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A Critical Analysis of the 1949-1953 Lewis Revival

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BA (Hons)

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Abstract

This thesis provides a critical analysis of the 1949–1953 Lewis revival, engaging with the diverse narratives, the cultural context in which the revival was situated, the range of oppositions voiced against the revival, and also the significance of Duncan Campbell and his contribution to events. A close study of Campbell is essential because he was a central, albeit controversial, figure in the development of the revival. This thesis concludes that because of Campbell's interpretation of the revival, rooted in his peculiar theological framework, both he and the revival have become contested space. The conclusion has been drawn that many, both those in favour of the Campbell along with those who opposed him, have interpreted the revival through the lens of interpretation provided by Campbell. This has confused historical assessments of the revival. Therefore, this thesis concludes that for historical clarity of the revival, and its impactful nature, Campbell and the revival must not be viewed as synonymous.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter looks to introduce the context for this paper, define the term ‘revival,’ and briefly deal with a number of historical components that also help set the context for the paper.

The Isle of Lewis

The Outer Hebrides is a group of islands located in the north west of Scotland, with Lewis being the most northerly island in the Outer Hebrides. The Isle of Lewis only has one burgh, Stornoway, with the rest of the island consisting of villages. Lewis and Harris actually share one land mass, with Lewis being found in the north and Harris situated in the south. It should also be noted for the benefit of this chapter, and paper, that the Gaelic dialect has always been close to the heart of the Island. In fact, Gaelic was the common tongue on Lewis, and the Island is a stronghold for the language. In the past, and around the time this paper is dealing with, most of the inhabitants of Lewis could only read, write, and speak in Gaelic. The first English speaking church (Martins Memorial) did not arrive on Lewis until 1875. The Gaelic language was almost exclusively the vehicle for the preaching during the events of the revival in Lewis between 1949-53. Gaelic was, and still is to an extent, a very important aspect of life in the Western Isles of Scotland, and the distinct vocabulary, idiom and cadences of the language gave a unique flavour to the conduct of worship and preaching.

Upon the island, for the majority of the twentieth century, there were three main denominations (all presbyterian): the Church of Scotland, the Free Church, and the Free Presbyterians. Rack explains that in Scotland ‘Presbyterianism dominated the scene, for even dissenters and seceders from the Establishment... almost always maintained versions of the Presbyterian tradition in theology and practice’ (Rack, 1993: 226). Rack’s illustration of Presbyterianism’s dominance in Scotland is a true representation of the Church in Lewis too. He also indicates that if a disagreement arose within the Kirk and resulted in a split those leaving would then go and start what they perceived to be a purer form of Presbyterianism. This is a phenomenon perfectly portrayed in Lewis. One aspect pertinent to Rack's perspective was the Patronage Act passed by Parliament for Scotland in 1712. The Act took the power to call a minister away from the laypeople in a parish and gave it to heritors. Since 1690, it was the parish, with an established session, that would

call a minister. When the power to select a minister was taken from the laypeople, and handed back to the patrons, it caused friction and eventually secessions. It was because of the Patronage Act, that in 1843, 121 ministers and 73 elders walked out of the General Assembly in what came to be known as the Disruption. The number eventually grew to over 470 ministers leaving the National Church.

The third Presbyterian denomination found on Lewis in the 20th century was the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The Free Presbyterian Church split from the Free Church in 1893 because an Act was passed with a view to the Free Church of Scotland uniting with the United Presbyterians. Muirhead posits:

The first attempt to prepare the passing of the “Declaratory Acts” led to the secession of those who became Free Presbyterians. They could not accept these acts which a majority of the church voted through. That rift was so serious that when the Union of the Free Church with the United Presbyterians did go through in 1900, the Free Church minority who could not accept that union were still shunned by those who left to form the Free Presbyterian Church seven years previously (Muirhead, 2015: 149).

Also, in the 20th century, the majority of the Free Church congregations joined with the United Presbyterian Church denomination, thus establishing the United Free Church of Scotland. This new denomination then came full circle when it merged with the National Church, the Church of Scotland, making it once again the biggest denomination in Scotland. Not all the Free Church congregations joined with the United Presbyterian Church in 1900 and, interestingly, the majority of the Free Church congregations on the Isle of Lewis were opposed to the joining of the two denominations, leaving, as the Peckhams write: ‘At the time of the 1949 revival the Free Church was the dominant body on the Island of Lewis...’ (Peckham, 2004: 22). Thus Lewis, in the 20th century, was in two ways different to the mainland: firstly Gaelic was the most commonly used language, and secondly, the dominant denomination was the Free Church of Scotland.

Defining Revival

The subject of this thesis makes it important to define what is meant by the term ‘revival.’ Tom Lennie, commenting on revival, concludes: ‘The term... has commonly been employed to describe spiritual awakenings dating at least as far back as the 1740s’ (Lennie,

2015: 23). This idea of ‘spiritual awakenings’ highlighted by Lennie portrays one of the key components and characteristics in the understanding of the term ‘revival’; and it is often used to define revival. A helpful definition of this understanding of revival is given by Bonar. He states: ‘What is a revival? ... in the more common acceptance, it is the turning of multitudes to God. As conversion is the turning of a soul to God, so a revival is a repetition of this same spiritual process in the case of thousands. It is conversion upon a large scale’ (Bonar, 1860: 2). However, this definition of revival is not the definition in its fullest form. Mass conversion is a mark of revival. According to Lloyd-Jones this is a revival’s secondary function. Lloyd-Jones explains that revival is:

A period of unusual blessing and activity in the life of the Christian Church. Primarily, of course, and by definition, a revival is something that happens first in the Church amongst Christian people; amongst believers. That, I repeat, is true by definition. It is revival; something is revived and when you say that, you mean that there is something present that has got life... [Revival] happens primarily in the Church of God and amongst believing people and it is only secondly something that affects those that are outside the church (Lloyd-Jones, 1987(b): 99).

Here, Lloyd-Jones clearly conveys the primary function of revival. Revival’s primary outworking is with the people of God, the church, as only that which has had life can be revived. Meek reiterates this point when he posits: ‘First, the term can be applied to the revitalisation of a body which once possessed spiritual life, but which has lost its former vigour’ (Meek, 1993: 711). Revival, then, in its primary function begins with God’s people.

With the context this paper is dealing with it is important to understand that the terms that will be used throughout this paper are predominantly Evangelical. This is because the 1949-1953 Lewis revival was, and is, understood in an Evangelical way. Therefore, it is important to understand that the language, concepts, and terms that will be used are deeply rooted in an Evangelical context. Conversionism is one of the four key characteristics that is used to define Evangelicalism. Bebbington writes:

There are four qualities that have been the special marks of Evangelical religion: *conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism*, the expression of the Gospel in effort; *biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Together they

form a quadrilateral of priorities that is the basis of Evangelicalism (Bebbington, 2005: 2).

The church in Lewis would hold firmly to what is discussed within Bebbington's conclusion on what it means to be an Evangelical. This can be identified in the preaching during the 1949-1953 revival. With regards to conversionism though, as Bebbington states, there is a change needing to take place. Building upon this idea of change, Wayne Grudem, who gives an extensive definition of conversion, states:

The word *conversion* itself means "turning" - here it represents a spiritual turn, a turning *from sin to Christ*. The turning from sin is called *repentance*, and the turning to Christ is called *faith*.... We may define repentance as follows: *Repentance is a heartfelt sorrow for sin, a renouncing of it, and a sincere commitment to forsake it and walk in obedience to Christ* (Grudem, 1999: 307-309).

As can be identified from Grudem's comments, there is a change in an individual's life when they are 'converted'. This change has internal and external implications for that individual's life. The external change can be identified as *activism* and *Biblicism*. The internal change, or as Grudem states 'spiritual change' is seeking forgiveness for sin and is because of *crucicentrism*. This 'spiritual change' is necessary because:

The history of the human race as presented in Scripture is primarily a history of man in a state of sin and rebellion against God, and God's plan of redemption to bring many people back to himself.... We may define sin as follows: *Sin is any failure to conform to the moral law of God, in act, attitude, or nature* (Grudem, 1999: 210).

Romans 3:23 declares: 'all have sinned and fallen short of God's glory'. This is because humanity has a sinful nature due to inherited sin from Adam (Genesis 3). This is often known as original sin. The first point of Calvinism teaches about 'Total Depravity', and this teaching comes from this understanding of original sin. With humanity's default position being a sinful nature, humanity because of sin, is separated from God. As a result of this separation, God, in his mercy, initiated His redemption plan, creating a way for the possibility of relationship between Himself and humanity. This plan, which is strongly linked to the word 'salvation', saw God the Son dying on the cross as an atoning sacrifice

for those who would believe in Him. Jesus' sacrifice, then, acts as an atonement, and the redeemed are justified through faith in Jesus Christ. As a result of being justified through faith, the believer is given eternal life and is then, in return, saved from a lost eternity. Conversion, then, is an individual turning from their sin towards God in repentance, seeking His forgiveness, which is available through faith in Christ's atoning work. This definition answers the 'why' and the 'how' question. However, as will be illustrated, the 'who' aspect was a cause of opposition during the revival. These terms, that will be engaged with throughout, need to be understood in an Evangelical way because of the Evangelical context the revival took place in.

A Revival Heritage

True revival's primary function deals with the church and this is evident when looking at the history of revivals in Lewis. As stated, Gaelic was the prominent language in Lewis, but '...for a long time, until 1767, the teaching of Gaelic was forbidden...' (Macaulay, 1980: 118). Muirhead, on this issue, writes:

Much of the lowland reformation had been spurred in the early 1500s by the publication of religious materials from the reformers... in the Highlands it did not exist ... the main thrust of the Scottish Reformation was to take all matters religious from the Bible alone... so, if there was no Gaelic Bible and if the people could not read the Bible in English they could not be enthusiastic about the new regime... There were two possibilities, mutually contradictory, solutions: one was to train and encourage Gaelic-speaking ministers and the other was to drive out Gaelic and make everyone speak English... In 1619, an act of the General Assembly stated that the heritors in each parish were responsible for a house, a school, and the salary for a schoolmaster... Thirteen years later, the Act was backed up by granting a charter to "The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge" (SSPCK) with the aim of establishing schools, largely in the highlands... The Society's policy has been described as "civilisation through anglicisation," for the first time Gaelic was banned in the schools (Muirhead, 2015: 191-192).

This meant that 'The first translation of the New Testament into Scottish Gaelic did not appear until 1767, and the entire Bible was not published in Gaelic until 1801' (Campbell, M., 1953: 148). The Peckhams write that this caused 'A great disadvantage to the

Highlands after the Reformation [because there] was the lack of Scriptures in their own language' (Peckham, 2004: 27). This lack of ability to read in English, and the non-existence of a Gaelic Bible until 1801, stopped the islanders engaging with Scripture. The spiritual state of Lewis, prior to 1824, is described by Rev. G. L. Campbell, when he wrote that a 'minister of the Free Church, who is a native of Uig, declared publicly that only two or three copies of the Bible could be found within the wide extent of the parish, and that he himself travelled a journey of days in search of a copy of the blessed book, and all in vain' (Campbell, 1886: 222). As well as there being a lack of Bibles Macaulay also conveys that 'The majority of ministers in the Western Isles before 1800 were regarded as belonging to the Moderate party of the Church of Scotland. The traditional picture is that the clergymen were in the firm grip of a "Moderate frost"' (Macaulay, 1980: 106). This term 'Moderate' is explained by Stefan, who defines Moderatism as:

The attitude of those who were so satisfied with the ecclesiastical settlement secured by the Revolution in 1690 that they were prepared to endure hardships such as the presentation of ministers to parishes by patrons and the necessity of subscribing to the Westminster Confession of Faith (Stefan, 1993: 565).

Moderate patrons nominated ministers who would fit their moderate ways and who would give moral sermons that would shape the congregation to be moderate as well, thus extending their dominance. The picture of the church, on Lewis, was not one of health in the eyes of an Evangelical. However, things were about to change.

In 1817, Lady Mary Hood married James Alexander Stewart, who later changed his name to Stewart-Mackenzie. Lady Mary, claims McIntosh: 'seems to have inverted to a sympathy for the oft-times hyper-Calvinist evangelicalism of her childhood in Easter Ross' (McIntosh, 2013: 59). At this time the patron of a parish had the authority over who would be minister in that parish. Interestingly, McIntosh posits that '...it would seem that Lady Mary used her proprietorial position to hand-pick conservative Evangelical charges' (McIntosh, 2013: 59). Upon this point Rev G. L. Campbell notes:

In the year 1824 ... [Rev. Alexander Macleod] was settled as parish minister of Uig, in the island of Lewis, and it is worthy of note that this was the first settlement of an evangelical preacher that occurred in the known history, not only of Uig, but of the whole Long Island (i.e. Lewis and Harris) (Campbell, 1886: 222).

Often the Patronage Act was viewed negatively by Evangelicals in the National Church. However, here, it seems as though it worked in their advantage. This thought is given weight when McIntosh writes: ‘It was said that she scoured the Highlands for the Godliest ministers, and that patronage in her hands became a holy weapon’ (McIntosh, 2013: 60). In concluding upon Lady Mary Rev. G.L Campbell wrote:

It should not be forgotten here that the instrument in God's hand in bringing about this happy event proved to be the late Honourable Mrs Stuart Mackenzie, a name very dear to the Christian people of Lewis, on account of her warm sympathy with evangelical preaching, and her continued and effective influence in securing the appointment of men of God in the various chapels and parishes throughout the island.... It was due mainly to her efforts that, addition to the introduction of a gospel preacher into Uig, Mr Finlayson of Lochs, Mr Cook of Ness, and others found fields of ministerial labour in the religious waste of Lewis (Campbell, 1886: 222).

Lady Mary, through the Patronage Act, brought Rev. Alexander Macleod to Uig in 1824. Rev. Macleod was not only the first Evangelical minister in Uig, but, according to Rev. G.L. Campbell, he was the first Evangelical minister in Lewis (Campbell, 1886: 222). However, in the ten years prior to the appointment of Macleod, Gaelic teachers from Edinburgh came to Lewis and started teaching the Islanders to read the Bible in their own language. Furthermore, Finlay Munro, an Evangelical preacher, was going around the island sharing the ‘Gospel’. With this Rev. Macleod noted that he was ‘...aware that the revival in the island had already begun’ (Macaulay, 1980: 169). Although this may have been the case there was still cause for concern because ‘...family worship was unknown among the people, and even at the manse’ (Campbell, 1886: 224). However; ‘When Mr Macleod commenced his exertions in Uig, he found that all the people on attaining a certain age flocked to the Lord's table as a matter of course, and that eight or nine hundred were actual communicants’ (Campbell, 1886: 225). Rev. Macleod actually postponed communion on his arrival because ‘He decided that it was his duty to declare to the poor people the whole counsel of God as he might be enabled, and to wait for some time to see what God, by his grace, might work’ (Campbell, 1886: 226). When he did eventually carry out communion only five of the original communicants prior to his arrival along with four others participated (Campbell, 1886: 226-227). One thing that is evident from prior to his arrival and post his arrival is that the people did not feel they could take communion.

However, it is recorded that in 1828: ‘...the whole island seemed to be moved by one powerful spiritual impulse, and that nine thousand people flocked from all parts to the Uig communion’ (Campbell, 1886: 228). This is a case where revival started with the church and eventually mass awakenings began. As previously mentioned, only that which has had life can be revived. The argument is made by the Peckhams that this is what was happening here on Lewis in the early 19th Century: ‘The 1820s placed Lewis firmly in evangelical and biblical truth, [helped] the people to know the reality of the living God, caused them to experience the presence of God in revival, thus laying the foundation for all the many revivals that followed’ (Peckhams, 2004: 29). The Evangelical ministers being brought in by Lady Mary was revival first coming to the church, and as a result of this mass conversion started to sweep across the land. However, for the Peckhams, as can be seen above, it was not just that these Evangelical ministers came to Lewis, but the Peckhams point to the ‘Evangelical’ and ‘Biblical’ message they carried.

In conclusion, Lady Mary, along with the Gaelic schools teaching the Bible and Evangelical preachers changed the theological course that Lewis was on. With this theological change came many revivals. Rev. Norman Macleod concluded: ‘It would appear from church records that similar revivals took place in various districts of Lewis until the outbreak of the First World War’ (Macleod, 1988: 9). Following the end of the First World War revivals once again swept across the island with the climax being the 1939 revival. Rev N. Macleod, when writing about this revival, claims that it ‘...was probably the most impressive and widespread revival in Lewis since the renowned awakening in Uig under the ministry of Rev. Alexander Macleod in 1824’ (Macleod, 1988: 10). The 1939 revival coincided with the outbreak of the Second World War and ‘... some of the lads saved in these meetings were to go and never return’ (Peckham, 2004: 34).

Chapter Two: Duncan Campbell

This chapter seeks to give an account of significant moments in Duncan Campbell's life as accurately as possible. It could be said that Duncan Campbell is a contested space, with both those in favour of him and those opposed to him, trying to read both practices and theology into his life.

Duncan Campbell was born on 13 February 1898 just north of Oban on a croft called Camus-Liath, which is located in the parish of Ardchattan. His father's name was Hugh Campbell and he worked as a stonemason. His mother was Jane Livingstone (who has family connections to the famous David Livingstone). Campbell's parents would go on to have ten children, but they began their married life in a district called the Blackcrofts.

