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AN ANALYSIS OF HENRY DRUMMOND AND HIS RHETORIC OF RECONCILIATION

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Kenneth Ronald Schott, B.A., M.A.

* * * * * * *

The Ohio State University
1972

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Gratefully dedicated to my wife, Linda, and my children, Kenny and Terri
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ONE OF THE LAST PHOTOGRAPHS OF PROFESSOR DRUMMOND.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Henry Drummond was writing constantly, but most of his "pen time" was given to a reworking and polishing of the material he had presented to live audiences. He was before all an evangelist rather than a writer, and it is in the form of his addresses . . . that his most permanent literary work was done.

--James Kennedy

Genesis of the Study

"The Greatest Thing in the World," Henry Drummond's best known work, has remained a best seller for nearly a century. Millions of readers must have often wondered who this man was with his clear insights, his winning style, and his ability to communicate with all generations. The Foundation for Human Betterment claimed on the record cover of a recent recording of "The Greatest Thing in the World,"

Over the years, it has become more and more popular until it is today the most widely printed sermon in the English language . . . It contains the very essence of Christianity and has had a profound effect upon the lives of many people of all ages and all walks of life.1

1The Foundation for Human Betterment, on the record cover of Henry Drummond's "The Greatest Thing in the World," edited and recorded by Batsell Barrett Baxter (Foundation for Human Betterment, 1921 Hayes Street, Nashville, Tennessee).
Drummond's widespread fame at the dawn of the twentieth century and his current influence upon the religious world merits a comprehensive rhetorical examination. As a rhetorical figure, Henry Drummond was an unusual combination of scientist, educator, and evangelist. Had he been merely a professor of science or an ordinary Scottish preacher, Drummond would never have achieved such a far-reaching influence upon the world. For this reason, the present study is based upon the hypothesis that Drummond's lifelong affinity for natural science uniquely influenced his rhetorical career. As a devoted scientist, Drummond was among the first to publicly advocate the reconciliation of evolution and religion. As a popular speaker, his professorial chair provided Drummond an ethical dimension not previously enjoyed by any religious figure who spoke out concerning evolution. As a rhetorician, Drummond's scientific background is clearly evident in his theory and practice of scientific evangelism.

Review of the Literature

Five biographies of Henry Drummond have been published and numerous biographical sketches by a host of authors. The most comprehensive biography was written by an intimate friend, fellow professor and minister, George Adam Smith, in 1898.² Professor Smith had begun his research prior to Drummond's death and had access to certain primary materials which apparently were not available to subsequent biographers. Shorter biographies by T. Cannan Newall, J. Y. Simpson,
and Cuthbert Lennox were published concurrently but lacked the scope and depth of Smith's work.\textsuperscript{3} In 1953, James W. Kennedy, a noted American minister and author, published a biography and anthology of Henry Drummond's works.\textsuperscript{4} Although all of these biographies contain frequent references to Drummond's rhetorical skills, Kennedy provides the greatest insight into Drummond's message and methods as a public speaker.

One of the first rhetorical critics to recognize Drummond's oratory was David Brewer, editor of \textit{World's Best Orations}, published in 1899. Brewer wrote that, "'The Greatest Thing in the World' had an unprecedented circulation and is considered the masterpiece of its class."\textsuperscript{5}

Wayne Minnick, in his 1949 doctoral dissertation on British speakers in America, included a brief analysis of Drummond's American rhetoric as an intellectual force.\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{3}T. Cannan Newall, \textit{Memoirs of Professor Drummond} (Glasgow: John J. Rae, 1898).


\textsuperscript{5}David Brewer, "Henry Drummond," \textit{World's Best Orations} (Akron: The Werner Company, 1899), Vol. V.

\textsuperscript{6}Wayne C. Minnick, "British Speakers in America, 1866-1900" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1949).
In 1950, James McBath wrote his dissertation on the Chautauqua Assembly and briefly referred to Henry Drummond and his Chautauqua audiences.  

The first rhetorical study devoted exclusively to the rhetoric of Henry Drummond was a Master's thesis by J. W. Mankin in 1954 under the direction of Wayne Minnick. Mankin, in a purely Aristotelian approach, analyzed the logical, ethical, and emotional proofs in three selected sermons by Henry Drummond. "The Greatest Thing in the World," "Lessons from the Angelus," and "Stones Rolled Away" were chosen for the study on the basis of their wide circulation. 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 proof. He concluded that Drummond's success as a speaker was directly related to his use of logical and emotional proof.

In a 1965 thesis, Patrick C. Kennicott analyzed Drummond's persuasive techniques in his Ascent of Man lectures given at the Lowell Institute in Boston. This study, also directed by Professor Minnick at Florida State University, dealt with the speech situation and Drummond's persuasive appeals in the Ascent of Man. Kennicott found that Drummond attempted to win belief through appeals to the opinion of others, by the "common ground" technique, by arguments from

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example and analogy, and by appealing to the wants and needs of his audiences. He also noted that Drummond used relatively few ethical appeals and that none of his persuasive techniques were in any way "unique or original." At the close of his study, he suggested that further study of the rhetoric of Henry Drummond and the oratory of science vs. religion would be "both stimulating and profitable." He further stated, "that many gaps remain in the history of American public address which might be filled by such study."10

Kennicott also recommended that a study of the student movement initiated by Drummond in Oddfellows Hall, Edinburgh, would be "both challenging and beneficial." Kennicott had no way knowing that Malcolm McIver, an American doctoral student of divinity at the University of Edinburgh, had already begun research for his dissertation on precisely that very subject.

Dr. McIver's dissertation on Drummond's role in the Christian student movement was approved by the Faculty of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh on October 15, 1958. In this study, McIver investigated the origins of the campus evangelism movement and the nature of Drummond's Oddfellows Hall meetings. In the mid 1950's, McIver was able to interview a few eye witnesses of Drummond's Edinburgh meetings


10Ibid., pp. 147-148.
and his study contains valuable first hand testimony concerning Drummond's appearance and delivery. McIver's chapter on Drummond's homiletical methods examined his sermon delivery and style in the student meetings.  

Another doctoral dissertation on Henry Drummond is currently in progress at the University of Maryland by Mrs. Joan Wysong who is a native of Scotland. Wysong, a doctoral candidate in the department of history, will examine the social and ecclesiastical milieu surrounding the life of Henry Drummond and the intellectual history of his major ideas.

Although Henry Drummond has been the subject of two previous theses in the field of speech communication, both studies focused upon selected public addresses delivered by Drummond in America and did not attempt a comprehensive analysis of his rhetorical career. Likewise, Dr. McIver's dissertation dealt primarily with Drummond's evangelistic meetings for students at the University of Edinburgh, and did not include an analysis of Drummond's career from a rhetorical perspective. Furthermore, the investigations of Henry Drummond by a theologian and a historian serve to intensify the need for a comprehensive rhetorical study. Henry Drummond achieved his impact upon history and upon the religious world largely through his skill as a communicator. Both Dr. McIver and Joan Wysong are in agreement with the writer upon this

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important fact. A study of Henry Drummond's illustrious career from a rhetorical perspective can reveal much that would not be seen through the eye of a historian or a theologian. Certainly, as Marie Hockmuth Nichols observed in 1963, "What the rhetorician is doing may be expected to have some relationship to what the professional historians are doing." She concluded, however, that the two disciplines must be supplementary and that the rhetorician has much to contribute to the historian in his analysis of the past.12

Procedure

The scope of this study is Henry Drummond's rhetorical career, including the salient aspects of his boyhood training, the issues with which he dealt, his public addresses, his philosophy of rhetoric, and his influence upon the world. From a thorough analysis of these areas of his career, answers were sought to the following questions:

(1) In what ways did Drummond's scientific background influence his rhetorical theory and practice?

(2) What elements of his training contributed most to his effectiveness as a rhetor?

(3) What was Drummond's role in the reconciliation of science and religion?

(4) What were the unique characteristics of his rhetoric?

In pursuit of primary materials, the writer visited the cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Stirling, and utilized the resources of seven Scottish libraries. The most fruitful discovery of his research in Scotland was a trunk filled with Henry Drummond's correspondence, manuscripts, and scrapbooks. This collection of materials is currently in the possession of Drummond's grandniece, Mrs. J. W. Pearson of Kilmaurs, Scotland. Drummond's annotated New Testament containing sermon outlines, illustrations, and other materials was examined in the personal library of Dr. McIver, Richmond, Virginia. In addition to these materials, the writer profited from the valuable first hand experiences and impressions of the native land of Henry Drummond. Drummond's career was traced from his birthplace to his grave. The writer talked with a wide range of Scottish people and was unable to find an eye witness who had actually seen or heard Drummond who died in 1897. He did find, however, that the memory of Henry Drummond was alive and well in Scotland. Rev. A. L. Walker, minister of the Henry Drummond memorial church in Glasgow, observed, "Every educated Scotsman is familiar with the name, Henry Drummond." A ninety-year-old woman on a Glasgow bus recalled attending youth activities at the Drummond Possilpark church in the 1890's but could not remember hearing

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Drummond personally. She had heard much about him, however, from her parents and friends. The writer walked in the park where Drummond played as a boy in Stirling, stood in the classroom where he taught at Trinity College in Glasgow, sat at his study desk in the Possilpark church, and examined his handwritten notebooks and lectures at Kilmaurs. The abundance of scientific materials—diaries, journals, diagrams, and lectures—in the family collection was impressive. Science was a significant part of Drummond's life—a fact largely unknown to the general public. Thus, much evidence was found in support of the underlying hypothesis of the study.

The underlying critical model which guided the development of the study was the dramatistic pentad of Kenneth Burke from his *Grammar of Motives*. The major advantage of Burke's critical apparatus is that he viewed a speaker's motives and rhetoric as a single integrated act which in the case of Henry Drummond, was the substance of his career. Marie Nichols, in adapting the Burkeian method to rhetorical criticism, explained that every act has a permanent aspect that may be described in terms of: (1) the name of the act itself, (2) the agent or agents who performed the act, (3) an agency or means by which the act was performed, (4) a scene or background out of which an act grew, and (5) the purpose which the act was designed to accomplish. These five elements of a rhetorical act are interrelated; the model permits not only an analysis

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15 Marie Hochmuth Nichols, *Rhetoric and Criticism*, p. 89.
of each of the constituent parts but also an analysis of the relationships between them such as the act and the agent, the act and the agency, the act and the scene, etc. The rhetorical critic, therefore, is not limited to five categories of analysis but also may make use of the potential relationships between the constituents of the pentad.

When applied to the rhetorical career of Henry Drummond, the Burkeian pentad can be identified as follows: the act was the reconciliation of science and religion; the agent was Henry Drummond, Professor of Theology and Natural Science; the agency was Drummond's rhetoric of reconciliation which took the form of public lectures, sermons, pamphlets, journal articles, and two major books; the scene was the widespread ferment and dissonance which had developed between the academic and religious worlds following Darwin's *Origin of Species*; Drummond's purpose was to relieve the conflict by demonstrating that the evolutionary process was God's method of creating and perfecting both natural and spiritual life.

In addition to the Burkeian method of analysis, other concepts were utilized in the study such as Aristotle's modes of proof, Chaim Perelman's description of arguments, Lloyd Bitzer's criteria for a rhetorical situation, and Leon Festinger's dissonance theory.

Chapter II, "The Making of a Speaker," is an examination of the Burkeian agent and is based upon the position that great speakers are made, not born. Thonssen, Baird, and Braden advise the rhetorical critic to "seek to understand the utterance as an expression of the speaker's personality, as the culmination of his training, practical
experience, reading, prior conditioning, aspirations, and goals." When the critic approaches a rhetorical career from this perspective, the biographical chapter is one of the most significant parts of the study. In this chapter, the critic has examined the relevance of biographical facts, searching for casual links between Drummond's formative years and his oratorical effectiveness. In the interpretation and analysis of a speaking career, the authors of *Speech Criticism* suggest seven areas with which the critic should be concerned: (1) speech training, (2) speaking experience, (3) general reading and study habits, (4) rhetorical philosophy, (5) methods of speech preparation, (6) background with reference to specific subjects, and (7) forces motivating a speaker to speak on a given occasion. Since the focus of the second chapter is upon the formative years of Drummond's career, the first three areas—training, experience, and study habits—are of primary concern. The remaining areas are examined in subsequent chapters.

