

THE "NEW" EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY OF HENRY DRUMMOND 1851-97.
AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

by

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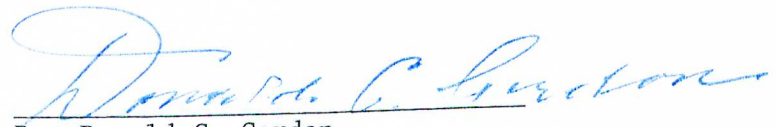
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ABSTRACT

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Henry Drummond has until now been viewed as a reconciler of science and religion in post-Darwin Scotland, whose views spread throughout Europe and the United States due to the best-selling characteristics of his two main books. This historical analysis of his thought began at this point. But no such reconciliation was found to have been effected. Nor was it ever attempted. Almost all Drummond criticism has been within this framework, viewing him as a Christian apologist, and the most recent works have dealt with tangibles such as his student work and rhetoric. This study was an attempt to reach beyond, to the intangibles of the philosophy which determine his place in the history of ideas.

At least two gospels were discovered: one, fairly evangelical and Christ-centered; the other, strongly evolutionary. Attempts to systematize the two views chronologically proved to be impossible as they were too tightly interwoven. Only shifts of emphases could be determined. Drummond's prevailing emphasis throughout his published works is on progress, evolution, or "advolution" with man ascending an exponential curve in the kingdom on earth toward the kingdom in heaven, the lines between the two being blurred by his concept of the "identity" of natural and supernatural. Patterns of evolutionism, naturalism, Christianity, and Pelagianism blend, shift, and interweave in kaleidoscopic fashion

throughout his pages; but he wishes to retain sin and rebirth, while deemphasizing most other cardinal Christian doctrines sometimes to the point of exclusion, and these factors make it difficult to classify him historically in either Christian or non-Christian traditions.

The full implications of the radical quality of his syncretism, the omission of catastrophism necessitated by his natural-spiritual identification, and his juxtaposition of basic terms such as nature, evolution, God, love, and revelation upon his "new" evangelical theology have yet to be determined. However, it may be postulated that his thought, here considered for the first time in its entirety, reveals itself as revolutionary rather than evolutionary, and, as such, paradigmatic of much twentieth century "Christianity."

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INTRODUCTION

It has been said that perhaps "no book was ever received with more enthusiasm as a magnificent contribution to Christian apologetics than 'Natural Law in the Spiritual World.'"¹ This book, Henry Drummond's first, contained "the gospel of the higher biology" and the seeds of what some called the "higher evangelism," developed by Drummond, damned in the nineteenth century, and acclaimed in the twentieth century by intellectuals. It was a type of evangelism, a type of theology, which swept some of the main universities of Scotland and the Eastern Seaboard of the United States. This paper has been a quest in pursuit of the historical thought of this Henry Drummond in an attempt to align his gospel into an historical perspective by analyzing not only its method but its content.

The first puzzles were his two best-sellers, Natural Law in the Spiritual World and The Ascent of Man² which seemed to be boring and anachronistic but could scarcely be discarded as such for two reasons: the importance attributed to them in his time, and because Drummond himself had chosen to publish them rather than his sermons, and thus almost all criticism has hitherto been based almost exclusively upon them. But neither seemed to fit readily into historical patterns of patristic, medieval, or early modern Christian thought. The nineteenth century criticism appeared to be overwhelmingly unfavorable, while that of the twentieth century was, almost without exception, favorable. Whence the dichotomy?

Also, Drummond's life, even as much of his published writings, had much of the appearance of a sea of glass. But, while he has been virtually sanctified by several nineteenth and twentieth century commentators -- for example, Dwight L. Moody said he was "the sweetest-tempered Christian

I ever knew"³-- there were others who, while not disputing such character accolades, considered his teaching to be "extremely dangerous" and "subversive of the declarations of Holy Scripture." (Appendix I)

His thought is a paradigm of much twentieth century Christianity. And two features here are outstanding: 1) his early espousal of the evolutionary hypothesis which seems to have necessitated the gradual elimination of many, if not most, of the catastrophic elements of traditional historical Christianity, and 2) his syncretism, which, if it ran predominantly in patterns of evolutionism and naturalism, had a sociological bias in being essentially anthropocentric rather than theocentric. And yet Charles Spurgeon, the famous British preacher, while not opposing the idea that the proper study of mankind is man, believed it to be "equally true that the proper study of God's elect is God; the proper study of a Christian is the Godhead. . . . The most excellent study for expanding the soul, is the science of Christ and Him crucified, . . ." ⁴ or, as expressed more recently in the Church of Scotland magazine, Life and Work, "By the truth or falsity of the Resurrection, Christianity stands or falls. If the disciples' fellowship with Jesus ended at the Cross, our 'Good News' is a lie, and our faith an empty husk." ⁵ But in Drummond's evangelical evolutionism or evolutionary evangelism, there is little if any place for consideration of such catastrophic events. His is a theology of hope, and he was not to know that the enunciation of the second law of thermodynamics would lead some thinking men a century later to challenge the whole machinery of the evolution he popularized, and ask if what Darwin "really discovered was nothing more than the Victorian propensity to believe in progress." ⁶

Drummond has been termed liberal, modernist, evolutionist, anthropologist, sociologist, biologist, psychologist, geologist, and it is a

measure of both the catholicity and the ambiguity of his thought patterns that one might say that all of these attempts to define or categorize his writings are, in some measure, true.

This is the first written attempt to evaluate the importance of Drummond's thought historically. The results were unexpected. It emerged as paradigmatic of the "new evangelism" which some first perceived in the 1940s in the United States. The radical quality of his syncretism and his prophetic insight into the direction of the development Christianity has taken in the years since his death appears to have been either overlooked or deemphasized in all recent criticism. This, in itself, may of course reflect something beyond a new evangelism or yet a new theology, but rather a new "Christianity" in response to man's demand for relevance and relational exegeses; a Christianity which is barely recognizable in terms of the first nineteen hundred years of its existence, and the analysis of the content of which lies far beyond the scope of this thesis.

If, for most twentieth century critics, Drummond was a saintly man who practiced a "higher-evangelism," for one man at least in the nineteenth century, if Drummond's character has never been called into question, the type of evangelism which he formulated and propagated throughout many universities was suspect from the start. John Kennedy of Dingwall was probably exceptional in his time for his indictment of the evangelism of the whole Moody revival of 1873-75 in which Drummond conducted the meetings for young men and where his evangelical method was first formed. In a lengthy pamphlet entitled Hyper-Evangelism 'Another Gospel,' though a Mighty Power. A Review of the Recent Religious Movement in Scotland, published as early as 1875, Kennedy explains his use of the term "hyper-evangelism" on two grounds: ". . . because of the loud professions of

evangelism made by those who preach it, and because it is just an extreme application of some truths, to the neglect of others which are equally important parts of the great system of evangelic doctrine." He makes it clear at the outset that he is not to judge a work of grace "except of the means employed,"⁷ but he objects to the teaching because "it ignores the supreme end of the gospel which is the manifestation of the Divine glory; and misrepresents it as merely unfolding a scheme of salvation adapted to man's convenience. His objections to such an evangel are set out under four headings:

. . . 1. That no pains are taken to present the character and claims of God as Lawgiver and Judge, and no indication given of a desire to bring souls, in self-condemnation, to "accept the punishment of their iniquity." 2. That it ignores the sovereignty and power of God in the dispensation of His grace. 3. That it affords no light to discover, in the light of the doctrine of the cross, how God is glorified in the salvation of the sinner that believeth in Jesus. 4. That it offers no precaution against tendencies to antinomianism on the part of those who profess to have believed.⁸

These views brought Kennedy under much condemnation from churchmen delighted by the increased numbers, but he viewed the revivals across the country as death spasms:

. . . With still greater grief, should I look on my Church, in a spasmodic state, subject to convulsions, which only indicate that her life is departing, the result of revivals got up by men . . . with their one-sided views of truth, which have ever been the germs of serious errors.⁹

He concluded in prophetic vein:

. . . And if there continue to be progress in the direction, in which present religious activity is moving, a negative theology will soon supplant our Confession of Faith, the good old ways of worship will be forsaken for unscriptural inventions, and the tinsel of a superficial religiousness will take the place of genuine godliness.¹⁰

Historically speaking, certain aspects at least of Kennedy's view may be seen to have been validated in the hundred years after he wrote, the numbers of the "churchless" increased enormously, and within twenty years

after his writing, the Confessions of all the major Scottish churches were changed substantially by the Declaratory Acts which are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCHES IN SCOTLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

History

In delimiting the boundaries of this analysis of the life and thought of Henry Drummond (1851-97), it is necessary to sketch an overview of nearly two hundred years of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and particularly to suggest the nature of the nineteenth century Scottish churches and universities within which he moved.

The Scottish Reformation was remarkably "quick."¹ Scotland chose the reformed religion, and, within a generation, Protestant doctrine was embraced as the national faith.² It was a popular movement motivated by the religious desires of the people in contrast to its counterpart in England which was implemented from the King and Parliament downwards.³

The general thrust of the principles at stake may perhaps be best gauged from the wording of the 1557 Covenant, "We, by God's grace, shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance and our very lives to maintain, set forward and establish the most blessed Word of God."⁴ That "His name is called the Word of God" is thus emphasized, not only in Scottish theology,⁵ but in Scottish politics, from an early date, and this allegiance to the Church and the Word may well have intensified, for a period at least, with the abdication of political autonomy in 1707. The Church remained the most

inclusive Scottish national institution. Thus, a religious establishment developed with few parallels in the civilized world. Perhaps it is because of this that Scottish influence on Church history is generally conceded to be out of proportion with the general insignificance of the country and nation;⁶ also, that church influence had great effect on Scottish history.

In the sixteenth century John Knox aimed, through reformation, at restoring the discipline and sense of divine calling of the ancient church.⁷ From the beginning, the minister was held in high esteem in Scotland.⁸ Calvin's First Book of Discipline established the Word of God as its "supreme rule of faith and life" and aimed at a high educational standard which came into effect slowly due to the country's poverty. In Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion, God's will is supreme, and wisdom is the knowledge of a sovereign God and his relation to sinful man. This emphasis is similar to both Paul and Augustine. A distinction is made between morality and holiness.⁹

The events of the seventeenth century established more fully the inviolate nature of the Word of God in the Scottish consciousness. Among these were the establishment of the Presbytery in 1592, the imposition of Laud's prayer book in 1637 and the ensuing riots, the introduction of the Westminster Standards in 1647, and the "killing times" of the Covenanters, between 1661 and 1688. These established by persecution, the Presbyterian variety of Protestant Christianity in the small country which was soon to be without a state.

Traditionally Scotland is a land of theological disputation, "of conscientious and obstinate stands on religious principles, big or

little,"¹⁰ and, in the nineteenth century, these disputations led to Scottish Presbyterianism dividing and subdividing into eight disputing sects each claiming to be the true church based on scriptural principles.

Of the various Presbyterian churches, by far the most important, by the nineteenth century, were the Church of Scotland, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterian Church, the latter formed in 1847 by the union of the Relief and Secession Churches.

The Free Church, of which Henry Drummond was a professor and ordained minister, came into being in 1843, with the so-called "Disruption" from the established Church of Scotland. It ceased to exist, as an individual distinct entity, with the Unions of 1900 and 1929, the former, a coalition with the United Presbyterian Church to form the United Free Church, and the latter, a merging with the Church of Scotland. A remnant of the Free Church of Drummond's time resisted both these unions and became known as the Free Church Continuing. The ostensible cause of the 1843 Disruption, as of the "Ten Years Conflict" which preceded it, was patronage, but the struggle went deeper, into the Headship of the Church and the whole question of Church-State relationships, and was consequently not resolved by the abolition of patronage in 1874.¹¹ But before passing to an examination of the church of Drummond's lifetime a few contemporary views of the Disruption, which occurred nine years before his birth, should be reflected on.

On May 18, 1843 delegates to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh gathered in larger numbers than usual from all over the country "because it was known that events of tragic moment

were impending."¹²

The Moderator, The Rev. Dr. Welsh, rose . . . and, in the name of himself and all who might adhere to him, protested that the ancient rights of the Church of Scotland had been invaded, and that he and those for whom he spoke could not any longer remain in connection with the State on the terms imposed.¹³

The ensuing exodus from the hall developed into a procession due to the "vast and eager multitude" in the street. "A murmur of applause rolled along the ranks of the onlookers, but it was checked by feelings more tense and solemn."¹⁴ For the Scots, religion was a weighty matter.

Dr. Thomas Chalmers, the famous preacher and divinity professor, was unanimously appointed Moderator of the new church and, by the Deed of Demission, four hundred and seventy-four ministers signed away an annual income of one hundred thousand pounds. These who "laid down their earthly all for their principles"¹⁵ were followed by tens of thousands of the laity. There is little doubt that the Scots took their religion seriously. More laity than clergy proportionately moved into the Free Church which was strongest in the cities, especially Edinburgh, and in "the Northern Highlands, especially Ross and Sutherland;" weakest in the rural areas, especially in the northeast, Aberdeen, and the southeast.¹⁶

Norman Macleod, in the Church of Scotland, thought that the best ministries and people were gone.¹⁷ But reaction to the break was, in general, favorable both north and south of the border. Some saw the opportunity for patriotic self-congratulations, and Lord Jeffrey, an occupant of the Bench, commented that this "could not have taken place in any other country upon earth."¹⁸

After the Disruption, Scottish religious life was apparently more vigorous. The Free Church had an "amazing record" in ministry and church and mission erection and expansion, both at home and abroad, in a century known as the "Great Century" of missionary advance.¹⁹

Its foreign missionary activity was primarily in India, Africa and the New Hebrides, in the last of which Drummond made perhaps one of the initial exploratory journeys, although not at all in the capacity of missionary, but rather incidentally as a traveler recording on-the-spot insights and impressions for those at home.

The Church of Scotland was equally active in this area, and perhaps the most famous example of city missionary work was the ministry of Norman Macleod of that body in one of the poorer parishes in Glasgow.²⁰ The Life and Work movement of Professor Charteris of Edinburgh was perhaps one of the greatest achievements of this productive era, in that he implemented nationally that which the others had developed on the parish level.²¹

By the century's end the Free Church was also quite materially prosperous, having increased membership 15.9 percent between 1881 and 1897 when the general population growth was 12.4 percent. And, if missionary outreach is "a primary sign of a denomination's spiritual health,"²² both the Established and Free branches of the Presbyterian church in Scotland were flourishing indeed. Thus, spiritually, scholastically and financially, the Free Church was the rival, and sometimes more than the rival, of the establishment.²³ Graphically illustrative of the distinction made, by some at least, between the Auld and

and Free Kirks in the time of Drummond was the couplet:

The Free Kirk is the wee kirk, the kirk without the steeple
The Auld Kirk is the cauld kirk, the kirk without the people.²⁴

Allowing for the writer's obvious bias, the above may be a not too inaccurate account of the physical, if not the spiritual condition of the respective churches.

The consciousness of a certain uniqueness in Scottish religious life had been expressed as early as 1719 by Cotton Mather, who had written from Boston, "The Church of Scotland is most certainly the best thing this poor earth has to show; nothing on earth has indeed so much of heaven in it."²⁵ The widespread legend was that Scotland was the home of piety, "pulpit eloquence, metaphysical theology, fireside Bible reading, moral strictness and Sabbath peace."²⁶ This view is found echoed to some extent by William Ewart Gladstone, who, when Prime Minister, spoke of the Free Church of 1843 as a "body whose moral attitude scarcely any word weaker or lower than that of majesty is, according to the spirit of historical criticism, justly applicable."²⁷

But the Disruption was seen by some to have aggravated an "unlovely and Pharasaic tendency" in Scottish evangelicalism, and these felt there was a note of self-glorification about the Free Church. The doctrinal squabbling and sectarian bitterness in the Scottish churches was discerned by a transatlantic observer. This "other" view of Scottish Church history, as reflected in the Free Church from its inception to its demise, is outlined below, as the writer's insights were found to be so different from those of the local commentators, who tended to see the short-term problems rather than the long-term effects.

The writer comments with puzzlement upon the fine theological distinctions drawn by the Scots:

...the theological scruples to which the Scots are prone have created many dissenting sects, Presbyterian in government, generally Calvinistic in theology, some of whose differences from the Kirk, and from each other, are intelligible only to one familiar with theology, and Scotch history.²⁸

These dissensions occurred at all times. Some sects were small, some large. In even the most important schism of 1843, in which the Free Church was formed, the new body asserted its theological agreement with the church it had left, and denied only the right of presentation to benefices. But, when this issue was resolved by the abolition of patronage in 1876, the schism continued until the union of 1900, when the Free Church lost all of its property.²⁹

The House of Lords, in a much-disputed decision, held that the Free Church had, by the 1892 Declaratory Act, departed from the Establishment principle, and the Calvinism of the Confession of Faith on which it had been founded.³⁰

The decision of the House of Lords that the Free Church of 1900 was in fact not the same Church as the one of its foundation in 1843 is basic to our inquiry, as Henry Drummond here emerges as one of the key figures who helped to mould a climate of opinion, in Scotland as well as abroad, in which such creeds and confessions were first questioned, then denigrated, and finally, discarded. The immediate impact of these actions is the one mentioned above by the New England observer--the Free Church became "another church" no longer recognizable even on the minimal basis of legal recognition in accordance with its constitution. The spiritual changes, in this same church, while not

so easily measurable, are those with which the present writer has wrestled, and particularly the relationship between these changes and the conscious and unconscious effort of Henry Drummond to effect such change through the impact of his life and writings.

As the Disestablishment issue impregnates much of this era of Scottish church history, it is not one that should be clouded over in favor of the notion of a tranquilly evolving united church. The years of Drummond's service in Glasgow and Edinburgh were ones of bitter sectarian strife, and although the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, of 1869, declared for the abolition of patronage, and this was effected legislatively five years later, under the Disraeli government, it "did not touch the problem set by the Disruption."³¹ Chalmers had said, "we go out on the Establishment principle. We quit a vitiated Establishment, and would rejoice in returning to a pure one."³²

On the one side stood men such as Principal Tulloch of the Church of Scotland: "...the Lord whom we serve is head and king of nations as well as of churches, and a national church is the only true expression of the homage which nations owe the Supreme Head."³³ On the other, Robert Rainy of the Free Church, who, at this time, in the eighties, championed Disestablishment and viewed the national church as "an obstruction to good . . . and a furtherance to evil."³⁴ To men like Chalmers and Rainy, at this time, any sort of rapprochement with the Church of Scotland was unthinkable. "It was Erastian; and with it, or with individuals belonging to it, they would not cooperate in anything."³⁵

One commentator in 1887 saw Church union as a "last cry over

the Babel of contending sects," where "harsh mutterings of ecclesiastical warfare are ever and anon heard from disestablishing camps," each of which wants union on its own conditions.³⁶ The Church of Scotland held for establishment and endowment principles and the Free Church for spiritual independence, and the United Presbyterian Church for the illegality of the Church-State connection. He argued that time accentuated rather than softened the differences between the three churches, Christianity being centrifugal, not centripetal, and thus tending naturally toward schism. Thus, while "organic union" was held to be neither possible nor desirable, "cooperative union," which would retain the best features of each denomination, but prevent the overlapping of spiritual work, was advocated.³⁷

This view seems to be in harmony with the realities of disension among Scottish religious bodies in the nineteenth century. It is difficult, however, to reconcile with the interpretations of current scholarship in the field, particularly as evidenced in the work of Gordon Donaldson and his followers, where continuity is stressed rather than change.³⁸

A review of the contemporary literature of Drummond's time exposes a grave concern over the schismatic appearances of the Church in Scotland. And, as late as 1930, one writer comments that the disruption seemed to be final for about forty years after the event. "Both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church acted on the assumption that the cleavage in the Church would be permanent. If any change were to take place, it could only be through the overwhelming of one side by the other."³⁹

But, during the last third of the nineteenth century, the three branches of the Scottish Church were moving along parallel lines in at least one area. This was the movement towards confessional revision. The United Presbyterian Church passed a Declaratory Act in 1879; thirteen years later, the Free Church passed an act of the same name which modified certain aspects of the Westminster Confession on which standard the Free Church has been established. These Declaratory Acts constituted a revision of "the rationalist federal doctrines of a limited Atonement, absolute predestination, man's total depravity and the non-salvability of the heathen." Difference of opinion was thereafter allowed on points that did "not enter into the 'substance' of the Reformed Faith. . ."40

Thomas Chalmers, the Free Church founding father, had already presaged the tendencies of Drummond's generation when he said, "Who cares about any Church but as an instrument of Christian good?"41 In the Shorter Catechism, the chief end of the church is to do God's will, to establish his kingdom, and the first end is to proclaim the Word. It has been pointed out that the Catholics and Scottish Moderates tended to be more at home in the world, and take sin more calmly, while the extreme evangelicals wished to isolate the spiritual from the natural, and the elect from the worldly. Drummond, in this case, would tend to be identified with the Catholics or Moderates although his position on rebirth tends to brand him as an evangelical.

John McLeod Campbell was the first within the Church of Scotland to seriously question the Westminster Confession. His book on the nature of the atonement had far-reaching implications which have not

been fully resolved even today. Knox of course had been mainly responsible for the Scots Confession whereby the marks of the true kirk were held to be the "true preaching of the Word, the right administration of the sacraments, and the right administration of the ecclesiastical discipline."⁴²

According to William Enright, the years 1855 to 1880 had marked the first phase of a "more liberal evangelicalism," a period of transition in the Scottish evangelical pulpit. In a reaction against Calvinism there arose a tide of anti-dogmatism in which the love of God and belief in Jesus were emphasized over salvation through grace and God's righteousness. Between 1880 and 1900 evolution and higher criticism were "accepted without serious question"⁴³ and the themes sounded most frequently were Christianity as a way of life in this world, the kingdom of God, his fatherhood, and concomitantly the brotherhood of Jesus, the friend, the ideal man, all of which are early and recurring themes of Drummond's.

All this seems fairly typical of nineteenth century intellectual development in general, but there is nothing normal, continuous or evolutionary about any of this when it is considered historically in the context of the development of the church in Scotland, and particularly of the inception and development of the Free Church of Scotland.

At the Disruption, and for more than thirty years afterwards, the Free Church was rigidly and passionately conservative in its doctrine. It accepted the Westminster Confession literally; and the slightest deviation was regarded with horror. Its features were a Calvinistic orthodoxy of the stiffest type and an iron Puritanism of manners; and it looked upon itself as the guardian, and the only guardian, of the true faith of the Scottish

Church. All other branches of the Church, and especially the Church of Scotland, were regarded as inferior, morally, spiritually and intellectually. The United Presbyterian Church was on the whole equally conservative in its doctrine; but its conservatism was less aggressive, less censorious.⁴⁴

In the light of these observations, the rapidity of the change from the extreme conservatism of the 1840s to the liberalism of the 1879 and 1892 formulations is notable. This same liberalism was exemplified in the Church of Scotland by the Broad Church group, the theology of whose leaders, John Tulloch and Norman Macleod, appears to have prevailed in Scotland in the long-term over the evangelical fervor of Chalmers and the Free Church fathers. The Reverend James Stalker, a friend of Drummond's, estimated in 1900 that the Free Church's major contribution during its relatively brief history was to "learning and literature"⁴⁵ and, looking back over the seventy-seven years since he wrote, such an evaluation might not be inaccurate, although this had clearly not been the intention of its founding fathers.

Within the established Church of Scotland today, the overall tendency appears to be to regard Drummond as something of an "outsider." A man without an earned degree invading, and pervading, the strongholds of the academic elitists in the universities of both Glasgow and Edinburgh is a phenomenon which the average Scots intellectual still appears to apprehend with some incredulity, if not suspicion. Also, his disregard for convention, particularly his stand against ordination, appears to evoke some unease. And yet the fact that Drummond brought an infusion of Christian life into the university at Edinburgh, at least, both as a physical fact, and as a spiritual

phenomenon, is something which cannot be disregarded.

Certain historical questions must be here considered. Does Drummond's written work, published and unpublished, constitute an actual revolt against the Calvinist form of Christianity in the Scottish church of his time? And, if such be proven, does he stand within a specific historic line of thought either within his own country or abroad?

This writer would contend that Henry Drummond's work represents a conscious and determined attempt to return to the Christianity of the first century, as he understood it:

The Reformation did not profess to create new truth; it was not a re-formation, but simply a restoration--a restoration of the first theology of the New Testament, as much of it as could then be seen. . . .

We too can still preach it, but to some of us it has a hollow sound. . . . When we wish to be kindled or moved, . . . we leave the restoration and go back to that which was restored.⁴⁶

His concept of the Christian gospel, while comparable to that found in certain American writings of the time, was found to be substantially different from the work being done by theologians in Drummond's own country at the time.

Doctrinal Changes

The second half of the eighteenth century has been called the Augustan age of Scotland in literature and science.⁴⁷ The Presbyterian promotion of secular learning, according to most accounts, went together with religious apathy, in which Moderatism was the keynote.⁴⁸ The metaphysical manifestation of Moderatism found expression in the world-famous school of Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, and James Beattie, which,

continuing in the nineteenth century in Sir William Hamilton and Robert Flint, lends "remarkable intellectual continuity" to the history of Scotland between 1770 and 1890.⁴⁹ But this intellectual "continuity" is not readily discernible in theological intellectual history.

In the eighteenth century, the Moderates had held sway in the established church. "The frost of Moderatism was then laying hold of the Church of Scotland, but in parishes here and there faithful ministers . . . cultivated the spiritual life of the people!"⁵⁰ The period of the Moderates is not looked upon favorably in general by those recording Scottish Church history, as the following fairly typical comment may serve to indicate:

It was the period when Moderatism--the name given to a phase and a period of the Church's life marked by intellectual brilliance and ecclesiastical zeal, but destitute of moral intensity or spiritual warmth--was beginning to be conscious of its strength, and the proud leaders of the Moderate party were determined to let nothing stand in the way of the thorough application of their policy.⁵¹

This tranquil stagnation spiritually was disturbed in the nineteenth century by a series of catastrophes in the form of revivals, and the intellectual theological reaction to what has come to be designated the Darwin bombshell.

Traditionally in Scotland, theology professors have been appointed from within the ministry.⁵² Scottish theology has always been a Church rather than a university theology, so the "galaxy of stars" of the "reviving and reforming Church of Scotland in the second quarter of the nineteenth century"⁵³ were ministers who became professors.

Paralleling the Disruption, the State Church enjoyed what one writer has termed a "Calvinistic recrudescence" with men such as

T. J. Crawford and William Muir, accomplished Calvinistic theologians. But the outstanding theologian of his day may have been William Cunningham, of the Free Church⁵⁴ who was Professor of Church History at New College, Edinburgh until five years before Drummond's arrival there as a student. These were the proponents of what Drummond was to call the "old theology."

Also active theologically at the time was a precursor of the type of thinking which developed into the "new theology" of Drummond's generation. This was Thomas Erskine of Linlathen of whom two pen sketches are here given. Dr. John Macleod of the Free Church College, Edinburgh, in 1943, regarded Erskine as John McLeod Campbell's follower, friend and supporter, who, as an amiable Broad Churchman, became the center of a circle of revived Moderatism which, while it claimed to be religious, broke away from the mysteries of the Evangelical faith.⁵⁵ Principal John Tulloch of the Established Church, himself one of the above circle, had a much loftier view of Erskine as one who "without any indebtedness to Schleiermacher or Coleridge" and almost as early as either, was, in Scotland, an apostle of the "Christian consciousness" leading the "great" reaction against "mere" formal orthodoxy and rationalism which began in the 1830's. For him, Erskine's religion was "all heart." His Brazen Serpent, published in 1831, attracted F. D. Maurice and was the germ from which McLeod Campbell developed his thesis on the atonement.⁵⁶ This theory of the atonement is still regarded by some scholars as the greatest contribution to Scottish theology in the nineteenth century and The Reverend James B. Torrance, in a recent article, speaks of McLeod Campbell as "one

of the greatest (if not the greatest) of our Scottish theologians -- whose voice we need to hear again today."⁵⁷

Now while it is not easy to speak against a religion which is "all heart" the subjective slant of Tulloch's writing should at least be noted if any attempt be made to understand these two conflicting views as to Erskine's importance. According to Tulloch, Erskine's later teaching formed the school of which Maurice was an offshoot and McLeod Campbell the chief representative in Scotland.⁵⁸ From another viewpoint, John Macleod sees Erskine essentially as the follower of Campbell whose gospel of Universal Pardon, forgiveness, and Fatherhood, mitigated the penal, forensic, and judicial aspects of the atonement⁵⁹ but won widespread currency and adoption despite its author's deposition and condemnation.⁶⁰

Erskine asked, how can any man know God loves him unless the gospel is for everyone? From this came his further doctrine of universal atonement. In 1829 there was great agitation relative to the teaching of all being pardoned which was translated into salvation without morality, and, therefore, Antinomianism. McLeod Campbell, himself, desired holy living but there were dangers in his language innovations. Like Erskine his perception of the gospel was as an "ideal whole -- faith, hope, charity, love, light, holiness, all blended into one." To others, universal pardon was indiscriminate salvation.⁶¹

But, according to Tulloch, Erskine's teaching gave "wider air" and "larger room," broader spirit, richer mental tone, and love, which was never lost in modern Christianity. There was less split thereafter between the clean and the unclean, the church and the

world.⁶² Drummond, in this respect is in a direct line historically from this school, although it will be demonstrated below that his radical extensions and language innovations tend to isolate him from most thinkers in his own generation.

The view of intellectual continuity cited at the beginning of this section can scarcely be seen to have extended into the religious history of the times. The nineteenth century opened with a series of religious controversies which marked the beginning of the end of Moderate influence in the General Assembly. John McLeod Campbell, in his fashionable parish of Row or Rhu in Dumbartonshire, pronounced the universal love of God to be the one deep truth, and encountered much hostility.⁶³ In 1831 the General Assembly arraigned him for the two heretical tenets that atonement and pardon through Christ's death was extended to all men, and the doctrine that assurance was the essence of the faith. It deposed him by a vote of one hundred and sixty-five to six. In the same year, for similar views, Edward Irving, who had been assistant to Chalmers in Glasgow, and minister of the Caledonian Church in London was charged with believing in the sinfulness of Christ's humanity, condemned by the Presbytery of Annan and also deposed.⁶⁴

Prominent in the ecclesiastical structure of Scotland during Drummond's working life was Robert Rainy, Principal of New College, Edinburgh, who piloted the Free Church through the storms aroused by Biblical criticism and the findings and assumptions of modern science. Not himself a scholar, it was during his principalship that evolution, Biblical criticism, hymns and instrumental music were admitted into his

Church, which had been founded only fifty years earlier on principles of Biblical literalism. The transition was completed by his successor, Drummond's friend and mentor, Marcus Dods the Younger.

Probably the central controversy of all these which stirred the church in Scotland during this intellectually turbulent century,⁶⁵ was that of William Robertson Smith,⁶⁶ who, in 1870, at the early age of twenty-four was elected to the chair of Old Testament in the Aberdeen Free Church College. He had studied under Julius Wellhausen in Germany and was also impressed by the work of Albrecht Ritschl. The incorporation of a type of Wellhausenism in his article on the Bible in the 1875 (ninth) edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica⁶⁷ brought accusations of unsound teaching from all across the country. This Graf-Wellhausen theory was to produce a revolution in Old Testament criticism; its important point was that the Old Testament prophets preceded the Law, although it also divided up the Pentateuch,⁶⁸ claiming that the priestly document (or "P", as Wellhausen called it) was the most recent, rather than the oldest, in the complete work. Smith, as well as his accusers demanded a General Assembly trial.

As usual, the opposition was most intense in the generally more conservative highlands, and some evangelicals were alarmed. The General Assembly suspended him from his chair in 1877, but the case was not resolved until 1881. For in that year, amidst feverish excitement, he was restored to his chair by a narrow vote, and Drummond and the other proponents and exponents of the "higher" criticism rejoiced that justice had been done. But, a few days later, another volume of the Britannica came out, with another article by Smith, on Hebrew language

and literature, bringing out the same views. In 1881 a large majority in the General Assembly removed him again from his chair, and in 1883, he accepted the Chair of Arabic at Cambridge University, where he remained throughout the remainder of his life. Although losing his academic position in Aberdeen, he was permitted to remain a minister, and so he and his friends had really won their cause, and they took most of the young men with them, including Drummond and his friends.⁶⁹

In fact, in a recent church history of Scotland the author states that Robertson Smith "must be accounted a martyr for the cause of biblical scholarship" in his church, although "fortunately he was not called on to suffer long."⁷⁰ If this be martyrdom, then Marcus Dods and George Adam Smith may also be accounted martyrs in the "cause of liberty." These two in later years as Principals of New College Edinburgh and Aberdeen University were assimilated into the highest ecclesiastical and academic echelons, whence, if the above excerpt be in any way representative, their viewpoint appears to be propagated until this day. The "heretics," had become "martyrs," and the Free Church saw the advisability of making the cause of "liberty" more secure by the passage of the Declaratory Act cited above.⁷¹

The controversies and heresy trials continued to flare up until the end of the century, heresy charges being brought against Professors Bruce, Dods, Drummond and Smith. But each successive "onslaught" was feeble "than that which went before."⁷² A. B. Bruce's book The Kingdom of God or Christ's Teaching According to the Synoptical Gospel, in 1889, seemed to challenge the doctrine of election, and the historical authenticity of the gospels. But the

Assembly did not sustain the complaints, and Bruce was only censured. In the same year, Marcus Dods the Younger, Drummond's good friend, and the one who probably influenced him the most theologically and intellectually, was appointed to the chair of New Testament exegesis and criticism in New College, Edinburgh. In this prominent position he almost immediately came under attack for suggesting that the historicity of the resurrection was inconsequential; for questioning the substitutionary theory of the atonement; and for pointing out Old Testament "mistakes" and immoralities.⁷³ But in 1890 the majority of the Assembly decided that there were no grounds for a heresy trial, and the final recognition of his orthodoxy came later with his appointment to the principalship of New College, Edinburgh.

In 1902 George Adam Smith⁷⁴ was also criticized for his acceptance of, and involvement in, Biblical criticism, but apparently, by this time, opinion in the Free Church had already moved far enough towards a type of "liberal" gospel to diminish the severity of the attack, and the final benediction of the establishment was accorded him in Aberdeen where he became principal and vice-chancellor of the University from 1909 to 1935.⁷⁵

In histories of the Scottish Church of the nineteenth century Henry Drummond, although perhaps "the most striking to hear and see of any of the professors of his time,"⁷⁶ usually appears at the end of the listing of these establishment churchmen, if he appears at all. As for example, in Kenneth Scott Latourette, who states: "also prominent in the Free Church, but in a somewhat different way" was Henry Drummond.⁷⁷ He mentions him for his evangelism with Moody, the apparent resolution

of the Darwin-Bible controversy contained⁷⁸ in the pages of his book Natural Law in the Spiritual World, and his evangelical outreach in Europe, America and Australia.⁷⁹

Influential in moulding the minds of Drummond and many of his contemporaries was A. B. Davidson, professor of Hebrew, the man "who really counted"⁸⁰ who in a sense was the New College, and reigned with influence throughout Scotland.⁸¹ A preacher like Jeremiah, malgré lui,⁸² he it was who introduced Drummond and his generation to the "higher" criticism of the Pentateuch.⁸³

As was to be said of Drummond himself so often, this professor had "the rare faculty possessed by one or two in a generation of opening up a new world of thought in commonplace things to young minds."⁸⁴ He believed the task of his life was "to bridge the old and the new,"⁸⁵ and the historical evidences indicate that Robertson Smith, Dods, George Adam Smith and Drummond among many others, having once sited this bridge devoted their lives also to completing its construction although they knew not rightly whither it led.

Evangelicalism

The shifts in doctrine, however, occurred in conjunction with an increased concern for evangelical revivalism. Earlier in the century the evangelical revival of English Presbyteriansim had been traced to the previous revival in Scotland of both the Church of Scotland and the Secession churches.⁸⁶ The power of evangelicalism in nineteenth century Scotland and England was partly due to its strength within the middle-class whose sanctified respectability for a time subdued both the "once

dissolute aristocracy and the rising elements of the proletariat."

Strict sabbath observance and family prayers were distinctive of this "British" evangelicalism.⁸⁷

Victorian England was one of the most religious civilized countries the world has ever known:

. . . nothing is more remarkable than the way in which evangelicalism in the broader sense overleaped sectarian barriers and pervaded men of all creeds; so that even T. H. Huxley, the agnostic, oozed it from every pore of his controversial writing, . . .⁸⁸

and valued the Bible as "an educational factor and liberator of the mind."⁸⁹ After Lord Melbourne it inspired "nearly every front-rank public man, save Palmerston, for four decades."⁹⁰

The revival of 1859 to 1865 in Scotland impressed Alexander Whyte, the "prince of Scottish preachers of his day"⁹¹ and is said to have equalled the eighteenth century Wesley-Whitefield revival. It was the beginning of fifty years of church expansion, which included Moody and Sankey's tours, the development of missions, and social and philanthropic activities in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.⁹²

The 1859 revival was scripturally conservative with a correspondingly conservative or catastrophic eschatology. Caution was urged in relation to physical manifestations which some attributed to hysteria rather than divine intervention. The Glasgow revival of 1859 was still in process one year later, while in Edinburgh revivals were conducted by Charles Finney at the Carrubbers Close.⁹³

Although religion consciously influenced all sections of Scottish society until the very end of the nineteenth century, it was in respectable middle-class circles that going to church was fashionable.⁹⁴

The lower classes may well have been deterred by Kirk Session censure and having to stand out in sackcloth in front of the congregation for rebuke by the minister on successive Sundays, as punishment upon conviction of Sabbath-breaking, immorality or "horrid swearing." Church elders generally visited parishoners for moral investigation or money solicitation or not at all.⁹⁵

This paternalistic discipline and accompanying organization of Scottish Presbyterianism had a long tradition. In John Knox's First Book of Discipline, it was stated that every kirk must provide for the poor and the whole poor relief system was administered parochially by the minister and kirk session. Some three hundred years later, Thomas Chalmers, in his paternalist scheme for promoting the Christian good of his country, divided the parishes, multiplying the number of churches and schools in the country which added to the diversity of the Scottish educational pattern.⁹⁶

One aspect of this paternalism appears to have been the enforcement of the Sabbath. Scotland in the 1860's has been described as "doggedly if not fanatically" Sabbatarian.⁹⁷ To the devout Victorian Christian, the Sabbath was almost like a sacrament. Thirty-six thousand signatures were collected against the opening of the Edinburgh Botanical Gardens on the Lord's day, and when Marcus Dods, Drummond's friend, was called a "benighted anti-Sabbatarian,"⁹⁸ he was afraid it would damage his career.⁹⁹

The rigorous approach to sabbatarianism was apparently paralleled by the rigorous doctrinal tone of preaching in the Free Church, which one contributor to its own monthly criticizes for being "too

exclusively doctrinal and abstract":

. . . in the region of Christian ethics or practical religion, Scotland has yet much to learn. Nobly pre-eminent as she has long been for the soundness of her doctrinal creed, she has not yet attained a similar pre-eminence in the beauties of Christian character.¹⁰⁰

But this type of self-criticism seems to have been a rarity in the Church at this time. And it was probably these doctrinal abstractions of his church's preaching that Drummond reacted against and sought to remedy by the adoption of unusual methods, deemphasizing doctrine and emphasizing character development rather than soul saving.

In the same article, penned the year before Drummond's birth, the writer comments on,

...a divorce between the spirit of Christ and the actual affairs of life; there is a palpable reluctance to concede to Christ any authority over the ordinary actions of men; religion is hemmed into a corner; and to assert that she has any authority beyond the limits of that corner is held to be spiritual tyranny and insufferable fanaticism.¹⁰¹

Christianity was powerless because it was not brought to bear on contemporary problems--the Church "failed to impress men with at least the intellectual conviction that the authority of Christ ought to extend to everything--to the whole transactions of life, great and small. . . ." ¹⁰²

And this is exactly what Drummond wrote about and lived. As one writer observed, in Scotland religion and religious teaching had commonly been a thing of effort and stress, but in Drummond it seemed not only effortless but native:

. . . Cultivation and devout effort had their place in his life but there was the bent of nature first. It is hard for us in Scotland to resist our climate; its recurring gloom affects

the Spirit, and we are seldom optimists. And this man who lived in the sunshine was as welcome as a bright sky. He was irresistibly buoyant, and that without any touch of frivolity; part of the charm of his talk was its noble, unforced seriousness. His Spirit made its own world; his happy temper found reason everywhere for hope.¹⁰³

A more recent commentator notes that "because life in Scotland was harder, conditions more rigorous, personal suffering more constant" Scotsmen enjoyed grappling with spiritual and doctrinal problems and the hereafter merited more attention than the here and now.¹⁰⁴ Wesley, who between 1751 and 1789 made twenty-two preaching tours in Scotland, had been "impressed by the Scottish appetite for solid doctrine and plain speaking, nonplussed by the apparent lack of response to evangelistic appeal. . . 'I admire this people,' he wrote, 'So decent! So serious! And so perfectly unconcerned!'"¹⁰⁵

One twentieth century commentator on the Victorian scene sees its religion as "a stern and joyless discipline, and if any element of love entered into it, it was because God would make it exceeding hot for you if you didn't love Him."¹⁰⁶ It was probably in reaction against just such a God-view that Drummond and others of his time created their own theology where the God of love reigned supreme and the penal and forensic theories of the atonement were diminished and eventually eclipsed.

One observer, at the time, saw the age as one of doctrinal unrest in which new forms of religion were tried among the cultured like Pears' soap. Among these were positivism, esoteric Buddhism, theosophy, spiritualism, occultism, hypnotism, eclectic Christianity, rationalism, and agnosticism. In general, it was observed to be a good time for

"floating" a new religion and the writer suggested a blend of altruism, occultism, German idealism and metaphysics rechauffée as the type most likely to be successful.¹⁰⁷

Some years later, the Free Church monthly was to note in the same vein, but with a little more sobriety, "at this time the Zeitgeist is not with the preacher. It is an age of scepticism and materialism, not one of faith."¹⁰⁸ By 1891 the newspaper made it impossible for dull preachers to be respected, although they might be tolerated.¹⁰⁹

One recent work on the Victorian Church states that, "More educated Englishmen doubted the truth of the Christian religion in 1885 than thirty years before."¹¹⁰ This could be, in part, as suggested, because more Englishmen were educated.¹¹¹ It could also be because more Englishmen said that they doubted; or were more vocal about their doubt in the new monthlies and weeklies; or wished to be identified with the intellectuals who doubted; or no longer knew what the "truth of the Christian religion" was, in light of the fashionable denudation of the Bible which was being indulged in freely both within and outside the churches in the name of "higher" criticism.

Science was one aid in a general unsettlement of minds, but, "the unsettlement of faith about the Bible, in 1861-5 was directly caused by historians," and those who posed as such, in dealing with Old and New Testament texts. But these, in turn, wrote in a "climate of opinion" formed already by the natural scientists and philosophers. A distinction must here again be made between science against religion and scientists against religion.¹¹²

In Scotland, in Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1838, one hundred thousand adults were "totally estranged from the Christian Faith" and "a section of the community was becoming pagan."¹¹³ Perhaps it was because of this, that the influence of the church in the community, in the newly formed Free Church, in contrast to the Established Church, tended to be thought of more in terms of evangelism than permeation.¹¹⁴

Drummond's "New Evangelism" address has been cited as evidence of the fact that the form of the gospel appeal was changing,¹¹⁵ while Drummond's colleague, T. M. Lindsay, the professor of Church history in the Free Church College, Glasgow, saw "in the movement which he (Drummond) represented a novelty in Scottish evangelism" which required serious consideration.¹¹⁶ This movement has been designated by Drummond's biographers, beginning with Smith, as a type of "higher evangelism," presumably with reference to its appeal to intellectuals, but such subjective terminology does not enlighten today, other than as to the social or intellectual pretensions of those who employed it.

Another writer indicates that Henry Drummond's church accepted him as "an extraordinary gift of God,"¹¹⁷ after whom evangelism in Scotland was never the same, gaining in sweetness and light while maybe losing in depth of feeling and seriousness.¹¹⁸ Drummond and J. Y. Simpson were considered to be exponents of the "new knowledge."

Be that as it may, the sweeter, lighter, evangels appear to have done little to improve the statistics of the "churchless" for in 1891 it was said that there were two hundred thousand non-churchgoers in Glasgow.¹¹⁹ That is, a third of the city. Thus, Stalker

wrote, "with all our appliances we have failed even to bring the population within the sound of the gospel!"¹²⁰ Although the mission of Christianity is to leaven life, the church was apart from common life which went on beside it.¹²¹

The questions raised by the form of Drummond's gospel will be examined in another section, suffice it here to say that T. M. Lindsay, the Free Church historian, had "some doubt of the proposed change of phraseology" and "no confidence that good would come of Professor Drummond's method in this connection being generally adopted."¹²²

Scotland, in the twenty years before Drummond's work with the students began, had experienced two large-scale revivals, in the latter of which, of course, Drummond himself had been richly involved. The first of these, coming eight years after Drummond's birth, was, from all accounts, largely a lower class revival which affected many of the country districts of Scotland. The critics, who later objected that the Moody revival did not reach "the masses," said of the 1859-60 move of the spirit that it was only "a religious ferment among the ignorant rabble."¹²³

But, allowing for the fact that "the world finds some fault with every work of grace,"¹²⁴ any objective observer must recognize that Scotland by Drummond's time must have been fairly alive spiritually after three major evangelical awakenings in fifty years. The first was under Thomson and Chalmers, and to the latter, more than any other man, was due the progress of evangelism in the land. Although himself a scientist, and one who maintained that a minister might spend five days weekly studying any science with no ill effect, he himself, unlike

Drummond, did not adapt his gospel to accommodate his science.¹²⁵ His message was "the full glorious meaning of the atoning sacrifice of the Son of God," and more specifically, the efficacy of the blood of Christ, the spiritual nature of the second birth, and the power of prayer. All these he advocated despite the fact that they were extremely "obnoxious" to "the formalism of the time."¹²⁶

In January of 1874, a group of Edinburgh churches dispatched a circular calling upon the people of Scotland to share in a week of prayer in anticipation of the arrival of the American evangelists Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey. The "proud" capital city of Edinburgh, metropolis of Scottish religion, education, and "refinement" which had been scarcely touched by the 1859-60 revival, regarding it as a ferment among the poorer classes, was this time to succumb to the American visitors.¹²⁷

In 1881, Moody and Sankey returned to Britain for a second tour but this initial visit of 1874 T. M. Lindsay likens to a stream springing naturally from a fountain, as compared to the later occasion, which was the result of mechanical arrangements.¹²⁸

While an authoritative contemporary commentator points out that spiritual work cannot be tabulated, the real and the apparent not being identical, nevertheless statistics, however crude an indicator, showed the proportion of rural to city converts to be in the ratio of approximately ten to one. Many objected to the suddenness of the conversions and criticized Moody for the fact that at the end of the Edinburgh tour there were more women than men converts. Thereafter, there were more men than women. The successful formula, if formula it were, followed throughout, was that plenty of prayer, praise, preaching and practising led to plenty of blessing, although the innovation of

singing the gospel was a stumbling block to some.¹²⁹

Moody himself chose Drummond from the large number of student helpers to be his follow-up man, and the evidences are that it was this function which formulated the form of Drummond's gospel for his entire lifetime, and, probably also, not only the form but the content. There is little doubt that after the Moody tour Drummond was accepted, almost from the first, as the Free Church's answer to the "churchless," particularly within the universities. Despite the fact that to some within the establishment, if not to many, his methods may have been doubtful, the fruits of his labors could scarcely be denied. Each summer his disciples combed the country spreading forth the gospel according to Drummond, and apparently emulating their master down to fine detail in form, if not in content.

In 1898 Smith writes of Drummond's men around the world:

In nearly every town of our country, in every British colony, in India, in China, in Japan, converts or disciples of this movement, who gratefully trace to it the beginnings of their moral power, are labouring steadfastly, and often brilliantly, in every profession of life.¹³⁰

And what was this gospel which drew disciples not only to Christ, but to Drummond and the movement? Drummond's message has confounded some, infuriated a few and enchanted many for almost a century on at least two continents. Today, it is still alive and the object of intellectual inquiry in several disciplines. But, although the form of this "higher evangelism" has been condemned, its content, prior to this writing was as unknown as when the man himself, walked the streets of Glasgow, an enigma to students and friends alike.

And yet, in some ways, his message was simple. He knew Christ

as his life. And this Christ he held before men as the brazen serpent,¹³¹ and men without God were drawn by the force of the Christ-life which they saw in him, and of which he spoke.¹³² Drummond's consistent emphasis in his written works is upon the living Christ with few references to Christ dying, and this emphasis, while quite consonant with contemporary "liberal" transatlantic thought, both Christian and pagan, must have been dissonant indeed against the background of strict Reformed Calvinism on which the Free Church was founded, with its doctrinal emphasis on sin and preelection.

These are the qualities of Drummond's thought, radical from an historical standpoint and visionary from a philosophic standpoint, which this writer proposes to examine.

CHAPTER II

BIOGRAPHICAL VIEWS OF HENRY DRUMMOND

The Conventional View

There are several Drummonds from which to chose in essaying a new interpretation of his life and work: the professor, the scientist, the evangelist, the world traveller, the prophet, the influencer-of-students-toward-a-Christian-life, the saint, the reconciler of science and religion. Some of these roles are blatantly factual; others, like the last two, are open to question.

The general confusion as to who Drummond was, let alone what he did or wrote, is evidenced by the entries in Chamber's Biographical Dictionary and the Concise Dictionary of National Biography¹ where he is erroneously listed as theologian and professor of theology, respectively.

The question then remains--who was Henry Drummond? He was an evangelist. He was not a scientist, by modern professional standards, having had neither the endurance, nor perhaps the ability to finish a Bachelor of Science degree, let alone a Doctor of Science. He was not a theologian, never having made any pretense to be, and always eschewing the charge. And yet men have made of him a reconciler. He was simply an evangelist, whether of a "higher type" than other evangelists by the cut of his vest, the manner of his speech, or the method of his approach is unclear. In the eighty years since his death

a variety of hypotheses have been formulated, and to some extent, proven, but, to this date, neither Drummond's thought nor life has been examined historically.

Often the slot assigned to him has been in direct relation to the interests of his examiner, and thus, for his good friend George Adam Smith, he was a Christ-like man who influenced many students to Christianity, partly by his attempted reconciliation of science and religion, or, more specifically, Darwinism and Christianity.² Countless others have contributed to the Drummond legends but all are virtually agreed on the following points: a godly man--perhaps even saintly; a good influence, and inversely, or perhaps conversely, a good influencer; a "higher evangelist"; a reconciler. The fact that it has been almost universally accepted in almost all objective criticism that he never actually succeeded in the reconciliation he is supposed to have attempted, (that is, between Christianity and evolution - or theologians and scientists) does not seem to have fazed even the supposedly more objective in slotting him into the reconciler niche anyway. Presumably on the basis that an attempted, though unsuccessful, reconciliation makes a man basically a unifier, rather than a divider, or, more modernly, a stroker rather than a ruffler. He has also been counted a philosopher, yet one who left no philosophy.³

At the opposite end of the spectrum from the above are the critics who are rufflers by nature, and for these, Drummond was one who was too comfortable economically and socially to really develop fully spiritually; an influence; an evangelist who preached a "gospel

with the gospel omitted,"⁴ a reconciler who failed to reconcile even his own divergent views⁵--and this last, from one of his friends, was ironically, a part of the defense in his heresy trial.

Thus, in the course of this analysis, two divergent views of both life and work emerged which defied reconciliation, and are thus presented separately. They are here termed "conventional" and "catastrophic"; the latter, having been excavated rather accidentally, complements, and often seems to contradict, the tranquilly evolving hero of the Christian apologists and biographers, which is here presented first.

