

**Must We have War Again? A Preliminary Exploration
of Pacifism in the Restoration Movement in Canada
Through the Pages of the *Gospel Herald* (1936-1940)**

RUSSEL PRIME

The Circle

War begets poverty,
Poverty peace,
Peace begets plenty,
Then riches increase:

Riches bring pride
And pride is war's ground,
War begets poverty –
So goes the round.
(Norman Staker)¹

“The War Cloud is rising quickly on the Horizon of the world. If the storm breaks what should Christians do?” asked Lillian M. Torkelson on the front page of a new Canadian periodical called the *Gospel Herald* in April of 1936. The article and accompanying poem by L.B. Purnell were decidedly anti-war. Even three years before the European conflict would crystallize in its fullness, the writing was on the wall for all to see – a war appeared inevitable. Christians who took the scriptures seriously would be forced to make a difficult choice. Were not Christians “citizens of Heaven” before being His Majesty’s Canadian subjects? Did not our Lord and Saviour come to “bring peace and goodwill among men on earth”?

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Were Christians not to love their enemies? These were some of the concerns that the Torkelson article raised. Readers were urged to “obey God” rather than human authorities and work hard to claim an exemption from enrolment and actual war service. Torkelson reminded readers that “persons who are adverse to fighting on religious grounds” might succeed in establishing an exemption under the law even though they were not members of the historic peace churches. This was the first article in a long line of many others that would grace the pages of the *Gospel Herald*. Writers in support of pacifist stances would include Torkelson, J.C. Bailey and H.D. MacLeod.

The Churches of Christ are a little known Christian movement in Canada that seeks to bring all Christians toward a non-organic unity by restoring a New Testament order, faith and practice. It formed out of Scotch and Scottish Baptist roots principally in Upper Canada and the Maritimes around 1830 and was encouraged and shaped by the Restoration Movement led by Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone on the American frontier. The movement labelled itself “Christians” or “Disciples of Christ” (after scripture-like names supported by Campbell, Stone and others). They practised weekly communion, baptism by immersion and strict adherence to scriptural norms; yet, they also espoused liberty where the scriptures did not speak. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, congregations that supported a more literal approach to biblical interpretation and opposed organic cooperation, missionary societies and organ music began to identify themselves as the Churches of Christ.² Others that supported more cooperative efforts, including some liberals and self-styled “progressives,” continued to identify themselves as “Disciples of Christ.” Many of the reasons for this separation developed out of difficulties within the United States that were widely circulated and discussed in the movement’s religious journals. In fact, many attribute the split to a latent North-South outcome of the American Civil War. By 1900, regardless of the reasons, the camps were firmly drawn, and association with each other was barely possible.³

The *Gospel Herald* served an Ontario and western Canadian audience. It boasted a regular feature on Canadian preachers, contained biblical sermons and articles by local contributors, regularly updated readers on the status of a ministry to “Original Canadians” (or First Nations People) in Manitoba,⁴ encouraged local radio broadcasts during an era of the new technology and listed Canadian congregations.⁵ Young writers such as the prolific Wilma Gustafson frequently contributed youth

material and biblical study columns designed for a general audience; this is surprising given that women did not hold formal leadership positions within the movement during the period (nor do they today). Robert Sinclair acted as the coordinating editor and publisher of the *Gospel Herald*. He was a young Church of Christ evangelist serving in the small prairie town of Wishart, Saskatchewan. This publication was designed to serve the needs of churches in Canada (centred in the West and Ontario), and it began humbly in the middle of the depression years in March of 1936.⁶ The paper was first published on a four-dollar, flat-bed, manual press; however, after Sinclair moved to Carmen, Manitoba in 1938, the paper was produced using an automatic duplicator that much improved its look and quality. Beginning in 1938, the publication could handle photographs.