Chapter III, an analysis of the scene of Drummond's rhetoric, is entitled, "Faith vs. Science: A Confrontation That Shook the Western World." In this chapter, the origins of the evolutionary theory are explained along with the dissonance it created in America, England, and Scotland. The rhetorical figures on both sides of the controversy are highlighted and the central issues of the debate are reconstructed.

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17Ibid., p. 367.
from the popular journals and newspapers of the time.

Chapter IV, entitled, "The Rhetoric of Reconciliation," describes the rhetorical situation which resulted from the widespread dissonance caused by the theory of evolution. The situation called for a rhetorical response and Henry Drummond's agency was his rhetoric of reconciliation. This chapter describes the content, purpose, and effects of his rhetoric with special emphasis on the major ideas advocated by Drummond. The primary works examined in this chapter are *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, *Ascent of Man*, and lectures entitled, "The Contribution of Science to Christianity," and "Science and Religion." Finally, Drummond's strategy was analyzed and contrasted with other advocates of reconciliation.

Drummond's rhetorical methods are explored in Chapter V. First, his ethos is examined with an analysis of his reputation, his various images, his character, and extrinsic ethical appeals. The next section consists of an analysis of his written and oral style and the characteristics that made Henry Drummond's style unique. Drummond's inventive process is discussed next and the origins of his published works and sermons are examined. A fourth section examines Drummond's persuasive techniques including his logical and emotional appeals. Lastly, his delivery is reconstructed from various eye witness accounts and the distinguishing characteristics of his appearance are analyzed.

Chapter VI consists of a descriptive analysis of Drummond's audiences and the extent of his influence upon his time. His listening and reading audiences are examined and his influence upon nineteenth century and modern audiences is described.
The purpose of Chapter VII is to examine Drummond's philosophy of rhetoric. Drummond's theories of the evolution of language and the proper usage of language are drawn from his essays and lectures pertaining to these subjects. As will be seen, the most unique part of his rhetorical philosophy was his theory of scientific evangelism contained in his lectures, "Spiritual Diagnosis" and "The New Evangelism." Finally, the methods of his career are examined in light of his philosophy, with particular emphasis upon Drummond's "inquiry room" technique.

In the concluding chapter, the original questions of the study are discussed and conclusions are drawn relative to these questions and the underlying hypothesis of the study. The chapter also includes the writer's recommendations for further research.

The appendix to this study contains an annotated index of Henry Drummond's published addresses including the sources in which they are found. The writer believes that such an index will provide a valuable aid to further research in the history of public address.
CHAPTER II

THE MAKING OF A SPEAKER

To make our environment at the same time that it is making us--this is the secret of a well ordered and successful life.

--Henry Drummond

Drummond's Early Years

Quintillian, the prominent Roman rhetorician, contended that speech training starts at birth and that great advantage accrues to the child whose parents are well educated. Unlike the parliamentary giant, William Pitt, the Younger, whose illustrious father molded him into the powerful orator he was to become, or Hugh Blair, who preached from the hallowed pulpit of the High Church at St. Giles and who was also a product of his ecclesiastical heritage, Henry Drummond's family was not noted for rhetorical activity. His ancestors resided for several generations near the small town of Stirling where Henry Drummond, Sr., operated a large seed and nursery firm. Both parents, however, were well educated and had the means to provide the best training for their children. The elder Drummond, a quiet natured man, was active in community affairs when Henry was a boy. During his early years at home, Henry's father served as Justice of the Peace; President of the

1Quintillian, The Institutio Oratoria, trans. by H. E. Butler (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1933), Book I, Chapter I, 1-5.
the Young Men's Christian Association; a member of the public school board; Vice President of the Stirling Infirmary; Trustee of the Stirling Tract Enterprise, a religious publishing firm; Trustee of the National Security Savings Bank; President of the Stirling branch of the National Bible Society; President of the Stirling Sabbath School Teachers' Union; and a member of the New Kirk Session of the Free Church.\footnote{William Drysdale, \textit{Old Faces, Old Places, Old Stories in Stirling} (Stirling, Scotland: Observer Press, 1898), pp. 119-120} Henry Drummond's Uncle, Peter Drummond, founded the Stirling Tract Enterprise through which he zealously supported the Free Church movement of the 1840's with the rhetoric of his pen. The Drummond Tract Enterprise, still operating in Stirling, is the oldest religious publishing house in Scotland. Peter Drummond was also an educator and served as head of the Free Church School at Stirling for several years.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 115-119.} Another uncle on his mother's side, James Blackwood, gained renown throughout Scotland as a mineralogist and scientific inventor. Young Drummond was undoubtedly influenced by this uncle and showed unusual interest in his work. Henry visited his uncle at least three times a year throughout his boyhood and the resemblance of their gifts and interests is too great to be attributed to heredity. One of Mr. Blackwood's inventions was a microscope with which he studied biological life and the constituents of rocks. He became one of Scotland's leading authorities in geology, the science in which Henry Drummond later
distinguished himself. Mr. Blackwood was intrigued with the concept of perpetual motion and his nephew was also known to have talked about it as a boy. Like Henry, James Blackwood possessed the gift of mesmerism, an early name for hypnosis. Blackwood was an enthusiastic person who inspired young people both in science and religion. Likewise, Henry's influence on young men, especially in religion, was the greatest achievement of his life.

Henry Drummond was born the 17th of August, 1851, in Stirling, Scotland. His boyhood was a unique combination of devout religious training and an insatiable obsession with rocks, streams, and growing things. The green fields of King's Park lay directly in front of his home and across the park the historic castle protruded high above the countryside. The house of his youth is still an impressive stone mansion, and in the 1850's a dense forest covered the hills behind it. As a boy, he was constantly exploring the caves, woods, and streams around his home. Around these high excursions lay one of the most gorgeous landscapes in Scotland. His entire life was influenced by these early years surrounded with the wonders of nature and the romantic atmosphere of Scotland's history. He excelled in almost every kind of


sport from cricket to angling and his love for nature developed into a life-long affinity for natural science.

The boys who lived under the walls of Stirling Castle were patriotic and public spirited. Religion, also, was an important influence in the lives of Scottish youth. Henry Drummond's religious training as a boy consisted of regular family Bible studies and daily Bible readings and prayer at the Grammar School. On Sunday, the family gathered to sing hymns, read from the catechism, and hear an address by their father. They went to the Free North Church in Stirling twice each Sunday. The religion of his youth was evangelical Christianity of a strict doctrinal form, but the young were permitted to participate in parties, athletics, and amusements. Henry was always a lively child with quick comprehension. Once, when Rev. James Robertson of Edinburgh, a famous Scottish evangelist, was addressing a large assembly composed of all the Sunday Schools of Stirling in the Erskine United Presbyterian Church, Henry was one of several small boys seated on the pulpit stairs.

Mr. Robertson began his sermon by saying that the Bible is like a tree, each book a branch, each chapter a twig, and each verse a leaf. 'My text is on the thirty-ninth branch, the third twig, and the seventeenth leaf. Try and find it for me.' Almost immediately, Henry slipped from behind him and said, 'Malachi third and seventeen.'

'Right, my boy; now take my place and read it out.' . . . Mr. Robertson laid his hand on the boy's head and said, 'Well done, I hope one day you will be a minister.'

During these early years, though seemingly commonplace, strong molding forces were at work which determined the course of Drummond's life. From his parents, he learned respect for religious truth. From his favorite uncle, James Blackwood, his eager mind learned some of the vocabulary and methods of science which grew to full maturity through the years, preparing the way for his great contribution to his age.

At age six, Henry Drummond began his formal education at the Grammar School in Stirling, half way up the rock toward the Castle from his home. The curriculum in the mid-nineteenth century consisted of four major areas: classics, English, history, and mathematics. Some training was given in the fundamentals of French and German. One contemporary recalled,

Henry was more prominent in the playground than in class. I think of him most of all in the English department. Under its distinguished teacher, Mr. Young, two objects received special attention,—reading aloud and grammar, analysis and composition. Henry was a beautiful reader, and more than once obtained the reading prize. I think the skill which was then developed largely helped to make him the speaker he subsequently became.

---

9 Mr. Fatheringham, quoted in Smith, *Life of Henry Drummond*, p. 25.
Despite his reading skills, however, Henry was not noted for his scholarship and his grades were never more than average. He excelled in cricket and other hard-running games; his summer weekends were spent with his brothers in the hills behind his home fishing and camping. School subjects never seemed to stir Henry quite so much as people and intimate contacts with nature. When he was twelve, Henry and his brother were sent to Morrison's Academy at Crieff, an advanced private school where Henry studied three years in preparation for the university. At the academy he became so skillful at chess that the rector invited him to complete adult chess parties in his home. His aptitude at chess is indicative of the keen intelligence and the logical mind which later produced a penetrating analysis of Natural Law in the Spiritual World. Henry was intrigued by a course in Natural Science and by the purchase of an air pump and an electrical apparatus for the school. He participated in the school theater playing a lady because of his short stature. In July, 1866, he left Crieff with prizes in Latin, reading, and composition; distinction in composition stemmed from a now lost essay on the subject of "War and Peace." His years at the Stirling Grammar School and Morrison's Academy were significant in the molding of his personality and in the development of his communication skills.

University Life

At age fifteen, Henry Drummond matriculated at the University of

Edinburgh. Henry was self conscious of his slight build and youthfulness and was afraid that he would grow no more. Instead of following the usual sequence of subjects, he took Senior Latin and English Literature in his opening session. The following year he studied Junior Mathematics, Junior Greek, Logic, and Metaphysics. An examination of his notebook pages from these courses shows that he was a neat and careful student. Each lecture is identified by a date at the top and the material is organized according to main topics and subordinate material. His notes from the Logic course reveal that it was essentially Aristotelian and contained many direct quotations and illustrations from The Rhetoric and Aristotle's logical works. The notes also include references to Kant, Ramus, and Mill. The course featured a summary of the axioms and postulates of logic, a discussion of genus and species, and a detailed analysis of the Aristotelian syllogism in all its forms. The rules for the syllogism, listed in his notes, were ascribed to Richard Whately from his Elements of Logic. These notes show an early familiarity with the ancient and modern logician-rhetoricians. The third year he took Natural Philosophy and Senior Mathematics. The course in Natural Philosophy seemed to hold unusual interest for Drummond; his notebooks have full transcripts of the lectures and experiments. In his fourth session, he enrolled in Senior Greek, Moral Philosophy, and Senior Humanity. Although he

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12 Henry Drummond's student notebook in the family collection held by Mrs. Pearson of Kilmaurs, Scotland.
13 Ibid.
passed the departmental examinations in Mathematics, Physics, and Philosophy for the M. A. degree, he never completed the classics examination and left the university without the degree.

The university experience which contributed most to Drummond's developing communication skills was his active participation in the Philomathic Debating Society. The Society debated historical questions, discussed the merits of noted writers, solved economic problems, and reviewed annually the policy of the government. In Drummond's time it disposed of the Irish church, decided against the education of women, reformed the game laws, and drew up a new university Arts curriculum. The society was most passionate upon its own constitution and upon points of order.¹⁴

At the beginning of his second year, he attended a meeting of the Philomathic Society and was proposed as a member. One evening shortly after his admission to the Society he rose to address the house for the first time. "Mr. Chairman, I think ... I think, Mr. Chairman ... I think ... I hope you will excuse me, I am very young."¹⁵ Two months later, his first essay on "Novels and Novel Reading" was read before the Society, revealing his developing interest in literature. That summer, the Society started a monthly journal entitled, "The Philomathic, a Literary Magazine conducted by a few of the Alumni of

¹⁴ Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 31.
Edinburgh University, of which he was the first editor.\textsuperscript{16} In January, he contributed an essay on "Mesmerism and Animal Magnetism," in which he presented the evidence for the ability of one man's will to induce certain states in others. He argued that while mesmerism was then in its infancy, "It will someday be recognized as Nature's universal curative agent."\textsuperscript{17} The peculiar interest of this article lies in the fact that Drummond himself had developed remarkable aptitude as a hypnotist and thought reader. He became interested in mesmerism first as an amusement, and later as a serious examination of a subject he believed was important. He practiced on his fellow students at the university and some have remarked that his effect on audiences later in his career was a type of hypnosis. It is also significant that at this time, hypnosis was ridiculed by science. Sigmund Freud was still a schoolboy in Vienna.\textsuperscript{18} Henry also contributed to society debates, speaking against the Irish church and in favor of the education of women. In 1870, he delivered his valedictory address as President of the Philomathic, and after expounding the advantages of debate, he contrasted lecture, conversation, and reading as means of communicating knowledge. According to Drummond, "the lecture is the best means. If it has fallen into disrepute in our day, that is because there are no good lecturers. The advantage of public teaching lies in the

\textsuperscript{16} Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 30.