One of the earliest key moments to shape Campbell's spiritual life occurred in 1901 when two girls arrived from the Faith Mission. These women, along with other workers of the Faith Mission, were known as 'Pilgrims'. It was under the ministry of these two Pilgrims that Campbell's parents were converted. This is a significant moment in the life of Campbell because women preachers, in the highlands, were not culturally or theologically normative, as the title of 'preacher' was only ever given to a man. However, there clearly was not an unified opinion over women in ministry in 1901, since folk like the Campbells attended female-led services.

The next major spiritual event in Campbell's life occurred one night in December 1913 while he was playing bagpipes at a dance. During the dance, someone requested the tune *The Green Hills of Tyrol*. Whilst playing this piece of music, Campbell had a life-altering experience. Campbell, recalling this event, said:

I was playing... at this concert when suddenly God spoke to me. I had a praying mother and a praying father, and I believe they were deeply burdened that night because of me being at this concert ... But in that meeting, that concert, God spoke to me as I was playing a Scottish tune, known as *The Green Hills of Tyrol*, and while playing... I was frightfully disturbed in my soul, and I found myself not dwelling on the green hills of Tyrol, but on the green hilled Calvary. And I was so disturbed that on completing the tune I stepped off the stage, went to the chairman and said, "I was leaving the concert". He looked at me and asked, "Are you well?"

I said, “Yes, very well in body, but fearfully disturbed in my mind. I just made this discovery that I am on my way to hell” (Campbell, 2005).

This is Campbell’s earliest recorded spiritual experience, and it is evident how real and troubling it was for Campbell by his reaction. Campbell did not leave behind this conviction of sin he was experiencing when he left the dance. Campbell, explaining what happened next, declared:

On my way home I passed a church and to my amazement I found the church lit at 11pm.... I was not aware of the fact that two pilgrims of the Faith Mission were conducting a mission in the parish, and here they were in this church at 11pm. I listened at the door and heard someone praying... who was praying but my own Father pouring out his heart... for his own family.... I went in... and walked up the aisle and sat beside my father and he looked at me and said, “I am glad to see you here boy....” In a matter of minutes one of the sisters, a highland pilgrim, ... got up and gave a text of Scripture out, “God speaketh once, yea twice, yet man perceiveth it not” [(Job 33:14)]. I knew that God was speaking to me, but I was so afraid that I would cause a disturbance in the meeting that I rose and walked out. If I fell on my knees once I fell on my knees half a dozen times, my dear people I was so distressed in my soul that I was afraid the very ground would open and I would fall into hell. My dear people this is Holy Ghost conviction! (Campbell, 2005).

The impact of the Faith Mission upon the life of Campbell grows with his own conversion narrative. The pilgrims, who had an involvement in Campbell’s parents’ conversion, were also involved in his conversion. Campbell, above, gives a very vivid account of what he experienced. Two points that can be clearly extracted from Campbell’s conversion experience are that he was made very aware of the conviction of his sins, and secondly, this conviction leads him, not only to repentance, but also to express a physical manifestation, by falling on his knees.

Campbell did not reach home until after two o’clock in the morning, and on arrival he noticed there was still a light on. As he entered the house, he found his mother kneeling by the fire praying. His conviction was so deep he informed her of the events of the evening. Campbell, recalling the conversation with his mother, said:

She looked at me and said, “Go out to the barn and tell God what you've told me.” And I went out to the barn, I can still see the straw prepared for the horses in the morning, and I fell on my knees among the straw and I still remember the prayer that I uttered: “God, I know not how to come. I know not what to do. But my God I'm coming now, oh have mercy upon me.” Listen dear people, in less time than it takes me to tell the story God swept into my life and I was gloriously born again. A miracle had taken place (Campbell, 2005).

Campbell, above, helpfully portrays the climax of his conversion story in his recounting of the prayer that night. A prayer that seems simple in words, but a prayer that would change the rest of his life. His conversion had an immediate effect on his life, and the influence of the Faith Mission on Campbell becomes more noticeable. In the days that followed, Campbell became actively involved with the Faith Mission. Woolsey helpfully sets out the boundaries of Campbell's involvement with the Faith Mission, and posits that ‘The Pilgrims continued to conduct missions in the neighbourhood and with vigour and enthusiasm he threw himself into the task of assisting them by inviting others to the services and relating the story of his own encounter with God’ (Woolsey, 1974: 34). He became an active evangelist supporting the work of the Faith Mission.

The next major event that had significant spiritual ramifications on Campbell's life was his involvement in the First World War. Campbell, in 1918, served in the British cavalry division and was involved in one of the last charges, during which his horse was shot and Campbell fell to the ground and was terribly injured. Whilst lying on the ground, thinking he was about to die, he recalls: ‘Suddenly that verse of Scripture came before me: “Without holiness no man can see God.” My dear people conscious deep in the glory of the realisation that I was born again I felt very unworthy and very unfit to meet God’ (Campbell, 2005). This is a very significant moment in Campbell's life because the theme of holiness is introduced into the Campbell narrative. Campbell continues:

Then in the providence of God another remarkable thing happened. The Canadian horses were called out to a second charge...and when charging over that bloody battlefield... a horse's hoof struck me in the spine... that horse's hoof struck me and I must have groaned because that groan registered in the mind of that young trooper and when the charge was over he was among the few who came back, and I tell you there were very few... but he came right to where I lay, dismounted, lifted me, and threw me across the horse's back, took the reigns again and galloped

to the nearest casualty clearing station. Now it was on that horse's back that the glorious miracle happened... I remembered a prayer of Murray McCheyne and I cried, "God, Oh God, make me as holy as a saved sinner can be" and God did it... and God swept into my life and I knew in a matter of minutes an experience I did not think was possible this side of heaven... I was healed; physically no, spiritually yes. The sense of God oh kept coursing through... I felt as pure as an angel, I am only saying what I felt dear people, do not misunderstand me (Campbell, 2005).

As noted above, this event would prove to have significant ramifications on Campbell's life. Campbell clearly links this event with God's sovereignty because he believes that God orchestrated his rescue. In this account there are three key themes that are evident: God's providence, holiness, and a palpable sense of God working. These themes would have a noticeable impact on Campbell.

Campbell's own conclusion of this event was that 'God met with me, and met with me would I say the second time' (Campbell, 2005). There have been many suggestions as to what happened on that horse's back, but Campbell himself concludes that 'God the Holy Ghost fell upon me... to me the baptism of the Holy Ghost in its final analysis is the revelation of Jesus... I do know this, that when that baptism of the Holy Ghost came upon me on that horse's back, the supreme reality was Jesus' (Campbell, 2016: 29). Following on from what Campbell labelled as his baptism of the Holy Spirit, there is a second characteristic introduced in the Campbell narrative: the theme of revival. Campbell recalls:

I could hardly speak a word of English then, my language was Gaelic... I could not praise God in English, I could not pray in English all my reading was done in Gaelic... that afternoon I could not sing. I was too weak through the loss of blood but I could repeat the Psalm: "Oh thou my soul blessed God the Lord...." There was not a single person in that casualty clearing station that could understand a single word of what I said... but this is God, this is the operation of the sovereign God, into that casualty clearing station God came in convicting power and within an hour seven Canadians were saved. It was my first experience of Holy Ghost revival (Campbell, 2005).

Was this a foretaste of Campbell's future ministry? One thing that is certain is that this event fed into Campbell's passion and heart for revival. Campbell himself concluded that

‘Revival, a miniature revival, swept into the casualty clearing station’ (Campbell, 2016: 29). This, for Campbell, was revival, regardless of the size or the amount of people that came to faith. Within this event, the outworking of this thesis’ definition is noticeable. Revival started with God’s people (Campbell), and then, as a result, those who were not Christians were saved.

This assumption about Campbell’s hunger and passion for revival being fed by the casualty clearing station event is given weight by Campbell’s thought about training for ministry. Following this incident, Campbell was sent back to Scotland to recuperate. When Campbell had recovered he spent his time as an active independent evangelist. Campbell wanted to see people saved, but had little interest in studying theology: ‘I immediately came to the conclusion that [studying for ministry] wasn’t necessary. Why should I spend five or seven years in training when God in a matter of minutes could send revival?’ (Campbell, 2005). This does not mean that Campbell did not value Scripture, his life shows the contrary, but Campbell obviously had a passion for active faith. This is where it is evident regarding the amount of influence seeing the seven Canadian men come to faith had on Campbell. Campbell, in his own terms, had experienced revival, and therefore, for him, to see people saved there was no need to waste time studying. However, Campbell eventually decided to go and study with the Faith Mission, reinforcing the evidence of its influence on his early life.

Following completion of his nine months of studying at the Faith Mission, Campbell, in July 1920, was sent as a pilgrim to carry out mission work across the newly established Northern Ireland. When Campbell’s time in Northern Ireland came to an end, his next two mission trips were to the Island of Mull, followed by Skye. It was whilst Campbell was on Skye that he started having issues with his health, and, eventually, it came to the point that he was unable to carry on with the mission there. Campbell was thought to have a lung infection. He did not need treatment, but he was told to rest. Eventually, Campbell resigned from the Faith Mission in July 1925. In December 1925 Campbell married Shona Gray and together they had five children.

The next milestone in Campbell’s ministry was when he took charge of the United Free Church on Skye as a missionary. In Ardvasar, a small village located on the south of Skye, three denominations were represented: Church of Scotland, United Free Church, and the Free Church of Scotland. However, irrespective of denomination, Campbell visited the whole community. It is evident from his time in Ardvasar that Campbell had a longing to

work trans-denominationally. However, that said, Campbell's time in Ardvassar was short-lived. Following Campbell's arrival at Ardvassar United Free Church negotiations had begun regarding the reuniting of the United Free Church with the Church of Scotland at the respective church assemblies. Although Campbell supported trans-denominational work he voiced his concern and unwillingness to see the United Free Church rejoin the Church of Scotland. The majority of the United Free Church of Scotland rejoined the Church of Scotland. However, a small party did not, a small party of which Campbell was a part. Campbell, along with a small minority, rejected the proposal of unification between the denominations due to the fear of the Patronage Act resurfacing within the Church of Scotland. It was because of his decision to side with the minority that his time in Ardvassar came to an end due to the fact that the United Free Church presbytery in Skye was for the union.

Following Campbell's time on Skye, in 1930, he was ordained into the United Free Church in Balintore as a missionary, but with the authority to lead the sacrament of communion. Following ten years in Balintore, Campbell moved to a United Free Church in Falkirk. Two years into his time in Falkirk he was given the full status as a minister. It was during his time in Falkirk that Campbell had a different type of spiritual experience. It is interesting that, around this time in his life, Woolsey notes:

When Duncan first entered the ministry, liberal ideas were being taught with an aura of respectability. For a short while he came under the influence of these, picking up seeds of doubt regarding Biblical inspiration and authority. His doubts were short-lived and never openly expressed, but nevertheless they helped to quench some of the conviction and power in his preaching (Woolsey, 1974: 95).

However, there seems to be a contradiction, between Campbell and Woolsey, with regards to the duration of these doubts. Campbell posited:

I found myself training for the ministry. And this is one thing I deeply regret, because I wasn't very long training when I came under the influence of professors that had no time for the authority and inspiration of the Word of God and I found myself doubting the first three chapters of Genesis. My dear friends it began there.... For seventeen year I moved in a barren wilderness. It is true that I was evangelical in my preaching so much so that on several occasions I was asked to conduct special missions. I was even asked to address Keswick conventions....

Seventeen years of it knowing in my own heart that I wasn't right with God... feeling out of touch, on my knees before God again and again I acknowledged it (Campbell, 2005).

How much of Woolsey's admiration for Campbell influenced his account of this experience Campbell had? A contrast that is evident between Woolsey and Campbell here is the length that this 'wilderness' endured. Woolsey gives the impression that it only lasted for a short period of time. However Campbell's account contradicts this. It is intriguing to note that the change in his beliefs (however short-lived) which led to the change in his preaching coincided with the decline in people coming to faith under his ministry. This point is conveyed by Campbell himself when he recalls a conversation he had with one of his daughters. Campbell said:

She came over and threw herself on my knees and said to me: "Daddy I would like to have a talk with you...." We went to my study and she said, "For several days Daddy I have been battling against hitting you with this question but I must do it. When you were a young pilgrim before you went in for the ministry you saw revival. How is it Daddy that you are not seeing revival now?" And then she faced me with this crushing question, "Daddy you have a large congregation and many are going to the church, but Daddy when was the last time you knelt beside a poor sinner and led him to Jesus?" ... That shook me (Campbell, 2005).

Once again the theme of revival is evident with Campbell and his ministry. Even his daughter was using revival as the measurement of Campbell's ministry. However, it is important to note that although there was a shift in Campbell's theology, he never stopped believing. With reference to his regeneration, Campbell, in a sermon, concluded that 'not for one single moment since that day had I ever any occasion to doubt the work that God did in my heart. It was real, it was definite and, blessed be God, it was supernatural' (Campbell, 2005).

At this time Campbell was speaking at a conference with Dr. Thomas Fitch, and whilst listening to Dr. Fitch, Campbell recalls: 'I suddenly became conscious of my unfitness to be on that platform. I saw the barrenness of my life and ministry. I saw the pride of my own heart.... That night in desperation on the floor of my study, I cast myself afresh on the mercy of God' (Campbell, 1964: 61). Campbell then, like numerous times in his life, had an encounter with God. During his cry for the mercy of God, Campbell notes that God

‘heard my cry for pardon and cleansing, and as I lay prostrate before Him, wave after wave of divine consciousness came over me, and the love of the Saviour flooded my being; and in that hour I knew that my life and ministry could never be the same again’ (Campbell, 1964: 61). This was another moment that would have a defining impact on Campbell’s ministry. As well as having this encounter of the love of God, Campbell, recalling a vision he had that very evening, says: ‘An experience of the Holy Ghost had come again. But just at that moment, a vision came to me, and that was a vision of Hell, and I could see multitudes streaming over the coherence of death to be doomed and damned eternally’ (Campbell, 2005). From this significant event, Campbell had a renewed urgency to tell people there was a hell to shun and a heaven to gain. For Campbell, the effect and impact was immediate. Following the vision, Campbell states: ‘A voice seemed to say to me go back to the Faith Mission, give up the ministry’ (Campbell, 2005). Campbell, although it was not an easy choice, perceived these actions as obedience to a divine call. This was such a real experience for him that after these events he handed in his resignation to the United Free Church in Falkirk and reapplied to the Faith Mission. His application was eventually accepted and, on 1 January 1949, he and his family started with the Faith Mission again, at the age of fifty. This would lead to Campbell ministering to those in the Highlands and Islands and, during 1949, he led many meetings in Skye. Campbell, following his experience, seemed like a new man, with a rekindled fire in his spirit, and passion in his voice. Campbell, whose ministry was now focused on the Highlands and Islands, would soon be invited to Barvas by Rev. James Murray Mackay, to lead their yearly evangelistic service, known as the Orduighean Beag (Little Communion), which took place in the December of 1949.

In conclusion, there are numerous characteristics that are recognisable in Campbell’s life. These characteristics consist of: holiness, conviction of sin, prayer and spiritual experiences. Some of these themes will be explored further in this paper. As noted in the introductory paragraph, it could be posited that Campbell is a contested space. It is noticeable that, through a number of his life events, theology was not a primary concern for him. Campbell himself on theology concluded: ‘Has not experience demonstrated again and again that man can be orthodox in sentiment and loose in practice? Correct views of Scripture do not constitute righteousness’ (Campbell, 2016: 2). As well as these themes, one major question has been raised: to what extent did Campbell’s own spiritual experiences and conversion shape his subsequent ministry and expectations of Revival? This question, along with others asked in this chapter, will be engaged with throughout the paper too.

Chapter Three: The 1949-1953 Revival Narrative

This chapter explores the narratives of the 1949–1953 revival and is divided into five sections: setting the scene, the origin of the revival, the outbreak of the awakening, the spread of the movement and the conversions. This chapter seeks to give as pure and critical an account of the revival as possible by using primary sources including: interviews, lectures and writings from Duncan Campbell; reports given to the Faith Mission by the Pilgrims; a sermon from Rev. James Murray Mackay; and *The Sounds of Heaven* book written by the Peckhams. During an interview, Rev. William Macleod, a convert of the revival, stated:

You could ask about the main, the best contribution [or account which is] by... Colin and Mary Peckham... The best, straightforward, the best report is by Colin Peckham. I have said this to many a people who, I think most of them would say “What is the best record that you have of the revival?” I would say this is it (Macleod W, 2017).

This is why *The Sounds of Heaven* is considered to be so important for this study, as it is given weight by the converts of the revival itself.

Setting the Scene

Prior to 1949, the last movement of revival on Lewis took place in 1939. However, this revival was short-lived due to the outbreak of World War II. One area of contention identified is the spiritual health of the island post World War II. Lewis in 1939 was in a time of spiritual blessing with a revival. However, some argue that after the War there was a spiritual low on Lewis. The evidence given for this concern is an article that was published by the *Stornoway Gazette* on the 9 December 1949. It read as follows: ‘In the Free Church on Sunday evening, Rev. Kenneth A. MacRae read a Presbyterial Declaration and Appeal addressed especially to the youth of the Church. The text of the Presbyterial address, appointed to be read in all the congregations within the Presbytery’ (Anonymous, 9/12/1949: 5). The declaration stated:

The presbytery of Lewis having taken into consideration the low state of vital religion within their own bounds, and throughout the land generally, call upon

their faithful people in all their congregations to take a serious view of the present dispensation of Divine displeasure manifested... in the lack of spiritual power from Gospel Ordinances, and to realise that these things plainly indicate that the Most High has a controversy with the Nation. They note especially the growing carelessness toward Sabbath observance and public worship, the light regard of solemn vows and obligations so that the sacraments of the Church... tend to become in too many cases an offence to God rather than a means of grace to the recipient... The presbytery affectionately plead with their people - especially the youth of the Church - to take these matters to heart... and call upon every individual as before God to examine his or her life in light... that haply... we may be visited with the spirit of repentance and may turn again to the Lord whom we have so grieved with our iniquities and waywardness (Anonymous, 9/12/1949: 5).