A typical example of this traditional "overview" of Drummond's life, which has not changed much after eighty years of work by successive scholars on both sides of the Atlantic, is cited here as it appeared in a Methodist publication in 1899:

The lines fell in pleasant places to Henry Drummond: he had a goodly heritage of liberty and joy. . . . Like Naphtali, he was satisfied with favour, and full with the blessing of the Lord, throughout a brief, brilliant and conspicuously successful career. He enjoyed immense popularity in print and on the platform, and exerted an incalculable influence over thousands of those vigorous young men and boys whom the ordinary religious teacher finds it exceedingly difficult to reach. As Dr. George Adam Smith reminds us, he "knew nothing of poverty or friendlessness; till his last illness he never suffered pain; and death did not enter his family till he was thirty-six." He enjoyed every blessing that a healthy and gifted Christian man could desire, and his bright life proved that abundant and constant sunshine is sometimes a great blessing. His career is a rebuke to asceticism, and to all heathen and morbid thoughts about God. His was a soul serenely at leisure from itself; and his natural inspiring joyfulness was largely due to the fact that from his boyhood he took the deepest interest in the welfare and happiness of others.⁶

William Drummond, the grandfather, was a land surveyor and nurseryman who had eleven sons, one of whom, Henry, succeeded to the family firm, married Jane Blackwood of Kilmarnock, and had six children. The grandfather was interested in natural law in the spiritual world, and an uncle, James Blackwood, was a geologist who practiced mesmerism and influenced young people in science and religion. The father, Henry, was a justice of the peace, president of the Young Men's Christian Association, and an elder in the Free Church in Stirling, who had founded and conducted a Sunday school in nearby Cambusbarron. "He could play on an audience of children as a man plays on an instrument."⁷

Henry Drummond was born on August 17, 1851 in Stirling, Scotland. He died on March 11, 1897, having lived forty-five years and seven months. This much is clear. Much else is legend. His father died in January, 1888, his mother in October, 1910, surviving Henry by thirteen years. He had one older brother, James, two younger brothers, Frederick and Patrick, and two younger sisters, Agnes and Jessie.⁸

Henry went to a ladies' school in Stirling in 1856 and Stirling High or Grammar School from 1857 to 1863, where he was probably educated in classics, English, history, mathematics, French, and German. Natural science was usually ignored.⁹ At age nine, he attended a children's meeting in his Uncle Peter's home and afterwards he stayed behind. One snippet records: "He was weeping to think that he had never loved the dear Saviour who took the punishment he deserved. We prayed together and he gave his heart to Jesus."¹⁰ On 30th November 1862, when

Henry was eleven, his brother, Frederick, died, but no reference is made to the episode in any of the biographies, other than to catalogue it.

From 1863 to 1867, he went to Morison's Academy in Crieff, where his school record improved,¹¹ although his biggest interests were still cricket, fishing, skating, and chess. "He was not more than averagely popular, among his contemporaries, and had hardly any intimate friends, but bigger boys were fond of giving him things and he was a great favorite with men."¹² Henry boarded with Rector Ogilvy, and when his brother James left to go into his father's business, Henry stayed on, studying natural philosophy, German, and also enjoying chess, whist, fishing, and football.

In 1863, at age 12, he writes to his mother of going to "a very funny church with band and singers--just like a concert for no one sings but themselves. Mr. Cunningham gives a kind of lecture instead of sermon and whatever happens in the world he brings it in." In this same letter, he mentions going on a fourteen mile walk to Comrie,¹³ and he apparently kept up this habit of walking until his last illness.

In July 1866, he left the Academy with prizes, two firsts and a second, in Latin, English, and an essay. In October, he matriculated at Edinburgh University where he was to be, off and on, for the next ten years. Initially, he lodged with two older students, Crerar and Carmichael, who supervised his studies. Henry joined the Philomathic Debating Society which the older societies scorned as juvenile, rustic, and vulgar.¹⁴ The topics discussed were mainly historical, literary, and economic.

Henry's course at Edinburgh University was somewhat erratic, a fact which Smith attributed to his dislike of classics¹⁵ but also due to his exceeding interest and ability in natural science, or, more specifically, the new discipline of geology under Professor Archibald Geikie. In 1869 he passed the mathematics and physics examination for the degree of M.A. and in April 1870 he passed the Mental Philosophy degree examinations but, despite his repeated attendance at the humanity class, "had never courage," he wrote, to attempt the classical department of the M.A. and left the university without a degree. While studying divinity at New College, the Free Church Divinity School in Edinburgh, he returned to the University for courses in botany, zoology and chemistry, but failed twice in the first part of the examination for the degree of Bachelor of Science. At this time he wrote, "J. W. addresses me 'two-thirds' M.A. I wish the University was liberal enough to reward a martyr like myself with its precious degree upon credit."¹⁶

During this time he developed "remarkable aptitude" for what was known then as electro-biology, as a mesmerist and also, thought-reader. Simpson records that "latterly" he gave up the practice, considering depriving a man of his will-power even for a moment a "questionable procedure."¹⁷ There is no indication whether the "latterly" refers to the 1870's, '80's or '90's and, although the editor of a recent work on Drummond indicates that, as lecturer in Glasgow, Drummond combined prayer, science and mesmerism, there is no written evidence to substantiate such a statement.¹⁸ We may be on more solid ground, however, with Smith's recounting of the Edinburgh student whom Drummond

had so "under his power," that he "could to anything he liked with him without giving offense,"¹⁹ although, here again, there is nothing written to confirm it, and the whole may be merely hearsay. Drummond's own youthful views on the subjects are expressed in the Philomathic Magazine, formed by some Edinburgh alumni to which he, as editor, contributed an essay entitled "Mesmerism and Animal Magnetism" which is considered in a later chapter.

It was in this year also that he wrote the essay on the "Abuse of the Adjective," a premonition of the meticulous style he was to develop as his own. He was sensible throughout of a call from God, but did not know to what, and it was partly to please his father that he went right through the M.A. course, passed the Hebrew examination and enrolled in New College. The summer of 1870 was spent as a tutor in Kincardineshire, and his nineteenth birthday, his first spent away from home, evoked the much-documented, and virtually isolated, fit of sadness at the passage of the years. In early October he and his friend John Watson passed their local Presbytery examination for New College, Edinburgh, which they entered in November, together with James Stalker, A. S. Paterson, who died in 1875, and John Ewing who died during Drummond's visit to Australia in 1890.²⁰

Drummond was the youngest in the class of twenty-five men. In his first year he was first in natural science, and also interested in apologetics, and Junior Hebrew where A. B. Davidson "began the process of weaning him from the more or less mechanical views of inspiration"²¹ on which he had been reared. He wrote a class essay on the Doctrine of Creation, and led a debate to the effect that the flood was partial.

During the next two years he took botany, natural history, chemistry and geology in which he was third, and failed the B.S. examination twice.²² In 1871 he wrote to his brother James in Dublin, asking for books on his hobby, animal magnetism and spiritualism "if I am burned for witchcraft, I may have the consolation of knowing that the stakes were of your growing."²³

The possibility that Drummond's view of the spiritual world was influenced by these incursions into the occult is one that should no longer be discounted. But for him, the trail stops here. His friend, John Watson, however, with whom he studied hypnotism, was a member of the Psychological Research Society who continued his practice of hypnotism for many years and described those who scorned spiritualism as ignorant fools. His only importance, from our viewpoint, is that while Drummond lived, the two were in "constant communication" and "no influence in Watson's life was stronger."²⁴ He described Drummond as aloof, separate, and seemingly passionless, receiving confidences, giving none, without pride, envy, selfishness, vanity, faithful, fearless and magnanimous - "the most perfect Christian I have ever known or expect to see this side of the grave."²⁵

Around this time a letter of Drummond's to his brother shows something of his attitude toward illness in a reference to his mother "still jerking about between well and ill."²⁶ In November 1872 Professor Geikie offered him a geology tutorship at Edinburgh University. He spent the following academic year on Senior Hebrew, New Testament exegesis, systematic theology and Church history, was elected a Fellow of the Edinburgh Geological Society, and one

of the presidents of the New College Theological Society.²⁷ During this time he also read John Ruskin, George Eliot, Thomas Carlyle and Frederick Robertson. In the spring of 1873 he went with some of the "best students" among them John Watson, to study in Tübingen under "the venerable and pious Beck," whose broad Swabian, warm Christian feeling, argumentation and mysticism attracted young Scots.²⁸ He records beer drinking as a necessity to learn German, and comments that "the nine Scotch avoid each other."²⁹

In the autumn of 1873, after his return from Tübingen, Drummond did not return to New College, postponing his fourth year in favor of regular mission work in the Riego Street mission of St. Cuthbert's Free Church, Edinburgh, and geology studies at the University.³⁰ He continued as president of the theological society, however, and there read on November 17 the essay on "Spiritual Diagnosis" which has been hailed as "a classic which marked the beginning of the modern movement of scientific, personal evangelism."³¹ The passage on drawing souls one by one, . . . "to pervade them with your spiritual essence and make them transparent"³² may well have implications connected with his incursions into spiritualism, mesmerism and hyponosis, although this connection hitherto seems to have been overlooked.

Six days later on November 23, 1873, Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey began their Scottish tour, partially under the auspices of James Hood Wilson of the Barclay Church, Edinburgh. Much prayer had preceded the mission, and the ministers and students of almost all the churches lent it their active support, with Drummond and his friend James Stalker led on to conducting and perhaps actually

proposing³³ the special meetings for young men.

Until June of 1875 Drummond acted as follow-up man to Moody, sometimes addressing audiences of thousands, and even editing Moody's published addresses.³⁴ Moody said of him "there's nobody in the world like Drummond for interesting young men."³⁵ Drummond at this time was greatly impressed with the "divinity of human nature" which, for him, was "gloriously worthy of redemption."³⁶ But only a few years later, in Natural Law in the Spiritual World, he speaks of the natural man to the spiritual as the inorganic to the organic. Skeletons of the essays later published as The Ideal Life were developed in his interleaved New Testament during this campaign and the subject matter, "covered the whole field of Christian fact and doctrine; in later years he restricted himself to a few special, less familiar notes, which he sounded again and again."³⁷

His father's pressure to complete his studies had been resisted the previous summer, but in 1875, with Moody gone, an injured knee and the friendly persuasion of friends³⁸ combined to effect his return to New College, for his fourth and last year. That winter he rented the Old Gaiety Music Hall on Chambers Street for several Sundays and with some friends practiced evangelism from its stage. In the April of 1876 he passed the theological exit examination and that summer described himself as "a kind of knotless thread."³⁹ In November he accepted an assistantship under Hood Wilson in the Barclay Church, Edinburgh, living in 6 Lonsdale Terrace, just around the corner. This job terminated in May the following year and his biographers are agreed that these "years of uncertainty and painful waiting" were the "most miserable times of his life."⁴⁰

He himself wrote, on leaving the Barclay appointment:

I was a little tired, as the work was not light. . . . My future, as usual, is all in the clouds. Everything is as dark as ever--or shall I say as bright as ever? Faith-colour would be the best word, only I am not quite assured enough to use it.⁴¹

The summer was spent "restlessly"⁴² as missionary to a handful of colliers near Polmont, and in a trip to Norway where he defined the true holiday as "to be one's simplest self, forget the past, and ignore the future."⁴³ On returning, he went to check on the requirements for the ministerial licensing examination. He did not want to be licensed, however, and on the death of Mr. Keddie, the Natural Science Lecturer in the Glasgow Free Church College, applied for the vacancy, and was appointed in September by the College Committee for one year. He was to remain there, later as professor, for the rest of his working life.

With twelve to twenty-four first year students to instruct four times weekly in geology, botany, and general methods, between November and April, Drummond had plenty of time left free to evangelize, and in June, 1878, he accepted the mission charge in Possilpark, a working class suburb of Glasgow with a population of about six thousand,⁴⁴ at the invitation of Dr. Marcus Dods, minister of Renfield Free Church, who was to become, after Moody, the biggest single personal influence in Drummond's life.

That summer was spent in Malta as Free Church chaplain conducting classes, prayer meetings, and visiting the sick and the poor, and the following summer with Professor Geikie geologizing in the Rocky Mountains. The intervening winter saw the failure of the City of Glasgow bank, a period of commercial disaster which brought poverty, radically affecting the lives of the families among whom Drummond worked in Possilpark.⁴⁵

On returning to Boston from the Rockies, he had five days left before sailing and went eight hundred miles to Cleveland, Ohio, to see Moody and Sankey, a fact which his biographers viewed with some incredulity. But Drummond wrote with approval of the quietness and calm

of the revival, "We want always the old factors - the living Spirit of God, the living Word of God, the Old Gospel."⁴⁶ The contrast between this statement and the method he, in fact, developed and promulgated as "the New Evangelism" is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile.

During these years, the case of Robertson Smith was central in the consciousness of the churches in Scotland. Beginning in 1846, it was not finally decided until 1881. Drummond "quickly saw the peculiar vantage of the new standpoint (Smith's) in relation to such subjects as the interpretation of the Creation story in Genesis in view of the accepted facts in science," and sympathized with its supporters.⁴⁷

During this period, he apparently considered writing a book on the human eye, teleologically considered, but was dissuaded.⁴⁸ His father's continuing desire for him to be ordained and "settled" in a fixed charge also may have concerned Drummond,⁴⁹ and so, although he refused several vacant charges and resigned his Possilpark post when it was raised to a full charge, it may have been this which motivated his later acceptance of the chair and his submission to the ordination ceremonial which was a part of the induction.

In 1880, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, again in part due to the support of Archibald Geikie. On January 2, 1881, he gave the first service in the church of Possilpark, and on May 31 the General Assembly sanctioned Possilpark as a regular charge. The church, to seat eight hundred, had one hundred and seventy-seven members and one hundred and twenty-five adherents, although Drummond wrote disconsolately he could count the conversions on his fingers.⁵⁰ On August 29, 1882, his Possil ministry ended, and with it perhaps the most productive period of his life, intellectually and spiritually. The sermons and notes

belonging to this early decade are extensive, undeveloped, and essentially unexamined, but there can be little doubt, even at this early stage, that their spiritual content outranks that of the last or "hybrid" decade of his working life.

In May of 1882, a contentment with his condition is evidenced in a letter to his father stating, "had I consulted personal feelings I should stay at Possil all my life. I am driven out by stress of circumstances. . . . I do not object to ordination in the least, nor, on the other hand, do I value it in the least."⁵¹

In June, Moody, on his second tour, preached in Possil and Drummond went with him in the summer to Aberdeen, Dundee, Dumfries, and Cardiff. To this time period is attributed the addresses, "The Three Crosses," "Seek Ye First the Kingdom of God," "Temptation," "The Programme of Christianity," and "Love" (from 1 Corinthians, 13). Also, between September of 1881 and June of 1882, some of the addresses contained in Natural Law in the Spiritual World were first published in The Clerical World. Drummond comments, "presently the journal which published them died, leaving in my mind a lingering remorse at what share I might have had in its untimely end."⁵² Natural Law in the Spiritual World was "casually suggested"⁵³ by Drummond as a title for the series or, in his own words, he gave the editor the phrase and at that time "had not thought much as to what this title actually meant."⁵⁴ This type of disclaimer is fairly typical of Drummond, but he told his friends of a revival of interest in his early vision of the identity of law in the natural and spiritual spheres.⁵⁵

A paper, "Natural Law in the Spiritual Sphere," he gave before the Glasgow Theological Club on January 9, 1882, was "unanimously condemned," one friend pleasantly observing that it reminded him of a pamphlet he once

picked up, entitled "Forty Reasons for the Identification of the English People With the Lost Ten Tribes." Drummond said he would at that point have abandoned his "heresies" forever but for two factors: the first, a person -- probably his friend, Marcus Dods -- without whose encouragement the book would never have been begun and without whose assistance it would never have been completed; the second, the fact that none of those condemning was a scientist, and Drummond felt his own point of view to be "exclusively" scientific.

The papers were then printed to benefit an orphanage, and letters indicating they had "done some good" decided Drummond to publish them when requested by Mr. Hodder of Hodder and Stoughton. He observes their inconsistent unsystematic nature because of the intervals between writing and haphazard arrangement and how the critics searching for a theological system in these disjecta membra were able to "confound and discomfit the illogical author."⁵⁶

These comments have passed as gentlemanly modesty, in the category of agreeing with the adversary quickly as he generally counseled men to do. But, having spent some years trying to unravel what he really thought, one should point out that had he used the time to examine and systematize his writings that he used to justify and apologize for them, the task of both biographer and intellectual historian would have been immeasurably simplified.

At any rate, for whatever the reasons, Natural Law in the Spiritual World was published in January 1883, and it became one of the best sellers of the end of the nineteenth century, bringing upon its author fame and notoriety which he was spared initially by his absence in Central Africa. For, in June, he had set off in charge of a geological exploration of

lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika for the African Lakes Corporation. In 1884, he returned with a valuable report and a journal from which he published Tropical Africa, his only integrated full-scale book. Despite the arduous trip, a severe bout with fever, and being sobered by observing the numbers of missionary dead, he came off the boat in April and plunged into a week of evangelizing with Moody, then in London. May saw him as a guest in Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh, somewhat against his will.⁵⁷ On the 30th, he was introduced to the Lord High Commissioner of the General Assembly, Lord Aberdeen, and his wife, and on the 31st he was unanimously elected to the new chair of Natural Science, in the Free Church College, Glasgow. These two events, following in quick succession, were to change the course of his entire life.

The following decade is a kaleidoscope of movement, activity, and influencing. The center of operations was the University of Edinburgh, the whole "tone" of which was said to have been transformed and improved as a result of his Sunday night winter meetings,⁵⁸ which up to nine hundred students attended. He, himself, kept his residence and job in Glasgow where the effects of his presence were surprisingly slight.

The advent of the chair was to change his social standing, and his acceptance into the social and literary circle of the Aberdeens, despite his initial resistance, may have done something to alter not only the form but also, to some extent, the content of his message. Few people would present an identical message to docks and to drawing rooms, and Drummond was no exception, having from the beginning of his public life evidenced extraordinary sensitivity to audience needs and expectations. Hence, the evolution, or devolution, depending on one's standpoint, of a more mannered, sophisticated message which seems to diminish in spiritual content as it

gains in style.

Ishbel, Lady Aberdeen, who carried on an extensive correspondence with Drummond in the years following,⁵⁹ comments on her surprise on meeting Drummond at Holyroodhouse to find him not mature and bearded but "a handsome young man of distinguished bearing, and intellectual aspect, and a glint of humor in his keen brown eyes."⁶⁰ He joined their immediate house party that evening, lunched with them next day, and went with them soon after on a Thames boating trip. That autumn, he stayed at Haddo House, their Aberdeenshire estate. She chronicles that he thereafter "became the closest of our friends and comrades," boon companion of the children until his death, and "what we owe to his friendship is more than we can ever hope to express."⁶¹ In November of the same year (1884), Drummond, on his ordination and induction to the chair of Natural Science in the Glasgow Free Church College, gave as his inaugural address "The Contribution of Science to Christianity" and thereafter used the title "professor."

In January of 1885, Drummond began the student addresses in the Oddfellows Hall, Edinburgh, which were to continue to 1894 and upon the results of which much of his reputation rests. But, from an historical standpoint, neither the students nor the addresses being currently available for consultation, not much time can here be usefully apportioned to them.⁶² In April and May, he gave three addresses to a group of socialites and politicians invited by the Aberdeens to Grosvenor House, the residence of the Duke of Westminster, and three years later this was repeated at the intimation of Arthur James Balfour, the Aberdeens, and others. The first time apparently his stance was that of Christian apologist and his language scientific, and an "Associated Worker's League," formed to set the West End "unemployed" (Drummond's phrase) to work, was among the

outcomes. The second series emphasized a social gospel, and the '88 Club was formed by women as a companion to the previous organization.⁶³ In the autumn of 1885 he gave some lectures at Oxford, which were not noticeably successful, and moved from Possil to 3 Park Circus, a spacious four-storied house, high on a circle one block from the Free Church College and overlooking the West End Park in Glasgow.

Each year, the months from November until April were given to the students in Glasgow on weekdays and Edinburgh on weekends, and usually he closed each academic year with a geology field trip to the island of Arran off the west coast of Scotland. In 1886, after some summertime spent at the Viceregal lodge in Dublin with the Aberdeens and in Switzerland, he went, by invitation, to Bonn whence he wrote "Evangelism is hated, loathed."⁶⁴ Nonetheless, he is said to have produced a "profound impression" and was invited to return. In December of that year, he wrote "I have begun The Ascent of Man, though it climbs slowly, slowly."⁶⁵

The most important events in the next year were the successful tour of some of the Eastern Seaboard American Universities, preceded by the unsuccessful session at Northfield with Moody and some Chautauqua lectures. Apparently undeterred by criticism at Northfield, Drummond writes of the Chautauqua to Lady A, "I have prepared and discharged all the worst bombshells I could think of. There is much heat here, but no light. The Pharisees are down on one, of course, but the Barbarians show me no little kindness."⁶⁶ He spoke here on Africa and science, and at Northfield and the universities on the Edinburgh Student Movement. At the latter, he was supported by a deputation of Edinburgh University professors and students and the colleges visited included Smith, Wellesley, Williams, Amherst, Harvard, Dartmouth, Yale, Philadelphia, Princeton, and New York medical

schools. Here the results were good and the harvest plentiful.⁶⁷

That winter, a medical student wrote a letter asking the Edinburgh ministers to suppress Drummond's teaching. This did not appear to stir Drummond into any self-examination as he felt it hard but inevitable to be called names, and commented, "It is enough for the servant that he be as his master."⁶⁸

Tropical Africa was published in 1888 although there is little mention of his working on it. In 1889, on the occasion of Marcus Dods' ministerial semijubilee, Drummond spoke, saying that Dods had discovered him and was the greatest influence in many directions that came across his life.⁶⁹ That year, The Greatest Thing in the World was published as a Christmas booklet.

Upon his arrival in Melbourne in April of the following year at the invitation of Australian students, his New College friend, John Ewing, who had been a minister there, became ill and died within a week. Drummond conducted the funeral service, wrote to his family, and set off on his tour of Australian colleges where the students did not "come out" so well.⁷⁰ This was followed by a swing around the New Hebrides for a semipolitical report and the journey home by Japan, the report of his travels being encapsulated in the address which opened the winter session in Glasgow, "The Problem of Foreign Missions." This resulted in an explosion of criticism and trouble in general and, in particular, in the General Assembly, and one wonders if perhaps all this may not have been the inspiration for Drummond's Christmas Booklet that year entitled Pax Vobiscum.

If 1887 and 1890 were tumultuous and Drummond excessively peripatetic, 1891 and 1892 appear to have been as uneventful as 1888 and 1889. Presumably The Ascent of Man continued to percolate as did the Edinburgh

meetings. The summers were spent quietly in France, fishing in Sutherlandshire and, briefly, at Haddo House, and The Programme of Christianity and The City Without a Church were published for Christmas in 1891 and 1892, respectively.⁷¹

The 1893 Lowell Lectures in Boston, published the next year as The Ascent of Man, probably marked the acme of Drummond's public and academic career. The crowds in Boston were so great that the lectures had to be repeated and pirate publishers necessitated intensive work the following winter to insure publication. A fishing holiday is recorded in Quebec, and a visit to Chicago with the Aberdeens while the early summer saw another university tour -- this time around Harvard, Amherst, Chicago, Minneapolis, and Duluth. In July, at Northfield, three addresses caused a disturbance and a deputation requesting his removal, but Moody stood firm, on the familiar grounds of Drummond's Christian character rather than the validity or authenticity of his Christian message.

His illness during the last two years of his life showed his friends "how to suffer pain uncomplaining, endure long illness, thinking more of others than himself, and at last face death, not only without fear, but without even a strained or hectic consciousness of his fate."⁷² In April 1896, he observed that he was steadily going downhill despite doctors' statements to the contrary, and on March 11, 1897, he died.

A Catastrophic View

Alongside the tranquilly evolving view of Drummond's life contained in earlier biographies, another view surfaced which is here laid down separately. This is the tragic view: his life as a series of catastrophes against a background of gathering persecution. This different angle shows Drummond as solitary throughout his university career and later world travels; failing to earn any of the various degrees he sought; having a view of life that few he knew shared; unable to find congenial work for several years; condemned and mocked in an explosion of international criticism over his first book; persecuted actively at Northfield, Massachusetts, and thereafter harassed continuously by press and pamphlets until the heresy trial and his release in death.

For the last fifteen years of his life, Drummond was involved in controversy. This fact is not anything that George Adam Smith cared to accentuate. He affirmed that there was "no use going into the details of an utterly unnecessary controversy."⁷³ So, for many years, a veil has been drawn over the fact that Drummond was somewhere in the center of a great religious struggle for most of his productive life. But from a purely historical view, this fact had to be excavated and its implications examined.

While the different angle helps to adjust the perspective and gives a deeper view of both Drummond's life and thought, his personality still proves elusive because, while problems and tragedies are here recorded chronologically, his reaction to them is seldom to be found: the lacuna persists both in his life, and, more importantly for this analysis, in his thought. Somewhere between the two views is probably the "truth" of

the life of Henry Drummond. A reconciliation has not been here attempted; suffice it to say that a new perspective has been introduced.

Henry Drummond was "utterly unconventional in everything he did."⁷⁴ It is an open question whether any man really knew him. Some he impressed by his "apparent loneliness." They remember him standing aside from the ordinary knots of students. Partly from tradition, partly to please his father, he went through the Master of Arts course and to New College.⁷⁵

His nineteenth birthday reflections are important because they constitute one of the few outbreaks of recorded emotion, and perhaps the only major one documented in his entire life. They are here, therefore, set down in full as recorded in a private journal:

"I was startled to find that it was really come--my nineteenth year. I almost cried. If such is my birthday experience in the days of my youth, what will it be when 'my bones wax old,' if that shall ever be? There is a sadness even in my years at the flight of Time. May I never be too hardened to let these annual milestones sweep by unwept for!

"It is the first birthday I have spent away from home, and perhaps that has helped to make this a more sad occasion than wont. In looking back over my past years I see nothing but an unbroken change [chain?] of Mercies. Few lives have been as happy as mine. Few have shared as many pleasures and borne as few griefs. The rod of affliction may conquer many, but if I am subdued at all I have been killed with kindness--unmerited, unrequited, unsolicited, unexampled kindness. 'What can I render unto God for all His gifts to me?' Alas, I have rendered nothing--nothing but evil. The only misery I have endured has been of my own creation--the confusion of face for my own iniquity, the mournings for sins that were past, and the consciousness of my guilt before God. For days I have felt ashamed to look up to Him, and too wicked to approach His footstool. I believe I have discovered by my own sad experience the true meaning and justice of His attributes, 'Long-suffering,' 'Plenteous in Mercy,' etc. O that these humiliating periods of darkness were at an end. I think that I can honestly say that the chief desire of my heart is to be reconciled unto God, and to feel the light of His countenance always upon me. As honestly I think I can say that God in His great goodness has given me little care for the things of the world. I have been enabled to see the extreme littleness of the world in comparison with the great Hereafter, [so] that the temptations of the former seem as nothing to the attractions of the latter, and I cannot be too thankful that I

have been thus spared being whirled into the vortex of the cares of this life, and of the deceitfulness of riches. This may sound like vain-glory, but it is very far from that; I am far too deep in the abyss of sin to deceive myself in that respect. I say it not boastfully but in fear and trembling, with deep humiliation that all these mercies should have made me little better than if I had them not.

"May I make such resolutions to-night, and may God help me to keep them, that should I be spared to see another birthday, my thoughts should not be sorrowing but rejoicing--sorrowing as I am now with no faint illumination of joy to make me hope for better things, but rejoicing that real progress has been made in that Wisdom which is 'better than rubies!'"⁷⁶

The above evidences of a broken spirit and a contrite thankful heart in an abyss of sin is the stuff of which saints are made. Unfortunately, this is the only fragment extant indicating the spiritual depth in the man.

Despite entering New College as the youngest in the class in November, 1870, Drummond spent much time at the University of Edinburgh where he took botany, natural history, chemistry, and geology but failed twice in the first part of the Bachelor of Science examinations. He was not "in it" among the divinity students⁷⁷ and after the summer semester in Germany, in November 1873, he left New College to study natural science and geology at the University and to work in missions. Upon Moody's arrival in Edinburgh, Drummond and his friend James Stalker attended Moody's "inquiry rooms."

The "Moody-period," 1873-75, is most extensively documented in Smith's biography, and as he had access to original materials no longer available, any treatment of this period must necessarily be not only repetitious, but to some extent plagiaristic, failing the uncovering of new primary data. Also treated by Malcolm McIver in the 1950's, this period is not the concern of this writer, other than peripherally to

note Drummond's success in addressing thousands, and his work with J. F. Ewing, James Stewart, and the above-mentioned Stalker.⁷⁸

In the summer of the preceding year, a letter from Drummond to his father indicates his commitment to evangelism and hints at the opprobrium this aroused among his peers:

"I cannot help thinking more and more that my way has been chosen for me, and that however irregular and unusual it may seem to others, this is the work that has been given me to do. It has never been the object of even the slightest desire to me to be the Reverend. If I know my heart, I believe I can humbly say that for the last seven years the work I am now engaged in has been the dream of my life. I know you will find it hard to believe this. I am sure no one, from my outward conduct, would ever have dreamt it. But I can only repeat that underlying my scientific studies and everything else, there has been this one settled conviction all these years--that the only life which to me would seem at all worth living would be a life of evangelistic work. . . I know that most of my friends will think hard things of me just now. I know many able ministers will say it is very foolish and absurd. I know that even few of my own fellow-students will understand me or sympathise with me, but notwithstanding all that, I must still cling to my own earnest conviction that however dark and uncomprehended the future may be, not only my path but even the very 'steps' of it are just now 'ordered by the Lord.'"⁷⁹

One year later, on July 24, 1875, he writes to his father:

". . . the great lesson God has been meaning me to learn in the past six months,--in which I have done comparatively nothing,--and which He means still for a little to teach me before giving me a more definite work to begin to. I am profoundly thankful for the long time of comparative quiet I have had, as I see now what it has all meant. . . it is the truest wisdom, and even the truest service, to be 'waiting,' if the 'waiting' be 'on the Lord.' I earnestly hope that it is this kind of 'waiting' with me,--otherwise every moment that I live is worse than wasted. I cannot help thanking you for your letter. You can have no idea how it cheered me; for of course waiting-time is always more or less a little anxious time, and the people round about me can scarcely understand my case or sympathise with it as you can!"⁸⁰

The following month a letter from Orkney in reply to his father indicates his father, too, thought his path very unusual:

"You seem to have taken up the idea that I have mapped out a path of my own, and speak of my 'choosing a path so very unusual.' Now the real fact is, that is exactly what I do not want to do--what I would not for a moment think of doing. I tried to say in my letter that I was feeling myself 'waiting' upon God to open up some

path for me; and I was trying to explain to you why I was, more, in a sense, 'waiting' than 'working,'--that I was waiting until I could get my orders from Headquarters as to what definite work I should first take up. You probably, and very naturally, have an idea that I was anxious to begin evangelistic work. You will perhaps be glad to hear that this is very far from being the case. I had rather, I think, work in the Nursery than be an evangelist--in the ordinary sense of that word. I could not have said that six months ago. I can now, with my whole heart.⁸¹

These two letters give vivid glimpses of Drummond's circle narrowing, until above he appears to be justifying himself to his father. His own commentary upon this is probably contained in the short sermon, The Eccentricity of Religion, where he speaks with youthful authority on a somber theme. The same letter continues (perhaps in response to a plea to return home?): "I am afraid to move a single step without searching and prayer to know the mind of the only wise God!" These, you remember, are your own words; and my present position is exactly that in which I am afraid to move."⁸²

Drummond here evidences a certain tenacity, or singleness of purpose, in the face of what looks like considerable doubt being raised on his father's part as to the wisdom of his behavior. Which one of the two won the final round is not clear, but Drummond did return to Scotland shortly thereafter, whether at God's behest, or his father's, or a combination of both, is unclear from the evidences. The indecision which clouds this whole section of his life appears to have continued undiminished until the accident in which he hurt his knee and his subsequent decision to finish his last year at New College in Edinburgh. But again, at the end of that year, the same motive surfaces: "I am a kind of knotless thread just now,"⁸³ and his two main biographers agree that the early summer months of 1877 were "the most miserable time" of his life."⁸⁴ He was waiting for work that would allow time to evangelize. One of his essays

What is Your Life? written during this period and delivered as a sermon at the Barclay church, presents a predominantly Old Testament view of reality, and, in many ways, a more mature view of life and death than many of his later writings.

He had heard his call "at the close of a long dark night."⁸⁵ The long dark night here referred to is probably from the summer of 1875 to the summer of 1877, when Drummond waited, largely without direction, in England, Orkney, Perthshire, Edinburgh, and finally, in Norway, before the lectureship in Glasgow opened up on the death of Mr. Keddie.

At the end of his first academic year as lecturer in Glasgow, in the summer of '78, en route to the Malta chaplaincy, he records being "all alone" in Tunis, out of the tourist's track, and sometimes feeling "rather eerie." He was apparently an avid traveller, as his passage to Malta was via Marseilles, Italy, Sardinia, Tunis, and Carthage, and on his return he "'did' Naples, Pompeii, Herculaneum, Vesuvius, Capri, Pozzuoli, Rome, Florence, Milan, the Italian lakes, and home over the St. Gotthard Pass with Switzerland."⁸⁶

The "double life" nature of his existence as science lecturer and missionary began to emerge around this time.⁸⁷ His father, however, apparently still cherished the hope of seeing his son ordained and settled in a charge. The following letter indicates the surprising extent to which Drummond was prepared to go to please his father, or, in nineteenth century terms, it demonstrates his "rare filial regard."⁸⁸ It was written from Possil Park on May 20, 1882:

I am sure your views and mine are in entire agreement upon the main points involved--indeed I think we found them so when we last talked matters over. Had I consulted personal feelings I should stay at Possil all my life. I am driven out by stress of circumstances.

The only point in which we seem to differ is ordination. I do not object to ordination in the least, nor, on the other hand, do I value it in the least. Had I been ambitious for status, I could have got my chair endowed, and been ordained by this time. If you desire that, you have only to say the word, and I will get it done now. You may not be aware that a recommendation from two Assemblies lies before the Church, and I have only to go with that in my hand to a number of our chairfounders and get the thing done. But this is a mere matter of worldly position, and the only thing which would induce me to push it would be your wish in the matter. At the same time, ecclesiastical position is, if anything, more "wordly" than worldly position. But if it is to remove the family reproach of having a "stickit minister" among its sons, that can be rectified with a word.

The real question is, What is the most useful life? I have been working as a stated minister in Possil for four years, and I could count the conversions in the church on my fingers. Life at that rate does not pay. But if you think nothing better can be done,-- if in the present state of the country, and in the present state of the Free Church, the orthodox charge is the most useful life,-- then I accept the first call.⁸⁹

This type of filial regard, striking enough in a twenty three year old is surely quite extraordinary in a man of thirty. Suffice it here to note that in 1883, the following year, Drummond's geological expedition into Africa and his chair were both financed by a Mr. James Stevenson F.R.G.S. of Lairgs, Ayrshire.⁹⁰ Whether Drummond himself went with the recommendation "in his hand" is not known, and is of little interest to the present writer, except to note that the demand for Drummond as a speaker could only have been enhanced by his improved social and intellectual status -- professors, then, as now, in Scotland ranking far above the average parish minister socially, if not academically or intellectually --and he was doubtless sensible of the increased power or "influence" he would wield when he made the above comment to his father.

His best seller, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, was published in 1883, and the "storm of criticism" it elicited erupted while Drummond was in Africa. When he came from the boat and went to work with Moody in London, he was already a celebrity. According to one writer, "every

minister who wanted to be 'with it' preached on the theme-text of Natural Law. He that hath the Son hath life: he that hath not the Son hath not life. Evangelists used scientific labels, and at one revival service a Latin tag of Drummond's omne vivum ex vivo -- all life comes from life -- was used."⁹¹

This is all true, but it is essentially unrealistic, because, in the manner of Drummond himself, the darker side of the picture is largely omitted. If many ministers, even most ministers, wanted to be "with it" there were others who sacrificed the temporal to the eternal. One religious paper labelled it a "dangerous" book and men withdrew from religious associations of which Drummond was a member. They would not speak from the same platform; they published pamphlets and wrote "bitter letters" against him. Drummond, when he replied, did so gently and courteously.⁹²

On January 28, 1888, he writes, "I am also in the middle of a persecution" due to a letter in The Christian by a medical student about "my heresies -- A small clique has addressed a printed circular to the Edinburgh ministers begging them to suppress me and my views." One might have hoped that here, at least, Drummond might have paused for reflection as to where his thinking was leading, but, he continues "Of course, I have taken no notice, and I think it has not hindered the work at all. . . ." Showing his singlemindedness in this endeavor, he continues in a significant passage, "My one engagement is Edinburgh, which I fear I dare not abandon, even for a Sunday, in the present persecution, though I would fain let it go, for none knows what a nightmare that work is. . . ."⁹³

Is this the Naphtali who lived always in the sun, the one whose life was a sea of calm?

It was said of the 1890 Australian tour that

. . . on the whole the students did not 'come out' so well, partly through lack of interest, partly through timidity. Further, to those who were not outsiders, the presentation of Christianity in Drummond and his message was something absolutely new; for them religion had been of an older evangelical type and the adaptation to the New Evangelism demanded many days.⁹⁴

Lastly, Drummond arrived in Australia in time to nurse his friend Ewing through typhus, bury him, and give the funeral oration. A glimpse of the unutterable darkness and solitude of these sections of his life is given in the following letter fragments: "What wonderful Providence allowed me to come out here for this? It has been a dark time. . . ." ⁹⁵

And, again, on May 12 to D. M. Ross:

". . . I am alone in the manse. It is very terrible. This is his desk and paper. How can I write you? . . .

"After I wrote last he slowly sank; never spoke again; no pain. At dusk on Friday he passed away, my hand in his. The nurse said it was the gentlest death she ever saw.

"He never spoke much and never said farewell. We had four very happy days together, then the cloud fell, and he, the real he, was slowly taken away from my sight. . . .

"Oh, Ross, I cannot go on. This is the first break in our ranks, and I never thought it was so big. We must close up now and work hard. This is what I am feeling much these days. Tell the men to excuse me writing, as I have all E's people to communicate with at length. For them, for her, how terrible it all is!" ⁹⁶

And, again, to Lady Aberdeen:

"You would hear perhaps of the awful thing that happened--in the next room. He passed away, my hand in his, more gently than a sleeping child. Strange that I should have been sent across the seas for this. For the time it has sobered me. I feel I must work hard." ⁹⁷

In June of the same year he writes, as he starts for the New Hebrides, "It seems my fate to be a solitary traveller." ⁹⁸

About one year later in April 1891, Drummond was called to the sick bed of his friend, Robert Barbour. On May 6, almost exactly one year after Ewing's death, Drummond writes from Aix-les-Bains:

"I have had a very anxious and doleful time and much heavy nursing as Barbour all last week would allow no one near but his wife and myself. No one can predict when the curtain may fall, but I feel he has already left us. This day last year I was standing by Ewing as the sand ran low in the glass."⁹⁹

Three weeks later, on May 27, Barbour died. During this time, according to Smith, Barbour did not care "to have Drummond out of his sight."¹⁰⁰ He helped nurse him and wrote letters to his friends. On June 18, the inevitable report to Ishbel Aberdeen reads:

"It is hard to watch Barbour die. The impression of his life is cropping up from many sides just now, and it is very wonderful. His peculiar characteristic was saintliness, an element in life which one is apt to think either superfluous or morbid, but which is after all a vital ingredient. When one thinks of it, it is the unworldly people who have really helped us the most."¹⁰¹

Drummond had opened the 1890-91 College session on his return from Australia with the lecture The Problem of Foreign Missions and the ensuing "storm of malignant criticism"¹⁰² extended to his Christmas booklets, especially Pax Vobiscum. Perhaps it was not accidental that the Christmas Booklet for 1891, The Programme of Christianity, contained the paragraph confirmed later by Drummond himself to Sankey as evidence of his non-heretical stance.

Sankey had written to Drummond, pleased with the "orthodox ring of the sentences he had seen attributed to Drummond in a newspaper: "The freedom from guilt, the forgiveness of sins, come from Christ's Cross; the hope of immortality springs from Christ's grave. . . ."¹⁰³

And Drummond, in a much-quoted reply, answered:

"My message lies among the foregotten truth, the false emphasis, and the wrong accent. To every man his work.

"Let me thank you most heartily for your kindness in writing. The way to spoil souls, to make them hard and bitter and revengeful is to treat them as many treat me. If I have escaped this terrible fate, it is because there are others like yourself who 'think no evil.'

"But tell your friends that they know not what solemn interest they imperil when they judge."¹⁰⁴

This criticism, ballooning in the winter of 1890-91, does not appear to have abated substantially prior to his trial in 1895.

The letters of the critics at this time show "genuine alarm, and an honest zeal to put down error."¹⁰⁵ All this criticism, according to Smith, was based on a brief newspaper report, and the inference here seems to be that if the assailants had been exposed to Drummond's original work their doubts would have been allayed.

Drummond's letters from this time were "full of pain, and for the first time in his life of warm indignation on his own behalf. He calls his traducers 'assassins of character!'"¹⁰⁶ The attacks scattered from the address on missions to the Christmas booklets which, according to Smith, Drummond had issued before Christmas for nine years.¹⁰⁷ Moody, when quoting from The Greatest Thing in The World, was compelled to say "someone has said," and, J. Y. Simpson comments, "it is difficult to imagine that anyone who really knew the man could have raised his pen against him,"¹⁰⁸ to which one might respond that although this is probably true, it is also largely irrelevant, as "the attacks" deal almost exclusively with the writing rather than the man. As most of the criticism is dealt with extensively in another chapter, suffice it here to say that there is little evidence of the hostility against Drummond's writing diminishing appreciably among certain sectors on either side of the Atlantic from this time until the end.

In the summer of 1892, an Edinburgh journal raised a cry against the student meetings,¹⁰⁹ and, in 1893, Drummond writes that Moody left Northfield for Chicago before he (Drummond) arrived, and the reporter for one of the religious journals, The Christian, asked Drummond if he would mind not being mentioned among the speakers as it would compromise Moody, the paper

and Northfield. Drummond comments to his mother, "of course I implored him not to defile his pages."¹¹⁰

In Northfield, having delivered A Life for a Life, Lessons from the Angelus, and The Ideal Man, he encountered the "inevitable attack" on his teaching. A deputation urged Moody not to allow Drummond to speak. Moody asked for a day to consider, and then said the Lord had shown him that Drummond was a better man than himself. Smith also comments that Moody said to him, "There's nothing I ever read of Henry Drummond's, or heard him say, that I didn't agree with."¹¹¹

Drummond himself comments to Lady Aberdeen on these 1893 attacks in the oft-quoted quote:

At Northfield I felt a good deal put of it, and many fell upon me and rent me. Before the close of the conference, I struck an orthodox vein and retrieved myself a little. But it was not a happy time.¹¹²

One wonders why Drummond should have expected a "happy time," or why he even went at all, having had much the same reception six years earlier. The comment on striking an orthodox vein, and retrieving himself, strikes something of a dissident note as indicative of his assurance in manipulating audiences.

On the return from this visit to America, his appearance had changed markedly, "for the first time it was apparent that he was growing old."¹¹³ Hereafter followed struggles for copyright for The Ascent of Man, more attacks, and in the winter of 1894-95 he was sometimes "sharply ill" although he continued to lecture. In February 1895, he wrote to Edinburgh, "I have had a second breakdown in health since Christmas."¹¹⁴ In March, he left Glasgow for the last time for Edinburgh, then for Dax in southwest France. An interesting letter from this period might here be quoted in part, as it contains Drummond's only recorded reference, and that an ambiguous one,

to attacks on The Ascent of Man being made at the time by some of the Highland Presbyteries.

I beg, sir, that this fama clamosa--which, as I am credibly informed, has to my grievous hurt already spread to Dingwall and the borders thereof--be immediately arrested, and that you will cease to trouble the short nights and lingering days of a Poor Invalid with Base Suspicions.--I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

H.(und) D. (ax)¹¹⁵

An 1895 unpublished letter in the Haddo House manuscripts narrates his work termination in Glasgow the preceding year and seems to indicate that there had been no communication between the two parties over the intervening fourteen-month period.¹¹⁶ In July 1895, Drummond was removed to London and thence finally to Tunbridge Wells. He spent the remaining years a victim of what he himself, in a letter from Biarritz in 1895, described as "an exceedingly rare rheumatic affection involving the whole trunk and more crippling than painful."¹¹⁷

These last several pages have presented Drummond purposively as the type of the "suffering servant." This is a view of him, as of his Master, which has enjoyed no particular popularity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the flush of post-evolutionary progressivism which has engulfed, but not encompassed, much of western thought. In this writer's opinion, this "other view," which has here been termed "catastrophic," and has been deliberately isolated out for emphasis, in no way diminishes Drummond, but rather serves to enhance, by providing the "missing link" to deepen the one-dimensional portrait which criticism has thus far provided.

The Ambiguity of Views

The biographies extant, thus far, have been concerned mostly with the doings of Drummond. This work, in no way a biography, but one which, with time, could easily be developed into one, is concerned with the thought of Drummond. Others, as Smith, have catalogued when he went, where, and with whom, and how often. The concern here has been with why he went and did, and how these things influenced his thought.

The surface view, delineated at the beginning of this chapter, is of a Naphtali,¹¹⁸ full of radiant life, the life that is life indeed, birthing as it were disciples of the Christ, upheld as the brazen serpent that all who look on him might live. Another view was of a lonely introvert beleaguered on every side, holding tenaciously to a vision which no man, not even his best friends, appeared to share. The two views seem to be irreconcilable.

Therefore, let us give Drummond the courtesy of defining himself. After his own leading to be a full-time evangelist had, as it were, been diverted in large measure, in part due to friendly and parental influence, his vision of himself developed into a type of double vision. His identity, however, was inherent in his work. This work was only in part his student work, which has become so bloated, in large part, due to the emphasis adopted by Smith, because of his own interest in it and the Moody mission. His own sense of his identity was as a professor of natural science. He was recognized by some of his peers as a scientist. In his own and for his own time, Drummond was apparently a reputable geologist, an elected Fellow of the Royal Society, Edinburgh, and this at the early age of thirty-two, and also chosen the same year, presumably on the basis of his

known scientific ability, to conduct an investigatory analysis of a section of interior Africa for the African Lakes Corporation. In one letter, he refers to his two "hobbies," referring to the scientific work and the student work.

Thus, a more acceptable biographical view is, after all, Drummond's own view of himself, which was that of a scientist with a vision. The fact that that vision brought him into isolation increasingly from colleagues, friends, and finally, even some students, seems to have increased rather than diminished his determination to adhere to his own view. That this view was a legitimate Weltanschauung rather than a few "corrections" as he repeatedly chose to depict it will be demonstrated in the ensuing chapters on his work, thought, method, and their criticism.

That he himself was unaware of the revolutionary quality of his own vision is a very distinct possibility and one which would explicate his puzzlement at the failure of others to embrace his views. That he had an ally in these views is something hitherto unmentioned, but the fairly extensive correspondence with Ishbel, Lady Aberdeen, which elicited at its height, biweekly replies from Drummond, seems to indicate encouragement of his intellectual endeavors. Lady Aberdeen's side of this correspondence is not available, but, to her, Drummond writes, "But what a heretic you have become - far worse than poor me."¹¹⁹

If this was one of the mainstays of his personal support,¹²⁰ a more specific support of his views was to be found in the writings of men such as Washington Gladden and the American Quaker, Rufus Jones. No recognition was uncovered from men such as Huxley or Spencer, the latter of whom Drummond overtly disciplined himself under, referring to him as "my prophet." The prophet eventually recognized his disciple through the pen of Lynn Linton

attacking him on the grounds of plagiarism.

In attempting to uncover the "whys" of Drummond's life, several questions arose, some new, some old; and also, several answers to older questions. For example, the ever-recurring question of why Drummond was so attached to Moody. Most recently, James Moore depicts Drummond as "educated, soft-spoken and genteel" and Moody as "simple, loud, and uncouth."¹²¹ An earlier writer expressed surprise at the compatibility of the two men despite the disparateness of their educational background. This question does not seem so difficult. Moody had a spiritual depth which Drummond apparently lacked. The answer to why Drummond lacked depth spiritually is not so much that he lacked time as that he chose to use his time on scientific and parascientific enquiry while opening the spiritual tins that he had already familiarized himself with in his early twenties, and spending the bulk of his time counseling his Edinburgh students and traveling on a worldwide scale to publicize the unity of evolution and Christianity.¹²² The sheer extent of the ground covered in his yearly summer peregrinations -- the holidays running from May to November gave ample time -- leaves one wondering as to how he ever managed to read or write anything. But read and write he did, as is reflected in the bibliography of his works.

Let us finally apply ourselves to a rough initial survey of what he read and wrote. Apparently he wrote some fourteen letters daily, and many of these were presumably of the counseling variety. As the work of The Ascent of Man was begun in 1886,¹²³ it must be assumed that much of his reading was concerned with the development of this one theme, and some notebook clippings in the National Library of Scotland tend to substantiate this. He was, in fact, fairly widely read. But it was mostly

in one area and areas related to it.

He himself, with the art critic, John Ruskin, who appears to have influenced him greatly, subscribed to the dictum that a man is a part of all he sees.¹²⁴ But he also allowed that a man is a part of all he reads. In an address given to the Australian students, he traces his reading patterns through Ruskin, Emerson, and F. W. Robertson of Brighton, advising against emulation of such patterns and describing himself as a "dipper" rather than an "owl."

A survey of his own works indicates that much time must have been lavished upon Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer to insure the kind of familiarity with their works that breathes from the pages of Natural Law in the Spiritual World and The Ascent of Man. Goethe and the poet Robert Browning are quoted recurrently, and as the law of continuity, developed in part by P. G. Tait, his philosophy professor at Edinburgh, seems to be more or less integrated into his own thought, one can assume some reading in this area. A complete edition of Browning was taken with him on the sea voyage to Australia, while the writings of John Ruskin, Ralph Waldo Emerson, the poet-physician Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Mark Twain are advocated intermittently to friends. Thus his concentration appears to have been as much literary and artistic as scientific or religious. So it emerges that his scientific readings tended to be native, but his excursions into psychology and transcendentalism were mentored in the main by American writers. This would account in part for his feeling so "at home" in New England. And, in a somewhat speculative vein, the brand of Christian thinking he developed, while blatantly alien to his native Scottish environment, found a congenial climate for its development in the framework of the intellectualism of the eastern seaboard of the United States.

Drummond stated his horror to discover that his bookshelves were filled with the works of heretics, and states this reading pattern to have been unintentional. He just felt himself drawn to them. This may be so, but if the opposite side of this is observed, there is almost a total omission of reading of not just Christian themes, but also of works by Christian men. In their place are the writings of men, who, if they believed in God at all, did so within the framework of pantheism, transcendentalism, or, as in the case of Emerson and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Unitarianism.

And then there were the "ungodly" with whose thoughts his works are laced liberally, avowed agnostics, such as Huxley, Spencer, and Tyndall. This fact did not escape the attention of contemporary critics, one of whom writes:

It cannot escape the notice of any reader of Professor Drummond's book that the authorities he quotes are nearly all well known sceptics and agnostics.¹²⁵

And again, in speaking of Natural Law, one critic points out that there were two "irreconcilable principles ever striving for the mastery" in Drummond's mind. He was apparently a God-fearing, God-loving Christian, with reverence for revelation, who had listened to Spencer and other evolutionists, and became so "hopelessly confused by their pseudo-philosophy that truth and error alternately exhibit themselves throughout his entire book, and he seems to have no settled opinions remaining."¹²⁶

While most of the above is substantially correct,¹²⁷ one should notice the tendency of reviewers to justify Drummond in terms of what he was as a person rather than what he wrote. And, on occasion, even in terms of what men thought he was, in spite of what he himself stated his opinions to be.

Finally, it should be reaffirmed that Drummond succeeded. Much else

can be denied of him, but never this. He was a success at living, writing, and talking, and socially, he was so noninvolved and unencumbered timewise that he could give his time to all men.

In his early years at least, he waited on God, sometimes for years. Of course, this is a luxury that perhaps few can afford, but also one that even those affording do not often avail themselves of. He waited and listened, and when he heard God's will for him,¹²⁸ he implemented it almost ruthlessly, and often at the cost of his own or his friends' desires. There was much from which he abstained -- glory and riches and power and honor -- honor in men's sight, that is, that God might have the glory.

CHAPTER III

THE THOUGHT OF HENRY DRUMMOND

Henry Drummond held a variety of different views upon a variety of Christian themes during his lifetime, and because these views are not always consistent, each topic is here presented as a discrete entity. However, certain lines of delineation are discernible. Thus, his views are here divided into three sections.

The first reviews the categories God, Christ, sin, death, life, and rebirth, where the treatment tends to be fairly, although not completely, traditional. The second treats the naturalness of the supernatural and the kingdom of God, both imbued with his own fairly distinctive views of evolution and love, which became evolutionary love in The Ascent of Man, his last complete book. While this latter and his best-seller, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, are quoted throughout, attention is drawn to early essays and lesser published manuscripts hitherto virtually unexamined.