This short research paper will show the importance of pacifism or anti-war rhetoric by many in the Church of Christ movement as revealed on the pages of the *Gospel Herald* and other known sources. It is interesting to note that Thomas P. Socknat, in his monumental work⁷ on the Canadian anti-war movement, comments very little on the “conscientious objector” stance of this group of Christians. Socknat identifies one objector of the Churches of Christ in a footnote participating and volunteering for alternative service in the Civilian Corps of Canadian Firefighters and also documents that twenty of their objectors worked in National Parks as part of an alternative service program.⁸ His failure to discuss this religious movement is likely a result of the group’s small presence in Canada during the period. The stance of some in the Churches of Christ was overshadowed by the actions of much larger groups such as the historic peace churches, the Jehovah Witnesses, groups within the United Church of Canada, and the complex religious and social movements that called for peace during the inter-war years. However, the Church of Christ story deserves to be told even in a brief manner by this short report. I will begin by identifying some of the roots of pacifism in the Restoration Movement and then look at the story that unfolds in the *Gospel Herald* and in other known sources.

Stone-Campbell Situation Pacifist Environment

The Stone-Campbell or Restoration Movement has never been a mainstream or well-known religious group in Canada or in other parts of

the Commonwealth. Its small size and rural character have placed it on the periphery of society. Even the inclusion of its more liberal elements in the chartering of the Canadian Council of Churches did not raise its profile significantly in the general population. However, the movement played a more significant role in the United States. It was in the United States that the movement spread like fire on the American Frontier thorough Kentucky, Ohio and beyond. The movement grew out of several influences including the important work of Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone. Campbell, Stone and other first generation "Restorationists" did not support the idea of civil conflict, especially given their context as a unity movement.⁹ In fact, one of Campbell's famous speeches made at Wheeling, Virginia, in 1848 was used to support the neutral stance of the United States at the beginning of the Second World War when it was read into the Congressional Record by Joseph B. Shannon of Missouri in 1937.¹⁰

However, by far, the most important early proponent of a pacifist position was the second generation Church of Christ editor and Southern spokesperson, David Lipscomb (1831-1917) of Nashville, Tennessee. Lipscomb, a graduate of Franklin College and farmer-preacher took over the editorship of the *Gospel Advocate* in 1866. He was so thoroughly pacifist that he insisted that Christians were citizens of heaven before any state. In fact, he believed that all "civil governments" were "evil," and he refused to vote or take part in any political process¹¹ "much less maim or kill another person."¹² Lipscomb and fellow "Disciple" Tolbert Fanning were two the signatories to a communication addressed "To His Excellency The President of the Confederate States of America," which suggested that God's regulations were of higher importance than those of any state. They asked to be relieved of "the requirements repulsive to their religious faith."¹³ The *Advocate* was a conservative and anti-innovation weekly that gained new life out of the disenchanting move by the American Christian Missionary Society (AMCS)¹⁴ to abandon its neutrality in 1863 in favour of the Union forces. Such a move was symptomatic for Lipscomb of the Northern power structure of the Disciples. "The fact that we had not a single paper known to us," wrote Lipscomb in the 1 May 1866 edition of the weekly paper, "that Southern people could read without having their feelings wounded by political insinuations and lures, had more to do with calling the *Advocate* into existence than all the other circumstances combined."¹⁵ Indeed, the movement was witnessing the strong seeds of division. The turn from a neutral stance by the ACMS during the Civil War contributed to an

existing distrust of missionary organizations and split the movement over the slave question. A dispute over the use of organs in worship would also contribute to the growing separation. Lipscomb would become one of the principal editors for the Church of Christ tradition. His college, called the Nashville Bible School (posthumously renamed the David Lipscomb University), was also a centre of this more conservative movement.

