon Western Christians the necessity of providing a reasonable income for preachers. There was, he insisted, a balance between rejecting mercenary preachers and evading responsibility to support the ministry.\textsuperscript{129} There is little information about ministerial remuneration in the South, but Thomas indicated that provision was irregular and inadequate.\textsuperscript{130}

Smith's rejection of all fixed forms of church government led him to oppose systematic money management. He felt that a settled, regularly-paid ministry not only threatened liberty by stifling ministers' ability to emulate the apostles' travelling at will,\textsuperscript{131} but also that hiring regular preachers might undermine the desire to search the Bible for oneself.\textsuperscript{132} Not having New Testament sanction, stated salaries were rejected and any who accepted call or salary were denigrated as "male harlots."\textsuperscript{133} Sarjent linked ministerial salaries directly to the money-changers condemned by Jesus, the Ephesian "craftsmen" who attacked Paul, and the apocalyptic "merchants of Babylon."\textsuperscript{134} Pew-rents were anathema.\textsuperscript{135} Elijah Shaw recollected churches taking up a collection to give the
preacher a "present," as "paying" him would be totally unacceptable.\textsuperscript{134} The church in Rhode Island which Benjamin Taylor served entrusted all monies to the Treasurer to disburse when "thought necessary."\textsuperscript{137}

It is not surprising that under such austere terms few could be induced to itinerate. Smith and Jones endured financial woes which forced them into secular work to support their families.\textsuperscript{138} The Quakers' modified tent-making model was encouraged.\textsuperscript{139} Often successful evangelism in new territory went unexploited because of a shortage of ministers.\textsuperscript{140} Even younger preachers endangered their health by trying to answer the flood of calls.\textsuperscript{141} Thus services, such as one Plummer reported in 1811, remained lay-oriented.\textsuperscript{142} It consisted almost entirely of lay exhortations and testimonies, so that he preached only a few minutes. He saw this as an example of the egalitarian, unstructured order found in 1 Corinthians 14. He expected God's Spirit to direct events in such a way that human planning was not only unnecessary, but a hindrance to spirituality. Smith construed extemporaneous lay-speaking as evidence of "new wine," a new movement of the Holy Spirit.\textsuperscript{143} Even after the War of 1812, there were often five to ten exhortations after the appointed sermon.\textsuperscript{144} Spontaneity and unpredictability were the goal.\textsuperscript{145}

It is not surprising that the only style of preaching acceptable in such an atmosphere was extemporaneous and visceral. Anyone effete enough to use sermon notes was castigated as a "dry well."\textsuperscript{146} The \textit{Herald} urged readers to "throw away the crutches of education"\textsuperscript{147} and Smith opined that the modern equivalent to the burning of scrolls recorded in
Acts 19:19-20 would be to destroy books written by anyone with a college degree. Seminaries were idol-worshipper "factories." Reflection on particular texts was actively discouraged, a general reading of the Bible being the preferred mode of preparation. Connexion preachers' addresses tended to be emotional, and it was not unheard of for the preacher to be in tears while preaching. Praying before embarking upon preaching was frowned upon as "trying to be fashionable," an almost certain way to rob the speaker of true spiritual power.

The Role of Periodicals in an Aleatory System

One cogent objection to this 'aleatory' concept of union is that the common congregational member in any given region probably had no knowledge of, let alone perception of vital union with, the members of any other regional group. There are at least two answers to this. First, even in organizations with well-defined, linear relationships, there may be little knowledge of, or affection for, members separated by great geographical distance. Second, human geographers insist that distance is a complex function, involving perception as well as linear measure. One may, through a "psychological and economic view of distance," perceive "nearby areas as strongly differentiated and remote areas as uniform." Past a certain threshold, often determined by factors such as the ease of communication or transportation, everything is remote. Gradations of remoteness may exist, but the predominant sense is that all beyond the threshold is "far away."
There almost certainly exists a "spiritual" view of distance. The Connexion began in an era of poor long-distance transportation and communication. Everyone beyond a radius of a few miles was, in practice, remote. For a Connexion member in Maine, for example, a member in Ohio and another in Vermont could feel similarly removed. In neither case was physical contact likely. Yet from the start, as Garrison and DeGroot admit, a "sense of fellowship" united the 'Christians' rather than formal organization. Some means was needed to create and sustain affective ties at a distance. Shared belief in a novel project is meaningless without knowledge of and communication with those of similar view. In a day when individual communication was costly and difficult, periodicals bridged the information gap, able to put the same thought in a thousand minds in a thousand places, thereby short-circuiting "the hierarchical flow of information." The influence of Connexion periodicals was transregional, providing a 'nonlinear' link to any subscriber.

The rise of the religious press after 1800 allowed obscure folk such as Smith to create a public profile as imposing as that of a Jonathan Edwards by issuing an "avalanche" of publications. Distribution of literature by mail became a key to denominational integration. The Herald existed as a "clearinghouse" for information, providing neither authoritative direction nor even effective coordination of work, but acting as a dynamic focus for the activities of the various independents, giving a sense of unity to an otherwise inchoate movement. Smith recognized the power inherent in the transfer of information. The
newspaper's ability to acquaint the geographically isolated was crucial in creating an affective union between the regional movements.\textsuperscript{160}

Virtually from its inception, the \textit{Herald of Gospel Liberty} found enthusiastic promoters. By 1812, there was only one state in the union where the \textit{Herald} did not go;\textsuperscript{14} a year later there were \textit{circa} 1,500 subscribers in all the states, plus the Illinois territory.\textsuperscript{122} Smith had agents in 14 states by the summer of 1814,\textsuperscript{142} and was receiving reports from the then extreme west.\textsuperscript{144}

\textbf{The Christian Connexion and the "Restoration Movement"}

Some historians question whether any 'Christian' leaders other than Stone and Campbell were truly "Restorationist." Garrison and DeGroot's basic thesis is that these two alone twinned restoration and unity, with diminished emphasis upon unity as a driving concept touted as typical of the non-Disciples traditions.\textsuperscript{162} Garrison and DeGroot argue pointedly that the New England Connexion arose from different causes and were little interested in unity.\textsuperscript{166} Morrill, the Connexion's historian, adopts a similar line, saying special concern for union was strongest in the West and South.\textsuperscript{167} Such a view may be supported by appeal to Smith's "Protest" of 1816, in which he makes absolutely no mention whatever of unity.\textsuperscript{168}

This characterization, however, quickly breaks down. On the one hand, Garrison and DeGroot backhandedly admit that unity was not overly emphasized even among Campbell's Reformers.\textsuperscript{169} The Scotch Baptists in Ontario, the backbone of the local Campbellite movement, have been depicted as being
not particularly interested in unity, but only in restoration. On the other hand, Smith both explicitly stated that unity was one of the four essential elements of righteous government and employed a complex of images which emphasized Christian unity's centrality to his system.

Christian unity, said Smith, would issue from believers taking only "Christian" as their name and only the New Testament as their law. Unity was also tied to equality, a by-product of the levelling of all distinctions which resulted from Christ's death. This matrix of ideas was in turn linked to the millennium; just as individual lights are outshone by the sun, so different views and party names would be replaced by the true Christian church "in that day." The Connexion's commitment to unity was so widely known that a Methodist attacked them on precisely that point, alleging that their preaching brought disruption rather than unity.

A similar concept of unity developed in the South. It was central to Joseph Thomas' faith. The unity experienced in the Connexion was both a return to "primitive order" and a foretaste of the imminent Kingdom. He enthused that in the destruction of creeds and the Connexion's advance one could see "the great river Euphrates...drying up," leaving Babylon open to attack. This alludes to Revelation 16:12, where the sixth angel pours out a bowl of God's wrath. Putting the Connexion into the role of a divinely-appointed end-time scourge on the organized churches, Thomas clearly linked the restorationist urge to millennialist hopes. Haggard argued that extra-biblical creeds exacerbated disunity; a return to primitive Christianity would restore unity. He also spelled
out the link between unity and the millennium, which was, he insisted, causal rather than casual. Unity, "the fruit of the spirit of God," would hasten the dawning of God's Kingdom.\textsuperscript{178}

In the West, the 'Christians' who later did not unite with the Campbell's Reformers also stressed unity. William Rogers insisted that the unity at the 1801 Cane Ridge camp-meeting was not just the absence of strife, but a positive unity which led some good folk to believe that the millennium was dawning.\textsuperscript{179} The millennial link was more restrained in Purviance's 1811 pamphlet on the church, where taking the Bible as the sole rule of conduct was stressed as a means to achieve unity, with or without the eschaton.\textsuperscript{180}

The quest for unity not only looked forward to the Kingdom, but back to the first century church. The urge to restrict current practice to New Testament example was the core of restorationism. While Thomas Campbell's formula "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent" did not appear in Haggard's pamphlet The Sacred Import of the Christian Name,\textsuperscript{181} the concept clearly did. "Party names," not found in the New Testament, were rejected.\textsuperscript{182} Of creeds and summaries of faith he averred: "It is a truth self evident to the christian[sic], that nothing is a sin but what the scriptures forbid, and nothing a duty but what they enjoin."\textsuperscript{183} By 1811, Purviance, having been elected to the Ohio State legislature, developed the idea of restricting doctrine to what was explicitly revealed in the New Testament by comparing it to the United States Constitution.\textsuperscript{184} He held the Jeffersonian "strict constructionist"\textsuperscript{185} position that the government could only
exercise powers explicitly given it in the Constitution. Applied theologically, the Connexion must restrict itself to what is explicitly taught in Scripture. Having no evidence Paul excommunicated those who forsook him, for example, it had no right to excommunicate those abandoning it.**

Positive Restorationism

Not content to question the Connexion's commitment to unity, Garrison and DeGroot argue that everyone before Alexander Campbell, New Englanders particularly, merely took the negative steps of dropping names and creeds, not grasping the positive, forward-moving concept of completely restoring the "ancient gospel."** O'Kelly, no later than 1798, urged that the Christians' task was the recovery of "the primitive order," "the pure apostolic order."** The idea of restoring the "ancient" faith and name also appears in the first Herald.** A church opting for the 'aleatory' plan was said to "have been gathered in the new[sic] Testament order," the overall process summarized as "the order of the New Testament revived."** In his summary of Volume 5 of the Herald, Smith stated that dropping sectarian errors was only to begin the reformation; one must take up "Christian" in a positive fashion, understanding and applying the new doctrine.** The word "restoration" is not in Smith's "Protest," but he spoke unequivocally of recovering first century practice.** Similar sentiments are explicit in the Southerner Guirey's letters.** In 1811, a correspondent from Rhode Island invoked the term "primitive Christianity" to describe the substance of what existed in a general meeting of 'Christians.'**
The importance to the concepts of restoration and unity, as they developed among the Connexion, of a complex of ideas to do with "Babylon" cannot be overemphasized. The idea of the Roman Church as "Babylon" had an old heritage in Protestantism. This association of Rome and Babylon reappeared in the era immediately before the Connexion's genesis. An excerpt from a 1793 New York Baptist circular letter spoke in vague terms of new-found religious liberty and of the decline of established churches as Babylon falling. The Connexion was rooted in an existing culture of religious nonconformity, but developed it in new directions.

The Connexion's rhetoric differed because writers extended the image, linking Babylon with all structured churches and "Babylonish wares" with any creed, but particularly creedal formulations of the doctrine of the Trinity. Roman Catholics were obviously Babylon, as were Episcopalians, for maintaining the same form of government. American Methodists, being episcopalian, were simply a more subtle branch of the same plant. Both Methodism and Episcopalianism were tyrannical hold-overs from the era of British rule: dangerous, unamerican and papist. To leave any of these bodies was to "flee Babylon." By 1811, Smith had gone further, declaring that all Non-Conformists were part of Babylon. Other members of the Connexion adopted his scheme. "An Observer," for example, linked creeds and extra-scriptural organizational forms to "the garments of the mother of harlots, and the merchandise of her merchants." Thus when a Baptist began denouncing creeds as idols and preaching that having a rulebook or book of discipline other than the New
Testament was belonging to "mystery Babylon," he was perceived as having undergone a fundamental change of idea and spirit.137

The task facing the Connexion's members thus was not simply the negative flight from structures perceived to be evil, but the positive recreation of the true church as represented in the New Testament. They understood themselves to be living in "troublous times," akin to those prophesied in Daniel 9:25 and experienced by the returning Babylonian captives in Nehemiah.109 Smith, in 1812, compared the elimination of creeds to the removal of Sanballat and Tobiah's effects from the sanctified rooms adjoining the Temple.101 Here the revitalized Christian church was identified with the Old Testament people of Israel: both had suffered captivity because of sin; both had been restored. Yet these similes speak only of the passive side of restoration, the avoidance of the kind of rules, regulations and constitutions found in the traditional churches.

The powerful image of actively rebuilding walls, noted above, highlights not only 'aleatory' relations, but also the positive component of the Connexion's restorationism. A group in Virginia, in 1809, urged: "Now let us return from our captivity, and rear up the ruined walls of Zion, on the Gospel alone."102 To Smith, the positive union of disparate groups committed to gospel restoration was akin to the rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls in Nehemiah, a sure sign that God's people, living in "a land of liberty" in which there were "prophecies daily fulfilling," were on the verge of the millennium, when the New Jerusalem would be revealed.103 Noting that Christopher Wren had ordered the foundation of St. Paul's Cathedral dug
deep, in order to have a solid, unmovable foundation, Guirey extended the "walls" metaphor as he affirmed that folk in the South had "removed all the trash and rubbish of human confessions of faith - Articles of Religion - Forms of Disciplines, &c. &c.," so that the new church could build a positive substitute for sectarianism upon a pure and unshifting foundation of apostolic teaching. Smith liked that idea, equating any who scoffed at the New Testament's role as a sufficient guide for church government to Sanballat and the others who questioned how the walls of Jerusalem which the returning Israelite exiles had built could stand.

The re-emergence of primitive Christianity and persecution of its propagators were clearly linked in the minds of early Connexion members. In the South, Guirey and Thomas both reported a direct link between the intensity of their "apostolic" preaching and the ferocity of 'sectarian' reaction. In the West, Stone and William Rogers recounted that sectarian "persecution" began shortly after the new freedom experienced at Cane Ridge. Resistance to the Eastern Connexion's novel doctrines was characterized as general since its formation. A group in New England arriving at similar libertarian views was deemed genuine because it suffered opposition. Thomas explicitly linked gospel restoration and persecution, the united opposition of other denominations being predictable, a reenactment of the united opposition of Herod and Pilate against Jesus.

Dreams which were interpreted as having religious significance were common in the early nineteenth century, and were not limited to a particular group or region. It is
therefore not surprising to find dreams recounted by Connexion members. A dream figured in Shaw's conversion,\textsuperscript{212} while a young Joseph Badger believed dreams contained divine revelations.\textsuperscript{213} More than one preacher claimed to have been called to itinerancy by a dream.\textsuperscript{214} Dreams even provided alert preachers with the makings of sermons.\textsuperscript{215} The significance of dreams to this thesis is that they were accepted as a nonrational, 'nonlinear' form of guidance. They were completely unpredictable, yet could alter radically the course of the dreamer's life.

This prevalence of religiously-significant dreams was far from accidental. The emphasis on dreams was yet another facet of what Connexion members believed to be the restoration of New Testament experience. Thomas alluded to the prophecy of Joel, and the claim in Acts of its fulfilment, as the basis for revelatory dreams in his own day.\textsuperscript{216} Kenny intimates that Elias Smith interpreted his dreams in terms of Peter's vision in Acts 10,\textsuperscript{217} convinced of their validity, and Barton Stone explicitly tied dreams to Acts 10.\textsuperscript{218}

Revelatory dreams do not appear to have been as widely accepted among Western 'Christians.'\textsuperscript{219} This may have been because 'dreams' had a hardier tradition in New England radicalism than elsewhere.\textsuperscript{220} It may also reflect events in that region which led biographers to downplay allegedly revelatory dreams. The Western Connexion was more deeply shaken by the Shaker's inroads than either the Southern or Eastern wings. A contemporary, reflecting on Shaker excesses, included the abuse of dreams.\textsuperscript{221} Stone accused the Shakers of unbiblical morals for using a "revelation" as an excuse to
abandon penniless Richard McNemar, one of the Last Will's signers who had later sided with the sect.\textsuperscript{122}

It may have been that dreams occurred and were heeded at the time, but later repudiated. Samuel Rogers' rejection of dreams as a source of guidance came later in his ministry, only after considerable frustration because of the time and energy which he had observed wasted by those chasing after imagined revelations received in dreams.\textsuperscript{122} Almost all of the Westerners' biographies and histories were written long after the Campbell-Stone merger. The Campbellites' rationalism, of which Scott's 1827 derisive remark on dreams was typical,\textsuperscript{123} may have led them later to expunge all mention of dreams happening in the Connexion's nascent years.

"Impressions" were closely related to dreams as a means of guidance. There are many accounts of preachers changing intended travel plans, even to their disadvantage, in response to "strong impressions of mind" to act otherwise.\textsuperscript{123} Sometimes the impression emanated into the mind like a gentle "whisper."\textsuperscript{124} It was axiomatic that a serene spirit in the face of privation or persecution proved God's blessing.\textsuperscript{121} Sometimes the impression was taken as confirmed when following it initially created difficulties which were then overcome.\textsuperscript{122} The highly peripatetic Thomas not only had a general "impression" calling him to preach,\textsuperscript{122} but also specific ones which he heeded as divine guidance.\textsuperscript{123} He claimed impressions were superior to human reasoning, which only leads believers astray.\textsuperscript{121}

Augury not only looked back to the New Testament experience, but forward toward the Millennium. Sermons pointing out the "signs peculiar to the present time" appeared
as early as the second issue of the *Herald.* Thomas alluded to current events as fulfilment of Mark 16's promise of "signs and wonders following." Portents came in many forms: a dumb man praising God at baptism, then never speaking again; the waters allegedly miraculously stilled so that a mass baptism could take place, leading others to believe; a comet. Powerful earthquakes late in 1811 gave Smith grist for the portent mill. He linked modern earthquakes with America's political upheavals as harbingers of Christ's return. Belief in the portents' omnipresence led writers to employ vague allusions to "Signs of the coming of the Son of Man, in every direction."

The Christian Connexion, Politics, The Millennium And Structure

The general increase in religious liberty since 1776, claimed Smith, was unprecedented. The first autonomous 'Christian' meeting in Boston was, he insisted, ontologically akin to the meeting which produced the *Declaration of Independence.* In the West, Stone echoed this as he reflected upon the creation of the Springfield Presbytery. The destruction of creeds was perceived as part of God's shaking heaven and earth in preparation for the Millennium. The fight for liberty, Smith vowed, would not be over in the United States until creeds, an extension of European "priestcraft" which threatened liberty, were finally destroyed. The politicized theology found in the *Herald* centred on the theme of "liberty"; its first 16 issues all had an article with that title. In all, 53 articles of the same
The concept of "liberty" which developed among the Connexion's members was rooted in "a very literal reading of the Declaration of Independence." Yet it must not be mistaken for an unconscious expression of "Civil Religion" in Robert Bellah's cast. Aside from the coincidence that the Gods of Civil Religion and the Connexion were "unitarian", there were great differences. "The God of civil religion...is...much more related to order, law, and right than to salvation and love." The Connexion was thoroughly revivalistic and its founders had no respect, as had Benjamin Franklin, for all other religions. It advocated not a passive, tolerant minimalism as embodied by American civil religion, but an iconoclastic and aggressive one. All other denominations were "Babylon," to be destroyed in order to induce the Millennium, not respected as fellow-builders of an American utopia. The Connexion was, at its core, anticlerical. American Civil Religion had Enlightenment roots. Even if Connexion members had been aware of European liberalism, they would have rejected it as part and parcel of the Old World system which stood in "Liberty"'s way. The Connexion's libertarian ideas were rooted not in the European tradition of intuition-based theological liberalism espoused by Friedrich Schleiermacher, but rather in the general New England religious libertarian tradition typified by the Baptist John Leland.

The worldview shared by Smith and the readers of the Herald has been labelled "millenarian republicanism." Although they did not liquidate property nor predict a
particular date for Christ's return, the members of the Connexion were generally committed to belief in, and expectantly waited for, the imminent establishment of the millennial kingdom. Some, in the heat of excitement, had believed the Cane Ridge revival would not end until the Millennium arrived. As a young man, Badger had expected to see the "Angel of the Apocalypse" at any time. Such belief had both political and ecclesiastical implications for the Christian Connexion.

Advance toward the millennial kingdom could be gauged by such concrete political portents as the repeal of restrictive religious law in most states, the removal between 1808 and 1810 of four state governors belonging to the "British party," and the Republicans' increasing share of the popular vote in Portland between 1809 and 1811. Smith implied that total Republican victory would herald the Kingdom's inauguration. The setting in Virginia in 1811, where Episcopal churches stood vacant, available to any preacher willing to hold forth, seemed almost too good to be true. 'Linear' order had already been broken down, it only remained for the Connexion's itinerants to preach, allowing God to elicit the millennial kingdom from the disarray: 'God-emergent order.' Unprecedented world and local peace by 1816, as well as the death, conversion or silencing of Smith's enemies stirred his hope that the seventh angel's trumpet would soon sound. It was also the fortieth anniversary of American Independence, an interval pregnant with meaning in light of Israel's forty years in the wilderness. Smith thus had no problem telling folk to vote for a particular candidate. His root motivation
was not political, however, as indicated by the persistence of his anti-clerical crusade after the passing of the Federalist-Republican controversies and church disestablishment. 

The ecclesiastical implications of libertarian millennialism were not as manifest as the political, but ultimately as tangible. Democratization was an important factor behind the emergence of the Connexion's nonlinear organization, although not the only factor which led to the emergence of an 'aleatory' system. The Methodists were also fervidly democratic, yet did not follow O'Kelly's example of jettisoning the episcopacy. The combination of evangelical and egalitarian convictions had, for most radical evangelicals, "less to do with the specifics of polity and governance" than with the integration of religious belief and popular culture. Connexion members, however, adopted a more thorough-going democratization, insisting upon the elimination of anything linked to aristocracy or privilege. This ideology influenced ecclesiology. Discarding anything but the thinnest 'aleatory' quasi-organization was rooted in a radical eschatology which held that a restoration of New Testament practice could precipitate the Millennium.

The millenarian republicanism prevalent within the Connexion arose from an optimistic, Pelagian-like theological anthropology which shaped the movement's supracongregational structure. Voices from all points of the compass rejected theories of atonement built on an idea of compensating God for sin. One insisted that "the old debit & credit plan of the atonement" was inconsistent with God's loving nature. Smith rejected Christ's substitutionary atonement and Jesus' ability
to impart righteousness. The death of Christ, according to Thomas, was "to bring us to God," that is to reconcile humans to God, not vice versa. Stone took a similar line, positing a universal atonement which makes it possible to approach God, but which only becomes effective when the hearer obeys God.

Atonement, Purviance averred, was not an irrelevant side-issue. If one believes God substituted Christ for human sin in order to impute a righteousness otherwise unattainable, that belief undercuts the impulse to strive for holiness. God designed the law with human weakness in mind. People must be capable of keeping the law or God would not expect them to try. Voluntary obedience to God, leading to the acquisition of holiness, is possible under the "perfect law of liberty." The phrase, drawn from the King James Version of James 1:25, is sprinkled liberally through the pages of the Herald. This is not insignificant, as James' letter placed greater emphasis on ethically-acceptable behaviour than on dogmatic precision. Perfect love would create perfect union.

This predominant theological anthropology also led members of the Connexion's various branches universally to reject the twin doctrines of election and predestination. Stone doubted election before his exodus from Presbyterianism. The basic charge against McNemar was rejecting election. Gray found attacking election stirred up opponents but pleased members of the Southern wing. Dubbed a Calvinistic lever of oppression, the doctrine of election was part of the set of traditional doctrines Connexion members in New England were expected to renounce. Instead, Christians were free to seek and obey God. Smith also clearly rejected
the related doctrine of "original sin," claiming "Liberty" as the "birthright" of all Adam's descendants and that "original sin" was an "unjust" doctrine, a prop to support infant baptism.²" If sin is not inherent and inevitable, then it becomes possible to assume the essential good-will of one's co-religionists and expect them to behave honourably and honestly without the external restraint of creeds, books of discipline, church constitutions and the like. Disagreements about following the Bible as the only rule of practice thus result from ignorance, rather than sin, an ignorance to be overcome by a closer knowledge of the Bible's content.²³

The emphasis on moral rectitude, coupled with a rejection of Calvinist pessimism and a Pelagian-like optimism about the ability to avoid sin, had ramifications for the Connexion's ecclesiology. People untainted by original sin, free to choose to approach and to obey God, could conceivably adopt a form of church government which was not essentially corrupt. Rules and regulations to ensure a system of checks and balances were unnecessary if folk of goodwill could choose not to sin in their relations with each other. The Connexion's members, driven by this insight, did not merely indulge in negative theological reaction against Calvinism, but sought to embody a positive alternative vision, a new ecclesiological paradigm. This new 'aleatory' approach would obviate the need for rigid mechanisms of governance, opening the door for affective relationships at all levels, within or between congregations. They believed that the removal of all barriers between Christians would not only restore conditions found in the New Testament but also pave the way for the Millennium's dawn.
Relationships with other Christian Denominations

The restorationist urge often displayed, however, an ironic countertendency which undermined attempts at ecumenical relations. If the urge to restore primitive Christian practice is legitimate and necessary, then it follows that one may only unite with those of substantially similar views. This limited potential liaisons; the Southern and Western wings never developed working relationships with any other group before 1820.

Irregular and fluid ties did mature between the Connexion in the East and the Freewill Baptists. The two never formally merged, but before 1820 they cooperated considerably. Ephraim Stinchfield, ordained by the Freewill Baptists, was an early convert to the Connexion's position. Mark Fernald frequented Freewill Baptist general meetings, preaching at many. He showed little concern whether those converted under his preaching joined Connexion or Freewill Baptist congregations. His focus was evangelistic, drawing back from Freewill Baptists only when they began to adopt Trinitarianism. The church gathered at Kittery in 1806 formed jointly under Freewill and Connexion leadership.

Differences between the two groups appeared paper-thin to an observer in northern New England, who reported in 1810 that the 'Christians' and Freewill Baptists shared communion and ordination services without regard to affiliation. A joint general meeting of Freewill Baptists and Connexionists was held as early as 1810. When Nancy Cram was frustrated in her attempts to convince Freewill Baptist preachers to follow up her 1812 evangelistic work in New York, she turned to the
Connexion for assistance. No firm lines distinguished the two groups' work in Lower Canada. There Joseph Badger evangelized without concern for where his converts would later worship. An 1815 report of a general meeting in Danville, Vermont, portrayed Freewill Baptists' participation without any distinction between them and 'Christians,' affective bonds as "family" in Christ being touted as more important than labels.

Such fraternal regard was not restricted to New England proper. At an 1816 meeting in a farmhouse on the Holland Purchase, west of Rochester, New York, those present (with the exception of two Freewill Baptist elders) agreed to unite as one people, disowning all unscriptural names and rules...; to meet and preach together in general and quarterly meetings; to make no difference between one and the other in respect to preaching, breaking bread, and baptizing.

The agreement evinced the sort of nonlinear interrelationship found within the Connexion, but the affective ties proved ephemeral.

Apart from their warm relations with the Freewill Baptists, the Eastern Connexion harboured little sympathy for "sectarians," their name for any group which continued to use a distinctive denominational label. The Connexion extended the notion that union is a visible token of the collective surrender to Christ, an idea common among Freewill Baptists, reasoning that sects refusing to renounce any name but "Christian" proved their non-Christian nature by distancing themselves from the one true name given to believers. Evidence of a spiteful attitude toward those considered beyond the pale is most plentiful for the Eastern Connexion.
Purviance's 1811 admission that harsh words had been uttered in the West about other denominations suggests a similar outlook. Divisions caused by religious labels, to Thomas' mind, proved their devilish root.

The Herald displayed an unequivocally adversarial relationship toward virtually all other religious groups, predicting the Connexion could eventually "prevail over" the sects, as the sun does over the moon and stars. Sarjent declared that there was no true salvation among sectarian churches, which were merely visible portions of Antichrist's church. The Methodists' noisy camp-meetings proved, to Smith's mind, that they were nothing more than restorationist Baal-worshippers, destined to be supplanted by the 'Christians.' He also identified Methodists with the tail of the red dragon in Revelation. Most Connexion members, in keeping with an 'aleatory' outlook, eschewed participation in the various transdenominational religious societies which arose in the early nineteenth century. Elias Smith specifically objected to their 'linear' structure, which he identified with the established clergy's attempts to consolidate power.

Unitarianism

The 'Christians' were suspicious of doctrine couched in nonbiblical language, the most salient example being that of the Trinity. Stone's concern about the Trinity antedated his schism with the Presbyterians. At the heart of Stone's resistance, according to a modern Disciples historian, was a belief in the inutility of reason when the Bible was silent.
Public debate on the issue began around 1805.\textsuperscript{297} The early Western 'Christians,' according to Samuel Rogers, vehemently attacked those they believed to be Trinitarian.\textsuperscript{298} Purviance does not date his acceptance of antitrinitarianism, stating that he rejected the idea of Jesus as the eternal God after reading "Emlyn" and Isaac Watts.\textsuperscript{299} The Bible's silence on the "trinity" led Nathan Worley to reject it.\textsuperscript{300}

The New England branch, perhaps influenced by the rise of Congregational Unitarianism, soon adopted antitrinitarianism. Clear doctrinal positions appear as early as 1806.\textsuperscript{301} Arguments were drawn from both revelation and reason. A key ground for rejecting the Trinity was that the word is not biblical.\textsuperscript{302} The related doctrine of the "two natures of Christ" was rejected for the same reason.\textsuperscript{303} Smith held that the "mystery" of the Trinity was idolatrous, merely a disguised version of "Mystery Babylon," a "twin-sister" of Transubstantiation.\textsuperscript{304} On the other hand, nothing in nature suggests the Trinity, while God's oneness was rational and what one would expect from observing nature.\textsuperscript{305} In place of the Trinity, he offered a modalist interpretation of the relationship of the godhead, likening it to the Sun's body, light and heat.\textsuperscript{306}

The situation in the South is harder to gauge. The Methodist leader Jesse Lee, angered by O'Kelly's withdrawal, accused him of unitarianism, but the charges are said to have been unfounded.\textsuperscript{307} By 1809 Guirey was castigating Trinitarians as idolatrous Ephesian "craftsmen,"\textsuperscript{308} but it appears that unitarianism was not widespread in that region before the arrival of Easterner John Gray in 1814.\textsuperscript{309} At that time, Mills Barrett, a member of the New England-oriented Eastern Virginia
Conference, clearly adopted Gray's line. The North Carolina and Virginia Conference (O'Kelly's faction) did not, however, embrace the new tenet, later withdrawing fellowship from "Willis Beaves, for believing Christ inferior to the Father."

Apologetic For Organization:

Non-delegated general meetings, open to anyone who bothered to come, were the only extra-congregational gatherings held by New England Christians between 1807 and 1817. Conferences were held in the South fairly consistently between 1794 and 1818, but the minutes were allegedly burned at the rise of the session in order to prevent them from setting extra-biblical precedents. Non-delegated meetings were the norm in the West as well. There is evidence that the Deer Creek Conference began to meet as early as 1807. Some ministers in Kentucky met in 1810 and declared their intention to "unite themselves formally," but nothing came of the venture. Thomas attended a "conference" in Kentucky in March 1811, but was unimpressed. Garrison and DeGroot note that some of the early conferences were not periodic, Christians in all three regions being fearful of centralizing tendencies. Concerted linear organization in any region did not occur before 1817.

Conclusion

The three decades which comprise this chapter saw the creation of three restorationist movements: along the coast in the South, in New England, and in the new states west of the Cumberland Gap. Each had grown significantly by the time
Elias Smith, a key figure in the New England movement, began publishing *The Herald of Gospel Liberty*. People moving between them already linked the Southern and Western wings, but the *Herald*'s advent allowed the development of a sense of broader, affective interconnection. Other minor independent groups were drawn into the incipient Connexion by it.

The new 'aleatory' paradigm which obtained among these groups was not mere anarchy. It entailed deliberate randomization in all areas, and at all levels, of ecclesiology. It aimed to destabilize religious organization in North America and create affective bonds between believers instead. The ethereal and ephemeral Connexion was both a harbinger of the Millennium and a tool for its creation.

Buoyed by democratic ideas, members believed eradicating all human organization would clear the way for God to erect the Kingdom. Their indistinct, nonlinear ecclesiology was not Congregationalism under a new label. The latter, nonlinear beyond the local church, displays clear lines of authority within it. The Connexion's radical nonlinearity had practical implications. Churches formed simply by affirming that members belonged to each other because they belonged to Christ. No training, except the Holy Spirit's alleged leading, qualified their unpaid preachers. Many included randomizing elements into their plan of itinerancy, believing God would create order before them, a foretaste of the Millennium. Members believed this new aleatory system would cohere because of information and affective bonding (love). It was no coincidence that the *Herald* was North America's first religious newspaper. Its purpose was to overcome the
linear restraints of poor communication and transportation, building bonds by bringing news, and placing the same religious ideas in the minds of people otherwise isolated.

The 'Christians' were not merely negative restorationists, removing what they perceived as centuries of creedal accretions. They believed it was their positive duty to restore New Testament experience and terminology. They rejected Trinitarianism, arguing only "Bible words" could describe biblical truth. Others, looking to the Book of Acts, sought nonlinear guidance by means of impressions and dreams. Rooted in home-grown liberalism, they believed that the eradication of the remaining tinges of European oppression, both in church and state, would bring about the Millennium. An optimistic, Pelagian-like theological anthropology, which allowed for a potential to obey God's law perfectly, undergirded ideologically the open-ended, restraint-free system. The Connexion's restorationist ideology put them at odds with virtually all other denominations, which were characterized as hopelessly irretrievable: "Babylon."

Problems emerged after the War of 1812 as ministerial fraud became common. Smith's 1817 defection to Universalism led leaders to advocate conferences with limited powers. The first flush of enthusiasm for an 'aleatory' system had thus passed by the time the Connexion entered Upper Canada.
REFERENCES

1 For a discussion of the significance of these claims to have arrived independently at the same conclusions, cf. discussion in Chapter Three, pp.162-163.

2 Herald of Gospel Liberty (hereafter cited as HGL) 1,7 24 November 1808, p.27,c.2. Robert Punshon also made an indirect reference to multiple sources, claiming that the Southern Christians had withdrawn circa 1792 from "Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians" (HGL 1,6 10 November 1808, p.23,c.1).

3 HGL 1,17 14 April 1809, p.66,cc.1-2

4 HGL I,6 10 November 1808, p.23,c.2

5 HGL 4,13, 14 February 1812, p.36[3],c.2

6 HGL 4,14 28 February 1812, p.367,c.1. They claimed "fellowship and communion with the whole Christian family as far as they can gain an evidence that they are born of God, and are in union with his Spirit of love."


8 HGL 3,53 31 August 1810, p.210, c.2


10 HGL I,17 14 April 1809, p.66,c.1

11 Milo True Morrill, A History of the Christian Denomination in American 1794-1911 A.D. Dayton, Ohio: Christian Publishing Association, 1912, p.139. Morrill appears to have been offended by the early Christians' lack of organization, whereas they probably viewed their unusual arrangements as a positive good.

12 Morrill, History of the Christian Denomination, p.121

13 Hatch, Democratization, pp.57,81. Hatch may be criticized for minimizing Asbury's advocacy of episcopacy. What is
important, from this thesis' stance, is Asbury's promotion of an episcopacy which contained a pronounced nonlinear element, the individual preachers' autonomy to fulfill their local itinerancy.

14 Hatch, Democratization, p.65


16 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.38. Jonathan Foster reports that as late as 1808 there were opponents who still referred to the movement as "Republican Methodists." (HGL 1,7 24 November 1808, p.27,c.1). Joseph Thomas seems to have been unaware that the O'Kelly faction was once called "Republican Methodists." He clearly spoke of the Republican Methodists as a separate sect, which was "liberal" in thought and preaching, but still bound by human rules (Joseph Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, containing an accurate account of his trials, travels, and gospel labours, up to the present date. Winchester, Virginia: J. Foster, printer, 1817, pp.60,206).

17 Morrill mentions this at least twice (Morrill, History, pp.123,127). The grounds for such a practice may be found in a pamphlet from the 1790s, in which O'Kelly envisioned the abandonment of human doctrinal standards as giving "satan an incurable wound," thus preparing the way for unity [Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.30, footnote 40: "James O'Kelly, An Address to the Christian Church Under the Similitude of an Elect Lady and her Children, (Richmond: Printed by Jones and Dixon, undated)."].

18 Kilgore, O'Kelly Schism, pp.59-60

19 HGL 1,6 10 November 1808, p.23,c.[1]

20 Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, p.29: emphasis is original.

21 Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, p.29

22 Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, p.34

23 Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, pp.35,43

24 Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, p.35

25 Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, pp.29-30
26 Thomas, *The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas*, p.205. This was in 1811.


28 All citations of *The Last Will* are from Greg Harness' electronic text prepared in 1994 for the Stone-Campbell Discussion List.


37 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, pp.133-134: emphasis is original.
38 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, p.74

39 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, p.75

40 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, pp.87,90. He too blamed a renewed interest in creedal orthodoxy with the curtailment of revival enthusiasm.

41 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, pp.76-77

42 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, pp.77-78

43 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, pp.81-83


45 *HGL* 1,38 2 February 1810, p.152,c.2


47 *HGL* 1,15 27 October 1808, p.18,c.1

48 *HGL* 1,23 7 July 1809, p.89,c.2: comments regarding an 1809 meeting in New Hampshire.

49 *HGL* 1,52 17 August 1810, p.210,c.2

50 *HGL* 3,55 28 September 1810, p.219,c.2: emphasis in original

51 *HGL* 3,59 23 November 1810, p.233,c.1

52 *HGL* 4,14 28 February 1812, p.366,c.2; cf. p.367,c.1

53 *HGL* 4,6 8 November 1811, p.333,c.2; Those states were: New Hampshire, Vermont, the District of Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, "and the other parts of the Western Country."

54 *HGL* 3,75 5 July 1811, p.299,c.3

55 *HGL* 1,6 10 November 1808, p.23,cc.1-2

56 *HGL* 1,7 24 November 1808, p.27,c.1; 1,8 8 December 1808, p.32,c.1. There is a letter from North Carolina in *HGL* 1,9 22 December, p.35,c.3.
57 HGL 1,11 19 January 1809, p.43. This page is missing from the microprint copy in Buffalo. Two excerpts from it are reproduced in James B. North, Union in Truth: An Interpretive History of the Restoration Movement. Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Co., 1994 (pp.28,62), and one may infer Guirey's questions from the answers given in Smith's letter in 1,12 2 February 1809, p.47,c.2.

58 HGL 1,12 2 February 1809, p.47,cc.2-3

59 HGL 1,13 16 February 1809, p.50,cc.1-2

60 HGL 1,17 14 April 1809, p.65,c.1-p.66,c.2

61 HGL 1,52 17 August 1810, p.206,c.3

62 HGL 4,5 25 October 1811, p.331,c.1. It was on this trip that he first met the Southern Christians in person.

63 North refers to it as "the handshaking consummation" of union (North, Union in Truth, p.30).

64 Christian Messenger (hereafter cited as CM I,11 [September 1827], p.243: "Clement Nance, James Read and Rice Haggard."

65 Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples of Christ, pp.86,109,121. Disciples historians McAllister and Tucker try to undercut this link by arguing that Haggard never claimed the idea was original to him, offering instead a Presbyterian named Samuel Davies as the real source of the idea (Lester G. McAllister and William E. Tucker, Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Saint Louis, Missouri: The Bethany Press, 1975. pp.56,80-81). Even if Haggard's concept was derivative it proved potent in shaping two wings of the new movement, being adopted to an unprecedented degree. It provided a levelling rhetoric with which to harangue other denominations.


67 HGL 5,2 18 September 1812, p.423,c.3

68 HGL 5,2 18 September 1812, p.423,c.2. Smith and Jones' hymnbook, which Nance had seen, already included one of Nance's hymns (HGL 5,2 18 September 1812, p.423,c.3).

69 HGL 5,2 18 September 1812, p.423,c.3-p.424,c.1

70 HGL 7,11 3 March 1815, p.663,cc.1-3

71 HGL 5,10 8 January 1813, pp.455,c.3-456,c.2

72 cf. Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, p.123
He toured once in the spring and again in the fall. He had returned to New York City by late June (HGL 1,48 22 June 1810, p.192,c.1), but was back in Virginia no later than early November (HGL 3,58 9 November 1810, p.230,c.2) and returned to Vermont no later than mid-December (HGL 3,61 21 December 1810, p.243,c.3).

This church had been founded in 1807 by Virginians (HGL I,6 10 November 1808, p.23,cc.1-2).

He began sometime in the spring, preaching in Virginia before arriving in North Carolina in May, South Carolina later in the summer and Georgia no later than August. The end of August found him back in North Carolina, where he conducted baptisms and was one of three elders to lay hands on an ordinand (HGL 5,1 4 September 1812, p.417,cc.1-3). Haden spoke approvingly of Gray’s ministry and invited him back (HGL 5,10 8 January 1813, p.455,c.3).

On this trip he stayed with William Guirey. He declined at that time to return to Georgia.

He toured Southampton County, Virginia.

Typical was the move of the southern preacher Thomas Reeves to the West country in the spring of 1808 (Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, p.40).


89 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.26


91 Kenny, Perfect Law, p.22

92 Smith, Life, p.322

93 Smith, Life, p.358

94 Smith, Life, p.378

95 Smith, Life, p.384

96 HGL 1,38 2 February 1810, p.150,c.3

97 HGL 1,38 2 February 1810, p.151,c.1

98 Smith, Life, pp.389-390. The church was in New Hampshire. For a similar story from Vermont, cf. HGL 4,22 19 June 1812, p.399,c.1; for a story from Massachusetts, cf. HGL 5,22 25 June 1813, p.503,c.1.

99 HGL 1,41 16 March 1810, p.164,cc.1-2

100 Morrill, History, p.106

101 cited in Rogers, Biography of Stone, p.54

102 HGL 5,12 5 February 1813, p.461,c.1-p.462,c.3. In the following issue he continued the assault, declaring that "The above Constitution, contained in thirteen articles, which are the fundamentals of the Association, is without any doubt a descendant of that Beast with Seven heads and ten horns." (HGL 5,13 19 February 1813, p.466,c.2). There may have been other internal congregational wranglings which led Smith to seize
upon the incorporation as evil, as the copies of the incorporation documents reprinted in the *Herald* were dated in 1809, long before the particular disruption occurred (*HGL* 5,13 19 February 1813, p.465,c.3; p.466,c.1). 

103 *HGL* 5,13 19 February 1813, p.467,cc.1-3  
104 Fulop, "Smith and the Quest", pp.58,84,170,175,176,239  
105 *HGL* 5,12 5 February 1813, p.461,c.2, p.462,c.3  
106 *HGL* 5,13 19 February 1813, p.467,c.3  
107 Stokes and Scott, *Christian Church in the South*, pp.7-8,12; Kilgore, *O'Kelly Schism*, pp.39,43. Some reports of organization indicated that the meeting was held on a Saturday. This raised the possibility that the early Christian Connexion churches had observed a "seventh-day" Sabbath. Subsequent investigation indicates that the organizational work was indeed accomplished on a Saturday, but at "fellowship meetings," while Sunday services continued to be held.  
110 Thomas, *The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas*, p.253. Thomas himself noted the influence of "J.E.," a Jew who had converted to Christianity, with whom Thomas had travelled in September 1813. This latter-day Apollos, perhaps drawing upon the tradition of the *Didache*, refused to travel the same road twice or stay in any locale for more than three days.  
111 Smith, *Life*, p.206. He allegedly refused to settle permanently in Lee because he could not find settled ministers in the New Testament. This claim may, however, indicate an effort on Smith's part to show that he had discovered one of the basic "Christian" principles as early as James O'Kelly.  
112 Smith, *Life*, pp.268-270  
113 Hatch says that, for Smith, liberty meant "the right to build a movement by itinerating without constraint" (*Hatch, Democratization*, p.57),  
114 Smith, *Life*, p.275. Fulop ("Smith and the Quest", p.32) correctly identifies several reasons why the Smith and company preferred itinerancy (the New Testament example, freedom, effectiveness), without linking the idea to Smith's organizational and theological agenda. Smith saw the absence of itinerancy as a positive evil, because it prevented the eradication of structure. His plan, although not expressed in this precise terminology, was a deliberate randomization of all ecclesiastical arrangements in order to allow God the
freedom to induce the Millennium.

115 HGL 1,29 29 September 1809, p.114,c.2; cf. HGL 3,78 16 August 1811, p.309,c.3


117 Morrill, History, p.107


119 Purviance, Biography of David Purviance, p.55


121 Kilgore, O'Kelly Schism, pp.39ff.

122 HGL 3,59 23 November 1810, p.233,c.2

123 HGL 1,42 30 March 1810, p.167,c.3; 3,64 1 February 1811, p.254,c.1

124 HGL 3,74 21 June 1811, p.295,c.2

125 HGL 3,74 21 June 1811, p.295,c.3. Joseph Tucker's ordination in Vermont was similarly Spartan (HGL 4,22 19 June 1812, p.399,c.2).


127 Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, p.187

128 Purviance, Biography of David Purviance, p.63

129 Purviance, Biography of David Purviance, pp.81-83

130 Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, p.33
131 Smith, *Life*, p.270

132 **HGL** 3,75 5 July 1811, p.297,c.2

133 **HGL** 3,59 23 November 1810, p.233, c.2; 3,65 15 February 1811, p.258,c.1; 3,78 16 August 1811, p.311,cc.2-3

134 **HGL** 3,78 16 August 1811, p.310,c.2  Cf. **HGL** 4,8 6 December 1811, p.342,c.2, where paid clergy are identified as the Babylonian merchants of Revelation 18:12-13.

135 e.g. **HGL** 3,65 15 February 1811, p.258,c.3


138 Kenny, *Perfect Law*, pp.83,84

139 **HGL** 1,16 31 March 1809, p.63,cc.1-2; cf. 1,15 16 March 1809, p.58,c.3

140 Philetus Roberts, *Memoir of Mrs. Abigail Roberts, an account of her birth, early education, Call to the Ministry, varied and extensive labors, and the success which attended her in several states, with many interesting incidents of her life*. Irvington, New Jersey: By Moses Cummings, at the Office of the *Christian Messenger and Palladium*, 1858, p.29

141 Millard, *Memoir of David Millard*, p.58

142 **HGL** 3,74 21 June 1811, p.295,cc.2-3. It lasted three hours.

143 **HGL** 3,70 26 April 1811, p.278,c.2

144 Roberts, *Memoir of Abigail Roberts*, p.30

145 Morrill, *History*, p.103

146 **HGL** 4,8 6 December 1811, p.342,c.2

147 **HGL** 4,26 14 August 1812, p.413,c.3

148 **HGL** 4,15 13 March 1812, p.372,cc.1-2

149 **HGL** 3,66 1 March 1811, p.263,c.1
150  HGL 5,11 22 January 1813, p.460,c.2
152  Fernald,  *Life of Mark Fernald*, p.119; cf  HGL 3,75 5 July 1811, p.300,c.3.
154  Garrison and DeGroot,  *Disciples of Christ*, p.92
155  Hatch,  *Democratization*, p.145, citing de Tocqueville’s  *Democracy in America*
156  Hatch, cited in Fulop, "Smith and the Quest", p.183; cf. Fulop, "Smith and the Quest", p.172
157  Hatch,  *Democratization*, p.11
158  Hatch,  *Democratization*, pp.125-126,129; North,  *Union in Truth*, p.27
159  Kenny,  *Perfect Law*, p.15
160  HGL 3,78 16 August 1811, p.309,c.2. This was evident both to Smith at the time, and to Morrill, who wrote a century later (Morrill,  *History*, p.109).
161  HGL 4,26 14 August 1812, p.413,c.1; 5,23 9 July 1813, p.508,c.3. The state without subscriptions was not specified.
162  HGL 5,23 9 July 1813, p.508,c.3; 5,26 20 August 1813, p.517,c.3. By mid-1815, subscriptions were down to around fourteen hundred (HGL 7,25 29 September 1815, p.720,c.1).
163  HGL 6,24 8 July 1814, p.612,c.3; 7,1 19 August 1814, p.624,cc.2-3
164  HGL 7,1 19 August 1814, p.622,c.1
166  Garrison and DeGroot,  *Disciples of Christ*, p.87,90
167  Morrill,  *History*, p.182
168  Smith,  *Life*, p.402
169  Garrison and DeGroot,  *Disciples of Christ*, p.185
170  Elmer S. Stainton, "The Contribution of Two Christian Connection Preachers to Disciples History in Canada: McIntyre and Ashley," in  *The Campbell-Stone Movement In Ontario*

171 HGL 1,9 22 December 1808, p.33,c.1; cf. 1,42 17 August 1810, p.206,c.1

172 HGL 1,10, 5 January 1809, p.39,c.1; cf. 1,24 21 July 1809, p.95,c.3; 1,38 2 February 1810, p.151,c.3

173 HGL 1,16 29 March 1809, p.64,c.1; 6,25 22 July 1814, p.613,c.2

174 HGL 1,16 29 March 1809, p.64,c.1

175 HGL 1,22, 23 June 1809, p.85,c.3

176 Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, p.63,119,209

177 HGL 4,18 24 April 1812, p.383,c.2

178 HGL 1,38 2 February 1810, p.151,c.3-p.152,c.3. This article is an uncredited reprint of Haggard's An Address to the Different Religious Societies on the Sacred Import of the Christian Name.

179 Purviance, Biography of David Purviance, pp.298,300

180 Purviance, Biography of David Purviance, p.88

181 The pamphlet appears anonymously in the Herald, but the Robertses confirm that the serial pamphlet is a reprint of a work published in the West by Haggard sometime shortly after 1804 (J.W. Roberts and R.L. Roberts, Jr., "Life Fire in Dry Stubble - The Stone Movement 1804-1832 (Part I)," in Restoration Quarterly Vol.7, #3, 1963, p.151). Thomas Campbell arrived at his conclusions in 1809 (McAllister and Tucker, Journey in Faith, p.110).

182 HGL 1,38 2 February 1810, p.151,cc.2-3

183 HGL 1,38 2 February 1810, p.151,c.3

184 Purviance, Biography of David Purviance, pp.77,93

185 North, Union in Truth, p.224

186 Purviance, Biography of David Purviance, p.91


188 Kilgore, O'Kelly Schism, pp.56-57

189 HGL 1,16 29 March 1809, p.64,c.1
190  HGL 1,17 14 April 1809, p.67,c.3; 3,74 21 June 1811, p.295,c.3; cf. 1,38 2 February 1810, p.150,c.3

191  HGL 5,26 20 August 1813, p.517,c.2-3

192  Smith, Life, pp.402,404

193  North, Union in Truth, pp.20,28

194  HGL 3,77 2 August 1811, p.306,c.1

195  Stuart Ivison and Fred Rosser, The Baptists in Upper and Lower Canada before 1820, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976, p.8. Fulop clearly places the New England Connexion in this broader Baptist context (Fulop, "Smith and the Quest", pp.41,43). Although he understands the eschatological overtones of Smith's ideas (Fulop, "Smith and the Quest", p.155), particularly the link between "Interchurch structures and organizations" and "Babylon" (Fulop, "Smith and the Quest", p.206), he fails to grasp the systemic link. The systemic link is the 'aleatory' program to destroy the inherently evil structures in order to clear the way for the Millennium.

196  HGL 1,23 7 July 1809, p.91,c.2; p.92, c.1; 1,24 21 July 1809, p.94,cc.2-3; 1,39 16 February 1810, p.154,c.1

197  HGL 3,64 1 February 1811, p.254,c.1; cf. HGL 4,1 30 August 1811, p.313,c.1: comments on "Bel," ruler of the Babylonians, with the leaders of the various sects being styled "Bels."

198  HGL 4,12 31 January 1812, p.359,c.1; cf. HGL 1,12 2 February 1809, p.47,c.2, where Episcopacy and Calvinism are labelled "babylonish ware" HGL 1,29 29 September 1809, p.116,cc.2-3; cf. HGL 3,64 1 February 1811, p.254,c.1, where the "simple" are described as "merchandize"[sic]; 3,65 15 February 1811, p.258,c.3

199  HGL 5,9 25 December 1812, p.451,c.3. Thomas was apparently unaware of Smith's earlier identification of Thomas Jefferson as the sixth angel of the Apocalypse, because Jefferson's egalitarian, libertarian administration provided the unrestricted environment in which the Christian Connexion could flourish (cf. Hatch, "Millennialism and Popular Religion", p.128).

200  HGL 1,17 14 April 1809, p.66,c.2

201  HGL 4,22 19 June 1812, p.399,c.2. Hatch cites Smith's reaction to the Andover Seminary in much the same language (Hatch, Democratization, p.175).

202  HGL 1,13 16 February 1809, p.49,c.3. Guirey may have used the image in his first letter, published in 1,11 19 January 1809, p.43, but this page is missing from the microform copy
at the Lockwood Library, State University of New York at Buffalo and the original was not available at the Congregational Library of the Americas in Boston.

203 HGL 1,12 2 February 1809, p.47,cc.2-3

204 HGL 1,17 14 April 1809, p.66,cc.1-2

205 HGL 3,61 21 December 1810, p.243,c.3

206 For Guirey see HGL 1,17 14 April 1809, p.65,c.2 (re: Georgia) and HGL 1,17 14 April 1809, p.66,c.2 (re: Virginia). For Thomas, cf. Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, pp.53,60,85,208,250


208 HGL 1,52 17 August 1810, p.206,c.2. Particular examples may be cited from Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont and New York (e.g. HGL 1,41 16 March 1810, p.162,c.3; 1,46 25 May 1810, p.181,c.3; Smith, Life, p.317; Roberts, Memoir of Abigail Roberts, p.21; Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.32; Edmunds, Taylor, pp.29,51).

209 HGL 3,53 31 August 1810, p.210,c.2


211 Hatch, Democratization, p.10; Kenny, Perfect Law, p.131. Dreams figured prominently in the spirituality of such diverse characters as the Episcopal Methodist Freeborn Garrettson, the radical Methodist Lorenzo Dow, the Universalist Caleb Rich, and the Mormon founder Joseph Smith (Hatch, Democratization, pp.36-37,40,114,115,121).

212 Brown, Elijah Shaw, p.18

213 Holland, Memoir of Badger, pp.52,57,67. Badger was baptized by immersion in response to a dream.


215 HGL 4,10 3 January 1812, p.349,c.2ff.

216 Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, p.157
217 Kenny, *Perfect Law*, pp.22,25. For example, a woman in Vermont dreamed in 1808 of a single star which represented a lone faithful gospel minister. Other stars at first attacked it, then joined it, following its south-westward track. Smith’s self-aggrandizing interpretation (he believed that veridical dreams must be linked to truth in waking life) was that many of those who resisted him when he inaugurated his newspaper had now joined him, and his ideas were spreading in the south and west (Smith, *Life*, pp.380-382).

218 Whitaker, "Scholar and Reformer," p.323

219 There are no dreams recorded, for example, in any of the numerous biographical vignettes at the end of Purviance’s biography.

220 Marini, *Radical Sects*, p.19

221 *Gospel Luminary* 2,6 June 1826, pp.135-136. This article was published outside the timeframe of the early period, but refers to events which occurred during the genesis of the movement.

222 Rogers, *Biography of Stone*, p.64

223 Rogers, *Biography of Stone*, pp.22,41,74-75,80,155


225 Nancy Cram (Roberts, *Memoir of Abigail Roberts*, p.18); Frederick Plummer (HGL 3,67 15 March 1811, p.266,c.1; 4,8 20 December 1811, p.345,c.1)


227 HGL 3,74 21 June 1811, p.295,c.3

228 Fernald, *Life of Mark Fernald*, p.121. Such was the case when Fernald visited Lower Canada in 1818. At first he turned sick, but recovered sufficiently to take part in a revival.

229 HGL 3,74 21 June 1811, p.294,c.2


232 HGL 1,2 15 September 1808, p.6,c.1; cf. 1,5 27 October 1808, p.17,c.2

233 Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, pp.186,291

234 HGL 1,18 28 April 1809, p.72,c.3

235 HGL 1,20 26 May 1809, p.80,c.1

236 Christian Herald 2,1 September 1819, p.9,cc.1-2

237 HGL 4,10 3 January 1812, p.350,c.2; 4,12 31 January 1812, p.360,c.3

238 HGL 4,20 22 May 1812, p.391, c.2; 4,23 3 July 1812, p.403,c.3

239 HGL 4,17 10 April 1812, p.380, c.3

240 Smith, Life, p.333

241 Hatch, Democratization, pp.71,185

242 HGL 1,6 10 November 1808, p.23,c.3; 1,52 17 August 1810, p.206,cc.1-2

243 HGL 1,1 1 September 1808, p.1,c.1

244 "LIBERTY LIII," HGL 6,4 15 October 1813, p.535,c.3. There are also several articles with the antonymous title "BONDAGE."

245 Kenny, Perfect Law, p.19


247 Bellah, "Civil Religion," p.5

248 In this, it more resembled the post-Revolutionary French civil religion which Bellah notes (Bellah, "Civil Religion," p.13), than it did the post-Revolutionary American civil religion.

249 Bellah, "Civil Religion," p.9


252 Kenny, *Perfect Law*, p.21, cf. p.15. Kenny defines Smith as a pre-millennialist (p.20), but includes an extensive footnote to explain how Smith's pre-millennialism was not in conflict with his political activism.


254 Holland, *Memoir of Badger*, p.125

255 HGL 1,22 23 June 1809, p.85,cc.1-2; 1,40 2 March 1810, p.157,cc.2; 1,45 25 May 1810, p.181, c.1; 3,69, 12 April 1811, p.273,cc.2-3. The three states still retaining religious laws were Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

256 HGL 4,5 25 October 1811, p.331,cc.3

257 Smith, *Life*, p.407

258 Smith, *Life*, p.ii

259 HGL 1,40 2 March 1810, p.157,cc.2

260 Fulop notes this persistence, but appears a bit puzzled by it, interpreting it as Smith's quasi-paranoid fear that the clergy might succeed at reasserting their former influence (Fulop, "Smith and the Quest", p.220). The persistence makes far more sense if one bears in mind Smith's underlying antipathy to ecclesiastical form, which he perceived to be a hindrance to the Millennium.


262 Hatch, *Democratization*, pp.7,9

263 HGL 4,26 14 August 1812, p.413,cc.3

264 Kenny, *Perfect Law*, p.58

265 Thomas, *The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas*, p.154; emphasis is original. It should be noted that O'Kelly himself retained his belief in "a penal substitution theory of the Atonement." (Kilgore, *O'Kelly Schism*, p.80)


268 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, pp.223-224


270 Rogers, *Biography of Stone*, p.29


272 HGL 4,20 22 May 1812, p.390,c.1; cf. Stokes and Scott, *Christian Church in the South*, pp.44-45

273 HGL 1,16 31 March 1809, p.62,c.2; 1,29 15 September 1809, p.112; 3,76 19 July 1811, p.302,c.3; 3,78 16 August 1811, p.309,c.1; 5,12 5 February 1813, p.462,c.3.

274 HGL 1,3 16 February 1809, p.51,c.1; 1,29, 15 Sept. 1809, c.109,c.1; 1,38 2 February 1810, p.149,c.3; 4,1 30 August 1811, p.314,cc.1-2; 4,22 19 June 1812, p.339, c.2; 4,20 22 August 1812, p.390,c.2. Olbricht misses this rejection, claiming that retention of the doctrine of original sin separated the Christian Connexion from the Unitarians (Thomas H. Olbricht, "Christian Connexion and Unitarian Relations 1800-1844," in *Restoration Quarterly Vol.9*, #3, 1966, p.172).

275 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, p.71


277 Marini, *Radical Sects*, p.95

278 Fernald, *Life of Mark Fernald*, pp.52,55,115,121,148,172. The meeting mentioned on p.121 was held in 1818 in Lower Canada. In this he was not alone. Other Connexion luminaries attending Freewill Baptist yearly meetings included Elijah Shaw (Brown, *Elijah Shaw*, p.48) and Elias Smith (Smith, *Life*, pp.358,361,389).


280 Fernald, *Life of Mark Fernald*, p.23

281 HGL 1,52 17 August 1810, p.206,c.2
282 HGL 3,59 23 November 1810, p.235,c.1; cf. 4,17 10 April 1812, p.380,c.1

283 Roberts, *Memoir of Abigail Roberts*, pp.17-18

284 Holland, *Memoir of Badger*, p.97

285 HGL 7,20 7 July 1815, p.698, c.2; cf. 7,26 22 December 1815, p.722, c.3

286 Brown, *Elijah Shaw*, p.61. This meeting at Sweden, Genesee County, is not to be confused with a meeting four years later at Covington, Genesee County (Holland, *Memoir of Badger*, pp.218ff).

287 Marini, *Radical Sects*, p.143

288 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, p.85

289 Thomas, *The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas*, p.257. These thoughts date from 1814.

290 HGL 1,48 22 June 1810, p.190,c.3; 4,6 8 November 1811, p.333,c.2

291 HGL 3,78 16 August 1811, p.310,c.1. Smith identified sectarians as the heads on the "red dragon" of Revelation 12 (HGL 3,64 1 February 1811, p.253,c.2).

292 HGL 7,7 25 November 1814, p.646,c.3

293 HGL 4,1 30 August 1811, p.315,c.1

294 Fulop, "Smith and the Quest," pp.210,221

295 He himself dated his puzzlement as early as 1793, when he came under the influence of Isaac Watts' books; his disagreement almost prevented his ordination in 1798 (Rogers, *Biography of Stone*, pp.12-13). He was allowed merely to affirm his belief in the Westminster Confession "as far as [he] saw it consistent with the word of God" (Rogers, *Biography of Stone*, p.29).


297 DeGroot, *Disciple Thought*, p.30


299 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, pp.182,183,188,191

300 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, p.293. James Smith, a western Christian preacher, is alleged to have

301 Olbricht, "Connexion and Unitarian Relations," p.166. Smith claimed to have been troubled by the doctrine since 1798 (cf. Smith, Life, p.284).

302 HGL 3,77 2 August 1811, p.305,c.3
303 HGL 3,76 19 July 1811, p.304,c.1
304 HGL 3,75 5 July 1811, p.297,c.3; 3,76 19 July 1811, p.302,c.3; 3,77 2 August 1811, p.305,c.3; 4,24 17 July 1812, p.406,c.2
305 HGL 4,8 6 December 1811, p.341,c.1; cf. 1,17 14 April 1809, p.67,c.1
306 HGL 1,23 7 July 1809, p.91, c.3; cf. 1,29 15 Sept. 1809, p.110,c.2. Stone's Christology was also modalist (Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples of Christ, p.119).

307 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, pp.22-24,30,40. Stokes and Scott argue that the core of O'Kelly's contention with the Methodists was ecclesiological, not theological and that, with minor variations, he remained essentially orthodox doctrinally.

308 HGL 1,17 14 April 1809, p.65,c.2
309 HGL 4,20 22 May 1812, p.390,c.1; cf. 5,1 4 September 1812, p.417,c.2. In March of 1811, while touring the West, Joseph Thomas reported being asked about his beliefs about several doctrines, including the Trinity. His autobiography gives answers for the other issues, but does not mention his views of the Trinity at that time (cf. Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, p.149). W.B. Wellons, writing in 1860, cited Mills Barrett's assertion that in 1810 all in the South were still Trinitarian (William Brock Wellons, The Christians South. Not Unitarians in Sentiment. A Reply to Rev. John Paris' Book, entitled 'Unitarianism Exposed, as it exists in the Christian Church.' &c. Suffolk, Va.: Office of the Christian Sun, 1860, p.33).

310 HGL 6,26 5 August 1814, p.617,c.1
311 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.53, cf. pp.45,48
312 Morrill, History, pp.123,127; Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.37
313 Morrill, History, p.122
314 McAllister and Tucker, *Journey in Faith*, p. 84
315 Thomas, *The Life of Pilgrim Joseph Thomas*, p. 150
316 Garrison and DeGroot, *Disciples of Christ*, pp. 115-116
CHAPTER THREE:
The Arrival of the Aleatory Folk in Upper Canada: 1817-1829

Introduction

This chapter opens by highlighting the Christian Connexion's introduction into Upper Canada. First contact by American Connexion preachers was made in 1817, but no significant move was made until 1821, when a congregation was founded at present-day Keswick. A period of rapid expansion followed, with the establishment of churches along the shores of the western half of Lake Ontario and north toward Lake Simcoe. Growth was sufficient to justify a separate Upper Canada Christian Conference. The precise date of its foundation is controversial; the argument is made herein for 1829, the chapter's terminal point.

The Connexion of this period remained very much outside the ecclesiastical mainstream theologically and organizationally. Key 'aleatory' features persisted, such as the nonlinear arrangements surrounding the formation and internal functioning of congregations and conferences, the place of dreams and portents as alleged sources of divine guidance, periodicals' informational role, and the indeterminate fiscal and travel arrangements of itinerants.

Elias Smith's defection to Universalism in 1817 epitomized the general problem of ministerial fraud. The Connexion, especially in the East, reacted by creating formally-defined conferences, with specified membership lists. The "United States General Conference" formed in 1819. It grew both in terms of number of conferences sending delegates
and of the powers it claimed for itself. Despite this partial redefinition, the movement remained essentially nonlinear and 'aleatory.' The 'aleatory' paradigm, however, was challenged and the seeds of its destruction were sown in this era.