The third section treats with the omission or dilution of the catastrophic elements of the traditional historical Christian gospel necessitated to incorporate Christianity into his syncretist evolutionary cosmology. It closes with Drummond's own views of what he believed the "new evangelism" and the "new theology" of his time should be. These "latter day" pronouncements, from essays presented to the Glasgow theological society, appear to represent his more private views. It is here that his concept of evolution becomes a revolution, or, as he himself phrased it for those with eyes to see, as early as the preface to Natural

Law in the Spiritual World, it was "an entire re-casting of truth."¹

Some Orthodox Thought Patterns

On God

In Drummond's early writing, the view of God seems to be fairly much within the tradition of historical Judaeo-Cristianity. While he was accused many times in his later years of developing the doctrine ex nihilo nihil, and thereby denying God as creator, his early thought does not sustain this observation. He writes, for example, for his Possil congregation:

There is a name for God which men, in these days, have many temptations to forget--God the creator of heaven and earth. It was the name, perhaps, by which we first knew God--God had made our earth, our house; God had made us. He was our Creator--God. We thought God could make anything then, or do anything, or do everything. But we lost our happy childhood's faith; and now we wonder what things God can do, as if there were many things He could not.²

He continues:

But there is one thing we have little difficulty in always referring to the creating hand of God--life. No one has ever made life but God. We call him the Author of life, and the Author of life is a wondrously fertile author. He makes much life--life in vast abundance.³

At this time, Drummond was impressed with the majesty of God--a theme which is not so noticeable as his evolutionary cosmology evolves. He cautions that we should "never hear the name without reverence, the Jews would not speak Elohim or Yahweh."⁴

Because this view of God is in such contrast to the God-in Christ, the friend, who becomes pivotal in his later writings, a section of his notes is worth quoting here in full:

'For the eyes of the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole earth to show himself strong in the behalf of those whose heart is perfect toward him.' This is one of the most startling sentences ever penned by mortal man. Every word of it is aflame with meaning.

It is charged with the most majestic conception of God's greatness, and the most noble and lofty idea of God's condescension. . . . Did you ever think that God had eyes? Did you ever think that God saw-- that God saw you?⁵

Drummond, post-Moody, appears to have been preoccupied for a period of perhaps as much as four years with the will of God and its practical implementation in the lives of men. It is significant that his overriding concern with a theological consideration appears to have diminished after his acceptance of the Glasgow lectureship, although the extensive Possil sermon notes indicate a lively spirituality which is more broad-based than anything written after Natural Law in the Spiritual World. At this time, his "continual insistence" on the will of God, although it bored his friends,⁶ is in the orthodox tradition. Bishop Butler had asserted that resignation, or conformity to the will of God, is that in which the whole of piety exists, while for William Law, "the whole nature of virtue consists in conforming to, and the whole nature of vice in declining from, the Will of God."⁷ Drummond's early series of essays, or sermons, on the will of God, and its implementation by man, is useful, pragmatic, and quite relevant even today. Here, within its own prescribed limits, is a contribution to Christian discipleship literature.

But there is a sparseness in the references to God-the-Father as deity, eternal being, creator-redeemer, king and judge in the published writings of Henry Drummond, relative to the Christ-references. This is, of course, to some extent commensurate with his emphasis upon the New Covenant or Testament over the Old, but not entirely. And the impression persists, despite this helpful series of essays on the will of God, although many pages are spent on suggestions for unraveling God's will for man. But even here, the accent seems to be upon man primarily.

One passage in an early essay is unusual in that it depicts God the terrible, but only for Drummond to discover, almost immediately, his gentleness:

There is a text in the psalms which uses the strange expression, the gentleness of God. We wonder sometimes when God is so great, so terrible in majesty, that he uses so little violence with us, who are so small. But it is not his way. His way is to be gentle. He seldom drives; but draws. He seldom compels; but leads. He remembers we are dust. . . So God is gentle with us all--moulding us and winning us many a time with no more than a silent look. Course treatment never wins souls. So God did not drive the chariot of His omnipotence up to Peter and command him to repent. God did not threaten him with thunderbolts of punishment. God did not even speak to him.⁸

He continues his theme of God's approach being gentle and natural rather than catastrophic; and, at the same time, the transition is made from God to Christ almost imperceptibly:

And the great spiritual forces which startle men into thoughts of God. . . which bring eternity near to us . . . are not so much the warnings from the dead who drop at our side nor the threats of judgement to come, nor the retributions of the life that is; but still small voices that penetrate like Peter's look from Christ. . .⁹

Drummond observes that God speaks in solitude in all true religious life. He finishes with the inevitable paradox, which leaves the indelible impression, that if "God" were vague for Drummond, as he later testifies in a written statement not borne out by these early writings,¹⁰ he was familiar with his voice:

When God speaks, he speaks so loud that all the voices of the world seem dumb. And yet when God speaks, he speaks so softly that no one hears the whisper but yourself. Today perhaps . . . the Lord has turned and looked at someone here. And the soul of someone has gone out to weep.¹¹

God's silence, too, impresses Drummond while man "doubting and sinning and repenting gropes for truth." He is a God of infinite variety, having made no two leaves or sand grains or souls the same.¹² Drummond comments upon the difference between David, who knew God's statutes as his songs, and

those who find God's law stern and cold. For Drummond, at this time, as for David, God's law is his written will.¹³

God, as the father in the prodigal son parable, has given us everything, and if we realize his kindness "the heart must melt to him and flow out to all mankind as brothers." The youthful idealism of this statement is perpetuated in the disturbingly naive comment: "Surely man's relation to God may be held as settled now. It is time to take up the other problem of man's relation to man."¹⁴

These statements are helpful as indicators of why his gospel became so man-oriented, and evidence the largely one-sided quality of Drummond's education. He was the product of a sheltered environment in a Christian upper middle-class home, and had been exposed mainly to young ministers at Edinburgh University. But how he could have retained this view of man's relation to God being settled, after work in Moody's inquiry room for two years, is puzzling.

The relative infrequency of the references to God the father in much of Drummond's writing is clarified, to some extent, by Drummond himself in a paper presented to the Glasgow theological society in the early 1890's in which he writes of his reaction to the concept of God fostered by the "old" evangelism:

The chief characteristic of the conception of God to me was its want of characteristic. The figure was too vague for any practical purpose. It was not a character. One could form no intelligent figure of God, for so far as it could be formed it was the God of the Old Testament. The Incarnation, i.e., contributed nothing.¹⁵

Drummond makes the important qualification that this was "the impression made as a matter of fact by these doctrines upon myself. I do not implicate the whole Evangelism, nor do I speak directly for anyone else."¹⁶ While this may seem exaggerated, it was apparently what Drummond experienced,

and it may have reflected some deemphasis of Christ's humanity on the part of the country ministers, evangelists, and Sunday school teachers of whom he speaks. And feeling, as he did, the call to correct the wrong emphasis, his accent upon the incarnation is clarified. He says that the Old Testament believer was given a name and a set of qualities:

Holiness, Justice, Wisdom and others, and out of this he had to make God. . . One great purpose of the Incarnation was to change all this. It is to give us a new, defined, intelligible figure of God. . . The Son of God is come and hath given us understanding that we may know him.¹⁷

Drummond felt that in the "old evangelism" God remained unchristianized, Jehovah, the I am that I am:

He was not God in Christ, God made intelligible by Christ, God made lovable by Christ, but God Eternal, Unchangeable, Invisible, therefore Unknowable; and in the nature of this cloud-God, the outstanding element was Vengeance -- Anger, the ethical effect of which is obvious.¹⁸

The "ethical effect" of anger is not here as readily obvious perhaps as is Drummond's own rejection of anger in God.¹⁹ He continues:

A man's whole religion depends on his conception of God, so much so that to give a man religion in many cases is simply to correct his conception of God. But if man's natural conception of God, which is of a Being or of a Force opposed to him, a Being to be appeased, be not corrected, his religion will be a religion of Fear. God therefore was a God to be feared, an uncomfortable presence about one's life.²⁰

The fear of God, scripturally and historically, has been held to be the beginning of wisdom. Both Old and New Testaments and accounts of religious revivals are filled with men who, encountering God, are filled with fear. This is the holy fear preached by Jonathan Edwards, whom Drummond later cites: "The God that holds you over the pit of Hell, much as one holds a spider . . . over the fire, abhors you," commenting "that kind of thing is not over, though we may hear little of it."²¹ That the concept is now scarcely accepted must be due in part to men like Drummond

who labored to emphasize love and deemphasize fear in Christianity.

So the Invisible, Unknowable did have human characteristics for Drummond, but they seem to have been mostly negative, as he continues: "He was always in court, either actually sitting in judgement or collecting material for the next case. He was the haunting presence of a great Recorder 'Who was writing now the story of what little children do.'" With such a catalogue of negative attributes built up in Drummond's mind, it was not surprising that "the reiteration that God was Love did nothing to dispel this terrible illusion." So, he observes that love not being made to order is like looking at heat. "To excite love, we need a person, not a doctrine--a Father, not a deity."²² The love here under discussion is man's love God-ward. God's love manward--that while they were yet sinners Christ died for them--is seldom noted.

It should be noted that Drummond, in the act of embracing God as father, denies the need for him as deity almost as if they were mutually exclusive. He expands the idea, observing that "To be changed into the same image we must look at the glory of God, not in se, but in the face of Jesus." Here a distinction is drawn by Drummond, "The old Evangelism was defective in not exhibiting God in the face of Jesus. It exhibited God in the nailed hands of Jesus. This is an aspect of God, an essential aspect, but not God." But, if Drummond found the God-concept of the old evangelism vague, for him "the conception of Christ was worse. . . His function was to adjust matters between the hostile kingdoms of heaven and earth."²³ And, having heard hundreds of sermons, the ruling idea for Drummond was:

. . . that Christ was a mere convenience. He was the second person in the Trinity, existing for the sake of some logical or theological necessity, a doctrinal convenience. He was the creation of theology,

and His function was purely utilitarian. This might have been theological but it was not religious. Religion said, 'Christ our Life.' Theology said, 'Christ our Logic.'²⁴

Drummond concedes that it is "impossible to believe that in these sermons I was not presented with the true aspects of Christ's life and character," but what filtered through to him was, in his opinion, "prominent half-truth, and therefore whole error." For him, the "old theology" made almost nothing of the humanity of Christ; and it was this imbalance, as he perceived it, that he sought to remedy.²⁵

On Christ

Christ -- herein lies the beginning and end of Drummond's gospel. Christ, the Word made flesh, the wonder of the incarnation that the son of God became man and dwelt among us and dwells among us as brother and friend.

Perhaps one truth is enough for one lifetime to expand, and Drummond's supreme awareness of the manhood of God, and Godhood of man, left little time to expatiate upon other wonders, such as His redeeming love. There are many varieties of love, just as there are many varieties of men and gods. Drummond chose to spend his lifetime on God's love incarnate in the person of Jesus -- Jesus, rather than Jesus, the Christ.

For Christ, as Messiah, the one to save Israel from her sin, takes an increasingly background role in Drummond's presentation, and after Natural Law in the Spiritual World, the sacrifice lamb seems to be all but eliminated from his writing. The exception to this general rule is found in 1890 in "The Programme of Christianity," in which in the midst of much attack, a more standard doctrinal position is reverted to:

And this teeming universe of men. . . The poison of its sins had met no antidote, the gloom of its doubt no light, the weight of its sorrow no rest. These the Saviour of the world, the light of men would

do and be. . . Now this was a prodigious task--to recreate the world.²⁶

From the beginning, the incarnation rather than the atonement may be said to be central in Drummond's scheme of Christianity. It is God making himself accessible to human thought; God opening to man the "possibility of correspondence" through Jesus Christ.²⁷ For Drummond, "The New Testament word is Christ, the Old Testament word is God. It is the same, only fuller, brighter, nearer to man. The Son of God is come!"²⁸ These early sermon notes show an optimistic understanding of the identity of God as father and son.

John Kelman, Drummond's successor with the Edinburgh students, writes, in 1907: To those who thought Christ was only for the Church, Drummond presented him as "hero of all the manly, and the athlete" . . . in so "winsomely human" a way they realized it was right--and natural--to follow Christ--the obvious, not just a possible way to live."²⁹

In contrast, Christ had said He chose his disciples from the world and they did not belong to it; this is why the world hated them. Paul gloried in his persecution by the world and in his stand against it. The history of the early and medieval church is, of course, one of warfare between "spiritual" and "natural" men. Alongside the joy and peace and love of the Good News is a steady stream of blood flowing from Calvary throughout medieval history, that of heretics alongside that of martyrs; for in these times, the two were still held to be distinguishable.

Christ, as the bridge between heaven and earth, God and man, is outlined in some 1880 sermon notes:

Science for thousands of years had tried to bridge the vast chasm which divided earth and stars, but was baffled -- where did this meteor come from? Now we have an understanding of what that world is made -- from falling stars, comets, nebulae and stars....Eighteen hundred years ago about Christmas a star fell from heaven in Bethlehem in Palestine.

It was wrapped in swaddling clothes and angels sang around it. It was the Bright and Morning Star. That Star has told us of the world from which it came. It has bridged the chasm between earth and heaven. It has made Time and Eternity touch. An actual witness from the world of space. Let us look and see what it will tell us about heaven and God.³⁰

Drummond's notes continue in fragmentary form that the need for God may be realized in three ways -- by building an altar to the unknown God, by making one's own god, or by accepting the incarnation:

What is this figure of God like - shepherds and magi wanted to know. Like a man! Emphasis. They saw A Man. What did they expect - a cloud, a mist, a halo. . . They did not believe God when he said, 'after his own image created he him.' Man all the time was roughly an image of God and he did not know it. . . .³¹

This wonder at the Incarnation seems to continue unabated throughout Drummond's work, and the function of Christ is seen, in this early work, to be integral to the theme of unity between natural and spiritual, which is essential to his teaching.

Drummond often paid tribute to F. W. Robertson of Brighton for being the one who taught him to know Christ. In Robertson's catalogue of the six principles on which he taught, three were found to be relevant to Drummond's own presentation. These were the attempt to establish positive truth instead of negative destruction of error; the belief that the human character of Christ's humanity must be antecedent to belief in his Divine origin; and "the soul of goodness in things evil."³²

Drummond, influenced by Robertson, particularly in his view of Christ, laying stress on the Incarnation and its centrality, tended to develop Christ more and more in human terms and human relations. The perception of the soul of goodness in things evil may be a corollary of the first precept to establish positive truth instead of negative destruction of error. The validity of both procedures is questionable at best. And, although it

is not known to what extent these influenced Drummond during his exposure to Robertson's writings, it is possible that the cultivation of the ability to see "the soul of goodness in things evil"--which seems to have no place in historical Christian orthodoxy--paved the way for Drummond's acceptance of Emersonian ideas.

Perhaps of central importance in establishing Drummond's view of Christ is the following excerpt from The Perfected Life, the Greatest Need of the World, which appeared between 1887 and 1890, and may thus be taken as fairly representative of his later position:

It seems to me the preaching is of infinitely smaller account than the life which mirrors Christ. This is bound to tell; without speech or language--like the voices of the stars. It throws out its impressions on every side. The one simple thing we have to do is to be there--in the right relation; to go through life hand in hand with Him; to have Him in the room with us, and keeping us company wherever we go; to depend upon Him and lean upon Him, and so have His life reflected in the fullness of its beauty and perfection into ours.³³

What a lovely picture! One hesitates to disturb its tranquility with the other views of Christ: the man of sorrows, acquainted with grief in whom no form or comeliness was to be found, who gave his back to the smiters, hid not his face from shame and spitting, and told his disciples to take up their cross daily as soldiers in an army, fighting against principalities and powers of darkness.³⁴ Or, again, the Christ of the Apostles Creed whose whole life is summed up in one word, "suffered," and whose work is indicated by the outline: suffered, died, and was buried. He descended into hell, the third day he rose again from the dead, and he ascended into heaven.

"Right relation" is advocated by Drummond. And here again, the overtones of the medieval-Swedenborgian-Emersonian "correspondences" syndrome are discernible. No analysis of the similarities of Drummond's view to the medieval world-picture is here possible; but the irony of his protomodern

cosmology, being rich in similitude to the Chain of Being adopted by the medieval philosophers, should at least be observed in passing.

Which Christ emerges in the latter portion of Drummond's writing? For there are many Christs to whom men may give their allegiance: the healing Christ, the dying Christ, the suffering Christ, teacher, prophet, savior, the risen Christ. And it seems historically that any emphasis upon any one aspect of his divinity usually effects a concomitant deemphasis upon other aspects. Probably Drummond chose a living Christ rather than the crucified Christ -- teacher, friend, and brother -- because of his evolutionary cosmology. But this Christ comes eventually to reflect the evolving nature of the revolutionary cosmology in which he is embroiled: the unchanging divinity, the same yesterday, today, and forever is changed generically, assuming a chameleon-like appearance whence his essence may well have evaporated.

At some indeterminable point, but probably after the success of Natural Law in the Spiritual World, the focus of Drummond's thought appears to have swerved from Christ to the doctrines of Herbert Spencer, from Christianity to evolutionary progressivism.

On Sin

What is sin?

Sin is any want of conformity unto, -- or transgression of, -- the law of God...

Wherein consists the sinfulness of that estate whereinto man fell?

The sinfulness of that estate whereinto man fell consists in the guilt of Adam's first sin, the want of original righteousness, and the corruption of his whole nature³⁵

These are the words of the shorter version of the catechism in which Drummond was reared. Some aspects of this type of thinking are to be found in his early writing.

Thus, in 1871-72, in an apologetics essay, Drummond wrote, "I cannot conceive of such a thing as the moderate punishment of sin, for 'every sin deserves God's wrath and curse to all eternity.'" G. A. Smith observes that this "though in the words of the Catechism was no mere echo of the religious school in which he had been brought up, but the cry of his own heart. Sin, wrongdoing, self-indulgence, were the only subjects upon which to the end of his life were ever heard hot words from him."³⁶ If this were indeed so, the question arises: Why if he were so sin conscious did Drummond not hold up Christ as Savior throughout his writings?

This almost intense sin-awareness would seem to be authenticated in the writings of his early period when he refers to "the power of sin, which runs so fiercely in every vein of every man. . ."³⁷ He goes on to comment on

. . .the great river of sin, as it rolls through a human life, leaves a pile of ruins here and there as melancholy monuments to show where it has been. . . Nothing is allowed to pass, and nothing has so appalling a reaction upon everyone and everything as sin.

History is an undying monument of human sin. The most prominent thing on its pages are the stains--the stains of sin which time has not rubbed out. The history of the world, for the most part, has been written in the world's blood; and all the reigns of all its emperors and kings will one day be lost in one absorbing record of one great reign--the one long reign of sin.³⁸

The apocalyptic Calvinistic fervor of these utterances is a strange contrast to the later tranquil evolutionary scenes of Pax Vobiscum and The Ascent of Man. But Drummond does not stop with history. His indictment of men and the world extends to the contemporary scene:

The surface of society is white with leprosy . . . whatever the world may suffer from want of conviction of the guilt of sin, it will never be without conviction of its stain. We see it in one another's lives. We see it in one another's faces. . . Society is not wise enough to see the power of sin, or religious enough to see the guilt of sin; but it cannot fail to see the stain of sin. . . Prisons, mad-houses, hospitals--these are just so much roofing which society has put on to hide the stain of sin.³⁹

Neither does he confine himself to visible sins as he continues:

Our intellectual life is not so true as it might have been our intellectual sins have stained it and spoilt our memory, and taken the edge off our sympathy, and filled us with suspicion and one-sided truths, and destroyed the delicate power of faith.⁴⁰

One critic who had "found fault with the Pelagian tendency of Drummond's ethic (das Pelagianisierende der Drummondschen Ethik), its mitigation (Verflachung) of the conception of sin, and its disregard of God's free pardoning grace in Christ," is chastized by another on the grounds that such criticism ignored "the profound manner in which the larger work of the noble Scotsman speaks of the necessity of the new birth." Both were right in part. The first, in that there is a Pelagian tendency in Drummond's ethic; the second, when he states that "the individual's utter inability to deliver himself from the yoke of sin and death is for Drummond a fact of fundamental importance."⁴¹

Notes for one 1881 sermon have a fundamentalist evangelical ring:

Nothing so much betrays the barbarism, the earthliness of the race as their callousness to sin. The Bible is never wrong here. Every page has its finger pointing. Sin is a fact and a personal fact.⁴²

But, two years earlier, in 1879 a blurred sermon fragment gives another view of sin entirely, one which seems to underlie his Ascent

of Man, although it is never expressed overtly, and which helps to explain the charges of Pelagianism which surfaced periodically in nineteenth century Drummond criticism. In the sermon, entitled, "Pure Religion--to Keep Himself Unspotted from the World," his rough notes state:

So the great Father has said to you and me He gave us a clean white soul and sent us into the world with it...You are only going to school for a little--you will come back again and be with me "and you shall walk with him in white"! What have you done with the robe. (sic) Have you been in the world with it trailing it through the pollution? Or have you kept it? You remember well when you were unspotted. Trustful. Innocent. Clear eyed. Unsophisticated. Believed in Good. One day you sinned.⁴³

Here the Pelagian idea of the perfectability of human nature is highlighted, while the sin concept expressed appears to be alien to that of Old and New Testaments, medieval and early modern Christianity.

He continues:

A spot! How you rubbed and rubbed! Then another companion spot! You rubbed--but not so much. Then 3,4,5. You were getting careless now--you soon lost count. Now as you look at yourself you are covered--sin has rained upon you since then. You are no longer innocent no longer generous--bitter, harsh, soured. You are no longer unspotted.⁴⁴

Forms of Pelagianism had been experienced in the forties in the Scottish Church whence it had evolved from Morisonianism. But while Drummond's notes of this period indicate a concern with life and its perfectability, an essay of the same period, "What is Your Life", shows an acute awareness of death, and the shortness, uncertainty and frailty of life.

On Death, Rebirth and Life

Life is a very little thing--measured by its bearings upon time, no image is too small to speak of its "meanness" and "narrowness." It is a shadow, a sheperd's tent removed, a talk that is told. It is

short as an handbreadth, transitory, a pilgrimage, a vapor, a sleep. Drummond here points out that the Greeks called death sleep, but he says that the Bible calls life a sleep, and death the awaking. And to this latter view Drummond appears, at this time, to subscribe. Life is "irrevocable"--every sin and every wish and every look. . . come back one by one "to meet us again and Him before the Judgement Bar." He asks, in Calvinistic vein: "Is your life ready for the Reaper who stands at your door?"

One sentence at the end of this essay suddenly and dramatically redeems the utter hopelessness of his hitherto existential statement and, moving as it does from death to life, deserves quotation in full:

Have you heard that there is another life - a life which cannot die, a life which linked to your life, will make the past still bright with pardon and the future rich with hope? This life is in His Son.⁴⁵

This dramatic dénouement again puts Christ in the center of Drummond's scheme of things, and this centrality, although increasingly it is implied rather than stated, seems to be retained throughout many of his writings. The accent, here again, it may be noted, is on the life of Christ. There is a certain mystical quality in Drummond's approach to "life" which is perhaps particularly apparent in an early essay on the rebirth experience which he entitles "Marvel Not" after Christ's words to Nicodemus: "Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again (John 3:7). The essay begins:

Every man comes into the world wrapped in an atmosphere of wonder--an atmosphere from which his whole after-life is a prolonged effort to escape. The moment he opens his eyes this sense of wonder is upon him, and it never leaves him till he closes them on the greatest wonder--Death. Between these wonders, the first awaking and the last sleep, his life is spent--a long-drawn breath of mystery.

It continues with a hymn to life which affirms God as creator:

But there is one thing we have little difficulty in always referring to the creating hand of God--life. No one has ever made life but God. We call Him the Author of Life, and the Author of life is a wondrously fertile author. He makes much life--life in vast abundance. There is nothing so striking in nature as the prodigality--the almost reckless prodigality--of life. It seems as if God delighted Himself in Life. So the world is filled with it. In the woods, in the air, in the ocean-bed, everywhere teeming life, super-abundance of life, which God has made.⁴⁶

Another early essay makes the distinction between the "two lives" of the unregenerate and regenerate self which are separated by the "rebirth" experience. Drummond's insistence upon the necessity of rebirth has been cited as proof of his orthodoxy. But when one considers that a recent Gallup survey indicated that a third of all Americans say that they have been "born again",⁴⁷ perhaps it is time to consider the possibility of rebirth being advocated and experienced as part of a syncretist gospel which may or may not incorporate other basic doctrines of historical Christianity. For Drummond, as for many evangelicals, the "rebirth" concept was, initially at least, central in his world-view. But the catastrophic implications of rebirth are never integrated into his developing evolutionary cosmology; and in The Ascent of Man, the last statement of his philosophy, although he never denies or discards rebirth, there is no longer much place for it.

In this sketch of St. Paul's conversion and "two lives", the discovery of self is held to be mandatory before discovery of Christ is possible, and "these two discoveries between them exhaust the whole life." When "old things pass away", the spirit reaches out to "eternal freedom" in serving Christ:

In the perspective of Eternity all lives will seem poor, and small, and lost, and self-condemned beside a life for Christ. There will be plenty then to gather around the Cross. But who will do it now? Who will do it now? There are plenty of men to die for Him, there are plenty to spend Eternity with Christ: but where is the man who will live for Christ? Death and Eternity come in their place. Christ wants lives. There is no fear about death being gain if we have lived for Christ. So let it be: "To me to live is Christ."⁴⁸

There is no denying the impassioned sincerity of Drummond's evangelical appeal in these sentences. His rhetoric, as usual, is persuasive, but his statement that there are plenty of men to die for Christ is questionable in the light of historical facts. Drummond concludes his argument here with the statement that "Death can only be gain when to have lived was Christ."

Drummond observes that the hardest to reach for Christ are those who are satisfied with their life as it is. One is either self-centered or Christ-centered, "there is no middle way in religion--self or Christ. The quality of the selfishness -- intellectual, literary, artistic -- the fact that our self's centre may be of a superior order of self, does nothing to destroy this grave distinction."

Christ wants lives. It is not so much "Christ our life," as "Our life for Christ." Thus Drummond asks, "Where is the man who will live for Christ?"⁴⁹

One critic, James Denney, believed that Drummond's form of Christianity was a product of his education, and charged him with cherishing, illustrating, and applying this special view of Christianity in all directions. He does not censure him for this but rather for averring that there "is no Christianity at all except 'life', a mysterious possession by something which Matthew, Mark, and Luke never heard of."⁵⁰

Another erudite commentator observes that the "commonest phrase" in Drummond's addresses to young men is "your life" while other preachers speak about their "souls." This writer, T. M. Lindsay, the Church history professor at Drummond's own college, notes that "in the New Testament the words are interchangeable," a statement which is not easy to reconcile with the statements of the preceding critic who was professor of New Testament Language, Literature, and Theology in the same institution, and thus, with Lindsay, a colleague of Henry Drummond's.⁵¹

Whether the two words are in fact identifiable, parallel, or actually in opposition to one another appears to this writer to be a seminal question, but one which has scarcely been raised in criticism, far less resolved.

Denney comments further on that mysterious "life" which haunts the pages of Natural Law in the Spirtual World, and which for him "in its very emptiness of meaning becomes inexpressibly tiresome". He also observes that it is upon this word that Drummond's whole Christian philosophy turns, and that it "stands him in stead of evidence and of argument." Denney notes that the word "hardly occurs at all" in the synoptic gospels, and all the teachings known to the first two generations of Christians. Also, "it never once occurs in them in anything like the sense of a vital principle." Giving seven instances of its usage he observes that in none of them is life spoken of as "entering into men," neither is the "possession of life" made the criterion of Christianity. This criticism applies directly not only to Natural Law in the Spirtual World but to the gospel

Drummond was to develop and explicate to students around the globe, where thematic variations of "save your life" appear to have been presented. Drummond did not permit reporters access to his meetings so their content is hard to determine. But Denney, before all these student addresses were developed, wrote this warning, which, if it had been accepted and acted upon, might have changed Drummond's entire message--but it was not.

For Denney, the New Testament concept of life is "distinctly transcendent; life is the prize of the future, not the possession of the present." For Drummond, Christ came to give joy and "the life that is life indeed" here and now. The two saw things, as Denney himself observed, "through opposite ends of the telescope."⁵²

If The Ascent of Man brought calm to some minds troubled by the effects of evolutionism on Christianity, there were others in whom its relentless argument raised more problems than it solved. And of these, many were ministers.

Heterodox Thought Patterns

On Natural and Supernatural

Important writing, strange to say, rarely gives the exact flavor of its period; if it is successful it presents you with the soul of man, undated. Very minor literature, on the other hand, is the Baedeker of the soul, and will guide you through the curious relics, the tumbledown buildings, the filmy palaces, the false pagodas, the distorted and fantastical and faery vistas which have cluttered the imagination of mankind at this or that brief period of history.⁵³

The natural-spiritual identification invaded Drummond's thought from an early age.⁵⁴ The evolutionary method was the other invasion and, eventually, the message, which, by the end, must be said to have pervaded his thought. These two are thus examined here in some detail

developing as they did through the eclipse of many areas of the historical Christian faith, by the last decade of Drummond's life they constituted the spinal chord upon which all his thought had come to be suspended.

The evolutionary emphasis Drummond held in common with many nineteenth century "Christian liberals". Thus, it is the admixture of this theory with his own assertion of the naturalness of the supernatural which lends the unique quality to his syncretism.

In 1869, only four years prior to the presentation of Spiritual Diagnosis and the beginning of his work with Dwight L. Moody, Drummond had written fairly extensively on the subject of natural-supernatural relations, in an essay which, has not yet to my knowledge been analyzed.⁵⁵

Although the context is limited, and the writing puerile, this essay should not be ignored, as Drummond is not later recorded to have expressed contrary opinions on the subject. Also, his treatment of it seems to shed some much-needed light upon the development of the natural-supernatural identification which is endemic in his thought, and which was later to be the cornerstone of his most controversial best-seller.

In speaking of mesmerism and animal magnetism in this adolescent essay, Drummond writes,

It is indeed at first sight a dreadful, an un-natural and an awful thing that one man should have complete power over the muscular actions, thoughts, feelings and passions of his fellow-men: that he should have an influence to bring them more completely under his will than was ever Russian serf...the latter can but command a brutal muscular obedience while the former can direct the very action of the mind itself. By the mere action of a silent will.⁵⁶

He goes on to delineate prevision, "Where once acted upon, facts infinitely more marvellous will unfold themselves until its votary finds himself a new world..." Was Drummond the votary for several years, and was the "new world" in which he found himself the world of the supernatural, which, thus and materially, became for him an extension of the natural? Professor Gregory of the Chemistry Chair of Edinburgh University is then cited at some length relative to certain experiments in "magnetising" a servant girl, and Drummond holds that these facts cannot be logically denied "for they are authenticated by men holding the highest places in the Scientific World." Here already, some of the reverence with which he approached men of science is perceptible.

The contagious ignorance of "deeprooted prejudices" in all classes of society against the "truths of Mesmerism," is condemned by Drummond who feels it professes to benefit man, and claims for it "like religion an Examination deep and sincere without partiality." It has been associated with everything untruthful and degrading "simply because men will not believe nor will they investigate the phenomena for themselves. Look at the phenomena minutely - at their cause largely - then, and only then we may dare to believe."⁵⁷

Is this ringing challenging the rhetoric of reconciliation? So often, as one goes deeper into Drummond's thought, not only is no reconciliation found, but the opposite, as in Natural Law, in the Spiritual World where he states his case, and then tries to shift the onus to the opposition by a challenge to prove that the laws are not the same.⁵⁸

But already, several years before Natural Law in the Spiritual World was published, Drummond had written on natural-supernatural in something of the same aggressive vein, men have "false views of spirituality!"⁵⁹

"What do we know of Eternity? Nothing that we have not learned from the temporal."⁶⁰ Thought and ideas trace back to temporal things. "They are really material, made up of matter, and in order to think at all, one must first of all see."⁶¹ Thus, worldliness is looking at things seen only closely enough to see their market value. "Spirituality is that further look which sees their eternal value, which realizes Earth's crammed with Heaven, and every common bush afire with God."⁶²

For Drummond,

Every eternal truth had its material image in the world, every eternal law had its working-model among the laws of nature. But there was one thing wanting. There was no temporal for the Eternal God Himself. And man missed it. He wished to see even this unseen in something seen. In the sea he saw eternity; in space, infinity; in the hills, sublimity; in the family, love; in the state, law. But there was no image of God. One speaks of what follows with bated breath. God gave it! He actually gave it! God made a seen image of Himself--not a vision, not a metaphor--an express image of His person. He laid aside his invisibility, he clothed Himself with the temporal, He took flesh, and dwelt among us. The Incarnation was the eternal become temporal for a little while, that we might look at it.⁶³

It is impossible not to recognize the reverence, awe and wonder with which Drummond receives this mystery of the incarnation. For him this seems to be the beginning and end of it all. The spiritual truths reveal themselves to him in the same varied wonders of color as nature. But he can say "Transcendentalism in religion is a real mistake. True spirituality is to see the divinity in common things." And thus the "grandest facts of the spiritual world" become Christ made visible by association with some of the

commonest things in the world; water, bread and wine.⁶⁴ And so colour harmonies flash on Drummond's inner sight as he sees the truth, and revelation everywhere. In this sense, and in this sense only, it may be seen that Christ's salvation is real, "it works perfectly in harmony with our nature and with the nature of the world in which we are."⁶⁵ This statement is that of Marcus Dod's, Drummond's friend, and from it one may see why Drummond felt to have been influenced by him.

But, according to the Judaeo-Christian ethic these spiritual insights are the exception, and, in the interim, the unregenerate world and the natural man are ruled by the prince of this world; and "what our human nature wants is opposed to what the spirit wants, and what the spirit wants is opposed to what human nature wants..."⁶⁶ That is, in fact, the spiritual is not the same as the natural, and in historical Christian thought it may even be said to be opposed to it.

Drummond, in this early essay on clairvoyance, goes on to divide men into three classes, with reference to this "principle of the eternal uses of the temporal world." The materialist, who is blind to the eternal, the mystic who is blind to the temporal, and the ritualist who selects a half-dozen temporal things and tries to see the unseen in them. For Drummond, the answer is that "the whole world is a ritual" in the sense that earth is crammed with heaven. And it is this thesis which Natural Law in The Spiritual World set out to prove to the chagrin of his friends, the theologians, and apparently, to the delight of the public-at-large.⁶⁷

For Drummond, "Home is the cradle of eternity . . ." and , again:

Home is a preliminary Heaven. Its arrangements are purely the arrangements of Heaven. Heaven is a Father with His children. The parts we shall play in that great home are just the parts we have learned in the family here. We go through the same life there--only without the matter.⁶⁸

And at this point, does not poetic license graduate from inaccuracy to untruth? If heaven is "the same life" then surely it will turn out to be hell for many? The scriptural inaccuracy of this view of heaven is too blatant to need annotation.

Drummond continues:

This matter is a mere temporary quality to practise the eternal on... The material universe is a mere box of bricks. We exercise our growing minds upon it for a space, till in the hereafter we become men, and childish things are put away. The temporal is but the scaffolding of the eternal; and when the last immaterial souls have climbed through this material to God, the scaffolding shall be taken down, and the earth dissolved with fervent heat--not because it is evil, but because its work is done.⁶⁹

The last sentence, despite its having been penned around 1880, is a fairly accurate statement of his later evolutionary eschatology or teleology, whereby judgment is dispensed with, or omitted. The earth, having duly evolved, is disposed of--somewhat arbitrarily it would appear, in view of its not being evil--with apparently no bad feelings on either side. St. Paul's version of the same event makes an interesting contrast:

For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first: Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so we shall ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words.⁷⁰

The reconciliation of the two versions is completely beyond the imaginative limit of this writer, but their difference, being both legion and readily discernible, need not be enumerated. One basic distinction, however, is that the inspiration of the Drummond view would seem here to be material, and that of the Pauline, spiritual. The distinction between these two Drummond himself would, of course, disallow.

In another early sermon he writes,

This is the hope for the world, that we shall learn to love, and in learning that, unlearn all anger and wrath and evil-speaking and bitterness.

And this will indeed be the world's future. This is heaven. The curtain drops on the story of the prodigal, leaving him in, but the elder brother out. And why is obvious. It is impossible for such a man to be in heaven. He would spoil heaven for all who were there. Except such a man be born again he cannot enter the kingdom of God. To get to heaven we must take it with us.⁷¹

To point out that most of these ill-developed, and somewhat arbitrary thoughts show little similitude to the heaven of the New Testament, and, in fact, may be antithetical to it, is superfluous. This was a part of Drummond's eschatological or teleological vision and, although these statements were made at a fairly early age, the theme was not found to have been developed later. It should also be remembered that, although this was "early work" by normal standards, Drummond had already been entrusted by Moody with the responsibility of dealing with thousands in the follow-up work of the Great Mission, and the editing of his sermons, a few years earlier.

Again, in 1879, heaven is seen in work. "The Christian life is one of work--doing not dreaming", as he states in his sermon notes on "the Pounds."⁷² By 1883, Natural Law in the Spiritual World

evidences Drummond's espousal of this theory of the temporal in relation to the eternal. It is thought by one critic to aim at being a contribution to Christian evidences and theology, by virtue of the "special doctrine" of identity of natural and spiritual laws. The book was regarded by some as "creating a new epoch in theology" aiming as it did at the reconstruction of theology, or the re-establishment of the chief truths of the old theology on a scientific basis.⁷³

If Natural Law in the Spiritual World were indeed an attempt to reconstruct theology, or, even if it were not, but were widely thought to be, historically it can no longer be discarded as an archaic encumbrance but must be incorporated as integral to his thought. It should be pointed out that reconstructing the old theology and re-establishing its chief truths scientifically are not necessarily identifiable causes and may even be mutually exclusive. The former, Drummond may be said to have attempted, but, as he does not usually mention the "chief truths" of the old theology, the latter intent--re-establishing the old theology scientifically -- was not within his scope.⁷⁴

Given the natural-spiritual continuum developed in much of Drummond's writing his view of eternal life is predictable. For him,

One of the most startling achievements of recent science is a definition of Eternal Life. To the religious mind, this is a contribution of immense moment. For eighteen hundred years only one definition of Life Eternal was before the world.

Here one may profitably pause to glance at the rhetoric, the suspense manufactured, the anticipation engendered, before passing on to the

dénouement of this second revelation, as Drummond sees it. But the chapter opened with two quotations, and herein already, lay the answer. The first from Jesus Christ: "This is life Eternal--that they might know Thee, the true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." The second, and perhaps predictably, from Drummond's "prophet," Herbert Spencer: "Perfect Correspondence would be perfect life. Were there no changes in the environment but such as the organism had adapted changes to meet, and were it never to fail in the efficiency with which it met them, there would be eternal existence and eternal knowledge."⁷⁵

To paraphrase a contemporary criticism, "that is to say, Herbert Spencer has supplemented the incomplete work of Jesus Christ eighteen hundred years ago by a new definition of equal authority and wider import." Drummond is here arraigned for "something worse than bad taste."⁷⁶

But is that, in fact, what Drummond was saying? If he saw no distinction between natural and supernatural, either corporately or individually, the charges of infidel against him become increasingly meaningless. When Drummond recognized Spencer as his prophet, he perhaps actually meant just that. In some mysterious way, Spencer led him closer to Christ. If this were so, from Drummond's viewpoint, he would not be supplementing the incomplete work of Jesus, he, as prophet, would be heralding a new era in the evolving-knowledge of Jesus wherein "science" would no longer be antithetical to the Christian message.

On Evolution and Love

If Drummond believed that "Evolution involves not so much a change of opinion as a change in a man's whole view of the world and of life" why did he cling to the old Christian framework insisting that Christianity is only the ultimate evolution? Drummond's radical evolutionary stance is stated unequivocally in The Ascent of Man:

The cure for all the small mental disorders which spring up around restricted applications of Evolution is to extend it fearlessly in all directions as far as the mind can carry it and the facts allow, till each man, working at his subordinate part, is compelled to own, and adjust himself to, the whole.⁷⁷

He says that first to be considered in any "theory of the world" is man.

But is Drummond's intent to vindicate man or nature? He objects to the picture of nature "wholly painted in shadow--a picture so dark as to be a challenge to its Maker, an unanswered problem to philosophy, an abiding offence to the moral nature of Man." Drummond believes that Huxley has "hit on the right solution" to this, but sees his method as wrong because he disregards the principle of continuity which is central to all of Drummond's argument. Drummond asks "what if morality be the main product of the cosmical system...What if it can be shown that it is the essential and not the incidental result of it, and that so far from being a by-product, it is immorality that is the by-product."⁷⁸ He concedes that these "interrogations" might be "too strongly put" and that "accompaniments" of the cosmical system might be better than "products" and "revelations through that process" better than "results" But, while his terms are not defined, his argument

is intended to show that the moral order is a continuous line from the beginning, that it has had throughout, so to

speak, a basis in the cosmos, that upon this as a trellis-work, it has climbed upwards to the top. The one--the trellis-work--is to be conceived of as an incarnation; the other--the manifestation--as a revelation; the one is an Evolution from below, the other is an Involution from above. Philosophy has long since assured us of the last; but because it was never able to show us the completeness of the first, science refused to believe it.⁷⁹

For Drummond,

The path of progress and the path of Altruism are one. Evolution is nothing but the Involution of Love, the revelation of Infinite Spirit, the Eternal Life returning to Itself.⁸⁰

For him all of life is spiritual rather than material. In fact, this last is evocative of an oriental world-view, where man sees himself not as standing apart from the world but as involved in the same reality. In eastern historiography "the continuum of life extends to all reality. Sticks and stones as well as gods and goddesses. Life is one...the spirit of the world animates man as well as nature."⁸¹

Drummond avers that man, "within bounds which none can pass, must be his own maker and the maker of the world." Then he poses the rhetorical question, who is to help "these practical Evolutionists" in their "tremendous task? There is the will--where is the wisdom?" "Drummond unhesitatingly answers: "Where but in Nature herself. Nature may have entrusted the further building to mankind, but the plan has never left her hands." He continues:

The past of Nature is a working-model of how worlds can be made. The probabilities are there are no better way of making them. If Man does as well it will be enough.

The Pauline observation that worlds were made by the word of God seems to have slipped Drummond's mind completely by 1893, if he ever subscribed to it. Worlds for him were made by Nature, and will be continued by man who "can only begin where Nature left off,

and work with such tools as are put into his hands." Apparently liking this simile, Drummond continues:

As a child set to complete some fine embroidery is shown the stitches, and the colours, and the outline traced upon the canvas, so the great Mother in setting their difficult task to her later children provides them with one superb part finished to show the pattern.

Here, the great Mother must again be nature, and, as he continues, "The moment it is grasped that we may have in Nature a key to the future progress of Mankind, the study of Evolution rises to an imposing rank in human interest,"⁸² God seems to disappear altogether, not only as creator, but as guide.

But towards the end of the book Drummond asks "Is Nature henceforth to become the ethical teacher of the world?" And, as he has already informed us that "Evolution has ushered a new hope into the world" one might justifiably ask what would be left for God to do were he suddenly to appear?

This, predictably, he does in the form of Christianity, which is mentioned seven pages from the end of this four hundred and forty four page book: "Up to this time no word has been spoken to reconcile Christianity with Evolution, or Evolution with Christianity. And why?" Why indeed? Drummond produces his own inevitable and inimitable trump: "Because the two are one" How simple it all is!

What is Evolution? A method of creation. What is its object? To make more perfect living beings. What is Christianity? A method of creation. What is its object? To make more perfect living beings. Through what does Evolution work? Through Love. Through what does Christianity work? Through Love. Evolution and Christianity have the same Author, the same end, the same spirit.

He continues, apparently to his own satisfaction, and that of many of his learned contemporaries, "No man can run up the natural lines of Evolution without coming to Christianity at the top." And again, "Christianity--it is not said of any particular form of Christianity--but Christianity, is the Further Evolution." The "divinity" of this Christianity is:

not to be as unlike Nature as possible, but to be its coronation; the fulfilment of its promise; the rallying point of its forces; the beginning not of a new end, but of an infinite acceleration of the processes by which the end, eternal from the beginning, was henceforth to be realized. A religion which is Love and a Nature which is Love can never but be one.⁸³

Has nature at this point usurped God for Henry Drummond, or are these two concepts simply for him identifiable? Toward the end of the same work is his remarkable statement that:

Nature has produced a Holy Family. Not for centuries but for milleniums the Family has survived. Time has not tarnished it; no later art has improved upon it; nor genius discovered anything more lovely; nor religion anything more divine. From the bee's cell and the butterfly's wing men draw what they call the Argument from Design

One might legitimately ask if this natural holy family is to replace the traditional Christian holy family, but perhaps such a question is useless, for in Drummond's mind they are probably identifiable or even identical, as he continues, mysteriously from a logical standpoint, "...but it is in the kingdoms which come without observation, in these great immaterial orderings which Science is but beginning to perceive, that the purposes of Creation are revealed."⁸⁴

The usage of plural kingdoms does nothing to clarify the issue. Is this the kingdom of God which is "immanent" in much of his work? But, if so, has it multiplied itself, or is it now joined with the

inorganic and organic natural kingdoms of his earlier "major" work.

On the Kingdom of God

My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then my servants would fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from here.

Already in 1873 Drummond writes "has God made room for individual action in the building up of His Kingdom upon earth,"⁸⁵ and this view of the 'kingdom upon earth' is one of the few positions that he does not shift throughout his writing. "God calls man...to forsake the far country, and, having been purified...to be translated into the kingdom of His dear Son".⁸⁶

An element of exclusivity enters, "Regeneration is more than intelligible and possible--it is necessary to enter the Kingdom of God. 'Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God'... It is actually invisible to him." The same theme continues:

When Christ shall present His Church to God it must be as a spotless Bride. In that eternal kingdom saints are more than subjects: they are the companions of the King. They must be a select number. They must be a highborn company... 'Lord, who shall abide in Thy tabernacle--who shall dwell in Thy holy hill? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart.'⁸⁷

Recently, eschatology has been enjoying something of a resurrection, or rebirth, if the utterances of at least one theologian may be taken as representative: "Eschatology should no longer be regarded as the inconsequential 'winding up' of Christian dogmatics. Rather, it should be its beginning and the pervasive fire on which all its doctrines are stewed. At the same time, it should be a dialogue with nontheological visions of the future."⁸⁸

And, in a strange sense, this is true of Drummond's thought. The eschatological vision is immanent in the papers of the early work, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, as in the later Ascent of Man. And the two share a singleness of vision and even of purpose, which is quite remarkable considering the changes one might have anticipated resultant upon the weighty criticism encountered by the earlier volume.

The following is a representative outline of Drummond's concept of the Kingdom of God from two of his works: Natural Law in the Spiritual World and The Programme of Christianity. The former, one of the first post-Darwin attempts to harmonize the apparently discordant claims of scientists and theologians, was published when Drummond was thirty-two years old, and upon it much of his fame rests; the latter was brought out eight years later as a "Christmas booklet," in 1891. It deals specifically with the Kingdom of God as Drummond understood it at that time.

Drummond, contrary to many religious liberals of his century, did not abandon eschatological ideas. For him, as for Schweitzer at a later date, and in a different way, the eschatological hope was in no way peripheral, but rather the very heart of New Testament faith. In this Christmas booklet he writes:

Christ's great word was the Kingdom of God. Of all the words of His that have come down to us this is by far the commonest... And even when He does not actually use the word, it is easy to see that all He said and did had reference to this... It was in the category of the Kingdom that Christ's thought moved. Though one time He said He came to save the lost, or at another time to give men life, or to do His Father's will, these were all included among the objects of His Society.⁸⁹

But, whereas Schweizer's kingdom is futuristic, Drummond's, as expressed in Natural Law in the Spiritual World is multidimensional, existing in the present as the "society" founded by Christ among men, and opening to the future, in a continuum. Drummond envisions three kingdoms, the third being the Kingdom of God, and the first two the inorganic and organic kingdoms. "To Science... this mighty process of amelioration is simply Evolution. To Christianity, discerning the end through the means, it is Redemption."⁹⁰ That is according to Drummond, as early as 1883, evolution is redemption.

For Drummond, Christianity marked the advent of a new Kingdom whose distinctions from the kingdom below it were fundamental. And it opens its gates only to those who are prepared, if necessary, to die. As the members of the first kingdom are dead to those of the second, so the members of the second kingdom are dead to those of the third. The gulf which divides in both cases is that of death and rebirth. And except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God. Drummond is emphatic that every aspirant for membership of Christ's 'society' must seek first the Kingdom of God.

He says "In defining living for the higher kingdom as the condition of living in it, Christ enunciates a principle which all nature has prepared us to expect." But Drummond argues that men have, in the main, failed to regard the exclusive claims of Christ as founder of a new and higher Kingdom which has taken the heart from Christianity, and left its evangel powerless. He expresses the desire to put the "social side of Christianity in its strongest light." He points out the preoccupation of religious people in Christ's time and

in his own, with observances, saying that Christ tried to reverse this, because "his care for humanity was the chief expression of his religion." According to Drummond, Christ did not say "Save your soul," but "Save your life."⁹¹

Drummond feels that a popular theology based on altruism has already dawned. He sees humanity as raw material, with the universe just beginning, and Christ came to complete it by recreating. Christ's tools were men whom he collected into a society, "the Kingdom of God." Christ's sermons were explanations of the aims of His society, of the different things it was like, of whom its membership consisted, what they were to be, or not do or not be." The fact that many "religious" people have not noticed yet that Christ ever founded a society at all, Drummond attributes partially to their preference for secondary source material over the Bible, and to the "noiselessness and invisibility of the Kingdom of God itself." The "programme" of the kingdom is given as Isaiah 61:1-3:

To preach good tidings unto the meek;
 To bind up the broken-hearted:
 To proclaim liberty to the captives and the opening of
 the prison to them that are bound:
 To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord and the day
 of vengeance of our God:
 To comfort all that mourn:
 To appoint unto them that mourn in Zion:
 To give unto them--
 Beauty for ashes
 The oil of joy for mourning,
 The garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.

Drummond allows that everybody could take a part in such a program, but points out that few, in fact, do, unless the inspiration is Christ. "Goodwill to men came into the world with Christ... and wherever that is found... there Christ is..."⁹²

Drummond sees social evolution, "the amelioration of life, the freeing of slaves, the elevation of women, and the purification of religion," as the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth. He points out the crowning wonder of Christ's scheme - that the machinery for the redemption of humanity is purely social and has been placed within itself. And comments that "this humanness, this inwardness of the Kingdom is one reason why some scarcely see that it exists at all," as the Kingdom of God is like leaven which a woman hid in three measures of meal until the whole was leavened.

Drummond is most impressed, not by the moral grandeur or universality of the kingdom, but by its simplicity. And a final definition of the kingdom-of-God-in-the-present most telling in its simplicity, is not lacking even in this short sermon. It is for Henry Drummond:

a Society of the best men, working for the best end, according to the best methods...It is a commonwealth, yet it honours a King; it is a Social Brotherhood but it acknowledges the Fatherhood of God....Its entry-money is nothing; its subscription, all you have. The Society never meets and it never adjourns. Its law is one word -- loyalty its Gospel one message -- love. Verily 'Whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it.'⁹³

Drummond is unusual in nineteenth century scientific thought, because, while subscribing wholeheartedly to scientific advances and evolutionary theory, he also recognized the limitations, and indeed hopelessness, of man outside the kingdom. He wrote:

The sense of belonging to such a Society transforms life. It is the difference between being a solitary knight tilting single-handed, and often defeated, at whatever enemy one chances to meet on one's little acre of life, and the feel of belonging to a mighty army marching throughout all time to a certain victory. This note of universality given to even the humblest work we do, this sense of comradeship, this link with history, this thought of a definite campaign, this promise of success, is the possession of every obscurest unit in the Kingdom of God.⁹⁴

In 1953, James Kennedy, in the only Drummond anthology published in this century, assessed the "three keynotes" of Drummond's message as: the importance of the individual life -- "ye must be born again"; the seriousness of social influence -- "none of us liveth to himself"; and the necessity of religion -- "seek ye first the kingdom of God." For Kennedy, Drummond's method was to present spiritual truths "not in theological but in biological terms."⁹⁵ For one of his closest friends, his message, the conclusion of all his doctrine, was expressed in the words of Christ most often on his lips, "Abide in Me and I in you for without Me ye can do nothing."⁹⁶

While the catastrophic elements of rebirth had to give way to the evolutionary sweep of Drummond's thought, the consistent leitmotiv is the kingdom of God, its evolution effected by the conception and growth of the individual in Christ. This theory was diagrammed by Drummond himself in three concentric circles in a notebook from his student days at the University of Edinburgh prior to his writing of Natural Law in the Spiritual World.

Thus, the Kingdom of God, or third kingdom, while moving irreversibly onwards, and upwards in time, and in a sense, divorced from individual experience, is also a part of the individual, insofar as he abides in Christ. The whole series of essays on God's will and the process of sanctification in the individual are thus to be seen as a part of Drummond's kingdom thought. Some twenty years later he is writing that the terms "morality" and "spirituality", while differing qualitatively and quantitatively may also be used interchangeably.⁹⁷

In his early years Drummond's thought had a fairly consistent eschatological emphasis but, by the end of the 1880's, his kingdom concern had become socialized, until, in The Programme of Christianity it has all the appearances of a standard social gospel. His own words on Christ might here well be quoted to describe his own writings:

It was in the category of the Kingdom that Christ's thought moved. Though one time He said he came to save the lost, or at another time to give men life, or to do His Father's will, these were all included among the objects of His Society.

While Drummond might talk about the will of God, love, Christ, and the need for both in individual and society, he never lost sight of "God's plan," which he envisaged as the furtherance of the kingdom on earth in "advolution" toward the kingdom in heaven.

This theme is constant throughout his work, and it is partly this eschatological emphasis which makes his evangelical theology historically important. Beyond the conversion emphasis of the typical itinerant evangelist, Drummond accentuated the need for individual sanctification and the centrality of Christ as the base unit in the present-and-future kingdom.