\textsuperscript{17} Smith, The Life of Henry Drummond, p. 33.

\textsuperscript{18} Donald Carswell, Brother Scots (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1927), p. 9.
sympathy which it creates." This early address was the beginning of Drummond's philosophy of rhetoric. This quotation makes apparent Drummond's familiarity with the Scottish "doctrine of sympathy" developed by rhetoricians Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, and George Campbell. The address also shows how rapidly Drummond was developing in the style of expression for which he was to become famous. On the subject of books he said,

Most neglect the great end of reading. The thing sought is not what you will get in an author, but what the author will enable you to find in yourself. Unreflective minds possess thoughts as a jug does water, only by containing them; if pebbles be dropped in the water, if the thought of another plunges in among our own, the contents brim over and we discover in ourselves sentiments and ideas which, apart from certain external conditions of development, had never been formed, and the mind had been left in perpetual slumber.

About this time, he sent several papers to the editors of magazines only to have them returned. One, entitled, "The Abuse of the

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19Drummond, "Valedictory Address as President of the Philamathic," 1870, as quoted in Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 35.


21Drummond, "Valedictory Address," 1870. (Although the text of the address was not preserved in its entirety, fragments from the speech were quoted in Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 35).
Adjective," indicts the common practice of piling on adjectives indiscriminately to make plain language more ornate. In this article he begins by objecting to the use of slang in English language and warns that by its use "our language is losing its solid, classic grandeur." He then turns to an internal and more subtle enemy, "the indiscriminate use of adjectives."

Language should be subordinate to thought, not thought to language . . . Commonplace people are deluded by the habit. They mistake the half-dozen really good thoughts which every fool possesses for the revelation of the hidden glory of a great mind. But so far from serving any utilitarian purpose the habit of multiplying adjectives really makes a sentence less impressive than if simple words had been used. There is a natural tendency to suspect insincerity whenever the language is extraordinary enough to suggest strain or effort on the part of the author.22

In this early essay on style, Drummond reflects the popular British doctrine of perspecuity advocated by rhetoricians Hugh Blair, George Campbell, and Richard Whately in their works on rhetoric.23

During these college years, Drummond was beginning to build a library from bookshops around Edinburgh. One of his first purchases

22Drummond, "The Abuse of the Adjective," 1870. (Most of this article is reproduced in Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, pp. 35-37.

was a volume containing the works of Ruskin, whom Drummond quoted throughout his life. Other influential authors were Emerson, Carlyle, Channing, George Eliot, and Mark Twain. In his papers at that time, he frequently quoted from these and other writers, especially the poets Pope, Byron, Cowley, and Lowell.

His summers were filled with short tours and tutorships. Being uncertain as to his life's work, he assisted his father for several months in business. Shortly after his nineteenth birthday, he decided to enter New College in Edinburgh, the Divinity School of the Free Church of Scotland. Although he never felt any call to the ordained ministry and never meant to be a minister, he apparently entered the ministerial school largely to please his parents. Henry was completely devoted to his mother and father. He maintained a strong relationship with his father until the latter's death on January 1, 1888. In conversations and letters Henry would discuss his various problems with his father before making any important decisions. His father never concealed the fact that he hoped his son would be ordained in the Free Church of Scotland and settle in some local ministerial charge. Drummond was even closer to his mother. Mrs. Donald Macrae, Henry Drummond's niece, spoke of this relationship

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24 Simpson, Henry Drummond, pp. 31-32.
25 Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 36.
26 Simpson, Henry Drummond, pp. 34, 57.
as follows:

The family feeling was very strong and Uncle Henry loved his mother dearly. He wrote to her at least once a week and visited her at every opportunity. Often his mother would send the letters on to my mother to read. His letters were full of details of family interest and doings.27

His uncle, James Grant, declared, "Henry's mother . . . is one of the sweetest and gentlest of Christian women. It was she who chiefly imparted to the professor that extreme amiability and courtesy of character for which he was noted."28

Since Henry had no definite plans for the future, since he was dependent upon his father's support, and since he desired to remain in an academic environment, New College was his best alternative. In a letter to a fellow student he expressed his sorrow at leaving the ancient university and entering a nameless college, although he was happy that he would remain a student.29 After a good vacation, with a study of Hebrew on his own, he passed the ordeal of entrance examinations before the Presbytery and matriculated as a regular


28James Grant, "Professor Henry Drummond," The Presbyterian Journal, (U. S. A., April 1, 1897), p. 45.

divinity student in November, 1870, the youngest of twenty-five men who entered New College that year.

The New College Years

In his first year Drummond studied Hebrew, Apologetics, Evangelistic Theology, and Natural Science. In the science course, he easily carried off the first prize. Unable to desert science, he took extra work in it at the university; during the next years he managed to take Botany, Natural History, Chemistry, and Geology in addition to the usual theological courses. In his first session, Henry joined the Theological Society which met on Friday evenings; he must have enjoyed some reputation as a speaker, for although the youngest man in college, he was asked to take the negative side of a debate on the topic, "Ought the government to provide for the teaching of the Bible in the schools?" He also spoke for the affirmative on the question, "Ought the church to introduce an order of lay evangelists?" He was also active in the College Missionary Society.30

Following his third year, Drummond, along with two of his friends at New College, spent a summer term at the ancient University of Tubingen, Germany. Tubingen was a popular Southern resort where a number of Scottish divinity students went every year, not so much for the German theology as for the climate and exciting atmosphere of the

30Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 44.
area. On his return in the autumn of 1873, he decided to suspend his theological studies for a time and divide his time between Natural Science and mission work in the slums of Edinburgh. He took charge of the humble Riego St. Mission Hall in a narrow back alley and here, before a dozen people, he began his first work as an evangelist.31

As president of the Theological Society, he appeared before it in November and challenged the members with a lecture on "Spiritual Diagnosis" which was uniquely effective. One man who heard the speech described the immediate effect as electrifying.32 Drummond argued that the rhetoric of the common evangelist was seriously defective because it failed to reach the souls of men as individuals and that a spiritual science was needed analogous to the practice of medicine with a trained clinician treating the individual on a one-to-one basis. He advocated that the chief business of the Christian ministry should be thought of as clinical rather than homiletical or theological. The lecture opens with his main thesis: "The study of the soul in health and disease ought to be as much as object of scientific study and training as the health and diseases of the body." According to Drummond, the method required for spiritual diagnosis is interpersonal communication. "Every atom in the universe can act on every other atom, but only through the atom next to it. And if a man would act upon every other man, he

31Kennedy, Henry Drummond, p. 23.

32Mr. Barnetson, quoted in Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 53.
can do so best by acting, one at a time, upon those beside him . . ."
The difficulty in applying such a theory was recognized by Drummond.

... it will be seen at a glance that the power of soul analysis is a hard thing to possess oneself of. It requires intense discrimination and knowledge of human nature—much and deep study of human life and character. The man with whom you speak being made up of two ideals—his own and yours, and one real—God's, it is one of the hardest possible tasks to abandon your ideal of him and get to know the real—God's. Then, having known it, so far as possible to men, there remains the greatest difficulty of all—to introduce him to himself.33

At the close of the speech he emphasized the pressing need for such an interpersonal ministry.

If any man develop this faculty of reading others, of reading them in order to profit by them, he will never be without practice. Men do not say much about these things, but the amount of spiritual longing in the world at the present moment is absolutely incredible. No one can ever even faintly appreciate the intense spiritual unrest which seethes around him; but one who has tried to discern, who has begun by private experiment, by looking into himself, by taking observations upon the people near him and known to him, has witnessed a spectacle sufficient enough to call for the loudest and most emphatic action.34

33Drummond, "Spiritual Diagnosis," 1873, in Kennedy, Henry Drummond, p. 228.

34Ibid., p. 231.
In this pioneering essay, Drummond advanced a thesis which revolutionized the ineffective ivory tower approach of his day. The method was not new. It was used by Christ in the first century. Nor was Drummond the first to recapture Jesus' method of one-by-one evangelism, but he succeeded in presenting it afresh to a new generation. He also popularized such terms as "diagnosis" and "clinical" which led men to explore more thoroughly the psychological methods of soul therapeutics. Within a few weeks, Drummond seized upon a remarkable opportunity of putting his theory into practice.

The Great Campaign

The churches of Scotland were ripe for revival. Twenty years had passed since the "Great Disruption" of 1843, when four-hundred ministers seceded from the Presbyterian Church of Scotland protesting the Act of Patronage and governmental control. The new movement had been known as the Free Church, and the first few years were filled with enthusiasm and growth. Gradually, however, the excitement passed, and the preachers and churches alike were grumbling under the barren yoke of Calvinism. The middle classes, weary of the doctrines of depravity and predestination and complacent in their handsome church buildings, longed for a new source of fervor. At this lucky moment Moody and Sankey arrived. Dwight L. Moody, the famous American evangelist, and Ira Sankey, his dynamic organist and singer, began a gigantic campaign in Edinburgh which rapidly grew into the greatest
The greatest response came from the middle classes but even the intellectuals and some of the clergy were attracted by their appeal. As soon as they arrived in Edinburgh, Drummond offered his services and was accepted as a worker along with others from the college. The editors of *British Monthly* wrote, "From the moment of Drummond's entrance upon the field, this movement took on a new and nobler character." Although the campaign offended his tastes in some ways, Moody had one novel invention which appealed to Drummond. This was the "inquiry room" where souls that were awakened by the mass appeal could be dealt with individually. Drummond viewed this part of the campaign as a school where he could perfect himself in "spiritual diagnosis."

From Edinburgh, the movement spread to Greenock where three to four thousand heard the gospel daily. In Glasgow, the Crystal Palace, a building of glass, was crowded night after night with five thousand people and still many were turned from the doors. After the evangelistic message, those who accepted Christ were asked to stand up. Following the services, two hundred inquirers would remain to talk privately with Drummond and the other ministers. Henry Drummond was curiously different from the two Americans with whom he worked. His accent, his tastes, and his speaking style were at the opposite pole from

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those of the other evangelists. Drummond, however, found in Moody sincerity and practical wisdom, and he found in the inquiry rooms what he had missed in the organized church. Henry proved so successful in personal evangelism that Moody began to use him from the platform and in follow up meetings, and in these services Drummond sharpened his rhetorical skills in the preparation and delivery of sermons. As a contrast to the emotional appeal of Moody, Drummond's manner of delivery was "quiet and restrained." He was also engaged to edit Moody's published addresses in the early months of the campaign. The Great Campaign lasted for two years and Drummond was used to follow up the work of the evangelists throughout Scotland, Ireland, and England.

During the second year, Henry received a letter from his father urging him to return to the theological school to complete his studies. In reply, he wrote a letter to his father explaining his reasons for continuing with the Moody campaign.

I think, looking back on the past days, as well as at future prospects this winter,

37 Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, pp. 58-108. (George Adam Smith, Drummond's friend and fellow student, joined the Moody campaign at the same time as Drummond and worked closely with him in the inquiry room. As a participant observer, Smith was in a unique position to analyze the campaign. According to Simpson, Smith's chapter on the Great Mission was the most impressive part of the biography.)

38 Ibid., p. 68.

39 Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 43.
that I have been unmistakeably led in the right way. I am sure if I did not feel this, the work would be most uncongenial and bitter; but 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.40

This letter is highly significant for at least two reasons: Drummond was exerting his independence from parental control for the first time, and he revealed the extent to which the evangelistic campaign had deeply affected his life.

As the movement came to an end, Moody urged Henry to go with him to America as a permanent member of the team. Although he was strongly tempted, his friends and family persuaded him to return to New College and complete his education.41 The year went quickly and Drummond passed his exit examinations and accepted an assistantship at the Barclay Free

40 Drummond, letter to his father, August 24, 1874 (Simpson, Henry Drummond, pp. 46-47.)

41 Kennedy, Henry Drummond, p. 29.
Church in Edinburgh for a year. The following summer, he applied for a position as lecturer in Natural Science at the Free Church College in Glasgow and was granted the job which he held until the end of his life.