The pacifist stance by some within the early and later Stone-Campbell movement was not isolated to Campbell and Lipscomb.¹⁶ Indeed, Moses Lard, the editor of *Lard's Quarterly* believed so strongly that he moved temporarily to Canada to avoid involvement in the Civil War conflict.¹⁷ James W. McGarvey and fourteen other Missouri ministers urged a neutral stance within the movement in a document that has been inaccurately described as a "pacifist manifesto."¹⁸ An important minority of conservatives and liberals would also become conscientious objectors during the "Great War" under the influence of Lipscomb and others, especially in the United States. For instance, Disciples of Christ college students Kirby Page and Harold Gray became committed objectors as a result of seeing the devastation of lives while volunteering for the international YMCA in England during the beginning of the First World War.¹⁹ Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of the *Christian Century* and bearer of Maritime roots, admitted that "he had been taught to see more deeply into the nature of war by two 'mere boys,' Harold Gray and Kirby Page," and he took on a much stronger pacifist response as the uncertainty of the 1917 peace settlement loomed larger in the inter-war period. A Canadian minority of both Church of Christ and Disciple backgrounds followed a pacifist stance during the Second World War.²⁰

The Idea of Peacemaker in the Gospel Herald

The *Gospel Herald* sought to be a full-service spiritual guide. It included columns and information for youth, encouraged home and overseas missions, served as a place of debate for issues facing the church and was a forum for sharing new ministry ideas and ventures. In effect, the paper took the place of a co-operative society or agency that Church of Christ policy did not trust, and it became the assembly itself. As a result, the pages are rich with ideas, advertisements and local news. We read of the large crowd at the closing day of the Selkirk Bible School in Ontario,²¹ a summer venture replicated throughout Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan during this period. There is a clarification on the usefulness of the

new “Revised Version” and its “chief advantage” being that it does not use words that have become obsolete as the King James Version does.²² This monthly journal is filled with preaching reports, poetry, letters to the editor, questions for clarifying biblical understanding, a church directory, preaching illustrations, historical items, news of evangelistic campaigns and theological essays. The publisher, D.A. Sinclair, defended having a religious paper in May of 1937 by suggesting that the *Gospel Herald* could go many places with a gospel message where members of the Body could not go themselves.²³ Accordingly, Sinclair recognized that the paper was an important forum, but for him, the purpose of the paper was an evangelistic one. He suggested to readers that the *Gospel Herald* contained almost “two weeks” worth of the teaching that one would find in a church meeting, that it was cost-effective, and that there should be “one in each home.”²⁴

While Sinclair and others saw the monthly journal primarily as a “herald” of the Good News of Jesus Christ, this paper becomes for us, sixty years later, a rich source of religious understanding and news. In relation to military service, two things become quickly apparent from the pages of this religious paper: the support for conscientious objection to military service and the strong teaching of the importance of love over violence. Many other topics could be explored using the pages of the *Gospel Herald*; however, such topics will be left for other researchers. Let us look at these two anti-war ideas below in more detail.

Objecting to War

Evangelist John Carlos Bailey²⁵ became the leading spokesperson for the anti-war agenda on the pages of the *Gospel Herald*. J.C. Bailey was born in Grey County, Ontario, on 13 September 1903, and grew up at Thessalon, Ontario. At the age of ten, Bailey was baptized by his father.²⁶ Bailey occasionally preached during his teen years, but after attending the Carman Bible School in Manitoba for two winters, he began regular preaching at the Schnellar School House in Saskatchewan in 1922. “Brother Bailey” proved himself an able teacher and organizer. By the age of thirty-four, he had established several congregations in Saskatchewan and Montana. He had “not labored in any one congregation,” but preached as an evangelist in Ontario, Manitoba, Montana, North Dakota, Idaho, Missouri, Iowa and Saskatchewan. He had guided 229 people in baptism, acted as a principal supporter and teacher in the “Saskatchewan Winter

Bible Schools” beginning in 1932, “sounded forth the word in over one hundred communities” and preached over 3000 sermons.²⁷ It was not a surprise that Bailey would become the editor of the *Gospel Herald* in December 1939²⁸ and continue in that post even after he moved from Radville, Saskatchewan to Meaford, Ontario in 1940.²⁹

