

CATHERINE ROBERTSON MACARTNEY'S REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN
IDENTITY: DISSENTING PRESBYTERIANISM'S STUGGLE FOR
IDENTITY IN THE MIDST OF TRANSATLANTIC
VICTORIAN EVANGELICALISM

by

Bryan A. Schneider

B.A., Geneva College, 2013

A THESIS

Submitted to the faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS
Church History
at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

Deerfield, Illinois
May 2015

UMI Number: 1587428

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI 1587428

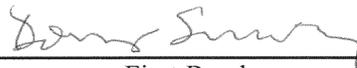
Published by ProQuest LLC (2015). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

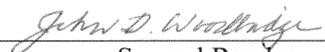


ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Accepted:



First Reader



Second Reader

ABSTRACT

This thesis uses the diaries of Catherine Robertson McCartney (1838-1922) to define the distinctive characteristics of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland and America between 1856 and 1881. It gives a window into the history of the denomination during the mid-nineteenth century, using cultural, ethnographic, institutional, and gender analyses. The thesis explores the logocentric heritage of the tradition and shows how the denomination as a whole, and Catherine particularly, continued to define their identity in the Victorian and Evangelical milieu of the period.

Reformed Presbyterian institutional identity had begun to shift away from political dissent due partly to a continued interaction with the broader Evangelical tradition of the time. As a result, the historic logocentric forms of worship, developed largely during the Scottish Reformation, became key to Reformed Presbyterian identity. This logocentrism and shared commitment with other Evangelicals to revivals, Scripture, evangelism, atonement, and conversion provided Catherine access into the broader religious culture of her time. Yet, the separateness that the dissenters had historically practiced, displayed in the testimonies, meant Catherine and other Reformed Presbyterians were indeed within the category of Evangelicalism, but could never be wholly a part of, nor formally identify as Evangelicals.

Olivia, thank you for your many hours of marital loneliness

Nathan and Deborah thank you for letting Daddy “work”

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	viii
------------------------	------

Chapter

1. Introduction	1
2. Sabbath Within – Sabbath Without	7
Logocentric Corporate Worship	11
Sabbath Observance Outside Corporate Worship Services	14
“Interval” between Corporate Worship Services	14
Sabbath Evenings	22
Sabbath School and Revivalist Influences	24
3. Reformed and Evangelical Presbyterianism	29
Development of Reformed Presbyterian Tradition	29
A Changing Identity and Defining Terms	34
A Faith Rooted in Reformed Theology	37
Revivals, Covenants, and Communion Seasons	38
Catherine’s Communion and Revival Experience	45
Conversionism, Evangelism, Scripture, and Atonement	53
4. New World and New Life	71
“Frontier” Life	71
Domestic Work and Servants	72
Hospitality	84
Sickness, Death, and Doubt	87

Life of Ministry	100
State and Identity of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America	100
Logocentric Sabbath	104
Logocentric Communion Season and Revivalism	108
Marital Loneliness and Church Finances	111
Sabbath Schools, Congregational and College Life	113
Life of Piety	125
5. Conclusion	135

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

More thanks than could ever possibly be given are owed to Olivia, my wonderful wife, who patiently supported me through this entire process called graduate school, while taking care of two children under the age of three: what an incredible feat of endurance. Thanks is also owed to Collot Guerard who invited me to her home and gave me access to her family's remarkable collection. Kae Kirkwood the archivist at Geneva College also deserves much laud for her transcriptions of Catherine's American diaries. Thank you James Robb, Gordon Keddie, and Beth Bogue for giving me insight into the RP Church in Scotland. I am also indebted to the people and churches of Eastvale RP, Westminster RP, and Sovereign Grace OPC, who supported our family spiritually, emotionally, and financially through our time at TEDS. I would also like to thank congregants who took their time to ask me questions and challenge my thoughts on the project. My prayer is that this was not only helpful for my understanding but that it might be useful to you as well.

INTRODUCTION

Catherine Robertson McCartney (1838-1922) was the daughter of a prominent businessman in Glasgow, Scotland. Her father, John Robertson (1808-1875), was the owner of the largest cotton mill in Scotland.¹ John married Catherine Sinclair Young (1803-1891) in 1830. Shortly before their first child, Catherine (named after her mother and grandmother), was born they moved to the Isle of Bute, a short boat ride across the Wemyss Bay from Glasgow.²

John Robertson and Catherine Young Robertson, unlike the majority of the population, were not members of the Church of Scotland. Rather, the Robertsons were members of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, also known as Covenanters, Cameronians, and the United Societies.³ This was the body of Presbyterians who had

¹ Harry E. Farra “The Rhetoric of Reverend Clarence Edward Macartney: A Man Under Authority” (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1970), 21. The information about John Robertson’s mill is found in an article cited in Farra’s dissertation, the article is also located in the personal family collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

² Old Parish Registers accessed 12/4/2013 <http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/content/help/index.aspx?613>. 1851 Scotland Census: Parish: Rothesay; ED: 19; Page: 13; Line 6; Roll: CSSCT1851_116; Year: 1851. 1861 Scotland Census: Parish: Rothesay; ED: 7; Page: 14; Line: 13; Roll: CSSCT1861_119. 1851 Scotland Census: Parish: Rothesay; ED: 19; Page: 13; Line 2; Roll: CSSCT1851_116; Year: 1851. 1861 Scotland Census: Parish: Rothesay; ED: 7; Page: 14; Line: 9; Roll: CSSCT1861_119. Baptismal Record, Parish: Glasgow, Date: 08/07/1803, Name: Young, Catherine [Old Parish Register Births 644/010200 0168 Glasgow] accessed 04/12/2013 <http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>. Clarence E. Macartney, *The Making of a Minister: The Autobiography of Clarence E. Macartney*. ed. J. Clyde Henry (Great Neck: Channell Press Inc., 1961), 35-36.

³ Two of the most accessible sources on Covenanter history in Scotland and America are Johannes Geerhardus Vos, *The Scottish Covenanters: Their Origins, History and Distinctive Doctrines* (Edinburgh: Blue Banner Productions, 1998), and David M. Carson, *Transplanted to America: A Popular History of the American Covenanters to 1871* (Pittsburgh: Board of Education and Publication Reformed Presbyterian Church, 1970).

protested at the neglecting of the Solemn League and Covenant by Lord Protectorate William Cromwell and then again by the subsequent monarchs of Great Britain. Believing the covenants were perpetually binding, the Covenanters were pushed out of the church, met in conventicles (illegal outdoor preaching and prayer meetings), and persecuted by the civil magistrates, even being taken as slaves and exiled to the colonies of North America. When the glorious revolution occurred and William of Orange restored Presbyterianism to Scotland in 1689, the Covenanters refused to associate with the newly restored Church of Scotland because the new monarch had, like his predecessors, denied the Solemn League and Covenant as well as the National Covenant. The Covenanters had been abandoned by the ecclesiastical and political powers of the day. This was the tradition into which Catherine Robertson McCartney was baptized in Rothesay on the Isle of Bute.

While much history has been written on the Reformed Presbyterians, especially for the seventeenth century, very little has been written on their history in the nineteenth century. And, an even smaller amount of research has sought to show how people in the pews experienced the church and her theology. There are a series of broad question seeking to be answered, at least partially, in this thesis. In what ways did Catherine Robertson McCartney experience the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland and in America? In what ways did Catherine receive, develop, and live out her theology and religious identity? And, in what ways did Catherine, as a lay member of the church, relate to broader Evangelical theology? The second half of this thesis will continue to answer these questions but in the context of Catherine's immigration to the United States in 1867.

What continuities and discontinuities existed between the Reformed Presbyterians in Scotland and America?

After exploring these questions it will be possible to see that the Reformed Presbyterian Church, both in Scotland and America, were both radically struggling to define or maintain their identity. For Catherine, Reformed Presbyterian identity was found in the lococentric nature of the tradition maintained and reinforced by the worship of the church. Logocentric worship, corporately and privately, was the keystone to Catherine's Reformed Presbyterian identity. In an era of nineteenth-century Victorian Evangelicalism, a broad and multifaceted movement of conservative Protestants, defined by revivalism, conversionism, activism, biblicism, and crucicentrism, the Reformed Presbyterians struggled to determine in what ways they could interact with other Evangelical traditions, yet remain distinct, as their testimonies demanded. The Reformed Presbyterian Church's historic commitment the doctrines that define Evangelicalism Catherine participation in the wider Evangelical culture around her. Catherine's Evangelical identity was defined by her formal membership in the Reformed Presbyterian Church. And, at the heart of Reformed Presbyterian identity was a commitment to logocentric. This core commitment to an extremely high view of Scripture reciprocally gave her access into a broader Evangelical culture.

This thesis will show that in Scotland the large majority of Reformed Presbyterians slowly moved away from their commitment to political dissent resulting in a substantial loss of their peculiar identity. They slowly moved to following a more general Presbyterian and Evangelical theology, thus paving the way for their merger into the Free

Church. While in America, the Reformed Presbyterian's Covenanter identity regarding dissent was adapted to its context, challenged by the Civil War, but maintained in its form of worship.

While it is tempting to project Catherine's life and theology on the entire Reformed Presbyterian Church during this time period, it should be avoided. Catherine was just one member of these denominations. Also, she is not exactly the common example of a typical Reformed Presbyterian woman. Catherine was from a prominent and wealthy family in Scotland, giving her unique and specific cultural views that one is certain the entire church body, even of women in the church, could not hold in common. Also, she is a woman in the church. Catherine's religious self-writing should only with caution be applied to the broader denomination. Her writings give only one window into the life of the church, but it is a window, unique and not yet looked through. This is especially pertinent because of Catherine's role as a woman in the church.¹

Lastly, Catherine was married to John Longfellow McCartney (1828-1911), an ordained pastor of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America. Catherine's marriage to John put her in a unique position. She was close to the ordained ministry yet never a part of it. As a pastor's wife Catherine experienced life in a way neither other congregants nor pastors experienced.

¹ This thesis is informed by the work of other women's religious historians who have shown the unique vantage points female congregants have in the life of a church. For an extensive list on the works that have informed my understanding of women's history, both in Scotland and America, consult the bibliography.

While this thesis is heavily influenced by Margo Todd's *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* and Catherien Brekus' *Sarah Osborn's World*, it is unlike theirs in the way it narrowly focuses on one set of primary sources.² Session, Presbytery, and Synod minutes are not the most important primary sources in this work. Catherine's diaries are the most important sources. The study does utilize Catherine's letters and writings, her children's writings, and lastly session and Synod minutes for giving background information to Catherine's experience in the church. Because of how these sources are used, Catherine's life should allow the reader to see how a woman congregant experienced the church and lived out her faith in her culture. By looking at Catherine's life, through her diaries, it will be possible to see general issues that were facing a Reformed Presbyterian, and what she thought her religious identity was.

Catherine's diaries are symbolic of the rich tradition that runs in the Reformed Presbyterian Church. The Scottish Covenanters did not suppress but encouraged the religious self-writing of women.³ Catherine's diaries are arguably the best primary sources available to look into the life of a woman, a pastor's wife, and a layperson in the Reformed Presbyterian Church both in Scotland and America during the nineteenth century. Her diaries allow us to see how an individual defined her faith, how she digested sermons, the ways in which she interacted with Evangelicalism and revivalism, how she experienced immigration, and how she led and was a participant in ministry work, all through the lens of

² Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). Catherine A. Brekus, *Sarah Osborn's World: The Rise of Evangelical Christianity in Early America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

³ George Mullan, *Women's Life and Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing the*

a staunch Calvinistic worldview and filtered through the life and experience of womanhood.

Evangelical Self, c.1670-1830 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 12-13.

CHAPTER 1

SABBATH WITHIN – SABBATH WITHOUT

Though Catherine Robertson McCartney was born in 1838, she did not begin writing a diary until October 26, 1856. Catherine began her diary as a means to sanctification.¹ She used her diaries as a sounding board both to reflect and create her religious self-identity.² She did this through journaling primarily on Sabbaths. Sabbaths, for Catherine, were the heart of Christianity. She expressed the centrality of Sabbath most poignantly when she penned:

“Save me Oh! God, because the floods
do so environ me,
that even unto my very soul,
come in the waters be”
What voice is that? My God! Do I hear aright?
It is, it is, my Savior God, sinking, dying for me!!
I know no more – but when I came to myself, it –was Sabbath
morning- Sabbath without – Sabbath within...
I was at rest on Jesus’ breast-
My Home – My God.³

¹ There is a difficult line to walk when working with diaries. One has to be both receptive to the self-writing of the author, but also conscientious of the author’s intent in writing. The author could very well have crafted the diaries, not for personal reflection, but to be read later. The question needs to be asked if this is authentic self-writing or the desire to craft an identity in an attempt for others to perceive the author as they would like to be portrayed. This tension of conscious identity crafting and authentic self-reflection is both paramount and inconsequential. It is paramount because the diaries would no longer be revealing the true self. Paradoxically, however, this is inconsequential because the portrayal gives the historian a glimpse into what is most important to the author. So, while one is cautious of Catherine’s portrayal of herself in the diaries, they still give access into what she believes is most important, whether it be an exact representation of reality or not.

² This was not new for Covenanter women. George Mullan points out that the self-writing of women was nothing new for the Covenanter tradition; rather, it was embraced if not encouraged. Mullan, *Women’s Life and Writing in Early Modern Scotland*, 5-19.

³ Catherine Robertson McCartney. Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 5 recto, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. Catherine has two diaries from this time period. At times there are entries that are not clearly marked with dates, or the dates listed are out of order since some

“Sabbath morning – Sabbath without – Sabbath within.” To Catherine the Sabbath was not just a day of strict religious observance. She yearned for Sabbath to characterize her life. The Sabbath was the holy day marking both closeness to and distance from God. In 1857

Catherine wrote of the Sabbath:

This is the second Sabbath that has already past of this very year. Soon all my Sabbaths on earth will be fled; this should make me prize them, as precious times of communion with God, and as opportunities for making ready to spend an eternal Sabbath above. I would wish that each returning Sabbath moon would find me a step farther on in the Christian life. Lord, let me not rest till I have indeed believed in Jesus, out of whom God is consuming fire. Pour out thy Holy Spirit upon me, that I may cry continually to Thee, for ___ and give Thee no rest till I have found it.⁴

Sabbath represented eternal and temporal relationship to God. Every week of every month presented in Catherine’s faith an opportunity to grow closer to God. And, as the quotation above illustrates, Sabbath in the Reformed Presbyterian tradition was not motivated by legalistic zeal. Having to memorize the Westminster Shorter Catechism to be eligible for communion Catherine would have buried in her religious consciousness these words:

The Sabbath is to be sanctified by a holy resting all that day, even from such worldly employments and recreations as are lawful on other days; and spending the whole time in the public and private exercises of God’s worship, except so much as is to be taken up in the works of necessity and mercy.

And,

The fourth commandment forbiddeth the omission, or careless performance, of the duties required, and the profaning the day by idleness, or doing that which is in itself

of them were copied into the journal later. For this reason if a date is given I will list it. But, I will also use the recto-verso scheme of pagination to provide more specific location details of entries.

⁴ Catherine Robertson McCartney. Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 5 recto, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

sinful, or by unnecessary thoughts, words, or works, about our worldly employments or recreations.⁵

Catherine had taken this doctrinal teaching to heart in her introspective and reflective journals. It does not seem from the quotation below that she found the Sabbath to be a legalistic tradition, but rather, Sabbath as digested by a congregant of the church was an opportunity to spend time seeking sanctification, communion, and the mortification of sin.

The Sabbath is given us as a day on which we must lay aside our usual employments [and] take ourselves up wholly with eternal concerns. The more we exercise ourselves in religious duties, the more progress we may expect to make. The Sabbath in which we have had our thoughts most fixed on God, will be the one in which we will have gained the most ground. Every minute of that blessed day that is needlessly taken up with our worldly thoughts and imaginations, is just so much time lost in which we might have made great advances in religion.

Lord enable me to spend all the remaining days of my life, but especially that which especially Thee own, more in accordance with thy Holy will. Lord help me to take the candle of thy word, and search my heart, and whatever sins and shortcomings I may find there give me grace. I beseech thee, to come in faith, to have them washed away in the blood of Christ, which cleanseth from all sin.⁶

Catherine in all of her diaries does not see the Sabbath as onerous or burdensome. Nowhere will one find her complain about the requirements of the Sabbath. Rather, one will find Catherine grieved over her lack of keeping Sabbath. Writing on a Friday in anticipation for the upcoming Sabbath she penned,

I am astonished and grieved to find that my Sabbaths are the least spiritual of my days; more of the word – less of God. How is this? I must watch and pray.⁷

⁵ Philip Schaff, ed., *The Evangelical Protestant Creeds*, vol. 3, *The Creeds of Christendom with a History and Critical Notes*, 6th ed. (1939; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1990), 689.

⁶ Catherine Robertson McCartney. Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 25 recto – 25 verso, entry 4th, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁷ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 23 recto, entry January 22, 1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

This theology of Sabbath was an essential element to Catherine's faith. Presbyterians and the Reformed in general had pointed to the Christian Sabbath as God's ordained plan for society and faith. The Sabbath and its observance in the Reformed tradition is a key point of historical continuity between Catherine and the historic church in which she was a part.⁸ Her diary entries on the Sabbath also provide insight into the life of a lay congregant.

By looking at Catherine's diaries it is possible to see what was at the heart of Reformed Presbyterian life, the Sabbath, and all that it embodied. Her diaries on Sabbaths show continuities and discontinuities with the historic Scottish Presbyterian Church, the rhythm or routine of the Sabbath day, and what made it from the pulpits through Catherine's filter of faith and into her diaries.

The Reformed Presbyterians in Scotland, at least at Great Hamilton Street Church in Glasgow, of which she was a member, lived out the words of the Westminster Shorter Catechism. To take communion she would have memorized these questions, answering that she should "spend the whole [Sabbath] in the public and private exercises of God's worship." Catherine's Sabbaths were routine. She went to hear a minister preach at her own church in Glasgow in the "forenoon" followed by an "interval" which was taken up by religious devotions, followed by an afternoon sermon, and finally the evenings would have family worship, reading theology books, or journaling. Each of these activities, as revealed in

⁸ Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, 24-31. Scott M. Manetsch, *Calvin's Company of Pastors: Pastoral Care and the Emerging Reformed Church, 1536-1609* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 129-132.

her diaries, allow for a window into the life of the Reformed Presbyterians in Scotland between her first diary entry in 1856 and when she immigrated to the United States in 1868.

Logocentric Corporate Worship

At the heart of nineteenth-century Reformed Scottish Christianity was the Word. On Sabbaths it was read, preached twice, sung in the Psalms, and reflected upon in Catechism classes, prayer meetings, and family worship. This pattern began in the sixteenth century and continued into Catherine's life.⁹ But, Catherine benefited from an organized church with regular preaching and Sabbath worship services, unlike her Covenanter predecessors. After the Glorious Revolution, when William of Orange reestablished Presbyterianism in Scotland as the official religion, the Covenanters remained separate due to the continued meddling of the monarchs in the Kirk's affairs and the refusal of the General Assembly to recognize the National and Solemn League and Covenants as perpetually binding. These Covenanters remained largely a lay movement with few to no pastors, sporadically receiving communion, and for a long time not having church buildings.

By 1811, when the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church was organized, the Reformed Presbyterians were in a much better position than at the end of the seventeenth century. Many had left the Church of Scotland and joined with the Covenanters in the eighteenth century due to the Acts of Union in 1707, the Patronage Act of 1711, and the maneuvering of moderates in the General Assembly.¹⁰ By the time Catherine was

⁹ Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, 28.

¹⁰ D. G. Hart, *Calvinism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 147.

journaling there were five Covenanter congregations in Glasgow.¹¹ Her church, Great Hamilton Street Reformed Presbyterian, had started in 1819, and was seen as a mother church for the denomination.¹² This put Catherine at the heart of her tradition. And, while a member there, she was pastored by arguably the denomination's most notable pastor of the time, William Symmington. Catherine's diaries show that her church, the largest church in the denomination, was still largely in step with both the Reformed heritage of the sixteenth century and the Covenanters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Catherine's experience at Great Hamilton was centered around the Word: read, sung, and preached. The Reformed Presbyterian pastors who preached in their pulpits had a pattern of thoroughly expounding upon a small portion of text. Catherine wrote of "Mr. Symmington" preaching in the forenoon on the first two clauses of Psalm 8:8 and then in the afternoon on the last clause of the same verse.¹³ In other sermons Symmington would choose a specific passage from which to preach. On January 4, 1857 he preached from James 4:4, then in May of that same year he preached on Hebrews 11:7, and then two weeks later preached on Romans 7:22 in the morning and Hebrews 6:12 in the afternoon. When Catherine heard a Mr. Hamilton Renton preach, she wrote that he had chosen to expound

¹¹ W.J. Couper's book, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland: It's Congregations Ministers and Students* (Edinburgh: United Free Church of Scotland Publications Department, 1925), is a summary work giving the history of the Reformed Presbyterian Churches, their locations, histories, and ministers.

¹² W.J. Couper, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 13-15.

¹³ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "1866-1868," 14 recto, entry January 1, 1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. Catherine

upon “And they shall be forever mine,” for both the morning and evening sermons.¹⁴

Interestingly, this was a departure from Calvin’s practice of *Lectio Continua*.¹⁵ It seems the Reformed Presbyterian pastors chose to preach topically. When Symmington preached on Hebrews 6:12 Catherine says it was because it was “the first Sabbath after the death of his sister Mrs. Reid, who was taken away very unexpectedly.”¹⁶

Reformed Presbyterian pastors would also at times share their pulpits with other pastors in the denomination. Catherine journals about hearing a Mr. Muro, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Hamilton Renton, Mr. Brown, and a “Mr. Rymmington of Sawneton” preach at Great Hamilton Street church.¹⁷ As well as the pulpit of Great Hamilton Street being opened to other pastors, Catherine also “heard Mr. Riddee preach in Mr. Edgar’s Church.”¹⁸ It seems no matter which Reformed Presbyterian congregation Catherine was attending she heard a similar style of expository preaching. Catherine’s diaries also show other intriguing parts of life on the Sabbath.

¹⁴ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 24 recto, entry February 19, 1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹⁵ Harman J. Selderhuis ed., *The Calvin Handbook* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009), 174. Manetsch, *Calvin’s Company of Pastors*, 151.

¹⁶ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 9 recto, entry May 5, 1857, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹⁷ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 23 verso, entry 3/12/1865, 9 recto, entry October 1867, 24 recto, entry 2/19/1865, 52 recto, entry 8/9/1868, and 12 verso, entry 7/5/1868, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

*Sabbath Observance Outside
Corporate Worship*

While the Sabbath day was dominated by corporate worship, Catherine's diaries show a sincere desire to keep the whole day completely devoted to religious observance. Her diaries show the day filled with Sabbath School teaching, visitation of the sick, prayer meetings, fellowshiping with other members throughout the day, religious readings, family worship, and times of meditation and prayer.

"Interval" between Corporate Worship Services

One of the ways that the Reformed in Scotland had moved the nation from the ceremonial base of the Roman Catholic mass to a Scripture centered nation was by having two sermons every Sabbath.¹⁹ When the Covenanters had pastors, they continued this practice. When Catherine wrote her diaries in the mid-nineteenth century this was still the practice of Reformed Presbyterians. And, true to Presbyterian sabbatarianism, Catherine utilized the "interval" between the worship services to be engaged in devotion, fellowship, mercy ministry, or quiet contemplation.

Between sermons the actual church building seems to have been empty. Much to her family's severe disapproval, Catherine was engaged to a Reformed Presbyterian minister from America for a few years. Catherine wrote of a time in 1868 when her American fiancé, John Longfellow McCartney, had sent her a note "requesting [permission

¹⁸ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "1866-1868," 23 verso, entry 3/5/18565, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹⁹ Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, 28.

for] him to come to our church in the interval [and] drive home with us in the afternoon. He did come in interval [and] we met – no one in church.”²⁰ This shows that after the worship service was finished the congregants did not linger until the afternoon sermon. Rather, the building was indeed empty. It was so quiet that she wrote with romantic remembrance “how I listened for his footsteps... [I] heard them coming down the steps to our pew. We met clasped hands – [and] talked the whole hour.”²¹ The church was empty enough that Catherine could hear John’s footsteps on the floor.²²

Following the afternoon sermon, John went with Catherine and her family to her home at Blairbeth on the southeast end of Glasgow, just past Rutherglen. Once they were there Catherine wrote that they “meandered through [the] woods – talked [and] thought: were very calm [and] collected. Mr. M. had worship... [we then] knelt down [and] prayed.”²³ This episode with John and Catherine shows that even when fiancées were with each other on Sabbath during interval and after corporate worship they were expected to keep the day holy. She specifically mentions that they remained calm and collected. Though the two had been

²⁰ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 13 recto, entry July 5, 1868, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

²¹ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 13 recto, entry July 5, 1868, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. It is not clear whether the “hour” Catherine mentions is meant to be taken literally. It is difficult to imagine some of the activities she engages in during interval only to take one literal hour. But, it is possible.

²² Another interesting note from this is that the Robertson family seems to have had a regular pew they occupied. While it is not clear whether this meant there was a rented pew system like what developed in American congregations, it does show continuity with the seating arrangement that had developed in the Presbyterian churches of Scotland following the Reformation. Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, 318-327.

²³ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 13 recto, entry July 5, 1868, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

apart for some time, John was expected to ensure the conversation did not violate Sabbath. He ensured the two of them spent the time reading the Scriptures and praying together.

This was not the only stroll through the woods on Sabbath Catherine mentions in her diaries. During interval on May 21, 1865 Catherine journaled about, “wandering through the fields [and] woods,” with her “dear only sister.”²⁴ Her younger sister Agnes was eight years younger than her, and at the age of nineteen was about to get married. Catherine, unable to marry John due to her father’s disapproval, grieved of her sister leaving. She takes this time of walking through the woods on Sabbath interval to reflect on how “Joy and sorrow [are] two eves hand in hand.” She finished this entry with a reflection of her soul, saying:

I am too indolent. I don’t fight. I fall before temptation without a struggle. I pray to be made Heavenly minded. But when the worldly thoughts enter my soul, I do not set myself resolutely to oppose them, but give the rein to my mind, [and] afterwards sulk [and] mope [and] despair, because God has not answered my prayer. This is wrong. I ought to work [and] strive [and] wrestle [and] struggle [and] fight, looking with humble dependence and expectation to Jesus who has already secured for me the victory.²⁵

Sabbath walks though the woods during interval and after afternoon worship were not times of leisurely distraction. Wandering through nature was a time for Catherine to

²⁴ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 15 recto, entry May 21, 1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

²⁵ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 15 recto, entry May 21, 1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

fellowship with others. It was a place where she could enjoy quiet away from the hustle of Glasgow and even pray with those she loved.

Catherine also spent time visiting the sick during interval. After hearing a Mr. Stevenson preach in the morning Catherine went to visit a woman named Houston Dimm in Rutherglen.²⁶ Catherine spent considerable time with Houston, sharing the gospel with her, praying with her, comforting her in the midst of severe convulsions, and being there when Houston asked “for Jesus to give her a new heart,” and even seeing her in her last days of life filled with the hope of resting in Jesus.²⁷ Once while evangelizing to her Houston “was seized with a convulsion fit.” Reflecting on this Catherine said, “fearful to behold ‘Oh! God fit and prepare me now for my hour of death’ as was my prayer as I gazed on the terrible struggle.”²⁸ Catherine spent “interval” visiting Houston in hope of the day she might accept the gospel. Just before Houston’s death Catherine went to see her. In Catherine’s final time visiting with her she wrote,

Found her first recovering from insensibility. I asked her if she knew me. She replied in a faint whimper yes Miss Robertson. I asked if she knew Jesus? If He was with her now! Almost immediately she replied, ‘He is the same yesterday to’ [...] unable to finish. Asked was she longing to get home [and] rest on Jesus breast. She answered, ‘I’m – nearly – there.’²⁹

²⁶ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 23 verso, entry 3/12/1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

²⁷ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 14 verso, entry January 2, 1865, 21 verso, entry January 13, 1865, 23 verso, entry March 12, 1865, 23 verso -24 recto, entry March 15, 1865, 26 recto, entry March 27, 1865, 26 verso, entry April 9, 1865, and 27 recto, entry April 10, 1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

²⁸ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 26 recto, entry March 27, 1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

²⁹ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 27 recto, entry April 10, 1865,

For Catherine, visiting Houston was not just violating the Sabbath but was a work of mercy and evangelism. She repeatedly went and prayed with Houston, gave her gospel tracts, and sought to win her soul over to Christ. The time she spent with Houston during interval was one way of following the Reformed Presbyterian standard of keeping the entire day holy unto the Lord.

Another activity Catherine partook in during interval was an “Old woman’s prayer meeting.”³⁰ It is assumed from the title that this was indeed a time for prayer on the Sabbath. But, it was also a time in which Catherine could help other women grow in their faith. In her diary Catherine records two messages she gave to the women who attended this meeting. In her first address to the women at the prayer meeting during interval she encouraged them through Ecclesiastes 9:10 and another time from Hebrews 4:11. These expositions of Scripture are curiously close to a type of evangelistic preaching.