Entry into Upper Canada

While it is probable that members of the Christian Connexion infiltrated Upper Canada before the War of 1812, it is unlikely itinerant elders visited, given their late entry into western New York State, circa 1815.\(^1\) Elijah Shaw's brief visit in January 1817 is the earliest noted incursion by a preacher.\(^2\) Two months later, in March, a preacher identified as "Mr. Moulton" was reported as heading "to Canada across the lakes," after having recently returned to New York from Ohio.\(^7\) David Millard intended to go to Upper Canada in 1818, but was sidetracked by successful work in New York.\(^7\) To put matters in perspective, even if any of these men had conducted an exploratory foray then, it would have been at least fifteen years after itinerants from the Massachusetts Baptists, another non-mainline group, had made their first probes.\(^5\)

Measurable activity in Upper Canada by the Connexion began in 1821, when Mary Stogdill, one of Millard's converts, begged an American preacher to come to Upper Canada.\(^4\) She had moved to the colony in 1817 and, for lack of a Connexion church, joined David Willson's "Children of Peace" at the Sharon Temple.\(^3\) In response to Stogdill's letter, Allan Huntley, an unordained American, toured the area and returned to the United States to report. He was dispatched with two others to "acknowledge a congregation in New Testament order."
This being done, Huntley was ordained by his companions, Joseph T. Bailey and Simeon Bishop, after which Huntley baptized the new converts. Bailey ecstatically crowed that "the first Ordination, the first Baptism, and the first Church organization in U.C.[sic] took place on the 21st of Oct.[sic], 1821." A congregation formed in nearby Newmarket in 1822."

The pace increased late in 1823. Bailey reported preaching in Upper Canada alongside John Blodgett, Asa C. Morrison and "two others." Churches were formed at Ringwood and Brougham in 1824, followed by Darlington in 1825. Two others were added no later than July 1826. A congregation of only five members was formed in Haldemond in October 1826. By 1829, there were ten congregations, including the one at Louth, formed in 1828, and East Gwillimbury (May 1829). Some preachers, such as Blodgett and Isaac Goff, stayed just months, while others, like Bailey and Thomas McIntire, settled for a decade. American organizers Millard and Joseph Badger toured again in 1825 and 1828. The latter informed Barton Stone of progress in the colony. Locals, such as Thomas Henry and Jesse VanCamp, were soon recruited for ministry.

Personnel Links between Regions

Although the demise of Elias Smith's Herald of Gospel Liberty temporarily set back the development of affective bonds between the Eastern, Western and Southern groups, links continued to exist and be developed. The New Yorker Millard, for example, visited the South in 1824. Shortly after, the Ohioan Isaac Walter conducted the first of several tours of the Eastern and Southern states. Eastern 'Christians' also
poured into the Mid-West. Some of these transplants also migrated South, while several Southerners moved to or visited Ohio, where they were warmly welcomed. The overlap was especially pronounced in the West, as evinced by the report of the 1826 Deer Creek [Ohio] Conference in the New York-based *Gospel Luminary*, which reveals an eastward-orientation or consciousness. Joseph Thomas, the eccentric Southern itinerant, was also present.

This depiction of interrelationship, for reasons discussed in Chapter One, will annoy some Restoration Movement scholars. North, convinced that contact between the Eastern and Western wings began in the mid-1820s, cites an item in the 1824 *Christian Herald* to the effect that Badger was going west to gather information on that region's history and to open correspondence between them. The discussion in the previous chapter indicates that Badger was merely reestablishing contact. The Easterners, furthermore, were just beginning to gather material to write their region's history.

North also insists that Badger was rebuffed in 1826 by Western leaders for talking too strongly about organization. One must note that the cool reception was due precisely to Badger's leading role with the forces of overt organization, not his adhesion to a different body. Millard visited the West after Badger and claimed to have assuaged Stone's concerns about incipient "sectarianism" in the East. His account is corroborated by the courtesy accorded Joseph Marsh by Kentuckians in 1828. The minutes of a conference in Bourbon County note several visiting elders, including Marsh, without distinguishing that he hailed from another region.
Aleatory Interrelationships

The alleged independent arrival of preachers at the same basic 'aleatory' program captivated Connexion leaders' imagination. This seemed to prove the paradigm's divine origin. Not only prominent writers, such as William Kinkade, but also four ordinary Canadian preachers claimed that they had derived by themselves a belief in the Bible as the only creed and "Christian" as only name. Frederick Whitfield insisted he had reached such an opinion while living in New Brunswick, only finding like-minded folk after moving to Upper Canada. John Earl and Henry Wood drew similar conclusions autonomously. Elijah Sharrard spoke of the truth as self-evident to anyone perusing the "naked" Bible just "as it reads." This insight combined a folk version of 'commonsense' with belief in the supernatural. He believed that truth embedded in the biblical text would emerge, by a God-ordered process, to the truly inquiring mind.

The persecution of Connexion preachers received a two-fold interpretation from them. Its appearance in Kentucky, northern New York, and Upper Canada both validated the apparent restoration of primitive Christianity (i.e. they had duplicated the persecution found in the New Testament) and underscored the essential unity of the regional movements. Whereas threats of imprisonment in New England arose from non-payment of taxes, in Canada and points west resistance appears to have been simply because of their tenets. In 1829, while near St. Catharine's, Solomon B. Rose had preached the Connexion's nostrum that the destruction of "partition walls" (i.e. denominations and their Books of Discipline or creeds)
would result in the pure church arising therefrom as a temple fit for God." Local Methodist and Presbyterian preachers apparently took his violent rhetoric at face value, securing his arrest for disturbing the peace." Rose's report betrays the evolution in this era of the 'aleatory' motif of "walls." Preachers now described their work as being "on the walls" (i.e. 'of Zion')." The phrase is from the twelfth chapter of Nehemiah, in which the rededication of Jerusalem included priests parading on the walls. The scent of victory seemed to be in the air. When the charges were dropped, Rose not only claimed vindication, but the removal of one of the last impediments to the Connexion's success. He believed colonists would now turn wholesale to its 'aleatory' vision.

The Connexion's early growth resulted from the itinerancy of a horde of unpaid volunteers. Deliberate randomization, a key 'aleatory' element, surfaces once again. If preachers obeyed God, they believed, God would providentially meet their fiscal needs. From the human standpoint, this was taking one's "life in his hand" and trusting to apparently random supply, while by faith one trusted God for provision, as had Elijah." A corollary was that should spiritually-incompetent preachers venture out, God would still bring order from the apparent randomness of human activity, arranging events to purge the pretender and confirm the genuine." Full implementation was an unattained 'aleatory' goal. Elijah Gleason, in an early example of what would become a constant refrain of needing more ministers, bewailed having to restrict work to the already established churches in near Trafalgar, rather than fresh outreach, because of lack of labourers."
Knight notes that the Connexion "emphasized Christian freedom by avoiding all church organization above the congregational level." This is true, as far as it goes. A more profound process was at work. The Christians did not form strict regulatory bodies, but convened in nonlinear extra-congregational gatherings in a way which gave them a distinct and discernable identity. Not only did the Connexion reject 'lines of authority' beyond the congregation, but within it as well, where affective bonds were all that existed.

The nonlinear relations within congregations were an important 'aleatory' feature of the Connexion's system. In the early days of the Canadian movement, a new church was "acknowledged" by an Elder, who simply acted as a witness.” The minister did not have to be local. J.T. Baily of New York and Elijah Shaw from New England oversaw the Darlington church's formation. Some preachers merely preached, then moved on to new territory without gathering a congregation.” On the other hand, even such loosely-bound groups as those usually "acknowledged" by a minister often were not merely nominal but exhibited a considerable sophistication in their operations. Abigail Roberts had preached at Milford, New York in January 1827; a meeting house was erected in 1828, but the congregation was not formally organized until October 1829.”

This nonlinearity is perhaps best understood as the swing of the organizational pendulum away from the rigidity and conformity of practice which early Connexion preachers held to exist in other denominations. In its place, Shaw noted that they taught "that love and christian[sic] fellowship was all the bond or organization necessary to constitute a church."
This flexibility was evidenced in the attitude toward church membership. Shaw also lamented that because of this understanding, early Christian preachers "neglected to collect the members and admit the church by a particular act." When in 1825 Thomas Henry and others presented themselves for baptism and church membership, the crowd at the grove meeting went to the apparent formality of a vote. The nonlinear character of the vote is revealed, however, in the fact that Baptists present were allowed to vote on whether or not candidates should be admitted to the Christian congregation."

The monthly meeting for worship, prayer and testimony called the Fellowship Meeting became both an important means to sustain camaraderie and the closest approximation to internal organization within congregations to be found in this era. Milo Morrill traces their origins to Vermont, about 1812." They were common, but not universal, by 1825." Although lacking explicit scriptural precedent, supporters argued that the meetings were akin to the apostles' regular mutual consultations. Attendees screened candidates for baptism and membership, and conducted "labors," to adjudicate grievances and apply church discipline.

Worship in early Connexion churches was probably similar to that in other revival-inclined denominations, with some oddities. Buildings owned by congregations were simply "meeting houses;" leaders opined that calling them "churches" originated in "Mystery Babylon," that is, the organized denominations." Preaching tended to be vital and passionate, aimed at altering the audience's behaviour, not their minds." Preachers were not immobilized behind a "costly desk," but
were free to rove the crowd, personalizing the point as necessary. Nor was the sermon's content organized and linear. Nancy Towle claimed that trying to preach from a particular Bible text robbed her of inner connection with God and ruined the preaching. The Connexion continued to reject specific training for ministry, a New England conference in 1829 voting to "disapprove" such educational institutions.

Dreams and impressions were still expected as means of divine guidance. Badger's spiritual pilgrimage was marked by dreams. Henry's biographer noted that dreams were related at baptism or on other occasions when one recounted one's "experience," but noted Henry's embarrassment because he had had no visions or dreams. Such a deficiency implied an incomplete experience of New Testament religion. Few seem to have been surprised when visionary episodes turned bizarre: J.R. Hoag's conversion testimony, for example, included an out-of-body experience guided by the "angel of peace."

Portent observation and the miraculous continued to fascinate members in all regions. An Eastern paper carried articles such as "Signs of the Times," which attempted to correlate current affairs with material in the Book of Revelation. The conjunction of a revival in parts of the South in 1821-1822 and the Suffolk County slave rebellion struck some whites as a harbinger of the end. In the West, Kinkade wrote at length about miracles, including his firm belief that David Haggard exercised the apostolic gift of healing. Samuel Rogers credited Kinkade for spreading these ideas and forcing the search for portents to a fever-pitch. In the era immediately after the War of 1812, Rogers himself
had sought the performance of miracles as apostolic credentials, but rejected the idea after reading Campbell." The onset of alleged miracles had ethical implications; it bespoke the attainment of a greater degree of perfection, a full experience of restored New Testament power. It was a double-edged sword: one preacher "apostatized" because his ministry did not display "the signs following," leading him to doubt not only his ability, but his own ethical integrity.

The Role of Periodicals in an Aleatory System

Periodicals still provided an information-rich environment in which affective, nonlinear bonds could develop. The process was dealt a temporary blow by the demise of Smith's editorship when he defected to the Universalists. Despite some contraction in the seven months when the Connexion was without a paper, a fairly broad subscription base survived. Robert Foster, who bought the subscription list and renamed the paper the Christian Herald, still had subscribers from the South (North Carolina, Georgia and Virginia), and the West (Ohio). Correspondents continued to forward reports from North and South Carolina and Virginia.

New periodicals also displayed an interregional character. The Western leader Stone, for example, took the New York State-based Gospel Luminar y. The Luminar y was read in the South. With official agents in Virginia and North Carolina, it eventually made its way into Georgia and Alabama. Within the year, John Blodgett became the Canadian agent. Nascent organizationalism reared its head in this department as well, with moves as early as 1826 to put
periodicals under conference control. Each paper carried annual conferences minutes, sometimes from other regions.

Stone's Christian Messenger gave the Western Connexion what little cohesion and coherence it had. Despite insisting that there be no fixed dogmatic statements, Stone willingly fielded questions of theology or the Bible, publishing what appeared as the correct or authoritative response to a wide range of issues. Stone's paper was also interregional: Simon Clough was agent in New York City and Millard was appointed for upstate New York.

Relationships with other Christian Denominations

This period also witnessed the softening of some Connexion members' attitudes to other denominations. Benjamin Taylor preached in various denominations' pulpits. Elijah Shaw accepted reports of revival among Presbyterians and Congregationalists, a most unexpected quarter because those denominations were generally discounted by members of the Connexion as fossilized former churches. The criterion for acceptance appears to have been an ill-defined sense of freedom in the spirit and evangelistic zeal.

Relations with marginal Baptist groups thus tended to be warm, despite the era's formalization of the lines between the Connexion and the Freewill Baptists. The two bodies held a "religious convention" in western New York in 1820 to promote greater union. Contention centred on the Connexion's willingness to admit the unimmersed to congregational membership. By 1823, lines were so pronounced that Fernald served as "official" liaison between the two at a New England
meeting. Taylor accepted a "Six Principles" Baptist pulpit in Massachusetts. The other significant link initiated in this period was with the Reform Baptists, under the leadership of Alexander Campbell and Walter Scott. As early as 1826, Badger expressed concern about Campbell. Reaction in the West was generally more positive. Campbell's paper, the Christian Baptist, had been circulating in Upper Canada by 1828.

Hostile reactions to other bodies were more typical. Roberts, when ejected from an 1826 Methodist camp-meeting, was challenged why she did not preach to the heathen. She snapped that it seemed she already was among them. The Bible was mined for insults against opponents. All accepting stated salaries were "hireling priests" doomed soon to fall "Dagon-like." All who insisted on fixed symbolic documents created "Babal[sic]-confusion." Less skilfully mixing metaphors, Rose referred to his 1829 opponents as "Babel builders" wanting to turn him "out of the synagogue."
The posture fostered proselytization within the broader Christian community, rather than evangelism of the unconverted.

Unusual Theological Emphases

In addition to organizational peculiarities, the entire Christian Connexion of this era also stood outside the mainstream because of unusual theology. The theological anthropology which underpinned its ecclesiology continued to be robustly Pelagian. Most embraced unitarian theology in the course of this era.

Evidence of Pelagian-like theological anthropology is still readily found in this period. Connexion apologists
continued to attack Calvinistic conceptions of the relationship of Creator and creature, rejecting the twinned ideas of election and the saints' perseverance, as well as the substitutionary atonement. Their concern was not theoretical, but practical. They believed such ideas bred complacency, which in turn undercut the motivation to holiness. Kinkade urged that there was no damnable heresy except what lead to damnable practices. He further insisted that God's promise of pardon was held out "on no harder conditions, than just to forsake their evil practices and lead a virtuous life." What mattered was not a former experience of religion, but its present practice. This emphasis was shared by Rose, by then Secretary of the Upper Canada Conference. He declared that no barrier existed between anyone and God, except particular sinful acts. Christ's role was not to pay an alleged hereditary debt, but "to induce us to substitute holiness [for sin]...showing us how to save ourselves in abstaining from vice and practising virtue."

Unitarianism

Around the time it entered Upper Canada, the Connexion became even more self-consciously unitarian in theology. The slogan "one God and one Mediator" appeared as the title of a sermon published in 1819. Joseph Blackmar's conversion to antitrinitarianism came as he preached in Canada, from reading Millard's 1823 True Messiah in Scripture Light. Millard took a 'strict constructionist' line, arguing against Trinitarianism because of the combined silence of Old Testament Judaism, the New Testament text and the early
The doctrine also appeared unreasonable to him. Perhaps most damning, in his eyes, were the doctrine's ethical repercussions. He repeated Johann Lorena Mosheim's contention that members of the Council of Constantinople, at which Trinitarianism was elaborated, were more degenerate than those of Nicea, which had left the doctrine of God less clearly defined. In light of the Connexion's conviction that character was the only legitimate test for fellowship, this was no small matter. Trinitarians were not merely wrong, but wicked and thus unworthy of fellowship.

Canadian preachers, such as R.S. Bliss, reported that "the doctrine of one God, and one Mediator between God and man, is received" in the colony. He likened the doctrine of the Trinity to an "idol" and Trinitarian preachers to the Ephesian "craftsmen." The mercenary angle also figured in McIntire's characterization of Trinitarian ministers as "merchants of Babylon," willing to sell false religion to make a living. Rose claimed that the civil authorities arresting him in 1829 would have, if permitted, executed him as John Calvin had the Unitarian Servetus.

Antitrinitarianism was also well-established in the West. Unable to avoid clear evidence of Stone's rejection of the Trinity, Winfred Garrison and Alfred DeGroot argue that Stone was atypical of the West, speaking only for himself on Christology and the atonement. Against this assertion stands an extended discussion of Christology in David Purviance's biography. He clearly rejected not only the term "Trinity" as non-biblical, but also the concept of Christ's deity, renouncing specifically the idea that Jesus is the "very and
eternal God" and pointedly adopted subordinationism: Jesus was not the "supreme God," but "subject to God."\textsuperscript{119} Nathan Worley, another early stalwart also denied that Christ is "very God."\textsuperscript{120} Kinkade's \textit{Bible Doctrine} dedicated an entire section to demonstrating "that there is but one self-existing independent God...the Father."\textsuperscript{121} He held that rejection of the Trinity was essential in order to restore the church to New Testament ethical purity.\textsuperscript{122} Thus North rightly counters Garrison and DeGroot, insisting that Campbell's objection to the name "Christian" as tainted by the New England movement's unitarianism was facile, since Campbell had to ignore similar unitarianism in the West.\textsuperscript{123}

Antitrinitarianism provided yet another distinctive bond between the Eastern (which included Canada), Western and Southern\textsuperscript{124} Christians, a notable commonality which set them apart radically from most denominations. Adherence to the tenet should thus be viewed in the context of the movement's expansionism. Proclaiming their Arian-like Christology was a central task in their herculean enterprise of supplanting the orthodox denominations. It was natural to seek like-minded bodies as allies. An international bond was established by 1823, when a General Baptist near London, England, contacted some of the Americans.\textsuperscript{125} The 1826 United States General Conference appointed a committee to correspond with these British antitrinitarians.\textsuperscript{126}

In more practical terms, the Eastern Connexion began in the 1820s to explore potential institutional links with the American Unitarian Association. Connexion leaders viewed "Unitarian" as an accurate appellation; Simon Clough affirmed
that the Christians were "strictly Unitarian in [their] sentiments" and expressed the hope that Congregationalists in New Jersey who had recently become Unitarian would simply join the amorphous Connection. While the Unitarian Association might be viewed as faltering, the Connection continued to grow, so that it behoved the two groups to cooperate in the face of growing Trinitarian opposition. Cooperation extended to publishing; in 1826 Millard was appointed as agent for a Unitarian paper and in 1828 the groups exchanged copyrights, allowed one of Noah Worcester's books to be published by New York 'Christians,' while Millard's True Messiah was reprinted by New England Unitarians. The growing links indicate not only that the Christian Connexion remained well outside the mainstream, but that its leaders were willingly associated with religious dissidents.

The Apologetic for Organization

Morrill says "incipient" organization in the South was first discernable around 1814. The apologetic for organization took form most ruggedly in the East, however, where Smith's defection to Universalism was a major factor in the adoption of a more rigid conference structure. Badger, in response to orthodox attacks, also distanced himself from Smith. By 1817, he and Millard were agitating a well-defined and regulated system with a national convention and procedural guidelines for local conferences. Centralization was touted as a solution to the more generalized problem of fraudulent ministers.

Further pressure for overt order was exerted by
preachers' increasing settlement with one church. The regularity of leadership required more strict oversight precisely because the problem would not just go away. Some grasped that preventing abuses entailed less work than correction. Papers had served an important, if unofficial, function to expose impostors, but they were inadequate safeguards. They needed augmentation by some other routine to weed out disruptive preachers. Expansion into new regions also required a reliable corps of preachers, willing to accept direction. In 1817, Badger urged a renegade to submit voluntarily to the advice of "some enlightened council."

While vigorously defending 'aleatory' rhetoric, leaders in the Connexion began to shift away from strictly 'aleatory' practice. Trust in a God-induced order was gradually displaced as definable lines of power and authority beyond the congregation emerged. Eastern apologists for organization attacked as "unscriptural" the common practice of ordination after a simple public show of hands, urging acceptance only of Connexion-sanctioned ministers. The start of delegated conferences constituted a major reinterpretation of the movement's tradition, the beginning of a process by which the 'aleatory' paradigm was redefined and, ultimately, superseded.

"Elders' conferences," informal gatherings of preachers, had been held for many years. A more structured meeting took place at Windham, Connecticut in 1816, at which a broader scheme of state and national organizations was bruited. The 1817 general meeting in New Bedford, Massachusetts was the Connexion's first delegated conference. It was almost entirely a New England affair, as was the next year's
conference. Nelson Millar of Virginia represented the South in 1818. The United States General Convention called in 1819 by the New Englanders differed significantly from earlier meetings. It was primarily a business meeting, with preaching limited to the first day. Elders were urged to stay until the end; none was recognized as participants unless they attended every session. Organizational concerns topped the agenda. The 1819 meeting, although not composed of official delegates, was the first to provide formally for its continuation by mandating the first delegated United States Christian Convention, held in 1820.

The 1819 Convention also marked a profound change in attitude toward records management. Morrill, apparently relying on an oral source, indicated that the early Southern conferences burned the conference minutes at the rise of the session. Minutes of the 1819 General Convention survived. This either suggests Morrill's information was erroneous or, in keeping with other trends toward a more linear organization, the preservation of minutes reflects the passing of the older practice in favour of a more conventional approach to minute-taking. Just two years later, the Connexion began to publish an Almanac, which made available information on the number and location of congregations, as well as ministers' addresses. The Almanac represented an attempt to reduce to statistics what had previously been held solely in affective terms.

The development of "national" conferences was not a "second generation" movement. Millard and Badger were both converts from the first wave of expansion and the New England
pioneer Abner Jones was a key player in the process, one of three members of the 1826 General Convention business committee. Within one generation, the Connexion had deviated sufficiently from its 'aleatory' roots that Clough could refer to it as a "denomination."

Initially, the General Convention had a limited existence; while the Secretary published the minutes, no executive or standing committees existed. The debate over the precise form and role of the Convention continued for years. The 1820 United States General Convention claimed power to deal with questions referred to it by churches, as long as decisions did not interfere with internal congregational government. The body instead tackled large-scale questions of vision. There were many areas where the Connexion's novel doctrinal and organizational tenets had not been proclaimed. The 1825 General Convention urged conferences to support continued expansion by creating funds to reimburse travelling evangelists.

Many regional conferences formed in the East between 1818 and 1820 and in the West around 1820. By 1820, some of these local conferences in the East had adopted concrete measures to minimize the opportunities for ministerial imposture, such as preparing and reading in public lists of ministers considered in fellowship with them, requiring ministers to belong to a "Christian" congregation, and formal reception of Elders who had transferred from another conference. Many elders of long-standing affiliation with the movement, such as Shaw, formalized that relationship by joining a conference. These conferences initially exercised
little real power, but their creation indicates a profound shift in attitude, toward linear organization. They provided leadership, for example, in systematic money management. The Upper Canada Conferences urged its congregations to appoint collectors of funds donated to support ministers, while the New York Western Christian Conference (NYWCC) empowered five itinerants to organize churches with tangible internal structure in order to support evangelists.

The passage of a handful of years altered the scene radically. Despite assurances to the contrary, rigid organization began to emerge. The New York Western Conference had a standing clerk by 1822, in order to provide continuity and permanence of records. Just four years later the same body approved a "traveling[sic] committee," or executive, to deal with business matters arising before the next annual meeting. In 1826, the New York Central Conference restricted its membership to elders and two delegates per church. Millard seemed content to distinguish between this *ad hoc* adoption of overt organization, still subject to conference vote at each session, and a more formalized constitution.

There had been no single controversial step leading to a drastic redefinition, but a series of incremental changes. By 1826 the General Convention itself had standing committees, most notably one overseeing the transfer of ministers between conferences. It was a reasonable move to limit fraud, but the committee's existence rendered the group more rigid both in terms of the existence of organization apart from a mass meeting and its specific mandate, which began to remove ministerial mobility from the preachers' perceived direct,
nonlinear reception of divine guidance. Yet the organizers did not recognize that the changes posed a threat to the 'aleatory' paradigm or its Pelagian foundation, which they were as yet unwilling to challenge, as indicated by the following incident.

It is perhaps not unnatural, as the Southern wing was a decade older than its siblings, that the first formal constitution was adopted there. The 1825 Virginia Conference initiative provided for the regular keeping and publication of records, vested the right to make binding rules in the conference, and provided that it alone had the authority to confer ordination and accept or reject prospective members. It further undertook to insure congregations "a republican form of government." The initiative's explicitly linear character astounded even the pro-organizational Millard.

The Virginian document was not, in practice, at odds with the Eastern developments. It differed by making explicit what Eastern organizers merely implied, that humans had a role in the creation of ecclesiastical order, including setting guidelines within which the Bible may be understood. Millard objected to adopting a mere human document (a constitution) to prevent the adoption of a mere human document (a creed) in place of the Bible alone. Guarantees of congregational autonomy were, he believed, undermined by the constitution's inherently regulatory nature. The Virginia Conference published a 16 page "Vindication," which elicited a surrejoinder from Millard, who again stressed that "religious constitutions" were substitutes for the Bible. The document, which was only a little ahead of its time, was not rescinded.
A movement for a centralized conference system was not agitated in the West until 1827. The Madriver[sic] Conference by then insisted that all churches within its bounds send reports and stated messengers. Proponents within the Alabama Conference spoke of promoting "a more general union & uniform understanding," without "legislating." Although the conference concept took root more slowly in the West, regional advocates of a broader conference were also "first generation." The main difference between the Western movement and its two partners was the continued active leadership of an original visionary. All three seminal thinkers were alive, but Smith had thoroughly disgraced himself and O'Kelly had withdrawn from public life after his painful 1810 confrontation with Guirey. Only Stone remained to foster the aleatory vision.

Stone's vision has baffled scholars. Morrill describes the elder-statesman's teaching as having a "penumbra of intangibility, a sort of theoretical impracticability." To his credit, Morrill rightly identifies Stone's concept of "Christian union," likening the "less tangible but real spirit of unity and brotherhood" to the mingling of two drops of water. Perceptively, he also notes the interaction of the Freewill Baptists and 'Christians' in New England as a similar instance of this vague union. His interpretative problem lay in the lack of a suitable analytical framework. Stone's vision was uncompromisingly 'aleatory,' positing the existence of a fellowship of Christians which falls short of order, but which is more than mere anarchy.

The first issue of Stone's Christian Messenger laid out
his concept of unity. It grew from a belief that Christians coming to the Bible without presuppositions could expect to extract its truth by means of reason. As folk discovered these verities, human forms of order, John the Baptist-like, would diminish as Christ and his method increased. As an unstoppable result, he believed, Christians would start "flowing together" and others would come to faith because of the model of unity. A year later he repeated the sentiment, averring that "the Bible has never divided christians,"[sic] but that disunity was frequently caused by an unspiritual preacher interfering with believers trying to "flow together" with no creed but the Bible nor any name but Christian."

The Western Connexion was neither isolationist nor anarchist. A pseudonymous writer defended conferences if such gathered solely to share information and fellowship, not to pass legislation. On this point Stone expanded his own 'aleatory' view of interrelationship. Christ ruled the church directly and did not need representatives. Human efforts to organize had merely increased division. The disparity between the Baptists' and the Connexion's ecclesiology was, essentially, the absence among the latter of a codified basis of interrelationship: "We have no other bonds than the bonds of charity and peace, and righteousness, founded on the word of God." The result was not anarchy, but a different non-coercive unity. It was from emulation of the New Testament simplicity, in which Stone failed to discern overt organization, that God would elicit true order among the faithful, a God-organized criticality.

To Stone, disunity was a problem of piety, not
administration:

Faith in a present Saviour as the only head, shepherd, and leader, and humble obedience to his word, as his voice...will bring the church right, and abiding in him she shall shine forth in her primitive glory."101

This unity no restrictive church law could achieve. Stone's vision rejected the traditional view of church organization as discrete, punctiliar, digital units, whether those units be congregations or denominations. In its place he erected a model of a continuous, flowing, nonlinear throng. This loose, affective bonding was exemplified by the advice Stone urged upon the Baptist Association in Meigs County, Ohio, to throw off their creeds and join the 'Christians.'102 They simply voted themselves out of existence, and with visible tokens of affection, proclaimed themselves united!

Despite Stone's firm opposition, the idea of well-defined conferences gained ground in the West. Control of ministerial imposture played a role. A major reason for Western suspicion of Eastern preachers was a series of bad experiences with itinerants not in good standing heading west, where they committed fresh offences. By 1826, itinerants entering the region were required to provide not only a letter of standing from the eastern conference to which they belonged, but a letter from the state governor, approbating their character.103 Purviance urged that ministerial function be restricted to those formally ordained by a group including at least one ordained minister.104 Those thus set apart should receive a "letter...such as in the eye of the civil law may be called a license."105 Careful record-keeping thus became important as the list of ordained persons grew. Yet the Western Connexion remained leery of keeping fixed conference minutes, especially
if such documents might be cited as precedents.\footnote{186}

Formation of an Upper Canadian 'Christian Conference'

It was against this background that a conference formed in Canada. This chapter is arranged upon an assumption which would have startled many members of that conference during the last century and a third: the first formal meeting convened in 1829. Henry's biographer, with no reason to doubt his veracity, repeated his claim to have attended the conference meeting at Darlington in 1825 and every year thereafter until his death.\footnote{187} Conference meetings were numbered on the basis of this claim.\footnote{188} The question of the actual date of the first session was raised by the silence of Connexion newspapers in 1825 and 1826, which normally carried most conference minutes, but the case for setting 1829 as the date of the first Upper Canada Conference rests on positive evidence.

The later date is supported by continued American oversight of the Canadian movement until 1829. The 1825 Almanac listed only one Canadian church, included with the NYWCC.\footnote{189} The 1825 NYWCC set several general meetings within its territory, including one in Newmarket.\footnote{190} It is unlikely, even in an ill-defined, loose system, that one conference would appoint meetings within the bounds of another Conference, if it existed. Although both worked in Canada, Jesse Church and Thomas McIntire were ordained at the 1826 NYWCC meeting.\footnote{191} McIntire also sat on the NYWCC "traveling committee" for 1826-1827.\footnote{192} The NYWCC, whose territory originally included Upper Canada, was not subdivided until its 1827 meeting, when the New York and Erie Conference was
formed. The unassailable evidence for accepting 1829 as the first Canadian conference is the specific statement in the 1829 minutes: "Agreed that we separate from the N.Y. Western Christian Conference, to be known in future as the 'Upper Canada Christian Conference.'" 194

A simple solution is to say Henry erred. Yet his biography, based on diaries and other contemporary evidence, suggests not. 195 The explanation lies instead in the events' nonlinear nature. General meetings and conferences were commonly held together in Ontario, 196 New York, 197 Connecticut 198 and the South. 199 The conduct of such events could be quite fluid, including funerals. 200 The two meetings were not identical, but their close temporal and physical association, with the general meeting occupying the larger amount of time and being the sole interest of most lay attendees, explains why a distinction between the two became clear only with time.

By 1833, Henry clearly identified the two types of meetings, noting more than one general meeting was planned in Upper Canada. 201 Prior to that, there appears to have been only one general meeting per year in the colony, which would add to the potential confusion of the forms. It is likely at the early general meetings that itinerants met apart from the rest, in order to discuss matters of specific interest. 202 Given that Henry was recommended for ministry in 1829, 203 and not licensed until 1830, 204 it is plausible that he had not participated in the business gathering until 1829. 205 Later he could honestly recollect that he had been at conference meetings since his 1825 conversion, because there was no practical difference to him between the general meetings of
1825-1828 and the general meeting and conference of 1829. The formation of the Upper Canada Conference does indicate, however, a changing attitude to organization rising in the movement as a whole. Its form was far from fixed, there were no permanent officers or records, and the roles of ad hoc officers were not well defined. Affective bonds were still the norm; they merely covenanted to meet again.

Conclusion

The new movement appeared well-established and flourishing. The Upper Canada Conference was the northernmost wing of a diverse, regionally-focussed movement reaching from the British Maritime possessions to Georgia, then west to the Mississippi. Within the colony, there were seven preachers serving ten congregations with perhaps six hundred members. The churches, formed around the rate of one per year, stretched from St. Catharines, around the head of Lake Ontario, as far east as Whitby, as well as north along the eastern side of Yonge Street, to Lake Simcoe's south shore.

The movement's organizational ideology was still, at the era's close, primarily 'aleatory.' Prominent nonlinear traits remained: flexible formation of congregations and affective membership within them; Fellowship Meetings to sustain affective bonds among members; simple worship in which preachers who eschewed formal education offered passionate, loosely-organized sermons; informal fiscal arrangements; purported divine counsel through portent observation, veridical dreams and impressions; the powerful informational role played by periodicals. Yet only one of the original
visionaries, Barton Stone, still actively led a regional wing. Smith's apostasy and O'Kelly's retirement rendered the Eastern and Southern groups less resistant to innovation.

While 'love' was still touted as the only necessary bond, several provisional organizational forms arose in response to fraud or apostasy and the group's need to expand. A national convention and local conferences controlled ministerial membership, appointed standing officers and provided other leadership. Despite this undeniable linearization, organizers refused to mount a direct assault on the 'aleatory' paradigm by adopting codified systems of rules. Yet first-generation leaders had unwittingly set in motion a process by which the 'aleatory' paradigm would be thoroughly reinterpreted and, eventually, gutted of its singularity.

There were no marked theological changes in this period. The antitrinitarianism present from the start became nearly universal. Although no tenet could be enforced because of the movement's nonlinearity, virtually all the Connexion's preachers adhered to the Pelagian anthropology which undergirded the 'aleatory' system.

The Connexion's 'aleatory' ideology and unusual emphases left them hostile toward other denominations, proselytizing within the broad Christian community, rather than with unreached groups, such as natives. There were grounds in 1829 for optimism that their distinctive theology and operational mode would soon displace the 'orthodox' denominations. The only cloud on the horizon was the infiltration of Alexander Campbell's ideas into the Connexion. How unprepared they were for the storms soon to break over them.
REFERENCES

1 Jabez King was apparently the first (Christian Palladium [hereafter cited as CP] III,1 May 1, 1834, p.19,c.1.). Several others began touring that region the next year [Leticia J. Brown, Memoir of Elder Elijah Shaw by his daughter. With an introduction by Elder D. Millard (Boston, L.J. Shaw and Philadelphia, Christian General Book Concern 1852), pp.8,54].

2 Brown, Elijah Shaw, pp.62-63. He crossed the Niagara River at Queenston, rode south to Fort Erie and reentered the United States without preaching.


4 Christian Herald (hereafter cited as CH) 1,1 July 1818, p.40,c.1


8 CH 4,5 20 November 1821, p.106,c.2

9 The Canada Christian Conference Minutes July 8th 1844-66 (Manuscript minute book, hereafter cited as Canada Minutes and the specific Conference session by year), 1849, p.10

Association 1912), p.125].

11 Charter of Ringwood Church (2 October 1824). John Blodgett, Jesse Church and Thomas McIntire were present.

12 The 75th Annual Conference of the Christian Church in Ontario (hereafter all Ontario Conference Minutes published after the close of the 1866 manuscript minute book will be cited as Ontario Minutes and the specific Conference session by year), 1900, p.22,c.1

13 Gospel Luminary (hereafter cited as GL) 2,1 January 1826, pp.17-18. It was formed 19 November 1825.

14 GL 2,7 July 1826, p.163

15 Canada Minutes 1848, p.7

16 Christian Repository (hereafter cited as CR) I,7 July 1829, p.217

17 Canada Minutes 1848, p.7

18 Holland, Memoir of Badger, p.267. Goff was in Upper Canada from circa May 1826 until September 1827 [Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.277; cf. HGL LXXIX,6 10 February 1887, p.82,c.2]. When Goff was ordained by the NYWCC 27 September 1827, he was only seventeen; ordination sermon by Fernald, prayer by Elder Thomas McIntire [Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.278].


20 Millard, Memoir of David Millard, pp.85ff; Holland, Memoir of Badger, p.300

21 CM I,9 25 July 1827, p.215

22 Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.46

23 Millard, Memoir of David Millard, pp.70ff. Eastern literature also made its way South: W.B. Wellons read Badger from "childhood" (cf. Holland, Memoir of Badger, p.473).


25 One a town in Ohio commonly called "Christian Settlement" because most of them were migrating members of the Christian Connexion (GL 2,11 November 1826, p.247).
26 Thomas Adams of Cincinnati spent a few months in Virginia in 1826 [GL 2,10 October 1826, pp.242-243].

27 John O'Kane (who later became a Disciple) moved from Virginia to the Ohio/Indiana area around 1827 [Joseph Franklin and J.A. Headington, The Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin (St. Louis, John Burns 1879), p.141]; in 1832 James Williamson went from North Carolina Christian Church to Ohio, where he joined the Miami Conference [Gilbert Romine Hammond, Album of Christian Ministers, churches and lay workers and colleges (Marshalltown, Iowa, Arme Printing Co. 1915), p.133]; followed in 1833 by Elijah Williamson, who had been preaching 12 years in the South before [Hammond, Album, p.133]. The eccentric Southerner Joseph Thomas was accepted into the Madriver (Ohio) Conference in 1827 [CM I,12 25 October 1827, p.279].

28 CM I,2 25 December 1827[sic; actually 1826], p.44. Gardner and Walter adhered unswervingly to the Christian Connexion, while Rogers united with the Disciples. Alkire tried to maintain connections with both camps, but remained with the Christians. Walter later served as pastor of the Connexion’s New York City church [McKinney, Memoir of Isaac Walter, p.106].

It may be that the conference secretary forwarded the minutes to the Gospel Luminary before becoming aware of Stone’s plans to publish the Christian Messenger. The point remains valid, in any case, that the conference was sufficiently oriented to the Eastern movement to ask that the minutes be published.

29 See the discussion in Chapter One, pp.60ff.


31 GL 2,10 October 1826, p.237. Millard's 1833 trip, in the wake of the initial Campbell-Stone unions, was also in part to gather further historical data [Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.144]. Millard, writing in 1836, a full eleven years after his first visit to the colony, asked the clerks of the Upper Canadian congregations to put together an authentic account of their group [CP V,2 16 May 1836, p.28,c.1]. It could hardly be argued that this indicates his ignorance of their general history!

32 North, Union in Truth, p.202. Others clearly welcomed Badger, as indicated in one of North’s own earlier citations of a letter from a Western preacher to the Gospel Luminary [North, Union in Truth, p.66].

33 Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.144

34 CM III,1 November 1828, p.21. The three were "Jos. Marsh from N.[sic] York, Matthew Gardner from Ohio, and Jas.H.[sic]
Evans from the SouthEast Conference in Kentucky."


36 Humphreys, Deceased Christian Ministers, p.390. Whitfield was a native of England, living there long enough to have significant memories (Newmarket Era 26 June 1857, p.2,c.2).

37 CP I,4 August 1832, p.99. The dates when the reports about Earl and Wood were written belong to chapter 4, but the events actually happened earlier, in the era covered by chapter 3.

38 CP IV,3 June 1, 1835, p.39,c.2

39 CP I,5 September 1832, p.112

40 CM I,11 September 1827, p.242; III,11 September 1829, p.259

41 CH, III,3 27 October 1820, p.61,c.1

42 GL 2,4 April 1826, p.83

43 Cf. McIntire's report in the Christian Messenger [IV,7 June 1830, p.168]. Smith noted actual imprisonment for refusing to pay taxes for the support of a state-minister [HGL I,10 5 January 1809, p.38,c.2].

44 GL 3 (New Series),5 May 1830, p.173

45 GL 3(N),5 May 1830, p.175

46 CR I,7 July 1829, p.218; cf. a report from John L. Peavy, also preaching in Upper Canada [GL 2,4 April 1826, p.96].

47 Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.23

48 Purviance, Biography of David Purviance, p.80

49 CR I,5 May 1829, p.151. Seth Marvin, writing a few months earlier from Newmarket, noted the lack of preachers for some churches in an undefined area to the east [CR I,1 January 1829, p.28].

50 George R. Knight, Millennial Fever and the End of the World: A Study of Millerite Adventism (Boise, Idaho and
51 The Ringwood congregation, for example, was founded merely "in presence and by approbation of Elder John Blodget[sic]" [Ringwood Charter]. Cf. CH 4,5 21 November 1821, p.106,c.2; The Christian Register and Almanack, for the year of our Lord, 1825 (Portsmouth, New Hampshire; hereafter cited as Almanac 1825), p.20; cf. CP I,3 July 1832, p.57 [T. Henry on the Whitby congregation].

52 Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.35

53 A Western example, from the 1820s, was Daniel Roberts, who preached from town to town, rarely stopping to build a congregation [HGL, LXXV,15 12 April 1883, p.230,c.3].

54 Philetus Roberts, Memoir of Mrs. Abigail Roberts, an account of her birth, early education, Call to the Ministry, varied and extensive labors, and the success which attended her in several states, with many interesting incidents of her life (Irvington, New Jersey, By Moses Cummings, at the Office of the Christian Messenger and Palladium 1858), pp.102,110,112

It might be objected that building a meeting house is an inherently linear act. In some instances it may well be, but it is not, of necessity, a linear action. The house was made available to whatever Christian denomination wished to use it. This was not simply a magnanimous act, but a concession made in order to demonstrate to the more linear 'sects' the sort of boundary-eradicating love which was central to the Connexion plan.


56 Shaw, Sentiments, p.10. It is ironic that Shaw, one of those preachers who practiced nonlinear membership, in 1842 refers to himself and his colleagues in the third person. This reflects the extent of routinization of the Connexion's arrangements.

57 Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.28

58 Morrill, History, p.105

59 GL 1,5 May 1825, pp.111-112

60 GL 2,9 September 1826, p.212

61 GL 2,11 November 1826, p.249

62 GL 2,11 November 1826, p.249

63 Holland, reflecting at a later date upon Badger's preaching, admitted: "His sermons had method peculiar to
himself. They always had order and arrangement; but the coherence of the parts was not always apparent to the casual observer" [Holland, Memoir of Badger, p.465].

64 Nancy Towle, Vicissitudes Illustrated, in the Experience of Nancy Towle, in Europe and America, written by herself. With an Appendix of Letters, &c. An Engraving and Preface by Lorenzo Dow 2nd edition (Portsmouth, for the "authoress" by John Caldwell 1833), p.34

65 CR I,7 July 1829, p.215

66 Holland, Memoir of Badger, p.423

67 Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.29

68 See the discussion in Chapter Two, pp.140-141.

69 CP XVII,10 1 July 1848, p.145,c.2

70 CH 6,1 8 May 1823, p.4,c.1: in particular, chapter 16

71 Christian Sun (hereafter cited as CS) XXVI,18 2 May 1873, p.2,c.5; XXVI,11 14 March 1873, p.2,c.6

72 William Kinkade's The Bible Doctrine of God, Jesus Christ, The Holy Spirit, Atonement, Faith, and Election: to which is Prefixed Some Thoughts on Natural Theology and the Truth of Revelation, by William Kinkade, Companion to all them that fear God, and keep his commandments (New York, H.R. Piercy 1829), pp.334,339ff, especially p.341.


74 Rogers, Autobiography of Elder Samuel Rogers, pp.22-23,73-74; Franklin, p.47

75 Rogers, Autobiography of Elder Samuel Rogers, pp.73,74


77 CH 1,8 July 1819, p.192; 2,1 September 1819 p.21,c.1
78 e.g. HGL 2,3 27 November, p.70,c.1; 2,5 18 February 1820, p.109,c.1
79 CM I,1 25 December 1825, p.18
80 GL 1,11 November 1825, p.261; cf. 1,1 January 1825, p.11; 1,9 September 1825, p.217; 1,10 October 1830, p.230
81 CM II,10 August 1828, p.239
82 GL 4,5 February 1831, p.179
83 GL 1,11 November 1825, p.260
84 GL 2,10 October 1826, p.238

85 They were encouraged to do so by the United States General Convention [Almanac 1825, p.19]. For an example of Western minutes originally published in an Eastern paper [cf. CM I,2 25 December 1827(sic; actually 1826), p.44].

87 cf. CM IV,7 June 1830, pp.158ff.
88 CM I,4 24 February 1827, p.73
89 CM V,10 October 1831, p.239

90 Edward Edmunds, Memoir of Elder Benjamin Taylor, A Minister of the Christian Connexion, and Pastor of the Bethel Church in Providence, R.I. By E. Edmunds, Pastor of the Christian Church, Summer St., Boston (Boston, George W. White 1850), pp.45,54
91 Brown, Elijah Shaw, p.109
92 Edmunds, Taylor, pp.45,50
93 Holland, Memoir of Badger, p.218-219; cf. Morrill, History, p.299
94 Edmunds, Taylor, p.44. It was at Swansea.
95 GL 2,2 February 1826, p.43. Kinkade also offered uncomplimentary remarks [GL 2,4 April 1826, p.81].

97 Roberts, *Memoir of Abigail Roberts*, p.81

98 *GL* 2,11 November 1826, p.249

99 *CM* I,1 25 December 1825, p.10

100 *GL* III(N),5 May 1830, p.174

101 See the discussion in the Introduction, p.2 and in Chapter Two, pp.147-148.

102 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, pp.141,220-221


104 Kinkade, *Bible Doctrine*, p.346

105 Kinkade, *Bible Doctrine*, p.18

106 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, p.141

107 *GL* 3(N), 5 May 1830, pp.172-173

108 *CH* 2,3 27 November 1819, p.63,c.2

109 Millard, *Memoir of David Millard*, p.65. The 1823 work was a revised version of his 1818 pamphlet of the same title, expanded to answer criticisms levelled at the original. The book proved to be quite popular. The 1837 edition of David Millard’s *True Messiah* alone had a press run of 4,000 [CP V,22 15 March 1837, p.351,c.1]. The full title is *True Messiah, in Scripture Light; or the Unity of God and the Proper Sonship of Jesus Christ. Affirmed and Defended* (Canandaigua, for the author by J.D. Bemis 1823).

110 See discussion in Chapter Two, p.121.


112 Millard, *True Messiah*, pp.18ff. It is worthy of note, however, that when his own case was weak, Millard was not averse to employing the trick of repeating a questionable proposition sufficiently frequently to impart to it a greater impression of facticity. Millard's interpretation of Origen's notions, for example, are reiterated at least three times (Millard, *True Messiah*, pp.35,39,48).

114 *CP* I,3 July 1832, p.61; I,4 July 1832, p.99. Joseph Ash used the same language [*CP* I,10 February 1833, p.282].

115 *CM* III,11 September 1829, p.259. His language was echoed by folk from Ohio [cf. *CM* V,2 February 1831, p.38].

116 *GL* 3(N),5 May 1830, p.175. Servetus earlier had been held up as a hero of the same bent as the "Christians" [*GL* 1,6 June 1825, p.127].


118 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, pp.181-192;196

119 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, pp.182,191

120 Purviance, *Biography of David Purviance*, pp.293-294

121 Kinkade, *Bible Doctrine*, p.34ff.

122 Kinkade, *Bible Doctrine*, p.343

123 North, *Union in Truth*, p.164

124 There is virtually no direct evidence of antitrinitarianism in the South in this period. There is clear evidence of its being widely held in the era immediately before this (see the discussion in Chapter Two, pp.152-153), and irrefutable proof of its presence in the period following (also see the discussion in Chapter Seven, pp.424ff.). It is most probable that antitrinitarianism was held, in an unassuming and uncontroversial way, by Southerners during the 1820s.

125 *Almanac* 1825, p.17

126 *GL* 2,10 October 1826, p.237

127 Comment made in 1827, cited in Garrison and DeGroot, *Disciples of Christ*, p.91

128 *GL* 2,10 October 1826, p.224

129 *GL* 2,2 February 1826, p.48; 2,8 August 1826, p.192
130 GL 2,2 February 1826, p.50. Millard, a few years later, also endorsed one of Noah Worcester's books [CP III,4, 16 June 1834, p.57,c.2].

131 Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.304

132 Morrill, History, pp.23,122

133 Brown, Elijah Shaw, p.67

134 Holland, Memoir of Badger, pp.179,190-191

135 Holland, Memoir of Badger, p.175; Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.59. These men have been referred to as "second-generation" Christian leaders [Kenny, Perfect Law, pp.248,252-253]. It is not difficult to see why. They were younger men, whose influence was greatest during the second period discussed in this thesis. The use of the term, however, is somewhat misleading. They were not "second-generation" in the sense of having been raised from birth in a Christian Connexion home. Both lived in areas where the Christian Connexion had only recently been introduced, each had a direct, radical conversion experience during adolescence, and they drank deeply of the original restorationist vision. Badger's conversion was only a decade after the formation of the first Christian Connexion church and Millard's only two years after that.

Some of the original founders were involved in the movement to develop conferences. North asks the odd question what Jones would have thought about the development of national conferences after 1815 [North, Union in Truth, p.30]. Jones was still alive, and very much part of the process, one of the three members of the business committee at the 1826 United States General Conference [GL 2,10 October 1826, p.237].

136 Examples included John Fay of New Brunswick, the "false brethren" among early New England congregations, and an unnamed fugitive from debt [Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.59; HGL I,30 13 Oct. 1809, p.120,c.2; HGL 3,60 7 December 1810, p.237,c.1; Edmunds, Taylor, pp.29,34].

137 Jasper Hazen began a twenty-eight year tenure at Woodstock, Vermont [Hammond, Album, p.60], Mark Fernald settled in at Kittery for thirty-six years [Mark Fernald, Life of Elder Mark Fernald, written by himself. With an introduction by the publishers Nicholas Summerbell, ed. (Dayton, Ohio, Christian Publishing Association 1874), p.11] and John Ross planted himself for fifty-two years at Charleston Four Corners, New York [1822-1874; cf. Hammond, Album, p.107; Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.270]. In the West, Thomas Adams "forsook his rambling course of preaching" around the same time [Purviaw, Biography of David Purviaw, p.285].
138 e.g. a preacher named "Smead" [GL 2, 2 February 1826, p.43] and John Secrest [GL 2, 3 March 1826, p.68].

139 Holland, *Memoir of Badger*, p.231


141 Morrill, *History*, p.139

142 Morrill, *History*, pp.123,139

143 GL 1,12 December 1825, p.282. Millar’s presence was significant as an indication of at least some continued regional interaction in the transition period between Smith’s affective bonding with the Guirey movement and the growth of stronger ties in the 1820s. The absence of Western representation does not prove that the two movements were virtually separate. One must also note that only four of the eleven New England Conferences were represented at the 1853 New England Christian Convention [Morrill, *History*, p.230], yet it would be foolish to argue that the other seven conferences were unaffiliated.

144 CH I,7 May 1819, p.168,cc.1-2

145 Morrill, *History*, pp.140-141. Again, an elder from the South attended.

146 Morrill, *History*, pp.123,127. Morrill does not indicate the source of this idea, but as he otherwise carefully cited documentary evidence, an oral source is the most likely explanation.


148 Morrill, *History*, pp.127-128

149 The "United States" convention was virtually a regional affair.


151 GL 2,10 October 1826, p.237. North (*Union in Truth*, p.30) seems unaware of Jones’ activity, questioning what he would have thought of the conference movement.
152 GL 2,10 October 1826, p.221. The term had been considered a epithet fifteen years earlier.

153 Morrill, History, p.141
154 Morrill, History, p.141
155 Morrill, History, p.246
156 Morrill, History, p.124
157 Morrill, History, p.124.
158 CH 3,1 4 August 1820, p.15,cc.1-2; Fernald, Life of Mark Fernald, p.140
159 Brown, Elijah Shaw, p.87
160 CR I,7 July 1829, p.217
161 Brown, Elijah Shaw, p.98
162 CH 4,8 25 April 1822, p.191,c.2
163 GL 2,7 July 1826, p.167
164 GL 2,7 July 1826, p.159
165 GL 2,10 October 1826, pp.237-238. Anyone present was allowed to participate, but only delegates to permitted to vote [GL 2,10 October 1826, p.237].
166 GL 1,10 October 1825, pp.234-236
167 GL 1,10 October 1825, pp.237-239
168 GL 2,5 May 1826, p.115. Millard did not reprint their counterarguments, and the Virginians' pamphlet is not readily available (presuming any copies still exist), so elaboration of their position is not possible. Political constitutions, governing human affairs and destined to disappear with the millennium, do not appear to have troubled Millard. The use of a religious constitution, on the other hand, would slow the emergence of the parousia.
169 CM I,12 25 October 1827, p.273 [a letter from Alabama] and p.278 [a letter from Indiana]; CM II,1 November 1827, p.15 [letters from Indiana and Kentucky].
170 CM I,12 25 October 1827, p.279. The Madriver Conference was later renamed the Miami (Ohio) Conference [Morrill, History, p.124].
171 CM I,12 25 October 1827, p.277
172 Stokes and Scott note there is no evidence of O'Kelly acting in any capacity other than local preacher after the traumatic showdown [Durward T. Stokes and William T. Scott. A History of the Christian Church in the South ([Elon College, North Carolina], [1973]), p.43]. He died in 1829.

173 Morrill, History, p.298
174 Morrill, History, p.297
175 Morrill, History, p.299
176 CM I,1 25 December 1825, pp.4-5
177 CM II,3 January 1828, p.51. Stone again alluded to John the Baptist's example as the proper one for true Christians.
178 CM I,3 25 January 1827, pp.50-51. "Philip" carefully distinguished between "messengers" and delegated "representatives."
179 CM I,3 25 January 1827, p.52
180 CM I,3 25 January 1827, pp.52-53. In this opinion Stone was joined by another pseudonymous writer, "Timothy," who responded to the specific wording of the Alabaman proposal by noting that bonds of love alone had sufficed the Church for the first century and a half after Christ, and that love alone would still suffice [CM II,3 January 1828, p.60].
181 CM I,3 25 January 1827, p.54
183 GL 2,3 March 1826, p.67. Comments in the Gospel Luminary of April 1826 suggest that the Western leadership specifically feared another disastrous infiltration of Shakers [GL 2,4 April 1826, p.83].
184 Purviance, Biography of David Purviance, pp.78-79
185 Purviance, Biography of David Purviance, p.79
186 Morrill alludes to an 1829 agreement at the Indiana conference "to lay aside the Minute-Book for the present," because some members opposed recording discussions [Morrill, History, p.127].
187 Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, pp.35-36
188 The 1862 Conference, the first to be officially numbered, was labelled "the 37th Annual Session" [Canada Minutes 1862,
p.144], which at first glance would suggest 1826 as the inaugural conference. This kind of confusion was noted by Morrill: "The usage in reckoning conference sessions has not been uniform, some officers calling the meeting after formation the first annual conference" [Morrill, History, p.122].

189 Almanac 1825, p.25, c.2: "North Gwilliamsbury[sic], U.C."

190 GL 1,7 July 1825, pp.158,162

191 GL 2,7 July 1826, p.167. This evidence is even more convincing if Humphreys is correct in his assertion that McIntire had moved his family to Canada the previous year [Humphreys, Deceased Christian Ministers, p.228].

192 GL 2,7 July 1826, p.167

193 The new conference included a sliver of western New York State and most of northwestern Pennsylvania [Fernald, Life of Mark Fernald, p.201; Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.277]. The NYWCC was itself first formed by the 1820 bifurcation of the New York Christian Conference, which had originally been formed in 1818 [Morrill, History, p.124, citing "Chris. Her. III. p.71."]

194 CR I,7 July 1829, p.216


196 GL 4,1 October 1830, p.26

197 GL 4,11 August 1831, p.392

198 GL 4,11 August 1831, p.396

199 GL 1,10 October 1825, pp.232,233


201 GL 6,9 June 1833, p.324. Cf. Christian Vanguard 11 June 1921, p.2, where the earlier meetings are noted as "General Meetings," rather than Conferences.

202 These may well have been like the earlier unofficial Elders' conferences already noted. Morrill also notes the similarity of the early nineteenth-century "general meeting" and the early twentieth-century "quarterly conference," which were given more to counsel than legislation [Morrill, History, p.139]. This would also explain Fletcher's later claim that J.T. Bailey presided at the 1825 meeting [W.P. Fletcher, "Christian Church in Canada," in Centennial of Religious Journalism, J. Pressley Barrett, ed. (Dayton, Ohio, Christian
Publishing Association 1908), p.585]. It was a general meeting, not a conference meeting, over which he presided.

203 Henry, *Memoir of Thomas Henry*, p.46

204 *GL* 4,1 October 1830, p.27

205 Henry's name is mentioned in *Christian Repository* I,7 July 1829, p.217.
CHAPTER FOUR:
The Struggle for the Aleatory Paradigm: 1830—the early 1840s

Introduction

The Christian Connexion and its 'aleatory' organizational paradigm came under attack shortly after the formalization of its Upper Canadian Conference. At the time, Thomas Henry identified three assaults on the Conference's well-being: the incursions of the Disciples of Christ; the Rebellion of 1837, with a consequent exodus of preachers and members; the movement's peace witness. To these factors one must add two which were not so apparent at the time. The 'aleatory' ideology contained the seeds of its own destruction. The dependence upon putatively-divine provision of and for preachers had resulted in reverses for the movement as numerous small, isolated congregations failed for lack of external support. Some leaders reacted by adopting 'linear' organizational measures. Purists responded by fomenting an 1832 decision to dissolve permanently the group's representative national assembly, a symbol of the new 'linearity.' The victory was temporary, a new Convention and Book Association being formed almost immediately. The Canadian Connexion also faced unique demographic pressures. The majority of new immigrants were now British, diluting both the American-oriented Connexion's pool of potential converts and its impact on society. Collectively these factors nearly fatally weakened the movement. Contemporaries were aware simply of lost momentum, which they hoped to regain. All of these items represent early departures from the 'aleatory'
paradigm. This not only narrowed the gap between the Connexion and the mainstream, but set the stage for the paradigm's total abandonment.

Developments in Upper Canada

The continued early success of Connexion preachers in Canada took on apocalyptic overtones. Joseph Badger, responding to news of yet more Canadian expansion, exulted that "the north is giving up," an allusion to the return of captive Israel in Isaiah 43:6. In 1831, a significant proportion of the conference's strength lay west of York, where nine of its 21 congregations (43%) were. Expansion continued at most points of the compass. Around 1830, Lewis Andrews preached near Dumfries and Mount Pleasant, west of Brantford. In the extreme east, Niles Perry started a church in Camden, near Kingston. Northeast of the core, the church at Little Britain was planted in 1837 by Thomas McIntire; to the north, Daniel Call formed a group "at Lake Simco[sic]."

Many of the Upper Canadian Connexion's members apparently were originally from New York State. American leaders, such as David Millard, Badger, O.E. Morrill and Ezra Marvin, still trekked north to visit the expatriates. Itinerants were, however, increasingly recruited from among the members within the colony, as many as 38 between 1825 and 1860. Ordinations rarely occurred at conference meetings before mid-decade, but generally in the area where the preacher served. The issue was not that authority to ordain lay with the congregation as opposed to the conference, but rather that ordination was not a dignity conferred by any authoritative
(i.e. linear) body. It was merely recognition by an ad hoc group within a region of what they believed God had done.

The Upper Canadian Conference had a small, but significant place in the American movement. It had the same number of members in the early 1830s, roughly five hundred, as the New York Western and Northern Conferences. Its largest congregation had over 100 members, in line with those in the New York conferences. The Canada Conference supported the Americans' Starkey Seminary. Delegates were appointed to the General Convention meeting in New York City in 1838 and, in 1839, both to the New York Western Christian Conference and the Christian General Book Association meeting. The Canadian group clearly perceived themselves as a regional adjunct of the American movement.

Revival services were more fervent in Canada, marked by the "Canada fashion," a belief that folk struggling in spirit longer during conversion made stronger converts. A Pelagian notion that Christ died to replace bad passion with good was substituted for "original sin." Depravity was alleged to be a fiction: the "gospel of truth is designed to make men better," and the work of the preacher was simply the "improvement" of the human race. Preaching was to be tested in terms of the character produced in listeners. Each of these elements indicate that the Connexion's optimistic theological anthropology remained intact, that there was as yet no conscious move to abandon the 'aleatory' paradigm.

Aleatory Interrelationships

The fluid relationships found within Connexion
congregations as this period opened reflected the 'aleatory' ideology. Indeed, the purported *raison d'etre* of the "organization" meeting at Oshawa in October 1831 was not to create a well-defined, orderly entity, but simply "for the purpose of communicating their feelings to each other." Critics were quick to pinpoint this amorphousness. Joseph Ash, Jr., reflecting in 1883 on his experience within the Christian Connexion in the early 1830s, recollected that they had

a queer fashion of purifying their churches. When the bad cases for discipline accumulated they would disband their church, then a few of the good ones would meet, by mutual consent, form a new church and then receive into their new church the good ones, leaving the bad out.23

The Pickering church perhaps best illustrates this minimalist approach. Between 1824 and 1847, the group formed, disbanded and reformed at least four times, yet was held to be but a single entity, with a single record book.24 Around 1830, "this church agreeable to her own record seemed to loose her visibility."25 Elijah Sharrard reported that he found the 'Christians' there well in 1832, but a few months later Henry could merely express the hope that a congregation would soon form.26 The group reorganized in 1835, with specific note of old differences being set aside.27 The church stopped meeting in the fall of 1837, apparently under the combined pressures of the Rebellion and losses to the Mormons.28 By 1840, they had organized once more.29 Troubles continued throughout the decade, with yet another reorganization in 1847.30

Despite this evident continued adherence to a nonlinear form of congregational management, support for linear organization grew through the 1830s. The 1830 Upper Canadian
Minutes indicated a growing sense of differentiation between preachers and people: "no person is properly invested with the powers and prerogatives of an elder in the church till he is ordained." 32 Other more rigorous procedures betokening incipient clericalism include a decision that candidates could not be received in absentia, and that those given "letters of approbation" be called "Licentiates," not "unordained Elders." 32 Fineries of parliamentary procedure crept in.

The Christian Book Association's formation in October 1831 and that of the Genesee Christian Association in December evince the growth of stronger regional and denominational lines of authority. 3 The Book Association published both newspapers and hymnbooks. 3 The standardization of worship material exerted a powerful centralizing and linearizing influence. 3 Such departures from early practice provoked a reaction from the 'aleatory' paradigm's defenders. The struggle between the two organizational visions led to one of the Connexion's two major internal upheavals in this period.

The compromise of 'aleatory' features reached a point where supporters could no longer ignore the change. They sensed that the adoption of stronger and more precise rules of membership and procedure within conferences overwhelmed the Connexion's integral 'nonlinear' flavour. The actions of proponents of the 'aleatory' paradigm strongly suggest that they were aware of, and sought to correct, a fundamental alteration in practice. The rump session of the 1832 United States General Convention adopted the motion: "This Conference is dissolved forever." 3 A modern historian has described this as indicative of the Connexion being
"indifferent" to organization. Milo Morrill attempts to suppress the incident's importance, fairing over the controversy in order to present a laudatory history of the movement's "coherence." The events of 1832-1834, in which the General Convention was dissolved and reconstituted, actually expose a profound internal struggle.

The Apologetic for Organization

Proponents of overt organization did not let the matter drop. Outside critics interpreted the 1832 dissolution as a harbinger of the Connexion's imminent collapse. There was indeed evidence that by the early 1830s the Connexion was in decline. Leaders tried to alert the membership to the dilemma. The Massachusetts branch was characterized as "a suffering and bleeding cause," with many "young and weak" congregations. Badger noted "our numerous vacant churches" and their need for pastors. William Hance, in search of material to write a history, noted that information about extinct churches was also needed. At least one leader was aware that roving evangelists contributed to the problem by wandering into a new region, collecting a small group and then moving on. Overt organization appeared, to many leaders, to be indispensable to the Connexion's long-term well-being.

Editors carefully prepared readers for the renewed Convention initiative. Bending the Connexion's customary logic to his own purposes, Elijah Shaw defended the new organizational regime with an argument from utility: the effect of conferences is good, thus they must be as well. The call for a planning meeting came late in 1833, with
several individuals, including "Elder T. McIntyre[sic], from the Upper-Canada Conference," being specifically invited to attend. Badger made preemptive defences of both the General Convention and regional conferences." He took particular note of a recent innovation by the 1833 New York Central Conference, which took the unprecedented step of appointing someone to deliver the next year's "conference address," praising this preparedness as it better allowed the speaker to review the preceding years' events, which would result in more profound reflection on means to improve efforts. Even moderates, concerned that a renewed convention might attempt to impose a uniform doctrinal statement, were willing to abuse the "fanatics, enthusiasts, and disorganizers" whose rejection of overt organization had hurt the movement.49

Even before the Convention reconvened, local conferences began to adopt more overtly 'linear' forms of organization in order to enforce discipline. The 1834 Massachusetts Conference approved a "Constitution" which firmly clasped the power of ordination, with rules governing its administration between annual sessions.50 A detailed process for admitting congregations to fellowship was also adopted. Local groups no longer simply gathered, "considering" themselves in standing with the broader movement. An application for admission had to be approved by the Standing Committee.

When the Convention delegates gathered, traditionalists forced a heated two-day debate over whether the meeting's mandate was to be a General Convention or merely to create a new General Book Association.51 Delegates resolved the impasse by agreeing to meet as "a Christian Convention." Deputies
from eleven conferences, the most ever represented at a Connexion-wide Convention, continued to differ on details, but were reported as agreeing that some general cooperative organization was vital. Procedurally, the meeting evinced increased 'linearity,' with the observation of relatively strict parliamentary rules. No person, for example, could speak twice to any question without the President's permission, a far cry from the open sessions decades earlier. Before dispersing, they agreed to form the Christian General Book Association. This new entity adopted two hymn-books as official editions, a triumph for supporters of organization.

