

BRANDS FROM BLAZING HEATHER:
CANADIAN RELIGIOUS REVIVAL
IN THE HIGHLAND TRADITION

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Many years ago a college friend of mine spent a summer as the United Church student missionary - they probably called him a "catechist" - at Loch Lomond in Cape Breton. I think that on the whole he enjoyed the summer; he certainly developed a warm regard for the people. He suffered from a thorn in the flesh, however, similar to one with which many others in such circumstances have had to put up. His landlady had formed a particular attachment to a former minister, and day in and day out he had to listen while she sang the praises of this paragon. At some time in the summer, however, a weapon came into his hands. When the paean of praise began again, he put the question, "Did you know that Mr. So-and-so was an alcoholic?" The answer, from a militant teetotaller, squashed him like a fly: "If you had a tenth as much of the Holy Spirit as he had, you could afford to talk." The incident points to an aspect of Presbyterianism that is often missed by those who commonly characterize it as solemn, dour, or even cold. It relates to a tradition of revival that is, I am sure, well known to members of this society but seems to have been kept secret from the bulk of Canadian historians.

Before proceeding further I should make a few elementary distinctions, adopting though also adapting a suggestion from W.G. McLoughlin.¹ In the first place there was evangelism, an appeal to the heart which except in the most Moderate sections of the Auld Kirk of Scotland was expected to have a place in every Presbyterian sermon.² Its desired result was personal conversion, evidence of which was considered to be a condition of communion. Then there was revivalism, the seeking of such results through the use of special and increasingly standardized techniques. Scottish Presbyterians at least took a dim view of it, regularly quoting against Methodist disorder the text "God is not the author of confusion but of peace, as in all of the churches of the saints."³ Finally there were revivals, perhaps better described as "awakenings", that stirred whole communities and sometimes spread over much wider areas. Obviously it is impossible to make precise distinctions among the three, for evangelism by its nature involves the use of some means and the line between a full-fledged revival and a successful series of evangelistic meetings is not easily drawn. So far as a distinction can be made, however, my present concern is with events that were widespread and sensational enough to be described as genuine revivals or awakenings.

In compiling a list of nineteenth-century events in Canadian Presbyterianism that could be described more or less

plausibly as revivals, I soon discovered that they were particularly common in areas where the supremacy of the Gaelic language was virtually uncontested. To be sure, these were not the only places affected by revival. Areas of American settlement were largely served in early times by missionaries from across the border who were very much in the revivalist tradition, although the number of community-wide awakenings that resulted was not all that great. Then after the great revival of 1857 and especially after the campaigns of Dwight L. Moody, when revivalism had shed some of its vulgarity and when acceptance in Scotland conferred an additional cachet, special evangelistic services became a regular feature of Presbyterian life and enjoyed considerable success.

For anything like a consistent story, however, we must look to areas of Highland tradition and Gaelic speech. Among these Cape Breton and Glengarry were by all odds the most fruitful. A major current spread out from Whycocomagh to neighbouring congregations in 1839-40,⁴ and in 1852-3 the greater part of Cape Breton Island was visited.⁵ Another awakening, remembered as "the great revival", began in Port Morien in 1870 and affected the whole of Cape Breton County and beyond.⁶ There were other local movements around Mabou and Port Hood in 1878 and at West Bay and again Port Morien in 1885-6.⁷ Glengarry seems to have been affected sporadically from the 1830s to the 1850s.⁸ Great revivals, involving Congregationalists and Baptists as well as Presbyterians, began in 1864 in Lancaster, Indian Lands, and Notfield.⁹ If nothing on the same scale took place again, local revivals were reported in 1876-7, 1880, and 1892.¹⁰ Another early centre was what is now Scotstown, Quebec, where revivals took place in 1846 and 1852.¹¹ A spectacular revival at New Mills, New Brunswick, followed the Irish awakening of 1859,¹² and Prince Edward Island and Pictou County had their turn in 1875 during the Moody era.¹³ While these later movements exhibited many of the features of their times, we can also detect in them expressions of the old Highland piety. And we must not forget the constant state of excitement in which Donald McDonald kept his followers in Prince Edward Island for many years after 1829, although I prefer to concentrate on movements untouched by suspicions of heterodoxy. Fortunately extensive accounts of a number of these exist.