In her talk on Ecclesiastes 9:10 she tells the women to stop procrastinating on their work in this world and do everything with all of their might. But, her point is not just to encourage industriousness; she tells the women to take the preacher’s teachings and apply it industriously caring for their souls saying,

Lo much then for what is called secular affairs, or the business of this world.
But there is another [and] a far more important work that the Preacher had in

Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

³⁰ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 31 recto – 34 recto, entry “For Old woman’s meeting in interval on Sabbaths in Green St. 1862,” and, 34 recto - 36 verso, entry “For old woman prayer meeting 1862,” Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

his view, when he wrote this verse – a work that each one old [and] young – rich [and] poor, woman has to perform, that is the great work of salvation. Each individual has a soul [and] the great all important work of this life is to get that soul saved.³¹

Catherine continued on by warning the women of the imminence of death and the judgment of God. She told them to look around and see how many of their friends and loved ones had died around them as a warning of how fleeting life is, stressing the need to seek out salvation earnestly. She wrote:

Eternal life is held out to us as a thing to be won. “Run” says the apostle “with patience the race still before you” “Strive to enter in at the strait gate” “I have fought the good fight” So that we see it is a hard work – a work that needs energy [and] earnest endeavour.³²

Anticipating the backlash of Calvinist objectors to her call for an active participation of the believer in their seeking after salvation, she says:

But some may say “What can we endeavour? We can’t do any thing to save ourselves; God alone can save us. Fine! But God has appointed certain means of salvation. The chief of these are the Word of God and prayer, and if we would have our souls saved, we must not wait, idly, expecting God to do something miraculous on us, but at once [and] vigorously set about the reading of the Word [and] Calling on Him in prayer.³³

³¹ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 31 recto – 34 recto, entry “For Old woman’s meeting in interval on Sabbaths in Green St. 1862,” Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

³² Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 31 recto – 34 recto, entry “For Old woman’s meeting in interval on Sabbaths in Green St. 1862,” Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

³³ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 31 recto – 34 recto, entry “For Old woman’s meeting in interval on Sabbaths in Green St. 1862,” Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

Catherine finished her talk at the prayer meeting by encouraging the women to strive earnestly throughout their lives to run the race of faith, because “he that endureth to the end shall be saved.”³⁴

Catherine’s other talk, mentioned in her diary, on Hebrews 4:11 also contains a strong gospel call. But, in this address the motivation for salvation is not avoiding Hell, like her previous address; rather, she shows empathy to working women who labor day in and day out, who are mistreated by their spouses and children, and desire rest. In this address she gives the offer of hope, rest, and fellowship with the perfect husband and sibling, Jesus Christ himself. She lays this joy in front of them as a feast saying,

The rest that remaineth for the people of God, is something more than mere deliverance from fatigue, from sorrow, and from sin. It is admission into all the joys [and] happiness of Heaven. Those who inherit that rest not only will tears be wiped from their eyes, but their eyes will be sparkling with delight. They will be basking forever in the sunshine of God. Forever in love. They will have for their companions the greatest [and] noblest of being. They shall have free [and] uninterrupted intercourse with such men as Abraham, Isaac [and] Jacob, Moses, David, Isaiah, Daniel, Paul, John [and] all those good men that are held up in the Bible to our admiration [and] esteem. And more than all this, they will have fellowship with the Almighty God Himself; they will be accounted as brothers [and] sisters of Jesus, the Lord of Glory, the savior of men. Oh! What – exaltation!³⁵

³⁴ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 31 recto – 34 recto, entry “For Old woman’s meeting in interval on Sabbaths in Green St. 1862,” Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

³⁵ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 34 recto-36 verso, entry “For old woman prayer meeting 1862,” Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. There is an interesting aside with this entry. Catherine’s view of the Christian hope is something intimate. In her list of names with whom these women will have “uninterrupted intercourse” she does not mention any women. Absent are the names of Deborah, Abigail, Elizabeth, Mary, Naomi, and Ruth. It might be possible that Catherine knows her audience well. She obviously finds herself as part of the biblical tradition. But, to Catherine the anticipated intimacy is with the masculine heroes of Scripture and not fellowship with godly women. In some way this might be a byproduct of Catherine’s growing up in what Callum Brown calls “The Man’s Kirk” in her chapter “Religion” in *Gender in Scottish History Since 1700*, ed. Lynn Abrams,

Catherine composed her message to encourage people towards a personal relationship with God and to find their rest in Him, the Almighty. This was not a means of escapism but of offering women a message of hope directly crafted towards their hurts and needs. Instead of abusive husbands and hurtful children they could have “uninterrupted intercourse” with the godly men of the Scripture.³⁶ She also crafted the message to give the hope of rest for the weary. In the end of the message she warns of those who die without salvation, that they will “have to spend [their] long long eternity, where there is no rest, where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched.”³⁷

Whether Catherine was wandering through the woods, visiting the sick, praying, or giving the gospel message she sought to spend the entire Sabbath in devotion to God. The “interval” between “forenoon” and “afternoon” sermons was not a time to sit idly but to share the word or dwell in it. And, like interval, Sabbath evenings were also to be kept holy.

Eleanor Gordon, Deborah Simonton and Eileen Janes Yeo (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 84-91.

³⁶ Interestingly, some of these patriarchs’ sexual and marital sins, specifically those of Abraham, Jacob, and David, are pointedly described in the Scriptures. However, Catherine still sees them as godly men because of their inclusion in the story of covenant redemption. Again, it is tempting to blame this on a male dominated pulpit and kirk session with a traditional male dominated hermeneutic. Even if Catherine was mainly thinking of a hall of faith like Hebrews 11 she leaves out Rahab who is mentioned in verse 31. A helpful study for the academy and the Reformed Presbyterians would be to study and analyze sermons of the time for gender in hermeneutics and application. If Margo Todd is correct in her assessment of the Scottish nation becoming a logocentric culture based on the Scriptures, especially in sermons, then this sermon might help scholars understand how gender identity developed in Scotland after the Reformation, and specifically amongst conservative Covenanters.

³⁷ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 34 recto- 36 verso, entry “For old woman prayer meeting 1862,” Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville,

Sabbath Evenings

Following the afternoon sermon Reformed Presbyterian families were not released from Sabbath regulations. After corporate worship on Sabbath evenings is when Catherine spent time fellowshiping with others, reading religious books, and joining in family worship. These activities were all purposefully designed to enable church members to keep the Sabbath holy as the Confession and Scriptures taught.

One day in October of 1867 after Mr. Nelson had preached at Great Hamilton Street he and Catherine's pastor, Mr. Symmington, came to her family's home for dinner.³⁸ From this entry it seems that being invited into each other's homes after afternoon worship would have been a somewhat normal way of encouraging godly conversation and fellowship on the Sabbath. But, Sabbaths were not a time for feasting or mindless fellowship. Sabbath evenings were devoted to God by prayer, reading, and introspection.

Since the Reformation, Sabbath evenings had been a time for the head of the home to encourage good piety and doctrine. As Margo Todd describes,

Sunday evening was the head of the household's opportunity to quiz his children and servants, to 'take account of them and see whether they have

MD.

³⁸ This does not seem too odd since her father was one of the wealthiest men of the country. Catherine's literary voice does not seem to suggest this was something out of the ordinary. Rather, it is possible her father might have had a position of prominence if not leadership in the congregation. Catherine Robertson McCartney, *Diary "1866-1868,"* 9 recto, entry October 1867, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. There is a curious remark Catherine makes in this entry. She says that "Mr. Symmington was suddenly struck with a prophesy [*sic*]," that kept him from talking with them the rest of the night. It is not clear what exactly this means. But, it is possible that Symmington did have a literal prophecy. Margo Todd does make mention of such pastoral prophecy in the early modern period of the church's history, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, 391-401.

been in the kirk or not and how much they absorbed of the sermon.... The family was [the] seminary of the church.³⁹

When Catherine's father was out of town in Rothesay one Sabbath to help with communion there her brother James took it upon himself to fulfill the role his father normally occupied.⁴⁰ Journaling later in the evening about James' decision to lead family worship, Catherine wrote:

James had family worship tonight it being almost the first time he seems to be a little aroused at present to thinking of his soul's interest. Oh! Lord Grant that we may all be 'roused not a little lest we fall back into a deeper sleep than ever, but much aroused to flee for refuge to the hope set before us in the Gospel.⁴¹

Sabbath evening family worship was not a new phenomenon in the Robertson home.

Catherine had been raised with her father, John Robertson, bringing his family together for worship regularly.

Sabbath evenings, while used for communal edification, were also a time for Catherine to dwell in solitude, pray, and journal. She devoted this time to her religious journaling, as is seen by the number of times she writes on Sabbaths, as well as reading various devotional and doctrinal works. On one occasion Catherine wrote,

Commenced reading through Doddridge's "Rise [and] Progress." Lord bless it to my soul. May it be a savour of life unto me [and] not a savour of death unto death.⁴²

³⁹ Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, 42, 266.

⁴⁰ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 6 recto – 6 verso, entry January 25, 1857, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁴¹ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 6 recto – 6 verso, entry January 25, 1857, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁴² Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 6 verso,

Almost a decade later Catherine penned in her diary, “Read in the evening Symmington on the Messiah.”⁴³ Sabbath evenings were a time for deep introspection. Catherine, in an attempt to keep the entire day holy, spent time writing in her journals, praying, reading, partaking in family worship, and enjoying the fellowship of other Reformed Presbyterians. But, not all of Sabbath was so devotionally introspective. One of the most intriguing activities Catherine partook in was her teaching ministry.

Sabbath School and Revivalist Influences

In 1857, one year after starting her religious journaling, Catherine began to teach children in Sabbath School.⁴⁴ She saw this as a major responsibility she had voluntarily taken upon herself.⁴⁵ A good Calvinist, not trusting her motives, she prayed, “God forbid that it should be to get praise of man, or from any other motive than that of glorifying God and saving souls.”⁴⁶ But, Catherine did not see “saving souls” as a work she could adequately do, rather, she prayed,

entry February 1, 1857, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁴³ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 23 recto, entry January 22, 1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁴⁴ Great Hamilton Street Reformed Presbyterian Church would eventually house one of the largest day schools in Scotland, running it until 1870 when it was given over to the Scottish Government. The Sabbath School movement was intended to teach children on their day off of work. Couper, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 14.

⁴⁵ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 17 recto, entry January 17, 1858, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁴⁶ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 17 recto, entry January 17, 1858, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

May I be enabled to continue... in this work looking up in faith to God for his guidance and direction and for that watering of the Spirit without which there can be no fruit. And while thus endeavoring to win souls to Christ, and to obey that command which He left us "Feed my lambs."⁴⁷

Catherine believed she was willfully being used as a servant of God to sow seeds the Holy Spirit might then bring to fruition. And, while she had voluntarily taken on the role of a Sabbath School teacher, she believed it was her Christ-commanded duty to do so. Catherine prayed that these children might also be a blessing to her as her crown of glory. She finished the entry praying, "God grant that these children whom Thou hast given me may at the final account rise up and call me Blessed, and be to me my crown of glory."⁴⁸

She started the year off by writing a tract to distribute to the children.⁴⁹ In it she warns them of thinking they will live forever, she reminds them of how many other girls and boys had died the previous year thinking the same thing. She told them,

Their little bodies, which but one short year ago, were all life and activity are now mouldiring into dust, and their souls have returned unto God their maker, and by Him have been welcomed to the joys and bliss of Heaven, above, or else consigned to the place of unutterable, unending woe.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 17 recto, entry January 17, 1858, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁴⁸ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 17 recto, entry January 17, 1858, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁴⁹ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 17 recto, entry January 17, 1858, and, 14 verso – 16 verso, entry "New-Years tract for Sabbath School Children 1857-58," Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁵⁰ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 14 verso – 16 verso, entry "New-Years tract for Sabbath School Children 1857-58," Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

Catherine continued by warning them that many more will die that year and asked them to question whether they would go to Heaven or Hell. She then gave them a gospel call, writing:

Jesus died to purchase Heaven for you; He is now today standing with outstretched arms, in-treating you to come to Him that you may be saved; tomorrow the door of mercy may be shut you may be in that place where God has forgotten to be gracious. Flee then to Jesus while He is willing to receive you; this very moment, lift up your heart to Him to save you, to wash all your sins away in His own blood; and fear not “He will in no wise cast you out!”⁵¹

Catherine, no hyper-Calvinist, wrote in the tone of an evangelist. She used the style of preaching that had made waves through Scotland, starting with the itinerant preaching of George Whitefield, and had continued to cause arguments well past the 1860s.⁵² Catherine went on to warn her readers of the wrath to fall upon the reprobate unless they cling to the merciful promises and work of Christ by saying,

If Death overtake you ere you have made friends with Jesus – what will become of you? From the midst of the lake of fire in which you will be tossing about in unknown, inexpressible torments, you will think on your neglected Bible, you will remember the unheeded warnings of your teacher, the words of a merciful Savior – “come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden and I will give you rest.” He that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out” “Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved” “come now and let us reason together, tho’ your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow, though they be red like crimson they shall be as wool” “Turn ye, turn ye, why will ye die.” “As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked,” All these sweet words of mercy will be ringing in your ears with fearful distinctness, but Oh! They will be words of mercy to you no more! You will be where the voice of mercy is clean gone for ever. They will inspire

⁵¹ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 14 verso – 16 verso, entry “New-Years tract for Sabbath School Children 1857-58,” Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁵² The idea of Catherine’s interaction with revivalism and Evangelicalism will be more fully explored in the following chapter.

no hope in your breast; they will only add fresh stings to your awful anguish. Be warned then dear little reader, Flee from the wrath to come. Lose no time in accepting the offer of salvation for we know not what a day may bring forth.

Catherine used a style of evangelism not influenced by traditional Calvinist theology texts, but rather by revivalist warnings of death and Hell and the promise of Heaven. While an orthodox gospel call, it reflects a deep change that was occurring in the denomination. It was just before Catherine's birth in 1831 when the denomination had ceased disciplining members for "occasional hearing."⁵³ Prior to this time Reformed Presbyterians had wrestled with the problems of going to hear itinerant pastors. The problem was twofold. During the First Great Awakening there were two major problems. First, revivals were happening outside of the church, tempting members to miss their own open air meetings called conventicles to hear preachers from uncovenanted churches. And secondly, revivalist methods and the Arminianism which was closely related to Evangelical revivals, especially after the Second Great Awakening, were in direct conflict with the Covenanters' own doctrinal convictions.⁵⁴

Catherine took advantage of her Christian liberty to hear other ministers preach, and in the same year that she had began to teach Sabbath School she went to Glasgow to hear the famous Charles Spurgeon preach from City Hall.⁵⁵ Catherine's outline

⁵³ Matthew Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland: It's Origin and History 1680-1878* (Edinburgh: J. and R. Parlane Paisley, 1893), 272-273.

⁵⁴ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 167-182.

⁵⁵ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 10 recto – 14 verso, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

of Spurgeon's sermon shows he knew his audience well. Her notes record an illustrative sermon on salvation. In his sermon he equated salvation to an eastern monarch who is surrounded by an entourage. Spurgeon described election, predestination, redemption, conviction of sin, atonement, forgiveness, repentance, prayer, faith, hope, charity, knowledge, zeal, joy, death and judgment, as members of the monarch, Salvation's, entourage, and what their roles were relating to salvation. Attending this sermon shows that Catherine, a Reformed Presbyterian, was being influenced and challenged by a rising Evangelical theology that was born in some sense out of eighteenth-century revivalism.⁵⁶ Catherine's diaries from her time in Scotland show how deep Evangelical theology was influencing her life as she reflected and prayed in her journal.

⁵⁶ Douglas Sweeney's definition of Evangelicalism puts Catherine into the Evangelical fold by saying Evangelicals are best defined in a loose sense as "(1) [those who's] beliefs [are] most clearly stated during the Protestant Reformation and (2) [who's] practices [are] shaped by the revivals of the so-called Great Awakening." Douglas Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story: A History of the Movement* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 24. In the following chapter the idea of how this interacts with Bebbington's quadrilateral and the Scottish link between covenanting, communion, and revivals will be explored in more depth.

CHAPTER 2

REFORMED AND EVANGELICAL PRESBYTERIANISM

Catherine's observance of the Sabbath and her deep seated convictions about keeping the day holy show how firmly she found herself in the tradition of Scottish Presbyterianism. Paradoxically, Catherine's diaries also reveal a tension between her identity as a Reformed Presbyterian and the growing influence a broader Evangelical tradition was having on her personal theology. This confluence of her Reformed identity and the Evangelical religious milieu in which she lived also gives insight into the direction the denomination was moving. By looking at Catherine's diaries it is possible to see how a lay parishioner in the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland experienced the changing identity of the Reformed Presbyterian tradition.

Development of Reformed Presbyterian Tradition

The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland in Catherine's life was rather new but with an old ancestry. It was not until 1811 that the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church had been organized.¹ Prior to this the church had struggled to become an institutional entity. In 1690 when the Revolution Statement was signed between William of Orange and the Scottish Church, United Society members, who had been hunted down by the previous Stuart monarchs for their fervent defense of an independent Kirk and the perpetual nature of the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, took a strong stance

against the Church of Scotland and the new monarchs of Orange.² Through their tenacity the United Societies existed for sixteen years without any pastors.³ Family worship and prayer meetings were key to their existence since they could not marry, hear preaching, or partake in the sacraments.⁴ It was not until 1706 that the Covenanters finally had a pastor of their own.⁵ It then took until 1743 before another pastor was called and a presbytery was formed.⁶ Between these times the Covenants were reaffirmed and sworn to again at a communion season at Auchinsaugh.⁷ At Auchinsaugh the Covenanters also entrenched their position on political dissent. They made vows not to support the government that had and was meddling in church affairs and remained unrepentant for the persecution of those who supported the mediatorial kingship of Christ. Key to the Covenanters' continued political dissent was the established Church and Hanoverian king's disregard of the contractual obligations found in the Covenants.⁸ In 1745 the Covenants were again, and for the last time, renewed.⁹

¹ Vos, *The Scottish Covenanters*, 176.

² Vos, *The Scottish Covenanters*, 138-158. Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 1-2. Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 81-106. William Melancthon Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America* (1888; reprint, Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2007), 44-46.

³ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 47. Vos, *The Scottish Covenanters*, 159.

⁴ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 115-133.

⁵ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 47. Vos, *The Scottish Covenanters*, 159.

⁶ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 50. Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 2.

⁷ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 48-49. Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 163-166. Vos, *The Scottish Covenanters*, 164.

⁸ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 48-49. Hutchison, *The*

The Presbytery grew gradually over the next half century and in 1811 the General Synod was formed with 13 ministers.¹⁰ The early nineteenth century was marked by a tension between remaining true to the distinctives of the Covenanter tradition, encouraging lay piety, and remaining cordial with other disenfranchised Scottish churches.¹¹ While the church was still influenced along the “old lines.... [of] mediatorial kingship of Christ, ant-erastianism, [and the] promotion of genuine religion,” there were subtle changes moving the focus of the church away from her strict dissenting position.¹²

In 1818 the Synod allowed individual pastors to decide whether or not to exclude the language of the Auschinsaugh covenant renewal, which contained the strict mandate of political dissention, when they read the vows of membership before distributing communion tokens at preparatory services.¹³ Then in 1821 the Synod appointed a committee to investigate the possibility of union with other Scottish Churches.¹⁴ Controversy ensued as

Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland, 163-166. Vos, *The Scottish Covenanters*, 164. Interestingly Carson does not mention this covenant renewal.

⁹ Vos, *The Scottish Covenanters*, 169. Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterians Church in Scotland*, 190. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 51. Again Carson does not mention the Covenant and the Testimony of 1745. It is important to note that at all of the covenant ceremonies a communion season was concurrently observed. This symbiotic relationship of communion and covenants will be explored later.

¹⁰ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 51. Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 259.

¹¹ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 261-265. It is important to note that Hutchison’s wonderful work on the church has at times sweeping generalities and is written to favor the Reformed Presbyterians merger with the Free Church, of which he was a minister. It is the best resource available for Reformed Presbyterian history, especially through the nineteenth century, but should be read critically.

¹² Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 261.

¹³ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 264. Vos, *The Scottish Covenanters*, 176.

¹⁴ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 264.

the committee's report was favorable to union but did not make any mention of the Covenants.¹⁵ The following year the Synod deleted the requirement of political dissent from the fourth vow of membership. According to Hutchison this "freed [the church] from responsibility as to the form and terms of the preceding acts of Covenant Renovation, and was only bound to a recognition of the perpetual obligation of the original deeds."¹⁶ The cords of political dissent had begun to loosen.

Then in 1832 the Reform Bill was passed and the franchise was greatly expanded in Scotland. The issue of political dissent, as a key component of Covenanter identity in the Reformed Presbyterian Church, came to the forefront.¹⁷ The Synod voted in 1833 that members of the Church were not allowed to vote, but many ignored the mandate.¹⁸ The controversy over voting continued for another thirty years. The Synod repeatedly voted that the "matter [of political dissent] was of essential importance to the distinctive standing and Testimony of this church."¹⁹ However, the Synod denied that members who had voted should automatically be brought under church discipline.²⁰ According to Hutchison,

¹⁵ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 264.

¹⁶ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 267. By "deeds" Hutchison means the Reformed Presbyterians were only obligated to believe the Solemn League and National Covenants were perpetually binding.

¹⁷ This took the abstract idea at times of dissent and put it into practice. As many more Scottish were now welcomed to participate in politics the question became a major topic in Synod and Presbytery debates. This specific problem was the fiduciary relationship between the voter and the elected official and that elected official's oath of loyalty to the monarch.

¹⁸ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 331.

¹⁹ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 283.

²⁰ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 327-328. By "particular or minute applications," Hutchison is specifically means political dissent.

Gradually the Church fell back on general principles as the basis of ecclesiastical fellowship, and became less rigid and exacting with respect to particular or minute applications...²¹

Eventually there was, in practical matters, no difference between Reformed Presbyterians and other churches, they “paid taxes, took licenses, employed lawyers, used government stamps, appeared in civil courts, sat on juries, and petitioned parliament.”²² All of which had at one point or another been forbidden.

When the Synod officially reversed its position on political dissent in 1863 five ministers and a number of elders left the denomination for the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, Minority Synod.²³ Those who left the denomination did so because they believed that the principles of political dissent, based on the perpetual nature of the Covenants, as well as their historical application, were foundational to the identity of what it meant to be a Covenanter, and thus a member of the Reformed Presbyterian Church.²⁴ The minority of pastors and elders who rejected the Synod’s decision formed a minority Synod and claimed the name, heritage, and privileges of the Reformed Presbyterian Church.²⁵

²¹ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 280.

²² Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 280.

²³ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 330, 338. Vos, *the Scottish Covenanters*, 176-178. There is some discrepancy to the number of Pastors and Elders who left. Vos states that it was three ministers and four elders. I have chosen to use Hutchison’s numbers only because he seems to have followed the minutes of Synod more closely than Vos.

²⁴ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 334-336. Vos, *The Scottish Covenanters*, 176-178.

²⁵ Vos, *The Scottish Covenanters*, 177-178. Key to the minority Synod’s claim to the identity of Reformed Presbyterian was that they were in agreement with the Testimony of the church, and the position it had held for over 170 years. Sadly, Hutchison buries the severity of this split in his narrative. He simply mentions that a few of the pastors left the denomination but does not, in the main portion of the text, say that they formed their own synod and claimed the identity of being true Reformed Presbyterians. Rather, Hutchison only mentions this in a footnote directing one to an appendix on pages 414-419. Even in this appendix Hutchison goes into length defending the decisions of the Majority Synod and analyzing the judge’s decision in

Hutchison observed rightly that the minority who left the denomination over the issue of voting would not have approved of the Synod's decision the following year to enter into talks of union with the newly formed Free Church.²⁶

*A Changing Identity and
Defining Terms*

Catherine was born in 1838 and started writing in her diary in 1856.

Amazingly, none of the history mentioned above regarding voting, political dissent, or issues of Reformed Presbyterian identity are found anywhere in her diaries while in Scotland. It seems remarkable that a lay person, so involved in the church, would not so much as make a single diary entry to show the turmoil and change that was going on in the ecclesiastical structures around her. If Catherine is to be seen as a representative, even in a minor way, of the Reformed Presbyterian laity, it shows that outside of Church Courts some members had moved beyond dissent as a defining factor of their religious identity.²⁷ It is not to say that Catherine did not care about these issues; rather, she did not care enough for them to have made it into her private diaries.²⁸ The issues causing ministers to divide into differing synods and the possibility of merging with another denomination did not impact the way she

the Ferguson Bequest. Hutchison maintained that the Majority Synod had the laws and forms of the church to change the testimony and still maintain the right to claim the heritage, name, and financial benefits of "Reformed Presbyterian," even after their merger with the Free Church in 1876. This is somewhat suspect as he was in fact a minister in the Free Church writing a history of the Reformed Presbyterians.

²⁶ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 342-343.

²⁷ It should not be pressed too hard that Catherine is a representative of all Reformed Presbyterians or Covenanters since she was both a woman as well as a member of a privileged and wealthy class of society.

²⁸ This is a significant difference between Catherine's writings and the writings of earlier Covenanter women. A brief review of the writings edited by George Mullan in *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland* shows how frequently the early women of this tradition directly referenced and associated

expressed the concerns of her religious self. What was important to Catherine was her soul's standing with God, as well as the souls of others.

The question to be asked is whether Catherine, as a member of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, was still a Covenanter or was she something else, maybe an Evangelical? To answer the question of a denomination or person's identity it is necessary to define terms. The terms Reformed Presbyterian and Evangelical will be of key importance throughout the remainder of this chapter.²⁹

Perhaps the easiest term to define is Presbyterian. There is no doubt Catherine was a Presbyterian. She was a member of a church that adhered to Presbyterian polity. The second term, Reformed, is broader, but finds its roots in a type of theology that originated in Geneva and spread throughout the continent and Britain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³⁰ Reformed identity is multifaceted. To be Reformed one typically subscribes to

their faith within the framework of opposition to erastianism, episcopalianism, and prelacy.

²⁹ The question of whether Reformed are Evangelical is one which D. G. Hart pointedly brings up in, D. G. Hart and John Muether, *Fighting the Good Fight: A Brief History of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church* (Philadelphia: Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 1995). Also Darryl Hart, *Reformed Forum: Historia Ecclesia*, podcast audio, Assessing Machen, accessed February 7, 2015, <http://Reformedforum.org/he15/>.

Hart attempts to push Evangelicalism into a small subset of puritan heritage and distinguish it from Presbyterianism or the Reformed heritage. If this is the case then Covenanters again might fit the mold well as George Mullan described the Covenanters as "Scottish Puritans." George Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism 1590-1638* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Hart does this to serve his thesis of the Old School heritage of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, as opposed to what he believes was the Evangelical heritage of the splinter denomination, Bible Presbyterians. Hart thinks that while there is overlap between the two groups they should be distinct. But, one's own belief is that Evangelicalism is a broad amalgamation of various protestant subgroups, who are united, in a loose sense, around a group of shared conservative, historic, protestant traits and doctrines. In this sense it might be valid to ask the question, is Evangelicalism really an entity of its own at all? Or, is Evangelicalism a theological movement? One's own opinion is that Evangelicalism is a category that is nothing more than conservative Protestantism with an emphasis on missions. This is why Sweeney and Bebbington's works are used as the criteria for Evangelicalism in the later part of this chapter.

³⁰ One also believes that Presbyterian assumes, historically, Reformed theology.

one of the confessions that developed during the time of Reformed Orthodoxy, e.g. the Three Forms of Unity, the Westminster Standards, [and] etc.³¹ Since subscription to the Westminster Standards was necessary to be a communicant member in the Reformed Presbyterian Church there is no doubt Catherine was Reformed.

The two remaining terms Reformed Presbyterian and Evangelical are more difficult to define. The previous historical survey shows how difficult defining the term Reformed Presbyterian is. How strictly must one adhere to traditional Covenanter doctrines and historical applications, such as political dissention, to be considered a Reformed Presbyterian? Can one have continuity with the Covenants only, or can one be Reformed Presbyterian and not believe in the perpetual binding of the Covenants?³² Are there other defining terms, or means of expressing Covenanter identity, that could push one into the Reformed Presbyterian camp?

Evangelical is again a difficult term to define authoritatively. The broadest definition might be that, those who are Evangelicals are ones whose theology was formulated during the Reformation, and have been influenced by the revivals of the so-called First Great Awakening.³³ A more narrow and widely accepted definition, and one which has received considerable attention, is David Bebbington's quadrilateral. That is, all Evangelicals share

³¹ R. Scott Clark, *Recovering the Reformed Confession: Our Theology, Piety, and Practice* (Phillipsburg: P[and]R Publishing, 2008), 4. The identifier "Reformed" is a hotly debated topic in lay circles today who claim for themselves the term. One might argue that the term Reformed should also be given to those who adhere to later confessions such as the London Baptist Confession.

³² The subsequent chapter will attempt to answer the question of Reformed Presbyterian identity outside of the United Kingdom, specifically in the United States.

³³ Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story*, 24. Interestingly, George Mullan also thinks that Evangelicalism has much older and deeper roots than the 1730s. He has no problem speaking of the Covenanter women of the seventeenth century as "Evangelical Presbyterians." Mullan, *Women's Life Writing in*

the following four traits: Conversionism, Activism, Biblicism, and Crucicentrism.³⁴ By examining Catherine's diaries it will be possible to see that Catherine, as a member of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, was both Evangelical and yet experienced Evangelicalism in a way that circled around Covenanter traditions.

A Faith Rooted in Reformation Theology

Sweeney's initial criteria for an Evangelical is one whose "beliefs [were] most clearly stated during the Protestant Reformation."³⁵ This is a somewhat difficult qualification to prove for most laity who were not theologically trained. However, it is possible to see from Catherine's diaries how she consciously, and at times unknowingly, had received and in fact believed the theology of the Reformation, specifically that which made its way from Geneva to Scotland. Though Catherine does not quote any of the Reformers, their influence on her can be seen through the theological constructs found in her diaries. She speaks of the limited atonement of the elect,³⁶ monergistic salvation,³⁷ calling and election,³⁸ Christ as the only bishop of her heart,³⁹ and her natural state as a child of Hell.⁴⁰ All of these examples

Early Modern Scotland, 5. Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story*, 24.

³⁴ David Bebbington. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1989), 2-4. By using Bebbington's criteria one is not asserting that this is the only, or even the best, set of criteria. Rather, this is a pragmatic means of addressing the most well known criteria, to show that Catherine fits the "typical" mold of an Evangelical.

³⁵ Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story*, 24.

³⁶ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "1866-1868," 1 recto - 2 verso, entry 4/14/1866, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

³⁷ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 2 verso - 4 recto, entry 2/28/1857, 7 recto- 8 recto, entry 5/3/1857, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

³⁸ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 4 recto - 5 verso, entry 1/4/1857, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

show that Catherine was well within the confines of the Reformed tradition.⁴¹ The undertones of Catherine's theology are unmistakably Reformed. However, the passionate Calvinism that resonates in the passages of her diaries are matched with other passages that show a confluence of thought with the Evangelical culture in which she lived.

Revivals, Covenants, and Communion Seasons

The second qualification that Sweeney gives, and Bebbington acknowledges, is that Evangelicals are those who have been influenced by the revivals of the 1730s.⁴² Catherine was caught in the cross hairs of historical circumstance with regard to revivalism. The Reformed Presbyterians had a long and fluid history with revivals, being both the originators of Scottish revivalism while also detracting from certain revivals.

The revivals of the First Great Awakening were exceptional, but they were hardly created *ex nihilo* by George Whitefield and John Wesley.⁴³ The roots of revivalism trace back to the dissenting pastors of the seventeenth century, who attracted large crowds of Scottish Presbyterians disenchanted with the erastianism of the British monarchs.⁴⁴ These

³⁹ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 2 verso - 4 recto, entry 2/28/1857, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁴⁰ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 1 verso - 1 recto 10/26/1856, 2 verso - 4 recto, entry 2/28/1857, 33 recto, entry "For Old Woman's meeting in interval on Sabbath in Green St. 1862," Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁴¹ Again, key to the argument for Catherine's Reformed identity is her subscription to the Westminster Standards. These examples from her diaries only show that she expressed her religious self in strongly Reformed terms.

⁴² Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story*, 24. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 2-4.

⁴³ The best book on this topic is Leigh Eric Schmidt's *Holy Fairs: Scotland and the Making of American Revivalism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2001).

⁴⁴ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, 24-31.

dissenting pastors met in the fields to preach and serve communion. Though the meeting place was new, the pastors followed the same ceremony and preaching pattern of their Reformation ancestors.