Campbell, with regards to this declaration, stated: 'The decline referred to... began to show itself in a growing disregard for the things of God' (Campbell, 1960: 69). On a number of occasions Campbell used this statement to argue that Lewis was spiritually unhealthy. Moreover, he, on another occasion also said: 'At that time there wasn't a single young person attending public worship; that is a fact that cannot be gain set' (Campbell, n.d). This comment from Campbell led the author of this dissertation to ask Mrs Margaret Macleod about it. Mrs Macleod, who was brought up in Barvas Church of Scotland, said:

For myself, I came to follow the Lord in April 1949, which was some months before the revival as we know it broke out. I was 16 at the time and my cousin, who was the same age. We both started attending the prayer meeting and all these Christian fellowships. In September of 1949 we professed faith and came to the Lord's table for the first time. At that time another of our friends started following and she was also 17 and there were a few in the Free Church as well. I don't know if they had professed faith, but they were at least two girls that I knew that were following the Lord and going to the prayer meetings in 1949, if not the end of 1948 (Macleod, 2017).

This question was posed to Mrs Macleod to try and establish a clear picture of the spiritual health of Barvas Church prior to the outbreak of revival in December 1949. Mrs Macleod's comment clearly contradicts Campbell's description of Barvas. Campbell's assessment raises the issue of hagiographical accounts because it is evident from Mrs Macleod's comment that there were youths in the church prior to the revival, not only attending, but

also those who professed faith thereby becoming members. In addition to this the Peckhams (Mary Peckham was also a convert of the 1949 revival) wrote: ‘communities went to church. It was simply the done thing. If you did not attend church you were regarded as ungodly and would be outside of the spirit of the community’ (Peckham, 2004: 23). Contrary to Campbell’s comment, there were young people in the church prior to the revival, although, two motives for attending church can be identified; personal conviction and social pressure.

Campbell, bringing his own conclusion on the declaration, stated: ‘What effect the... declaration had on the Christian Church in Lewis is beyond the knowledge of the writer, but certain it is that most would regard its publication as timely, and its contents a true representation of the situation’ (Campbell, 1960: 70). Although Campbell does not properly clarify the effect of the declaration he does conclude that ‘it was taken to heart in the parish of Barvas’ (Campbell, 2016: 32). A question arising from Campbell’s claim is how much of an effect did this declaration have on the revival? What is being argued above by Campbell is that the declaration could be labelled as some sort of catalyst. However, the chronology of all the events makes it hard to support this claim. Moreover, when the Rev. Mackay arrived in Barvas in early 1949 he was very impressed with the spiritual condition of the parish in Barvas. He noticed that there was an ‘earnest spirit of prayer and expectancy in the area. Many people in the parish of Barvas were giving themselves to prayer and were crying to God for an outpouring of the Spirit’ (Peckham, 2004: 75). The Peckhams themselves noted: ‘The blessing of the 1939 revival, before the war, was still fresh in their minds’ (Peckham, 2004: 75). The people in Barvas had seen how God had moved only ten years prior, and, with the desire to see Him move again, they waited and longed for a new and fresh movement of God. As a result of the chronological issues surrounding this declaration in relation to the revival, the author, in order for clarification contacted the Free Church and asked about its effect. Upon doing so, it was made clear through the 1949 May General Assembly that this declaration actually came as a result of the Glasgow presbytery:

It was agreed to transmit the following Overture anent the State of Religion in the Church to the ensuing General Assembly... Therefore, it is humbly overtures by the Free Presbytery of Glasgow to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland that the venerable court take these premises into their consideration, and ordain: I. That all the Presbyteries be convened on a date appointed by the General Assembly to enquire into the present state of spiritual life within their bounds... II.

That Presbyteries be exhorted to hold sessions of prayer and intercession in connection with their ordinary meetings. III. That Kirk Sessions be enjoined to deliberate on the spiritual state of the people in their congregations... It was moved, seconded, and agreed to, that - The General Assembly receive the Overture... [and] ordain that, as far as possible, the Presbyteries and Kirk Sessions of the Free Church of Scotland give effect to the proposals contained in the Overture (Fraser, 1949: 413-413).

With this evidence it is possible to completely refute the claim made by Campbell regarding this declaration. It was not a 'true representation' of Lewis and this declaration cannot be used, within the revival narrative, as a catalyst. Campbell's claims, that there were no youth in the church and that this declaration created momentum for the revival, are false and untrue.

The Origin of the Revival

Campbell arrived on Lewis on 7 December 1949 (Peckham, 2004: 47), and the release of the declaration in the *Gazette* (9/12/1949), as can be seen, overlap. This means that Campbell was on Lewis when the *Gazette*, containing the declaration, was released. Furthermore, Campbell himself noted that he 'did not bring revival to the Hebrides... Revival was already there before I ever set foot on the island' (Campbell, 2016: 31). How, therefore, was the declaration taken to heart in Barvas, when it was released after Campbell's call and arrival to Lewis? It has been suggested that this declaration has served as a catalyst in the narrative of the revival. However, when looking at the dates above, this claim has no weight. Moreover, this declaration, it is argued, made the people of Barvas pray. However, when speaking to Mrs Macleod, about prayer in the parish of Barvas, she said:

I would never say that, "the minister, elders and the Smith sisters BEGAN to pray." Prayer was a very real part of their lives as it had been over the decades. Neither would I ever dare to single out that this one or that began to pray unless it was someone newly converted and praying for the first time (Macleod, M., e-mail. 23 May 2017).

In light of Mrs Macleod's comments it is evident that at the very beginning of the narrative of the revival, that the origins of the revival are attributed, not to Campbell, but to the

praying people of Barvas. Campbell himself declared: ‘This is the place which the praying group in the Parish of Barvas in Lewis came, and... throwing themselves upon the sure promise of God, gave birth to the Lewis Revival’ (Campbell, 1960: 71). The 1949 Barvas revival was a revival birthed in prayer. True revival’s primary function is to deal with the people of God, as only that which has life can be revived. Campbell, as can be seen, is clearly advocating that the revival fires were already kindled in Barvas prior to his arrival. These fires could be identified by the attitude of the Parish towards prayer. However, the relationship between these prayers and the declaration, as Campbell argues, is disputed by this paper. As the Peckhams (2004: 75) allude to, this paper believes that because of the history of revivals on Lewis, from 1824 through to 1939, what fuelled the prayer was the expectancy and desire for God to move again.

Mrs Macleod’s comment about prayer is very important as many who have written about the 1949 revival have painted a picture of only a few people in the parish praying, which is not true. Two ladies who are very much associated with the origins of the revival are two elderly sisters, Peggy and Christine Smith. Peggy was blind and her sister, Christine, had very bad arthritis. The two sisters who were burdened with Isaiah 44:3 (Peckham, 2004: 111) declared that God is a God who keeps His covenant, and because of this and His nature He ‘has made a promise and He must keep it’ (Campbell, 2016: 32). The desire to see God move led the sisters to pray for a fresh outpouring. During a time of prayer one of the sisters had a vision and in the vision she saw their church crowded with young people. So moved was she that she turned to her sister and said, ‘I believe that revival is coming to the parish and I’m going to send for the minister in the morning’ (Campbell, n.d). As a result of this vision she called for Rev. James Murray Mackay, the parish minister of Barvas, and instructed him:

You must do something about it. And I would suggest that you call your office bearers and that you spend with us at least two nights in prayer in the week.

Tuesday and Friday if you gather your elders together, you can meet in a barn, and as you pray there, we will pray here (Campbell, 2016: 33).

This is exactly what they did, they pleaded for God to quench their thirst for His presence. This thought can be further supported by Mrs Macleod, who said: ‘The timeframe is that Rev Mackay was inducted to Barvas [at the] beginning of April 1949 (within the first 14 days I seem to remember). He was thrilled to find a praying people who were expectantly looking to God for His power and blessing’ (Macleod, M., e-mail. 23 May 2017).

Moreover, the point regarding the declaration being taken to heart in Barvas is hard to uphold when one looks at the chronological timeframe of origin of the revival.

As well as the two elderly sisters, the office bearers stood before the Lord regularly praying for a movement of God:

Kenneth Macdonald, John Smith the blacksmith, Ruiridh (Roderick) Alex Macleod and Donald Saunders Snr., were some of the great prayer warriors at that time.... One night when they were waiting on God in the “barn”, Kenneth Macdonald rose, opened his Bible to Psalm 24 and read, “Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? Or who shall stand in His holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart”. He then said, “It seems worthless to be gathered here night after night seeking God as we are doing, if our hands are not clean and our hearts are not pure. O God, are my hands clean? Is my heart pure?” At that moment the presence of God flooded the place and several of the men fainted or fell into a trance, with the overwhelming awareness of the Eternal.... John Smith said it was at that moment they all became aware that the holiness of God and revival were inextricably linked (Peckham, 2004: 112).

They continued to gather together until one night, whilst the men listed above were praying, God moved. During this time of prayer, following the reading of Psalm 24, Kenneth Macdonald turned to the men gathered praying with him and stressed the importance of personal holiness. He then prayed:

“Are my hands clean, is my heart pure?” He got no further. At that moment there came to them a realisation of God, an awareness of His presence that lifted them... into the sphere of the extraordinary. Three of them fell prostrate on the floor; they realised at that moment that they were now moving... [in] the supernatural. Revival had come and the power that was let loose in that barn shook the whole community (Campbell, 2015: 44).

From Campbell’s comment it is possible to detect that he links this event with the beginning of the revival. Campbell, with regards to this encounter that these office bearers had with God, concluded:

Now don't ask me to explain this because I can't. He fell into a trance and is now

lying on the floor of the barn. And in the words of the minister, at that moment, he and his other office bearers were gripped by the conviction that a God-sent revival must ever be related to holiness, must ever be related to Godliness (Campbell, 2016: 34).

Following this event it was decided something must be done. Rev. Mackay decided he would organise for someone to come to the parish. The answer to who would come was found whilst Rev. Mackay was at the Strathpeffer convention. Rev. Mackay was told by Dr. Tom Fitch that Duncan Campbell would be a good candidate to lead the mission in Barvas. Rev. Mackay listened to Dr. Fitch's advice and contacted the Faith Mission. Incredibly, when he returned home from the convention Peggy Smith told him that he was to send for Duncan Campbell. The Peckhams note that 'On the 3rd October 1949 Campbell wrote... "I have written to the Rev. James Mackay, Barvas, to say I am not free to visit Lewis this winter"' (Peckham, 2004: 43). The author contacted the Strathpeffer Convention to ask about the dates of the conference in 1949. Mr Horne replied:

In answer to your query regarding the dates of the 1949 Strathpeffer Convention, I can confirm that they were 3rd to 8th October 1949. According to the old minutes, which are rather scant, it would appear that Rev. Duncan Campbell was to be invited to speak at the Convention, but I can find no reference him having fulfilled that engagement (Horne, D., e-mail. 7 June 2017).

However, there seems to be a bit of a discrepancy between the conference dates and the date that Campbell dated his letter. As a result of this the Faith Mission were contacted but a response was never given. It does not seem likely that Campbell was at the Strathpeffer convention because he wrote the letter from Staffin, Skye. Campbell, on why he could not go to Barvas, said, 'Well... I was arranging for a holiday convention on the island of Skye and I... wrote back to say that I would put Barvas on my programme for the following year' (Campbell, n.d). However, Peggy Smith told Rev. Mackay to send for him again and the 'two old ladies declared that God would bring him' (Peckham, 2004: 111). On listening to the Smith sisters, Rev. Mackay sent for Campbell again, and in unforeseen circumstances, as Campbell noted: '[the convention] had to be cancelled. And I found it possible for me to agree to go to the island for ten days' (Campbell, n.d).

The Outbreak of The Awakening

Due to the change in his commitments Campbell arrived in Lewis on 7 December 1949. Campbell, recalling the first conversation he had with the minister and two of the elders, said he was asked:

Mr. Campbell I would like to ask you a question before you leave this pier: “Are you walking with God?” And I instantly recognised that I was in the presence of men who feared God. I said to him, “Well, I think I can say this: that I fear God.” He put his hand on my shoulder and said, “That will do.” In other words, “I think we can trust you” (Campbell, 2016: 35).

This conversation indicates the importance the office bearers in Barvas placed on holiness and highlights their concern for Godliness. Having just arrived on the island Campbell was asked to lead the first meeting that very night. A glimpse into the first week of Campbell’s time on Lewis is portrayed through the first report that he submitted to the Faith Mission. On the 14 December 1949 Campbell wrote:

After a day’s rest in Breakish I crossed to Lewis, and began my mission on Wednesday night in the Parish Church. People gathered from all over the Parish and we had a congregation of over 300. The meeting began at 7 and ended at 10.45. I preached twice during that evening. This was repeated on Thursday and Friday. Yesterday I preached in three different Churches to crowded meetings. At the last meeting God manifested His power in a gracious way, and the cry of anxious souls was heard all over the Church. I closed the service but the people would not go away, so I gathered the anxious ones beneath the pulpit and along with the minister, did what I could to lead them to Christ (Campbell, 1949: 14 December).

Even within the report there is a sense that something was starting to happen. Within the first week of Campbell’s arrival God moved, and during the dates of Campbell’s first report the awakening broke out. This thesis suggests that Campbell wrote this report on the 12 December 1949 and that he is referring to the 11 December 1949 when he says, “The last meeting”. This claim is strengthened when the Rev. Mackay, the parish minister of Barvas in 1949, during a sermon stated:

The revival started in Shader church, Sunday night, the 11th of December 1949. It was a great honour indeed to be in the church in Shader worshipping on that blessed night... At the end of the service, some came forward seeking the Lord as their personal Saviour, and there was a glorious time in the house meeting, in the house of Donald Morrison, Shader, that night. Many came under conviction at the house meeting and there were many wonderful meetings in that house, from that night onwards (Mackay, n.d).

According to the Peckhams (2004: 76), on 11 December 1949, at the Shader church the atmosphere was incredible. For clarity, when the claim 'the awakening broke out' is made, what is meant is that people started to seek the Lord to place their hope and trust in him for the forgiveness of their sins. Interestingly, according to the Peckhams (2004: 77), Campbell preached the Gospel that night. How much of an influence did Campbell's message have on the people? No record of what Campbell preached has been found in the research for this dissertation. However, Rev. James Mackay also acknowledged that Campbell that night 'expounded the Gospel' (Mackay, n.d). With the Evangelical context of the island the assumption can be made that what is meant by the 'Gospel' is that in Jesus there is forgiveness for sins. With this in mind, and with regards to the question asked about the influence of Campbell's sermon, perhaps the space was given and an atmosphere created so that people could respond to his message.

With regards to the gathering held in the home of Donald Morrison following the service, the Peckhams said, 'The ministers were not present at this latter meeting' (Peckham, 2004: 77). This is worth noting because of the point that follows it: 'More people sought the Lord at the house meeting than at the church.... The Lord revealed Himself in saving power and found His servants awake' (Peckham, 2004: 77). What is conveyed through this is that there was not a dependency upon the minister being present, and points away from the idea of a ministry-led movement. This strengthens the authenticity of the revival. Furthermore, this shows that the beginning of the awakening was bigger than Campbell and his sermons.

It is noticeable from Campbell's next report on 21 December 1949 that this was just the beginning. He reported:

We are in the midst of glorious revival. God in His great mercy has been pleased to visit us with showers of blessing.... Meetings are crowded, right up to the pulpit steps and into the pulpit. On several nights the meetings continued until 3 and 4

o'clock in the morning, already about 70 adults have professed faith; we are dealing with anxious souls in every meeting. Last night at our fifth service, just as people were leaving, a young man began to cry for mercy at the gate leading from the church. Just then an elder began to sing the 102nd Psalm and the whole congregation took it up, singing verses 13-16... The congregation then came back into the church and before we dispersed 12 men and women found the Saviour. It is with a heavy heart I leave for home this week, but this work will go on (Campbell, 1949: 21 December).

Campbell, expanding on the evening mentioned above, said:

I suggested to the people that they should go out... but I did mention that if any were anxious to continue in the church... I stood there and this young deacon... said, "Mr Campbell, God is hovering over us... He is going to break through in a mighty move." And then the doors opened and the session clerk... said to me, "Come to the church door and see what is happening." I saw a crowd, there must have been at least 600 people out there, and I would suggest that we would sing a Psalm. So he gave out Psalm 102... they sang and they sang and then the whole crowd came back again. Of course the church couldn't accommodate them now, they're standing outside, the place is packed, the pulpit steps, the pulpit itself. I managed to get to the pulpit and there was a young woman lying on the floor of the pulpit, a school teacher, who had been at the dance when God swept in, she's now under conviction of sin. She's crying to God, and I can still hear her saying, "Oh, God, is there mercy, is there mercy for a sinner like me?" And that school teacher has found the Saviour, She's now a missionary in the mission field today in Nigeria (Campbell, n.d).

This expansion of Campbell's Faith Mission report gives insight into how God was working and manoeuvring. Not only can the manifestation of God be seen, but also the spiritual hunger that had gripped the people. The claims that seventy people had been converted are striking and show the rapid impact of the awakening even at its outbreak. The events of 11 December 1949 were thus not a one off. Rather, something more significant had begun.