But, while his writings of the late 1880's and early 1890's are of social kingdoms on earth, his thoughts were apparently centred on teleological considerations, which were made public in 1894 in his last large work, The Ascent of Man. Widely acclaimed by theologians who had denounced his first major effort, this work was hailed as an attempt to "engraft an evolutionary sociology and ethic upon a biological basis."⁹⁸ This it was; but it was much more. It was an attempt to shift the foundation of Christian evangelical theology.

A God of love, judgement and mercy, who by one catastrophic act -- the death of his son -- redeemed fallen man, became a fatherly, natural-God-of-love whose son lovingly shows men, evolved from monkeys, the way to continue their evolution through loving one another and works in the kingdom on earth. This will become the kingdom of heaven, not catastrophically with the sound of a trumpet, but gradually.

James Kennedy, takes the position that both Natural Law in the Spiritual World and The Ascent of Man can be "left in forgotten corners of libraries or dingy booksellers shops -- even though they both contain metaphors and analogies, still valid, which give fresh insight into many aspects of the Christian religion."⁹⁹ In the initial stages of my investigation, this seemed fairly valid. However, as analysis continued, and the natural-spiritual kingdom references began to accumulate in essay after essay, the investigation began to develop a form in which Natural Law in the Spiritual World and The Ascent of Man could no longer be discarded as archaic encumbrances, but emerged as integral to Drummond's thought. He himself chose to be remembered by these by publishing them, while leaving almost all of his sermons unpublished.

Thus it is, that his writings now emerge, no longer as a scattered collection of discipleship essays and inspirationals, but, as a distinctive evolutionary cosmology organized around the spinal cord concept of natural and spiritual kingdoms of God in individual and society. As such, their historical value is increased. But even his most learned contemporaries appear to have read his works with eyes that did not see. Perhaps this is most obvious in the case of Smith

who set the trend for almost all later scholarship, by putting Drummond into the reconciler niche from which he has been overflowing uneasily for the last hundred years but without finding his own level.

From about 1886 onwards the kingdom of God is envisioned by Drummond increasingly in terms of a social gospel. In The Programme of Christianity, first worked out by the Edinburgh students for their mission, part of the theme of Drummond's own mission is defined. Drummond understood that Christ came to spread the Good News of the Kingdom and that it had already been announced as Christ read the Isaiah 61:1-3 passage in the Nazareth synagogue saying "this happened this day." This was the theme on which Drummond had patterned his life, and that which he held up as a model for his students. He emphasized that Jesus said, "I have come to preach good tidings unto the meek... to proclaim liberty to the captives."

Consequently, to criticize Drummond for his message is to criticize him for attempting to follow Christ's message, as he, Drummond, understood it. Drummond understood Christ's emphasis in His recorded words to be on love and life. Therefore, this was his gospel. As a type of evangelical theology and "faith at work," his writing, as his life, is many-faceted, and, on occasion, particularly in discipleship areas, quite profound, although simply expressed.

However, some of Drummond's utterances, although he was careful to publish only selected writings, must have appeared radical in the Scotland of the 1890's. One example was his suggestion that the potential missionary place his accent "not on the progress of a Church, but on the coming of the Kingdom of God. He is not the herald, but

the prophet of the Cross."¹⁰⁰ And, in a way, the claims of Smith and others that Drummond himself was a prophet, find some substantiation in Drummond's ringing cries, echoing throughout his work, that the work of the kingdom of God must be attended to, first, even before the organizational work within the different branches of the established church.

His was a larger vision than that of the local congregation. Although Drummond advised his student audiences to attend church regularly,¹⁰¹ he compared the typical minister to a hermit crab and the congregation to parasites, which, he said, was a criticism not so much of the ministers as of the inertia of the average churchgoer. He felt strongly that one went to church for the spiritual meals and sustenance, but the important aspect was not what one did in the church but what one did on leaving, to implement the furtherance of God's kingdom.¹⁰² His writing on the establishment is, in general, fairly supportive, but the impression remains that he himself looked on the local congregation as a place to be fed in and go forth, rather than a place in which to minister and be ministered to.

On Man

Throughout the ages, innumerable attempts have been made to define man. Some believe, for example, that men are created equal to live in freedom and enjoy themselves or help others; others believe that men are equal only as sinners in God's sight, born to die and face judgment, and for these, life is short and full of trouble, but, in Christ, it may be redeemed to abundant life. This latter view is roughly the Judaeo-Christian; the former is the view of post-enlightenment modernists. Drummond seems to have embraced the latter

prior to writing Natural Law in the Spiritual World, thereafter the former infiltrated and is especially apparent in The Ascent of Man. But in the same years that he was writing The Ascent of Man, he also published one essay, The Programme of Christianity where man is again a sinner. Thus, while his thought seems to be progressively grounded in naturalism and modernism, he shows a reluctance to renounce the old beliefs, which lends ambiguity to his thought patterns by giving the impression that he is constantly shifting ground. But apparently, he must have been able personally to hold all these conflicting views simultaneously and genuinely see no conflict in so doing.

Early in his writing career, in "Spiritual Diagnosis", a student essay which has been much acclaimed, man is viewed as "doubting and sinning and repenting all alone, and groping blindfold after truth."¹⁰³ Here he develops a concept he credits to Oliver Wendell Holmes the Elder of the threefold reality of man, which Drummond calls God's John (the real John), John's John and Tom's John. In this, Tom, as his brother's keeper, may help raise John's John to God's John. And the indications are that Drummond spent much of his life endeavoring to help men raise themselves, through Christ, to be God's men. The possibility of direct guidance from Christ being available to all on request appears to be one of Drummond's implicit assumptions throughout his writings.

The earlier student essay on mesmerism had stated:

Man, is not, as is supposed, shut up in his own prison body, isolated and impotent to affect his fellow creatures beneficially, by the properly directed exercise of a benevolent will, A merciful creator has ingrafted a communicable life giving curative power in the human body, in order that the strong may be able to soothe and relieve the sick and weak....¹⁰⁴

There is no point any longer in concealing these evidences, as they provide a key to Drummond's entire writing. His good intentions are quite apparent, and his limited historical vision did not permit him apparently to remember or foresee the dangers of such powers being perverted in the hands of the ungodly. His premise here, as elsewhere, seems to be that men are basically good; that neither history nor reason substantiate this, does not alter the fact that many men in many nations have adopted it as the working premise on which to raise their philosophies. That such thought patterns were prevalent in Victorian Britain was a natural reflection of a period of unprecedented political expansion buttressed by peace, strong faith, and a concomitant philosophical evolutionary euphoria. If all this seems harmless enough, in view of the British experience, it should not be forgotten that this philosophy of strong ruling weak was also percolating on the other side of the channel. There, the end result was not to be a pleasant morning brew of English breakfast tea, but world-wide holocaust and destruction. Man, as his brother's keeper, proves repeatedly to be an historically untenable premise. The view of man corporately and individually leprous with sins, mental, moral, physical and intellectual, expressed elsewhere by Drummond is impossible to reconcile with this notion of "man, as his brother's keeper" and the "clean white soul" found in Drummond's sermon notes of this same early period.

The same concept of man's power to influence others is also expressed as men reflecting other men. "Every man is a reflector"--that is the principle on which reflecting Christ is based. Drummond

observes in clairvoyant vein, "He has reflected in his very voice his country. . .I see reflected in a mirror that he has been reading Herbert Spencer, and Huxley, and Darwin. . .I see the kind of set he has been living in--the kind of companions he has had. He cannot help reflecting. . . .As Tennyson says: 'I am a part of all that I have met'. . . .we become like those whom we habitually reflect. This leads naturally back into Drummond's own message: "'We all with unveiled face, reflecting in a mirror the glory of Christ (the character of Christ) assuredly--without any miscarriage--without any possibility of miscarriage--are changed into the same image.'" He continues, quoting Emerson... 'The hero is the man who is immovably centered' and he advises men to "get immovably centered in that doctrine of sanctification." Could anything conceivably be wrong with a message such as this? Drummond does not think so, for he goes on to warn "Do not be carried away by the hundred and one theories of sanctification that are floating about in the religious literature of the country at the present time,....."¹⁰⁵

In a way Drummond's entire opus might be said to be devoted to a type of this Imitatio Christi, as in the following: "'whom He did foreknow He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son.' Not merely to be saved, but to be conformed to the image of His Son."¹⁰⁶ Is it then a message beyond salvation for those already saved? But the Harvard audience to which it was first addressed was a conglomerate undergraduate group of presumably undetermined sympathies.

This idea of being conformed to the Son's image is endemic in Drummond's thought and perhaps it is this which has enabled him to embrace the plasticity of the evolutionary message demonstrated par

excellence in The Ascent of Man . But Drummond says in "The Programme of Christianity" which was written at the same time, "Humanity is little more than raw material. Almost everything has yet to be done to it."¹⁰⁷ And then, as if carried away by the image, he extends it effortlessly to the earth, and finally the whole of creation:

Before the days of Geology people thought the earth was finished. It is by no means finished. The work of Creation is still going on. Before the spectroscope, men thought the universe was finished. We know now it is just beginning. And this teeming universe of men in which we live has almost all its finer colour and beauty yet to take. Christ came to complete it.¹⁰⁸

This view of humanity and the world is of course the direct antithesis to that presented in The Ascent of Man. The awful pessimism of his fully developed view of man is so strident it seems impossible that Drummond could have come down through history as an Emersonian-optimist. But his best known books showed him as such. His private view of "man singular" may be glimpsed in this letter from the summer of 1894:

The Savage has prevailed, There are other reasons, but the main one is that I am only a half-evolved being. It is sad to give up so much good fellowship, for there is enough beyond the Savage to make me know what I am losing--and this shall be my punishment.¹⁰⁹

The aura of wistfulness here, and, closingly, of surrender to a capricious God who half evolves human beings, but allows them enough awareness to recognize their "punishment" is pitiable. We have here a tragic example of both man and philosophy which should serve to enhance the gallant gaiety with which Drummond endured these last years of suffering.

But perhaps, looking back, this is just a reversion to one earlier view of man contained in Natural Law in the Spiritual World and quoted by James Denney:

the protoplasm in man...has a capacity for God....The chamber is not only ready to receive the new life, but the guest is expected, and till he comes, is missed. Till then the soul longs and yearns, wastes and pines, waving its tentacles piteously in the empty air, feeling after God, if so be that it may find Him....In every land and in every age there have been altars to the known or unknown God....the universal language of the human soul has always been, 'I perish with hunger'... 'The soul in a word is made to be converted.' 'Nature is not more natural to my body than God is to my soul.'¹¹⁰

This critic observes that the above is true, but raises the question of its compatibility with Drummond's theme of the deadness of the natural man. He asks, "Are expecting and missing, yearning and pining, feeling and hungering, the characters of death?"¹¹¹

On Evolutionary Love

The key to understanding all this upward movement expressed finally in The Ascent of Man is, of course, not Christ at all-- although he is nowhere denied -- but evolution. Because for Drummond:

Evolution is the ever-recurring theme in theology as in nature... Evolution has given to Theology some wholly new departments... Evolution has given Christianity a new Bible...¹¹²

And yet in earlier years, we find the contradictory notion in the statement that "It is as natural for our soul to go downward as for a stone to fall to the ground."¹¹³ One might ask could this conceivably be the words of Henry Drummond, whose ultimate vision was the ascent of man? The answer is affirmative.

One critic, Philip Cartaret Hill has said of Drummond: "that without evolution he is nothing: he would have no locum standi; nearly all his arguments are derived from its existence and assumed operations as incontrovertible facts." For him, it is "'this great modern truth'" not just "'the greatest of modern scientific doctrines.'"¹¹⁴ Here it should be observed that Drummond, almost slavishly adopted this one scientific "doctrine" while ruthlessly discarding many theological doctrines.

This critic points out that one has here to choose again between Drummond and the scriptures, comparing "matter uncreatable" with "God created the heaven and the earth." This atheistic doctrine of the eternal existence of matter dethrones God, but Drummond goes beyond even this denial that matter was created, to deny that God could create it. "Matter is uncreatable" he says. Hill notes that Drummond was led by Herbert Spencer into this "maze of error"..." "contradicting himself continually."¹¹⁵

In "The Contribution of Science to Christianity," Drummond's inaugural address of 1884, he avers that "science offers theology a doctrine of the method of creation, in its hypothesis of evolution." For Drummond:

It is needless at this time of day to point out the surpassing grandeur of the new conception....For that splendid hypothesis we cannot be too grateful to science, ...There is a sublimity about the old doctrine of creation--we are speaking of its scientific aspects--which, if one could compare sublimities, is not surpassed by the new; but there is also a baldness....The doctrine of evolution fills a gap at the very beginning of our religion, and no one who looks now at the transcendent spectacle of the world's past, as disclosed by science, will deny that it has filled it worthily.¹¹⁶

One wishes that Drummond had looked a shade more closely at the real

history of the world's past. But he continues, speaking still of the "doctrine of evolution": "Yet, after all, its beauty is not the only part of its contribution to Christianity. Scientific theology required a new view, though it did not require it to come in so magnificent a form." The extent of Drummond's objectivity is here revealed in a public lecture, and widely reported for all to read. His claim is to help initiate a scientific theology in which his "beautiful" and "magnificent" doctrine of evolution is to supplement or "fill a gap" in the old Judaeo-Christian doctrine of creation.¹¹⁷

Some six years later Drummond is to write:

God's way of making worlds is to make them make themselves. When He made the earth He made a rough ball of matter and supplied it with a multitude of tools to mould it into form--the rain-drop to carve it, the glacier to smooth it, the river to nourish it, the flower to adorn it. God works always with agents, . . . and this was Christ's way when He undertook the finishing of Humanity....Christ's tools were men....

Think...not of the surface-world, but of the world as it is, as it sins and weeps, and curses and suffers and sends up its long cry to God...of the city and the hospital and the dungeon and the graveyard, of the sweating-shop and the pawn-shop, and the drink-shop; think of the cold, the cruelty, the fever, the famine, the ugliness, the loneliness, the pain.¹¹⁸

And thinking of all these, is it possible to accuse the writer thereof of Pelagianism? Yes indeed, for the same pen had written in

"The Problem of Foreign Missions" in the previous year:

The message of science to this age is that all Nature is on the side of men or of the nation who is trying to rise. An ascending energy is in the universe, and the whole moves on with the mighty idea and anticipation of the Ascent of Man.

The progress of the past seems almost to guarantee the future. Here there may be retardation, there obstruction, but somehow we have learned to believe that the mass moves on.¹¹⁹

Does science, rather than Christ, appear to be the harbinger of the good

tidings from "Nature" which seems at this point to be virtually synonymous with God in the writer's imagination?

Whatever, it is hard to retain patience with this historical fiction, but this was his vision, and naïve and unfactual though it may appear today, it was one shared, planted and implemented by many of his contemporaries in the receptive minds of succeeding generations of students. He continues:..."Yesterday saw divergence from the faith, today mourned persecution;" and at this point, it is impossible to determine if this is faith in science, or nature or God, nor is the object of persecution revealed, but, undaunted by such mundane considerations, Drummond's poetic fancy soars, as he continues, "but somehow tomorrow we feel that the sun will shine again on a Kingdom of God which has somehow grown." Drummond says: "There is one thing for which I love the very sound of the word "Evolution" -- its immense hope, its indescribable faith. Darwin's great discovery, or the discovery which he brought into prominence, is the same as Galileo's -- that the world moves. The Italian prophet said it moved from West to East, the English philosopher said it moved from low to high."¹²⁰

Any attempt to analyze Henry Drummond's views on evolution must encompass an examination of the term as he seemed to understand it in his last major work. Here Drummond states that the nature of evolution had been "misconceived" and:

its greatest factor has been overlooked in almost all contemporary scientific thinking. Evolution was given to the modern world out of focus, was first seen by it out of focus, and has remained out of focus to the present hour. Its general basis has never been re-examined since the time of Mr. Darwin; and not only such speculative sciences as

Teleology, but working sciences like Sociology have been led astray by a fundamental omission.¹²¹

This work, The Ascent of Man, is an attempt to "readjust the accents" of contemporary thinking. It is not a work for specialists, but a compilation of a series of lectures given before a broad-spectrum audience in Boston, Massachusetts in the preceding year, 1893. Drummond says: "It is a study in embryos, in rudiments, in installations; the scene is the primeval forest; the date, the world's dawn." Man is traced as far as family life and left a "semi-savage. . .wanting in so many of the higher potentials of a human being."

To Drummond, "Evolution involves not so much a change of opinion as a change in man's whole view of the world and of life." For him, it is not "a mathematical proposition" which may be true or false; it is "a method of looking upon Nature." Scientists working separately had discovered a common law. "It was Evolution. Henceforth, their work was one, science was one, the world was one, and mind which discovered the oneness, was one." Drummond contends that evolutionary philosophy up to this point had not only ignored man but had misread Nature.¹²²

But the centerpoint of Drummond's thought is not only evolution. It is also centered in love and the "good news" of the Kingdom, which was for him, specifically, Christ Jesus himself, whose friendship and love, was always the focal point of his life and of his work. In illustration of this point, it might be well to begin with these words of his colleague James Denney:

"...I always did admire The Ascent of Man and entirely agree with you in regarding it as his greatest work, not for the science of it, which I could not appreciate at all, but for the intuition and inspiration of it. He had divined at last what we need if we are to hold anything else than a materialistic philosophy, namely that the highest thing must be at the very foundation of the world. They called his first book Calvinistic, and so in a way it was, bad Calvinism with its double decree of election and reprobation. But this last one was the genuine Calvinism which makes the redeeming love of God the alpha and omega, the ultimate reality on which the universe rests, and which in ways we cannot divine must be working through it all."¹²³

The Ascent of Man is generally taken to be a work on evolution, and this in a way it is, and, as such, scientifically, a minor work. In fact, it is an essay on love—"the redeeming love of God the alpha and omega, the ultimate reality on which the universe rests"—and, viewed as such, it may have greater importance than has been attributed to it heretofore. Drummond writes poetically:

But, after all, the miracle of Evolution is not the process but the product... .For what is the product? It is not mountain and valley, sky and sea, flower and star. . .It is not the god-like gift of Mind nor the ordered cosmos. . .It is that which of all other things in the universe commends itself, with increasing sureness as time goes on, to the reason and to the heart of Humanity--Love. Love is the final result of Evolution. This is what stands out in Nature as the supreme creation. Evolution is not progress in matter. Matter cannot progress. It is a progress in spirit, in that which is limitless, in that which is at once most human, most rational, and most divine....the perfecting of Love is thus not an incident in Nature but everywhere the largest part of her task, begun with the first beginnings of life and continuously developing quantitatively and qualitatively to the close--all this has been read into Nature by our own imaginings, or is the revelation of a purpose of benevolence and a God whose name is Love.¹²⁴

Drummond holds that "Man has lived because he loved, and that he lives to love," an apparent replacement of the Cartesian "cogito" with a more basic "amo ergo sum." To Drummond, evolution is a

"word from the clay". But,

... read from the top, Evolution is an impossible word to describe it. The word is Involution. It is not a Stigmara world, but a Sigillaria world; a spiritual, not a material universe. Evolution is Advolution; better, it is Revelation--the phenomenal expression of the Divine, the progressive realization of the Ideal, the Ascent of Love. Evolution is a doctrine of unimaginable grandeur.¹²⁵

According to Drummond, evolution, as Christianity, works through love: "Evolution and Christianity have the same Author, the same end, the same spirit. There is no rivalry between these processes." Or, "No man can run up the natural lines of Evolution without coming to Christianity at the top." In the mother-child relationship "Altruism" is held by Drummond to mark the top of the human-to-human love scale. It "is the new and very affected name for the old familiar things which we used to call Charity, Philanthropy, and Love." Also, he states:

The Will behind Evolution is not dead;...Love not only was; it is; it moves; it spreads....A system founded on Self-Sacrifice, whose fittest symbol is the Leaven, whose organic development has its natural analogy in the growth of a Mustard Tree, is not a foreign thing to the Evolutionist; and that the prophet of the Kingdom of God was no less the spokesman of Nature who proclaimed that the end of Man is "that which we had from the beginning, that we love."

In the profoundest sense this is scientific doctrine. The Ascent of Man and of Society is bound up henceforth with the conflict, the intensification, and the diffusion of the Struggle for the Life of Others.¹²⁶

Perhaps the love to which Drummond refers is agape, rather than eros or philos, but although this distinction seems implicit throughout his writings nowhere does he define it as such.

In The Greatest Thing in the World, in 1889, the love defined by St. Paul in I Corinthians, 13, is reduced to psychological terms of feeling: patience, kindness, generosity, humility, courtesy,

unselfishness, good temper, guilelessness, and sincerity. Drummond tried to make love knowable, that is, he carved out a small corner of this love-beyond-knowledge, analyzed it with his reason, and offered this to the public. He passed it through the prism of Paul's intellect, then through the prism of his own, and offered the fragments as God's love to man. This is indeed perhaps one aspect of God's love, but in reducing it to words, and finally, to psychological terms of feeling, the emphasis is on self, man's love to man. It thus takes no account of St. John's assertion that "herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." (1 John 4:10) Although the last sentence in this essay is an unacknowledged quote from the same Johanine letter, only three verses earlier "...everyone that loveth is born of God." In all of this, is there not a diminution, a watering-down of God's purposes, mission, and intention not only for Christ on earth, but for all men?¹²⁷

There were nine points, or "ingredients" of love, as seen or understood by Drummond. It should be pointed out that many persons since then have developed similar lists from the same chapter but none of these have attained the popularity of Drummond's which is still held to be "the most widely printed sermon in the English language."¹²⁸

As Drummond's thought became enmeshed increasingly in evolutionism, commensurately there was found to be a diminution in his presentation of many cardinal Christian doctrines such as the Christ-death-and-resurrection with its meaning in the death-life process of man.

Drummond's world-picture is in some respects strikingly medieval. Although he would scarcely have relished this observation, there is a triadic finality to his vision of three kingdoms reminiscent of medieval correspondences and the chain of being. Perhaps part of the problem is that his world-view is to a certain extent static, but he is desirous that it should be continuously evolving. Hence the tension is between what he sees and what he wants to see and make others see. This tension is never satisfactorily resolved which results in the ambiguity of his presentation and consequently of his appeal.

The "New" Evangelical Theology

On Omissions

Drummond had objected that "they judge me by what I do not say" and thus it was anticipated that what he did say would be standard liberal theology although perhaps an attenuated gospel with certain elements missing. But, in fact, a gospel emerged which was quite developed in certain areas, such as his early work on sin and rebirth, with a view of man which fluctuated from extreme pessimism to extreme optimism. Given these factors, the need for salvation which was scarcely mentioned as such throughout -- with the exception of a few early essays, sermons and notes -- should have been more pressing. This need appears to have been met in the later works by evolution and nature, which, personified, seemed to adopt most of the attributes of a saving God, and appear, in fact, to have been increasingly identified with God -- not analogous to God -- in Drummond's mind.

Perhaps the most glaring omissions, post-1883, were such things as the Fall, the Pentateuch, the prophets, major and minor, while the concepts of grace, mercy, redemption, salvation, crucifixion,

resurrection, are mentioned so infrequently as to appear incidental or inconsequential; the parousia, the millenium and the apocalypse appear to be virtually omitted. God as creator is a shadowy figure, usurped increasingly by Nature, and of his redemptive qualities little is made. Sometimes when these terms do appear their usage is misleading as in the phrase: "The ultimate mystery of life, whether natural or spiritual, may still remain: but the laws, if not the processes, of the second birth will take their place in that great circle of the known which science is slowly redeeming from the surrounding darkness."¹²⁹

Not only are these doctrines omitted, but other "doctrines" of evolution are first ranged alongside them, and later seem to be substituted for them, or rather they are used interchangeably. When it is herein stated that the concepts of grace, mercy, redemption, salvation and forgiveness are "virtually omitted", it will of course be possible to instance several occasions on which Drummond mentioned these, and, below is cited an example. This in no way detracts, however, from the main tenor of this thesis, that Drummond's thought ran in patterns of evolution and natural-supernatural unity which virtually deemphasized grace almost to the point of exclusion:

In The Perfected Life he states:

How disturbed and distressed and anxious Christian people are about their growth in grace! Now, the moment you give that over into Christ's care--the moment you see that you are being changed--that anxiety passes away. You see that it must follow by an inevitable process and by a natural law if you fulfil the simple condition; so that peace is the reward of that life and fellowship with Christ.¹³⁰

Grace here appears to be considered as man to Godward, and the whole concept of prevenient grace is conspicuous by its absence here as elsewhere.

While Drummond's "Christological concentration" is apparent, it seems to have certain elements virtually "missing". The word "missing" is used intentionally, as "omitted" would seem to imply Drummond's familiarity with the doctrines, and conscious decision to discard them. No such conscious intention has been observed. In some mysterious way the ensuing subjects appear to be just "missing" from his writings, although they are central in the Christian tradition.¹³¹

In his portrayal of Christ, the man, the one of whom Pilate said, "Behold the Man," the one in the crown of thorns, despised and rejected of men, the man of sorrows, acquainted with grief -- is only to be found fleetingly at the beginning of Drummond's writing. Christ crucified -- "to the Jews a stumbling block and to the Greeks foolishness" (I Cor 1:24) is scarcely to be found. Did Henry Drummond deliberately try to remove the "foolishness"? Such an hypothesis would seem feasible in view of his refusal to pay heed to his critics 'and friends' objections, and suggestions to incorporate the atonement into his work. His own response was that it was there all the time, and this he states in his letter replying to Sankey, who had asked if the following words, he had seen attributed to Drummond, were indeed his:

"The power to set the heart right, to renew the springs of action, comes from Christ. The sense of the infinite worth of the single soul, and the recoverableness of man at his worst, are the gifts of Christ. The freedom from guilt, the forgiveness of sins, come from Christ's Cross; the hope of immortality springs from Christ's grave!"¹³²

Drummond wrote Sankey in reply:

These are my words, and there has never been an hour when the thoughts which they represent were not among my deepest convictions. Nor, so far as I know, have I ever given anyone ground to believe otherwise, nor is there any of my writings where these same ideas will not be found either expressed or understood.¹³³

But this is simply not factual. Perhaps it was in his mind. It is not on paper other than in a few isolated references, of which the above is by far the most substantive, and has thus been often quoted in defence of his orthodoxy.

Drummond continues his self-vindication to Sankey:

"If you ask me why I do not write whole books on these themes, I reply that I believe one's only excuse for writing a book is that he has something to say that is not being said.

"These things are being said. Hundreds of books and millions of tracts are saying them afresh every month and year. I therefore feel no call to enter literature on that ground. My message lies among the forgotten truths, the false emphasis, and the wrong accent. To every man his work".¹³⁴

While at one time he said "his intention was only to correct the false emphasis," at another time he said "a man has a message."¹³⁵ It is here submitted that his vision was not of the crucified, resurrected redeemer of mankind in whom all things were made, but rather a vision of natural becoming spiritual through evolution, which was love-in-nature, which, somehow and mysteriously, was Christ.

As a corollary to the virtual absence of the crucified One there is also, understandably, a resounding silence in the resurrection area. And so, the physical and doctrinal center of the Apostles Creed: crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, which forms the foundations of historical Christianity, is found to have been almost ignored. And some Church historians would observe with Paul, "without shedding of blood is no remission," and "if Christ has not been raised from death, then we have nothing to preach and you have nothing to believe. . . your faith is a delusion and you are still lost in your sins."¹³⁶ The

apostle, and founder of Christianity among the Gentiles, goes on to observe that "If our hope in Christ is good for this life only and no more, then we deserve more pity than anyone else in the world."¹³⁷

Is this the position into which Drummond at the end appears to have worked himself in his developed natural theology of his last book, The Ascent of Man? The emphasis upon "life" has become so convoluted as to be almost meaningless. And as natural and supernatural blend, then so too do the distinctions between life, death, and life-eternal shade off into imperceptibility. The end product - or gospel -- is quite a rarified example of natural theology.

Insofar as Drummond objected at all to the criticism directed against his writing, it was generally on the basis that they judged him for what he did not say rather than what he did say. In some respects this is a question of method, but it also involves content, which it affects most radically. He addresses himself to this whole issue, which had caused so much critical dispute, in a letter to his uncle. Written as late as 1891, this may be taken to be representative of his mature view of the purpose, scope and intent of his writings:

"The two little booklets lately issued were not evangelistic addresses, but simple talks to Christian people, and beyond these I have no other "published writings" from which people can judge my views.

"It passes my comprehension how people should venture to "judge" at all--much less on the ground of two half-hour addresses--and say the fierce things that are said of me without any basis."¹³⁸

That Drummond was convinced that his position was sound seems to be unquestionable. This same letter contains the rationale for the selectivity of his evangelical theology:

"A man's only right to publish an address is that he thinks the thing said there is not being said otherwise. Now, ninety percent of the evangelical literature of the day is expressly devoted to enforcing what I am accused of not enforcing, i.e. the fundamentals of Christianity."¹³⁹

Thus Drummond was apparently well aware of the omissions in his presentations, but, far from seeking to correct them, he affirms here that they are deliberate. Thus, being unable to see the problem engendered by such omissions, he was in no position to correct them. He continues his argument as to the validity of his specialized approach with an analogy of doubtful applicability:

....if a doctor treats a patient for nerve-disease, or writes a book upon it, no one would accuse him of not believing in heart-disease? He writes his book because nerve-diseases are not being treated by others, while half the profession is busy over heart-disease.¹⁴⁰

Drummond did indeed have infinitely more scientific expertise and knowledge than his theologian friends, some at least of whom appear to have been so intimidated by the implications of applying evolutionism in other disciplines that they were content to have him experiment on the frontiers of the grey never-never land between science and religion and increasingly to accept some of his findings. But Drummond in this one letter, perhaps uniquely, expresses some doubts or reservations as to the validity of his whole approach:

"Of course, you may think I make an error of judgement in my reading of the popular pulse, and in not writing books on the fundamentals.

"But there seem to me very many more books on those aspects of Christ's work than on the others, and I must give the message that, in addition, seems to me to be needed. While saying this, I repeat, I may be making an error of judgement. But one can only judge by the facts around him and act for the best, as it seems to him, with such dim light as he has."¹⁴¹

This is one of the few glimpses of what may have been the "real" Drummond. Here he exposes an intellectual humility and uncertainty which is not so apparent in his failure to concede to any of the criticism and charges made against him by commensurate changes in the body of his writings.

His uncle's initial letter had indicated disappointment that in "all your writings and addresses you all but ignore the Atonement" and he deplored this "in view of the great influence" Drummond exerted over young men.¹⁴² Drummond's reply apparently assuaged the avuncular concern to some degree, but concern is later expressed that Drummond clarify his position publicly:

"Now that you show in your Address at Dollis Hill how clear your views are on the Atonement, notwithstanding all that is written and said to the contrary, I have every expectation that in some of your future writings you will take your own way of making it clear; and you have such a hold of the public through the immense sale of your publications, it is quite incalculable the power you can wield, and, therefore, I repeat, I hope you will yet give out, by no uncertain sound, your belief on a matter of such vast importance. I admit that as you have the blood of the clan in your veins, like myself, you may be "a wee thrawn," and won't be drilled as I see certain writers are trying to do;..!"¹⁴³

Unfortunately this Dollis Hill address does not appear to have survived, so we have no latter day statement of Drummond's orthodoxy, which must be according to his wishes, for he was given countless opportunities to declare his beliefs in response to importunate demands both public and private, but he deliberately chose not to do so.

Much of the controversy which swirled around Drummond from 1883 onwards was based on his failure to deal adequately with the sacrificial aspects of Christ's mission which was held by orthodox

and evangelicals alike to be central not only to Christian doctrine but to the Christian gospel as distinct from all others. T. Hunter Boyd, a Canadian student, and later a minister and friend of Drummond's records his understanding of Drummond's view of the atonement in the following words:

The Atonement as we discussed it, was largely a matter of legal phraseology. It was far better to go to nature and catch the spirit of the Atonement than to go to the courts of law and learn a set of legal phrases in which to discuss it.... We were more concerned with the fact of the Atonement than the theory of it. The fact that judgement had been rendered in our favour was more important than the reasons on which the Judge had rendered His decision.¹⁴⁴

Boyd goes on to point out that St. Paul lingers in the law courts, and the church, but St. John abides much in the open air, and speaks of life. Presumably, here, Drummond is to be identified with John rather than Paul, although, Boyd continues, that St. Paul's description of Love is "inevitably associated with Henry Drummond's exposition of it in his first Christmas booklet."¹⁴⁵ And while one cannot fail here to observe the subjectivity of Boyd's stance, the important point to note is that neither St. John nor St. Paul indicate anywhere that one might "catch the spirit of the atonement "by going to nature.

On Syncretism

Having discussed what Drummond did not say publicly, it is important now to examine from his notes and lesser published works what he did say on evangelical theology and some central Christian doctrines.

In March of 1878 Drummond himself writes of the atonement in some rough Passil sermon notes:

But how many who know about Christ have sat at the feet of the meek and lowly Jesus and learned of Him? You say this is a new creed. "Atonement, you say, is the central doctrine of the Christian faith and if you believe that it is well." My friends, the devils believe that.¹⁴⁶

The origin of this last statement is hard to determine, but it could be an extension of St. James' words "Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well: the devils also believe and tremble."¹⁴⁷ At any rate, aside from its questionable theological accuracy, by such a statement, belief in the atonement seems to be reduced to such a level of universality as to lack significance. Drummond continues:

To believe the atonement...will not make him a Christian. It only makes him orthodox. To be a Christian a man must know Christ. There is an historical Christ and a living Christ...Abraham is saved. He is the "friend of God". And there is no higher salvation than God's friendship. To know God as a friend is to be saved.¹⁴⁸

Are these statements an addition to the atonement, or a substitution for it, or both? Whatever they are, these ideas about salvation constitute the blueprint for much of Drummond's teaching for the rest of his life, and in their light, much of his thought, hitherto inexplicable, becomes illuminated. Abraham did indeed know God as a friend, and thus, much of what Drummond says has the ring of truth, but is counselling salvation by friendship not bypassing the sacrificial death of the Son of God which is the peculiar revelation of the New Testament? The sermon notes continue:

Sanctification is only the mellowing of friendship with God. This is true salvation. Heaven is only its complete ripeness....This is God saving a man by loving friendship from daily sin. (Contrast it with orthodox types of salvation if you will. I say there is no higher salvation. This is no salvation by theory, but salvation by life)....¹⁴⁹

Does Drummond appear to imply, his being "true" salvation, that the

"other" salvation, which he refers to as "salvation by theory," is not true? This would seem to be so, for his notes go on to cite a rudimentary syllogism: "Christ died for all. I am one of the all. Therefore he died for me". Here his notes become more fragmented: "a common theory of salvation, may be mere salvation by formula with no response from the life."¹⁵⁰ And, stated this way, the mystery of the atonement does appear as the kind of formula that could excite no favorable response.

The contention that this early work, and that such statements are not found in his later writing, is only partly valid. For they expose the root of his later, more sophisticated, work, and also, Drummond, at the time, was twenty-seven, having already been in sole charge of evangelistic meetings for thousands, and having already edited Dwight L. Moody's sermons. This is Drummond as a mature Christian. These, although in crude form, are among the fruits of his Christian thinking because nearly everything after 1883, including Natural Law in the Spiritual World represents a further dilution or deviation from a full-blooded Christian cosmology. Hence, the charges against the superficiality of his writing as being "elementary, shallow, and often non-Scriptural."¹⁵¹

The Drummond gospel, and let there be no equivocation, this is a gospel peculiar to Henry Drummond, is a radical gospel, with elements of Swedenborg, Emerson, Spencer, Huxley, Darwin and Browning entwined into its framework. It is a gospel in which the blood sacrifice of Christ is not enough:

...the Atonement is the first great turn as it were which God gives in the morning of conversion to the wheel of the Christian's

life. Without it nothing more would be possible: alone it would not be enough. [Here again is the idea that something must be added to the atonement. What is this addition?] The water of life must flow in a living stream all through the working day and keep pouring its power into it ceaselessly till the life and the work are done.

Now, practically everything in salvation depends upon the clearness with which this great truth is recognized. Sin is a power in our life: let us fairly understand that it can only be met by another power. The fact of Sin works all through our life: the fact of Salvation which is to counteract it, must act all through life. The death of Christ, which is the Atonement, reconciles us to God, makes our religion possible, puts us in the way of the power which is to come against our Sin and deliver our life from destruction.¹⁵²

So far, so good. But this is no simple evangelical theology. Is it a very sophisticated one which seems to concede to some of the basics of Christian doctrine, and then goes on persuasively, and what seems to be reasonably enough, to add a little more? "But the Water of Life, which flows from the life of Christ, is the power itself. He redeemeth my life by His life, from destruction. And, lest one has any doubt as to the scriptural validity of such a statement, Drummond turns to St. Paul, so that the quarrel, if any, must also be with him:

This is the power, Paul says, which redeemed his life from destruction. Christ's life, not His death, living in his life, absorbing it, impregnating it, transforming it: 'Christ' as he confessed, 'in me.' And this, therefore, is the meaning of a profound sentence in which Paul states the true answer to the question, What must I do to be saved? records [sic] this first great fact of salvation and pointedly distinguishes it from the other. 'If when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by His life.' (Rom. V:10).

'We shall be saved by His life,' says Paul. Paul meant no disrespect to the Atonement when he said, "We shall be saved by his life,"¹⁵³

Nor does Drummond. The word "true" is again used pointedly relative to salvation, and "true salvation" this time is by the life of Christ -

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the, apparent power being in the water of life, which theory Drummond also seems to find in Paul. But Paul never failed to emphasise the crucified Christ, and to point out that without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins. The above quotation is not Pauline theology; it is a gospel imbued with Henry Drummond's own essence. And his essence was "to me to live is Christ" or "Abide in Me and I in you, for without me ye can do nothing."¹⁵⁴ But a gospel must be founded predominantly on Christ as friend, or on Christ as savior. Drummond apparently came to know Christ as part savior and part friend, and this is the mixture he offered the world, but with a definite emphasis upon the latter. The "spiritual mixture offered by Mr. Drummond" was felt to be quite unique by the reporter commenting on his Grosvenor House Addresses.¹⁵⁵

Given the evangelical climate of the times the wonder is not that Drummond was tried for heresy at all, but why he was not tried for heresy many years earlier. The answer lies somewhere in the changing nature, not just of the Scottish Free Church, nor yet of the Church in Scotland, but, of "Christianity" itself in both Scotland and the eastern seaboard of the United States between 1843 and 1893. This requires a completely different study by a theologian versed in Scottish and American history. The present writer, however, would point out that not just an evolution, but a revolution, took place in Scottish Christianity in the last three decades of the nineteenth century, without which men such as Robertson-Smith, Henry Drummond, Marcus Dods, and George Adam Smith, could never have stayed within the fold of the established churches as leaders. The seat of this revolution was undoubtedly the Universities and Divinity Colleges, where some sort of one-way fertilization was effected by professors, themselves reared

in evangelical Christianity, who brought the seeds of natural science, evolutionary thought patterns, and Biblical criticism, and implanted them within the Divinity Schools in two continents, whence men went forth to "Christianize" the world.

It has been said that in The Greatest Thing in the World Professor Drummond evidently did not aim at "'saving the lost,' but at preventing the saved from losing themselves; or, rather, at helping those who have believed the Gospel to understand and live the life of the saved."¹⁵⁶ And this again is true, up to a point. But the question arises how are these to "live the life of the saved" based on an evangelical theology which centers on incarnation and, sometimes, rebirth, or, metaphorically, never gets off first base?

Herein lies part of the enigma. But part of the answer is that in the heart of this theology, or teleology or cosmology, is another factor. For Drummond, evolution must be added to the incarnation of God, and the rebirth of man. The cornerstone is found to be triangular. The refusal to incorporate the atonement into the heart of his works has cost Drummond dearly. Sin and death are left smouldering and undealt with, and the "life of the saved" is apparently to be led through evolution which he writes in his last book, "has ushered a new hope into the world." One wonders if the "old" hope in Christ Jesus is to be displaced, but apparently, for Drummond, the two are to work together, as he continues "The supreme message of science to this age is that all Nature is on the side of the man who tries to rise. Evolution, development, progress are not only on her programme, these are her programme."¹⁵⁷

In the late 1870's, Drummond speaks thus of judgment:

. . .we cannot gather up these days and put them back into Time's breaking urn, and live them over again. They are spilt upon the ground, and the great stream of Time has sucked them up, and cast them already on the eternal shores among all bygone years, and there they bide till God's time comes, and they come back, one by one, in order as they went, to meet us again and Him before the Judgement Bar.¹⁵⁸

He also believes that the "great spiritual forces which startle men into thoughts of God and rightwhich bring eternity near to us....are not so much the warnings from the dead who drop at our side, nor the threats of judgement to come....but still small voices, which penetrate like Peter's look from Christ, and turn man's sensitive heart to God."¹⁵⁹

In "The Three Facts of Salvation," from the same period, he writes:

And it is not enough to discover the stain of his past, and cry out, 'I have sinned.' But he must see the guilt of his life and cry, 'I have sinned against God.' The fact of salvation which God has provided to meet the fact of guilt....only comes home to man when he feels a criminal and stands like a guilty sinner, for pardon at God's bar.¹⁶⁰

These early statements form a striking contrast to his later thought on the same topic. Some of Drummond's last recorded views on judgement are found in an obscure essay presented to the Glasgow Theological Society in 1892. These are not his public views. They are more personal and more radical:

The position to be now taken up is not only the one which will be obvious on a little thought -- that Judgement is not an act to be accomplished, an act sudden, spectacular, explosive, but a quiet process now and ever giving on -- but that that process is simply the operation of one of the widest and most familiar of the Laws of Nature.¹⁶¹

He continues:

I must be pardoned for speaking here in my own native tongue of Science, rather than attempting a translation into ethics. The name of this law is the Survival of the Fittest. Eternal life under the last analysis is a question of the survival of the fittest. And Judgement is a question of natural selection.¹⁶²

The rashness of these definitions seem to leave no ground for an alternative view, and have nothing to do with Christ's own words or the historical Christian definitions of eternal life, or, Judgement. But Drummond, in the succeeding sentence, insists that there is no conflict:

In spite of the constantly reiterated protest of popular theology that science and religion part company for ever over this law, in spite of the apparent objection that while in nature the prize is to the strong, and the weak go to the wall, in the kingdom of grace the bruised reed is not broken and the weary and heavy laden win; it is the most certain of truths that in nature and grace alike the law of the survival of the fittest holds.¹⁶³

He then explains that "when it is said that eternal life is a question of the survival of the fittest, what is implied is that it is a question of the adapted."¹⁶⁴ But it is useless to follow these lines of argument where definitions change from page to page, and from one sentence to another, one is asked to believe that opposing concepts are really the same. One wishes that the author had paid heed to St. Paul's exhortation to Timothy to avoid "profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called." (I Tim.6:30) Drummond is in intellectual, if not moral and ethical, quicksand, and it is more fruitful to observe these arguments from a distance, and pass on.

Drummond's antipathy to the historical Christian judgement concept has already been recorded in his denunciation of the "old" evangelism

view of God:

A man's whole religion depends on his conception of God, so much so that to give a man religion in many cases is simply to correct his conception of God. But if man's natural conception of God, which is of a Being or of a Force opposed to him, a Being to be appeased, be not corrected, his religion will be a religion of Fear. God therefore was a God to be feared, an uncomfortable presence about one's life. He was always in court, either actually sitting in judgement or collecting material for the next case. He was the haunting presence of a great Recorder,

"Who was writing now the story
Of what little children do."¹⁶⁵

It is this childish and childlike view of God-as-Judge that Drummond apparently sought to banish from his own thought and presumably that of the others he taught and disciplined.

He comments that:

The revolt of the moral sense of this country against the doctrine of a physical hell, and the appeal to a Judgement Day, has lately led to almost complete silence on the whole subject of eschatology. Is this great theme or any part of it -- say the conception of a Day of Judgement -- not capable of a deeper ethical treatment? If the Divine judgement upon sin lies in the natural law of heredity, may we not find among the laws of the moral world some larger and more universal principle of judgement which shall restore the appeal of these forgotten dogmas to their place in religious teaching?¹⁶⁶

And again, on the same theme in another work, "To restore the substance and meaning of the idea of judgement by seeking to renovate the form is our object now." -- That is, restoration by renovation. This sounds well enough. But, in the previous page, he had written that "to a class of minds the dramatic aspects of the last Judgement appeal in vain."¹⁶⁷ And he expands this:

The material imagery, we are assured, the marshalling of the prisoners at the trumpet call, the Judge and the great White Throne, are presentations to an age which has passed away. The very

tying-down of Judgement to a Day, the whole machinery of a human court "which meets, goes through its docket and adjourns," are out of harmony with the other ways of God; and whatever reality may underline it, the conception, as it stands at present, is too gross and artificial to find acceptance with a scientific age.¹⁶⁸

The fact that the great day, or day of the Lord, is a persistent theme throughout all the prophetic writings, the gospels, and the Pauline epistles does not appear to daunt Drummond for a moment. The harmony is disturbed, and this is not to be tolerated by "a scientific age." One awaits to see how Drummond will renovate the form of this whole notion, which is "too gross and artificial", and at the same time restore the substance and meaning. And in the next page we have it.

"What science really rebels at in the old doctrine is its externalness. It is outside nature . . ." The "old" judgement is by God the Creator of the creation. But, for Drummond, because it is outside "nature", it is "a foreign and unanticipated element, a breach of continuity."¹⁶⁹ This, of course, is not to be tolerated in his evolutionary continuum. It is a disruptive or catastrophic element in the same category as creation, flood, crucifixion or resurrection:

. . .and what science would like to see is a universal principle, a principle, if possible, operating from within, bound up with nature itself, and involved in the general scheme of things. . . It is simply a demand upon religion for a further spirituality.¹⁷⁰

Drummond here apparently sees himself as a spokesman for "science", although it is doubtful whether many professional scientists shared

his views. And here again this mysterious "nature" seems to have assumed god-like qualities for him. We are asked to believe that the desire to substitute a natural principle for God is a demand for further spirituality. And if our imaginations persevere, in the next sentence we are told that: "It is really materialism that science objects to in the old doctrine -- it objects to a material throne, and bar, and trumpet, to an external law, to a judgement from without rather than within."¹⁷¹

At last we have it. What "science", or Henry Drummond, for the disguise is too transparent to allow any longer, objects to, is the whole concept of a transcendent God, who is Spirit, who is theos and thus something other than man, who is a-theos. But having immersed himself in an unending quagmire of criticism of all the fundamental eschatological concepts of the Judaeo-Christian heritage he persists, weakly enough, but still aggressively, that "the protest, in fact, is a rebuke to religion for the grossness of its conceptions, for its tardy abandonment of the letter, for the permanence it has given to provisional forms -- in short, for its unspirituality."¹⁷²

Here let Drummond express himself. But let it be observed that he instances the "grossness and externalness of the old theory of a Six Days Creation was once a serious stumbling block to science;"¹⁷³ and records that:

the Divine-fiat hypothesis was challenged, and finally abandoned.

And then out of these very facts grew the new and beautiful theory that Creation was not a stupendous and catastrophic operation performed from without, but a silent process acting from within.¹⁷⁴

So, as he writes, "having destroyed the old conception," one might expect that Drummond would recognize this destruction is without fulfilment, but no, for we are told that this destruction "left everything more worthy of worship than before."¹⁷⁵

It is not from ignorance that Drummond develops this argument, for in this same essay he has observed that Christ lays down the eschatological principles especially in the judgement parables, but beyond that, his teaching, as Paul's, has a purely Jewish or Rabbinic basis. Why this should destroy its validity, Christ supposedly being the fulfillment of the Jewish hope, is a mystery. Drummond also refers to Enoch, the Sibylline books and the Apocalypses as teeming with descriptions of "The Great Day." That occult and Christian wisdom books should be grouped together as equally authoritative may be taken as representative either of his tolerance or indiscrimination. But there is no explanation as to why all these historical authorities and standards, from Christ himself on down, should be discarded in order to set up Natural Laws in place of God in the Judgement seat.

Drummond clearly states in his own words the distinction between the standpoints of the popular evangelism and evolutionary thought in "The Problem of Foreign Missions", an address delivered at the opening session in the Free Church College, Glasgow, in November, 1890. These views brought on a storm of criticism. He begins:

There are two ways in which men who offer their lives to their fellow-men may regard the world. They mean the same thing in the end, but you will not misunderstand me if I express the apparent distinction in the boldest terms. The first view is that the world is lost and must be saved; the second, that the world is sunken and must be raised. According to the first, the peoples of the world are looked upon as

souls -- souls to be redeemed; the second thinks of them rather as men -- men to be perfected or as nations -- nations to be made righteous. The first deals with a sinner's status in the sight of God, the second with his character in the sight of men. The first preaches mainly justification; the second mainly regeneration. The first is the standpoint of the popular evangelism; the second is the view of evolution.¹⁷⁶

This was to be one of the most fiercely disputed of Drummond's works, perhaps because here he states publicly and categorically the distinction between souls in need of redemption and men in need of being perfected -- the first, sinners concerned with their status before God; the second, character-builders concerned with their character. He goes on to point out the "dangers" of both view points, saying:

The danger of the first is to save the souls of men and there leave them; the danger of the second is to ignore the soul altogether. As I shall speak now from the last standpoint, I point out its danger at once, and meet it by adding to its watchword, evolution, the qualifying term, Christian. This alone takes account of the whole nature of man, of sin and guilt of the future and of the past, and recognises the Christian facts and forces as alone adequate to deal with them. The advantage of speaking of "the Christian evolution of the world," instead of, or, at least, as a change of from, "the evangelization of the world," will appear as we go on. By making temporary use of the one standpoint, I do not exclude the other; and if I ignore it from this point onward, it is not because it is not legitimate, but simply because it is not the subject.¹⁷⁷

Having cited the "danger" of the second viewpoint -- the evolutionary -- he proceeds to speak exclusively from it, nor does the addition of the word Christian, do much to change the evolutionary world-view. If he had spoken of incorporating one and two, then the adjective Christian might be appended, but without such a synthesis, the foundation of this particular essay is character-building 'in the sight of men,' which, however, commendable a procedure, has nothing to do with

historical Christianity.

The insidious appearance of interchangeability in the phrase "Christian evolution" and "evangelization" and the persuasive suggestion that the one might be used "instead of" or at least "as a change from" the other should not blind the reader to the fact that the terms are generically different. Drummond's insistence that by ignoring the one standpoint he is not excluding it, has something of the hollowness of one wishing to burn his boats but at the same time retain them, while the apparently generous assertion of the legitimacy of the "old evangelism" rather than allaying doubt might well have served to raise the question of its potential illegitimacy among unsuspecting hearers.

For Drummond, "the new evangelism, in a word, is the Gospel of the Age." But despite this fact, he immediately reassures his readers that: "Of course we do not want a new evangel, we state that out at once; but an evangelism is a different thing and we do want that;... Because of the threatened decline of vital religion under the present methods of teaching....Either the Gospel cannot save them, or the Gospel does not reach them. We, as Christians, are shut up to the latter." But only a few pages later, Drummond is saying: "But there is something deeper than progress in theology; there is progress in truth itself. 'Truth is the daughter of time....'"¹⁷⁸

If Drummond, in fact, believes this, it is entirely out of line with the Christian premise of Christ as the way, the truth and the life, the same yesterday, today and forever, the Alpha and Omega who was before worlds began and evermore will be, who through his perfect sacrifice once and for all redeemed lost sinners from everlasting

punishment. But Drummond's concept of "truth" requires a new theology, although he had denied emphatically the need for a new gospel, he seems to see no inconsistency in this demand for a new theology:

To sum up, the demand for a new theology, therefore, as the basis of a new Evangelism is founded upon the nature of Truth. It is not caprice, nor love of what is new. It is the necessity for what is new. It is in the nature of things.¹⁷⁹

For Drummond, "The real contrast between the new and the old theology is one of method," although he does observe that,

To some, theology is a re-arrangement of doctrines in a new order, a bringing of those into prominence which suit the need and temper of the age, and an allowing of others to sink into shadow...¹⁸⁰

The reasons for these renovations, according to Drummond, is because "they are either distasteful to this generation or rest on a basis which it will not honour."¹⁸¹

The new method "does not work from truth, but towards truth", and this is rather strange, for the rationale for Christian evangelism for nineteen hundred years had been that its propagators had a knowledge of "the truth" which they wished to share with, or impose upon, others. He also states the new evangelism "aims not at asserting a dogma, but at unearthing a principle. For Drummond, "These are two at least of its more obvious marks -- it does not only allow, but insists on the right of private judgement, and it declines authority." These may sound like prescriptions for chaos, but Drummond assures us that "These propositions mean practically the same thing, and so far from being novelties are of the first essence of Protestantism." The argument by now is familiar. The "new theology" was not new; it was there all the time. Nonetheless, there are some distinctions between

the old and new theology: "The mark of the old theology was that it was made up of forms and propositions... , but the task of the newer theology has been to pierce below these phrases and seek out the ethical truth which underlay them; and having found that, to set up the words and phrases round it once more if possible;"...¹⁸² Was it then to have the appearance of the old, but yet not be the old? Even Drummond seems to question the feasibility of such a procedure, as he continues "and where not possible, to set up new phrases and a more modern expression."¹⁸³ He observes:

It is of course because men have been accustomed to these old forms that they fail to recognise the truth when clothed in other expression, and therefore raise the cry of heresy against all who take the more inward or spiritual view.¹⁸⁴

Pharisees and the lazy will oppose "the new foundation" because "it is always easier to assert truth than to examine it..." The new theology "forces truth on the mind with a new authority -- an authority never before to the same extent introduced into theological teaching."¹⁸⁵

Then follows perhaps the strangest statement of all: "The only legitimate way to destroy an old doctrine is Christ's way to fulfil it."¹⁸⁶ Here it must be noted that these were almost the words Christ used, but the meaning was almost the opposite, because Christ said: "I come not to destroy but to fulfil!" The destruction and fulfilment for Drummond has to do apparently with death and resurrection, for he continues immediately:

Instead of busying themselves about its death and calling their congregations ostentatiously to attend the funeral, the new theology will invite them rather to witness anew

the resurrection of the undying spirit still hidden beneath the worn-out body of its older form.¹⁸⁷

He offers two illustrations of this. The first is the doctrine of inspiration. Here he feels

It is idle to deny that the authority of the Bible was all but gone within this generation. The old view had become absolutely untenable, misleading and mischievous. But from the hands of reverent men who have studied the inward characters of these books, we have again got our Bible... .