The early Presbyterians in Scotland, in some ways accidentally and in other ways purposefully, replaced the ceremonial holy days of Catholicism with a celebration of communion seasons.⁴⁵ During the communion season there were preparatory activities consisting of multiple sermons, fasting, and self-examination that lasted for days. Shops were closed down during this time and pastors gave purposefully stirring sermons.⁴⁶ Sermons pointedly asked listeners if they were children of wrath or children of Christ. As one preacher asked,

Yea, there is some that will be here in the morn that Christ will propose these three questions unto when they come here: . . . How durst thou come hither without a wedding garment? . . . Does thou betray the son of God with a kiss? . . . How durst thou come here that has lifted up thy hand against me? O search yourself with candles and try if it be not so with you.⁴⁷

Preparatory questions like the ones above were intended to elicit an emotional response from Christian listeners. The morning of Sabbath communion started off with a lively sermon followed by communicant members making their way to the communion table to sit at the supper. In the afternoon they heard another sermon. Then again on Monday the people would

⁴⁵ Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, 91-119. Todd in this section of her work leans a little too heavily on anthropological analysis for symbolic meanings in the communion service. None the less, her evaluation of the communion service prior to 1638 is helpful to see historical continuity. Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, 18-19.

⁴⁶ Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, 94-95.

⁴⁷ Sermon as quoted in Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, 95.

gather to hear another sermon. Communion seasons brought many to deep conviction and were the spiritual highpoint for their religious lives.⁴⁸

When James I (and VI) pushed the articles of Perth on the Scottish church the people chafed against the mandated kneeling to receive communion instead of being seated at the communion table.⁴⁹ Many people left the established churches to listen to the preaching of pastors who were pushed out of their pulpits for incompliance. Due to the large numbers who flocked to hear the sacramental preaching of these pastors, such as David Dickson, Samuel Rutherford, and John Livingston, “from 1622 into the 1630s, one portion of the southwest or another was aflame with revival.”⁵⁰ When Charles I forced the Prayer Book and other ecclesiastical reforms on the Scottish Presbyterians they openly revolted in 1638.⁵¹ The overwhelming majority of Scottish people found a common identity in their religious resistance to the monarch. The people expressed national and doctrinal unity during the Second Scottish Reformation by the signing of the National Covenant, but they found their visible communal identity at the communion services. The Scottish Minister Gilbert Burnet wrote about communion seasons during this time saying,

On the Wednesday before they held a fast day with prayers and sermons for about eight or ten hours together: On the Saturday they had two or three preparation sermons: And on the Lord’s day they had so very many, that the action continued above twelve hours in some places: And all ended with three or four sermons on Monday for thanksgiving. A great many Ministers were brought in from several other parts: And high pretenders would have gone 40 or 50 miles to a noted communion. The crowds were far beyond the capacity

⁴⁸ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, 24.

⁴⁹ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, 26-27.

⁵⁰ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, 27-28.

⁵¹ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, 32.

of their churches, or the reach of their voices: So at the same time they had sermons in two or three different places: And all was performed with great shew of zeal. They had stories of many sequal conversions that were wrought on these occasions.⁵²

Donald Meek argues that the Presbyterians’ “conflict with [the] unacceptable forms of Church polity or practice, imposed by government or the Crown,” encouraged them to find devotional strength by joining dissenting groups.⁵³ As a result of openly dissenting, when National Covenant was singed in 1638 it “often generated scenes of deep emotion and soul-searching, as signatories examined their lives in light of their ‘covenant’ with God.”⁵⁴ This deep soul searching, which occurred during communion season and covenanting, were directly linked to each other and profoundly influenced the revivals that would come in the eighteenth century. In a sense it is not incorrect to say that the Presbyterians and later Covenanters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the progenitors of the revival movement.

The link between covenants, Covenanters, communion, and revivals is even more apparent after the restoration of Charles II in 1660 when the Covenanters were forced out of the churches and pastors such as John Blackader met with clandestine dissenters to have worship services in the open fields of Scotland.⁵⁵ These groups continued to grow in size and eventually were no longer able to be kept clandestine since thousands flocked to their communion seasons, even though they had to come with weapons to defend themselves

⁵² As quoted in Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, 32.

⁵³ *Dictionary of Scottish Church History [and] Theology*, s.v. “Revivals,” by Donald Meek.

⁵⁴ Meek, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History*, 712.

⁵⁵ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, 38-39.

in case the king's dragoons attacked.⁵⁶ The Covenanters were eventually, and brutally, suppressed by the monarch and the aristocracy and were largely reduced in numbers.⁵⁷ Though their numbers were reduced and most Scottish rejoined the reestablished church in 1690, after the restoration of Presbyterianism in the Church of Scotland, the sacramental season continued to increase in importance to the unofficial Presbyterian church calendar.⁵⁸

When George Whitefield came to Scotland in 1742, open air preaching was not a new concept to Presbyterians. And, though he was not accepted by the Reformed Presbyterians or the Secession Church, the Cambuslang Revival at which he ministered took place during the communion season.⁵⁹ The revivals that swept through Scotland and Ireland in the 1730s were in fact inheritors of the long tradition of covenanting and communion season within Scottish Presbyterianism.

Paradoxically, the Covenanters of the eighteenth century rejected the Great Awakening. Questions as to the validity of the revival split the mainline Presbyterian denomination in the Colonies between the Old Sides and the New Sides.⁶⁰ But, the Covenanters' main reasons for denouncing the revival, especially at Cambuslang, was not

⁵⁶ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, 39.

⁵⁷ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, 40-41.

⁵⁸ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, 42-43.

⁵⁹ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, 42. See note 53 below for more information on Whitefield's interaction with the Associate Presbyterians.

⁶⁰ Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992), 95-100. D. G. Hart and John R. Muether, *Seeking a Better Country: 300 Years of American Presbyterianism* (Phillipsburg: P[and]R Publishing, 2007), 59-67. Lefferts A. Loetscher, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1978), 66-70. George P. Hays, *Presbyterians: A Popular Narrative of their Origin, Progress, Doctrines, and Achievements* (New York: J. A. Hill [and] Co. Publishers, 1892), 90-96.

because it was a revival *per se*.⁶¹ Rather, the Reformed Presbyterians, as body of believers, found their collective identity in their historic fight against erastianism, prelacy, and episcopacy. So, when Whitefield, an Anglican, preached within a Scottish parish, the Reformed Presbyterians believed it was an attack upon the Scottish peoples' faith.⁶² The Reformed Presbyterians printed a pamphlet against the work at Cambuslang. Its title is revealing:

*The Declaration of the True Presbyterians within the Kingdom of Scotland: Concerning Mr. George Whitefield, and the Work at Cambuslang, The Declaration, Protestation and Testimony of the suffering Remnant of the Anti-Popish, Anti-Lutheran, Anti-Prelatick, Anti-Whitefieldian, Anti-Erastian, Anti-Sectarian, true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland. Published against Mr. George Whitefield and his Encouragers, and against the Work at Cambuslang and other Places.*⁶³

W. J. Couper aptly explains that the Covenanters' objection to Whitefield was not a rejection of revivalism. Rather, the Covenanters' objections "can [only] be explained when the whole history of the Scottish struggle against Episcopacy is kept in mind."⁶⁴ Central in the Scottish

⁶¹ The large reasons for Old Side Presbyterians to reject the revivals in the colonies were due to emotional excess and the Arminianism of Wesley. While these were surely also concerns for the Covenanters in Scotland and America, their problems with the revivals went much deeper and had much older roots.

⁶² I say here, the "Scottish people's faith," because the Reformed Presbyterians still believed they were the embodiment, remnant, and heirs of the Scottish Reformation.

⁶³ *The Declaration of the True Presbyterians within the Kingdom of Scotland: Concerning Mr. George Whitefield, and the Work at Cambuslang, The Declaration, Protestation and Testimony of the suffering Remnant of the Anti-Popish, Anti-Lutheran, Anti-Prelatick, Anti-Whitefieldian, Anti-Erastian, Anti-Sectarian, true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland. Published against Mr. George Whitefield and his Encouragers, and against the Work at Cambuslang and other Places.* <http://commons.ptsem.edu/id/declatru00wils?keywords=The+declaration+of+the+true+Presbyterians+within+the+kingdom+of+Scotland,+concernin+g+Mr.+George+Whitefield>. Accessed 1/22/2015.

⁶⁴ Rev. W. J. Couper, *Scottish Revivals* (Dundee: James P Mathew [and] Co., 1918), 73. I first found this resource through Arthur Fawcett, *The Cambuslang Revival: The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century* (London: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1971).

Covenanter mind was what Emily Robinson called “sacred memory.”⁶⁵ As noted in the survey of Covenanter history above, the Reformed Presbyterians saw themselves as the true Church of Scotland. They tied their identity to the Second Reformation, the conventicles, open air preaching, and the martyrs who died for their Covenanter convictions.⁶⁶ They believed the monarch and the established church had betrayed the Covenants in 1690. So, when Whitefield began his ministry at Cambuslang, having refused to come under the auspices of even the secession church, he showed he was no friend to the Covenants and was accused of propagating Anglican doctrine.⁶⁷ This struck a deep chord in the heart of Reformed Presbyterian identity, and explains why the Covenanters responded so harshly against the work of Whitefield at Cambuslang. It also gives evidence as to the deep convictions the Reformed Presbyterians had about their members attending meetings of groups outside of the United Societies, a practice they condemned as “occasional hearing.”⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Emily Moberg Robinson, “Immigrant Covenanters: Religious and Political Identity, From Scotland to America” (PhD. diss., University of California Santa Cruz, 2004) 129-131.

⁶⁶ Robinson, “Immigrant Covenanters,” 129-182.

⁶⁷ *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, s.v., “Whitefield, George,” by A. Dallimore. Arnold A. Dallimore, *George Whitefield: The Life and Times of the Great Evangelist of the Eighteenth-Century Revival* (Westchester: Cornerstone Books, 1980), 2:83-93. One is intrigued that the Seceders, Ralph and James, believed with Whitefield, that their common zeal for the Gospel, formulated in Reformed theology, gave them hope for correspondence and cooperation. But even the Secededer church, like the Reformed Presbyterians, had a long history that battled against episcopalianism and erastianism. Though the battle between the Seceding church of the Associate Presbytery’s battle was more pointedly against the moderates in the Church of Scotland who were undermining historic Christian doctrines. But, though Ralph Erskine had allowed Whitefield to preach at his meeting house once, Whitefield’s rejection of Presbyterianism meant an open breach would follow. The pamphlet wars that surrounded the revivals of Whitefield in Scotland were largely centered around his being an Anglican, and not necessarily about the validity of his gospel message. Rather, the fear of Whitefield as a pseudo papist was the primary attack against his ministry in Scotland. Fawcett, *The Cambusland Revival*, 182-203. It is also interesting that the first pastor, Alexander Craighead, ministering to society members in America was friends with Whitefield and separated from Tennent and the New Side Presbyterians over subscriptionism. Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 8.

⁶⁸ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 168-169.

As time went on the Reformed Presbyterians continued their practice of communion seasons and continued to fight against occasional hearing. The issue of occasional hearing continued to bother the denomination until 1831 when it stopped being taken up at the General Synod.⁶⁹ This meant that by the time Catherine began to write her journals in 1856 she was paradoxically a partaker in the history of revivalism by participating in the communion seasons. Yet, many in the church did not agree with revivals, a topic she personally wrestled with in her diaries.

Catherine's Communion and Revival Experience

By choosing to start her diaries when she first took communion, Catherine tied herself to a deep tradition that continued well into the twentieth century. When she was eighteen years old Catherine wrote,

This day for the first time I have sat down at the table of the Lord. In doing so I have publickly professed to cast in my lot with the people of God – no join myself to the Lord Oh! Lord, help me [and] enable me not only to do so professedly, but, indeed [and] in truth to give my heart to the Lord. What am I that thou shouldest condescend to make a covenant with me who am but a poor sinful woman of the dust! Oh!⁷⁰

Catherine's first diary entry placed her in the midst of this complicated confluence of communion, covenant, and revivals affirmed and contested in the Covenanter traditions.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 272.

⁷⁰ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 1 verso, entry 10/26/1856, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁷¹ Margo Todd writes about first communion being a type of puberty right that occurred after four years of catechesis. However, she notes that the average age for communion was fifteen to sixteen, making it interesting that Catherine did not partake in her first communion until she was eighteen years old. Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, 90.

Catherine's first time taking communion was, in her mind, the time in which she entered into a personal covenant with God. She describes this covenant saying,

I have this day set the seal to a covenant, by which I engage – this time henceforward to consider myself as the Lords, to spend [and] be spent for Him – to repent of my sins [and] leave the off for ever – and notwithstanding they may at times prevail against me, yet by God's help, I shall never again serve sin to fulfill the lust thereof – do be diligent in my devotional duties – in reading [and] secret prayer morning [and] evening as God enables me. – To imitate the meek [and] gentle spirit of Jesus, [and] by no provocation giving way to the evil passions of my soul.⁷²

Catherine believed, quite literally, that at the communion table she had come into covenant with God. This means that each time Catherine came to the communion table the covenant she had made with God would be remembered and renewed. This merging of the ideas of covenant and communion was an old Covenanter tradition.

While Catherine was in the midst of writing her diaries in Scotland she was also in the midst of a widespread revival that was sweeping throughout Ireland and Scotland.⁷³ The revival spread throughout Scotland and Ireland and affected even the heart of Glasgow.⁷⁴ It was during this time that Catherine went to hear Charles Spurgeon preach at the town hall, as mentioned in the previous chapter. The revival had support within conservative churches such as the newly establish Free Church.⁷⁵ Hutchison describes the mood of the Reformed Presbyterians at the time saying,

Among ministers and people there was a widespread sympathy with the spiritual awakening, which was closely associated with the name of Mr.

⁷² Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 1 verso - 1 recto, entry 10/26/1856, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁷³ Couper, *Scottish Revivals*, 130-140.

⁷⁴ Couper, *Scottish Revivals*, 130-140.

⁷⁵ Couper, *Scottish Revivals*, 131-135.

Moody; greater attention was devoted to evangelistic work among non-church going work.⁷⁶

In reality the spirit of revival was much deeper than just 1859-1860. Meek describes how the revivals of 1812 and 1843 helped lead to the formation of the Free Church. The Revival of 1859 – 1860 produced great fruits, especially church membership, and paved the path for the revivals of Moody and Sankey in 1867.⁷⁷

The revivals occurring during Catherine’s time in Glasgow also had a revealing effect on the struggle of identity within the Reformed Presbyterian Church. Again, Donald Meek says,

After 1850 the abandoning of post-millennialism in favor of pre-millennialism may have dulled the eschatological perceptions of Evangelicalism, with the result that revivals came to be regarded as occasional rays of light in a darkening world, rather than as harbingers of the final effulgence of the church.⁷⁸

Yet, interestingly Meek continues to show that there were central issues which revivals did not change in Scotland: the “spiritual lostness and danger of eternal damnation... with a strong focus on the mediatorial role and substitutionary atonement of Christ.”⁷⁹ The revival swirling around Catherine was at the same time pulling and pushing her tradition’s historic beliefs.

Struggling with her thought about revival Catherine wrote:

I look upon my visit to Ireland, during the late-revival as being indirectly the cause under God of this time of life. The direct effect of the revival there on

⁷⁶ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 356.

⁷⁷ Meek, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History*, 716-717. Lyle W. Dorsett, *A Passion for Souls: The Life of D. L. Moody* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1997), 193-203.

⁷⁸ Meek, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History*, 715.

⁷⁹ Meek, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History*, 715.

my soul, was to make it more hardened; [and] I was often tempted to look upon the whole thing with a feeling of contempt [and] ridicule.⁸⁰

Catherine had taken the position many in the Reformed Presbyterian Church had: she looked down on the revivals. Catherine was not the only conservative Presbyterian to doubt the revivals. She wrote about receiving a letter “from C. F. a young friend in Ireland, in which he ridiculed the revival altogether.”⁸¹ While this letter was sent as a measure of congenial heckling, it cut Catherine deeply. Lamenting she journaled,

Oh coming home, I could not help feeling upset that when so many around me had been experiencing to a great degree the working of God’s spirit in their hearts, I had returned nothing quickened in my faith [and] love, but rather the reverse. I was afraid that perhaps I had grieved the Holy Spirit so that he had left me [and] might never again return... I felt so ashamed and conscience stricken to think that I had so acted as to warrant any person writing to me in that strain, that I was overwhelmed with sorrow [and] cried earnestly [and] with many tears, that God would pardon me in awful sin [and] once more vouchsafe to me the influence of His Spirit. Since that time I have had continuously great-freedom to delight in private prayer [and] although I have never had such clear views of Christ as to be able to say unhesitatingly [and] assumedly that I am a child of God, yet I have in general a good hope, Oh!⁸²

Catherine was severely grief stricken over the fear that she might have grieved the Holy Spirit by denying the validity of the revival. She recoiled from her friend’s letter and felt ashamed that her words and attitude would make anyone think she would be an acceptable

⁸⁰ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 25 recto, entry 4/1/1860, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁸¹ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 26 verso, entry 4/1/1860, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland was split over the revivals. The ministers and lay members were not against all revivalism. Rather, they cautioned against excess and pelagianism. While there were those that Catherine met who openly mocked and disregarded the revival, Catherine put herself in line with the official position of that denomination, supporting the revivals, though being cautious of excesses. Adam Loughridge, *The Covenanters in Ireland: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland* (Belfast: Cameron Press, 1984), 90-95.

⁸² Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 25 recto - 26 verso, entry 4/1/1860, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

recipient of such attacks on the revivals. Catherine was indeed a believer in the revivals though she was in a tradition that could still be harshly critical of them.

The preaching of the revival also pushed Catherine to question her salvation as the Reformation preachers at communion sermons had pushed their hearers to question their election. After reconciling with God for her doubting of the revival she still questioned her salvation. She wrote:

When shall I be able to say without doubting “I know in whom I have believed” God grant it may be soon! Doubts [and] fears are dishonouring to God, and hurtful to one’s self. These few days back, I have had threatening of my old complaint – sloth [and] indifference, Oh! Father in Heaven let me not again fall into this pit! Lift me up [and] revive me once more! Look not on my provocations, but for Jesus’ sake, give me no rest until I be again acting a live faith in Him! It is to me a remarkable thing that tho’ often earnest [and] hearty in private prayer, I have been often wandering _ worldly both in church on Sabbath [and] at family worship. Teach me [and] guide me to the finding out – the cause of this, and stir me up to the use of means for preventing these sins.⁸³

The difference between these revivals and those of the early Covenanter days is that one was not given the sacrament of communion to be assured of salvation. So, while Catherine was brought to the same point of self-examination by the revival, she was not given the sacrificed Christ, but rather left to look at her own works. She was given Christ in word but not in sacrament.

The Reformed Presbyterians did in fact still practice the tradition of a communion season during Catherine’s time. In 1867 Catherine wrote about taking communion at her church at which a Mr. Nelson as well as her brother David both assisted

⁸³ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 26 recto, entry 4/1/1860, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

Symmington in administering the sacrament and preaching to the congregation.⁸⁴ Mr. Nelson had preached an “earnest sermon” on “Oh! If thou hadst known or even thou at least [in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace!]”⁸⁵ Catherine also wrote about her father being absent at home on a Sabbath because he had traveled to Rothesay. This was notable since he had traveled to another parish church to experience the communion season there.⁸⁶ During Catherine’s life communion season was still a time when various pastors would preach stirring sermons to their congregants and people would travel from surrounding areas to observe. But, other elements of the communion season were preserved as well.

Catherine wrote in her diary of what she expected to receive at communion, “I had indeed a view of Jesus as my savior, but my soul had not such constant sweet intercourse with Him as I had expected.”⁸⁷ This type of “view of Jesus” or visionary experience is old and mysterious in the Presbyterian tradition. The stirring sermons pastors would preach during the communion season would be boldly illustrative, pointing Christians to the image of Christ, which was found most powerfully in the culmination of the communion season in the partaking of the Eucharist.⁸⁸ The visionary experiences of Christ during communion

⁸⁴ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 9 verso, entry 10/1867, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. David Robertson was a minister in the Reformed Presbyterian Church, giving yet ever more credence to the influence the church had in her life. Couper, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 47-48, 149-150.

⁸⁵ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 9 verso, entry 10/1867, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁸⁶ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 6 recto, entry 1/25/1857, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁸⁷ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 7 verso, entry “April 1857,” Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁸⁸ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, 47. Schmidt gives two very telling accounts of Covenanter families on this page that illustrate women being taken up to Mount Pisgah.

season increased all the more as Presbyterian revivalists during the 1730s preached in America.⁸⁹ Catherine's hope was that participation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper would bring her sweet spiritual communion with her Savior. However, Catherine was not perplexed as to why she did not enjoy the "constant sweet intercourse" she had anticipated. The journal entry shows that she was following the Presbyterian tradition of preparation exercises which were supposed to lead to this highly anticipated event. She lamented,

This [lack of spiritual fulfillment] was I must confess owing to my negligence in self-examination [and] other preparatory duties.

Lord forgive me [and] help me to improve my remaining opportunities better than heretofore. I am not yet able to rejoice in the manifest decay of sin in my heart. I am afraid the monster is still there in its hideous mess dragging me down. I feel still a secret inclination to sin [and] my religious exercises are pReformed more as duties which must be gone through, rather than as a delight [and] privilege. Oh! God, when will thou breathe on these dry bones that they may live. Send thy sanctifying Spirit [that] I may humbly entreat thee to purify and cleanse my inward parts.⁹⁰

To Catherine, participation in communion preparation services and fasting was not a superstitious or blind ritual. In no way were the rituals of the communion season *ex opere operato*. In fact, she lamented that her lived religion proved this fact. Her religious duties had become faithless rituals instead of heartfelt and mindful exercises of pious devotion.

Catherine's participation in and description of communion seasons shows a direct lineage to her Covenanter ancestors. She was a member of a church that still followed the practices of assisting preachers with stirring sermons, crowds flocking to other parishes to hear communion season preaching, fast days, covenant language and devotion, visionary or

⁸⁹ Schmidt, *Holy Fairs*, 145-153.

⁹⁰ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 7 verso - 7 recto, entry "April 1857," Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

spiritual experiences, and expected spiritual communion with God as a partaker of the Supper. Catherine experienced communion both as her Covenanter predecessors had, as well as many at the revivals that swept through Scotland, starting in the sixteenth century, through the 1730s, and even pressing upon Scotland during her own time. Catherine found herself struggling with the validity of revivalism and decided volitionally to support them fully as valid works of the Holy Spirit. Catherine had simultaneously moved away from a Reformed Presbyterian conviction and moved closer to an older Covenanter tradition. She had embraced the revivals that resembled so much of the Covenanter tradition, yet had rejected, indeed lamented, that she or other Reformed Presbyterians should look with animosity upon the revivals of the time solely or fundamentally because of their excess or because they were occurring outside of the “True Presbyterian Church of Scotland” (i.e. the Reformed Presbyterian Church). Catherine was indeed holding to her Covenanter heritage but was being moved away from a distinct identity as a strict dissenting Reformed Presbyterian.⁹¹

This means that Catherine, according to Sweeney, could very well be considered an Evangelical. She was indeed a confessional Presbyterian, and found her theological convictions most firmly rooted in the tradition of the Reformation. Sweeney’s second criterion, that she be of a tradition that was influenced by the revivals of the 1730s is more ambiguous. Catherine was a member of a denomination that had refuted the work of

⁹¹ One is not arguing that Catherine was not moving away from dissent in practice. Indeed there are no extant records to show if she would have participated in civil government. And, since it would have still been decades before women were allowed to vote in Scotland her stand for dissent would have been an esoteric stand instead of practical application. This is important for the identity of Reformed Presbyterians in Scotland. Once persecution ended and a new status quo was established, piety rather than political dissent became the mark of religious identity. This seems clear in Catherine’s life and presumably could this could be attributed to other Reformed Presbyterian women as well.

Whitefield because he was an Anglican and did not consent to the authority of Presbyterians in Scotland. Yet in 1831 the church had removed any hindrance that kept Reformed Presbyterians from attending revival meetings. Catherine exercised that new liberty by hearing Spurgeon preach and even volitionally choosing to endorse the revival of 1859-1860 as an authentic work of the Holy Spirit. Catherine's ideas of revival are also colored by her participation in communion seasons, the progenitor of revivalism. For these reasons one argues that Catherine does indeed qualify under Sweeney's definition of Evangelical, yet she does so in a uniquely historic framework.

Conversion, Evangelism, Scripture, and Atonement

With Sweeney's criterion for being an Evangelical addressed, it is necessary to analyze Catherine's qualifications to be addressed as an Evangelical according to David Bebbington's quadrilateral. This analysis will show more definitively that Catherine, as a Reformed Presbyterian, was indeed solidly within the fold of Evangelicalism by fulfilling all four of Bebbington's qualifications.

Bebbington's first qualification for one being considered an Evangelical is what he calls "conversionism."⁹² This is described by Bebbington as a religion that is focused on the conversion of a sinner, by faith alone, in which they have some sense of their assurance, and as a work of the Holy Spirit.⁹³ Catherine's diaries show that she was firmly within the lines of Evangelicalism by her very large focus on conversion.

⁹² Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 3.

⁹³ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 5-10.

As Catherine grew up in the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland, she would have had catechizing, family worship, and sat under conversion preaching, especially during communion season.⁹⁴ Catherine, much like Edwards or Whitefield, would have grown up in the church, practicing piety, and yet at some point or another would have chosen to take their faith as their own. To many who were nurtured in the church this might be the closest they could come to claiming a conversion. The historian W. Andrew Hoffercker describes this as a normal form of what might be called “covenantal conversion.”⁹⁵ Catherine supports Hoffercker’s argument for conversion in her first diary entry. She willfully came into her own relationship with God during her first communion.⁹⁶ It was at this point in her life that she had entered into a covenant with God and He into a covenant with her.⁹⁷ It was at this first communion service that Catherine said, “Lord, help me [and] enable me not only to do so professedly, but, indeed [and] in truth to give my heart to the Lord.”⁹⁸ This decision was

⁹⁴ The Synod of 1821 had specifically sought to ensure the youth in the church were going to remain in the church. To this end they ensured pastors were to visit homes and inspect family worship and private devotions of each member in the home. Hutchison argues this was specifically to ensure the church was actively pious and not just looking at the past for their identity. Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 262.

⁹⁵ W. Andrew Hoffercker, *Charles Hodge: The Pride of Princeton* (Phillipsburgh: Presbyterian & Reformed, 2011), 163-164. Hoffercker argues that Hodge as well as the majority of Christians who had been nurtured in the church experienced conversion as gradual and quiet, rather than sudden and with much external show.

⁹⁶ The *mythos* of the communion season, whereby Reformed Presbyterians believed they were partaking in a spiritual communion with Christ, is key to Covenanter faith. George Mullan writes of the communion season saying, “These lives, whether by women or men, manifest the central role of the communion service – or extended communion season when the zealous went... to joint services held over several days – *in conversion and personal covenanting, and generally in fashioning the piety of the Evangelical movement*. Words could not suffice to express the depth of feeling the Evangelicals professed, and for a moment a ritual, a visible symbol or sign, penetrated to deeper levels of meaning where words could not.” Mullan, *Women’s Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland*, 18. Emphasis added.

⁹⁷ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 1 verso, entry 10/26/1856, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁹⁸ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 1 verso,

decidedly Reformed in tone. While she gave her heart to the Lord, it is followed with a humble and honest overwhelming admission; “What am I that thou shouldest condescend to make a covenant with me who am but a poor sinful woman of the dust!”⁹⁹ Though Catherine’s conversion had not looked dramatic outwardly, she had, according to her covenant theology, in a very real way volitionally devoted her soul to God.¹⁰⁰

A year later, on her birthday, Catherine reflected on her first communion experience and the state of her heart. She wrote,

Grant me thy Holy Spirit in rich abundance at this time when I would dedicate myself to Thee. I have already professedly given myself up to Thee in sitting down at the table of the Lord; but if I have not done it from the heart help me to do so now... Oh! God thou knowest the inmost recesses of my heart pardon whatever is not sincere in this assertion. Help me to make it my sincere desire. Do not however trust me to myself to keep this covenant with Thee. I have already so often fallen through my good resolutions... Oh! Father in Heaven be Thou at my right hand to plead with me reminding me of my solemn covenant with Thee and do thou prevail and grant also Thy Holy Spirit to teach me from Thy word, and may I each day become more [and] more like Jesus, my pattern until in Heaven I reach the perfect man. When I come to die, be Thou near, very near to me. Put Thine arms round about me, [and] carry me through the indwellings of Jordan so may I spend Eternity in praising Thy glorious name.¹⁰¹

entry 10/26/1856, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

⁹⁹ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 1 verso, entry 10/26/1856, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹⁰⁰ The covenant language that occurs in this diary passage continued with her seeing God as the great Lord and herself as the vassal. She made various promises to God regarding piety, loyalty, and rejection of sin, and freely accepted the saving work of God in the work of Christ. Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 1 verso – 1 recto, entry 10/26/1856, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹⁰¹ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 2 verso – 4 recto, entry 2/28/1857 “My 19th birth-day,” Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

To Catherine, the day of her conversion was the day of her first communion. That is when she came into a “solemn covenant” with God. That is when she had dedicated herself and given herself up to God. In Catherine’s mind the idea of covenant relationship and personal salvation were intimately connected, if not identical.¹⁰²

In her diaries Catherine goes deeper into the ideas of salvation and the work of the Holy Spirit. At times these passages look very similar and use similar language that might be found in conversion narratives. But, Catherine uses many phrases found in Evangelicalism, such as “give me new heart,” and points them not towards sudden conversion but rather sanctification, repentance, and trials, as well as assurance, or lack thereof. Many of these are closely related and are difficult to distinguish fully in Catherine’s diaries. She was no systematician and her diaries were not meant to be read as such. Rather, her diaries show how deeply entangled these issues were in her heart. Assurance was directly linked with temptation, sanctification was tied intimately to the active work of the Holy Spirit, and trials and temptation pushed her to question both her faith and assurance of salvation.

Many of Catherine’s writings deal with her desire for a stronger relationship with the Lord. The desire for sanctification, mortification of sin, and assurance of salvation are mentioned side by side in many entries. Sanctification was, like salvation, a work of the Holy Spirit in Catherine’s mind. When her sister left home after getting married Catherine struggled with the grief and saying good bye. There was a deep connection between

¹⁰² The idea of personal covenanting for women was a long Coveanter tradition. George Mullan writes about other covenanter women of the seventeenth century entering, and writing out, their personal covenants with God. Mullan, *Women’s Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland*, 13-14.