**The Intermingling of Science and Religion**

Drummond's first year at the college was busy and happy although the preparation of lectures and field trips left him little time to participate in outside activities. His lectures covered the rudiments of geology, botany, and modern science. He prepared each lecture thoroughly and spoke from a twenty to thirty page handwritten manuscript.42 During his second year, with his status and lectures more secure, he began a full time mission work in Possilpark, a suburb of Glasgow. The mission soon outgrew its old facilities and a new church building was erected in 1881 which later adopted the name, "The Henry Drummond Memorial Church." The minister of the Renfield church which supported him, Dr. Marcus Dods, was a great influence on Drummond during his Possilpark ministry. During these formative years Drummond spoke regularly to two very different audiences on two completely different subjects. During the week, he lectured to college men on the Natural Sciences and on Sundays he preached to audiences of working men on

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42Henry Drummond, from an examination of twenty-six manuscripts of his classroom lectures in the family collection held by Mrs. Pearson of Kilmours, Scotland.
religious subjects. Although the mission at Possilpark prospered under his ministry, Henry Drummond was never as effective with the working class as he was with academic audiences. His fastidious dress, scientific vocabulary, complexity of thought, and lecture style delivery was best suited to the sophisticated audience; indeed, it was largely in the fertile university environment that Drummond achieved the greatest success as a speaker.

In his dual role as lecturer and preacher, the worlds of science and theology gradually merged in his mind. According to Drummond:

... for a time I succeeded in keeping the Science and Religion shut off from one another in two separate compartments of my mind. But gradually, the wall of partition showed symptoms of giving away. The two fountains of knowledge also slowly began to overflow, and finally their waters met and mingled.43

In the summer of 1879 Drummond went with his former professor, Archibald Geikie, on a geological expedition to the Rocky Mountains and took the opportunity to renew his acquaintance with Moody and Sankey. During his years at Possilpark, Drummond preached many times on the theme of the unity of natural and spiritual laws. His manuscripts were later edited and submitted to Hodder and Stoughton, Publishers in London just as he departed for a geological tour of East Central

Africa, financed by a wealthy investor desiring an assessment of the minerals in his African possessions. During his absence from Scotland, his book *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* caught the public fancy and sold 20,000 copies before he returned to find himself a famous man about a year later. The book appealed most to the religious world desperate for the opportunity to rebound from Darwin's devastating blow. Drummond's rhetoric of reconciliation was a welcome sound, and the British sales alone exceeded 130,000 copies in his lifetime.\(^\text{44}\)

As the ship docked, he went to join Moody and Sankey in their final week at London. When he returned to Glasgow he found that he had been granted a full professorship by the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.

**Speaker in Demand**

According to biographer James Kennedy, Drummond considered the next few years the high point of his career:

The decade from 1884 to 1894 was the richest period of Drummond's life and was filled with a host of important events. But overshadowing all the rest and preferred above them was his work among students, especially at Edinburgh University, which he considered the best and most important contribution of his life.\(^\text{45}\)


\(^{45}\)Kennedy, *Henry Drummond*, p. 43.
Drummond was first invited by the Medical Student's Association to speak on the topic, "The Contribution of Science to Christianity," in the Oddfellows Hall next to the campus. Nine hundred men attended the first night and the crowds and interest were so high he was invited to speak every Sunday night throughout the winter term for the next nine years. These audiences were composed of elite young men from most of the countries of the world preparing for the medical and science professions. From Scotland the work spread to England, Wales, America, Germany, Australia, Japan, and even Russia. Students from the University of Edinburgh went to these countries and established Christian Associations at the universities. Thus Drummond has been credited with planting the student Christian movement in the major countries of the world, raising the religious standards of the medical profession, and arousing among students practical concern over social conditions.

In 1885, Drummond accepted an invitation to appear at the Grosvenor House in London to deliver three addresses on natural law to the socially elite of England. Five hundred attended the first lecture and he returned three years later to give a second series of addresses.

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46 Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 64.
47 Kennedy, Henry Drummond, p. 46.
48 Ibid., p. 48.
During this busy decade, Drummond made several trips, most of them in the interest of student work. He traveled to Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and Australia addressing student groups by the hundreds. With the rise of the Liberal Party to power under the leadership of William Gladstone, Drummond was pressed to enter politics. Gladstone urged him to stand as a Liberal candidate. Although he campaigned for his friends, Gladstone, John Sinclair, and others, he consistently refused to enter political life. On one occasion he addressed Parliament on the subject of the African Slave Trade. He also refused offers of high positions such as the Secretaryship of the Shipping Commission and the Principalship of McGill College in Montreal.49 In the summer of 1887 he made his second trip to America. He gave a number of addresses for Moody, spoke at two Chautauqua summer sessions, and made a speaking tour of the major Eastern universities including Williams, Dartmouth, Amherst, Princeton, Yale, Harvard, Wellesley, University of Pennsylvania, and Columbia. In a letter to his brother written from Yale University he spoke of his excitement at the opportunity of meeting several American celebrities. He writes of his visit with Mark Twain at his home and with Harriet Beecher Stowe.50 He later traveled to the New Hebrides where he studied cannibals,

49Simpson, Henry Drummond, pp. 70-71

50Henry Drummond, a letter to his brother James from Yale University dictated to the President's secretary, October 3, 1887, in the family collection held by Mrs. Pearson, Kilmaurs, Scotland.
volcanos, and earthquakes. On his return journey he visited mission points in Singapore, Saigon, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Tokyo, and passed through Canada.

Drummond visited America a third time in 1893 to give the Lowell Institute Lectures in Boston. The crowds were heavy at each address. The Boston Globe reported that hundreds of people were turned away each night as a capacity crowd of 1,000 was seated in Huntington Hall. The aisles were filled with stools and folding chairs as the listeners took advantage of every inch of space. While in Boston he enjoyed a visit with Oliver Wendell Holmes. The Lowell Lectures were published in 1894 under the title, Ascent of Man. When he returned from America the last time, his friends noticed a marked change in his appearance and health. He was suffering from severe back pains caused by a malignant disease of the bones. He struggled through one more year of teaching although he had to cancel the Edinburgh meetings and all other activities. In the summer of 1895, bedridden and completely dependent, he was taken to London for treatment and finally to Tunbridge Wells where he died on March 11, 1897, at the early age of 46.

In this brief sketch of Henry Drummond's rhetorical career, the writer has attempted to survey the forces and events which contributed to the making of a speaker. If some of the events mentioned in the early pages of this chapter seem commonplace and relatively unimportant,

such were the early years of Drummond's life. One biographer writes:

His story is not that of some precocious youth who went from book-prize to book-prize, medal to medal, scholarship to scholarship, until he found himself, as everyone expected, in some position of promoted eminence. One day, after a period of unmarked years, he suddenly appeared and took his world by storm. 52

Drummond was not the first Scottish lad to rise from obscure beginnings to a position of world prominence. Illustrious names such as John Knox, David Hume, Adam Smith, James Boswell, Thomas Reid, Hugh Blair, George Campbell, Robert Burns, Sir Walter Scott, David Livingstone, and Robert Louis Stevenson are part of the rich Scottish heritage of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Drummond was far from being the first, but perhaps he was the last of the Scots to achieve world renown. In the thirty-nine volume Famous Scots Series, Henry Drummond's was the last biography to be incorporated into the Scottish intellectual hall of fame.

52 Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 13.
CHAPTER III

FAITH VS. SCIENCE:
A CONFRONTATION THAT SHOOK THE WESTERN WORLD

The last romance of Science, the most daring it has ever tried to pen, is the story of the ascent of man.

--Henry Drummond

Darwin and the Theory of Evolution

When Henry Drummond was eight years old, Charles Darwin "fired the shot heard around the theological world."¹ On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life was released by J. Murray Publishers in London on November 24, 1859. The first edition of 1,200 copies was exhausted the first day. Like a great tidal wave the theory of organic evolution swept across the nations of the world and became the central theme of the latter nineteenth century. The book was immediately translated into numerous foreign languages, even Japanese and Hindustani.² Its popularity, however was not all favorable. Prominent church leaders, educators,

¹Bert James Lowenberg, "Darwinism Comes to America, 1859-1900," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 28 (1947), 350.
and political leaders declared war. The book provoked a battle of oratory and print on both sides of the Atlantic and plunged the Western world into a whirlpool of discussion and controversy. This chapter will explore the major trends of this controversy in England, America, and Scotland, the three battlegrounds of evolution and religion with which Henry Drummond was most concerned.

In the *Origin of Species*, Darwin contended that the struggle for existence occurred constantly among plants and animals in nature and that within every species favorable variations are preserved and unfavorable ones are destroyed. The result of this process, called natural selection, is the formation of new species. Darwin believed that a species must give rise to other species or else die just as an individual dies unrepresented if he leaves behind no children. Darwin concluded that all animal and plant life developed from pre-existing life; the fittest survived and the unfit died off. Man, too, evolved from the lower forms of animal life, the product of natural selection.3

Charles Darwin, like Henry Drummond, was raised in a religious home. After two unsuccessful years in the medical school of the University of Edinburgh, he entered Christ's College, Cambridge, intending to become a clergyman at the request of his father. While at

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Cambridge, his infatuation with geology and natural science determined the course of his life. As a college man, he believed in a personal God and participated in chapel services at Cambridge. He became an agnostic during a scientific expedition to South America and the South Sea Islands in 1831. In 1879, after the *Origin of Species* and the *Descent of Man*, he described his religious position as follows:

> In my most extreme fluctuations I have never been an Atheist in the sense of denying the existence of God. I think that generally (and more and more as I grow older), but not always, that an Agnostic would be the more correct description of my state of mind.

In the final years of his life there is evidence of an increasing spirituality although he never returned to the Church of England. In the journals of his five year voyage to South America, the origins of Darwin's evolutionary theory can be seen. He spent the next twenty years researching and gathering data in support of his theories. Darwin's thoughts, however, were not original. The foundations of naturalism and skepticism were laid by Kant, Hegel, Hume and Locke a century before. Darwin's illustrious grandfather, Erasmus Darwin, had

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5 Ibid., p. 274.

published three works on natural selection before Charles was born.\(^7\) Alfred R. Wallace, an Australian scientist, produced a similar theory of natural selection concurrently with Darwin's and published an article on the subject just prior to the *Origin of Species*.\(^8\) The significance of Darwin's contribution to the world lies not in the fact that he was the first to suggest natural selection, but that he was the first to marshal enough evidence to support his theory convincingly. Whereas Wallace arrived at his theory by a flash of genius, Darwin's work was the product of three decades of concentrated research and thought.\(^9\)

In addition to his thoroughness of research, Darwin was also a skillful rhetorician and effectively synthesized the conflicting theories of creationism, catastrophism, and natural theology, prevalent in early nineteenth century scientific thought. This remarkable synthesis greatly enhanced his appeal in all branches of science. The *Origin of Species* had a marked influence on many fields other than religion and natural science, such as sociology, economics, philosophy, and anthropology. In a recent article on the rhetorical ancestry of the evolutionary ideal, John A. Campbell concluded:


\(^8\) Ibid., pp. 19-31

\(^9\) Frederick, *Religion and Evolution*, p. 34.
The advent of Darwin's book has justly been compared in its epoch-making significance with the French Revolution and the American Civil War. Even as these two events brought to an end centuries-old social systems and marked the birth of quite different societies, so, in the world of ideas, On the Origin of Species brought to an end an entire Anglo-American tradition in the relationship between science and religion and saw the birth of radically altered views of the proper relationship between man, the physical universe, and God.10

Conflict in England

A survey of British periodicals from 1859 to 1900 reveals an avalanche of rhetoric, ordinarily polished and Victorian, but often biting and severe. Books, magazines, tracts, lectures, sermons--every possible weapon was used until the battle grew white with heat. As early as ten years before Origin of Species, the journals reflected a growing concern over evolutionary ideas. The tone of these articles, however, was one of calm inquiry rather than apprehension that the new ideas would be taken seriously. When Darwin's book reached the public, the battle was on. The keynote of the opposition was immediately struck by Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford. Writing in the Quarterly Review, he stated, "the principle of natural selection is absolutely incompatible with the word of God" and that it contradicted

the revelation of creation. Wilberforce received an antiphonal response from the able leader of the English Catholics. In a speech before the "Academia" Cardinal Manning expressed his abhorrence of the new view of nature, describing it as "a brutal philosophy--to wit, there is no God, and the ape is our Adam." The Anglican Bishops Wace and Magee, the statesman William Gladstone, authors Frederic Harrison and Samuel Butler, and scores of others, great and small, bent all their energies to the opposition of evolution and the defense of orthodoxy. They argued that evolution was inherently atheistic and would demoralize society. An 1867 Quarterly Review gives dates and titles of dozens of sermons against evolution preached by prominent clergymen across Britain.