If there was a fairly consistent pattern in the places where revivals occurred, the same was not true of their timing. One area might be quiescent while others were active, and even a continent-wide movement could pass over districts that might have been thought unusually susceptible. This unpredictability was often stressed in contemporary reports. The great Cape Breton revival of 1870 began at Port Morien "without any special effort on the part of either the minister, the session, or anyone else".¹⁴ A few meetings planned by the session at Indian Lands in

1864 to mark the opening of a new church developed into nightly services stretching over more than a year. ¹⁵ George Monro Grant claimed a similar spontaneity for a presbytery-wide revival in Pictou in 1875, ¹⁶ while the catalyst at Georgetown, P.E.I., in the same year was the organization of a temperance society. ¹⁷ The most spectacular onset of revival, perhaps, was at New Mills in 1860. A dance was going on in this community when suddenly a young woman was struck by the enormity of her sins, and before the night was out a number of fellow-revellers were on their knees. Meanwhile a pious man who had prayed that the young people might be brought to their senses was awakened by the sound of heavenly music at the very time of the first impulse and summoned to lend his hand at the dance hall. ¹⁸

This random quality was only to be expected in a Calvinistic church that attributed salvation not to human effort but to divine choosing. Even writers who expressed a longing for revival deplored the use of "fictitious means" ¹⁹ or warned, "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, says the Lord of hosts." ²⁰ Ralph Connor thus described the 1864 revival at Indian Lands in a barely fictionalized account in The Man from Glengarry: "There were neither special sermons nor revival hymns. The old doctrines were proclaimed, but proclaimed with a fullness and a power unknown at other times. The old psalms were sung, but sung perhaps as they never had been before." ²¹ Similarly it was reported from River John, N.S., in 1875: "While the sound principle was at the outset adopted, to refuse no instrumentality which God manifestly was blessing, as a matter of fact the means employed were almost exclusively those commonly used in the work of a faithful ministry - the plain, simple, earnest, and pointed preaching of the truth, and personal dealing with inquirers." ²²

Unpredictable as they might be, outbursts of revival were not altogether inexplicable. They took place under the ministry of outspokenly evangelical preachers, largely of the Free Church, who hoped for them and gradually built up a corresponding desire among their people. Hugh MacLeod wrote from Mira of a revival in 1852: "for the last two years I was led, in the providence of God, to expect such a season, for there was not only an extraordinary thirsting after the Word, a flocking of the people from all quarters and in all kinds of weather to hear it, and a melting down under it, but also cases now and then of decided conversion, as I have cause of believe, like drops before a shower." ²³ The message that aroused such thirst emphasized not only the dangers of remaining in a guilty state but the joys that awaited the believer now and hereafter. The messengers commonly adopted a pleading style of delivery that was very effective in Gaelic although not easily transferred to English. A nineteenth-century traveller thus described one such occasion in Cape Breton:

One of the worthy ministers seemed to me of a type perfectly suited to the scene. He was a patriarch in years, in fatherly kindness, in serenity and simplicity. His cherubic face, set in a frame of gray hair and beard, seemed to be made for smiling; but some interior power had won half of him over to severity - at least it seemed so at times when one brow, one eye, one side of the mouth, all contracted with an expression of gloom. Standing up in the little sentry-box with his hands clasped over his rotundity, he waited in silence for some moments, until he had established himself in a slow swaying motion from side to side; this swinging seemed essential to all these Cape Breton speakers and singers. Soon he started, in a very low voice, a hemming, a word, and a hesitation all together, and the hesitation often triumphed, made him wait again until more swinging had evolved a suggestion. The great silver-bowed spectacles finally came up from the depths of a pocket, and after two or three attempts scaled the heights, and planted themselves astride his nose. The discourse was then pursued in its regular form; the voice continued very low, confidential, winning. Judging him by his English sermons, ideas were as rare as the angels' visits that seemed reflected from time to time on the old man's benevolent face; so, to fill in, the last words or phrase of a sentence may be sometimes repeated three, even four times; the connections were made by these lapped joints. The pauses were frequently longer than his short phrases, but the swing, the driving power, held out; the majestic slowness did not fail, even though, as I saw, it should rain during the entire day. He preached eternity. 24