Catherine and her sister. But, her sister could not be more important to her than her relationship to God. With that conviction on her soul she wrote,

Oh! My God, have me to live a better life! Give me a new heart! Draw near to me [and] make up thee me the want of my sister. Oh! Give me a new - a warm heart. Give me deliverance from my burden of sin + sorrow. Help me to live, as I most certainly will wish that done at the close of my life.¹⁰³

Then, after a Monday sermon, presumably during a communion season, Catherine wrote her reaction to hearing a sermon on “There shall be showers of blessing...”¹⁰⁴ Reflecting on the sermon Catherine wrote, “Lord, my soul is dry and parched. I need a shower.”¹⁰⁵ Catherine sought the work of the Holy Spirit in her life not only to bring her to the place of covenant conversion but to continue her in sanctification.

Catherine’s reliance on the Holy Spirit for sanctification is also reflected in her struggles with temptation and trials in her life. One of the hardest trials in Catherine’s life was being engaged to a man whom her family, especially her father, disapproved.¹⁰⁶ Through their extremely long engagement Catherine struggled with her heart being split between her

¹⁰³ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 3 verso, entry 5/23/1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹⁰⁴ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 26 recto, entry 4/9/1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹⁰⁵ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 26 recto, entry 4/9/1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹⁰⁶ Catherine was engaged to a Reformed Presbyterian Pastor from America, John Longfellow McCartney. John met the Robertson family when he preached a sermon at their church in Rothesay, while he was studying at Glasgow. Catherine’s father opposed their relationship, thinking John might be attempting to gain a rich bride. John Robertson, Catherine’s father, also believed rural life in Northwood, Ohio was no place for his daughter. Catherine’s daughter Wilhelmina wrote a novel based on this nine year romantic engagement and described Catherine’s life in Glasgow as well as her transition to America. Wilhelmina Macartney, *Catherine*, manuscript, 1940. Clarence Edward Macartney Collection, McCartney Library, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania. Macartney, *The Making of a Minister*, 35.

love and longing for John and her love for Christ. She became so passionate about this tension between the two that she wrote,

At home. Idol in my heart. I feel convinced all the strokes I have been receiving have been for the purpose of dashing the idols from my heart: for the purpose of making me turn to Jesus as my “all” “Sufficient” not yet, am I able down in the secret recesses of my heart to say “Christ is all[?]” Upon the surface I say so truly but I fear I hear a voice that says “Christ first, but Christ and him next.” Will God not leave me alone... Am I willing to have Himself without any-thing else in the world? Oh! It’s a hard lesson to learn! I fear more gulfs of grief are yet before me ever I have it by heart!

I cry to God, to work in me directly by His Spirit to will of His good pleasure. But I fear that first means – Give me thy Spirit, but give me my hearts wish too. God and mammon – the old cry. I would like to be wholly His but I would like he would not ask me to give up what my affections have so long clung around. This just proves I am not truthfully [and] sincerely from my inmost ... seeking to have my will blended and lost in His. Lord, break asunder my chain and set me free! Oh cause me to give myself up unreservedly, body, soul [and] Spirit to Thee, to be led, to be dealt with, to be used, to receive joy or sorrow, to have fond hopes realized, or to have them disappointed without a murmur; - nay – more – to be able in all to “Rejoice always in all things.” I find it too hard, too hard. True, God says “My Grace is sufficient for thee.” “With God all things are possible.” But I find a feeling in my heart that does not wish this, - an unwillingness to be made willing to give up cheerfully what my heart has been so long set on. Lord there is much work yet to be done in my heart. There is still there the very deep of iniquity.¹⁰⁷

To Catherine, the life of the Christian was deeply marked by union with Christ. Or as she calls it “to have my will blended and lost in his.” Temptation, grief, trials, struggle, loneliness, and pain were ways in which God showed her the idols of her heart and brought her into closer communion with himself. A few days later, Catherine was still struggling and consoled herself again writing, “Heart still sad, and faintly languidly struggling to rise

¹⁰⁷ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 18 recto – 20 verso, entry 1/9/18, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

superior to trial and **confide** in my Father's love."¹⁰⁸ Catherine's ideas of conversion and the need for communion with God were directly linked to trials and sanctification.

At times Catherine's passionate desire to overthrow sin, be joined to Christ, and their intimate connectedness with the work of the Holy Spirit would throw Catherine into a tailspin of doubt when she failed to see sanctification or feel God's presence. One of the most common themes, possibly only second to Sabbath in her diary, is language about a new heart and more specifically the deep wrestling for assurance of salvation.¹⁰⁹

Catherine's diaries are filled with a type of continual anxiety over the state of her soul. While she writes with confidence at some points in her diary, they are overshadowed at times with serious doubts over her lack of piety, and authenticity of her salvation. In one desperate entry she wrote,

[Make] me a new creature: Oh! Lord Jesus, give me a new heart! *Oh! Lord Jesus! I am like a dead, lifeless branch:* Take me to thyself, [and] keep me abiding in thee, and do thou abide in me! That I may live to thee. Oh! Lord Jesus, baptize me with thy Spirit [and] make my whole inner life to spring up to thee. My desire, my affections, my thoughts, my delights – all to the upwards to thee.¹¹⁰

Passages like these make it extremely difficult to figure out what Catherine's lived theology was. In many passages she seems to have swung from hopeless in one sentence to pleading

¹⁰⁸ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "1866-1868," 22 verso, entry 1/14/1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. The bold and underlined text is double underlined in the original manuscript.

¹⁰⁹ Sabbath topics occur a minimum of nineteen times in her diaries while language of new heart and new soul appears nineteen times. But, if one includes language of sin, temptation, worldliness, and salvation in this issue then it far outweighs the issue of Sabbath. She finds the religious routine of her life in Sabbath, but finds the tenor of her faith in this general category.

¹¹⁰ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "1866-1868," 15 verso, entry not dated, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

for God to be with her in the next. One is left to wonder if these were actual doubts of her salvation or pious hyperbole.

In another passage on her twentieth birthday Catherine again doubted her conversion, or at least lacked assurance momentarily.

It is long, very long, since I had my first impressions and convictions, so long that I have but a faint recollection of them, and yet, how is it that at the end of 20 years, I am but as it were at the entrance of the narrow path and even, as at this present moment in darkness as to whether I have ever really begun to walk in the way that leadeth unto everlasting life. How is it that my spiritual life has been such a changeable chequered one? The general character of it has been that of darkness [and] absence from God – interposed here and there with seasons – bright seasons when the rays of God’s countenance shone down on my soul with rich effulgence, uninterrupted by the clouds and mist of sin of unbelief and sloth which usually surrounded it: - seasons when my soul acted faith in a risen Savior a faith of which I was at those times sure that though small as a grain of mustard seed, yet was that faith which is the gift of God. How is it that I have been so like a bird that has got its wings cut, which after a great effort manages to rise above the ground for a few minutes, but immediately sinks down again to where it was exhausted and discouraged. I have sometimes thought in moments of unbelief [and] fretfulness, that God must be a very changeable God, one time causing me to rejoice in the light of his countenance [and] then again hiding His face from me and leaving me in total darkness, in the mazes of unbelief and sin.¹¹¹

In passages such as these, one is confronted with the reality of lacking assurance. Catherine seems to have lost any surety that she was actually converted. Again in another passage she cried, “Oh! God, when will thou breathe on these dry bones that they may live? Send thy

¹¹¹ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 18 verso – 19 recto, entry 2/28/1858, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

sanctifying Spirit, I humbly entreat thee to purify [and] cleanse my inward parts.”¹¹² There are scores of entries in which Catherine seems to have sought assurance.¹¹³

Interestingly, though Catherine’s lack of assurance was often directly related to her faulty works, she found comfort and assurance in the immutability of God. After doubting her salvation, Catherine consoled herself with God’s immutability, writing,

God is unchangeable, and that we might with as much reason say that the bodily sin which is often taken as an emblem of Christ, was very changeable, because we have day and night, sunshine and shower, clear days and fogs: when all while it is the motion of our planet which causes the day and night the clouds in our own atmosphere that interrupt the rays of the sun, which stands immovable emitting its light and heat always alike. And so it is not owing to anything in God that at one time I am enabled to exercise faith in Him, to love, to obey, while at another I have no inclination to pray to Him, nor to love nor trust Him – can see no beauty in Him at all. No it is to my own wavering and moving to and fro; to my own sins coming betwixt God and my soul.¹¹⁴

Catherine’s assurance is by far a smaller and less passionate part of her diary. However, it is telling that when she did look for assurance of salvation it was not in experience. Experience is what made her doubt her salvation. But, it was the promises and attributes of Christ that give her assurance of salvation.

¹¹² Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 7 verso – 7 recto, entry April 1857, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹¹³ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 2 verso – 4 recto, entry 2/28/1857, 4 recto – 5 verso, entry 1/4/1857, 5 verso – 6 verso, entry 1/11/1857, 7 verso – 7 recto, entry April 1857, 18 verso – 22 recto, entry 2/28/1858, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 9 verso – 9 recto, entry, October 1867, 25 verso – 25 recto, entry 3/15/1857, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹¹⁴ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 19 verso – 19 recto, entry 2/28/1858, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. There are other times in which Catherine finds comfort in the classical attributes of God as well, Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 1 verso, entry 1/26/1866, 3 recto – 3 verso, entry 5/23/1865, 4 verso – 4 recto, entry 4/26/1866, 7 verso – 7 recto, entry 10/13/1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. As well as Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 19 2 verso – 4 recto, entry 2/28/1857, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

Catherine's conversion, of a covenantal sort, dealing directly with communion, as well as her entries on sanctification, trials, and assurance all show that she was being influenced by the Evangelical culture in which she lived. But, Catherine merged this Evangelical influence with her Reformed understanding of salvation and a life of faith. Regarding conversionism and the work of the Holy Spirit, Catherine, and those similar to her in the Reformed Presbyterian Church, were indeed within the Evangelical fold.

Activism

Bebbington's second criterion for his quadrilateral is activism, which is nearly synonymous with evangelism.¹¹⁵ Bebbington explains this qualification with a quote from a Congregationalist,

The Evangelical saint of to-day is not a man who spends his nights and days in fasting and prayer, but a man who is a zealous Sunday-school teacher, holds mission services among the poor, and attends innumerable committee meetings. "Work" has taken its place side by side with prayer.¹¹⁶

If there were any qualification for an Evangelical that Catherine most easily fit into, it is activism, as seen in the quotation noted above. A major concern for Catherine was her work as a Sunday school teacher as well as the work she did amongst the girls who labored in her father's factories.

Catherine's work in Sunday school classes, as explored in the previous chapter on Sabbath, shows how seriously she sought the souls of her pupils. But, Catherine's efforts to bring others the gospel did not end on Sabbath. Rather, one of her greatest joys was the Bible study she led with the girls who worked at her father's textile mill in Glasgow.

¹¹⁵ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 10-12.

Catherine's son, Clarence Macartney, wrote of his mother's Bible classes saying,

When driving in the family carriage from Blaribeth to Galsgow and passing through Rutherglen where her father's mill was, Mother would frequently see a pale face pressed against the window high up in one of the tenements. One day she had the coachman stop the carriage and, alighting, made her way through the "close" and up the dark winding stairway to the chamber where she had seen the face at the window. There she found a frail, crippled girl. After that visit Mother started a Friday-night Bible class for the mill girls. The class grew rapidly in numbers and became a means of blessing to hundreds of the mill girls and women. I have in my library Thomson's *The Land and the Book*, still one of the best works on the Holy Land, which was presented to Mother on her wedding day by her Friday-night class. It bears the inscription: "To Catherine Roertson on her wedding day. 'Let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.'"¹¹⁷

Catherine was actively involved in trying to bring others to God. She did this in the best way she knew how, to meet the unreached where they were. For the women and girls who toiled in her father's factory this was accomplished by holding a weekly Bible study in the cotton mill. Her diaries show a general pattern to how these meetings were conducted.

While the girls were still working, she would read various passages of the Scriptures to them.¹¹⁸ The ones she lists are the Prodigal Son, the Parables of the Ten Virgins, and the Agony of Christ's crucifixion, as well as the concluding chapter of

¹¹⁶ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 10-11.

¹¹⁷ Clarence Macartney, *The Making of a Minister*, 39.

¹¹⁸ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "1866-1868," 21 verso, entry 1/11/1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. It is interesting that Catherine notes that she held her classes while the girls were working. The diaries suggest that she was defending her actions. Catherine's tone seems to suggest that by doing her classes with the mill girls was not taking away from the productivity of her father's mill. It is also interesting to note that Catherine's father, John Robertson, could be a member of a denomination that fought so hard against slavery, yet he was the owner of a mill that had "crippled[s]" and girls working in it. With the child labor laws being extremely lax, to non-existent, at this time it seems inconsistent or at least short sighted of the denomination to ignore John's employment of children well into the evenings in his

Revelation.¹¹⁹ After the reading she would typically have a short devotional reading and then have one or all of the girls sing. Interestingly, only twice does she mention having them sing a Psalm.¹²⁰ Instead of singing the Psalms exclusively, which was the practice of all Reformed Presbyterians, she often had them sing hymns such as “Rock of Ages” or “Heaven is my Home.”¹²¹ And, in one entry she specifically says, “Negro Servant sang Rock of Ages.”¹²² Catherine’s leading the Bible studies for the “mill girls” show that her identity was firmly Evangelical.

Catherine displayed her activism in more aggressive ways as well. Besides Sabbath school and Bible studies Catherine often found herself handing out tracts and entreating others to come to Christ. When Catherine distributed tracts she attempted to dialogue and care for those with whom she came in contact. Some of the entries show how

dangerous mill.

¹¹⁹ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 21 verso, entry 1/11/1865, 22 verso, entry 1/18/1865, 22 verso, entry 1/25/1865, 24 recto, entry 3/1/1865, and 25 verso – 25 recto, entry 3/15/1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹²⁰ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 22 verso, entry 1/18/1865, 25 verso – 25 recto, entry 3/15/1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹²¹ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 21 verso, entry 1/11/1865, 24 recto, entry 3/1/1865, 25 verso – 25 recto, entry 3/15/1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. Things brings up a host of questions regarding the regulative principle and the extent to which Catherine was being consistent with the principle of exclusive a capella psalmody which the Reformed Presbytery demanded. It might be that Catherine was being swept up in the Victorianism of hymnology which was surrounding her. Or, it could also show that she did not believe that she, as a woman, was in a place to lead worship, but saw her Bible studies as categorically different.

¹²² Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 24 recto, entry 3/1/1865, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. It is important to note that Catherine followed in a long heritage of antislavery and anti-segregation. The Reformed Presbyterian Church, both in Scotland and abroad, fought vehemently against racism and slavery. Catherine even mentioned in one of her diaries that she had read *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “1866-1868,” 18 verso, entry 1/3/1865. Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

she could both bring the gospel to others and simultaneously be convicted herself as well. In one of these entries she wrote,

Had a pleasant cheering conversation with a young married woman who has been much tried in worldly affairs, but who has benefited by the trials. Felt much ashamed to hear from her how she had spoken a word for Christ to the past – woman who comes frequently to our house [and] to whom I never spoke on religion subjects.¹²³

It seems from Catherine's diaries that while she was distributing tracts, other women were indeed evangelizing closer to, or inside of, their own homes. She wrote on another occasion,

Distributed tracts. Read with some, prayed with some. One woman seemingly anxious about her soul. One young married woman a Catholic can neither read nor write, a curser [and] swearer listened with interest to the story of blind Bartimaeus: she told of some mistress in Newton ... a Mrs. Soundor who used to read [and] explain the Scriptures to her, whose godly example and precepts were not yet wholly lost apparently. There seemed to be even in her heart some seeds of good and they were implanted there by that mistress' hands long years ago.¹²⁴

Catharine's evangelism at times became even more intimate. At times families invited Catherine into their homes. She wrote about how these visits could be both very difficult as well as rewarding,

Visited a number of families. One – 3 women – dirty house, weeping young wife, married 9 years. Drunken husband had just left the house with the blankets off the bed to pawn. I tried to speak a word of comfort. Read a part of God's word. Urged her to pray.

Another family. Man an invalid for 7 years. Wife with hard complaint. 8 of a family. Trust in God. Recommended his goodness in bringing her through many difficulties and trials. Remarkable instance of answer to prayer.¹²⁵

¹²³ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "1866-1868," 20 verso – 20 recto, entry 1/10/1865. Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹²⁴ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "1866-1868," 22 recto – 23 verso, entry 1/21/1865. Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹²⁵ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "1866-1868," 26 verso – 27 recto, entry 3/27/1865. Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. The note about the alcoholic father is a

Catherine's active role in evangelism, or activism, is clearly seen in her Bible classes with the mill girls, her distributing tracts on the streets of Glasgow, as well as her practice of home visitations. When this is coupled with the visiting of the sick, as describe in the chapter above, and her fervent work as a Sabbath School teacher, there can be absolutely no doubt that Catherine was well within the Evangelical fold. When this is coupled with her high regard for Scripture her identity as both a Reformed Presbyterian, as well as an Evangelical, becomes sharply focused.

Biblicism

The third criterion in Bebbington's quadrilateral is Biblicism. By this he means a high regard for the Scriptures, and eventually among theologians, that Evangelicals would hold to the verbal plenary theory of inspiration.¹²⁶ This is probably one of the most difficult criteria to qualify for Catherine. As noted in the section on conversionism, Catherine's diaries are not systematic, nor were they written in academic prose. Rather, they belong to a genre that many Covenanter women had participated in, that of religious self-writing.¹²⁷ For the layperson in the pew, like Catherine, this qualification is somewhat esoteric. But, if the qualification means mainly that an Evangelical holds that the Scriptures are truly the word of God and are to be esteemed as such then Catherine fully qualifies. The

particularly interesting one, and no doubt this experience, like the one on January 2, 1865, lead her to fully accept the call to prohibitionism. Catherine later in her life would become the president of the local Women's Christian Temperance Movement. This topic is beyond the scope of this paper, but one hopes to eventually address issues such as these in a later research project. It is interesting though that Catherine did not see a need to find new blankets to help the wife of the alcoholic husband.

¹²⁶ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 12-14.

¹²⁷ Mullan, *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland*, 5-19.

logocentric and Scripture-saturated nature of Catherine's diaries again show that she was in lockstep with the Covenanter women before her.¹²⁸ Catherine's diaries are too thickly laced with Scriptural themes, Scriptural images, and Scriptural passages to analyze or parse through to attempt at getting a doctrine of inspiration.¹²⁹ However, the very nature of the diaries, being saturated with Scriptures, is evidence enough that she rooted her faith in them and did not seem to doubt their trustworthiness.

Crucicentrism

The last of Bebbington's quadrilateral is the qualification, or demarcation, of Christ's sacrifice, or the atonement, as a key element to the Evangelical's faith.¹³⁰

Catherine's diaries once again show that she was within the Evangelical fold. In her Sabbath School tract Catherine focused on the atonement saying,

He is now today standing with outstretched arms, intreating you to come to Him that you may be saved. . . Flee then to Jesus while He is willing to receive you; this very moment, *lift up your heart to Him to save you, to wash all your sins away in His own blood*; and fear not "He will in no wise cast you out!"¹³¹

While Catherine used the revivalist style of preaching of Hell in an attempt to move listeners to understand the severity of their natural condition, she held out the gospel call and the atonement of Christ to the Sabbath School children she evangelized. Continuing in the tract,

¹²⁸ Mullan, *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland*, 17-18.

¹²⁹ While it is possible that this *could* be done, the project would be too exhaustive to be helpful in this thesis.

¹³⁰ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 14-17.

¹³¹ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary "My First Communion fr. 1856-1862," 15 verso – 15 recto, entry "New-Year tract for Sabbath School children 1857-58," Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. emphasis added.

Catherine warned the children of the fires and torments of Hell and again offered them a gospel call. This time she tied together a string of biblical imagery and passages saying,

“Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved” *“come now and let us reason together, tho’ your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow, though they be red like crimson thy shall be as wool”* “Turn ye, turn ye, why will ye die.”¹³²

When Catherine gave out tracts, and presumably, when she evangelized, the reality of the atonement was central to the gospel call.

The atonement of Christ was not a singular event in Catherine’s mind, however. Much as the giving of a new heart was understood by Catherine as a continual exercise of the Holy Spirit, so was the washing of her sins by Christ’s blood. In a diary entry in which she was reflecting on her duties on the Sabbath, she moved to examining how she wanted the Sabbath to be a model for the rest of her life. In that vein she wrote,

Lord, help me to take the candle of thy word, and search my heart, and whatever sins and shortcomings I may find there give me grace. I beseech thee, to come in faith, to have them washed away in the blood of Christ, which cleanseth from all sin.¹³³

Catherine believed that not only at the day of her conversion, but throughout her life, she needed to have her sins “washed away in the blood of Christ.”

It is clear from this section that Catherine fully qualifies under both Sweeney’s and Bebbington’s qualifications for one to be considered an Evangelical. Catherine’s diaries reveal that members of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland

¹³² Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 16 verso, entry “New-Year tract for Sabbath School children 1857-58,” Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD. Emphasis added.

¹³³ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 24 recto, entry “4th,” Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

were not just exercising their liberty of occasional hearing but were participants in Evangelicalism. Catherine had purposefully sided with the revivals occurring around her, despite the disapproval of other Reformed Presbyterians. But, she experienced Christianity in the distinct traditions of the Reformed Presbyterian denomination. She exercised and experienced communion and conversion in a covenantal way, thus tying her directly into the Covenanter tradition of which she was a member. The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland's difficulties over a changing identity can be seen poignantly in Catherine's diaries, though not in the ways historians have typically described.

There remain serious questions about Catherine's identity. Could she in fact still be a Reformed Presbyterian while being influenced by a broader Evangelical culture, an issue Hutchison says was moving the denomination closer to uniting with the Free Church? How important was the longstanding conviction of political dissent, based upon the perpetual obligations of the Covenants, to the official identity of Reformed Presbyterians? Hutchison argues that the general principles of covenanting and Reformed theology were enough to qualify one as a faithful Reformed Presbyterian. However, the members of the Minority Synod believed dissent was in fact *the* litmus test to whether or not one was truly Reformed Presbyterian.¹³⁴

To Catherine the issue of exercising the franchise or union with the Free Church was not important, or at least not important enough to make it into her diaries. Rather, Catherine was desperate to experience authentically and be in relationship with her

¹³⁴ Gordon Keddie, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Disruption of 1863," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology*, 11 (Summer 1993): 31-49. Gordon Keddie, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Disruption of 1863," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology*, 12

Savior. As a lay member in the pew she experienced this period in the denomination's history without a great deal of existential struggle over her institutional identity. The rituals and forms of the church continued on without interruption. Sabbath services marked her weeks and the revivals of communion seasons the spiritual high points of the year. Catherine believed she was both a good Reformed Presbyterian as well as a part of the broader Evangelical movement around her. Indeed the forms of worship, reiterated every Sabbath, continually laid the foundation for the principle of Reformed logocentric worship and theology, or the general principles Hutchison says Reformed Presbyterians were starting rest upon for their identity.

In 1868, when she was finally allowed to marry her long awaited American fiancé John Longfellow McCartney, she transferred her membership to a sister church that was also dealing with a type of identity crisis after the conclusion of the American Civil War. Catherine's diaries from her transition to America will show the confluence of issues and ideas in a transatlantic ecclesiastical tradition. They show that the turmoil over institutional identity on both sides of the Atlantic rested persisted in the traditions of the church. The subsequent chapters will, like these, bring insight into life in and identity of the denomination.

CHAPTER 3

NEW WORLD AND NEW LIFE

After their nine year engagement period Catherine married John McCartney and they departed Scotland to start their lives together in America.¹ Catherine's marriage and her move to America produced deep and multifaceted challenges and changes in her life. Her socioeconomic status changed. Transferring her membership from the Scottish church to the American produced a series of continuities and discontinuities. Her new role as a pastor's wife quickly challenged her ideas of an ideal marriage. In America she experienced the deepest doubt in her faith as well as the hardest sorrow of heart she could have ever imagined. Catherine's diaries during her first twelve years in America show the difficulty Reformed Presbyterians faced regarding Americanization and the struggle to maintain a distinct Reformed Presbyterian identity.

"Frontier" Life

Catherine's father, John Robertson, was a wealthy man, owning the largest cotton mill in the world. When Catherine, his eldest daughter, wanted to marry an American minister and immigrate to Ohio he was dead set against it. John Robertson had built a stately home outside of Glasgow and had filled it with all the Victorian comforts of the time,

¹ It should be noted that the surname McCartney was Irish in heritage. Though John normally spelled it McCartney, Catherine often used the Scottish spelling Macartney. Her children also chose, seemingly arbitrarily, which way they would spell the name. The spellings are used interchangeably at times throughout the following chapter depending on the source referenced. The library located on the Geneva College campus, named after Catherine and John's youngest son Clarence, is named McCartney and houses many of the family

servants included. Decidedly against the marriage, John Robertson sent two of his sons to confirm his fears about the rural outpost at which Catherine's fiancé ministered. After meeting with President Lincoln to discuss the cotton trade Catherine's brothers returned home and reported that indeed the rural town was not suitable for Catherine.² But, Catherine persisted in her pursuit of John Longfellow McCartney and eventually they did marry after her father reluctantly approved nine years later.³

Domestic Work and Servants

Catherine's American diaries began soon after her and John's arrival in Northwood, Ohio. Immediately upon arriving Catherine found herself faced with the difficulties of rural life and the impact they made on her relationship with God. The stately home of Blairbeth with its many rooms and servants was traded for a small wooden home near the church that John ministered. Catherine took the change in accommodations in stride, however. She started off her diary with the entry:

On 30th June I with my sweet little babe left Cincinnati for home. I had been in the city for six weeks and was bringing back with me my first-born. Mrs. Johnstone and Fanny her coloured girl who had been attending me for 2 weeks saw me—my child, my birds, my flower baskets, my boxes away in train. Mr. Macartney's face greeted me at Dayton. I found that both Mrs. Wilson [and] Mrs. Torrance had become ill in my absence. After dinner, I drove home to my new home. Met [and] kissed Christina's face at door. All seemed like a dream. My baby and Christina carrying it [and] my new house in the back-woods.

God can do anything.⁴

papers as well as Clarence's archives and library specifically.

² Clarence Macartney, *The Making of a Minister*, 37. Albert McCartney, *Autobiography*, 3.

³ This is a very long and detailed story, but can be read in a novel Catherine's only surviving daughter Wilhelmina wrote entitled *Catherine*.

⁴ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson McCartney: July 28, 1869 to*

Catherine's initial experiences in Northwood were pleasant, and with youthful excitement she looked beyond the harsh realities that were to face her in Ohio. This first diary entry gives a series of clues as to the challenges that would befall Catherine over the next decade. The first is the most apparent. Between their marriage day and their arrival in Northwood, John and Catherine had conceived and given birth to their first child, Therina. The second mention in this paragraph that gives us a clue to another challenge in the nineteenth century is her mention of two women congregants who she was supposed to meet but who had been sick. The last challenge is Christina, her parents' young house servant, whom they had persuaded and paid to move to America to help Catherine.

These three mentions in her first diary entry give a glimpse into how Catherine's life was going to change and the difficulties ahead of her. She eventually would fill her diary with mentions of sickness and death.⁵ She would, as a pastor's wife and a good Victorian woman, be expected to show a great deal of hospitality, entertaining those who called at her house as well as visiting others.⁶ Child rearing and the logistical, mental, physical, and spiritual difficulties that come along with it are also prominent.⁷

A month after arriving at her new home in Northwood, Ohio Catherine went to God in prayer confessing and asking,

November 8, 1871, ed. Kae Hirschy Kirkwood, entry "Elmwood Cottage" 7/28/1869, page 2, Clarence Edward Macartney Collection, McCartney Library, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania. It is necessary to share one's gratitude to Kae Kirkwood, the archival librarian at Geneva College, who thanklessly and carefully transcribed two of Catherine's diaries. These transcriptions are what had initially piqued my interest in Catherine's life.

⁵ Catherine mentions sickness and death at least seventy times in these two diaries.

⁶ Visiting or calling is mentioned another seventy times in the diaries.

I am at times made to feel my own incapacity in household labour, but I hope [and] learn both praying [and] aiming to order my affairs so as to honour God, to please my husband—to secure time [and] leisure for the cultivation of heart, mind [and] soul. Today I have been successful in a measure.⁸

Catherine's honesty in prayer regarding the difficulties she faced in her household labor is one of the largest characteristics found in her diaries. Unlike in Scotland, where her father had ensured she had ample time to partake in church and para-ministries by hiring a team of servants, Catherine found herself consumed, physically and mentally, with the difficulties of housework in rural Ohio. The difficulties of ironing, washing clothes and dishes, cooking, cleaning carpets, and even staining furniture took a massive amount of Catherine's time and energy.⁹

Catherine described how her household labor pressed her physically and impacted her emotionally and spiritually.

Today I had the parlor cleaned out--it is now ready for being carpeted. Indeed my plan was to lift the dining room carpet today and put it down right away—bring down bed—set up stove and be sleeping there tonight. Fortunately Mac objected for I was already so tired that I scarcely knew it—that Mac's objecting heartily upset me; if I had gone on with my proposed work there would surely have been a breakdown both physically [and] morally.¹⁰

⁷ Entries that deal with her children are mentioned at least another thirty times.

⁸ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 8/23/1869, page 3.

⁹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 11/2/1869, page 6, entry 11/10/1869, page 6, entry 5/24/1870, page 13, entry 6/27/1870, page 14. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, ed. Kae Hirschy Kirkwood, entry 1/10/1871, page 2, entry 5/14/1872, page 7, entry 5/18/1872, page 8, entry 11/11/1872, page 13, Clarence Edward Macartney Collection, McCartney Library, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania.

¹⁰ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 11/13/1872, page 13.

In these diary entries Catherine wrote about how difficult she found her domestic work and the impact it had on her. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to*

Catherine's physical and moral break downs, resulting from the amount of domestic work she had, were a disturbance to her. In one of her diary entries she wrote about how she literally wept out of weariness.¹¹ During one of her visits to Scotland, where she was without the worries of housework, she pleaded with God,

...Incline Mr. Macartney's mind to leave America [and] take a charge in this country—to open up for us some sphere of usefulness where Mamma in her declining years might enjoy a fair measure of the company of that daughter who was so long her companion [and] friend—where also I might be freed from the difficulties [and] trials of a domestic kind to which I was so much exposed in Northwood [and] for which I was so little fitted [and] which seemed to hinder so much my spiritual advancement.¹²

Catherine was desperate for her husband to leave the ministry in the American church and take a charge in Scotland where she believed that she might escape the oppressive amount of domestic labor she was responsible for and once again have the time and energy to revive her religious life.

Catherine was not alone in her domestic labors in America, however. As mentioned previously, when she arrived in Northwood her family had supplied her with a servant to help with domestic chores and childcare.¹³ Catherine had a difficult time with Christina, though. Catherine was used to the strict class distinctions in Scotland and often

November 8, 1871, entry 11/2/1869, page 6,. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 5/24/1872, page 9, entry 1/5/1873, page 15, entry 11/19/1873, page 23, entry 11/24/1873, page 24, entry 12/25/1873, page 24, entry 5/10/18891, page 38.