The leader of the offense was Thomas Huxley, the great popularizer of evolution for the English speaking world. "His essential character,"

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11 Samuel Wilberforce, "Review of Origin of Species," Quarterly Review, Vol. 108 (July, 1860), 225. (The volumes of his periodical probably represent better than any other the thoughts and opinions of educated Englishmen. It was used by both sides during the controversy and during the early years the articles were anonymous.)


13 Frederick, Religion and Evolution, p. 83.

says one writer, "was energy, which gave him imagination, enthusiasm, and power."\textsuperscript{15} Huxley, a capable scientist and rhetorician, was an intellectual athlete who delighted to debate both by speech and by pen. Through the London Times and his traveling lectures, he carried evolution around the world.\textsuperscript{16} His most formidable opponent was William Gladstone, who defended the orthodox view of Genesis. Huxley referred to Gladstone's rhetoric as a "cloud of arguments designed to confuse readers who have not had the advantage of a forensic education."\textsuperscript{17} Other spokesmen for evolution included the fiery Professor Haeckel and philosopher Herbert Spencer. Their objectives are stated by John Tyndall.

The impregnable position of science may be described in a few words. We claim, and we shall wrest from theology, the entire domain of cosmological theory. All schemes and systems which thus infringe upon the domain of science must, in so far as they do this, submit to its control, and relinquish all thought of controlling it. Acting otherwise proved disastrous in the past, and it is simply fatuous today.\textsuperscript{18}


An 1862 article described the effect of the controversy upon the youth of the church.

The lamentable unsettlement of young minds, the shock which all religious faith has received from the strifes, the extravagances, the treacheries, the disappointments, the oscillations, of religious controversy, and, most of all, from the poisonous scepticism now disseminated even by teachers and authorities within the Church itself,—all this has . . . disturbed and perplexed, and disheartened the most earnest and acute of young minds. 19

A significant article in the Contemporary Review of 1867 analyzed the attitude of the clergy toward science. J. Hannah, the writer, explained that "a good deal of mutual suspicion exists at present between clergymen and men of science" and "the men of science seem to be the more aggressive party of the two." He observed, "The clergy shows signs of being cowed by the asseverations which are echoed back from every quarter; that the cause of revealed religion is obsolete and hopeless." At one point in the article he quoted an English clergyman who expressed his frustration at the situation in these words:

It would be hardly possible to exaggerate the disastrous importance [of science]. The clergy find themselves inferior in these great fields to many clerks and artisans in their own congregations, before whom they cannot venture

to speak—without the danger of raising a contemptuous smile.20

The year, 1871, was momentous one in Darwin's career, for he published his second great work, *Descent of Man*, which explicitly placed man in the evolutionary process. Following this work, the battle reached new heights. The evolutionary idea rapidly swept the social sciences of England. In 1883, the date of the publication of Henry Drummond's book on *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, a Quarterly Review writer explained, "We may compare English society, we do not say to a house that is on fire, but to a house that is full of exceedingly inflammable materials."21

In 1884, Henry Drummond's name began to appear in the journals. His rhetoric of reconciliation was at first attacked by both camps. Writing in the *Expositor* and *Nineteenth Century Magazine*, Drummond refuted the arguments of Huxley and Haeckel. Drummond warned men of science against denouncing the Bible when they are ignorant of its genius.

With the next breath this interpreter of Genesis exposes 'two great fundamental errors' in the


same chapter of the book in which he has just discovered the most scientific phases of the evolution hypothesis, and which lead him to express for Moses "just wonder and admiration." What can be the matter with this singular book? Why is it science to Haeckel one minute and error the next? Why are Haeckel and Mr. Huxley not agreed if it is science? Why are Haeckel and Mr. Gladstone agreed if it is religion? If Mr. Huxley does not agree with Haeckel, why does he not agree with Mr. Gladstone?22

Dr. Temple, Bishop of London, attacked Drummond in his famous 'Bampton Lectures' of 1884, accusing him of being carried away by evolution.23 In the 1890's the controversy was still raging although the idea of possible reconciliation was beginning to appear in the periodicals of England. In 1894 the Quarterly Review suggested that "the laws of evolution which we see in physical matters finds expression also in matters divine."24 This was also the year of the publication of Drummond's Ascent of Man. The controversy between science and religion continued throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century. In 1925, a writer in the Quarterly Review concluded that the conflict between science and theology was dead.25


Evolution in America

The *Origin of Species* was first received in America with an indifference which did not reflect later enthusiasm. America was preoccupied with the issues of civil war and scientific speculation was set aside for later. Church control over universities succeeded in stifling the progress of evolution for a while, but eventually scientists raised their voices in protest. Two eminent scientists, Louis Agassiz and Asa Gray, became the leading figures of the controversy in the scientific field.\(^{26}\) Professor Agassiz, writing in the *American Journal of Science*, declared that Darwinism was "a scientific mistake, untrue in its facts, unscientific in its method, and mischievous in its tendency."\(^{27}\) Gray, Professor of Botany at Harvard, was a theist and felt that there was no serious conflict between evolution and religion.\(^{28}\) Professor Parsons of the Harvard Law School joined Gray as a proponent of evolutionism. By 1890, the theory of natural selection dominated scientific conventions and university classrooms. So thorough was scientific conversion to the theories of evolution that one historian could comment, "By 1900 there was scarcely a worker in the natural


sciences and hardly a reputable scholar in any quarter who still harbored serious objections."29

The impact of evolution on American religion was shattering. Speakers and organizations sprang up to promote Darwinism. Francis E. Abbot, a minister converted to evolution, established the Independent Religious Society in Toledo, Ohio, where he published the Index: A Weekly Journal of Free Religion. In this magazine, he crusaded for reason instead of faith in religion.30 In 1867, the Free Religious Association was organized in Boston for the purpose of promoting the scientific study of theology. Among the notable supporters of this group were Ralph Waldo Emerson, Lucretia Mott, Robert Dale Owen, Henry Blanchard, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Samuel Johnson.31 Fundamental religion, however, continued its attack against science and godless evolution. One of the most ardent advocates of the fundamental opposition in the latter nineteenth century was Charles Hodge, Professor of Theology at Princeton. Hodge warned his readers that "to dabble with evolution meant risking a tragic fall into the pits of atheism along with such infamous infidels as Haeckel, Huxley, Buchner, and Vogt."32 Another

29Lowenberg, American Historical Review, Vol. 38, 693.

30Lowenberg, "Darwinism Comes to America," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 28 (1941), 351.

31Ibid., 353.

spokesman for anti-evolutionary thought was Drummond's good friend, Dwight L. Moody, who attempted to divert the attention of his audiences to social problems such as intemperance or vice.33

During the eighties, following Drummond's Natural Law, several religious spokesmen advocated reconciliation with science. One of the first advocates of reconciliation was James McCosh, President of Princeton University. However, the most influential of all American speakers on reconciliation was Henry Ward Beecher, who preached from his pulpit in Brooklyn as well as through the publication Christian Union. Beecher called himself a "Christian Evolutionist" and argued that scientific theology and the art of religion were separate concepts. Theology would be re-evaluated through the influence of evolution, he said, but religion as a part of the personality of man, would remain untainted by doctrine and unmoved by intellectual change.34

Elsewhere in America, however, orthodox religion clung tenaciously to its resistance to the theory of evolution. On March 21, 1925, the State of Tennessee passed a law forbidding the teaching of evolution in publicly supported schools. The law stated:

Section 1. Be it enacted by the general assembly of the State of Tennessee, that it shall be unlawful for any teacher in any of the universities, normals, and all


34Hofstadter, Social Darwinism, p. 27.
other public schools of the state, which are supported in whole or in part by the public school funds of the state, to teach any theory that denies the story of the Divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals.35

That same Spring, John T. Scopes, a young instructor of Biology in the high school at Dayton, Tennessee, taught the theory in his classroom and forced a confrontation with the law. The prosecution was headed by William Jennings Bryan, the political leader and evangelical lecturer; the defense was conducted by Clarence Darrow, the famous Chicago lawyer. The transcript of this case has been published in a volume entitled, *The World's Most Famous Court Trial*.36

Darwinism and Scottish Orthodoxy

The leading Scottish periodicals of Drummond's day, Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, the *Edinburgh Review*, and the *Scottish Review*, reflect the same reactions to evolution as the *Quarterly* and other British publications. In 1861, the editors of Blackwood's *Magazine* reported, "instead of judges, the bench is crowded with advocates of both sides."37 An 1863 article decries a "startling and terrifying


condition." 38 The Edinburgh Review described the rhetoric of Huxley and Owen as "the weakest and most absurd arguments ever used against religion . . . the attempts to compare brutes with men.39 In 1870 Blackwood's Magazine objected to Huxley's insistence that no boy or girl should leave school without a thorough knowledge of science and evolution.40 An 1873 writer was "pained" as he observed "how science . . . leads away from the old truths which were generally believed to be vital and incontrovertible."41 In 1888, the Life and Times of Charles Darwin is reviewed with severe criticism. Speaking of Darwin's theories, the writer exclaims:

Science has got so entirely the upper hand in our day, that it is very difficult for her followers to recognize the fact that, setting aside bigots and fools, all the world is not of her opinion . . .

.......

Words more profoundly mournful than these were never spoken; but Darwin does not seem to have felt them to be so.42

In the years 1892-93, two articles appeared in Blackwood's Magazine

41 "Fireside Musings on Serious Subjects," Ibid., Vol. 133 (1873), 234.
which for the first time openly advocated man's savage ancestry.

On the whole, Scottish orthodoxy refused to yield to the rhetoric of evolution. The conservative Scotsman resisted it to the end. As one writer concluded:

These comparatively sparse references to the hypothesis, the lack even at the outset, of panicky apprehension toward its effect on religion, the failure ever to signalize either the theory or its representatives— all these circumstances seem indicative of the fact that the evolutionary storm had little disturbing effect on stolid fundamentalism and orthodoxy in Scotland.43

During Drummond's student years in Scotland, evolution was stubbornly denounced from the pulpits, newspapers, and classrooms. Although Scotland seemed to lack prominent proponents of Darwinism from their own ranks, the voices of Huxley and Haeckel echoed throughout the British Isles. In Scotland, however, they did not get much of a hearing. Henry Drummond's rhetoric of reconciliation met the same stubborn resistance in his homeland. The Scots apparently did not feel as threatened by evolution; therefore they did not feel the pressing need for reconciliation. Although Natural Law in the Spiritual World received several favorable reviews in Scottish periodicals, the Ascent of Man caused a debate in the General Assembly of 1895 that nearly convicted Drummond of heresy.

43Frederick, Religion and Evolution, p. 130.
Such is a sketch of the confrontation between evolution and religion in the last half of the 19th century. Although Britain and America each had their outstanding proponents and opponents of Darwinism, scientific evolution slowly gained ground. Churches on both continents were frustrated and anxious over the onslaught of atheistic science. Clergymen longed for a way to resolve the conflict. The time was ripe for the rhetoric of reconciliation.
CHAPTER IV

THE RHETORIC OF RECONCILIATION

Gentlemen, my object has been to bring into relief the great line running across nature.