Despite protestations of surprise when revival occurred, preparation for it was sometimes quite intentional. Almost always prayer meetings were part of the prehistory; at Charlottetown revival broke out only after four years of special services and the institution of a weekly inquirers' meeting. 25 In many places the January week of prayer popularized by the Evangelical Alliance was an important factor. At Lancaster in 1864 John Anderson, despairing of the spiritual state of his people, announced that he would be in the church each evening in this week and invited others to join him. Three showed up on Monday, six on Tuesday, and by week's end crowds who insisted that the meetings continue. 26 At Indian Lands, when revival broke out in the same year, the week of prayer had been held for three consecutive years, and in the last two years services had been carried on until the spring breakup. Also influential there was Mrs Gordon's Bible class, which provided the first nucleus of converts. 27 At River John the awakening grew out of meetings specifically called to pray for revival, meetings that once again began small but eventually outgrew the village churches. 28

Although no two revivals were identical, certain elements were almost universal. The main thrust was carried by daily services that might last far into the night. At first these were conducted by ministers, but elders were often called in to relieve the strain and others participated by reading Scriptures and leading in prayer. 29 The first step toward conversion was conviction of sin, which often induced great anxiety and put a premium on confession. 30 To deal with inquirers after-meetings were often set up, while ministers had to allocate much of their waking time to those seeking release. Individuals took themselves to private prayer, and groups often came together spontaneously. 31 At some point conversions would begin to take place, giving an impetus to revival by reminding others of what they were missing. Most accounts emphasize the lack of unusual physical symptoms, although in those days trembling, weeping, and sobbing were not regarded as out of the way. Yet the McDonaldites of Prince Edward Island, for whom "the works" were a staple of every service, were not the only exception. Among those affected by the preaching of Peter MacLean of Whycocomagh there were many reports of bodily prostration and cries of alarm or joy. 32 At New Mills, where cases of temporary paralysis were common, people were struck down "in the family circle, on the wayside, while engaged in their lawful callings". 33

The annual communion once usual in Scottish Presbyterian congregations figured prominently in accounts of revivals. Sometimes it marked the beginning, 34 sometimes the climax, 35 of visible awakening. Almost always it was a significant milestone. Nor is this difficult to understand. In a rural community the communion was the most dramatic event of the year, involving five days of intense call for self-examination. It brought together crowds, estimated in 1855 at 5-6,000 at Mira and almost as many at Whycocomagh and Boularderie, that could bring mass psychology into play. 36 The communion itself could have been a stimulating experience if the four ounces of wine/ reported elsewhere were duplicated here. 37 Added to all these was a discipline that bred anxiety. While attendance was large, participation was select. To commune one required a token, which the elders of the congregation gave out only after careful consideration. Even after that test was passed the officiating minister would fence the tables, haranguing prospective communicants at considerable length and in great detail to fulfil the injunction of answer 97 of the Shorter Catechism to "examine themselves of their knowledge to discern the Lord's body, of their faith to feed upon him, of their repentance, love, and new obedience, lest, coming unworthily, they eat and drink judgment to themselves". Some people held back even at this point or went forward with a sense of terror. Yet neither was it easy to watch a communion from the outside, especially since the line between those who partook and those who did not was the most obvious indication of who might be predestined to eternal life and who to eternal damnation. Small wonder that even ordinarily careless

Presbyterians became increasingly introspective as the communion season approached and that the anxiety often reached a breaking point during its course!

With fair unanimity the reports emphasize the diversity of those affected: all ages, both sexes, the obviously bad and the apparently good. One does not read far, however, without becoming aware that not all were affected equally. At New Mills the "grossly wicked" were said to have led the way for the more respectable to follow, 38 and a similar if less neat progression can be inferred elsewhere. Almost everywhere the young were singled out as constituting the bulk of the converts. 39 Some were very young, schoolchildren who wept in secret over their sins or congregated in informal prayer meetings in defiance of mocking playmates. 40 Sex ratios are more difficult to determine. At Mira in 1852 young men were singled out as especially affected, 41 at Indian Lands in 1864 they led in devotions, 42 and in 1875 they fanned out from New Glasgow to revive neighbouring communities. 43 We are told less about women, but perhaps greater susceptibility on their part was simply taken for granted. On one point there would have been general agreement: the subjects of religious awakenings, a church committee noted, "were to a large extent persons who had in early life been carefully instructed in the system of Divine truth". 44