¹¹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/5/1873, page 15.

¹² Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 6/18/1871, page 17.

¹³ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 7/28/1869, page 2.

treated Christina, as well as her later servants, as if they were indeed beneath her socially. Catherine became cross with Christina and would at times speak down to her. Two examples of this hierarchical structure can be seen in the diaries when Catherine wrote saying, “A little word in evening has offended Christina. I have asked God to direct her heart into the right exercise – that she may bear patiently and improve.”¹⁴ On another occasion Catherine wrote,

This morning I was cross at Christina for having a poor fire in dining room. This gave her opportunity to speak of my unkind words to her in the interval on Sabbath. I had said, “Run away – run away - ” I was much grieved [and] in an hour or so told her I had asked God’s forgiveness for my inconsiderateness. She has been pleased [and] happy like ever since. We have been ironing today. Snow very deep. Baby unusually peevish.¹⁵

Catherine also became upset with Christina over other small issues that point not to Christina’s fault but rather to Catherine’s difficulty in acclimating to her life in rural Ohio. Catherine showed this peevish tendency when she wrote,

[Christina] was at Mr. Imbray’s in forenoon [and] came home in interval. I went [and] reached the door late [and] all besmeared with mud. I felt cross at the mud [and] at [Christina] for not telling me the roads were so bad [and] so did not go in.¹⁶

This diary entry shows the difficulty Catherine was experiencing in her adjustment to rural life. Catherine willfully chose to miss Sabbath afternoon sermon because she could not be seen in a muddy dress. This demonstrates a remarkable change in Catherine’s priorities. Her sense of what it meant to be a proper Victorian woman, especially in dress, had superseded

¹⁴ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 9/9/1869, page 3.

¹⁵ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 11/10/1869, page 6.

¹⁶ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 2/27/1870, page 12.

what only a year prior would have been the highlight of her weekly religious rhythm. Missing sermon for the sake of being socially presentable indicates a deep challenge to Catherine's worldview.

Christina did not stay very long. Within ten months she left to St. Luis and never returned.¹⁷ This started a long theme of Catherine's life where she struggled hiring and retaining nurses and servants. At times Catherine even joked in her diary about the number of servants she had come and leave through her home.¹⁸ Some of the servants we suspected of stealing and were let go, some were too expensive, some were intolerable, and one was incompetent.¹⁹

Catherine's need for servants also helped break down her understanding of class distinctions. When one of her servants refused to return to work Catherine assumed something was wrong. She recorded in her diary how malleable her ideas of social hierarchy became when finding out why a servant had not returned to work.

Louis Johnstone came down to speak with me as to his sister-in-law. He says the only thing she was not satisfied with was that I did not have her sit at table with me. I had suspected as much [and] feeling my great need of her I had made up my mind to let her sit on my lap if she liked! I told him if she would be otherwise contented I would change my mode of doing etc. So Lucelia came down and we agreed that she should remain with me this week [and] that at the end of the week we would come to some understanding as to how long she would stay.²⁰

¹⁷ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 5/26/1870, page 12.

¹⁸ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/13/1872, page 5.

¹⁹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 11/11/1872, page 13, entry 8/24/1872, page 11, entry 11/31/1872, page 14, entry 11/11/1873, page 23, entry 8/6/1872, page 10.

²⁰ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 5/30/1870, page 13.

The class stratification that Catherine assumed was societally normative was challenged in rural America. This was not lost on Catherine; rather, she was acutely aware of the differences between Scottish and American customs, especially regarding equality and class. American servants were offended at the notion that they would labor, cook and clean, but not be allowed to sit and share a meal with their employers, sensing that this was an implication that they were somehow less than the Macartneys. Reflecting on the eventual adaptation to this new social structure Catherine wrote,

How strange it is when I take thought of it--and how trained into this new way I must have become when without much experience, at all events, with affability, I can after acting cook myself then invite her [and] her illegitimate children to sit down with me at the table. A woman from the wash tub [and] of such a character!!²¹

When Catherine's family visited her from Scotland in 1873 she acutely noticed the difference in custom,

The second or third evening, Belle Funks is dressed up so nicely, she looks as if expecting to come in to the tea-table. She used to sit with us: I fear she and Sally Brown will both be offended at being excluded now. How queer all, especially William, look [and] must feel at this. The servants sitting down alongside of him at tea!²²

Catherine's dependence on servants and nurses to help her with children and household chores was directly related to her physical, mental, and spiritual wellbeing. Her diaries between 1869 and 1881 contain very few of the long theological introspections such as those explored in the previous chapters. Instead, Catherine, presumably like many women

²¹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 5/17/1872, page 8.

²² Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 10/31/1873, page 21.

in the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America, struggled to find a balance between domestic work and piety. Once when Catherine had both a house servant as well as a nurse for the children she wrote,

I feel so rested—so much at leisure—so comfortable—I am very happy. And now if my heart were but warm towards God. Oh! my God—shine forth [and] quicken [and] warm my sluggish affections.²³

Catherine was aware that her life and priorities had begun to shift, and she disliked it. Later in life when her home was in order and servants were organized she reflected in her diary,

Servants fair or rather above average. Everything calculated to make a bright cheerful life. Yet I have been terribly downcast this Spring. Life a weight to carry. I think it must be physical for my soul pants to sail aloft—as on eagle’s wings of duty—love, patience, good housewifery—joy and gladness. Satan has tempted me sorely [and] often cast me down. “But thanks be to God who giveth me the victory.” I find that great sin dwelleth in me. Wonderful grace that can ultimately place me beyond the reach of sin as well as woe.

Catherine did not always find her domestic work onerous and even at times prided herself on having become accustomed to it.²⁴ This was typically a short-lived satisfaction and Catherine would become overwhelmed again and be on the search for another servant. Catherine did find a measure of tension in having young women serving and boarding in her home. One candid diary entry shows how troublesome this could be for Catherine.

I don’t know what progress I am making. Sometimes I think I am making some then comes a big fall. For example last Sabbath afternoon [and] evening I sulked all the time. Could neither speak nor read nor pray. And I really had no good cause. Jennie comes home on Sabbath afternoon. Well,

²³ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 6/6/1870, page 14.

²⁴ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 5/16/1872, page 7, entry 5/17/1872, page 8.

this used to be a nice little quiet loving self-contained home that Pa [and] I had to ourselves and I feel each Sabbath so jealous of its loss. The first thing was, after I told Anna what to make for dinner, Pa said he would like something else, so I took glums and with the crack of a hand; muttering, “of course something different,” but as sure as you are sitting there if I had said make cabbage [and] turnips you would have said there is no time.” Now, instead of this, she would have been glad to make something he had a fancy for [and] if I had not been beginning to feel a little lump in my heart at the thought of being bereft of my little quiet time with Pa [and] my babies alone, I would have been glad.

Then Pa looked so happy [and] pleased as it seemed to me to have Jenni there—apparently not having my feeling on this subject in the most distant degree.

Then came the thought—He would never feel the want of not having the fireside to ourselves: home is brighter by the presence of another; I am no more to him than she or any other nice girl would be—and so the wicked thoughts rose close upon one another till on returning from the kitchen [and] finding them sitting beside one another—each with a baby [and] making great fun, the cup ran over and I felt myself or tried to believe I felt myself shut out “playing second fiddle” as the saying is. So I sulked on—fortunately I kept shut the door of my mouth.

But it was so bad of me for Pa never gave me the least occasion to have these thoughts—tho I must confess even at this moment as I write, the thought asserts itself—it is against human nature to have a fine looking young lady form one of your most private circles—always there—at least may be—at any time in any place—when I am dressing [and] undressing even—and to know it is not an annoyance to my husband. It is not in human nature—at least not in Scotch nature not to rise up in grief, disappointment [and] indignation.

But I invited Jennie to stay with us (tho decided in opposition to my heart’s judgement) and she is a very sweet girl [and] I must try to smother any such foolish thoughts [and] behave always becoming the gospel.²⁵

Catherine was jealous for her husband’s attention and time as he often locked himself in the study working long hours preparing for sermons and lectures.²⁶ John’s intense

²⁵ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 2/4/1873, page 16.

²⁶ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 9/9/1869, page 3. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/13/1872, page 5, entry 5/17/1872, page 8, entry 10/31/1873, page 21, entry 3/4/1874, page 27,.

work ethic often left Catherine lonely and depressed. In a frank diary entry Catherine wrote,

As we were at tea Mr. W.R. Johnston called. He [and] Pa retired to the study [and] I to my tea dishes. Then it was time to put Ernest to bed. I was sitting in the dining room, rocking him to sleep when Mr. J. went away. Pa convoyed him a bit—a good little bit it must have been, at least he staid a good while. I was looking for Pa to step in [and] say a word as he passed; seeing the door was open, but through the lobby he flew [and] into the study. It made me feel so shut out from his communion or anybody's for there's no other body for me to have communion with here that I felt aggrieved then passion, angry passion arose [and] with Ernest in my arms I marched into the study [and] made two very righteous remarks. Of course then I felt very unhappy the whole evening [and] a whole host of little neglects [and] reserves on Mac's part for the last few week presented themselves with double force. I had for some weeks been feeling vexed at the want of intimate conversation [and] my old disease has been beginning—by that of thinking I am not beloved [and] that I must be content to live alongside. Not one with him. But my better judgment refused to admit this so readily as it used to do. God even did not seem to encourage me in it, for I felt as if I could not go to Him. I sat sad enough by myself till by [and] by Pa came in to worship. He asked me if I had got out of my big rage yet? Tears were all my answer. Another remark or two but getting no reply from me he proceeded with worship [and] after it went back to study.²⁷

The next day Catherine talked with John to explain her marital loneliness.

I was sighing in the night time a good deal [and] Pa kindly asked if I was sick? This morning he told me to sleep on a little. When I did come downstairs he met with a smile [and] a kiss [and] saying [?] would be wise? I cried [and] made a few expostulatory remarks about his quietness [and] resolve --shutting me out from his communion.²⁸

While Catherine had enjoyed the idea of being married to a godly man, she was not prepared for the long hours she would spend away from John, even when he was studying and preparing for sermons at home. This meant that time alone with her husband was precious

²⁷ . Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 5/17/1872, page 8.

²⁸ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 5/18/1872, page 8.

and though times without servants could be difficult for labor she could at least enjoy spending time alone with John.²⁹ While Catherine might have been a privileged woman of wealth the concept of her husband, a pastor in the denomination, spending tens of hours a week in his study can be assumed as typical of other pastors and their families in the denomination as well.

While Catherine was covetous for John's time, attention, and affections this did not prevail over her need for help with her children and domestic duties. So Catherine was always on the search for stable and valuable help. While at times the servants were members of the Reformed Presbyterian Church many times Catherine hired unregenerate in hopes of sharing the gospel with them.³⁰ It was also assumed that servants who lived with them would attend worship services and participate in family worship, though some of them could not read.³¹ Albert, Catherine and John's second youngest child, wrote, remembering family worship,

Perhaps the most fixed of our early recollections was family worship, not because it appealed to me particularly but because it was so recurrent. After breakfast one of us was asked to bring the books. That meant to go to the dumb waiter, which had been transformed into a closet for books... and bring the pile of Bibles and Psalm books. The servant, or servants, if there were any at the time, would come in at that point and join the family circle. Each one of us read to verses round and round until the chapter was finished. Long before

²⁹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 6/23/1872, page 9, entry 7/20/1872, page 10, entry 8/21/1872, page 11.

³⁰ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 5/30/1870, page 13. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 12/3/1871, page 2, entry 1/2/1873, page 15, 2/27/1874, page 27.

³¹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 9/4/1869, page 2, entry 2/27/1870, page 12. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 12/3/1871, page 2, entry 1/13/1872, page 5, entry 5/17/1872, page 8.

we could read or understand, we recited the verses word for word with Father or an older brother, who would sit beside us. [Then] we knelt down for prayer...

... Invariably Father's prayer would be brought to a somewhat sudden conclusion by the ringing of the college bell which gave him just four or five minutes to get up to his class. We always sang one of the songs, four verses, everybody joining in, and if it did not make sweet melody, it did make for happy memories. There was never any thought of duress in the matter of family worship, for it was as much a part of our family regime as eating and sleeping.³²

Like in Scotland, family worship in the American Reformed Presbyterian Church continued to be a daily routine in the life of congregants.³³ But in America, servants were, as Albert mentioned, to join the family circle. In America the rigid class distinction between servant and master were broken down and a reorientation occurred. In the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America Catherine was the oddity. Being a pastor and professor's wife was the only prestige she held. Her son, Clarence, described the Covenanters around Catherine as "psalm-singing, oath-refusing, secret-society abominating, non-voting and Bible-believing Covenanters...."³⁴ Albert described the congregants as,

...All hard working, God-fearing, psalm-singing Covenanters. The men could dig ditches and discuss the most profound philosophy at the same time, but the women had few books to read and no sources of amusement outside the church and the college.³⁵

Catherine's societal interaction had radically changed. No longer was there a

³² Albert Joseph McCartney, *Autobiography of Albert Joseph McCartney*, manuscript, Clarence Edward McCartney Collection, McCartney Library, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, 16.

³³ Catherine made a series of entries about family worship that also give hints that it was a normal part of their family routine. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, 1/2/1872, page 3, 1/13/1872, page 5, entry 5/17/1872, page 8, entry 12/16/1872, page 14, entry 7/18/1880, page 36.

³⁴ Clarence Macartney, *Making of a Minister*, 32.

³⁵ Albert McCartney, *Autobiography*, 5.

broad and diverse community to interact with as there had been in Glasgow. Instead Catherine complained at times about discussion that circulated around the general gossip of the town.³⁶

Hospitality

Catherine spent a considerable amount of her time talking with congregants in her home, as well as theirs. There are entries in Catherine's diaries that contain nothing but who had visited in her home or whom she visited that day.³⁷

In her American diaries Catherine recorded fifty-two occasions of people visiting her at home and another forty-four times in which she visited people at their homes. Almost all of the visits Catherine records are about members in her congregation or surrounding congregations. While Catherine was sociable during her time in Scotland this intense amount of hospitality took a toll on her. In one of her diaries Catherine wrote that in four days she had had no fewer than forty people visit her at home!³⁸ Many times when people visited the Macartneys they were also invited to a meal. In thirty-two entries Catherine specifically mentions having either tea or dinner with callers. Beyond providing meals for visitors Catherine also notes that many times visitors would unannouncedly spend one or more nights at their home.³⁹

³⁶ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry "Tuesday," page 7, entry 1/23/1873, page 16.

³⁷ This means Catherine's diaries had start looking more like the diary of Martha Ballard and less like Sarah Osborn's. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990). Brekus, *Sarah Osborn's World*.

³⁸ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 8/21/1872, page 11.

³⁹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry "Monday", page 5, entry 11/22/1869, page 7, 11/23/1869, page 7, 11/25/1869, page 8.

This intense form of hospitality undoubtedly helps explain why Catherine was so desperate for help with her domestic work. After some visitors came following a Monday sermon of a communion season Catherine wrote,

I have been without a girl... I am getting along very nicely. The house was clean—carpets lifted [and] etc. [and] I have no difficulty in managing. Tonight Mrs. French and the two Misses Reid were down at tea. I had chicken [and] pancakes [and] a nice tea—prepared it all myself. After they left Pa, Ernest and I were sitting for a few minutes on the porch. Suddenly I started up saying but I must hurry [and] clean away the table and get my dishes washed whilst the water in the kettle is warm. I remarked at the same time to Mac – It is changed times surely. At first when I came here, after company had left I was only fit for my bed, but now with a good grace [and] a good humour I can set to washing dishes. Is it an improvement? Once I would say no—now I say it is.⁴⁰

Catherine could not relax on the porch with John and their Ernest after entertaining guests for a meal. She needed to ensure the dishes were cleaned quickly after their company left or else she would have to stoke a new fire to heat more water.⁴¹ In an era when everything was done by hand, even doing the dishes was not an easy task. But the tone of Catherine's diary entries suggests that this was expected of her as both a pastor's wife and a good Victorian woman.

Entertaining was not always burdensome to Catherine. In one of her diaries

Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 6/5/1870, page 14, entry "Wed. Morning," page 7, 6/23/1872, page 9.

⁴⁰ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 5/16/1872, page 7.

⁴¹ When Catherine and John moved to Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania in 1880 and built their large 14 room house John had the home piped for gas though it would still be years before the service became available in the Beaver Valley. Albert McCartney, *Autobiography*, 12.

she boasted of the large party she threw and the spread she had prepared.⁴² Two years later Catherine wrote about another large party she threw in which she mentions having worn her silk dress.⁴³ It seems Catherine enjoyed throwing large parties, special tea times, and having full classes of students over to her house when she was able to plan and organize for them properly.⁴⁴ However, this was not always the case; there are multiple entries in which Catherine was unexpectedly visited by one, two, or even three persons or families in one day.⁴⁵

One familiar with the history of Geneva College and the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America will also find that Catherine and John hosted numerous well-known members of the denomination. The Crowes, Johnstons, Wylies, Pollocks, Wilsons, Georges, Glasgows, Spiers, Pattersons, and Reeves all dined at some point or another with John and Catherine at their Elmwood cottage in Ohio or Fern Cliffe, their large home in Beaver Falls.⁴⁶ Because of John's close relationship with Geneva College and his

⁴² Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/8/1872, page 4.

⁴³ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 3/4/1874, page 27.

⁴⁴ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/8/1872, page 4, entry 3/4/1874, page 27, entry 6/23/1872, page 9, entry 12/16/1872, page 14, entry 1/1/1873, page 15, entry 1/21/1873, page 16, entry 12/25/1873, page 24.

⁴⁵ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 12/7/1869, page 9, entry 5/31/1870, page 13. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/8/1872, entry 1/12/1872, page 15, entry 4/14/1872, page 6, 5/23/1872, page 8, entry 5/24/1872, page 9, entry 7/9/1872, page 10, entry 11/4/1873, page 22, entry 11/7/1873, page 22, entry 12/29/1873, page 25, entry 8/16/1880, page 36.

⁴⁶ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 11/21/1869, page 7, entry 11/23/1869, page 7, entry 12/15/1869, page 9. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry "Tuesday," page 7, entry 7/9/1872, page 10, entry 1/1/1873, page 15, entry 6/4/1880, page 33, entry 6/17/1880, page 34, entry "29th," page 38.

office as a teaching elder in the denomination, the family was well known throughout the church.⁴⁷

Sickness, Death, and Doubt

John's role as the pastor of the First Miami Reformed Presbyterian Church also meant he would often have to leave to visit members of the church, especially the sick. There are multiple times in Catherine's diaries when she writes about going with John to visit sick congregants or mourn with them at the death of a relative.⁴⁸ She penned about visiting one of these grieving mothers saying,

I rode to Scott's where the girl died. I prayed to God to instruct me how to speak a word in season to the sister who has recovered. I did speak solemnly [and] caringly, but I never feel the love to the souls of men I would like to do. I have been beseeching God to come over the mountains of my transgressions [and] use me in his work of saving souls. I have invited Ada Johnstone to tea tomorrow night for the purpose of talking to her about her soul's salvation. Oh! that I may be decided in my efforts [and] real [and] earnest. Lord teach me what to say and how to say it. Give me love for Ada's soul—I have none. Oh! for the Spirit that I might live for God—being instant in season [and] out of season.⁴⁹

Catherine, though not a minister of the word, believed she had an obligation to share in John's ministry to those grieving and win the souls of those around her. Though Catherine was extremely busy and often physically exhausted, her fervency for evangelism was stoked

⁴⁷ David M. Carson, *Pro Christo et Patria: A History of Geneva College* (Virginia Beach: The Donning Company, 1997), 12. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 324, 577-578.

⁴⁸ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 9/24/1869, page 4, entry 11/26/1869, page 8, entry 11/29/1869, page 8, entry 6/6/1870, page 14. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/4/1872, page 4, entry 1/9/1872, page 4, entry 1/13/1874, page 25, entry 2/18/1874, page 27, entry 10/1/1875, page 29.

⁴⁹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 9/24/1869, page 4.

by the sickness and death that surrounded her.⁵⁰

Catherine's first diary entry about her arrival in Northwood makes a mention of Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Torrance being ill.⁵¹ While this seems like a passing mention in the diary it eventually became a new type of rhythm to Catherine's diaries. Her life, and John's ministry, were directly tied to visiting and caring for the sick, as well as mourning over and ministering in the midst of death. There are numerous entries that contain side notes mentioning someone who was sick.⁵² More frequent however are Catherine's mentions of people being seriously ill.⁵³ This included times when her children had symptoms of malaria, cholera, convulsions, and scarlet fever.⁵⁴

Serious illness provided an opportunity for Catherine to encourage others in their faith, as well as be encouraged by their faith. When a congregant named Mr. Anderson was close to death, Catherine and John went to visit him. Catherine wrote about this

⁵⁰ There are forty-four mentions of sickness and another thirty-three entries that deal with people dying or the subject of death. To have seventy-seven mentions of sickness and death in two diaries means she makes mention of these in one out of four entries.

⁵¹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 7/28/1869, page 2.

⁵² Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 7/28/1869, page 2, entry 12/1/1869, page 8, entry 12/4/1869, page 8, entry 6/6/1870, page 14, entry 9/6/1871, page 17. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 5/23/1872, page 8, entry 7/10/1872, page 10, entry 1/2/1873, page 12, entry 1/20/1873, page 16, entry 1/2/1880, page 32, entry "Monday Morn.," page 34, entry 2/18/1880, page 37.

⁵³ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 11/29/1869, page 8. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/4/1872, page 4, entry 1/9/1872, page 5, entry 3/1/1873, page 18, entry 3/10/1873, page 19, entry 1/13/1874, page 25, entry 2/16/1874, page 26, entry 12/31/1874, page 29, entry 11/8/1875, page 31, entry "Sab.," page 5, entry "Monday," page 35, entry "Tuesday," page 35, entry 11/25/1880, page 36, entry "Sab. Morn.," page 38.

⁵⁴ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 12/31/1869, page 10, entry 7/15/1870, page 15, entry 10/5/1871, page 19. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry

encounter saying,

[Mr. Anderson] was in bed. I think he is not going to live. He seems a true Christian. He told of a young man whom he knew who before he died said Oh! I would like to go to sleep, but I am afraid lest I wake up in Hell. Thank God, said Mr. Anderson, as he told it, I am not afraid to go to sleep.⁵⁵

Sadly, such assurance did not last. When Catherine visited him ten days later his demeanor had changed. She wrote her reflections about this change after the visit,

[We] went down with James Reed in their wood sled to Andersons. He is greatly changed since I saw him ten days ago. I think he is nearing his end. And oh! But he is concerned about his soul. He used to be so confident of his interest in the Saviour now he is all doubt [and] anxiety. Does not know whether he has the right faith or not. He prays all the time in a low muffled voice [and] the most sensible, earnest, prayer! I read a few verses—talked a few words [and] made a short prayer. Oh! That God would dispel the clouds, instruct him by His own Holy Spirit as to what He would have him do [and] enable him to cast all his sins on Jesus. Lord, work faith in him! Lord, manifest Thyself to him! Oh! Let him see thy face in peace.

I am myself much concerned when I remember [and] realize that I too have to pass through the dark valley. And oh! If I get not rid of my fears [and] doubts now in my time of calm peace—how shall I endure in the swelling of Jordan? I feel as if by some means or other, I must attain to at least a blessed, constant, steady Hope. I want to live more for eternity—daily enquiring what God would have me to do. Lord, faith is thy gift—part of the full salvation. Give it to me Lord in rich effusion such as I have never before attained to. Deliver me from my infidel thoughts. Give me to know [and] feel that my Redeemer liveth: that He is mine and I am His. Show me thy face as thou didst to the poor idiot boy Yiddie [and] fill me with joyful satisfaction. Lord hear my prayers.⁵⁶

Ministering to the dying and seeing the struggle for assurance of salvation congregants were having encouraged Catherine in her evangelistic endeavors. After her visit with Mr.

“Monday,” page 35.

⁵⁵ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/13/1874, page 25.

⁵⁶ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to*

Anderson she took time to speak with her servant at home about the state of her soul.⁵⁷

When Mr. Anderson did die, his pastor, John, was at his bedside. Catherine wrote about his death, writing,

I never met with any one seemingly in such earnest after eternal life. As I listened to his awful anxiety I thought how if our God gave him light ere he die and strength and grace to testify to the truth of our religion [and] to the faithfulness of God—I will be satisfied [and] doubt no more. Mr. Macartney who saw his last evening, says he is out of his despair [and] resting comfortably on Jesus. Now shall I be satisfied and doubt no more? Lord grant it!⁵⁸

At the same time Mr. Anderson was sick Catherine had received word that her father was also deathly ill in Scotland. She wrote to her parents encouraging them to prepare their souls for death.⁵⁹ This had not been the first time she had pleaded with her parents to assure her of their hope in Christ.⁶⁰

Though death can never be, nor ever was, an easy topic to write about, Catherine made other mentions of people in the community and family members dying. These were written with grief and sadness but are not necessarily painful to read.⁶¹ Other journal entries, by contrast, show how difficult the topic of death could be for Catherine.

May 10, 1881, entry 2/27/1874, page 27.

⁵⁷ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 2/27/1874, page 27.

⁵⁸ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 3/4/1874, page 27.

⁵⁹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 2/27/1874, page 27.

⁶⁰ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 2/4/173, page 16.

⁶¹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 11/4/1872, page 12, entry 3/10/1873, page 19, entry 11/8/1875, page 31, entry 5/2/1877,

Catherine arrived in America just as the Civil War had ended and modern medicine was still developing. This meant Catherine had to face the profoundly difficult issue of child mortality. After a few months in Northwood, Catherine wrote about her first recorded interaction with such a tragic event. “Mrs. Taylor’s baby died this morning at 8. I went up immediately after breakfast to call.”⁶² The following day was the funeral. Though the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Northwood had split in 1851 over the issue of deacons, both pastors put aside any lasting differences they might have had and helped with the funeral.⁶³ Mr. Milroy of the Second Miami Reformed Presbyterian church preached the sermon and John Macartney, pastor of First Miami Reformed Presbyterian, prayed.⁶⁴ Two weeks later Mrs. Elsie’s baby died of Scarlet Fever.⁶⁵ Tragically, a week later Mrs. Elsie’s other baby died as well.⁶⁶ With much grief Catherine recorded how epidemics swept through the area and took the lives of every child in a household:

Sickness has entered nearly every house in the village; many little ones have been taken, and we have been spared. Mr. [and] Mrs. Taylor are left childless. Oh! that we may have more grace given with the more goodness so that our spared lives [and] health may be more consecrated to the

entry 5/17/1877, page 32, entry 7/18/1880, page 36.

⁶² Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 11/26/1869, page 8.

⁶³ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 323. The deacon issue is not mentioned in Catherine’s diaries. She only mentions the word or subject of deacon one time in her diaries. Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 42-43, 48.

⁶⁴ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 11/27/1869, page 8.

⁶⁵ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 12/9/1869, page 9.

⁶⁶ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 12/17/1869, page 9.

Lord.⁶⁷

This harsh reality of nineteenth-century life spanned the Atlantic. Catherine's brother John experienced the death of all three of his children within a seven-month time frame.⁶⁸ Then four years later his beloved wife Elizabeth also died.⁶⁹ Death was a pain Catherine was profoundly impacted by and thoroughly familiar with.

In 1871 Catherine took Therina and Ernest with her to Scotland to visit her family. While on the ship she had both of them vaccinated in anticipation of their visit.⁷⁰ When it was time to return to America Catherine's parents convinced her to allow Therina to stay with them in Scotland. They had agreed to bring her with them in the spring when they were to come visit Ohio. Writing about the farewell Catherine penned,

...read a chap. [and] prayed with Grandmamma [and] my little Therina. Then Goodbye—Goodbye—My dear Mother—my sweet little daughter.

Papa, Joseph, William, Patrick, Adele saw us off. I felt quite cheery and as if I were going to no great distance. The confidence, quiet assurance [and] even joyful hope I experienced on setting out contrasted with the cloudy uncertain feeling I had when setting out 3 years ago now yet there was but one thing in all the wide continent of America that attracted me but that one was enough to make the parting not a very great trial. Besides I was leaving in Therina a part of myself—so I felt as if I were scarcely going away. And then there was talk all round of the coming one next year.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 2/28/1869, page 10.

⁶⁸ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 7/20/1872, page 10, entry 1/6/1873, page 15.

⁶⁹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 5/17/1877, page 32.

⁷⁰ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 5/11/1871, page 16. There were some complications with Ernest's vaccination. Catherine notes that his arm had completely swollen while Therina's took well.

⁷¹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 10/21/1871, page 20.

Catherine's husband John was shocked and extremely upset that Therina had been left in Scotland.⁷² While Catherine's parents had promised to come in the spring, their visit was continually delayed. John wrote a series of letters to Catherine's father demanding that he bring his daughter home.⁷³ But, Therina was not returned by the spring. In March of the following year, 1873, Catherine received a letter in the mail from Therina,

written as usual by Grandpapa... It told of her being ill with scarlet fever. The letters were written on Saturday the 8th February. She had been unusually well and happy on the Tuesday previous when her cousins were out playing with her. Went to bed as usual [and] when Grandpa went up at ten he found her in a high fever.⁷⁴

The next day Catherine received another letter in the mail and expressed her fears, grief, and attempts at prayer,

After a week of some anxiety about our far distant lamb, the mail at length came yesterday afternoon. It brings sad news. From all contained in the various letters we fear she was then when last was written (Sat. 15th) near her end. We fear she was already gone ere the news of her illness reached us last week.

Oh! That it were not so! Oh! That our precious lamb may have been spared. Of course I have not quite given up hope, but Mr. Macartney has he says. It was strange all last week after hearing first of her illness. I could scarcely pray about it. My prayer seemed to stick in the air. And the thought would always intrude itself—You have been all winter seeking the salvation of your father [and] mother—if God will answer your prayer by this means, will you not acquiesce? And I almost feel sorry at the feeling of acquiescence that I had. I felt, God was wise and knew best what to do. If she has been taken, oh! May we have grace given to say more strongly, It is the will of the Lord, let Him do what seemeth Him good.

⁷² Albert McCartney, *Autobiography*, 7-8.

⁷³ John Longfellow McCartney to John Robertson. These letters are in an unorganized box filled with family letters on loan to McCartney Library from the personal family collection Collot Gueraard. A wonderful project to undertake sometime would be a family history using these letters from the McCartney and Robertson families. Clarence Edward Macartney Collection, McCartney Library, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania.

⁷⁴ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 3/1/1873, page 18.