--Henry Drummond

The confrontation between evolution and religion described in the previous chapter had a disturbing effect upon the nineteenth-century religious world. The general population on both sides of the Atlantic believed strongly in the God of the Bible as the creator and sovereign ruler of the universe. At the same time, many of these people found Darwin's theory intriguing and convincing. The widespread acceptance of evolution created a severe state of mental discomfort—a phenomenon described by present day social psychologists as cognitive dissonance. According to Leon Festinger, cognitive dissonance is a state of psychological discomfort in an individual resulting from inconsistent knowledge, opinions, or beliefs. Cognitive dissonance has a dimension of magnitude which increases as the importance or value of the elements increases. This principle accounts for the severity of the conflict


2Ibid., p. 18.
among nineteenth century religious people. Faith in a divine creator was the supreme influence of their lives. The dissonance resulting from the clash between faith and evolution, therefore, was intolerable and could not easily be rationalized away. To Festinger, cognitive dissonance is a strong motivating factor in human behavior. He viewed dissonance as an antecedent condition which leads to activity oriented toward dissonance reduction just as hunger leads to activity oriented toward hunger reduction, and the greater the magnitude of dissonance, the greater the pressure toward reduction.\(^3\) According to dissonance scholars, one method by which dissonance can be reduced is by seeking consonant information, a process called "selective exposure." They predict that people will avoid exposure to dissonance-increasing information and seek exposure to dissonance-decreasing information.\(^4\) This principle might help to explain the phenomenal popularity of Drummond's lectures and writings—people were hungry for information which would hopefully reduce their dissonance.

\(^3\)Ibid., pp. 3, 18.


A Rhetorical Situation

As the dissonance mounted in the religious world, so did the pressure toward resolution. Clergymen and laymen, educators, and even some scientists longed for a solution to the unhappy conflict. Reconciliation had been suggested by a few clergymen in England and America prior to Henry Drummond, but the movement lacked persuasive appeal and an authoritative spokesman. After twenty years, the religious world was tired of the rhetoric of Huxley and Haeckel as well as the persistent rhetoric of denunciation from their pulpits. Many desired a new rhetoric—one which would relieve the dissonance. Their longings were realized in the rhetoric of Henry Drummond.

Natural Law appeared at a time when the world was ready for it. The old, orthodox faith, especially the story of Creation, was driven into a corner by science, and there seemed no escape from the dilemma of choosing Moses' or Darwin's version of Creation. Henry Drummond came along at the psychological moment of unbearable crisis and spoke to the condition. He made it clear that it was no longer necessary to hang in mid-air between a Christianity and a science which would not come together nor to be smashed between two 'worlds in collision.'

These conditions fulfill the criteria of Lloyd Bitzer's "rhetorical situation." Bitzer defines a rhetorical situation as:

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a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence.

According to this definition, three constituents are necessary for a rhetorical situation—an exigence, an audience, and constraints. An exigence is an "imperfection marked by urgency . . . an obstacle, something waiting to be done." "An exigence is rhetorical when it is capable of positive modification and when positive modification requires discourse or can be assisted by discourse." It has been shown that the dissonance created by the theory of evolution clearly constituted an exigence which discourse could modify. According to Bitzer, a rhetorical audience "must be capable of the change which the discourse functions to produce." The audiences to which Drummond appealed, the intelligentsia of his age, were strategically suited to effect the reconciliation which he advocated in Natural Law and in the Ascent of Man. Finally, "every rhetorical situation contains a set of constraints made up of persons, objects, and relations which are parts of the situation because they have the power to constrain decisions and action needed to modify the exigence." These constraints are both

7Ibid., p. 6.
8Ibid., p. 7.
9Ibid., p. 8.
situational and rhetorical in nature. Situational constraints include beliefs, attitudes, facts, traditions, images, interests, and motives. The rhetorical constraints would consist of the rhetor's ideas, ethos, persuasive techniques, style, delivery, and response to feedback.

The most obvious situational constraint which figured in the success of Drummond's rhetoric was the universal reverence for science in the nineteenth-century English speaking world. Richard Weaver, in his chapter on "Ultimate Terms in Contemporary Rhetoric," notes the strongly rhetorical character of the word "science." Science was the "god term" of Drummond's age and as a professor of natural science, his rhetoric was enhanced by the popular appeal of the term. Other situational constraints, mentioned previously, include a strong desire for consonance on the part of religious people; the perception of science as a threat by a large part of society; a strong faith in a personal god and divine creator; and an anxious concern about the welfare and future of morality, society, and the church. Another situational constraint was a strong curiosity about any new philosophy or idea related to evolution. The eager public would literally wait at the doors to obtain the first copies of a new book or crowd the lecture halls to hear an address on evolution or philosophy. The journals and newspapers, rich with articles and editorials on the newest

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ideas, were consumed passionately. Along with this thirst for knowledge was a general awareness of rhetorical excellence. Disraeli, Gladstone, and others were tickling the ears of British society and effective oratory was at a premium. Another constraint which proved advantageous to Drummond's ethical appeal was a high regard for the teaching profession in the nineteenth century.

Henry Drummond's ethos, persuasive techniques, style, and delivery are treated in the following chapter. The focus of the present chapter is primarily on the content, nature, and effects of his rhetoric of reconciliation. Ernest Wrage, in his classic article on public address, writes that the "basic ingredient of a speech is its content" and that this vital area of rhetoric has largely been neglected by speech critics. He advocated an "idea centered" approach to rhetorical criticism wherein a speech is seen as an "agency of its time, on whose surviving record provides a repository of themes and their elaborations from which we may gain insight into the life of an era as well as into the mind of a man."\footnote{Ernest Wrage, "Public Address; A Study in Social and Intellectual History," \textit{Quarterly Journal of Speech}, Vol. 33 (1947), 451-453.} The following analysis of the major ideas contained in the rhetoric of Henry Drummond should provide such insights.

\textbf{Natural Law in the Spiritual World}

In the preface to \textit{Natural Law}, Drummond recognized that his theory
of natural law in the spiritual world largely grew out of his dual professions—preaching the gospel of Christ and teaching natural science. The book was published six years after he began lecturing at the Glasgow college and five years after he started preaching for the Possilpark church on Sundays. Drummond explained that he felt at first that the two departments must be kept entirely separate and that for a time he succeeded in keeping them isolated. Gradually, however, "the wall of partition showed symptoms of giving away. The two fountains of knowledge also slowly began to overflow, and finally their waters met and mingled."12 He felt that his philosophy of religion had undergone the greatest alteration as his theory began to take form. He said, "I found the truth running out to my audience on the Sundays by the weekday outlets."13 According to one writer, this result was inevitable. "Teaching at the Free Church College he could not be a merely technical geologist, but must be a spiritual interpreter of the rocks."14 According to Drummond, "The first step ... must not be to reconcile nature and religion, but to exhibit nature in religion."15 During these years as minister at Possilpark, he preached


13Ibid.


15Drummond, Natural Law, p. xxii.
a series of sermons on the unity of God's laws in the natural and spiritual worlds. As each of these Sunday addresses was finished, he consigned it to his growing stack of neatly penciled notes in a desk drawer. Finally, after publishing two of them with favorable responses, he was urged by his friends to edit the sermons for publication in book form. Two publishers turned them down and he had nearly given up when Mr. Hodder of London agreed to publish the book.16

In the preface, he expressed concisely the thesis of the book, "that many of the laws of the spiritual world, hitherto regarded as occupying an entirely separate province, are simply the laws of the natural world."17 In his first sentence, he recognized the raging conflict between science and religion. Like a skilled affirmative debater, he anticipated and answered the most likely objections from clergymen and scientists.

No class of works is received with more suspicion, I had almost said derision, than those which deal with science and religion. Science is tired of reconciliations between two things which never should have been contrasted; religion is offended by the patronage of an ally which it professes not to need; and the critics have rightly discovered that, in most cases where science is either pitted against religion or fused with it, there is some fatal misconception to begin with as to the scope and province of either.18

16Kennedy, Henry Drummond, p. 38.
17Drummond, Natural Law, p. vi.
18Ibid., p. v.
His most significant argument in the first chapter was the application of the law of continuity. The entire universe, he contended, is one great harmony. The same laws and principles run through every sphere of existence. In his second lecture, entitled "Biogenesis," Drummond argued that natural and spiritual life both begin suddenly and develop gradually. Next, he explained how the laws of degeneration, growth, and death apply to both realms. He then analyzed life, environment, conformity to type, and parasitism and their relation to both the natural and spiritual worlds. In his final chapter on "Classification," he argued that it is as logical to classify a natural kingdom and a spiritual kingdom as it is to distinguish a plant kingdom from an animal kingdom.

The chief innovation of the book was Drummond's thesis that natural laws and spiritual laws are not only analogous, a position held by many of his contemporaries, but actually identical. This position was never totally accepted by most of his readers and would never have appealed to the public had it not been for his effective popular style of expression. These lectures, originally delivered to the working class of Glasgow, were rich in analogy and illustration. The language was simple and easily read. Each chapter featured abundant practical application. Stylistically, it was perhaps the greatest effort of Drummond's career surpassed only by "The Greatest Thing in the World." Thus, his unique style, to a large degree, facilitated the popular appeal the book enjoyed.
Natural Law met with immediate success. Before Drummond returned from Africa, over seven thousand copies had been sold.\textsuperscript{19} The British sales reached 130,000 in his lifetime and the American and foreign editions are beyond count.\textsuperscript{20} Within months of its publication, requests for permission to translate it were received from every land in Europe except Turkey and Greece. The book excited the greatest attention in Germany, Scandinavia, and Russia, judging from the letters and pamphlets published in these countries in defense or refutation of the book.\textsuperscript{21} A family scrapbook in Scotland includes clippings of no fewer than seventy-five reviews from British and American newspapers and journals dated within a month of its publication. Most of these were religious journals but many were literary and scientific publications.\textsuperscript{22} One of the most influential reviews appeared early in the Spectator. "No book of our time . . . has showed such a power of relating the moral and practical truths of religion, so as to make them take fresh hold of the mind and vividly impress the imagination."\textsuperscript{23} The author

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{19}George Adam Smith, The Life of Henry Drummond (New York: Doubleday and McClure Co., 1898), p. 228.
\item \textsuperscript{21}Smith, Life of Drummond, p. 240-241
\item \textsuperscript{22}Drummond family scrapbook in the collection held by Mrs. Pearson of Kilmaurs, Scotland.
\item \textsuperscript{23}Spectator, August 11, 1883, p. 20.
\end{itemize}
received a large number of letters, mostly favorable, from every part of the world. According to George Smith, they represented many sectors of society,

Among the letters which Drummond received between 1883 and 1892 are a large number from men and women of all degrees of culture, whose faith, once strong, had been shattered by the new convictions of science, and who looked for the reconciliation of the claims of science with religion as they look for the morning.24

A typical letter from a New York woman dated December 9, 1893, is quoted below:

I know you are a grand good man, while I am only a poor working-woman; but if you would really care to know, your book has comforted many a weary hour of my life. I have read it over and over again, thoughtfully, and sometimes prayerfully, until I know many of its pages by heart. . . . I thank you for giving it to the world, for I may have it to purify my heart and life.25

The book was welcomed by scientists and clergymen alike. An Anglican preacher wrote the first laudatory review in the Spectator. A great London physician said in March, 1884, "One of the best books I have ever read--I have given away six copies of it."26 Letters were received

25 Ibid., p. 231.
26 Ibid., p. 233.
from men in every branch of science.

Natural Law in the Spiritual World, however, was not without its negative feedback. One contemporary wrote, "No volume of our time has provoked more bitter and passionate blame. It roused both the odium theologicum and that which is scarcely less savage, the odium scientificum." Many religious men became bitter and cancelled Drummond's speaking appointments, refused to appear on the same platform and withdrew from associations in which Drummond held membership. Dozens of pamphlets and books were written attacking Natural Law. One critic objected to Drummond's use of the law of continuity. Another indicted the author because all the authorities he quoted were well known sceptics and agnostics. Another critic elaborately wrote a running refutation of the book chapter by chapter. One writer, like many of the reviewers, found both positive and negative features in the book.

While there is much that is ingenious and beautiful, there is much more that is erroneous, irrelevant, and misconceived. Considering its extraordinary popularity and its common relation to religion and

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27 Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 238-239.