A vocal segment of the Connexion was not yet willing to cede their autonomy. The General Convention scheme had stirred fears of legislative "oppression," that it would be used as "a court of appeal," an assault on local independence. Convention reports had stressed clerical leadership, symbolized by reporting names of non-delegate ministers in detail but referring to non-delegate layfolk present merely as "many private brethren." Asa C. Morrison, a pioneer preacher in Canada, was particularly concerned that only ministers preached. Others were concerned by the New York State delegates' seeming domination. An unsigned editorial attacked the use of "Constitution" to describe the Massachusetts organizational initiative and denied the legitimacy of a General Convention, if it entailed the powers wielded by Baptist bodies. Procedural "rules of order" might be acceptable, but not a "code of laws." A summary of Morrison's litany of complaints reveals the underlying concern of the 'aleatory' paradigm's supporters: "System is now the
order of the day....The whole will doubtless be so regulated as to form one uniform and complete system." Uniformity of practice would prevent any spirit-led spontaneity. Some threatened to sever ties with the Connexion if the drive to organize continued.

Objections did not deter organizers. Badger, wielding his editorial pen in damage control, apparently convinced the undecided that Morrison did not mean what he had clearly said, but would accept order and system if it were "scriptural order." A state conference formed in Ohio, which tightened congregational and ministerial discipline. Local conferences were entrusted with control of ordinations, and the presence of an elder at a church's formation was stipulated for a congregation's acceptance into a conference. Some conferences adopted stationing committees to place ministers, and the Pennsylvania Conference also divided into circuits and stations, with "a standing Committee of Arrangement." These actions were taken to defend what participants believed to be the Connexion's best interest, but these also undermined the nonlinearity of the 'aleatory' paradigm.

Suspicions lingered into 1836 that the Christian General Book Association would become an ecclesiastical court, or a means of interfering with local rule. This fear was not without grounds. Badger had referred to the Connection as being "congregational in their government," although he attempted to define this in terms of affective, rather than legislative, bonds. A special 1836 session of the New York Western Conference had convened as a "court," with members appointed for prosecution and defence. This action spurred
some to redeem threats to withdraw. One cited the Connexion's old libertarian theme when he "declared his independence from the conference." By 1837, organizers seemed to get the upper hand and began to act with less caution and hesitancy. Badger used his editorship to reinforce his opinion, insisting that he would only publish the name of an "impostor" if "tried and condemned before a proper council of brethren." Losses proved to be minor and a new course had been set for the Connexion, a course which would see increased systematization in most of its activities.

Systematic Financial Arrangements

Overt order also began to appear in fiscal arrangements. The trickle of cries for more ministers and more organized ministerial compensation became a chorus by the early 1830s. Influential voices increasingly linked the lack of ministers to the paucity of provision. The 1831 Canadian Conference specifically instructed churches to raise money, insure their ministers were paid, and then report their actions to the next conference. In reality, anarchy and impulse, not system, dictated most ministers' remuneration. Joshua Himes attacked the early preachers' overreaction to stated salaries, noting even Elias Smith had been turned from preaching by financial need. Young ministers were encouraged to leave congregations which paid poorly, rather than allow themselves to be abused by tight-fisted members. Contemporaries sought a balance between the substantial salaries which had prompted the turn-of-the-century protest and the near-anarchy which they experienced.
Many of the Canadian preachers were 'tent-makers,' preaching part-time and engaged in non-church work to supply their financial needs, as the Apostle Paul was reported to have done, in Acts 18:3. The same applied south of the border. Tours beyond their home area were few and far between, sorties being governed by the pace of business. Others cited financial problems as preventing them from beginning to preach. Irritation erupted into a crisis in the wake of the 1837 Rebellion, when a lack of cash allegedly kept Canadians from itinerating. Tent-making created at least two major problems. Roving preachers often interfered with the work of settled ministers and, in locations without a regular preacher, could not be relied upon: either too many speakers arrived or none at all. Badger argued for systematic money management in order to provide settled ministers with regular and sufficient compensation.

Badger's call for overt financial order represents not merely grousing, but a penetrating challenge to the 'aleatory' paradigm. Its ideology insisted God provided order far superior to any human device. In theory, God's call virtually guaranteed God's provision both for the preacher and the people, so there should be a balanced supply of preachers, who would appear as necessary without formal schedule, obedient to the direction of the "heavenly Bishop." In reality, preachers suffered want and congregations were bereft of instruction. There was a radical discontinuity between theology and practice which fostered reevaluation and initiated abandonment of the 'aleatory' paradigm.

Roving evangelists could start churches, but resident
pastors were needed to develop their full potential." The best means to promote the gospel, Badger argued, was not emotionally-excessive revivalism, but a settled, paid ministry." Millard noted that one of the largest churches in Ohio, with more than three hundred members, had had the same settled pastor since its organization 16 years earlier."

Badger unequivocally challenged the self-sorting theory, insisting that the optimal solution to avoid all abuse was for congregations and preachers freely to enter into contracts with specific expectations of services and remuneration."

The challenge to the paradigm rose in direct proportion to the severity of the shortage. Clearly the 'aleatory' paradigm was now expendable.

Limited local resources called for cooperation on a larger scale, so that the creation of more fixed financial arrangements stimulated organization beyond the congregation. In the mid-1830s, congregations in New York State and Ohio purchased working farms as parsonages," but this did not relieve pastors of strenuous labour. Badger advocated something akin to a circuit-system." The New York Northern Conference's Western District responded to the plight of its 'tent-makers' by organizing a "Fund Society" to pay four of them to itinerate on a 150-mile circuit." Article VIII of the controversial 1834 Massachusetts Christian Conference Constitution enshrined its responsibility to care for "destitute churches."

In addition to supplying ministers to existing congregations, the Connexion needed many preachers for the new settlements in the West. By the mid-1830s, significant
numbers of New Yorkers had already moved to Ohio and Michigan. In addition to the general tendency of North American populations to migrate westward, numbers of Canadians moved to Michigan at the time of the 1837 Rebellion. Those migrants moving to an area without a Connexion congregation often simply joined another denomination and were thus lost to the movement. Shaw defended extra-congregational organization as merely regularizing and rendering more enduring temporary efforts which had been organized ad hoc until then.

Events at Pickering illustrate well the process by which inter-congregational cooperation developed. The congregation survived for years with infrequent, if stated, ministry. Henry and others regularly appealed for pastors to settle in the area. By 1841, concrete steps were taken for several local congregations to raise funds to underwrite an itinerant who would patrol between Whitby and Scarborough. The weight of the problem of ministerial supply is apparent when one bears in mind that Pickering was not peripheral, but close to other churches and site of at least one general meeting and one Upper Canada Conference.

The most clearly 'linear' fiscal measure adopted in this era was the "subscription," a sort of unofficial promissory note. Members of the congregation and interested non-members pledged to pay specific amounts to support the minister. It seems to have been the logical extension of the yearly contract some churches had begun to make with preachers, such as McIntire's 1832 contract with churches near Cobourg. The earliest known instance in the Connexion of raising a
minister's pay by subscription was in Pennsylvania in 1834. Casting a longing eye at the Methodists' organized circuit system, Badger urged folk to overcome scruples against subscriptions to raise ministers' salaries. Ideally, every household in a congregation should be canvassed annually to raise funds. In 1835, the Upper Canada Conference urged all its churches to have a society in order to take care of subscriptions and other fiscal matters. The Conference suggested raising money and gifts in kind, with any year-end surplus turned over to it. Mariposa introduced weekly collections in 1841. Linear fiscal management began to displace the 'aleatory' paradigm's formlessness.

Many Canadian congregations had formed societies by 1836; those which had allegedly fared better than less organized ones. A Quarterly Conference formed in the Cobourg area in 1839, with the aim of sharing a minister. McIntire settled in Cramahe Township and began nurturing the congregations. The results were dramatic: adherents rose from 79 in 1839 to 96 in 1840, a 21.5% increase; and again to 125 in 1841, a 30.2% gain in a year, 58.2% more than 1839. Leaders began to grasp the benefit of settled ministry.

Money was not the only thing Christian Connexion ministers lacked. Most were also bereft of formal education. There was no clear-cut solution of this perceived need. Ministerial education had organizational overtones, implications especially troubling to the sizeable number of Connexion members who placed experiential godliness and education at opposite poles. Opponents, such as Morrison, relied on arguments familiar to Elias Smith: theological
institutions trained men with no calling or empowerment from the spirit; schools were too costly to be maintained by a single congregation, so it would lead to denominationalism.¹¹⁹

Morrison's fears were accentuated by at least two events in 1834. The idea of "some systematical co-operation" in education was raised at the General Convention, but no action taken.¹¹ More disconcerting to those of Morrison's frame of mind was a committee formed in New England, at Himes' instigation, to create a manual labour school.¹² Himes pragmatically noted that the Connexion lost good young men to other denominations because the latter offered a free education if the youths would adopt their creed.¹³ The leak existed; it had to be plugged. The question of what constituted an appropriate level of education would vex the Connexion for years.

The Role of Periodicals

Periodicals remained central to the Connexion's work, giving it form, drawing order from chaos.¹⁴ Their use reveals much about the movement's nature. It has been said that loosely-organized denominations do not have bishops, they have editors.¹⁵ The press' power was recognized by contemporaries. Morrison, a firm opponent of linear organization, approved of religious periodicals.¹⁶ To his mind, papers were the modern equivalent of apostolic epistles. They relieved the burden of extemporaneous preaching by providing itinerants with new and fresh ideas. Periodicals were the allies of those of an 'aleatory' outlook, providing the benefits of affective association, yet without creating firm bonds.
Periodicals remained crucial, but as perception of distance altered over time, so did their role. This era saw a revolution in transportation and communication, a change reflected clearly in the obituary of a Connexion preacher. The writer harkened back to "when we on the west fork of Indian Kentucky, about twenty-five miles as a bird would fly from where I now stand, first heard in 1825...of Manchester, of Bro. Daniel Roberts, and [his] church... and it seemed as far off as Portland, Maine, does now." The few existing roads were terrible, precluding development of intimate rapport with any beyond the immediate area. Religious periodicals were, at the beginning of this era, virtually the only means to bridge this gap, but by its end, only one of several. Railways snaked across the American landscape and would enter Canada in the 1850s. This, along with improvements in local roads, shrank the perceived distance within regions, bolstering regional connectivity and identity. The telegraph permitted virtually instantaneous communication over vast distances, improving interregional liaison. At the same time that the early feeling of distance was lost, more 'linear' structures emerged within the Connexion. The 'aleatory' paradigm was being replaced by formal denominational-consciousness.

If this suggestion be true, one would expect, negatively, an increased sectionalism as the diminution of perceived distance made it easier for regional groupings to set lines at their peripheries. This is precisely what is observed in the Connexion, as some moved in the late 1830s and early 1840s to centralize control of the periodicals. At stake was access to
vehicles for the expression of opinion. The effect was not always beneficial, as indicated by a tart comment in 1837: "our guns are spiked by an editor's pen." The New York State-based *Christian Palladium* faced three rivals to its claim of being the Connexion-wide "general paper:" a long-standing one in New England, and upstarts in Ohio and the South.

Regional animosity surfaced in 1835, when Badger, editor of the *Palladium*, took exception to what he took as invidious changes at the *Christian Herald*. He was particularly concerned about the New England paper's threat to the viability of "general measures" adopted by the United States General Convention. The Christian General Book Association offered to compromise by appointing two editors, one from each region. The church at Milan, New York, located near the geographical centre of the Eastern movement, was racked by internal disagreement over which sub-region to support. Isaac Walter called for only one paper east of the Alleghenies. There was no immediate resolution and regional tensions simmered into the 1840s, when Marsh and Millard vied for the editorship of the *Palladium*. Millard, bitterly disappointed at his loss, secured the editorship of the *Christian Herald* and used it to retaliate.

The *Christian Messenger* ceased to be the Western Connexion's voice after Barton Stone allied himself with Alexander Campbell. Matthew Gardner, noting Western antipathy to "general measures," which were perceived as an eastern plot, took a leading role in the 1841 formation of a "Western Christian Association" to fill the editorial void.
pressure was brought to bear by the 1841 Ohio Central Conference, which voted to "discountenance...local periodicals, papers, or books, which are calculated to divide our strength as a general body." 127 That fall Gardner apparently agreed to give up his independent paper, the monthly Christian Union.128 The controversy continued, however, into 1842, pitting several conferences against each other.129 When it became apparent that a significant group in the West insisted upon a regional paper, Isaac Walter, a long-time supporter of "general measures," initiated the Ohio Christian Book Association, determined that any Western paper be in harmony with the rest of the Connexion.130 The Gospel Herald appeared in 1843, with Walter as editor.

Stokes and Scott acknowledge the role of periodicals in maintaining a sense of unity between the South and the rest of the Christian Connexion, despite the long distances involved.131 North Carolina-based H.B. Hayes continued to subscribe to the Christian Messenger, and sought more North Carolina Palladium subscribers.132

Economies of scale also figured as an objection to regional newspapers. The Palladium's August 1834 print run was 4,000,133 twice the number of subscribers of any other Connection paper to date.134 If there were only one paper east of the Alleghenies, the total subscription list could approach 6,000. This would not add to fixed costs, thus allowing the publisher to turn a profit, which could be used to fund more preachers.135 Badger underscored his point by publishing a list of religious newspapers which had failed precisely because their subscriptions were too few to overcome the fixed set-up
costs of printing." Despite their small membership, the Canadians had long wanted their own paper. All such efforts, including Rose's 1832 attempt, failed because of the costs. In the short-run, the Canadians continued to support the Palladium.

Relationships with Other Christian Denominations

The Canadian Connexion remained outside the religious mainstream throughout this period. Their odd relationship with the communitarian "Children of Peace" of Sharon underscores the gulf. Hugh H. Willson, ordained in the Connexion by mid-decade, was a "double nephew" of David Willson, the "Sharonite" founder. Not a few Sharonites also joined the Christians. Jeremiah Graham, ordained in 1859, was originally a Sharonite. Two of Graham's daughters married 'Christian' ministers. The attraction of some Sharonites to the Connexion is difficult to explain, especially given the paucity of evidence. An obvious point of continuity was their common rejection of all creeds. This similarity breaks down, however, under closer examination. David Willson rejected creeds in order to restore an alleged unity of the Christian and Jewish dispensations, while the Connexion sought to 'live into existence' a millennial kingdom different in character from all which had existed before. Nor was David's vision "republican," a prominent Connexion theme. David's strong charismatic leadership, combined with the ritualized worship at the Temple, clearly signal that the Children of Peace were not 'aleatory.' It is most likely that, whatever reasons stirred Sharonites to
leave, they found the Christian Connexion less foreign than the mainstream.

The attitudes of Connexion members toward other denominations began to soften in this era. Shaw called for peace with "other denominations," which required the 'Christians' to stop ridiculing others' beliefs." Abner Jones insisted that using "Christian" as a self-appellative was not derogatory of other Christians. Churches closer to the mainstream in turn warmed to the Connexion, on occasion sharing worship services. Ministers, including Episcopal Methodists, Protestant Methodists, Regular Baptists and Freewill Baptists, began to take observers' seats at Connexion conferences. Connexion ministers were, by the early 1840s, increasingly accepted at other groups' revivals. Greater acceptance of the denominations led to preliminary discussions of union. Talks between the Connexion and Freewill Baptists continued sporadically in this period. Marsh briefly flirted with the editor of the Gospel Publisher, but negotiations broke down over the Trinity and total depravity. Christians in the South in 1841 were open to talk of union with the local Protestant Methodists.

The Disciples' Disruption of the Christian Connexion

The next serious obstacle to growth the Connexion encountered was its disruption by Alexander Campbell's Disciples of Christ. The impact was greatest in the West, where Stone was the regional founder of the Connexion, but there was also marked disturbance in Upper Canada. Extensive analysis of the interplay between the Christian Connexion and
the Disciples would require its own thesis; discussion is restricted to the union's organizational overtones, periodicals' roles, and the disruption's ramifications for Canada.

Most Disciples histories invest the union of Campbell's and Stone's cohorts with an aura of inevitability. As detailed in the Introduction, Campbell personally differed from the Connexion's key figures. There were striking dissimilarities to be overcome. The Western Christians, under Barton Stone's leadership, actually had more in common with the Eastern and Southern Christians, than with the emerging Disciples. Winfred Garrison and Alfred DeGroot list six similarities between the Campbell and Stone movements, five of which were also shared with the Eastern and Southern Christians. They then list four ways in which Stone's group differed from Campbell's, but ignore that each was a commonality between the Western Christians and their Eastern and Southern colleagues. To this list, Lester McAllister and William Tucker add two more differences between Stone and Campbell. Both of these also underscore the bonds between the Connexion's three regions.

Disciples historians deflect attention from the discord created by the union by noting that only Stone remained of the five founders of the Springfield Presbytery. The statement, true as far as it goes, focuses on the nascent Connexion's negative phase, during which it sloughed off an older organizational ideology. As Stone admitted, the dissenters originally still saw themselves as Presbyterians. The Springfield Presbytery's dissolution, on the other hand,
marked a radical departure. The *Last Will* embodied the seceders' positive, down-organizing, 'aleatory' program. Only two signatories, Stone and Purviance, retained the original vision by 1830. Purviance, a ruling elder in Cane Ridge church, had not been on the fringe of the fledgling movement. He was, furthermore, by Stone's own admission, "of the same faith." It is tempting to declare a tie, the Disciples and continuing Connexion each retaining a founder. It is more accurate to state that both originally shared the same vision, that their choices in 1832 reflect different strategies to preserve what they held to be the core vision, but, ironically, that their actions led to the eradication of the 'aleatory' vision in the West. On the one hand, Purviance remained with the Connexion, which shared assumptions and rhetoric, but among whom also the 'aleatory' paradigm was slowly eroding by their rigidifying of ecclesiastical provisions. On the other, Stone himself retained the 'aleatory' vision in a more pure form, but aligned with a notably different movement. Garrison and DeGroot claim Stone's 1840 vision for unity based on "purity of heart and uprightness of character" differed radically from "the program...advocated by the Campbells and Scott." Indeed, the Disciples' congregationalism was far more 'linear' than Stone's Connexion. The 'aleatory' vision effectively died along with the septuagenarian Stone on 9 November 1844. Campbell soon moved more boldly than ever to consolidate his vision of the Disciples' theology and practice, staking out a place within orthodoxy.
In the same sentence in which they suggest that Stone's vision differed from Campbell's, Garrison and DeGroot suggest that it also differed from "the one on which the western Christians had gained their large following before 1832." In this they err; Stone was doggedly consistent throughout his career, as illustrated by his objection to the name "Disciples." In 1831, he initially objected because it functioned as just another "party name," smacking of the legislative spirit behind all human efforts to organize, which undermines affective union. A decade later, his growing dislike of the Easterners rested on the same base; they altered 'Christian' to a mere party label without any ideological substance.

Stone's oft-noted commitment to unity was really a commitment to the 'aleatory' paradigm, of which unity was a symptom. Unity was not the sole goal, but a benefit reaped by adopting the correct approach to the Bible and its ideal of interrelationship. Comments uttered when it became clear that not all of the Western Christians would unite with Campbell's group indicate Stone's priorities. Irritated with union holdouts, he also condemned "irresponsible zealots among the Reformers" who did not share the 'aleatory' view, but refused fellowship to those not immersed for the remission of sin or who did not celebrate communion weekly. Such keystone tenets of Campbell's "reformation" were simply not important enough to Stone to warrant division. Affective bonding among believers was paramount, with assent to particular doctrines secondary.

The 1833 editorial "Government" provides a systematic and
straightforward explanation of Stone's 'aleatory'
understanding of interrelationship. No Old Testament priest,
he argued, presumed to make laws, but merely preserved
knowledge of what God gave. The New Testament situation was
identical; the apostles did not presume to add laws to Jesus’
teaching. Stone then resorted to parable. A king wrote laws
for his entire realm. In one corner, some decide that the
laws make no sense taken at face-value, so interpretations are
added. Others elsewhere do the same. When all took the laws
at face-value, there was peace and unity, but now there is
only Babel confusion. Disunity in the church, he insisted,
arises in like fashion. All denominations are rebels against
God. It does not matter that many have been blessed and come
to faith despite the admixture of human untruth with God’s
truth. The experiences of new converts manifest
denominationalism's inherent evil. A convert "feels the
spirit of love, peace and unity with all the family of God,"
but is soon overwhelmed by the spirit of the sect to which
s/he unites. Those of other sects, with whom one once openly
fellowshipped, become enemies. The editorial climaxed with a
call to embrace the "Christian" proposal: believers "never
can rest again, till they find their rightful king, flow to
his standard, and submit to his government....God will bring
order out of confusion." This reign of Babylon will be
overthrown and the millennium inaugurated, according to Stone,
when Christians abandon 'linear' government and flow into
'God-emergent affective unity."

A contemporary Disciple recognized differences between
Stone and Campbell on the question of what constituted union.
Joseph Franklin asserted that the union of Reformers and Christians was not that of two ecclesiastical bodies, and thus presented special problems. He clearly distinguished between Campbell's rigid ultracongregationalism, which refused to accept dictation from outside a well-defined local unit, and Stone's 'aleatory' view, which sought to achieve union through exaltation of God's love. He admitted there was never a formal vote to amalgamate, though subsequent events clearly indicate that a union took place.

This raises the question of the nature of the union. Both contemporaries and later writers often refer to a single punctiliar event in 1832. Others note an amorphous process extending into the late 1830s by which the two groups coalesced. It is not just that contemporaries wrote long after the fact, when union seemed rigid, and historians followed their lead. The Connexion's 'aleatory' nature complicates analysis, precisely because the group lacked fixed internal order. This process by which a substantial portion of the Western Connexion disentangled itself from previous alliances and realigned with the Disciples assumed 'linearity' only with time. Simon Bennett describes the fuzziness of the unity unfolding from 1832 as "a working agreement among certain leaders in both movements" to flow together. This accords with the tone of an 1835 interchange between Himes and Stone. Stone claimed that common worship produced love which produced union in spirit, so that the two churches in Georgetown simply became one, without either side abandoning anything. In typical Christian utilitarian fashion, Stone argued the rightness of the move from its results: revival
struck the community, with six hundred converts in the next year, let alone the example set for other churches. Stone could not see why others did not emulate them and unleash similar power.

The process' nonlinearity was evident at congregational and conference levels. The churches in Lexington, Kentucky did not unite until 1839, roughly when the New Paris, Ohio group split. North acknowledges that the local unions' amorphous and indistinct nature makes them difficult to date precisely. The Southern Ohio Conference remained relatively undivided until 1835, when pro-Connexion members attempted unsuccessfully to try four preachers for adopting Disciples' principles. Apparently, the 'line in the sand' was not drawn in the Ohio Miami Conference until 1837. Attempts to maintain fellowship between Reformers and the Connexion continued in the Ohio Central Conference until 1842.

As tolerance for differences dissipated, more fixed lines were drawn between the two groups. The Connexion reacted by restricting membership within conferences. The newly formed Indiana Bluffton Conference adopted strict credentialing methods in 1839. The Indiana Central Conference moved to control fraud by requiring ministers travelling outside conference bounds to obtain a letter of commendation from one of the clerks. The rigidification of denominational boundaries, triggered by the problem of fraudulence, was exacerbated by attempts to limit losses to the Disciples.

The initial penetration of Disciples' ideas into Ontario was swift. Henry claimed to have read, before his conversion in 1825, the published report of Campbell's famous 1824
debate."\textsuperscript{197} Sometime in 1828, Thomas McIntire became Upper Canadian agent for Campbell's \textit{Christian Baptist}.\textsuperscript{198} McIntire also drummed up subscribers for the \textit{Christian Messenger}, remarking to Stone that "Brother Campbell's [paper] is also well received."\textsuperscript{199} Elmer Stainton sees McIntire's agency for both papers as embodying union ahead of 1832, but then loses track of McIntire.\textsuperscript{200} McIntire remained with the Canadian Christian Conference, spearheading its continuing work.

Complaints about the Disciples' inroads in Canada began to appear in 1834.\textsuperscript{201} John Earl briefly flirted with the new ideas;\textsuperscript{202} H.H. Willson also confessed to having been charmed by Campbell's thought, but credited his rescue to the \textit{Palladium}.\textsuperscript{203} Despite such testimonies, Morrison complained that Campbell had undone much the benefit of the Connexion's preaching.\textsuperscript{204} The church at King was crippled by doctrinal disputes.\textsuperscript{205} \textit{Palladium} readers were warned of the \textit{Gospel Vindictor}, a Disciples paper published in Cobourg.\textsuperscript{206} Others related unsuccessful attempts by Disciples to proselytise.\textsuperscript{207} Colston reported Disciples opposition near Norwich, where the Connexion was trying to reestablish itself.\textsuperscript{208}

Periodicals played a key role in the Campbell-Stone merger, solving the problem of uniting two non-rigid bodies. Editors had a unique potential to capture people's hearts and minds. Franklin astutely noted that editorial union was crucial to the process, as general meetings were not competent to decide formally.\textsuperscript{209} Stone, realizing that no formal action could achieve the type of union he sought, made the Disciple John T. Johnson the \textit{Christian Messenger}'s co-editor in January 1832.\textsuperscript{210} The union did not diminish Stone's affection for
Easterners. He continued to be thrilled with the Palladium’s reports of revivals and other progress in the East. Even Johnson initially hailed the Palladium "as a most powerful auxiliary to the cause of Bible truth." Some remaining with the Connexion also continued their Christian Messenger subscriptions.

The very periodicals which stirred union fervour in the West ironically contributed to the separation of much of that wing from those in the East and South. Relations between East and West began deteriorating in 1835, as Badger squared off against what he held were Campbell's deviations from biblical truth. Hoping to calm the situation, Stone reminded Badger that the local unions in the West meant that to attack Campbell was to attack the 'Christians.' Yet Badger, holding what Stone viewed as an invidious distinction between followers of Christ and followers of Campbell, escalated his attacks. Stone noted that political papers often showed more restraint. Styling himself a "foot-ball of the illnatured world of religionists," he lamented that his "own children and brethren in the Lord" had "forsaken" him for his opponents. A year later, deeply grieved at what he felt were gross misrepresentations of his beliefs by both Badger and Gardner, Stone cancelled his Palladium subscription. He resubscribed later, reacting to articles in the Palladium which annoyed him. Tensions flared again in 1842. Stone claimed the only "foundation" the Westerners had spurned was the organization crystallizing around the Palladium, which appeared to him to have supplanted the Bible, making its editor a "pope."

Claude Cox downplays the circulation of Stone's
periodicals in Ontario, stressing that the most profound influence on the Canadian Connexion was from New York, and that Stone’s literary input into the Ontario movement was thus "indirect." Aside from discounting the connective power of the periodicals, these comments overlook the otherwise indirect connection between the Ontario Disciples and the American movement. Unless new evidence of personal contact is adduced, Campbell’s influence in Ontario may be said to have been equally indirect and Cox’s suggestion that the two movements merely “crossed paths” in Ontario is potentially misleading. There is no record of Canadian Disciples travelling to the United States until some attended a general meeting in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, in 1839. Modern writers place the departure of David Oliphant Jr., the first Canadian to attend Bethany College, around 1840.

A mid-twentieth-century Disciples history triumphantly crows that the continuing Western Connexion virtually died. DeGroot later allowed that perhaps a tenth of the Connexion survived the Stone-Campbell union. North, not driven by the same ideological need to deny that union divided a pre-existing movement, admits that as much as half of Stone’s movement demurred. Losses were not uniform. Damage may be pictured as a belt centred on Tennessee and Kentucky, arcing on the one hand southeastward toward the Atlantic, and on the other, northward through Ohio and Michigan, then eastward into Upper Canada. Losses were greatest at the centre, becoming progressively milder toward the extremities, with areas east of the Alleghenies virtually undisturbed. It appears that earlier linearization in the East and South made them more
resistant to union than Stone's more 'aleatory' group.

The Connexion was virtually wiped out in Tennessee. A few preachers in Kentucky sought affiliation with an independent Christian Conference in Fleming County. In the Upper South, the Valley of Virginia Conference sustained heavy losses into the 1840s. In the Deep South, the Georgia and Alabama Conference was deeply divided by 1838. Disciples penetration in North Carolina and Virginia was notable, but pegging precise losses is virtually impossible. Scattered continuing 'Christian' congregations could be found in Texas, Louisiana, and South Carolina. Resistance to union stiffened in Ohio. Many in Illinois and Indiana declined the union. A moderating spirit prevailed in Michigan. Stone published the minutes of the Second Annual Michigan Conference, as if it were part of the Western movement, even though it had been formed after 1832 and had elected the New Englander Benjamin Taylor as Moderator. At least half of its eight ordained ministers remained with the Connexion. The clerk, William Smith, expressed the hope that the conference, lying between the east and west, could have a mediatorial function and promote true unity.

Upper Canada, where the process of linearization was less pronounced, endured significant losses, unlike its parent movement in New York State. The 1834 Canada Conference, according to Joseph Ash, Jr. nearly united with the Disciples. Campbell's ideas had their greatest impact in the Niagara Peninsula. The Christians at Clinton (St. Catharines), under Daniel Wiers' leadership embraced "the ancient gospel" in August 1832, reconstituting "upon the New
Testament alone," adopting "the one baptism taught by the Apostle Peter on the day of Pentecost." 330 Earl, recounting a visit in 1836, reported that "Br. Haight of St. Catharines...a long-time member" and his wife had retained their Connexion convictions alone until recently joined by an immigrant from New York, and that the once-strong congregation at 15 Mile Creek (Niagara) was weak, "having embraced that system which rejects spiritual influence." 331

The last serious clash between Upper Canadian Christians and Disciples occurred in Oshawa in 1841. Millard indicates that as early as 1835 three elders there had resisted Campbell's ideas. 332 When some members insisted in 1841 on the necessity of baptism for membership, those willing to fellowship the unimmersed reacted. Temporary peace was achieved by an agreement that the elders and deacons would encourage all prospective members to be baptized, while members insisting on immersion would keep quiet during votes to accept unbaptized folk, in order to maintain "unity." 333 They were also internally divided over weekly communion. 334 Separation might have been avoided had not Joseph Ash, Jr. moved to the area. 335 Ash alleged that Henry had adopted "reformation principles" only to abandon them once they proved unpopular, 336 and that Henry twice promised, in order to curry favour with those wishing to adhere to the "ancient gospel," to institute weekly communion and a weekly collection. 337 His failure to deliver pushed the Campbell faction to withdraw and form a new congregation, with Ash as leader and one of Henry's sons as a member. 338
Unitarianism

Arian-like Christology became increasingly popular in this era among ministers throughout the Connexion. Badger stated that the Unitarians stood for "the same great principles of liberty," and shared common enemies with the Connexion. The *Gospel Luminary* often contained polemical articles, such as "Refutation of the Doctrine of the Trinity" or "Systematic method of proving that the Son is inferior to the Father." The entire March 1831 *Gospel Luminary* was devoted to covering a debate between the Connexion's William Lane and the Presbyterian orator William L. McCalla.

Particularly strong personal links were forged between the Eastern Connexion and Unitarians in the late 1830s. Himes, trying to augment his meagre education, borrowed books from Unitarians such as William Ellery Channing and Henry Ware. Badger reprinted one of Channing's sermons in the *Palladium*, eliciting positive responses from some previously unexposed to Unitarianism. That same year (1835), the congregation at Lynn, Massachusetts called a Unitarian minister, Philemon R. Russell, as pastor. Encouraged, Badger reprinted some of Channing's letters. He waxed eloquent over an evening in 1835 which he and Zebulon Tobey had spent at Channing's summer residence; Channing had been filling the local 'Christian' pulpit for the summer. Edmunds related details of his visit with Channing in the summer of 1837. While critics could question the depth of the relationship between Channing and the Connexion's preachers, there is no doubt that many within the Christian Connexion held the prominent Unitarian in high esteem. He was the namesake of...
more than one 'Christian' preacher's son."

Canadian preachers also embraced unitarian doctrine. Lewis Andrews in Blenheim Township in 1837 and Donald Nicholson four years later in Loughborough reported their congregations' belief in "one God and one mediator." This stance was well-enough known that census-takers in Darlington Township in 1840 enumerated "Christians or Unitarians" as one category. In 1841 Elder Frederick Whitfield debated a Methodist preacher on the Trinity.

Moderate antitrinitarianism continued commonly in the South. When D.W. Kerr corresponded with Badger in 1841, the former was concerned about the issue of baptism, not about God's nature.

According to George Willis Cooke, a Unitarian historian writing early in this century, what brought the Connexion into some degree of sympathy with Unitarians of that day was their rejection of binding creeds and their acceptance of Christian character as the only test of Christian fellowship, together with their recognition of the Bible, interpreted by every man for himself, as the authoritative standard of religious truth.

Johnson, citing Ahlstrom, suggests that the Connexion lost its pietistic edge as members migrated across New York and were influenced by Unitarians. This position not only ignores the earlier unitarian nature of Smith's work, but also the prevalence of antitrinitarianism in the New England Connexion. Olbricht takes an opposite tack, arguing that a major hindrance to union with the Unitarians was precisely the Connexion's evangelistic mien, as opposed to the Unitarians' increasing Transcendentalism.

It is true that not all 'Christians' appreciated Badger's pro-Unitarian stance, but their objections were generally
practical, rather than doctrinal. Himes specifically resented the way other denominations lumped the Connexion with the German Rationalists, British Unitarians and American Congregational Unitarians, because those groups were anti-revivalist.\(^2\) The intent, according to Himes, was to muddy the waters, so that the Trinitarians would not have to admit that the Connexion remained strongly revivalistic and thus, by contemporary standards, blessed by God. Even Badger, while speaking glowingly of the assistance received from the Unitarians, added that if a choice had to be made between zeal and learning, or between an evangelical spirit and refinement, the Connexion would part company with the Unitarians.\(^3\)

The Impact of the 1837 Rebellion

Any difficulties encountered by the Connexion because it had deliberately embraced unitarianism made sense to members.\(^2\) The losses occasioned by a circumstance beyond their control, the 1837 Mackenzie-Papineau Rebellion, were harder to accept. The uprising was fomented by radicals opposed to rule by what was, effectively, a colonial oligarchy. A particular frustration was the proposed use of the 'Clergy Reserves,' a system by which Crown lands were set aside to provide endowments for an established state church.\(^2\) The "comic opera rebellion" failed to gain widespread support among the moderate majority of the population and was easily suppressed by authorities; many of the rebels fled to the United States.\(^4\)

Statements made by Connexion itinerants prior to the Rebellion helped create a charged partisan atmosphere. In 1835, George H. Sweet, an American preacher, declared with
injudicious glee that the "spirit of seventy-six" was stirring in Lower Canada, which would soon bring both religious and political revolution.242 Joining a church was enlisting under the "star spangled banner of King Jesus."243 These comments would hardly have endeared him to colonial administrators already suspicious of American preachers.244

Some Connexion members were personal friends of William Lyon Mackenzie, the Upper Canadian Rebellion's chief agitator.245 Echoing Elias Smith's sentiments, Joel Richard informed Palladium readers that Canadian 'Christians' had adopted a general reform attitude in religion, law and medicine.246 Not all Canadian members shared this fervour for reform. Orange Lawrence, writing from Trafalgar, objected to Richard's claim that many would emigrate if their petitions for privilege continued to be ignored. He insisted that most members were English, Scottish or Irish, folk persecuted for religion in the old country, but still fiercely loyal to the Crown.247 The stage had been set, however, for an upheaval which would leave the Canadian Connexion battered and weak.

Denominations with American ties, such as one branch of Presbyterianism, suffered greatly after the Rebellion as preachers withdrew.248 Henry's biographer implied that the Connexion was hit hardest of any denomination.249 The 1838 Circular Letter noted specifically that "quite a number of our preachers and brethren" had sought refuge in the Republic.250 Some preachers had, it seems, engaged in heated political debate, eliciting a call from the 1838 Conference for submission to proper authority.251 Daniel Call was obliged to obtain a pass to leave the country, if he expected permission
McIntire remained until 1841 when, plagued by continued trouble and poverty, he moved to Michigan. Many smaller congregations lost "their visibility." The Newmarket church hemorrhaged members, while the Pickering congregation does not appear to have met between September 1837 and May 1840. In at least one place, prayer meetings were banned. Losses took on apocalyptic proportions to some, like Anson Plumb, who likened the disruption to the final "shaking" prophesied in Hebrews 12:26. He feared that events might yet lead to war between the United States and Canada. Revival meetings were resumed in the late winter of 1838 at West Gwillimbury, but the churches faced continued suspicion and accessions merely recouped some of the losses. As late as June 1839, Plumb lamented that few travelling preachers visited in the east, and that what little news they got from a distance came only through the Palladium.

The damage to the Upper Canadian Connexion appears to have been most severe in the western part of the colony. Sufficient churches had been established by 1836 to warrant division of the Conference, the Credit River being the dividing line. Attempts were made in the spring and summer of 1837 to form a West Upper Canada Conference, although it is not clear organizers succeeded. What is clear is that many simply moved "to the peaceful west" of the United States, so that congregations such as the one at Mount Pleasant closed and the once large church in Dumfries Township was reduced to a struggling shadow of itself. Whitfield continued to preach in the area, but when he succeeded in gathering new congregations, they were not where a Connexion church had
The first post-Rebellion list of ministers and their residences, drawn up in 1844, contained 30 names. Of the 22 whose addresses are given, only three resided west of the colonial capital. By way of contrast, three pastors lived in Pickering, another three in East Gwillimbury and two at Oshawa.

For some, the American exile was temporary. The worst of the disruption was over by early 1839. That year three 'Elders' from Canada attended the New York Western Christian Conference as fraternal delegates. Sixteen ministers reported to the 1839 Canadian Conference and Badger was received as fraternal delegate from the New York Central Conference. Earl returned and taught school in Burford, as well as preaching there and at Norwich in the fall of 1841. Despite the Rebellion, the Connexion continued to press petitions with Lord Durham, seeking privileges such as the right for ministers to solemnize marriages and for churches to hold property. Some who stayed, such as Henry, emerged from the Rebellion relatively unscathed. Although he had, according to his own account, played a key role in the acquittal of Dr. Hunter from charges of treason, Henry headed a group of Oshawa entrepreneurs which was granted the harbour license in 1841, a mere handful of years after the Rebellion. His biographer may have been correct in crediting his Irish birth as elevating him above stigma.

Henry embodied two of the Connexion's notable features in this era: its resilience and its members' social standing. Expansion resumed eastward, into territory where they had previously been virtually unknown. In 1838, Nicholson toured
as far east as Leeds Township and formed a congregation in Bastard Township by 1841. While many original western Canadian churches were gone, strong congregations were revived in Trafalgar, Esquesing and Saltfleet Townships by 1841, while Elijah Gleason reached the Lake Erie shore, founding a new work at Wainfleet. Earl revived the Burford church and founded another in Brantford. H.H. Willson refounded the church at King in 1843. There were also several ordinations after the Rebellion. Optimism abounded.

Despite this manifest resurgence, the Connexion had reached its highwater mark in the colony and the tide had turned. The political situation differed greatly from that of New England three decades earlier. Although the Clergy Reserves represented a form of establishment, opposition was perhaps muted because there was no direct taxation, unlike American state churches. The Connexion's members, in common with almost anyone not connected with the Church of England or the Church of Scotland, opposed the Reserves but offered no unique attraction for Canadians distressed by this form of religious establishment. Equally important, most new immigrants were from Britain, arriving with vastly different experiences and expectations. Terms like "republican," pregnant with meaning for Connexion members, made no automatic appeal to the new-comers. With membership figures stalled in the face of a rapidly expanding population, the Connexion's presence became increasingly dilute.

The 1839 Census was the first to record residents' religious persuasion. Most of the Census and Assessment records for the Newcastle District have been preserved.
including those for the townships along the lakefront in which Christian Connexion members were concentrated. The Connexion was strongest in Darlington Township, where its 225 members comprised 10.8% of the population, ranking the denomination third behind the Methodists and the Presbyterians, and well ahead of the Church of England. In Haldimand, their 31 members translated into 6.3% of the total of 490 and, in neighbouring Cramahe, 79 members among 2650 amounted to 3%. There were 63 members in Murray, representing 2.3% of the township's 2709 residents. Only Mariposa, among the townships in Newcastle District which were back from the lake, had a notable level of Connexion members: 5.1% of the 965 residents. Tiny groups huddled together in Clarke, Hamilton, Hope, Monaghan and Percy Townships. Census-takers in several townships had, by 1841, provided for enumerating "Christians," but found none.

The 1839 Darlington Assessment rolls reveal a population of wealthy farmers. Their mean of 30.1 acres in crops was fifty percent higher than that of the general population. Measured in terms of land holdings, the second wealthiest farmer in the township belonged to a member of the Connexion. David F. Burk owned a total of 586 acres, only 14 less than a Baptist. One hundred and sixty of those acres were under cultivation, eight times the township mean acreage with crops, twice as many acres as planted by the Baptist owner, and second only to the 175 acres actively farmed by a Presbyterian. Similarly, the 'Christians' of Mariposa Township represented 5.1% of the population, but farmed 7% of the acreage under cultivation, an overrepresentation of 37%.
Clearly members of the Connexion were not predominantly socio-economic outcasts. This suggests that the Connexion's failure to attract new members lay more with theological peculiarities.

Conclusion

In this period, the Christian Connexion in Canada initially flourished. It soon encountered a series of threats, two unique to the colony, which seriously disrupted its growth. The cumulative impact of the inherent instability of the 'aleatory' paradigm, losses to the Disciples of Christ, the influx of British settlers, and the 1837 Rebellion devastated a group which still perceived itself as the northern wing of an American movement. The combined effect of these influences weakened the 'aleatory' paradigm to the point that further stimulus could easily destroy its fragile being.

Although a recent venture, the Connexion was already suffering notable decline. This was ironic, the atrophy resulting directly from the Connexion's 'aleatory' plan. Many churches had folded, or were in danger of it, for lack of regular ministry. Proponents of organization believed that more systematic provision of pay and training for ministers, stricter control of discipline, and formal policy for creating and structuring churches would stem losses. Tensions arising from varied reactions to a radical discontinuity between the 'aleatory' theory, that God ordered pious preachers' pay and movement, and the reality of near anarchy in the provision of pastoral care to a growing constituency reached a boiling point at the 1832 United States General Convention. A rump,
dominated by 'aleatory' supporters, won a pyrrhic victory by dissolving the body "forever." When opponents successfully reconvened a Christian Convention in 1834, they accelerated the process of linearization by which relations within the Connexion became formal and fixed. A degree of ministerial discipline emerged, as did a growing line between clergy and laity. More serious, in the long-run, was some leaders' initial attack upon the 'aleatory' ideology itself.

A second major disruption befell the Connexion when Barton Stone, leader in the West, joined forces with the Disciples of Christ. It was an odd move, as there were greater similarities between the Connexion's regions than between Stone's and Campbell's movements. It seems Stone mistook Campbell's congregationalism for his own 'aleatory' belief in Christ's direct leadership of churches, and underestimated the Disciples' fidelity to what they held to be essential doctrines. The two bodies united by an informal, 'aleatory' coalescence. Campbell's star rose at Stone's expense, however, and the 'aleatory' vision became marginalized as the Disciples' distinctive tenets seized the hearts and minds of Western 'Christians.' The Connexion was permanently crippled in the upper South and weakened in its extremities. Major disruption was avoided in Canada, although there were some serious localized losses. The net effect of the struggle was heightened linearity as members of the continuing Connexion held to its name and rhetoric, but centralized power in the hope of organizational continuity.

Third, a shift in immigration left the Canadian Connexion appearing more 'foreign.' Its American roots not only aroused
the suspicion of authorities, but also meant that the group effectively spoke a different language than other colonists. Slogans such as 'Liberty' did not stir a visceral response among a population increasingly dominated by immigrants from Great Britain. The Clergy Reserves functioned as a form of church establishment, but without direct taxation, removing a political irritant which had galvanized Smith's followers decades earlier in New England.

The era's final crisis, the 1837 Mackenzie-Papineau Rebellion, proved to be disastrous for the Upper Canadian Conference. It was especially hard hit west of York, where it was devastated. Problems which had emerged from the use of part-time, 'tent-maker' preachers reached crisis proportions after the Rebellion. Systematic, linear fiscal measures, something with which the entrepreneurs and wealthy farmers who predominated were familiar in their daily lives, became the norm. Ad hoc efforts to supply ministers' financial needs were consolidated into broader inter-congregational cooperation in order to overcome local limitations. These moves further distanced the group from its original 'aleatory' ideology and practice.

The Christian Connexion remained firmly outside the religious mainstream. Most firmly embraced unitarianism. Yet the Connexion also became more open to the mainstream. Members joined in other denominations' revivals and welcomed observers at their own conference meetings. Tentative enquiries about potential union partners also began in this period.

The Connexion, which sought to displace all denominations
by destabilizing them, ironically, was itself becoming destabilized. It weathered these four crises only because of leaders' willingness to compromise its essence in order to maintain its existence. The adoption of some deliberate form brought the Connexion more in line with the mainstream. At the same time, improved communications altered the perception of distance, weakening affective interregional bonding by spurring greater internal regional integration. Editors championed sectional stances, undercutting periodicals' function as unitive sources of information. These manifold changes meant that the 'aleatory' paradigm had been seriously compromised by the period's close. The way had been prepared for the Christian Connexion to move closer still to the mainstream by a decisive and fully-conscious repudiation of the 'aleatory' paradigm.
Discussion of the development of the movement's peace witness and its attitude to women in ministry were originally included in this thesis, but removed in order to conserve space. The group's pacifism and openness to female preaching, although not common stances, did not set it apart from the mainstream as radically as did its aleatory organization and its antitrinitarianism. One may also argue that any antipathy to the Connexion generated by its peace witness arose from the refusal of some to support the government side during the Rebellion, thus it is a derivative factor.


3 *CP* II,7 November 1833, p.231. He used the same expression regarding Ralph Rugg's work in Lower Canada [*CP* II,8 December 1833, p.261].

4 Three in Trafalgar, two in Dumfries, "Nissurea"[sic], Middleton, Louth, with the remaining 12 east (Murray, Cramahe, Haldimand, Whitby/Darlington, Pickering, Whitchurch, Newmarket, North Gwillimbury, 4 in Georgina). *Gospel Luminary* (hereafter cited as *GL*) 4,11 August 1831, p.391]

5 *CP* IV,10 15 September 1835, p.154,c.2

6 *CP* IV,9 1 September 1835, p.140,c.1

7 *Christian Vanguard* 28 November 1914, p.5,c.1

8 *CP* VI,20 15 February 1838, p.311,c.2

9 This observation is based on published obituaries, which were far from exhaustive. They do, however, give some indication of the link between the two jurisdictions: Deland Parker, who "embraced religion" at Porter, N.Y. [*CP* VIII,24 15 April 1840, p.381, c.1]; John Craig, formerly of the Ballston, N.Y. Christian Church [*CP* IV,9 1 September 1835, p.140,c.2]; Samuel Lenox from Brodalebin [*CP* V,17 2 January 1837, p.271,c.2].

11 Badger attended the 1832 and 1839 Conferences (CP I,4 August 1832, p.91; VIII,8 15 August 1839, p.122,c.2) and preached the dedication sermon at the Whitby chapel in 1843 (CP XII,6 6 September 1843, p.95,c.1).

12 CP VI,7 1 August 1837, p.110,c.1; VII,8 15 August 1838, p.116, c.2

13 Typescript copy of 1842 minutes (source is not cited by transcriber); CP XII,4 16 August 1843 p.60,c.1

14 CP XXIX,23 10 November 1860, p.266b,c.2. It is not possible to confirm this claim, in part because of gaps in source records, but also because some Americans were ordained in Canada and vice versa. Asahel Fish was converted in Ontario and began to preach about 1827 [CP III,13 1 November 1834, p.213, c.1]; he and Seth Marvin were ordained in 1830 [GL 3 (New Series), 4 April 1830, p.144], John Prosser in 1830 [Typescript copy of 1831 minutes (source is not cited by transcriber)], John Earl in 1831 (The Canada Christian Conference Minutes July 8th 1844-66 (Manuscript minute book, hereafter cited as Canada Minutes and the specific Conference session by year) 1848, p.6; Canada Minutes 1849, p.29], with Frederick Whitfield and Jesse VanCamp being ordained in 1832 [Typescript copies of the 1832 and 1833 minutes (source is not cited by transcriber); cf. The 100th Annual Conference of the Christian Church in Ontario (hereafter all Ontario Conference Minutes published after the close of the 1866 manuscript minute book will be cited as Ontario Minutes and the specific Conference session by year) 1925, p.41]. J.H. Currier began his preaching career in Canada in 1832, but returned to the United States shortly thereafter [CP XXIX,9 28 April 1860, p.139,c.2-140,c.2]. Levi Stickney and Joel Richard were set apart to ministry in 1833 [CP II,1 May 1833, p.37]. Others, like Donald Nicholson and Josiah Perrington had apparently already been ordained before joining the Conference in 1836 [CP IV,17 January 1836, p.263,c.2]. William Nobles was admitted the same year, after his ordination [CP V,11 1 October 1836, p.173,c.1]. Anson Plumb and James W. Sharrard were ordained in 1838 [Typescript copy of 1838 minutes (source is not cited by transcriber)]. The Oshawa congregation produced at least two more preachers: B.W. McGill in 1834 and William Sweet in 1835 [Oshawa Christian Church, "Minutes of Fellowship Meetings, 1831-1868," manuscript minute book in the United Church Archives (hereafter cited as "Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831"), pp.10,12]. Some, like William Hamley, are mentioned only in secondary sources [E.W. Humphreys, Memoirs of Deceased Christian Ministers; or, Brief Sketches of the Lives and Labors of 975 Ministers, Who Died Between 1793 and 1880 (Dayton, Ohio, Christian Publishing Association 1880), p.154. Hamley lived from 1803 to 1837. Humphreys cites an obituary by H.H. Willson, without noting its source.].

15 CP III,8 16 August 1834, p.130,c.2; p.131,c.1; III,10 15 September 1834, p.168,c.1
16 CP XII, 4 16 August 1843 p.60, c.1. Starkey was a "literary institute," providing no instruction in theology.

17 CP VII, 8 15 August 1838, p.117, c.1. McIntire and Sharrard were appointed. A preacher from Pennsylania was designated as a backup, in case the political situation prevented them attending. McIntire, Henry and "Sherwood" visited the New York Western [CP VIII, 7 1 August 1839, p.108, c.1] and McIntire was the CBA delegate [CP VIII, 8 15 August 1839, p.122, c.2].

18 CP VI, 20 15 February 1838, p.311, c.2

19 GL 3(N), 5 May 1830, pp.172-173

20 CP III, 9 September 1, 1834, p.137, c.1. The Palladium's masthead throughout the 1830s proclaimed it to be "Devoted to the improvement and happiness of Mankind."

21 CP III, 10 September 15, 1834, p.155, c.1

22 "Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831," p.7; cf. October 1833, p.9; March 1836, p.13

23 Christian Worker II, 6 April 1883, p.1, c.1

24 Canada Minutes 1849, pp.19ff.

25 Canada Minutes 1849, p.20

26 CP I, 5 September 1832, p.112; I, 7 November 1832, p.162

27 Canada Minutes 1849, p.20

28 cf. Canada Minutes 1849, p.21: It notes "2 More joined Mormans[ sic]," suggesting others had done so previously. The text says "1847," but the context suggests this is a copy-error, which should read 1837.

29 Canada Minutes 1849, p.21. Although unusual, the Pickering situation was not unique. In 1840, the Keswick congregation decided to "raise[ sic; i.e. raze] the record" and start a new book, complete with a list of members reconstituting it [Keswick Christian Church Minutes Book 1860-1933, p.37].

30 See the discussion in Chapter Five, pp.317-318.

31 GL 4, 1 October 1830, p.27

32 GL 4, 1 October 1830, p.27. The Canadians' practice was in line with that of the Americans. New York Western Christian Conference also insisted in 1831 upon proper credentials [GL 4, 11 August 1831, p.393].

33 David Millard, The Unity of God, and the Sonship of Jesus Christ, Affirmed and Defended. A Sermon, delivered in the
Methodist Chapel at West Bloomfield, N.Y., On the 19th of July, 1832. To which is added, An Appendix Containing some strictures on a sermon delivered at the same place, on the same day, by Wilbur Hoag, A Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. (Rochester, Marshall and Dean 1832), p.xv. Millard raised the issue of the right of rebuttal being allowed the first speaker under Parliamentary rules. This is different in spirit from hearing any and all who wish to speak, simply because of the bonds of "love."


35 Whitelock, "Publishing Interests," p.459

36 Particularly enlightening in this regard are Stein's comments on the normative, canon-forming function of hymns [Stephen J. Stein, "America's Bibles: Cannon, Commentary, and Community," in Church History, Vol. 64, #2, June 1995, pp.169,178,181].

37 Whitelock, "Publishing Interests," p.458


40 CP III,7 1 August 1834, p.116,c.1

41 CP III,7 1 August 1834, p.117,c.2; III,16 15 December 1834, p.261,c.1

42 CP III,19, February 2, 1835, p.304,c.1

43 CP IV,4 15 June 1835, p.60,c.2

44 CP III,18 January 15, 1835, p.288,c.1. This was said to have occurred on "hundreds" of occasions.


46 CP II,7 November 1833, pp.220-221

47 CP III,7 1 August 1834, p.120,c.1

48 CP III,7 1 August 1834, p.106,c.2
The body also created the Massachusetts Christian Benevolent Society, which was intended to be a church-planting auxiliary.

In the event, no Upper Canadian delegates attended the General Convention in 1834 [CP III,13 1 November 1834, p.225,c.2], but it is not clear whether this was because they opposed the concept or they could not afford to attend.

Himes had earlier alluded to the departure of some dissidents [CP III,7 1 August 1834, p.116,c.1].

This state Conference included representatives from the Ohio Central, Deer Creek, Miami and Salt Creek Conferences.
Some examples are CP I,3 July 1832, pp.56, etc.; I,7 November 1832, p.163; III,23 1 April 1835, p.373,c.2.

CP III,15 1 December 1834, p.244,c.1; III,23 1 April 1835, p.373,c.2; III,1 1 May 1834, p.17,c.2; IV,3 1 June 1835, p.39,c.1; cf. p.40,c.1; p.45,c.2; IV,7 15 July 1835, p.108,c.2. This was also a problem in the West, cf. Christian Messenger (hereafter cited as CM) VI,9 September 1832, p.281.


CP III,20 16 February 1835, p.320,c.2

CP III,7 1 August 1834, p.117,c.1; III,18 January 15, 1835, p.288,c.2

CP IV,16 16 December 1835, p.248,c.2

CP III,2 15 May 1834, p.38,cc.1-2; III,9 1 September 1834, p.141,c.2

CP I,3 July 1832, p.57; IV,3 June 1, 1835, p.38,c.2. McIntire was thus constrained in early 1832 and John Earl in 1835.

CP I,11 March 1833, p.315: D.S. Brown of Thorold. Elijah Sharrard, based in New York State, reported that the Canadians were in good spirits, but suffering from a paucity of preachers [CP V,16 15 December 1836, p.252,c.2].

CP VII,11 1 October 1838, p.172,c.1

CP III,16 15 December 1834, p.260,cc.1-2; III,19 February 2, 1835, p.303,c.2

CP III,16 15 December 1834, p.258,c.1

CP III,16 15 December 1834, p.260,c.2

CP III,18 15 January 1835, p.290,c.1

CP III,1 1 May 1834, p.19,c.2

CP III,16 15 December 1834, p.260,c.2

CP VII,11 1 October 1838, p.172,c.2; Joseph Franklin and J.A. Headington, The Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin (St. Louis, Missouri, John Burns 1879), p.52; Matthew Gardner, The Autobiography of Elder Matthew Gardner, a minister in the Christian Church Sixty-three Years, Nicholas Summerbell, ed. (Dayton, Ohio, Christian Publishing Association 1874), p.75

CP III,18 15 January 1835, p.288,c.1
This contract relieved him of the necessity of pursuing secular work.

He was not alone in his envy. At least one pseudonymous writer to the Christian Sun held up the Methodists as an example of the good which proper organization could achieve [Christian Sun (hereafter cited as CS) III,10 October 1846, p.153,cc.1-2].

The Philadelphia Conference made a similar decision the same year [CP IV,7 1 August 1835, p.100,c.1]. The church society had a legal basis in New York, where the formation of a society was necessary before a congregation could erect a meeting house [Curtis D. Johnson, Islands of Holiness: Rural Religion in Upstate New York, 1790-1860 (Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press 1989), pp.72-73], but existed in Canada solely as a means to organize financial matters.
108 Provincial Archives of Ontario: Microfilm MS-16 Census of Cramahe Township, 1839, 1840 and 1841. It is impossible to track further developments because of changes in Census questions.

McIntire's settled ministry was a novelty; the Newmarket church had no settled minister between 1822 and 1842 [125th Anniversary of the Newmarket Congregational Christian Church 1822-1947 (Newmarket, by the congregation 1947), p.8].

109 CP III,9 1 September 1834, p.137,c.1; III,19 2 February 1835, p.303,c.1

110 CP IV,5 1 July 1835, p.67,c.2, p.68,c.1

111 CP III,14 15 November 1834, p.225,c.1

112 CP III,7 1 August 1834, p.105,c.1ff.; III,16 15 December 1834, p.261,c.2

113 CP III,7 1 August 1834, p.106,c.1


116 CP IV,6 15 July 1835, p.84,cc.1-2


118 Herald of Gospel Liberty (hereafter cited as HGL) LXXV,15 12 April 1883, p.230,c.2. Granted, this anecdote was written well after the close of this period and refers to a time slightly before the beginning of this period, but the majority of the changes to which it refers occurred within the timeframe of this chapter.


120 CP V,20 14 February 1837, p.313,c.2

121 CP III,20 16 February 1835, p.321,c.1
Millard was living in New England at the time (Millard, *Memoir of David Millard*, pp.180-181).

Gardner, *Autobiography of Matthew Gardner*, pp.91-92. The Western Association had little support outside the Southern Ohio Conference, which was the apparent bastion of anti-Eastern opinion.

The Union and Southern Ohio conferences supported the new paper against the Auglaze, Miami, Ohio Central and Bluffton (Indiana) conferences, which lauded "general measures."


Durward T. Stokes and William T. Scott. *A History of the Christian Church in the South* ([Elon College], [1973]), p.68

Daniel Schrauwers' *Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope, 1812-1883* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press 1993). The "Sharonites" were located in East Gwillimbury Township, one of the Canadian Connexion's strongholds.
139 CP II, 3 July 1833, p.92; III, 18 15 January 1835, p.294, c.1; VII, 2 15 May 1838, p.22, c.1. He later served as Clerk of the Conference [CP XII, 4 16 August 1843, p.60, c.1].

140 Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, pp.227ff. David was Hugh’s “double uncle,” that is, both his blood uncle as well as having married Hugh’s aunt, or, put another way, David was both Hugh’s father’s brother and his mother’s sister’s husband.

141 Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, p.222. These included Hugh Willson’s sister, Waite Ann Doan, was one of several Doans to cross over. Later, Jacob Lundy’s son Oliver switched to the Christian Church [Newmarket Era 23 November 1877, p.2, c.4]. J.E. Everingham was said to be a nephew of James H. Willson, formerly of Sharon [Newmarket Era 24 April 1903, p.3, c.2]. If he were indeed a nephew, and not a great-nephew, the different surname indicates that there were still more links between the Connexion and the Sharon group.

142 Canada Minutes 1859, p.101; Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, p.245

143 Nancy Graham was married to Jesse Tatton [Newmarket Era 8 February 1856, p.2, c.1. The ceremony was conducted by H.H. Willson.]; Esther to William Percy [HGL CXVIII, 15 15 April 1926, p.358, c.3].

144 Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, p.150. David Willson’s ideas were closer to the those of the Friends, who elevated the influence of the Inner Light above that of creeds [Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, pp.6, 9]. Some have argued that the Sharon Temple functioned as a non-verbal creed, that is, acting as an architectural expression of belief, symbolizing the values of the sect [cf. Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, p.114].

145 This is not a direct quotation from of any Connexion member, but a summary of a less succinctly-stated theme running through their literature which bespeaks their belief that their obedience, demonstrated by the implementation of their agenda, would be the kernel around which the Kingdom of God could crystallize.

146 Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, p.152

147 Brown, *Elijah Shaw*, pp.163-164

148 CP III, 6 15 July 1834, p.94, c.1; III, 8 16 August 1834, p.129, c.2

149 CP V, 8 15 August 1836, p.126, c.2

150 CP VI, 7 1 August 1837, p.107, c.1; X, 5 1 July 1841, p.73, c.1; X, 15 1 December 1841, p.238, c.1
Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.236. Millard preached at a Baptist protracted meeting in Rochester in 1843. The next year the Baptists Episcopal Methodists and Christians at Leatherville, New York held a joint revival [CP, XII, 25 1 May 1844, p.392, c.1].

North Carolina in 1830 [CM IV, 9 August 1830, p.215]; New England in 1834 [CP III, August 16, 1834, p.129, c.2]; Virginia in 1835 [CP IV, 14 16 November 1835, p.213, c.1].

CP X, 18 15 January 1842, p.280, cc.1-2. The Gospel Publisher was the official organ of a group simply calling itself "The Church of God."

CP X, 8 16 August 1841, p.126, c.1; X, 16 15 December 1841, p.247, c.1. Daniel Long had earlier reported a friendly meeting with an official of the Protestant Methodists [CP VIII, 15 2 December 1839, p.238, cc.1-2].

Cf. pp.11-12

Winfred Ernest Garrison and Alfred T. DeGroot, The Disciples of Christ: A History (St. Louis, Missouri, The Bethany Press 1958), pp.208-209. The six were: a stress on union; liberty of conscience, so no creed could bind belief; rejection of Calvin's "limited atonement;" the essentially rational nature of faith, not requiring a special work of the Holy Spirit for conversion; baptism by immersion; and opposition to non-scriptural names for believers or congregations.


Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples of Christ, pp.209-210. The Western 'Christians' did not hold immersion as a test of fellowship; they more clearly recognized the set-apartness of ministers; their revivalism was more emotional; there was no stress on weekly communion.

Lester G. McAllister and William E. Tucker, Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) (Saint Louis, Missouri, The Bethany Press 1975), pp.148-149. Stone's movement was more concerned with unity than restoration and preferred the name "Christian" to "Disciple," even though both names were scriptural.

Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples of Christ, pp.113, 122; McAllister and Tucker, Journey in Faith, p.83. This follows a line established by Stone and J.I. Rogers [John Rogers, ed.,

161 Rogers, Biography of Stone, p.174


163 Rogers, Biography of Stone, p.66. The two men remained on good terms until their deaths, each speaking highly of the other [cf. Purviance, Biography of David Purviance, pp.102-104].

164 Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples of Christ, p.217. It should be noted that Stone’s comments were in reaction to Joseph Marsh’s accusation that the Westerners had abandoned the union platform upon which all the Christians had stood, that is, “purity of heart and uprightness of character” as the sole test of fellowship [CP X,1 1 May 1841, p.10,c.1]. Stone rejected the accusation, claiming consistency with his initial vision.

165 Badger specifically objected to the linearity implied by Campbell’s vision of the disciplinary powers of the local congregation, a vision fundamentally different than the open-ended fellowship what had existed among the Christians [E.G. Holland, Memoir of Rev. Joseph Badger (3rd ed.) (New York, C.S. Francis and Co. 1854), pp.362-363].

166 Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples of Christ, p.265. Amos Hayden indicates that from 1828 on, there was resistance among Christians in the Western Reserve to keeping church records [Amos S. Hayden, Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio (Cincinnati, Chase and Hall 1875, reprinted at New York, Arno Press 1972), p.459). Nearly two decades of “anarchy” ensued, until Campbell rescued them by asserting associational order [Hayden, Disciples in the Western Reserve, p.462].

167 Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples of Christ, p.265

168 QM V,8 1831, pp.181,185; cf. QM VII,1 January 1833, pp.2-3. He later specifically rejected “Disciples” as a name, stating that he would only belong to the “Church of Christ” [QM IX,5 May 1835, p.108].
169 *CM* XI,10 June 1841, pp.338-339

170 Rogers, *Biography of Stone*, p.78. Among these "zealots" stood Amos Hayden, who insisted that the union of Campbell and Stone forces in the Ohio Western Reserve was not "some ethereal liberalism of sentiment without basis or bounds" (i.e. an affective, aleatory bonding), but a matter of the adoption of Disciples' doctrinal distinctives by the Christian Connexion preachers there [Hayden, *Disciples in the Western Reserve*, p.81].

171 *CM* VII,3 March 1833, pp.65-67. Emphasis is added to the quotation near the end of the paragraph.

172 Franklin and Headington, *Benjamin Franklin*, p.40. Joseph was the son of Benjamin Franklin, but he used his father's notes as he prepared the biography, which apparently contained similar sentiments.

173 Franklin and Headington, *Benjamin Franklin*, p.41

174 Franklin and Headington, *Benjamin Franklin*, p.238


178 CM IX,2 February 1835, pp.41-44, particularly p.43

179 cf. CM IX,5 May 1835, p.111

180 North, Union in Truth, p.176. This despite Lexington's being one of the two places where the initial union meetings in December 1831 and New Year's Day 1832 took place [CM VI,1 January 1832, p.6].