The Spread of the Movement

Although this movement was birthed in the Shader church, it was not limited to this congregation. One of the astonishing aspects about the awakening was that it gripped both Lewis and Harris. The reports that Campbell sent to the Faith Mission are very descriptive and are solid evidence with regards to the spread of the movement. Whilst reading these reports a chronological overview of Campbell's missions on Lewis and Harris can be seen. However, the expansion of the movement is also evident, with the names of different parishes and villages being listed. From Campbell's report the Peckhams (2004: 46) have developed an overview of Campbell's time on the island, and this helps show the spread of the movement. However, it must be stated that this overview has been developed from Campbell's reports. Thus, it gives an overview of the revival through the eyes of Campbell, as he reported his involvement. Thus, it may actually serve to overstate Campbell's role and neglect contemporaneous events occurring elsewhere. This can be seen through another report sent to the Faith Mission by Mr Black, who, on 11 April 1951, reported that in Bernera, 'Brother McArthur's report shows 16 adults for Salvation, after a struggle. He says the whole district is changed, and instead of the hardness and indifference, the spirit of revival is abroad' (Black W, 1951: 11 April). The movement was therefore not limited to the involvement of Campbell, and the impact of the revival can be identified in other places that Campbell was not present. In fact, the week that this report was published, it also stated that Campbell may not have been on the island (Anonymous, 1951: 11 April). One point that is very encouraging that can be extrapolated from Campbell's report is that he identifies that this work is independent from him, strengthening the claim that the revival was bigger than Campbell. Moreover, when Campbell, after his Christmas break, returned to the Island again at the beginning of the new year, he found that the revival had indeed continued in his absence (Campbell, 1950: 18 January).

During the course of the revival, its fires spread all across the island. Through Campbell's reports, the spread of the movement can be seen, but why was it spreading? Firstly, with revival being viewed as a sovereign move of God, this then means God is responsible for how the movement develops and spreads because it is in His control. However, another suggestion, perhaps a more practical one, as to why this was happening is that, in some regards, it had become a social movement and the community had become gripped by revival and they themselves actively fostered the movement and helped the revival spread. As can be ascertained from Campbell's reports, people would come from all over to be at

the next meeting. There are many examples of this: 'I counted 14 buses this morning with twice that number of cars' (Campbell, 1950: 8 March); 'Yesterday buses brought the people a certain distance, others came by boats, but most came over the hill and moor on foot' (Campbell, 1950: 24 May); 'Buses are continually bringing people from all parts of the island' (Campbell, 1950: 1 June); and this even happened right up until the end of the revival: 'We are having large meetings, with buses coming from distant places' (Campbell, 1952: 26 March). Clearly, word had spread and news of events had heightened interest. With people coming to see what was happening at these meetings they were carrying back to their own parish something of what they had experienced; thus making it in some regards a social movement. However, it was not just the Christians who were drawn. This is conveyed through the memoirs of the late Rev. Alasdair Macdonald, who wrote:

In 1949 the restlessness in my heart could find no satisfaction. I still went to the places I used to enjoy. But now they gave no joy. In December of that year special services were held in the church.... About this time Rev Duncan Campbell was preaching in the neighbouring parish of Barvas. I heard of so many young peoples being converted. How I envied them.... Hearing reports of the meetings some of us decided to hire a minibus to Barvas. The message challenged every one of us. Mr Campbell's message emphasised the necessity of being born again and the end that awaited the unsaved in a lost eternity (Macdonald A, n.d).

From Rev Macdonald's account the impact of the social aspect on the spread of the movement can be identified. People were sharing reports, and telling others what was happening, which then, in turn, led them to want to attend the meetings, and, as shown, it was leading non-christians to want to be at these meetings too. Another example of this can be seen when Campbell said:

A group of young students... from the Nicolson Institute, were desirous in going to Barvas just to see what was happening. They weren't Christian girls.... So one said to the other, "Wouldn't it be nice if we could get this... girl to go with us." So they went but she wasn't interested.... She was going to a dance or a ball in the town hall along with a young man that night. So they set off in the bus, a remarkable thing happened between Barvas and Stornoway; the Spirit of God came down on the bus. The driver slumped over the wheel and put the bus at the side of the road and they were there for three hours ... A goodly number were gloriously saved before they arrived at the church; including the five young

students. Now it will interest you to know that three of them are missionaries in the foreign fields today (Campbell, n.d).

Within the above account, the sovereignty of God within the revival can be identified: His Spirit being poured out when He saw fit to do so. However, Campbell also helps to strengthen the claim that there was a social aspect to the spread of the revival. The girls who went to the meeting and were converted that night returned and went to tell their friend who had refused to go to the meeting with them. Campbell said:

On getting back to town they felt they should go to this girl's room... to tell what had happened. Now leave Stornoway and come with me to a General Assembly in Edinburgh, and this remarkable student is asked to address the assembly on this night, and in the course of her address she gave her own personal testimony, and this is what she said: "When they came into my room at three o'clock in the morning I wasn't at all happy at being disturbed at that unearthly hour, but as I looked and listened I saw something and heard something that couldn't be explained... and I went all out in search of it and found it when Jesus found me on the following night in Barvas Parish Church. Shortly after that her boyfriend was gloriously saved. He's today a doctor. Both of them are serving in Thailand with the overseas missionary fellowship. The Spirit of God moving in conviction power; that is to me the fruit of the movement (Campbell, n.d).

What can be identified in Campbell's account of this event is that a group of girls went to a meeting, God met with them, and others, before they even reached the church. However, as is being argued, the spread of the movement was help by the new converts, who, in turn, returned to their respective homes and shared what had happened to them. Some might label this as a social movement being fostered by the community, but it could also be labelled as mission, evangelism, and witnessing. Witnessing, or the social movement of the revival, was common during that time. Although this is being labelled as a social movement developed by the community there was not one certain or singular demographic of people. This was conveyed by Miss Morrison, who said, 'It wasn't just the young ones; there was so many older people, even a man of eighty years old come to faith, so many middle aged men and women' (Morrison, 2017). Within this movement there was a real diversity, and a varied demographic. Rev. Macleod, when talking about the signs of his conversion, supports this claim when he said that his desires were 'reading the Bible. It was so real. Books were laid aside, and the Word of God became real, and feeding and

growing upon the Word, and in prayer, and in witnessing not afraid to tell others what had happened' (Macleod W, 2017). The above account given by Campbell encapsulates many different characteristics of the revival and it also strengthens the claim for people helping the revival spread.

Conversions

Whilst conducting interviews with a number of people who were converted during the revival three different types of conversions could be identified. The first type of conversion came from Miss Agnes Morrison's narrative. Miss Morrison is the daughter of the aforementioned Donald Morrison, whose house held the gathering after the service on 11 December 1949. During an interview when asked, "What was your first experience of the revival?" Miss Morrison replied:

Well, I hadn't been to the church that night, to the meeting. I stayed at home with my brother and sister... I was 15.... The rest of the family went to hear Duncan Campbell in the Shader church. There was a wake just in the road from us and normally everybody would go there and have worship with the mourning people and my mother said to me: 'I don't think we will see anybody out tonight'.... However, that wasn't the case. The door opened and my mother and one of my sisters came in and Mrs Smith and I looked at them and they had tears down their cheeks and I knew something had happened to my sister. Then the door opened again and my other sister came in and my cousin and before I knew it our sitting room was full. A lot that had gone to the house of mourning were constrained to come out to our house, and I ran down to the kitchen and I am sure we made tea for everybody; we usually did. They were singing and praying and praising and I stayed down in the kitchen and I was sitting down by the stove and then I started to weep and weep and weep and I couldn't understand why I was weeping, not at first, but my mother came down after a while and said, "Agnes do you want to come up with the rest?" and I said, "Yes, Mum." So whenever I said yes, whenever I went up into the sitting room, I knew it was the Lord and I came to faith that night and I had no conviction of sin. I was just swept into the kingdom because the Holy Spirit that brought all these people out to our house, without them knowing why they were coming – probably they weren't, not all of them – so six of us were converted that night in my Father's house. It was wonderful (Morrison, 2017).

When asked, “How early on was this into the revival?”, Miss Morrison stated: ‘This took place on 11 December 1949’ (Morrison, 2017). Miss Morrison’s account gives a clear glimpse into the outbreak of the awakening as she was one of the first converts of the revival. From her account one of the forms of conversion during the awakening can be identified: people being saved nowhere near the church. As Miss Morrison notes, she was at home that evening which conveys that for one to be affected by the revival one did not need to be at the church. Campbell himself stated that ‘of the hundreds who found Jesus Christ at that time 75% of them were gloriously saved before they came near a meeting, before they heard a single sermon from myself or any other minister in the parish’ (Campbell, n.d). This statistic indicates Campbell’s belief that the power in which God was moving through the Island. This reinforces the claim that the community of Barvas had been saturated by God’s presence (Campbell, 2015: 45). Another characteristic that can be identified in Miss Morrison’s account is that those involved believed that the Holy Spirit was leading people to where meetings were being held. Furthermore, Miss Morrison’s conversions strengthens the claim that the revival was not a ministry-led movement. Which, once again, affirms the genuineness of the revival.

The second form of conversion was identified whilst interviewing Rev. William Macleod. He said:

The first indication was I knew that I was seeking the Lord. One night after coming from the service I found myself praying, not saying my prayers as I used to say as a boy, but praying, and this was a very serious matter. About two in the morning I said to the Lord, that was a week before Christmas ‘49, I said to the Lord in prayer: “Lord, if you accept me as I am, I am coming to thee.” And I slept as sound as I’ve ever done, and I woke up a new man in the morning. The whole world seemed to have changed: the church, the people, the neighbours, even the land, but the change had come over me, and within hours I had told my mother that the Lord had come into my life. Now, what happened to me happened to scores of others at the same time, maybe not the same way, but I came to know the Lord (Macleod W, 2017).

Rev. Macleod, above, whilst sharing his own story alluded to the number of other people touched by the revival. This emphasises the impact of the revival. When comparing Rev. Macleod’s account with Miss Morrison’s there is a similarity with their respective homes

being the scene of their conversion. However, the main difference between the two is that Rev. Macleod had been at church that evening, meaning Rev. Macleod had sat under the preaching of Campbell prior to being saved and Miss Morrison had not. Earlier, the question was raised regarding the influence that Campbell's preaching had on the people and did this lead to them coming to faith. However, Miss Morrison's account contradicts any suggestion of this as she had not been under his preaching. Moreover, Rev. Macleod was indeed seeking the Lord prior to his salvation. Rev. Macleod shows the immediate effect his conversion had on him, and, as can be seen throughout the revival, the spiritual hunger, within those who were converted, developed post conversion. His conversion reaffirms the claim about the revival not being a movement led by ministers. Furthermore, the authenticity of the revival and its impactful nature is strengthened by the detected change in Rev. Macleod following his conversion.

The third type of conversion that was identified whilst conducting interviews arose whilst speaking to Mrs Mary Macdonald:

Well, my recollections of the revival were that I knew there was a lot going on in the Island. That people were being converted and that there were things happening that hadn't happened, that was quiet different, but it had being going on for two years, and I hadn't been going to any meetings or anything, but at the same time I had been feeling the burden and guilt of my sin. It was as if the Spirit was present everywhere, and when Duncan Campbell came to Stornoway, to have meetings in Stornoway... and he spent two weeks preaching, I went to the meeting along with some of the other girls who were my friends... and it was during that time that I came to know the Lord. What happened was, I was still being so burdened with my sin, and it was so good to be able to go to these meetings because it gave you a sense of relief. What you were feeling was people were understanding what you were going through. Anyway, after the service, this particular service, there was to be an after meeting in somebody's house, which I went to, and probably some of the other girls... I do remember myself going through to another room, because Duncan Campbell said: "If anybody wishes to speak or have prayer, special prayer, I can go through with you and do that". So I went through and he prayed and then he spoke and read John Chapter 10: 'My Sheep hear my voice' and he talked a little about that. And of course, during that time, the light flooded into my soul, and I felt just like the Christian from the Pilgrim's Progress, the burden had gone from me. I remember going home that night and reading my Bible, and the

thing I remember most clearly was, reading the Bible, the Bible became a living Word. I could understand what I was reading, which I could never, although I heard the Bible, read the Bible and all the rest of it, but there was a marked difference, then I could understand what the Bible was saying to me (Macdonald M, 2017).

From Mrs Macdonald's account, two key characteristics can be identified: the preaching during the revival and the conviction of sin felt by the people. When comparing Mrs Macdonald's conversion narrative with the previous two, a number of differences arise. The first is the time aspect of her conversion. It can be identified from the other two accounts – Miss Morrison and Rev. Macleod –that they were both converted very early on during the awakening in December 1949. However, Mrs Macdonald's conversion took place later on because she said: "it had been going on for two years." Mrs Macdonald was converted in January 1952 whilst Campbell was conducting a series of meetings in Stornoway. This shows that the revival was still having a noticeable impact over two years into the awakening that spread across the Island and it shows the strength of the revival. Furthermore, the fact that people were still being affected by the revival two years after its beginning points to the effectiveness and the influential nature of the revival. One other point that should be addressed here is some conflict seen between Mrs Macdonald's account and a comment made by Campbell. Campbell stated that 'you never need to make an appeal or an altar call in revival. Why the roadside becomes an altar' (Campbell, 2016: 38). This is an interesting comment made by Campbell, and when reading Mrs Macdonald's account it can be clearly seen that Campbell used some sort of altar calling system. Why did Campbell feel the need to say there was no need for an altar call in revival? Perhaps he was trying to convey the richness of the revival's impact, or perhaps, as many have suggested, Campbell had a tendency to over-exaggerate.

Chapter Four: Key Characteristics

This chapter seeks to develop some of the key characteristics that arose in Chapter Three. This chapter will be divided into four sections: the spiritual hunger of the people, the preaching during the movement, manifestations, and conviction of sin.

A Hungry People

One of the characteristics identified whilst looking at the spread of the movement was the spiritual hunger experienced by the people during the revival. Why did the revival spread? One reason, this paper suggests, is the active participation of the people themselves. From the Peckhams' comment (Peckham, 2004: 77) it is evident that people came to the meetings in Shader and Barvas from Ness and Kinloch, two places that would soon be touched by revival. Rev. Mackay gives insight into why the people were being drawn, saying, 'The Spirit of God was bringing a wonderful peace and [resting] graciously on these two villages at that time; the peace was glorious' (Mackay, n.d). This chapter looks to convey the impact these new converts had on their respective homes. Whilst interviewing Rev. Macleod, he expressed the spiritual hunger that he experienced post conversion. He said, 'I lost my appetite for food for three or four days, but on the other hand I got new appetite for new food. I began reading the Bible, and I began to pray, not with many words, but with groanings of the spirit, turning to the Lord' (Macleod W, 2017). The people had a desire to be in God's presence, both in private and public worship, to find spiritual nourishment.

Peggy and Christine Smith, the two sisters who are strongly linked with the origin of the revival, were drawn towards Isaiah 44:3 in 1949, prior to Campbell's arrival. They believed that because of God's nature He must keep His promises, and because of this they trusted that He would move. The suggestion may be made that this was a revival birthed in prayer, but fuelled by spiritual hunger and a desire to see God move, and it should not be a surprise that these two characteristics - prayer and spiritual hunger - were major factors throughout the revival. Campbell explained spiritual hunger as follows:

Oh, how true it is that hunger, real hunger, creates a capacity for God. "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness for they shall be filled." And the reason why we are not filled is simply because we are not hungering after God.

We may be hungering after other things, but not after righteousness (Campbell, 2015: 17).

Although this paper believes that the movement's spread and duration was affected by the people's spiritual hunger and God's covenant-keeping nature, it should be stressed that this paper does not believe that there is a formula that equals revival. Moreover, God in his mercy, and in His covenant keeping nature, found a people who He would pour out His Spirit upon in a mighty way. It has been shown that holiness could be said to be a key to revival, so too could spiritual hunger.

Although some people attended the meetings out of curiosity, the people's spiritual hunger is further seen with the believers and new converts' commitment to be at meetings regardless of where they were being held. This was in a time when transport was not readily available. However, this did not stop people from making their way to the meetings. An example of this came from Miss Morrison's interview. She said that during the revival:

We walked a lot. My friend and I went to the Bernera communions. We went on a fishing boat. Rev. Donald Macaulay, he was the skipper of the boat then, before he became the Reverend Donald Macaulay. He said, "I'm going to the Port of Ness. I will take the whole lot of you," and then we thought we can't go to Ness; how will we get home again? There was only buses, the bus runs, and the bus that we hired for the meetings. There was hardly any private cars then, and the roads weren't tarred then. So... he said, "I will come into the Breasclete pier," and there was six of us, and we said, "Yes." We didn't mind what happened to us, it was the autumn anyway. I remember we walked from the pier to the main road in Breasclete and we stood there and here comes a lorry, and the lorry stops and the man asked us, "Well, I am going to Carloway, will I give you a lift?" Imagine all of us going into the back of the lorry... with our Sunday best... and that was from the Lord, I mean that would never happen now. Nobody would ever think of a lorry stopping, but the Lord was in everything, and taking care of us, so we went to Carloway and we walked home after that, we walked twelve miles, singing and stopping now and again, and one of us said, "We are like the ones going to Emmaus," going back rejoicing, going back rejoicing (Morrison, 2017).

Miss Morrison gives real insight into mobility during the revival. The people, as Miss

Morrison shows, were willing to walk twelve miles home after attending a meeting. This gives an indication of the enthusiasm around the revival and points to the people's desire to be at the meetings.