In 1936, Bailey based his opposition to bearing arms in war on two grounds: on the command not to murder or kill others and on the economic greed that war represents. He asks, “Can a Christian kill his fellow men and be guiltless?” Bailey believes that killing others in war makes believers no better than criminals. The carnage of the Great War – “those that came back were gassed, maimed in every conceivable way” – shocks and saddens him. He also appeals to parents, asking them should their sons “die as rats to fill the coffers of the already rich?” Here he raises his second argument: “how international financing kept both sides in the field” to make money. He feels that such a “nauseating” scene “should open the eyes of the people to the solemn truth that war is a *racket*.” He also tries to address the apparent conflict with state authority that a pacifist stance creates by raising the issue of honouring the King of the Dominion of Canada. His position is that he “would rather live in Canada, in the British Empire than any place in the world,” but to “condemn the viciousness of war is not surely dishonorable is it? The Bible says, Honour the king. God didn’t say ‘love the war makers.’ Our gracious Sovereign doesn’t want war any more” than God does.³⁰

Bailey would work towards no war; however, he had no problem with the Government’s use of voluntary service. His difficulty lay with conscription or forced service. In the case of volunteering, he reasoned that to do so would forsake the assembly of Christians. Therefore, Christians should not volunteer to kill others in war for they would be forsaking the local assembly. However, if conscription were imposed, the Christian would have no option but to obey the government (e.g., meaning that Christians would be forced from attending the local church). But, obeying the government means that the Christian could be away from the local assembly but still should not fight. Christians should endeavour in such a situation to be excluded on religious grounds and take up alternative service options. He sees this outcome as honouring the law and God’s precepts. Others such as Gordon J. Pennock of St. James, Manitoba, Vilma Gustafson of Brooking, Saskatchewan, agree with Bailey in this assessment.³¹

As the war unfolded in 1939, Bailey became the informal contact

point between congregations and government. He advised the government about the existence of some conscientious objectors among Church of Christ congregations and published information about the proper procedures for young men to follow in order to be exempted from service. For instance, in October 1940, Bailey published a copy of his letter addressed to the Minister of National Defence and two replies to that correspondence. At this point, conscription has not yet been put in place, and it is unfortunate that the microfilm copies of this paper at Acadia's library do not extend beyond 1940, for it is not possible to see for ourselves how Bailey and others reacted once conscription was imposed. We are also left without knowing the later editorial policies of this paper as the conflict continued and worsened. Did it change to a more nationalistic stance as the American Church of Christ papers had done under pressure during the First World War?³²

There is little doubt that the reality of war changed the tone of the debate for and against military service. Rather than asking the question of the Christian attitude to war as Bailey had in 1936, by December of 1939, the *Gospel Herald* addressed the question, "Shall We Fight For Our Loved Ones?"³³ Nationalism, duty and ridicule became elements in the debate. Even in the face of potential jeering, the writer (probably evangelist Gordon J. Pennock) was unrelenting in his stance. Christians should not assist the war willingly even when regarded as cowards. Christians must stand for what they believe and "right from the start, be determined not to fight even if it means that we must go to jail or face the firing squad." His implication was that Christians should not be cowards as well. However, he does admit that "if conscription comes to Canada" he "can see no reason why Christians should not go willingly and work in the Red Cross" as Bailey had suggested. This attitude to war is in keeping with the findings of Socknat as the war progressed and as conscientious objectors declared themselves. Socknat concludes that "the majority of COs in the camp were members of millennial sects or the Conference of Historic Peace Churches; consequently, they viewed alternative service simply as the price they had to pay to remain true to their faith."³⁴

Ethic of God's Love over Violence

The imperative towards non-violence went beyond opposition to bloodshed and fighting. The idea extended to basic treatment of others,

whether they were a next-door neighbour or people of other ethnic backgrounds. These Christians took the teachings of Jesus seriously and were able to apply the principles to their own contexts. At least on one level, they sought to be witnesses for Christ and to teach principles that would lead them into relationship with others. This does not mean that they were perfect witnesses nor does it imply that they lived with consistent theologies (this is true for all believers). They held to the idea that a truth existed and, therefore, they could have points of division with others. Indeed, they were very liberal on the subject of neighbourliness and ethnicity while being fairly closed, according to today's standards, about dancing and other social activities. These believers were striving to live as faithful Christians in a complex world.