Whatever the course of revival, the excitement would eventually dissipate and the meetings taper off. What then? It was generally admitted that many who had been caught up in the excitement quickly fell away and that the withdrawal period severely tested the depth of converts' commitment. There were further suggestions that well cultivated vineyards were particularly tempting to Universalists and other foxes 45 and that those whom revivals thrust into positions of leadership were tempted to "arrogance and presumption". 46 Always, however, it was agreed that on balance the results had been good. After a visit to Lancaster in the wake of the 1864 revival Principal Michael Willis of Knox College reported: "more than a hundred have been added to the communicants' roll of a country congregation since January last ... persons lately living to the present world - younger as well as older persons - have cast their idols away and manifested an unwonted preference for spiritual exercises and religious companionships, and ... whole households of nominal Protestants, or members of Christian families, hitherto untouched by law or gospel, have spontaneously sought to confess Christ." 47 Daniel Gordon, the minister of Indian Lands, emphasized the disappearance of party feeling. 48 His wife, while also noting "the manifest growth of brotherly love", was practical enough to add "the punctual payment of the subscriptions to the minister's salary". 49 Perhaps the most tangible long-term result was

the emergence of leaders for another generation, both locally and in wider spheres. Areas swept by revival were fertile sources of candidates for the ministry, and many missionaries traced their call to such an event. 50

To many people it seems distinctly out of character for Calvinistic churches obsessed with correct doctrine and suspicious of human contrivance to ^{have} nourished awakenings of the type I have described, and indeed the usual state of many Presbyterian congregations belied the possibility. Yet, knowing the fruit, we can readily trace it back to the seed. Calvin, known to many only for the doctrine of predestination and the execution of Servetus, insisted that "the assent which we give to the Divine word ... is from the heart rather than the head, and from the affections rather than from the understanding". 51 He added that "even pious persons, and such as fear God, still stand in need of the peculiar impulse of the Spirit". 52 The Shorter Catechism echoed this teaching: "We are made partakers of the redemption purchased by Christ, by the effectual application of it to us by his Holy Spirit." 53 It only needed the insistence of Puritans on a converted membership and the introspection this implied to complete a prescription for revival.

In Scotland this impulse to revival found classic expression in 1742 in the Glasgow suburb of Cambuslang. George Whitefield had a considerable part in it. William McCulloch, Cambuslang's evangelical but reportedly not very eloquent minister, was so impressed by reports of Whitefield's meetings in America that he retailed them to his congregation and did what he could to promote a similar revival. 54 Then in 1741 Whitefield came to Scotland, conducting successful missions in a number of places including Glasgow. By the spring of 1742 there was getting to be such a stir at Cambuslang that McCulloch felt justified in asking Whitefield to take part in the preparations for communion in July. On that occasion the crowd was estimated, perhaps liberally, as twenty thousand. 55 Such was the momentum that McCulloch announced another communion for August, during which season Whitefield preached again to an estimated thirty thousand. 56 Robert Burns of Knox Church and College, Toronto, pointed to the Cambuslang "wark" and to another shortly thereafter at Kilsyth in Stirlingshire as formative of the evangelical party in the Church of Scotland and ultimately of the Free Church. His reminiscences make clear that these revivals were still a very living part of his own historical memory. 57 Leigh Eric Schmidt, who links this revival tradition closely with the mass meetings associated with the annual communion, traces it back to late medieval attitudes and makes a strong case for regarding it as the origin of camp

and protracted meetings and thus of much North American revivalism. 58

To turn from Canada to Cambuslang is to recognize many familiar landmarks. We encounter the same admixture of surprise and calculation, the same physical phenomena, the same general mix of converts by age, sex, and former condition, the same concentration of "those brought up religiously", the same winnowing as excitement died down, the same positive evaluation of results. Most significantly, perhaps, we meet the same insistence that revival was sparked by orthodox Calvinist doctrine proclaimed in the traditional way. 59 That the work was of a sovereign God rather than of human instruments was made clear by McCulloch's use of the familiar watchword from Zechariah 4: 6, "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts". 60 One distinctive note at Cambuslang, though not altogether without parallel in Victorian Canada, was the use of explicitly sexual imagery; McCulloch preached from the Song of Solomon, and Whitefield's sermon that drew most comment was on the suggestive text, "Thy Maker is thy husband". 61