So thoroughly has the spiritual as opposed to the mechanical theory of inspiration imbued all recent teaching that the battle for Scotland at least may be said to be now won.¹⁸⁸

The second doctrinal improvement he cites is that:

The unearthing of the tremendous ethical principle underlying the atonement is now restoring that central doctrine to theology just when in its mechanical forms it was on the point of being discredited by every thinking mind.¹⁸⁹

It is perhaps superfluous to point out the lack of either a reconciliatory or even a conciliatory posture in Drummond's sweeping assertions as they are here promulgated. Having asserted that the authority of the Bible "was all but gone" in his generation, he cites the authority which will replace it:

...That authority is the authority of law. The basis -- like the basis of all modern knowledge -- of the coming theology is a scientific basis. It is a basis on great ethical principles. It is not a series of conceptions deduced from another central conception or grouped round a favoured doctrine of a favourite Divine -- a Calvinism, a Lutheranism, an Arminianism, or any conceivable ism.¹⁹⁰

What then is this new theology?

It is a grouping round law, spiritual, moral, natural law, a structure reared on the eternal order of the world, and therefore natural, self-evident, self-sustaining and invulnerable.

This method, dealing as it does with law and spirit ignores nothing, denies nothing, and formally supplants nothing in the older subject-matter;¹⁹¹

Again the impression is conveyed that somehow nothing is really being changed at all. But, if Drummond has managed to persuade himself, his reassurances have a somewhat hollow ring even when he asserts that the new method, having supplanted nothing in the older subject-matter, "tries to get deeper into the heart of it, and seeks a new life even in doctrines which seem to have long since petrified into stone."¹⁹²

In case there should be any dissent from his argument, one is informed that this method,

....was largely Christ's own method. He dealt with principles -- His teaching was mainly excavation -- the disinterring of hidden things, the bringing to light of the profound ethical principles hidden beneath Rabbinic subtleties and Pharisaic forms.

The Reformation -- Protestantism -- these were large attempts in the same direction, and modern thought is the heir to this spirit.¹⁹³

The inference is unmistakable that what the Reformation "attempted" is, as he writes, being brought to fruition. The whole process, of course, is one of growth, for "to be negative, to oppose or denounce time-honoured doctrines is poor work -- poor work which unfortunately many minds and pens and pulpits are continually trying to do."¹⁹⁴ Drummond apparently had no notion of himself opposing or denouncing "time-honoured doctrines."

He continues his criticism of "atonement preaching":

....The Salvation Army preacher, it is true, still preaches it as a syllogism, and pays the penalty in the utter apathy or mystification of his hearers at least on that point. But no man who preaches the spirit of it, instead of the phrases of it, will lose his audience....There is nothing the street preacher needs to be warned against with more earnestness than the mechanical preaching of the syllogisms of the atonement....¹⁹⁵

According to Drummond, when an inquirer asks how to overcome alcohol, or some specific sin, the preacher "takes refuge in" some proposition

and passes on. Drummond's complaint against such "Gospel addresses" is that they have "no tangible thing for a drowning man to really see and clutch". They break down at the very point where they ought to be most strong and luminous". This break-down point apparently has to do with the blood of Christ, for he continues:

To tell the average wife-beater to take shelter behind the blood or to hide himself in the cleft is to put him off with a phrase. I do not object to these metaphors, I believe in metaphors. I go the length of holding that you never get nearer the truth than in a metaphor; but you have not told this man the whole truth about your metaphor, nor have you touched his soul or his affections with what lies beneath that metaphor; and it falls upon his ear as a tale he has heard a thousand times before. It is not obstinacy that keeps this poor man from religion -- it is pure bewilderment as to what in the world we are driving at....196

Is it after all then, only the method of atonement preaching that Drummond objects to? And if so, what is his better method relative to this one doctrine? Christian hopes might be raised as he continues:

....The new theology when it preaches the atonement will not be less loyal to that doctrine, but more. It will not take refuge in the poor excuse for slipshod preaching and unthought-out doctrines that we must wait for God's light to break....Faith cometh by hearing, and if our plan of salvation is not telling upon our audience it is blasphemy to blame God's spirit. The blame lies in our own spirit and in our offering words instead of spirit, and in our neglect to spend time and thought, in trying to get down to the professed meaning and omnipotent dynamic of the law of Sacrifice.197

But the hopes raised as to the better methods of the "new theology" must evaporate as Drummond's solution emerges:

If a man has not something more to say about the atonement than the conventional phrases, let him be silent. By introducing the words from time to time he may earn the cheap reputation of being orthodox;....There are thousands of tender and conscientious souls now in our midst who cannot find their foothold on the conventional doctrine which they are led

to believe their teachers have, and without which they feel themselves excommunicate from the work of the Church and the fold of Christ.¹⁹⁸

Thus far, Drummond's method seems to be a plea for greater honesty in accepting basic Christian doctrine, if it is understood, but he continues:

If we see no further behind these words, let us say so, and not keep up this fraud, "or preach these words," until we have sunk our spirits in them and can teach them with vital force and truth.¹⁹⁹

The question here, of course, arises as to who is to judge as to whether men teach "with vital force or truth"; and his counsel to silence until they can so preach sounds like a plea to silence one of the central doctrines of the Christian faith until such day as men are convinced in their mental understanding of it -- a day which may never dawn for many.

Drummond summarized his own thoughts in establishing a "new" evangelism as attempting to correct half-truth which is in fact "whole error":

....What moves an attentive mind in a sermon is its residual truth, not the complementary passages, not the squarings with other doctrines, but that truth on which the whole theme is strung, the vertebral column which, though hid, is the true pillar of the rest.²⁰⁰

Thus, in the context of two millenia of Christian and non-Christian thought, it must be stated categorically that there is no way that the works of Henry Drummond can be compiled, grouped, classified, or even filtered to fit into the mainstream of historical Christian thought. If Drummond had repudiated either or both of his "major" works the task for the apologist might have been made easier. But as he himself chose to publish them, and not to publish

most of his sermons and essays, one must assume these two cumbersome and anachronistic volumes to be, not only integral, but actually representative of his thought. As he himself once stated emphatically in response to a friend's query: "Do I have a pile of addresses I rip off one by one? No, a man has a message."²⁰¹

CHAPTER IV

THE METHODOLOGY OF HENRY DRUMMOND

Drummond's method was not one of reconciliation but of "conciliation" which is defined in Webster's dictionary as: concilate: 1. to win over; soothe the anger of; make friendly; placate; 2. to gain (regard, favor, good-will, esteem, etc.) by friendly acts; 3. [Archaic], to reconcile; make consistent."¹

As early as the preface of Natural Law in the Spiritual World, he states the need for "conciliation" between science and religion. One must assume he used the word advisedly rather than re-conciliation from the punctiliousness with which he writes on word usage and meaning in an early essay entitled "The Abuse of the Adjective."

In his own words:

Nothing could be more false both to Science and to Religion than attempts to adjust the two spheres by making out ingenious points of contact in detail. The solution of this great question of conciliation, if one may still refer to a problem so gratuitous, must be general rather than particular. The basis in a common principle -- the Continuity of Law -- can alone save specific applications from ranking as mere coincidences, . . .²

Drummond's message and method both assume this law of continuity.

And the first step . . . must be, not to "reconcile" Nature and Religion, but to exhibit Nature in Religion. . . . What is required, therefore, to draw Science and Religion together again -- for they began the centuries hand-in-hand -- is the disclosure of the naturalness of the supernatural. . . . And even as the contribution of Science to Religion is the vindication of the naturalness of the Supernatural, so the gift of Religion to Science is the demonstration of the supernaturalness of the Natural.³

Drummond predicted that when the naturalness of the supernatural would be fully demonstrated, "heresy" would become "impossible" in "certain whole departments." This is expressed early in Natural Law in the Spiritual World.

With the inspiration of Nature to illuminate what the inspiration of Revelation has left obscure, heresy in certain whole departments shall become impossible. With the demonstration of the naturalness of the supernatural, scepticism even may come to be regarded as unscientific.⁴

As Drummond attempts to be increasingly "scientific" in both method and meaning, his thought becomes increasingly confused and confusing until this writer finally abandoned the attempt to synthesize and structure his ideas terminologically. His essays and sermons, particularly the pre-1883 group, were found, by and large, to be ventures into discipleship, and some, particularly the series on the will of God, are relevant today. Even here there are one or two stray snatches of what can only be termed historically non-Christian thinking, as, for example, in The Changed Life, the isolated, extraordinary, unsubstantiated and bald statement that "Metempsychosis is a fact."⁵ But then, this form of presentation, the audacious or radical utterance, is seen to be an integral part of his early technique to stimulate interest and to arouse indignation rapidly and, if possible, irrevocably.⁶ Although his intent is only clearly stated in a very early essay: "We should not have mentioned such startling phenomena, at this early state, were it not to excite some little interest, . . ." and commenting on those who lecture on mesmerism:

However much is objectionable in this, it is certainly productive of one good result. As Daniel O'Connell has it "Agitation is a mighty good thing," and these lectures stir up the public mind and lead many to investigate the phenomena for themselves.⁷

Drummond's concern to "stir up the public mind" to the truths he felt to be "forgotten" continued throughout his life, as an 1892 letter to Ira Sankey indicates:

One's only excuse for writing a book is that he has something to say that is not being said. . . My message lies among the forgotten truths, the false emphasis, and the wrong accent. To every man his work.⁸

Drummond apparently felt that the atonement, with its contingent stress on sin, death, evil, grace, and forgiveness, was receiving very adequate coverage at the time, and his method was to concentrate on "the forgotten truths," which, in his opinion, apparently were the love, joy, and light of Christ, as friend and brother, "the way, the truth, and the life." He seems to have failed to realize that such a conscious selection of one aspect of biblical truth would present an imbalanced philosophy to later readers. There was also no way that he could know that his own and later generations would so extend this principle of selection as to present a theology to the world with the concepts of sin and evil so diluted that, within a hundred years, a whole generation would grow up on such a diet of light, goodness, and progress as to believe eventually in the basic goodness of man, which, logically extended, at some point, makes salvation obsolete.

In this way, Drummond was an early specialist -- a scientist who preferred to present Christ in scientific terms. However, the following words are his: "The freedom from guilt, the forgiveness of sins come from Christ's cross; the hope of immortality springs from Christ's grave."⁹

And, although he wrote in a letter to Sankey in 1892, "nor is there 'any one' of my writings where these same ideas will not be found expressed or understood,"¹⁰ the fact is that these ideas are to be found in very few of his writings, and the result is that his total opus appears one-sided. Perhaps he wished to administer an antidote to the stern Calvinism

of the Free Church in Scotland at the time. Thus, in this sense, his vision for the future was sacrificed to his vision conceived and implemented within the intellectual pattern of his own times. Perhaps his steadfast refusal to bring out anything substantive on the atonement was in part in fact attributable to the fact of his being "a wee thrawn" (or a little stubborn), as his uncle suggested, in the face of criticism.¹¹ The fact that this "thrawnness" and indifference to criticism diminishes his place in the history of Christian thought is probably something that would have troubled Drummond little. At an early age, he described the Bible as an orchard "not a system" and deemed the methods of systematic theology, as late as 1890, an attempt to put truth in a straitjacket.¹² Thus, his own lack of system appears to have been calculated as the method he chose to let truth out of this "straitjacket."

The method of stringing his entire text onto one Bible verse, or even one-half of a Bible verse, is quite common in Drummond's works. He used the text, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit," and powerfully, for Ewing's funeral service in Sydney, Australia, in 1890. But the very next verse states: "He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal."¹³ And yet, he continued to preach save your life, rather than give it up and then receive it back unto life eternal. The whole concept of being born again, which had been such an essential element in his early work, seems to have disintegrated by this time.

Another example of the same methodological approach may be seen in his usage of a text from St. John's gospel, where Christ says: "Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be

lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me. This he said, signifying what death he should die."¹⁴ The "lifting up" is here clearly indicative of the cross. But Drummond isolates out the central verse, and thus manages to lift Christ up throughout his entire writing, with scarcely a reference to the "death he should die" or the resurrection or the preceding verse dealing with judgement. The price of this disjunctive treatment of texts, can only be misleading at best. But, at worst, the method affects the message most radically, and one can only agree with Drummond himself when he apologizes for the trouble he has given his critics with the disjecta membra of Natural Law in the Spiritual World. Many of his messages are just that -- disjecta membra because they lack the unifying theme of the crucifixion-resurrection at their center. Instead, the focus is evolution, which, by definition, has no core. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to center or unify a message around a continuum, and yet this was the predicament into which Drummond had worked himself by his overzealous attempts to incorporate atheistic evolutionism into the Christian message as he understood it.

Another example of his "disjunctive" treatment of biblical themes is his usage of the verse: "And if any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world." These words of Christ's are well enough known even today, and Drummond was responsive to them, but the following verse has a much more ominous tone, which is seldom, if ever, included in Drummond's evolutionary evangelical methodology: "He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him." The "one that judgeth," contrary to Drummond's idea that man will judge himself, is, according to Christ, "the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day."¹⁵

Thus, the problems which arise from taking away from Christ's words are found to be as legion as those encountered by adding to them any secular theory, whether it be biological, astronomical, mathematical, physical, or psychical. Had God not said, supposedly, through Moses, "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it."¹⁶ And again, somewhat more emphatically, "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, . . ."¹⁷

Drummond's vision of revelation as evolution, or judgment by natural law, dependent as it is upon biblical expurgation, omission, and realignment, is not in accordance with either the Deuteronomic or Johanine versions of these themes which were accepted historically as standard by medieval and early modern Christendom.

Drummond says, in 1894, of and in the last book published before his death that his method is historical: "Its theme is Ascent, not Descent. It is a History, not an Argument." He goes on, in the same nonreconciliatory vein:

So far as the general scheme of Evolution is introduced . . . the object is the important one of pointing out how its nature has been misconceived, indeed how its greatest factor has been overlooked in almost all contemporary scientific thinking. Evolution was given to the modern world out of focus."¹⁸

On the second page of his preface, not satisfied by having alienated the scientific world, he turns his guns on the whole of the rest of society by observing that evolution "was first seen by the modern world out of focus," and "has remained out of focus to the present hour."

The prophetic posture here is unmistakable, and that Drummond

considered himself to be the one chosen to get things into focus is implicit, and sometimes explicit, and he should not have been surprised at the furor caused by his writings.

His method is seen to be here both aggressive and assertive. There is little here observable of the reconciliatory stance which criticism, in this century at least, has consistently attributed to him. But then, he himself had published in 1883 that his aim was "conciliation" and this seems to be exactly accurate. It was a one-sided process wherein his method seems to have been to adapt his religion, mainly by deletions, omissions, and sliding changes of emphasis, to his science, which was firmly and emphatically based on the most atheistic or agnostic evolutionary thought of his time.

In 1888, the Pall Mall Gazette comments on one of his Grosvenor House addresses: "Professor Drummond took a very broad view of the Christian religion. He threw aside theology. To him there is no civilization without Christianity."¹⁹ In the next session the following week, speaking on The Programme of Christianity, he attempted to "show the adaptability of the Christian religion to the requirements of the individual and society and its seeming failure because of Christian unfaithfulness to their ideal."²⁰ Whether this is what Drummond actually said is not known, but for this one reporter at any rate, Christianity appeared as a religion of compromise, adapting itself to the world.

A reviewer in The Glasgow Herald in 1894 states that Drummond says his book, The Ascent of Man, is "a history not an argument," but he notes that "its contents do not bear this out," and that rather it was a plausible argument where Drummond "familiarly pats his reader on the shoulder" and "seeks to indoctrinate" that love or the struggle for the life of

others "lie at the root of human advance." As a contribution to science, this was thought to be nothing new, nor was there "serious, sober, scientific reasoning" but what people mistake for such, i.e., Drummond's favorite analogies "between things psychical and physical."²¹ Drummond is seen here as a self-appointed prophet, and his rhetorical extravagances are highlighted accurately if somewhat unkindly. Thus, the Drummond statement that evolution was given to the world out of focus here evokes the response: "Is Mr. Drummond the chosen person to put it right?", and teleology led astray by a fundamental omission? The critic responds: "Brave words -- was the world standing still till Mr. Drummond was delegated to give it a cosmical twist?" He goes on that this is a large aspiration, but unfortunately it does not succeed, and asserts that in the section on the mother, Drummond is repeating John Fiske.²²

Drummond's mode of expression, while conceded to be attractive verbally, is held to be "unfortunately apt to engender erroneous notions of facts," and his way of "dressing" his ideas is held to be unscientific, for reproduction may be a joy and thus selfish rather than "self-sacrificing." He is here condemned for sweeping generalizations, inconsistencies, and carelessness of expression, and the Glasgow critic paraphrases Drummond as saying "when the birds took to the air, they forfeited the possibility of being human."²³ Drummond's failure to define is next pointed up as the critic asks, what is the nature of this "love" which did not come down to us through the struggle for life, yet (mark Drummond's inconsistency) "its roots began to grow with the first cell of life on earth." He goes on to inquire, "Are Drummond's flowing periods, and flowery diction to be taken seriously as science or poetry?" Although Drummond's grace of diction is seen to be undeniable, and he is earnest, he is seen as an ardent evolutionist

but also very religious, and his blend of science and religion and looking to "larger ends," which satisfied him, was expected to satisfy lesser minds, and The Ascent of Man as a whole was expected "to foster interest in science."²⁴ The above is cited as evidence of Drummond's ability to irritate and provoke some, while apparently with the same words pacifying and delighting many others.

At least one writer comments unfavorably upon Drummond's familiarity with, and adoption of the scientific modus operandi of men such as Huxley and Spencer:

He has allowed himself to become so imbued with the spirit of their teaching, that he is in a constant state of mental conflict with the immutable laws of truth revealed to us in the Scriptures, whose Supreme authority he acknowledges while apparently unconsciously undermining them.²⁵

This short passage is interesting in three respects: first, for the commentary on the "spirit" of Drummond's teaching being scientific; second, for its perception of conflict in Drummond's work, which so often, if not generally, is exemplified as calm and tranquil to the point of monotony; thirdly, and this may be a part of the conflict, for the important, perhaps even vital, observation that Drummond's undermining of scriptural authority was unconscious. But how can this last statement be reconciled with Drummond's own words that no man of science "can remain neutral with regard to Religion. He must either extend his method into it, or, if that is impossible, oppose it to the knife."²⁶ Are these the words of a man "unconsciously" undermining scriptural authority?

Drummond has here declared war against religion, and yet, at the same time, one critic feels he cannot be said to be truly or wholly scientific even in his opposition:

The war which . . . you proclaim against religion appears unreasonable and unjust, when it is shown that your method is the very opposite of that of science, being the assumption of that which has not been proved by competent observation, nor confirmed by any experiment, nor shown to be in accordance with sound logic; and your assertion that the method of theology 'weighed in the balance' with yours 'is found wanting,' deserves a very strongly condemnatory epithet when it is seen that while you forsake the method of science, Christianity adheres to it.²⁷

One might comment in passing upon the abstemiousness of the above critic in keeping his "condemnatory epithet" to himself. But Drummond's oft-quoted statement, which evoked antagonism in many, that "the old ground of faith, Authority, is given up; the New, Science, has not yet taken its place,"²⁸ unleashes a flood of objections. It is felt that these words "include all that Herbert Spencer, Professor Huxley, Voltaire, Tom Paine, or any other repudiator of Revelation could desire; for, if the ground of Christianity -- God and His Word -- be given up," all certainty in religion is gone."²⁹

But the writer is thankful that there are still "men who do not think themselves wiser than God, and dare not change His testimony to make it agree with fancies which they call science," but which he calls wilful ignorance.³⁰ The old ground of belief, God's Word, shall not pass away though heaven and earth pass away. But "those who give up this foundation, forsaking it for the new one," which Drummond proposed, "must find their position unutterably disastrous; and what if, by your words, they be tempted or encouraged to make the ruinous exchange, forsaking the unmovable rock and building on a quicksand?"³¹

If this impassioned response to Drummond's statement seems somewhat exaggerated to the modern reader, one should consider the importance of the Word of God in the Scottish consciousness as indicated earlier. But, at this juncture, it is more important to reflect upon the easy transition

from criticism of Drummond's method to criticism of his message evidenced above. This commentator finds in Drummond no word of "reconciliation" from Christianity toward "science" as has always been assumed. Instead, the movement, being based in the scientific method, comes from science to Christianity. And not only is it not a reconciliatory movement, it is an attack: a warring.

So, here already, at the inception of Drummond's first book we see the far-reaching implications as well as effects of the scientific method to which he chose to wed himself. One critic observes that "nearly all" Drummond's quotes are from sceptics and agnostics, and continues that "the influence of this school will be found at the root of all the fallacies and contradictions with which his work abounds."³² This, of course, is reminiscent of a comment upon Natural Law in the Spiritual World as "a quite singularly muddle-headed book,"³³ and another that "Drummond was as ill-read as a bishop."³⁴ This last comment seems unjustified, as Drummond's reading in scientific spheres, and particularly geology and biology, appears to have been quite extensive and avidly pursued throughout his life. Thus, many of his contemporaries prophesied as to the effects of this adoption of scientific authorities and methods upon his evangelical theology, and why these effects seemed to be apparent neither to Drummond himself, nor to most of his twentieth century critics, has yet to be clarified.

His scientific reading was much more catholic than his theological reading. The Bible used in the Great Mission of 1873-1875 and for several years after was most extensively marked in the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah and Jeremiah, and the gospel of John. So that, even during this period, when Drummond's gospel was more "complete" than it was to be later, there

are evidences of selective handling of the scriptures.³⁵ It is recognized that no man living could assimilate, far less incorporate, all sixty-six books of the Protestant Bible into his thought. Nevertheless, in Drummond's writings, the virtual exclusion of the Pentateuch, the historical books, the minor prophets, and the incorporation of only selected excerpts from Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Psalms, the gospels, and certain of the Pauline epistles has a far-reaching effect not only upon his writing, and this both in style and content, but upon his whole world-view.³⁶

Drummond stated several times that the "new evangelism" or theology must be the gospel for the age, and this type of evangelicalism has been adopted by many since his death. But in 1976, a reaction to this was expressed by the moderator of the Church of Scotland, who said at the General Assembly,

. . . far too much of our preaching today seems to do little more than reflect prevailing trends in society, for often we preachers seem to be no more than the servants of public opinion? We do not spend sufficient time in the study, wrestling with the Word of God so that the content of our sermons tends to be boring and trivial, made up of scrappy ideas suggested by the public media, which leaves the human heart still hungry for the bread of life.³⁷

He continued that genuine pastoral visitation is declining in Scotland at the present hour as secular psychology is seen to be replacing spiritual counseling. The former is recognized as helpful but not when "all this is allowed to relegate into secondary importance, and even to replace a distinctively Christian understanding of man; and some doctrine of self-fulfillment, or . . . 'auto-salvation,' replaces justification by the grace of God."³⁸

It is this era of secular psychology that Drummond anticipated or perhaps even helped to initiate in his ground-breaking early essay, Spiritual Diagnosis. The sentence therein contained, ". . . if any man

develop this faculty of reading others, of reading them in order to profit by them, he will never be without practice,"³⁹ is a premonition of some of the end results of certain psychological and parapsychological methods which are becoming visible today. St. Paul had said, "let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon for other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."⁴⁰ Drummond said, "to give a man religion in many cases is simply to correct his conception of God."⁴¹

Drummond's hermeneutical approach, if such it may be called, was to take a verse or two and develop it or them, often entirely out of context, in accordance with practical, relevant everyday needs. Occasionally, three verses might be used, as in The City Without a Church and The Programme of Christianity, but these seem to be the exception to the rule. More typical is his usage of an isolated verse, such as the following: "And, I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." His failure to continue the statement as it is recorded: "This he said, signifying what death he should die,"⁴² is more than misleading. Here, Drummond and his readers suffer from the evangelical method he has chosen whereby it is possible for him to center his life and thought around the first segment of the above without ever proceeding to the second, which not only concludes it but also consummates it and, without which, the first is incomplete.

This, of course, is the approach to which one may now be accustomed, and, indeed, one may know of no other, but for approximately nineteen hundred years, the tradition within Christendom had been to expound themes scripturally within many references back and forth into Old and New Testaments. To one conversant with, for example, the poetic prose of the sermons of John Donne, which is almost entirely reliant upon the Word of

God for its movement, argument, and effect, Drummond's pragmatic method is in stark contrast. It is also in contrast to, and to some extent concealed by, the limpid beauty of his own prose.

Drummond's whole thought process, methodology, and appeal seems to be couched in terms of man, and his needs, in contradistinction to Donne and many others who generally first consider man in relation to God. So, perhaps simplistically, Drummond tends to concentrate on the second commandment, "man-in-relation," and specifically, man in-relation-to-man. That this may indeed be the case is indicated from a fairly early comment: "man's relation to God may be held as settled now. It is time to take up the other problem, man's relation to man."⁴³

The stark ingenuity of this statement is a matter of some concern, as this hypothesis seems inherent in much of his writing. The question arises can any evangelist afford to deemphasize the whole man-God spectrum of the first commandment by concentrating on the man to man accent of the second? The theological dangers of this method of assuming the first commandment and dealing with man-in-relations need scarcely be detailed, as their evidences are all around us in this writing. Suffice it to say that this concentration on man-to-man relations has led historically in the last hundred years to the curiously bland and bowdlerized gospels which have come to be accepted today as standard "Christianity."

One recent informed commentator observes that Drummond's "greatest homiletical weakness" was that he was not an "expository preacher." Rather than developing a text,

. . . he tended to string together certain favorite themes or to speak from the 'surface' of a text. He selected some thought from Scripture that impressed him and developed his message without any reference to the context. Also, he found it necessary to lean rather heavily upon his descriptive powers and his knowledge of science.⁴⁴

The same author comments on his style and content that "He saw certain aspects of Christian truths clearly and he was the master of a splendid style in expressing them, but he was not able to think out their connections with other aspects of truth, and bring all that he knew into a consistent system." But it was not his purpose to set forth an entire system of doctrine but rather to lead men to accept the friendship of Christ.⁴⁵

Charges of hermeneutical, exegetical, or homiletical weaknesses in his method would probably all have been shrugged off by Drummond on the simple grounds that he absolutely never preached. This is indicated clearly in a letter from Chautauqua, New York, in July of 1887:

I greatly wish I could accede to your request: but I never preach! Pulpit work is entirely out of my line and I never venture to undertake Church services. This is with me a rule which I have faithfully kept for years.⁴⁶

Thus it was that he consistently emphasized that he was a professor, not a preacher. And his methodology reflects this, as its basis tends to be intellectual rather than spiritual. The rhetoric of his writings has been examined fairly extensively by Schott and found to be based on appeals to authority and pride, that is, to the soulish rather than the spiritual elements in man. As such, it would seem to be in stark contrast to the declared method of one such as St. Paul, who wrote:

. . . when I came to you, it was not with any show of oratory or philosophy, but simply to tell you what God has guaranteed. . . . the only knowledge I claimed to have was about Jesus, and only about him as the crucified Christ. . . . and in my speeches and the sermons that I gave, there were none of the arguments that belong to philosophy; only a demonstration of the power of the Spirit.⁴⁷

If Paul's intent was that the faith of the Corinthian believers might not depend on human philosophy, Henry Drummond's might be said, in his later years at least, to have been almost the opposite. The apostle continues

that he does not speak in the words of man's wisdom but in the words of the Holy Ghost, "comparing things spiritual to things spiritual." What a gulf separates this method from Drummond's, where things spiritual were continually being compared to things natural, and in the ensuing "crystalline stream," the two eventually coalesced.

In speaking of the phase of doubt through which most men pass, in Stones Rolled Away,⁴⁸ an address to the students at Harvard College, Drummond pontificates: "Everything in the world passes through these stages, provided it be growing. You remember how the philosophers describe it."⁴⁹ They describe the three great stages as position, opposition and composition."⁵⁰ First, truth from the clergy, for example, is accepted, then revolted against, then all these contradictory things are put together and composed into unity again. The same is true for the musician and the artist. Drummond's view of the latter is a choice example of getting down on his audience's level, and its colloquial, earthy quality bears quoting as welcome relief from the high-flown exquisite rhetoric of the Christmas booklets and particularly The Greatest Thing in the World:⁵¹

A man paints a picture. He thinks he has painted a grand one. After a few months, some one comes along and says: "Look here! Look at that boat! You don't call that a boat? And look at that leaf! That is not a leaf." And you discover that you have never looked at a boat and never seen a leaf. You are disheartened and do nothing the next six months but draw boats and leaves; and, after you have drawn boats and leaves until you are sick, you say: "What is the use of drawing boats and leaves?" and try again and produce your first landscape. But it is altogether a different thing from the picture you painted before.⁵²

This homely example serves not only as illustrative of Drummond's humor and pragmatism, but is basic to an understanding of what Drummond felt he had done with his own Christianity, as is apparent when he continues:

Now, when a man is working over the details of the Christian religion and struggling to get one thing adjusted and another, . . . It is a useful thing, and he has to go through it, but he has to come out the other side also and put these things together.⁵³

Which is to be done, as already indicated, by recourse to the best authorities, and these, mainly scientific.

This same address takes an unexpected stand on the usage of "sacred words," after he has quoted Christ on losing life and keeping it to life eternal. He is apparently very sensitive to the use of cant phrases and takes here an authoritative, if somewhat defensive and unexpected stand in behalf of religious "cant":

You will not accuse me of cant because I have used sacred words in this talk. There are technical terms in religion just as in science and philosophy. Just as in science I should speak of protoplasm, of oxygen or carbonic acid gas, so in talking of religion I must talk about faith and Jesus Christ.⁵⁴

He continues with an appeal to "authorities" which should be used in Christianity as in chemistry or political economy. He asks those "who are very much frightened to use such words" to consider whether it is not rational and necessary, and advises against fastidiousness although "we are not in any degree to advertise our Christianity by our language," occasionally "these things" are necessary.⁵⁵

This essay is also noteworthy in that he advises the men to go home and read a biography of Christ as they would one of Washington, and he refers them to "one of the four little books which tell you about His life," again referring apparently to the scriptures. But the ambiguity is still there, for, only a few pages earlier, he had advised those who were "upset on almost all the main doctrines of Christianity" to "read the best authorities on the subject; not to put himself off with cheap tracts and popular sermons but to go to the scientific authorities."⁵⁶

He reassures them that:

There are as great scientific authorities in Germany, in England and in America on all the subject matter of theology as there are on the subject matter of chemistry or geology. Go to the Authorities.⁵⁷

He counsels them in closing, for every book they read on one side to read one on the other. And the final advice is "not to think about religion, but to do it." Because religion lives in human life, and when the "think-world" is abandoned, the doubts seem less important; thus, they are adjured to "try to separate theological doctrine from practical religion," although in the preceding paragraph, he had maintained he wanted "a religion and theology with some of the infinite about it, and some of the shadow as well as some of the light; . . ."⁵⁸

While Drummond's language has been a source of delight to certain modern theologians and a pattern for rhetorical persuasion, it was a source of disgust to some earlier critics. One, P. C. Hill, deplored the extravagances of attributing human emotions to low types of life, such as the hermit crab. The imputation of moral sentiments to the lowest forms of animal life is felt to be "a monstrous perversion of language" on the grounds that "man alone of all the myriad forms of animal life stands erect, with his 'countenance lifted to the stars.'"⁵⁹ The quarrel here, of course, goes beyond the poor hermit crab to the fundamental question: what is man? And, beyond that again, to the doctrine of creation and the effect, inevitably, of Drummond's brand of evolutionism upon it.

For this one critic, Drummond has "adopted the language used by the older school of sceptics, under which a subtle form of error is concealed." And the naturalistic tendencies of Natural Law in the Spiritual World are here pointed up as an ancient fallacy in which "Nature" represents laws governing the universe as distinct from the active "personal control

of an Almighty Creator. This idea also dethrones the God of Revelation as effectually as the theory of Evolution, being almost, indeed, in the nature of a corollary from it." In this one writer's estimation, at least, it is the use of the language of the sceptics that has led Drummond to such "amazing lengths." It is the method which has changed the message. We are invited to substitute "God" for "Nature" in Natural Law in the Spiritual World in order to illuminate the "utter confusion of thought." This done, it reads: "God has taken His revenge upon them in a thoroughly natural way" which the critic believes is no longer close to, but actually is, profane. ⁶⁰

The one-sidedness of Drummond's allegedly scientific presentation is here evidenced by his failure to include men such as Agassiz, Humboldt, and Dawson, who had ranged themselves against evolutionary doctrines, such as those of Darwin, Tyndall, Huxley, and Spencer, the pronounced agnostics whom Drummond cites continually and whose teaching is here taken to have led Drummond into "such lamentable errors." It is observed that "writers of this school appear to possess for him [Drummond] an irresistible fascination, which blinds him to the dangerous nature of their teachings."⁶¹

That Drummond was invariably assumed to be blind to the non-Christian influences he followed, is a puzzling, but recurrent, critical theme. It would seem that the critics, almost to a man, preferred to attribute to Drummond certain muddle-headed attributes rather than accept the radical implications of his writing, which he not only never retracted but which he deliberately chose not even to attempt to modify.

Drummond's main rhetorical appeals were to authority and pride. This has been proved technically and is now borne out by the content matter of some of his later essays. There is a certain "purity" of approach in

his early sermons, where men were sinners and God was still God. As the Godhead was increasingly starved of his divinity, man commensurately grew in stature, until we find in later writing an unashamed appeal for the "best men."⁶²

That Drummond's presentation may have been influenced for life by his role as follow-up man to Dwight Moody is a possibility that should not be overlooked. For here, surely, he was concentrating on preserving those already "saved." So perhaps it was in this training ground that he began to omit many aspects of the traditional evangelical method. But why such a method, if then initiated, should have been perpetuated among unregenerate students on campuses on three continents has not yet been explained.

A sociologist, writing in 1969 on the widening gap between clergy and laymen, states that the heritage of Christianity, for increasing numbers of clergy, instructs men in the meaning of life rather than being a dogmatic tradition which claims to possess ultimate reality. Why these two should be assumed to be mutually exclusive is not explained by the author. The medieval argument would be that the latter subsumes the former. The question is raised of why people stay in the church once they have rejected the "traditional orthodox conceptions of Christian belief," and postulates that perhaps religion at that point becomes a source of comfort and help. For him, the reason for the greater doctrinal tolerance within the churches is because modern science has "not only created doubt regarding the plausibility of specific religious doctrines, but has in a real sense introduced the dimension of doubt and uncertainty. . . ."⁶³ Whether this statement is historically viable is not now under consideration. Suffice it to say that Drummond, the subject of our

inquiry, actually and actively encouraged doubt as a vehicle whereby faith might grow. He said to the Harvard students, "Heresy is truth in the making, and doubt is the prelude of knowledge."⁶⁴ From the historical Christian standpoint, of course, it would have to be pointed out that heresy would have to be, by definition, untruth in the making; and doubt, as in the case of Drummond's hero, John Ruskin, often proves to be the prelude to further doubt and eventually "unconversion" or unbelief.

Another aspect of Drummond's method was his appeal to the "imagination" rather than to faith, which historically had been held to come by hearing the Word of God.

This advocacy of the "imagination" as the instrument of spiritual penetration engendered some criticism. It may have indicated a desire to move away from the concept of wonder as the Socratic-thaumazein, "wonder that is astonished but receptive and desirous to learn,"⁶⁵ to a more spiritual realm, a desire, which, in Henry Drummond's own writings at least, was not consummated, as his appeal throughout was confined fairly strictly to the soulish area of mind and emotions. St. Paul would probably have taken faith to be the "instrument" to penetrate spiritually, and this simply comes by hearing and by the word of God. His methods and message were less circuitous than Drummond's.

The preceding analysis of Drummond's thought has dealt with his tendency to use terms such as love, God, nature, or evolution interchangeably. The far-reaching effects of this habit are, of course, integral to his methodology and are even found to effect something as basic as his definition of Christianity: Here two other words are used as if they were identical when Christianity is said to be "a fine inoculation, a trans-fusion of healthy blood into an anaemic or poisoned soul."⁶⁶ And, before

we get carried away into the inexorable flood of his superb rhetoric, as he continues, "No fever of unrest can disturb a soul which has breathed the air and learned the ways of Christ", let us pause to examine the validity of the first statement. Christianity is either an inoculation or a transfusion, for both it cannot be, the first implying mere prophylaxis, the second emptiness and radical infusion of the life-giving substance. This type of thinking is found, unfortunately, not only in his early work, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, but laced throughout his writings, and while we need not agree, we can at least understand why one critic found his style fascinating and eloquent, but the "air of cogent reasoning" which "pervades it" was found in reality to be "fragmentary, and not seldom of the kind known as feminine." The chief conclusions were held to "create scepticism rather than confirm faith."⁶⁷

THE "NEW" EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY OF HENRY DRUMMOND 1851-97.
AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

by

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CHAPTER V

HENRY DRUMMOND'S THOUGHT IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?

The above question was posed by religious "extremists" in the early Middle Ages. The question at issue was whether Christian scholars could, or should, use the classics. The answer evolved through the Carolingian Renaissance and the twelfth century Renaissance, in which the school of Chartres, by the time of John of Salisbury, was composed largely of humanists. In the sixteenth century Erasmus of Rotterdam, derived his philosophy of Christ from the Brethren of the Common Life and the Florentine humanists, the sermon on the Mount and the ethics of ancient philosophers.¹

Here may be observed a thread in Christianity throughout the centuries which tended to align itself with the learning of the times, always presumably with the intent to fulfil rather than to destroy the fullness of the Christian revelation. Also, as early as Erasmus, emphasis was being given to Christianity as a life, rather than a creed, and of scholarship as a means rather than an end in itself.²

As centuries have passed, the process of adjustment, or, as it may be fittingly called, in the particular frame of reference within which we work, at-one-ment, appears to have accelerated, until in the nineteenth century, the Darwinian blast had barely had time to reverberate before men rushed to detonate, to align, to realign and

to identify. Almost invariably the attempt was to adapt the Christian scheme to the latest beliefs of the times, rather than the reverse. The cry of "relevance," still echoed in the churches today, had begun.

Drummond was, of course, one among many "aligners", or harmonizers, or compromisers, and in him, also, one finds the emphasis on Christianity as a life rather than a creed. Perhaps his historical importance may evolve as one who went further and faster in the direction of Athens than any of his more learned contemporaries.³

One writer today observes that, in both Thomistic and neo-orthodox thought, evolution is God's way of creating. The "primary causality" of God operates through, rather than in violation of the "secondary causality" of natural forces.⁴ This may well have been not too dissimilar from Drummond's thought in Natural Law in the Spirtual World, but his aggressive prophetic stance prevented its expression in such terms. Drummond's God was immanent, but an immanent influence on the cosmic process.

Throughout the centuries the question underlying the hopes of man, whether they be in science, evolution or civilization, is the basic one-- what is man? What is man, that thou art mindful of him? Some see his misery, some his grandeur, only a few, like Blaise Pascal, have seen both his grandeur and his misery. Drummond, as Emerson, whom he admired so freely, tended to see man's grandeur; man's misery, in a curious way, while not denied, became increasingly external to the main field of his inquiry, and consequently, insight.

Some further outline of the intellectual climate within which Drummond operated needs to be here mentioned. It has been generally

accepted that a fairly stringent form of Calvinism was the norm in most of the Scottish religious establishment. On this point one recent authority comments "that system of doctrine and polity has shaped more minds and entered into more nations than that of any other Reformer...it has controlled Scotland to the present hour."⁵ While this last may be something of an exaggeration, there can be little doubt that the Scotland of Drummond's youth at least was essentially Calvinistic in many ways, and this "TULIP" system,⁶ or his rebellion against it, is evident in the depths of his thought, even the most naturalistic. The tendency toward Arminianism has been noted by others but not the Calvinism which although antithetical, was here found to undergird it throughout, hence the insoluble paradox of his thought patterns which has puzzled many and discomfited some.

One thinker who appears to have influenced Drummond extensively, although most polite Christian criticism has refrained from mentioning him, is Emanuel Swedenborg. Mentioned by Drummond in the first section of Natural Law in the Spiritual World his type of thought patterns are readily discernible in both of Drummond's "major" works.⁷

Swedenborg has often been called a spiritualist medium, but the normal idea of mediumship is reversed, man going into the spiritual world rather than the spirits into the material or natural world. Also his accounts were too matter of fact to class him as a mystic.⁸ The natural having correspondences in the spiritual world, and all being rooted in divine love and wisdom, it is easy to see why Drummond was early accused of Swedenborgianism, a charge that was not, to this writer's knowledge, ever successfully refuted, other than to

point out that Swedenborg worked from his revelations and Drummond worked up from the natural or material.

William Haller, in an incisive description of the seventeenth century Anglican church, uses words which fittingly, might be applied to the church in Scotland two centuries later:

In doctrine they moved steadily away from orthodox Calvinism ...toward a theology of elastic compromise and continuous adjustment between divine law and human nature, toward a rationalism which supported public security while conceding the desirability of so much change as might in the process of time prove itself to be unavoidable and relatively painless.⁹

The difference between "the Wisdom of Words" and "the Word of Wisdom," (witty and spiritual preaching) applied to content as much as to surface and visible methodological variances.¹⁰ And, although Haller uses it to distinguish between Anglicans and Puritans, this is the same distinction that Kennedy of Dingwall makes in his utterances against the "other gospel" of Dwight Moody and his followers in nineteenth century Scotland when compared to that of traditional Calvinism.

One of the questions underlying this analysis is whether, in fact Henry Drummond, did prefer the "wisdom of words" over the "word of Wisdom" or, the findings and theories of current science over Biblical inspiration and doctrinal statements. Did his faith eventually become a faith in evolution? And, if so, what was the effect of this upon his Christian message?

The belief in science has remained remarkably consistent from its first major articulation in the seventeenth century until today. Reinhard Bendix has quoted C. P. Snow as stating that the "intellectual life of the whole of western society is increasingly being split into

two polar groups", and he contrasts literary intellectuals, whom he calls "natural Luddites" with scientists, who tend to think a thing can be done until proved otherwise. "Science presupposes a belief in the perfectibility of man,"¹¹ and it is in terms of this presumption that much of Drummond's writing is couched.

With the elevation of Science as God, often there has tended to be a corresponding devaluation¹² of the "other God" of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, until the latter becomes a function in rationalist systems such as those of Descartes and Spinoza. In the eighteenth century deism was the great enemy of Christianity. This was the belief in Reason to discover the truths of "natural religion", or faith in a universal God without Christ.¹³ By the nineteenth century God was fitted into the gaps of man's knowledge. Newton had said God must intervene periodically. Darwin showed random variations in natural selection as adaptation. According to J. Y. Simpson, the "God of the Gaps," invoked to explain the scientifically inexplicable, receded, or "retreated", as the gaps in knowledge closed.¹⁴ God's special causal action was replaced by law-obeying natural causes. This God of the gaps was rejected by Henry Drummond,¹⁵ Simpson's predecessor in the chair of natural science in the Glasgow Free Church College, as he is by most theologians and scientists today.

In our own century Karl Jaspers comments that religion looks for God on the "edges of existence."¹⁶ Is not this the same "God of the gaps" pushed out a little further, the result of the passage from a metaphysical to a pragmatic age? If such a passage has indeed been effected, as Harvey Cox¹⁷ avers, surely the transition began to take place somewhere at the end of the last century with men such as Drummond?

Up to the eighteenth century, religion was proved from tradition; in the eighteenth century from reason; and in the first half of the nineteenth century from speculation.¹⁸ Then, in the latter half of the nineteenth century the question arose as to what was historical actuality, and with it the seeking of Christ as a person through history. By Drummond's time divisions were being drawn in theology between orthodox or dogmatic, liberal or historic, mediating or Ritschlian.¹⁹

In order to understand the intellectual framework within which Drummond operated it is necessary to consider the three broad categories under which he has thus far been classified as liberal, Ritschlian or modernist.²⁰ In so doing some insight is gained upon the paradoxical effect of his writing.

The Ritschlians claimed to be more Protestant than the orthodox and more historical than the Liberal. Frank Porter writes that Liberalism and Ritschlianism can best be distinguished by their relation to Schleiermacher and Hegel both of whom were subjective, but the former dependent on feeling, the latter on thought as the instrument of revelation. In liberal theology, Hegel generally predominates, and the rationalizing and idealizing of history and dogma is represented by Bauer of the Tübingen school.²¹ In 1857, Ritschl broke with Bauer and went to Göttingen. He disliked the common usage of religious words, but he distrusted the subjective, and so searched for reality in religion beyond feeling and thought. Kant had proved for Ritschl that thought could not reach transcendental reality. The older orthodoxy was based on the Bible. The newer orthodoxy, or Ritschlianism, began from Schleiermacher and rested

the infallibility of the Bible on Christian experience - an inward religion with an outward foundation: Christ Jesus, the historical person.

Schleiermacher's theory was essentially a Christology, the historical Jesus, the God-man, through whom history may be interpreted, becoming a necessity in the Christian religion in which the starting point of faith is the collective Christian consciousness. While the Hegelians emphasized the God-man; for the Kantians, Jesus was as God; Schleiermacher's followers spoke of the Redeemer;²² and the Ritschlians believed that Jesus Christ was the beginning, not the end of dogmatic reflection. Thus for some, Ritschl limited the doctrine to faith and grounded the whole on experience, especially historical facts.

To the Liberal, history is the self-evolution of an idea, rational, and progressive. To the Ritschlian, the one supernatural fact in history is the life of Jesus Christ, the history of Christian doctrine progressively realizing itself, becoming purer, against the history of men's efforts, "often perverted, always imperfect" to understand Christ and God. Later Harnack's History of Dogma opposed Bauer's optimistic evolutionary theory of history. In him, Church history is not a teleological development of the Christian spirit but a rational view revealing disease in the Church produced by the corruption of Hellenic philosophy and other secularizing influences.

In general the typical Ritschlian was a Kantian and empiricist, and the typical Liberal a Hegelian and an intuitionist. The Ritschlians have been criticized for making Christ's revelation an

isolated miracle, "like a deus ex machina in an otherwise godless world."²³

By these definitions, Henry Drummond would have to be a typical Liberal rather than a Ritschlian.

The Ritschlians said the Liberals made faith a matter of thought. The Liberals tried to bring the modern scientific world view and the Christian world view into harmony or unity. The liberal seeks a place for Christianity within natural religion and rests satisfied "with the natural into which the supernatural has been merged."²⁴ The Ritschlians say the Liberals make faith too natural to man and too much like knowledge. Into this category Drummond in some ways might be placed. His presentation of the Christian life as not simply one available type of life, but the only reasonable life was based on the assumption that faith, as knowledge, was rational.

The fact experienced for both Liberals and Ritschlians is Jesus Christ. To the Ritschlian the person of Christ is the one supernatural fact of history. To the Liberal "its supernaturalness is, at most, a proof that human nature is supernatural." To the Liberal, "Christ is not distinctively supernatural," the main thing is the ideal, from the historical person of Jesus, but not identical with him. Both Ritschlians and Liberals advocate Biblical criticism. According to Porter, the ultimate questions are: are the Ritschlians fully reasonable, and are the Liberals really Christian? Liberal and Ritschlian agree in avoiding the Divine Christ as essential to the Christian faith. The Liberal has the ideal historical Christ, the Ritschlian, the personal historical Christ.²⁵

From the above, it would appear that Drummond was both liberal and Ritschlian; the latter insofar as his Christ was personal-historical rather than ideal-historical, but, the former in many other areas. His presentation was one²⁶ in which the supernatural merged into the natural, and yet the Christian life was for him not simply one available type of life, but the only reasonable life based on the assumption that faith, as knowledge, was rational.

The modernist view of God is dominated by the concept of evolution as a continuous process. This view of man is centered on his moral progress and unity with God, not his sinfulness and opposition to God. Human nature has in it the spark of divinity. God is immanent in man as well as nature.²⁷

Modernist views come in a variety of forms. For Lyman Abbott, God is immanent and transcendent. For Henry Drummond, they come combined with "devotion to Christ" and "deep personal piety." So, for one critic, Drummond has passed beyond liberalism, the mean between the two extremes of traditionalism and modernism. Ian G. Barbour defines liberalism as agreeing with modernism in welcoming scientific knowledge of evolution, but holds that modernism has departed too far from classical views of God and man. The outcome of Biblical scholarship, Schleiermacher's experiential philosophy, and the primacy of the ethical, liberalism's most distinctive feature, was the new methodology based on experience rather than revelation.²⁸

If Drummond cannot be placed effectually, or even usefully, in the stream of Ritschlianism, liberalism, or modernism, although, in some ways, overflowing aspects of all three, should we look somewhere else

for an influence, or an environment, in which to place his thought? The answer is, probably, yes.

In the words of the biographer of Principal Robert Rainy of New College: "it will be received by some readers with surprise--perhaps even with contempt--when I go on to name as the influence which, in God's providence, did quicken the religious faith and life of the times, the revival movement associated with the name of Mr. D. L. Moody..."²⁹ But this was the influence which also quickened a part at least of the faith and life of Henry Drummond.

These words give some poor shadow of the feeling in Scotland of the intelligentsia, albeit ecclesiastical intelligentsia, to revivals in general, and evangelists in particular, so objection against naming Moody-style-evangelism as a formative factor in Henry Drummond's life may be anticipated even today. Some understanding of this particular affectation must be acquired before one can understand the peculiarity of Drummond's behavior in the eyes of his friends, and probably particularly of his friends' parents when he gave up college to help Moody and considered full-time evangelism as a career.

Despite these reservations, however, P. Carnegie Simpson observes:

Moody's preaching of a 'free Gospel' to all sinners did more to relieve Scotland generally--that is to say apart from a limited number of select minds³⁰--of the old hyper-Calvinistic doctrine of election and of what theologians call 'a limited atonement' and to bring home the sense of the love and grace of God towards all men, than did even the teaching of John McLeod Campbell.³¹

He continues in Moody's behalf that

...He refreshed in Scotland the religious essentials of the Gospel--the love of God, the freeness of forgiveness, the power for holiness and, it should be added, the Christian call to righteousness and even philanthropy.³²

Carnegie Simpson's view of Moody's contribution is probably accurate enough, but the question is left unsolved as to whether the listing above does, in fact, constitute the "religious essentials" of the Gospel, although it may well constitute the religious essentials of Drummond's gospel.

The advent and acceptance of Moody himself, in Scotland, and later Drummond, was a symptom of a deeper change, visible to some extent in the changing views and manners, but operating largely invisibly in the spirits and minds of men. The "Spirit of a New Age" was abroad:

At bottom the difference between the present and the past lies between the Rationalistic and the Reformed attitudes towards Holy Writ. The latter of these is the traditional one for Scotland as an Evangelical land; the former, which has been so powerful in the last generation, is but like a recurrence of the eclipse of the Evangel which took place in the Moderate age.³³

Exemplary of the "rationalistic" attitude toward the Bible was, of course, the increasing acceptance of its criticism. And as the Tweedledum of criticism was accepted, the Tweedledee of examining and throwing out doctrines (such as special Creation) moved in alongside, with men, such as Drummond, waving banners of onward and upward, in the ascent of man. Doctrine proved to be surprisingly easy to overturn, once the historicity of the Scriptures was brought into question in the minds of enlightened or educated men. And, in a fashion that would have done credit to the lemmings rushing to the sea, the Scottish theologians vied with one another in their haste and eagerness to dilute what their forefathers had called the gospel of the Lord, the Word of God, and had given their lives to preserve intact.

Had Revelation been replaced by Revolution? Was this a silent revolution, as bloodless as the one of 1688, but more deadly in its implications, because perpetrated against the innocent or theologically uninformed by a group of spiritual and academic élitists in the name of intellectual progress and humanitarianism?