A firm example of the treatment of neighbours can be taken from an illustration found in the June issue of the *Gospel Herald* in 1937. It is suggested that, should a Christian buy a farm and later learn that the neighbour claims that the fence of the Christian lies on the neighbour's property, the proper thing to do is to avoid a lawsuit and give the little bit of land, if necessary. The article implied that this attitude was more likely to promote understanding and the sharing of the gospel. The attitude of being responsible neighbours for the sake of the Gospel is also shown by the following poem:³⁵

I come from a land that is over the sea,
And in this land you call me the "heathen Chinee";
You laugh at my ways and my long, braided hair,
At the food that I eat and the clothes that I wear.
Are you little Christians – you 'Melican boys –
Who pelt me with stones and who scare me with noise?
Such words as you speak, and such deeds as you do,
Will never make Christian heathen Ching Foo;
I may turn from my gods to the God that you praise,
When you love me and teach me and show me His ways.

This poem is not without its religious prejudices and ethnic difficulties; its inclusion in the *Gospel Herald*, however, implies an important attitude of openness and desire for relationship with others in order to share the Gospel. Bailey and others did not believe in an "interim ethic" as Jehovah's Witnesses and others advocated; instead, they believed in a present

and enduring attitude towards making peace. Such an understanding goes beyond the label of “eschatological pacifists” by which Socknat classifies groups like the Churches of Christ.³⁶ They sought to put Jesus’ words into action. Far from removing themselves from the world, this group in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario appeared intent on sharing the good news of the gospel with others. While I cannot deny their biblical legalism at some points, evidenced by their disdain for public dancing and worldly excesses, at other points such as on the notion of bearing arms and on scriptural translation they were very progressive. They were determined to share the gospel and any power or principle that they recognized as compromising that mission could not be supported. They did not promote lawsuits with their neighbours in order to show and share the love of Jesus Christ. They did not support prejudicial treatment of the Chinese on an individual basis because the Chinese were loved by God and deserved to know God’s gospel in word and deed.

Two Implications

For the purposes of this paper, there were two important and practical implications of the anti-war stance of the *Gospel Herald*. First, we see the significance that the group placed on integrity of belief and on the high standards that Jesus had challenged his followers to achieve. It was important to them that words and deeds remained consistent. And, in this way, this minority (probably) element in the Church of Christ found itself a co-belligerent alongside other groups much more fundamental and liberal than itself. Like the seventy-five pacifist United Church ministers held up as an example in the *Gospel Herald* of December 1939, many of the vocal evangelists and leaders of the Church of Christ movement shared a common ethic and belief: war was wrong.³⁷ Although the Churches of Christ were small, its pacifist believers counted as an important constituency of the anti-war religious movement – what Socknat has termed “the major resistance to military service in the course of the twentieth century.”³⁸ They assisted in this struggle even with their small numbers and despite the possible minority perspective that they represented within their own movement.³⁹

Second, and of equal importance, the later anti-conscription stance of some in the Church of Christ tradition led to an important qualification as to what a church and a minister are in Canada. On 30 August 1943, Justice Maclean of the Court of King’s Bench of Saskatchewan decided in

favour of Clarence Allen Bien by granting exemption from military service. It was determined that the Church of Christ was a “religious denomination within the meaning of the *National War Services Regulations* entitling a minister thereof to exemption from compulsory military service under the Regulations.”⁴⁰ The Court recognized that the group conducted a formal order of worship on Sundays where members “sing hymns, read portions of Scripture [and] engage in prayer.” The minister was recognized as such even though Church of Christ ministers were generally unsalaried, did not undergo any prescribed procedure for ordination and were often without formal training. Bien made his living through farming. However, he had apprenticed for three years (the case suggests that most did) as a preacher, had been recommended as a preacher by his church (or two ministers) and had acquired the right to marry church adherents under the laws of Saskatchewan. The Court found that there was no bishop or moderator; however, there was a general secretary that coordinated marriage approvals.⁴¹ The Court decided that Bien was in fact a “minister” or evangelist with the Churches of Christ and was exempt from compulsory service.⁴² This decision has been particularly important as it has been referred to in order to determine whether a group constitutes a church and is eligible for military service exemption (such as the Jehovah’s Witnesses) during the war or more recently for exemption from taxation. The ruling is especially useful in church contexts with little distinction between clerical and lay roles.⁴³