28 "Copy of a Letter to Professor Drummond on his New Basis for Certainty in Religion," a tract printed in Edinburgh, June 1, 1885.

science, it may seem rash to say so but it is a book that no lover of men will call religious and no student of theology scientific.\textsuperscript{30}

This feedback helped to develop Drummond's expertise in dealing with the men and women of his time in their religious needs and aspirations. Drummond met all attacks with good temper and always replied with gentleness and courtesy. His closest friends never heard him say a word against the most violent of his opponents.\textsuperscript{31} In a penetrating analysis of \textit{Natural Law}, Robert A. Watson gave three reasons for the book's success:

\begin{enumerate}
\item Many cannot keep faith without secular support;
\item Not for a long time had there been any contribution to the literature of religious mysticism; and
\item Believers in baptismal regeneration found in it a wonderful and timely support for their theory.\textsuperscript{32}
\end{enumerate}

Watson's conclusion was that the book was a magnificent contribution to Christian apologetics.

Because of the popularity of \textit{Natural Law in the Spiritual World} and Drummond's appealing rhetoric of reconciliation, he received invitations to speak on the subject around the world. One lecture, which he delivered

\textsuperscript{30}On \textit{Natural Law in the Spiritual World} by a \textit{Brother of the Natural Man} (London: Alexander Gardner, 1885).

\textsuperscript{31}Smith, \textit{Life of Henry Drummond}, p. 240.

many times, was entitled, "The Contribution of Science to Christianity." In this lecture he discussed five great contributions of science to religion. The first was "the scientific method" and the second was "the doctrine of evolution." According to Drummond, science also gave religion a fuller understanding of revelation, a clearer Bible, and the "exaltation of its supreme conception--God." In 1885, he gave three addresses at the Grosvenor House in London at the invitation of Lord and Lady Aberdeen. These lectures attracted crowds of five hundred of the socially elite of England on each occasion. Three years later he returned for a second series of addresses. In 1887, he toured America lecturing at the major universities and societies. Dr. Peabody, of Harvard, declared, "Drummond's visit was as though a comet had flashed upon the view and had left a trail of light as it sank below the horizon." William Lyon Phelps said of his visit to Yale, "I have never seen so deep an impression made on students, by any speaker on any subject." After a speaking tour of Australia and the Orient, he returned to America in 1893 to give the Lowell Institute Lectures in Boston.

33Drummond, "The Contribution of Science to Christianity," (in Kennedy, Henry Drummond, pp. 65-81.)

34Kennedy, Henry Drummond, p. 51.

35Ibid.
As a result of feedback from his years of lecturing on science and religion, Drummond conceived the idea of writing a book on the evolution of man from his most primitive beginnings to the point of his ascent at which the individual merges his destiny in family life. He put these thoughts into finished form in preparation for the Lowell Lectures of 1893. The lectures were prepared as a serious scientific study, primarily for scholars; but on arriving in Boston and finding the wide interest in the lecture series by the general public, he hastily rewrote the lectures for a popular audience. The lectures were received with such enthusiasm that Professor Drummond was forced to deliver each lecture twice to accommodate the Institute crowds. In addition, he was persuaded to accept an invitation to deliver the series again at the Chautauqua Assembly on the shores of Lake Chautauqua during the month of July. The audiences who gathered in impressive numbers to hear Drummond speak were, to a large extent, middle class Americans of religious interests. The crowds filled every chair of the 1,000 seat auditorium twice each week. According to one journal, "Next to the death of Phillips Brooks, the event which stirred Boston religious circles most profoundly last winter was the

36Kennedy, Henry Drummond, pp. 53-54.

presence in the city for two months of Professor Henry Drummond. To
Professor Drummond, Lowell Lecturer, was afforded a welcome and hear­
ing seldom paralleled and never surpassed in the history of this
famous lecturship."38 A cartoonist in a Boston newspaper pictured
a Lowell Institute audience as seen through the lens of one of Professor
Drummond's lectures by a drawing of a man lecturing to an audience
of monkeys.39

Drummond's thesis in the *Ascent of Man* was that there was no
conflict between evolution and religion because the two were actually
the same.

Up to this time no word has been spoken to
reconcile Christianity with Evolution, or
Evolution with Christianity. And why? Be­
cause the two are one. 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.40

In the first lecture, "The Ascent of the Body," Drummond dealt with the
ascent of the human body from its embryonic state. In chapters two and

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(August, 1893), 725.


40 Drummond, *The Ascent of Man* (New York: James Pott and Co.,
three, he discussed the organs of the body and demonstrated affinity with animal structures. He maintained that the evolution of the human body was the last work of nature. In the fourth chapter, "The Dawn of Mind," he explicated the wondrous superiority of the intelligence of man. In the next chapter, he traced the "Evolution of Language." Chapter six examined "The Struggle for Life" which Drummond asserted was not the final product of evolution, but only an intermediate phase. Science, he reasoned, was capable of furnishing ample nutrition and protection for nineteenth-century man and that the highest phase of evolution was "the struggle for the life of others." This ultimate process was called "otherism, altruism, or love," and is the point at which evolution becomes identical with Christianity. According to Drummond, the crowning product of the altruistic phase of evolution was motherhood and fatherhood furnishing every new generation with a sense of love and morality.

The Lowell Lecturer had not intended to publish his lectures for several years anticipating a careful revision of his material. Before he left America, however, he heard that a Philadelphia publisher was about to issue a volume containing Drummond's Lowell lectures assembled from newspaper reports and hearsay. Drummond quickly filed suit against the publisher and won his case. The court ordered immediate destruction of the ten thousand copies and printing plates. It is said to have been the first case in which a favorable judgment was given
to an alien in such a case. Following this, Drummond hastened his own publication of the lectures and sent them to press in the Spring of 1894.

Although the Ascent of Man went through seven editions, it never reached the wide circulation of Natural Law, chiefly because the lectures were not suited for popular consumption—even though he had rewritten them with the "layman" in mind. The rich analogy, striking illustrations, and practical applications of his former work are largely lacking in the Ascent of Man.

Unlike Natural Law, which caught the public by surprise, his critics were waiting for the new publication. The reports of his lectures had already excited the suspicion of some and the full-fledged hostility of others. The Ascent of Man provoked an even greater attack than Natural Law. One of his critics, Mrs. Lynn Linton, wrote in the Fortnightly, "His sin is the sin of plagiarism with the additional offense of distortion in the lifting." In a volume entitled, Pseudo-Philosophy at the End of the 19th Century, Mortimer H. Cecil attacked Drummond's style as well as his ideas.

Mr. Drummond's fallacies have a charm that is only found in the books that have a distinctly theological purpose...

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41 Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, pp. 459-460.

42 Mrs. Lynn Linton, "Professor Henry Drummond's Discovery," Fortnightly (September, 1894), pp. 448-457.
Mr. Drummond cannot even write a paragraph of platitudes and fatuities without being melodramatic...

The jargon is the jargon of pseudo-science, but the ideas are the ideas of the curate of the YMCA!...

Whatever is true in this book is not new, and whatever is new in it is not true.43

Samuel Smith, another critic, published a review of the Ascent in which he accused Drummond of "reinforcing that stream of materialism flowing so strongly at present." He further charged that there was no warrant for the optimistic views set forth in the Ascent and that there was no trustworthy evidence of evolution.44

Some critics from the scientific fields charged the Ascent of Man with containing a number of errors in the domain of physical science. His most distinguished critics were Professor McKendrick, Chairman of the Department of Physiology at the University of Glasgow, and Professor Alexander Macalister, Chairman of Anatomy in the University of Cambridge.45


45Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 465.
The criticism from scientists, however, was nothing compared to the attack he suffered from his own church. In the Scottish General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1895, twelve charges from Presbyteries were brought against Drummond contending that his views in the *Ascent of Man* were at variance with the Biblical account of the origin of man and calling for the assembly to censor Drummond and his book. Principal Rainy, at the end of the heated debate, moved that the book be left alone—that it did not violate the truths of the Bible; his motion was carried.\(^46\) The emotion of this attack was felt throughout Scotland. Drummond said, "At Northfield, many fell upon me and rent me."\(^47\) According to one writer, Henry Drummond took the assassination to heart and died of its wounds.\(^48\)

**Drummond's Rhetoric of Reconciliation**

In newspapers and journals before and after his death, Henry Drummond was frequently credited with the reconciliation of science and religion. A Boston paper typically described him as "a ripe Christian thinker who has done much to reconcile science and religion,


\(^{48}\) Ibid., p. 31
and moderated the objections of the former by the plain supernatural existence of the latter. One author wrote, "Every age has its dividers and uniters . . . Henry Drummond was certainly one of the uniters."50

It is helpful at this point to consider the question, did Henry Drummond view his own role as that of a reconciler or was this role superimposed upon his career by the rhetorical critic? Several statements made by Professor Drummond indicated that he did view himself as a reconciler.

Gentlemen, my object has been to bring into relief the great line running across nature.51

Up to this time, no word has been spoken to reconcile Christianity with Evolution, or Evolution with Christianity.52

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.53

51 Drummond, "Evolution and Religion," January 26, 1890, as quoted in Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 507.
52 Drummond, Ascent of Man, p. 342.
53 Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, p. xxii.
The commonest thing that we hear said nowadays by young men is, 'What about evolution? How am I to reconcile my religion, or any religion, with the doctrine of evolution?' That upsets more men than perhaps anything else at the present hour. How would you deal with it? I would say to a man that Christianity is the further evolution. I don't know any better definition than that. It is the further evolution—the higher evolution. I don't start with him to attack evolution. I don't start with him to defend it. I destroy by fulfilling it. I take him at his own terms.54

Another pertinent question is, did Drummond perceive himself as successful in achieving some degree of reconciliation between science and religion? In an interview just prior to the publication of the Ascent of Man, Henry Drummond said, "The old controversy between the scientist and religionist is extinct; one never hears anything about it."55

In contrast to the implication of the foregoing statements, Hunter Boyd, a former student of Drummond's at the Free Church College, wrote in an unpublished tribute to his late professor:

I question if he would have any pleasure in being described as a 'reconciler of science and religion,' though I think it would have gratified him not a little to know that any who were estranged from religion by scientific


reading found a sympathetic utterance on the claims of Christ from his lips.\textsuperscript{56}

It is entirely feasible, however, that Boyd did not accurately represent the mind of his beloved professor or the intent of his rhetorical works.

Henry Drummond seemed to retain his fervent belief in the identity of natural and spiritual laws until the end of his life, although he did at least once express reservations about certain aspects of his famous work on \textit{Natural Law}. A decade after its publication, he was asked if his position had changed since the first edition was published. He replied:

\begin{quote}
I may have put a pressure on certain analogies which they could not sustain. I would write the book differently now if I were to do it again. I should make less rigid application of physical laws...\
\end{quote}

A comparison of Drummond's lectures to his science classes at New College with his published works on reconciliation revealed a similarity of ideas.\textsuperscript{58} Throughout these lectures, Drummond attempted

\textsuperscript{56}Hunter Boyd, "Recollections of Henry Drummond for his Mother" (an unpublished paper in the family collection held by Mrs. Pearson of Kilmaurs, Scotland).

\textsuperscript{57}Raymond Blathwayt, "A Talk with Professor Drummond."

\textsuperscript{58}Henry Drummond, manuscripts of twenty-six lectures delivered to his science class at the Free Church College, Glasgow, in the family collection held by Mrs. Pearson of Kilmaurs, Scotland.
to demonstrate that accepting evolution did not mean denying the existence of a personal creator. In his opening lecture to the science class, he justified the existence of a science course in a theological school.

Before, however, entering upon the more systematic study of Science, I am anxious very shortly and somewhat desultorily to try to express to you the sort of idea our church has had in giving a place to science in her theological curriculum. And this perhaps mainly to serve two purposes: (1) To vindicate the church's position in singling out science for a distinction which is somewhat unique, and (2) in doing so to awaken an interest in the subject itself.

One cannot be unforgetful of the fact that there has always been a voice in the Divinity Halls against the study of science. Many of the students, and some of the best of them, have gone through the science course under protest. And so decided a sanction has a strong popular impression in the church given to this disapproval of its position to study it here, that we can scarcely be blamed if we concur in it even with some degree of warmth.

How it is obvious that if this is to remain our standpoint, our prospect for the winter, so far as this class is concerned, is not a happy one. 59

From the above quotation, Drummond seems to have been acutely aware of the dissonance in the Free Church from the advance of science and the introduction of a science course into the theological curriculum. Three class lectures entitled, "The Antiquity of Man" included many of the ideas found in Ascent of Man. Thus, both in the classroom and from the public platform, Drummond advocated the continuity of God's physical and spiritual laws.