Oh, my little lamb. It is so strange [and] dreary that I know not whether to think of you today sporting about over more on the lovely lawns at Blairbeth, making glad the hearts of the household there or in the Heavenly fold [and] in the arms of the Good Shepherd.⁷⁵

Catherine anxiously waited for any mail to come that might tell her whether her firstborn child was alive or not. She cried out in her diaries for God to do what he knew best for her daughter and with painful remorse that she might never see her or kiss her again.⁷⁶ Then on March eighth a letter came that changed Catherine's life forever,

“My Therina is gone!” I shall never more in this world behold her. Strange that I can so calmly write these words. She died on the 16th of Feb. 1873 at 1 o'clock Sabbath morning. I do not understand this calmness of heart! But I pray God that I may be drawn closer to Himself—made a better woman. Made to live a better life [and] made ready to die.⁷⁷

Catherine seemed to be in shock over what had happened. While it is admirable that two days later she went out to evangelize a dying woman, she had not given herself time to grieve.⁷⁸ Between March of 1873 and October of 1873 Catherine stopped writing in her journal completely. When she did find the courage to write again she started off by saying,

More than seven months since my last entry! Have they been so uneventful? No: the reverse. But I have felt an aversion to re-open my diary and proceed with the narrative of life wanting that precious vanished one.

But I have not wanted her these seven months. She has been with me daily more [and]more...⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 3/2/1873, page 18.

⁷⁶ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 3/5/1873, page 18.

⁷⁷ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 3/8/1873, page 18.

⁷⁸ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 3/10/1873, page 19.

⁷⁹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 10/31/1873, page 19.

When Catherine's parents did come from Scotland Catherine wrote about their visit and grieving.

Dr. Wilson's buggy is approaching the door with Papa and Mamma. Mr. Macartney [and] William walking alongside. Then sudden calm comes over me as usual when I am moved most deeply. I neither cry nor laugh, scarcely speak a word but assist them out [and] kiss them. Neither do they speak, but by [and] by tears gather in all eyes—our thought are on the one subject tho' we speak it not. Our absent darling. We sit down on the porch. Are we really in Northwood? Is it possible? Then Papa's feelings overcome him and he weeps. He [and] Mr. M enter into conversation...

Next day is Sabbath. When Papa takes out his hat he finds it "clured" like [drew picture of hat]—not fit to wear. He gets Mr. Macartney's [and] puts the band round it. William has a velvet coat. We take Ernest with us. Oh! It is strange to walk in with them. How often have I pictured this—just this very company [and] now they are actually in our church listening to Pa preaching, only—only where is she who had always a place (generally on Papa's knee) in all the pictures [and] realms? Oh! It begins to become a reality that our darling will never come back.

Mamma looks well; thin [and] like her old self. She was so fat and puffed like when I was home two years ago. But tears fill my eyes—but then very little calls up the tears just now as I look at her [and] see how her hand trembles as she holds up her eye-glass. My mother is an old woman!

In the evening Mr. [M.] [and] William go through the woods to see Mr. Anderson who is sick. Pa [and] Ma [and] I [and] the children wander about the lawn [and] sit on Therina's mound [and] talk [and] talk [and] listen [and] weep. Over what?

... We take that day to turn over Therina's trunk.

Ah, my darling—my darling. Here is the white sun-bonnet she looked so nice in, but where, where are the rosy fat cheeks [and] the loving, glancing eyes that looked out from its white depths?

Here is her warm black waterproof with the new lining [and] the hood. She wore it on ship board [and] she wore it running about the garden [and] lawn at Blairbeth.

Her dolls—her balls—that is the ball she [and] her little cousin threw across the tea-table that Tuesday evening. Here is the little watering can with which she "watered at 'tone and tomorrow it will be growed big."

Her hair! Oh is this all of my child? My beautiful child? Is the hair I used to curl with the old toothbrush? coaxing her to keep still. Oh! the little curly head! Where, where art thou my Therina?

Oh! Lord I believe Thou has taken her to Thyself! She is "well [and] happy" with thee. Help mine unbelief.

Oh! Give me more faith. If I first trusted Thee as Thou deservest to be trusted I would never fret nor grieve because my child is not here.

Mamma and I mingle our tears as we look over the dear little garments.

She needs them no more. She is clothed in white.

Now shut up the box. Let her lie silent there.

Baby is very ill with diarrhea.

Some days of much anxiety about our little boy.

Now the imminent danger seems over, but he continues to have about a day in motion in the twenty four hours.

The loss of Therina to scarlet fever scarred the Macartney family. Catherine referred back to her daughter's death and the grief that came with loosing her firstborn child eight different times throughout the remainder of her diary.⁸⁰ The anniversary of Therina's death was especially difficult for John and Catherine. The year following her death Catherine wrote,

The anniversary day of our darling's death. I have been reading the precious letters [and] weeping till I am too tired to write. But a year has gone! And she is still dead. Has never come back. But Oh! Lord, take me to her [and] to Thyself some day! Fit me for Heaven where she has gone: Let this year be free from unbelief with regard to Thee [and] Heaven [and] eternal life. Bless my parents tonight [?]. Oh, fill them—fill them with thy Spirit—Lord, pour down thy Spirit into their hearts.

Mr. Macartney preached a memorial sermon today from the words How many are the days of thy servant? Mr. George preached in afternoon from the words His love to me was wonderful. Lord bless this Sabbath day!⁸¹

In a pitiable way Catherine and John could now relate to the congregants of the church more effectually after they too had suffered the loss of a child. Regretfully, two years later Catherine and John suffered the death of their second daughter, Sophie. This time however Catherine suffered watching her child die in her arms.

⁸⁰ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 11/24/1873, page 24, entry 11/25/1873, page 25, entry 2/14/1874, page 26, entry 2/15/1874, page 26, entry 3/4/1874, page 27, entry 9/13/1874, page 28, entry 2/20/1881, page 37.

⁸¹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 2/15/1874, page 26.

Nine days has my baby been in Heaven. My baby of seven months old. My beautiful darling, blue-eyed, happy happy baby. Oh! My baby my own, my bonny sweet baby. I can hardly believe it yet. So quickly was she snatched from my arms.⁸²

Remembering the event of her child's death, Catherine wrote the second longest passage in her American diaries (the first longest being her first entry after the death of Therina). In the account Catherine described the symptoms and fears that went through her heart as she thought that Sophie might die. She wrote about the conversation between the doctor and herself and the attempts to treat her symptoms without any real solutions to the sickness. Catherine finished the entry describing the last few moments of her daughter's life,

As I came into the room, I said in my usual cheery voice, how is my darling pet getting along? The sound made the dear try to twist herself [and] when I came in she gave me such a beseeching look that I said "There's a wee face saying as plainly as words, Take me, Ma." So I took my darling on my knee and gave her the breast. But she would turn away just when she had got hold each time. A strange look passed over her face and I said Oh! Jane, I think a convulsion is coming on—bring hot water.

It was brought, but by the time, the symptoms had passed off and we hesitated to bathe her.⁸³

It seems from the diary that Catherine was not able to bring herself to describing the actual final moments of her child's life.

When Therina died Catherine was forced to profoundly and fundamentally reevaluate her commitment to the covenant she had made with God as an eighteen year old. Probing the depths of this doubt Catherine wrote,

The last day of the year has fled—the last evening has come! In a

⁸² Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 10/12/1875, page 29.

⁸³ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 10/1/1875, page 29.

few hours 1873 will be no more. It will have slipped into the past carrying with it—carrying what? Does our darling slip away with it [and] into the forgetful past? In one sense, yes. Some of its days were spent by her in suffering [and] on one of its days she died—yes she died. And the year containing these sacred days is just closing. But another year is coming round—as surely as this one is passing away—when my treasure will be restored. Oh for strong undoubting faith! Oh! For patient cheerful resignation. Oh! For joyous hope of a blessed resurrection! What times of doubt [and] infidelity I have had! Of saying, “but is there after all a God?” “Is there after all a life hereafter?” “Lord, thou art my God, forgive my unworthy thoughts of thee. Deliver me from the Enemy who plies me hard with infidel arguments. Oh! Come Holy Spirit into my heart and so take up thine abode there [and] so make Thy presence to be known [and] felt there that there will be no room for doubting [and] questioning. Oh, Lord, I beseech thee enable me in the coming year to say, I know that my Redeemer liveth. I know Him whom I have believed [and] that He is able to keep that which I have committed unto Him.

Lord, Let this be a time of revival to us here [and] to those at home. Draw the heart of each one to Thyself. Oh make each heart to pant after Thee. Oh! God save us with Thy great salvation. Make us all interested in it. Death may visit one of us ere another year is done. Oh do thou Thyself prepare him.⁸⁴

Death had brought on a doubting of the gospel that Catherine believed was indeed Satan’s attack on her mind and soul. What was appalling to Catherine is that this could even happen on a Sabbath after hearing a sermon.

Strange to say, that very forenoon I had one of my onsets from Satan—He tried to shake my belief (perhaps it is just my own wicked heart instead of Satan) in our religion by showing that it was not possible for God to suffer and it was only man that suffered on the cross—that could not be a substitute for a lost world or for me. I prayed hard and held on to God as it were by desperation, till the temptation was over. Oh! When shall I be delivered from these troubled unbelieving thoughts? Will they continue always to come at intervals—even in the swelling of Jordan? God forbid! Oh! Deliver me! Show me the ways to escape. Show me the means [and] mature [and] enable me to use the means for the triumph of faith. Lord come so near to my soul—let me hear thy voice so unmistakably that I shall know

⁸⁴ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 12/31/1873, page 25.

the truth of what is written in the Word beyond a doubt. I beseech thee Oh! Lord. Show me thyself! Oh! Bend the Heavens [and] come down! Manifest thyself to me as thou dost with thine own children.
Amen and Amen!⁸⁵

The deaths of Catherine's daughters are signposts to the changes that were occurring in her life.⁸⁶ No longer was Catherine leisurely able to express her Evangelical faith in the comfort of urban wealth. Once Catherine moved to America, her way of life and the expression of her faith radically changed. Domestic duties and child rearing largely diminished Catherine's time and energy for devotions. Entertaining members of the community and congregation at any point of the day or week distracted Catherine from her life of introspective piety and outward evangelism. Paradoxically, the continual presence of sickness and death made Catherine acutely aware of people's imminent need for the gospel. But, the death of her children also caused her to reevaluate and reaffirm her devotion to the hope of her soul. These struggles in Catherine's life give one a glance into how tenaciously Catherine, a women in the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America, had to cling to Christ as her hope and purposefully carve out time for religious and ecclesiastical duties.

⁸⁵ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 2/20/1874, page 27. If Catherine was attempting to say that God suffered on the cross then she was convinced of patripassionism, a form of modalistic thought rejected in the third century. This shows a number of things. First, that one can be convinced that Satan is attempting to convince one against something when in reality it might not be the case. Secondly, that members of the church, including the pastor's wife, could be convinced of beliefs the church has historically condemned. Catherine could also have been expressing a high Christology and merely been stating that God the Son suffered on Calvary. This is thin theological line between patripassionism and nestorianism. Catherine should be given the benefit of the doubt since she was not writing in theological prose with close distinction nor are there primary sources to definitively prove either theological position. Instead one is inclined to think she, as a confessional Presbyterian, held the doctrine of God, as found in the second chapter of the Westminster Confession of Faith.

⁸⁶ Catherine had other times as well in which death and sickness pushed her to question her faith. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 12/3/1873, page 24, entry 2/15/1874, page 26, entry 2/27/1874, page 27, entry 3/4/1874, page 27, entry 9/13/1874, page 28, entry 5/10/1881, page 38.

Before Catherine came to the United States in 1868 the American Covenanters had experienced a series of controversies and splits that helped more thoroughly define their official identity as Covenanters in America. These experiences put the covenanters in America, in many ways, in a more conservative position than those in the Scottish church of which she was a part.

State and Identity of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America

As the Reformed Presbyterians in Scotland wrestled with the expansion of the franchise, a split over the issue of dissent was, almost concurrently, occurring in the American church as well.⁸⁷ When the two opposing Reformed Presbyterian Synods in America split in 1833 the Scottish church refused to find fault on either side.⁸⁸ The American historian of the denomination during Catherine's life believed the issue was indeed a central issue to Covenanter identity, if not *the* defining mark.⁸⁹ Writing in 1888 William Glasgow penned,

It is often asked, Is the Reformed Presbyterian church a necessity? This question is answered in the affirmative. It is the only distinct religious body in America that is bringing its principles to bear on the government for its Reformation, and has the grandest object for which to live and labor. A *practical* protest against evil is the only testimony that is weighty.⁹⁰

Glasgow continued to define who the Reformed Presbyterians were by saying they argued

⁸⁷ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 91-105. Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 26-29.

⁸⁸ Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, 278.

⁸⁹ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 101, 104. Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 2.

⁹⁰ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 56.

for perpetual obligation of the covenants, as applicable in America. They believed in social covenanting, excluding from communion anyone who took secret oaths or supported slavery. Reformed Presbyterians denied hymns and practiced the historic and Reformed tradition of *a capella* psalmody. They opposed Roman Catholicism and adhered to the Westminster Standards. Lastly, they exercised close communion and fenced the table.⁹¹

Later, David Carson, the denomination's historian of the twentieth century, argued that though dissent was one of the negative defining factors of the denomination in America it was not the only defining characteristic. He argued that the positive beliefs of the tradition were better roots for claiming Covenanter identity. The positive beliefs of the church were: a devotion to Presbyterian government, Reformed theology, independence from the state, and a belief that the state has a duty to encourage and support the Reformed church.⁹²

Writing about a period of time when the Covenanters in America did not have any pastors, Glasgow hagiographically wrote how they had remained true to their Scottish Covenanter principles despite the pressure of Americanization. He penned, "with the heroism of their martyred ancestry clung to their blood-bought principles..."⁹³ Claiming their peculiar

⁹¹ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 56-51.

⁹² Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 2.

⁹³ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 75. Emily Robinson argues that the Covenanters in Scotland, America, and in Ireland all kept the history of the Killing Times at the front of their minds to retain a common theology and communal identity. In her dissertation, she argues that the Covenanters in America remained a unique tradition precisely because they emphasized this history. She terms this use of history "sacred memory." Robinson, "Immigrant Covenanters," 4, 129-131. Robinson says, "the American Covenanters occupied the unique position of universal dissent, drawing on political theology and historical memory to argue for the illegitimacy of the British and United States governments, and the impurity of any other churches... their continuing view of themselves as the persecuted remnant of true believers engendered a unique interpretation of America's latitudinarian social and political climate" (vi, 2). This might be the best synthesis of what Robinson means by sacred memory being the vehicle by which the Covenanters managed to maintain an immigrant identity and cultural persistence.

history and maintaining the positive forms of worship and theology as marks of distinction, Glasgow continued writing,

[God] so tenderly and marvelously preserved her from total extinction both in Scotland and America. Nearly every, if not every, other denomination has either departed from some of her principles or become thoroughly Americanized; but the old Covenanter Church retains her ancient principles intact, with her rugged Scottish forms of worship, and has successfully weathered every storm of innovation.⁹⁴

The “ancient principles” and “rugged Scottish forms of worship” had indeed become the defining characteristics in Catherine’s covenanter self-writing. Though the issue of perpetual obligation of the Covenants and the controversy over political dissent had not found their way into Catherine’s religious identity, the positive aspects of ancient principles and rugged Scottish forms of worship had. The tenets of the Reformed and Presbyterian faith with the forms of Covenanter worship had become key to her religious self-identity, and reflected the priorities of a lay person in the tradition.

Another issue that defined the church in America, where Catherine transferred her membership, was the Steelite controversy of 1840.⁹⁵ Rev. Steel left the denomination because members and ministers were voluntarily associating themselves with non-covenanters in Reformed activities such as abolitionism and temperance. The American covenanters had not disciplined members of the church for these associations but strongly warned against entangling themselves in unnecessary associations that might encourage them to move away from the testimony of the church. Interestingly, this was the similar middle

⁹⁴ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 76.

⁹⁵ Carson *Transplanted to America*, 51. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 107-108.

road the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Ireland had taken regarding the revivals Catherine witnessed.⁹⁶

When Catherine emigrated from Scotland she left the Majority Synod church that had departed from political dissent, what many Reformed Presbyterians in America, including her husband, would have found to be a central defining characteristic of being a Covenanter.⁹⁷ There was a difference between American and Scottish dissent, however. In Scotland the issue of dissent was directly related to the perpetual obligation of the National Covenant as well as the Solemn League and Covenant. In America, however, the Covenants, after the Revolution, were not directly applicable, thus causing some confusion for a time. After the Constitution was signed, the Covenanters found that they now had to dissent from the American government as well because of the secular nature of the Constitution. The document made no mention of God, the mediatorial rule of Christ, nor that laws needed to be based upon Biblical law.⁹⁸ In addition to this the Constitution also promoted pluralism. The Covenanters believed this meant the American government was implicitly giving validity to heresy by granting protection for all groups, including Roman Catholics. On top of all of this the two-thirds compromise legitimized the evil of chattel slavery.⁹⁹ The political theology of the American Covenanters ultimately found its roots in the theological contrast of Christ's Mediatorial kingship, which had been most clearly explained and shortly lived out when the

⁹⁶ Adam Loughridge, *The Covenanters in Ireland*, 90-95.

⁹⁷ Gordon Keddie, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Disruption of 1863," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology*, 11 (Summer 1993): 31-49. Gordon Keddie, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Disruption of 1863," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology*, 12 (Spring 1994): 26-43.

⁹⁸ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 52-53.

Covenants were signed in Scotland at the Second Scottish Reformation and the Westminster Assembly.¹⁰⁰ For Catherine this idea of strict dissent would not have been a foreign concept. But, as seen from her the previous chapters, dissent was not a key trait that characterized her faith.

Catherine married an American pastor in the Reformed Presbyterian Church, which might lead one to think her diaries would make more mention of these issues. Indeed her diaries do talk more about dissent. In Scotland she did not mention the issue of the franchise or dissent at all. In her American diaries she twice mentions dissent, in passing.¹⁰¹ Surprisingly, Catherine did not experience much difficulty merging into the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America, though the American church looked more like the Minority Synod Church in Scotland. Though dissent was a major issue in the courts of the church there were enough practical continuities between the two sister bodies for Catherine easily to transfer her membership.

Logocentric Sabbath

When Catherine first arrived in Northwood her beloved Sabbath schedule remained. In the forenoon and afternoon she worshiped at the First Miami Reformed Presbyterian Church.¹⁰² There were a few differences that took Catherine some time to get

⁹⁹ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 16, 18-19.

¹⁰⁰ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 57.

¹⁰¹ The only times Catherine mentions anything related to dissent in her diaries she mentions that there was a National Reform meeting at the college. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 12/30/1872, page 15, entry 3/17/1873, page 19.

¹⁰² Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to*

used to in the American context. Her son Albert wrote about Catherine's difficulty adjusting to the customs of a church in a rural setting. Because congregants traveled from so far away to get to corporate worship, interval became a time when everyone ate lunch together.

These Covenanters were very meticulous in observing Fast Days, and one of these very presently came along. I have heard my mother tell of her experience with the first Fast Day. There was the morning service, followed by an intermission for lunch, and then the afternoon service. The people sat quietly in their pews eating their lunch. Mother had never been accustomed to this, and she just couldn't remember to bring along a lunch. So Father had to go without or share with some of the congregation. On this Fast Day at long last she remembered to bring a lunch, and, as she and father sat in their pew, with a real sense of accomplishment she spread out her lunch. Then she noticed Father was not partaking of the lunch, when she remonstrated, he whispered to her, "Do you see any other members in the congregation eating? This is Fast Day." She was so indignant that she completely devoured not only her own lunch but also Father's.¹⁰³

Like in Scotland, the Covenanters in America sought to keep the entire Sabbath holy. To help them do this they had various activities outside of corporate worship. On Sabbath evenings there were prayer meetings held at various members' homes or at the college.¹⁰⁴ On Sabbath evenings following the Civil War, when Geneva College was being used by the denomination to educate Freedmen, John used their home to teach a theology class to the "coloured students."¹⁰⁵ When Geneva College was moved to Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, John opened their home to have a young men's' Bible class on Sabbath

November 8, 1871, entry 12/13/1869, page 7, entry 1/2/1870, page 11, entry 2/27/1870, page 12, entry 6/5/1870, page 14. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/7/1872, page 4.

¹⁰³ Albert McCartney, *Autobiography*, 6.

¹⁰⁴ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/7/1872, page 4, entry 1/4/1880, page 32, entry 6/6/1880, page 33.

¹⁰⁵ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to*

evenings.¹⁰⁶

Like in Scotland, the Sabbath was specifically a time for logocentric corporate worship. David Carson described corporate worship as the expression of Covenanter life.¹⁰⁷ The lengthy quote below describes the worship services of the Reformed Presbyterians during the time, all of which are mentioned at some point or another in Catherine's diaries.

Where there was a settled minister, two services of public worship were held on the Sabbath, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, separated by a brief interval for lunch, and together occupying five or six hours. The order of service in the morning was as follows.

- Call to worship
- A short prayer
- Explanation of a portion of a psalm
- Singing of the portion explained
- Pastoral prayer
- Reading of Scripture
- Lecture on that portion
- Prayer
- Collection for the poor
- A suitable portion of a psalm
- Benediction

The afternoon service omitted the explanation of the psalm and provided a sermon rather than a lecture.

The lecture or the sermon was the climax of the service. The teaching aspect of worship the church felt most keenly, and the most apparent reason for public worship was the inculcation of truth. The lecture used a portion of Bible as the text: the passage was analyzed and outlined; the chief doctrines of the passage were stated; and the whole was concluded with important and practical applications. It is what today would be called "expository" preaching. The sermon was topical. After a brief and appropriate introduction, the doctrine was stated, illustrated, and confirmed by collateral texts, supported by solid convincing reasons, and helpfully illustrated. The

November 8, 1871, entry 10/30/1869, page 5, entry 11/28/1869, page 8, entry 12/13/1869, page 9, entry 2/27/1870, page 12.

¹⁰⁶ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 12/7/1873, page 24, entry 1/4/1874, page 25, entry 2/18/1874, page 37.

¹⁰⁷ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 30.

importance of the doctrine to the hearers was indicated by reproof, by condemnation of related errors, and by specific application. It was almost a distinctive principle of the church that the sermon must not be read but must be delivered *ex tempore*.¹⁰⁸

Beyond Sabbath the American Church heard sermons on a plethora of other occasions. The denomination heard their pastors preach on Thanksgiving Day.¹⁰⁹ On January 1, 1872 there was a special worship service held in which the congregation heard a commemoration sermon for the emancipation of the slaves nine years earlier.¹¹⁰ Catherine also records that John preached a memorial sermon for the anniversary of Therina's death.¹¹¹ The American Church's worship shared in the logocentric tradition, which started during the Scottish Reformation and persisted across the Atlantic and into the nineteenth century.

The sermon was so central to the Sabbath day that there are entries in which Catherine's mention of the service is nothing more than noting who the preacher was and the text from which he preached.¹¹² Catherine was so determined to hear the sermon that she did everything she could from being distracted. After the Reformation, the Kirks in Scotland had

¹⁰⁸ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 30. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 9/6/1869, page 3, entry 10/31/1869, page 5, entry 11/6/1869, page 6, entry 11/19/1869, page 7, entry 11/20/1869, page 7, 11/28/1869, page 8, entry 12/13/1869, page 9, entry 1/2/1870, page 11, entry 5/26/1870, page 12, entry 5/29/1870, page 13, entry 6/5/1870, page 14. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/7/1872, page 4, entry 3/17/1871, page 15, entry 11/31/1872, page 14, entry 11/9/1873, page 23, entry 12/7/1873, page 24, entry 5/23/1873, page 33, entry 7/17/1873, page 35, entry 8/8/1880, page 36.

¹⁰⁹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 11/25/1873, page 24, 11/25/1880, page 36.

¹¹⁰ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 1/1/1872, page 3.

¹¹¹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 2/15/1874, page 26.

¹¹² Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 10/31/1869, page 5, entry 5/29/1870, page 13, entry 6/5/1870, page 14. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 11/9/1873, page 32, entry 5/23/1880, page 33, entry 8/8/1880, page 36.

told women they were not allowed to bring their young children to the worship service since their children would distract from the sermon. Some of the mothers “far from resenting required sermon attendance were willing to risk a fine in order to come to the preaching with children in tow.”¹¹³ Catherine’s piety was tenaciously exercised, like her Reformation predecessors, by achieving the same desire for sermon exercised in an opposing way. John wanted his children to be in the worship service as an example. Catherine determined to hear the preaching of the word and disagreed with John. Instead, she implemented a plan so that she could be undistracted during the sermon. She took turns with the servants on Sabbath watching the children. Either she would go one Sabbath and the servant the next, or she would go to one service and the servant would go to the next.¹¹⁴

To Catherine the Word was essential to having a living relationship with God. Though domestic duties drained her of her energy and time, Sabbath sermon was a weekly occasion to reengage and reorient her religious self.

Logocentric Communion Season and Revivalism

Like in Scotland, there were one or two Sabbaths a year in which this logocentric form of religious devotion was designed to reach a spiritual, intellectual, and emotional high. In America the ancient tradition of communion seasons had persisted through the ages and across the Atlantic.¹¹⁵ And, like in Scotland, the Covenanters in

¹¹³ Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism*, 36-38.

¹¹⁴ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 12/3/1869, page 7. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 12/3/1871, page 2, entry 1/7/1872, page 4.

¹¹⁵ In the last three chapters of Leigh Smidt’s work, *Holy Fairs*, he describes how this tradition moved across the Atlantic with the Scots and Scot-Irish and became the setting for the revivals in America.

America had a mixed history with revivals. The first pastor to the American Covenanters, Alexander Craighead, was originally a pro-revival pastor in the Presbyterian Church. He had interactions with the Tennents but could not become a New Side because of his desire for subscription to the Westminster Standards.¹¹⁶ Then in 1751 the Covenanters in America were sent their second pastor who had been friends with George Whitefield.¹¹⁷ Both of these pastors ensured they tapped into the deep heritage the Covenanter laity felt regarding communion season and covenanting.

The pro-revivalist Alexander Craighead led the covenanters in 1743 to enter into a covenant ceremony at Octorara, Pennsylvania during the height of the communion season.¹¹⁸ John Cuthbertson likewise did not neglect the sacrament. In describing the communion season David Carson wrote,

More than any other aspect of the church the communion service bound Covenanters with their forefathers who had suffered and died for the faith and with the traditions of the country from which they had come.¹¹⁹

Catherine's identity as a Covenanter in Scotland found transatlantic continuity in the celebration of the communion season. Like in Scotland, communion season started with preparatory duties that included sermons from visiting or "assisting" pastors and fast day on either Friday or Saturday. Then on Sabbath another moving sermon was preached and psalms sung and explained. Catherine wrote about the communion season of 1869 penning,

19.

¹¹⁶ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 8-9.

¹¹⁷ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 12.

¹¹⁸ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 9-10. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 62.

¹¹⁹ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 13.

Fast day. Mr. M. preached from “Ye gates, lift up your heads.” Mr. Wylie in afternoon from Be sure your sin will find you out.

Sat.

Mr. W. preached from The love of Christ constrained me. Baby gave a scream in church that was quite alarming. We thought she must have got a fright at something.

Sab.

Mr. M. preached from Lo, I come to do Thy will—a splendid thrilling sermon. House was full.

I was happy tho’ humbled at the table. The Psalm where Christ speaks of his bride as dressed in gold of Ophir touched my heart. I am a sinner! to be thus arrayed! Last night Miss Wylie [and] Maggie Wilson [and] Mr. Kirkpatrick staid with us. Today Mr. Wylie came.

22nd Monday.

When Mac came to bed last night I scolded etc. He as usual by his tender way of pointing out my wrong-doing in being offended when he so little intended offense, won me back to a right frame of mind.

Sermon today by Mr. W. on -----?

Mr. M. spoke very earnestly at close.

I find I have omitted to mention most important event. Baby got a tooth in church yesterday.

On Saturday nine new communicants were admitted—four of them were baptized, being Webster Boxly, Mrs. Lamont, Nany Rice [and] Robert McClure. The others admitted were Phebe’s husband, Wm. Lamont, Fanny Dickson, Mrs. Johnstone [and] Ebenezer Hoyack. It was most solemn [and] touching scene. Mac in shaking hands gave each an appropriate verse of Scripture.

Wylies of Rushylvania came home with us, dined [and] spent the afternoon on Monday.¹²⁰

Like in Scotland, communion season was a time for sermons that were designed to encourage introspection, contrition, and confession. Sabbath communion day was not to be missed. As

¹²⁰ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 11/19/1860, page 7, entry 11/20/1869, page 7, entry 11/21/1869, page 7, entry 11/22/1869, page 7. The note of the baby screaming during church is an example of why Catherine did not think she could fully participate in the sermons if her children were with her. The other note of interest is that she had three different people who staid at their home on Sabbath evening.

Catherine noted, the “house was full.” For the Covenanter tradition the communion season was where revivals took place. This was where Christ met his people in a special way. It was also the time in which new communicants proclaimed Christ as their Lord, and some, born outside the padeobaptist tradition, were baptized upon their confession of faith and doctrine.

For Catherine, communion was a time of deep introspection. The season presented itself to be on some occasions a spiritual feast and at other times a famine. Catherine longed for sanctification and a warm heart toward God. Yet as the following entry shows she often found herself not encouraged but longing. While it is in a sense admirable, it also seems the communion season did not provide Catherine with the continued assurance of God she desired. In 1874 she wrote,

Our communion was last Sabbath. Mr. Sommerville of Cincinnati assisted.
My soul, what of thee? Progress backwards and forwards?
I found more intense longing Godwards, than before. The soul seems
struggling upwards to the light. Oh, to see His face!¹²¹

This longing for assurance and sanctification would continue to mark Catherine’s life of piety in America.

Marital Lonliness and Church Finances

While the communion season was a point of continuity in Covenanter identity, the ritual also shows itself as a difficulty in Catherine’s life as a pastor’s wife. Catherine mentions in her diary how frequently John was away from home to preach in other churches. He both assisted other churches during communion seasons and traveled extensively

¹²¹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 4/26/1874, page 28.

throughout the area to help supply pulpits.¹²²

While it cannot be proven by primary sources, it is possible that a reason John did so much pulpit supply was to supplement his pastoral income. David Carson mentions that the Covenanters in America had primarily paid pastoral salaries and building expenses through a system of subscriptions or, in urban areas, by renting pews.¹²³ Since both of these were problematic, pastors' salaries were often in arrears. And, while the Synod by 1866 had begun to urge congregants to give one tenth of their income to the work of the church, this was slow to catch on.¹²⁴ In 1872 a Mr. Jamieson had to seek subscriptions in order to keep John at the church in Northwood. Catherine wrote about it saying,

Mr. J has started out himself today to get up the subscriptions in hopes of retaining Mr. M. I am at sea as to what course is best—to stop still in Northwood, accept Toronto or go to Scotland. May God direct. It is so beautiful here at present, [and] the people feel so desirous to have us stay—that I feel more of a leaning to it than ever before. But the winter-- the toilsome life—the uncongeniality of life [and] manners—these soon rise up to mind again [and] turn off my leanings. Lord, I know not what to choose; do thou choose for me.¹²⁵

¹²² Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 9/23/1869, page 4, entry 6/24/1870, page 14, entry 6/27/1870, page 14. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 7/17/1880, page 35, entry 8/8/1880, page 36.