Conclusion

The principled teaching and guidance of J.C. Bailey, Lillian Tourkelson and others had profound implications for many members (especially young people) of the Churches of Christ movement in Canada. Some of their membership became conscientious objectors and had to suffer the lack of understanding of those more tied to the nationalistic fervour of saving the world through war. While we cannot be certain of numbers,⁴⁴ many of eligible age (between twenty and twenty-five years old) were encouraged to serve in alternative ways during the war. The anti-war advocacy of the *Gospel Herald* had affected the lives of the movement’s youth.

More research needs to be undertaken as to the pacifist position of those within the Campbell-Stone movement within Canada. This is one area where a minority of liberals and conservatives were in agreement. The

group is little-known, but the struggle of its members has left a rich legacy in the records of papers such as the *Gospel Herald* of the inter-war period and of the broader definition of church and minister within the Canadian legal framework. We can pray that more research will be undertaken.

Endnotes

1. *Gospel Herald*, March 1937, 9.
2. “By 1889 division was an obvious reality” between the Church of Christ and the Disciples in Ontario (Edwin L. Broadus, “The Beamsville Church at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: A Study of One Congregation’s Response to Division” in *The Campbell-Stone Movement in Ontario*, ed. Claude Cox [Queenston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995], 271- 277).
3. By the early 1970s the “Disciples of Christ” had suffered another liberal-conservative split over biblical interpretation, congregational integrity and institutional and ecumenical wariness. One group characterized by more conservative theology became known as “independent” or non-denomination Christian Churches/Churches of Christ, while the remaining congregations became formally the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ).
4. *Gospel Herald*, June 1936, 20.
5. The *Gospel Herald* even published a map of the Church of Christ congregations in Saskatchewan showing locations and adherent numbers (*Gospel Herald*, January 1937, 18).
6. Initially, the motto read “Make disciples of all the nations. Matthew 28:29”; however, by its second year of the publication, the masthead read “Published Monthly in the interest of the Church of Christ” and contained the image of a herald and a brief statement of the beliefs of the movement.
7. Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).
8. Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 251, 346.
9. Alexander Campbell “was as consistent in his pacifism as any person of his time.” Furthermore, “Jacob Creath, Jr. (1799-1886), Benjamin Franklin, and John W. McGarvey (1829-1911) joined Campbell in standing firmly on neutral ground” (Lester G. McAllister, *Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church [Disciples of Christ]* [Saint Louis: CBP Press, 1975], 201).

10. Comments of Gordon J. Pennock, *Gospel Herald*, November 1939, 3. This is supported by an electronic text on Dr. Hans Rollmann's site at Memorial University which supplies the entire speech: see <http://www.mun.ca/rels/restmov/>
11. Michael W. Casey, "From Pacifism to Patriotism: The Emergence of Civil Religion in Churches of Christ During World War I," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 66 (July 1992): 377.
12. McAllister, *Journey in Faith*, 203.
13. Cited in McAllister, *Journey in Faith*, 203.
14. The American Christian Missionary Society was formed for the purposes of promoting home and foreign missions in 1849 by cooperating Disciples congregations. It was the only national organization of the movement even though it did not act as a headquarters in any way (Reuben Butchart, *The Disciples of Christ in Canada Since 1830* [Toronto: Churches of Christ (Disciples), 1949], 34).
15. Cited in McAllister, *Journey of Faith*, 216.
16. It must be emphasized that pacifism was a minority position within the movement. One need only recognize the position of Ohio Disciple's preacher and college president, James A. Garfield, who became a Major General during the Civil War for the Union and later a Senator and President of the United States.
17. Eugene C. Perry, "Joseph Ash and his 'Reminiscences'" in *The Campbell-Stone Movement in Ontario*, ed. Claude E. Cox (Queenston, Ontario: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 289-291.
18. Winfred Ernest Garrison, *An American Religious Movement: A Brief History of the Disciples of Christ* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1945), 117.
19. Charles Chatfield, *For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America, 1914-1941* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971), 43-46. Chatfield provides a detail biography of these two individuals.
20. For example, see Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 347. The Disciple member of an alternative service program to China in 1944 is not identified, but it is most likely either Russell Beck or Stan Outhouse, both participants in the scheme.
21. *Gospel Herald*, April 1938, 14.
22. *Gospel Herald*, June 1937, 7.