Whatever was happening internally in the minds and spirits of this people, the outward and visible sign was the revolt against creeds and confessions which might be said to be the one factor which all of the leaders in all three churches had in common. In the State Church, John Tulloch and John Caird, both more philosophers than divines, followed English and German trends and had contempt for the definiteness of the Westminster Reformed Confessions. Norman Macleod, beginning as an Erastian, adopted the new Evangelism, in the line of Stanley and Arnold, became an influence at court, and was instrumental in breaking the hold of the Scottish Sabbath.³⁴ His cousin, John Macleod of Dunse and Govan, was an admirer of the Irving tradition and Sacramentarianism along the line of Robert Lee of Greyfriars.³⁵

One demonstrable effect of what was really happening underneath all the creed shuffling, was that the churches gave up Calvinism, though still claiming to be evangelical. At least one contemporary, Thomas Carlyle, the unbeliever, saw the distinction from the outside which the "insiders" were unable to discern, and his views have been encapsulated for posterity: "Have my countrymen's heads become turnips when they think they can hold the premises of German unbelief and draw the conclusions of Scottish Evangelical Orthodoxy?"³⁶

And yet this, in fact, from the historical standpoint, appears to have been what Drummond and his circle of friends in the "upper

ten thousand" appear to have done, to some degree at least, and Carlyle's colorful comment should perhaps no longer be discarded as a type of literary hyperbole, but rather as the acute observation of an objective spectator who saw the pitfalls not apparent to those involved in the game. Professor William Cunningham, too, perhaps one of the greatest scholars at New College, Edinburgh, during this period, passed "disparaging judgement" on the theological insight of his own day, the distinctive features of the different systems not being clearly enough recognized in his opinion.³⁷

The underlying effects of all these endeavors toward denominational "unity" were probably not apparent for some time. But, by 1927, it was noted that there was no one theology in Scotland, but a mosaic of many theologies, and the writer attributes this to the fact that the belief in the infallible Bible had gone.³⁸ The influence of a form of Schleiermacher's idea of feeling over thought was to be found in a reduced form in Martenson and van Oosterzee which were welcomed by even J. S. Candlish. These, while accepting the Bible as the source of doctrine, made "religious conscience" its ordering principle. Through Caird and Jones, Hegel influenced Scottish theology, then followed the Ritschlian influence, dominant in the early twentieth century--a theology of morality and religion which eliminated everything remedial from the gospel.³⁹ All these influences were so potent, because from the eighteenth century on, some discerned a decline in Scottish theology; and, after 1943, the revolt from the creed showed itself in liberalising movements in religious thought, forms of worship and sabbath observance, associated with

Robert Lee, John Caird and Norman Macleod. "The old indifference to Calvinistic dogmatics became aggressive."⁴⁰ In Edinburgh, William Cunningham and Thomas Crawford were erudite expositors,⁴¹ representing the last phase of the pure Calvinistic tradition in Scotland. At Glasgow University, Professor Hastie, the moderate Calvinist and broad progressive, embodied evolution and admired Schweitzer's adaptation of Schleiermacher's views to the Reformed theology.⁴²

In considering Drummond's work historically some similarities are to be found between his thought categories and those of Adolf Harnack, who at the turn of this century in his influential book, Das Wesen des Christentums groups Jesus' teaching under these heads: the kingdom of God and its coming; God the father, and the infinite value of the human soul, and the higher righteousness and the commandment of love.

That Jesus' message is so great and so powerful lies in the fact that it is so simple and on the other hand so rich; so simple as to be exhausted in each of the leading thoughts which he uttered; so rich that every one of these thoughts seems to be inexhaustible and the full meaning of the sayings and parables beyond our reach.⁴³

Cognizant that comparisons as to writing often tend to mislead, it should be mentioned that Drummond himself found some of the writing of Horace Bushnell "the Father of American Religious Liberalism" to mirror his own. And, indeed, in 1858, Bushnell had published a work entitled Nature and the Supernatural, where "nature" is defined as the realm of being governed by law, and the "supernatural" acts upon the chain from without, but both constitute the one "system of God."⁴⁴

But there the similarity ends, as Bushnell's essay on Science and Religion was a statement against the Darwinian evolutionary theory.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, American Protestantism may be divided into three strains of thought: traditional or Biblical orthodoxy, romantic liberalism, and scientific modernism.⁴⁵ Henry Drummond incorporated aspects of all three; reared in Calvinism, nurtured by the evangelist Dwight Moody but also by men like the classicist A. B. Davidson, and apparently maintaining himself, in later life at least, upon a staple diet of Emerson, Browning, Huxley and Spencer. His thought is a curious and early hybrid of all three traditions, which may be unique, but Drummond's orthodoxy has been often upheld upon the grounds of his emphasis upon the doctrine of rebirth with its concomitant implications of the sinfulness of man.

Among the liberals, men like Lyman Abbott were almost blasé in their encounter with evolutionism. From a romantic theology they developed a "facile harmonization of science with Christianity over which one's mind may glide unruffled by any angularities of meaning."⁴⁶ How easily this might be a description of Drummond's later writing, and how imperceptibly it evolves into a social gospel, in the manner of Washington Gladden.⁴⁷

On the other hand, how perfectly he fits into modernism, if it is taken to be "the use of the methods of modern science to find, state, and use the permanent and central values of inherited orthodoxy "in meeting the needs of the modern world."⁴⁸ And, of course, science then included psychology, sociology, anthropology and history. But who is to define the "central values" of inherited orthodoxy?

In his book, The New Theology, Theodore Munger⁴⁹ quotes the principles taught by F. W. Robertson of Brighton. These are worth citing here in full because of their influence on Drummond, who paid tribute to Robertson as the one who taught him to know Christ.

Robertson writes:

The principles on which I have taught: First. The establishment of positive truth, instead of the negative destruction of error. Secondly. That truth is made up of two opposite propositions, and not found in a via media between the two. Thirdly. That spiritual truth is discerned by the spirit, instead of intellectually in propositions; and, therefore, Truth should be taught suggestively, not dogmatically. Fourthly. That belief in the human character of Christ's humanity must be antecedent to belief in His Divine origin. Fifthly. That Christianity, as its teachings should, works from the inward to the outward, and not vice versa. Sixthly. The soul of goodness in things evil.⁵⁰

All six are found to be incorporated into much of Drummond's writing. But perhaps of particular importance here is consideration of the last proposition--"the soul of goodness in things evil." Some understanding on our part of the Christian view of evil is also necessary as Drummond's later work embodies to some degree the above beliefs, but the earlier has more in common with the traditional view of a power of evil whence man needs deliverance.

All the characteristic terms of Christian theology--salvation, redemption, forgiveness, grace--indicate, contrary to Robertson and Drummond, a power of evil from which man needs to be saved, or which impedes higher life. Man's thought of what he is, moulds all his other thought and a shallow concept of man breeds a shallow concept of God. The Pelagian not only "denies the depth of human sin but also the depth of divine action. The same law of alteration or balance runs through Christian thought."⁵¹

Henry Drummond attempted to restore a balance in the Christian thinking of his time, to "correct the false emphasis" of the Calvinism he learned in his youth. The question has not yet been answered as to whether he thereby gave a greater distortion or a better emphasis. Evolutionary theory leaves little room for the idea of sin. For that which is solely a growth of nature cannot contain anything at variance with the higher laws, that is, it cannot contradict itself, and so the anthropological question, what is man, becomes the primary one.⁵² Can man really be explained by mere laws of cosmical progress, as Drummond attempted to do in Natural Law in the Spiritual World?

And yet the question of evil is as old as humanity and is in all forms of religion.⁵³ In all nature-religions sin is external. It comes to man from the outside, as in Zoroastrianism and Hellenism.⁵⁴ Also, in much of Henry Drummond's later writing, sin appears to be external.⁵⁵

The atmosphere surrounding sin and evil in the Old and New Testaments is different. Here sin and evil are an error of man's own mind or will; the spectre comes from within not from without. The enemy is in man himself, not in nature or any symbol. The gods of nature are dual. The Hebrew God is good first, and is nature second. He created heaven and earth and light and darkness. This concept of sin includes evil, and yet is deeper than any concept of evil yet reached.⁵⁶ Here sin belongs to, cleaves to our nature. It is universal. There is no man that doeth good and sinneth not.⁵⁷ In the gospels, man is represented nowhere as anything but a sinner. He is a fallen and degraded being, at best "lost", but he is noble even in degradation, with the capacity for divine life beneath the "ruin of nature". The

divine likeness is not obliterated, but obscured.⁵⁸ Tulloch points out that nowhere in Scripture are the lines between good and evil drawn more firmly, sharply, or antagonistically than in the gospels, because sin comes out in the presence of Him who is the light of the world.⁵⁹ For Tulloch, Pauline theology is very different from the gospels for the fullness of divine truth does not live in him bodily and therefore the central theme became, for him, righteousness by faith.⁶⁰ This distinction drawn between Pauline theology and that of the gospels was a growing one at this time in the nineteenth century. Whether the subsequent twentieth century rejection of much that was Pauline resulted in a more accurate presentation of "Christianity," history will decide.

Some analogy may be drawn between Pascal and Kierkegaard as moralists and apologists distinguishing Christianity from natural religion,⁶¹ and, on this basis, Samuel Shoemaker's view of Drummond as "a kind of Protestant Pascal" is perhaps particularly mystifying. His other thought on Drummond as "one of the influential pioneers in the whole field of psychotherapy," however, may be quite viable historically. James Kennedy's statement that the early essay "'Spiritual Diagnosis'¹ became a classic which marked the beginning of the modern movement of scientific, personal evangelism"⁶² seems rather an ambitious claim, and might be hard to substantiate; but it is not one that this writer has interest in refuting.

Kennedy's view of Drummond is of considerable importance both bibliographically and practically, as his book is the only work which

has reached publication, since the biography by J. Y. Simpson at the beginning of the century. Elsewhere in this anthology Kennedy comments that Drummond's contribution was to bridge "the gap between faith and practice" . . . He did not ignore theology but emphasized living out the doctrine."⁶³ This last would be endorsed by Latourette who, in his survey, sees Henry Drummond as notable "for aiding many to fit the findings of modern science, especially evolution, into a rational scheme with the Christian faith."⁶⁴

Kennedy views Drummond as a pioneer. He states that Drummond's themes have been enlarged on by later scientists, historians, and men of religion, and some of his insights proved, and he cites Rufus Jones in his Social Law in the Spiritual World in which acknowledgement is indeed given to the influence of Drummond. The lines which Kennedy sees connecting Drummond to Lecomte du Nouy and Arnold Toynbee,⁶⁵ however, are not so readily discernible.

A rather different view is that of Ian Barbour, who, noting that Drummond quotes most extensively from Thomas Huxley and Herbert Spencer, observes that he could not fail eventually to be influenced by the "atheistic agnosticism" of the one and the "evolutionary agnosticism" of the other⁶⁶ and classifies him as a modernist.

Drummond attempted the impossible: to synthesize the atheism of his day at its strongest,⁶⁷ without any dilution, with the theism of a type of Christianity, and market the end product as a "new" evangelism, a return to what he divined to be the Christianity of the first century. That he failed is not surprising. But one cannot fail to be impressed by the sheer audacity of his attempt. Barth

has observed that religion is positive and, thus, always stronger than atheism,⁶⁸ and perhaps it was on this factor that Drummond gambled, despite the constant imperatives in Old and New Testaments not to walk, stand or sit with the ungodly.

Some still hold that it is always more important that theological assumptions be examined and corrected than that conclusions be disputed.⁶⁹ This, the correcting of the false emphasis, is what Henry Drummond attempted to do for his generation and the success of his attempt is still disputed.

A well known sociologist writes in 1955, that Henry Drummond, the English publicist,⁷⁰ preceded Giddings Principles of Sociology of 1896 by enunciating the principles of societization or sociality⁷¹ in his Lowell Lectures on The Ascent of Man and a goodly number of works on the same theme had been published since 1910.⁷² Here Drummond is seen as a sociologist.

Categories of religious thought in the second half of the nineteenth century have been defined above by Sidney Mead as: the Biblically orthodox, who resisted evolution; the romantic liberalists, who faced evolution with a blasé equanimity; and the scientific modernists, who built a religion out of the materials furnished by the social sciences.⁷³ Here again, Drummond would straddle all three categories, in some respects.

According to Stow Persons, Drummond adopts the "anti-reductionist, emergent interpretation of evolution", and, seeing in it important implications for moral theory, he had a "pronounced influence upon the thinking of many persons, especially college students."⁷⁴ Persons states that for Drummond, the full view of evolution showed the

struggle for life being replaced by the struggle for the life of others, which Drummond calls "love," which is not accidental, nor supernatural, but "a force in Nature which was destined from the first to replace the struggle for life, and to build a nobler super-structure on the foundations which it laid."⁷⁵ Thus, Christianity and evolution are both "methods of creation," identical, working through love to make perfect human beings both having the "same author, the same end, and the same spirit."⁷⁶ Persons says that a similar approach to evolution and ethics was also adopted by George Harris, the Congregational minister who later became president of Amherst College.

"Undergirding the moral theories of men like Fiske, Drummond, and Harris, there is the conviction that the process of evolution which leads to the development of morality is guided by a Divine Creating Power."⁷⁷

A 1927 survey of Scottish church history, which has yet to be replaced, describes Henry Drummond as a "quite new type"⁷⁸--the herald of a new generation,⁷⁹ thoroughly modern in outlook, especially with reference to science, presenting Christianity as an ideal life to be realized empirically rather than a plan of salvation to be interpreted theologically; an "unconventional evangelist" whose books and booklets had "astounding popularity."⁸⁰

And so Drummond appears as many things to many men, and to some degree the questions still remain unanswered. Was he philosopher, psychotherapist, sociologist, geologist, evangelist, liberal, modernist, evolutionist, or an unlikely combination of all? The fact that all these categorizations are to some degree true, with the exception of

that on Pascal,⁸¹ is a measure of the versatility of the subject of this inquiry and a reason for the various and conflicting views of him which won currency both during his lifetime and in the eighty years since his death.

As the analysis of Drummond's writings and thought developed, it was observed that, with the blurring of the lines between natural and supernatural, man and God, and the development of the evolutionary continuum, first as the contextual framework, later, as the foundation of his world view, major Christian doctrines, such as atonement and resurrection, were attenuated, presumably to accommodate the superstructure which was rising from within. Perhaps also Drummond's "nature thought" may be said to represent a revolt against the Puritan contempt for the natural man.⁸²

Between 1820 and 1870, positivism held sway in the world of culture and at the same time, pathological psychology by experiments in hypnosis, the subconscious, and personality changes, established their affinity with mystical phenomena, and thereby "seemed to take from the latter their character of supernatural revelations."⁸³ Thus, in some ways the mid-nineteenth century may be seen to have laid the groundwork for the Freudian revolution in thought which was to follow.

So this theme of the "naturalness of the supernatural" is perhaps Drummond's main plea throughout Natural Law in the Spiritual World and it is a motif that runs through his life as well as his thought. The possibility of his interest in this area having been quickened by his exploration of hypnosis and other extra-sensory activities rather than by his religious knowledge or interests is one that cannot any longer be discarded.

Another moral influence which was held by contemporaries to have "turned men from the Invisible" was that of Charles Darwin; although Darwin himself "openly denied no tenet of the Christian creed."⁸⁴ And, although Drummond's intention in writing Natural Law in the Spiritual World was undoubtedly to turn men to the "Invisible," as the God of Christianity, criticism does seem to indicate that its impact was the opposite for many persons. That is, Drummond's attempt to spiritualize the natural seems historically to evolve as an archetype of secularization as the spiritual is naturalized and, thereby eventually neutralized.

It has been said that no spiritual unity can be achieved by compartmentalizing minds, and thus the flow of Drummond's thought into and out of many present day disciplines and categories may in some ways be viewed as an advantage spiritually, although a nightmare to analyze. As with Teilhard de Chardin who was neither professional metaphysician nor theologian, and whose mysticism even has been contested,⁸⁵ Drummond's writing fits into almost no professional intellectual category, by present day standards, because it overflows many while settling in none.

These implications of Drummond's stance did not escape the attention of at least one contemporary, writing in The Scots Observer in 1889: "Our views on everything in this world, and even in the next, if we follow Professor Drummond, have been revolutionized by Darwinism."⁸⁶ Another reviewer comments that his last book, The Ascent of Man, represents the "soaring flights of a young and vigorous school of thought," and even in its most "daring generalizations" there is an element of truth.⁸⁷

By the 1920's, some felt that there were fewer people looking for the answer to the problem of religious unity in doctrines. In earlier centuries, the concentration had been on great "doctrines" such as God, freedom, and immortality. And thus, although Freud was probably more dangerous to the religion of the average Christian, the spirit of the times had already changed sufficiently, so that the implications of his writing were not examined as fiercely as had been those of Darwin in the previous generations. Some of the causes of this changed "spirit" are seen to have been the acceptance of evolutionary theory by many Christians, the growth of pathological psychology, and the acceptance of Biblical criticism as being "higher" if it discarded most of the tenets of Old Testament Faith and New Testament eschatology.⁸⁸

Washington Gladden, in a chapter on sacred and secular in Ruling Ideas of the Present Age writes:⁸⁹

This doctrine of God immanent in nature needs to be supplemented, of course, by the doctrine of God transcendent over nature. But in this passage of Paul's we have the explicit statement of the immanence of the Christ in creation; the Christ idea, the Christ principle. . . is part of the very framework of the physical world, has been so from the dawn of creation. This is the great thought which Professor Drummond has so powerfully presented to us in "The Ascent of Man," with abundant learning, with marvelous eloquence, he shows us that when man thought that

"Nature, red in tooth and claw with raven
shreiked [sic] against his creed."

he did not understand Nature; that love, more than hate, is the song of her choring voices; that the struggle for life has for its perpetual counterpart the struggle for the life of others. Here is the Christ idea, the Christ principle, imbedded in the very order of the physical world, precisely as Paul has told us. And if the creation has shared with man the losses and disorders which have resulted from his disobedience, it may also share with him in the redemptive and regenerative work which Christ has come to perform. . .⁹⁰

He continues:

It is thus made evident that even the physical world is not a region foreign to the Prince of life that the very love of which he was the incarnation is the element in which all things consist or hold together . . . And if even the physical world is the subject of this redemptive work, much more must the framework of the social order be included in the redemptive process. . . .⁹¹

The logic which binds these assorted statements together is as novel as the notion of Drummond, as a man "abundantly learned," would have been to the Scottish theologians. This reception of Drummond's ideas by a leading American figure such as Gladden makes it easy to understand why Drummond enjoyed America so well, but then, on a more serious vein, the question must arise as to why the same man and his writing should have been not only received but also perceived, so differently not only on the two sides of the Atlantic but in other parts of the world.

In Australia, reviews of The Ascent of Man were good, despite the lukewarm reception of the man himself a few years earlier. In The Presbyterian in Sydney, the following appeared in 1894: "Thirty-five years ago, Darwin's Origin of Species ushered in a new epoch for science. It is no exaggeration that The Ascent of Man is also an "epoch-making" book. It is a "great discovery" by Henry Drummond.⁹² Ten years earlier, in March 1884, The New Zealand Herald had written of Natural Law in the Spiritual World "this unpretentious volume. . . one of the most unusual books of the nineteenth century. . . for the first time in the history of theology, Drummond has solved the natural-spiritual problem."⁹³

But in Scotland, in 1894, the trend of the criticism was in a different direction, as is evidenced by the following excerpt from an article

entitled "More Drummondism" in the Edinburgh Evening Dispatch: "Neither a priori in his introduction; nor a posteriori in the papers which follow; neither by argument, fact, or valid analogy does Mr. Drummond support his thesis."⁹⁴

Several contiguous questions might well be raised here, such as, what was the difference between prevailing nineteenth century brands of Christianity in America, Australia, Scotland, or New Zealand, that the same volume was hailed so differently? Why should heresy in one century be epoch-making truth in another, unless it be that the basis of the Christian tradition had shifted in one more than in the other? Were the lines between the sacred and secular more clearly drawn in one continent than in another?

Some recent writers have addressed themselves to the distinction between sacred and secular. Neill P. Hamilton, observes that in the earlier Biblical period, there was no distinction between the sacred and the secular in the modern sense.⁹⁵ While A. R. Lippett says that the notion of the "secular city" is one of our great myths, as the city is not secular because it rejects the Church. For him, the true distinction is between the secular man, who will not accept the supernatural at all, and the animist or pagan who believes in supernatural powers from astrology onwards.⁹⁶

Another view of the sacred-secular question is that of secularization having inaugurated a "desacralized" society in which God seems increasingly irrelevant and in which John Robinson states that men go to Him when they have come to the "end of their tether." Add to this, subjectivism--"if you think it's right, it's right for you,"

and scientism--where the educators indicate that "the only 'real' knowledge is scientific knowledge,"⁹⁷ and the transition from nineteenth to twentieth century, or Drummond's time to our own is complete.

Another modern writer, Harvey Cox, makes an additional distinction between secularization and secularism. The former is seen as an historical process marking the decline in public power of religious institutions, while secularism is an ideology or world view. And, opposing the former because it leads to the latter, is held to be mistaken.⁹⁸ Of course, the two are inextricably interwoven; and as Malcolm Boyd in The Underground Church points out, the irony is that "orthodoxy" may have passed from establishment American Christianity to the "secular spirituality" which stands against its corruptions.⁹⁹

Science and religion are today, however, still held by some to be isolated, because of three things: the neo-orthodox emphasis on the distinctiveness of revelation, the existentialist emphasis on personal involvement, and the fact that scientific and religious languages are unrelated to human life.¹⁰⁰ Thus, faith depends on divine initiative, not on human discovery of the scientific kind; that is, faith depends on God first, rather than man.

It has been seen that great changes in the mental climate of Scotland, and indeed of the whole western world, were wrought during Drummond's lifetime. And the full impacts of the acceptance of an evolutionary cosmology ingrafted into Christianity were not apparent for many years, and indeed, are not fully discernible even now.

Looking back to Drummond's era, with the statistics of today's "churchless" in Scotland in mind, the words of one Drummond contemporary should perhaps be reconsidered.

With still greater grief should I look on my church in a spasmodic state, subject to convulsions, which only indicate that her life is departing, the result of revivals got up by men. It will be a sad day for our country, if the men who luxuriate in the excitement of man-made revivals, shall, with their one-sided views of truth, which have ever been the germs of serious errors, their lack of spiritual discernment, and their superficial experience, become the leaders of religious thought and the conductors of religious movements. Already they have advanced as many as inclined to follow them, far in the way to Arminianism in doctrine, and to Plymouthism in service. They may be successful in galvanising, by a succession of sensational shocks, a multitude of dead, till they seem to be alive.¹⁰¹

Such utterances did not enhance the writer's popularity in his own time. The "new evangelism" against which he speaks is that of D. L. Moody and his followers. Its methods were developed in Scotland, because it was seen to lead men to Christ. Kennedy goes on to predict:

if there continues to be progress in the direction in which present religious activity is moving, a negative theology will soon supplant our Confession of Faith, the good old ways of worship will be forsaken for unscriptural inventions, and the tinsel of a superficial religiousness will take the place of genuine godliness.¹⁰²

Did the abandonment of creeds and confessions the new evangelism, and the adoption of sacred-secular thought patterns mark the beginnings of the modern phenomena described by Dietrich Bonhoeffer as "cheap grace? . . . the grace we bestow on ourselves . . . the preaching of forgiveness without requiring repentance, baptism without church discipline, Communion without confession . . . grace without discipleship, grace

without the cross. . ."103 Bonhoeffer saw it as the deadly enemy of the church. "We are fighting today for costly grace":

Cheap grace means grace as a doctrine, a principle, a system. It means forgiveness of sins proclaimed as a general truth, the love of God taught as the Christian "conception" of God--An intellectual assent to that idea is held to be of itself sufficient to secure remission of sins.¹⁰⁴

By 1913, James Stalker was deploring the decay of the Calvinist spirit in Scotland,¹⁰⁵ and the post-World War I revival of Calvinism was in no way a return to the Calvinism of Calvin's time, although Karl Barth styled his return to the Reformed faith a "theology of correction."¹⁰⁶

In our own context, the term is, of course, reminiscent of Drummond, and it may well be found in a later study that some of the very things that Drummond and his contemporaries assiduously avoided, to the point of virtually eliminating, were the things which Barth and his school sought to reinstate.

Bonhoeffer continues:

There are so few people now who want to have any intimate spiritual association with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; music tries to draw inspiration from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, theology from the time of the Reformation, philosophy from St. Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle, and the present Weltanschauung from bygone Teutonic days. But who bothers at all now about the works and achievements of our grandfathers, and how much of what they knew have we already forgotten? I believe that people will one day be quite amazed by what was achieved in that period, which is now so disregarded and so little known.¹⁰⁷

Thus, the transvaluation of values accomplished in the last decade of Drummond's life may indeed prove to be a source of amazement, and perhaps not in a way that even Bonhoeffer had anticipated.

This overview of intellectual history inwith and outwith the church, was couched in terms of eschatologies, and natural-spiritual relations, these being the two themes which were found to illuminate Henry Drummond's thought.

The early church is said to have been dominated by "resurrection faith" and the experience of the Holy Spirit. The cruciality of the cross and its interpretation had to wait for Paul.¹⁰⁸ In Tertullian, eschatology is vital although not in the third century Latin and Greek apologists. Augustine, a product of neo-Platonism, marks the beginning of the ecclesiastical interpretation, where the Church on earth is both kingdom of Christ and kingdom of heaven.

Medieval Christianity was largely institutional, juridical and sacramental and the eschatological emphasis is, perhaps, correspondingly diminished. The popular world picture tends toward a rather comfortably ordered chain of being, with the good and bad angels above and below tiered to encompass man, who is metaphorically, if not actually, sandwiched in the middle.

It is here as well to elucidate this hierarchical cosmological structure because it is analogous in certain perhaps limited respects to the natural-spiritual continuum seen and developed by Henry Drummond, to his own comfort, and apparently that of countless others, even today.¹⁰⁹ The seraphs, cherubs, thrones, dominations, virtues, powers, principalities, archangels and angels above man were "in correspondence to" triadic groupings of bad angels below him. But here the analogy fails. For, if medieval man was camped between two battlegrounds of warring

angels, Drummond's "Spencerian man" is somewhere half way up the Chain of Being indeed, but it is between protozoan and God, and both sets of angels have evaporated, whether by wishful thinking or exorcism is nowhere clarified.

Thus, although one critic calls Drummond's work Paracelsian, in his tendency to "metaphorically commit the theologians to the flames,"¹¹⁰ the same critic on the same page, paradoxically, but accurately, observes¹¹¹ that much of the book which made Drummond famous¹¹² is medieval, and its central concept--or something very like it--the constant analogy between the macrocosm of external Nature and the microcosm of man--is similar to that conspicuous in Paracelsus' system.¹¹³

Within the framework of Catholic medieval Christendom, little has been found of much similitude to Drummond's cosmology, perhaps because "the idea of progress is not a Christian idea," and, according to Emil Brunner, "no New Testament, no medieval and no Reformation writer had any idea of progress."¹¹⁴ But, on the fringes of the Christian experience, we see in the thought of the twelfth century monk Joachim de Floris, with his age of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and later, in the "correspondences" of Emmanuel Swedenborg glimmerings of visions in some ways similar to that which Drummond embraced in his early student days, and did not appear to surrender, at least in his working life.¹¹⁵

The strong apocalyptic tension of the sixteenth and seventeenth century reformation writers, and especially, of course, Luther, in his attempts to purify the Church from the Anti-Christ, but also to some degree, both Zwingli and Calvin, is simply missing from Drummond's

presentation which is better understood in the context of eighteenth and nineteenth century religious liberalism. In general, his kingdom of God, which is always prominent, tends to be ethical, quasi-mystical and social, and of the type which helped engender the backlash of Schweitzer's futuristic kingdom while in some ways presaging Bultmann's eschatology of existential decision.

In summation, the words of John Tulloch seem applicable:

It would seem as if the human mind, with all its restless activity, were destined to revolve in an endless circle. . . the route. . .always returns upon itself. Nature and all its secrets become better known and the powers of Nature are brought more under human control; but the sources of Nature and life and thought--all the ultimate powers of being--never become clearly intelligible. Not only so, but the last efforts of human reasoning on these subjects are even as the first. Differing in form. . .they are in substance the same. No philosophy of theism has advanced beyond Job, and Tyndall as prophet repeats Democritus and Epicurus. . .Newton thought of himself as a child with a few pebbles at a boundless sea.¹¹⁶

CHAPTER VI

CRITICISM OF DRUMMOND'S THOUGHT

Who are you to judge the servant of someone else? It is his own Master who will decide whether he succeeds or fails. . . . You then, why do you pass judgement on your brother? . . . All of us will stand before God to be judged by him. . . . So then, let us stop judging one another. Instead, this is what you should decide: not to do anything that would make your brother stumble or fall into sin. (Romans 14:3, 10, and 13)

The above short excerpts from the Pauline epistle to the Romans may be taken as a fair indication of the tenor of positive criticism which surrounded Drummond during his life and pillowed him safely beyond death.

Some of the leading active voices of this view are found, conveniently enough, all clustered together as signatories to a letter of protest, which appeared a decade after Drummond's death, in response to one presumptuous enough to raise the question -- or problem¹ -- of Drummond's failure to emphasize the atonement in his writings.

The letter which evoked the response, quoted from W. R. Clow: "A few years ago Henry Drummond was preaching a Gospel which did not focus on the Cross. His brilliant gifts and his mesmeric personality gave his message a potent charm."² To which Drummond's friends replied, perhaps more faithfully than accurately, that Drummond "magnified" the atonement, as one of the central facts of Christianity.³

The inevitable isolated passage, "the freedom of guilt, the forgiveness of sins, comes from Christ's cross; the hope of immortality springs from Christ's grave,"⁴ which had assuaged Sankey's doubts in 1892 and apparently has satisfied succeeding generations of Drummond scholars, was

cited in Drummond's defense, together with Moody's comment "to one of ourselves" that the Cross was the centre of Drummond's preaching as it was of his life, although he did not refer to it as often as he, Moody, desired.

The letter continues,

Into that world of plastic young humanity he stepped - a man absolutely pure, a gentleman and a Christian.⁵ From that day to this, certain ways . . . have been bad form; certain aspirations and ideals after the noblest things have been held in honour. This was one of his highest achievements."⁶

One gets the impression from the above of the combined strengths and solidarity of Drummond's proponents, the feeling of muted outrage that such an issue should ever be raised, and the assurance of victory on the part of the five men whose accumulated academic credentials were certainly enough to intimidate the most intrepid spokesman of the "old" evangelism which they singly and together had done so much to discredit.

Little time has been spent in this dissertation upon the Smith biography, hitherto considered the standard of both Drummond biography and criticism. This is not a reflection in any way upon its intrinsic worth, for it has been and may remain for some time the springboard for most work on Drummond. Rather, the decision to place Smith on the perimeter was threefold, based upon the accessibility of this biography, its over-utilization in the past, and the particular slant of his thought, which was found to be not dissimilar to Drummond's own, in its advocacy of the "new evangelism" and the "higher" criticism.⁷

It was thus felt that a more valuable contribution would be effected by examining sources now out-of-print and mostly not generally available. Thus, if undue consideration appears to be given to the negative, this is quite intentional, the purpose being to correct an eighty-year-old

imbalance, and to realign the thought of this man, apart from his friends, in historical perspective.⁸

Drummond criticism may first be divided into three broad categories: favorable, unfavorable, and a section considering the ambiguity of these views. At the beginning, it was considered necessary to glance briefly at Drummond's own attitude to criticism and attempt a tentative exploration of it before proceeding to the general body of works attacking and defending.

First, let it be understood unequivocally that the sources for this whole area of reactions to what Drummond said -- or to what men thought he said -- are so voluminous as to constitute ample material for another dissertation. Thus, this present writer has not attempted a complete analysis of them, but rather has considered the main objections, and there are many, in relation to Drummond's entire opus, in an attempt to determine, for the first time, if the Weltanschauung of Natural Law in the Spiritual World and The Ascent of Man -- to which most of the readily available criticism is confined -- carries over into the rest of his thought. And, if this were found to be so, the contingent question arose -- in what way was it effected from the standpoint of historical Christianity.

All men will hate you because of me, but he who stands firm to the end, will be saved. (Matthew 10:22)

The above sentence from one of the Gospels he loved, perhaps best explains Drummond's own, rather puzzling, position in the face of the adverse criticism which was unleashed upon him fairly unremittingly throughout the last decade of his active life.

His short letter to Sankey, asking him to remind his friends "that they know not what they do, or what solemn interest they imperil when they judge"⁹ is reminiscent of the above section from Paul's letter to the Romans, and perhaps this is what Drummond had in mind when he -- passively, by the world's standards -- refused to comment on those who "judged" him through criticism. But it is surprising that only a line or two, in addition to the above, remains in self-justification.

This relatively passive academic attitude may be attributed either to his long-suffering Christ-like acceptance¹⁰ expressed as early as his Barclay period,¹¹ and/or to his inability to answer the charges of his critics. One source does indicate that he went so far as to list and answer the charges against Natural Law in the Spiritual World, but this appears only to have been done for his personal satisfaction, as it was not made public.¹²

George Adam Smith cries plaintively, "Oh Henry, why did you not dine with Wadsworth and Longfellow?" This writer would superimpose, "Oh Henry, why did you not answer the criticism against you?" And after having attempted to reconcile one stream of his thought with the other(s) eventually one is left with the possibility that Drummond did not defend himself because his position in both Natural Law in the Spiritual World and The Ascent of Man is irreconcilable with an historical Christian world-view.

Most of the early Drummond criticism encountered during the preparation of this work was negative. Even Smith, who may well be looked on as Drummond's main apologist, is tentative in his praise of his friend's writing while extravagant, by the standards of our generation at least, in the praise of Drummond's character. While Smith appears to take a balanced view of the whole situation, it is well to keep in mind that he himself

was a proponent of the so-called "higher" criticism, which lends a certain coloration to all his comments. In fact, these double biases of friendship with Drummond, and fighting as it were in the same camp, tend to destroy much of the historical viability of his work, other than as a catalogue of events and activities.¹³

It should be pointed out that as late as 1901, a committee of ministers published a protest against a work of George Adam Smith's¹⁴ as a "sorrowful drifting away from what people believe is the faith delivered to the saints, a sapping of the Church's former belief and an intrusion of strange views borrowed from we know not where." Such teaching was held by this ministerial committee to be "utterly subversive of the inspiration, the authority, and historic truthfulness of Holy Scripture."¹⁵ The fact that such views were not new does not negate the fact that their tolerance in pulpits or Professors' chairs was held by this group to be inimical to the usefulness of the church in the world and offensive to God himself.

More specifically, the summary was that the teaching of Smith "on the revealed character of God in early Israel" was a "manifest perversion of truth," and his teaching on the origin and character of the beginning chapters of Genesis were held not only to be unfounded but also "directly opposed" to the rest of the Bible and especially the Pauline writings. His mode of criticism was found to be contrary to past Church teaching and illogical rather than scientific, and his repeated assertion that Christ gave a charter which sanctions many of the lines of modern criticism, a view also held by Drummond, was held to be fallacious reasoning and a license for "fantastical interpretation of Holy Scripture."¹⁶

The basis of this cry of outrage against the behavior and methods of Smith and his group is graphically outlined in the closing sentence:

We deplore that from within the city of the Great King, and in the sight of all men, anyone appointed to defend its walls against foreign attack, should . . . open its gates to the enemy on grounds so flimsy and unsatisfactory, as those contained in this apology for surrender.¹⁷

It should be pointed out that, after this attack, Smith went on to be appointed to the principalship of Aberdeen University, so, as in the case of Robertson Smith a generation earlier, perhaps heresy charges were something by this time no longer to be feared but rather to be welcomed as potential catalysts of academic promotion.

This background helps clarify why, in the Smith biography, those criticizing Drummond are depicted as "hot hunters of a fancied heresy" who ignored the great amount of positive Christian doctrine he taught, his evangelical services, his character, and influences.¹⁸ It should be noted that, as it was these last three factors which caused the orthodox much of their unease, their citation, as a part of Drummond's defense, could only serve to enhance rather than diminish the critics' concern. That is, it was in large part because of his influence at the university level on two continents that deviations in his doctrine were so deplored.

Some Favorable Criticism

Within the broad category of those favorable toward Drummond's work, a subdivision emerges between those who unequivocally accept the importance of Drummond's contribution to nineteenth and twentieth century thought,¹⁹ and those who hold him important but with significant reservations, as in the case of the anthology by James Kennedy, where we are asked to set aside Natural Law in the Spiritual World and The Ascent of Man as archaic encumbrances,²⁰ despite the fact that it is these two books which have placed Drummond in intellectual history at all.

The group which has distinguished itself by unreservedly favorable criticism of Drummond's "major" works is small but select. In fact, the

numbers here are reduced to three, the first being a disciple, writing before the waters of controversy had settled.

For T. Hunter Boyd, a Canadian minister, Natural Law in the Spiritual World "made it evident" that a man could be at the same time a "thorough-going evolutionist" and a "thorough-going evangelist." He points out that the idea common enough by 1917 was "very singular" twenty years earlier.²¹ He quotes Drummond's statement on multiplied sin and comments that if he (Drummond) did not say more about sin, it was because others were already doing so. "Men were healed not by taking acid fluids out, but by putting Christ in." He comments that "Drummond made men believe he trusted them," and observes in an epigram of doubtful validity, but one worthy of Drummond himself, that "for many persons to be trusted is to be saved."²² This writer would again enter protest against the real danger of juxtaposing terms in this fashion. This was an art in which Drummond was a master, and one which he apparently bequeathed to this one student at least.

In fact, this tendency toward substitution of terms might be an excellent starting point for a literary examination of Drummond's thought. Suffice it here to observe that "trust" and "salvation" are two distinctively different concepts whose interchange cannot but be deemed inadvisable.

Boyd's comments are unusual because they are based on personal exchange with Drummond and, therefore, are not available elsewhere. For the same reason, they are less valid as source material. For example, sanctification, as he heard Drummond describe it, meant "to make whole - to draw out the whole nature so that it should be complete, mature, lacking nothing." Abide in Christ. Try to be in the line of cause and effect, as self-betterment was futile. The critics generally interpreted this as

passivity, but Boyd points out, and rightly so,²³ that Drummond admired workers.²⁴

The explication of the atonement²⁵ must here be quoted in part as it tends to confirm a point of view "immanent" in all of Drummond's thought but elusive because of his determinedly two-sided approach. Boyd writes:

The Atonement, as we discussed it, was largely a matter of legal phraseology. It was far better to go to nature and catch the spirit of the Atonement than to go to the courts of law and learn a set of legal phrases in which to discuss it.²⁶

Here, Drummond was probably using "nature" in the particular sense discovered of its usage in The Ascent of Man as "that which holds up the ideal of the supreme good . . . which commands all men to love one another, to return good for evil."²⁷ In fact, unless this were so, going to nature to catch the spirit of the Atonement is a statement devoid of sense.

The second noteworthy advocate of Drummond's importance in the history of ideas is Joseph Needham, the English Orientalist, biologist, and socialist. His 1939 "reappraisal" of Drummond is based solely upon two works -- the latest edition of Natural Law in the Spiritual World and The Ascent of Man. Thus, although his dogmatic and confident pronouncements have received quite a bit of attention, the limited aspect of his knowledge of Drummond's thought should not be forgotten.

Needham sees Drummond in rather curious context and one not hitherto commented on²⁸ by recent Drummond analysts. For him, Drummond, alongside Spencer, Engels, and Marx, has faith in the rational spiritual man.²⁹ The final sentence of Drummond's first book, which questions "why evolution should stop with the organic" and "envisions the kingdoms rising tier above tier in ever increasing sublimity and beauty, the signs of which . . . proclaim that the Kingdom of God is at hand,"³⁰ is, for Needham,

. . . surely only another way of saying that the new world order of social justice and comradeship, the rational and classless world state, is no wild idealistic dream, but a logical extrapolation from the whole course of evolution, having no less authority than that behind it, and therefore of all faiths the most rational.³¹

The first, and obvious, comment from the two above quotations is that the two gentlemen (Drummond and Needham) do appear to have in common not only a faith in evolution but a tendency toward extrapolatory license. Nonetheless, one must eventually ask if the whole thrust of Drummond's academic endeavor does not lay him wide open to such an interpretation.

He is seen by this one critic as one whose "revolutionary naturalism," not understood in his own time, nonetheless "complemented" the thought of his contemporaries. The book for Needham remains "a great book" as it has the "naïvete of something fundamentally true" and said long before people were ready to appreciate it. From inside the Christian tradition, Drummond was working toward Marx and Engels, who set the Hegelian dialectic within evolving nature. For Marx, materialism would include "all that the Christians meant by the spiritual world." For Drummond -- the spiritual world was the highest, "but fully natural," level in the evolutionary series. Thus, this Drummondian concept of a supremely natural "supernatural" echoed "one of the best ideas of the dialectical materialists."³²

For Needham, Drummond meant continuing evolution when he spoke of the "law of continuity,"³³ and for Needham, as for Drummond, the universe consists of "a series of levels of complexity and organization, hierarchical in thought and successive in time," the simpler at the beginning from chemical (electrons) through biological evolution; from primates to man, psychological and social, love being the essential social cement. Needham here asks the rhetorical question, "What else can the trend of evolution be except towards the higher levels of social solidarity which

we have not yet attained?"³⁴ And the answer, of course, is nothing else, if one shuts oneself up to an evolutionary materialist cosmology.

This thesis of "the naturalness of the supernatural" Needham then extends backwards to connect Drummond to medieval scholasticism, and particularly St. Thomas Aquinas' statement that grace does not abrogate nature but extends and perfects it. But, if, as Needham indicates in the same paragraph, the "sublimities of human altruism must be thought of, not as something supernatural or mystical, but characteristic of the highest grades of natural organization known to us" where is the need of grace with all its concomitant implications of man's sinfulness and God's mercy? In the next sentence, Needham claims that from "this point of view," (i.e., the point of view in which the spiritual is the highest but fully natural level in the evolutionary series), the gulf between a martyred atheist laborer organizer and a Christian martyr (and saint) is narrowed almost to the point of disappearance.³⁵

If such extrapolatory trapeze work as the above may leave one unconvinced, it must nonetheless be conceded that Needham's line of argument is thought-provoking. For, if it is accepted even partially, it must remove Drummond forever from the ranks of safe traditional-liberal-post-Darwin apologists placing him instead somewhere alongside Marx, Spencer, and Engels, and yet, at the same time, mysteriously in direct line³⁶ from Aquinas. Is the closing of the gap between atheist and Christian, labor leader and martyr, the logical extension of Drummond's thinking?

In The Ascent of Man, for Needham, Drummond was "bold enough" to conclude that love was the goal rather than a late arrival on the world stage. And Drummond's insistence on the view of man as a social animal, or, in twentieth century terms man-in-relation is cited: "there is no such thing in nature as a man.' There is only social man."³⁷

For Needham, Drummond's section on manufacturing nutrition puts its finger on the very power which has changed and will change human civilization -- applied science; and, here again, his thought is said to "exactly parallel" Marx and Engels.³⁸

"Love" as an analogue of the physical bonds uniting particles at the molecular level is said to be an idea of Drummond's, and leads Needham to consider Freud's view of "the task of Eros" in social evolution. Thus, as social evolution is continuous with biological evolution, so, Drummond argued, "much of the content of traditional Christian theology, 'the laws of the spiritual world' - arose directly from what had preceded it in the highly organized realm of the psychological."³⁹

Much space has been given to this one critique, partly because of its unique assertions as to Drummond's contributions and historical importance. The validity of these assertions is, however, somewhat impaired as useful criticism as Needham, with Drummond, whom he so admired, fails to define many of his terms. Love, for example, is one moment a sort of molecular current, at the next, a god, and finally, the Eros of Sigmund Freud.⁴⁰ Also, Needham, by referring to "certain spiritual or, as we might say . . . psychological laws," appears to equate spiritual and psychological in a way which is misleading for any readers who continue to distinguish between psyche and spirit. This blurring of the lines is seen again in the phrase "Human society must be built upon a sociological basis, and even, as Drummond would have said, upon a spiritual basis."⁴¹

But, despite these objections, the importance of this critique must be upheld. Because, if Needham's deductions from Drummond's two works are found to be, in fact, valid; if Drummond may be classified as an evolutionary naturalist whose thinking in many areas is co-terminous with not

only Spencer, whom he himself acknowledged as his prophet, but also Engels and Marx, then the warnings in his time against the "dangers" of his books from a Christian standpoint can no longer be regarded as fanatical but rather as realistic historically.

For Needham, as for almost all others, Drummond was definitely a "uniter," attempting a synthesis of Scottish evangelical Christianity and evolutionary naturalism.⁴² One may judge to some degree from the above, in which direction the "synthesis" took place, and how much of the evangelical brand of what is commonly called Christianity remained, after its subjection to Drummond's crystalline evolutionary process. It is probably fair to incorporate Drummond's own evaluation of the process at this point, as he saw it as early as 1883:

The two fountains of knowledge also slowly began to overflow, and finally their waters met and mingled. The great change was in the compartment which held Religion. It was not that the well there was dried,⁴³ still less that the fermenting waters were washed away by the flood of Science. The actual contents remained the same.⁴⁴ But the crystals of former doctrine were dissolved; and as they precipitated themselves once more in definite forms, I observed that the Crystalline System was changed. . . . the subject matter Religion had taken on the method of expression of Science and I discovered myself enunciating Spiritual Law in the exact terms of Biology and Physics.⁴⁵

Still on the side of favorable criticism are the introductory pages of Rufus Jones' Social Law in the Spiritual World in which the author remembers how twenty years earlier Drummond had "opened a new world" through Natural Law in the Spiritual World, which did its work perhaps even more effectively than a better or "exacter" book would have done. The writer indicates that he and others "found at a leap that the two worlds could go together, that science and religion were not two discordant languages. . . . that the newer message of science illuminated the older message of salvation." Jones observed that although Natural Law in the

Spiritual World was quickly superseded, it had done its work:

It was like the drop which the chemist pours into a saturate solution and which instantly produces a precipitate. Before the critics had time to attack it, its main thesis was fastened for ever in the thought of hosts of young men. It quickly became a truism, and one found oneself unconsciously making all his discoveries in nature minister to the needs of the soul.⁴⁶

Is this the naturalism to which Needham refers thirty years later? And what was this "main thesis" fastened forever in the thoughts of hosts of young men -- the same naturalness of the supernatural, which the preceding essayist claims as a rationalist or socialist theme?

Jones continues that when Drummond wrote "we were asking how we could get our Christian doctrines of sin and salvation into a system of evolution, and that problem no longer exists for most thoughtful persons." The implication is unavoidable. Drummond's solution was accepted by many. And Jones sees this as victory with Christianity "deeply transformed" during the conquests.⁴⁷ This last statement is probably true. But one cannot refrain from asking, whatever happened to sin and salvation? Are they to be found in the minds of Jones' peers in footnote or appendix form?

In a category pretty much by himself within Drummond criticism is Ashley Montagu, the American sociologist, who, writing in 1955, points to The Ascent of Man as a seminal source predating Giddings' Principles of Sociology by two years, and a "goodly number of works" on the same theme published since 1910.⁴⁸ In the nineteenth century criticism, several are prepared to recognize the theological significance of The Ascent of Man and, among them, James Denney and Robertson Nicoll. The first-named, who, under his pseudonym, A Brother of the Natural Man, was one of the most outspoken of the critics of Natural Law in the Spiritual World, wrote privately of Drummond:

. . . he and I seemed always to look at things through opposite ends of the telescope, but I always did admire the Ascent of Man, and entirely agree with you in regarding it as his greatest work, not for the science of it, which I could not appreciate at all, but for the intuition and inspiration of it. He had divined at last what we need if we are to hold anything else than a materialistic philosophy, namely, that the highest thing must be at the very foundation of the world. They called his first book Calvinistic, and so in a way it was bad Calvinism with its double decree of election and reprobation. But this last one was the genuine Calvinism which makes the redeeming love of God the alpha and omega, the ultimate reality on which the universe rests, and which in ways we cannot divine must be working through it all. That there is one ray of this celestial light all through the Ascent of Man is the glory of it, and of the writer as a Christian thinker.⁴⁹

This could indicate a massive change in the thought of Drummond between Natural Law in the Spiritual World and The Ascent of Man, which is nowhere indicated, but rather the contrary is implied by his decision not to correct, change, or withdraw the earlier work.⁵⁰ We are closed up then to the implication that the change was in Denney's thought and that, with the passage of years, his openness to the tendencies of the modern scientific method increased.

W. Robertson Nicoll's statement that The Ascent of Man was "much the most important work" of Henry Drummond's probably reflected the general consensus among academic, though not popular, opinion at that time. And criticism since then has accepted this evaluation. Nicoll credited Drummond with the attempt "to engrave an evolutionary sociology and ethic upon a biological basis."⁵¹ To do this, and Christianize the end product, was a grandiose ideal and one upon which Drummond undoubtedly spent much of his time in the last decade of his life.⁵²

Still on the side of positive criticism are the theologians of the present century who have tended, like Kennedy, to discard Natural Law in the Spiritual World and The Ascent of Man as "archaic encumbrances of an older geology," but give Drummond recognition and, indeed, sometimes high

praise for his devotionals or essays or sermons.

Most well-known among this group would probably be James Kennedy by virtue of the fact that he published a work in 1953 under the title, Henry Drummond: An Anthology. But, also active in keeping Drummond's thought in circulation is John Birbeck of the Drummond Tract Enterprise, Stirling, whose collection of Drummond anagrams entitled A Mirror Set at the Right Angle appeared in 1974.⁵³

Perhaps the most authoritative of this century's short statements on Drummond's thought is that contained in the 1959 doctoral dissertation of Malcolm McIver.⁵⁴ Concerned mainly with Drummond's contribution to the students, this study nonetheless probably gives the most accurate overview hitherto developed of tendencies in Drummond's thought.

Tending to align himself with Kennedy in considering Drummond apart from his two "main" works, McIver in a sense perpetuates the tradition among Christian clergy, to take a gentlemen's view of the whole business. If Drummond did come up with some rather odd and, even to the Christian, embarrassing things in these two books, at least they were scientifically out-of-date by now, and so one need no longer be held critically accountable for them.

Perhaps a type of the same tradition is continued in the short work of Kenneth Schott, which, as it confines itself almost exclusively to an examination of Drummond's rhetoric of "reconciliation,"⁵⁵ has been adequately considered in the chapter on method. Further comment upon the content of a rhetoric of "reconciliation" would be extraneous from one who has herein initiated a collection of the evidences that the reconciliation hypothesis, despite its almost universal acceptance, since Drummond's death and perhaps, too, in his lifetime, was one not only developed but actually

postulated by criticism and, as such, is probably inimical to developing the most rudimentary understanding of Drummond's thought.

In closing this listing of positive criticism, credit must be given to a recent dissertation in which James Moore correctly categorizes Drummond as a British Spencerian. In the contrast implied between "the heights of Drummond's evolutionary speculation, and the depths to which Moody's friends might stoop in combatting liberalism," Moore seems to align himself in the school of Drummond thought with Smith-Kennedy-McIver, and this appears to be confirmed by his evaluation that "Drummond did his greatest and most lasting work" around the world in the vocation he learned from Moody. Moore continues, however, evidencing Drummond's early interest in mesmerism, "if one believed in the creative and therapeutic influence of one mind over another, then there was no denying that the Christian mission would be better fulfilled by a scientific approach."⁵⁶ He goes on to link Drummond's mesmerism interest, for the first time, to the "spiritual psychology" or "science of spirituality" developed as "Spiritual Diagnosis" and hailed, consistently, to date as a great pioneering achievement not only in the field of pastoral counseling but in other twentieth century soul-relieving areas, such as psychotherapy.⁵⁷

This realization by Moore that spiritual diagnosis entails a possible prerequisite of believing in the influence of one mind over another would lead one inductively into para-psychological areas. Nonetheless, it should be noted that Drummond's appeal was probably predominantly at the mind level and that he was known to avoid any evidences of emotional enthusiasm.

Moore goes on to cite Drummond's proclamation of Herbert Spencer as his prophet⁵⁸ and the one who provided the "rationale" for his

science of the soul. And, more important, Moore alone recognizes The Ascent of Man as the cornerstone of a "thorough-going evolutionary cosmogony." For Moore, Christianity as the further evolution is a "magnificent vision," and so we have here a voice to echo that of James Denney, some eighty years earlier. In this view, and we are thankful at last to find a voice lifted that has glanced into Drummond's thought, as a whole, the beginning of Drummond's thought is seen from the end; Drummond's refusal to withdraw Natural Law in the Spiritual World, is here interpreted as a refusal to concede "his fundamental conviction" that natural laws are valid in the spiritual world. Moore goes further, observing that for ten years Drummond "reiterated this point in essays and addresses, furnishing it with new exemplifications." The closing pages of The Ascent of Man are taken to show that "once again Drummond had found natural law in the spiritual world."⁵⁹

Moore balks, however, at Lynn Linton's condemnation of Drummond for plagiarism despite his own earlier statement that for more than forty years Spencer had "stressed the very factor in evolution which Drummond claims has all but . . . escaped the notice of Evolutionists," and points out the acerbity and neuroses of Linton and Spencer, while Drummond is somehow mysteriously exonerated from charges of plagiarism by virtue of his evangelism and the fact that his "higher biology" gospel had more "power and appeal" than the "lower biology" gospel (Spencer's) upon which it had been raised. For Moore, finally, Drummond represents evangelical religion "hand in hand" with Spencerian evolution. And one is left to wonder how one so high could take the hand of one so low, and whether this friendly appearance meant that Drummond had either attempted or effected a "reconciliation."⁶⁰

If the above critique appears to have been given undue coverage here,

it is because its author raises questions about Drummond's thought which have lain dormant since his death. These questions, in the array of criticism justifying or attacking Drummond, seem to have penetrated beyond the surfaces of the problem of what Drummond said, or meant to say.