This characteristic of spiritual hunger can also be seen when looking at people's attitude towards Campbell and his involvement in the revival. Campbell reported on 28 May 1952 that 'Since my last report I have done a bit of travelling around... I visited Bernera, Crulivig, Callanish, Arnol, Shader and Ness, and in each place preached to crowded meetings' (Campbell, 1952: 28 May). In fact, Rev. Mackay on this matter said, 'The awakening followed Mr. Campbell as the helpers and the converts did too. In every place, and to every place he laboured' (Mackay, n.d). It is clear that Mackay believed that Campbell was having a huge influence on the revival, and Campbell's presence and involvement were clearly important. However, the revival was not dependent upon Campbell and the outworking of the revival in other places, independent of Campbell, can be identified from the Faith Mission reports. The attitude of the people is evident furthermore in Campbell's reports when, for example, on 15 March 1950, he wrote: 'I was asked to address a meeting at noon today and fully 800 people gathered, some coming from long distances, even from Lewis. Requests for missions already made, would keep me going for the next three years' (Campbell, 1950: 15 March). Requests for Campbell to lead a mission were frequent during his time on Lewis. Campbell, helpfully, gives insight into a request he received when the revival broke out in the parish of Ness. He said:

Message came one night to say that the church was crowded at one o'clock in the morning, and asked if I would go down. So, along with some other ministers, we set off and got to the parish of Ness to find the Spirit of God moving in the most remarkable way. Again, crowded congregations... then kitchen meetings following that meeting. We left the church at three o'clock, went out, met someone who told me that a crowd who couldn't get into the church were in a field singing Psalms and praying. I went down to the field and I found a congregation of at least three hundred people. God was moving. I think I should tell you an interesting incident connected with that mission. About, it would have been perhaps, half past three or four, a cottage door opened and an old maiden came out. It was quite obvious that she wasn't in favour of the movement. She walked over to the meeting and addressed one of the elders, and said this: "I wish you people would go home and allow people to sleep." I can still see that big strong man, taking her by the shoulders and shaking her and saying "Woman! Get away home! You've

been asleep long enough” (Campbell, n.d).

House or kitchen meetings were a common way for people to gather together during the revival. Rev. Macleod described kitchen meetings: ‘There were many kitchen meetings too, and sometimes in the house meetings, they were known as kitchen meetings, apparently you can get nearer the people, or the people get to hear the Gospel in a nice warmer way’ (Macleod W, 2017). Mr J. Macleod notes that it was at these house meetings that ‘new converts could first, in an unthreatening atmosphere, discuss the sermons and make their first stumbling efforts in public prayers’ (Macleod, 2008: 258). One of the points that arises from Campbell’s words above is that he identifies there was opposition towards the revival which conveys that there was not a unified voice with regards to the revival. Furthermore, his account, once again, strengthens the claim that the revival was not dependent upon him. This is seen through the church in Ness being crowded and people gathering prior to Campbell being there. Moreover, as can be seen from Campbell’s account, one of the reasons the revival spread was because of the spiritual hunger the people were experiencing.

This spiritual hunger the new converts experienced is undoubtedly a factor that contributed to the spread of the movement; and it can be argued that the people played a vital part in the revival’s spread. However, people becoming hungry spiritually all across the island, like Rev. Macleod, also points to the spread of the revival and shows it had gripped the island. However, was this spiritual hunger the result or the cause of the revival? With this thesis’s definition of revival in mind, it would be posited that spiritual hunger could be identified as part of the cause of revival, if the spiritual hunger is found within the believers. This is because revival’s primary function is with God’s people. However, spiritual hunger is also a result of the revival, which is identified when those who were not saved were drawn by the Holy Spirit to be in God’s presence to find rest for anxious souls. This, again, strengthens this thesis’s definition of revival because its secondary function is mass conversions. It is clear that there were two different types of spiritual hunger at work. This section began by showing one type, which was people being drawn by God, whether through being burdened by their sins or through curiosity, to be at a meeting. Whilst being at these meetings many experienced the secondary function of revival and left the meetings changed. This then led to the spiritual hunger that Rev. Macleod and Miss Morrison both alluded to and, because of this change, the people brought back something different to their respective communities, which often resulted in Campbell being asked to come to preach in those communities and so the revival spread.

Preaching

With regards to the preaching during the revival, whilst consulting Campbell's reports, different characteristics that help shape the picture of the revival can be identified. Firstly, Campbell was not the only voice that preached during the revival. Campbell reported: 'I have been greatly assisted this week by other ministers, two of them sharing the preaching with me, especially in the night meetings' (Campbell, 1950: 1 February). Since Campbell was not the only preacher during the revival, and, in fact, with him sharing the preaching with Island ministers, it was not only Campbell's theology that was being preached but also Island theology. This is an important point to make because, as it will be argued, a lot of the opposition the revival faced was because of Campbell's theology. This strengthens the claim that the revival was not dependent upon Campbell. Also, Campbell was not the only worker from the Faith Mission on Lewis during the time of the awakening. Two other Faith Mission workers on Lewis were Brothers McArthur and Coulter. However, during their time, reports show that they did not have the same experience as Campbell did. Campbell reported in November 1950: 'I enjoyed my first visit to Uig: the Brothers [McArthur and Coulter] there are having a hard fight. I considered the weekend meeting very good, with deep conviction' (Campbell, 1950: 8 November). This idea of the Brothers struggling is furthered and strengthened when Mr Black, in the same newsletter, reported: 'Brothers McArthur and Coulter report smaller meetings... Those attending seem under conviction, and some have been in tears during the meetings. They were to have a visit over the weekend from Rev. D. Campbell, which should help their interest' (Black W, 1950: 8 November). This is a very interesting point made by Black and it is alluded to again in his report dated 4 April 1951 where he explained Campbell joined McArthur and McArthur posited that 'Interest has been growing, and this last week we have been in the midst of revival. 17 souls have very brokenly sought the Saviour. Meetings have been well packed' (Black W, 1951: 4 April). Did interest increase primarily because of Campbell's presence? This question could be used to support a claim that people were reacting to Campbell, rather than the message or the revival. However, as shown already, there were many other ministers who preached during the revival, Campbell often left the island and the movement continued, and people were being converted even before going near a service; which could refute that claim and point to the revival as something separate from Campbell. However, Campbell's presence and involvement were clearly important factors to the revival.

Campbell's reports also testify to an enormous number of sermons being delivered during

the revival and these were sermons to crowded meetings. Campbell reported, with regards to Barvas: ‘I preached twice during that evening. This was repeated on Thursday and Friday. Yesterday I preached in three different Churches to crowded meetings’ (Campbell, 1949: 14 December). However, the crowded meetings continued. Campbell, whilst in Leverburgh, reported: ‘Yesterday (Sabbath)... I preached three times between five and nine o’clock to a crowded church’ (Campbell, 1952: 12 November). Indeed, this continued up until the end of the movement, which is seen when Campbell, during his time in Habost, reported: ‘I have been preaching in the afternoon and at 7 o’clock in one Parish, and at 9.30 in another’ (Campbell, 1953: 11 February). This point conveys the desire that the people had to be under the Word of God, and the fact that it continued to the end of the movement once again testifies to the enthusiasm the people had for the revival. Furthermore, with all of these meetings and sermons Campbell was involved in, his commitment to the movement is evident. In fact, it came as no surprise to hear from Miss Morrison that ‘We used to be worried about him, that he would lose his voice. He did lose his voice once...’ (Morrison, 2017); and to read in a report: ‘Please remember Mr. Campbell especially, who goes to London this week for treatment for his throat’ (Eberstein J.G, 1951: 4 July). The evidence suggests that meetings took place with incredible frequency and they were very well attended from the beginning to the culmination of the revival.

A recurring theme from interviews with participants and converts is that the Bible was held by all involved in very high esteem. Rev. Macleod said:

The preaching of the Word had priority over everything... there was preaching about sin, heaven, hell, forgiveness, the love of the Lord, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and the “Sheep will hear His voice and they will come to him”; “I am the door”; “The Shepherd knows His flock” and there is the open door inviting sinners, and that is very important when there is an awakening (Macleod W, 2017).

Those involved in the revival speak of Campbell preaching the Gospel at these meetings. Above, thanks to Rev. Macleod, this term ‘Gospel’ can be developed and interpreted and his thoughts on the themes that were present and preached on during the revival can be extrapolated. Rev. Macleod’s themes link well with the content of sermons that was summarised by Mrs Macleod:

Can I give you a translation of a quote from a spiritual song that my neighbour wrote during the Revival: “He showered us with the Word of God and we shall be lost if we neglect it.” That was how it felt. Surrounded by the Word of God, night after night as we listened to the faithful preaching detailing Man’s lost condition and the offer of Salvation in Christ (Macleod, M., e-mail. 6 June 2017).

What effect did the preaching have on the people? The theme and message of sin and the forgiveness of sin was at the core of the revival throughout and this fits with the Evangelical context in which the revival was situated. However, with regards to the response to the offer of the Gospel in revival meetings, Rev Macleod said: ‘It is easier to say things and do things than in an ordinary service. I don't know what an ordinary service is, but in times of revival, in times of an awakening, the Word is more effective, and the hearing is more effective, believing is easier and for many’ (Macleod W, 2017). This interesting thought has two possible interpretations. Firstly, with the communities themselves actively fostering the movement and helping the revival spread it may be posited that, because of hype and with emotions running high, people may have been “caught up in the moment”. Thus, it was easier to make a decision because everyone else was doing it. However, with very few converts backsliding, a second explanation for the “Word being more effective”, based on the evidence of those interviewed for this study, is that it appears the majority of converts remained faithful to their pledges which supports the argument for a genuine movement. Furthermore, the vast majority of converts not only lived out their profession of faith with real commitment, but many also went into full time ministry and service, which supports the second interpretation.

Another interesting point raised whilst conducting the interviews were the references made to John 10:27 in Campbell’s preaching. Mrs Macdonald, whilst explaining her conversion, said: ‘Duncan Campbell said, “If anybody wishes to speak or have prayer, special prayer, I can go through with you and do that.” So I went through and he prayed and then he spoke and read John Chapter 10, ‘My Sheep hear my voice’, and he talked a little about that’ (Macdonald M, 2017). Mrs Macdonald links John Chapter 10 to her conversion. However, this seems to have been a go-to verse for Campbell. This can further be seen from Miss Morrison’s thoughts on Campbell’s preaching:

Duncan Campbell preached the whole counsel of God and especially hell, heaven and hell, and he would bang on the pulpit and he wouldn’t leave a pillow under anybody's head. He laid you bare, heaven and hell, but he wouldn't leave you like

that. He would hold up the cross at the end and as he put it “the simplicity of the way of salvation.” Christ and the blood. Why Christ died, and the cross the remedy for our sins. And oh at the end, at the end of the service, when he would be holding up the cross, he was so gracious and gentle. He wouldn't be the same man at all as if it was full of love, full of the love of Christ, and he was. If we happened to be in a house meeting and a few came back into the house meeting, and we knew if they did that they were seeking the Lord and he would quote, “My sheep hear my voice and they follow me and I will give them eternal life”. He would always quote these verses (Morrison, 2017).

From Miss Morrison's interview, these themes of heaven, hell, salvation and forgiveness were alluded to in a positive manner. It can be stated, with sufficient evidence, that the message often preached during the revival was a message of forgiveness of sin. However, Campbell preaching on John 10:27, as often as he did, should not come as a surprise because Campbell stated: ‘John 10:27, my favourite text: “My sheep hear my voice and they know me and they follow me and I give unto them eternal life.” The two supreme marks of a sheep as distinct from a goat: they hear his voice and they follow’ (Campbell, n.d). Campbell, here, also conveys part of the message he would have preached with regards to John 10:27. Again, his comment is not dissimilar to the comments above from the converts about the themes identified in the preaching. Scores of people being converted on hearing these themes should not be a surprise as it is a fitting response to the content of the message.

Spiritual Manifestations

Throughout the revival there were many different types of spiritual manifestations that took place. These were often the focus of later accounts of the revival. However, the Peckhams posit: ‘The 1939 revival was much wider and more influential than the 1949 revival in which Duncan Campbell was involved... there were also far more manifestations in the 1939 revival than the 1949 revival’ (Peckham, 2004: 32). This is supported by Mrs Macdonald who explained during her interview that ‘There had been a revival ten years before and it was mostly in the Free Church, in Lochs, and there was no opposition at that point to it, and there were manifestations during that time, and if there was opposition it wasn't as loud as it was during the ‘49 revival’ (Macdonald M, 2017). Interestingly, with regards to previous revivals and manifestations, Macaulay noted: ‘By the end of the revival there were unusual prostrations... raising of hands and praying

aloud, almost shouting, had become the custom... [but] When the revival ended the prostrations ended too' (Macaulay, 1984: 33). It is evident that the manifestations that took place during the 1949 revival were in fact not new. Manifestations had been associated with the other revivals that occurred on Lewis prior to 1949.

Campbell's account regarding the Holy Spirit falling on the bus heading to Barvas, is a type of manifestation that occurred more than once. Campbell, in one of his reports, wrote:

This has been another week of "God's right hand." Meetings have been larger than ever, 900 have been crowded in, and many turned away. I may say, I am now at it night and day, and just getting sleep when I can. The largest meetings are now in the Parish of Ness: this is a part of the island that is very thickly populated and, praise God, it is gripped by revival. Among the men who decided last night, there were two pipers, who were to be playing at a dance in Stornoway that night (Campbell, 1950: 25 January).

Campbell mentions two pipers had been converted. This is a story that is well known with regards to the revival. Campbell, in a lecture, explains an event that followed these two men's conversion:

The minister standing there turned to his wife and he said, "Look, there are the two pipers that were to have played at the concert and dance in our parish tonight, there they are crying to God for mercy. So we will go home to the parish and we'll go to the dance and we'll tell them what has happened." So off they went, and they arrived at the dance at about 11 o'clock. The men who met them were not happy at all to see them there; why had they come to disturb their night of amusement? But the parish minister claimed the right as a parish minister to walk in and he walked in and, during a lull in the dancing, he stepped onto the floor and he said, "Young folks, the most remarkable thing has happened in Barvas. You know the pipers that were to be here? They are crying to God for mercy in Barvas. You advertised that they would be playing but they are crying to God for mercy." And then he said, "Won't you sing a psalm with me?" "Yes," said a young man, "If you will lead it yourself." So he gave out Psalm 50 where God is depicted as a flame of fire. Also they sang, I think it was at the second verse, when the power of God fell on the dance. The schoolmaster, who was at the head of the concert party, cried to God for mercy and people fled from the hall and went to their buses and in the buses

they were crying to God (Campbell, n.d).

Again, through this remarkable account, it is attested that God moved outside of the Church building, and again God's presence fell upon the community in such a manner that it led people to salvation. However, there has been a contrast identified with the information Campbell provided at two different times. These contrasts are part of an overarching reason for some of the opposition that Campbell and the movement experienced and point to a negative side of Campbell. They will be examined further in Chapter Five.

A very common form of manifestation throughout the revival was physical manifestations. On 6 November 1951, whilst in Baile-Na-Cille, Campbell recorded: 'Our meetings this week were characterised by physical prostrations and swooning and the agony of Godless men whose conscience awoke was terrible to see' (Campbell, 1951: 6 November). This manifestation was not a one off. This is evident when Campbell on 23 January 1952, when carrying out a mission in Stornoway, wrote:

Last night we witnessed a mighty manifestation of the power of God. As a young lad from the Prayer Union at Arnol was praying, God swept in, in power, and in a few minutes people were prostrate on the floor, others with hands raised up fell back in a trance: we were in the midst of it until 1 o'clock in the morning (Campbell, 1952: 23 January).

As stated in Chapter Three, Mrs Macdonald was converted in January 1952 whilst at the Stornoway meetings conducted by Campbell. During her interview she said:

Well, I don't remember an awful lot about manifestations. As I said I wasn't part of the revival the previous two years, but I did hear about them. Now what I saw during the meetings that I attended myself was that some people would cry out and raise their hands into the air, and they would sit like that for, I don't know how long. There was no way that normally you could hold your hands up like that. What happened was that when they raised their hands they were obviously in agreement with what the minister was saying, or what they were experiencing themselves... but there was people going very stiff and sort of half-lying in their seats, and this was a very common manifestation in Duncan Campbell's meetings (Macdonald M, 2017).

It can be extrapolated from Mrs Macdonald's report that manifestations were occurring during the revival. Mrs Macdonald also gives a helpful insight into why people were possibly manifesting like this: as a sign of agreement. These types of manifestations had such a presence that Campbell himself declared that these 'Physical manifestations and prostrations have been a... feature' (Campbell, 2016: 18). Campbell recalling an account of a manifestation, writes:

I can think just now of a certain village... One morning, just as the men were being called for breakfast, it was discovered that the seven of them were lying prostrate behind their looms, lying on their faces behind their looms and all of them in a trance. Now I can't explain this. But of this I am certain: that this was of God because the seven men were saved that day. Now I should say six of them were saved that day, one of them on the following day. But they came to understand that something supernatural had taken possession of them (Campbell, 2016: 41-42).

Campbell helps explain why he believed they happened. He said: 'It takes the supernatural to burst the dams of the night' (Campbell, n.d). His thought on the supernatural is further explained when he said: 'How is it that while we make such great claims for the power of the Gospel, we see so little of the supernatural in operation?' (Campbell, 2015: 28). It is clear from this that Campbell believed that manifestations should accompany the preaching of the Word of God. This is one area where Campbell's previous personal experience influenced his interpretation of an event. Campbell himself had experienced God in a supernatural way on a number of occasions, and his interpretation of the manifestation above mirrors his own experience where he saw Scripture being accompanied by the supernatural.