181 Purviance, Biography of David Purviance, pp.100-102. This is significant, indicating that lines within the congregation had solidified sufficiently to preclude further affective cooperation between the two factions.

182 North, Union in Truth, p.167


184 CP VI,12 16 October 1837, p.190,c.2. The Palladium editor called it a long overdue move.

185 CP X,18 15 January 1842, p.285,c.2-p.286,c.1

186 CP VIII,13 1 November 1839, p.199,c.1

187 CP X,15 1 December 1841, p.238,c.2-239,c.1

188 Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.27: "between Campbell and McCauly[sic]."


190 CM IV,7 June 1830, p.168; "John McIntyre[sic]," but clearly Thomas McIntire

191 Stainton, "Contribution," pp.94-96

192 CP III,6 July 15, 1834, p.101,c.2; IV,3 June 1, 1835, p.38, cc.1-2; IV,6 July 15, 1835, p.93,c.2

193 CP III,21 2 March 1835, p.337, c.2

194 CP III,28 January 1835, p.294,c.1
Daniel Call corroborated the basic drift, but then credited Morrison with sparking a revival. [CP VI, 20 15 February 1838, p.311,c.2, p.312,c.1].

Canada Minutes 1849, p.23

CP VI, 7 1 August 1837, p.107,c.1

CP VII, 11 1 October 1838, p.172,c.2

CP XII, 7 20 September 1843, p.110,c.1

Franklin and Headington, Benjamin Franklin, pp.41-42. Garrison and DeGroot also note the importance of periodicals to the union process [Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples of Christ, p.213].

CM VI, 1 January 1832, p.1

CM VII, 2 February 1833, p.56

CM VI, 6 June 1832, p.131

In June 1834, Levi and David Purviance renewed theirs [CM VIII, 6 June 1834, p.192]; David renewed again in fall of 1835 [CM IX, 10 October 1835, p.240]; J.V. Himes paid for both Volumes VIII and IX [CM IX, 8 August 1835, p.192]; William Lane of New York City for Volumes VI through X [CM X, 2 February 1836, p.32]. Stone and Kerr exchanged subscriptions [CS I, 9 September 1844, p.144,c.1].

CM IX, 5 May 1835, pp.106-107

CM IX, 6 June 1835, p.127

CM IX, 6 June 1835, p.128

CM X, 6 June 1836, p.81

CM XI, 7 March 1841, p.241

CM XII, 7 May 1842, p.209

Cox, "Introduction," p.xiv. Cox is correct in noting that the Canadians' primary relationship was with the New York movement, but this does not mean that other relationships, in particular to the Stone movement, could not also be significant.

Cox, "Introduction," p.xvi

Hayden, Disciples in the Western Reserve, p.389

215 Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples of Christ, p.215

216 DeGroot, Disciples Thought, p.252. To be fair, estimations of the strength of the continuing Connexion are difficult to make, especially as the United States Census for Ohio, as late as 1860, did not distinguish between Disciples and continuing Christians [Garrison and DeGroot, Disciples of Christ, p.298].

217 North, Union in Truth, p.187

218 It should be remembered, however, that Campbell received a sympathetic hearing in New England. Himes not only provided him with an audience in Boston, but became Campbell's agent there for a time [David T. Arthur, "Joshua V. Himes and the Cause of Adventism" in The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century, Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, eds. (Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University Press 1987), p.38].

219 Morrill, History, p.304

220 Gardner, Autobiography of Matthew Gardner, p.74; cf. CP IX,17 1 January 1841, p.267,c.1; X,3 1 June 1841, p.47,c.1. This group had entered the Connexion through the influence of the Herald of Gospel Liberty.

221 GS VIII,12 2 July 1851, p.2,c.4. It is ironic that Frederick and Rebecca Miller, who helped refound the Conference and moved to the Valley of Virginia in 1839, had themselves allegedly imbibed Campbell's ideas while serving the church in Cincinnati from 1835 to 1839 [CP XII,23 10 April 1844, p.374,c.1; Gardner, Autobiography of Matthew Gardner, pp.77-78].

223 Stokes and Scott, *Christian Church in the South*, p.57


225 North, *Union in Truth*, p.179; HGL LXXV,15 12 April 1883, p.230,c.1

226 CM IX,11 November 1835, pp.256-258

227 CM IX,11 November 1835, p.257. Only half of the ministers are confirmed to have stayed; the others may also have stayed.

228 CM IX,11 November 1835, p.258

229 *Christian Worker* II,1 November 1882, p.3,c.5. Ash was the clerk, but his letter to the *Palladium* makes no mention of the vote, or of the single vote difference between the two factions [CP III,8 August 16, 1834, p.131,cc.1-2]. He may have reported it, but Badger would have dropped the item because it ran counter to his theological and editorial stance.

In his later piece, Ash also claimed: "A large number of the 1200 members and the 20 elders united with us in Oshawa, Bowmanville and Pickering" [*Christian Worker* II,6 April 1883, p.1,c.4], but there is no way to corroborate this claim. He listed five Connexion preachers who eventually joined the Disciples [*Christian Worker* II,6 April 1883, p.1,c.4], but one, Colston, crossed over three decades later!

230 GL 6,6 March 1833, p.208. Note that Wiers continued to report to the *Luminary*, although it was not a Campbellite paper. It appears he assumed the entire Connexion would accept the new idea.

231 CP V,11 1 October 1836, p.175,cc.1-2

232 CP IV,9 1 September 1835, p.140,cc.1-2. Millard referred to Whitby, which Ash noted was later renamed Oshawa. The resisting elders were Henry, Jesse VanCamp and Benjamin Rogers.

233 "Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831," p.16

234 "Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831," p.17

235 *Christian Worker* II,6 April 1883, p.1,c.1. His father, who also lived there, had not shared his son's early enthusiasm. He not only remained with Connexion, but had welcomed Millard into his home in 1835 when Millard came to
oppose the infiltration of Campbellism [CP IV,9 1 September 1835, p.140,c.1] and still paid for the Palladium in 1836 [CP IV,20 15 February 1836, p.320,c.2]. Joseph Ash, Sr.'s family continued to be listed as "Christian" and not "Disciples" until the 1840 census, although there are other Disciples in the 1839 census [Provincial Archives of Ontario: Microfilm MS-16, Reel 5, Census for Hamilton Township, 1839, 1840].

236 Christian Worker II,6 April 1883, p.1,c.2. Ash also accused "Badger, of the Palladium" of whipping Henry back to the Connexion, then keeping him by flattery.

237 Christian Worker II,6 April 1883, p.1,c.2

238 Christian Worker II,6 April 1883, p.1,cc.2-3

239 GL 3(N),1 January 1830, pp.14-15. The following spelling convention will be adopted for the sake of clarity. "Unitarian" or "Unitarianism" will refer to the formally-constituted denominational centred in New England, while "unitarian" and "unitarianism" will refer to a type of theology which rejects the doctrine of the Trinity, in particular the absolute deity of Jesus Christ.

240 GL 3(N),3 March 1830, p.98, cf. GL 4,5 February 1831, p.161; 4,7 April 1831, p.247; 4,11 August 1831, p.388

241 GL 4,6 March 1831. Most of the April issue (4,7, pp.217-246) contained similar coverage.


243 CP III,23 1 April 1835, p.361,c.1

244 CP IV,8 15 August 1835, p.122

245 CP V,14 15 November 1836, p.209,c.1; V,20 14 February 1837, p.305,c.1

246 CP IV,11 1 October 1835, p.169,cc.1-2

247 CP VI,12 16 October 1837, p.190,c.1

248 Mattison particularly noted Simon Clough's claim to intimacy with Channing [Hiram Mattison, An Essay on the Doctrine of the Trinity: or a check to Modern Arianism, as taught by Campbellites, Hicksites, New Lights, Universalists, and Mormons; and especially by a sect calling themselves 'Christians'. With an Appendix, giving an account of 'The Great Farce' Watertown, [New York], N.W. Fuller for the author 1843], p.108].
249 E.g. David Millard's youngest son [Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.286] and Henry Brown's eldest son [HGL CIX,14 5 April 1917, p.335,c.1] were both named Channing.

250 CP VI,12 16 October 1837, p.190,c.2; IX,23 1 April 1841, p.368,c.2; cf. VII,8 15 August 1839, p.125,c.1. Nicholson was a former Methodist [CP IV,17 January 1836, p.263,c.2].

251 Provincial Archives of Ontario: Microfilm MS-16 Reel 3. Census of Darlington Township, 1840

252 CP IX,23 1 April 1841, p.364,c.2. As in most reports published in the Palladium on such debates, Whitfield is said to have soundly routed his opponent, convincing the entire audience.

253 CP IX,19 1 February 1841, p.297,c.1

254 George Willis Cooke, Unitarianism in America (Boston, American Unitarian Association 1902), p.315

255 Johnson, Islands of Holiness, p.68

256 Olbricht, "Connexion and Unitarian Relations", pp.172,181

257 CP V,2 16 May 1836, p.28,c.2, p.29,c.1; cf. comments by "H." of Boston, presumably Himes [CP III,10 15 September 1834, p.157,c.2].

258 CP IV,11 1 October 1835, p.168,c.2

259 CP VII,8 15 August 1838, p.117,c.2: "As dissenters from some of the popular notions of theology as taught at the present day, you have ever felt your embarrassments...."


261 Moir, Church in the British Era, p.122

262 CP IV,16 16 December 1835, p.252,c.2

263 CP V,11 1 October 1836, p.172,c.1

264 Moir, The Church in the British Era, pp.116ff.; Moir, Enduring Witness, p.84; French, Parsons and Politics, pp.109, 111-113,126,137

265 Thomas Henry [Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.78] and David VanNorman [Newmarket Era 22 April 1898, p.2,c.4],
although it appears he was not a member of the Christian Church until after the Rebellion.

266 CP V,11 1 October 1836, p.171,c.2

267 CP V,19 1 February 1837, p.303,cc.1-2

268 The Niagara Presbytery virtually collapsed [S.D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press 1948), p.231; Moir, *Enduring Witness*, p.84]. The Rebellion was also a major factor behind the demise of David Willson's Children of Peace [Schrauwers, *Awaiting the Millennium*, p.183].

269 Henry, *Memoir of Thomas Henry*, p.91

270 CP VII, August 1838, p.118,c.1. Ministers emigrating, at least temporarily, included John Earl, Joel Richard and Matthias Taylor [CP VII,20 15 February 1839, p.312,c.1; VII,3 1 June 1839, p.44,c.2; VII,11 1 October 1838, p.172,c.2; VIII,9 2 September 1839, p.139,c.2]. Richard had been Standing Clerk of the Conference in 1835 [CP IV,17 1 January 1836, p.263,c.2].

271 CP VII,8 15 August 1838, p.118,c.1

272 CP VI,20 15 February 1838, p.310,c.2; p.311,c.2

273 CP XII,5 23 August 1843, p.79,c.1

274 Henry, *Memoir of Thomas Henry*, p.78

275 CP VI,20 15 February 1838, p.310,c.2; p.311,c.2

276 *Past Years in Pickering* [This publication was accessed through a photocopy in Udelle Wood’s possession which has no bibliographic information, but internal evidence dates it in 1911], p.124. Only six of the thirteen who rejoined the church in May and June of 1840 had been members before the Rebellion [*Past Years in Pickering*, pp.124-125].

277 CP VI,20 15 February 1838, p.319,c.1

278 CP VII,11 1 October 1838, p.172,c.1

279 CP VII,9 1 September 1838, p.130,c.1

280 CP VI,21 1 March 1838, p.333,c.2

281 CP VIII,3 1 June 1839, p.47,cc.1-2

282 CP V,11 1 October 1836, p.173,cc.1-2

283 CP VI,3 1 June 1837, p.41,c.1
284 CP VII,24 15 April 1839, p.375,c.2

285 CP XII,22 27 March 1844, p.348,c.2

286 E.g. CP X,17 1 January 1842, p.267,c.1. Whitfield reported forming a church at Brantford, several miles north of the former congregation at Mount Pleasant, as well as a significant distance (in terms of equine travel) from the congregations in Dumfries and Burford.

287 Canada Minutes 1844, p.1. The three were Frederick J. Whitfield at Norwich, Thomas Pickard at Esquesne[sic, presumably Esquesing] and Nathan Dobkin at Burford. John Earl, whose name appears on this list, may still have been preaching in Burford, where he was in 1842 [CP X,17 1 January 1842, p.270,c.1], but this is far from certain.

288 Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.91

289 CP VIII,7 1 August 1839, p.108,c.1: McIntire, Henry, and Sharrard. The original has "Sherwood," but should read "Sharrard."

290 CP VIII,8 15 August 1839, p.122,c.2. There had been between more than 20 itinerants operating in Upper Canada in 1832 [CP I,4 July 1832, pp.72,91].

291 CP X,9 1 September 1841, p.139,c.2; X,11 1 October 1841, p.174,c.2

292 CP VIII,8 15 August 1838, p.117,cc.1-2; VIII,2 15 May 1839, p.28,c.2; cf. Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, pp.71,92

293 Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, pp.78-79


295 Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.79

296 CP VII,14 15 November 1838, p.222,c.1. Nicholson was not alone. John Earl preached near Beverley the next year [CP VII,24 15 November 1839, p.373,c.2].

297 CP X,13 1 November 1841, p.203,c.2

298 CP IX,23 1 April 1841, p.364,c.1

299 CP X,17 1 January 1842, p.267,c.1; p.270,c.1

300 Ontario Minutes 1900, p.21,c.1

301 J.W. Sharrard and Anson Plumb were ordained in 1838 [CP VII,8 15 August 1838, p.117,c.1]. Plumb claimed that fall to
have recruited three or four new itinerants from the eastern territory [CP VII,9 1 September 1838 p.130,c.2]. Joseph Clemons was ordained in Cramahe Township in 1843 [CP XII,5 23 August 1843, p.79,c.1]. Sylvester L. Pervier first surfaced in Loughborough, Upper Canada in 1839, but was ordained by the 1840 New York Western Christian Conference [CP VIII,3 1 June 1839, p.47,c.1; IX,4 15 June 1840, p.63,c.1]. At the western tip of the area occupied by the Upper Canadian Connexion, G.W.W. Tanner of New York State was ordained in Norwich Township in 1841 [CP X,6 15 July 1841 p.91, c.1].

302 The Canadian Conference did not play a major role in the resolution of the Clergy Reserves issue. For detailed discussion, cf. Moir, *Church in the British Era*, pp.113ff., or G.S. French, *Parsons and Politics*.

303 Roderic Beajot and Kevin McQuillan, *Growth and Dualism: The Demographic Development of Canadian Society* (Toronto, Gage Publishing Limited 1982), pp.21ff.; Moir, *Church in the British Era*, p.110. The majority were likely Irish, with Scottish and English comprising roughly equal portions of the remaining British immigrants [Beajot and McQuillan, *Growth and Dualism*, p.22].

304 In light of the apparent mass emigration in the wake of the 1837 Rebellion, it is especially unfortunate that earlier returns do not contain information about religion. It is also dangerous to attempt to extrapolate colony-wide figures from these limited extant materials. For a thorough discussion of the utility of these early records, cf. Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984: "Appendix A: Aggregate Census Data" [pp.355-366]; "Appendix B: Aggregate Assessment Data" [pp.367-382]; "Appendix C: Agricultural Census of 1842" [pp.383-385].

305 The Newcastle District contained several Connexion churches. There were almost certainly more members of the Connexion in the Home District, but none of its early records have survived.

306 Provincial Archives of Ontario: Microfilm MS-16 Reel 3  
Census of Darlington Township 1839

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Percentage of Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
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<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Christian&quot;</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
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<td>8.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baptists</td>
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<td>6.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>No denomination</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
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<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mormon</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quaker</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>2088</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.7</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[error due to rounding]
307 The size of the Mariposa group (49 according to the 1839 Assessment Roll) is all the more remarkable when one remembers that it had come into existence only two years earlier [Canada Minutes 1848, p.3]. The congregation was later known as Little Britain.

308 In Clarke, the Connexion had 21 members, which equalled 0.8% of a total population of 2478. In Hamilton, 13 members represented 0.3% of the total of 4575. The 27 members in Hope were roughly 1% of the total 2769 residents. Although 2.9% of Percy's 749 residents were "Christians," only 22 persons were so enumerated. Monaghan returns indicate 11 Christians among a population of 2141: 0.5%. A single family of 7 in Otonabee accounted for 0.4% of the total of 1931 [Provincial Archives of Ontario: Microfilm MS-16 Reels 2,7,8].

309 E.g. Asphodel, Cavan, Eldon, Fenelon & Bexley, Harvey, Seymour, Smith and Verulam Townships [Provincial Archives of Ontario: Microfilm MS-16 Reels 1,4,9]

310 Provincial Archives of Ontario: Microfilm MS-16 Reel 3
Darlington Township:
1839 Assessment Roll

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Av.Acre</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Av.Un.</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Av.Cul.</th>
<th>Rank</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>157.0</td>
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<td>107.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>128</td>
<td>&quot;Christian&quot;</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>83.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>480</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>80.7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>840</td>
<td>Bible Christian</td>
<td>64.6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>58.4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>33.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>30.4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Mormon</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Quaker</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean Values: 81.2 61.2 20.1

Legend:
# = number of male households
Av.Acre = mean total acreage held
Av.Un. = mean uncultivated acreage
Av.Cul. = mean cultivated acreage
Pop. = number of persons (using Census figures)

* The Census counted all Methodists together, while the Assessment Roll distinguished between Bible Christians and other Methodists.

The right hand side of the first page of the 1839 Assessment Roll has been damaged beyond reading. This is unfortunate, as the surnames of several Connexion members began with "A." It is thus impossible to give an accurate picture of the Connexion members' wealth as measured by other standards, such as the size and fabric of their homes, size of their herds and the like.

311 Provincial Archives of Ontario: Microfilm MS-16 Reel 7
Assessment Roll for Mariposa Township 1839
CHAPTER FIVE:
The Last Stand of the Aleatory Paradigm: Early 1840s-1848

Introduction

The Canadian wing of the Christian Connexion entered the 1840s with renewed optimism. Although not groundless, it proved to be premature. What members faced in the mid-1840s was not a deliberately randomized, organization-free Christendom from which God would bring order, but near anarchy in their own ranks which threatened their continued existence. This was especially true in Canada. To Thomas Henry's list of reasons for the Connexion's slow growth in the colony (reproduced in the previous chapter), he himself added another factor which had hindered expansion: losses to Adventism. He does not appear to have grasped, however, that these defections not only undermined the Connexion's momentum, but that decisions in reaction altered the movement's very nature.

This chapter, covering the shortest timespan of any in the thesis, is arranged topically. It opens with a discussion of the new links forged by Connexion leaders with Unitarianism and their role in steering the Connexion closer to the mainstream, both in terms of ministerial education and of altering the philosophical basis of their "liberalism." Developments in the South, where linearization also increased dramatically, eventuated in the formation of a united Southern Christian Association in 1847.

Many in the Eastern Connexion continued to be intrigued by putatively supernatural forms of guidance, such as dreams and portent observation. This led disproportionately great
numbers of Connexion preachers to assume leadership roles in the emerging Adventist movement. A close examination of their involvement yields insights into the incompletely understood Millerite phenomenon. The Connexion's contribution to Adventism has been undervalued, particularly that of Joseph Marsh. Principles imbibed while belonging to the Connexion shaped the thinking and actions of major Adventist leaders. This discussion dominates the chapter because Millerism was not an imported problem, but a movement which arose within the Eastern Connexion itself.

Reaction to Millerism alone did not induce leaders to adopt radical changes. The cumulative effect of losses to Adventism, on-going internal fiscal problems, disruptions within churches, and government requirements for issuance of marriage licenses to ministers gave leaders incentive to adopt more overt forms of organization. The net effect of these changes was the virtual abandonment, at the conference level, of the 'aleatory' paradigm as an organizational principle. By the late-1840s, conferences had adopted relatively rigid forms. 'Aleatory' practice was also weakened at the congregational level, where it persisted longer. Proponents of organization, such as Joseph Badger and David Millard, tended to be long-time members who sacrificed one of the movement's distinctive features, its 'aleatory' organizational paradigm, in order to forestall the dissolution of their movement.

Unitarianism

Members of the Connexion prided themselves on being
"liberal" in religion. Yet there is good evidence that during this era most held conservative views regarding biblical criticism. When Badger rejected reading the first three chapters of Genesis literally, it stood out as atypical. Millard, exposed to early higher critics, accepted neither "scientism" nor a "direct scepticism" which undermined the veracity of biblical texts. He defended the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy and the "genuineness" of Joshua and the New Testament. Southerner Daniel Kerr, editor of the Christian Sun, pointedly opposed the work of the German critics and reaffirmed the integrity of Old Testament prophecy.

Connexion members were not Schleiermacherian "liberals." Their liberalism was grounded in a North American sense of egalitarianism. They rejected both particular cardinal 'orthodox' doctrines and the assumption that assent to doctrine is of great moment, yet these "liberal" beliefs assumed the integrity of biblical revelation. During this era, however, there was greater interaction between members of the Connexion and mainstream philosophically "liberal" groups, such as the Unitarians.

While Thomas Olbricht suggests that union interest between the Connexion and the American Unitarian Association dropped off in the 1830s, Milo Morrill notes that formal union talks actually came about in the 1840s. Benjamin Taylor's Bethel Seamen's Mission benefited from Unitarian largesse, as did John Walworth, an itinerant in the West. Fraternal delegates attended the Rhode Island Unitarian convention in 1843. There was some exchange of personnel. Christians, Disciples and Unitarians in Pennsylvania discussed union.
Nicholas Summerbell called for a mutual opening of pulpits between Unitarians or Trinitarians and the Connexion.\(^{13}\)

The clearest coupling with Unitarianism was the Connexion’s participation in the Meadville Theological School. According to the Unitarian historian George Cooke, the "Christians" floated the original proposition for a joint theological school in 1827.\(^{14}\) The school was not created until 1844, when a Unitarian entrepreneur in Meadville, Pennsylvania provided financial backing.\(^{15}\) The next fall, Millard was appointed professor of Biblical Antiquities and Sacred Geography, a position he filled for twenty-two years.\(^{16}\) Many of the students and trustees belonged to the Connexion.\(^{17}\) Newman Benson, a Connexion student at Meadville, was ordained by Connexion ministers and a Unitarian professor.\(^{18}\) By such means the Unitarians increased their influence on the Connexion in this era.

Critics like Hiram Mattison posited a theological affinity between the Connexion and Islam. While arising from different impulses and historical settings, the two systems shared belief in a particular view of "one God."\(^{19}\) Connexion leaders were not offended by this identification. Millard enthused that Muslims and Christians worshipped the same living God at the same spot on Mt. Sinai.\(^{20}\) His concern was the violent means employed to spread Islam, specifically threats of violence against Christians.\(^{21}\) He called the Dome of the Rock as "the mosque of St. Omer,"\(^{22}\) as if to say that the superstitions of Romanist and Muslim were the same, that both were corrupt compared to the simplicity of worshipping one God on Mt. Sinai.\(^{23}\) Badger also allowed that Mohammed had
been closer in spirit to Jesus than the “calculating European or New Englander” who excluded God’s Spirit from decision-making. He may have allowed further that persons not self-consciously Christian might receive salvation. At any rate, he accepted other religions as “at least mythologically true.” None of these opinions endeared them to the putatively orthodox.

The South, Slavery and the Weakening of Aleatory Relations

Relations between the South and the other branches of the Connexion remained essentially fluid until mid-century. There is no record of a Southerner attending a national conference of the Christians from 1821 until 1833. The problem was essentially one of distance not attitude; inefficient transportation “handicapped ... personal relations with the northern fellowship.” The company coalescing around Guirey after 1810 had always, in true ‘aleatory’ fashion, simply “considered themselves as united in principle and practice with the northern Christians, and,” according to Henry Hayes, “a correspondence in some degree has been kept up.” Indeed, subscriptions for the Gospel Luminary came from Virginia and the Carolinas. James E. Mathews was the Christian Messenger agent for Alabama. Correspondents from those states maintained a fairly consistent stream of letters to both papers. After the disruption caused by the Disciples, many Southern preachers still cleaved to the Eastern Christians, forwarding reports to the New York State-based Palladium. Hayes marketed Millard’s Travels.

The continuing Connexion churches in the Valley of
Virginia Conference tended to call pastors from the West."
Frederick G. and Rebecca L. Miller, originally of the Ohio
Central Conference, settled in Virginia in 1839." John L.
Davis of South Carolina issued an open invitation in 1834 to
any of his New England or New York colleagues to come work
with him." New Yorker W.R. Stowe took a church in the Eastern
Virginia Conference in 1843." This southward flow of
preachers created tangible interregional links.

Talk of inter-regional "union," which began as early as
1840, is significant not only in terms of formal content but
also of historiographical import. The initiative sprang from
the O'Kelly contingent, Daniel Kerr broaching the idea in the
*Palladium.*" His primary concern was to maintain freedom of
conscience with regard to infant baptism." Editor Joseph
Marsh assured Kerr that while the Eastern connexion held
infant baptism to be an error, it did not merit breach of
fellowship." Marsh's conception of the proposed union was
essentially aleatory. He indicated that "some formal act or
acknowledgement may be necessary to ratify the union," but
rather than effecting union, formal acts would merely reflect
"the sound principles which form the true basis of the union
of the saints."*" The conferences' autonomy precluded any
action more binding than assent to a resolution containing an
"expression of friendship, a willingness, and a desire to
unite with these brethren, and all Christians."*" The South
need not fear domination, because the Eastern "associations
are all formed and perpetuated on voluntary principles. Our
covenant is love."*" Such bonds already existed between the
Eastern conferences; the South would be no more bound to the
East than the East was internally.

The union enjoyed initial success. The initial proposal for the Christian Sun, the Southern paper, called for control by the New York State-based Christian General Book Association. By mid-1841 the four key New York Conferences (West, Central, North and East) had approved the union. Durward Stokes and William Scott understand confessional ratification as a significant step toward, but falling short of, institutional union, a process derailed by the 1844 New England Convention's condemnation of slavery. If the 1841 process is viewed through an 'aleatory' historiographical filter, however, it appears as an example of 'aleatory' union: more than corporate apartness but less than formal integration. Marsh elaborated the union's fundamentally affective nature: "should you at any time choose to dissolve the union, it will only be necessary to cease to act with us." Kerr took this promise at face value three years later, curtly reacting to the anti-slavery petition: "we have no desire to be united with you." Others in the South did not concur and continued sectional interaction into the next decade. This sharp disagreement, however, did contribute to growing linearization. It reinforced sectional dissimilarities and promoted a particular denominational self-awareness in the South. The two Southern wings began to realize they had more in common with each other than with the North.

The revitalization of ties between the Eastern and O'Kelly wings coincided with an ultimately successful initiative to heal the split in the Southern Connexion between
the Guirey and O'Kelly factions. The two factions' ministers clearly knew each other. Hayes commended Kerr to Luminary readers, while other Guireyites supported the union of the O'Kelly and Eastern conferences. The 1844 launch of the Christian Sun contributed to the consummation of Southern reunion, a process climaxed with the creation of a regional umbrella group, the Southern Christian Association, in 1847. While Easterners applauded the measure, it had the ironic effect of strengthening internal regional ties while accentuating differences between the South and the East. The creation of the Association marked a distinct alteration in the degree of overt organization, a point after which clear and well-defined lines or boundaries demarcated those who belonged and those who did not.

Millerism made no particular inroads in the South, but the stir increased suspicion of the Eastern Connexion at a time when lines were being drawn by Southerners. Their motivation to adopt overt organization was disciplinary, with particular concern over ministerial credentials. It was not until 1844 that a Conference in Randolph County required all withdrawing from the Conference to surrender credentials before receiving letters of commendation. The 1846 North Carolina and Virginia conference raised licentiate status from recognition of a gift to a permit to preach. Both manoeuvres further accentuated the lines between clergy and laity.

The union agitation, important in itself, also provides a means to gauge the extent to which the 'aleatory' paradigm was abandoned in the South. The paradigm was reasonably intact at the 1841 "union," but virtually nullified by the 1847
formation of the Southern Christian Association. The latter landmark pinpoints the abandonment of 'aleatory' practice there, as formal boundaries and control of ministerial credentials replaced affection as the primary means to recognize association and membership.

Nonlinear Guidance: Dreams, Portents and the Millennium

Subjective, nonlinear, non-rationalistic forms of guidance, such as observing portents and heeding religious impressions, were still significant within the Connexion. An extraordinary 1833 meteor shower so impressed Joseph Bates that he devoted four pages of his autobiography to it. Others linked portents to prophecies of Christ's return. The value of an impression was judged by the results of heeding it. An impression once prompted Daniel Call to preach in Newmarket. He persisted through initial apathy to his message until a "revival" broke out. He concluded that the results proved the original impression to have been from God.

The emotive basis for religious action applied not simply to particular points of decision, but to the entirety of Christian life. "Delta" spoke of "the sheet-anchor of his experience" which was "confirmed by the testimony of divine truth." The emphasis lay on subjective experience: one could know the Bible's truth because one had experienced it. This is not precisely the reason/feeling or order/experience dichotomy which William Westfall explores. The Christians lie, in Westfall's analytical framework, within the culture of experience. One must remember, however, that the culture of experience was not monolithic.
The prevalent view of "experience" within the Connexion had implications for organization. Westfall notes that the culture of experience tends to breed antinomianism, which the Connexion did not adopt. They imbued moral behaviour not only with salvific importance but with power to arbitrate fellowship. The Methodists still possessed significant linear order and continued to require assent to codified doctrine, leading many in the Connexion to call their nonlinear government "true protestantism" and to label any creed a wretched hangover from Catholicism. "Creeds" included any oral tradition which might channel thought. Even phrases such as "our views" were suspect for implying both that there existed a sub-set of doctrine, agreement with which was necessary to belong, and that the written opinions of any given member might summarize the beliefs of the whole.

Debating opponents bemoaned the Connexion apologists' slipperiness, that "they refuse to be held responsible for a single paragraph or Sentiment" in print. The reliance upon putatively supernatural forms of guidance and the combination of rigid moralism with a refusal to submit to any symbolic formula share a common foundation. Both reflect the Connexion's unusual organizational 'aleatory' concept. It was, in turn, informed and driven by millennial expectation.

Millennial expectation continued virtually unabated among members of the Connexion throughout the era. Negatively, it gave evidence of itself through the utilization of various biblically-inspired insults directed at Trinitarians. The Canadian preacher McIntire claimed creeds were "falling like dagon before the Ark," while fellow-colonist Hugh Willson
likened the sectarians to the "sons of Anak."" Sectarians were, according to Henry Wood, the false believers of the "last days," the legalistic Jews with whom one should not fellowship."

Positively, constant reference to "rain," as in the "latter rain" of Joel 2:23 and Zechariah 10:1, marks a growing conviction that the destruction of linear ecclesiastical order was reaching its climax, soon to usher in the millennium. Thus McIntire could use the expression "some signs of rain in this place" to describe a good response to preaching, "as well as to link the shedding of tears by penitents with the approaching kingdom." Joel Richard similarly tied successful preaching, likened to a cloud bursting with the sound of abundant rain, with sinners shedding tears; both portended of "a long rain[sic] of righteousness.""

Millennial expectation also prompted defence of the simple name "Christian." Connexion members asserted that the name had been given to believers in Acts 26 and accepted by the early church (1 Peter 4:16). Members argued that it was the only non-distinctive name upon which all branches of the church already agreed and they viewed its universal adoption as proleptic of the millennial unity of the church." Sometime in the 1830s, the pronunciation "Christ-ian" became common, although it is not clear whether it was coined by opponents as an epithet, or by members as a self-appellative." Antagonists were fond of the term. In the South," the West" and New England" it was employed as a slur. Mattison accused the "Chri-stians"[sic] of harbouring every conceivable Christological error." Samuel Marlatt, a Canadian, recalled
having been "a violent opposer of the society frequently pointed out by the nickname Christ-ian." The issue with this "nick-name" was more than aversion to poor manners. Millard argued that a distinctive pronunciation made it a denominational label as evil as any other concocted because it reestablished nominal boundaries, contrary to the millennial dream of nonlinear interrelation among believers."

The Christian Connexion and Millerism

Fascination with portents, the extensive use of "end-time" imagery and use of the levelling "Christian" label all evince millenarian interest. In the early 1840s that interest led many in the Connexion to share in one of the most unusual episodes of nineteenth century North American church history, the Second Advent stir. Connexion members were primed and ready for William Miller's apocalyptic message. In the short term, many Connexion churches benefited from Millerite revival, but the association proved to be a long-term liability. Millerism fomented a major schism within the Connexion which undermined the 'aleatory' vision and led to the virtual abandonment of 'aleatory' practice.

Portents were also the standard fare of the Millerite press." These included not just natural phenomena, but also political; the Dorr Rebellion received sizeable coverage." This convergence of interests was not coincidental. According to David Rowe, the Christian Palladium was the first paper regularly to circulate Adventist ideas." Marsh, a preacher since 1818" who eventually became a major Adventist leader," was editor then. A sudden leap in Palladium subscriptions in
1840, "particularly in the West, was most likely the result of interest in its Second Advent content."

Historians differ on the date of Marsh's adoption of Miller's doctrine: Michael Barkun favours 1839; "George Knight argues for 1842." A manuscript letter from Sarah M. Marsh, Marsh's daughter, clarifies the situation. Advent-like articles appeared as early as 1839, but it was in April 1842, after a "critical examination of the Scriptures," that Marsh specifically accepted the idea of Christ's returning in 1843 and began to demand assent from others. Joshua Vaughan Himes, although active in the Adventist cause from 1839, also first openly advocated strict "43ism" in July 1842. Barkun argues that the Millerites, in the face of unprecedented economic disaster, revived an older tradition of premillennialism, which provided them with a "stylized language of portent analysis." Evidence clearly indicates that the Connexion was a major source of that millenarianism.

Millerism's appeal to Connexion members was not simply its millenarianism. Early non-Connexion Millerites such as the Baptist Henry Dana Ward employed similar rhetoric. He sprinkled his speeches with motifs such as "liberty" and "primitive christianity[sic]" and shared the vision of drawing into unity all within the "sects" who held an apostolic faith, rather than creating a new denomination. Ward was also a moderate, opposed to predicting a specific date for Christ's return, who supported Miller's revivalism. Miller, on the other hand, was annoyed that many invitations were extended by those totally uninterested in his Second Coming doctrine, but who knew him as an effective orator."
Mark Fernald, who heard Miller early in 1840, defended him with arguments from utility, emphasizing the manifold conversions rather than his novel ideas.”

Even those who embraced Miller’s ideas highlighted pragmatic defences of the unusual doctrine. Marsh related a tale of a murderer confessing and surrendering to authorities in response to a sermon about Christ’s allegedly imminent return. Simple Yankee logic led him to confirm the doctrine to be true because it yielded better moral character, the Connexion’s sole test of fellowship. An April 1840 letter from Lorenzo D. Fleming to Himes reveals the basic appeal: folk were in prayer meetings who were not otherwise; Bibles sold at record rate.” Moreover, where Second Advent ideas were valued, denominationalism waned and unity grew. He clearly linked the Millerite ideas to the Connexion’s key ‘aleatory’ themes.

The Connexion was heavily overrepresented among the early Adventist leaders. No less than seven of the 16 signatories to the 1840 call for an Adventist general conference were Connexion preachers. These were, for the most part, not mere neophytes: Millard had been preaching since 1815; Himes had been a member of the Connexion since 1823; Joseph Bates had “made [his] covenant with God” in 1824; Timothy Cole had been ordained in New England in 1829; three years later Fleming was too; Henry Plumer had attended the 1834 General Convention. Despite being a relative newcomer and former Unitarian, Philemon R. Russell later led many from the Connexion into full-blown Adventism. Himes and Marsh were among the 17 delegates at the 1829 United States General
Convention and both had been elected, along with Millard, to the Christian General Book Association's Executive Board in 1834. The impact of the Connexion's leadership is underscored when one recalls that Miller attended neither the 1840 nor 1841 conventions due to ill health. The 1840s have been called Millerism's "Christianite" phase, supplanting the Baptist era of the 1830s.

The ingress of "Christianite" forms to Millerism is not surprising in light of the monumental efforts of J.V. Himes. The Connexion pastor from Boston, second only to Miller in Adventism, masterminded its spread along the Eastern seaboard. Himes first met Miller at a Christian Convention in New Hampshire in 1839. He was as unimpressed with Miller's plans to propagate the ideas as he was captivated by the novel doctrine. Himes began a massive public relations campaign, arranged Miller's first appearance in a major American city, raised vast sums of money, oversaw the production of two major Adventist newspapers (Signs of the Times and The Midnight Cry), and adapted the camp-meeting to the settled New England milieu by holding meetings in "the Great Tent."

Recognition of Himes' leadership in the aleatory Millerite movement is counter-intuitive, given his earlier support of overt organization within the Connexion, yet, ultimately, makes sense. His reorientation is singularly dramatic when his activities in the mid-1830s, when he was engrossed in reform activities (most notably the nonresistance and anti-slavery societies), are compared to the early 1840s, when he became the master-promoter of anti-worldly Millerism. Himes saw the variation between his two phases as one of
emphasis, not substance. His criticism of his erstwhile reform collaborators specifically linked two common Connexion motifs: Babylon and walls. He complained the reformers were adept at "always pulling down Babylon, but know not how to lay a single brick in building the walls of Jerusalem," that is, that they had no constructive substitute. Himes exemplifies those post-millennialists Barkun labels victims of the ideology's self-defeating tendency. The revivalist fervour which drove American post-millennialism was hard to maintain. The gradualism that undergirded it could lead to inactivity. Himes grew impatient. He wanted radical change...now. His reform activity dropped off at the same time he embraced the specific tenet of Christ's return in 1843. On the other hand, his editorial hand may explain why the Signs of the Times and The Midnight Cry tended to stress social issues more than other Millerite sheets.

Millard had preached for more than a quarter-century when he co-chaired the 1840 Adventist convention, at which he reported his success introducing Second Advent ideas into his church. In a letter to Signs of the Times, he also used utilitarian arguments to defend Adventism's divine origin: an unprecedented revival in Portsmouth, New Hampshire produced hundreds of conversions marked by intense feeling. Two years later he stopped on his way home from Palestine to inform those attending an Adventist camp-meeting at Taunton, Massachusetts that Second Advent doctrine was known in Palestine. The Palestine trip narrative contained no explicit references to Adventism, but did note the virtually insurmountable problems facing Jews who sought to return.
Sandeen notes that the Millerites were the only millenarians to question seriously the return of Jews to Palestine as a fulfilment of prophecy.\textsuperscript{123}

Adventism affected the Connexion most severely in New England and New York, but other regions felt its effects. According to Amos Hayden, millennial expectation took hold in the West in the early 1830s. He specifically mentioned the direct influence of Elias Smith's writings on Walter Scott and Sidney Rigdon.\textsuperscript{124} Stone leaned somewhat towards Millerism, warning readers that they must "be close observers of the signs of the times, that the day of Christ come not upon us unawares."\textsuperscript{125} He did not object to Miller's calculations as such, but rather pointed to incorrect assumptions about the papacy which, to his mind, invalidated the particular arithmetic.\textsuperscript{126} Within a year, however, Stone expressed concerns.\textsuperscript{127} On the other hand, George Alkire was surprised at the general resistance of Western preachers to this new doctrine.\textsuperscript{128} If Kerr is believed, Adventism made little progress in the South.\textsuperscript{129} Kerr did reprint an article originally from \textit{The Midnight Cry},\textsuperscript{130} which indicates that at least he read that paper on occasion.

The Second Advent doctrine also took root among the Canadian 'Christian' churches. Connexion papers circulated freely,\textsuperscript{131} as did preachers from New York. Marsh claimed to find the most openness to Adventism among members of the New York Western Conference.\textsuperscript{132} The close ties between that conference and the Canada Conference most likely facilitated the spread of Adventism. Fleming and Isaac Goff, after all, were familiar faces in the colony, adding a degree of personal
interest for Canadians reading their articles.\textsuperscript{127}

Local non-Connexion Adventists also had influence. A Mr. Deverill was credited with Jeremiah Graham's 1841 conversion.\textsuperscript{124} In October 1842 Deverill "preached...the second advent of our blessed lord in 1843" to the Oshawa Church Fellowship Meeting.\textsuperscript{125} A revival broke out in March and April 1843, in which 123 were baptized, 90 joining the congregation.\textsuperscript{126} By July, there were 174 members, up 155% from a year before.\textsuperscript{127} Other area churches grew, with over two hundred converts baptized, many expectant of "the Lord's return in 1843."\textsuperscript{128} At Newmarket, a disproportionate number of members joined in 1843.\textsuperscript{129} Revival gripped the church at King in early 1843,\textsuperscript{130} and a church formed at Markham.\textsuperscript{131} Seven of eight licentiate preachers in 1843 had joined that year.\textsuperscript{132} Expectation ran high; a young girl near Oshawa allegedly awaited rapture standing on the rail of her front porch, sporting homemade silk wings.\textsuperscript{133}

It was this specificity which stirred resistance to Adventism within the Connexion. The two movements shared, as a means to organize reality, the 'entrail-reading' impetus which ran at odds with optimistic American progressivism.\textsuperscript{134} While Miller sought to place current events within the context of a fixed eschatological timetable, the Connexion members' basic thrust differed radically. The latter stressed the profound change in the character of human interaction which would characterize the new era. Paramount was not the passage of a specified amount of time, whether long or short, but the radical discontinuity of the two ages. Deliberate randomization, leading to the destruction of linear order, had
been a key Connexion strategy to aid the millennium's onset.

The 1840 Rockingham Conference supported the general idea of Christ's "soon-return," but refused to specify a date. It further recommended Himes' *Signs of the Times* and expressed pleasure that the *Christian Herald* allowed discussion of the issue. Discussi 0n of the Second Advent's date there was aplenty. Edward Edmunds and Elijah Shaw both believed that Christ's return was literal and imminent, even if the date could not be specified, but called for tolerance of those whose opinions differed. Joseph Bailey had specific problems with Miller's chronology, whereas O.E. Morrill was more concerned with the hermeneutical "inference" at the base of the interpretation of Daniel 8:14. Bailey also noted that both sides appealed to arguments from utility; local revivals were either because the doctrine was accepted, or rejected. He offered anecdotes of three congregations which all experienced revivals, although one opposed the Second Advent teachings, another embraced and the third was lukewarm. Marsh eventually decided to have only Simon Clough and Fleming debate the Second Coming. Clough was no fan of Miller, but it seems that personal differences between Clough and Himes exacerbated theological differences.

Connexion Adventists could not fathom why colleagues did not embrace Millerism. Marsh was disturbed by the decided opposition he encountered. By 1 November 1843, as the stir peaked, Marsh was ousted from the *Palladium* editorship, replaced by Jasper Hazen. Confusion ensued as Marsh took the subscription books. Locked out of the *Palladium* office, he turned his guns on the Connexion, lumping it with "Babylon."
While Charles Fitch has been credited with the 1843 call for Adventists to come "out of Babylon," Marsh was not following his lead, but rather drawing on old Connexion rhetoric, adapting it to the new situation.

Careful reading of Marsh's earlier writings reveals that his call to leave Babylon was almost predictable, because it built on existing themes prevalent within the Connexion. In 1835, Marsh vigorously opposed training ministers in literary institutions. To do so, he averred, was to become "an inferior child of the GREAT MOTHER OF HARLOTS!!," to enter "the Great City of Abominations" upon which God's judgments would fall. Writing on an 1839 union of "sectarian" denominations, he argued the irreversibility of institutional corruption, "the present 'shaking' of the sects" and the need for true believers "to come out of Babylon, lest they receive of her plagues and share in the portion of her cup."

Marsh's use of the Babylon motif was by no means unusual. Fleming sounded a similar theme. In an April 1840 letter to Signs of the Times, he spoke of "Babylon's merchants wondering," that is that their complacency had been disturbed, and he ventured that Adventism was the closest thing to apostolic religion in modern times. In the West, Barton Stone called all other denominations "Mystery Babylon," out of which the Lord's people were to come, while fellow-Westerner Joshua Irvin alluded to the Tower of Babel to explain why the "sects" used "a different language," that is, employed non-scriptural terms to explain scriptural doctrine. The image was also employed by members of the Canadian Conference.

Comparison of all other denominations to Babylon was a stock
item when Henry urged believers to "come out of her" [Babylon] in 1833, long before it was repeated in 1839 by Donald Nicholson, another Upper Canadian itinerant. Using another Connexion theme, Marsh contrasted the Adventists' piety with the "sects'" divisiveness and coldness. It was a short step further, spurred by personal pique, for Marsh to include the Connexion in Babylon.

Historians correctly note both the brevity of the Millerites' existence and their lack of motive to create records. Fear was also a powerful motivator. Many Second Advent advocates declared that Christ's return was not only to gather the faithful into the New Jerusalem, but to destroy the wicked by fire. According to Fernald, some preached that all whose names appeared in an earthly church's record would have their names blotted out of the heavenly record. As a result, folk inflamed by "come outism" mutilated record books, hoping thus to obviate personal destruction.

This stage of Millerism, its zenith as a social movement, has been called its ideologically "sectarian phase." This phase was also a reaction, consistent with 'aleatory' ideas prevalent within the Connexion. The confusion during the brief span between the call to "come out" and the collapse of Millerism was actually an attempt by some within the Connexion to achieve what may be described in the language of Chaos/Complexity theory as deliberate randomization and delinearization of overt order in ecclesiastical relationships. P.P. Ladu, a former Methodist preacher, who had sought refuge in the Connexion, decided that he had merely fled from Sodom to Gomorrah, that the Connexion was just as
'linear' and constraining as Methodism. The Christian Connexion was now, to Millerite minds, also tainted by the "universal corruption [which] reigns throughout all professed Christian associations."

When Christ did not return and the world did not end as expected, the Millerites were thrown into greater confusion, what has often been called the "Great Disappointment." Leaders had deliberately avoided expanding the range of doctrinal discussion, believing that it would only distract devotees from the crucial task of evangelism before Christ's return. When the capstone doctrine, Christ's Advent in 1843 or 1844, was nullified and no generally-accepted dogma replaced it, the scheme collapsed. Many simply went back to whatever they had been doing before the stir. Austin Craig had left college in 1843 to preach, but then returned in 1844 to finish his studies. The urge to "come out," however, survived the Disappointment. As late as 1846, many denominations in upstate New York reported continued Millerite disruption. Even Universalists complained of Millerism's "disorganizing" influence. The Connexion's losses were perhaps most acute in northern New England (Vermont in particular), with losses of approximately one hundred ministers and a denomination-wide defection of "several thousand" members. As late as 1848, significant losses were attributed to "Comeouterism." The situation was similar in Canada. Henry's biographer did not detail matters in Oshawa beyond the flood of new members, but the tide inevitably turned. One opponent smugly reminded readers of the Palladium that such a "reaction" had...
been predicted. The Oshawa Fellowship Meeting on 9 November 1844, the first after the "seventh month" prediction had failed, was poorly attended. The collapse, not as rapid as the growth, was still marked; membership was down 35% to 113 by mid-1845, with more than half the new members gone. The next time membership was noted again, in June 1849, there were 57, less than a third of the peak. The 57 included 17 who had joined in the previous two months, so that the church had actually fallen to a quarter of its peak size. At the conference-level, five of the seven licentiates who joined in 1843 withdrew in 1845. This dramatically illustrates the demoralizing impact of the reaction to Miller's failed predictions. When considered in the light of losses to the Disciples and the exodus after the 1837 Rebellion, these losses proved to be a permanent impediment to the growth of the Canada Christian Conference.

The exodus of Adventists from the Connexion reflected not merely, as Sandeen suggests, the typical American process of denominational formation in which new groups do not initially cut ties with antecedents, nor was it even a simple antithesis of antiformalism and formalism. Rowe's comments in this regard are closer to point, yet he himself notes that Adventism was distinct from antiformalism, because the Adventists rejected "human agency" in reforming the church and providing order. The inverse of human agency in reform is the expectation of providential supply of order. The initial distinct Adventist confederations are thus better understood not as the emergence of new linearly-definable groups, but as an attempt to revive 'aleatory' practice, with its belief in
God-directed emergent order.

It would seem logical to turn from Millerism at this point, as many Millerites had fled the increasingly structured Connexion. Yet along with those merely disaffected with millenarianism, who apparently ceased to be religiously active, were those leaving the Connexion in reaction to incipient linearization. The exodus of Adventists from the Connexion represents the failure of the last stand of 'aleatory' practice at the denominational level. Even in the spring of 1844, when key Connexion figures were distancing themselves from Miller, Connexion preachers still constituted 4.6% of Adventist lecturers, a disproportionately high figure. Prominent former Connexion figures may be found in each of the major post-Disappointment Adventist branches.

This new self-standing Adventism soon exhibited considerable instability. Some tried to bolster Miller's waning influence by organizing the emergent 'aleatory' confederations. A conference met at Albany, New York, in 1845 to formalize connections between Adventists, a move running against the grain of Millerism. The Albany meeting entailed not creating something radically new, but giving form to a pre-existing entity. The organization which evolved became a rallying point for some Adventists as they left behind 'aleatory' practice, but others resisted such canalization and tried to maintain 'aleatory' interrelationship. The involvement in and reaction to the Albany plan by Marsh and Himes epitomize two major variants within emerging Adventism.

Marsh was the first to suggest that the interpretive error which led to the Great Disappointment was not
chronological, but ontological. Christ had returned on schedule, but the return had been spiritual in nature." This innovation is not as radical as it might appear. Marsh simply returned to his Connexion roots, where the emphasis had always been laid on the approaching millennium's nature, not the date of its inception. Marsh did not even attend the Albany meeting, choosing to lob criticisms from afar. Rowe appears surprised by this apparent turnabout, given Marsh's leadership of the "comeouters." The resistance of Marsh and others against Albany's church-building implications was, however, very much in keeping with the original Connexion vision not to form a sect, but to create a nameless, rankless entity from which God could induce order. Marsh actually remained rigorously consistent to his first principles, which were 'aleatory.'

The path Himes trod was actually the less constant. He had ardently supported conference constitutions, until a combination of personal quarrels with Clough and formal censure for his part in bifurcating the Boston church without the standing committee's approval led him in 1837 to renounce the very constitution he had once promoted. For the next eight years, he abandoned himself to an unalloyed 'aleatory' ecclesiology. While he withdrew from the local conference, he did not consider himself withdrawn from the Connexion. Himes' promotional organization of Millerism may seem inconsistent with 'aleatory' practice, but one must carefully distinguish between Himes' simultaneous adoption of managerial sophistication to disseminate ideas and disavowal of overt order. In keeping with his Connexion roots, he used
periodicals to create an information-rich, ecclesiastically-fluid environment from which he hoped the millennium would emerge. His role in the 1845 Albany church-making is thus a return to post-millennial sensibilities and orientation. It is not impossible that Himes perceived that he had destroyed any possibility of returning to the increasingly linear Connexion, so he set out to create an Adventist rival. In later life he never abandoned millennialism, but did firmly reject nonlinearity, as evinced by his eventual embrace of Anglicanism.100

The Apologetic for Organization

Not only Millerism's odd tenets, but the organizational premise it borrowed from the Connexion, provoked strong reaction. Proponents of overt organization isolated and explicitly rejected the 'aleatory' paradigm's basic randomizing assumption. Olsen, the only Adventist historian to note Millard among early Adventist leaders,101 admits Millard not merely abandoned Adventism after the "Disappointment" but attacked it. A pioneer whose career reached almost to the genesis of the New York branch, Millard repudiated the notion that the randomization of Christian relationships, by means of the destruction of linear church organization, provided an environment from which God could induce order: "Chance may produce confusion, but never order to any great extent." He noted, in illustration, that a tornado may fell a tree, but not build a house; tossing up scraps of paper with letters on them will never spell a name, let alone a line from Seneca or Solomon.102 The remaining Connexion leadership closed ranks
against their erstwhile colleagues, disclaiming what may be labelled from a modern perspective the concept of God-emergent order. It became clear to them that randomization brought only greater randomness and that Connexion's preservation required adopting overt order.

The organizers' groundwork had already been laid. In 1842, perhaps sensing where the excitement was leading, Shaw suggested more stringent procedures for the formation and recognition of new churches. These ideas were reiterated at the crisis' apex by John Ross, who criticized the "extreme" of two or three forming a church and, as layfolk, ordaining their own minister. This is a clear repudiation of the affective bonding and egalitarianism at the heart of the 'aleatory' paradigm which had characterized the early Connexion.

Further, an 1843 New England meeting declared that ministers must be members of a church and be held accountable to it for their moral conduct. Oliver Barr's editorial appraisal confirmed the incipient linearization within congregations which was implicit in the New England decision. Barr argued ministers refusing to be accountable to a local church set themselves up as authority figures. Both Jabez King, a long-standing friend of Millard's, and Barr turned the tables on their new adversaries, arguing that "Babylon" was actually a state of disorganization, so that "come outism" merely pushed folk deeper into Babylon.

In 1844, Millard lashed out at the prevalent "disorganizing" spirit which classed all religious organization as "Babylon." He focussed his invective on "the modern anarchical system" which insisted "that the church has
no distinct organizations in it, but simply consists of all believers throughout the world," a canon which undermined effective discipline. He aggressively contended that if he could prove that each New Testament congregation had a "judiciary," then overt organization was no longer an option, but a biblically-enjoined duty. Allowing any member to initiate "church labors" (disciplinary proceedings) was all very well in theory, but only by restricting this right to elders could congregations avoid endless rounds of trials, which often led to a church too weak to sustain itself. The pastor should become president of the board of elders.*

Millard's use of arguments from utility most likely deflected contemporaries' attention from the profoundly linear nature of his functional congregationalism, which marked a radical departure from earlier practice.

As Connexion leaders felt their way out of the 'aleatory' morass, they explored several avenues. Badger took a different tack from Millard, careful to defend a broader authority than just that of a congregation. He argued against ministerial membership in local churches, in terms amounting at least to connectionalism, if not a practical presbyterianism (despite his protests to the contrary).* Ministers belonged to the church at large, serving a greater constituency than their local fellowship. The collective eldership of this extended church constituted a body of peers fit to try ministers. He likened preachers to army officers, who need not enlist as privates in order to exercise office.*

This simile clearly undermined the Connexion's customary egalitarianism, provoking a running verbal battle which filled
the *Palladium*’s pages for weeks. Henry Grew, another long-time New England member, grasped the novel drift of Badger’s ideas and took issue with him. Grew asserted churches’ independency against any supposed responsibility to a higher tribunal.214 Unlike Millard, Grew had not adopted congregationalism, but employed vocabulary more in line with the ‘aleatory’ scheme. Conferences were merely for the purpose of communication, not administration. Badger had suggested that congregations were too partial to deal unbiasedly with a guilty minister without dividing. Grew countered, in terms reminiscent of Joseph Ash’s early criticisms, that any such church deserved to be uprooted, with the biassed members excluded from the regrouped congregation.215 The future belonged not to Grew, however, but to those who controlled the Connexion’s papers.

Linearization in the Canada Christian Conference

Proponents of overt order also presented their case in Canada. L. Perry pitched a concept which thoroughly reversed Elias Smith’s vision.216 Rejecting strict constructionism, he argued that the detailed duties of officers named in the New Testament are not known. The contemporary setting called for elements not named in the Bible, including clerks and Bible Societies, so that one must attempt to implement a ‘dynamic equivalent,’ rather than a rigid reproduction, of the apparent biblical order. He called for a set of uniform guidelines and job-descriptions for congregational officers throughout the Connexion, arguing that anarchy would prevail until they did so.
The Canadian Conference adopted a medial position, one which reflected both American positions, but more closely resembled the New England initiative. A Special Conference, called in 1844 in response to the arrival of an American Freewill Baptist as pastor of the Scarborough church, demanded that all ministers enroll as a member of, and be accountable to, a local church. The meeting also insisted upon a preacher's accountability to other preachers. The tension between these two provisions probably reflects the deeper divisions within the Conference which Wilson reported. One should note that both stances entailed linearity; continued nonlinearity was no longer considered a viable option. The future would be a struggle between proponents of these two linear ideas.

The Canada Conference may well have continued to drift gently toward linearization, but for tension induced by several pressing practical needs: continued problems supplying ministers, the debilitating effect of fluid internal congregational arrangements, a desire for a conference newspaper, and the requirements for ministers to receive marriage licenses. None of these factors in isolation forced the Conference's collective hand, but each accelerated existing tendencies toward linearization, thus encouraging members to make decisions which reinforced that trend.

Despite such systematization as fixed contracts with pastors, undergirded by subscriptions and pooling of the resources of more than one church, Hugh H. Wilson could still complain in 1844 that the current inefficient system left only one of the almost twenty Canadian preachers with regular
financial provision and that the churches were in "anarchy" because there was no regular provision of preaching. Some, like Henry, returned to business. Involved from its start in the Oshawa Harbour Company, he was prosperous, but unable to devote time to preaching. Others, like Frederick Whitfield, were reduced to begging at American conferences. Canadian preachers were not alone; those as far away as the South experienced inadequate support. Congregations began to organize finances, but specific fund-raising efforts were still taboo. As pastoral relations became more regular, preachers began to develop a sense of exclusive agency, as evidenced by James Sharrard's 1844 charge against the Pickering church for inviting Benjamin Rogers to preach, without asking Sharrard first. This was a far cry from the belief that God could freely direct preachers' movements at virtual whim. The reorientation of fiscal priorities to insure consistent ministerial service and pay was an important milestone in the process of abandoning the fluid 'aleatory' paradigm.

'Aleatory' practice persisted most clearly locally, but even there it was being undermined. Evidence survives of the rupture of two congregations in this era. One, at Oshawa in 1846, is in the older style, reforming without the dissenting minority, but assuming the group's essential continuity. The church was rent so severely that matters were resolved only by having a "new record" for a "new era." They sought the Conference's advice, but it was not binding. The other case, at Pickering in 1847, involved difficulties with the pastor as well. The majority demanded, in keeping with the
Conference's linearizing initiative, that their minister be subject to the congregation. The Conference reacted quite differently. George Colston understood that the Pickering group had asked to be received by the 1848 Conference as a new fellowship and had been refused. Implicit in his challenge was a repudiation of the 'aleatory' assumption that a congregation could dissolve and reemerge without compromising its continuity. Others responded that the case was merely a matter of reorganization and thus no request need be made. Colston and his party then sought to exclude the Pickering group. The motion to expel was narrowly defeated, but the struggle bespeaks an increasing impatience with the lack of fixity of internal congregational form.

The desire for a regional periodical fostered greater form and cooperative effort within the Canada Conference. Their second publishing venture, the Christian Luminary, began in 1844, with William Nobles as editor and Henry's personal financial support. By 1846, Jabez Chadwick edited the paper from Oshawa. The change of editor was not as significant as the shift in the underlying principle of patronage. The paper became a creature of the Conference, which assumed the financial burden of its operation. The Luminary cost the Canadian Conference $1,000 in 1848, payable in advance. This represented roughly three ministers' pay for that year. The benefits were judged not worthy of the effort and the paper was dropped in 1849, the subscription list being turned over to the Palladium. Although the Canadian Conference freed itself from the financial burden, it did not renounce the linearity implicit in Conference control of periodicals.
A permanent Minute Book was first used in 1844, but records until 1846 are nothing more than lists of churches and ministers. Annual minutes were first preserved in 1848. The timing was not fortuitous, but tied to a change in law recognizing marriages performed by ministers of any legitimately organized religious denomination. This was the single most important reason for the Canada Conference’s adoption of permanent records. It had long sought such recognition; the 1835 Minutes note petitioning “again” for permission for their ministers to perform weddings. There was official resistance to extending the privilege of conducting marriages to ministers of most smaller denominations. By 1839, the requisite legislation had passed the lower house three times, but had been quashed each time by the upper house. Connexion members liked to portray themselves as specially disadvantaged, singled out for persecution, but other small religious bodies in the colony faced similar official reticence.

The authorization to conduct marriages came with a price: fixed records and recognized standards of discipline. Section II of the legislation contained a provision which would have been unremarkable to the vast majority of denominations. In order to register, ministers were required to provide proof of ordination,

a Certificate from the Bishop, Moderator of Presbytery, Clerk of Conference, Church-Wardens, Trustees or Managers, as the case may be, of the body to which such Clergyman or Minister may belong, that he is a recognized Clergyman or Minister of such Denomination, and has been set apart according to the rules and discipline of such Denomination.

Just such a requirement had resulted, thirty-five years
before, in the division of the Philadelphia congregation. Yet in the interim the 'aleatory' vision had weakened to such an extent that members of Conference expressed nothing but delight at the new privileges which allowed them to serve the needs of their membership. The total absence of strife when the committee presented their report for adoption stands in sharp contrast to the Philadelphia disturbance and indicates that the Canadian members were unaware of the unspoken yet profound shift in organizational assumptions necessary to accept the government's terms. The Canadian Conference no longer merely reported happenings to a denominational newspaper, but created precedent at every minuted meeting. Conference now owned the Minute Book and was bound by it. Grounds for discipline, as well as the operation of conference and its officers, would assume greater definition and fixity.

Conclusion
This era witnessed a radical reversal. The Connexion entered it, despite some linearization, committed to religious "freedom," convinced that affective bonds were superior to juridical ones, and believing that God would bring order from the nonlinear upheaval of existing religious organizations. By 1848, this deliberate attempt to randomize interrelationship had been replaced by a relatively stable and defined system marked by linearity. Conferences, once called simply for fellowship and communication, became bodies with clear lines of membership (for both congregations and ministers) and fixed geographical extent. The question is why so many members of the Connexion willingly accepted such
profound alterations to its ideology and practice. Abandonment of the 'aleatory' paradigm entailed an extended and subtle process. When Millerism exposed the instability of an 'aleatory' system, the Connexion's leaders were forced to choose whether to restore full 'aleatory' practice or abandon it altogether. Confronted by the movement's imminent collapse, they chose the latter, preserving the institution at the cost of jettisoning their unusual organizational approach.

The group remained firmly outside the religious mainstream, a distinction reinforced by persistent theological anomalies. This is well illustrated not only by their continued antitrinitarianism, but by the closer ties forged with Congregational Unitarianism. The two movements co-founded a seminary in Meadville, Pennsylvania. This betokens a shift in willingness to provide ministers formal training. More profoundly, the link also laid the groundwork for a shift in their understanding of "liberalism." Although most members defended a conservative view of the Bible's integrity, some began to rely less on subjective egalitarianism as the basis for tolerating a broad range of theologies within the Connexion, and to replace it with a more reflective and intellectually substantial philosophical construct which had affinities with ideas common in liberal factions within mainstream denominations. This process had the ironic effect of moving the Connexion closer to the mainstream by undermining the sense of being utterly different from it all.

Regionalism also contributed to increased linearity. The era began with an affective, fluid reunion of the Eastern
Connexion and O'Kelly faction in the South. Tensions over slavery soon soured the new relationship. Southerners, already alienated by Northern abolitionists, reinforced their regional movement's integrity by adopting rigorously linear control of ministerial credentials. The reunion of the two regional factions culminated in the formation of the Southern Christian Association, which solidified bonds within the region, creating a distinct, self-standing jurisdiction which, although part of the broader Connexion, operated autonomously.

The dominant issue in this period was Millerism. William Miller's interest in portents and their relation to the millennium made his movement attractive to many in the Connexion. Its members provided a disproportionately large number of Millerite leaders, with a clear impact on the movement's direction both before and after the failure of Miller's prediction of Christ's return. This contribution has been undervalued, apart from acknowledging Himes' organizational efforts. The movement's affective, nonlinear nature was not the accidental effect of hysteria, but a concept Connexion members brought with them. Marsh's call to flee "Babylon," that is to renounce all ties with visible church organizations, was an almost predictable extension of 'aleatory' rhetoric employed for decades by Connexion members. The solution he offered for the 1844 "Great Disappointment" stressed the ontological reality of Christ's return, rather than the chronological, another Connexion idea.

The Connexion's disruption by the exodus of Millerite members provoked a counter-reaction among the apologists for organization. They sought to prevent the Connexion's
destruction, but radically altered its nature. Badger and Millard championed different linear solutions. To this point, the process of abandoning the 'aleatory' paradigm had been subtle, the unwitting result of many practical solutions to individual problems. Millerism changed that, leading Millard specifically to challenge the randomizing element at the paradigm's heart, and to propose a mild congregationalism. Badger touted a tougher connectional system, verging on presbyterianism. His idea provoked strong reaction from the egalitarians in their midst. Proponents of overt organization were, however, in control of the Connexion's newspapers, a pronounced tactical advantage.

A similar anti-anarchist refrain was taken up in Canada. The Conference adopted a mild congregationalism, requiring ministers to join a local church. The Conference continued to struggle against on-going shortfalls in the number of preachers and their support, despite some fiscal systematization. Increased organization seemed the best solution. Furthermore, the united support and control of the Conference alone could make a Canadian newspaper viable.

The process of linearization might have proceeded at a more leisurely pace had it not been for an added difficulty faced by its ministers, who were not permitted to perform weddings. The Canada Conference was not the only dissenting religious body in the colony which desired this privilege, but it was probably the only one for which the government's conditions for extending the privilege had organizational implications. In 1847, the authorities agreed to extend marriage licenses to any who could prove regular ordination...
and affiliation with an organized denomination. This required the keeping of an official denomination minute book, in order to insure that only those with proper credentials received a licence. The new measure was adopted without hesitation. Although it may have seemed but a small step at the time, the adoption of a permanent record book was a turning point. No longer were minutes merely published for information. The book was the property of the Conference and decisions recorded in it, including operational procedures and grounds for discipline, took on a new inflexibility.