Some Unfavorable Criticism

If anybody does not keep within the teaching of Christ but goes beyond it, he cannot have God with him: only those who keep to what is taught can have the Father and the Son with them. (II John, 1:9 LB)

On the side of negative criticism, the lists are long in the nineteenth century and virtually nonexistent in the twentieth century. The reasons for this change are unclear, but as Drummond's writings did not change posthumously, the change in criticism must be attributed, in part at least, to changes in the "climate of opinion." Having once made the decision to deemphasize the school of Smith criticism⁶¹ for the reasons above indicated, the way became clearer in the maze of voices for and against Drummond. Smith was found to represent a middle-of-the-road position, neither committed against Drummond's writing nor yet willing to commit himself in its behalf.⁶² Once he, as a type of colossus, was removed, the issues seemed to clarify themselves, and, surprisingly, only Joseph Needham was found to remain one isolated figure, speaking out unequivocally in favor of Drummond, and Needham's stand tended to substantiate, rather than alleviate, the prophesies of the negative criticism detailed below. As Needham's short essay is perhaps the only one in this century to have been developed outside the framework of Christian apologetics, it has some value for this fact alone.

As Smith observed, the bulk of contemporary criticism was "hostile." But I will use the term negative, as hostility implies certain psychological attitudes which were found, by and large, to be lacking from the more authoritative critiques which will here be considered.⁶³

It was deemed advisable to isolate from the shoals of pamphlets some half dozen which were estimated to be of greatest value because of their balanced perspective, cogent argument, and extensive quotations from Drummond. A number of critiques, such as those by James Denney, Charles Bullock, T. Campbell Finlayson, and Ralph Venning were negative, and, as all of these have already been mentioned, only Denney's, which is generally taken to be the most comprehensive, is here examined in detail as representative of this viewpoint. John Kennedy is probably exceptional in his time for his indictment of "hyperevangelism" as early as 1875.⁶⁴

Two other works by Frank White and Hugh Mortimer Cecil, though not tolerant in their perspective, are noteworthy in passing as illustrative of the extent of the alarm, contempt, and venom engendered by Drummond's writing. White refers to Pax Vobiscum as "one of the saddest pieces of reading under a Christian guise I've met with since I first learned Christ."⁶⁵ The true things "serve only to blind the reader to the falseness of the teaching as a whole." The saddest part for him is not "that the prophets prophesy falsely but that the people love it so." Cecil, in a lengthy work entitled Pseudo-Philosophy at the End of the Nineteenth Century. An Irrationalist Trio. Kidd-Drummond-Balfour, observes that all three were literary sensations in England and the United States without stirring the scientific world. His statement, that to pass from Kidd to Drummond is to pass "from the atmosphere of mere fallacy to the atmosphere of theological fallacy, which, if it is somewhat denser, has the compensating quality of being infinitely more exhilarating -- to the non-theological mind,"⁶⁶ gives a glimpse of the powers of invective used against Drummond, and his ability to arouse "both the odium theologicum and that which is scarcely less savage, the odium scientificum."⁶⁷

James Denney, Professor of Church History in the Free Church College, Glasgow, and a colleague of Drummond's, published his pamphlet, "On Natural Law in the Spiritual World," under the pseudonym, A Brother of the Natural Man. This pamphlet is possibly the best known and most quoted of all the negative criticism. Only a full quote will do justice to the man's style, and the closing paragraph, as in most criticism, is a good beginning point.

This comments on one of Drummond's weakest points, pointing out the difference in the definition of "life" to the biologist and to the "student of spirituality." To the former, it is most meaningful; to the latter, only an abstract metaphor, meaning nothing until it is "spiritually qualified" as being "faith, hope, love, obedience, conscience, or whatever else; and when it is qualified . . . the biologist has nothing to do with it. He cannot subsume it under his categories; his formulae do not apply to it," Denney continues, gathering momentum,

Neither a priori in his introduction; nor a posteriori in the papers which follow; neither by argument, fact, nor valid analogy does Mr. Drummond support his thesis. And while there is much in his work that is ingenious, impressive and beautiful; there is much more that is erroneous, irrelevant and misconceived. Considering its extraordinary popularity, and its common relation to religion and science, it may seem rash to say so, but Natural Law in the Spiritual World is a book that no lover of men will call religious, and no student of theology scientific.⁶⁸

Let it immediately be said that Denney's style was habitually more measured and academic, but there was something about Drummond's book which incited his ire or even wrath, and it is to the discovery of this that our attention must be directed.

He begins his sixty-six page evaluation praising the beauty of the wealth of illustration in Natural Law in the Spiritual World, but, already by the second page of the critique, the words are found to be painted in the air, and one is cautioned against the method:

There is a candour and simplicity about it, half artless, half insinuating, which gives paradox the air of truism, and against which it needs some alertness to keep the critical faculties awake.⁶⁹

Denney goes on to divide out the chapters on degeneration, growth, mortification, parasitism, and semiparasitism which are found to be practical and "effective preaching, full of truth and power." But the speculative sections on biogenesis, death, and eternal life are deplored.⁷⁰

The "simple principle" by which all the papers are "organically connected" is, of course, "the introduction of natural law into the spiritual world." Denney avers that "if the laws of nature and the laws of spirit are one, then nature and spirit are one also." But Drummond anticipates this conclusion, which is also that of Needham in our own century, and remarks that the application of natural law to the spiritual has "necessary limits," which he has "not even paused to define." And Denney, with us, wishes he had paused, and goes on to point out that the issue is not a quantitative one, because the introduction of natural law into the spiritual world naturalizes, despiritualizes, and abolishes the distinction between the two. But Drummond, within a few pages, withdraws the above concession with an "almost defiant challenge" to those who disagree: "Let these (other than natural) laws be produced."⁷¹

Again, Denney reverts to Drummond's "philosophy" -- his enthusiasm for physical sciences, his accusations against the unscientific character of theology, and his claim that the adoption of his method gives religion "a new credential" in times when "the old ground of faith, authority, is given up; the new, Science has not yet taken its place," and the advantage of shifting ground is because "there is a sense of solidity about a law of nature which belongs to nothing else in the world."⁷² Since Heisenberg enunciated the uncertainty principle within the discipline of physics in

the late 1920's, this kind of reasoning, if reasoning it can be called, is perhaps harder to accept.⁷³ But, when Drummond continues, "the integrity of the scientific method so seizes him [Drummond, identifying with the man who studies modern science] that all other forms of truth begin to appear comparatively unstable," we must concur with Denney that it is "not easy to be patient with such confusions." Denney observes that the whole basis of Drummond's argument is false, as "Authority is not the ground of faith in religion, and never has been; law is not the ground of authority in science."⁷⁴

Drummond proposes to "revolutionize theology" by discovering between natural and spiritual a "continuity" whose "sweep is so magnificent, it appeals so much more to the imagination than to the reason, that men have preferred to exhibit rather than to define it." Denney mildly observes that while that is interesting, we have the right to expect something more precise in a scientific book, and continues, that nothing physical has ever been proven to be transmuted into anything psychical.⁷⁵

Denney next quarrels with the Biogenesis chapter and Drummond's endowment of the natural man with "a high ideal, benevolent sympathies, and a reverent spirit, . . ." and then calling him carnal and spiritually dead so that the whole "customary contents" of "life" and spirituality have been lavished on the dead man. "Christ," according to Denney, remains as meaningless a word as "life."⁷⁶

Man himself is to the Third Kingdom⁷⁷ "not even a shapeless embryo" but luckily some are born again, and become spiritual. The new society is distinguished by its selectness with the spiritual at the apex of a pyramidal structure based on the mineral and proceeding upward through vegetable to animal, human and divine,⁷⁸ with a quantitative decrease paralleling a qualitative increase.

While Denney agrees with Drummond that Christ is the source of spiritual life in the spiritual world, he demurs from the notion that the natural man is as far removed from the spiritual man as the crystal from the organism, and protests that the truth of Genesis I and John I is "utterly foreign" to these thoughts of Drummond's. Man, for Denney, was made in the image of God, which never becomes extinct.

So already, in this early chapter of this youthful book, we are confronted with Drummond's view of man as being discordant in the Judaeo-Christian tradition -- Man, for Denney, being dependent upon God in a love relationship, every man has "as his very essence, the spiritual relations which Mr. Drummond's biogenesis denies to most."

The absence of the term Son of Man throughout the book is regretted, as its usage, as the revelation of the Divine Father in the human Son, means for Denney that "man, not natural, nor spiritual, but man simpliciter, has an indefectible kinship with God, in the recognition of which he is born again."⁷⁹

Here, at last, Denney comes to one of the central problems of the book with the accurate observation and allegation that "the spiritual biogenesis of Mr. Drummond is catastrophic, and on the principle of continuity he should deny it."

For Denney, man is both natural and spiritual always; thus, the relationship of natural man to spiritual is not comparable with that of mineral to plant or plant to animal, a fallacy which Drummond repeats "again and again" in the chapter on "Conformity to Type."⁸⁰

Drummond attempts an answer to this question in the 1890 notes⁸¹ for a new preface mentioned earlier:

The assertion of the inorganicness of the natural man has been so universally misconceived that I suppose I have myself to blame for imperfect statement, but I fear certain of my critics must share in the condemnation for careless observation. It is nowhere said throughout this work that man in his natural state is as dead as a stone. Man is dead as a man, not as a stone, i.e., though dead to a spiritual environment as a stone is dead to the organic environment, he still differs from a stone by the possession of all these human attributes distinguishing him from a stone, including, among other things, the hunger and capacity for God. To put it mathematically, it is nowhere said that as a stone (2) is to the organic world (4), so is a man (2) to the spiritual world (16) because man is not to be represented by the same content (2) as a stone. The real statement is as 2:4:8:16, man being = 8. But I admit that the natural man from the sheer necessities of the standpoint has throughout these pages received less than his due. Man is dead as to his relations, not as to his capacities.⁸²

Thus, it may be seen that Drummond, by 1890, had not retreated from his original position, and, far from "repenting" his former views, was intent not only in justifying them but in covertly attacking the critics for imperfect observation.

In earlier pencilled notes for a new preface, he was even bolder in his assertions, expressing puzzlement that "few seem able to assent to what is to me a self-evident proposition," that phenomena are made analogous by identical laws. Their inability to agree with him is attributed either to a "confusion of laws with forces or essences" or to "sheer timidity" on the part of his adversaries. He continues with equal boldness, "The conception of analogous laws, in short, is unthinkable. There is no such thing. . . ." ⁸³

A later draft opens on a somewhat nobler vein: "How much I owe my critics I wish I could more truly say . . . their kindness to a new and most immature author has been very great." The expression of humility appears to intensify: "With the deepest sense of unworthiness I have watched pen after pen rise to review this work . . . with a patience and ability these pages never dreamed of courting. . . ." But, one must wonder, is

this only the etiquette of a polite overture, as the writer introduces a condition: "Yet willing and even anxious as an author may be to learn from criticism, especially from criticism so severe and thorough," Drummond allows that it has caused him mainly to "lament how little even the ablest criticism can do to change an opinion until the standpoint from which the opinion was formed has itself slowly changed in an author's mind. A man's surest, as well as his severest, critic is his own growing experience."⁸⁴

The above statement -- obdurate, aggressive, and existential -- is, of course, out of alignment with Drummond's perpetual theme of man-in-relations. But, at the same time, it does much to explicate earlier puzzles. This was a man committed to a particular world-view, to him, self-evident, and determined that no critic could influence his opinion unless there were a change from within his own experience.

Here one looks in vain for the much vaunted humility of the Drummond of Smith, et al. Here something rather different is spelled out clearly. Drummond, as late as 1890, would test his truth only against his own mind, his own opinion, his own experience, and finally, one other influence is admitted, "The supreme teacher is Time."⁸⁵

Throughout, Drummond insists, rather unconvincingly, that the whole scheme was conceived for working men for the "simple practical purpose" of offering "to plain minds a working basis for their religious life."⁸⁶ At this point, Professor Iverach's comment on The Ascent of Man could equally be used, "It looks so simple and seems so inevitable, that people are inclined to say, Is this all? Is this the thing that people have made such a bother about? We thought we had a Weltanschauung, and lo! . . ."⁸⁷ It was in this case, according to Drummond, only a simple practical working basis for working men's religious life.

Drummond did contemplate the withdrawal of the Biogenesis chapter, giving as a reason that "some aspects of truth are here overdrawn," but adds, in the next sentence, "The author's attitude to the main thesis of that chapter remains unchanged."⁸⁸ This firm statement from his own pen aborted my attempt to trace the development of his thought over the fifteen year period, from the conception of Natural Law in the Spiritual World. By his own admission, there is no thematic development, only endless embellishment with the aid of other authorities, mainly scientific. But, as one critic trenchantly observes, even the thoughts of Huxley, Spencer, and Tyndall are not adhered to when at variance with Drummond's own.

Returning again to Denney, further objections are raised as to the passivity of the natural man while Christ -- "a mysterious something" which has "entered into the protoplasm" (ab extra) reproduces himself in him.⁸⁹ Drummond, although so averse to traditional doctrine, has in fact developed a veritable doctrine of spiritual biogenesis, supported, according to Denney, neither in facts nor in analogy. Denney doubts the existence of any analogy for pardon, new life, and reconciliation in the physical world, and denounces his theory of new life as "individualistic to utter falsity."⁹⁰

Hypothesizing the natural man to the spiritual as the crystal to the organism destroys the Christian character of God and eliminates the distinction between the called and the chosen. Also, God's "part" of the environment, or the "outermost circle" denies the life of God in men. Denney feels that Natural Law in the Spiritual World sweeps away any basis of morals, and only this does it have in common with pantheism.⁹¹ However, "its characteristic and favorite assertion, that man may be moral without knowing God, or having spiritual life, is so far from the truth of pantheism as to be nothing short of atheistic."⁹²

The agnostic for Drummond "with all his marvellous and complex correspondences . . . is still one correspondence short." This would be true if God were physically defined as an "outermost circle," but untrue if defined ethically as a Living Law of Righteousness and Love.⁹³

One hears so much of Drummond's "brilliant and facile pen" and "power of description and persuasion," it is almost a relief to find Denney, who, while conceding all these attributes, nonetheless delivers the prognosis that that kind of writing by shaking the "old religious life" -- where peace and harmony before reigned would bring "discord, doubt and finally disbelief."⁹⁴

One cannot refrain from observing that Drummond in this century, accepted, without exception, as the reconciler, unifier, harmonizer par excellence, was regarded by some at least in his time as the harbinger of doubt, discontent, and, as above, eventually "disbelief."⁹⁵

The Ambiguity of the Criticism

Given the ambiguity of all the criticism above presented, it is best in concluding to revert again to the primary source and let Drummond speak for himself. His views on criticism per se are succinctly stated:

It is easier to criticize the greatest scheme superbly than to do the smallest thing possible. Stop criticizing the game. Take off your coat. Come and help. We are strong but we want the best men.⁹⁶

Now, while readily conceding the persuasiveness and, indeed, urgency of this appeal, one must, as it were, steel oneself to resist it until the name of the game is discovered. If it involves laying down one's life and taking up a cross, then this is no game and should not be hastily entered into. If, on the other hand, it involves doing what comes naturally,⁹⁷ "exercising oneself" with the "best" men, then why not relax and enjoy it? Games, by definition, are, after all, soon over and the business of life resumed.

The implications of social Darwinism deducible from the above quotation should no longer be covered up. This allegation, which may have been a large part of the furor engendered in 1890 following his address on missions, in part arose from his comments as to the Japanese need for £10,000 men rather than £1,000 men, reminiscent of the above Harvard plea for the best men.⁹⁸

This one aspect of his evangel is so removed from Christ's beatification of the meek and poor in spirit, and Paul's insistence upon God's using the foolish and the simple to confound the wise,⁹⁹ as to require no further amplification. But it recalls Denney's comments upon the law of the natural being "exactly reversed" in the spiritual where the strong are sacrificed for the weak, as the Son of Man who gave his life as ransom for many, and again, Paul, who said when I am weak, then I am strong. Here, as Denney points out, this spiritual law is "right in the teeth of natural law."¹⁰⁰

Perhaps one of Denney's most important observations is that Drummond's religion has for its central fact the Incarnation. "It is God making himself accessible to human thought - God opening to man the possibility of correspondence through Jesus Christ." Denney observes that that has something like a Christian sound in it at last; but it cuts the ground from under Mr. Drummond's argument.¹⁰¹ No agnostic will confess that he cannot know, or can have no correspondence with, Christ. And just as it is possible for a man to profess to know God, while his life denies him, so it is possible for his life to be in substantial correspondence with God's, while his lips deny Him.

It is well for us, almost a century after Natural Law in the Spiritual World rocketed Drummond to lifelong fame, if not notoriety, to go beyond

the name-calling indulged in by both sides; beyond the "heresy-hunting" Christians (the critics) ranged against the "traitorous" Christians (Smith et al.) pulling down the citadel of faith from within; beyond the appearances and the endless apologies for the appearances to establish what Drummond was saying, and/or writing to arouse both the odium theologicum and the odium scientificum.¹⁰²

It will have been observed from the previous section that the bulk of the criticism thus far has been confined to Drummond's two best sellers. But my investigation indicates that enough unresearched critical material is available to yield a fruitful dissertation in this area, which would cover, hopefully, the rest of his published work. One reads, for example, of the student attack in an Edinburgh newspaper, the attack of the Australian press, the attack of the evangelicals in America, the attack from the Scottish Churches after the address on foreign missions, but all these sources remain virtually untapped, although available, if one were beginning one's work from this point.¹⁰³

A typical comment upon this criticism is that of his friend, D. M. Ross: "the ordeal of criticism to which the man and his teaching were subjected for years gave Drummond an opportunity of revealing the strength and beauty of his character. . . ." ¹⁰⁴ This writer would submit respectfully that it gave Drummond another opportunity, and one which has not thus far been considered. It gave him the opportunity year after year to reconsider his views in the light shed on them by the analysis of many learned academics, theologians, and ministers of the Church. And, having reconsidered, perhaps even to change these views. No such change, in even the smallest detail, appears to have been considered, let alone implemented. The criticism, unfortunately, seems to have had almost no effect upon

Drummond's intellectual growth, unless it were to stimulate it in the opposite direction. Is one not thus shut up, based on the evidences thus available, to the rather sobering conclusion that Drummond viewed everyone else as wrong and himself as right? Was he in his own estimation a prophet, and one without honour, in his own country? Or was he simply, as he protested, correcting a false emphasis? And are the two necessarily incompatible?

In the first section of this chapter, W. Robertson Nicoll defines The Ascent of Man as the attempt to engrave an evolutionary sociology and ethic upon a biological basis,¹⁰⁵ and this is probably accurate enough. It was Drummond's attempt to Christianize the end product that led him, and us with him, into difficulties. But for this observer, the ultimate audacity was to attempt to historicize the whole. In the preface to The Ascent of Man, we are warned by Drummond himself that "it is a History, not an Argument," and we are grateful to have been told that such it was, for, to quote Denney from another context "neither a priori in his introduction; nor a posteriori in the papers which follow; neither by argument, fact, nor valid analogy"¹⁰⁶ does Mr. Drummond write as an historian.

Biology we find in abundance, geology, sociology, psychology, but not history. The ultimate legerdemain being that, having presented us with an almost exclusively anthropocentric view of man, God, and society, we are asked, somehow, almost magically, to trade in this view for a theocentric one, which, Drummond tries to persuade us, was somehow there all the time. Either he or we have been deluded by all this talk of nature and cells and atoms. It was God all the time. But not only God, but God-in-Christ. Thus, not only theocentric, but Christocentric.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

To summarize the findings of the above investigation: Drummond's thought is a kaleidoscope of conflicting patterns. Patterns of evolutionism, naturalism, Pelagianism, and Christianity blend and shift and interweave in a manner which defies definition.

The radical quality of his syncretism may only be determined in terms of emphasis, and even the emphases which emerged were harder to pinpoint in the face of his continual disclaimers that least of all had he "anything to do with wilfully destroying the old," even as Christ, who "came not to destroy but to fulfil."¹

His style of juxtaposing terms such as "evolution" which in one sentence "is advolution, better, it is Revelation - the phenomenal expression of the Divine, the progressive realization of the Ideal the Agent of Love,"² may be poetic and even stylistically or rhetorically admirable, but analytically, it is virtually impregnable. If evolution is advolution, is revelation, is the expression of God, is the realization of the ideal, is love, then obviously there are no problems in relating evolution, for example, to God, because it is the expression of God and it is also love. No wonder Drummond appears to have been bewildered at all the confusion his writings caused, because for him all the terms were interchangeable and nothing marred the lovely harmony of the whole. It was, as his friend John Watson said, like beating a spirit with a stick to accuse Drummond of heresy,³ for with this vast armory of seemingly

interchangeable absolutes, if pressure were applied at one point, that point would simply merge into another, which for Drummond, if not his critics, was "identical."

The Christianity that is built up upon such a free floating foundation was unique in his own time, and probably it still is. The impact of the influence that he, Dods, Smith, Simpson, and other influential friends wielded over youthful minds in halls of academe on both sides of the Atlantic is hard to quantify, but it is indisputable.

It is not the task here to evaluate how much of the "traditional" Christian gospel remained once it was filtered through the prism of Drummond's mind. But, as he himself said, as early as 1878, "the crystalline process was changed, with most of the changes being effected in the compartment which contained religion;" he described this result as an "entire re-casting of the truth."⁴

Suffice it here to observe that, when compared to the many blends and brands of "Christianity" circulating and accepted today with their emphases on healing or praise or worship or charisma, the gospel of Henry Drummond may be regarded by some as a "full gospel." But historically, that is, in the perspective of nineteen hundred years of Christian thought, truncated, radical, and revolutionary it must remain.

Somewhere, and sadly from the viewpoint of Christian apologetics, Drummond began upholding Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer as the ultimate authorities, and particularly the last-named, whom he acknowledged as his "prophet." One critic unkindly, but not inaccurately, observed, "Nothing seems to stagger him if it comes clothed with the authority of Mr. Herbert Spencer."⁵

The adoration of this 19th century scientific trinity was apparently

not uncommon among Christian evolutionists,⁶ as Lyman Abbott in his credal statement observes, "It would be difficult to find anywhere a nobler statement of the profound mystery of life than is found in the writings of Darwin, Huxley, and Herbert Spencer." So, in 1898, Abbott is still referring to the "hypothesis" of evolution,⁷ while, like Drummond before him, disappointing one's expectations of other hypotheses being laid alongside for fair examination.

In the case of Drummond, as Spencer is elevated higher and the hymn becomes a paean to evolution, one is inclined to ask, with John the Baptist, "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?"⁸ Or, in other words, can a man serve God-in-Christ and natural science equally? It has been accurately observed by one who knew him well that Drummond's attempts to do so made him "a heretic in two provinces."⁹

This has been a paper in quest of the evangelical theology of Henry Drummond, F.R.S.E., F.G.S. That it has not been fully found is a reflection of the paradigmatic quality of his work, together with the paradoxical intention of both his life and work. He, even as St. Paul, sought to be all things to all men. And the conclusion here, while confident, is still tentative, awaiting corroboration or the opposite, from later commentators. But Paul sought, on the gospel of Christ crucified, to appeal to all men; Drummond appears to have adjusted the base of his gospel not just periodically but continuously in order to be "relevant" to succeeding audiences. That his success in the department of relevancy was spectacular enough to discomfit most of his ecclesiastical peers is a commentary upon the genius of the man. He saw the needs not only of his generation, but of many generations to come, and he met them. But on man's terms, with an orientation manward, which, although appealing, practical,

and even beneficial, is in many respects alien to the gospel of St. Paul, medieval Christianity, and, in many instances, to that enunciated initially by the one in the storm-centre of the whole controversy, the Lord Jesus Christ himself.

His work may be seen as a paradigm of many "evangelisms" and many "theologies" which have paraded themselves across the pages of history in the name of Christ in rapid succession over the eighty years since Drummond's death. "Evangelical theology is always a history; it takes place in flesh and blood. . . we must ask how theology encounters a man . . . and how it confronts him, enters into him. . . ." ¹⁰ These things Drummond attempted to do, and to a large degree, succeeded. That the boldness of his innovative processes led him into paths where his critics feared to follow is something that need not here be judged, but let it at last, at least be recognized.

When this work was nearing completion, the writer was apprised of the "intellectual revolution" in mathematics and particularly the recent work of men like Dr. René Thom in Paris in topology or catastrophe theory. ¹¹ In some measure, this proved encouraging as Drummond's life and his thought had already evolved along the lines of catastrophe theory. This had not been so much a reaction to the evolutionary progressive terms in which he had thus far been portrayed, but simply the way the work developed. And, as it did so, came the realization that Drummond's life and thought, up to this point, had been presented somehow out of focus, or out of balance.

The relative absence of recorded feelings or emotions, ¹² other than perpetual lightheartedness throughout his entire life, gave him an air of unreality rather than sanctity, at least to this investigator. Perhaps this was because my understanding or academic acquaintance with the lives

of saints such as Paul, Augustine, Jerome, Teresa, and John of the Cross in the first fifteen hundred years of the Christian Church made it difficult to categorize him with such despite the sanguine affirmation of several commentators, even to this day. And loose allegations of his affinity with St. Francis,¹³ whose intense prayer-life, fastings, and asceticism resulted in stigmata imprints and eventually death, should be discarded, not only as inaccurate but as misleading.

In the course of this work, the fact emerged that Drummond, at the age of thirty-seven, said he did not know how to pray. So here the rather curious spectacle of a "saint" who, twenty-eight years after accepting Jesus, had not developed the most rudimentary communication with his God, and on these grounds alone one must caution against indiscriminate sanctification.

The present day tendency to regard good or righteous men as secular saints is a phenomenon which may have far-reaching implications. One must ask if this is only a recent symptom of something deeper, a movement toward secularization set in motion by men like Drummond himself, who helped naturalize the supernatural. Ultimately, one must ask, does this "naturalization" become "neutralization" at some yet-to-be-determined point? But such a line of argument develops beyond the confines of this paper, which is concerned to examine the naturalization of the supernatural effected by one man, between 1873 and 1893. Perhaps this will prove to be Drummond's intellectual contribution; and depending upon which camp one is entrenched in,¹⁴ it will be evaluated as positive or negative, either unimportant or important. But one should not forget that, in this particular case, those who evaluate Drummond as an evolutionist and naturalist tend to give him a much higher place in the history of ideas.

For them his thought becomes dangerous, dynamic, and revolutionary -- and, therefore, important. From the "Christian" camp, he appears as a good man, a typical nineteenth century liberal with no outstanding or original thought. Choose for yourself which to accept. At the end of this writing, the whole view has not yet crystallized sufficiently to be reconciled, so the two views are here presented as the end product.

It has been found -- this was neither readily excavated nor yet identified -- that Drummond's whole life and thought were devoted to the concept of the naturalness of the supernatural. His lifestyle showed it forth in joyous Christianity. His writings explicated it -- an exponential curve of progress, optimism, and love of life. His theme of "save your life" emphasized it. But did his death and years of agony deny it? One is brought up abruptly by death. All men are. It is the one thing common in the human condition. But Drummond's was a religion of life. And commentators are at pains to point out that exegetically, because linguistically, the terms "life" and "soul" are interchangeable. But are they?

In the 1960's, Jürgen Moltmann, a leading German theologian, advocated and explicated a theology of hope on eschatological grounds. More recently, he concluded that the crucified God preceded such a theology.¹⁵ Drummond's is, par excellence, a theology of hope, but, perhaps like Moltmann, he realized it without a full awareness of its foundation in the catastrophic death of the Son of God, which gave way to life, and not only life but life eternal. This facile theology gave rise to much criticism, as men, and many "good" and "Christian" men charged him with raising his house on sand -- the gospel with the gospel omitted.

To some degree, these charges are valid, but often lack perception. For the rock was still there in Drummond's thinking. Christ never went

away. He was always central in his own life. But in his writing, he chose to overlay him with the sands of criticism, evolutionism, and naturalism, so that theologians and churchmen alike saw "another gospel," and it was with this that they charged him. This first intensive examination of all his available writings has proved that the storm of criticism was not "malignant" as has been alleged but, in view of the content of Drummond's writings at the time, rather measured, and, in the case of almost all the churchmen, charitable rather than malicious, seemingly motivated by a genuine concern as to the short-term and long-term effects of such teachings upon students.

They charged him with going beyond the teachings of Christ, i.e., beyond revelation, and one could argue legitimately that this, in a sense, is what he did; his "vision," conceived in student days,¹⁶ formulated in Natural Law in the Spiritual World and expanded in The Ascent of Man to grandiose proportions, was the same throughout. The "law" which ran through natural and spiritual was, for Drummond, to be evolution.

This latter was the beginning of a much larger scheme, and the answer falls, contrary to Disraeli, on the side of the apes. What or who is God? God is no longer in the gaps but all over the place. Nature is not merely his instrument, but, in some inexplicable way, Nature is God or God is Nature. And as this God waxes, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of the flood and of the creation, and, also, the God of Christ and Paul diminishes, or fades perceptibly, to provide background orchestration for the great god evolution which struts around the stage for the whole of what has until now been called the "most fruitful" period of Drummond's life. But, based on an examination of his writing rather than his "student-influence," which is intangible at best, indubitably his most productive

period, both intellectually and spiritually, was prior to rather than post-1883.

This earlier decade has been largely devoid of critical commentary up to now due in part to the unavailability of the sermon notes. And their acquisition late in the development of this work, together with paleographical problems, made their effective explication difficult. Thus, the conclusions must, at this stage, be tentative. But if a limited edition of these sermons were to be made available, a larger audience might benefit from aspects of Henry Drummond's thought which were never known to exist. And a more balanced portrait might eventually be developed of the man himself.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

1. A. M. Stewart, The Origins of the United Free Church of Scotland (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901), p. 13.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 19.
4. G. D. Henderson, The Claims of the Church of Scotland (London: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., 1951), p. 39.
5. Idem., Church and Ministry. A Study in Scottish Experience. The Baird Lecture for 1950 (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1951), p. 9 (hereinafter cited as Henderson, Church and Ministry).
6. G. D. Henderson, Claims, p. vi.
7. Ibid., p. 3.
8. Ibid., p. 17.
9. Ibid., p. 49.
10. John Hight, The Churches in Scotland Today, A Survey of Their Principles, Strength, Work and Statements (Glasgow: Jackson & Company, 1950), p. 2.
11. Rev. James Stalker, The Union of the Churches (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1900), p. 5.
12. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
13. Ibid., p. 4.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p. 5.
16. J. R. Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland, 1843-74 Vol. I (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1927), p. 46.
17. Ibid., p. 38.
18. Stalker, Union, p. 5.
19. Kenneth Scott Latourette, Christianity in a Revolutionary Age. A History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Vol. II. The Nineteenth Century in Europe. The Protestant and Eastern Churches (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1959), p. 408.

20. Rev. Andrew J. Campbell, Two Centuries of the Church of Scotland, 1707-1929, The Hastie Lectures in the University of Glasgow (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, Ltd., 1930), p. 297.
21. Ibid.
22. Editorial, Christianity Today (April 1971):26-27.
23. Gordon Donaldson, Scotland, Church and Nation Through Sixteen Centuries (London: SCM Press Ltd., Bloomsbury St., 1960), p. 100.
24. Ibid., p. 99.
25. G. D. Henderson, Claims, p. vi.
26. Ibid.
27. Rev. Robert Logan, The United Free Church. An Historical Review of Two Hundred and Twenty-Five Years, 1681-1906 (Edinburgh: Macniver & Wallace, 1906), p. 98.
28. Francis Cabot Lowell, "The Free Church of Scotland Case," Columbia Law Review, 6 (March 1906):159.
29. The first decision of the House of Lords was based on statutes, the second on the Seceders intention, as a conflict was observed between the Westminster Confession and the 1892 Declaratory Act of the Free Church (Lowell, "Free Church Case," p. 158). This decision brought hardship and confusion in Scotland as the expected reversal of the original verdict against the majority of the Free Church did not transpire (Lowell, "Free Church Case," p. 159).
30. Hector Macpherson, Scotland's Battles for Spiritual Independence (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1905), pp. 273-4.
31. Andrew J. Campbell, Two Centuries, p. 301.
32. Ibid., p. 299.
33. Ibid., p. 303.
34. Ibid., p. 302.
35. Ibid., p. 299.
36. "Is a Great Presbyterian Union Possible or Desirable?", The Scots Magazine (Dec. 1887):3-5.
37. Ibid., pp. 10 and 12.

38. Elizabeth Chapin Furber, Changing Views in British History. Essays on Historical Writing Since 1939 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 343.
39. Andrew J. Campbell, Two Centuries, p. 277.
40. Rolf Sjölander, Presbyterian Reunion in Scotland, 1907-1921 - Its Background and Development (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksells, Boktryckeri Aktie Bolag, 1962), p. 64.
41. G. D. Henderson, Church and Ministry, p. 9.
42. Ibid., pp. 9, 10, 21, 37.
43. William G. Enright, "Preaching and Theology in Scotland in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. thesis, New College, Edinburgh University, 1968), p. viii.
44. Andrew J. Campbell, Two Centuries, pp. 283-284.
45. Stalker, Union, pp. 15-16.
46. Drummond, "The New Evangelism: and its Relation to Cardinal Doctrines" from The New Evangelism and Other Papers (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899), pp. 10-11 (hereafter cited as Drummond, "New Evangelism." The larger work is cited as New Evangelism, etc.
47. Also, the historians William Robertson, Adam Ferguson, and Robert Henry were internationally known.
48. "The cheapest of all virtues is tolerance on the part of men who have no faith; and to have no faith...was the very badge of the Scottish moderates." (A. Taylor Innes, Studies in Scottish History, Chiefly Ecclesiastical [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1892], p. 307).
49. George Elder Davy, The Democratic Intellect. Scotland and Her Universities in the Nineteenth Century (Edinburgh: At the University Press, 1961), pp. 270-272.
50. Stalker, Union, p. 9.
51. Ibid., pp. 6-7.
52. Sjölander, p. 63.

A contemporary comments that, although there are times in a nation's history when universities influenced the youth, and the church did not, this was not so in Edinburgh. (Innes, Scottish History, pp. 18, 181.)

53. John Macleod, Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History Since The Reformation (Edinburgh: The Knox Press, 1973), pp. 265-267.
54. Ibid., p. 257.
55. Ibid., p. 258.
56. John Tulloch, Movements of Religious Thought in Britain During the Nineteenth Century (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1885), pp. 138-139, 143 (hereinafter cited as Tulloch, Movements). The contrary views given in these two pen sketches are indicative of the difficulties encountered in working in this area of church history where battle lines are still being drawn between the opposing sides.
57. James B. Torrance, "The Contribution of McLeon Campbell to Scottish Theology," Scottish Journal of Theology, 26:3 (August 1973):295.
58. Tulloch, Movements, p. 140. This archetypal view of Erskine is at variance not only with John Macleod's view, but also with the current entry in the concise DNB, where Erskine is noted as having "espoused and developed" John McLeod Campbell's "universal atonement."
59. Macleod, p. 258.
60. Or, perhaps, because of it, as also some fifty years later, in the case of Robertson Smith.
61. Tulloch, Movements, pp. 147, 149.
62. Ibid., p. 168.
63. Herbert Mortimer Lucock, D.D., The Church in Scotland (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., 1893), pp. 311-312.
64. Ibid., p. 313.
65. And there were many controversies: from Campbell of Row, through Edward Irving and McLeod Campbell, to the century's end with the heresy trials of most of Drummond's immediate circle who were also the nation's ecclesiastical leaders, e.g., Dods, Smith, Bruce, Denney, and Drummond himself.
66. Who had been a student and tutor in Hebrew at New College, Edinburgh, under A. B. Davidson.
67. Then under Scottish editorship.
68. L. E. Elliott-Binns, Religion in the Victorian Era (London: Lutterworth Press, 1936 Revised ed., 1964), p. 187.

69. J. H. S. Burleigh, Principal of New College and Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Edinburgh. A Church History of Scotland (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 359-360.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 361.
71. By some inexplicable confusion of terms, the term "heretic" which, for some nineteen hundred years had been used to designate one who went against the Word of God (by dilution, diminution, or extension), seems to become interchangeable for some historians at this point in Scottish history with the word "martyr" traditionally used for those, such as the Covenanters, who died to preserve inviolate the Word of God.
72. George Freeland Barbour, The Life of Alexander Whyte (London, Toronto, New York: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1923), p. 221.
73. Latourette, Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, p. 413.
74. Drummond's friend and, until today, his principal biographer.
75. A colleague of Drummond's in the Glasgow Free Church College, he was a prolific writer and his Historical Geography of the Holy Land was widely read in Drummond's time, while his commentaries on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets were well-known in academic circles.
76. Lilian Adam Smith, George Adam Smith. A Personal Memoir and Family Chronicle (London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1944), p. 112.
77. Latourette, Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, p. 414.
78. Or thought to be contained.
79. Latourette, Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, pp. 414-5.
80. James Strahan, D.D., Andrew Bruce Davidson (London, New York, Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1917), p. 147.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 179. Davidson was reared in Aberdeenshire, a center of moderatism, where "any decent pagan who had read Marcus Aurelius would have answered for the parson." (Strahan, p. 33).
82. *Ibid.*, p. 171. Davidson had himself been influenced by the legendary Rabbi Duncan, "The Coleridge of the Free Church." (Strahan, p. 62).
83. George Adam Smith, The Life of Henry Drummond (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898), p. 41 (hereafter cited as Smith, Life).
84. Strahan, p. 97.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

86. Henry Cowan, The Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom, being the Baird Lecture for 1895 delivered in Blythwood Parish Church, Glasgow (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1896), p. 78.
87. Josef L. Altholz, The Churches in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Bobbs Merrill Co., Inc., 1967), p. 31.
88. R. C. K. Ensor, England 1870-1914 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), p. 137.
89. Hector Macpherson, Scotland's Debt to Protestantism (Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1912), p. 125.
90. Ensor, p. 137.
91. J. Edwin Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, Ltd., 1949), p. 5. The phrase "prince among men," often used of Henry Drummond, was found to have been a not uncommon form of compliment in the literature of this period.
92. Ibid., p. 6.
93. Ibid., pp. 254, 62, 68, 74. Also, in this period, Hay Macdowell Grant, the "gentleman evangelist" of Arndilly, bears mention here, if only for his title, which might indicate he anticipated Drummond's style of evangelism, but is also noteworthy for its implication that gentlemen were not generally expected to be evangelists and vice versa.
94. Janet R. Glover, The Story of Scotland (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), p. 285.
95. A. Allan MacLaren, "Presbyterianism and the Working Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City," The Scottish Historical Review 46 (October 1967): 115-139, 124-126, 132. Both establishment and Free Church schools had qualified teachers, provided Latin and mathematics, and were superior to other types of schools. The Bible and the Shorter Catechism were basic texts (MacLaren, pp. 135, 138).
96. Stewart Mechie, The Church and Scottish Social Development (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 64, 67, 140, 147.
97. R.D. Brackenridge, "The Sabbath War of 1865-6, The Shaking of the Foundations," Records of the Scottish Church History Society, 16:1 (1966):23.
98. Ibid., p. 24.
99. Ibid., p. 25.
100. Donald C. Smith, "The Failure and Recovery of Social Criticism in the Scottish Church, 1830-1950," (Ph.D. thesis, New College, Edinburgh University, 1963), p. 263 (cited in The Free Church Magazine [May 1850]:133).

101. Ibid., p. 262.
102. Ibid.
103. "Henry Drummond," The Boys Brigade Gazette (1 April 1897):115.
104. Glover, p. 276.
105. Ibid., p. 282.
106. Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, Those Earnest Victorians (William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1930, and New York: Apollo Editions, n.d.), p. 207.
107. "Wanted a New Religion," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 148 (November 1890):611-16.
108. W. Blaikie, "The Pulpit of the 20th Century," The Free Church of Scotland Monthly (April 1896):77.
109. Enright, p. 158 (from "Sleepy Congregations," The Free Church of Scotland Monthly, [April 1, 1891]:116).
110. Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part II (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 1.
111. Ibid., p. 2.
112. Ibid., p. 3.
113. Gordon Donaldson, "The Age of the Moderates," Life and Work, The Record of the Church of Scotland (December 1973):26-27.
114. A. F. Giles, ed., Essays and Addresses by George Freeland Barbour (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1949), p. 71.
115. Ibid.
116. T. M. Lindsay, Charles McCrie, Landeis Clair, and Norman L. Walker, Religious Life in Scotland - From the Reformation to the Present Day (London: T. Nelson & Sons, Paternoster Row, 1888), p. 290.
117. Rev. James Stalker, The Preacher and His Models, The Yale Lectures on Preaching (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1891), pp. 13-15.
118. Ibid., p. 14.
119. Ibid., p. 13.
120. Ibid., p. 14.
121. Ibid., p. 15.

122. Lindsay, et al., p. 294.
123. Rev. John Macpherson, Revival and Revival Work. A Record of the Labours of D. L. Moody and Ira P. Sankey and Other Evangelists (London: Morgan & Scott, 1895), p. 293.
124. Ibid.
125. Chalmers died twelve years before Charles Darwin's The Origin of Species and The Descent of Man were published in England in 1859.
126. Rev. John Macpherson, pp. 17-19.
127. Ibid., p. 65.
128. Lindsay, et al., p. 279.
129. Rev. John Macpherson, pp. 116, 189, 273, 131, 136.
130. Smith, Life, pp. 340-341.
131. John 3:14.
132. Moody said Drummond was the only man he knew who lived consistently in the thirteenth chapter of first Corinthians.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

1. Chamber's Biographical Dictionary. rev. ed. (1968) s.v. "Henry Drummond," Dictionary of National Biography, 1903 ed., s.v. "Henry Drummond."
2. This categorization has been adhered to by James Y. Simpson in 1901, Cuthbert Lennox in 1905, James Kennedy in 1953, Malcolm McIver in 1959, and Kenneth Schott in 1972, although each added interesting insights relative to biography, student work, and rhetoric.
3. Smith, Life, p. 330.
4. Charles Bullock, B.D., The Strangest Thing in the World. "A Gospel with the Gospel Omitted" (London: Home Words Publishing Office, 1891), p. 8.
5. Cuthbert Lennox, Henry Drummond. A Biographical Sketch (London: Andrew Melrose, 1901), p. 173.
6. "Henry Drummond," The Methodist Times (January 26, 1899):31. This excerpt was chosen for potentially having a greater degree of objectivity than the publications of his own church which tended to be dominated by Drummond's friends for many years after his death.
7. Smith, Life, pp. 17-19.
8. The bulk of Henry Drummond's family correspondence covered in the preparation of this work was addressed to his mother or his brother James.
9. Smith, Life, p. 19.
10. Daniel Monod, "Un Évangéliste Moderne, Le Professeur Henri Drummond." Thèse pour obtenir le grade de bachelier en théologie, La faculté libre de théologie protestante de Montauban. (Cahors: Imprimerie typographique, A. Coueslant, 1909), p. 91. This incident he apparently acknowledged at Amherst on receipt of an honorary Dictor of Laws degree. Also cited by John Birbeck, ed., A Mirror Set At the Right Angle. Daily Readings from Henry Drummond (Stirling: The Drummond Press, 1974), p. 9.
11. James Young Simpson, Henry Drummond: Famous Scots Series (Edinburgh: London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1901), p. 18 (hereafter cited as Simpson, Henry Drummond).

12. Smith, Life, p. 23.
13. Henry Drummond to his mother, October 1863, Henry Drummond Papers, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Acquisition 5890 (1-20) #1 (hereafter cited as NLS Acc 5890).
14. Smith, Life, p. 29.
15. His first year, 1866-67, he took Senior Humanity and English. The second year, he studied Junior Greek, Logic and Metaphysics and Junior Mathematics; and the third year he took Second Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. The fourth year, he took Senior Greek, Senior Humanity for the second time, and Moral Philosophy. (See Smith, Life, pp. 29-30.)
16. Smith, Life, p. 30.
17. Smith, Life, p. 31, and Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 30.
18. Birbeck, p. 10. As lecturer in Glasgow where "it is said" he combined three incompatible things - prayer, science and mesmerism, and "his versatility often found him rounding off a serious lecture with an acquired exhibition of mesmerism at the expense of some unfortunate victim."
19. Smith, Life, p. 32.
20. Simpson, Henry Drummond, pp. 34-37 and Smith, Life, pp. 38, 39, 41.
21. Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 37.
22. Ibid., pp. 38, 39; Simpson states: "Drummond was not medallist in the class of Geology, as has been widely believed." (Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 38, fn 2.)
23. Ibid., p. 31.
24. W. Robertson Nicoll, Ian MacLaren. The Life of the Reverend John Watson (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), pp. 7, 28, 29, 26.
25. Ibid., p. 29.
26. Henry Drummond to his brother James, 4 May 1871 (NLS Acc 5890 #1).
27. Smith, Life, p. 47 and Simpson, Henry Drummond, pp. 38-39.
28. Nicoll, Ian MacLaren, p. 63.
29. Henry Drummond to his brother James, 10 May 1873, NLS Acc 5890 #1. This is hard to reconcile with Nicoll's statement that John Watson was there, and Smith's, that Drummond was there with John Ewing and D. M. Ross (Smith, Life, p. 48).

30. Smith, Life, p. 52.
31. Henry Drummond, "Spiritual Diagnosis" in James W. Kennedy Henry Drummond: An Anthology (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), p. 224.
32. Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 40.
33. Ibid., p. 41.
34. Henry Drummond to Mrs. Mackinnon, London, 30 June, 1875: "Mr. Moody's sermons are getting on famously. I think a dozen of them will be published in a week or two. I have been very busy with them." (cited in Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 43, fn 2).
35. Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 43.
36. Ibid., p. 45.
37. Ibid., p. 44.
38. Ibid., p. 50. This incident of falling over a stone and the friendly persuasion of Mrs. Barbour, the mother of his friend, Robert, against a career in evangelism, are recounted endlessly.
39. Ibid., p. 51.
40. Ibid., p. 53 and Smith, Life, p. 117.
41. Smith, Life, p. 115. This kind of statement is puzzling. Were darkness and light really alike to Drummond, even as the natural and the spiritual, or was he simply unwilling to commit himself in one direction?
42. Kennedy, Anthology, p. 31.
43. Smith, Life, p. 116.
44. Letter by Professor Marcus Dods. "Henry Drummond as a Church Worker", Edinburgh New College, MSS. A.b.a. 10.
45. Here, Simpson says Drummond "carried on the full labors of an ordained minister" but Drummond himself says he never married or buried. (Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 55).
46. Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 55.
47. Ibid., p. 51.
48. Ibid., p. 56, Simpson alone emphasizes this interest in things teleological.

49. Ibid., pp. 57, 58.
50. Ibid., p. 58.
51. Ibid., pp. 57. 58.
52. Smith, Life, p. 147.
53. Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 59.
54. Smith, Life, p. 148.
55. Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 59.
56. Henry Drummond, "On Natural Law in the Spiritual World," The British Weekly, A Journal of Social and Christian Progress (7 January 1887):2 and (14 January 1887):2; also cited by Smith, Life, pp. 148-151.
57. One account indicates that it was his father who again pressured or encouraged him to accept social recognition. "Well," said his father, "Of course you are going to accept." "Indeed I am not," answered Henry, "what have I to do with court life at Holyrood?" [Lord and Lady Aberdeen, We Twa (London: W. Collins & Sons, 1925), p. 203.]
58. John Kelman, "Rev. Drummond's Influence Today in Edinburgh University Life," The Student 418 (15 November 1907):69-71.
59. Only Drummond's side of this correspondence is available in the Haddo House collection, but at its height he replied to her twice weekly.
60. Aberdeen, pp. 203, 204.
61. Ibid.
62. Only a few pages of a student's notes taken from the 1890 session are contained in the Smith Life Appendix. They are sometimes taken to be demonstrative of a "fuller gospel" than has generally been ascribed to Drummond. But as historical sources, they have limited validity.
63. Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 69.
64. Ibid., p. 70.
65. Ibid., p. 73 and Smith, Life, p. 317.
66. Smith, Life, p. 318.

67. Ibid., p. 345. This student work is well documented in Smith, Life, and Malcolm McIver, "The Preaching of Henry Drummond with Special Reference to His Work with Students" (Ph.D. thesis, New College, Edinburgh University, 1958), p. 178.
68. Drummond letter, 28 Jan. 1888 (Smith, Life, p. 323). Smith keeps a fair record of the persecutions, but they tend to be lost in the wealth of other surrounding detail and thus deemphasized.
69. Henry Drummond, "Professor Marcus Dods," The Expositor (July 1889):39.
70. Simpson, Henry Drummond, pp. 79, 80.
71. The dates of publication of the Christmas booklets are according to Kennedy's Anthology.
72. Smith, Life, p. 465.
73. Ibid., p. 409.
74. Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 24.
75. Ibid., pp. 33, 34.
76. Ibid., pp. 35-37. The letters in this section are given in detail as they are among the few remaining which are indicative of Drummond's feelings.
77. Ibid., p. 39.
78. Ibid, pp. 41-43.
79. Ibid., pp. 46, 47.
80. Ibid., p. 48.
81. Ibid., p. 49.
82. Ibid., p. 50.
83. Ibid, p. 51.
84. Ibid., p. 53. Also Smith, Life, p. 112.
85. Ibid., p. 72.
86. Henry Drummond to Robert Barbour, Malta, 4 July, 1878, cited by Smith, Life, p. 123.
87. Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 56.

88. Ibid., p. 57.
89. Ibid., pp. 57, 58.
90. Kennedy, Anthology, p. 39.
91. Birbeck, p. 11. This tag was actually Huxley's, borrowed by Drummond.
92. Smith, Life, p. 223.
93. Ibid., pp. 322, 323.
94. Simpson, Henry Drummond, pp. 79, 80.
95. Ibid., p. 82.
96. Smith, Life, pp. 362, 363.
97. Ibid., p. 363.
98. Henry Drummond letter from Sydney, Australia, 18 June, 1890, cited by Smith, Life, pp. 369-70.
99. Ibid., pp. 413, 414.
100. Ibid., p. 414.
101. Ibid., p. 414, 415.
102. Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 88.
103. Ibid., p. 89.
104. Ibid., p. 90. Also, Smith, Life, p. 413.
105. Smith, Life, p. 409.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
108. Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 88.
109. Smith, Life, p. 417.
110. Henry Drummond to his mother, 13 July, 1893, cited by Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 93.
111. Smith, Life, pp. 420, 421.

112. Henry Drummond to Ishbel, Lady Aberdeen, 31 July 1893, National Register of Archives, Haddo House Mss. NRA (Scot) 0055; also cited by Smith, Life, p. 421.
113. Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 94. Although nine years earlier Smith had made a similar comment. Drummond had aged during his Africa trip, where he had suffered fever, lassitude, and depression and a month of weakness and inertia: "All this marked him for life. When he returned to Scotland we noticed a splash of grey hair upon his head. And although beyond this he seems to have suffered from his African travel no other physical injury, there is little doubt that his spirit was affected by all he had seen and suffered." Cited by Smith, Life, p. 210.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid., p. 96.
116. Henry Drummond to Ishbel, Lady Aberdeen, 24 May 1895, Haddo House Mss NRA (Scot) 0055.
117. Ibid.
118. A curious image this of a swift hind dropping beautiful fawns from Genesis 49:21 [JB] (JB The Jerusalem Bible).
119. Letter, 12 April 1890, Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 81.
120. And such a conclusion can be, at best, hypothetical at this point as letters from Lady Ishbel Aberdeen and his own mother, the two to whom the bulk of his correspondence seems to be addressed, are not available.
121. James R. Moore, "The Post-Darwinian Controversies: A Study of the Protestant Struggle to Come to Terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America, 1870-1900" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, England, 1975), p. 417.
122. Simpson, Henry Drummond, pp. 72-82.
123. Lennox, Henry Drummond, p. 165.
124. Ruskin had travelled from Christian orthodoxy to an "unconversion" and then supposedly returned via spiritualism to the Christianity of his youth. Whether this occult route could have led him back to his original position is, however, questionable.
125. Philip Cartaret Hill, Drifting Away: A Few Remarks on Professor Drummond's Search for "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" (London: Benrose & Sons, 1883), pp. 4-42.
126. Ibid.