Another very well documented event of manifestations, and God moving in supernatural power, is an event that took place in Arnol, when a house shook during a meeting. Campbell, explaining what happened, said:

Perhaps the greatest miracle of all was in the village of Arnol. Here, indifference to the things of God held the field and a good deal of opposition was experienced, but prayer, the mighty weapon of revival, was resorted to and an evening given to waiting upon God. Before midnight God came down... [as] a brother prayed, the

very house shook. I could only stand in silence as wave after wave of Divine power swept through the house, and in a matter of minutes following this heaven-sent visitation men and women were on their faces in distress of soul (Campbell, 2016: 9-10).

Campbell reported, regarding Arnol, on 10 May 1950: ‘We are in the midst of a glorious revival here’ (Campbell, 1950: 10 May). This manifestation would have taken place around 10 May 1950 because Campbell, at another time (Campbell, 2016: 48), linked this event to the outbreak of revival in Arnol. Campbell, with reference to the house shaking in Arnol said:

In this particular part of the parish we were met with bitter opposition from a certain section of the Christian church... One night the session clerk came to me and said, “There’s only one thing we can do... and that is that we give ourselves to waiting upon God in prayer” So, I would say that about thirty of us met in this house to wait upon God in prayer. There were five ministers, including myself, and a goodly number of others most of them elders from the parish and from other districts (Campbell, n.d).

This is another time when the information Campbell gave seems a bit misconstrued. Above, he notes that there were roughly thirty people gathered to pray. However, on a different occasion, Campbell said, ‘I would say there were about seventy of us, including five ministers of the Church of Scotland, men who were burdened, longing to see God moving in revival’ (Campbell, 2016: 48). The number of people that were present does not particularly matter, but it does make people question the authenticity of the rest of the event, and these factual errors Campbell often gave strengths the position of those who opposed him. Whilst they gathered to pray, and prior to the house shaking, Campbell notes:

The going was hard. We prayed till twelve or one o’clock in the morning, when I turned to the blacksmith... I said, “John, I feel that God would have me call upon you to pray”. He had been silent up till then. And that dear man began. Nothing came for about half an hour. Half an hour he prayed, then he paused for a second or so, and looking up to the heavens he cried, “God, did you know that your honour is at stake? Your honour is at stake! You promised to pour floods upon dry ground and, God, You’re not doing it!”... Then he went on to say this: “There are

five ministers in the meeting, and I don't know where a one of them stands in your presence... But if I know my own poor heart, I think that I can say and I think that you know that I'm thirsty!"... Then a pause, and then he cried, "God, I now take upon you myself to challenge you to fulfil your covenant engagement' (Campbell, 2016: 48).

The Peckhams help clarify who 'John' is, writing: 'Duncan Campbell asked John Smith, the blacksmith, to pray' (Peckham, 2004: 113). It is said to have been following Mr Smith's prayer that the manifestation occurred. When Mr. Smith challenged God Campbell recalled that:

At that moment that huge granite filled house shook like a leaf, shook like a leaf. And I immediately went to the Acts of the Apostles where it is recorded when they prayed the place was shaken where they were assembled together. And as soon as this dear man stopped praying I pronounced the benediction and a little after two o'clock in the morning and went out to find the whole village ablaze with God (Campbell, n.d).

Campbell, concluding what he saw following the event, said, 'What did I see? The whole community alive! Men carrying chairs, women carrying stools and asking, "Is there room for us in the church?" And the Arnol Revival broke out' (Campbell, 2016: 48). Again, outbreak of revival is linked to the prayers of the people. This strengthens the definition of revival given by this thesis as it is firstly with God's people. With Campbell mixing up some of the information relating to this event, as stated, it does bring a question to the authenticity of the event. However, this concern is limited with the Peckhams themselves recording this manifestation (Peckham, 2004: 113). Their record of this event actually helps give some evidence for the authenticity of the manifestation by recording individuals' names who were present whilst this took place. They posited:

It was a mighty moment that Donald Macphail remembers, for he was sitting on the crowded stairs beside two unsaved neighbours, Christina Campbell (no.33) and Donald Macleod (no.31). They had been dozing, but in a moment they were wide awake under deep conviction of sin. They began to cry for mercy. In fact Christina wept and cried aloud for help. Both were saved that very night (Peckham, 2004: 113).

This statement from the Peckhams help conclude this section and although questions may arise because of Campbell's conflicting details in different accounts of one event the Peckhams give some credibility due to the listing of people's names and addresses. However, what can be derived from the Peckhams is a list of some of the people who experienced manifestations during the revival. Manifestations that took different forms, but manifestations, as far as the Isle of Lewis is concerned, that were not new.

An Anxious People

As is often the case during a revival, one of the main characteristics was the sense of an awareness of sin. Campbell said that 'The second main feature has been deep conviction of sin - at times leading almost to despair' (Campbell, 2016: 17). Campbell acknowledges that the characteristic of conviction of sin was so influential that he identifies it as a main feature of the revival. In fact, it could posited be that the awareness of sin links strongly with the other three sections in this chapter - the desire to be at the meetings, preaching and spiritual manifestations - because it can be identified in each of these characteristics. As shown in the first section, many went to the meetings because of feeling anxious because of their sin. This was the case for Mrs Macdonald, who said:

I hadn't being going to any meetings or anything but at the same time I had been feeling the burden and guilt of my sin, it was as if the Spirit was present everywhere.... I went to the meeting along with some of the other girls who were my friends... and it was during that time that I came to know the Lord. What happened was, I was still being so burdened with my sin, and it was so good to be able to go to these meetings because it gave you a sense of relief, what you were feeling was people were understanding what you were going through (Macdonald M, 2017).

From this comment, it is evident that for Mrs Macdonald one of the desires to be at the meetings and in God's presence was because of her sense of personal sin. This thesis believes that this was a motive for others, and evidence in Chapter Three suggests so. Was the preaching causing conviction? It could be suggested that, through the preaching, people may have been led to the place where they became anxious. However, although this may be the case, Mrs Macdonald's comment is contrary to that claim, as she was anxious before ever going to a meeting. Furthermore, Miss Morrison, during an interview, was asked, "If many people experienced the conviction of sin?" She replied: 'Yes I think they did, I think

they did, and even people that hadn't come to church would have to come to church, even out on the fields they were being convicted, the Lord was dealing with them' (Morrison, 2017). This then strengthens the claim, brought forth from the listed accounts, that the awareness of sin was one of the reasons people desired to be at the meetings, and it even happened before people went, which is not surprising due to the Evangelical context in which the revival was operating. The message preached was very intentional about highlighting sin and the need to receive God's forgiveness through faith in the atoning work of Jesus Christ on the cross. This raises a further question: what came first? Was the preaching so heavy on these aforementioned themes because of the people's conviction of sin? Or did the preaching lead to the people experiencing conviction? It may be impossible to tell, but for Mrs Macdonald, her conviction came first and at the meeting she found relief for her anxious soul. However, Miss Morrison's comment above points away from the preacher and towards God being the active agent in the community because, as Miss Morrison said: 'the Lord was dealing with them'.

Although, as Miss Morrison alludes, it was God who was the active agent. He was using the preaching to have a direct effect on the people, whether it was leading to their conviction or not. Campbell said: 'I have known occasions when it was necessary to stop preaching because of the stress manifested by the anxious...' (Campbell, 2016: 18). An example of this happening is found in a report Campbell wrote whilst in Loch Croistean and Crowlista. He said, 'I had to stop preaching, until the cry of the people who came under the power of God became more subdued. Some burdened sinners were greatly distressed and since then have found the Saviour' (Campbell, 1952: 11 March). Campbell's report relates conviction of sin to the third section of this chapter: spiritual manifestations. Campbell indicates that the people were convicted of sin in such a heavy manner that, whilst sitting under the preaching, it led them to literally cry out. The cries were so loud that Campbell could not preach whilst they were going on. People's awareness of sin seems to have led to a physical manifestation more than once during the revival. Miss Morrison stated: 'There would be weeping in the church and when we would hear weeping we knew that somebody was seeking the Lord; they were under the conviction of sin' (Morrison, 2017). What can be extrapolated from this is that conviction of sin, whilst fuelled, fired, or calmed by the preaching, would sometimes lead to a physical manifestation to take place. Again, this was a manifestation that was not unknown in Lewis (Macleod, 2008: 258-261).

Mrs Macdonald was not the only person who went to the meetings feeling burdened by her

sins. As can be identified from Campbell's reports this was a recurring theme. Indeed, it was a theme that was pertinent from the beginning of the revival: 'I gathered the anxious ones beneath the pulpit and along with the minister, did what I could to lead them to Christ' (Campbell, 1949: 14 December) and right through to the end of the revival: 'The mission in the Parishes of Lochs and Gravir finished on a grand note of victory: the last few days were wonderful, and that's in spite of much opposition... in each meeting people came under deep conviction' (Campbell, 1953: 18 February). However, not only does the conviction of sin relate to the spiritual hunger present, the preaching of the Word, and the manifestations that took place, it also helps convey the spread of the movement and the continuance of the movement. Campbell, in many different places, speaks of the awareness of unworthiness due to sin being present. Above, Campbell says it was present in Barvas and Lochs; it was also present in Harris (Campbell, 1950: 29 November); Shader (Campbell, 1951: 26 September); Baile-Na-Cille (Campbell, 1951: 31 October); Galson (Campbell, 1950: 5 April); and Bernera (Campbell, 1951: 15 August). This list indicates the major characteristic that conviction of sin was during the revival. It also shows, like Mrs Macdonald's conversion account, that there was something already happening in these communities prior to the preaching which also points to the spread of the revival.

This characteristic relates to the spread of the revival in two ways: it relates to the chronological spread of the revival, and it also relates to its geographical spread. With regards to the chronological spread it helps convey that the characteristic was persistent for the duration of the revival, which is present from reports dating to the beginning and the end. Secondly, the geographical spread, as can be identified, shows the reoccurring theme and characteristic that is conviction of sin. Both the chronological and geographical spread served as consistent factors in the spread of the movement across the island. What can be ascertained from this section, in conclusion, is that it was a very important characteristic in relation to the revival. Unlike the other characteristics examined, only conviction of sin relates to the all the other characteristics. This may be as a result of the Evangelical context in which the revival occurred. However, and not contrary to this, it may also be as a result of the outworking of the definition of revival, in its secondary function: mass conversions of communities.

Chapter Five: Opposition

This chapter seeks to assess the opposition to the revival that has been alluded to throughout this thesis. The opposition conveys that there was not a unified voice towards the revival and it is part of the revival's narrative. Meek notes: 'Revival, which often provokes strong opposition, is not always the panacea of popular Evangelical thought' (Meek, 1993: 712). Meek's comment is certainly applicable to the 1949 Lewis revival. Campbell agreed, stating: 'Like all such movements of the past, many have praised God for it; others have made it the occasion of bitter press and pulpit attacks' (Campbell, 2016: 19). Campbell indicates a method of opposition that he experienced during the revival, but also indicates that opposition came from ministers as well. The Peckhams confirmed this: 'The opposition came mainly from the pulpits. All the Church of Scotland pulpits were open to Mr. Campbell' (Peckham, 2004: 117). The Peckhams point out that the other two denominations on Lewis were sources of opposition. Macleod, in agreement, posits: 'The goings-on were condemned by the Free-Presbyterians and were attacked from an early point by Free Church ministers, who deplored Campbell's methods' (Macleod, 2008: 263). There was stern opposition from these two denominations towards the revival. However, more evidence is available on the Free Church's view towards the revival than that of the Free Presbyterian's attitude. Whilst researching for this thesis, only a small amount of material was found about the Free Presbyterian's attitude towards the revival. However, Rev. W.M. Maclean (the Free Presbyterian minister in Ness during the 1949 revival) declared regarding the 1824 revival, which followed Rev. Macleod's arrival in Uig, that the 'labours were signally owned of the Lord in a genuine revival of religion' (Maclean, 1951(b): 71). This statement from Rev. Maclean gives a positive view of revival from the Free Presbyterian Church, which conveys that the Free Presbyterians did not completely reject revival.

This thought about not completing rejecting revival is seen within the denomination of the Free Church too. Rev. Norman Macleod, when writing about the 1939 revival, claimed it 'was probably the most impressive and widespread revival in Lewis since the renowned awakening in Uig under the ministry of Rev. Alexander Macleod in 1824' (Macleod, 1988: 10). Furthermore, John Macleod posits: 'In Stornoway, Kenneth MacRae was at first sceptical, but by 1939 - with the new complication of mounting press interest, after a speech at the Church of Scotland General Assembly – all agreed with Rev. Murdo MacRae "that there is a deep and profound spiritual movement in the Island"' (Macleod, 2008:

258). Moreover, Rev. Macleod, who was a Free Church minister, and a convert of the 1939 revival, gives a supportive account of a number of the revivals that Lewis had experienced, in which the Free Church were involved (Macleod, 1993: 6-13). These are important points to begin this chapter because they convey that the Free Church, like the Free Presbyterian Church, was not opposed to revival although both did oppose the 1949 revival.

In order to give as transparent a picture of the opposition as possible, it should be stated that not all the Free Church were opposed to the Revival. The Peckhams stated: ‘Duncan Campbell... was not invited to any Free Church Service’ (Peckham, 2004: 35). However, this claim actually contradicts Campbell’s reports: ‘Requests have come to me from Free Church communities for a mission’ (Campbell, 1951: 28th February). Moreover, one interviewee stated: ‘There was a lot of people from the Free Church attending the meetings, and were saved during the revival, and quite a number of them, these people, were forbidden by their families to attending the meetings anymore’ (Anonymous, 2017). Many who opposed the 1949 revival did so because of its link to the Faith Mission, mostly because of theology. The contradiction of opinions can also be seen within the Free Church denomination as a whole, not just from the Lewis Presbytery. Murray writes: ‘In the Edinburgh Presbytery of the Free Church, however, the activity of the Faith Mission was apparently not viewed with the same concern. Proof of this appeared in the acceptance by one member of the Presbytery of an invitation to speak on behalf of the Faith Mission in Stornoway in June 1950’ (Murray, 1980: 446). Although there was opposition to the revival, and indeed towards Campbell, from the Free Church, it is important to remember that there were those who were part of the Free Church who not only attended the meetings, but were impacted on by the revival:

I also know quite a number of people went to their own church session for membership after the revival, or even during the revival, and were refused because they were converted during Duncan Campbell’s preaching... [And as a result of that] Several families actually left the Free Church and came over to the Church of Scotland (Anonymous, 2017).

If the Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church were not opposed to revival, why did they oppose the 1949 revival? This thesis believes that the opposition was not opposition towards revival, but opposition towards Campbell. This chapter will engage with four points that have been identified as reasons for the opposition that Campbell, and subsequently the revival, was met with: the experiential side of the revival; Campbell’s

tendency to exaggerate; Campbell giving false information; and Campbell's theology.

Experiential

As discussed in the previous Chapter, spiritual manifestations, according to Campbell's records and other sources, seemed to have occurred on numerous occasions throughout the revival. However, the Peckhams concluded 'there were... far more manifestations in the 1939 revival than the 1949 revival' (Peckham, 2004: 32). Whether there were more manifestations in the 1939 revival in comparison to the 1949 revival, or not, this thesis cannot determine. What this thesis can determine is that spiritual manifestations happened on Lewis prior to the 1949 revival. Macleod states about these phenomena:

Apparently this was no new thing. Let me quote a passage dating from the year 1617 from the Memories of the Rev John Livingston: "There were, in some parishes (especially in Bread Island) where under the ministry of godly Mr Edward Bryce, some people who used in the time of sermon to fall upon high breathing as of those who have long run. But most ministers discounted these practices and suspected them not to proceed from the work of the Holy Spirit... and accordingly few of these people came forward to any solid exercise of Christianity" (Macleod, 1993: 14-15).

This comment from Macleod points to a negative view of manifestations, but he does, like the Peckhams, agree that these manifestations during the 1949 revival were not introduced to the island by the revival. Also from Macleod's comment, the question regarding the source of these 'manifestations' can be identified. This is said to have happened during the 1949 revival as well. Campbell, on the opposition, said: 'The person who would associate this with satanic influence is coming perilously near to committing the unpardonable sin' (Campbell, 2016: 18). Campbell and the Peckhams (2004: 121) both state that claims were made by the opposition that Campbell was an agent of Satan and that the source of these manifestations was the devil. Macleod, on this claim, wrote:

Colin and Mary Peckham... give details of "opposition that was vicious at times", assert that "some who had come to the Lord in the revival were not accepted at the Lord's table"; that Free Church ministers "stated that the devil had sent Mr Campbell to the island" and "he had come to steal members from the Free Church for the Church of Scotland." Not a shred of documentation is offered for these

tales (Macleod, 2008: 263).

Contrary to Macleod's comment of no evidence for the Peckhams and Campbell's claim, a record in the Stornoway Gazette identified the revival as the 'Devil's work'. The article published on 17 August 1951 stated that that 'any new thing (even a revival of religion), in any section, must be branded as "the work of Satan" by those in the other camp' (Anonymous, 17/8/1951: 7). This was a response to a letter written by Rev. Maclean, of the Free Presbyterian Church. Maclean had claimed:

There are Churches in Scotland which have departed far from Calvinism, Churches in which Voluntaryism, Arminianism and Modernism abound. Why not warn our youth of these evils? And what of these weird "isms" of American origin... Why not warn our youth against these "doctrines of devils?" (Macleod, 27/4/1951: 7).