'Aleatory' practice endured to a degree within congregations. The old-style dissolving and reforming of a church did not go unchallenged. At Pickering, the Conference intervened, which gave rise to bitter feuding whether the body sending delegates to the meeting was indeed in continuity with the old, or if it were a new creature. This presaged the new order. 'Aleatory' practice within congregations was being undermined, by the linearizing implications of both conference-inspired centralization of power and internal initiatives. Resistance to linearization was, for the most part, a 'rear-guard action.' As the dust settled, only two major options remained viable for the future: congregationalism or connectionalism. The 'aleatory' paradigm was virtually extinct.
REFERENCES

1 Christian Palladium (hereafter cited as CP) XXIX, 23 10 November 1860, p.266b,c.2. The pages are misnumbered in Volume XXIX; p.266a would refer to the first page so numbered, p.266b to the second page to bear the same number.


3 David Edmund Millard, Memoir of Rev. David Millard: with Selections of his writings, By his son, David E. Millard (Dayton, Ohio, Christian Publishing Association 1874), p.302


6 Christian Sun (hereafter cited as CS) I, 6 June 1844, p.81,c.1, p.83,c.2


8 Edward Edmunds, Memoir of Elder Benjamin Taylor. A Minister of the Christian Connexion. and Pastor of the Bethel Church in Providence, R.I. By E. Edmunds. Pastor of the Christian Church, Summer St., Boston (Boston, George W. White 1850), p.97

9 CP XII, 20 29 February 1844, p.317,c.2. This sum would have represented at least half a year's wages.

10 CP XII, 13 13 December 1843, p.205,cc.1-2. Thompson was one of the early Christian preachers in Canada.

11 E.G. Holland, Badger's biographer, was briefly pastor of the Unitarian Church in Meadville, Pennsylvania that year [George Willis Cooke, Unitarianism in America (Boston, American Unitarian Association 1902), p.314]. Meadville was the first Unitarian congregation west of the Allegheny Mountains.

In the West, a Unitarian minister joined the Northern Illinois and Wisconsin Conference in 1844, stirring talk of potential union [Morrill, History p.307, citing "Chris.Pall., Vol.XIV, p.73."]

12 Morrill, History, p.307

13 CP XIV, 26 29 April 1846, p.402,c.2-p.403,c.1

15 Cooke, *Unitarianism*, pp.311,316.


17 Cooke, *Unitarianism*, pp.315-316


22 Millard, *Travels*, pp.253,272,273,276: emphasis added

23 Millard, *Travels*, p.181

24 Holland, *Memoir of Badger*, pp.67-68

25 Holland, *Memoir of Badger*, p.244 cf. p.60

26 Holland, *Memoir of Badger*, p.383

27 Durward T. Stokes and William T. Scott. *A History of the Christian Church in the South* ([Elon College], [1973]), p.68. Stokes and Scott, in keeping with Southern usage, refer to the New England/New York movement as "northern," although contemporary writers used "Eastern" and "Northern" as interchangeable designations for members of the Christian Connexion residing in New England and New York. To avoid confusion, "Eastern" is used in this thesis, except in a direct quotation, such as this.
28 CP IX, 22 15 March 1841, p. 349, c. 2

29 Gospel Luminary (hereafter cited as GL) 5, 6 March 1832, p. 203; 5, 7 April 1832, p. 240.

30 Christian Messenger (hereafter cited as CM) V, 10 October 1831, p. 239


32 Christian Palladium IV, 1 1 May 1835, p. 15, c. 2; IV, 2 15 May 1835, p. 26, c. 2; IV, 5 1 July 1835, p. 78, cc. 1-2. The 1838 North Carolina conference was announced in the Palladium [CP VII, 1 [1] May 1838, p. 16, c. 1].

33 CS I, 11 Nov. 1844, p. 170, c. 2

34 CP XXIV, 16 19 May 1871, p. 2, c. 4

35 CP VIII, 15 2 December 1839, p. 235, c. 2. Both were accepted as preachers [Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p. 170]. Frederick had been present at the 1838 formation of the Christian Conference of the Valley in Virginia [Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p. 55].

36 CP III, 10 15 September 1834, p. 164, c. 1

37 CP XII, 7 20 September 1843, p. 110, c. 1


39 CP IX, 19 1 February 1841, p. 297, c. 1

40 CP IX, 19 1 February 1841, p. 297, c. 2
Stokes and Scott, *Christian Church in the South*, p.66. This proposal, made in 1842, envisioned the *Sun* as a stablemate with the *Palladium*. The Association was responsible for the *Palladium*.

Stokes and Scott, *Christian Church in the South*, p.70


An attempt at reconciliation between the two conferences had been made as early as 1827, but with no progress [Stokes and Scott, *Christian Church in the South*, p.51].

Stokes and Scott, *Christian Church in the South*, p.68

Stokes and Scott devote the fourth chapter of their study to examining the Southern Christian Association. They insist that the "creation of this Association was the second most significant step on the road to the eventual consolidation of the southern Christian Church."

57 e.g. Oliver True [CP II, 6 15 July 1834, p.103, c.2] and Lorenzo D. Fleming [CP X, 11 1 October 1841, pp.162, c.2-p.166, c.1].

58 CP VI, 20 15 February 1838, p.310, c.2-p.311, c.1. As this revival progressed, a preacher from elsewhere travelled to Newmarket, claiming he had "felt" during prayer that a revival had started there.

59 CP III, 9 September 1, 1834, p.137, c.1

60 CP III, 9 September 1, 1834, p.139, c.1

61 William Westfall, Two Worlds: the Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario (Kingston and Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press 1989), pp.27ff

62 Westfall, Two Worlds, p.43. He does indicate that antinomianism does not simply apply to ethics, but to a broad range of conventional notions, which could include rejection of "traditional doctrines." The two ways that some members of the Christian Connexion came to this more broadly defined antinomianism (the belief that one's religious insights gave one power to interpret all phenomena) were to reject the doctrine of the Trinity and to embrace alternative medicine.

63 For particular examples of Badger's horror expressed over sexual excesses in the name of religion, cf. Holland, Memoir of Badger, pp.160, 280, 309.

64 CP III, 7 1 August 1834, p.115, c.2. Badger maintained the Smithite line that creeds were a tool of oppression. Theology tied either to liberty or oppression, and its orientation was revealed by its attitude to creeds [Holland, Memoir of Badger, p.327].

65 CP III, 19 2 February 1835, p.305, c.1. In an extreme case of anti-creedalism, someone objected to an 1845 New England Convention statement unless it was marked like a common railroad-ticket: "'Good for this day only' for...I do not know what I shall believe to-morrow!'" [cited in John A. Goss, "The New England Convention" in Centennial of Religious Journalism, J. Pressley Barrett, ed. (Dayton, Ohio, Christian Publishing Association 1908), p.593].

66 Mattison, Modern Arianism, p.94

67 CP II, 1 May 1833, p.62; II, 3 July 1833, p.93

68 CP IV, 3 1 June 1835, p.39, cc.1-2

69 CP II, 1 May 1833, p.61

70 CP II, 5 September 1833, p.153
The converse of this is, of course, is that the sects' insistence on distinctive names was slowing the millennium (Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.94).


He objected to the pronunciation (McKinney, Isaac Walter, pp.281-282).
88 Barkun, Crucible, p. 91


91 Knight, Millennial Fever, p. 129. "43ism" refers to acceptance of Miller's specific prediction that Christ would return some in the twelve months following 2[1] April 1843.

92 Barkun, Crucible, pp. 119-120

93 Rowe recognizes this link, noting both Baptist and Christian Connexion influence [Rowe, Thunder and Trumpets, pp. 74-75].

94 The First Report of the General Conference of Christians expecting the Advent of the Lord Jesus Christ, Held in Boston, October 14, 15, 1840 (Boston, J.V. Himes, 1841), p. 12

95 CP X, 17 1 January 1842, p. 257, c. 1

96 Knight, Millennial Fever, p. 64


98 CP XII, 2 19 July 1843, p. 26, c. 2

99 Nichol, Midnight Cry, p. 78

100 CP IX, 22 15 March 1841, p. 338, c. 2. This was Fleming's first Palladium article on the topic.

101 Cross' asserts that "reliable data" shows that groups such as the Christian Connexion probably gave little leadership to the odd movements which developed in the Burned-over district [Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (New York, Harper and Row 1965), p. 16]. In regard to other movements that may be true, but not of Millerism.
102 cf. Bates, Autobiography of Joseph Bates, p.249. The signatories were:

"WILLIAM MILLER, DAVID MILLARD,*
HENRY DANA WARD, L.D. FLEMING,*
HENRY JONES, JOSEPH BATES,*
HENRY PLUMER, CHAS. F. STEVENS,
JOHN TRUAR, P.R. RUSSELL,*
JOSIAH LITCH, ISAIAH SEVY,
JOSHUA P. ATWOOD, TIMOTHY COLE,*
DANIEL MERRILL, J.V. HIMES."

Connexion ministers are noted by *

103 Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.37
104 Nichol, Midnight Cry, p.174
106 Christian Repository (hereafter cited as CR) I,7 July 1829, p.215
107 CP I,2 June 1832, p.48

108 The date of Henry Plummer’s ordination is not known, but he attended the 1834 Convention in Union Mills, New York, as an Elder from Massachusetts [CP III,14 15 November 1834, p.225,c.2]. His brother Frederick, a long-time minister, was there chosen President. Henry Plummer never abandoned his belief in the “speedy coming of Christ,” but did not join the Advent Church either [Humphreys, Deceased Christian Ministers, p.278].

109 Herald of Gospel Liberty (hereafter cited as HGL) LXXV,20 15 May 1884, p.313,c.3
110 CR I,10 October 1829, p.317
111 CP III,13 1 November 1834, p.212,c.1


113 Rowe, Thunder and Trumpets, pp.34–35. Knight notes that Himes, in the post-Disappointment era, attempted to use the vaguely-defined (this thesis would term it ‘aleatory’) system of periodicals and conferences so familiar to him from his Christian Connexion days [Knight, Millennial Fever, p.269]. Knight also notes that the presence of female preachers in the Millerite movement owed much to their broad acceptance among the Christian Connexion, which encouraged them [Knight, Millennial Fever, p.119].


116 Barkun, Crucible, pp.28-29

117 Knight, Millennial Fever, p.75

118 Barkun, Crucible, p.53. Rowe, discussing Joseph Bates' reformist inclinations, notes that Millerites tended to think of the Second Advent as the ultimate reform [Rowe, Thunder and Trumpets, p.91].

119 First General Conference 1840, pp.7,13,17


122 Millard, Travels, pp.347-349

123 Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Mil lenarianism 1800-1930 (Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1970), p.234. Doan explains simply that the Millerites were forced to reject the idea of the Jews returning to Palestine because the prospect was a distant one, which contradicted their expectation of an imminent parousia (Doan, Miller Heresy, p.39).

124 Amos S. Hayden, Early History of the Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio (Cincinnati, Chase and Hall, 1875, reprinted at New York, Arno Press 1972), p.186. Hayden clearly did not like the millennial speculation. It is possible that he identified the trend with Smith and Rigdon because both these men betrayed their original 'Christian' commitment: Smith to the Universalists; Rigdon to the Mormons.

125 CM XI,1 September 1840, p.1

126 CM XII,7 May 1842, p.219

127 William Lane wrote to Stone in order to allay the editor's fears that Lane had imbibed Adventism; he believed the end to be near, but refused to accept any particular date as a tenet
[CM XIII, 10 February 1843, p.318].

128 CP XII, 2 19 July 1843, p.29,c.1

129 CS I, 5 May 1844, p.75,c.2-p.76,c.1

130 CS I, 5 May 1844, p.81,c.1. The article attacked the German higher critics.

131 In 1838, for example, the Christian Palladium had no less than three agents in the colony: McIntire, Henry and Orange [CP VII, 1 May 1838, p.14,c.1].

132 CP XII, 2 19 July 1843, p.26,c.1

133 Humphreys, Deceased Christian Ministers, p.130; William Summer Harwood, Life and letters of Austin Craig (New York, Fleming H. Revell 1908), p.43

134 HGL LXXXIII, 40 1 October 1891, p.635,c.3. Graham was later ordained by the Canadian Conference.

135 Oshawa Christian Church, Minutes of Fellowship Meetings, 1831-1868, manuscript minute book in the United Church Archives (hereafter cited as "Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831"), p.18. He is referred to as "Mr. Deverel."

136 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.18

137 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.20

138 CP XII, 1 1 July 1843, p.13,c.2

139 Newmarket Christian Church, Church Minute Book 1856-1895, p.b [There is no pagination until several pages into the book. The unnumbered pages have been assigned a letter for reference].

140 The Canada Christian Conference Minutes July 8th 1844-66 (Manuscript minute book, hereafter cited as Canada Minutes and the specific Conference session by year), 1849, p.23

141 Canada Minutes 1849, p.28

142 Typescript copy of 1843 minutes (source not cited by transcriber).


144 Barkun, Crucible, pp.31,58

145 Olsen, Origin and Progress, pp.143-144, citing Signs of the Times
The Connexion had no fixed position favouring either pre- or post-millennialism. Jasper Hazen was, for example, a premillennialist [CP XII, 14 27 December 1843, p.218b,c.1], but Daniel Long opposed the idea [CP X, 19 1 February 1842, p.296,c.2-p.297,c.1]. Badger was, apparently, an open post-millennialist [Holland, Memoir of Badger, p.362,384].

Morrill contended that unless God specifically noted that a day should be read as a year, the literal twenty-four hour period was to be understood.

Nichol cites a manuscript letter from Marsh to Miller, dated 17 August 1843, in which Marsh railed that Adventist articles had been removed from the Palladium against his will [Nichol, Midnight Cry, p.193].

Nichol writes in his autobiography that some Palladium subscribers were apparently lost in the tussle [CP XII, 12 29 November 1843, p.189,c.2].


161 CM IV,9 August 1830, p.200
162 CM V,1 January 1831, p.16. The phrase usually referred to the doctrine of the Trinity.
163 CP II,1 May 1833, p.35
164 CP VIII,8 15 August 1839, p.125,c.1
165 CP X,2 19 July 1843, p.26,c.2
166 CP XII,22 27 March 1844, p.343,cc.1-2. P.P. Ladu, a former Methodist from New York State who abandoned Methodism for the Christian Connexion, later turned on the Connexion, saying he had merely fled from Sodom to Gomorrah, and that he must now free himself completely [cf. Rowe, Thunder and Trumpets, p.117].
167 Barkun, Crucible, p.40; Westfall, Two Worlds, p.169
168 Westfall, Two Worlds, p.169
169 Badger highlighted this weakness in an article rejected by Marsh but preserved in his personal papers. He further lamented that the Millerites taught "that Christ has no kingdom on earth; of course, no laws, no subjects, no institutions, and no government" [cited in Holland, Memoir of Badger, p.386].
170 CP IX,23 1 April 1841, p.357,c.2; cf. E. Edmunds' comments [CP XII,1 1 July 1843, p.14,cc.1-2].
171 Fernald, Life of Mark Fernald, pp.342-343
172 Barkun, Crucible, p.40
173 Rowe refers to "Christianite" adherence to Millerism as an antiformalist reaction against growing formalism within the Connexion [Rowe, Thunder and Trumpets, p.86].
174 cited in Rowe, Thunder and Trumpets, p.116.
175 CP XII,14 27 December 1843, p.216,c.2. John Ross was apparently citing comments by Joseph Marsh.
177 Knight, Millennial Fever, p.114
178 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.30
179 CS III,4 April 1846, p.57, c.1
180 Western Luminary, Vol.III, #15 15 April 1844; p.117, c.2
181 Morrill, *History*, pp.175-176

182 CP XVI,43 19 February 1848, p.685,c.1


184 CP XII,19 21 February 1844, p.301,c.1. Langdon agreed with Perry [XII,22 27 March 1844, p.349,c.2].

185 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.22

186 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.23

187 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, pp.31-32. It was also significantly less than the 68 members who belonged to the congregation before the stir.

188 Typescript of 1845 minutes (source note cited by transcriber), p.1


190 Rowe, *Thunder and Trumpets*, pp.91,112. Rowe indicates that the "Christianites" relied on human agency in the process of reform. This is true of many leaders, such as Badger and Millard, who were leading the Connexion towards more linearity and overt organization, but is not true of the original Christian Connexion vision.

191 Barkun, *Crucible*, p.44

192 Knight, *Millennial Fever*, p.114


195 Rowe, *Thunder and Trumpets*, p.155

196 Knight, *Millennial Fever*, p.231

197 Rowe, *Thunder and Trumpets*, p.154

198 CP VI,15 1 December 1837, p.235,cc.1-2

199 CP VI,20 15 February 1838, p.319,c.1. Himes' continued affection for the Connexion was evidenced by his continued
contributions to Connexion newspapers, including a glowing report a few months later of a revival in the Second Christian Church, Boston.

200 Arthur, "Himes and Adventism", p.56. Sandeen alleges that Himes was recruited by the Plymouth Brethren circa (Sandeen, *Roots of Fundamentalism*, p.76). If so, it merely underscores his peregrinations.

It should also be admitted that Marsh eventually limped back into the Christian Connexion. "Josaph Marsh" preached in Oshawa in 1861 [Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.71]. He was living in Oshawa in 1863, where he edited the *Bible Teacher*, a paper he had founded in Whitby and moved to Oshawa by the time the fifth issue was published [Oshawa *Vindicator* 11 February 1863, p.2.c.7; 25 February 1863, p.2.c.7]. He died in Michigan later that year, while returning to Oshawa from a trip to Tennessee [Humphreys, *Deceased Christian Ministers*, p.215]. There is no indication why he moved to Canada.


202 Millard, *Memoir of David Millard*, pp.308-309: emphasis in original. This article said to have been written in the mid-1840s.

203 Shaw, *Sentiments*, p.9-11

204 CP XII,22 27 March 1844, p.345,c.2-p.346,c.1

205 CP XII,12 29 November 1843, p.186,cc.1-2

206 CP XII,15 31 January 1844, p.261,c.2; XII,23 10 April 1844, p.353,cc.1-2. Barr had earlier attacked the "spirit of disorganization" in more general terms [CP XII,12 29 November 1843, p.186,c.1ff.].

207 Millard, *Memoir of David Millard*, p.397


209 Millard, *Memoir of David Millard*, p.401


211 Millard, *Memoir of David Millard*, p.409

212 CP XII,18 February 1844, p.284,cc.1-2

213 CP XII,18 February 1844, p.284,cc.1-2. Badger does not appear to have been aware of the incongruity of using a strongly linear and hierarchical simile to describe the internal workings of the egalitarian Connexion. Oliver Barr later used a similar argument [cf. CP XII,24 24 April 1844,
214 CP, XII, 25 1 May 1844, p.389,c.2-p.390,c.2

215 CP XII, 26 15 May 1844, p.401 [sic, actually p.402],c.2. For Ash's comments, see Chapter Four, p.223.

216 CP XII, 7 20 September 1843, p.101,cc.1-2

217 CP XII, 21 13 March 1844, p.332,cc.1-2

218 CP XII, 21 13 March 1844, p.332,c.2. He mentioned roughly a dozen or so elders and five or six licentiates.

219 Johnson, County of Ontario, p.136. Henry's commitment to the Harbour Company was greatest in the early 1850s [Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.110].

220 CP XII, 22 27 March 1844, p.348,c.2

221 GS I, 1 January 1844, p.7,c.1-p.9,c.2; I, 4 April 1844, p.60,c.2-p.61,c.1

222 CP XII, 22 27 March 1844, p.347,c.2

223 Canada Minutes 1849, p.21

224 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, pp.24,29. In this case, the clerk continued to use the same record book, but several original pages were cut out and new ones pasted in their place.

225 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.27

226 Canada Minutes 1848, p.1; 1849, pp.21-22,26. Also see the discussion in Chapter Four, p.223.

227 Canada Minutes 1849, p.22

228 Canada Minutes 1849, p.26. Colston's antipathy toward the Pickering congregation appears to have been motivated by sympathy for fellow-pastor J.W. Sharrard whose party lost the internal struggle, rather than by ideological differences.


230 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.28, cf. Humphreys, Deceased Christian Ministers, p.84

231 Typescript copy of 1845 minutes (source not cited by transcriber), p.1

232 CP XVI, 49 1 April 1848, p.778,c.1
American religious groups had long enjoyed access to marriage privileges, rendering the Canadian situation unusual.

The Universalists were perhaps farther from the mainstream than the Christian Connexion. The 1844 Universalist Convention in Canada West also resolved to seek official status with the government [Western Luminary, Vol. III, #38 21 September 1844, p.300,c.3].

This particular act allowed any local congregation to hold property and did not entail any denominational responsibilities. Thus the 1844 legislation, although of practical importance to the Christian Connexion, had no organizational implications.
CHAPTER SIX:
Linearity Embraced: 1849-1898

Introduction

The 'aleatory' paradigm virtually collapsed between 1829 and 1847. The combined force of social and religious disturbances, such as the unsuccessful attempt to dissolve the United States General Convention in 1832, the loss of many Western Christians to the Disciples of Christ, the migration in the wake of the 1837 Rebellion and the loss of many in New England and New York to Millerism, convinced the Connexion's leaders that the movement's survival lay with at least some degree of overt organization. The Canada Conference had moved in twenty years from a vague skeleton organization in 1829, to a hesitant congregationalism by 1848.

Organizational developments after mid-century assumed a more leisurely pace, if not a less acrimonious tone. The next thirty years witnessed an equally radical metamorphosis, as the group transformed itself into a mild variant of connectionalism. The entire period covered in this chapter, from the first permanent minute-book to the incorporation which left the Conference as sole proprietor of chapel properties, to the collapse of union talks with the Disciples, was one of internal struggle and adjustment. The result was an intensely linear organization, lines of authority being clearly delineated both within congregations and between congregations. The incorporation of the Canada Conference in 1877 marked the zenith of centralization and linearization. Although closely related to similar developments in what became known in this period as the American Christian
Convention, the pace of centralization and linearization was, over the course of this period, faster in Canada. Resistance to centralization stiffened after 1877, and the Conference leadership retreated from its attempt to impose strong connectional discipline.

The relative lateness of the Act of Incorporation, compared to other denominations' experiences, was not due to governmental truculence towards groups on the religious fringe. Quakers, Adventists, Free-Will Baptists and Swedenborgians had all been extended legal privileges decades before the Christian Conference sought similar benefits. Even non-Christian religions, such as Judaism, and secret societies, such as the Masons, had been allowed legal privileges well before the Christian Conference incorporated. Neither was the reticence to incorporate due to a lack of sophistication. Many prominent members of the Canada Conference were entrepreneurs, who urged the 1852 Conference to adopt a joint-stock company to manage their publishing concerns.

Yet overt organization beyond the congregational level became a source of continuous friction for almost five decades. Some reacted against the increased extracongregational linearity with tentative steps toward union with the Disciples of Christ. The ventures were initially only local affairs, apparently prompted by concern that the Conference had gained too much authority. Yet, by the end of the period, the two bodies held official union talks. The open conflict reflected the Conference's passage from the functional congregationalism which obtained at the
close of the previous period to a form of connectionalism. W.P. Fletcher's assessment of the Act of Incorporation, uttered thirty years after the fact, struck at the heart of the issue: "the churches were brought from being semi-detached units to form integral parts of a body." The core considerations centred on control: of procedure, of preachers, of property.

**Asserting Control over Procedure**

Adopting a permanent minute book in order to secure marriage licenses for its ministers entailed unforeseen organizational implications for the Canada Conference. The need to control not only whose names appeared on the list, but the minutes' contents, raised questions of varying weight, the answers to which led to the adoption of linear procedures. Some were minor issues of appearance. Official sanction forced the Conference to reflect on the correct pastoral title. An 1849 certificate given as proof of preachers' standing in the Conference styled them "Reverend." The document's format clearly indicates the group's willingness to doff their caps in the direction of broader Christian usage if it simplified gaining legal sanction. The earliest example of "Rev." in local church records is an 1851 reference at Oshawa. The Conference nipped the trend in the bud, but in a manner which demonstrated that it was not averse to the concept of ordination by which a person was set apart to formal ministry, but only to the title "Rev.[sic]" In 1861, the editor of the New York-based *Christian Palladium* did not rouse ire by calling Canadians "Reverend," but the term did
not gain local currency for decades.

The solution of other problems raised by the permanent minute book had far more profound impact on the Conference's level of organization. Members had to contend not merely with the record's fixity, but also to elaborate parliamentary procedure to insure its consistency. For example, a squabble erupted over accepting the reconstituted Pickering congregation's delegates. A motion to reject them, narrowly defeated, raised the issue of entitlement to vote.11 The Conference Clerk inserted sarcastic remarks about the motion's supporters; he further betrayed his unawareness of what was acceptable material for the Minutes by including correspondence between Thomas Henry and himself, concerning the trial of a member from Pickering.12 Then, after expending 27 pages to chronicle the 1849 meeting, the Pickering controversy and the histories of some congregations, the Clerk omitted the 1850 minutes entirely.13

Orderly procedure was not, however, long in developing. An 1852 motion limited attendees to speaking once per motion, and only for five minutes.14 The next year order was more strictly enforced by requiring all motions be in writing.15 A concern for order and on-going supervision of the Conference's work beyond the annual meeting is evinced by Henry's appointment in 1854 as "chairman for the current year," not just for the meeting.16 Other irregularities took longer to cure. The 1857 Committee on Ministry, for example, contained members who were also applicants for admission to the conference!17 The 1857 meeting displayed little understanding that minutes are to remain as recorded, except for
corrections. A committee set to work not simply to correct errors or omissions, but to revise the 1855 and 1856 Minutes of Conference for "our well being." It was not until 1858, furthermore, that a discussion of the Clerk's role resulted in a motion to clarify that he was only to record transactions, not speeches or other remarks.

The Christian General Convention which met in the autumn of 1850 in Marion, New York marked the beginning of new era of overt organization. At least one contemporary cited New England as the hub of agitation for greater organization. Its proponents saw order as an antidote both to spiritual apathy and to the incursion of peculiar doctrine. They argued the Connexion needed to admit it was in fact sectarian and organize for the sake of "regularity." Editorials from leaders like Elijah Shaw, who stressed both the general need for organization and the enforcement of collective decisions, raised the issue's profile. He rejected as unbiblical a total independency, stressing instead the need for uniformity of practice within all member congregations. Problems of pastoral relations and supply made organization no longer an option, but a duty for the good of Christ's body. The Convention was not able to live up to such high expectations. Problems were not resolved; differences were papered over with a grand gesture. The committee charged with summarizing the Connexion's key tenets gave its report by parading into the assembly with a large Bible held aloft, touted as the only necessary summary of its "sentiments."

Despite these shortcomings, the Convention was a milestone; something sensed at the time. Delegates from
eleven states and Canada, representing 26 conferences, rendered the 1850 meeting the most representative yet. William Wellons effusively praised its decisions, stating that their implementation would mark the start of a new era. Writing six decades after the fact, Milo Morrill perceives it as a major turning point, when adopting increased order created a perceptible "denominational consciousness."

Education was a main Convention theme. Critics of education for ministers rightly foresaw that maintaining an educational institution was beyond the power of even the largest congregation. Standardized pastoral education required not only pooled resources, but a set curriculum, undermining the Connexion’s insistence that every person interpret the Bible for him or herself. Delegates eventually decided that the potential benefits of trained pastors outweighed these concerns and voted to establish Antioch College. Morrill summarizes the Convention’s impact thus: "The die was cast: with the founding and endowing of institutions, permanency was secured, and another denomination was perpetuated."

One of the clearest indications of the Connexion's growing linearity was its division over slavery, an estrangement both the result of a higher level of overt order and the cause of even more rigid demarcation of membership. The vote at the 1854 General Convention represented a profound disagreement over the definition of "Christian character." Southerners saw no conflict between piety and slave-owning. Many Northerners, including Austin Craig, opposed slavery but did not believe that the issue should divide the movement.
Others, such as David Millard, were "decided and radical" abolitionists." In a gesture of defiance, two conferences formed the Southern Christian Convention in 1856." The relative lateness of this bifurcation, a decade after those among Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians," reflects the lingering influence of the 'aleatory' paradigm, which had only been displaced with the 1847 formation of the Southern Christian Association, the year in which the last of the aforementioned splits took place. Stated another way, the Connexion had been too amorphous to split. Indeed the Disciples, whose diffuse identity beyond the congregation resulted not from 'aleatory' ideals but ultracongregationalism, did not fragment over slavery." Only as a more rigid identity beyond the congregation developed, employing ever more narrowly defined criteria for membership, could the "Christian" movement divide.

The impetus for the next stage of linearization in the South was the 1854 anti-slavery vote." Not only did the new Southern Convention draw the lines of fellowship more narrowly, it was also more linear than its regional predecessor. Some in the South had grown restless with the loose congregationalism that had evolved and were ready to embrace yet more rigidly-defined structure. As the 1858 biennial meeting approached," debate arose concerning the appropriate degree of linearity. Wellons, editor of the Christian Sun and inaugural President of the Southern Convention," frankly admitted that the movement's configuration had dramatically altered over the preceding three decades. Some coordination was essential; the
"disorganized idea" was no longer an option." He argued that the Bible, their "plan of organization," clearly described all "the proper officers" of a Conference, including an executive "Standing Committee" and an annual conference meeting." Wellons did baulk at the creation of a symbolic statement to which all must assent, preferring unity of feeling to uniformity of thought."

It is noteworthy that those who took Wellons to task did not object to overt order, but to his apparent hesitancy to champion a more rigorously disciplined congregationalism. Thomas Bashaw, a minister from North Carolina, wrote at length on "the limitation of judgment and conscience," in view of excesses which had allegedly resulted from an unfettered exercise of autonomy. He argued for "denominational uniformity" obtained by creating a rule of faith and standardized church government." The Connexion should differ from Methodism not on the question of uniformity of belief, but the locus of ratification for a common symbolic document. When that right lies with congregations, rather than with ministers, no legislation becomes law for the local church until it ratifies it.

It took eight years, and the Civil War's devastation, before Bashaw's sentiments became pervasive. The first post-war Southern Convention (1866), called for the group's ideals to be reduced to fixed form." An extraordinary session called in 1867 approved the Principles of Government of the Christian Church, together with a Directory for Religious Worship." The Principles elaborated an ecclesiology well short of connectionalism, but gave unequivocal form to their common
faith and worship. This document marked the limit of linearization in the South before Wellons' death in 1877, after which a new generation of leadership stepped forward.\textsuperscript{10}

The American developments provide the backdrop for the Canada Conference's increasing embrace of linearity. The 1855 session marked the beginning of a major offensive by proponents of overt order. Reporting a church's state, which had once been considered a privilege or courtesy, mutated into a duty. The lack of written reports frustrated the Clerk, who was unable to tally membership.\textsuperscript{11} Innovations reveal a growing procedural rigidity. Written notices of motion were deemed to be the "property of Conference."\textsuperscript{12} The most profound item was the setting of a standing agenda for the annual meeting.\textsuperscript{13} At this juncture, discussion of this simple document's particular content is less important than its consequence. By mandating the appointment of officers, review of minutes and other reports, the agenda provided for procedural standardization and the consistent recording of transactions.

The 1855 meeting also witnessed the onset of a controversy which would plague the Conference for two decades. The 1848 session had adopted a resolution declaring the Conference "capable of giving council and deciding questions."\textsuperscript{14} A majority of the 1855 delegates objected that the deliberative power attributed to the Conference violated its basic principles, and substituted:

the Conference as a self constituted body, composed of Ministers and delegates of the Several Churches, for the purpose of advising discussing, and deliberating upon the best interests of the Christian cause in Canada.\textsuperscript{15}

The process of defining the Conference's character continued in 1857. While the 1855 motion had maintained the
Conference's advisory character, some apparently believed it derogated the place of the congregations as a whole by noting only "Ministers and delegates" as constituents, while others seem to have objected to the description of the Conference as "self-constituted." Yet another resolution was adopted, specifying that "the Christian Conference is composed of the Ministers and Churches which constitute the entire body." Delegates were required, the same year, to present "credentials" to the committee and visitors were allowed to participate, but not to vote, as in the past." This marked the limit of consensus. A resolution to repudiate episcopacy or centralized power and allow our various congregations or churches to govern themselves...that we consider our conference as merely an advisory body ...[for] deliberating, discussing, and advising initially carried, but then was reconsidered and laid on the table." In light of the controversy, it would be easy to overlook the substantial accord. Both parties assumed the necessity of a representative assembly, agreed to restrict voting rights and accepted the rectitude of having a fixed agenda. The struggle was thus not between conservative advocates of the 'aleatory' paradigm and proponents of overt organization, but a dispute between supporters of two types of order over the acceptable extent of linear authority beyond the local level: congregationalists versus connectionalists.

The 1858 Conference passed without major incident. The attempt to exert greater control over the meeting process resumed in 1859, when operational rules were made more rigid. In particular, the standing agenda was amended." Reforms achieved two basic changes. First, the sense of demarcation
between the informal gathering of delegates as they arrived and the official conference business was underscored by adding a roll-call, and by moving the annual address and reading of the minutes farther into the meeting. The roll-call gave form to the sense of fixity of membership implicit in the earlier decision to deny visitors a vote. It was also in keeping with the adoption of a formal constitution and by-laws by the United States General Convention in 1858. The Convention was no longer merely "a voluntary deliberative body," but a delegated entity with a firmly controlled membership list. The annual address now functioned less to set the Conference's tone and more to set out plans for a well-defined body. Second, heavier stress was laid on committees. The church reports were downgraded from an opening highlight, a means of stirring the affections and sense of belonging, to just another committee report. The two previously separate reports on ministers and missionary officers were likewise subsumed under the general heading of committee reports.

The 1860 Canada Conference's reforming bent was noted at the time. Proponents of centralization, led by newly-elected President George W. Colston, succeeded in pushing through a motion "That Conference be considered the church in its highest capacity, an elective authoritative body; that it shall exercise jurisdiction over the churches composing it." This stated unequivocally that the body was not just advisory, but had power to enact binding legislation. The committee asked for time to elaborate "the Bible rules expedient for the due regulation, and government of the churches within its jurisdiction." The Executive Committee wasted no time
dispatching three ministers to the divided church at King to settle problems and enforce order."

Buoyed by the success, centralizers attempted to extend their power in 1861. Colston was again President. A business committee was formed, through which all resolutions and motions were to be channelled. A detailed report on "the duties of the President", along with a proposal that any church's failure to pay a minimum salary was cause for discipline by Conference, were rejected as "objectionable." Had the report been adopted, the President would have become an equivalent of an Episcopal Methodist official known as a Presiding Elder, regularly touring the member churches in order to inculcate uniformity of thought and practice. The unresolved issues were referred to the next year's session.

The 1862 meeting, over which J.L. Russ presided, was a draw. A motion to rescind the 1860 Church Order report, substituting that Conference was merely "an _advisary[/sic] body" was apparently laid on the table, left for yet another year." Some proponents of order did not endure this with grace. In the ensuing weeks, Colston and Benjamin Rogers were accused of designing to injure the reputation of Hiram Hayward, another of the preachers belonging to the Oshawa church, who apparently had opposed the expansion of executive power in Conference." The specific issue was Colston and Rogers' belief "that the acts of Conference as an Executive body should be binding on all the churches &[/sic] that the minority should submit to the majority.[/sic] in all things, except matters of faith." The congregation sided with Hayward." Colston did not bother to attend the 1863
Conference and the 1864 session approved his request for "dismissal." Without his leadership, the tide turned against the connectionally-inclined in 1863. That session reverted to the earlier position that its meetings were merely "advisory." The Conference specifically renounced the right to conduct trials, insisting that congregations must attempt to settle their problems with the invited assistance of outsiders, such as "the standing Committee of Conference," only as they deemed necessary."

Controversy did not subside with Colston's egress. Thomas Garbutt, a Briton who had entered the Connexion's ministry in New York, arrived in Canada in 1863 and was elected President in 1864. The Yorkshire-born preacher had a greater appreciation of overt order than many of his North American-born colleagues. The first session over which he presided renounced all legislative authority, except the right to eject members or churches. Instead, they stated "the Conference is fraternal, to learn each others[sic] state, to cherish brotherly sympathy and union, disclaiming all power of making laws under any pretext for the churches."

Yet change was in the wind. As the 1865 sitting approached, the Newmarket District voiced its conviction that the Conference was "an Elective Authoritative Body having Jurisdiction." The Conference rearranged the standing agenda a second time, advancing linearization further still by confirming the particularity of the meeting's temporal boundaries. The invitation for visitors to participate was relegated even further into the meeting. The position of standing committees was strengthened, distinguishing them from
the special ad hoc committees. This agenda contained three completely new items: reception of communications, setting the date of the next annual meeting and a formal motion of adjournment. The latter two were especially important. Setting the next meeting date removed any element of impulsiveness; the Conference would reconvene at a time set by the participants, not when some fancied themselves stirred by God. The formal motion of adjournment gave a greater sense of termination to proceedings, rather than a crowd simply dispersing as a meeting lost momentum.

Asserting Control Over Preachers

The second significant area in which the Conference extended its control was the supply and discipline of preachers. In the course of this period, the conference displaced congregations as the locus for ministerial accreditation. In 1851, delegates ruled a letter of commendation from a distant church inadmissible if the preacher were under censure locally. Members began to guard affiliation with the Conference more jealously. When an unknown preacher appeared north of Waterloo, claiming to be a "Christian," the 1854 Conference abruptly disavowed any link. An investigation was mounted, resulting in a "special conference" convening less than two weeks later, in order to reconsider their precipitous motions concerning Jacob Libertis. To avoid repetition of such an embarrassing volte-face, while simultaneously strengthening the lines of Conference control, the 1856 session instructed members of the committee on ordinations to vet thoroughly all candidates for
ministry." Over the next few years, throughout the Connexion, increasing pressure came to bear upon ministers to attend annual conference meetings: often as many as a third were absent."

The contention-ridden Ontario body advanced centralization in 1861 by requiring that all "public gifts" be recognized not only by the local church, but by the Conference President, and that pastors be paid only with Conference approval." Colston's presidential address offered semantic lip service to the 'aleatory' tradition. He argued that while the Conference had no power to create binding rules, true belief in the Bible required enforcing its rules; it would be impossible to be overly rigorous. Thus the Conference must exercise an "executive" function to purge "schismatics and immoral persons." Strictness would create "more system, and less anarchy," with "order and regularity" replacing "spasmodic action."

There is evidence that some churches accepted this redrawing of the lines of authority. When in 1863 the Oshawa body exonerated Hiram Hayward of wrongdoing regarding comments allegedly made about the Newmarket group," the Newmarket church took exception, especially as they had not been represented." They proposed that a special Conference session be convened to arbitrate the matter." The next year, the regular session sanctioned closed-door trials and examinations of ministerial character." Preventative discipline advanced markedly in 1865 with the adoption of a provision that no one be ordained without approval from three churches and the Executive Board, the candidate having preached a satisfactory
This attempt to solve the problem of fraudulent or unsuitable ministers exacerbated another, the inadequate supply of preachers. The shortage was chronic, one shared with the more popular Methodists, and was not solved during this period. The matter was complicated by a concurrent shift in attitude toward ministry. The increasingly diligent oversight of candidates indicates a growing sense of professionalism. Gone were the days of the wind-blown wandering ranter. The trend to bi-vocational preachers, noted in an earlier chapter, expanded. J.W. Sherrard worked his own farm near Pickering in 1849. In 1858, L.C. Thomas managed a fire insurance company as well as preaching. C.H. Hainer "tent-made" for six years before reverses forced him off his farm around 1859. Tales of privation and the necessity of secular work among American preachers abound in the 1850s. The Christian Palladium's editor complained in 1860 that the dearth of original material in the paper during the summer reflected the preachers' being too exhausted to write after toiling to support themselves. The situation had not improved by 1866, when the committee on ministry lamented that ordained ministers found it necessity to take other paying work. The Ontario Conference, from the beginning of this period, had attempted to solve the perennial problem of supply with a two-pronged strategy: raising cash; and using that money more efficiently. The first element had implications for order within congregations, the second for order beyond the congregation.

The "subscription" remained the most common means of
raising money, but this period witnessed new initiatives to secure funds. The Connexion's founders would have viewed one as a regression. Taxes and pew-rents had been anathema to Elias Smith, but in 1851 Henry proposed a voluntary "tax" equal to the government tax. As its purpose was not to pay the preacher directly, but to reduce the chapel debt making it easier to pay him, most agreed. Similarly, an "assessment" based on real and personal property was introduced at Newmarket in 1856. An additional tax of a dollar per year was added in 1860, to pay for the building. In this, the Canada Conference was not out of step with American developments. The 1860 New Jersey Conference, for example, had imposed "direct taxation" as a "fair means of equalizing responsibility." Six years later Oshawa taxed "each male member" to retire old debt. Pew-rents were resurrected in Oshawa in 1875, seats sold in auction by "upset price" to the highest bidders. Initially used to pay down the mortgage, the device was expanded to pay the preacher.

Offerings had been infrequent, at best monthly in the 1850s. Both Oshawa and Newmarket adopted weekly offerings in the late 1860s. Offering envelopes began to enter service in the 1870s. Wellons' church in the South began to use them weekly in 1873. Their general introduction in the North and East was no later than 1874. In Canada, the Oshawa group talked of using them in 1873, 1878 and again in 1880. The device was discussed in Newmarket in 1875 and were definitely in use by the next year. Despite this recasting of local finances, many ministers were still poorly paid. In 1876, at the depth of an economic recession linked to agricultural
failure," C.H. Hainer was promised $500 for the year, but received only $345.25, a 31% shortfall.\textsuperscript{114} Two years later he was told to retain his job teaching school, as the Newmarket church's future was not clear, and they still owed him $177.\textsuperscript{115}

The 1860 taxation resolutions in New Jersey also referred to the ministry as a "profession," which could be fulfilled properly only when it was a minister's sole calling.\textsuperscript{116} The foundation of the Christian Biblical Institute (CBI) at Starkey Seminary, New York furthered the professionalization of ministry. Its Trustees envisioned the CBI as an antidote to the comparative inefficiency of the Connexion's ministers for the preceding half century.\textsuperscript{117} Henry was a founding officer listed in the CBI's 1868 charter of incorporation and never missed a meeting until his death.\textsuperscript{118} He and Garbutt were appointed as the CBI's Canadian agents.\textsuperscript{119} The 1869 Canada Conference recommended the CBI to any "contemplating the ministry as a profession."\textsuperscript{120} In its first ten years, it trained students from 17 states and Canada.\textsuperscript{121} Linearity was inculcated at the school. Third-year students in 1870 received "Lectures on the Conduct of Deliberative Assemblies" and "Lectures on Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence."\textsuperscript{122} At least one Canadian lay leader clearly grasped the economic issues linked to the professionalization of ministry, sympathetic to the college-trained preachers' pay expectations, given the costs of providing hospitality and of inflation.\textsuperscript{123} This merely aggravated the existing difficulty of finding preachers. Leaders resorted to more rigid forms of government as a solution.

The second prong of the strategy to supply preaching to
all congregations entailed creating a "District" structure within the Conference. As early as 1851, plans were approved to divide into four districts in which evangelists could itinerate. A Home Mission Society was organized in 1852, with authority not only to raise money, but to assign work to a preacher. The measure was not immediately successful, taking root only after much debate and several false starts. The effective partition of the Conference did not happen until the 1861 creation of seven districts. The President claimed evangelism had received too much emphasis, without providing pastoral care for the converts. Rejecting the notion that spirituality must always be at odds with form, he insisted that the number of preachers available would suffice if they paid sufficient attention to "permanence and stability." The Newmarket District began its work in earnest in February 1862. A motion to refuse to implement the conference decision was soundly defeated. The job descriptions of the various district officers were defined at a meeting in March and the 1861 report on the duties of churches was ratified. A set of governing rules was adopted in the fall of 1863. Convinced that lack of internal structure was a major cause of the paralysis among the Canada Conference's districts, the committee further refined the officers' roles and appointed a "Board of Management" to transact business between regular quarterly sessions. A regular preaching schedule divided the work of two preachers among the four congregations; Newmarket and King had weekly preaching in 1862, while Glenville and West Gwillimbury heard sermons only once a month. By 1864, District 4 had five
preachers serving eight congregations; in 1865, five ministers provided weekly services to ten churches. By way of comparison, 19 of 33 churches reporting to the 1869 Southern Ohio Conference had preaching only once a month; only two had it weekly and seven bi-weekly. Similarly, many Southern churches had sermons only once a month in the 1870s.

The Districts gained more rigid form and augmented authority under Garbutt's leadership. Garbutt opened the 1866 Conference by reading I Corinthians 13 and 14, a passage stressing "order" as much as "love." His choice of text bespoke his personal agenda, to bring both procedure and preachers more under Conference control. Compliance with earlier resolutions had been disappointing; in 1866 less than half of the congregations had taken up a collection in aid of the Conference. Garbutt admitted that "there are some difficulties in reconciling the Itinerancy, with the Congregational form of Church government," but that the benefits of coordinated effort justified deliberately entering such new territory. This marked the opening of another round of centralization of power.

A special meeting of the Conference convened in 1867 to revise the Constitution and send it to member churches for ratification. By June 1868, Garbutt claimed that only District 7 (Mariposa and Scugog) had not "organized," that is, adopted the Constitution. When District 7 finally accepted, Article 8 (requiring application to the Conference Executive Board to hire a preacher) had been neutered by replacing "shall" with "may." Similarly, District 3 declined constraints upon their choice of preacher. The process to
approve members stipulated in Article 10 was virtually identical to that of the New England Baptists against whom Elias Smith had propounded his radical aleatory program seven decades earlier.\textsuperscript{145} The only alteration to Article 10 at Oshawa was substitution of "may" for "shall" in the clause which required the consent of pastor and deacons for reception of members.\textsuperscript{146} Resistance was not, however, rooted in an 'aleatory' ecclesiology. No objection was raised to a stated normative document. The Oshawa group explicitly made themselves answerable to the District 2,\textsuperscript{147} merely tinkering with details which might interfere with congregational autonomy.

Implementation of this initiative meant the Canada Conference had perhaps the greatest overt organization within the Connexion. Nathaniel C. Earl, a Canadian preacher who had spent a decade in the United States, regaled \textit{Herald of Gospel Liberty} readers with details of the plan.\textsuperscript{148} He drew particular attention to the district system, which provided preaching for weak churches, and to a prescribed reading course for new ministers. "Our Work," an 1869 summary, detailed the extent of the formalization.\textsuperscript{149} Among the mundane concerns were profoundly linear prerogatives. The Board was to "decide all cases of ordination, or organization of churches...[and] secure the proper organization of districts....The Executive Board is the HEAD in all our business arrangements," charged with optimizing the efficiency of annual meetings, which had often accomplished slight permanent good because they were little more than "an heterogeneous mass of feeling, sentiments, errors." Anticipating resistance, the author
pointedly attacked the attitude that refused to tackle the Conference's difficult management dilemmas, on the grounds that "the [local] church is the highest tribunal." Again, opponents were not opposed to overt order, but to the delineation of power beyond the congregation.

An opponent of linearization forwarded the proposed Constitution to Nicholas Summerbell, Secretary of the American Christian Convention (ACC). His *imprimatur* came with reservations, but none to organization *per se*. He objected to the use of the word "Constitution" to describe any set of operating rules other than the Bible, and the requirement that members assent to the document.  

On the key issue of overt organization, however, the Secretary sided with the Executive Board. Although he retained the rhetoric of "the Bible as the only rule," he also decried the impermanence of conventions which were little more than "simple mass meeting[s]." If meetings were to achieve "immortality," they must adopt business-like procedures, such as the sale of ACC memberships and the adoption a joint stock company model for conferences. It is possible that the Canadian innovation in turn influenced Summerbell's thought. Garbutt touted the Executive Board's role as "overseer" and the need for a "travelling Elder." Just two years later, in 1870, as the ACC reorganized, Summerbell urged the denomination to "Episcopalize" by creating a Judiciary Committee as a functional episcopacy. He envisioned it, under certain circumstances, taking control of local church properties and even appointing a pastor. He also used his 1873 *History* to extol the virtues of an idiosyncratically-defined quasi-episcopal system centred on an
overseer with carefully decurted powers.\textsuperscript{137}

The Constitution was further amended in 1870, although few details of the changes survive.\textsuperscript{138} The most significant move, organizationally, was the creation of a booklet of "Dedicatory Services" to be a "hand-book" to standardize worship practices.\textsuperscript{139} Another amendment added "Reading of the Constitution" to the Agenda. This was done at the opening of each meeting from 1870, on into this century.\textsuperscript{140} Its annual repetition was a powerful reminder that the Constitution established the lines within which the group operated. The effect was not always beneficial. Matters came to a head in 1873, some expressing disappointment with the Constitution and "unpleasant inferences" in the Annual Report.\textsuperscript{141} Garbutt's speech stressed the need to respect majorities; he noted the Connexion's fondness of criticizing others for internal dissension, while that was their own major problem.\textsuperscript{142} District 7, which had resisted the Constitution, withdrew in disgust, along with John H. Shoults, their pastor.\textsuperscript{143} Church Hill also left, prompting the newly-elected William Percy to resign as President of Conference.\textsuperscript{144} J.L. Russ, Percy's successor, called a special Fellowship Meeting at Scugog two months later, but could not mollify the opponents.\textsuperscript{145}

The process of linearization temporarily came to a halt. The adoption of a district system, with regularly scheduled preaching, ameliorated but did not solve the shortage. There were still limits to the degree to which churches would surrender autonomy. A petition calling for the Conference to station ministers circulated after the 1872 meeting.\textsuperscript{146} The 1873 session debated the Executive Board's recommendation to
adopt the petition. Of the 26 persons or congregations entitled to vote, 18 were for and 8 against the idea of stationing. There is, however, no evidence that the plan was implemented. The problem of insufficient ministers appears to have been managed rather by rotating the shortage: the eastern-most District was without a pastor in 1873; Markham and Newmarket in 1875; Markham and Oshawa in 1876; Brougham in 1877; Oshawa again in 1878. The inability of the Executive to achieve its goal reveals generalized resistance to connectionalism. Stymied in one area, the Board turned to another in order to extend its power.

Asserting Control Over Property

The third major Conference control initiative in this period was a concerted drive to bring ownership of congregational property into Conference hands. The liberalization of property rights for religious groups had cleared the way for the Conference to add its name to deeds. The standardization of the mode of holding title began the same year as the permanent minute book, a "draft of deeds" having been provided to the Conference by the Hon. Robert Baldwin. According to a newspaper report in 1857, the Conference held title to most church buildings within its bounds, but in joint tenancy. Thus when Garbutt, in his 1873 presidential address, raised the issue of petitioning the Legislature for incorporation, there was more at stake than mere ownership. Perhaps inspired by the 1872 incorporation of the American Christian Convention, and by 1873 legislation having the effect of vesting property with local congregations
unless explicitly conveyed to a denomination, Garbutt proposed to centralize absolute control of property in the Conference. He complained of the prevalence of congregationalism, which undermined the Districts' efficacy. The optimal solution, he argued, was government recognition of the Conference as a "body politic." At least one congregation voiced concerns about the 1873 Conference resolution to seek Incorporation, but the 1874 Conference appointed a committee to petition the Legislature.

Incorporation transformed the Conference's government into a mild connectionalism. The Act of Incorporation's key provision was Section 6, which vested Conference as sole proprietors of all property held by any member church at the time of incorporation. A single model deed was registered, so that the Trustees for each church needed only to complete and attach to the deed a copy of Schedule 2, rather than remake their deed after the full model form. The proceeds of any sale of property, after settlement of debts, went to the Conference. Other provisions entrusted the Conference with broad disciplinary powers. The clause which decreed that no congregation could refuse the use of the pulpit to any minister in good standing with the Conference underscored the departure from the principle of independency by twice referring to "the rules and discipline of the...Christian Church in Canada." The appointment of Trustees was removed from the congregation and given to the District Board. The Conference could, in theory, reorganize any insubordinate church by replacing its Trustees.

The shift in ownership also had implications for the
internal operation of congregations, where overt organization had developed slowly. Only in 1861, for example, had the Oshawa church declared that church officers alone could postpone officially-called meetings. A delegated executive committee was not appointed at Oshawa until 1862, or on the Newmarket District until 1863. On the other hand, the last remnants of 'aleatory' practice at the congregational level petered out in this era; the last known example in this Conference of restarting the minutes occurred at Keswick in 1859, when members agreed to "covenant[sic] to give ourselves to one another... considering ourselves a Church of Christian Connection...and agree to walk together in a Church capacity," wording normally reserved for the formation of a new church.

The terse notation for 4 April 1868 in the Oshawa minutes, "Refer to new record" and the opening of another record book raise suspicions of a similar 'aleatory' reorganization, but closer examination indicates that the new book instead marked both the adoption of a congregational constitution at Oshawa and district preaching arrangements with the Orono congregation. Indeed, when George Henry and two others severed ties with the congregation in 1875, the majority would only accept them back if the dissenters demanded no conditions, going no further than offering not to discuss disputed points. Garbutt's 1873 complaint of the dearth of internal congregational order suggests, however, that these two large congregations' innovations were exceptional. The Act of Incorporation specifically addressed that concern, requiring that:
Clearly, the days of amorphous, affective relations within a local body were over. The Conference succeeded, by means of the Act, in imposing upon congregations a considerable level of overt order, analogous to that already adopted at the conference level.

Opponents gradually muted their antipathy to this process by which lines of authority were more clearly and rigidly defined both within the Conference and its member churches. Indeed there was still a degree of "estrangement or partial separation" on the part of churches not reporting to the Conference. On the other hand, Church Hill, which had withdrawn in protest, rejoined the Conference by 1875. Furthermore, J.H. Shoults continued to serve a member church, although having himself quit the Conference.

Shoults' path through this controversy is illuminating because he was not a peripheral figure, but a former Conference Clerk. The Act of Incorporation passed while Shoults was four years into a six and a half year ministry at Little Britain. This indicates that he was not ideologically committed to the type of radical itinerancy espoused by the Connexion's founders. He was a "small-c" congregationalist who was concerned that the Conference might dictate tenets. When, in 1877, his friend James Gilfillan attempted to neutralize the impact of the Incorporation with a resolution that no one "be required to submit to any rules or regulations which he or she may deem to be in opposition to the teachings
of the Word of God," Shoults delightedly "united with Conference." He clearly did not object to overt order, resuming his place on the Executive Board by 1879 and accepting a post as itinerant evangelist "under the direction of the mission Board." The Scugog church rejoined the Conference explicitly in light of Gilfillan's motion. Convinced that congregational rights were safeguarded, every single member church paid its capitation tax in full in 1877 and in 1878. Some went out of their way to pay, as did the Egremont church in 1879, pointedly sending its tax, although unable to send a delegate because of the distance.

Organizational Developments in the 1880s and 1890s

Despite 1877 Incorporation, the desirability of central power was not universally accepted. On the one hand, some former opponents of centralization began to support it. Shoults put off negotiating with Newmarket in 1882, because the Conference might adopt a stationing plan. On the other, Garbutt's presidential Address that same year downplayed the importance of organization, which suggests that the tide was beginning to turn against the centralizers. This gap between theory and reality troubled Garbutt, who vented his frustration in an 1884 circular letter:

Our Missionary work is not...prosperous...our District System is neglected, our Church Constitution...our Educational Board are all but suspended; our Church Deeds are not uniform; our Church Records are not kept with that fulness and similarity that would furnish us with the knowledge we desire...I regret that so much of my time spent within the bounds of this Conference has been devoted to church government....I have not supposed that organization would produce unity...but...[long have we testified to that grand truth, that God is one, that the Lord is one, the body is one - one Kingdom, not many - the
This ambivalence toward centralized Conference authority even manifested itself in individuals, epitomized by Samuel M. Fowler's comments on power. He did not share the distress of some at the ACC's 1886 reorganization, saying it was simply a matter of deciding what to do and assigning folk to do it. He muttered that decisions in Ontario were useless because left to ease-loving time-servers who would not enforce them. Yet he was the author of a notice of motion at the 1886 Ontario Conference which would have taken the teeth out of its supervision. Another clause of that notice helps resolve this incongruity. He proposed to substitute "Churches" in place of "Church" in the Conference name. A subtle change, perhaps, but it highlights Fowler's understanding of the Conference as a voluntary grouping of congregations, as opposed to a disciplined connection. Cooperative efforts were necessary, but acceptable only when noncompulsory. Organizational issues caused bitter fights "on Conference floor, at Executive Board meetings and in Church business meetings," well into the 1890s.

Despite a short-term backlash, the trend to greater internal congregational linearization resumed in the second half of this era. The formalization of Conference administrative machinery had a trickle-down effect to the congregations, both financially and procedurally. Given, for example, that capitation tax was levied only on full members, it behoved churches to keep as short a list as possible. In the late 1870s and into the 1880s, the Newmarket church was constantly revising its list. The group also decided to
canvass each member monthly and to make consistent use of "Entertainments, Concerts...Excursions," and the like to raise funds. The use of offering envelopes spread to smaller centres, such as Drayton. Charles H. Hainer introduced "an order of business[sic] or base of action" to Newmarket in 1888. Standing committees, a regular Conference feature for decades, appeared the next year. The 1895 Annual Business Meeting published "a code of Laws to govern us in our Business transactions... in pamphlet form and each member to receive a copy." Similarly, while the Oshawa church had appointed an Executive Committee in 1862 to handle emergent business, an administrative committee composed of members of standing committees was not created until 1895. This group, renamed the "Management committee" in 1899, had representation from each of the regular departments, including the Ladies' Aid. In sum, internal congregational management at the beginning of this era was fluid and impermanent. By the period's end, several local fellowships had adopted a legal framework and fixed forms of government which provided managerial consistency and permanence.

The question of hiring an itinerant overseer also proved vexing. The 1880 Ontario Conference polled the churches on whether or not to make the President an overseer. Since 1879, it had employed several individuals as the itinerant missionary, but not necessarily the President. The President was engaged in 1887 "as missionary agent in the general supervision of our church work." This arrangement fell through in 1888, as the paucity of ministers precluded him being free to travel. Support for the concept of a strong
central figure was eroding. Joseph J. Summerbell, whose father had championed a limited episcopacy, back-pedalled from the call by defining leaders as servants with large responsibilities, not those who might compel compliance. He defended the ACC's "authority," questioning the moral character of those disobeying Convention decisions. The Executive Board in Ontario realized, around the same time, that although it lacked funds to support a travelling overseer, its churches needed on-going supervision and encouragement to implement collective programmes. John Nelson Dales suggested that the entire Board exercise oversight, each member being responsible for a particular aspect of the work. The net result was a diffuse form of connectionalism, with some fixed lines of authority beyond the congregation, yet without a single person controlling the fulcrum of that power.

The 1877 Incorporation gave the Canada Conference legal right to all property held by member churches. This connectionalism, in many ways, existed only on paper; in reality, compliance lagged. Although in 1880 the Oshawa church indicated that it planned to register its property in the Conference's name, they did not do so until 1885. In one regard, the push to centralize power backfired, as churches in fiscal turmoil quickly lined up for handouts. The Markham group asked the 1878 Conference to pay the Whitevale chapel's debt. The Conference reluctantly agreed to pay the interest for a year. The property was only deeded to the Conference in 1882, after it agreed to assume the full debt. The same year, the congregation at Seagrave lamented that it was too small to carry $300 of debt and begged Conference aid.
gravity of this situation is apparent when one remembers that $300 represented around 55-70% of a minister's annual salary.

In the early 1880s, the Conference still enjoyed consistent income from the capitation tax. The 1884 tax was paid in full by all but one congregation. Two years later, however, one third of reporting churches had not paid the tax in full. Unpaid tax hit crisis proportions by 1890, and officials lamented that it was not possible to force churches to pay it. The shortfall continued into 1894, with a five-year cumulative deficit of $348.25. At first glance, the nonpayment of the capitation tax seems merely to reflect the economic recession of the first half of 1890s. While members undoubtedly faced genuine fiscal problems, other evidence suggests that decisions to withhold the tax reveal an assertion of congregational rights against an overarching ecclesiastical entity. An 1897 list of the types of deeds reveals that Schedule 2 of the Model Deed had been registered on the deeds of only ten of the 30 chapel properties. As the century drew to a close, and the general economy improved, resistance to the tax stiffened. Only four of 23 churches reporting paid the capitation tax in full in 1898. South of the border similar conditions prevailed. ACC revenues dropped by 6.9% between 1890-1894 and 1894-1898. Limited resources were further drained when the meagre funds were put to inappropriate uses. Ten dollars out of the $150 expended on Home Mission in 1896 rescued a minister's chattels from distress. Other money was diverted to relieve chapel parsonage debts, or to prop up once prosperous churches in decline.
Throughout this era, the chronic problem of too few ministers plagued the Conference. Deaths thinned the ranks between 1863 and 1884; Garbutt listed twelve, a number almost equal to the total preaching supply in 1863. In 1886, though nearing his seventieth birthday, Fowler continued to preach at rural Eddystone because of the shortage. An 1888 Executive Board meeting concluded that the paucity of ministers made any stationing plan impractical. Yet the problem of replacement, to that point, had not been a problem of recruitment. The supply of ministers improved markedly in the late-1870s, with no less than three ordinations in 1878-1879 and no less than seven ordinations between 1884 and 1887. The 1886 Conference roll held 13 licentiates. A decline in recruitment dates only from the late 1880s, when almost a decade passed before the next ordination, in 1895. After initially reporting no licentiate on the ordination track, the 1898 Committee on Ministry received two requests for ordinations. Furthermore, at least five ministers joined other denominations. One must look further afield to explain the depth of the shortage before 1890.

Although Canadians were involved with the Christian Biblical Institute from its foundation, the school actually posed a threat to the Ontario Conference's well-being. The school was much more conveniently located for Ontarians than either Meadville or Antioch. It was, furthermore, entirely under ACC control. The school's antecedent was also well-known; Canadians had attended Starkey Seminary during the 1850s. It had not been uncommon for ministers to flow back and forth between the two countries.
Now, however, student ministers often studied at CBI but then remained in the United States. Canadian attendance picked up in the 1880s. C.L. Percy was valedictorian in 1883, after which he took a pastorate in Rhode Island. He returned to Canada in 1885, where his graduate status expedited ordination. His return to Canada made him, as far as Fowler knew, the only Canadian to attend CBI to do so. Fowler most likely had in mind Hainer's sons. By the mid-1880s, three of them had accepted pastorates in the United States: Levi Wesley Hainer in Petersburgh, New York; Edwin A. Hainer in Brooklyn, New York; Charles D. Hainer in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. E.A. Hainer had been observed at CBI by Summerbell, who recommended him to the Brooklyn church. L.W. and E.A. Hainer particularly enjoyed successful ministries. A fourth son, John Albert Hainer, was preaching in the United States by 1888. The patriarch avoided migration only because an odd turn of events prevented it. The flow of students to CBI continued into the 1890s, but several returned to Canada. By way of contrast, the only known instance of a CBI student taking an Ontario pastorate was L.L. Emes, at Orono in 1883.

The fact that young Canadian preachers were siphoned south is easier to document than their motivation for doing so. The young ministers merely reflected the dramatic rise between 1870 and 1900 in the percentage of young people who attended higher education. On the other hand, impatience with licentiates who lacked even basic grammar skills prompted a call in 1891 for the reactivation of the Educational Board and the creation of courses in English and History.
Dales accepted the next Conference's challenge to form a correspondence school, operating from Kingston. The Ontario school seems, however, to have been lay-oriented, designed to train church leaders and Sunday School teachers, so preachers in search of theological education had to continue to follow the example of those such as M.J. Honsberger, who had gone to CBI in 1889 and stayed. He was not, however, lured by an urban pulpit, but always sought and held a rural charge. He was gifted, rising to become President both of the Rockingham Christian Conference and of the New Hampshire Benevolent Society, and resuscitating at least one near-defunct American church. The net effect was simple. At the time when the Ontario Conference needed most to replenish its supply of ministers, it was hobbled as its brightest and most talented recruits left, gutting its nascent leadership.

Relations with the Disciples of Christ

Issues of resistance to centralization and lack of resources were intricately intertwined with the question of internal denominational unity and cross-denominational union. The pace of linearization beyond the congregational level threatened the integrity of the Ontario Conference. Those displeased with the increasing lines of authority asserted by the Conference reacted by withdrawing from the Conference, forming local unions with the Disciples of Christ, or at least exploring the idea of union. Official union discussions between the Ontario Conference and the Disciples appear to have been used by opponents of connectionalism as a means to annul the Executive Board's centralized authority.
The Connexion suffered minor losses to the Disciples during the 1850s. Union discussions, opened between the two groups in Pennsylvania in 1860, proved fruitless. The problem became acute in Canada around the same time, when the King Christian Church was infiltrated by a Disciple from Ohio. The members then apparently asked for help from Charles Lister, a Disciples preacher, who went about reorganizing it along Campbellite lines. A member of the King Church was thus ordained, but when he attended the 1860 Christian Conference, it refused to recognize the action. This controversy was not merely coincident with the broader Conference power-struggle, but linked to it. It was alleged that many at King were distressed by the Conference's claim of authority to appoint congregational officers. As schism loomed, congregants chose to remain with the Conference, preferring existing unity to experiment with a restoration of allegedly primitive practice.