Gaelic revivals in Canada drew even more directly on a special Highland tradition. The Highlands were little affected at first by the Reformation. Their clergy for the next century and a half were largely episcopal in sympathy and for almost as long after that "moderate" in their approach to religion. In this situation the rise of evangelicalism was closely linked with the activities of an unofficial order of zealous lay preachers known simply as na daoine or "the Men", who worked closely with evangelical ministers and would have nothing to do with moderates. The earliest Highland revivals took place in the mid-seventeenth century through the influence of Puritan refugees and a few ministers of Puritan sympathies. Notable among the latter was the fiery Thomas Hog of Kiltarn, who has been credited with enlisting the first of "the Men". 62 During the next century Cambuslang had repercussions in the Highlands, especially in Ross-shire and especially among Gaelic-speakers. 63 According to John Kennedy, a mid-nineteenth century historian of the revivals, their best days had been even before this. 64 In numbers and intensity, however, they reached their peak only in Kennedy's time. 65 During this period they developed another node in Perthshire and spread into the Western Isles.

Several factors contributed to this outburst of religious zeal. One was the formation during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries of several societies dedicated to the civilization of the Highlands. All of them were evangelical in inspiration, and their schoolteachers regularly conducted services in parishes where only

moderate preaching was available. 66 The Edinburgh-based Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge is best known, but was handicapped by its insistence on teaching in English. The Gaelic School Society, founded in 1811, had readier access to the people and was able to take advantage of the publication of a Gaelic Bible in 1801. Another factor was the destruction of the clan system after 1745, calling for a reconstitution of a sense of identity that revival helped to provide. There was also an element of social protest against the moderate clergy, who generally took the side of the landlords and were often related to them. 67 And despite frequent dereliction of duty an increasing supply of ministerial services was awakening an appetite for religion. The situation of my ancestral parish of Glenurquhart, where in the seventeenth century a ministry of twenty-four years passed without a celebration of the Lord's Supper, 68 would become unthinkable, as would the excuse offered for infrequent communion at Dingwall that "the frequent charges that their people gott to be in arms against the Macdonalds obstructed their freedom to that great work". 69

These circumstances gave a distinctive colouring to Highland revival. The mass gatherings at long communions, and at the revivals associated with them, were largely composed of visitors who were boycotting their own moderate ministers; the fervour thus generated owed a good deal to partisan feeling. 70 The Men, old-fashioned in dress, tending to morbidity in self-examination, fervent and sometimes fanatical in their piety, imparted a note of austerity reminiscent of the medieval Culdees. As in Cape Breton, evangelical ministers were characterized by a distinctive whine or "sough". 71 Their converts were generally quieter than in the Lowlands, although an occasional groan or ejaculation might be heard. 72 In Lewis, however, many during 1823, the so-called "year of swooning", were seized with convulsions and spasms of screaming aloud. 73 Highland evangelicals constantly teetered between two extremes of piety. On the one hand, in reaction against self-indulgent clergy, they displayed a severity that could terrorize their congregations and reduce their communion rolls to a handful; 74 in the process many traditional elements of Highland customs and folklore were banished for ever. On the other hand, their message was ultimately one of free pardoning grace to bind up sinners' wounds. Sometimes a preacher would successfully combine the two emphases. Sometimes, as at Alness, a thunderer like James Fraser would awaken members of his congregation to the enormity of their guilt and then happily send them to his neighbour John Porteous of Kilmuir for release. 75

The Highland tradition of revival reached its two

chief Canadian centres in rather different ways. It has been noted that whereas those who settled in Cape Breton before 1820 or 1825 had largely been unaffected by it, those who followed them carried its fervour with them. ⁷⁶ Certainly the most florid expressions of revival were in areas of late settlement. Since only evangelical ministers were sent to Cape Breton, however, there was less severity and little anticlericalism - to the dismay of Norman MacLeod, who regarded his loyal followers at St Ann's as lacking the faith that would justify a celebration of the Lord's Supper. ⁷⁷ Whatever relevance the revival tradition may have had to their particular circumstances, Cape Bretoners seem merely to have been continuing a familiar pattern that faded from memory, as John Murray suggested, when the Men on the island died out. ⁷⁸ In Glengarry settlement was virtually complete at an earlier stage, and for some years moderate preaching predominated to the point where the people were said to have inherited "Moderate feelings and formalities". ⁷⁹ Revivals occurred with just enough frequency to allow for a vestige of continuous local memory, but later ones impressed people by their novelty rather than their familiarity. Here revivals were, to a greater extent than in Cape Breton, worked up by Scottish-born ministers. Instead of recalling a treasured past, they seem to have marked a transition from frontier roughness to a more settled and sophisticated state of society. In Connor's novels, of course, the chief male converts went on to become tycoons.