Contrary to Macleod's earlier comment, from these primary sources it is clear to see that there were some who associated Campbell with 'evil' and 'Satan'. Moreover, Rev. Macrae himself concluded: 'It is impossible to trace out the source or sources from which these things came, but, in any case, these are not the fruits of the Spirit, and one may well stand in any doubt of any revival which is propagated by such methods' (Macrae, 1954: 29). Macrae here is alluding to some of Campbell's 'flaws' identified in this chapter. Macrae clearly questions Campbell and questions the authenticity of the revival and its source.

Campbell (2015: 28) believed the Holy Spirit was the source for these manifestations. However, his opponents disagreed:

[T]his notion of "spirit baptism" - completely un-Scriptural and another subtle form of Christianity plus - has discouraged Christians who merely have Christ, so to speak, and those who boast of their superior Spirit baptism... It is of course a central tenet of Pentecostalism and the modern "Charismatic Renewal," which has split Christian churches everywhere and is associated with famous, undisciplined and sometimes hysterical public worship of the hands-down-for-coffee variety (Macleod, 2008: 264).

Were these manifestations, during the revival, inspired by Campbell's expectations? Macleod posits: 'Under the fiery preaching of Mr Campbell the phenomena of panting,

prostrations and screaming appeared in his meetings. Mr Campbell might not have seen such things before, and therefore he would be highly impressed by them' (Macleod, 1993:15). Macleod does not seem to attribute these manifestations as a direct result of Campbell, although he does indicate they happened under his preaching. However, as can be seen from Campbell's life, he had experienced a number of manifestations before being in Lewis. Nevertheless, the evidence does not suggest that Campbell was the cause of these manifestations. He may have created space for them, and he may have even encouraged them, but spiritual manifestations, as has already been shown, were in Lewis long before Campbell ever set foot on the Island.

Exaggeration

One criticism of Campbell was that he had the tendency to exaggerate. Ironically, Campbell made the same claim about some reports about the revival: 'It is true, however, that exaggerated statements have appeared in the press carrying such lines as "Revival sweeping the Hebrides." Revival has not swept the Hebrides: there are many of the Western Isles still untouched by the movement' (Campbell, 2016: 19). Here Campbell downplayed the extent and scope of the overall revival. Many over-exaggerated accounts have been written regarding the 1949 revival. Based on the evidence, it seems likely that Campbell's tendency to exaggerate has led others to do the same. One example was his claim that the Declaration, in 1949, was part the catalyst for the revival. As a result of Campbell exaggerating the spiritual health of Lewis, many have taken his description as truth and reproduced it. This has impacted upon many other accounts that have been written on the 1949 revival. Green's account has been affected by Campbell's misappropriation of this Declaration, and this can be seen on a number of occasions in his section on the 1949 Lewis revival. Green (2014: 210) stated many 'very secular people' were saved and that the two old sisters 'were heartbroken that no young people at all attend their church' (Green, 2014: 212). Allen (2002: 64) even goes as far to say that this Free Church Declaration was read in the Church of Scotland pulpit before Rev. Mackay brought it to the Smith sister's house. This comment from Allen is disputed by this thesis. However, Green is not alone. Murphy and Adams stated:

History turned an important page in the Hebrides when the Free Church Presbytery of Lewis met... to discuss the appalling spiritual condition existing in their communities. No one ever dreamed for a moment that this special meeting was destined to be the preliminary step to the amazing spiritual awakening that was to

come (Murphy and Adams, 2003: 25).

Furthermore, Murphy and Adams (2003: 25) and Backholer (2012: 95) also claim that there were no young people, which again comes from claims Campbell made with this incorrect use of the Declaration which led to his over-exaggerated account of the spiritual health of Barvas. It seems that Campbell, when describing a place prior to revival, often tries to paint a worse picture than was actually the case. This also led to disagreement: ‘I am sorry to have to say that I cannot accept Mr Campbell’s description of the village, either as it was in 1949 or as it is now at the present time’ (Macrae, 1954: 28). A reason for this is perhaps Campbell is trying to emphasise the positive effect revival had on the Island, but when doing so, he tries to make the period prior to the revival look worse, so that the impact of the revival looks greater. An example of this is when Campbell proclaimed that ‘There are more people attending prayer meetings in Lewis today than attended public worship at the communion season’ (Campbell, n.d). This is a description of Lewis given by Campbell after the revival, and this, also, is disputed by his critics: ‘In my opinion, religion in Lewis is in a much worse condition than it was prior to the advent of the Faith Mission, for Arminian teachings have been propagated’ (Macrae, 1954: 27).

As demonstrated in Chapter Three, the Declaration cannot be used as a catalyst for the revival, and it did not offer an accurate representation of the spiritual health of the island, even though many, as a result of claims made by Campbell, have accepted his assumption. Mrs Macdonald, during an interview, concluded:

Duncan Campbell came back several times to speak... you know he was somehow different. It was as if something had changed him.... He seemed ... to be getting things a bit mixed up. He wasn't quite as clear as he used to be. I think the whole thing must have had a big effect on Duncan Campbell as a person. He had gone through a lot, he had ignored all the opposition, and he remained positive and true to The Lord, but I think in the long term really it had its own effect on Duncan Campbell (Macdonald M, 2017).

This is an important assessment made about the later state of Campbell's ministry. It seems that much of the exaggeration started after the end of the revival. When reading Campbell’s reports to the Faith Mission, in comparison to hearing some of his lectures on the revival (Campbell, n.d), a difference can be detected.

Incorrect Facts

As well as some over-exaggerating in their retelling of the 1949 revival, there are also those who had the facts wrong. Similarly to the section on exaggeration, there is a link between some of the false information given by Campbell, which, in turn, has impacted upon other accounts that have been written. Many of the books and chapters are filled with ‘facts’ that are close to the truth but not the truth. An example of this is in Pete Greig’s book, *Dirty Glory*, when he writes, incorrectly, about how Campbell was called to Lewis (Greig, 2016: 64). These are small details, but the problem is that if these ‘small’ errors continue, they could have a damaging affect on the revival’s narrative, with the culmination being the truth about the 1949-1953 revival is lost. Another example of this is when Green wrote: ‘Campbell did not invite anyone to come forward or to make any other kind of overt profession of faith’ (Green, 2014: 211). Although this is incorrect, it is a direct result of Campbell giving incorrect information because he (2016: 38) did say this. However, Campbell’s statement is not true. One of the issues of contention with the revival was due to its methods, as Macleod (2008: 263) notes. A revival convert, Rev. Macdonald, in his memoirs, declared:

Something which was new to the island was the opportunity given at the close of the service for anyone who decided to follow Jesus to come back into the church. Strangely enough some found fault with this method saying this was instant conversion and not genuine. Mr Campbell emphasised this was only a sign of one seeking for the Lord (Macdonald A., n.d).

Rev. Macdonald alludes to the discontent that this method brought. From Rev. Macdonald’s comment and from Mrs Macdonald’s conversion narrative it is clear Campbell’s claim is not true. Rev. Macrae shows that Rev. Macdonald was correct in his observation of opposition when he said: ‘The methods followed those of the typical American revivalist, with great insistence upon immediate and unqualified profession of conversion’ (Macrae, 1954: 29). This style then leads to opposition for two reasons. Firstly, Campbell used a method that was not the cultural norm, but secondly, he used it, and then falsely denies using it. This paper cannot give a definite reason for why Campbell did this. However, two suggestions this paper makes are: firstly, perhaps Campbell wanted to avoid more opposition. Or, secondly, perhaps Campbell again tries to show the positive impact the revival had, and tries to convey its power by declaring ‘We made no appeals - you never need to make an appeal or an altar call in revival. Why the roadside becomes an

altar' (Campbell, 2016: 38). This is not only over-exaggerating but is actually false information. Although this section is entitled 'false information,' Campbell's critics were not as kind in their critiques. Macrae (1954: 25) gives a number of lies he claims Campbell told, and, with regards to the false claim about the Free Church declaration, he concluded:

Instead of being notorious for its irreligion and ungodliness, the island of Lewis... in 1949, and for many a day before, was one of the brightest spots in Scotland, so far as vital godliness was concerned... The Faith Mission story of the former godlessness of Lewis can only be characterised as a cruel and wicked slander, in which there is not even a semblance of truth (Macrae, 1954: 26).

However, Macrae was not the only person that responded to Campbell's false claims. On 27 January 1953 a letter was submitted by K.J. Smith entitled *Bernera and the Keswick Convention*, in which he said:

It is with pain, grief, and the utmost regret that we find it necessary to challenge a statement made at the Keswick Convention by the Rev. Duncan Campbell of the Faith Mission regarding the religious life in Bernera, Lewis, on his arrival there.... It's seems, however, that the Rev. D. Campbell, while addressing thousands of people at Keswick, gave the following account of religious life in Bernera prior to his arrival there. Firstly, no weekly prayer meetings on the island. Secondly, when he arrived there the spiritual atmosphere of the island was "as hard as rock." These statements alone we wish to challenge as they are most misleading and utterly untrue' (Smith, 27/1/1953: 7).

Campbell responded to this claim of lying, saying:

I would like to say most emphatically that I did not say in reporting the movement in Bernera, that there were no prayer meetings on the island: here the reporter was using his imagination without reference to fact. What I did say, and here I quote for my manuscript, was: "I found the island spiritually dead, public worship at a low ebb, and interest in the prayer meeting practically nil." (Campbell, 27/1/1953(b): 7).

The 1952 Keswick Convention report contains the script from Campbell's talk, which stated that 'In Bernera things were difficult; the stream of Christianity was running low,

the churches empty, there were no prayer meetings' (Campbell, 1952 (b): 146). Whether this was a mistake made by a reporter, or whether Campbell said it, is hard to say. What can be confirmed though, is that Campbell did have a tendency to over-exaggerate and because of this it would not be surprising if he did make an inaccurate claim like that. Sadly, Campbell did seem to, on more than one occasion, give false information, which only enhances the opposition's claims, and has been damaging to a movement that truly affected many. Why Campbell did this, again, is hard to say. However, what this does do is challenge those who were and are supportive of the revival view of the man who was mightily used by God, and reminds them that he had flaws.

A different example of Campbell giving false information is when he, as Mrs Macdonald alluded, got confused. Campbell, in Chapter Four, notes that the head of the concert, who experienced a manifestation, was the schoolmaster. However, in the report Campbell gave following this event to the Faith Mission, he wrote:

A minister from the district where the dance was held, and who was in the meeting, felt led of God to go home and visit the dance and tell what happened. He did so, arriving there at 3 o'clock in the morning. After some opposition from the leader was allowed in. He... then gave out Psalm 50, the last three verses. God's Spirit fell upon the gathering and in less than 10 minutes men and women were crying for mercy, and the first to be saved was the leader of the concert party, a son of the schoolmaster... This is just one incident of many wonderful things happening just now (Campbell, 1950: 1 February).

In the above report Campbell says that the leader of the concert was the son of the schoolmaster, which contradicts his later account. Also, Campbell gave two different timings for this event. In a lecture (Campbell, n.d) he said they arrived at eleven o'clock, and in his report he said it was three in the morning. This could be said to be minor details. However, it is important to raise these discrepancies because, over time, information can become, even accidentally, less factual, and as can be identified, it is apparent that details changed over time. This noted change in the information Campbell gave may lead people to start to question accounts Campbell raised after the revival. However, the report that was given was very close to the date of the event and Campbell's lecture was after the culmination of the revival. However, when reading the two, the essence of both reports are very close, and this gives credit to the event, which strengthens the account. With regards to this example of Campbell's incorrect information what is more important here is the

similarities that both accounts contain. This may be an example where Campbell got confused and in his retelling of the event he accidentally delivered a discrepancy as to who was impacted. Whether it was the son or the headmaster does not really matter, what matters is people had a life-altering experience which points to a genuine movement. However, this paper is not as sympathetic towards Campbell's claim that there was never an 'altar call' in the revival because, as the primary sources convey, there were, which subsequently gave space for opposition because it challenged the cultural norm.

Theology

The most important factor that generated opposition was Campbell's theology. It is important to stress at this stage, once again, the context in which this revival took place. Campbell concluded that 'Lewis is Calvinist' (Campbell, 2016: 53). The Isle of Lewis has a strong tradition of adhering to the Reformed theological position, and because of this, would be Calvinistic in its theology. The Peckhams posit: 'Lewis is a stronghold of Calvinism. The five points of Calvinism were well known everywhere' (Peckham, 2004: 24). This, then, is the context that Campbell entered into. Campbell claimed the opposition 'were accusing me of denying the confession of faith and that I wasn't sound in my theology' (Campbell, n.d). The main issue, for those who opposed Campbell theologically, was because of his view on salvation, and the belief that, because of his view of soteriology, Campbell was not fully committed to Calvinist theology. This can be seen when Campbell declared: 'God is sovereign and must act according to His sovereign purpose - but ever keeping in mind that, while God is sovereign in the affairs of men, His sovereignty does not relieve men of responsibility' (Campbell, 2016: 5). This statement from Campbell was the crux of the issue for those who questioned his theology. The issue is that Campbell takes away from the sovereignty of God with his final point about man's responsibility. On this very issue Macleod concludes: 'The Free Church had legitimate grounds for concern. For one... Duncan Campbell preached false doctrine... Campbell declared in a sermon on "Steadfastness in Conviction"... that "repentance must ever precede salvation"; that is unbiblical and, if one thinks about it, absurd' (Macleod, 2008: 264). For Macleod, and those who opposed Campbell, the issue was that Campbell taught 'God... cannot save a man from his sins if that man wills to hold on to his sins with both hands' (Campbell, 2015: 21). Campbell, then, disputed the doctrine of election in its fullness, a doctrine that is central to Calvinism. This theological clash, very early on into the revival, even led to an article being submitted in the local paper on 21/4/50 entitled *Anti-Calvinism Runs Riot* (Anonymous, 21/4/1950: 7).

Campbell, as a result of his preaching and his methods (Macrae, 1954: 29), was called an Arminian by opponents (Campbell, 2016: 19). With regards to methods used in a time of revival, Meek notes:

While some revivals may be doctrinally conservative, others may lead to the erosion of doctrinal conservative, others may lead to the erosion of doctrinal distinctiveness; the overall impact of Finney's "methods" has been to stress the centrality of the human will in making "decisions," in contrast to the doctrines of total depravity and effectual calling within orthodox Reformed theology (Meek, 1993: 717).

Meek's comment is applicable to the 1949 revival's narrative. Campbell, although he said he believed in the sovereignty of God, challenged the Calvinistic view of God's sovereignty in Lewis with a theology that said: 'In the field of revival God is sovereign. But I hasten to say I do not believe in any conception of sovereignty that nullifies man's responsibility' (Campbell, n.d (b)). Campbell's method of asking people to make a 'response' evidently clashed with the cultural norm of the Lewis context, a method which is attributed to a more 'Finney' type approach, and an Arminian type theology.

Furthermore, Campbell's association with the Faith Mission also attributed to the resentment towards his theology. Rev. Macqueen, a Free Presbyterian minister during the revival, said: 'The Faith Mission people have never attempted to disguise the fact that their testimony is Arminian' (Macqueen, 1950: 173). There were other things that Campbell taught that supported this claim of Arminianism. For Macrae: 'The theology of the Faith Mission is the theology of John Wesley - one of the most outstanding and pronounced Arminians that ever lived, and who has left upon record in his writing his detestation of the doctrines known as Calvinism' (Macrae, 1952: 449). With Campbell's association with the Faith Mission, and with the Faith Mission's theological position being associated with Wesleyanism, it is not surprising, then, that Campbell was labelled a Wesleyan too. Campbell notes: 'A certain section of the Christian community were bitterly opposing me on the grounds that I was not teaching truth, because I proclaimed the truth that John Wesley proclaimed and the New Testament proclaims, that there is a Saviour from sin' (Campbell, 2015: 48). From this statement Campbell makes it sound like the people had an issue with him saying that in Christ there is freedom from sin. This thesis disputes that. What does sound likely is that those who opposed him had an issue with the teachings of

John Wesley because of the theological position that Wesley took, i.e. in Christian perfection. This is the belief that a Christian can reach a point when they do not sin anymore. This seems to be a belief that Campbell adhered to. This is apparent when Campbell, on a number of occasions, agreed with it: 'You can never get to the place where it will be impossible for you to sin, but blessed be God you can be in the place where it is possible not to' (Campbell, 2005). At another point Campbell also said: 'Of course, I believed in conditional perfection: "If we walk in the light as he is in the light we fellowship one with another and the blood of Jesus Christ, God's son cleanses us from all sin." That is Scriptural perfection! That is based on obedience' (Campbell, 2016: 46). This theology sounds very Wesleyan, which then explains the opposition Campbell experienced. Macqueen clarifies why this would bring opposition:

John and Charles Wesley did not hesitate to stigmatise the doctrines of Divine election, predestination, and particular redemption as "the horrible decrees of Calvinism," evidently not having the moral courage, or even the common honesty, to blame the Bible for these decrees (Macqueen, 1950: 173-174).

This theological dispute led to a number of different results. It was alluded to earlier that there was a difference in opinion within the denomination of the Free Church towards the Faith Mission. This dispute is recorded by Murray (1980: 446) who highlights a disagreement between Macrae and Dr. Renwick, the professor of Church History at the Free Church College, regarding Faith Mission services on the island. Macrae replied saying:

We deplore the championing of the Faith Mission on the part of some of our professors and ministers who have subscribed to the doctrines of the Westminster Confession of Faith... Must this issue between Calvinism and Arminianism, which came to a head in 1900, be fought all over again? (Macrae, 1951: 447).