Just a few months after this failed hostile takeover bid, the Oshawa Christian Church willingly entered union negotiations with its local Disciples counterpart. Again, the timing of the union initiative seems suspicious. Talks began 9 January 1862, when the two groups met in the Christian Church. The centralizers seemed in the ascendancy at Conference, and one of their leaders, G.W. Colston, was a member at Oshawa. Yet, only a few months later, Colston lost an internal congregational struggle. Such a reverse was not likely without antecedent; it is distinctly possible that the union gambit was inspired by foes of centralization.

Those at the joint meeting believed that they were
setting an example for the two denominations, with a long-range goal to unite the two provincial bodies under the simple name "Christian." Such a move would arrest the tendency to greater authority outside the congregation, preserving the essentially congregationalist model which had evolved in the Christian Conference. Note was taken of potential fiscal benefits, but the primary ground for union was ideological: the unity of all believers. Points of contention included the frequency of communion, the meaning of baptism, and the proper name for the church. At a second meeting a week later, Joseph Ash, who had switched denominations 25 years earlier, was reined in by the chair for being argumentative. Congregational officers, property matters and a renewed discussion of communion occupied attendees at a third meeting. Weekly communion was the norm, without repercussions for members not partaking. Despite a Christian-inspired motion to unite, nothing came of this.

The frequency of communion seems to have been controversial in the United States in 1870 as well. Both Nicholas Summerbell and his son J.J. attacked weekly communion, championing monthly or quarterly observance. Their editorializing probably reflects a desire to stem a resurgence of interaction with the Disciples. Colston had withdrawn in 1864 and was reported in 1867 as still preaching in the Oshawa area, as a Disciple. In the early 1870s there were sporadic, localized union discussions between Disciples and American conferences: in 1872 a coloured Disciples Conference broached the subject of union with the Christians' North Carolina Colored Conference; official talks occurred
two years later in New York, but no plan of union eventuated;²⁸ Christians and Disciples in Pennsylvania united in 1878, leaving only one Christian Church in continuing fellowship with the ACC.²⁸

Against this backdrop the Christian Church and Disciples at Oshawa renewed union negotiations after almost a decade's lapse. Both churches were of respectable size. The 1869 "assessor's report," listed 2596 Oshawa residents, 198 of whom were Disciples and 80 of whom belonged to the Christian Church.²⁸ The primitivist denominations together held the allegiance of an impressive 10.7% of townsfolk. Yet both had experienced difficulties of late which rendered union more pressing. The Disciples' revived interest appears to have been both prompted, and complicated, by a schism within their Oshawa group. Notices appeared in the Vindicator in 1870 for both "the New Disciples' Church Sunday School"²⁹ and "the Old Disciples Sabbath School."³⁰ That November, one Disciples faction voted to join the Regular Baptists.³¹ The other continued, but there is no hint of this body's size. The Christians, for their part, had experienced another wave of denominational centralization in the interim, with the adoption of the Conference Constitution. The pastor of the Christian Church had resigned and left Oshawa.³² They expected that their new pastor would be arranged at Conference.³² The subsequent unfolding of events suggests some members sought local union with the Disciples as a means to undermine the Christian Conference's authority.

Discussions were underway by August 1871.³³ The next month the Christian Church appointed an official negotiating
committee, and in early October voted unanimously for union. Joint Sunday services began 15 October 1871. In November, Disciples attended the Christians' Fellowship Meeting for the first time. The merger seemed to work, although some details had not been agreed beforehand. The Connexion hymnbook was used, but some Disciples wanted their own "Cincinnatta[sic] Hymn Book" and to avoid using musical instruments during worship. These difficulties were resolved at a meeting in March 1872. By the end of the stormy meeting, they had decided to retain the Connexion hymnbook, as well as to use the melodeon in worship. A degree of peace was attained, as indicated by the appointment of a Disciple and a Christian as a committee to find an architect for a new building.

The union suddenly collapsed in October 1872, a year after it began, when the Christians demanded unspecified changes to the Basis of Union and the Disciples refused. The Basis did not refer to baptism, normally a crucial issue to Disciples, but did demand the weekly celebration of communion and a weekly collection for benevolent and administrative purposes. In light of the tentative agreement reached a decade earlier to provide the Lord's Supper weekly, without demanding participation, there would have been no reason for this provision to trigger the union's collapse.

It is more likely that the church property was the bone of contention. A letter appearing in the Reformer complained that only a minority of the Christians desired union, contradicting the official claim of unanimity. The writer further alleged that the union was a Disciples plot to wrest
control of the property from Conference.\textsuperscript{303} The Basis of Union's wording lends some credence to the charge: "In the business affair\textsuperscript{sic} and discipline\textsuperscript{sic} of the church we recognize no higher tribunal than the church itself."\textsuperscript{304} Further reflection suggests that the offending party was not the Disciples, but dissident Connexion members. For a decade the Canada Conference had been extending control over member churches' affairs. The controversy surrounding this provision in the Basis hints that a significant portion of the Oshawa church resented the encroachment. If the union were motivated by concern that power was being centralized, the character of the resistance clearly reveals that it was not rooted in an 'aleatory' ecclesiology. The fixity of arrangements for negotiating, including appointing an official committee and drawing up an agreement, stand in stark contrast to the indeterminate "flowing together" of churches in the 1830s in Ohio and Kentucky. This rigidity and the curtness with which the plan terminated betoken congregationalist concern for autonomy, rather than an 'aleatory' commitment to deliberate randomization in order to destroy all ecclesiastical form.

With the exception of an 1875 suggestion to renew discussions with the Oshawa Disciples,\textsuperscript{307} the matter of union, local or broader, was quiet for more than a decade. The two bodies next tangled in 1884, when R. Ainsworth was incensed by the dedication sermon for the new Mount Carmel chapel preached by J.W. Weeks, an American.\textsuperscript{308} Ainsworth had a Disciples background,\textsuperscript{309} but was ordained by the Canada Christian Conference around 1880,\textsuperscript{310} and began preaching for the eastern District in early 1882.\textsuperscript{311} Once again property entered the
picture, as the disgruntled Ainsworth urged locals not to deed the new chapel to the Conference. A Disciples preacher named Sherman joined Ainsworth and the two reorganized the fellowship. Ainsworth soon moved on and the majority reverted to the Ontario Conference. The property was still contested in 1885, but a Christian preacher maintained services through 1886, and when the Disciples finally gave up in 1887, the Conference secured title.

The question of union between Disciples and Christians was not derailed by the Mount Carmel incident. Perhaps emboldened by the reputed loss to the Canada Conference, the Oshawa Disciples in 1884 asked for new union discussions. No talks took place, but local Baptists and Disciples were invited to the Christian chapel for a joint week of prayer in January 1885. Herald subscribers would have known of union talks in Ohio in 1886. The Disciples approached again in 1887, on condition that weekly communion be observed, without dismissing the congregation before communion. The Christians refused to compromise, allowing "non-professors" to leave, but the Disciples nevertheless opted for "union in church worship." Arrangements lasted for close to four years, but broke down when some Disciples asked Shoults to preach on a certain, but unspecified topic. He offended them; they absented themselves. This time, denominational loyalty seems to have thwarted the unionists as concern rose over increased interaction. The Aurora Disciples church had hired W.H. Chidley to preach ad interim. When J.J. Summerbell resumed editorializing against the Disciples, a prominent unnamed Ontarian Christian demanded to know why the committee
appointed by the ACC had not yet produced a pamphlet it had been mandated to prepare, outlining the groups' differences.\textsuperscript{322}

Momentum for union, curiously, endured. The Disciples group at Cotswold and the Jerusalem Christian Church united in 1892 and applied to join the Ontario Conference in 1893.\textsuperscript{323} Motivation was two-fold: hope of broader denominational union,\textsuperscript{324} and economic necessity. Even the combined membership of the new congregation, along with the contribution of the Christians' nearby Harriston church, was not enough to support the minister.\textsuperscript{325}

Two Disciples preachers appeared at the 1895 Ontario Christian Conference and helped draft a joint union declaration.\textsuperscript{326} It is so detailed that its substance was likely prepared beforehand.\textsuperscript{327} The first of five points noted their common faith "in Jesus...the Son of the Living God" and their disavowal of creeds, membership being by statement of faith. Not all 'Christians,' the second allowed, demanded baptism as a condition of membership.\textsuperscript{328} The necessity of unity and an abhorrence of separate denominations comprised the third. The next point averred: "we are now one in congregational church polity," with minor, surmountable differences. The last point was practical, urging the need to foster closer relations: pulpit exchanges; an annual sermon on union; fraternal delegates; recommending isolated members join the other denomination.

Dissenting voices were raised, despite the veteran Garbutt's presence on the committee. The Church Extension report, penned by William Percy and Daniel Prosser, conceded
that union was in the air, but insisted that the Connexion's mission to overthrow creeds had not been accomplished. They were "not at liberty to disband;" the proposed union seemed to them to do just that. In any event, Hainer and Chidley, the fraternal delegates failed to attend the 1896 Disciples Ontario Cooperation and, although reappointed, did not pursue the matter further. The episode confirms the Ontario Conference's drift back to congregationalism. Connectionalism's high tide had passed, never to return.

Conclusion
The Christian Conference incorporated much later than most of Ontario's religious groups, a delay not occasioned by incompetence or government resistance but by an internal clash over what degree of organization to accept. With some reservations, the Conference embraced rigid, linear government. The struggles erupting in this era did not pit the 'aleatory' paradigm's proponents against those of overt order but congregationalists against connectionalists. The Conference began the era essentially congregational. The 1877 Act of Incorporation made it, in theory, mildly connectional. By 1898, the group had evolved a fairly diffuse connectionalism.

The first half of the period witnessed three centralizing initiatives within the Conference, attempts to extend control over procedure, preachers and property. Controlling procedure required the elaboration of parliamentary protocol to regulate meetings and prepare consistent records. The 1855 to 1877 Conference sessions descended into altercations as the lines
of Conference identity and authority were more clearly delineated. A signal change was the establishment of a standing agenda. The President's authority was also extended, aggregating executive power to one individual. This early linearization was in pace with American developments. The General Convention, attempting to enforce a degree of uniformity, had become sufficiently rigid and linear that differences over the matter of slave ownership, arising at its 1850 and 1854 meetings, led to a split. The lateness of this division compared with other denominations, however, indicates the relative fluidity of the American General Convention's organization as the era opened.

Preachers increasingly came under Conference control, as it replaced the congregation as locus of ministerial accreditation. Again, the office of President became the centre of power in this increasingly linear system. By 1861, churches could not hire a preacher if the President disapproved. Formless, open free-for-alls gave way to closed door trials as the means of discipline. Such changes, and a growing professional attitude toward ministry, exacerbated the chronic shortage of preachers. Leaders responded both by instituting more regular and linear forms of raising money to pay them and by rigidifying their ecclesiology, adopting a District scheme to rationalize the use of preachers, a program which proved somewhat effective. The 1867 Constitution gave the Canada Conference what was likely the greatest degree of overt order within the ACC. The measure inspired some individuals and churches to withdraw temporarily, but they did so in order to defend congregationalism, not the looser
'aleatory' paradigm.

There was never a question in this era that the Conference was able to hold property; the motive for the 1877 Incorporation was absolute control. Garbutt complained of congregationalism, proposing a form of connectionalism in its place. All property was, by virtue of the 1877 Act, vested in the Conference. The process forced greater linearization within congregations; Trustees were required to keep coherent records. Yet through the 1880s and 1890s there continued to be a notable gap between theory and practice, most clearly indicated by lagging compliance in the registration of deeds. The Incorporation backfired, as poorer churches traded title of encumbered properties for financial aid.

Ambivalence toward organization surfaced, as members wanted its benefits, but without compromising local autonomy. Acrimony characterized meetings from within congregations through to the Conference throughout the era. Resistance to centralization stiffened, ironically bringing yet more linearity within churches. Membership lists were culled regularly in order to minimize the poll tax due, but at the cost of replacing affective bonds with firm lists drawn up with an eye to fiscal reality. This trimming and the deliberate nonpayment of tax eroded the Conference's income base. Scarce cash, coupled with a paucity of preachers, derailed attempts to maintain an itinerant overseer. These failures forced a retreat from the Incorporation's implicit linearity. Power was further diffused by having the Executive Board as a whole function as a collective overseer.

Interaction with the Disciples of Christ brings to the
fore tensions within the Conference regarding overt order. Incidents at King and Oshawa in the early 1860s coincided with the start of a power struggle within the Conference. Opponents of incipient connectionalism found the Disciples' ultracongregationalism attractive. At Oshawa, there were fiscal considerations, but talk of unity was driven more by ideology, the desire to set an example for the union of the two denominations. A second round, in the 1870s, resulted in a short-lived union. The timing was again more than coincidental. The Conference had endured another round of centralization and, indeed, property matters both fueled and undid the union. Congregationalists used union to undermine Conference authority, while union opponents successfully argued against alienating the property from the conference. One must note that neither party adhered to the 'aleatory' paradigm. A third attempt at union in Oshawa in the late 1880s endured almost four years. In the interim, lines of denominational loyalty had hardened, undermining attempts to preserve the merger. The last union incident, official Conference-level talks in 1895, is significant, despite nothing materializing, because of the Ontario Conference's self-description as governmentally congregational.

The right to hold property and appoint local trustees clearly placed the Conference beyond ultracongregationalism, but it is not essential to assess the precise degree to which connectionalism had receded since 1877. It is crucial, from this thesis’ perspective, to recognize that the 'aleatory' paradigm was not only gone, but forgotten. Linearity was the order of the day, only the extent remaining controversial.
REFERENCES


2 16 Victoria Chapter CCXVII (1852), Statutes of the Province of Canada passed in the sixteenth year of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and the First Session of the Fourth Parliament of Canada (Quebec, Stewart Derbishire and George Desbarats 1853), p.1035

3 20 Victoria Chapter CCXX {proper full title of the Statutes (1857)}, p.895. A Free Baptist Missionary Society had also been recognized a dozen years before the Christian Conference incorporation [28 Victoria Chapter LVI {proper full title of the Statutes (1865)}, p.139].

4 27 Victoria Chapter LXV {proper full title of the Statutes (1863)}, p.162

5 9 Victoria Chapter XCVI Provincial Statutes of Canada. Volume [II]. (Montreal, Stewart Derbishire and George Desbarats 1846), p.1151; 27 Victoria Chapter XXXIV {proper full title of the Statutes (1863)}, p.94

6 26 Victoria Chapter XXX {proper full title of the Statutes (1863)}, p.82

7 The Canada Christian Conference Minutes July 8th 1844-66 (Manuscript minute book, hereafter cited as Canada Minutes and the specific Conference session by year), 1852, p.41; cf. 1853, p.49


9 Canada Minutes 1849, p.19. Given the small size of the body, this form was not for internal use, but to impress those outside the Conference. The particular title was a minor issue, but the shift from congregations issuing certificates to the Conference doing so reflects a degree of centralization.

10 Oshawa Christian Church, Minutes of Fellowship Meetings, 1831-1868, manuscript minute book in the United Church Archives (hereafter cited as "Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831"), p.34: "Rev. J.R. Hoag" joined the church.

11 Canada Minutes 1853, p.47

12 e.g. Christian Palladium (hereafter cited as CP) XXX,3 17 January 1861, pp.19,c.3, p.23,c.1; XXX,19 9 May 1861, p.146,c.3. Americans generally styled themselves "Rev."
earlier than Canadians.

13 Canada Minutes 1849, p.26. The motion was defeated eight to six, but some questioned the propriety of allowing the three delegates from Pickering to vote. Had they been excluded, the vote would have been six to five in favour of expulsion.

14 Canada Minutes 1849, pp.29[b]-30

15 The 1848 minutes, by way of contrast, took up only the first eight pages and the 1851 minutes occupied a mere three pages [Canada Minutes 1848, pp.36-38] of the foolscap sized manuscript minute book.

16 Canada Minutes 1852, p.42

17 Canada Minutes 1853, p.43

18 Canada Minutes 1854, p.51

19 Canada Minutes 1857, p.89: J.S. Thompson and William Hilborn

20 Canada Minutes 1857, pp.82-83

21 Canada Minutes 1858, p.92

22 William Summer Harwood, Life and letters of Austin Craig (New York, Fleming H. Revell 1908), p.93

23 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.93. The reference to "peculiar doctrine" most likely refers to the on-going threat of Adventist ideas to the Connexion's stability.


25 Brown, Elijah Shaw, p.296

26 Brown, Elijah Shaw, p.297

27 The graphic gesture made such an impression that half a century later it was related by five individuals as being their most impressive memory of the Convention (cf. Christian Annual 1899, pp.13,19,20,21,22).


29 Christian Sun (hereafter cited as CS) VIII,2 12 February 1851, p.2,c.3
30 Morrill, *History*, p.189

31 Morrill, *History*, p.190

32 See Morrison's comments in Chapter Four, p.234.

33 The Antioch fiasco is discussed in detail in Chapter 7, in the course of detailing relations with the Unitarians, pp.418ff.

34 Morrill, *History*, p.191

35 Durward T. Stokes and William T. Scott, *A History of the Christian Church in the South* ([Elon College, North Carolina] [1973]), p.84. For Wellon's insistence that godliness and slave-holding were not incompatible, cf. *CS* VIII,3 26 February 1851, p.2,c.3. He went as far as predicting that if Northerners maintained an open mind on the question, "our denomination" [emphasis in original] would not split over the issue.

36 Harwood, *Austin Craig*, p.147

37 David Edmund Millard, *Memoir of Rev. David Millard: with Selections of his writings*. By his son, David E. Millard (Dayton, Ohio, Christian Publishing Association 1874), p.254. It did not help the situation that leaders whom Wellons admired and respected, such as Elijah Shaw, Oliver Barr and Joseph Badger, had died by 1854, while Millard, for whom he had only contempt, was still alive and stirring the antislavery pot.

38 Stokes and Scott, *Christian Church in the South*, p.79. The two were the Eastern Virginia Conference and the North Carolina and Virginia Conference.

39 Stokes and Scott, *Christian Church in the South*, p.84

40 Winfred Ernest Garrison and Alfred T. DeGroot *The Disciples of Christ: A History* (St. Louis, Missouri, Bethany Press 1958), p.19; Alfred T. DeGroot, *Disciple Thought: A History* (Fort Worth, Texas, Texas Christian University 1965), pp.159ff. Stokes and Scott recognize that the relatively late date for the split over slavery within the Christian Connexion was a result of what they perceived to be the movement's unusually loose organizational style (Stokes and Scott, *Christian Church in the South*, p.84).

41 Stokes and Scott, *Christian Church in the South*, p.84. The Southern Conferences were urged to send delegates in order to promote overall unity (*CS* XI,14 26 April 1854, p.2,c.2; cf. XI,18 24 May 1854, p.2,c.1; XI,26 19 July 1854, p.2,c.5). That Wellons was the sole Southern delegate does not necessarily indicate antipathy to the North, but may reflect other difficulties such as ill health of potential delegates.
or simple poverty. The Southern Christian Convention chose quadrennial meetings because too many of its ministers had to pay their own way and were too poor to do so more frequently (CS XV, 5 14 May 1858, p.2, c.5).

42 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.88
43 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.85
44 CS XXIV, 5 3 March 1871, p.2, c.2
45 CS XV, 8 4 June 1858, p.2, c.1
46 CS XV, 3 30 April 1858, p.2, cc.2-3; XV, 5 14 May 1858, p.3, cc.4-5
47 CS XV, 3 30 April 1858, p.2, cc.5-6. This article appeared fairly late in a series which Bashaw wrote for the Sun.
48 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.92
49 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.93
50 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.260
51 Canada Minutes 1855, p.63. The following year the Clerk requested reports from churches to include certain specific information (Canada Minutes 1856, p.78).
52 Canada Minutes 1853, pp.43, 45, Canada Minutes 1855, p.66
53 Canada Minutes 1855, p.60. The resolution read: "That Conference Should be opened by Singing and Prayer - 1st appointments of Officers and the Annual Address 2nd the reading of the Minutes of the last Conference 3rd reports of Churches 4th Standing of Members 5 invitation to visiting brethren 6 reception of Members 7 reports of Special Conference, 8. reports of committees 9 deferred business. 10, New business, 11. Appointments of Missionary Officers and hearing their report."
54 Canada Minutes 1848, pp.4-5
55 Canada Minutes 1855, pp.60, 66
56 Canada Minutes 1857, p.83. This session also toned down the 1856 Peace committee report, by substituting "ought not to be countenanced" for "cannot voluntary[sic] be countenanced" [cf. Canada Minutes 1856, p.77.
57 Newmarket Era 26 June 1857, p.1, c.4. This linearization did not pass unprotested, S.M. Fowler countering that visitors had still been allowed to vote at the 1856 Michigan Conference. The invitation for "visiting brethren" merely to participate in Conference continued for some time [e.g. Canada
Minutes 1859, p.101].

58 Canada Minutes 1857, pp.84-85

59 Canada Minutes 1859, pp.101-102
"1st Calling the roll of churches by the clerk, when the ministers and delegates of each church[sic] shall respond, and take their seats.
2º Appointment of officers.
3.º Invitation to visitors.
4th Appointment of committees
5th Reading of minutes.
6th Annual Address to be delivered when thought best by the Conference.
7th Reception of members.
8th Report of special Conferences.
9th Report of committees.
10th Deferred business.
11th New business.
12th Miscellaneous business."

60 CS XV,30 5 November 1858, p.2,c.2

61 Morrill, History, p.220

62 CP XXIX,21 13 October 1860, p.229b,c.1

63 Canada Minutes 1860, pp.114-115. The motion allegedly passed with only one negative vote.

64 Canada Minutes 1860, p.122

65 Canada Minutes 1861, p.125

66 Canada Minutes 1861, p.126

67 Canada Minutes 1861, pp.136,139,140

68 Canada Minutes 1862, pp.146,149

69 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.80, 4 October 1862

70 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.81, 1 November 1862: punctuation sic

71 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.82, 6 December 1862

72 Canada Minutes 1863, p.156; 1864, p.172. A marginalium later added to the 1844 list of preachers claims Colston was "disowned" [Canada Minutes 1844, p.1]. He joined the Disciples and moved to the United States, where he died while on a preaching tour in 1875 [Christian Worker II,6 April 1883, p.1,c.4].

73 Canada Minutes 1863, p.161
74 Canada Minutes 1863, p.163
75 Canada Minutes 1864, p.165
76 Canada Minutes 1864, p.172
77 Newmarket Christian Church, Quarterly Conference Minutes: 1852-1871, p.45

78 Canada Minutes 1865, p.187
"1. Calling the Roll,
2. Appointment of Officers,
3. Reading the Minutes of last Session
4. Reports of special Conferences.
5. Reception of Members.
6. Invitation to Visitors.
7. Reports of standing Committees.
8. Appointment of Committees.
9. Reception of Communications
10. Annual Address.
12. Reports of Special Committees.
14. Appointment of the time & place for the next Session of Conference
15. Adjournment."

79 Canada Minutes 1851, p.37
80 Canada Minutes 1854, p.55
81 Canada Minutes 1854, p.57
82 Canada Minutes 1856, p.79

83 CP XXIX,10 12 May 1860, p.151,c.2. The 1860 Pennsylvania Conference appears to have been the first to adopt a strict rule automatically dropping the name of any minister not attending for three consecutive years [CP XXIX,21 13 October 1860, p.223b,c.1]. It is not clear when a similar requirement was adopted in Ontario.

84 Canada Minutes 1861, p.139. The President headed a committee of five which deliberated on ordinations and the formation of new congregations [Canada Minutes 1861, p.136]. Opponents softened the impact of this initiative somewhat by defeating that portion of the report which would have made any failing to comply the subject of Conference discipline [Canada Minutes 1861, p.140].

85 CP XXX,40 3 October 1861, p.305,c.3
86 CP XXX,40 3 October 1861, p.305,cc.3-4: emphasis is original
Both groups were fiscal voluntarists, that is, both believed that the entire support for their ministers should come from the voluntary donations of members or other sympathizers [cf. C. Mark Steinacher, "The Homogenization of Methodism: an examination of the convergence of aspects of polity and revivalist practice in Upper Canadian Methodism, 1824-1884" (unpublished Master of Theology thesis, Emmanuel College, Toronto School of Theology, 1992), p.79].

A similar shortage of ministers in the New York Northern Conference was blamed on death, emigration and inadequate support. Only the latter seems to have been a significant problem for the Canadians. Few ministers died in this era and a steady supply of new preachers entered the ministry. In this period, there also seems to have still been fairly even exchange of preachers between the United States and Canada. Only latter seems to have been important here [CP XXIX,23 10 November 1860, p.258b,c.2]. Members migrated to New York [Canada Minutes 1856, p.80; CP XXX,46 14 November 1861, p.356,cc.2-3], others joined the growing flood in the American Midwest, particularly to Michigan [CP XXIX,26 22 December 1860, p.407,c.1 XXX,24 13 June 1861, p.185,c.5; XXX,26 27 June 1861, p.207,c.3; Millard, Memoir of David Millard, p.264; Canada Christian Magazine (hereafter cited as CCM) 3,4 September 1868, p.59,c.2], but also to Ohio [Canada Minutes 1856,p.75, Kansas [Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, pp.171,173] and unspecified "foreign parts" [Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, pp.29,177]. Members who migrated to northern Ontario in the 1870s searching for cheap land sometimes participated in ad hoc union congregations, such as one on Manitoulin Island consisting of Baptists, Disciples and "Christians" [Reuben Butchart, The Disciples of Christ in Canada since 1830 (Toronto, Canadian Headquarters' Publications, Churches of Christ (Disciples) 1949), p.468]. Some merely moved to towns in southern Ontario, such as Seaforth, with no nearby "Christian" congregation [Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.309]. The general westward flow of population tended to favour newer congregations, such as the Wallace Township Church near Drayton, as members abandoned older congregations such as Mariposa and King [CP XXX,13 28 March 1861, p.98,c.3].

The situation had changed so dramatically by 1850 that Taylor's biographer felt it necessary to explain that preachers forty years earlier had been peripatetic [Edward...
Edmunds, Memoir of Elder Benjamin Taylor, A Minister of the Christian Connexion, and Pastor of the Bethel Church in Providence, R.I. By E. Edmunds, Pastor of the Christian Church, Summer St., Boston (Boston, George W. White 1850), p.20]. By 1852, the Oshawa folk had firm arrangements with Hoag and Henry to insure that at least one of them was present for worship every Sunday morning [Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.36]. The Newmarket congregation tried to ensure weekly preaching through this period, but had difficulty maintaining arrangements [Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, pp.40,60,151].

94 It is difficult to determine precisely why so many conferences, including the Canada Conference, were chronically short of ministers. A reasonable number of preachers joined the Canada Conference in this era, as detailed below, and losses to death, retirement and ejection do not seem to have particularly high. The poor quality of records precludes definitive tracing of those who transferred in and out of the Conference during this period. Unlike the Methodists, the Canada Conference did not note when a preacher "located," that is took secular employment and ceased to itinerate freely. The detailed examination of the problem which follows suggests the correctness of the contemporary perception that inadequate and irregular compensation was an important factor in the chronic undersupply of Christian Connexion ministers.

Between 1848 and 1877, at least twenty-one licentiates were accepted (Lorenzo Bradly, Francis Crowder, Elisha Alger, William Henry, & Nathaniel C. Earl [Canada Minutes 1853, p.46]; Lucius C. Thomas [Canada Minutes 1853, p.47]; Joseph Godwin [Canada Minutes 1854, p.56]; Jacob Johnson [Canada Minutes 1855, p.69]; David VanNorman [Canada Minutes 1856, p.77]; William Hilborn [Canada Minutes 1857, p.89]; William Abbs and James Churchill [Canada Minutes 1859, p.102]; Jesse Green [Canada Minutes 1862, p.147] Robert Wright [Canada Minutes 1862, p.150]; J.H. Shoults, W.S. Clark, Wm. "Pearcy"[sic] and J. Wright [Diary of John H. Shoults, #5, p.3, 27 August 1872; Newmarket Era 23 September 1870, p.2,c.2; Typescript copy of 1870 minutes (source not cited by transcriber), p.3; Newmarket Quarterly Meetings 1852, p.72]; Solomon Prosser [The 48th Annual Conference of the Christian Church in Ontario (hereafter all Ontario Conference Minutes published after the close of the 1866 manuscript minute book will be cited as Ontario Minutes and the specific Conference session by year), 1873, p.2]; Alonzo Hainer [Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.195]; T. Dunn [Ontario Minutes 1876, p.13]). Eleven of these went on to be ordained (L.C. Thomas [Canada Minutes 1854, p.54], N.C. Earl [Canada Minutes 1855, p.69], James Churchill [Canada Minutes 1860, p.121]; R. Wright [Canada Minutes 1863, p.162]; S. Prosser [Shoults' diary, #9 19 September 1874]; D. Vannorman [Canada Minutes 1863, p.156]; E.A. Hainer [Ontario Minutes 1876, p.12]. Three others were ordained, but the precise dates are not known: J.H. Shoults; J. Johnson; William Percy). Another two were ordained, having been accepted as licentiates before 1848 (Jonathan L. Russ
No less than five ministers were ejected from the Conferences: F. Crowder and William Meredith [Canada Minutes 1855, p.67]; J. Lyburris [Canada Minutes 1858, p.97]; J. Churchill and J. Green [Canada Minutes 1865, p.184].

The deaths of four ministers were mentioned in the Minutes: J.W. Sharrard [Canada Minutes 1862, p.147]; Jacob Johnston [Ontario Minutes 1875, p.17]; Jesse Tatton died in 1875 [Ontario Minutes 1876, pp.5-6]. A later sermon noted the death of John Prosser on 9 February 1852 [Ontario Minutes 1894, p.88]. Thomas Henry apparently retired in 1859 [Polly Ann Henry, Memoir of Rev. Thomas Henry Christian Minister, York Pioneer, and Soldier of 1812 (Toronto, Hill and Weir 1880), p.121] and John Earl in 1862 [Canada Minutes 1862, p.147]. The Conference Minutes rarely contained obituaries, which were usually published in newspapers instead. The full run of newspapers for this period is not readily available.

95 Canada Minutes 1849, p.31
96 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.61
97 Christian Annual 1916, p.54
98 Edmunds, Taylor, pp.32,54,62; CP XVI,42 12 February 1848, p.671,c.2
99 CP XXIX,23 10 November 1860, p.260b,c.2
100 Canada Minutes 1866, p.204
102 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, pp.35,36. Personal interest may have swayed Henry’s attitude toward a “tax;” the debt was owed to him.
103 Newmarket Christian Church, Church Minute Book 1856-1895, p.2
104 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.45
105 CP XXIX,10 12 May 1860, p.152,cc.1-2,p.153,c.2
106 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.98
107 Oshawa Christian Church, Fellowship Meeting Book 1868, pp.82,83,96. This system was still in place in 1883 [Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.153]. The Newmarket congregation also unanimously adopted the practice in 1878 [Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.259].
108 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, pp.78,109; Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.128

109 CS XXVI,35 29 August 1873, p.2,c.1. Other Southerners adopted them monthly in 1874 [CS XXVII,5 30 January 1874, p.2,c.4].

110 CS XXVII,6 6 February 1874, p.2,c.5

111 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, pp.57,108-109,134. In 1880, envelopes were used specifically to raise the pastor's salary. An 1890 motion suggested supplanted the subscription system altogether with regular envelope giving [Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.208].

112 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.202,222,238. An offering was added to the evening service. In 1878, only 10.6% ($28.21 of $265.94) of the offering had been given via envelopes [p.257]. Their use was apparently abandoned until 1883, when envelopes were reinstated for weekly collections [p.311].

113 Ian M. Drummond, *Progress without Planning: the Economic History of Ontario from Confederation to the Second World War* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press 1987), pp.103,105,109,311; cf. Minutes Ontario Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1877, pp.41-42. Episcopal Methodist preachers also suffered somewhat during this recession. The average preacher in the denomination's Niagara District received 97.5% of his pay-claim in 1873, but this figure plunged to 82.7 in 1877. For a discussion of this, cf. Steinacher, "Homogenization," p.86ff.

114 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.237

115 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.258

116 CP XXIX,10 12 May 1860, p.153,c.1

117 Christian Pulpit 1869, pp.51-52


119 Christian Pulpit 1869, p.46

120 Typescript copy of 1869 minutes, cited as Herald of Gospel Liberty (hereafter cited as HGL) 9 October 1869. The Oshawa congregation had long given financial support to Christian Connexion schools in the United States. After the Christian Biblical Institute was founded, they leant it particular support [Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, pp.23,24,50,111,115,145].

122 *Christian Pulpit* 1869, p.51

123 *CP* XXX,10 7 March 1861, p.77, cc.2-3

124 *Canada Minutes* 1851, p.36

125 *Canada Minutes* 1852, p.42. That the society was actually formed is confirmed in the *Christian Vanguard* 11 June 1921, p.3. A Ladies' Missionary Society formed in 1866, with the goal of raising enough cash to support one minister in a Home Mission field [*Canada Minutes* 1866, p.209].

126 Newmarket Quarterly Meetings 1852, pp.9-11. In the District centred on Newmarket, for example, there were only two meetings held between 25 June 1853 and 23 October 1859 (in May 1855 and November 1857), and three meetings in October and November 1859 had to be adjourned for lack of a quorum. The May 1855 meeting, called to discuss the appropriate means to support preachers, descended into an argument about church government in general and adjourned without setting a date for the next meeting. There were no meetings from November 1859 until February 1862, when a smaller number of churches, still centred on Newmarket, reformed as District 4 [*Newmarket Quarterly Meetings* 1852, p.13].

127 *Canada Minutes* 1861, p.138. Again, this was generally in harmony with steps taken by their American coreligionists. The Pennsylvania Conference, for example, also divided into districts and circuits in 1860 [*CP* XXIX,21 13 October 1860, p.223b,c.1].

128 *CP* XXX,40 3 October 1861, p.305,c.5

129 Newmarket Quarterly Meetings 1852, p.13

130 Newmarket Quarterly Meetings 1852, p.15

131 Newmarket Quarterly Meetings 1852, pp.28ff.

132 Newmarket Quarterly Meetings 1852, p.30

133 Newmarket Quarterly Meetings 1852, p.18

134 Newmarket Quarterly Meetings 1852, attached to p.33

135 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, attached to p.43. This printed schedule includes the anomaly of an Episcopal Methodist preacher holding a regular appointment in a Christian Connexion church. This irregularity was noted in the 1866 Conference minutes [*Canada Minutes* 1866, p.202]. The unusual relationship between Episcopal Methodists and Christians in Newmarket is far beyond the scope of this
thesis. It may well merit future treatment in a scholarly paper.

136 Christian Pulpit, February 1870, p.79
137 CS XVII, 43 24 October 1873, p.2, c.1
138 Canada Minutes, 1866, p.194
139 Canada Minutes, 1866, p.205: only 11 of 23 had taken the collection.
140 Canada Minutes, 1866, p.202. Again note that the struggle is between congregationalism and connectionalism (i.e. "Itinerancy," an apparent reference to the Methodists).

141 Oshawa Fellowship Book, 1868, p.11, where a special meeting in August is mentioned. Cf. CCM 3, 1 June 1868, p.12, c.2: Drayton noted adopting "the Church Constitution as revised June 22nd 1867." Description and analysis of changes to conference policy are difficult because the 1867 and 1868 Conference Minutes have not been preserved. Details have been pieced together from articles in the Canada Christian Magazine of 1868 and from local church records.
142 CCM 3, 1 June 1868, p.11, c.2
143 CCM 3, 2 July 1868, p.28, c.2.
144 CCM 3, 3 August 1868, p.44, c.2. District 6 made some minor changes to the Constitution [CCM 3, 3 August 1868, p.45, c.1]. District 2, while not formally altering the Constitution's demand that all hiring of preachers be negotiated through the Executive Board, hired S.M. Fowler first, then asked for the Board's retroactive "sanction" [CCM 3, 12 May 1869, p.196, c.2].
145 Smith, Life, p.130. Members at Oshawa could be called before a committee, examined on ideas as well as practice, asked to assent to the constitution and only be admitted by vote of the members. The congregation also adopted a liturgy for covenanting new members in a uniform fashion [Oshawa Fellowship Book, 1868, p.14].
146 Oshawa Fellowship Book, 1868, pp.11, 13
147 Oshawa Fellowship Book, 1868, p.12; Article 2
148 CCM 3, 7 December 1868, pp.110-111. Earl claimed the Canadian plan was the most efficient in the Connexion. His experience was limited to the northern United States. It appears that some in the South had promoted "denominational uniformity" as early as 1858 [CS XV, 3 30 April 1858, p.2, cc.5-6], and that region may have developed overt organization earlier than others.
The new title "American Christian Convention" had been adopted at the 1866 Convention at Marshall, Michigan [Morrill, History, p.221]. Thomas Henry had been present at the 1866 meeting [Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.134].

He suggested either the President or Secretary of Conference for this role.

Proposed changes to the Ontario Constitution had been printed in the 1869 minutes, so the newspaper report did not include the details here [Newmarket Era 23 September 1870, c.2,c.1]. No copy of the 1869 Minutes is known to have been preserved, although a condensed report appeared in the Herald of Gospel Liberty of 9 October 1869. A transcription of this report is in the Ontario Conference archival collection.

This worship manual may well have drawn on the material assembled for the Southern Christian Convention by J.N. Manning [CS XXIV,10 7 April 1871, p.2,c.1]. It is not possible to explore this possibility because no copy of the Ontario booklet is extant and the Southern manual is not readily available.

Shoults' diary #8, 6 September 1873; cf. Ontario Minutes 1873, p.12. James Gilfillan also withdrew in 1873 [Ontario Minutes 1873, p.16].
164 Ontario Minutes 1873, p.15
165 Shoults' diary #8, 29 November 1873
166 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.54. The Oshawa congregation voted against it.
167 Ontario Minutes 1873, pp.8,10
168 Ontario Minutes 1873, pp.3-4
169 Ontario Minutes 1875, p.7. There are no 1974 minutes extant, but it highly likely that at least one or more of the districts was without a preacher that year as well.
170 Ontario Minutes 1876, pp.5-6. The Oshawa congregation had called a minister, Jesse Tatton, but he died a few months into the new conference year.
171 Ontario Minutes 1877, p.4
172 Ontario Minutes 1878, p.9
173 Canada Minutes 1849, p.29[a]. The colonial administration had initially expanded the privilege of "securing the title of land requisite for the site of a church, meeting-house or chapel, or burying-ground" to specified denominations ("Presbyterians, Lutherans, Calvinists, Methodists, Congregationalists, Independants[sic], Anabaptists, Quakers, Menonists[sic], Tunkers or Moravians") [9 George IV Chapter II, The Statutes of the Province of [Upper Canada: title page mutilated], Together with British Statutes, Ordinances of Quebec and Proclamations as relate to the said province, ed. James Nickalls (Kingston, Upper Canada, Francis M. Hill 1831) p.464, passed 25 March 1828]. This Act was amended 17 years later to include "Religious Societies of various denominations of Christians" [8 Victoria Chapter XV, Provincial Statutes of Canada, Volume II (Montreal, Stewart Derbishire and George Desbarats 1845), p.111, passed 17 March 1845]. Thomas Henry's biographer makes specific reference to the legal recognition obtained by the Canada Conference in a bill to which the Governor-General assented 17 March 1845 [Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, pp.107-108]. The committee appointed to petition the government to extend marriage and property rights to the Canada Christian Conference did not report its success in obtaining these rights until 1848 (the report appears in the 1849 minutes, but is dated 12 June 1848). This delay, combined with the committee's protest that they had overcome considerable obstacles to fulfill their mandate, suggests the unitarian beliefs held by many within the Conference made it difficult to convince colonial officials that they qualified as "Christians." Subsequent legislation both extended the privilege of holding title to "divers Religious Societies or Congregations" (without specifying them as "Christians"), as well as the right to dispose of that property according to the
wishes of the Trustees [12 Victoria Chapter XCI, Provincial Statutes of Canada, Volume [II] (Montreal, Stewart Derbishire and George Desbarats 1849), pp.606-607, passed 30 May 1849].

174 Canada Minutes 1848, p.5

175 Newmarket Era, 26 June 1857, p.2,c.1. There is a possibility that this information is not correct. The same report erroneously states that the Conference had been incorporated; no such specific act regarding the Canada Christian Conference may be found in the records of colonial legislation. Other records, however, confirm that deeds had been registered in the Conference’s name. In 1860, G.W. Colston managed to secure to the Conference the deed for the (apparently abandoned) Darlington chapel [Canada Minutes 1860, p.112]. During the debate over the proposed Disciples-Christian union in Oshawa, an opponent complained that the merger was merely a plot to wrest control of the property from the hands of the Conference, to whom it had been deeded for safe keeping [undated and uncredited newspaper clipping, United Church Archives, BX 6773 M5 (2), first item].

176 Ontario Minutes 1873, p.19. W.P. Fletcher had suggested, in 1908, that incorporation was necessary for the Conference merely to hold property ["Christian Church in Canada," p.587].

177 Morrill, History, p.223. The decision to incorporate had been taken at the 1870 meeting of the American Christian Convention in Oshawa, but the incorporation was delayed until a special session in 1872, because the decision made in Oshawa in 1870 was not legal (presumably as the meeting was outside the United States).

178 36 Victoria Chapter CXXXV (Province of Ontario). Section 1 assumes the congregations’ rights to appoint trustees (p.713). Section 19 allows for special acts of legislation to override the provisions of the present Act (p.718). The 1877 Act of Incorporation refers explicitly to this provision [An Act for the Incorporation of the Christian Church in Canada (Toronto, Hunter, Rose and Co. 1877) p.2, lines 13-18. Hereafter cited as "1877 Incorporation."]. Only Section 10 mentions "denomination," providing for the appointment of new trustees in cases where the process for adding trustees was not specified in the original deed [cf. 36 Victoria Chapter CXXXV, p.715].

179 Ontario Minutes 1873, p.21

180 Ontario Minutes 1873, p.20. This is precisely the term which had ired Elias Smith six decades earlier when the Philadelphia congregation registered with the Pennsylvania government. The Conference was specifically denominated as a "body politic and corporate" in the Act of Incorporation ["1877 Incorporation," p.1, line 17].
181 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.56

182 Christian Vanguard 11 June 1921, pp.5-6

183 "The real and other property held by or in trust for any congregation united with or under the said Conference before the passing of this Act, and being in existence at the time of the passing thereof, as soon as the provisions respecting the execution and registration of the declaration set out in the eighth section of this Act are complied with, is hereby declared to have become vested in trust for the use of the said Conference as fully and effectually as if the same was originally vested in or held in trust for the said Conference" ["1877 Incorporation," p.2, Section 6].

184 "1877 Incorporation," p.2, Section 7

185 "1877 Incorporation," p.4, Section 9, Schedule 1, subsection 6

186 "1877 Incorporation," p.3, Section 9, Schedule 1, subsection 1

187 "1877 Incorporation," p.4, Section 9, Schedule 1, subsection 7

188 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.73. The decision was taken to avoid in future the sort of confusion which arose in a case in which a minister had canceled a meeting unilaterally.

189 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.79,80. Renamed the "Ministerial Committee" in 1886, it had special responsibility for the church debt [Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.178].

190 Newmarket Quarterly Meetings 1852, p.30. The October 1863 District Meeting adopted a fairly detailed constitution. One of the Executive Committee's key responsibilities was to ensure that preachers were hired and their services arranged to avoid duplication.

191 Keswick Christian Church, Church Minute Book 1860-1933, p.84. The congregation had reorganized before, including starting a fresh membership, in 1840 [Keswick Minute Book, p.37]. The destruction of the existing minute book when the fresh roll and minute book were started would account for the absence of any known records of the Keswick church before 1860.

192 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.117. A significant portion of the 1831 minute book is blank. There was some definite reason for beginning a new book.

193 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, pp.11,12
194 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, pp.73ff. Thirteen years later, when the still-estranged Henry offered to return, on the conditions that the old record be closed, and a new one started which would substitute a resolution of his own creation, he was soundly rebuffed. [pp.196-197,202]. It is worthy of note that Henry seconded the 1862 motion to rescind the highly linear Church Order report of 1860 [Canada Minutes 1862, p.146].

195 Ontario Minutes 1873, p.20

196 "1877 Incorporation," p.4, Section 9, Schedule 1, subsection 7

197 Martyn Summerbell later noted Garbutt's pivotal role in the 1877 Incorporation, including the resistance which he encountered. Summerbell noted there was no permanent damage to the Canada Conference [HGl CXIV,27 6 July 1922, p.633,c.3].

198 Ontario Minutes 1875, p.14

199 Ontario Minutes 1875, p.6. The 1874 minutes are not extant, so the congregation reaffiliated either in 1874 or 1875.

200 The 1871 minutes are not extant, but Shoults' diary records his election as Clerk that year [#6, 13 September 1871].

201 Ontario Minutes 1876, pp.3,4; cf. Shoults' diary #15, p.25, 4 October 1879

202 Shoults' diary #15, p.27, 6 October 1879

203 Shoults' diary #12, 14 September 1877: emphasis in the original; Ontario Minutes 1877, p.18

204 Ontario Minutes 1879, p.12. He also asked the Conference's permission before starting a congregation in the village of Markham [Ontario Minutes 1882, p.15].

205 Ontario Minutes 1878, p.8

206 Ontario Minutes 1877, p.22

207 Ontario Minutes 1878, p.25

208 Ontario Minutes 1879, p.6

209 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.305. This underscores that his concern with the developing power in Conference was at most congregationalist, rather than 'aleatory.' Had it been the latter, he would not have tolerated any interference with his desire to preach for any particular congregation.
210 *Ontario Minutes* 1882, p.30

211 *Ontario Minutes* 1925, pp.43-44. The first sentence of this citation was a "run-on sentence" in the original; the lack of capitalization of "our" before "District" and "Educational Board" reflects the original syntax.

212 *HGL* LXXIX,5 3 February 1887, p.76,c.3

213 *Ontario Minutes* 1886, p.30. The motion is not mentioned in the 1887 Minutes.

214 *Ontario Minutes* 1925, p.44

215 The 1856 Newmarket church minute book, which began in 1856 and ended in 1895, notes thirteen revisions of the roll between 1843 and 1890: 1843 [Newmarket Church Minute Book, p.28]; 1858 [p.27]; 1864 [p.94]; 1868 [p.116]; 1870 [p.149]; 1871 [p.157]; 1876 [p.230]; 1878 [p.250]; 1879 [p.266]; 1881 [p.287]; 1882 [p.306]; 1884 [p.324]; 1890 [p.388]. Note that roughly half of these fall in a nine-year span (1876-1884). The activity was particularly intense between 1878 and 1882, when the roll was revised annually, except for 1880. Both the 1876 and 1878 revisions occurred just before Conference, the 1878 one explicitly made with reference to the meeting. In 1884, a non-resident couple made a gift expressly to pay their capitation tax and keep their names on the Newmarket church roll.

The Oshawa records record only three revisions of the roll during this period: 1886 [Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.176], 1896 [p.236] and 1897 [p.240]. The 1886 revision was made specifically with an eye to reducing the capitation tax due.

216 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.321

217 *HGL* LXXXII,17 24 April 1890, p.260,c.2

218 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.373

219 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.378

220 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.411

221 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.80; Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.226

222 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.246

223 The printed minutes of the 1880 Conference have not been preserved, but the questions sent to congregations by that year's conference are recorded in the Newmarket minutes [Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.285 cf. Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, at p.134]. The Newmarket congregation assented to the overseer plan.
224 _Ontario Minutes_ 1879, p.12. It should be noted in passing that these evangelists were not the free-lance pilgrims of the early part of the century, but conference employees who were mandated to work only in areas where there are pastors to do follow-up [ _CCM_ 3,3 August 1868, pp.36-37]. Some American conferences had also adopted the itinerant evangelist model, without vesting that officer with responsibilities for oversight [cf. _HGL_ LXXVI,16 17 April 1884, p.251,c.1; LXXXIII,51 17 December 1891, p.815,c.1].

225 _Ontario Minutes_ 1887, p.22. This is the first known instance where the sitting President was specifically hired for the position. In 1886 the Executive Board attempted unsuccessfully to hire an American to fill the post [ _Ontario Minutes_ 1886, p.18].

226 _Ontario Minutes_ 1888, p.35. At best, he hoped to assist congregations with revival meetings.

227 _HGL_ LXXXIV,16 21 April 1892 p.244,c.1-p.245,c.4, particularly p.245,c.3

228 The Missionary Society attempted to raise sufficient funds in 1890 [ _HGL_ LXXXII,21 22 May 1890, p.327,c.3], but it is not clear whether they succeeded. The 1894 Minutes clearly state that a missionary was not hired, due to insufficient funds [ _Ontario Minutes_ 1894, p.108].

229 _Ontario Minutes_ 1893, pp.110-111,112

230 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, pp.134,167

231 _Ontario Minutes_ 1878, p.7

232 _Ontario Minutes_ 1878, p.18. The interest was $24.00 [ _Ontario Minutes_ 1878, p.21], an annual rate of 8%. The 1879 session also paid the interest [ _Ontario Minutes_ 1879, p.24].

233 _Ontario Minutes_ 1882, p.19

234 _Ontario Minutes_ 1882, p.10. By 1886, the congregation was two and a quarter years behind in interest on debt [ _Ontario Minutes_ 1886, p.20]. The Executive Board put the property up for sale in 1892 [ _Ontario Minutes_ 1892, p.91].


236 _Ontario Minutes_ 1886, p.23: eight of 24 congregations

237 _Ontario Minutes_ 1891, p.85. It appears that the capitation tax had been increased around 1881 [ _Newmarket Church Minute Book_ 1856, p.285]. The Newmarket congregation voted against any increase.
238 Ontario Minutes 1894, p.91. The amount represented close to two-thirds of a year's wages for a minister.

239 Drummond. *Progress without Planning*, pp.105,171

240 Ontario Minutes 1897, pp.108-109. Sixteen were still held under older deeds, one was a union deed, one congregation leased its property and the condition of two deeds was not known.

241 Ontario Minutes 1898, p.27

242 Toronto *Globe and Mail* 14 October 1898, p.5,c.4

243 Ontario Minutes 1896, p.118

244 Ontario Minutes 1897, p.116

245 *HGL* LXXVII,21 21 May 1885, p.325,c.3


247 *HGL* LXXVIII,42 21 October 1886, p.665, c.3

248 Ontario Minutes 1888, p.34

249 Those ordained were C.H. Kermott and William Peer [Ontario Minutes 1878, p.23]; J.F. Morgan [Ontario Minutes 1879, pp.23-24]; W.S. Cowle [Ontario Minutes 1884, p.15]; J. Blatherwick, E.J. Gould and C.L. Percy [Ontario Minutes 1885, pp.15-16]; George Perkins, W.H. Chidley and J.P. Winans [Ontario Minutes 1887, p.32]. The figure is most likely greater, as the 1880, 1881, 1883, 1889 and 1890 Minutes are no longer extant. It is possible, for example, that George Carpenter was ordained in 1883 [cf. Ontario Minutes 1882, p.15].

250 Ontario Minutes 1886, p.16

251 Ontario Minutes 1895, p.108. The candidate was William Percy Fletcher.

252 Ontario Minutes 1898, pp.38,42: S.N. Ruttan and J.H. Mallett

253 According to Fowler, Ainsworth joined the Disciples and Peer the Baptists because they were upset by an antitrinitarian sermon preached by an American Christian preacher [HGL LXXIX,12 24 March 1887, p.188,c.2]. He also contended that Blatherwick joined the Baptists in order to receive sufficient pay. W.S. Cowle and W.H. Morgan left the denomination for unspecified reasons [Ontario Minutes 1898, p.17].
254 Henry, *Memoir of Thomas Henry*, p.120; Morrill *History*, p.211. Starkey Seminary was not a theological institution, but rather a high school or junior college. Henry had been appointed a trustee of the Starkey Seminary in 1856 [Henry, *Memoir of Thomas Henry*, p.119].

255 In 1883, S.M. Fowler travelled in Michigan, preaching to churches without pastors [HGL LXXV, 6 8 February 1883, p.90,c.2]. Solomon Prosser spent a year or two at Lexington, Michigan before returning to Canada [HGL LXXV, 48 29 November 1883, p.763,c.3; LXVI, 18 1 May 1884, p.277, c.2; LXVII, 19 7 May 1885, p.293,c.2]. It is not clear how effective Prosser was after his return, as he suffered double amputation of his legs sometime before 1887 [HGL LXXIX, 7 17 February 1887, p.108, c.3]. He organized the Chandos church in 1886 [Ontario Minutes 1886, p.9]. Thomas Henry's son A.N. Henry was ordained in the United States and also served at Lexington, Michigan [Henry, *Memoir of Thomas Henry*, p.156; HGL LXXXI, 16 18 April 1889, p.251,c.1]. Ontario churches also hired ministers from the United States. Examples include Oshawa hiring J.P. Nelson from Maine [Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.110] and M.G. Dean of New York being hired by Orono in 1877 [Ontario Minutes 1877, p.8].

256 At least one Canadian student was there in 1870 [Christian Pulpit 1869, p.67]. A "Bro. Quail" asked the 1879 Canada Conference for money to attend CBI [Ontario Minutes 1879, pp.23,25]. Some controversy surrounded the request, although the details have not been preserved. It is not clear whether Quail actually attended CBI.

257 HGL LXXV, 13 29 March 1883, p.197,c.1; text is at LXXV, 24 14 June 1883, p.374,c.1

258 HGL LXXV, 18 3 May 1883, p.280,c.1

259 Ontario Minutes 1885, p.15. Most preachers were required to preach for three years before ordination; Percy was ordained after two.

260 HGL LXXVIII, 16 22 April 1886, p.249,c.2. The impression was not merely Fowler's. William Percy also resented the losses, which had created a fair degree of animosity within the Ontario Conference toward Americans [HGL LXXIX, 1 6 January 1887, p.7,c.1].

261 HGL LXXV, 12 22 March 1883, p.183, c.1

262 Newmarket *Era* 1 October 1880, p.2,c.5

263 HGL LXXVIII, 44 4 November 1886, p.687,c.1. He had been called to Court Street Christian Church sometime earlier. An 1883 article indicates his address as "Rural Grove, N.Y.," but this may well have been a student charge he held while attending CBI [HGL LXXV, 34 23 August 1883, p.534,c.2].
264 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.287. E.A. Hainer later accepted a call to Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church, Newark, N.J. [Newmarket Era 13 January 1899, p.2,c.3]. In 1903, he was called to the United Baptist Church in Providence, Rhode Island. There he attracted large numbers of Brown University students [Newmarket Era 27 February 1903, p.2,c.4].

265 E.A. Hainer’s ministry in Brooklyn was marked by financial prosperity and growth in membership [HGL LXXIX,11 17 March 1887, p.168,c.2]. L.W. Hainer was later pastor of a Congregational Church in Newark for nine years, after which he spent two years at Oxford. Around 1897 or 1898 he was called to Calvary Baptist Church, Norristown, Pennsylvania. There he focussed on the Sunday School, which grew during his more than quarter-century tenure from 300 to over 1,000 scholars [Program of Hainer Week, 1923; HGL CXVI,40 2 October 1924, p.938,c.3].

266 HGL LXXX,48 29 November 1888, p.764,c.3

267 HGL CXIV,34 24 August 1922, p.801,c.3. In the twentieth century, three more of Hainer’s sons would migrate south. Frederick Lee Hainer was still merely a licentiate when he moved from Stouffville to New Jersey [Florence Yakeley, Ringwood Congregational Christian Church: 1824–1974 (mimeographed booklet, 1974), p.12; HGL XCVII, 19 January 1905, p.39,c.1; Ontario Minutes 1905, pp.8–9]. He had been working Ringwood and Stouffville since 1903 [Stouffville Pilot 21 May 1903, p.5,cc.5-6]. William Henry Hainer had moved to Irvington, New Jersey no later than 1908 [N. Del McReynolds, "Education Among the Colored Christians of the South" in Centennial of Religious Journalism, ed. J. Pressley Barrett (Dayton, Ohio, Christian Publishing Association 1908), p.559; cf. Gilbert Romine Hammond, Album of Christian Ministers, churches and lay workers and colleges (Marshalltown, Iowa, Arme Printing Co. 1915), p.57.]. Herbert Milton Hainer accepted a call to Massachusetts [HGL CV,35 28 August 1913, p.878,c.3]. The loss of the seven Hainers to the Ontario Conference is remarkable in itself, but each was a talented pastor and gifted administrator in his own right, rising to fulfill responsible positions of leadership [See the descriptions of their ministries in Program of Hainer Week, November 18–25, 1923, South Baptist Church... Providence, R.I.].

268 W.H. Morgan was at CBI in 1893 [Ontario Minutes 1893, pp.106,108], but ended up in Lubec, Maine [Ontario Minutes 1895, p.93]. W.H. Chidley also took up studies in 1893 [Ontario Minutes 1893, p.108], graduating in 1895, when he accepted the Newmarket pastorate [Newmarket Era 12 April 1895, p.3,c.1]. Alfred Terry attended CBI in 1894–95 [Newmarket Era 17 May 1895, p.3,c.1]. J.M. Ferrier when to CBI in 1895 and 1896 [Ontario Minutes 1895, p.119; Ontario Minutes 1896, p.95]. Canadian J.P. Winans was in Medusa, New York in 1895 [Ontario Minutes 1895, p.94], but it is not clear whether or
not he attended the CBI, or was simply an ordained minister who emigrated.

269 HGL LXXV,34 23 August 1883, p.533,c.1. Emes went to Toronto after the year to continue studying [HGL LXXV,42 18 October 1883, p.661,c.3].


271 *Ontario Minutes* 1891, p.86

272 *Ontario Minutes* 1892, p.65, back cover. The Americans had been operating a Correspondence School for some time. In 1890, W.H. Chidley commented to Dales that he had benefited much from his correspondence courses [HGL LXXXII,17 24 April 1890, p.260,c.2].

273 HGL CXV,34 23 August 1923, p.811,c.2, p.812,c.1

274. Examples include Canadian Robert Barrie in 1850 [Christian Worker II,8 June 1883, p.1,c.2; cited in Butchart, Disciples in Canada since 1831, p.431], and Zachariah Holloway, a long-time Southern Christian preacher, in 1858 [CS XV,21 3 September 1858, p.3,c.3]. Another Canadian preacher, Marshall B. Stone, formerly of Oshawa, apparently changed denominations in the 1850s and by 1863 was preaching in Minnesota [Oshawa Vindicator 28 January 1863, c.2,c.7].

275 CP XXIX,21 13 October 1860, p.223b,c.1

276 CP XXX,15 11 April 1861, p.114,c.1

277 CP XXX,15 11 April 1861, p.114,c.2. The Conference did, however, allow him to continue sitting as a delegate.

278 CP XXX,31 1 August 1861, p.237,c.3

279 Oshawa Vindicator 15 January 1862, p.2,c.3. It is noteworthy that Miles Luke, one of the Vindicator’s publishers, was a Disciple.

280 Oshawa Vindicator 22 January 1862, p.2,cc.3-4. The second meeting was held 16 January 1862. The Oshawa Disciples congregation included others, such as Farewell and McGill, who had also once belonged to the Christian Connexion [Joseph Ash, "Reminiscences No.4," in Christian Worker II,6 April 1883, p.1,c.1].

281 Oshawa Vindicator 22 January 1862, p.2,c.6

282 Oshawa Vindicator 15 January 1862, p.2,c.3
It appears that the two congregations did amalgamate Sunday School operations: "The Oshawa Christian Union Sabbath School" [Oshawa Vindicator 15 October 1862, p.2,c.5]. This arrangement appears to have continued at least until 1871 [Oshawa Vindicator 19 July 1871, p.2,c.5].

Christian Pulpit 2,2 February 1870, pp.59-60,64. Nicholas allowed that the exercise of Christian liberty permitted weekly communion, but it had not been common in the Connexion and he suggested that if one were to obey the New Testament in every detail, one would hold the weekly communion on Thursday evening, because it was on that day that Christ instituted the ordinance [Summerbell, History of the Christian Church, p.151].

Canada Minutes 1864, p.172; Oshawa Vindicator 20 November 1867, p.2,c.8. This is a bizarre twist, indeed, especially considering Colston's earlier opposition to weekly communion. It is likely that, having burned his bridges with the Canada Christian Conference, the only other denomination in which he felt relatively comfortable (and which would feel relatively comfortable with someone of his opinions) would be the Disciples. The groups' shared primitivism and concern for broader unity would make transition fairly easy.

Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.131

Morrill, History, p.305

Morrill, History, pp.305-306

Oshawa Vindicator 5 May 1869, p.2,c.6

Oshawa Vindicator 27 July 1870, p.2,c.4

Oshawa Vindicator 10 August 1870, p.2,c.8

Oshawa Vindicator 9 November 1870, p.2,c.2

Oshawa Vindicator 27 September 1871, p.2,c.8. Union negotiations had begun before he left [Oshawa Vindicator 9 August 1871, p.2,c.4].

Oshawa Vindicator 13 September 1871, p.2,c.2

Oshawa Vindicator 16 August 1871, p.2,c.4

Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.32

Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.32; Oshawa Vindicator 11 October 1871, p.2,c.3

Oshawa Vindicator 18 October 1871, p.2,c.3

Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.33
300 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, pp.35-36

301 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.36

302 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.39: July 1872

303 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.44

304 United Church Archives: Doc BX 6774.4 B3, recto. The "Basis of Union" is in the same handwriting and ink as the Oshawa Fellowship Book begun in 1868. This document appears to have been pasted into the Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, at p.37, then subsequently removed.

305 Undated newspaper clipping: United Church Archives: Pam BX 6773 M5 (2)

306 Doc BX 6774.4 B3, recto

307 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.75

308 HGL LXXIX,12 24 March 1887, p.188,c.2. The congregation was in the eastern part of Northumberland County. Weeks' unitarian sentiments appear to have distressed Ainsworth. His successor complained that Ainsworth had made it difficult to solicit new subscriptions for the Herald of Gospel Liberty, having slammed it as "the organ of rotten Unitarianism" [HGL LXXXVIII,13 1 April 1886, p.208,c.1].

309 Shoults' diary #13, p.25, 20 October 1878

310 Shoults' diary #16, p.45, 2 June 1880

311 Ontario Minutes 1882, pp.6-8. This District then consisted of congregations at Bradly Centre, Castleton and Eddystone. He may have arrived earlier, but the 1880 and 1881 Conference minutes are not extant.

312 Christian Worker III,7 May 1884, p.1,c.6

Butchart, in his discussion of the Mount Carmel incident, claims that James Gilfillen, although from Bowmanville and not Mount Carmel, was pivotal in the founding of the Ontario Cooperation [Butchart, Disciples in Canada since 1831, p.568]. Ash, on the other hand, noted Gilfillen's opposition to the alienation of the Mount Carmel property from the Christian Conference [Christian Worker III,8 June 1884, p.3,c.2]. It is unclear when Gilfillen switched, if indeed he did. In 1892, he was a licentiate with the Canada Conference [Ontario Minutes 1892, p.66] and interim preacher for the Christians' Orono congregation for part of the next year.

313 Christian Worker III,7 May 1884, p.4,c.1

314 Ontario Minutes 1885, p.10; HGL LXVII,19 7 May 1885, p.293,c.2; Ontario Minutes 1886, p.11; HGL LXXVIII,51 23
December 1886, p.822,c.3; Ontario Minutes 1887, p.9

315 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.161

316 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.165. There is no indication who actually attended, but the Disciples were invited again to a similar week of prayer in January 1887 [p.181].

317 HGL LXXVIII,41 14 October 1886, p.651,c.3

318 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.191

319 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, pp.191,192

320 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.218

321 HGL LXXXII,17 24 April 1890, p.260,c.2. The Aurora group was between ministers at the time. Butchart notes that contact between the Disciples and Christians picked up around 1890 [Butchart, Disciples in Canada since 1831, p.62].

322 HGL LXXXIII,52 24 December 1891, p.824,c.2

323 Ontario Minutes 1893, pp.92,100

324 Ontario Minutes 1892, p.68

325 Ontario Minutes 1893, pp.91,93

326 Ontario Minutes 1895, pp.106-107. The Herald of Gospel Liberty for 1895 and 1896 is not, regrettably, readily available. Its pages might well shed more light on each party's motives and maneuvers.

327 The Disciple fraternal delegates had been appointed two months earlier, at the Ontario Cooperation. That body had endorsed the idea of union with, it is said, only one dissenting vote, that of George Munro, editor of the group's paper, the Ontario Evangelist. Munro was an ultracongregationalist who denied the Cooperation any right to negotiate a union; he withdrew from the Cooperation in protest [Butchart, Disciples in Canada since 1831, pp.236,496,567].

328 It is interesting to note the positive tone in which this exception is cast. Voiced negatively, the same point would have indicated that all Disciples demanded immersion as a condition of membership.

329 Ontario Minutes 1895, p.118

330 Ontario Minutes 1896, p.110
CHAPTER SEVEN:
Approaching the Mainstream: 1849-1898

Introduction

The basic theme of this chapter is that as the second half of the nineteenth century unfolded, the Christian Connexion became far less odd. It did not, in this era, become part of the Protestant establishment mainstream, but the gap between them closed markedly. Although no longer organizationally distinct, aspects of theology espoused by Connexion members remained unconventional. The trend toward unitarianism reached its highwater mark. The cooperative foundation of Antioch College, a costly misadventure, caused the tide to turn not only against the Unitarians as a group, but also against antitrinitarian theology. The character of the remaining antitrinitarianism changed, reflecting a shift from an emotive base in revivalism to a reflective modern liberalism. That liberalism gave rise to opportunities to discuss union with erstwhile enemies.