Finally, it is my impression that, contrary to the desires of those involved in them, the revivals inspired by Calvinism helped in the long run to undermine it. John Kennedy suggested this of the Highland revivals of his time, ⁸⁰ and Ralph Connor made the claim explicit in his late novel Torches through the Bush. ⁸¹ Perhaps there was an unresolvable tension between a doctrine that attributed salvation totally to God's initiative and a practice that called on sinners to choose. In the Canadian case, however, I suspect that the change came about mainly because even Highland preachers were subtly affected by the Arminianism endemic to North American revivalism. As my chief witness I call one who who would have been scandalized by being cast in such a role, somewhat unfairly perhaps since he was not of Highland or even Scottish background. Jonathan Goforth, a pioneer Presbyterian missionary who gained fame for his ability to inspire mass movements in China and Manchuria, was described by Charles G. Trumbull as standing "like Gibraltar, steadfast, uncompromising for the old faith which is ever new". ⁸² For the watchword of his evangelism, in a day when watchwords were taken seriously, he looked back to the

the Calvinism of Cambuslang: "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit". ⁸³ Yet he was reported as beginning to achieve wholesale success when he read and applied the formula of Charles G. Finney: "A revival is a purely philosophical result of the right use of constituted means". ⁸⁴ Goforth never seems to have suspected any inconsistency between his motto and his methodology. Nevertheless, he may stand as representing the point, about the turn of the twentieth century, by which Presbyterian revival in Canada had lost its distinctive character and blended into a general North American tradition.

NOTES

1. Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), xiii.
2. An appeal for decision was reportedly as common in Presbyterian as in Methodist sermons (L.E. Smith, "Nineteenth-Century Canadian Preaching in Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches", Th.D. thesis, Victoria University, 1957, 45).
3. Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Free Church of Scotland (H & F (FS)), Mar. 1846, 323; Canadian United Presbyterian Magazine 5 (1858), 143.
4. Laurie Stanley, The Well-Watered Garden: the Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton, 1798-1860 (Sydney: University of Cape Breton Press, 1983), 135-6.
5. H & F (FS), Dec. 1852, 127; Mar. 1853, 213.
6. John Murray, History of the Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton (Truro, NS: News Publishing Co., 1921), 51.
7. Presbyterian Record, May 1878, 119; Dec. 1885, 317; Murray, History, 144-5.
8. Donald N. MacMillan, The Kirk in Glengarry, 1784-1984 (Finch, ON: 1984), 427-8; H & F (FS), July 1850, 350; May 1847, 95; Mar. 1848, 350; Apr. 1849, 371; Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record of the Presbyterian Church of Canada (E & M (FC)), Nov. 1847, 4; Jan. 1848, 53.
9. MacMillan, Kirk, 429-35; Home and Foreign Record of the Canada Presbyterian Church (H & F (CF)), May 1864, 214-15; Oct. 1864, 342-4; May 1865, 221-3; Apr. 1866, 186-8; J.D. Anderson, ed., Reminiscences and Incidents Connected with the Life and Pastoral Labors of the Reverend John Anderson (Toronto: William Briggs, 1910), chaps. 14, 15. Descriptions thinly disguised are in Ralph Connor, The Man from Glengarry (New Canadian Library, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960) and Torches through the Bush (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1934), and in [M.M. Robertson], Shenac: The Story of a Highland Family in Canada (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1901).
10. A.H. Scott, Ten Years on My First Charge (Toronto: Hart & Co., 1891), 71; MacMillan, Kirk, 435; Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1882, clxii.
11. H & F (FS), Oct. 1848, 506-7; July 1852, 413.
12. Ibid., 1 Aug. 1860, 15-17; 1 Nov. 1860, 923; 1 Dec. 1860, 113.

13. Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland (H & F (K)), 1 Apr. 1875, 314-16; 1 Nov. 1875, 511; 1 Dec. 1875, 534-5; W.L. Grant and Frederick Hamilton, Principal Grant (Toronto: Morang & Co., Ltd., 1904), 171-2.
14. Murray, History, 143.
15. Robertson, Shenac, 133.
16. Grant and Hamilton, Grant, 171.
17. H & F (K), 1 Apr. 1875, 316.
18. H & F (FS), 1 Aug. 1860, 15.
19. H & F (K), 1 Nov. 1860, 92-3.
20. Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record of the Free Church of Nova Scotia, Sept. 1854, 47.
21. P. 158.
22. H & F (K), 1 Dec. 1875, 535.
23. H & F (FS), Mar. 1853, 213.
24. C.H. Farnham, "Cape Breton Folk", reprinted in Acadiensis 8 (spring 1975), 104.
25. H & F (K), 1 Apr. 1875, 314.
26. Anderson, Anderson, 266-72.
27. H & F (CP), May 1865, 221-2.
28. H & F (K), 1 Dec. 1875, 535.
29. Robertson, Shenac, 234; Connor, Man from Glengarry, 158.
30. Connor, Torches, 210.
31. Anderson, Anderson, 276.
32. Murray, History, 60.
33. H & F (FS), 1 Aug. 1860, 16.
34. Connor, Man from Glengarry, 157.
35. H & F (K), 1 Apr. 1875, 316.
36. Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record of the Free Church of Nova Scotia, Aug. 1855, 164.

37. Leigh Eric Schmidt, Holy Fairs: Scottish Communion and American Revivals in the Early Modern Period (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 197.
38. H & F (FS), 1 Nov. 1860, 92.
39. Ibid., Apr. 1848, 371; H & F (CP), May 1865, 223; Anderson, Anderson, 61.
40. Anderson, Anderson, 280, 282-6.
41. H & F (FS), Dec. 1852, 127.
42. H & F (CP), May 1865, 222.
43. Grant and Hamilton, Grant, 172.
44. H & F (CP), July 1869, 263.
45. Ibid., Oct. 1864, 343.
46. H & F (CP), Jan. 1869, 70.
47. Ibid., Oct. 1864, 342-3.
48. Ibid., May 1865, 223. Cf. G.M. Grant in H & F (K), 1 Nov. 1875, 511.
49. H & F (CP), Apr. 1866, 188.
50. Ruth Compton Brouwer, New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 84.
51. Institutes of the Christian Religion, 3.2.8.
52. Ibid., 3.24.13.
53. A. 29.
54. D. Macfarlan, The Revivals of the Eighteenth Century, Particularly at Cambuslang (Edinburgh, Johnston & Hunter, 1847; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Richard Owen Roberts, 1980), 35-6, 47.
55. Ibid., 63.
56. Ibid., 65.
57. R.F. Burns, The Life and Times of the Rev. Robert Burns, D.D., F.A.S., F.R.S.E., Toronto (Toronto: James Campbell & Son, 1872), 3, 267.
58. This is the general theme of Holy Fairs.

59. Macfarlan, Revivals, 16, 35, 88, 94, 175.
60. Ibid., 52.
61. Isa. 54:5; Macfarlan, Revivals, 65, 139, 187.
62. Ian A. Muirhead, "The Revival as a Dimension of Scottish Church History", Scottish Church History Society Records 20: 3 (1980), 184-6.
63. Macfarlan, Revivals, 215, 253.
64. The Days of the Fathers in Ross-shire, 4th ed. (Toronto: James Campbell & Son, 1867), 12.
65. Gordon E. MacDermid, "The Religious and Ecclesiastical Life of the Northwest Highlands, 1750-1843", Ph.D. thesis, Aberdeen, 1967, 260, 281-2.
66. James Hunter, "The Emergence of the Crofting Community: The Religious Contribution, 1798-1843", Scottish Studies 18 (1974), 104.
67. Kenneth J. Logue, Popular Disturbances in Scotland, 1780-1805 (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1979), 173-5; Steve Bruce, "Social Change and Collective Behaviour: The Revival in Eighteenth-Century Ross-shire", British Journal of Sociology 34 (1983), 554-72.
68. John Mackay, The Church in the Highlands, or The Progress of Evangelical Religion in Gaelic Scotland, 1563-1843 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914), 151.
69. George B. Burnet, The Holy Communion in the Reformed Church of Scotland, 1560-1960 (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1960), 147.
70. Mackay, Church in the Highlands, 250-1.
71. Burnet, Holy Communion, 221.
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