127. The extent to which fear of God and reverence for revelation were substituted for love of God and reverence for evolution will be a part of the examination of his work in the chapter following.
128. Or what he thought God's will to be.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III

1. Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, p. viii.
2. Henry Drummond, *The Greatest Thing in the World and 21 Other Addresses by Henry Drummond* (London and Glasgow: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1930. This 1966 edition revised and augmented, 1953), p. 220 (hereafter cited as 22 Addresses). This reference is from the essay "Marvel Not." Hereafter each of these 22 addresses will be cited under their individual titles with page references from 22 Addresses.
3. Ibid.
4. Drummond, "Hallowed Be Thy Name," Sermon Notes, Possil, Nov. 13, 1878 (National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland, NLS Acc 5890) #9 (hereafter cited as NLS Acc 5890). None of the sermon notes under this acquisition number have page references.
5. Drummond, "The Eyes of the Lord" Sermon Notes, Possil, 3 May 1880, NLS Acc 5890, #9.
6. Smith, *Life*, p. 113, fn 1.
7. William Law, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life: Adapted to the State and Condition of all Orders of Christians* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966), p. 272.
8. Drummond, "Penitence" in 22 Addresses, pp. 228, 229.
9. Ibid., p. 231.
10. Drummond, "New Evangelism," p. 13 in *New Evangelism, etc.* The other six essays contained in *New Evangelism, etc.* are hereafter cited by individual titles with page references from the larger work.
11. Drummond, "Penitence," p. 232.
12. Drummond, "Spiritual Diagnosis" in Kennedy, *Anthology*, p. 229.
13. Drummond, "The Man After God's Own Heart" in 22 Addresses, p. 242.
14. Drummond, "Ill Temper" in 22 Addresses, pp. 142, 143.
15. Drummond, "New Evangelism," p. 12.
16. Ibid., p. 13.
17. Ibid., pp. 13, 14.
18. Ibid., p. 14.

19. Strenuous objections to anger are also prominent in an essay on Luke 15 entitled "Ill Temper." For Drummond, anger apparently was a cardinal sin.
20. Drummond, "New Evangelism," p. 14.
21. Drummond, "The Method of the New Theology and some of its Applications" in New Evangelism, etc., p. 61.
22. Drummond, "New Evangelism," pp. 14, 16.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Drummond, "The Programme of Christianity," in 22 Addresses, p. 67.
27. James Denney, (pseudo) A Brother of the Natural Man, On "Natural Law in the Spritual World" (London: Alexander Gardner, 1885), p. 34.
28. Drummond, "The Understanding of God" Sermon Notes, Possil, 13 December 1880 (NLS, Acc 5890 #9).
29. Rev. John Kelman, "Drummond's influence today in Edinburgh University Life," The Students 418 (15 November 1906):71.
30. Drummond, "The Understanding of God."
31. Ibid.
32. Theodore T. Munger, The Freedom of Faith (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884), p. 2, from The Life of F. W. Robertson, Vol. II, p. 160.
33. Drummond, The Perfected Life, the Greatest Need of the World (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1897, 1890), p. 26.
34. Isaiah 53:3, 50:6. Ephesians 6:12.
35. Rev. Roderick Lawson, The Shorter Catechism with Commentary and Scripture Proofs, (Edinburgh: The Knox Press, n.d.), pp. 14, 16.
36. Smith, Life, p. 47.

37. Drummond, "The Three Facts of Sin" in 22 Addresses, pp. 197-199.
38. Ibid., pp. 197, 198.
39. Ibid., p. 198.
40. Ibid., p. 199.
41. Smith, Life, p. 226.
42. Drummond, "Overcome Evil with Good" Sermon Notes, Possil, 11 September 1881 (NLS Acc 5890 #9).
43. Drummond, "Pure Religion -- To Keep Himself Unspotted from the World" Sermon Notes, Possil, 24 May 1879 (NLS Acc 5890 #9).
44. Ibid.
45. Drummond, "What is Your Life?" in 22 Addresses, pp. 252-256.
46. Drummond, "Marvel Not," pp. 215, 220.
47. "Born Again," Newsweek (October 25, 1976):68.
48. Drummond, "To Me To Live Is Christ" in 22 Addresses, pp. 177-181.
49. Ibid., p. 178.
50. Denney, p. 63.
51. T. M. Lindsay et. al., p. 287.
52. Denney, pp. 61-63, and W. Robertson Nicoll, Letters of Principal James Denney to W. Robertson Nicoll, 1893-1917 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd, 1920), p. 110.
53. Dangerfield, George, The Strange Death of Liberal England 1910-1914 (New York: Capricorn Books, 1961), pp. 433, 434.
54. Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 12.
55. Henry Drummond, "Mesmerism and Animal Magnetism," subtitled "Animal Magnetism, Clairvoyance, Mesmeric Surgery, Somnambulism, Extasis, Trance, Lucid Prevision, Phreno Magnetism, Table Turning, etc.," referred to in Chapter II above. The Philomathic, January, 1869. Handwritten manuscript from the private collection of Rev. Finlay Stewart, Fife, Scotland.
56. Ibid., p. 3.

57. Ibid., pp. 4, 8, 11.
58. Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, p. 11.
59. Drummond, "Clairvoyance" in 22 Addresses, p. 189.
60. Ibid., p. 183.
61. Ibid., p. 184. This theme of Ruskins' is found consistently in Drummond's writing.
62. Ibid., p. 191.
63. Ibid., p. 190. Drummond, like Emerson, is Platonic in many ways, especially here, where the world is the visible appearance of the invisible, and things in time symbolize essences in eternity. [Ralph Waldo Emerson, Essays by Ralph Waldo Emerson, with introduction by Irwin Edman (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1926), p. vii].
64. Ibid.
65. Marcus Dods, D.D., Christ and Man: Sermons (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909), p. 198.
66. Galatians 5:17 (GN) [GN - Good News Bible - The Bible in Today's English Version].
67. Drummond, "Clairvoyance," pp. 190, 191.
68. Ibid., p. 187.
69. Ibid., pp. 187, 188.
70. I Thess 4:15-18.
71. Drummond, "Ill Temper," pp. 143, 144.
72. Drummond, "The Round," Sermon Notes, Possil, 23 March 1879 (NLS ACC 5890 #9).
73. T. Campbell Finlayson, Biological Religion. An Essay in Criticism of Professor Henry Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" (Manchester: Brook & Chrystal, 1885), pp. 1-5.
74. Ibid.
75. Drummond, Natural Law in the Spritual World, p. 203.
76. Hill, p. 29. One cannot fail to be impressed by the discreet language that these men, almost without exception, used about Drummond, even when they felt that he was assaulting the very foundations of their faith.

77. Drummond, The Ascent of Man, pp. 11-14.
78. Ibid., pp. 25, 33.
79. Ibid., p. 34.
80. Ibid., p. 46.
81. William A. Dyrness, "Redeeming Indian Culture", Christianity Today (March 18, 1977) :26-27.
82. Drummond, The Ascent of Man, pp. 50-53.
83. Ibid., pp. 438, 439, 440.
84. Ibid., p. 407.
85. Drummond, "Spiritual Diagnosis," in Kennedy, Anthology, p. 229.
86. Drummond, "Marvel Not," p. 220. Drummond's tendency to use the Bible directly, without quotation marks, and in the expressed common language of his day is here evidenced.
87. Ibid., pp. 221-223.
88. Jürgen Moltmann, "The Theology of Hope Today" from Death and Hope, eds. Harry J. Cargas and Ann White. (New York: Corpus Books, 1970), p. 83.
89. Drummond, "Programme of Christianity", p. 68.
90. Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, pp. 413, 414.
91. Drummond, "Programme of Christianity", pp. 65-69.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid., p. 81.
94. Ibid., p. 69.
95. Kennedy, Anthology, p. 64.
96. Smith, Life, p. 8.
97. Drummond, "The Third Kingdom" in New Evangelism, etc., p. 95.
98. Drummond, "Programme of Christianity", pp. 68, 29, and W. Robertson Nicoll, "Memorial Sketches" in 22 Addresses, p. 29.
99. Kennedy, Anthology, p. 14.

100. Drummond, "The Problem of Foreign Missions," in New Evangelism, etc. p. 130.
101. Drummond, "What It Is To Be a Christian," Student Addresses in Smith, Life, p. 489.
102. Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, pp. 350-355.
103. Drummond, "Spiritual Diagnosis" in Kennedy, Anthology, p. 229.
104. Drummond, "Mesmerism and Animal Magnetism", pp. 4, 5.
105. Drummond, The Perfected Life, pp. 12, 13, 23, 24.
106. Ibid., p. 25.
107. Drummond, "Programme of Christianity", p. 67.
108. Ibid., p. 67.
109. G. F. Barbour., The Life of Alexander Whyte, D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923), p. 411.
110. Denney, pp. 56, 57.
111. Ibid., p. 57.
112. Drummond, "The Contribution of Science to Christianity" in New Evangelism, etc., pp. 182, 183.
113. Drummond, "The Three Facts of Sin", p. 197.
114. Hill, pp. 13, 14.
115. Ibid., pp. 37-39, 40.
116. Drummond, "Contribution of Science to Christianity", pp. 173-175.
117. Ibid., pp. 174, 175.
118. Drummond, "Programme of Christianity", pp. 67, 70.
119. Drummond, "Problem of Foreign Missions," pp. 148, 149.
120. Drummond, The Ascent of Man, pp. vi-viii.
121. Ibid., p. vi.
122. Ibid., p. 11.
123. Letter from James Denney to W. Robertson Nicoll, 1900 from W. R. Nicoll, Letters of Principal James Denney to W. R. Nicoll, p. 110.

124. Drummond, The Ascent of Man, p. 428-31.
125. Ibid., pp. 434-35.
126. Ibid., pp. 438-39, 442-443.
127. Drummond, "The Greatest Thing in the World" in 22 Addresses, pp. 50, 51.
128. Kenneth Schott, "An Analysis of Henry Drummond and His Rhetoric of Reconciliation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1972), p. 1. Quoted from Batsell Barrett Baxten, editor and recorder of the record on Henry Drummond's "The Greatest Thing in the World" (1921 Hayes St., Nashville, Tennessee: The Foundation for Human Betterment, n.d.).
129. Drummond, "Contribution of Science to Christianity," p. 176.
130. Drummond, The Perfected Life, p. 21.
131. Drummond, "Programme of Christianity," p. 75.
132. Henry Drummond to Ira Sankey, 3 April 1892 (Smith, Life, pp. 412, 413 and Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 90).
133. Ibid.
134. Ibid., p. 413.
135. T. Hunter Boyd, Henry Drummond. Some Recollections, Foreward by the Earl of Aberdeen (London: Headley Brothers, 1907), p. 61.
136. Heb 9:22 (K.J). I Cor 15:14, 17 (GN).
137. I Cor 15:19 (GN).
138. Smith, Life, p. 410.
139. Ibid.
140. Ibid., pp. 410, 411.
141. Ibid.
142. Ibid., pp. 409, 410.
143. Ibid., pp. 411, 412.
144. Boyd, p. 65.

145. Ibid.
146. Drummond, "The Two Conversions", Sermon Notes Possil, March 1878 (NLS 5890 #9).
147. James 2:19.
148. Drummond, "The Two Conversions".
149. Ibid.
150. Ibid.
151. McIver, p. 178.
152. Drummond, "The Three Facts of Salvation", in 22 Addresses, p. 207.
153. Ibid., p. 209.
154. Smith, Life, p. 8.
155. Smith, Life, p. 420.
156. Ralph Venning, The Saddest Thing in the World and Its Only Cure (London: Howe and Company, 1891), p. 7.
157. Drummond, The Ascent of Man, p. 435.
158. Drummond, "What is Your Life", p. 256.
159. Drummond, "Penitence", p. 229.
160. Drummond, "The Three Facts of Salvation", p. 212.
161. Drummond, "Survival of the Fittest", in New Evangelism, etc., pp. 72,73.
162. Ibid.
163. Ibid.
164. Ibid., p. 73.
165. Drummond, "New Evangelism", p. 14.
166. Drummond, "New Theology," p. 60.
167. Drummond, "Survival of the Fittest", pp. 66, 67.
168. Ibid.
169. Ibid., 68.

170. Ibid.
171. Ibid.
172. Ibid.
173. Ibid., p. 69.
174. Ibid.
175. Ibid.
176. Drummond, "Problem of Foreign Missions", pp. 121, 122; also, Smith, Life, p. 402.
177. Ibid., p. 122.
178. Drummond, "New Evangelism", pp. 4, 8.
179. Ibid., p. 12.
180. Drummond, "New Theology", pp. 49, 50.
181. Ibid., p. 50.
182. Ibid.
183. Ibid., pp. 50, 51.
184. Ibid., p. 51.
185. Ibid., p. 52.
186. Ibid., p. 53.
187. Ibid.
188. Ibid., pp. 53, 54.
189. Ibid., p. 56.
190. Ibid., p. 52.
191. Ibid.
192. Ibid., pp. 52, 53.
193. Ibid.
194. Ibid., p. 53.

195. Ibid., p. 57.
196. Ibid., pp. 57, 58.
197. Ibid., p. 58.
198. Ibid., pp. 58, 59.
199. Ibid., p. 59.
200. Drummond, "New Evangelism", p. 16.
201. Boyd, p. 61.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV

1. Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language. College Edition, 1960 ed., s.v. "conciliate."
2. Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, pp. xii-xiii.
3. Ibid., pp. xxii-xxiii.
4. Ibid., p. 32.
5. Drummond, "The Changed Life" in 22 Addresses, p. 105.
6. Schott, "Drummond and His Rhetoric of Reconciliation," pp. 95-98, from J. W. Mankin, "A Study of the Logical, Ethical and Emotional Proofs in Three Selected Sermons by Henry Drummond" (M.A. thesis, Florida State University, 1954). "Mankin found that Drummond relied more heavily on logical and emotional proofs and that he used appeals to authority and pride more than any other type of proff." (Schott, p. 4).
7. Drummond, "Mesmerism and Animal Magnetism," pp. 4, 6.
8. Henry Drummond to Ira Sankey, 3 April 1892, cited in Smith, Life, p. 413.
9. Drummond, "Programme of Christianity," p. 75.
10. Letter from Drummond to Sankey, Smith, Life, p. 412.
11. Ibid.
12. Drummond, "The New Evangelism," p. 10.
13. John. 12:24-25.
14. John. 12:31-33.
15. John. 12:47-48.
16. Deut. 4:2.
17. Revelation 22:18-19.
18. Drummond, The Ascent of Man, p. vi. (Presumably, Drummond being the one to put it back into focus.)
19. "Address by Professor Drummond," The Pall Mall Gazette. An Evening Newspaper and Review 47:7243, Monday, 4 June 1888, p. 9.

20. "Professor Drummond's Sunday Addresses," The Pall Mall Gazette. An Evening Newspaper and Review 47:7249, Monday, 11 June 1888, pp. 9, 13.
21. "Professor Henry Drummond's New Book," The Glasgow Herald, Monday, 21 May 1894, p. 29.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Hill, p. 7.
26. Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, p. xxii.
27. Copy of a letter to Professor Drummond on his "New Basis for Certainty in Religion," 1 June 1885 (Edinburgh, New College, Pamphlet x.a.14), p. 5.
28. Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, p. 26.
29. Copy of a letter to Professor Drummond, p. 7.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., p. 8.
32. Hill, p. 7.
33. Chadwick, p. 29-30.
34. W. Robertson Nicoll to Marcus Dods, 24 Dec. 1898, cited by T.H. Darlow, William Robertson Nicoll Life and Letters (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1925), p. 163.
35. Kennedy, Anthology, pp. 28, 29.
36. "Exclusion" is here used determinedly, rather than "omission," for there is a deliberate quality about these omissions as if the writer were aware of the pitfalls they would introduce into his smooth-running cosmological picture, e.g., a few verses from the book of Revelation are found in one late essay, "The City Without a Church," in 22 Addresses.
37. Thomas F. Torrance, The Centrality of Christ. Devotions and Addresses: The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1976), pp. 28-29.
38. Ibid.
39. Drummond, "Spiritual Diagnosis," in Kennedy's Anthology.

40. I Cor. 3:10-11.
41. Drummond, "New Evangelism," p. 14.
42. John. 12:32-33.
43. Drummond, "Ill-Temper," p. 143.
44. McIver, p. 178.
45. Ibid., pp. 176, 177.
46. Henry Drummond to Dr. Cuylo, 31 July 1887, John Mott Papers, Yale Divinity School Library, New Haven, Conn.
47. I Cor. 2:1-5 [JB] (JB = Jerusalem Bible).
48. "Men" is used here purposively, because it was to men almost exclusively that Drummond chose to address himself most of his life. This also was perhaps a reflection, to a large degree, of the constitution of the universities at the time.
49. The question is rhetorical, a mode of expression employed frequently by Drummond with little doubt left usually as to the answer as is here the case.
50. Drummond, Stones Rolled Away and Other Addresses to Young Men Delivered in America (New York: James Pott and Company, Publishers, 1899), pp. 31, 32.
51. The impression is ineradicable that all philosophers work thus; in fact, the position is that of Hegelian dialectic, which fits in well with Drummond's frame of mind and reference as here demonstrated.
52. Drummond, Stones Rolled Away, pp. 31, 32.
53. Ibid., pp. 32, 29.
54. Ibid., p. 46.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., pp. 43, 27, 32.
57. Ibid., p. 32.
58. Ibid., pp. 33, 35, 34.
59. Hill, p. 17.
60. Ibid., 18-19, 21.

61. Ibid., p. 25-26.
62. Drummond, "Programme of Christianity," p. 81.
63. Jeffrey K. Hadden, The Gathering Storm in the Churches - The Widening Gap Between Clergy and Laymen (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969), pp. 61, 98, 159.
64. Drummond, Dealing with Doubt (Glasgow: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1891), p. 5.
65. Karl Barth, Evangelical Theology - An Introduction Trans. by Grover Foley (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books-Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964), p. 62.
66. Birbeck, p. 40.
67. Watson, P. 7.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER V

1. Frederick B. Artz, Renaissance Humanism: 1300-1550 (Oberlin, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1966), pp. 3, 5, 7.
2. Ibid., pp. 65, 66.
3. And, by definition, necessarily, further away from Jerusalem.
4. Ian G. Barbour, Issues in Science and Religion, (London, Hodder and Stroughton, Ltd., 1966), p. 6.
5. John T. McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 235.
6. "TULIP" - The Synod of Dort formulated 5 points of Calvinism to counter Arminianism. These are sometimes set forth in the above acrostic where T = Total depravity; U = Unconditional election; L = Limited Atonement (i.e., particular redemption); I = Irresistible calling; P = Perseverance of the Saints in the sin-conception.
7. Although one should again remember that the "major" works have here been shown to be, in fact, the "minor" in terms of both intellectual and spiritual achievement, if not endeavor.
8. Encyclopedia Britannica, 1967 ed., s.v. "Swedenborg, Emanuel" by Rev. Arthur Clapham.
9. William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Harper Torchback, Edition, 1957), p. 22.
10. Ibid., p. 23.
11. Reinhard Bendix, "Sociology and The Distrust of Reason," American Sociological Review 35:5 (October 1970):832-33.
12. Or devolution.
13. Kenneth Hamilton, God is Dead: The Anatomy of a Slogan (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966), p. 24.
14. J. Y. Simpson, Landmarks in the Struggle Between Science and Religion (London: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., 1925) p. 14.
15. Ian Barbour, ed., Science and Religion New Perspectives on the Dialogue (London S.C.M. Press Ltd., 1968), p. 6.

16. Kenneth Hamilton, p. 34.
17. Harvey Cox, Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1966 Rev. Ed.).
18. Frank Porter, "The Liberal and the Ritschlian Theology of Germany," The Andover Review, A Religious and Theological Monthly, 19 (January-December 1893):440.
19. Which was not mediating though called so.
20. By Kennedy, McIver and Ian Barbour, respectively.
21. In Bauer, Christian doctrine was held over experience, while Schleiermacher started with experience and worked back to the person of Christ at its source. The latter's appeal, was in his balance of the religious and scientific. He mixed the Platonic vision of the wholeness of life with the intuitive knowledge of God of the Johanne gospel. (Stephen Sykes, Friedrich Schleiermacher: London: Lutterworth Press, 1971, paperback, p. 51).
22. A. M. Fairbairn, The Place of Christ in Modern Theology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), pp. 228, 229.
23. They maintained in a reaction against Pantheism the one supernatural or transcendental fact in Christ, and excluded the supernatural from nature and the spirit of man. (Porter, p. 447)
24. Porter, p. 448.
25. Ibid., pp. 450, 453, 460.
26. And one of the first, post-Darwin.
27. Ian G. Barbour, Issues, p. 102.
28. Ibid., p. 107.
29. P. Carnegie Simpson, The Life of Principal Rainy, Vol. I (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1909), p. 408.
30. The reference here is undoubtedly to Kennedy of Dingwall whose resistance to the "new evangelism", both in content and form, was legendary and earned him the approbium of many of his contemporaries.
31. P. Carnegie Simpson, p. 408.
32. Ibid.

33. John Macleod, p. 331.
34. Ibid., pp. 300, 267, 301.
35. Ibid., pp. 302-03.
36. Ibid., pp. 297, 310.
37. Ibid., p. 309.
38. Donald Maclean, D.D., Aspects of Scottish Church History. Lectures delivered on the Calvin Foundation in the free university of Amsterdam, March 1927, pp. 143, 144.
39. Ibid., p. 311.
40. Ibid.
41. Macleod, p. 268.
42. Maclean, p. 145.
43. Adolf Harnack, What is Christianity? Sixteen lectures delivered in the University of Berlin during the winter term, 1899-1900. Trans. Thomas Bailey Saunders (London: Silliam & Norgate, 1904), p. 52.
44. Horace Bushnell, Science and Religion (Toronto: William Benton, Publisher, 1967), pp. 470, 471.
45. Sidney E. Mead, The Lively Experiment. The Shaping of Christianity in America (New York & London: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 171-175. The American Romantic Movement spawned transcendentalism among the New England Unitarians. Emerson and Bushnell represent aspects of the same religious movement in America which, due to Bushnell, flourished as "liberalism" within the Protestant churches.
46. Ibid., p. 173.
47. For whom religion "was not a matter of form, but a matter of conduct." (Washington Gladden, Ruling Ideas of the Present Age [New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1895], p. 5.)
48. Mead, pp. 173, 174.
49. Who met Drummond during his Yale Tour.
50. Munger, p. i.
51. John Tulloch, The Christian Doctrine of Sin (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1876), pp. 2, 3.

52. Ibid., p. 7.
53. Except certain cultish offshoots.
54. Tulloch, Sin, p. 62.
55. e.g., this tendency to externalize sin is found in Life on the Top Floor, and Stones Rolled Away, but it is also incipient in Baxter's Second Innings. (No date is available on this last, but it seems to fall in the early period.)
56. Tulloch, Sin, pp. 62-65.
57. Ibid., p. 127.
58. Ibid., p. 131.
59. Ibid., p. 136.
60. Ibid., p. 137.
61. James Collins, God in Modern Philosophy (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1959), p. 340.
62. Kennedy, Anthology, pp. 310, 224.
63. Ibid., p. 222.
64. Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, Ltd., 1954), p. 1195.
65. Kennedy, Anthology, p. 180.
66. Ian G. Barbour, Issues, p. 7. The modernist view of God was dominated by the concept of evolution as a continuous process while the modernist view of man centered not on man's sinfulness and opposition to God but on his moral progress and unity with God (Ian G. Barbour, Issues, p. 102).
67. In the form of the writings of Spencer, Haeckel & Huxley.
68. Kenneth Hamilton, p. 30.
69. Eugene Carson Blake, The Church in the Next Decade (New York: The Macmillan Company, Ltd., 1966), p. 152.
70. Drummond, of course, being neither English nor a publicist.
71. M. F. Ashley Montagu, The Direction of Human Development. Biological and Social Bases (New York: Harper and Bros., 1955), p. 17.
72. Ibid., p. 25.

73. Mead, p. 173.
74. Stow Persons, ed., Evolutionary Thought in America (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1956), p. 412.
75. Ibid. (from The Ascent of Man, p. 214).
76. Drummond, The Ascent of Man, p. 342.
77. Persons, pp. 412, 414.
78. J. R. Fleming, p. 166.
79. Ibid., p. 54.
80. Ibid., p. 166.
81. Which cannot be allowed perhaps particularly in the area of the Frenchman's understanding of man, which bears little relation to Drummond's.
82. Edward Scribner Ames, The Psychology of Religious Experience (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910), p. 383.
83. J. Needham, Science, Religion and Reality (London: The Sheldon Press, 1926), pp. 154, 155.
84. J. L. Morrow, "Charles Darwin," The British and Foreign Evangelical Review 146 (October 1888):615.
85. Henri DeLubac, The Religion of Teilhard de Chardin, Translated by René Hague (New York: Desclee Company, Inc., 1967), pp. 229, 87.
86. W. G. Simpson, "The New Phase in Darwinism," The Scots Observer (January 19, 1889):243.
87. Benjamin Kidd, "Professor Drummond's 'Ascent of Man'," The Expositor 4 Ser., 10:57 (July 1894):57-70.
88. Needham, Science, Religion and Reality, p. 341.
89. In contrast to the observations of those of the Scottish critics.
90. Gladden, Ruling Ideas of the Present Age, pp. 106-109.
91. Ibid.
92. NLS Acc 5890 #14.
93. NLS Acc 5890 #12.
94. NLS Acc 5890 #14.

95. Neill P. Hamilton, Jesus for a No-God World (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1969), p. 171.
96. A. R. Lippett, "A Not-So-Secular City," Christianity Today (January 19, 1973):8.
97. James DiGiacomo, J.S., "Why Teens Are Church Dropouts," New Catholic World (January/February 1972):9, 33, 10.
98. Harvey Cox, "The Secular City Ten Years Later," The Christian Century (May 28, 1975):544-547.
99. Malcolm Boyd, ed., The Underground Church (New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc., 1968), p. 240.
100. Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis (New York: The Free Press, 1969), pp. 121-122.
101. John Kennedy, Hyperevangelism, p. 31.
102. Ibid.
103. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, The Cost of Discipleship, translated from the German Nachfolge by R. H. Fuller (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973), p. 47.
104. Ibid., p. 45.
105. John T. McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 427.
106. Ibid., p. 432.
107. Bonhoeffer, p. 227.
108. William Barclay, Introducing the Bible (London: The Bible Reading Fellowship, 1972), p. 56. The author cites P. T. Forsyth on this statement.
109. As late as 1973, Natural Law in the Spiritual World and The Ascent of Man were both counted worthy of the "closest intellectual scrutiny" because the basic apprehension of Henry Drummond were held to remain. "No books in the language are more calculated to fill one with an overmastering passion to be something, and do something for Christ" (Birbeck, A Mirror, pp. 15-16).
110. Alexander Wilson, The Survival of the Fittest and Salvation of the Few: An Examination of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" (London: Alexander Gardner, 1887), p. 162.
111. For this is the quicksand in which one finds oneself in the course of any indepth analysis of Drummond's thought.

112. Wilson here makes the equation between God and nature which is found both overtly and covertly throughout Drummond's opus.
113. Wilson, p. 163.
114. Emil Brunner, Faith Hope and Love (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1955), p. 41.
115. With the possible exception of one or two of the early unpublished sermons.
116. John Tulloch, Modern Theories in Philosophy and Religion (Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1884), pp. 125, 126.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VI

1. Depending from which side one observed.
2. Alexander Whyte, A. R. Simpson, A. H. F. Barbour, John Kelman, and G. Adam Smith: Signatories to a letter to the editor of The British Weekly, January 21, 1909.
3. This statement is, of course, in the light of the evidences, at best misleading and at worst untruthful, as one who occasionally acknowledged the atonement cannot be said to have "magnified" it. It is taken from student notes of indeterminable accuracy and only found in Smith, Life (p. 335) of Drummond's reply to student questions at meetings, as are the two other quotes, "Take up the cross of Christ tonight and follow him this week. . ." (p. 475) ". . . Why do you come to Christ" . . . Do you want the unholy past blotted out forever? If so, you have come to the right place, for God for the sake of Jesus forgives sins (p. 487).
4. Drummond, "Programme of Christianity," pp. 75-76; also Smith, Life, pp. 7-8.
5. His friends here automatically revert to the pattern found so often in Drummond criticism, of justifying him by what he was, rather than what he wrote.
6. Poor Drummond, that his main apologists should cite "good form" replacing "bad" as one of his highest achievements.
7. To my knowledge, this is the first full view of Drummond which has not relied on Smith as central.
8. I hope this endeavor, a pioneer work in the field, will be thus regarded, and allowances made for groundbreaking errors or excesses.
9. Smith, Life, p. 220.
10. He was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows.
11. Circa 1876. Particularly in the essay, "The Eccentricity of Religion."
12. Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 127.
13. Smith, Life.
14. A Committee of Ministers and Elders, The Old Bible and the New, being a Review of Professor George Adam Smith's "Modern Criticism and The Preaching of the Old Testament" (London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 1901), p. iii.
15. Ibid., iii-iv.

16. Ibid., pp. 31-32.
17. Ibid., p. 32.
18. Smith, Life, p. 223.
19. Some of the criticism here under discussion is now available in the National Library of Scotland uncatalogued manuscripts, Acquisition Number 5890, items 1-20. The only previous writer who is known to have had access to this material was James Moore, whose doctoral dissertation, presented at the University of Manchester in 1975 and entitled "The Post-Darwinian Controversies--A Study of the Protestant Struggle to Come to Terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America, 1870-1900," categorizes Drummond as "a Spencerian Christian Darwinist."
20. Kennedy, Anthology, p. 14.
21. Boyd, p. 62.
22. Ibid., pp. 64-5.
23. The adjuration to work; to make all work, work unto Christ, is a fairly common theme in Drummond's The Ascent of Man and also in some essays in 22 Addresses and Stones Rolled Away.
24. Boyd, p. 67.
25. Ibid., pp. 65-66.
26. Ibid., p. 65.
27. Drummond, The Ascent of Man, p. 55.
28. To this writer's knowledge.
29. Joseph Needham, Time: The Refreshing River. Essays and Addresses 1932-1942 (London: George Allen and Unwin Limited, 1943), p. 41.
30. Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, p. 414.
31. Needham, Time: The Refreshing River, p. 41.
32. Ibid., pp. 40-41, 29, 31.
33. This law, that laws apply everywhere in the universe, had already been developed by P. G. Tait (Drummond's professor of Natural Philosophy) in his The Unseen Universe (1875) and Paradoxical Philosophy (1878), co-authored with Balfour Stewart.
34. Needham, Time: The Refreshing River, pp. 30, 34-35.
35. Ibid., pp. 35-37 (from Natural Law in the Spiritual World, p. xxii).
36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.; also, The Ascent of Man, p. 312.
38. Ibid., p. 38; also, The Ascent of Man, p. 269.
39. Ibid., p. 40.
40. Ibid. This latter love is perhaps particularly hard to reconcile with the type of altruistic love delineated by Drummond.
41. Ibid., pp. 30, 33.
42. Ibid., p. 28.
43. And yet there is little evidence of Drummond's reading in the area of religion and much in the area of "science."
44. This study of his thought shows this not to be so.
45. Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, p. vii.
46. Rufus Jones, Social Law in the Spiritual World (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904), p. 9.
47. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
48. Montagu, p. 25. One would hope that this writer had spent more time in reviewing The Ascent of Man than he did in reviewing its author whom he identifies as English and a publicist.
49. W. Robertson Nicoll, Letters of Principal James Denney to W. R. Nicoll, p. 110.
50. An 1891 postscript published in J. Y. Simpson's book, Henry Drummond, shows that Drummond "in the end swung around to the position that it was perhaps better to leave matters as they were, indeed, as late as his mortal illness, he expressed the wish to publish the chapters separately as 'Addresses to Working Men.'" (p. 137)
51. W. R. Nicoll, Memorial Sketch in 22 Addresses, p. 29.
52. Perhaps the aspect of Drummond's character that this writer found least appealing was the perpetual doublemindedness with regard to his vision. While not withdrawing either book, he chose to depict them as hasty lectures, the first only published to raise money for an orphanage, the second changed at the last minute to suit his audience and then published at trigger point to stop pirate publishers in the United States. In other words, although it has here been documented that neither was hastily conceived, but rather the calculated product of a decade's thought and mature consideration -- the first roughly between ages 22 and 32 and the second between ages 32

and 42 -- he not only did not seem to want to accept responsibility for his published world view -- right or wrong -- but actually to deny it by implying hasty sponaneous production.

53. This latter work, along the lines of The Drummond Year Book of 1893, being a collection of epigrams with a seventeen-page preface, because it is not a critical work, cannot be considered along with the main body of critical literature.
54. McIver, "The Preaching of Henry Drummond."
55. Schott, "Drummond and His Rhetoric of Reconciliation."
56. Moore, "The Post-Darwinian Controversies," p. 418.
57. Kennedy, Anthology, pp. 10, 224.
58. Moore, pp. 422-423.
59. Ibid., pp. 426-427.
60. Ibid., pp. 431-432.
61. So designated because they, by and large, accepted him as seminal and proceeded from his view as starting point. Included here would be J. Y. Simpson, James Kennedy, Malcolm McIver, and Kenneth Schott.
62. Smith, Life, pp. 220-221.
63. Ibid.
64. Because of this broadside at the American who was popular in Britain, Kennedy, in his Dingwall parish, became himself the target of much vituperation. See Iain Murray, The Forgotten Spurgeon (London: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1973), p. 173, on the "barrage of rebukes" Kennedy received.
65. Frank H. White, Reconciliation Before Rest: Professor Drummond's "Pax Vobiscum" and "The Peace of Christ" (London: n.p., 1891), p. 1.
66. Hugh Mortimer Cecil, Pseudo-Philosophy at the End of the Nineteenth Century. An Irrationalist Trio: Kidd-Drummond-Balfour (London: The University Press, 1897), pp. 1, 103.
67. Smith, Life, p. 222. Hopefully, this thesis will help shed light upon these two odiums for those who, having read Smith, have shared his puzzlement that "on the religious side" there should have arisen this "most extraordinary irritation."
68. Denney, pp. 66-67.
69. Ibid., p. 6.

70. Ibid., p. 7.
71. Ibid., pp. 8, 9, 10, and 12.
72. Ibid., pp. 13, 15-17.
73. Werner Heisenberg, Physics and Philosophy. The Revolution in Modern Science (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1958), pp. 187-206.
74. Denney, pp. 16-18.
75. Ibid., pp. 18-20. The question arises, was Drummond's insistence upon the continuity of the two related to his excursions into the occult by seances, etc?
76. Ibid., pp. 24-26.
77. i.e., the spiritual kingdom.
78. Denney, pp. 26-27.
79. Ibid., pp. 29-32.
80. Ibid., pp. 34-36.
81. Henry Drummond, Fragmentary drafts for a new preface to Natural Law in the Spiritual World, cited by Simpson, Henry Drummond, pp. 127-137.
82. Ibid., p. 128.
83. Ibid., p. 127.
84. Ibid., pp. 128-129.
85. Ibid., p. 130.
86. Ibid.
87. Rev. Prof. Iverach, D.D., "Henry Drummond," The British Weekly 16:39, 5 (24 May 1894):65-67.
88. Drummond, draft for preface to Natural Law in the Spiritual World, in Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 131.
89. Denney, pp. 38-39.
90. Ibid., pp. 42-44.
91. Ibid., 46-49.
92. Ibid., p. 50.

93. Ibid., p. 53.
94. A Layman. Professor Drummond and Miracles: A Critique of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" (London: Alexander Gardner, 1885), p. 66.
95. Ibid.
96. Drummond, Stones Rolled Away, p. 48.
97. While this may be considered a rather unlicensed usage of Drummond's insistence upon the naturalness of Christianity, it nonetheless adheres to his strenuous advocacy of contemporary rather than archaic parlance when presenting gospel "truths."
98. Drummond, "Problem of Foreign Missions," p. 85.
99. Matt. 5:3; I Cor. 1:19-25.
100. Denney, p. 65.
101. Ibid., p. 54.
102. Smith, Life, p. 222.
103. My concern was with what he actually wrote, and the historical implications thereof; only the tip of this critical iceberg was explored.
104. The Rev. D. M. Ross cited in Cuthbert Lennox, Henry Drummond, p. 162. It should here be noted that Ross, as Simpson and Smith, was in Drummond's circle of friends. This fact, that so many of the early published commentaries were developed by friends, lends a certain coloration to most of this material and is one to which future researchers should be alerted.
105. W. R. Nicoll, Memorial Sketch in 22 Addresses, p. 29.
106. Denney, p. 66.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII

1. Drummond, "New Evangelism," p. 43.
2. Drummond, The Ascent of Man, p. 435.
3. John Watson, "Henry Drummond, Second Memorial Sketch," in 22 Addresses, p. 40.
4. Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, pp. vii-viii.
5. Hill, p. 37.
6. That adherence to the biological creeds of Darwin, Huxley, or Spencer is compatible with even the most loosely defined Christianity is still unproven.
7. Lyman Abbott, The Theology of an Evolutionist (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company), pp. vi, 127.
8. Matthew 11:3.
9. John Watson, "Henry Drummond, Second Memorial Sketch," 22 Addresses, p. 43.
10. Barth, p. 52.
11. Alexander Woodcock of Williams College, Mass., says the growth of an organism can be thought of as a series of gradual changes triggered by catastrophic jumps in the biochemistry of cells that make up the organism. He notes that genetics and Darwinian notions of natural selection give only general answers.--"Catastrophe Theory." Newsweek (19 January 1976):54-55.
12. Beginning with Smith in the last century and continuing through others to Kennedy.
13. "It does not belittle the reputation of great saints like Augustine, Bernard and Francis to maintain that for honest thinking and joyful practice of religion, Henry Drummond merits equal veneration." (Birbeck, p. 7).
14. And this writer agrees empirically with W. S. Gilbert's view that "everyone born into this world alive is either a little liberal or a little conservative," (religious as well as political), academic and scientific "objectivity" notwithstanding.
15. See Jürgen Moltmann, Theology of Hope. On the Ground and the Implications of a Christian Eschatology (New York and Evanston: Harper and Row, 1965), and the same author, The Crucified God, The Cross of Christ as the Foundation and Criticism of Christian Theology (New York: Harper and Row, 1974).

16. J. Y. Simpson details an account of two students, one Drummond, at midnight walking the parade ground of Edinburgh Castle; their discussion is documented inexplicably, almost, as it were, verbatim: "Was it that the spiritual and natural were but one and the same thing seen from different standpoints? Or could it be that the former hung above the other with nought in common? Or again, might it not be that, though they were distinct, something yet ran through both, uniting them? . . . 'May not one law run through the natural and the spiritual?'" Already in his student days, Henry Drummond had seen his vision.--Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 12.

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APPENDIX I

I. Free Church of Scotland Assembly Papers No. L Colleagues and Successors.
Sanctioning of Charges, Cases and Overtures.
Overtures II Anent: Professor Drummond's Ascent of Man, 1895.

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OVERTURES.

II.--Anent Professor Drummond's "Ascent of Man."

1. From the Free Presbytery of Inveraray.

Lockgilphical, 20th March 1895.

Whereas some views expressed by Professor Drummond in the "Ascent of Man," regarding the creation of man, seem to be inconsistent with and dishonouring to the Word of God, inconsistent also with the Confession of Faith, and degrading to man; whereas the teaching of such views is fitted to have an injurious effect upon such students as receive instruction from Professor Drummond; and whereas all Ministers and Office-bearers solemnly declare by their ordination vows that they will, to the utmost of their power, assert, maintain, and defend the Word of God and the Confession of Faith:

It is hereby humbly overtured by the Free Presbytery of Inveraray to the General Assembly that they take the premises into consideration, and take such steps as would best vindicate the honour of God's Word and restore harmony in the Church.

2. From the Free Presbytery of Dingwall.

Dingwall, 27th March 1895.

Whereas all Ministers and Professors of this Church become solemnly bound by their ordination vows to assert, maintain, and defend the truth of God, as set forth in the Word of God and the subordinate standards of this Church; whereas the views of man's origin propounded in Professor Henry Drummond's recent work on the "Ascent of Man" are contrary to, and subversive of, the declarations of Holy Scripture on the creation of man and the scheme of remedial grace related thereto; and whereas the teaching of such views to our candidates for the holy ministry must be injurious to them, and the publication of them

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OVERTURES.

the consciences of their faithful people, and make a beginning of abating the evils complained of; or that they do otherwise as their wisdom may direct.

18 From the Free Presbytery of Lockerbie.

Lockerbie, 7th May 1895.

Whereas there is a widespread desire among our Office-bearers and Members for an incorporating Union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches; and such a Union is on many grounds to be desired, and to be sought so soon as the time is fitting and circumstances are favourable to its successful consummation; and whereas, in the opinion of this Presbytery, the Disestablishment of the present Established Church of Scotland, and the securing of complete religious equality, is of paramount and pressing urgency; and any premature or unsuccessful agitation for the desired Union with the United Presbyterian Church would be calculated to do much injury to the prosperity of this Church, to prejudice the cause of Disestablishment, to hinder the speedy triumph of the principles of religious equality, and even to imperil the interests and postpone the prospects of Union itself:

It is humbly overtured by this the Free Presbytery of Lockerbie to the ensuing General Assembly to take these premises into consideration, and act in the matter as to their wisdom may seem best.

19. From the Free Presbytery of Stirling.

Whereas the situation in the country, and the state of feeling in the Church, seem to indicate that co-operation among the Churches, rather than incorporating Union, is at present desirable:

It is hereby overtured by the Presbytery of Stirling to the General Assembly to have regard to these premises, and to take such steps as may seem fitted to secure increased co-operation among the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, with a view to ultimate Union.

prejudicial to the welfare of this Church as a professed witness for the truth of God and to the cause of truth in general :

It is hereby overtured to the Venerable the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland by the Free Presbytery of Dingwall to take the whole premises into its serious consideration, and to proceed in the matter in such a way as shall conserve the interests of the truth of God, and the position of this Church as a witness for that truth.

3. From the Free Presbytery of Dornoch.

Laing, 27th March 1895.

Whereas soundness in the faith is absolutely essential to the prosperity of a Church ; whereas especially the public teaching of our Professors should be beyond suspicion, and ought to command the confidence of the people, as was peculiarly the case in the early history of our Church ; whereas in a book lately published by Professor Henry Drummond, entitled "Ascent of Man," there is good reason to believe that the style of teaching is, to say the least of it, dangerous, and in the opinion of many inconsistent with the Confession of Faith and Holy Scripture, and has in the present state of things throughout a large portion of the country tended to alienate the minds of the people from the Free Church :

It is hereby humbly overtured to the Venerable the General Assembly of the Free Church by the Free Church Presbytery of Dornoch to take the premises into their serious consideration, and to take such steps as in their wisdom they may deem best to vindicate the truth and to restore confidence in the Church and the teaching of her Professors.

4. From the Free Presbytery of Skye.

Portree, 3rd April 1895.

Whereas this Church has been peculiarly zealous for soundness in the faith in the early part of her history ;

whereas it is absolutely essential for the prosperity of the Church of Christ to assert, maintain, and defend the truth as revealed in the Word of God ; whereas all Ministers and Professors of this Church promised and solemnly avowed at their ordination their belief in and adherence to the teaching of Holy Scripture and the Confession of Faith, and to assert, maintain, and defend the same ; whereas in a book published recently by Professor Henry Drummond, entitled "The Ascent of Man," there is good reason to believe views are set forth contrary to the teaching of Holy Scripture and the Confession of Faith, and has in the present state of the Church given great offence, and alienated the minds of the people from the Free Church throughout a large portion of the country :

It is hereby humbly overtured to the Venerable the General Assembly by the Presbytery of Skye to take the premises into their serious consideration, and to do in this matter as to their wisdom may seem best.

5. From the Free Presbytery of Tongue.

Tongue, 4th April 1895.

Whereas a book has recently been published under the title, "The Ascent of Man," of which the author is a Professor of the Free Church ; whereas the said book has caused serious alarm to many members and adherents of the Free Church, as a book which in their judgment is inconsistent with the teaching of Holy Scripture ; and whereas the said book has been employed as a weapon by designing parties outside the pale of the Free Church to the detriment of the Church :

It is hereby overtured by the Free Presbytery of Tongue to the Venerable the General Assembly to take the premises into their consideration, and do what in their wisdom may seem best towards vindicating the truth, allaying alarm, and silencing gainsayers.

6. From the Free Presbytery of Lochcarron.

Strome Ferry, 9th April 1895.

Whereas soundness in the faith is absolutely essential to the prosperity of the Church; whereas especially the public teaching of our Professors should be beyond suspicion, and ought to command the confidence of the people as was eminently the case in the early history of our Church; whereas in a book lately published by Professor Henry Drummond, entitled "The Ascent of Man," the views stated are extremely dangerous, and in the opinion of many directly opposed to the teaching of Holy Scripture and the Confession of Faith on the doctrine of Creation; and whereas the publication of this book has caused deep pain and dissatisfaction to many of our best and most loyal people, and has alienated their minds to a large extent from the Free Church:

It is humbly overtured by the Free Presbytery of Lochcarron to the Venerable the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland to take the premises into their serious consideration, and to take such steps as they may deem best to vindicate the truth and restore confidence in the Church and the teaching of her Professors.

7. From the Free Presbytery of Kintyre.

Campbeltown, 9th April 1895.

Whereas all knowledge is to be welcomed, and is calculated to confirm faith, and whereas the Lowell Lectures on "The Ascent of Man" appeared to be inconsistent with the Biblical account of the origin and history of man:

It is hereby humbly overtured by the Free Presbytery of Kintyre to the Venerable the General Assembly to take the premises into consideration, and to give a deliverance which shall conserve alike the valid conclusions of science and the great interests of the Christian faith.

8. From the Free Synod of Glenelg.

Strome Ferry, 10th April 1895.

Whereas soundness in the faith is absolutely essential to the prosperity of the Church; whereas especially the public teaching of our Professors should be beyond suspicion, and ought to command the confidence of the people, as was eminently the case in the early history of our Church; whereas in a book lately published by Professor Henry Drummond, entitled "The Ascent of Man," the views stated are extremely dangerous, and in the opinion of many directly opposed to the teaching of Holy Scripture and the Confession of Faith on the doctrine of Creation; and whereas the publication of this book has caused deep pain and dissatisfaction to many of our best and most loyal people, and has alienated their minds to a large extent from the Free Church:

It is humbly overtured by the Free Church Synod of Glenelg to the Venerable the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland to take the premises into their serious consideration, and to take steps as they may deem best to vindicate the truth and restore confidence in the Church and the teaching of her Professors.

9. From the Free Synod of Argyll.

Rothsary, 24th April 1895.

Whereas the Lowell Lectures on "The Ascent of Man" appear to contradict the Biblical account of the origin of the human race:

It is hereby humbly overtured by the Free Synod of Argyll to the ensuing General Assembly to take the premises into consideration, and do as may seem to them right in the circumstances.

10. From the Free Presbytery of Abernethy.

Kingussie, 30th April 1895.

Whereas a book entitled "The Ascent of Man," by Professor Henry Drummond, of the Free Church College, Glas-

gow, has attracted wide attention throughout the country and contains views which appear to be at variance with the Biblical account of the origin of man :

It is hereby humbly overtured by the Free Presbytery of Abernethy to the Venerable the General Assembly to take the premises into consideration, and give such a deliverance on the subject as to their wisdom may seem meet.

11. From the Free Presbytery of Chananry.

Fortrose, 7th May 1895.

Whereas the views set forth in the Lowell Lectures on "The Ascent of Man," recently published by Professor Drummond, seem not to be in harmony with the Holy Scriptures, and have caused great uneasiness and alarm :

It is hereby overtured by the Free Presbytery of Chananry to the General Assembly to give this matter their serious consideration, and to take such steps as in their wisdom may be necessary.

12. From the Free Presbytery of Inverness.

Inverness, 7th May 1895.

Whereas soundness in the faith is absolutely essential to the prosperity of a Church ; whereas especially the public teaching of our Professors should be beyond suspicion, and ought to command the confidence of the people, as was peculiarly the case in the early history of the Church ; whereas in a book lately published by Professor Henry Drummond, entitled "Ascent of Man," there is good reason to believe that the style of teaching is dangerous, and in the opinion of many inconsistent with the Confession of Faith and Holy Scripture, and has throughout a large portion of the country tended to alienate the minds of the people from the Free Church :

It is hereby humbly overtured to the Venerable the General Assembly by the Free Presbytery of Inverness to take the premises into serious consideration, and to take such steps as in their wisdom they may deem best to vindicate the truth and restore confidence in the Church and the teaching of her Professors.

III.—Anent New Regulations of Equal Dividend Platform Committee in regard to Church Extension Charges.

1. From the Free Presbytery of Linlithgow.

Linlithgow, 29th January 1895.

Whereas the General Assembly of 1894 adopted new regulations anent the relation of Congregations to the Platform of the Equal Dividend ; and whereas under said regulations no Church Extension Charge can be admitted to the Platform unless it has for the three successive years immediately preceding contributed £40 more than the minimum promised at the date of sanction ; and whereas said regulations will injuriously affect the existing Church Extension Charges, and will prove a serious barrier to the further prosecution of Church Extension work in poorer localities ; and whereas the said regulations invest the Platform Committee with powers the exercise of which will be prejudicial to the highest interests of the Church :

It is hereby humbly overtured to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland by the Free Presbytery of Linlithgow to take the premises into their consideration, and modify the said regulations.

2. From the Free Presbytery of Kirkcudbright.

Castle-Douglas, 4th February 1895.

Whereas new Regulations were adopted by the Assembly of 1894 regarding the admission of Church Extension

XII. Act anent Confession of Faith (No. 8 of Class II.)

Edinburgh, 26th May 1892. Sess. 13.

Declaratory
Act anent
Confession of
Faith.

WHEREAS it is expedient to remove difficulties and scruples which have been felt by some in reference to the declaration of belief required from persons who receive licence or are admitted to office in this Church, the General Assembly, with consent of Presbyteries, declare as follows:—

That, in holding and teaching, according to the Confession, the Divine purpose of grace towards those who are saved, and the execution of that purpose in time, this Church most earnestly proclaims, as standing in the forefront of the revelation of Grace, the love of God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—to sinners of mankind, manifested especially in the Father's gift of the Son to be the Saviour of the world, in the coming of the Son to offer Himself a Propitiation for sin, and in the striving of the Holy Spirit with men to bring them to repentance.

That this Church also holds that all who hear the Gospel are warranted and required to believe to the saving of their souls; and that in the case of such as do not believe, but perish in their sins, the issue is due to their own rejection of the Gospel call. That this Church does not teach, and does not regard the Confession as teaching, the foreordination of men to death irrespective of their own sin.

That it is the duty of those who believe, and one end of their calling by God, to make known the Gospel to all men everywhere for the obedience of faith. And that while the Gospel is the ordinary means of salvation for those to whom it is made known, yet it does not follow, nor is the Confession to be held as teaching, that any who die in infancy are lost, or that God may not extend His mercy, for Christ's sake, and by His Holy Spirit, to those who are beyond the reach of these means, as it may seem good to Him, according to the riches of His grace.

That, in holding and teaching, according to the Confession of Faith, the corruption of man's whole nature as fallen, this Church also maintains that there remain tokens of his greatness as created in the image of God; that he possesses a knowledge of God and of duty; that he is responsible for compliance with the moral law and with the Gospel; and that, although unable without the aid of the Holy Spirit to return to God, he is yet capable of affections and actions which in themselves are virtuous and praiseworthy.

That this Church disclaims intolerant or persecuting principles, and does not consider her office-bearers, in subscribing the Confession, committed to any principles inconsistent with liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment.

That while diversity of opinion is recognised in this Church on such points in the Confession as do not enter into the substance of the Reformed Faith therein set forth, the Church retains full authority to determine, in any case which may arise, what points fall within this description, and thus to guard against any abuse of this liberty to the detriment of sound doctrine, or to the injury of her unity and peace.

1892.

CLASS II.

Declaratory
Act anent
Confession of
Faith.

VITAE

Name: J. M. Wysong

Permanent Address: 5142 Oven Bird Green
Columbia, Maryland 21044

Degree: Ph.D.

Date of birth: January 28, 1937

Place of birth: Edinburgh, Scotland

Secondary Education: George Watson's Ladies College, Edinburgh, Scotland,
1953

Collegiate Institutions Attended	Degree	Date of Degree
University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, Scotland	M.A.	June 1957
University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland	Ph.D.	August 1977

Major: British History

Minor: Medieval History

Academic Experience:

- 1968-71 NDEA Fellow, History Department, University of Maryland,
College Park, Md.
- 1966-67 Instructor, History Department, Trinity College, Washington, D.C.
Western Civilization, British History, Medieval History,
Tudor-Stuart Seminar.
- 1965-66 Lecturer, History Department, Trinity College, Washington, D.C.
Western Civilization, British History.
- 1963-64 History Teacher, Sarah Dix Hamlin School for Girls,
San Francisco, California.

Honors and Awards:

British Consul Fellowship to Vienna, Austria (1959-60)

NDEA Fellowship, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland (1968-71).