¹²³ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 39-40.

¹²⁴ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 39-41.

¹²⁵ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 5/23/1872, page 8. Interestingly the church in Toronto had just built a new building able to sit 400 people. Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 34. It was also optimistic for Catherine to hope that John might receive a call in Scotland, as the church was still deeply scared over the Majority-Minority Synod Disruption of 1863 and the preaching and convictions of an American Old Light would have only furthered the deep divide.

Catherine's next diary entry is encouraging, as it shows how fond some members were of their pastor and his family. "Mr. Jamieson was here at tea tonight; he has been round trying to raise salary. Has got it up to the 800 about. Tonight I feel more inclined for Mac to get a change. Perhaps it would be the best. Mrs. William Johnston [and] little girl called this afternoon. Said they heard yesterday that Mr. M. was going to stay and her husband said it was the gladdest news he had heard for ten years." Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 5/24/1872, page 9.

So while Synod had begun to attempt changes in the way congregants paid their pastors, John's life in Northwood shows that subscription was still the way some congregations were paying, or not paying, their pastor's salaries.

Beyond pulpit supply and assisting at communion seasons, John was also gone for long periods of time to Presbytery and Synod meetings.¹²⁶ This meant that Catherine, with no family in America, was left to care for house and children with the servants, if there were any at the time. This might have been one reason why Catherine felt so much marital loneliness and expressed so much pain at John's reticence and study habits even when he was home.

Sabbath Schools, Congregational and College Life

Catherine also found religious continuity between America and Scotland through Sabbath Schools. Soon after arriving in America Catherine started a Sabbath School for children in the area. She did this both in Northwood, Ohio as well as in the Beaver Valley after Geneva College moved to Beaver Falls in 1880. But, unlike in Scotland where the work in which she partook was a ministry of Great Hamilton Street Church, her Sabbath school and Bible studies were para-ecclesiastical ministries in America. Teaching young people the gospel was Catherine's primary means of evangelism. Writing after a lesson, Catherine said,

About 5 or 6 weeks ago, we started a Sabbath school in Richland. Very successful hitherto. I have in my class about 18 young women. We drive down at 5. Every night as I go, I feel utterly incompetent for the duty and each night return feeling that God helped me. Oh! That He would use me

¹²⁶ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 5/26/1870, page 12. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/11/1872, page 5, entry 5/30/1872, page 9, entry 6/10/1872, page 9, entry 10/31/1873, page 19, entry 11/4/1873, page 22, entry 4/26/1874, page 28, entry 5/24/1880, page 33.

to gather in the travail of Christ's soul.¹²⁷

Soon after starting the class Catherine, for some unwritten reason, was forced to move the class from Sabbaths to Saturdays and then every other Saturday. Though she earnestly sought to make the class interesting, by the end of the year all of the children had stopped attending and she stopped.¹²⁸ In 1881 after John and Catherine had settled into their new home in

Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, following the College's relocation, she wrote with excitement,

I have actually begun mission work once more. And it makes me so happy—especially as it has come in direct answer to prayer. For some time I had been feeling that my time [and] talents were not being employed for God as they might. I was asking Him to show me what I could do for Him. And soon there stood inviting fields all around me—close by. Why hadn't I seen them months ago. There was such [and] such to comfort or advise in a letter; such a one to do a little kindness to and there was Bernard town with its hordes of swearing boys and no church—no prayer meeting—no Sabbath school. It took of course some little courage to go [and] call at American doors without any special business. But God strengthened me [and] last Sabbath a little band of twelve met in one of the houses—a Mr. Kennedy's and I talked to them on the words "Be ye therefore ready, etc." I held their attention most entirely and was enabled to speak with much fervour of heart. Oh! That I may be strengthened unto all perseverance in the work I have begun—and from this small beginning may large good come. Oh! That God would be pleased to rejoice my heart with seeing some fruits of my labours. Oh! That some souls from Bernard town may meet me at God's right hand. But of course in this home of spiritual revival to do the work of the Lord, Satan comes in with greater temptation than usual. I must watch [and] pray especially against my besetting sin of a nasty or cross temper. I long to be like Jesus—meek, lowly, gentle, mild—but it is only when things please me that I am sweet [and] gentle. When so and so does a very provoking thing then I am provoked to find fault sharply, instead of bearing patiently.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 9/3/1869, page 3.

¹²⁸ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry "Sabbath," page 5, entry 10/22/1869, page 5, entry 10/30/1869, page 5, entry 11/6/1869, page 6, entry 11/27/1869, page 8, entry 12/12/1869, page 9.

¹²⁹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 2/8/1881, page 37.

Catherine continued in this excitement, visiting homes, inviting children, and warning them of God's wrath and the way of escape through the salvation of Jesus Christ.¹³⁰ The next week Catharine wrote that scarlet fever had broken out and she was forced to cancel the Sabbath school.¹³¹ But, the Sabbath school did eventually take root and became a preaching station and in 1949 a congregation, eventually with the historian David Carson serving as its pastor for a time.¹³²

Not everything in America was congruent with the Scottish Church.

Catherine's diaries are filled with entries about prayer meeting throughout the week. There are prayer meetings listed in Catherine's diaries as having occurred at one point or another on every single day of the week, Sabbaths included.

When Catherine first arrived in America she was part of a few women from the church who met for prayer once a week during the daytime.¹³³ Also, in their home John would invite young people over for prayer. Catherine prayed that this might be the beginning of a revival in the church. She wrote,

I think—I hope beginning of revival. Mr. M. seems to have got a new impulse. Last night we had about 20 young people in the study for prayer [and] talk.

Oh! that God may revive my soul [and] my husband's. I think He is

¹³⁰ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 3/5/1881, page 38, entry "Sab. March 4," page 38.

¹³¹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry "Sab. March 11," page 38.

¹³² Ralph E. Joseph, *The Eastvale Reformed Presbyterian Church: A Short History* (Beaver Falls: Self Published, 1960), 1.

¹³³ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 9/3/1869, page 3, entry 9/9/1869, page 3, entry 10/29/1869, page 5, entry 11/3/1869, page 6, entry 11/18/1869, page 7, entry 11/25/1869, page 8, entry 12/1/1869, page 8, entry 12/10/1869, page 9.

beginning to answer the prayer of my little meeting. I must be more [and] more earnest [and] diligent. Oh! God I will not let thee go unless Thou bless me—him [and] the congregation.¹³⁴

Catherine took the prayer meetings very seriously. She hoped that God would do a mighty work through her and John's prayer meetings and revive the faith of those involved. But, the following week the prayer meeting in which Catherine had placed so much hope disappointed her. She wrote,

Young people's prayer meeting in evening. A very large meeting. I prayed much before going down. But at close of meeting the boisterous voices [and] laughter—make me fear God's spirit had not come into our midst. Oh! God give Mr. M. wisdom [and] earnestness to make this meeting a birthplace for souls.

I myself was grieved [and] cross about it [and] spoke peevishly [and] harshly, showing that I at least had missed the Spirit. Lord make me more earnest in seeking a blessing both for myself [and] others.¹³⁵

Boisterous voices and laughing meant that the students had not taken the solemnity of the prayer meeting seriously and Catherine was perturbed. As the next few weeks continued, fewer and fewer students came to the meeting and eventually Catherine stopped mentioning it, assumedly because it had discontinued.¹³⁶ Like Catherine's Sabbath school ventures, once the family moved to Beaver Falls John initiated a new prayer meeting in their home for boys.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 10/21/1869, page 5.

¹³⁵ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 11/3/1869, page 6.

¹³⁶ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 11/25/1869, page 8, entry 12/4/1869, page 8, entry 12/10/1869, page 9, entry 12/17/1869, page 9.

¹³⁷ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 12/7/1873, page 24, entry 1/4/1874, page 25, entry 2/18/1881, page 37.

Throughout the rest of the week the congregants would have prayer meetings in each other's homes, at the church, in the seminary, or at the college.¹³⁸ Unlike the women's prayer meetings, these were for both men and women and happened on various days throughout the week, though Wednesdays were mentioned most frequently. During the prayer meetings there was a time for devotions. This is when the person in charge, normally the minister, would give a short message on some biblical story or topic. During these mixed prayer meetings women were not allowed to pray. But, on one occasion John asked Catherine to pray since there were no men present in the room.¹³⁹

Not all prayer meetings were somber. In one perplexing entry Catherine describes prayer meeting with the type of excitement that would have been found in revival tents. She penned in her diary,

Anna Williams and I were at the Prayer Meeting at the Seminary tonight. Jennie [and] Hannah Jane—a cousin of Hannah Miskel who came today—staid at home with the children. On our return—I wish my pen could describe Anna's description of the meeting.

Oh! Jenni—but we had a glorious meeting. Yes, La[wd], they was a shouting and a hollowing at a fearful rate. But, oh, I do hate to hear Anderson speak—what makes him go on saying “But, but, but” all the time. But, we had a good time, I tell ye. Mrs. Elsie was a shouting “hold me, hold me.” Mr. George, he commenced it at the Psalm singing, he shrunk away down in his chair, stroked back his hair quickly [and] groaned out “Then that other one cried Bless God, bless God.” Mrs. Anderson, she rushed out at the door

¹³⁸ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/7/1872, page 4, entry 1/8/1872, page 4, entry 1/9/1872, page 4, entry 1/10/1872, page 5, entry 1/11/1872, page 5, entry 1/12/1872, page 5, entry 11/13/1872, page 13, entry 12/18/1872, page 14, entry 12/30/1872, page 15, entry 2/18/1873, page 17, entry 11/12/1873, page 23, entry 11/25/1873, page 24, entry 12/31/1873, page 25, entry 1/13/1874, page 25, entry 2/18/1874, page 26, entry 3/4/1874, page 27, entry 1/4/1880, page 32, entry 6/6/1880, page 33.

¹³⁹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 3/4/1874, page 27. John was four years ahead of the denomination by allowing Catherine to pray at this meeting. It was not until 1878 that the Synod approved “women to speak and lead in prayer in social praying societies.” Glasgow, *A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 147.

shouting, Glory, glory, glory. When Anderson got up from his knees, he cries Where my wife-- Yonder, she's a flying down the Pike shouting, Glory! Glory! So, Anderson he out at the door, his coat tails sticking out like that behind and away to catch his wife. Hew, but it was a glorious meeting. When Mrs. George was shouting and kicking someone cried Where is my sister Jennie Torrence? Send for sister Jennie." No, no don't try Sister Jennie here.- -when she's getting to shouting no one can hold her Phew—[??] but it was a good meeting!¹⁴⁰

This entry suggests a few things. First is that Mr. George had started the prayer meeting in an orthodox manner, having a psalm sung. Then after sinking into his chair he repeated part of the psalm they had just sung. Mrs. Anderson and George then showed enthusiastic behavior. It also seems that this was not the first time a meeting of this sort had occurred since the reference to "Sister Jennie" implies that she had been there at a similar meeting on a previous occasion.¹⁴¹

This enthusiastic behavior was not approved of, largely, throughout the denomination. Carson writes in his work that,

... despite Craighead's revivalist sympathies in the 1740's, the church's attitude had changed by the end of the century. South Carolina Covenanters in 1795 called revivals:

the desperate efforts of Satan to introduce a wild, enthusiastic fire in place of the regular operations of the Holy Ghost in the conversion and sanctification of men, to the dishonor of God, hardening a generation in their contempt of religion, deluding many simple souls,...

In the 1830's a Covenanter described the attitude of the church:

Ever since the great religious excitement which commented in Western Virginia in 1802, ... and which produced results so disastrous to the cause of truth and the interests of pure, and undefiled religion, there has been a large body of sober-minded Christians, who have

¹⁴⁰ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 2/19/1873, page 17.

¹⁴¹ Margo Todd points out that charismatic exuberance was not a new phenomena amongst Scottish Presbyterians. Rather, both clergy and laity in the early modern era experienced and partook in supernatural phenomena that would later be labeled excessive enthusiasm, *The Culture of Protestantism*, 391-401.

deprecated these transient excitements of the animal feelings. “We have ever longed for a genuine revival of religion,” wrote the pastor of the First Church in Philadelphia, but these “spasmodic excitements on religious subjects” do not deserve this name.

As described in the previous chapter, it was the Covenanters who were progenitors of the revivalist movement. But, once the revivals began to take on ecstatic traits and move away from subscription to the Westminster standards, the Covenanters were quick to recoil. From Catherine’s diaries, however, it seems that the revivalist enthusiasm had at times penetrated into corners of the Reformed Presbyterian Church.¹⁴² So, while Sabbath was the hub of Catherine’s religious life, prayer meetings were the spokes that held the congregants together throughout the rest of the week.

Interestingly, this had, according to David Carson, typically been the role of Society meetings.¹⁴³ Covenanters had been known as society people because of their tenacious habits of meeting with each other for mutual prayer, devotion, and edification when they did not have the oversight of pastors.¹⁴⁴ The church had existed for a period of time in both Scotland and America as nothing but these society meetings.¹⁴⁵ And, once the denomination formed congregations the meetings continued to occur during the middle of the week as a time to pray and discuss theology.¹⁴⁶ Only twice does Catherine mention society meetings as a proper name. One mention is when she notes that John missed Society to get a

¹⁴² As with the mention of William Symington’s “prophecy” in the first chapter of this thesis, one does not know how to explain these occurrences.

¹⁴³ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 34.

¹⁴⁴ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 2.

¹⁴⁵ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 7-10.

¹⁴⁶ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 34.

doctor as she was in labor pains.¹⁴⁷ The second time she wrote, “This was Society day. New officers elected [and] committee appointed to take steps to set the desk in motion.”¹⁴⁸

Interestingly, this means that “Society day” was on Sabbath and not midweek. It is not clear from Catherine’s diaries exactly what is occurring. But, one is left to speculate that Society day either became a time in which congregants came together to do the business of the church or prayer meetings, even in a practical way. This was a departure from the society meetings that had occurred when the Covenanters were without pastors, or the midweek theological meetings David Caron described in his work.¹⁴⁹

Another major change in Catherine’s life was being married to a professor of the college. John had been intimately connected to Geneva College. After the school had suspended operations due to the Civil War, John McCartney was a primary figure in raising the money needed to reopen its doors.¹⁵⁰ Being married to the professor of natural science provided Catherine with the opportunity to explore the life of the college, intellectually and socially.

Catherine’s first diary entry mentioning Geneva College was in 1869 when the president of the college, Mr. Crowe, came and talked to John for a long time about the classes that had just commenced.¹⁵¹ During a crucial period in the school’s history John

¹⁴⁷ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 2/14/1870, page 11.

¹⁴⁸ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 7/9/1872, page 10.

¹⁴⁹ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 34.

¹⁵⁰ David M. Carson, *Pro Christo et Patria*, 12. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 324, 577-578.

¹⁵¹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to*

helped the next President, Henry George, raise money for the college.¹⁵² They canvased the area for both funds and students to attend their school.¹⁵³ But, living next to the college did not just mean that John was busy teaching and fundraising. The college provided Catherine a place to remain intellectually stimulated. She went to lectures, heard concerts and preaching, and observed the literary societies debate each other, as well as having the chemistry class to her home for tea.¹⁵⁴

Living near the College while in Northwood, and then next to it when the school moved to Beaver Falls, also put Catherine in the midst of school and denominational excitement. Under the guidance of Mr. George Geneva became a center for Reformed Presbyterian life and social activism. The College had been revived in the 1860s by John's vision of providing freedmen from the south a competent college education so they might then return to the south and pastor congregations or teach in schools.¹⁵⁵ John became a professor at Geneva during this hopeful, yet financially distressing, season in the institution's life. As the College began to thrive, increasing attendance three fold, more events began to

November 8, 1871, entry 9/23/1869, page 4. Catherine also notes that there were thirty-five students who had matriculated that year. Carson, *Pro Christo et Patria*, 11.

¹⁵² Carson, *Pro Christo et Patria*, 13-14.

¹⁵³ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 7/9/1872, page 10.

¹⁵⁴ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/13/1872, page 5, entry 10/31/1873, page 19, entry 5/18/1880, page 32, entry 11/3/1873, page 22, entry 1/21/1873, page 16.

¹⁵⁵ Carson, *Pro Christo et Patria*, 11-13. Sadly, Catherine wrote in her diary about one of these freedmen students from the south becoming ill and dying in Northwood. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/2/1873, page 16.

take place at the College.¹⁵⁶ Catherine made mention that the National Reform Association used the college in 1872 for their convention.¹⁵⁷ In 1873 Synod convened in Northwood.

Catherine wrote about the preparations saying,

Now Synod draws on. Oh! What preparations on every side! Loads of chairs—of [?]-beds—tables pass back [and] forward. On every tongue “before Synod” lies.

At length the great event arrives. But week before I drive down to train to meet [?] Mrs. Martin’s cook whom Mrs. M. Kindly sent me for a couple of weeks. I was in Mrs. Jamieson’s before train time [and] like myself waited too long [and] found when I went to station that the train was in [and] gone [and] that a lady with portmanteau had come out. So turning the buggy [and] whipping up General Hunter, I galloped forward [and] overtook her resting and sweating with her heavy load at the mill. Hannah got home for new dress [and] instead of returning Sabbath night, did not come till Tuesday [and] then said she was not going to stay. It was most tantalizing. With her to mind the children [and] [?] to do the cooking, I had hoped to have a leisurely time [and] to be able to get out frequently to the meetings [and] to enjoy myself. But kind Ms. Torrance with her usual kindness [and] consideration sent me up Lizzie to keep the children.¹⁵⁸

Catherine’s life was intimately tied to the life of the College. She noted that a few weeks after Synod’s conclusion the College had their commencement activities,

A week we had of exhibitions—open societies, lectures [and] what not. The graduating class had their *exercises in the woods. It was beautiful. We were invited to take tea at the Seminary along with the members of the class.

*Party at our house [and] tree planting.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Carson, *Pro Christo et Patria*, 15.

¹⁵⁷ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 12/30/1872, page 15. The National Reform Association and their publishing arm, *The Christian Statesman*, was organized for the purpose of having a Christian amendment added to the constitution. Glasgow, *A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 55, 129-130, 146. Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 62-64. Anthony A. Cowley, “From Whence We Came: A Background of the National Reform Association,” in *Explicitly Christian Politics: The Vision of the National Reform Association*, ed. William O. Einwechter (Pittsburgh: The Christian Statesman, 1997), 1-16.

¹⁵⁸ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 10/31/1873, page 19.

¹⁵⁹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 10/31/1873, page 19.

When it was decided that the College should be relocated it was largely John's work to find a suitable location. He made connections with the Harmony Society, a group of German pietists and communal colonizers, who had financed the building of a town in Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania. The group thought the College would bring the town prestige and donated \$20,000 and a sizable tract of land at the top of a hill overlooking the town.¹⁶⁰

The College's relocation to Beaver Falls meant that Catherine had to leave her friends in the Northwood congregation to live in Beaver Falls. But, it was in Beaver Falls that Catherine began to experience a revival of her Evangelical fervor. Her life became even more entwined with the College as they built their home, Fern Cliffe, yards away from the College.¹⁶¹ Catherine's yard became the grounds for commencement and other ceremonial exercises.¹⁶² Likewise, the College became the place Catherine and her children would go for a stroll.¹⁶³

In transferring her membership from the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, Majority Synod, to the Reformed Presbyterian Church of America, she found not much difficulty. There was continuity between the bodies that allowed a type of immigration of beliefs without a shock of practical differences. Each week revolved around Sabbath. Each year peaked with communion seasons. Sermons and *a capella* psalmody were constant.

¹⁶⁰ Carson, *Pro Christo et Patria*, 19.

¹⁶¹ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/1/1880, page 32. Carson, *Pro Christo et Patria*, 21.

¹⁶² Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 5/19/1880, page 32.

¹⁶³ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 5/24/1880, page 33.

Family worship was transferred from her father's leading to her husband's. Catherine exercised her missionary zeal in the same way she primarily had in Scotland, through Sabbath school and Bible classes.

The changes in tradition that Catherine experienced give insight into her peculiar situation in life. She was a woman, like any other woman in a male led denomination. But, as a pastor's wife she experienced the life of ministry in a way that only other women in her position could fully understand. Her husband's reticence and study habits, combined with the travel necessary for assisting in communion seasons, pulpit supply, Presbytery and Synod meetings, as well as fundraising for the College often left Catherine in a state of marital loneliness. Though prayer meetings and the life of the college gave Catherine interaction throughout the week with other Covenanters and provided intellectual and spiritual stimulation, they were also new traditions to which she quickly had to adapt.

Interestingly, Reformed Presbyterian identity, in Catherine's life, was not characterized by the tradition of political dissent, as William Glasgow had argued. Catherine's self-writing also shows that her religious identity was not most strongly tied to the positive theological aspects of Reformed theology as David Carson argued. Nor was Catherine's identity as a Reformed Presbyterian tied to the memory of the martyrs of the killing time as Emily Robinson has argued in her dissertation. Though all of those played a role in Catherine's religious identity it was the forms of Covenanter traditions and Evangelical zeal that Catherine found to be characteristic of her life. The rhythm of low church Covenanter life, most notably seen on Sabbath, with its emphasis on Reformed logocentric worship and theology, provided Catherine with stability in her faith and religious

self. Though domestic work and child rearing placed a heavy burden on Catherine's devotional life, the revivals of the communion season accompanied by the sickness and death that surrounded her reinforced and pushed her pious devotion and Evangelical zeal.

Life of Piety

As the previous portions of this chapter have explained, Catherine's life of piety became severely tested and constrained by the domestic work for which she was responsible. Though she never fully lost her Evangelical zeal, she was often plagued by doubt and failing assurance. But Catherine's diaries show that she continued to devote herself to the Lord outside of family and corporate worship. The very nature of her devotional writing gives testimony to her desire for spiritual expression and introspection. Catherine also spent time in devotional reading, teaching her children, publishing for the edification of others, and joining in the temperance movement.

The logocentric nature of Catherine's faith pushed her to find any time in which she might read or hear the words of Scripture. The nature of Catherine's labor-intensive life, however, meant that she had to use ingenuity, making time for the Word. One of the ways she was able to get both work done and have a devotional life was by having her servant read Scripture to her as she sewed.¹⁶⁴ Another means of ensuring she was in the Word was by ensuring that after all of her work was done an hour in the evening was set aside to read by candlelight.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 9/4/1869, page 3.

¹⁶⁵ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 11/10/1869, page 6.

There were times of rest in Catherine’s life. Paradoxically, sickness and recovering from labor gave Catherine reason to rest from her work and spend time in the Scriptures.¹⁶⁶ This time of rest gave her a welcomed reprieve to meditate upon Scripture as well as write some of the most poignant theological portions of her American diaries. After having given birth to her second son, John Robertson, named after Catherine’s father, she wrote,

I was impressed with the words in the chap. I was reading the other day: “He saw them toiling in rowing, etc.” The disciples were humble—of no note; few knew them or were interested in what they were doing or where they were. They were making not a great voyage on some important business; they were but crossing from one side of a little lake to the other at the command of their master. (He sent them before him to the other side.) It grew stormy. The waves beat—the winds howled; and they were toiling in rowing; almost beat. But Jesus was watching them from the shore: he knew their misgivings, their fears; he knew how the sinews were strained; how the arms ached; how the whole body was faint [and] the heart sad. And in the fourth watch when their faith had been tried Jesus came to them walking upon the sea; [and] entering into their frail craft, immediately there was a great calm.

I likened the disciples in the little boat to myself—of no renown, no note, unknown, unnoticed by the great world. The journey from one side of the lake to the other, to my life journey each day from morning to even. It is but a small journey—only a few hours—yet how many storms arise—how the waves beat, how the winds roar at times. It seems as if I would need to give up; I can never go thro the day [and] reach the shore of evening; And no one knows of the storm; no one knows how the frail bark is strained how hard the hands pull at the oars. No one knows how the enemy Satan is trying to over set the boat; and how nearly he succeeds in making the faith to fail—all is unseen; only now [and] then a desperate ugly plunge tells the companion at my side that a struggle is going on. But there is one eye that sees, one that is watching as a mother to the bark in which her beloved child is ploughing the deep, ‘aye; even with more earnestness, more tenderness [and] pity [and] love than any mother; and at the right moment, it may be not lite, the fourth watch of the night. He will come walking on the sea—that which troubles will be a

¹⁶⁶ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 11/10/1872, page 13.

medium of conveyance [and] entering into the ship—into my heart—immediately there will be a great calm.

May this thought that Jesus is watching me from the shore, cheer [and] gladden me every day [and] all the days. In the dark night, the stars are seen to the best advantage. If God's children were not brought into trying circumstances, they would miss experiencing much of God's preciousness.

Hagar's soul was in bitterness because her child was perishing for thirst—the angel appears, leading her to the water; the Israelites were hungering in the wilderness and God rained down manna: is it night, He is round about them as a pillar of fire: is it a weary land His children are passing through, He is the shadow of a great rock. Suffers He them to be carried captive, He makes them to be pitied of all those who carry them captive; does He allure them into the wilderness—it is that He may speak comfortably to them.

So we need to fear nothing that may be before us. Into whatever circumstances we may be brought, God is able to manifest Himself to us so as to more than compensate for all the evil.

Each day then--especially do I desire in entering upon this winter without prospect of a servant--to see not only this hardship [and] trials which I am quite sure I will experience, but also to have my eyes open to see the daily blessings—the amelioration--the compensation--the tender mercies--that He will each night and each day bestow--Oh! How many are they. They are truly immeasurable. Lord give me a thankful heart, [and] teach me how whilst feeling [and] feeling keenly my various annoyances [and] disappointments [and] trials not to fret or grieve unduly.¹⁶⁷

Catherine sought to continue the covenant she had made with God even after she had immigrated to America. She had pledged, “[I will] be diligent in my devotional duties – in

¹⁶⁷ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 11/10/1872, page 13. This type of strong biblical imagery is only used in Catherine's diaries one other time. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 10/21/1869, page 5.

Peculiarly, in her American diaries Catherine again relates herself to male figures in Scriptures and not female. This is similar to the description in chapter one of her address to the women's prayer meeting about having uninterrupted intercourse with godly men of the Bible. While this could lead one to the feminization theory explored later in this thesis, one is not convinced Catherine sees herself as any more pious or more sinful than any of the men around her. This gender equality of the need for the gospel because of the depravity of the entire human race was a theological position both in the Scottish and American Reformed Presbyterian Churches contra Collum Brown's argument that the Scottish Kirk was the males' church. Callum G. Brown, “Religion,” in *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, ed. Lynn Abrams et al. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 84-110.

reading [and] secret prayer morning [and] evening as God enables me.”¹⁶⁸ Though life had been difficult since she married John and moved to America, she continued striving to keep her covenant with God.¹⁶⁹

Catherine was also intent on sharing the covenant faith with her children. She was diligent in teaching them the Scriptures in addition to family worship. During one of her lessons with the children she wrote, “Insurance agent called—a delicate man—just as I was at Bible lesson with the boys. I tried to drop a seed in his heart. It may be that God’s Spirit will water it.”¹⁷⁰ Catherine’s son Albert remembered her deliberate teachings when he was two or three years old. He wrote,

Even at so early of an age our Mother had so dramatically related the stories of the Bible to us that I remember associating the carpenter who was standing on a ladder with Jesus of Nazareth. Evidently Mother had used the carpenter who was working on our new home as an illustration, and I can vaguely see Mr. Pierce, who was the contractor for our house and whom I learned to know in later years, with the carpenter of Nazareth.¹⁷¹

Catherine’s devotion to Christ and his Word meant that she was compelled not only to share it with the children in her Sabbath school classes but also reinforced the lessons of family and corporate worship by inundating her children with Bible lessons throughout the week.

Catherine did attempt to reach a wider audience than her children and her

¹⁶⁸ Catherine Robertson McCartney, Diary “My First Communion fr. 1856-1862,” 1 verso - 1 recto, entry 10/26/1856, Personal Family Collection of Collot Guerard, Galesville, MD.

¹⁶⁹ Beyond Scripture reading, Catherine also journaled about reading puritan works such as Samuel Rutherford’s letters and John Flavel to encourage her faith. Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 9/24/1869, page 4, entry 12/19/1869, page 10, entry 2/15/1870, page 12.

¹⁷⁰ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry 8/16/1880, page 36.

¹⁷¹ Albert McCartney, *Autobiography*, 11.

Sabbath school ventures by writing for various publications. She wrote in one of her diary entries that, “I have written today a piece for the Christian Presbyterian. The text is I will be glad [and] rejoice in His Salvation. I desire to do this [and] any such service from a right motive. I desire that God would bless the reading of it to some soul.”¹⁷² In addition to writing devotional works for religious periodicals, Catherine also wrote pamphlets for various organizations. One warned mothers of the dangers of dime novels, another gave advice one how to raise godly children, and a more extensive third one provided mothers with a plethora of advice on various topics. In the third pamphlet she encouraged mothers to embrace temperance and give attention and sympathy to their children.¹⁷³ She encouraged them to fill their homes with good books and rid their home of immoral books. Negatively, she warned them against allowing their children to attend theaters, play cards, or go dancing.¹⁷⁴ In order to help women fill their homes with good books that their children could read, Catherine later in life published a harmony of the Gospels written in narrative form and accessible to children.¹⁷⁵ Catherine’s activism expressed in writing was also matched by the

¹⁷² Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 1/13/1874, page 25.

¹⁷³ Catherine McCartney, “Mothers’ Influence on Posterity,” pamphlet, n.d. Clarence Edward Macartney Collection, McCartney Library, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania. Catherine R. McCartney, “A Word to Mothers,” *Purity leaflets*, No. 11, Chicago: Miss Ruby I Gilbert, Clarence Edward Macartney Collection, McCartney Library, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania.

¹⁷⁴ Catherine R. McCartney, “Let Us Live with Our Children,” *Home Leaflets For Mothers’ Meetings*, No. 10, Chicago: Miss Ruby I Gilbert, n.d. Clarence Edward Macartney Collection, McCartney Library, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania.

¹⁷⁵ Catherine Robertson McCartney, *The Hero of the Ages: A Story of the Nazarene* (New York: Flemming H. Revell Company, 1896).

Much of the advice Catherine gave, including children of opposite sex not sleeping with each other or undressing in front of each other, and mothers being the natural care givers of their children, Susan Lindley ties to an idea of “true womanhood.” Key to the cult of “true womanhood” is the view of women being naturally pious, pure, submissive, and domestic. For true womanhood to evolve there needed to be urbanization and industrialization leading to changes in the home as well as changes regarding the duty of women as citizens

time she spent fighting for one of the causes the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America was deeply influential in, temperance.