Although the Conference in Canada ceased to grow during this period, it began to gain the respect of the more established denominations. This was achieved, for the most part, by many Connexion preachers' adoption of mainline revival techniques and by increasing participation in the burgeoning special interest religious societies. The difference in newspaper coverage between the two American Christian Convention (ACC) sessions held in Canada, 1870 and 1898, clearly demonstrate the mainstream's altered view. As the period ended, the Ontario Conference remained firmly attached to its American coreligionists.
Opponents of the Connexion had no doubts about the latter's unitarian leanings. The Universalists reported that 'Christian' preacher W.R. Stowe's attempt, during an 1849 debate, to disavow unitarianism on the part of his denomination was taken by the audience "as a positive falsehood." Connexion members preferred to view themselves as occupying a medial position between the Unitarians and the Protestant mainstream, as one of them put it, "between the old orthodoxy and the newer Liberalism...championing a simple and direct Christianity." David Millard, while candidly averring that few Connexion preachers were orthodox Trinitarians, refused to adopt the "Unitarian" label, citing the old argument that "Christian" alone sufficed. W.B.H. Ward, writing in 1860, distanced the Connexion from the Unitarians, stressing that passing similarities were outweighed by profound differences. He reiterated the idea of the Connexion's holding to a middle ground.

Despite such hesitation, personal contact between Unitarians and Connexion members also increased in this era. Austin Craig, a college-educated Connexion preacher, accepted a call in 1850 to a non-denominational church, the patronage of which was controlled by a Unitarian. His installation sermon was preached by a prominent Unitarian, Henry W. Bellows of New York. Craig also was befriended by leading Unitarians such as Horace Mann and Theodore Parker, who encouraged him to publish at least one book under their auspices.

The Canada Conference tried to capitalize on the growing ties. In 1851, the Oshawa Christian Church received a
donation from the Toronto Unitarian Church and appealed to the Boston office of the American Unitarian Association for help with the chapel debt. For their part, the Unitarians were content to hire Connexion preacher S.S. Nason in 1860 to itinerate Maine on their behalf. Eli Fay, a preacher from New England, flippantly suggested that as the bulk of Connexion ministers were Unitarians anyway, they should all unite. The suggestion evoked resistance from advocates of a medial course.

Antitrinitarianism appears to have been the dominant, but not exclusive, doctrine of godhead held by Canada Conference members. Indeed, the antitrinitarian slogan "one God and one mediator" continued to be a major plank in the Conference's evangelistic platform in the 1860s. Sometimes Trinitarianism was attacked directly, at other times, preachers did not elaborate on the slogan in detail, doing so only when attacks by Trinitarian clergy accentuated their doctrinal peculiarity. Samuel M. Fowler, an American who preached in Canada, took a decidedly Arian line, denying the eternal nature of Christ, yet insisting Jesus was more than merely human. Polemical unitarian literature circulated freely in Canada. When the New York Western and Pennsylvania Christian Conferences issued a call in 1860 for new editions of Millard's True Messiah and Kinkade's Bible Doctrine, John Earl, a Canadian, responded enthusiastically, guaranteeing in advance to purchase a dozen copies of Kinkade's tome. Antitrinitarianism was clearly ensconced in the Canada Conference; a semantic hangover of the 'aleatory' aversion to "unscriptural" nicknames kept some from using the Unitarian
On other hand, Trinitarianism elicited less antipathy in this era, and was occasionally tolerated. J.W. Collins, Clerk of the 1857 Canada Conference, objected not only to the label, but stated he could not fellowship with Unitarians and would withdraw from the Christian Church if it were formally Unitarian. Fowler took issue with the Newmarket Era's report on the 1857 Conference meeting, suggesting a subtle "correction" of his comments on unitarianism in the Conference. The clearest differences, he said, were that the Unitarians baptised by sprinkling and their preachers tended to read sermons (Connexion preachers spoke extempore). He insisted: "Denominationally speaking, we are not any of us Unitarians, but Christians. But as it regards our faith in 'the first and great command, Hear O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord' we are all unitarians." Yet Conference members not only tolerated the Trinitarian Baptist William Lumsden, pastor of the Oshawa church during part of the Civil War, but honoured him by appointing him as Conference "Professor." By the mid-1870s, the Trinitarian long-metre "Doxology" was used in Canada. This flexibility indicates a continued emphasis on ethical correctness, not doctrinal rectitude.

The Connexion's unitarianism took on an international hue when the movement renewed contact with British antitrinitarians in the late 1850s. An American was appointed as a fraternal delegate to the 1867 General Baptist Convention in England. A report of the 1868 General Baptist Convention appeared in the Canada Christian Magazine. Jabez Arthur Brinkworth, the General Baptist pastor of Saffron...
Waldon, toured the United States in 1876 and 1880.\textsuperscript{a} He also visited the 1880 Canada Conference at Keswick, preaching there and at Newmarket.\textsuperscript{a} In 1881, the Newmarket Church wrote Brinkworth, to discuss "his return to Newmarket."\textsuperscript{a} Negotiations, ultimately unsuccessful, continued until 1882.\textsuperscript{a} Brinkworth also maintained contact with the Americans.\textsuperscript{a} This personal vignette is important, illustrating that the ACC's unitarianism was shifting from its folk epistemological roots, coming under refined European influences.

The Connexion's cooperation in the Unitarian-dominated Meadville Theological School continued, although the relationship was not without its problems.\textsuperscript{a} Rufus P. Stebbins, Meadville's President from 1844, transferred his membership from the Unitarians to the 'Christians' and was elected in 1854 as President of the Connexion's General Convention.\textsuperscript{a} Austin Craig taught part-time at Meadville from 1864 until 1869,\textsuperscript{a} and Warren Hathaway, another Connexion preacher, began teaching at Meadville around the same time.\textsuperscript{a} Many American Connexion preachers who studied at Meadville served Unitarian churches.\textsuperscript{a} Canadian preachers are known to have attended Meadville. T.C. Moulton went in 1850 and then stayed in the United States.\textsuperscript{a} Nathaniel Earl, a second generation Canadian 'Christian' preacher, moved to the United States around 1857.\textsuperscript{a} He returned to Canada after graduating from Meadville in 1868, was well-received by the Conference, but appears to have returned to the United States, rather than settling in the Canada Conference.\textsuperscript{a}

The 1850 initiative to found Antioch College was triply significant, being a tangible token of the new attitude toward
overt order adopted by the Christian Convention, a concrete link with the Unitarians and indicative of incipient modern liberalism within the Connexion. The initiative enjoyed the backing of all branches of the Connexion, including the South.3 Canadians also lent the project unequivocal support, viewing it as a particularly effective means to spread their unusual doctrinal perspective.4

Backers secured the election of the prominent New England Unitarian Horace Mann as President. Mann turned down the Free Soil Party's simultaneous nomination as their candidate for Governor of Massachusetts in order to accept the post.5 A faculty, centred on Mann, had been hired by the fall of 1852, although the first class of students was not admitted until September 1853.6 By the fall of 1854, there were more than 400 students on site.7 Craig at first supply-taught at Antioch in 1855, completing lectures abandoned by another instructor. In 1857, he was hired as "preacher of the college and professor of logic and rhetoric," but left again at the end of the school year.8 Thomas Henry was appointed in 1856 by the Canada Conference to the college's Executive Board, followed by B.F. Perry in 1857.9 The Canada Conference contributed financially in 1856.10 The first baccalaureate class graduated in 1857.11

The euphoria of the first graduation was marred by a crisis which threatened the school's existence. In July 1857, Mann sent Craig a terse note, informing him "Antioch College has 'failed'," the property was seized for debts, and begging Craig to help rescue the college.12 The predicament was the result of poor management. Between $125,000 and $200,000 in
subscriptions had been signed, but the trustees unwisely treated the unenforceable notes as cash in hand." As a result, the college was $70,000 in debt, with an annual operational deficit of \textit{circa} $10,000.\textsuperscript{9} Craig pitched the college's need for money to the 1858 Christian Convention.\textsuperscript{10}

Affairs seemed back on an even keel by June 1859, so Canadians were still encouraged to attend.\textsuperscript{12} Matters were then complicated by Mann's death that August. The college was thoroughly reorganized in order to free it from debt. A new twenty-member board (twelve from the Connexion and eight Unitarians) was appointed, which in turn chose a new President from among themselves. They elected Thomas Hill, a Unitarian.\textsuperscript{13} Financial conditions improved somewhat under his leadership, but Antioch's long-term situation remained unstable. A deal was struck in 1861 that both the Connexion and the Unitarians would canvass their respective constituencies, with the side raising the more money gaining control of the college. Thomas Holmes, a Connexion preacher elected trustee in 1861, wrote in the \textit{Palladium} to underscore the terms, so none later could claim "a Unitarian trick" in the event the Connexion lost.\textsuperscript{14}

Open competition ensued as each group sought to prize control of the college. S.B. Flagg summarized the conflict in an address to the 1861 Michigan Central Christian Conference.\textsuperscript{15} He hoped that the Unitarians would not succeed, which would force both groups to cooperate. The groups' few differences were not insurmountable. Using a military metaphor, he insisted that all Christians were part of God's army, each group a different division. The Connexion and Unitarians, in
particular, "are as brigades in one division." He noted their highly similar doctrines of the Eternal God's paternity, theological anthropology, pneumatology, ecclesiology and christology, although some Unitarians saw Christ as only a man.

Both groups denied innate human depravity, accepting instead the Pelagian-like idea that folk were capable of doing good unaided by grace. Nicholas Summerbell turned Pelagius into a British hero who opposed Rome. As Bishop of Jerusalem, Summerbell argued, he had held closer ties to true Christianity. Summerbell believed the Connexion best promoted good ethics because it taught that "the soul has all its natural liberty." The rejection of the doctrine of original sin, both by individuals in Canada and the Conference as a whole, is readily documented. Superficial similarities with ideas from an earlier era could easily distract one from the significant changes in the predominant doctrine of human nature.

Elias Smith et al had based their theological anthropology in what George Marsden calls an "American folk epistemology." In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, the Connexion began to share the growing evangelical enamourment with formal Scottish Common Sense philosophy. Pelagianism's role in the Connexion's thought shifted from being a basis of the now abandoned 'aleatory' scheme, to buttressing an emergent scholarly liberalism. While the formal doctrine at which the Connexion arrived might be utterly foreign to broad evangelicalism (i.e. the rejection of the Trinity and original sin), the novel intellectual process by which they now arrived
at these ideas, linked with evangelicalism's general displacement of speculative Calvinism with a notion of religion as "a benevolent code of duty and obligation," actually narrowed the distance between the Connexion and the Protestant mainstream.

Thoughtful members of the movement, typified by Austin Craig, adopted not only the Common Sense model's empirical methodology, but its epistemological component, including an emphasis on "moral philosophy." Craig's initial appointment at Antioch College was as "Lecturer on the Evidences of Christianity, [and] Professor of Moral Philosophy." He was styled "Bellows Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy" in his 1864 reappointment. As principal of the Christian Biblical Institute (CBI), struggling with limited resources, Craig nonetheless ensured that Moral Philosophy found a place in the curriculum. Craig's work also encouraged a new direction in thought. Canadian members still saw themselves as touting "Liberal Christianity," but this label had more to do with a general anti-Calvinist libertarianism than with modernism.

In 1859, an unnamed former faculty member levelled a charge of "liberalism," in the more modern sense, against Antioch. Craig displayed impatience with critics, noting that while his views were not Calvinistically orthodox, they were in keeping with what he had heard from Connexion preachers his entire life. Despite Craig's disclaimer, his views marked a new departure. He believed that the Bible contained both human and divine elements, so he questioned the sixth article of the CBI's statement of faith that "the
entire Scriptures" are "infallible." No one theory of inspiration, he insisted, should be a test of fellowship. Craig's teaching gave him access to leaders-in-training, making him a key figure in the dissemination of modern liberalism in their ranks. This helped pave the way both for a greater degree of assimilation into the Protestant mainstream and a division of the 'Christian' movement. It was, of course, not alone, as more than one North American denomination was wracked by internecine strife between Modernists and Fundamentalists during the second and third decades of the twentieth century.

Other ACC members later freely espoused higher critical insights. In 1883, C.D. Hainer allowed that the Bible sometimes expressed truths in outmoded or even repulsive expressions, but such crudities should not detract from its underlying truths. Another writer freely admitted that the latter portion of Mark 16 might not be original. Conservative voices simultaneously defended the Scripture against what Canadian C.L. Percy described as "the perverted liberalist" approach to the Bible. Darwinian evolution also raised conservative hackles. Clearly the stage was set for future confrontations regarding the acceptability of this incipient modern liberalism.

Apparently unaware of this philosophical shift in progress, Flagg did perceptively note that the Unitarians and the Connexion differed most socially, Unitarianism appealing more to the wealthy. In situations without a church of their persuasion, members of both groups tended to attend a third party's church. Christians sought out Baptists and
Methodists, while Unitarians were more likely to associate with Episcopalians and Presbyterians. Contemporaries confirmed Flagg's assessment. Their revivalist zeal disposed the elderly Matthew Gardner to view Trinitarians more warmly than Unitarians.\textsuperscript{11} The Unitarian H.W. Bellows depicted the 'Christians' as "a sort of Unitarian Methodist," fervent and uncultured.\textsuperscript{12} The Unitarians were, to use modern categories, formalists, while the Connexion tended to antiformalism. Formalists (e.g. Presbyterians, Episcopalians or Congregationalists) tended to be wealthy and given to attempt a generalized reform in society, while antiformalists, typified by Baptists and Methodists, were more concerned with personal piety.\textsuperscript{13} Although Connexion members showed increasing interest in social reform, piety remained their priority.

Denominational consciousness also exerted a powerful influence over the Connexion's decisions in the short term. Members rallied to defend their interests against the Unitarians. The editor of the Gospel Herald, a Connexion paper based in the same town as Antioch, criticized President Hill's Unitarianism, which apparently was too speculative for his liking.\textsuperscript{14} Hill resigned in 1862 to accept Harvard's presidency.\textsuperscript{15} Craig was elected unanimously as his successor, without salary.\textsuperscript{16} The college was severely disrupted by the Civil War; classes were suspended for much of 1864 and 1865.

The Civil War also delayed resolution of the financial crisis. Neither side had succeeded in raising an endowment by May 1864. In December 1864, the American Unitarian Association voted to raise $100,000 in endowment, on condition the school be reincorporated. The money was quickly
collected." With the Unitarians' cash in hand, a faculty of five was hired, including Craig and J.B. Weston from the Connexion." Craig stayed on as president from when the college reopened in September 1865 until 1868, when he accepted the presidency of the newly-founded CBI, in New York State." By 1866, however, Craig recommended Connexion students attend Meadville, rather than Antioch, until CBI opened.* This new theological school was entirely under Connexion control." The Connexion's relations with the Unitarian Association grew progressively frosty into the 1870s. The Unitarians' domination reduced Antioch, in the view of Nicholas Summerbell, to a merely "sectarian" institution."

Summerbell, however, was not in any way Trinitarian. His 1873 History of the Christian Church contains repeated references to the "Council of Antioch" (A.D. 269), which he claimed condemned the core Trinitarian concept: *homoousion.* His contention rested on an argument from the priority of the church at Antioch. He implied that because believers were first called "Christians" at Antioch, their wisdom and piety were superior and their grasp of the true biblical tradition clearer.** He placed the Council of Antioch on a par with the meeting in Jerusalem of Acts 15.*** The word "trinity" was, he averred, a Roman pagan notion imported into Christianity after Constantine's conversion.**** Arius, allegedly a pupil of Lucius of Antioch, thus gained the ancient head-church's implied *imprimatur* for his distinctive Christology.***** Summerbell's opinions are of more than passing interest because he was well-known in Canada, having preached during the 1870 ACC in
Oshawa and, along with Warren Hathaway, having preached at the dedications of the new chapels in Newmarket and Oshawa in 1875."

The ACC made one last bid to control Antioch. The school had closed in 1881, at which time Weston accepted a position at CBI. Daniel A. Long of North Carolina was appointed President in 1883. A "Christian Educational Society" formed in order to raise money; "Antioch Agent's Notes" still appeared in the 1891 Herald of Gospel Liberty. The ACC allegedly only withdrew support in 1894, after the Unitarians refused to give them an equal sitting on the Board of Governors. Long, his hands tied by lack of ACC support, retired in 1899. A number of Connexion students had attended Antioch during Long's term. With his departure, the relationship between the college and denomination virtually ended.

Antitrinitarianism also continued to flourish in the South in the early 1850s. William B. Wellons, editor of the Christian Sun, printed articles by Northerners Isaac Walter and Oliver Barr, who denied that Jesus Christ was "the Supreme God." Despite this, the Southern Connexion proved less enthusiastic toward the American Unitarian Association. As early as 1859, Wellons tried to distance the South from Unitarianism, claiming that unscriptural wording, rather than the substance of Trinitarian doctrine, had bothered O'Kelly. The schism from the Episcopal Methodists thus rested solely on ecclesiological grounds, not Christological. He further denied that the majority of Northern Christians were Unitarians, claiming that, with the exception of extremists
like Eli Fay, many Northerners actually denied Unitarianism. Wellons' allegation that Millard provoked criticism in the North for taking a position at Meadville rings hollow in light of the feud between the two sparked by the 1854 General Convention resolution which condemned members owning slaves. Close reading, on the other hand, reveals Wellons' unequivocal antitrinitarianism, rejecting the idea that either Christ or the Holy Ghost could rightly be called "very and eternal God." Wellons may have been playing semantics in his battle with the North, but the game was interesting. Union, as a concept, increasingly dominated his thought, minimizing concerns over Christological differences with potential union partners.

While members of the Southern Connexion remained firm in their antitrinitarianism into the 1870s, they were more desirous of the broad Protestant community's approval than the Northern Connexion. The stigma of Unitarianism offended Southern leaders. C.A. Apple, responding to attacks made in 1871 by J.J. Summerbell, defended the South as "too old-fashioned to give up the truths of God's Word" to "run after Priestly [or] Channing." Three years later, Wellons denounced Unitarianism as a "heresy," purported to show the damage to the Northern Connexion from embracing the tenet, and alleged that the Herald of Gospel Liberty had taken a strong anti-Unitarian line under Rush's editorship. Wellons' reinterpretation of the Northern consensus was motivated by real prospects of union.

The "Christian Union," a denomination centred in Illinois, Ohio, Indiana and Missouri, in 1869 made union
overtures to the North Carolina and Virginia Conference. Wellons hoped that the Northern Connexion would participate in union talks. A convention at Cincinnati in October 1874 produced a proposed basis of union. At least three of the ten original endorsers belonged to the Connexion, as did 16 of 28 (57%) who later signed. Wellons was horrified when the Herald of Gospel Liberty's editor opposed the Cincinnati Basis of Union "because it holds up the Deity of the Saviour and proclaims Christ to be God manifest in the flesh." Proceeding without the Northerners, the Southern Convention invited all interested parties to a second union convocation, planned for May 1875 in Suffolk, Virginia. The May meeting attracted representatives from six denominations, while letters from members of twelve denominations were Read aloud.

The close encounter with the 'Christian Union' was not only significant ecclesiologically, but theologically. Practical union was so important to Wellons that he ventured that the Southerners "want to see the Christian Connexion standing side by side with other denominations, esteemed evangelical or orthodox." To him, Unitarianism was a lost cause which would prove to be the Connexion's ruination if it did not promptly sever all ties. Wellons' reinterpretation of antitrinitarianism bespeaks at least three significant changes. First, despite the two branches' substantial similarity, Wellons used the doctrine of godhead to perpetuate Southern hostility toward the North. This, in turn, reveals the Southern Connexion's new-found, rigidly linear
denominational self-awareness. Last, the shift indicates a nascent desire to gain the approval of groups closer to the theological mainstream. This dilution of antitrinitarianism in the South would affect the Canada Conference in the early twentieth-century, as increasing numbers of Southerners accepted calls to Canadian pulpits. By the close of the era, some Southern leaders, such as Daniel Albright Long, were avowedly Trinitarian. Long was well-accepted in the North nonetheless; his reaction to the reunion of North and South was to suggest all break into the "long meter doxology." 122

Meanwhile, no such desire to please the putatively orthodox existed in Canada. Members welcomed their American antitrinitarian coreligionists when the ACC convened its 1870 session in Oshawa. 122 The diaries of John Shoults, 124 a preacher and sometime Conference Clerk 125 who served churches around Lake Simcoe in the 1870s, reveal that even as the group became organizationally indistinct from many dissenting religious bodies in the province, unitarianism remained a prominent feature of the Connexion's preaching. He clearly and consistently attacked the doctrine of the Trinity, 126 challenging Trinitarians to public debate. 127 Opponents, aware of the doctrinal singularity, used rare invitations to Connexion pulpits to preach explicitly and pointedly Trinitarian sermons. 128 On more than one occasion he used the code-term "Sonship of Jesus Christ" to sum up the content of antitrinitarian messages. 129 Shoults defended the Connexion's distinctive theological tenet of "Christ the Son of God" while guest-preaching at a Bible Christian Chapel in 1878. 130

Shoults' views were by no means unique. Delegates to the
1876 Conference were regaled on the topic by Daniel Prosser. William Percy was equally unconventional, denying that "the very and eternal God died upon the cross....[Jesus] claimed nothing more than sonship." The rise of a new generation of preachers prompted an 1883 edition of Kinkade's Bible Doctrine, which Percy greeted with praise. C.L. Percy, one from that new stock, could simultaneously chafe against the label "Unitarian" while scoffing at the absurdity of "one Supreme Being with a tri-personality" as found in "the Westminster Catechism." Trinitarianism's legacy of division, he opined, would soon be swallowed up in a great millennial revival in which speculation would be irrelevant. In the absence of serious potential union partners, the Canadian Connexion perpetuated its Christological challenge in this era.

Other Union Options

Union was in the air in the United States, however, in 1885. An oblique remark in the Ontario Conference Minutes dismissed the idea of "amalgamation." Others were not so cavalier. A "Union Association of Free Baptists and Christians of Connecticut" formed that year. When the ACC convened in 1886, it received a report that some Free Baptists and Christians in New York had united, although retaining their respective names. J.T. Phillips, a union proponent, wrote pointedly: "Union, or take down the sign," arguing there was little reason not to unite. Others stressed the groups' common roots and the benefits of the amalgamation which had created the Free Baptists. The ACC had aligned its
regional conferences into eight groups; Region #3 included New York, Canada, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. This region took it upon itself to forward the initiative. Talks continued, leading to "the framing of the New York 'Basis of Union,'" which garnered the approval of a majority in Region 3. Although churches in Philadelphia simply united, the dream was not realized. The plan failed, in large part, because of resistance in the West, where the Free Baptists were less well-known. A writer in southern Ohio hoped for a three-way merger of the Free Baptists, the ACC and the Christian Union. A Christian-Christian Union alliance was prematurely announced as consummated. Opponents of union also complained that Easterners had negotiated without consulting the ACC's duly-constituted union committee, that is, without regard to fixed lines of authority.

Morrill states that the negotiations broke down over the question of rationalizing overlapping educational institutions. Theology, however, also clearly played a role. J.P. Watson reacted in horror when he discovered the Trinitarian union terms the Free Baptists offered simultaneously to another Baptist group. Such union would not be possible, L. Coffin averred, because "not one in fifty, except in the southern states, are Trinitarians." Daniel Pike disclaimed not only the name, but the content of the doctrine of the Trinity. Others objected generally to theology, rejecting the "Boston Statement," a manifesto negotiated by Free Baptist and Connexion ministers in New England. It stressed doctrinal convergence as the basis of union instead of the ACC's traditional emphasis on character.
as the only test of fellowship. Some Free Baptists were equally suspicious, objecting that Connexion members would spread Unitarianism in a united body.

Union talks, until the last decade of the 1800s, had been with other religiously marginalized groups. The New England branch had shared radical roots with the Freewill Baptists, while the common restorationist urge had cost the Western wing painful losses to the Disciples. Talking to the Congregationalists, from whom the New England branch had rebelled less than a century before, constituted a striking departure. There had already been *ad hoc* cooperation, such as union services in Massachusetts and New Hampshire and Connexion ministers in the West serving Congregational churches. Morrill notes that after such practical cooperation for a number of years, a 1893 New England resolution raised both the idea of formal union and tempers. The two groups entered broader negotiations, resulting in a contention-bound report in 1894. The talks did not achieve much of substance, but are significant as a harbinger of the Connexion's complete assimilation to the mainstream, a trend which would come to fruition in the next century.

Patterns of Growth and Decline

The membership of the Canada Christian Conference in this era varied between 600 and 1,200 members. The crises of the 1830s and 1840s had taken their toll. Membership in 1848 was probably in the low-700s. The Conference began to reestablish west of Toronto in this era. It also expanded on the periphery of its core area. Yet membership may have
shrunk in this era's first decade. This changed dramatically in the late-1850s, as it shared in the marked growth many denominations experienced in the 1857-1858 Revival. Pickering's membership more than tripled between the 1857 and 1858 conference sessions, and almost doubled again by 1859. Three churches formed in 1858 and total membership catapulted to 921. News of revival reached as far as the Southern Convention.

Newmarket provides an exceptional picture of the Revival's local impact. The group had but 24 members when its new chapel was dedicated in October 1856. Hezekiah Burnham, a well-known Connexion evangelist, preached the dedication service, sparking a local revival, which was kept up by Hiram Hayward, the pastor. For the next twenty months, converts flooded in, trebling the membership. Burnham was invited back specifically as a "revivalist," preaching in 1858 and 1859.

The pace of growth slowed, membership levelling off near 1,100 by 1861. A committee created that year weighed starting services in Bowmanville and Toronto, but nothing came of it. Accessions dropped off dramatically at Newmarket, with only five new members joining between May 1858 and January 1863. Burnham's return in the latter month spurred a flurry of new memberships. He also preached in Oshawa and Mariposa. His return to Newmarket in 1864 saw seven more accessions. Three new churches reported in 1862. Franklin organized in 1864, with 45 members, roughly half the total growth in District 4 that year. Burnham returned for several meetings in Oshawa late in the winter of 1866. The Newmarket
congregation also experienced a burst of new memberships then. The 1866 Conference heard 23 church report 1205 members.

Despite the Revival, the Canada Conference lost momentum for growth. While at least eleven new churches formed between 1866 and 1886, all were within the Conference's existing geographical bounds. Similarly, while in 1880 the Conference missionary, J.H. Shoults spoke at several new points, he entered no new territory. Dales reported in 1890 that a remnant of Sharon folk had approached the Conference about joining. This he saw as a potential home mission point, but it too lay closely between existing Conference churches. By 1865, the Executive Board were conscious of their inability to capitalize on the province's flood of immigration, and actually spoke of decline. Three redundant properties were sold between 1863 and 1865, and other churches closed over the next two decades. By 1885, there were 1,200 members in 30 churches.

Despite the Conference's official interest in establishing churches in new areas of settlement, the Oshawa church refused an 1882 Missionary Board request to have Hainer preach a few weeks in Muskoka. S. Prosser founded a congregation at Chandos, between the Kawartha Lakes and Bancroft, about 1886. More than a dozen years passed before Latham Clark moved to Huntsville. In 1894, J.P. Winans worked in Burk's Falls, but no church formed there. Delay allowed other denominations to establish first. The last congregation founded in the 1800s was Hamden Mills, near Mount Carmel, which was reabsorbed by Eddystone just two years
The stagnation of the Canada Conference's membership masked a profound transition in its character. Members moved closer to the mainstream not by abjuring unusual tenets, but by accentuating their emphasis on ethical behaviour. They began adopting methods pioneered by the mainstream. This dove-tailed with a new interest in pragmatic means to integrate the converts' new-found faith with the rest of their lives. The Canada Conference, unlike many of the smaller denominations outside the mainstream, began to play a more vital role in the wide range of reform associations which burgeoned around mid-century: the Bible Society, the Young Men's Christian Association, Christian Endeavor Societies and the Evangelical Alliance. These societies, although limited to being voluntary associations of individuals, were "the 19th-century forerunners of...the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America." In light of the founders' suspicion of religious societies, this mid-century embrace of the popular, well-organized causes by Connexion members provides yet another indication of the demise of the 'aleatory' paradigm. The evangelical consensus, which had begun to blossom in the 1840s, was not complete. By contributing to the development of the consensus, the Connexion helped shape it, so that, to a small degree, the mainstream also moved toward them.

The process of gaining increased acceptance in the broader Christian community was far from instantaneous. It was plagued by the Connexion's leaders' ambivalence toward other denominations. This is illustrated by two radically
different views of the church union movements of the 1870s. Both Nicholas and J.J. Summerbell spewed venom at the "sects," denouncing a union of Presbyterians as merely an *ersatz* consolidation of sects accepting Presbyterianism and a "conspiracy" to destroy the ACC, but P.A. Henry lauded both the Methodists' limited union of 1874 and the Presbyterians' a year later as evidence of liberal Christianity spreading and the denominations learning the spirit of Christ for unity.

Members of the mainstream, for their part, were distrustful of the Canada Conference. There is a relatively straightforward yardstick by which to gauge the shift in the majority's sentiments: newspaper coverage of the two ACCs held in Canada in the nineteenth century.

When delegates to the 1870 ACC gathered in Oshawa, it was only the third time that the body had met outside New York state. Despite the presence of more than two hundred delegates, provincial newspapers took virtually no notice. The Toronto *Telegraph* carried extensive church news both on the large scale and the small but ignored the Convention. The *Globe* not only carried detailed religious news, but also reprinted articles from the Oshawa *Vindicator*, yet it too failed to note the Convention. The Toronto *Leader* was equally silent. The Methodists' *Christian Guardian* seemed oblivious to their presence. Given the extent of other coverage, the papers clearly chose deliberately to ignore the ACC. This media blackout bespeaks both a degree of progress, that the Convention members had shed enough of their peculiar image so as not to draw ridicule, but also continued reticence; they were not yet within the pale of mainstream Protestantism.
Press reaction in 1898, when the ACC assembled in Newmarket from 11-18 October, was notably dissimilar. The Toronto Star announced its opening, but gave no reports. The Toronto Globe provided fairly thorough coverage. The increased attention does not simply reflect the mainstream's developing a broader attitude. The local weekly's reportage revealed an unusual confirmation of the ACC movement's transition toward the mainstream. The title "Reverend" was rarely used self-appellatively. Its occasional appearance, as describing some at Henry's funeral or in the 1880 Conference plebiscite, accentuates its absence elsewhere. It is virtually absent from Conference Minutes. In the months leading up to the Convention, the Newmarket Era fairly consistently, but far from universally, referred to Ontario Conference ministers as "Elder." Usage changed abruptly with the 14 October issue, which came out during the Convention. "Elder" almost disappeared, except to describe some of the older ministers, while the majority adopted the less distinctive "Reverend" as their standard title.

A clue to the process which led to the 1898 change in attitude both by the mainstream and the ACC is found in a Newmarket Era report on the pattern of revival in 1858. The townsfolk followed the pattern of other places, the evangelical churches having union prayer meetings daily. There had already been notable revival in the Wesleyan and 'Christian' churches. Brian Clarke notes that after 1850, partly under the Holiness movement's influence, revivalism became interdenominationalized, so that revivals did not necessarily benefit only one particular denomination. As
"union" meetings, involving leaders from more than one denomination, became more common, theological differences were downplayed. This mirrored a key Connexion plank, that character was the basis for fellowship, not doctrinal rectitude. Greater exposure to other denominations' ministers increased the likelihood of acquiring novel methods. Visitors to the 1864 Canada Conference included ministers from the smaller, more radical Methodist bodies. Indeed, from January 1865 until March 1866, the Newmarket district employed an Episcopal Methodist as one of their preachers. By 1879, clerical visitors to the Christian Conference included "Canada Methodists." As early as 1868 a Baptist minister preached an evening service at the Newmarket Christian Church.

"Protracted meetings," a form of revivalism imported by Methodists in 1832, were apparently not adopted by the Connexion until 1852. This device was used fairly consistently through the 1860s and 1870s and was still common in 1887. It could be a particularly effective recruitment tool; during one campaign in 1869, C.H. Hainer reported 47 converts in a single night. The "protracted meeting" was a series of services, often held every night except Saturdays, which lasted for several weeks. Shoults' diaries contain detailed listings of such meetings. He and Tatton held a series from 21 March to 29 April 1870 at Whitevale; another series in Brougham that fall; followed in rapid succession by meetings at Markham, Bloomington and Ringwood. The Whitevale meetings were interdenominational. Most converts joined the Christians, three became Baptists.

In 1881, the Newmarket Christian church joined others in
the town to mount evangelistic services. Evangelist D.O. Crossley spoke at a Union revival service in the Newmarket Christian Church eight years later. The pace of cooperation accelerated as century drew to close. One finds frequent reports in the 1890s of Christian Conference preachers involved in pulpit exchanges and union services with Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists. Newmarket’s Congregationalists, Methodists and Christians held union revival services in 1892. Hainer preached twice in the Congregational Church, and the professional evangelists preached in the Christian Church. Two-thirds of the converts (78) joined the Methodists and a sixth (20) the Christian Church, the remaining sixth divided between the Presbyterians (9), Congregationalists (6) and Friends (2). Markham was involved in ‘Crossley and Hunter’ meetings in 1898. The Christian Conference churches were clearly becoming part of the fabric of Protestantism in their localities.

Involvement in Mainstream Causes: The Religious Societies

Implementation of practical measures, such as distributing Bibles, reduced a sense of differentiation between the Connexion and the mainstream. The Bible Society’s theological neutrality, exemplified by its insistence upon circulating the Bible without note or comment, appealed to the Connexion, which defended the right of individual interpretation. Connexion layfolk began to act as local leaders in the 1860s: M.W. Bogart on the 1862 Committee for the Newmarket Branch of the Bible Society; Thomas Eck as a vice-president in 1865 at Oshawa. The "Christian"
denomination was specifically noted in an 1864 list of “professing Christians” who were expected at the Oshawa Branch Bible Society meeting.245

The location of Branch meetings betrayed a significant change. The Wesleyan chapel was the venue for the Oshawa Branch of the Upper Canada Bible Society in 1862.246 Three years later, the Oshawa Bible Society first met in the Christian Church.247 In the late 1850s and early 1860s, likewise, meetings of the Newmarket Branch were held consistently at the Congregational Church248 or the Wesleyan Chapel.249 By 1877, “the clergy of all our evangelical churches” met in the Christian Church for the Branch meeting.250

Rouse calls Bible revision the “supreme instance of the ecumenical effect of the common labour of Christian scholars.”251 Austin Craig, chosen to the American revision committee and consulted by Philip Schaff, turned down the appointment before formally serving.252

Members of the Christian Connexion tended to endorse the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA). The YMCA, founded in Britain in 1844 (the Young Women’s Christian Association formed in 1854), soon spread to the United States.253 These movements were crucial to later ecumenical developments, particularly as a training ground for leadership. Wellons took note of the YMCA’s role in the 1858 Revival.254 The movements’ express aim to accept anyone displaying good Christian character attracted members of the Connexion.255 Nicholas Summerbell enthusiastically endorsed the YMCA, as “but a popular form of the Christian Church.”256 Ministers in Canada threw their weight behind the movement: “Elder Nelson"
was one of three ministers present at the 1868 formation of the Oshawa YMCA;237 the initial organizational meeting in Newmarket in 1868 was held in the Christian Church.238 When S.M. Fowler, an old-school curmudgeon, objected to members of the denomination participating at the 1891 World YMCA Conference because Trinitarian doxologies were used,239 others rushed to defend the YMCA's organizational effectiveness.240

Mobilizing Christian youth for service was also the aim of the "Young People's Societies of Christian Endeavor," a movement formed in 1881 by Francis E. Clark, a Congregationalist pastor.241 The Endeavor movement's impact on the ACC differed from earlier interdenominational efforts because it arose at a time when the ACC actively sought ties with the mainstream. ACC members were able to get in on the ground-floor, as it were, contributing to the organization from its inception. The third Christian Endeavor Society ever formed was in an ACC congregation.242 The Endeavor movement was, like the Connexion, creedless, placing greater stress on personal piety than formal doctrinal content; "the Endeavor Covenant was about following more than about believing."243

The first note of Christian Endeavor in the Ontario Conference was at Oshawa in 1891.244 A Christian Endeavor Society formed by 1892 in Bloomington245 and one the next year at Ringwood.246 Several Ontario Conference delegates attended the 1895 Boston "C.E." Convention.247 W.P. Fletcher cycled 1,000 miles the following year in order to report on the Convention to each church.248 In 1898, the Newmarket Christian Church was packed by the York County Union meetings.249 This multi-denominational attribute was not an unalloyed blessing.
Both contemporary leaders and modern historians have noted that at times it ran at cross-purposes to the imperative of denominational self-preservation. The movement was accused of bleeding off leadership energy, leaving the ACC inadequately staffed for its own programs. The Endeavor movement was also significant because it combined the twin emphases of individual salvation and social concern, making it attractive both to evangelicals and liberals. In that appeal, however, lay dormant the seeds of problems which would blossom in the next century.

The ideal of Christian unity, long pivotal to the Connexion, began to captivate more prominent Protestants. Over 800 Christian leaders, representing 56 branches of Christianity, gathered in London, England in 1846 to found the "Evangelical Alliance." Although it shied away from proposals for organic union, the Alliance became a major ecumenical force. A branch of the Alliance formed in Toronto in 1847. The doctrinal statement presented problems for Connexion members, as it was emphatically Trinitarian and insisted on belief in the human race's "Total Depravity."

The Southern Convention embraced the Evangelical Alliance more enthusiastically than the North. Wellons attended the 1873 New York City meeting and the 1874 Southern Christian Convention explicitly endorsed the Evangelical Alliance's goals. The 1874 ACC passed a similar resolution, but the Herald ignored it, leading Wellons to question the editor's commitment to evangelicalism. Northern reticence was fueled both by a concern that the ACC's "ambitions" did not square precisely with those of the Alliance, and because some in the
Alliance sought to exclude ACC members."

The Evangelical Alliance sponsored, among other ventures, a "Week of Prayer" beginning the first Sunday of the New Year, which one historian characterized as the Alliance's "most significant achievement." The Palladium printed the 1859 call for united prayer by all Canadian Protestants. The Oshawa Christian Church was one of five churches in which the 1865 week of prayer meetings were held. Arrangements in Newmarket for the Week of Prayer, from 1876 on, included all the "evangelical churches," including the Christian Church. The suggested topics for the Week of Prayer found their way into the Herald by 1891.

Relations with the American Movement at Century's End

The total membership reported to the 1895 Ontario Conference by 22 congregations had plunged to a mere 839. Churches ranged from 10 to 78 members, with a mean membership of 38. Just three years later, matters improved somewhat, the reported total membership surging to 1009 as revivals rippled through the Conference's 23 congregations. The Ontario group represented less than one percent of the ACC's 118,229 members, while its congregations were considerably smaller than the ACC's mean membership of 61.

Through most of this period the Canada Conference maintained strong links with the ACC. David Millard had toured in 1851 and 1860. Moses Cummings, the Palladium's last editor, attended the 1861 Canada Conference. Canadian delegates were sent to most of the ACC meetings. Henry and G.W. Colston were delegates in 1854, when Henry was elected
to the Board of Missions. Henry attended the 1858 Convention. Delegates to the 1866 ACC went at Conference expense. The 1870 Convention actually met in Canada.

The thread binding the Ontario Conference to its ACC partners almost snapped in the early 1880s. Henry had been for years the only Herald correspondent from Canada. His death, according to Warren Weeks, weakened the two countries' link, which was renewed by Weeks' attending the 1883 Ontario Conference. Week's presence also stimulated a burst of new Canadian Herald subscriptions, and Shoults was appointed as correspondent. Americans became fairly regular visitors at Ontario Conferences once more. Garbutt and C.L. Percy were appointed to the 1886 Convention; C.H. Hainer in 1890; D. Prosser in 1894; the ACC convened in Newmarket in 1898. It is significant that no one individual attended regularly, while Prosser had his way paid in recognition of his official duties as Ontario Conference President. This change in attendance pattern reflects the change from the remnant of affective bonding which persisted at the beginning of the era, exemplified by Millard's and Henry's links, to the juridical basis of relationship typified by the unpatterned exchange at the period's close.

The other significant development late in this era was the restoration of ties with the South, which had been severed as the period opened. The 1870 ACC at Oshawa had also been significant for a less obvious reason: the potential to heal the deep wounds caused by the Civil War. In the post-Civil War era it was almost predictable that Wellons, a fanatical Confederate who had refused to surrender with Lee, would deny
vehemently any practical links to the Northerners." Despite vitriolic denunciations, however, there are intimations that Wellons was open to *rapprochement* almost from the cessation of hostilities. What appears to be the first extant post-War issue of the *Christian Sun* has a letter from New Yorker J.E. Brush. A few months later Wellons reprinted an article from New York's *Christian Messenger*. There is solid evidence that Wellons and Garbutt, editor of the *Canada Christian Magazine*, were exchanging papers in 1868. It is of particular consequence that the second post-War Quadrennial meeting was held in Canada, relatively neutral territory, which allowed Wellons to attend without losing face. Wellons handled Southern payments for vote entitlement and delivered a report on the *Christian Sun* at the Convention. Wellons continued to warm toward the North in 1871, giving Daniel Pike's *Christian Herald* a glowing endorsement.

Southern openness was not limited to Wellons; two New England ministers were accepted as fraternal delegates by the 1870 Southern Christian Convention. Northerners reciprocated, evinced by the number of *Christian Sun* subscribers in Ohio, Indiana, New Jersey, and even New England. By 1874, Wellons began printing articles by Thomas Holmes, of Union Christian College in Indiana, as well some from the pen of Austin Craig, President of the CBI. Wellons participated at the opening of CBI's Stanfordville, New York campus in 1874. The concept of reuniting the Northern and Southern Christian Conventions received positive treatment from Wellons as early as 1875. Recognition of this state of affairs is particularly germane to this thesis because it
highlights at once the affective ties, which earlier would have constituted a state of union, and the rigidity of denominational organization, which stymied all attempts at formal reunion for nearly two decades.

Members in both regions continued to pursue the goal of reunion. H.Y. Rush became a corresponding editor of the Sun in 1882 and Southern fraternal delegates attended the ACC in 1882 and 1886. In 1886 they were offered seats as official delegates, but declined, as they had not been authorized to do so; the union was cemented in 1890. George W. Dunn, a black preacher from North Carolina, was accredited to the 1890 Convention, the first coloured delegate ever. The terms of the reunion emphasized the linearity of organization. The Southern Convention accepted a role within the ACC, but retained its autonomy. A large contingent of Southerners attended the 1898 ACC in Newmarket.

Conclusion

The timescale of this and the preceding chapter is large, nearly half of this dissertation's entire span. This reflects the relatively slow pace of change. Yet positions on the various issues treated in this chapter were in a state of constant ferment throughout this half-century. The cumulative effect of these adjustments was a marked reduction in the distance between the Christian Connexion and the mainstream, setting the stage for the Connexion's assimilation into the religious establishment.

Great attention in this chapter has been given to the group's antitrinitarianism. Viewed simplistically, little
changed; they began and ended the era as, essentially, Pelagian Arians. Profound changes occurred, however, in ties with the American Unitarian Association. Links grew strongest in the early 1850s, when the two jointly founded Antioch College. The Ontario Conference helped to form, support and manage Antioch. The initiative reveals not only the growing linearity inherent in the inter-congregational cooperation necessitated by a project of its size (i.e. it is yet more evidence of abandonment of the 'aleatory' paradigm), but also the introduction of modern liberalism into the Connexion. The idea of "liberalism" began to shift from anti-Calvinist libertarianism rooted in a folk version of "Common Sense" thought to a reflective and scholarly form of modernism tied to European philosophy. The Unitarians, ironically, drew the ACC closer to the mainstream. The similar views of godhead encouraged closer ties, which stimulated Connexion leaders to think in patterns similar to those common in the mainstream, so that when relations with the Unitarians soured, the ACC reacted not by returning to idiosyncratic singularity, but by moving closer to the rest of the as-yet-undivided mainstream.

The faith experience of members of the Christian Connexion began more closely to resemble that of members of the established denominations. In addition to union discussions with groups closer to their own tradition (the Disciples and the Free Baptists), the ACC began talks with the Congregationalists. Although unfruitful in the short-term, these talks reveal a degree of acceptance on the part of a well-established liberal denomination.

The Canada Conference was in serious decline by mid-
century. The late-1850s witnessed effective revivalism, boosting membership back to levels of the early 1830s. The mere fact that they shared in the success of the Revival of 1857-1858 gave them a credibility among evangelical denominations. Canada Conference ministers began adopting techniques, like the protracted meeting, which had been pioneered by the putatively orthodox. The rapid growth lasted only a few years, followed by a time of stagnation. No new territory was entered, growth occurring in areas where the Conference already had churches. The flat membership statistics mask a profound shift in the group's attitude to cross-denominational organizations. Concern for ethical rectitude overwhelmed the denomination's former reticence to participate in the plethora of special-interest religious societies. Members of the Ontario Conference provided some leadership in local branches of the Bible Society, the "YMCA" and the Christian Endeavor societies. The hesitancy of some within the Connexion to embrace the Evangelical Alliance indicates a continuing sense of detachment from the religious majority.

The Canada, later Ontario, Conference remained, throughout this period, an adjunct of the American movement. Two sessions of the ACC were held in Canada: 1870 at Oshawa and 1898 at Newmarket. The secular press ignored the first event, but gave reasonable coverage to the second, were indicative of the Conference's growing acceptance by the broader Protestant culture. During the 1890s, the churches of the Southern Christian Convention restored their relationship with the ACC. The reunion process was linear and well-
delineated. The denomination entered the new century as a small, but united movement. No longer ecclesiologically distinct from other congregationally-governed denominations within the Protestant mainstream, and already gaining acceptance because of their contributions to the plethora of religious societies which shared their strong ethical emphasis, the Ontario Conference was poised to enter fully into the work of that mainstream.
REFERENCES

1 Christian Guardian (Rochester, New York) I,12 22 March 1849, p.92,c.2

2 William Summer Harwood, Life and letters of Austin Craig (New York, Fleming H. Revell 1908), p.155


4 Christian Palladium (hereafter cited as CP) XXIX,24 24 November 1860, p.272b,c.2. Thomas Garbutt later also refused to adopt the "Unitarian" label, for precisely the same reason, that not all denominations of Christians would find this appropriate [Canada Christian Magazine (hereafter cited as CCM) June 1868, p.4]. This scruple does not negate the prevalence of unitarian theology, any more than Garbutt's disavowal of the label "Baptist" suggests that the Canadian Conference was not adult baptist in practice [cf. CCM June 1868, p.18].

5 CP XXIX,23 10 November 1860, p.260b,cc.1-2. One difference noted was the Unitarians' particular appeal to the wealthy, while the Connexion served a more common constituency.

6 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.74. The church was in New Jersey.

7 I.e. under the auspices of the American Unitarian Association [Harwood, Austin Craig, pp.87,211].

8 Oshawa Christian Church, Minutes of Fellowship Meetings, 1831-1868, manuscript minute book in the United Church Archives (hereafter cited as "Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831"), p.35. The Toronto congregation donated a lamp for the Oshawa sanctuary; there is no record of the Oshawa group receiving financial aid from the Unitarians.

9 CP XXIX,14 7 July 1860, p.223a,c.1

10 CP XXIX,4 18 February 1860, p.60,c.1
11 CP XXIX,19 15 September 1860, p.296,c.1: emphasis in original; cf. CP XXIX,4 18 February 1860, p.59,c.1

12 CP XXIX,7 31 March 1860, p.109,c.2-p.110,c.1

13 CP XXX,13 28 March 1861, p.98,c.4

14 Newmarket Era 6 March 1857, p.2,c.3

15 CP XXIX,16 4 August 1860, p.241a,c.2; XXIX,19 15 September 1860, p.223b,c.1

16 Commitments from advance subscribers were needed to secure an economically viable print run. By July 1861, 314 copies had been underwritten, including Earl's 12 [CP XXX,30 25 July 1861, p.231,c.5].

17 CP XXX,15 11 April 1861, p.114,cc.2-3

18 Newmarket Era 26 June 1857, p.2,c.3. Collins did not specify his objections to the Unitarians.

19 Newmarket Era 17 July 1857, p.2,c.4

20 Preaching continued to be visceral, although long sermons were increasingly discouraged [Henry Crampton, "One Hundred Editorial Gems for the Centennial Crown of the Herald of Gospel Liberty" in Centennial of Religious Journalism, J. Pressley Barrett, ed. (Dayton, Ohio, Christian Publishing Association 1908), pp.187-188. The article was originally written in 1866]. Sermons over an hour were not uncommon in 1855, although they were increasingly unpopular [Crampton, "One Hundred Editorial Gems," p.149]. Craig referred to two and a half hours of lecturing (1865) as a sermon and a half, suggesting one and a half hours as a normal sermon [Harwood, Austin Craig, p.295].


22 Newmarket Era 15 June 1877, p.2,c.5. It should be noted, however, that the use of the long-metre Doxology was controversial. Wellons claimed, simply on the basis that the word "trinitarian" does not appear in the piece, that the it was not inherently Trinitarian [Christian Sun (hereafter cited as CS) XXVIII,22 28 May 1875, p.2,cc.2-3].

23 Millard, "Christian Connexion," p.170,c.2

24 Gardner, Matthew, The Autobiography of Elder Matthew Gardner, a minister in the Christian Church Sixty-three Years
ed. Nicholas Summerbell (Dayton, Ohio, Christian Publishing Association 1874), p.176

25 CCM 3,7 December 1868, p.121,c.2

26 Herald of Gospel liberty (hereafter cited as HGL) XCVII,4 26 January 1905, p.50,c.1

27 John H. Shoults' diary, #17, pp.5-6, 16-19 September 1880

28 Newmarket Christian Church, Church Minute Book 1856-1895, p.285

29 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, pp.287-291,294,299,301-303. Negotiations were serious enough to prompt the Newmarket congregation to ask Brinkworth to forward his credentials to the 1882 Canada Conference for acceptance. Brinkworth was still alive in 1903, when he friends in Canada sent him a box of Indian handicraft work [HGL XCV,14 2 April 1903, p.212,cc.2-3].

30 HGL LXXV,33 16 August 1883, p.516,c.3; LXXV,34 23 August 1883, p.537,c.1

31 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.288


33 Harwood, Austin Craig, pp.278,288,293. He was "non-resident professor of 'the Department of Christian Life and Experience'."


35 Daniel Boyer [E.W. Humphreys, Memoirs of Deceased Christian Ministers: or, Brief Sketches of the Lives and Labors of 975 Ministers, Who Died Between 1793 and 1880 (Dayton, Ohio, Christian Publishing Association, 1880), pp.63-64]; W.D. Halley [Humphrey, Deceased Christian Ministers, p.154. Halley died young.]; C.G. Ward [Humphreys, Deceased Christian Ministers, p.381]; Oliver Tuckerman [Humphreys, Deceased Christian Ministers, p.369]. Craig alluded in general terms to the significant number of young Connexion preachers who were hired by Unitarian congregations after having studied at Meadville, most being attracted by the superior pay [Harwood, Austin Craig, p.311]. Olbricht, citing an 1910 work, notes that most of the Christian Connexion students who went to Meadville ended up, at least for a time, in a Unitarian pulpit, although few Unitarians served Christian pulpits.

36 Christian Pulpit November 1870, p.448; cf. Humphreys, Deceased Christian Ministers, pp.251-252

37 CCM 3,7 December 1868, p.110; CCM 3,1 June 1868, p.12,c.1. He was ordained in 1855 [Canada Minutes 1855, p.69] and withdrew from the Canada Conference in 1859 [Canada Minutes 1859, p.102].

38 CCM 3,7 December 1868, pp.108-111. N.C. Earl "from Meadville" visited the April 1868 Fellowship Meeting at Newmarket Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.118] and preached in the King Church that spring [CCM June 1868, p.12,c.1]. He apparently got into a difficulty with the Brougham Church in 1869, resulting in a summons to appear before the Conference Executive Board [CCM 3,12 May 1869, 196,c.2]. His name does not appear in any of the extant Conference minutes in the early 1870s.


40 Canada Minutes 1855, p.65; Canada Minutes 1856, p.73. The Conference approved specifically both the concept and Mann' presidency.

41 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.155; Morrill, History, p.194. The nominations occurred on the same day in 1852 (neither source specified the date).

42 Morrill, History, p.195. Mann tried to induce Austin Craig to join them in 1852 [Harwood, Austin Craig, pp.156,162-163].

43 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.178, cf. p.171. This figure probably included those attending the college's preparatory school.

44 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.138

45 Canada Minutes 1856, p.74; Canada Minutes 1857, p.87. There are no records of appointments in subsequent years, although it is not clear why this is so. The absence of Canadian appointments may reflect the Connexion's reduced representation on boards after the college's reestablishment.

46 Canada Minutes 1856, p.73. Two years later the Southerners' Christian Sun reprinted a piece from the Canadians' Christian Offering which pressed Antioch College's financial claims [CS XIV,47 12 March 1858, p.2,c.3].

47 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.141
48 Harwood, Austin Craig, pp.204-205. Craig was at Blooming Grove, New York. He was followed there by Warren Hathaway [CCM 3,7 September 1868, p.62,c.1]. Craig was by then serving a Unitarian-oriented congregation near New York City.

49 Morrill, History, p.193

50 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.216

51 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.215

52 Canada Minutes 1859, p.106

53 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.224

54 CP XXX,27 4 July 1861, p.212a,c.1

55 CP XXX,48 28 November 1861, p.361b,cc.1-2. Flagg noted that the Unitarians who were cool toward revivalism, did not benefit from the 1857-58 Revival in the same way the Christians had, and were in a general state of decline.

56 CP XXX,48 28 November 1861, p.360b,c.2

57 CP XXX,48 28 November 1861, p.360b,cc.2-3

58 For a discussion of Pelagianism within the Connexion, see Chapter Two, pp.146ff.

59 Nicholas Summerbell, History of the Christian Church, from its Establishment by Christ to A.D. 1871. Including the Rise of the Roman Heresy, all the Popes, the Temporal Power, the Abominations of Popery, and the Reformation. 3rd edition (Cincinnati, The Office of the Christian Pulpit 1873), pp.371,c.2ff.

60 Summerbell, History of the Christian Church, p.366,c.2; p.372,c.2. Summerbell alleged that Pelagius had accepted the biblical idea that character, not doctrine, was the true test test for fellowship, which ran him afoul of the evil Romanists.

61 Crampton, "One Hundred Editorial Gems," p.168

62 S.M. Fowler wrote in 1857: "God gave man a law which he can obey and ought to obey,' that obedience to this law produces 'life and peace,' disobedience, sin and death" [Newmarket Era 13 February 1857, p.2,c.3]. A week later he added: "'Sin,' we believe, 'is a transgression of the law; but as there can be no transgression without action, no being can be a sinner before they act; therefore do not believe men are born sinners; but we believe they are born with stronger proclivities to sin, to wrong action ,than they would have been had sin never entered the world. But this inclination, or tendency to wrong we believe is so far held in check, by
the superabounding grace of God, that a man now no more sins of necessity than did Adam" [Era 20 February 1857, p.2,c.4].

63 The 1864 Canada Conference affirmed: "all are innocent in the sight of God, until[sic] they learn to sin" [Canada Minutes 1864, p.169].

64 George M. Marsden, Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism (Grand Rapids, Michigan, William B. Eerdmans Co. 1991), pp.166,168

65 Marsden, Understanding Fundamentalism, p.129. Marsden refers to this philosophical shift as the "beatification of Bacon."


67 Michael Gauvreau, The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression (McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston 1991), pp.17-18. Gauvreau notes that only the methodological element caught the attention of the mainstream theological schools in Canada, a situation quite different from that in the United States, where the entire Scottish Common Sense philosophy captivated the evangelical academy.

68 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.193

69 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.251

70 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.324. R.J Wright taught Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy and Church History at CBI in 1880.

71 e.g. Canada Minutes 1854, p.54

72 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.218

73 Harwood, Austin Craig, pp.219,222

74 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.300

75 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.318

76 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.335

77 HGL LXXV,34 23 August 1883, p.534,c.2. It is likely that others expressed such views earlier. There may even have been some controversy as higher critical views first gained currency in the Connexion. The Herald of Gospel Liberty before 1883 is not, however, readily available, making it
difficult to trace. For the purposes of this thesis, it is sufficient to demonstrate that at some point during the period covered in this chapter, modern liberal theology began to be adopted by members.

78 HGL LXXVIII,17 29 April 1886, p.261,c.3
79 HGL LXXV,24 14 June 1883, p.375,c.1
80 HGL LXXVII,18 30 April 1885, p.269,c.2; LXXV,25 21 June 1883, p.390,c.3
82 cited in Olbricht, "Connexion and Unitarian Relations," p.186
84 Harwood, *Austin Craig*, p.225. At the time of the controversy, both were situated in Yellow Springs, Ohio.
85 Harwood, *Austin Craig*, p.229. Hill was president of Harvard from 1862 to 1868.
86 Harwood, *Austin Craig*, pp.225,235,245,250. Morrill [*History*, p.197] lists Craig's presidency as running from 1862 to 1866, but Craig did not accept the post until 1864, resigning it again that year, reaccepting it, and finally resigning in 1868 to take the presidency of the Christian Biblical Institute.
87 Harwood, *Austin Craig*, p.248
88 Harwood, *Austin Craig*, p.251
89 Harwood, *Austin Craig*, p.265
90 Harwood, *Austin Craig*, p.260. The 1866 Canada Conference continued to recommend both Antioch and Meadville, but threw their support more firmly behind the new Biblical School planned for New York State [*Canada Minutes 1866*, pp.199-200].
91 Morrill, *History*, p.307
92 Summerbell, *History of the Christian Church*, p.547. One must bear in mind that "sectarian" was considered an insult by ACC members.
93 Summerbell, *History of the Christian Church*, pp.129ff., cf. pp.67,141,213,245,c.2. Summerbell's historiography is noteworthy. In the absence of solid primary evidence, he constantly repeated the same citation of a congenial secondary
source to drive home a dubious point. He claimed the Second Council of Antioch (341) took a position similar to his [p.250,c.1].

94 Summerbell, *History of the Christian Church*, p.142

95 Summerbell, *History of the Christian Church*, p.559

96 Summerbell, *History of the Christian Church*, p.300, cf. pp.110,139-140


98 Summerbell, *History of the Christian Church*, pp.539,549. At the 1870 meeting, Summerbell developed a friendship with Thomas Henry.

99 Newmarket Church Minute Book, 1856, p.204; Oshawa Fellowship Book, 1868, p.76. These new buildings were dedicated a week apart. Hathaway had earlier preached at the dedication of the new Orono chapel in 1868, his first visit to Canada [CCM 3,7 September 1868, p.62,c.1]. Nicholas Summerbell's son, J.J. Summerbell, preached eight times at Oshawa while they were without a minister in 1875-1876 [Canada Minutes 1876, p.6].


101 Morrill, *History*, p.197

102 HGL LXXV,1 4 January 1883, p.9,c.3

103 HGL LXXXIII,4 22 January 1891, p.52,c.1

104 Stokes and Scott, *Christian Church in the South*, p.124


106 CS VIII,4 12 March 1851, p.1,c.4; VIII,5 26 March 1851, p.1,c.4
107 Crampton, "One Hundred Editorial Gems," p.171


109 Wellons, Not Unitarians, p.75

110 Wellons, Not Unitarians, pp.86-87

111 CS XXIV,45 8 December 1871, p.2,c.4

112 CS XXVII,5 30 January 1874, p.2,c.2; cf. 21 May 1875, p.2,c.3

113 Morrill, History, p.308. Morrill notes that some Christian Union churches had once been part of the Connexion, but alienated during the Civil War. A local union forming in Iowa in 1873.

114 CS XXVI,37 12 September 1873, p.2,c.4

115 CS XXVII,5 30 January 1874, p.2,cc.2-3; XXVII,14 3 April 1874, p.2,c.3

116 CS XXVIII,10 5 March 1875, p.2,c.1

117 CS XXVIII,10 5 March 1875, p.2,c.2

118 CS XXVIII,13 26 March 1875, p.2,c.2. Little came of this movement. Wellons, one of its prominent leaders, died in 1877, while J.T. Whitley, the movement's secretary, frustrated by his colleagues intransigence, left the denomination shortly after [Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.260].

119 CS XXVIII,21 21 May 1875, p.2,c.1. The six denominations represented in person were: the Southern "Christians, the Christian Connexion of the North, the Presbyterians, the Baptists and the Methodists." Denominations whose members sent letters were: "the Episcopalians, the Christian Union of the West, United Brethren, Friends, Cumberland, United and Old School Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Free Baptists, Reformers, Northern and Southern Methodists."

120 CS XXVIII,21 21 May 1875, p.2,c.3

121 CS XXVIII,21 21 May 1875, p.2,c.3

122 HGL LXXXII,20 15 May 1890, p.312,c.2

123 Oshawa Vindicator 12 October 1870, p.2,c.5. Craig preached.
124 Shoults began to keep a diary around 1869. Twenty-three of his diaries, covering 1870 to 1884, have recently been acquired by the University of Waterloo.

125 Shoults was elected Clerk of the Canada Conference in 1871 [Shoults' diary #6, 13 September 1871].

126 Shoults' diary #4, p.10, 24 April 1870. For more veiled references, cf. Shoults' diary #3, p.13, 6 February 1870, Shoults' diary #7, 3 April 1872 on Ephesians 4:5's "One Lord," again on Ephesians 4:5 at Port Perry, Shoults' diary #8, 12 January 1873.

127 He undertook a series of debates at Seagrave, near Little Britain [Shoults' diary #10, 14,18 and 25 April, 2 May and 19 December 1875; also Shoults' diary #11, 2 January and 12 March 1876]. On the underlined dates Shoults preached from 1 Corinthians 8:4-6.

128 Shoults' diary #7, 21 January 1872. Shoults allowed a Wesleyan minister to preach at Ringwood.

129 Shoults' diary #11, 2 January and 12 March 1876

130 Shoults' diary #13, p.17, 15 September 1878

131 Ontario Minutes 1876, p.13

132 HGL LXXV,22 31 May 1883, p.343,c.1

133 William Percy praised Kinkade’s Bible Doctrine effusively [HGL LXXV,19 10 May 1883, p.300,c.1; cf. LXXV,14 5 April 1883, p.216,c.2], as did A.H. Clark of Illinois [HGL LXXV,34 23 August 1883, p.535,c.3]. The book was available a few years later in Toronto through W.S. Clark’s alternative medical practice [HGL LXXX,44 1 November 1888, p.702,c.1]. Clark also stocked with other books by members of the American Christian Convention, including Asa Coan’s sermons and the "Christian" hymnal.

134 HGL LXXVII,18 30 April 1885, p.279,c.2

135 HGL LXXVII,20 14 May 1885, p.306,c.2

136 Charles Lister, the Disciples preacher who attempted to reorganize the King Christian Church, claimed that members of that congregation had been willing to abandon "Unitarianism" for the sake of union [CP XXX,15 11 April 1861, p.114,c.2]. There is, however, no other evidence to corroborate this claim.

An oblique reference in the 1875 President’s Address [Ontario Minutes 1875, p.19] to the desirability of taking part in Baptist union talks is the only note in the Canadian Minutes of this era of willingness to discuss the topic with anyone other than the Disciples.
137 It may be unusual to discuss the Canada/Ontario Conference union negotiations with the Disciples in a different chapter. The talks with the Free Baptists and Congregationalists did not have the same organizational implications. Rather the latter inform an understanding of the ACC's movement toward the mainstream.

138 **Ontario Minutes** 1885, p.30

139 *HGL* LXXVIII,47 25 November 1886, p.746,c.3. This was reportedly the body's "second annual meeting" in 1886. To what extent a functional union occurred may be seriously questioned, but some contemporaries perceived some form of union to have taken place.

140 *HGL* LXXVIII,43 28 October 1886, p.685,c.1. There was a local union conference consisting of two Christian and six Free Baptist churches. One speaker at the Convention described the plan as "only a truce or an armed neutrality."

141 *HGL* LXXVIII,14 8 April 1886, p.219,cc.2-3

142 *HGL* LXXIX,1 6 January 1887, p.6,cc.1-2. The Free Baptists were themselves a hybrid, created by merging the Freewill and Free Communion Baptists [*HGL* LXXVIII,42 21 October 1886, p.669,c.3].

143 *HGL* LXXVIII,40 7 October 1886, p.630,c.1

144 The Canadians do not appear to have been vitally involved. True, at least Fowler offered his opinion on the amalgamation, but the 1886 Minutes are silent. C.J. Jones, editor of the *Herald of Gospel Liberty* noted only New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey as parties to the negotiations [*HGL* LXXIX,12 24 March 1887, p.184,c.3, p.185,c.1]. Morrill, on the other hand, included the Canadians among the affected conferences [*Morrill, History*, p.301].

145 *HGL* LXXIX,1 6 January 1887, p.6,c.2

146 *HGL* LXXIX,12 24 March 1887, p.185,c.3

147 *HGL* LXXVIII,16 22 April 1886, p.250,cc.2-3

148 *HGL* LXXVIII,45 11 November 1886, p.716,c.3

149 *HGL* LXXIX,10 10 March 1887, p.152,c.3; LXXIX,13 31 March 1887, p.199,c.2

150 Morrill, *History*, p.258

151 *HGL* LXXIX,14 7 April 1887, p.216,c.3. A.A. Lason noted that refusal to accept the doctrine of the Trinity had prevented his father from becoming a Freewill Baptist minister. He asserted that the "mission of the trinity is
entirely that of division." [HGL LXXVIII,47 25 November 1886, p.746,c.2].