23. *Gospel Herald*, May 1937, 14.
24. *Gospel Herald*, May 1937, 14.
25. A useful autobiography is John Carlos Bailey, *Forty Years A Canadian Preacher, 1921-61* (Abilene: Mathews Print, 1961).
26. J.C. Bailey's father was probably the evangelist at North Livingstone in Thessalon, T.W. Bailey (*Gospel Herald*, July 1938, 16).
27. "Our Canadian Preachers," *Gospel Herald*, April 1938, 6.
28. *Gospel Herald*, December 1939, 1. This edition includes a photo and article on the editorial change. Robert Sinclair continued as the publisher after moving from Carman to Holland, Manitoba. Sinclair also appears to have been the publisher of the local newspaper, *The Holland Herald*.
29. "Please remember to send articles and subscriptions to J.C. Bailey, Meaford, Ontario" (*Gospel Herald*, October 1940, 7).
30. *Gospel Herald*, July 1936, 1.
31. See support for anti-war stances by Gustafson in the *Gospel Herald*, June 1936, 1; and most-likely by Pennock in the *Gospel Herald*, December 1939, 3.
32. See Casey, "From Pacifism to Patriotism," 376-390.
33. *Gospel Herald*, December 1939, 3.
34. Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 242.
35. *Gospel Herald*, August 1937, 8.
36. Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 18. Socknat refers to other religious dissenters outside of the historic peace churches as being "various fundamentalist and millennial sects holding radical objections to war" that "entered Canada during the late-nineteenth century from Britain and the United States." He uses the typology of Peter Brock, which designates such groups as "eschatological pacifists" (*Pacifism in Europe to 1914* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972], 4). This definition, however, does not fit the Church of Christ very well as the group had an earlier existence in Canada and did not hold to an interim ethic allowing for a later millennial fight for God. Instead, they were influenced in their pacifism by Alexander Campbell, Barton Stone and the writings of David Lipscomb.
37. *Gospel Herald*, December 1939, 3.
38. Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 19.

39. See Casey, "From Pacifism to Patriotism," 376. Casey shows how the Churches of Christ largely abandoned their pacifist outlook in favour of a politically-flavoured pro-war stance in the United States during the course of the First World War.
40. Taken from the case summary of *Bien v. Cooke* (1943), 81 C.C.C., 316.
41. The General Secretary, not named, earned his living as a locomotive engineer (*Bien v. Cooke* [1943], 81 C.C.C., 316-318).
42. Several ministry students were forced to become chaplains in the military (Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 245).
43. See M.H. Ogilvie, *Religious Institutions and the Law in Canada* (Toronto: Carswell, 1996).
44. Twenty members of the Church of Christ worked in National Parks in 1942 (Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 239). It is interesting to note that twenty-eight "Christians" also worked in alternative service in National Parks that year in Canada. These small numbers compare to six Baptists, six Anglicans, twenty-one United Churchmen, thirteen Jehovah's Witnesses, thirty-nine Hutterites, and six hundred sixty-three Mennonites. These people were principally in the labouring classes (Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 240). At least one Church of Christ believer served in the Civilian Corps of Canadian Firefighters in the United Kingdom during the war (Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 251, 346).