The Reformed Presbyterian church of the nineteenth century was one of fervent activism. Just before Catherine immigrated to America the denomination had seen the accomplishment of a dream they had theologically, figuratively, and literally fought for: abolition.¹⁷⁶ The Reformed Presbyterians after the emancipation of the slaves and end of the Civil war threw themselves with “surprising enthusiasm” into the fight for temperance.¹⁷⁷ Temperance in the denomination started in 1836 with Synod’s recommendation to abstain from alcohol. By 1853 intemperance was a violation of church law.¹⁷⁸ The church was so

and mothers. Children began to be seen as naturally innocent, needing their mothers to mold them. Industrialization and urbanization in both Scotland and America caused men to leave the home for employment, resulting in the domestication of women to the home. Of course, this was not always the case. Millions of women and children both in the United Kingdom and in the United States were forced by necessity to work in mines, mills, and other industries. But, Catherine’s diaries go against the classification of true womanhood, resting on the feminization theory. She did not see herself as more pious than her husband. Her Calvinist theology, supported by preaching, especially during communion seasons, encouraged Catherine to see all humanity as depraved with men no more pious than women.

Not all of the ideals of “true womanhood” were new. Some of the ideas, such as domestic concerns and subordination, had a long heritage. Some of the ideas of true womanhood, such as submission, were also found in the “Puritan Good Wife” or the Jeffersonian ideal of “Republican Motherhood.” While other ideals, such as women’s innate piety, were specific developments of the cult of true womanhood, neither the ideals of the “puritan good wife” nor the “republican mother” ever died but people amended and adapted these to fit Victorian culture and the changes to society caused by modernity. Catherine, however, found a decidedly different framework to operate by that was both culturally influenced by Victorianism and yet consistent with her devoutly Reformed theology. As Catherine’s own life shows, she was able to draw upon both the “Puritan Good Wife” as part of her Scottish Puritanism as well as the “Republican Motherhood” when trying to convince her contemporaries of the Victorian ideal of women’s roles and impact as mothers. Susan Hill Lindley, *You have Stept out of your Place: A History of Women and Religion in America* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 52-58.

¹⁷⁶ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 25, 50, 53-54, 58-62. David Ray Wilcox, “The Reformed Presbyterian Church and the Antislavery Movement” (M.A. Thesis, Colorado State College of Education, 1948). The abolitionist movement was another transatlantic connection between the United Kingdom and the United States. Daniel Ritchie, “Radical Orthodoxy: Irish Covenanters and American Slavery, circa 1830-1865,” *Church History*, 82: 812-847.

¹⁷⁷ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 52.

¹⁷⁸ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 52.

decided in her stance on temperance that in 1868 the Synod affirmed that members were to “cease touching intoxicants in any way.”¹⁷⁹ When John became sick one night at their Northwood home Catherine brought him a drink for medicinal purposes. She wrote of the event later,

Tonight I brot a glass of brandy to Mr. McC. who felt unwell. Of course he did not want it, but declined it as I thought a little ungraciously, so forgetting what had been ringing in my ears all afternoon. Watch [and] pray. I took the dumps [and] went off to bed.¹⁸⁰

John, a devout teetotaler, had heeded the warnings of Synod the year prior “against patent medicines containing alcohol.”¹⁸¹ If the Synod had gone so far as to warn against medicines containing alcohol, John was decidedly against drinking pure brandy for a medicinal use.

Lest one be confused, Catherine was, like John, a strict prohibitionist. In one of her diary entries she noted,

The temperance movement has been filling up the time since my last entry. Bellefontaine, Kenton, Rushsylvania, Bell Centre, in all these places I have taken a share in the work. The work progresses throughout the county, altho it is no longer new [and] therefore no longer monopolizes the attention, [and] fills the papers.¹⁸²

Catherine was fully devoted to and actively part of the temperance movement. Albert remembered his mother’s fervency for the temperance movement, writing,

The Blue Ribbon campaign, under the auspices of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, was launched at that time. I can remember distinctly when my mother brought Clarence and me, and Henry, and Phil Johnson, and

¹⁷⁹ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 132.

¹⁸⁰ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: July 28, 1869 to November 8, 1871*, entry “Nov.,” page 7.

¹⁸¹ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 65.

¹⁸² Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 4/26/1874, page 28.

Rutherford Glover, into our dining room at Fern Cliffe where she had prayer with us, and instructed us on the importance of temperance, and had [us] sign, “The Blue Ribbon Pledge,” to abstain from the use of intoxicating liquors. We did not exactly know what intoxicating liquors were, but we singed up with enthusiasm.¹⁸³

Catherine’s devotion to the temperance cause was a way in which she participated in the active ministry of the church, interacted with the society around her, and voluntarily associated with a pan-Evangelical organization.

Astonishingly, Catherine’s diaries leave out what the historians of the church have pointed to as a major event in the identity and life of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America, the signing of the 1871 covenant. This was the last time the Reformed Presbyterians covenanted as an entire church body. William Glasgow, living and writing at the time, thought it was so important as to publish it in its entirety in his history of the denomination.¹⁸⁴ David Carson placed the signing of the 1871 covenant at the conclusion of his history of the denomination. The tone and flow of his work point to the covenant as a type of triumph and solidarity of the denomination.¹⁸⁵ Like the issue of political dissent, the covenant of 1871 was not potent enough to have made it into Catherine’s most intimate religious self-writing. While this would have been the most apparent point of continuity between 1638 and 1871, it is once again peculiarly absent from Catherine’s diaries. Like dissent, this does not mean it was not important to Catherine, but that it was not important enough to have a place where she most intimately defined what was most pressing to her religious self.

¹⁸³ Albert McCartney, *Autobiography*, 20.

¹⁸⁴ Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, 137-143.

When Catherine immigrated to the United States she was almost immediately forced to face the differences between her lifestyle in Scotland and America. Living in rural Ohio presented a host of domestic difficulties that she had not faced living a life of privilege in Glasgow. Daily domestic tasks were difficult and servants were hard to find and keep. Servants also challenged Catherine to disregard her sense of class distinction. She was inundated by the intense work it took to show a vast amount of hospitality required of her. She also witnessed sickness and death sweep over entire communities and grieved with families that suffered the loss of watching all of their children die. The death of Catherine's own daughters, Therina and Sophie, caused her to go into a severe state of doubting her faith and seeking assurance of salvation. For Catherine, the life of sorrow that she often lived was how she primarily expressed herself after moving to America.

While Catherine's struggles with domesticity and death are the largest part of her diaries, she also spent considerable time writing about her joys and difficulties in the American Church. A major difficulty for Catherine after moving to America was her relationship with John. His reticence, travels, and long hours of studying often left her alone physically and emotionally. Though she supported John's pastoral ministry, the life of a pastor's wife was difficult for her. But, Catherine found comfort after immigration through the continuities of the church. The Reformed Presbyterians in America had maintained the positive principles of theology and worship. The transatlantic tradition had maintained its devotion to logocentricity. Sabbath days were kept holy with two sermons, communion

¹⁸⁵ Carson, *Transplanted to America*, 64-66.

seasons were the revival highlights of the year, fast days and psalm singing were also congruent with those in Scotland. The forms of worship or the peculiar practices of the church in Scotland and America were what expressed and maintained the heart of the tradition. The logocentric religion that was at the heart of the Scottish Reformation had been kept alive by the Covenanters through the vehicle of a distinct form of worship.

This logocentricity was designed to maintain the heart of the Scottish Reformation, the Gospel of Jesus Christ as preserved in the inerrant Scriptures. Catherine shows how the denomination accomplished this through its activism in higher education, abolitionism, temperance, and missions. Catherine active participated in expansion of the gospel and the tradition, through the teaching of her children at home, other children in Sabbath schools and bible studies, and in published writings. Her religious self was expressed within the framework and forms of the Reformed Presbyterian tradition, which in turn found its identity in the logocentric aims of the Scottish Reformation.

CONCLUSION

After exploring and evaluating Catherine's religious self-writing an interesting picture comes into focus. Her writings reveal that she, a Reformed Presbyterian, saw her religious identity in and as an Evangelical Reformed Presbyterian. This identity was rooted in and maintained by the traditional forms of Reformed Presbyterian worship.

The worship of the Scottish Presbyterians at the time of the Reformation was designed to be logocentric in order to transform the nation from ritual-based to Scripture-based religion. Margo Todd's work, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, shows that the reformers accomplished this goal by adapting the worship, or *cultus*, to center around the Word read, preached, and sung. Formal corporate worship was designed during the Reformation to be logocentric and was supported throughout the week with family worship and catechizing, as well as individual devotions.

When the Second Reformation occurred and the National Covenant gained wide spread spiritual, emotional, and military support, especially after the Signing of the Solemn League and Covenant, the Scottish covenanting tradition reached its high point. In the personal lives of congregants, the covenanting tradition was seen most clearly when they first partook in communion. Then congregants were reminded of their personal covenants with God and their need for Christ in the highly charged communion seasons.

When the Killing Times came between the restoration of the Stuarts and the Revolution settlement with William of Orange, the Covenanters' identity, as is typical in a

time of persecution, was emboldened and entrenched. The Covenanters saw themselves as peculiar because of their doctrine of the mediatorial kingship of Christ and the perpetual obligation of the Covenants. But, the Covenanters worship practices were not unlike those around them. After the Glorious Revolution, the worship of the Church of Scotland was in line, mostly, with the Scottish Reformation. This meant that dissent was *the* distinctive mark of the Covenanters in Scotland.

When the nineteenth century began, the Scottish Church entered a new phase in her history. As Catherine's diaries show, people in the denomination were still devoted to the forms of the church, but the people now had to wrestle with how to interact with the broader Evangelical culture around them. The church adapted to this new challenge by appropriating it according to their historical practices and adding their peculiar political theology. However, when the franchise was expanded and the church loosened and eventually changed its position on dissent, the denomination lost its peculiar theology and thus its ability to stay independent of other Scottish churches. The merger into the Free Church in 1876 was because the denomination had lost its negative application of dissent, though maintaining the positive aspects of the Scottish Reformed and Presbyterian theology. It is speculative, but one is inclined to think Catherine, if she had remained in Scotland, would have transferred her membership to the Free Church.

As Catherine moved to the United States she found continuity between the Majority Synod church in Scotland and the Old School church in America. Catherine's immigration to the new church and acceptance of dissent would not have been much of an issue since dissent was not based solely upon the perpetual obligation of the Covenants but

the secular nature of the Constitution. But, as was shown, in America her identity as a Reformed Presbyterian was not tied to dissent. Rather, it was the forms of worship, which preserved the logocentric religion of the Scottish Reformation that shaped and maintained her lived religion.

In America, the Killing Times, dissent, and even Presbyterian theology were all a part of Catherine's religious heritage and defined the denominational identity. But for Catherine, a congregant in the pew, her distinctiveness as a Reformed Presbyterian was directly tied to and reinforced by the worship and traditions of the church. It is paradoxical that the Reformation had occurred to remove the people from a tradition based worship, yet centuries later the worship services that the Kirk had designed had become the keystone traditions which entrenched Reformed Presbyterian identity in America.¹

Catherine's religious self-writing reveals a tradition similar to those found in many histories of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, both in America and Scotland. But, her writing has provided insight into the identity and practices of the church that have sadly been neglected. This thesis, enlisting the tools of cultural history, ethnographic studies, women's history, and institutional history, has shown a picture of the tradition from a perspective not often seen, from the pew up.

The most recent works on Reformed Presbyterian identity are Eldon Hay's, *The Covenanters in Canada*, and Emily Moberg Robinson's "Immigrant Covenanters." In

¹ This comment is based largely on the historiographical tendency found in many nineteenth-century historians, especially Reformed Presbyterians, who believe the Scottish Reformation was both a national and spiritual reformation. So that, the National Covenant of 1581 and 1638 are directly tied to the Scottish disapproval of the Book of Prayer. Margo Todd, however, has convincingly shown that the Scottish Reformation, as seen through the session minutes before 1638 give a view of the church that was more

both of these impressive works the authors focus mainly on Reformed Presbyterian identity as it related to political theology in Scotland and America. This is the conventional historiographical interpretation of the Reformed Presbyterians. While their works, and the traditional historiography of the denomination inform this thesis, one has purposefully focused on the positive theology of the tradition. By looking at the tradition from the pew up, instead of pulpit and church courts down, a new emphasis of Reformed Presbyterian identity can be seen. The positive theology of the church, which gave it the boldness to endure the killing times and formulate theological political dissent, rested upon the traditions of the church. The logocentric forms of worship, which had developed during the First Scottish Reformation, were the foundation of Reformed Presbyterian identity. This thesis contributes to the literature on the history of the Reformed Presbyterian Church by showing how the sixteenth-century Kirk and the broader evangelical culture of the day impacted the church and was experienced by a congregant in the pew. Because of the method of examination employed, the thesis shifts the focus away from political theology and onto the life of a congregant.

It is important to note that Catherine was living in the era of D.L. Moody and C. H. Spurgeon. The religious milieu of her time was that of Victorian Evangelicalism. By Evangelicalism one is convinced this is a broad and multifaceted movement of conservative Protestants, as defined earlier by their relationship and commitment to revivalism, conversionism, activism, biblicism, and crucicentrism. The tension Reformed Presbyterians

amorphous regarding traditions in worship. Though iconoclasm did occur, tradition remained.

had faced for over a century was how to be appreciative of and interact with other conservative Protestant traditions, yet remain true to their heritage and distinct, as their testimonies demanded.² Catherine's official religious identity was Reformed Presbyterian. But, her commitment to a core set of doctrines, shared by other Evangelicals of her time, allowed her participation in the wider Evangelical culture.³ So, while Catherine was Evangelical, as she was likewise Protestant and Reformed, her Evangelical identity was defined by her formal identity as a member of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. And, at the core of her Reformed Presbyterian identity was the logocentric traditions of the church. This core tradition's commitment to an extremely high view of Scripture reciprocally gave her access into a broader Evangelical culture.

The Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America today has, for differing reasons from the Majority Synod in 1863 and the New School Reformed Presbyterians of 1833, left the doctrine of political dissent up to congregants as a matter of conscience.⁴ And, as the denomination has been pulled in many directions to find its institutional identity, it has

² The testimonies necessarily placed Reformed Presbyterians' identity as against a theological problem or movement of their time. This was also the heart of the voluntary association or Steelite controversy as mentioned previously. A Reformed Presbyterian was able to interact with, but not fully associate as, anything other than a Reformed Presbyterian.

³ This can be seen most clearly in her publishing activities which were outside the Reformed Presbyterian church, as well as her involvement in the Women's Christian Temperance Movement as noted earlier.

⁴ Eldon, Hay, *The Covenanters in Canada: Reformed Presbyterianism from 1820-2012* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 255-261. *Minutes of the One Hundred and Forty-Ninth Synod and Yearbook of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America 1978* (Pittsburgh: Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, 1978), 182-226. *Constitution of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America: Being Its Standards Subordinate to the Word of God* (Pittsburgh: Crown & Covenant Publications, 2013).

Hay Eldon's work is beneficial since he addresses the changes that occurred in the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Canada regarding covenanting. The Reformed Presbyterians in Canada merged with the

largely been planted in its Reformed and Presbyterian theology. But, as evidenced in 1986 when the denomination inquired with the Orthodox Presbyterian Church regarding merger, there are other denominations that also have these as their distinctives.⁵

So, why should the Reformed Presbyterian Church exist? Because, the forms and traditions of the church were created and have maintained a distinct form of logocentricity that is distinct from anyone else. There are a series of other questions that Catherine's diaries leave one asking. Can the church claim this identity as it loses its sense of social covenanting and has begun to lose its communion seasons? Is a form of worship, even if based on the doctrine of the regulative principle, strong enough to carry the identity of a denomination? Is this a form of antiquarianism that will necessarily prove unsustainable? Catherine's religious self-writing give insight into some of these questions, at least in her life.

Catherine's writings in Scotland and America show that participating in the Reformed Presbyterian Church's logocentric tradition influenced every aspect of her life. Through the most trying and difficult circumstances the tradition of the church equipped her to express her religious self in a distinctly reformed way and drove her continually to Christ and the Scriptures. In one of her last diary entries on a Sabbath, Catherine wrote a diary entry that nicely concludes and summarizes her self-writing,

A nice cool day—precious after hot hot days. I have spent the day reading by myself in the woods overhanging the river, meditating & praying. Ernest was with me part of the time. Then we have had singing of psalms & hymns. But

Reformed Presbyterian Church in America to form the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America.

⁵ *Minutes of the One Hundred and Fifty-Ninth Synod and Yearbook of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America 1988* (Pittsburgh: Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, 1988), 74-78.

the music when the little voice of Wilhelmina & Albert join is rather overpowering. This is a charming place. I feel more at home lying reading my Bible amongst the trees than I have done anywhere in America. I hope I shall live a better & a nobler life than I have done before.⁶

⁶ Catherine Macartney, *The Diary of Catherine Robertson Macartney: December 20, 1871 to May 10, 1881*, entry 7/18/1880, page 36.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrams, Lynn, Eleanor Gordon, Deborah Simonton and Eileen Janes Yeo eds. *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006.
- Anderson, Olive. "Women Preachers in Mid-Victorian Britain: Some Reflections on Feminism, Popular Religion and Social Change." *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1969), 467-484.
- Bass, Dorothy C. "'Their Prodigious Influence': Women, Religion and Reform in Antebellum America." In *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Tradition*, edited by Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin, 279-300. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979.
- Bausman, Joseph H. *History of Beaver County, Pennsylvania, and its Centennial Celebration*. Vol. 2. New York: The Kinickerbocker Press, 1904.
- Beam, Dorri. *Style, Gender, and Fantasy in Nineteenth-Century American Women's Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Bebbington, David. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1989.
- Boran, Elizabethanne, Crawford Gibben, eds. *Enforcing Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, 1550-1700*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2006.
- Boyd, Anne E. ed. *Wielding the Pen: Writings on Authorship by American Women of the Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009.
- Boyd, Kenneth M. *Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and the Family 1850-1914*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers LTD., 1980.
- Brasher, Brenda E. *Godly Women: Fundamentalism & Female Power*. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1998.
- Braude, Ann. *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America*. 2nd ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.
- _____. *Sisters and Saints: Women and American Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

- _____. "Women's History Is American Religious History," in *Retelling U.S. Religious History*. edited by Thomas A. Tweed. Berkley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1997.
- Brekus, Catherine A. *Sarah Osborne's World: The Rise of Evangelical Christianity in Early America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.
- _____, ed. *The Religious History Of American Women: Reimagining the Past*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- Britten, Kenneth. *Beaver Falls: Gem of Beaver County*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2002.
- _____. *Images of Beaver Falls*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2000.
- Broadie, Alexander. *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2007.
- Brown, Callum G. "The Unconverted and the Conversion: Gender Relations in the Salvation Narrative in Britain 1800-1965." In *Paradigms, Poetics and Politics of Conversion*, edited by Jan N. Bremmer, Wout J. van Bekkum, and Arie L. Molendijk. Paris: Petter, 2006.
- Bush, Peter. "Canadian Covenanters in Crisis: Anna Ross and Modernism." *Journal of Transatlantic Studies (Routledge)* 11, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 193-212.
- Carson, David M., "A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America to 1871." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1964.
- _____. *Pro Christo et Patria: A History of Geneva College*. Virginia Beach, VA: The Donning Company Publishers, 1997.
- _____. *Transplanted to America: A Popular History of the American Covenanters to 1871*. Pittsburgh: Board of Education and Publication, Reformed Presbyterian Church, 1970.
- Carson, Elizabeth. "An inordinate sense of history," James Renwick Willson 1780-1853. M.A. Thesis: College of William and Marry, 1987.
- Clark, R. Scott. *Recovering the Reformed Confession: Our Theology, Piety, and Practice*. Phillipsburg: P&R Publishing, 2008.
- Collins, Gail. *America's Women: 400 Years of Dolls, Drudges, Helpmates, and Heroines*.

- New York: Harper Collins, 2003.
- Copeland, Robert M. *Spare No Exertions: 175 Years of the Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986.
- Cott, Nancy F., et al., *Root of Bitterness: Documents of the Social History of American Women*. 2nd ed. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996.
- Coultrap-McQuin, Susan. *Doing Literary Business: American Women Writers in the Nineteenth-Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.
- Couper, W. J. *Scottish Revivals*. Dundee: James P & Co., 1918.
- _____. *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland: It's Congregations Ministers and Students*. Edinburgh: United Free Church of Scotland Publication Department, 1925.
- Covenanter Collection. McCartney Library, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania.
- Cowley, Anthony A. "From Whence We Came: A Background of the National Reform Association." in *Explicitly Christian Politics: The Vision of the National Reform Association*, ed. William O. Einwechter. Pittsburgh: The Christian Statesman, 1997, 1-16.
- Dallimore, Arnold A. *George Whitefield: The Life and Times of the Eighteenth-Century Revival*. 2 vols. London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1970.
- DeBerg, Betty A. *Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990.
- Delivuk, John Allen. "The Doctrine and History of worship in the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America," S.T.M. thesis, Concordia Seminary, 1983.
- Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993.
- Diner, Hasia R. *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1983.
- Dorsett, Lyle. *A Passion for Souls: The life of D. L. Moody*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1997.
- Douglas, Ann. *The Feminization of American Culture*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977.
- Elbert, Monika M. ed. *Separate Spheres No More: Gender Convergence in American Literature 1830-1930*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000.

- Evans, Sara M. *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America*. New York: The Free Press, 1989.
- Ewan, Elizabeth, et. Al., *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women: From the earliest times to 2004*. Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 2006.
- Farra, Harry E. "The Rhetoric of Reverend Clarence Edward Macartney: A Man Under Authority." Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University 1970.
- Fawcett, Arthur. *The Cambuslang Revival: The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century*. London: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1971.
- Fisk, William Lyons. *The Scottish High Church Tradition: An Essay in Scotch-Irish Ethnoreligious History*. Lanham, The University Press of America, Inc., 1995.
- Fox, Chester R. *A Brief History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America*. Pittsburgh: Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, 1964.
- Gilmore, Peter. "The 'moral duty' of public covenanting in the ante-bellum United States: New-World exigencies, Old-World response." *Journal of Transatlantic Studies (Routledge)* 11, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 177-192.
- Glasgow, William M. *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*. Baltimore, Hill & Harvey, 1888.
- Gordon, Elanor and Esther Breitenbach eds. *The World is Ill Divided: Women's work in Scotland in the nineteenth and early twentieth Centuries*. New York: Edinburgh University Press, 1990.
- Graham, Elspeth. "Women's writing and the self," in Helen Wilcox ed. *Women and Literature in Britain, 1500-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Guerard, Wilhelmina. *Catherine*. Manuscript. 1940. Macartney Library, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania.
- _____. *Clarence Macartney: Biographical Notes*. Manuscript. Macartney Library, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania.
- Hart, D.G. *Calvinism: A History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.
- Hart, D. G., Muether, John R. *Seeking a Better Country: 300 Years of American Presbyterianism*. Phillipsburgh: P&R Publishing, 2007.
- Hay, Eldon. *The Covenanters in Canada: Reformed Presbyterianism from 1820-2012*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012.

- Haynes, Carolyn. "Women and Protestantism in Nineteenth-century America." In *Perspectives on American Religion and Culture*, edited by Peter W. Williams. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999.
- Hays, George P. *Presbyterians: A Popular Narrative of their Origin, Progress, Doctrines, and Achievements*. New York: J. A. Hill & C. Publishers, 1892.
- Hewitt, Margaret. *Wives & Mothers in Victorian Industry*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1958.
- Hewitt, Nancy A ed. *A Companion to American Women's History*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.
- Hoffecker, W. Andrew. *Charles Hodge: The Pride of Princeton*. Phillipsburgh: Presbyterian & Reformed, 2011.
- Hutchison, Matthew. *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland: It's Origin and History 1680-1878*. Edinburgh: J. and R. Parlane Paisley, 1893.
- Johnston, N. R.. *Looking Back from the Sunset Land or People Worth Knowing*. Oakland: NP, ND.
- Joseph, Ralph E. *The Eastvale Reformed Presbyterian Church: A Short History*. Beaver Falls: Self Published, 1960.
- Keddie, Gordon. "The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Disruption of 1863." *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 11 (Summer 1993): 31-49.
- _____. "The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland and the Disruption of 1863." *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 12 (Spring 1994): 26-43.
- Kehoe, Karly S. *Creating a Scottish Church: Catholicism, Gender and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Scotland*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.
- Kilcup, Karen L. ed. *Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers: A Critical Reader*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998.
- _____. *Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers: An Anthology*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1997.
- Larner, Christina. *Enemies of God: The Witch Hunt in Scotland*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1981.

- Lindley, Susan Hill. *You have Stept out of your Place: A History of Women and Religion in America*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996.
- Loetscher, Lefferts A. *A Brief History of the Presbyterians*. 4th ed. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1978.
- Longfield, Bradley J. *The Presbyterian Controversy: Fundamentalists, Modernists, & Moderates*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Loughridge, Adam. *The Covenanters in Ireland: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland*. Belfast: Cameron Press, 1984.
- Love, Dane. *The Covenanter Encyclopedia*. Ayr: Fort Publishing, 2009.
- Lynch, Michael ed. *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- McCartney, Albert Joseph. *Autobiography*. Manuscript. Macartney Library, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania.
- McCartney, Catherine Robertson. "A Word to Mothers" *Purity Leaflets* No. 11. Chicago: Miss Ruby I Gilbert.
- _____. "Let Us Live with Our Children." *Home Leaflets For Mothers' Meetings* No. 10. Chicago: Miss Ruby I Gilbert.
- _____. "Mothers' Influence on Posterity."
- _____. *The Hero of the Ages: A Story of the Nazarene*. New York: Flemming H. Revell Company, 1896.
- _____. Account book, Artifacts, Elmwood Journals, Letters, Pamphlets, and Photographs. Macartney Library, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania. Also located in the personal family collection of Collot Guerard, Washington D.C. and Albert Noble McCartney, Washington D.C.
- McDannell, Collen. *The Christian Home in Victorian America 1840-1900*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- McFadden, Margaret H. *Golden Cables of Sympathy: The Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth-Century Feminism*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1999.
- McFetters, J. C. *The Covenanters in America: The Voice of their Testimony on Present Moral Issues. Reasons for the Hope and Work of the Reformed Presbyterian Church*. Philadelphia: Press of Spagler and Davis, 1892.

- Macartney, Clarence Edward Noble. *The Autobiography of Clarence Edward Macartney: Making of a Minister*. Edited by J. Clyde Henry. Great Neck: Channel Press, 1961.
- Macdonald, I. Orr. *A Unique and Glorious Mission: Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland 1830-1930*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000.
- Macfarlan, D. *The Revivals of the Eighteenth Century: Particularly at Cumbuslang*. Wheaton: Richard Owen Roberts, 1980.
- MacHaffie, Barbara J. *Her Story: Women in Christian Tradition*. 2nd ed. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006.
- MacLaren, Allan. *Religion and Social Class: The Disruption Years in Aberdeen*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul PLC., 1974.
- Manetsch, Scott M. *Calvin's Company of Pastors: Pastoral Care and the Emerging Reformed Church, 1536-1609*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Mitchison, Roselind, and Leah Leneman. *Girls in Trouble: Sexuality and Social Control in Rural Scotland 1660-1780*. Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press, 1998.
- Moore, Edwin Nisbet. *Our Covenant Heritage: The Covenanters' Struggle for Unity in Truth as revealed in the memory of James Nisbet and sermons by John Nevay*. Tain: Christian Focus Books, 2000.
- Moore, Joseph S. "Irish Radicals, Southern Conservatives: Slavery, Religious Liberty and the Presbyterian Fringe in the Atlantic World, 1637-1877." Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Greensboro 2011.
- Mullan, David George. *Scottish Puritanism 1590-1638*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- _____. *Women's Life Writing in Early Modern Scotland: Writing of the Evangelical Self, c.1670-1730*. Burlington, UK: Ashgate, 2003.
- Murray, Iain H. *A Scottish Christian Heritage*. Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth Trust, 2006.
- Noll, Mark A. *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992.
- Oden, Amy ed. *In Her Words: Women's Writing in the History of Christian Thought*. Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1994.

Pomona College Archives. Claremont, California.

Presbyterian Historical Society. The National Archives of the PC(USA). Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Reformed Presbyterian Historical Archives. Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Ritchie, Daniel. "Radical Orthodoxy: Irish Covenanters and American Slavery, circa 1830-1865." *Church History*, 82: 812-847.

Robinson, Emily Moberg. "Immigrant Covenanters: Religious and Political Identity, From Scotland to America." Ph.D. diss., University of California Santa Cruz 2004.

_____. "Sacred memory: the Covenanter use of History in Scotland and America." *Journal of Transatlantic Studies (Routledge)* 11, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 135-157.

_____. "Scottish Covenanters and the Creation of an American Identity." *The Journal of Presbyterian History* 83, no. 1 (May 2005): 54-70.

Schaff, Philip ed. *The Evangelical Protestant Creeds*, vol. 3, *The Creeds of Christendom with a History and Critical Notes*, 6th ed. 1939; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1990.

Schmidt, Leigh Eric. *Holy Fairs: Scotland and the Making of American Revivalism*. 2nd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Selderhuis, Harman ed. *The Calvin Handbook*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009.

Session Minutes: Eastvale Reformed Presbyterian Church, Geneva Reformed Presbyterian Church, College Hill Reformed Presbyterian Church. Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania.

Shields, Bruce P. "Scots Among the Yankees: The Settlement of Craftsbury East Hill," *The Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (Summer 1996).

Smout, T.C. *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*. London: Collins, 1969.

_____. *A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

Steele, David. *Reminiscences: Historical and Biographical of a Ministry in the Reformed Presbyterian Church, during Fifty-Three Years* Philadelphia: Press of William Syckle Moore, nd.

- Sweeney, Douglas. *The American Evangelical Story: A History of the Movement*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005.
- Symond, Deborah. *Weep Nor for Me: Women, Ballads and Infanticide in Early Modern Scotland*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.
- Todd, Margo. *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Tucker, Ruth A. and Walter L. Liefeld. *Daughters of the Church: Women and Ministry from New Testament Times to the Present*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987.
- Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990.
- Vos, Johannes Geerhardus. *The Scottish Covenanters: Their Origins, History and Distinctive Doctrines*. 1940, Reprint, Edinburgh: Blue Banner Productions, 1998.
- Wearn, Mary McCartin ed. *Nineteenth-century American Women Write Religion: Lived Theologies and Literature*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014.
- Wilcox, David Ray. "The Reformed Presbyterian Church and the Antislavery Movement." M.A. thesis: Colorado State College of Education 1948.