152 HGL LXXVIII,13 1 April 1886, p.198,c.3
153 HGL LXXIX,11 17 March 1887, p.162,c.3
154 HGL LXXVIII,18 6 May 1886, p.284,cc.1-2. This particular statement was apparently made by C.J. Jones, the editor.

155 Some did not articulate their concerns clearly, but merely howled about being "given away" to a sect [HGL LXXIX,9 3 March 1887, p.130,c.3]. S.M. Fowler, then residing in Oshawa, offered a similar objection [HGL LXXVIII,14 8 April 1886, p.218,c.3]. ACC delegate E.R. Wade of New York refused to accept Trinitarianism as a price for union [HGL LXXVIII,43 28 October 1886, p.685,c.1].

156 HGL LXXVIII,41 14 October 1886, p.646,c.1. H. Whitcher was a former member of the same church in Ogden, New York from which S.M. Fowler hailed. Six ministers had emerged from the church before it eventually folded: three Christian and three Free Baptist. [HGL LXXVIII,44 4 November 1886, p.697,c.3]. Whitcher also condemned the new edition of Kinkade’s Bible Doctrine.

157 HGL LXXV,16 19 April 1883, p.243,c.3
158 HGL LXXV,31 2 August 1883, p.488,c.2. A young minister in the West serving a Congregational church was offended by comments in the Herald against ministers doing so. This suggests ACC pastors accepting Congregationalist pulpits had become a relatively common practice.

159 Morrill, History, p.313. A few ministers were subsequently lost to the Congregationalists as a result of these fruitless negotiations.


161 Canada Minutes 1844, p.3: this page contains figures for 1844, 1845 and 1848.

Membership records for this period are abysmal. The 24 churches reporting in 1845 had an aggregate membership of 799, with a mean membership of 33.3 members per congregation. Only thirteen congregations reported in 1848, with an aggregate membership of 467 and a mean membership of 35.9. Projection from this base is risky; assumptions are dubious at best. Simply adding the figures reported in 1845 but not in 1848 to those recorded in 1848 gives a sum of 777. The Norwich congregation had definitely folded, so the figure should be adjusted downward to 755, which represents the absolute maximum aggregate membership for the conference in 1848. Some 1845 place names do not appear on any other list of
congregations (e.g. Cold Creek). If there were 16 churches in 1848, taking the twenty-one known to exist in 1861 and subtracting five formed during the Revival, and if each of these three extra congregations had the average 35 members found in the 13 reported, the total conference membership would be 575. Some allowance, on the other hand, should be made for the eleven congregations reported in 1845 but not in 1848, as it is not clear when these actually closed. Darlington and Esquesing (Trafalgar and Nelson) sent letters in 1845 and 1851 [Canada Minutes 1851, p.36], but no membership figures are given for Esquesing. The Conference membership may well have been as small as the high-600s (averaging 755 and 575 gives a figure of 665).

162 The church at Northfield (southwest of Brantford) formed in 1851 [Canada Minutes 1851, p.36], the one Waterloo Township in 1853 [Canada Minutes 1853, p.45]. The Waterloo church was organized by E.B. Rolf[sic], using a site on the corner of William Henry's farm (Rosemary Willard Ambrose, "William Henry: Christian Church Minister, Waterloo Township Councillor, Farmer, in Waterloo Historical Society Volume 81, 1993, pp.7,9. William Henry, Thomas Henry's brother, also subsequently entered ministry.

163 CCM 3,3 August 1868, p.46,c.1. A congregation formed at Bondhead. It held its 160th monthly meeting in mid-1868, thus it was formed sometime early in 1855.

164 The next years for which membership figures are recorded are 1853 [Canada Minutes 1854, pp.44-45], when only six congregations' membership were reported, 1856 [Canada Minutes 1856, p.74], when ten congregations reported, and 1857 [Canada Minutes 1857, p.88], when twelve reported. The 1857 aggregate of the reported churches was 484. If one adds to that two congregations reported in 1856 but not in 1857, and one reported in 1853 which was reported in neither 1856 nor 1857, the total rises to 549. If one assumes sixteen congregations, adding two more at the average of 39 members, the conference's aggregate membership would be 627.

165 The Methodist revivalist Phoebe Palmer enjoyed unexpected success in impromptu meetings held in Hamilton, Canada West, in 1857. This revival served as catalyst for a major revival which also swept through the United States [Peter George Bush, "James Caughey, Phoebe [sic] and Walter Palmer and the Methodist Revival Experience in Canada West, 1850-1858" (M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1985), pp.ii,145; Carwardine, Trans-Atlantic Revivalism (finish bibliographic stuff)), pp.53ff.,182]. The various denominations of Methodists in Canada West added roughly one member in 1858 for every six pre-existing members [C. Mark Steinacher, "The Homogenization of Methodism," pp.27-28,257].

166 Canada Minutes 1857, p.88, Canada Minutes 1858, p.94, Canada Minutes 1859, p.105. The congregation reported as
"Pickering" in 1857, with 16 members, and 1858, with 52 members. The next year the same congregation, which was listed as "Brougham," claimed an increase of fifty members, with some losses, for a total membership of 94.

167 Canada Minutes 1858, pp.93-94. The new congregations were at Weller's Bay, Glenville and Scott. Fourteen congregations reported 739 members. Three congregations did not report their membership (Mariposa/Little Britain, Waterloo and Whitchurch), but if their earlier member figures are added, as well as two congregations which reported in 1857 and later but not in 1858 (King and North Gwillimbury/Keswick), the total rises to 921.

168 CS XIV,47 12 March 1858, p.2,c.3

169 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, pp.m,28

170 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, pp.m,n. Considerable numbers of converts appear in the minutes as early as December 1856 [p.3]. This local revival actually antedated the major event which started several months later.

171 Peak admissions were in 1857 (27), 1858 (31), 1863 (15) and 1866 (14); there were no admissions in 1861 or 1865 [Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, pp.b-j,29].

172 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, pp.24,32,39; cf. Christian Vanguard 28 November 1914, p.5,c.2

173 Canada Minutes 1861, pp.132-134. Two small congregations had formed in the Conference's north-west edge. Wallace (near Drayton; nine members) was first listed in 1860 and Egremont (southern Grey County; 16 members) first reported to the 1861 session. "Georgiana" first appeared in 1860 and Glenville disappeared in 1861. King and Northfield reported in 1860, but not in 1861. If the 1861 figures are adjusted to include old figures from King and Northfield, the aggregate membership of the 22 constituent churches would be 1098, with a mean congregational membership of 49.9.

174 Canada Minutes 1861, p.143

175 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, pp.73,75,76; Newmarket Era 30 January 1863, p.2,c.1. He apparently took the pastorate at Burford later that year [Taking the report in Ontario Minutes 1884, p.29 and calculating from the dates there]. The 1884 Annual Address says Burnham died while pastor at Burford [Ontario Minutes 1884, p.29], but does not specify the year, although it was sometime after 1866.

176 Oshawa Vindicator 20 May 1863, p.2, p.8

177 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.h. He also preached at Oshawa and Castleton [Oshawa Vindicator 17 February 1864,
Canada Minutes 1862, p.148: Murray organized in November 1860; Bosanquet in May 1861 and Vernonville in September 1862.

Canada Minutes 1865, p.193; cf. 1864, p.172. District 4 increased by 90 to 262. The next year, the District reported 350, claiming a net increase of 58 [Canada Minutes 1866, p.202].

Oshawa Fellowship Book 1831, p.100; cf. Oshawa Vindicator 7 March 1866, p.2,c.7, 24 October 1866, p.2,c.6. He also had held a single meeting at Oshawa in September 1865 [Vindicator 13 September 1865, p.2,c.8].

Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.10

Canada Minutes 1866, p.205

Congregations formed at Scugog Island [Canada Minutes 1866, p.195], Whitevale [CCM 3,9 February 1869, p.147,c.2], Altona [Lillian Byer, Altona Christian-Missionary Church 1875-1875 (By the Author), p.1. It formed in 1872, with a building erected in 1875], Udora [Ontario Minutes 1873, p.7], Seagrove [Shoults' diary #10, 21 April 1875; Ontario Minutes 1878, p.8], Bradley Centre [Ontario Minutes 1878, p.6. It had been a branch of Eddystone, which was about six miles away. It collapsed in 1886 or 1887 Ontario Minutes 1887, p.25], Pine Grove and Mount Pleasant (King Township), while C.H. Hainer was doing missionary preaching [Ontario Minutes 1879, pp.8,9,21], Markham Village by J.C. Pilkey in 1884 [Ontario Minutes 1885, p.10] and Chandos by S. Prosser [Ontario Minutes 1886, p.9]. In addition, Shoults organized a church at an unspecified place in 1879 [Shoults' diary #14, p.43, 18 June 1879].

The congregation at Altona, Ontario is particularly intriguing. It was founded as a joint venture with a Mennonite faction, but further study of this group is impossible because early records no longer exist. According to Lillian Byer, "Outside the organization meeting and covenant which had been copied into the present minute book, there are no records available, except the list of members by whom and when baptized, until 1901" [Tidings Easter 1954, p.5,c.2]. There is not even a record of 'charter' members.

He preached, for example, at "Terry's School House," near King in 1880 [Shoults' diary #16, p.20, 7 March 1880] and at "8th Con. Flax Mills," near Drayton [Shoults' diary #16, p.58, 8 July 1880].

HGL LXXXII,18 1 May 1890, p.281,c.2. Dales was also excited because he believed that if the situation were handled correctly, the Sharonites might deed the property, which included buildings suitable for a college, to the Ontario Conference.
186 *Canada Minutes* 1865, p.180

187 Saxton Settlement [*Canada Minutes* 1863, p.161]; Darlington and Scarborough [*Canada Minutes* 1865, pp.189,191]

188 Bosanquet, a congregation formed during the revival, collapsed in 1865 after just four years' existence [*Canada Minutes* 1865, p.180]. Burford was "scattered" by 1879 [*Ontario Minutes* 1879, p.21], although subsequently regathered. Whitevale was defunct by the same year [*Ontario Minutes* 1879, p.21].

189 *HGL* LXXVII,19 7 May 1885, p.293,c.2. The total reported to Conference that year was only 1011, in 21 congregations [*Ontario Minutes* 1885, p.20]. There were, however, nine congregations which did not submit reports that year, so the figure in the *Herald* is not likely wildly inflated.

190 *Ontario Minutes* 1882, p.32; Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.143

191 *Ontario Minutes* 1886, p.9. This was the congregation's first annual report. E.J. Gould subsequently preached in that area [*Ontario Minutes* 1891, p.81; *Ontario Minutes* 1894, p.118]. He lived first at Apsley and then Cardiff. These two villages are a considerable distance apart, especially for one travelling by horse. While living at Cardiff he was able to preach only once a month at Apsley.

192 *Ontario Minutes* 1895, p.108

193 *Ontario Minutes* 1894, p.118

194 *Ontario Minutes* 1891, p.76; *Ontario Minutes* 1893, p.93


pp.210,221

198 Murphy, "English-Speaking Colonies," p.173. Murphy notes that some Mennonites and Quakers also took this more mainstream approach, becoming somewhat evangelical [p.179].

199 Christian Pulpit January 1870, titlepage, pp.27-28

200 Christian Pulpit, February 1870, p.65. The elder Summerbell viewed Presbyterian amalgamation as an attempt to assert, by force of numbers, some form of hegemony over the Protestant community. Thus Presbyterian union appeared to him to be no better than Roman Catholicism, which had gained hegemony over Christendom centuries earlier. Summerbell used an older form of rhetoric for a new purpose. What had once been uttered as part of a call to destroy formal religious institutions was now bandied about in the service of institutional preservation.

201 Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.37

202 Before 1866, the meeting was called the United States General Convention. A breakdown of meeting-places of the United States General Convention / American Christian Convention Quadrennia, by state (totals 101% due to rounding):

New York: 1834, 1838, 1842, 1846, 1850, 1858, 1862, 1874, 1882 (9/17: 53%)
Massachusetts: 1886, 1894 (2/17: 12%)
Ohio: 1854, 1878 (2/17: 12%)
Ontario: 1870, 1898 (2/17: 12%)
Indiana: 1890 (1/17: 6%)
Michigan: 1866 (1/17: 6%)

Of the 17 national Conventions organized during the nineteenth century (i.e. from 1834), only eight were held outside New York state, two of those in Canada.

203 e.g. major items from the United States and Europe [Telegraph 14 October 1870, p.1,c.8]

204 e.g. details of parting gifts for the Presbyterian minister leaving Strathroy, Ontario [Telegraph 17 October 1870, p.1,c.8]

205 e.g. a story on Presbyterian Union [Globe 29 September 1870, p.1,c.8]; one on Baptists in Ontario [24 October 1870, p.3, c.1]; another about the congregational donation visit to the Presbyterian minister in Stayner [31 October 1870, p.4,c.4].

206 Cf. Globe 17 October 1870, p.3,c.2

207 The closest the paper came to acknowledging the existence of the ACC was a reprint of an article from the Baltimore Christian Advocate which alluded to "evangelical Arians" [Christian Guardian (Toronto) 12 October 1870, p.159,c.3].
208 *Star* 11 October 1898, p.3, c.3

209 *Globe and Mail* 14 October 1898, p.5, cc.3-4; 15 October 1898, p.25, c.4; 17 October 1898, p.5, c.1; 18 October 1898, p.9, c.4

210 Although the ACC had moved "toward" the mainstream, they had not yet arrived. The *Christian Guardian* continued to ignore them.

211 Henry, *Memoir of Thomas Henry*, p.158

212 see Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, at p.134

213 There is a solitary reference to "Rev. Mr. [A.N.] Henry," pastor at Little Britain in 1893 [*Ontario Minutes* 1893, p.94].

214 The editor used "Elder" somewhere on the order of two-thirds of the time that he referred to ministers of the Ontario Conference. No Conference minister used "Rev." self-descriptively in the paper before the October Convention.

215 Newmarket *Era* 16 April 1858, p.2, c.1


217 *Canada Minutes* 1864, p.165. An Episcopal Methodist and a Primitive Methodist preacher were present.

218 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, pp.95, 104

219 *Ontario Minutes* 1879, p.12. "Canada Methodist" was a popular label for the Methodist Church in Canada, formed by the merger of the Wesleyan Methodists and the Methodist New Connection in 1874.

220 Newmarket *Courier* 23 July 1868, p.2, c.6


222 Keswick Church Minute Book 1860, pp.57, 59

223 Newmarket *Era* 19 October 1866, p.2, c.6; 9 November 1866, p.2, c.4

224 Keswick Church Minute Book 1860, p.8; six weeks

225 *HGL* LXXIX, 12 24 March 1887, p.188, cc.2-3

226 *CCM* 3, 12 May 1869, p.198, c.1
227 Shoults' diary #4, pp.2-11

228 Shoults' diary #5, pp.8,16. The meetings lasted from 20 September through 28 October.

229 Shoults' diary #5, p.24. These began 4 December

230 Shoults' diary #5, pp.41-43. This set ran from 9 January to 10 February 1871.

231 Shoults' diary #5, p.45. The meetings began 13 February and ended 10 March 1871.

232 Shoults' diary #4, p.12

233 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.284. They hired E.P. Hammond as the evangelist.

234 Newmarket Church Minute Book 1856, p.376

235 Prosser and Garbutt traded pulpits with Rev. Large of the Keswick Methodist Church in May 1892 [Newmarket Era 6 May 1892, p.2,c.3; 13 May 1892, p.2,c.4]; S. Prosser allegedly well accepted by Methodists in Cramahe Hill area [Ontario Minutes 1897, p.80]; The Methodist Church in Keswick cancelled its Sunday evening service because of the special meetings at the Christian Church [Newmarket Era 27 May 1898, p.6,c.3].

236 W.H. Chidley and McNabb, the Presbyterian minister in Newmarket, exchanged pulpits in April 1898 [Newmarket Era 22 April 1898, p.3,c.2] and two held "Union Services" that summer [Era 26 August 1898, p.3,c.1; 2 September 1898, p.3,c.2].

237 In 1890, the remnants of a Baptist congregation in Harriston were open to linking up with the few remaining Minto Christian Church members in order to revive a congregation in the town [HGL LXXXII,17 24 April 1890, p.260,c.2]. Chidley filled the Baptist pulpit in Aurora in August 1898 [Newmarket Era 12 August 1898, p.2,c.3].

238 Newmarket Era 4 January 1889, p.3,c.2

239 Newmarket Era 11 January 1889, p.3,c.2; 25 January 1889, p.3,c.2

240 Newmarket Era 1 February 1889, p.3,c.2. At subsequent meetings, there were more than 20 more converts, with six more (roughly the same proportion as the original report) joining the Christian Church [Era 8 February 1889, p.3,c.2].

241 Ontario Minutes 1898, p.22

Foreign Bible Society had refused explicitly to bar Unitarians from membership.

243 Newmarket Era 4 July 1862, p.2,c.3

244 Oshawa Vindicator 27 September 1865, p.2,c.6

245 Oshawa Vindicator 13 January 1864, p.2,c.3

246 Oshawa Vindicator 22 January 1862, p.2,c.7. Note that "all the Clergymen" were expected to attend.

247 Oshawa Vindicator 27 September 1865, p.2,c.6

248 Newmarket Era 5 March 1855, p.3,c.1; 29 June 1855, p.2,c.1; 4 July 1856, p.8; 19 June 1857, p.2,c.1

249 Newmarket Era 9 July 1858, p.2,c.1

250 Newmarket Era 16 February 1877, p.2,c.4; 23 February 1877, p.2,c.5


253 Rouse, "Voluntary Movements," p.327

254 CS XV,1 16 April 1858, p.2,c.4

255 Christian Pulpit January 1869, pp.61-62. The Southerner Wellons also enthusiastically supported the YMCA, drawing particular attention to the worship services in which members of many denominations freely took part [CS XXVII,5 30 January 1874, p.2,c.4; cf. XXVIII,12 19 March 1875, p.2,c.2].

256 Christian Pulpit December 1870, p.468. He was referring to the congregations belonging to the American Christian Convention, to an ideal universal Christian church.

257 Oshawa Vindicator 1 April 1868, p.2,c.7

258 Newmarket Courier 7 January 1869, p.2,c.5

259 The original report is in HGL LXXXIII,36 3 September 1891, p.562,cc.1-2; Fowler's response is found in HGL LXXXIII,46 12 November 1891, p.723,c.3.

260 HGL LXXXIII,49 3 December 1891, p.780,c.2; LXXXIII,51 17 December 1891, p.802,c.3


263 Nordbeck, "Legacy of Clark," pp.9-10

264 Oshawa Fellowship Book 1868, p.213. The regular evening service was moved in order to accommodate the Christian Endeavor meeting.

265 Tidings 1954, p.5,c.2

266 Ontario Minutes 1893, p.97

267 Newmarket Era, 12 July 1895, p.2,c.3. The delegates were C.H. Hainer and his wife, W.P. Fletcher and J.N. Dales.

268 Ontario Minutes 1896, p.124

269 Newmarket Era 20 May 1898, p.7.cc.2-5

270 Nordbeck, "Legacy of Clark," p.8

271 Morrill, History, p.361


274 Murphy, "English-Speaking Colonies," p.175

275 Rouse, "Voluntary Movements," p.320

276 CS XXVI,41 10 October 1873, p.2,c.2; other articles proximo

277 CS XXVII,20 15 May 1874, p.2,c.4

278 CS XXVIII,9 26 February 1875, p.2,c.4; XXVIII,10 5 March 1875, p.2,c.2. Wellons had reason to question. Fully a dozen years later, J.J. Summerbell objected to the proposed union with the Free Baptists was the latter's habit of dismissing members only to evangelical churches. He was offended by the suggestion that the Christian Convention's members were "evangelical" [HGL LXXVIII,43 28 October 1886, p.685,c.3].

279 HGL LXXXIII,21 21 May 1891, p.328,c.3

280 Rouse, "Voluntary Movements," pp.321,346
281 CP XXIX, 2 21 January 1860, p.28,c.1

282 Oshawa Vindicator 4 January 1865, p.2,c.7

283 Newmarket Era 3 November 1876, p.2,c.4; 10 November 1876; p.2,c.5. The Newmarket "Week of Prayer" in 1877, 1878, 1879 and 1881 included all the "evangelical" churches [Era 5 January 1877, p.2,c.4; 4 January 1878, p.2,c.5; 3 January 1879, p.2,c.6; announcement in 24 December 1880, p.2,c.7].

284 HGL LXXXII,1 1 January 1891, p.9,c.1

285 Ontario Minutes 1895, p.123. The mean value does not appear in the original, but was calculated.

286 Ontario Minutes 1898, p.28. Reports of revivals appear in the 1896 and 1897 minutes [Ontario Minutes 1896, pp.91-94,98; Ontario Minutes 1897, pp.83-85]. The peak year was 1898, when the President noted that more than 200 had joined the Conference that year because of revival efforts [Ontario Minutes 1898, p.11].

287 HGL LXXXIII,35 27 August 1891, p.552,c.3


289 Canada Minutes 1861, p.126

290 There were thirteen Conventions in this period. Delegates are known to have attended eight (1854, 1858, 1866, 1870, 1886, 1890, 1894, 1898). Ontario Conference Minutes are not extant for the years in which three Conventions were held (1850, 1874, 1882). Neither the 1862 nor the 1878 Minutes hold evidence that no delegates were appointed. Delegates were appointed in 1862 to the New York Western, Northern and Eastern conferences, but no appointment to the General Convention is mentioned [Canada Minutes 1862, p.150]. The 1878 make no reference to the appointment of any fraternal delegates.

It may be possible to ascertain the presence of Canadian delegates in 1850 through copies of Connexion newspapers which have been preserved, but are not presently readily available. It is also possible that Thomas Henry and Jesse Vancamp attended the 1874 Convention. Their names appear on the list of prepublication subscribers to Matthew Gardner's biography [Gardner, Autobiography of Matthew Gardner, p.280]. It is possible, but far from certain, that they were given the opportunity to subscribe while attending the Convention. The absence of Canadian delegates from the 1882 Convention may help explain the American leadership's concern that ties with Canada were attenuating.
291 Canada Minutes 1854, p.54
292 Morrill, History, p.218
293 Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.130
294 Canada Minutes 1866, p.204

295 cited in Henry, Memoir of Thomas Henry, p.166. As the Heralds of Gospel Liberty from the 1870s are not readily available, it is difficult to prove or disprove Weeks' claim. Shoults had, in his capacity as Conference clerk sent the notice of the 1873 Canada Conference meeting [Shoults' diary #8, 5 July 1873] and written an article for the paper in 1874 [Shoults' diary #9, 9 April 1874]. His diaries give no indication of contributions after 1874.

296 HGL LXXV,29 19 July 1883, p.451,cc.2-3
297 HGL LXXV,25 21 June 1883, p.392,c.1. It is said that between 50 and 60 new subscriptions were ordered. Yet more new subscriptions, both from Canada and the South, were noted in August [HGL LXXV,31 2 August 1883, p.481,c.3].

298 HGL LXXV,26 28 June 1883, p.408,c.1


300 Ontario Minutes 1886, p.6. Garbutt's way was paid; Percy apparently went at his own expense.

301 HGL LXXXII,39 25 September 1890, p.617,c.1. Dales told Herald readers that the Canadians wanted to get closer to the American church.

302 Ontario Minutes 1894, p.103

303 For a discussion of the schism over slavery, cf. Chapter Six, pp.345ff.

304 This information appeared in Wellons' obituary [CS XXX,8 23 February 1877, p.1,c.6].

305 CS XXIV,23 7 July 1871, p.2,c.2

306 CS XX,25 26 July 1867, p.2,c.6. This issue is the earliest post-war Sun on the microfilm copy of the Elon College holdings.
307 CS XX,46 20 December 1867, p.1,c.1. This is the next issue preserved in the Elon College collection.

308 Garbutt provided his readers with information to order the Southern "Declaration of Principles, Form of Government, and directory for worship" from W.B. Wellons in Virginia [CCM 3,3 August 1868, inside front cover], as well as reprinting an article from the Christian Sun [CCM 3,3 August 1868, p.41,c.1ff.] and referring to another [CCM 3,8 January 1869, p.172].

309 CCM 5,4 September 1870. The item is reproduced without page number in Udelle V. Wood, Our Christian Heritage 2nd edition (Stouffville, Ontario, by the author n.d.) p.99; Summerbell, History of the Christian Church, p.553

310 CS XXIV,7 17 March 1871, p.2,c.4

311 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.96

312 CS XXIV,11 14 April 1871, p.2,c.3

313 CS XVII,1 2 January 1874, p.1,c.1, et passim

314 CS XVII,5 30 January 1874, p.1,c.1, et passim

315 Harwood, Austin Craig, p.322. The 1874 A.C.C. Quadrennial was held there [Morrill, History, p.223].

316 CS XXVIII,42 15 October 1875, p.1,c.6

317 Hammond, Album, p.106

318 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.229

319 HGL LXXII,20 15 May 1890, p.312,c.2

320 HGL LXXVIII,44 4 November 1886, p.700,c.3

321 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, pp.231-232

322 Stokes and Scott, Christian Church in the South, p.234
CONCLUSION

As one reads the history of the Christian Connexion, it is easy to feel one is wandering a trackless wilderness without landmarks. This reflects the movement's essential disconnection from the religious mainstream during the nineteenth century. Yet there were also links throughout that century to major milestones of North American Protestant history, such as Unitarianism, Restorationism, Millerism, interdenominational religious societies and the first stirrings of ecumenism. Involvement by members of the Connexion was not tangential; they had a significant stake in most of these trends. While the preceding sentences may seem contradictory, there is no inherent incongruity between noting the Connexion's disconnectedness from the mainstream and its vital, if strange, intertwining with these salient Protestant controversies, provided one notes a key distinction in the types of links between the Connexion and the Protestant (i.e. Anglican-Baptist-Methodist-Presbyterian) mainstream.

The first three connections also stand outside commonplace Protestantism, while the last two deal with prominent movements within the mainstream as it exercised a dominant influence in society. The Christian Connexion provides an unusual opportunity to follow the complete life-cycle of an organizational paradigm, from its adoption, to its zenith, to its retreat and collapse. If one were to follow its progress into the twentieth century, one would find that, by the 1960s, what remained of the denomination had 'closed the doors' against any possibility that the 'aleatory' paradigm could ever reappear, by jettisoning the optimistic
theological anthropology which undergirded it. The following paragraphs will reexamine, decade by decade, the process by which the Christian Connexion rejected linear organization, began to perceive a need for at least some degree of overt organization, and then embraced formal organization once more.

The first wing of the Connexion emerged in the 1790s, as the American people still struggled with all the implications of their revolutionary program. James O'Kelly and his colleagues required two stages to achieve their radical stance. They tried, at first, to maintain a traditional, if minimalist, ecclesiology, founding a "Republican Methodist" group. Almost at once they began to probe further the democratization of religion, intuitively adopting the outlines of what may now be isolated as the 'aleatory' paradigm. This included rejection of all linear ecclesiastical forms, with the substitution of affective bonds in their place and attempts to randomize visible church functions in order to allow God freedom to induce perfect order. Less than formal order, it was more than anarchy. Members adopted "Christian" as their only name and the Bible as their only creed not merely to be rid of abuses, but to restore positively "pure" New Testament Christianity.

The Connexion's Eastern and Western wings formed in the first decade of the 1800s. Neither leapt instantly into the 'aleatory' scheme. In the West, the experience of the Springfield Presbytery led leaders to a more radical rejection of ecclesiastical form, both within and without local congregations. In the East, rules for forming congregations and the new Christian Conference were soon deserted as overly
restrictive. They were displaced by the amorphous Connexion, which rejected any and all denominationalism, and replaced linear structure with affective bonding as the means to maintain fellowship. Both wings emphasized the restoration of New Testament Christianity and the importance of unity. Clearly, blending these was not, as later Disciples' historians insist, a distinctive mark of Alexander Campbell's thought.

Elias Smith rounded out the emerging 'aleatory' paradigm by adding a component which took advantage of information's organizational power. He founded the continent's first religious newspaper, the Herald of Gospel Liberty, which promoted contact between the regional wings. The groups in the South and West knew of each other, but the East had been quite independent. Each drew upon a folk epistemology to create a 'common sense' program of hermeneutics. Approaching texts with ideas such as "liberty," each adopted an anti-Calvinist Pelagian-like theological anthropology which rejected doctrines which implied fixity in God's plans, such as election and original sin. When many within regions arrived independently at similar beliefs, astonished leaders compared this with Nehemiah's communal effort to rebuild Jerusalem. Modern historians see the similarities in terms of people approaching the Bible with similar pragmatic and democratic presuppositions. Members viewed the Connexion as both a harbinger of, and a tool to induce, the Millennium. Some in the East maintained fluid relations with the loosely-organized Freewill Baptists, hoping combined efforts would destabilize the religious regime enough to allow God to induce
the Millennium.

The 'aleatory' paradigm reached its highwater mark early in the 1810s. Smith's 1811 story of the barrowman "united with all religious societies," despite whether they reciprocated, and David Purviance's 1811 apologetical pamphlet both set forth what may be described, from a modern perspective, as a mythologized version of 'self-emergent order.' Their strict biblical constructionism not only reinforced existing levelling impulses, such as a refusal to show deference, but encouraged adoption of unitarian Christology, as "Trinity" does not appear in the Bible. Provision of preaching and provision for preachers were thoroughly randomized in the belief that the "heavenly Bishop" would bring order. Dreams and "impressions" were accepted not merely as the sort of 'nonlinear' divine guidance promised in the New Testament, but also tokens of the approaching Millennium. Millennial expectation, common since the 1790s, ran especially high within the Connexion as the American Revolution's fortieth anniversary approached. As God had rescued the Israelites from wandering in the desert, they believed God would rescue all Christians from disunity by bringing perfect order.

This same decade also witnessed the emergence of problems which would challenge the new paradigm. The Southern movement split over the correct mode of baptism. This led not only to O'Kelly's effective retirement, but reintroduced a measure of linearity as factions refused further cooperation. As

\footnote{It is worth noting that Smith openly admired and accepted ideas from a black person.}
personnel peregrinated between regions, cases of ministerial imposture increased. Disgraced preachers from the East often migrated West. Smith's high-profile 1817 defection to Universalism symbolized the problem with ministerial fraud and precipitated the rise of disciplinary Conferences in reaction.

By the early 1820s, the Connexion extended from the British Maritime possessions to Georgia, then west to the Mississippi. The Herald continued to attract subscriptions from all regions, while Barton Stone founded the Christian Messenger to proclaim his vision of the 'aleatory' program. Newspapers were joined by a flood of aggressively unitarian tracts and books, some of which found their way into Canada. The Connexion made its first contact with the American Unitarian Association, the two exchanging some copyrights. The Connexion entered Upper Canada in 1821 and took root during a period of struggle in which the new paradigm was challenged from within. Problems of ministerial supply had led to more conscious financial planning, both within congregations and conferences, where funds were organized to pay itinerants. The United States General Conference moved beyond a mere fellowship, to become a delegated body. Other incremental steps toward linear government included forming standing committees within regional conferences and attempting to regulate ordinations. Instigators of these linear initiatives, at least in the East, were members of the 'first generation.' Fearful for their group's future, they did not perceive their actions as compromising the Connexion's underlying 'aleatory' principle. Indeed, they reacted harshly when some in the South, with a decade more experience, adopted
a Constitution. By the decade's end, a Canada Conference formed. The problem of dating its genesis reflects the partial hardening of the lines of authority in a way which blurred the distinction between earlier fellowship and emerging disciplinary gatherings.

Events in the 1830s revealed that the 'aleatory' paradigm contained the seeds of its own destruction. Members experienced a radical discontinuity between their 'aleatory' expectation of God bringing order (fiscal and sermonic), with the reality of muddle and near collapse. Some churches folded. Leaders felt obligated to supply preachers for members migrating to Ohio and Michigan. To meet such demands, leaders in New York formed the Christian Book Association and the Genesee Christian Association. Purists reacted immediately, in 1832 engineering the dissolution of the General Conference "forever." Proponents of overt order in turn insisted upon reorganizing, adopting more systematic finances, creating standards for forming congregations and using conferences for ministerial discipline. Some purists left.

The dust had not settled when the Connexion endured another schism, the result of contact with the Disciples of Christ. Despite some significant differences between the two concepts, Stone mistook the Disciples' ultracongregationalism for his own 'aleatory' approach. Stone and Purviance adopted different strategies to maintain the 'aleatory' scheme, but both failed. Stone's creedless vision was overwhelmed by the Disciples' insistence upon "baptism for remission of sin" for membership. Purviance's group also lost its 'aleatory' nature.
by closing ranks against the Disciples. The non-punctiliar
nature of the union between an 'aleatory' and an
ultracongregationalist body meant that strife continued until
decade's end.

Canadian members were similar to their American cousins,
not economically marginal and sharing the growing enamourment
with Congregational Unitarianism. The Canadian Conference
reached its greatest geographical extent in these years: from
St. Catharines, to the head of Lake Ontario, then both west
along the road to London and east along the Lake to Whitby, as
well as north along the eastern side of Yonge Street, to the
south shore of Lake Simcoe. It was seriously disrupted by the
Disciples, the impact being greatest in the Niagara Peninsula,
and shortly thereafter by the populist 1837 Rebellion, which
resulted in heavy losses west of York. Leaders found it
difficult to recoup losses, as most immigrants were now
British, for whom American-oriented slogans such as
"republican" and "liberty" held no automatic appeal.

The Millerite hysteria dominated the Connexion in the
1840s. The Connexion was overrepresented among Adventist
leadership and shaped the latter's organization and thought.
The religious 'boom and bust' occasioned by William Miller's
predictions and their non-fulfilment was felt keenest in
Canada and New England. Those who remained in the Connexion
jettisoned the idea that God would induce order from chaos and
generally abandoned not only millennialism, but the strict
constructionist approach to the Bible upon which both were
founded. The proponents of the 'aleatory' paradigm had made
their last stand and fallen. The linear regrouping of the
remaining churches resumed. Ministerial accountability was further reinforced.

Improved transportation and communication diminished perceived distance, leading to an ominous rise of regionalism. Events in Canada added a particular urgency to linearization, as the Conference found itself having to adopt a minute book, as well as fixed doctrine and discipline, in exchange for government approval of its ministers to solemnize marriages. The nonlinear reunion of two Southern factions, ironically, fostered greater regional self-identity in the face of Northern criticism of slavery. The foundation of the Christian Sun as a pro-slavery paper is the clearest example of this new, linearized regionalism. The New York and New England subregional newspapers were, however, also increasingly at odds with each other, and both challenged the right of the Western wing to publish its own periodical.

During the 1850s, a functional congregationalism developed within the entire Connexion. The United States General Conference attempted to broaden its powers, evolving into a fully-delegated, representative and authoritative body. The group was sufficiently linear that Southerners, angered by motions to condemn slavery, could now formally renounce ties with the national body. The founding of Antioch College, in concert with the Unitarians, also held implications for order, as no single local church could muster the requisite support. Conflict over what powers were appropriate for a regional conference was particularly marked in Canada, where efforts were made to extend the Conference's control over local properties (reporting the state of a congregation was no
longer a privilege, but a duty) and to regularize proceedings at its sessions by elaborating parliamentary procedure (developing a fixed and elaborate agenda). By mid-decade, membership reached a low-point for the Canada Conference. A new wave of revivalism not only replenished their ranks, but conferred upon them a new credibility among mainline Protestants, who had begun to measure godliness more pragmatically than doctrinally. Members continued to espouse non-standard tenets, like Arian-like Christology, but the underlying rationale for such beliefs was shifting from a folk tradition of dissent to a cultured and reflective basis, such as taught at Antioch. Within congregations, fiscal arrangements became more fixed, including introducing "taxes" to pay preachers.

Disputes over the appropriate degree of Conference authority raged into the 1860s. A fresh round of centralization began, with the Ontario Conference increasing the President’s powers and its control of preachers (rules for recognition of ordinations and requiring permission to pay ministers). This exacerbated the existing pastoral shortage. Churches adopted weekly offerings in order to stabilize and improve fiscal management, thereby adding to internal congregational linearity. Congregations were arranged into "districts" to share ministers, a partitioning of the overall body which opened the door to increasingly rigid order. Indeed, the Ontario group developed the greatest degree of overt order within what was now named the American Christian Convention (ACC). The adoption of a Constitution in 1867 sparked notable resistance, but criticism arose from a
commitment to congregationalism, not an urge to reinstate the amorphous 'aleatory' model. The move toward the religious mainstream continued as Conference members took part in, and even offered leadership to, the burgeoning religious societies, such as the Bible Society and temperance movement. In these settings, high ethical achievement was favoured over precise doctrinal formulation. This provided Conference members with a convenient entry into the mainstream, allowing them to work shoulder to shoulder with mainline evangelicals, thereby reducing the latter's perception of the former's oddity, and vice versa.

The 1870s were stormy, as questions of centralization dogged the entire denomination. The 1877 Incorporation of the Ontario Conference was the highwater mark of connectionalism. This came relatively late, compared to other denominations, indicating an internal spat over the acceptable degree of conference power rather than official truculence to recognize them. Indeed, provincial legislation in 1873 had vested congregational property in local trustees unless the denomination to which it belonged specified otherwise. The model deed adopted not only gave title to the Conference, but also the theoretical power to reorganize a congregation's internal workings. Churches were required to keep coherent records, thus eliminating the last refuge of amorphous, affective relations. Some withdrew in protest, while the Oshawa church used joint services with the Disciples as leverage against connectionalism. The Ontario body's experience reflected a larger trend within the American Christian Convention. Student pastors at the Christian
Biblical Institute, Canadians among them, learned how to standardize churches and professionalize ministry. Fierce competition for control of Antioch College soured relations with the Unitarians. The trend away from overt unitarianism was reinforced by early Southern attempts at union with other groups.

The only major new trend in the 1880s was formal talk of union with other denominations. The failed ecumenical ventures are notable simply because, in an era of intense denominational pride, the attempt was made. Furthermore, to speak in terms of the central organizational interest of this thesis, the ecumenical movement had the ironic effect of reinforcing linearity; one had to have fixed denominational lines in order to lose them through union. The theological basis for these unions differed from the original Connexion vision. In place of "flowing together in love" came fixed negotiations. A minor trend, the siphoning of recruits by the United States as students attended the Christian Biblical Institute, began to disturb the supply of ministers in Canada. Existing trends were reinforced. Congregations, finding it harder to pay a poll tax on members, dropped names of former members which had been kept for sentimental reasons. This underscored the legal, rather than affective, basis of fellowship. Inconsistent payment of the tax on full members undercut attempts to hire an itinerant Conference overseer. Conference ownership backfired as several poor churches turned over heavily-indebted properties.

The 1890s witnessed a growing acceptance of the ACC by the mainstream, as evinced by attention paid to its 1898
gathering in Newmarket. The Ontario group comprised about one percent of the denomination's membership. Its links to its parent were, however, now primarily official, rather than personal, as in the past. The North and South were reunited in this era, in a linear process which clearly recognized each body's organizational distinctness. Official union talks were also held with Ontario's Disciples and, in the United States, with Congregationalists. Members took full advantage of the chance to be involved in an interdenominational society from its inception. The Christian Endeavor, which spread rapidly within the Ontario group, not only gave them exposure to the mainstream, but allowed them to contribute to its expansion.

As the era under consideration in this dissertation closed, the American Christian Convention, and the Ontario Conference within it, lay at the margins of the Protestant mainstream. Events in the twentieth century would see them fully assimilated into it, even as that mainstream itself divided. Many members in Ontario would find a more congenial home in the modernist United Church of Canada, while those who remained with the Conference found themselves drawn into the emerging evangelical sphere. These developments would not have been possible, however, without the reemergence of overt order within the denomination itself.

The era in which the Christian Connexion formed was one of frustrated optimism, as all Americans sought to implement in all areas of life the implications of their recent Revolution. Fixing upon the shared Revolutionary and biblical term "Liberty," the various branches of the Christian Connexion quickly jettisoned all visible forms of church
order, deliberating randomizing all ecclesiastical relationships, in the hope that God would induce perfect, that is millennial, order from the morass which they had created. This deliberate randomization and destabilization, in which all interrelationships became indistinct, reflected members' high view of individual autonomy. In the place of ecclesiastical structures, information and affective bonding were viewed as the only appropriate means to link individual believers to each other.

The system proved to be unstable, the whole experiment tripping over the rock of imperfect human nature. Both positive fraud and the failure of perfect order to emerge automatically nudged the Connexion back toward some degree of overt organization in order to survive. Further crises, such as losses to the Disciples of Christ and to the Millerites, accelerated the process, so that by mid-century, the 'aleatory' paradigm was effectively dead. Change during the second half of the century was at a more leisurely pace, if not less acrimonious. The last vestiges of the 'aleatory' paradigm were mopped up and members began, instead, to fight over the appropriate extent of Conference powers. In the end, the Christian Connexion found itself, in ecclesiological terms, back where it started. It was a small-'c' congregationalist denomination, with some leanings toward connectionalism, ready to enter the Protestant mainstream.
APPENDIX 1

Problems With Documentation and Sources

Research raised conundrums about sources. Beaumont's dictum regarding the paucity of records, that "half a loaf is better than none may be in error," has proven particularly true. Early into the research, each new document highlighted contradictory aspects of the Connexion's members' beliefs. These often vexed the mind, leading it through unforeseen twists and turns (the organizational peregrinations of Joshua Vaughan Himes detailed in Chapter Five are a prime example). There was a real need for caution, even when dealing with relatively reliable sources. The classes of sources consulted include: government documents; official congregational and conference proceedings; published memoirs, diaries, histories and polemics; and secular and denominational periodicals. Each class of source presented peculiar drawbacks.

Historians of fringe religious movements like the Connexion share with military historians limitations in the quality of extant paper evidence, restrictions which have peculiar practical implications for research. One tends to follow the mental routes suggested by the archival organization of materials: "channeling" of thought. Archived material has not only survived both accidental and deliberate destruction, but has been subjected to a process of "extensive sifting and winnowing." This may obscure key anomalies because they are perceived as belonging to parallel, but separate, categories. This is not a matter of cataloguing error. An item may have a correct label but not be read because a label suggests that it is not germane to present.
research. Even when sizeable quantities of documents are accessible, there remains the problem of "tone." The neutral bearing of many documents, military and ecclesiastical, belies the presence of emotion.

One would not usually be concerned that apolitical official sources such as censuses and assessment rolls could be misleading. Yet early census records are far from complete. As Donald Akenson notes, they often allow researchers to confirm whether certain religious groups, individuals or nationalities were present in the colony at the time of the census, but preservation has been sporadic. This precludes projecting colony-wide figures from local samples or declaring that organizations or individuals were absent. Many early township censuses from the Newcastle District, at the centre of the Canadian Connexion's geographical extent, still exist. The censuses from 1842 until 1881, on the other hand, were virtually useless for the purposes of this thesis, because they required enumerators to indicate "Other" if someone's religious outlook did not fall into fixed denominational categories. Even when local census-takers recorded distinctions correctly, superiors were not always cognizant of subtleties.

There are several difficulties with official denominational sources. Little of the quasi-official material published early in the Canadian group's history, such as George Colston's and Thomas Henry's 1849 hymnbook or John Earl's history of the Canada West conference published around 1861, has survived. Aside from the understandable tendency
to omit details about controversial or embarrassing incidents, there are considerable gaps in the records of the Ontario Conference's meetings. The most notable is in the late 1860s and early 1870s.\(^1\) Added to this, the denomination did not place a premium on gathering statistics of any kind. Nor may significant figures be derived indirectly. A great deal could be learned, for example, from the obituaries of Methodist preachers.\(^2\) Obituaries are rare in Christian Conference materials: virtually absent from official minutes and uncommon even in periodicals. Clearly the sources demand a more qualitative approach, one which de-emphasizes mathematical modelling and analysis.

Local records evince having been "sanitized," either by the actual mutilation of a book or by copying an original but omitting elements offensive to the copyist. Anomalies suggest the Oshawa church's 1831 "Fellowship Book" is a bowdlerized copy.\(^3\) Disregard for proper secretarial procedure was not limited to the 1800s. Tracking the precise course of union talks at Keswick between July 1929 and January 1931 is impeded by the state of the records.\(^4\) Given the acrimonious debate, it is not unreasonable to suppose comments offensive to the continuing party were later excised.

Holograph diaries, if created at the time and not later from recollections, are invaluable because they usually present an unvarnished picture. They are, however, as rare as they are useful. The only diaries accessible for this study were those of John H. Shoults, made available to the University of Waterloo in 1997 at no profit to herself by...
Udelle Wood of Goodwood, Ontario, a chronicler and collector of items relating to the Connexion.

More problematic are published memoirs or diaries. This is of particular concern as Connexion writers never produced a single reasoned, reflective systematic treatise. The deluge of 'popular' biographies was more than first order expression, but less than second-order theology. This genre constituted a loosely-organized form of narrative theology. Usually published posthumously, memoirs provided opportunities for a narrative presentation of theology, using suitable anecdotes from a life to advance the denomination's distinctive doctrines. Biographies could also be crafted to endorse controversial agendas. Fernald's biographer, writing before overt organization was complete, boldly claimed his father had always been "denominational." Some compilers included extracts from the deceased's original letters. While only the letters deemed germane by the editor appear, one often finds the full text, which will disclose information or attitudes otherwise unattainable. Pamphlets by the deceased were sometimes included.¹⁶

Joseph Thomas' autobiography is a marked example of such a mixed blessing. It has the distinct advantage of being published before the forces of organization took over, so that it contained early ideas which might have been suppressed (deliberately or inadvertently) by later biographers. It proved to be a tremendous source regarding the 'aleatory' paradigm, which was just becoming controversial. Yet it appears that Thomas edited with Stalin-like ruthlessness,
retouching his relations with Smith after the latter defected to Universalism. Independent sources verify that Thomas earlier admired him. Unequivocal evidence of former affection is an 1812 letter to his "Dear Brother" Smith. Thomas' revisionism stands out by comparing a contemporary account of his 1811 arrival in Philadelphia, his baptism and his ordination at the hands of Smith, John Gray and John Hunter, with his later version. Gray and Thomas took virtually instant dislike of each other, so Thomas slighted him in his book. Thomas claimed Mills Barrett as a "son" in the Gospel, although Barrett's baptism by Gray was a matter of public record. One must bear in mind omissions from published memoirs and diaries. Used cautiously in conjunction with other contemporary sources, such sources may yet yield significant and trustworthy data, especially in cases where a doctrine had not yet become controversial.

At the opposite end of the spectrum are polemical tracts penned by opponents such by the erstwhile Canadian 'Christian' turned Disciples of Christ apologist Joseph Ash and the American Methodist Episcopal controversialist Hiram Mattison. These often hyperbolic documents may be, ironically, important sources of information precisely because they highlight bones of contention.

Biographical dictionaries are helpful if one is mindful of limitations. Collections of biographical sketches were published early in this century, but their samples were not representative. E.W. Humphreys not only admits that he did not correct mistakes in his sources, but emphasizes that one
of the original criteria for inclusion was that the individual "died in the church work," thus excluding many who had defected or apostatized. He made a list of names which had been published twice in the Herald of Gospel Liberty and about whom someone responded to a request for information, further restricting the field. The modern historian would be foolish to use such sources for prosopography. Their principal value is to provide extra details or to corroborate information from other sources. The same caution applies to retrospective works, such as the Centenary of Religious Journalism, a compendium published in 1908 to honour Smith's commencement in 1808 of the Herald. Denominational "histories" are of uneven value: Nicholas Summerbell's 1873 tome is little more than a vitriolic polemic, while Milo Morrill's 1912 effort was carefully written to the academic standards of his day.

Denominational periodicals, more than usual in a thesis, provided considerable factual information. Although American religious periodicals appeared as early as 1790, the Herald of Gospel Liberty was that nation's first religious newspaper. This paper and its descendant, the Christian Herald, are irreplaceable sources because they were the movement's only periodicals before the 1820s. In addition to myriad letters enthuising about progress or moaning of persecution, one finds "official" minutes published in denominational papers before fixed minute books were adopted. Hatch notes that the prodigious literary output of fringe groups has been largely ignored, despite their almost inestimable value.

Secular newspapers are the least reliable sources of
data, as they often, particularly in the nineteenth century, included mere hear-say. Despite this, one finds relatively reliable material (notices of marriages or funerals, letters to the editor by members, or official press releases), which augment other sources.

Having said all these things, one may still be sanguine about writing a reliable history of the movement. The foundation of this assurance is the marked degree of overlap between the types of sources. Often one found multiple items referring to the same incident or chain of events, which allowed one simultaneously to confirm facts and to highlight different facets of the core quandary. Where multiple sources were not available, one avoided drawing more than tentative conclusions. This approach required a great deal of research, over a great period of time, resulting in a great many footnotes. The outcome, however, is a dissertation embodying a complex of insights arising from a body of facts in the veracity of which one may rest a high level of confidence.
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2 Beaumont, *War, Chaos, and History*, pp.20,77


4 Beaumont, *War, Chaos, and History*, p.20. "[I]n military history, as in other variants of the discipline, considering the smoothing and fairing of details to make them fit patterns, assumptions, and conclusions takes on a different flavor when viewed from the perspective of nonlinearity" [p.105]. Socialization may act as an agent to suppress evidence [p.128]. Fringe groups, like the Millerites, obsessed with a belief in the imminent end of time, did not create a significant 'paper trail.' As noted *ad loc.*, Millerite beliefs encouraged deliberate record destruction.

5 On one occasion, an archivist was asked a broad question about supplementary sources of evidence. A few items were retrieved, with an apology that nothing else helpful was available. Later, when allowed direct access to the collection, several significant items were discovered which had been understandably overlooked by the archivist because they "belonged in a different category."


8 In the published summary of the 1871 census, for example, the Disciples of Christ and the "Christian Conference" were lumped together under the latter label [Census of Canada 1870-1871 Volume I. (Ottawa, I.B. Taylor 1873), pp.142-143].


10 *Christian Palladium* XXX,30 25 July 1861, p.231,c.2
11 For 1867 to 1872 there exist only transcriptions of reports of minutes made to the Herald of Gospel Liberty (hereafter cited as HGL) in 1869 and 1870.


13 Its first ten years were not only written in the same hand, but from the same bottle of ink [Oshawa Christian Church, Minutes of Fellowship Meetings, 1831-1868: up to 28 March 1841, p.16]. The second page explains events to 1840, while the next page notes the 1840 reorganization and starts an 1840 membership list, after which the 1831 minutes begin on the seventh page. There is no mention whatever of troubles with the Disciples.

14 The original 1860 Keswick minute book has been stolen from the church. Sometime before its theft, Udelle Wood photocopied most of it. Her copies do not include pages 258 and 259, but it is not clear whether these pages were inadvertently not copied, or whether the pages had already been removed from the book at the time it was copied.

15 Mark Fernald, *Life of Elder Mark Fernald,* written by himself. With an introduction by the publishers (Newburyport, George Moore Payne and D.P. Pike, and Philadelphia, Christian General Book Concern, J.R. Freese, Agent 1852), p.11. In his later years Fernald supported efforts to regularize connexional affairs, but in earlier years had been committed to the 'aleatory' paradigm.

16 Levi Purvisance, for example, reprinted the entire text of a pamphlet penned in 1811 by his father David [Levi Purvisance, *The Biography of Elder David Purvisance, with his memoirs: containing his views on Baptism, the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement. Written by himself; with an appendix: giving biographical sketches of Elder John Hardy, Reuben Dooly, William Dye, Thos. Kyle, George Shidler[sic], William Kinkade, Thomas Adams, Samuel Kyle, and Nathan Worley, together with a historical sketch of the Great Kentucky Revival* (Dayton, Ohio, for the author by B.F. and G.W. Ellis 1848), pp.69-91]. It may be the only extant version of the text.

17 HGL 4,18 24 April 1812, p.383,c.2
18 HGL 3,74 21 June 1811, p.294,c.2, p.295,c.3

19 Joseph Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, containing an accurate account of his trials, travels, and gospel labours, up to the present date (Winchester, Virginia, J. Foster, printer 1817), pp.202-203

20 Thomas, The life of pilgrim Joseph Thomas, p.105

21 HGL 6,26 5 August 1814, p.617,c.2. Barrett also went to great lengths to praise Gray as a wonderful gospel minister [HGL 6,26 5 August 1814, p.617,c.3].


25 Foster numbered the Christian Herald from Volume I, Number 1, as if it were a new paper, but otherwise claimed that the paper was a continuation of the Herald of Gospel Liberty [cf. Atkinson, "Herald of Gospel Liberty," p.54]. Garrison and DeGroot allow the substantial continuity of the paper from 1808 until its 1930 amalgamation with The Congregationalist [Winfred Ernest Garrison and Alfred T. DeGroot, The Disciples of Christ: A History (St. Louis, Missouri, The Bethany Press 1958), pp.89-90].

26 Hatch, Democratization, p.11
APPENDIX 2
A Summary of Significant Events in the Twentieth Century

As noted in the Introduction, the original thesis proposal entailed following events until 1988, when the Ontario Conference expanded rapidly with the influx of a large number of former United Church members and ministers. The following paragraphs continue the general story, providing a brief outline of events up to 1988. After them appears an Epilogue, which addresses the cumulative significance of these developments for the continuing Congregational Christian Churches in Canada.

It was in first decade of the 1900s that the Conference began in earnest to 'burn the furniture,' using funds from sales of redundant holdings to prop up on-going operations. They belatedly funded a church in Toronto, where many rural members had migrated. Yet they failed to serve those who migrated West, beyond a weak attempt to start a church in Saskatchewan. The supply of ministerial recruits grew, but many, including latent leaders, drifted into American pulpits. As student ministers trained in universities, some were attracted to other denominations, such as the Baptists and Methodists.

The American Christian Convention (ACC) found itself, during the 1910s, embroiled in the acrimonious debate between Modernists and Fundamentalists. This reflected a broader division within Protestantism, in which social activism and conversionism became mutually exclusive. Liberal and conservative factions vied for control of the Herald of Gospel Liberty. The conservative editor, John Pressley Barrett,
although believing in the supernatural and defending a quasi-
Princetonian view of the Bible, was not a proto-Fundamentalist
both because he rejected some of their key tenets, and the
very idea that doctrinal rectitude constituted orthodoxy. The
liberal editor, Alva Morrill Kerr, assuming the editor's chair
in 1919, approved of Liberalism's creedless nature and showed
strong sympathy for the Social Gospel.

The ACC, including the Ontario body, took a leading role
in the emerging ecumenical movement, offering crucial support
to the nascent Federal Council of Churches. Older forms of
piety, such as the fellowship meeting, disappeared and liberal
ideas began to filter down to the pews. In reaction to
Trinitarianism's growing encroachment, the Ontario group
founded Kirton Hall to provide ministers an antitrinitarian
education. It continued to experience a shortage of ministers
(the Conference roll being halved between 1900 and 1917)
because of an exceptional number of ministerial deaths,
through War service and by accident.

A growing liberal trend marked the 1920s. More pastors
were recruited, including two who served in ACC missions to
Japan and Porto[sic] Rico. W.P. Fletcher's position with the
Ontario Religious Education Council provided Canadians with a
direct link to the liberal-inclined American Federal Council
of Churches. It became clear that the ACC would avoid open
division like the Baptists and Presbyterians. Indeed, T.T.
Shields' belligerence disgusted Ontario Conference folk, who
preferred a middle road. The success of the United Church of
Canada delighted some Conference leaders, who tried to lead
the Ontario group into union. The situation degenerated into a pitched battle between those who did not want to reintroduce Congregationalism to Canada and those who believed such a union would violate congregational autonomy. A significant minority, including most leaders, opted for union. A theology which valued union, not fiscal distress, lay at the core of their decision. An odd twist, however, left conservatives controlling the denominational name and corporation. This decade saw the first independent congregation join the Ontario Conference.

The key event of the 1930s was the Congregational-Christian merger, the first successful union in the denomination's history. Strong links developed between the Ontario and the New York State Conferences, while the former began to woo Canadian continuing Congregationalists. Those who did affiliate, such as George Hunter, used their acceptance to promote Trinitarian theology and links to interdenominational missions. Despite this, the Ontario Conference was in the doldrums, two churches having left and there being only one ordination before 1937. The union also cut an important source of ministers, as young Southern pastors found American pulpits. Sporadic contact with the Fundamentalist Toronto Bible College (TBC) now became regular.

As the Ontario Conference's connection to the Bible college movement strengthened in the 1940s, the link proved to be a double-edged sword. A ready supply of ministers was established, but the genius of the Bible college movement undercut potential Conference growth as many independent
churches saw no need of formal denominational affiliation. TBC students served Conference churches in numerous ways, while reinforcing a conservative trend begun by the loss of liberals to the United Church. TBC graduates created bonds to interdenominational foreign missions, as many of them served Ontario Conference pulpits while awaiting overseas appointment. The Ontario body became somewhat of a missionary credentialing agency, not an unalloyed blessing. While exposure exerted a normalizing effect, damping the few remaining variances between the Conference and evangelicalism, it had a downside, as members of old-time Conference families changed denominations. A few Congregationalist churches joined the Ontario group during the 1940s. These left again as negotiations toward a United Church of Christ got underway in the United States. The Newmarket church joined the Baptist Convention. Conservative Congregationalists in the United States contributed to the emergence of Evangelicalism from within Fundamentalism, and forming an independent Conference in resistance to the formation of the United Church of Christ. Losses to the Ontario Conference continued to mount in the 1950s, to the Fellowship Baptists and to less Fundamentalistic groups. The remaining churches did not accept "second-degree separation," but nonetheless refused to enter the United Church of Christ. They resisted not because its inauguration involved all the pomp which Elias Smith had rejected, but from a fear of forced assimilation into the United Church of Canada, something they had resisted a quarter century earlier. Others in the United States objected,
creating a second non-concurring body, the National Association of Congregational-Christian Churches. Shortly after the Ontario group reached its nadir, the Emmanuel Church in Toronto joined, bringing with it a new, moderate and conservative restorationist vision. Douglas Percy, now on the TBC faculty, promoted Trinitarianism and encouraged Conference participation in such typical evangelical organizations like Youth for Christ and Billy Graham Crusades.

The process of re-assimilation to the mainstream reached its quiet peak by the 1960s. The adoption, in 1964, of an evangelical and Trinitarian statement of faith closed the door to a potential revival of the 'aleatory' paradigm. There was no crisis which evoked the change. It was the culmination of an unobtrusive shift into the new emerging evangelical mainstream, which included the embrace of a pessimistic, Calvinistic theological anthropology. The change owed much to the influence of TBC. Shortly thereafter, the Ontario group affiliated with the Conservative Congregational-Christian Conference in the United States, which was typically neo-evangelical. This, in turn, helped expand the influence of authors who belonged to the Ontario group. Members also continued to be involved in transdenominational service and evangelistic agencies, such as the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship. The Ontario Conference settled into a particular niche within evangelicalism, accepting women in ministry (conservative reticence being overcome by the effective ministry of one of their female members) and tolerating a mild neo-orthodoxy.
The 1970s were marked by stability in ministerial staff, which led to renewed confidence, but were otherwise unremarkable.

"Potential" best describes the early 1980s. An international link was added with participation, via the American Conference, in the World Evangelical Congregational Fellowship. The Ontario body exhibited a renewed desire to expand. Tentative contacts resulted in two churches' joining before 1988. The massive influx of former United Church ministers and members which occurred in 1988 was possible only because of the events of this century which had already brought the Conference into the evangelical mainstream.

Epilogue

The discussion now comes full-circle. The motivation to produce this thesis arose from the relative paucity of information about the Congregational Christian Churches in Ontario and their history. The preceding paragraphs bring discussion of events down to the September 1988 meeting between representatives of those leaving the United Church of Canada and the Ontario Conference, and disposed of the myth, still circulating within the Congregational Christian Churches in Canada (CCCC), that such contact was completely independent of any previous exposure. It is appropriate at this point to indicate briefly the direction of events since 1988 and their relationship to broader trends within Canadian evangelicalism.

One of this thesis' key interests has been the Christian
Connexion's movement from fringe to mainstream. In light of John Stackhouse's remarks about the relative paucity of evangelicals in the United Church of Canada,¹ the role of the Ontario Conference's continued existence is profound. It may be argued that the Ontario Conference offered some United Church evangelicals an alternative means by which to transfer from the old Protestant mainline into the new evangelical mainstream. The strategy of reorienting the predominantly liberal United Church was abandoned in favour of realignment with another group. The move did not require those transferring to alter their fundamental conceptions of faith. The Ontario Conference represented, to the 'refugees,' a working generic evangelicalism. As John Tweedie noted, the Ontario Conference's statement of faith seemed like a summary of the twenty articles in the United Church's *Basis of Union.*² There were other factors which facilitated amalgamation. The Ontario Conference saw itself as unreservedly Trinitarian³ and the American Conservative Conference's statement on Homosexuality⁴ would also prove congenial to the former United Church folk.

From the early exploratory meetings in Niagara Falls in September 1988 and Long Branch in December 1988, the movement was national in scope.³ A national organization was created in late 1989, using the Ontario Conference incorporation as a springboard.⁴ The Ontario body became the CCCC's "Central Region," one of four.⁵ In 1992, there were ministers from nine denominational backgrounds holding CCCC credentials.⁶ By 1999, that figure rose to 19.⁷ The CCCC's present form and vision
represents a type of evangelical ecumenism: insistence upon a short list of essential tenets and broad toleration upon virtually every other topic. Members fondly quote Peter Meiderlin's dictum: "In essentials, unity; in other matters, liberty; in all things, charity." A notable point is eschatology, a particular Fundamentalist concern. CCC members are allowed complete freedom to assemble what they believe to be a biblical concept of Christ's return, on condition that they refuse to withhold fellowship from members who disagree.

The new confederation has not been without its problems. The new-comers tended to be more charismatic than their hosts. The over-exuberance of some former United Church members at the 1989 session at York University (still, technically, the Congregational Christian Churches in Ontario), led several older members of the Ontario Conference to observe: "This is not Congregationalism!" It was a telling remark. It underscored not only members' self-identification as Congregationalists, but the distance between the present Conference and its revivalistic Christian Connexion roots. One regrettable side-effect of the new growth has been loss of the sense of intimacy and integration with the American fellowship, partly because of the more charismatic tone in Canada and partly because of the sense that the Canadian group should be allowed a free hand to develop its own identity. Minor controversies have erupted precisely because of the coalition's breadth. Some, more conservative in tradition, have not comprehended the tolerant
position on women's ordination, refusing to attend Conference-sponsored events if a woman were scheduled to speak."

Overall, the CCCC continues to provide a niche within evangelicalism, a place where a tenacious insistence upon foundational evangelical tenets usually translates into freedom on a vast range of issues.

In closing, one may observe that the Congregational Christian Churches in Canada have cut virtually all ties to the original Christian Connexion vision, organizationally and theologically. Denominational identity is rooted not in a consciousness of an unbroken stream of events associated with a distinct precursor, but rather in a broad Canadian evangelicalism. The transition to national status has been underscored by the winding-down of the Ontario incorporation in 1999. Without a distinct legal status, the Central Region survives merely as a localized geographical expression of the national fellowship. There exists instead a new federal movement, with its own peculiar potential for growth.
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1 John G. Stackhouse, Jr., *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993, pp. 183, 197

2 Malcolm Greenshields and Tom Robinson, "A Modern Exodus and a New Church: An Interview with Leaders of the Congregational Christian Churches in Canada," in *North American Religion*, Vol. 1, 1992, pp. 35, 38. Such an interpretation clearly overlooks some crucial liberal elements in the Basis of Union. What is significant, from this thesis' perspective, is Tweedie's view in itself, and his understanding that a key difference between the two denominations was not formal theological content, but whether members actively believed in those formulations.

3 Greenshields and Robinson, "A New Exodus", pp. 51, 52

4 *Tidings* November 1983, pp. 4-5. It should be stressed that while there were, admittedly, a few bigoted, hateful homophobes among those former United Church persons who objected to the ordination of practising homosexuals, the vast majority were compassionate and thoughtful people who happened to disagree profoundly with the General Council decision. Few would advocate or condone violence against any group with whom they took issue, regardless of the nature of that issue.

5 Greenshields and Robinson, "A New Exodus", pp. 34, 39

6 Greenshields and Robinson, "A New Exodus", pp. 43-44

7 The other regions are the Atlantic, Prairie and Pacific. The Central Region, by far the largest of the four, also includes congregations in Quebec.


9 Aside from the large number of former United Church members, clergy who have transferred credentials to the Congregational Christian Churches include former members of the Anglican, Baptist, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Churches of Christ, Pentecostal, Pentecostal Holiness, Presbyterian and Salvation Army organizations.

10 The expression rarely appears in print, but is mentioned (in one form or another, usually without awareness of who coined the expression) at virtually every denominational public gathering.

11 Greenshields and Robinson, "A New Exodus", p. 51
The issue is one of flexibility. The denomination allows each congregation to determine its own policy; none would be forced to accept a female senior pastor or women as elders. The expectation, however, is that women in ministry is a matter indifferent to salvation and that opinions on this item should not separate those who agree on other essential tenets. Matters came to a head in May 1996, when the Central Region Annual Rally was held at King Street Congregational Church, London. Several persons later intimated to me that they had deliberately stayed away because a woman was to be key-note speaker. In the event, the announced speaker, the Rev. Connie Den Bok, was unable to speak due to sudden illness. The issue was addressed forcefully at the Central Region Executive in June 1996. Opponents appear to be a small minority.

At the time of writing, the application to dissolve the corporation is pending.
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