Those who opposed the revival believed: 'When Church of Scotland ministers occupy the pulpits of Free Church congregations there are no safeguards to prevent Arminian and Socinian doctrine from being preached and received' (Anonymous, 1952 (b): 108). In light of this theological difference, many wanted to protect the Free Church pulpits from Arminians and Modernists. Furthermore, the impact of the 1949 revival is seen at the Free Church General Assembly in 1952 because of this belief. As a result of this:

An overture from the Skye Presbytery sought to prevent Free Church ministers taking services in unsound churches on the grounds that they could not, in circumstances, fulfil their ordination vows respecting both doctrine and purity of worship. This overture was defeated.... Another overture from the Presbytery of Lewis was, however, carried. It asked the Assembly to ordain that special steps be taken to enlighten the people in all the congregation of the Church as to the distinctive testimony of the Free Church, especially with respect to the Calvinistic doctrines of free, sovereign grace (Murray, 1980: 447).

This Overture was brought because of the 1949 revival. With regards to this first Overture, a reason for it appears in a letter submitted to the Gazette, which states that the overture ‘sought to bring to an end the practice of Free Church ministers interchanging pulpits with ministers of the Church of Scotland’ (Anonymous, 29/7/1952: 7). This was because, as another writer explains: ‘Notorious modernists have occupied Free Church Pulpits’ (Anonymous, 7/10/1952: 7). Although it was rejected, some, like Macqueen posited: ‘We find Prof. Renwick at the Assembly declaring that the testimony of the Faith Mission is also the testimony of the Free Church’ (Macqueen, 1950: 173). Furthermore, a letter written to the Gazette disputes this claim, stating: ‘It is a wrong conclusion to come to that the Assembly shows their rejection of the principles of the Church when they refused the overture’ (Anonymous, 8/7/1952: 7). However, with regards to the second Overture, Macrae concluded: ‘Because my Presbytery were troubled over the activities of Rev. Duncan Campbell of the Faith Mission among our people, they commissioned me to draw out the Overture, and when I had done so, they approved of it unanimously’ (Macrae, 1952: 449). Although this Overture was accepted it was not without challenge: ‘The wording of the preamble of the overture had contained statements as to the part which Arminianism had played in the break-up of the pre-1900 Free Church, and also in the contemporary weaknesses on the doctrines of grace within the Church’ (Murray, 1980: 447). Furthermore: ‘The Rev. Prof. Renwick, in the Free Church General Assembly for 1950, actually rebuk[ed] the Rev. K. A. MacRae, M.A., Stornoway, and the Lewis Presbytery generally, for opposing and exposing the Arminianism of the Faith Mission’ (Macqueen, 1950: 173). The Presbytery of Lewis, in their opposition of Campbell, and all that he represented: ‘called upon their congregations to be aware of the Arminian nature of Duncan Campbell’s preaching’ (Murray, 1980: 444). This was done, as W.P Maclean states, because ‘it is the duty of pastors to guard their flock from the ravages made by Arminianism through the agency of the Faith Mission in our Highlands and Islands’ (Maclean, 1953: 263). Macrae, in agreement, stated:

After spending our lives in teaching our people, at their own request, the glorious doctrines of sovereign grace, I think that we Free Church pastors have just cause for complaint, when strangers come in who imagine that they have a God-given right to bid our people lay their principles aside and come out that they may be taught something different... we resent most emphatically this attempt to sow Arminian doctrines among our people (Macrae, 1954: 31).

For people like Macrae this was not about Campbell as an individual and more about what he represented. It is intriguing to note how much of an influence the 1949 Lewis revival had on the opposing denominations. Its impact is seen in disputes, theological discussions, and even Overtures. These Overtures were brought to the General Assembly because of a rejection towards what Campbell was preaching, particularly in relation to the Arminian doctrine of human freedom and responsibility and, by correlation, the weakening of doctrines of God's sovereignty and election.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This thesis aims to provide a critical account of the 1949-1953 Lewis revival and because of this many different aspects of the 1949-1953 Lewis revival have been engaged with. Chapter One helped define the term 'revival' and it gave a brief introduction to the context that the revival took place in. From this introduction a number of key points arose: i.e. the Evangelical nature of Lewis and the Island's heritage of revivals. Before looking at the 1949 revival, Chapter Two looked at Campbell's life, up to his call to Lewis in 1949, so that a clearer picture of the man at the centre of the revival could be ascertained. This is important to do because, when Campbell the man is better understood, it is easier to understand his interpretations of the events.

Chapter Three analysed the revival looking at the following points: setting the scene, the origin of the revival, the outbreak of the awakening, the spread of the movement and the conversions. The definition for 'revival' that was given in Chapter One is seen within Chapter Three where the revival's narrative primarily begins with the praying people of Barvas before the wider communities are impacted between 1949-1953. Revival's primary outworking is among God's people because only that which has had life can be revived. However, true revival does not end there. Revival's secondary function is mass conversions of those who did not already confess to be Christians. This is perhaps why 'revivals' are often found within Evangelical contexts: because there is a sense of knowledge of sin and a conviction that leads to repentance. Campbell himself advocated this, when he stated:

Remember that revival has got to do with God's people. I sometimes say, at the risk of being misunderstood, that we do not pray for revival in order that souls may be saved, but souls are saved in their thousands when we have revival, when the thirsty are satisfied, then the floods come on the dry ground. If you want revival, get right with God (Campbell, 2015: 22-23).

Campbell's comment represents his account of the origin of the revival discussed in Chapter Three, and even here it is evident that Campbell placed huge importance on human responsibility. With that being the case, Campbell could be seen - as his opposition agreed - to take away from God's sovereignty because revival, as Campbell saw it, happens when humanity does something. In this case, revival can be thought of as the

Church's greatest tool of Evangelism. However, this thesis has shown that the 1949 Lewis revival is the outworking of the definition given to 'revival' in Chapter One. Lloyd-Jones concludes: 'It [revival] happens primarily in the Church of God and amongst believing people and it is only secondly something that affects those that are outside the church (Lloyd-Jones, 1987(b): 99). This thesis believes that Revival is a sovereign act of God that has its primary outworking with God's people. It is not God's people, as Campbell suggests, that create revival.

Following engaging with the revival's narrative, Chapter Four analysed key characteristics that arose within Chapter Three: spiritual hunger, preaching during the movement, manifestations and conviction of sin. However, it became apparent in Chapters Three and Four that Campbell had a tendency to over-exaggerate and sometimes gives false information e.g. regarding the Declaration. This thesis has engaged with these criticisms of Campbell, not to discredit the revival, but to try and add strength to the narrative by showing the revival was not dependent on him, demonstrating that the revival is much bigger than Campbell. The man and the revival must be understood as distinct from one another. Chapter Five critically analyses the opposition that had arisen through the previous chapters. This thesis concludes that the revival was met with opposition because of the experiential side of the revival; Campbell's tendency to exaggerate; Campbell giving false information; and Campbell's theology.

Although the revival has been met with opposition, this thesis concludes that from 1949-1953 a movement swept across the island that had major impacts and ramifications. Many people, as this thesis confirms, had a life-altering experience that left them changed. A large amount of these people ended up in full-time ministry. Campbell concluded: 'Oh thank God for the stream of young people who have gone forth into the ministry' (Campbell, 2016: 53). Two of the primary sources engaged with - Rev. Macdonald and Rev. Macleod - were both converted during the revival, and both went on to be ministers within the Church of Scotland. This is but one way the revival has impacted upon, not only the Isle of Lewis and wider Scotland, but also the world:

I think of the stream of young men that have gone into full-time service in Christian ministry. There are today ministers in Lewis – one of them is the minister in Lemreway – he was saved at that time. Then you have missionaries in the foreign fields, some of them trained here, some of them trained in the BTI. I think of one girl: she is giving her testimony... and in her testimony she said this, "I've very

little to offer, I'm just a poor crofter's daughter, but what there is He has it all." She's a missionary in Africa today (Campbell, n.d).

However, although the revival has had many positive impacts, the revival still has its critics. This thesis concludes that criticism tends to be levelled at Campbell rather than the revival itself. This is seen through the support from the Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church towards previous revivals. It has been stated that Campbell is a contested space, with both those who support him, along with those who opposed him, trying to read both practice and theology into his life. Moreover, there is not really any middle ground with regards Campbell. Those who admired Campbell held him in the highest regard:

The preacher; he is a man who has a saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus and a personal knowledge of saving grace. He keeps close in his walk with God in everything and is consecrated to God. He has a burden for undying souls and is zealous in seeking to win them for Christ. He is a humble, gentle, gracious man, to whom Christ is all in all (Mackay, n.d).

However, those who disagreed with him, did so strongly: 'Nevertheless Duncan Campbell's untruths have triumphed; established and viral. MacRae has his Diary; but Campbell has Google' (Macleod, 2008: 267). Macleod's comment highlights one of the key issues with Campbell. For Macleod, and those who opposed Campbell, these untruths are twofold: some of the accounts Campbell shared and his theology. However, it is these 'untruths' that people hear because of the extent of Campbell's reach. Furthermore, Macleod also indicates how accessible Campbell is in comparison to Macrae: Macrae has a book whereas Campbell has the internet. These two polarising opinions, from Mackay and Macleod, towards Campbell have been very common. With this contested space, and little middle ground, has come a clouded reading and interpretation of the revival. Having read through much of the literature dedicated to the 1949-1953 revival, one thing that has become clear is that those who support Campbell, and the revival, often do so through a lens of romanticism and with this comes a 'fairy tale' flavour to many accounts. The proposed 'lens of romanticism' links back to the claim that revival is often seen as the greatest tool of Evangelism. There is a danger of adopting a view that revival is the answer to all the church's problems. Revival can be seen as a quick fix to the questions about mission and discipleship. Furthermore, this 'lens' occurs when people start to view the revival in an unhealthy manner, as something that was without flaw. With this comes a

danger of idolising revival, and also taking Campbell's accounts verbatim has led many to record false accounts.

Although many do view the revival through a lens of romanticism this is not the only way the revival is seen with clouded judgement. Those who opposed Campbell are also guilty of a similar fault. This thesis concludes that Campbell's critics oppose him mainly because of his theology. Those who oppose the revival do so because they view the revival through the lens of Campbell and his interpretation. In other words, the critics have judged the revival by judging the man. Within Chapter Two, when looking at Campbell's life, it is evident there are commonalities between Campbell's life and the revival i.e. Spiritual manifestations, sense of sin, holiness and prayer. These common traits are often highlighted in Campbell's accounts of the revival. This thesis believes that Campbell's whole life is mirrored in his reading of the revival. He comes with his expectations, based on his life and his theology, and this is what forms his interpretation of the events. Did Campbell bring these four identified characteristics to Lewis? This thesis believes not. When analysing the revival's narrative, it is apparent that holiness and prayer were already present prior to Campbell being asked to come to Lewis. Also, spiritual manifestations were not a new phenomenon to Lewis in 1949 and were present not only in the 1939 revival, but also prior to then as well. Although Campbell experienced a strong sense of the conviction of sin in his conversion narrative, and it was also a strong feature during the revival, this thesis again does not believe that this was because of Campbell. This is for two reasons. Firstly, the strong, deep-rooted Evangelical context in which the revival was situated would already have maintained and held to a theology of total depravity. Secondly, and not in contradiction, from Mrs Macdonald's account of her conversion, it is evident for her that she had a sense of personal sin even before sitting under the preaching of Campbell. Although Campbell did not bring these key traits to Lewis, they are undoubtedly highlighted in his retelling of the events. Campbell's conversion has fed into his expectations of what a revival should look like. Campbell has interpreted these characteristics, already present on Lewis, through his theology, and his life experience. This has created conflict.

Thus, Campbell's interpretation of the revival creates the contested space. For Campbell, it is all about the personal experience, contrary to Calvinism. Chapter Five began by positing that the opposition that the 1949 revival endured was because of Campbell. While this thesis holds to that claim it does not mean Campbell as a person, but more what he represented. This idea is concluded by Macrae who wrote that his booklet 'does not

concern itself with persons or personalities, but with principles, and its purpose is to sound a warning note as to the dangers inherent in the revival of Arminian teachings in Scotland' (Macrae, 1954: 29-30). As well as having positive impacts, the 1949 revival, because of Campbell, was also divisive. There were contradicting thoughts within the Free Church denomination towards the revival, and this was seen on a personal level, a presbytery level, and denominational level. The revival caused conversations about the Free Church's relationship with other denominations and also her view of the Faith Mission. This division is seen when Rev. Macqueen concluded: 'The Church of Scotland, through the Faith Mission in Lewis, is sweeping Free Church people within its pale' (Macqueen, 1950: 174). Although many of the ministers opposed the revival, Macqueen believed that the revival was having an impact on the Free Church's members. What this signifies is that the division was because of Campbell's theology. The contention surrounding Campbell's theology is furthered when the Peckhams state: 'Mr Campbell... did not have any fixed theological position. He was not a five-point Calvinist, and in this they were altogether correct, but he was not a rank Arminian either... Mr Campbell preached a biblical message' (Peckham, 2004: 122). This is the issue for those who opposed his theology, something that the Peckhams do not seem to fully grasp. For the Peckhams to declare that Campbell was not a Calvinist but that he was a biblical preacher would not have, and would still not, make sense to those who hold to Reformed theology. An example of this 'wrong' theology is when Campbell said, 'God is sovereign and must act according to His sovereign purpose - but ever keeping in mind that, while God is sovereign in the affairs men, His sovereignty does not relieve men of responsibility' (Campbell, 2016: 5). Furthermore, Campbell's biographer concluded:

Duncan Campbell was not a trained theologian.... He did not stop to get involved in time consuming arguments. Even... the local "theologian," couldn't correct his view on election! He knew God could save and transform lives. He had seen it happen. It worked. That was enough. He was a practical theologian. All his life he sought to put into practice what he believed. If a man's Christianity didn't work out, it wasn't worth having, no matter how correct its logic, or how orthodox its theology (Woolsey, 1974: 87).

Woolsey's comment is strengthened when Campbell himself concluded:

The great doctrines of the Christian faith, such as total depravity of man, justification by faith, and the sovereignty of God in the affairs of men are central in

the theology of Lewis. But... has not experience demonstrated again and again that man can be orthodox in sentiment and loose in practice? Correct views of Scripture do not constitute righteousness (Campbell, 2016: 2).

Campbell's theology, particularly his view on election, brought forth opposition because he did not hold strongly enough to the Sovereignty of God, which led to a clash in views on Soteriology. For the Peckhams though, when they declare that Campbell was a biblical preacher, what is meant is that Campbell preached the Gospel as he understood it and as he had himself experienced it. They posit that Campbell was 'a simple preacher, ruthlessly exposing sin and pronouncing God's judgement on that sin. That was the message of revival - a message of judgement and yet of God's great mercy' (Peckham, 2004: 122). Yes, Campbell's theology brought forth opposition, but this does not mean that the fruits of the revival are not significant. Macrae, a very outspoken opponent of Campbell and the movement, concluded:

No person who knows anything of the history of religion would for a moment contend that because a man is Arminian in his theology he cannot have the grace of God in his heart, or cannot be acknowledged in his labours to the conversion of souls... The Arminian who may be used of the Lord for the conversion of sinners is used, not because of his preaching of the peculiar doctrines of Arminianism, but because of his preaching the doctrines of grace... The doctrines of Arminianism, apart from the doctrines of grace, cannot be to the salvation or spiritual profit of any soul, whatever harm they may do, for they are not the doctrines of Truth (Macrae, 1954: 30).

Macrae highlights why there could have been fruit under the preaching of a man whose theology created conflict, and why those who disagree theologically with Campbell do not have to discard the revival and its fruit. This thesis posits that there would not have been a problem if the person leading the revival fitted the theological framework in which the revival was situated. This claim is strengthened when in Chapter Five it is demonstrated that the two major opponents of the revival - The Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church - supported previous revivals that occurred on Lewis that also contained many of the same characteristics as the 1949 revival. The issue then is not 'revival' but it is all to do with theology. The revival becomes a contested space because of theological frameworks and because of Campbell's interpretation of the events - through the language of Arminianism.

Indeed Campbell and, subsequently, the 1949 revival represent contested spaces. However, this thesis believes the evidence for the revival is irrefutable. The evidence for a true movement is also seen by the major impact the revival had far beyond Lewis. Not only did many of the converts go into full-time pulpit ministry (Macleod, 2008: 266); many also went into the mission field: '[A] school teacher [is] now a missionary in the mission field today in Nigeria' (Campbell, n.d); 'One girl [is] a missionary in Africa today' (Campbell, n.d); a couple who were saved during the revival both went to '...Thailand with the overseas missionary fellowship' (Campbell, n.d). With these people going to pulpits in Scotland, as well as mission fields across the globe, the impact of the revival spread. The impact of the revival was also seen through conversations taking place in the Free Church General Assembly as a consequence of the revival. It forced the multiple denominations to address the matter and to position their own theological positions either in support or in opposition to the events taking place on the island. However, this thesis also concludes that the interpretation of the events and their cause remain disputed and that the revival's proponents and critics alike are unable to separate Campbell and the revival. Campbell's interpretation of the revival is the issue. For the purpose of history there is a need to disambiguate between Campbell's interpretation and the facts. This issue of the critics not being able to separate the revival and Campbell has in some ways hindered wider recognition of the impactful nature of the revival. Despite Campbell, the revival happened, and this thesis has shown multiple times that the revival operated independently of Campbell. The interviews conducted testify to this and convey that people had a life changing experience (that has held for nearly seventy years) and also conveyed that the movement was not a minister-led movement. The things Campbell did get wrong can be taken out of the revival narrative without the revival crumbling because, as demonstrated, the revival is much bigger than Campbell and the two are in fact not synonymous. The 1949-1953 revival is a true revival that fits the definition of a revival. The 1949-1953 revival is a revival, which has left its mark on individuals, communities, an island and the globe.

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