59Ibid., the introductory lecture, p. 1.
From Henry Drummond's rhetoric of reconciliation can be extracted a consistent four-part strategy. In *Natural Law*, his lecture on "The Contribution of Science to Christianity," his Edinburgh university lectures entitled "Evolution and Religion" and "Evolution and Christianity," his science lectures at Free Church College, and his final work, *Ascent of Man*, the writer discovered a recurring four step procedure which has the characteristics of a model of reconciliatory rhetoric. Drummond's strategy seemed to be:

1. Recognition of the dissonant views
2. Diagnosis of the cause of the dissonance
3. Removal of the cause and the introduction of a common principle
4. A plea for reconciliation based upon the alleged commonality

Drummond, in his preface to *Natural Law*, admitted that dissonance was widespread and that relations between scientists and clergymen were extremely tense. Later, in the preface, he called for a "flag of truce" which would only be possible if both sides were sincere. He went on to express his desire to "draw science and religion together again." In "The Contribution of Science to Christianity,"

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60 Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, p. v.
61 Ibid., p. xxii.
62 Ibid.
he criticized the disposition of religious writers to ridicule and
despise science.\(^{63}\) In the *Ascent of Man*, Drummond referred to the
"blood spilt" in the conflict between science and religion.\(^{64}\)

The second stage of Drummond's strategy was the diagnosis of the
cause of the dissonance. In *Natural Law* he wrote, "In most cases
where science is pitted against religion . . . there is some fatal
misconception to begin with as to the scope and province of either."\(^{65}\)
This "fatal misconception" causing the controversy was the failure
to recognize the identity of the laws of the spiritual and natural
worlds. In the *Ascent*, Drummond charged that, "Evolution was given
to the modern world out of focus, was first seen out of focus, and
has remained out of focus to the present hour."\(^{66}\)

The cause was remedied by correcting the "fatal misconception"
and putting the theory of evolution into proper "focus." Evolutionists,
according to Drummond, had failed to recognize that the laws of
nature they had disclosed were, in fact, God's laws. He explained
that a single principle operated in the realms of science and religion
and that only upon this principle was reconciliation possible.

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\(^{63}\)Drummond, "The Contribution of Science to Christianity," in
Kennedy, Henry Drummond, p. 67.

\(^{64}\)Drummond, *Ascent of Man*, p. 3.

\(^{65}\)Drummond, *Natural Law*, p. v.

\(^{66}\)Drummond, *Ascent of Man*, p. vi.
Nothing could be more false both to science and 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, or exempt them from the reproach of being a hybrid between two things which must be related by the deepest affinities or remain forever separate.67

In the *Ascent of Man*, this common principle was identified as "love."

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. There is no rivalry between these processes.68

At the conclusion of all Drummond's reconciliatory speeches is found this final plea or peroration for the natural and spiritual disciplines to unite and work together since they are ultimately governed by a common principle.

Only by shutting its eyes can science evade the discovery of the roots of Christianity in every province that it enters; and when it does discover them, only by disguising words can it succeed in disowning the relationship. There is nothing unscientific

67Drummond, *Natural Law*, pp. xii, xiii.

in accepting that relationship; there is much that is unscientific in dishonoring it. The will behind evolution is not dead; the heart of nature is not stilled. Love only was; it is; it moves; it spreads.

And so, out of the infinite complexity there rises an infinite simplicity, the foreshadowing of a final unity, of that

'One God, one law, one element
And one far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves!

This is the final triumph of continuity, the heart secret of creation, the unspoken prophecy of Christianity. To science, defining it as a working principle, this mighty process of amelioration is simply evolution. To Christianity, discerning the end through the means, it is redemption. 70

Henry Drummond was not the first to attempt to reconcile the opposing forces of evolution and religion. Prominent American speakers such as Asa Gray, Henry Ward Beecher, John Fiske, and Lyman Abbot had sought to reconcile the two conflicting forces. Several British figures had also preached the doctrine of harmony prior to Drummond. In fact, Richard Anthony Proctor, a British scientist of some distinction, delivered a series of lectures at the Lowell Institute in Boston in 1875 in which he tried to harmonize evolution and religion. 71

69Drummond, Ascent of Man, p. 345.
70Drummond, Natural Law, p. 413.
Henry Drummond, however, was unique among British and American advocates of reconciliation for many reasons. He was both a widely known professor of science and a famous minister. At the same time, he was viewed as a religious rebel in the eyes of the Scottish Orthodox Church. He responded to a genuine rhetorical situation with a timely and controversial message. His distinctive rhetorical style was both charming and persuasive. This unique combination of qualities provided Henry Drummond with an ethical appeal and an audience not previously enjoyed by earlier advocates of reconciliation. One writer explained, "The most significant thing is the fact that Henry Drummond draws a great proportion of his audience from classes uninfluenced by other preachers."72 Rev. Marcus Dods, in Henry Drummond's funeral oration, said, "So singular a combination of gifts as he possessed will not be found twice in a century."73 Perhaps the most accurate summary of Drummond's rhetorical position was written by Alexander Macalister in The Bookman after Drummond's death, "Drummond was Christian in his science and scientific in his Christianity."74

72 "Professor Drummond," The Bookman, Vol. 3 (1892), 14-15.
73 Rev. Marcus Dods, "The Late Professor Henry Drummond," The Student, Vol. 11 (March 18, 1897), 299-301.
CHAPTER V

DRUMMOND'S RHETORICAL METHODS

What a noble gift it is, the power of playing upon the souls and wills of men, and rousing them to lofty purposes and holy deeds.

--Henry Drummond

Drummond's Ethos

With the popularity of Natural Law and his devotional classic, "The Greatest Thing in the World," Henry Drummond's reputation spread throughout the Western world. According to one American newspaper, "His lectures and 'The Greatest Thing in the World' have made his name a household word."\(^1\) Despite the popularity of his name, however, his image varied from one audience to another. A Boston Globe reporter wrote:

MAN OF MANY SIDES

Professor Drummond, Evolutionist, Revivalist, Home Rule Advocate, Traveller, and Disciple of Walton.


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During the past four weeks thousands of people have found rare delight and food for profitable thought in the series of lectures on the evolution of man delivered by Henry Drummond at the Lowell Institute... It has been generally supposed that Drummond was a clergyman--but this is not so. He is a Professor of Science with a large religious nature.2

Since the time of Cicero, an orator's reputation has been considered an important part of his ethical appeal. In his homeland, Drummond was widely regarded as a clergyman, although he did not seem to encourage or approve of this image of himself. Drummond felt that he could identify better with his listeners as a layman and always insisted that he had never been ordained as a minister of the church. He was, in fact, required to undergo ordainment in order to teach in a church college, but he maintained to the end of his life that he was ordained as a "teacher," not as a "clergyman." He persisted, both publicly and privately, that he had never conducted a marriage, a baptism, or a funeral.3 According to the British Monthly,

The man who was the most useful in our day as a soul winner, and the most conspicuous figure in the religious world, was one who, though he was an ordained minister of the Free Church of Scotland,--he denied it--


lived his life and exerted his influences as a layman. 4

Ian Maclaren, a personal friend, wrote that Henry Drummond consistently refused to be called Reverend and denied that he was ever ordained to the ministry. "The last time he preached," Maclaren continued, "was about 1882 in my own church, and the outside world did not know that he was a clergymen." 5

Drummond preferred to think of himself as a Professor of Science, although he was not highly regarded by many British scientists because he lacked the traditional academic degrees. His attainments as a scientist were recognized, however, by his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and of the prestigious British Geological Society. In all his major publications, Drummond used the initials F. R. S. E. and F. G. S. after his name. The only degree he ever held was a LL. D. which was bestowed upon him by Amherst University. 6

In America, however, and in other countries outside Britain, he was generally regarded as a writer and professor of science. As mentioned earlier, Drummond's image as a scientist greatly enhanced his ethical appeal because of the strong rhetorical character of the word "science"

5 Ian Maclaren, in the introduction to Drummond, The Ideal Life (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1898), p. 38.
6 Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 452.
in the nineteenth century. Drummond was apparently aware of this fact; hence, his preference for the scientific image. As a scientist, he appealed to vastly different and more significant audiences than he could have reached as a traveling minister.

Henry Drummond's image was also dependent upon which of his works his listeners had read. To the readers of his sermons and devotional messages, he was Henry Drummond, the eloquent preacher. To the readers of *Natural Law, Tropical Africa, and the Ascent of Man*, he was the man of science with prominent religious ties. To those familiar with both kinds of literature, he seemed to embody a unique cluster of images—a perception likewise rhetorically appealing. Like many famous characters, his reputation often surpassed his own ability. Once in Minneapolis, at the close of his lecture, he was denounced by a well-known citizen as a "fraud and imitator of the real Professor Drummond" as he failed to meet the auditor's expectations.7 The controversial nature of his message was still another factor which contributed to the large crowds that gathered to hear him lecture.

All who knew Henry Drummond personally held one image in common: to them, he symbolized perfection in character and life. A fellow minister wrote this appraisal of Henry Drummond:

> After a lifetime's intimacy I do not remember my friend's failing. Without pride, without

envy, without selfishness, without vanity, moved only by goodwill and spiritual ambitions, responsive ever to the touch of God and every noble impulse, faithful, fearless, magnanimous, Henry Drummond was the most perfect Christian I have known or expect to see this side of the grave.\textsuperscript{8}

The Scottish Medical and Surgical Journal, one of the most respected medical journals of the world, wrote:

Although Professor Drummond was not a member of our profession, he held a very special relation to it in Edinburgh from the student standpoint . . . To us medicals, he was the embodiment of the highest and holiest manhood of today . . . We always felt that he was greater than anything that he wrote.\textsuperscript{9}

Dwight L. Moody, renowned evangelist and early associate of Drummond's, wrote the following evaluation:

It sometimes happens that a man in giving to the world the truths that have most influenced his life, unconsciously writes the truest kind of a character sketch. This was so in the case of Henry Drummond and no words of mine can best describe his life or character than those in which he has presented to us 'The Greatest Thing in the World.'\textsuperscript{10}

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\textsuperscript{8}W. Robertson Nicoll, in the introduction to Drummond, The Ideal Life, p. 45.
\textsuperscript{9}"The Late Professor Henry Drummond," The Scottish Medical and Surgical Journal, Vol. I (April, 1897), 362-363.
\end{flushright}
From all indications, Henry Drummond epitomized Marcus Cato's "good man, skilled in speaking." The only charge against Drummond's character known to the writer was a criticism from certain members of Moody's church at Northfield, Massachusetts because they had heard that he smoked cigars. According to a former student, "Drummond used tobacco because it seemed to reduce him to a more common level and he wanted to show how intensely human he was." With the exception of his cigar smoking, therefore, the public image of Drummond's life and character was remarkably impressive and powerful.

Much of Drummond's ethical appeal stemmed from his personal demeanor and appearance. Henry Drummond apparently was able to project that elusive but strongly persuasive quality called earnestness or sincerity, which Aristotle admitted was probably "the most potent of all the means to persuasion." One contemporary commented:

    Herein lay a great part of the secret of his power. Men felt that what he said was true to the man who uttered the words; he produced

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in his hearers and readers the conviction that he told them of things through which he himself had lived, and so had found to be real.\textsuperscript{15}

Moody and others believed Drummond's sincerity was somehow reflected in his face. "His face was an index to his inner life" wrote Moody in the foreword of a posthumous Drummond work.\textsuperscript{16} Even an Edinburgh reporter who admitted that he was "by no means an admirer of Henry Drummond or of the book, \textit{Natural Law}, which aroused so absurdly exaggerated praise," wrote, "what really did strike me in listening to last night's address was the convincing earnestness of the preacher."\textsuperscript{17}

Another trait for which Drummond was admired was his quiet modesty. He was never too busy to speak with the smallest child or to spend an evening with a student burdened with problems. His name was not printed on the original editions of most of his published messages—only a small "H. D." on the outside cover.

Drummond's use of intrinsic ethical appeals in his sermons and lectures was relatively small. Patrick Kennicott reasoned that, "This is understandable since he had a wide and favorable reputation before he mounted the platform and did not need to court a favorable


\textsuperscript{16}Moody, in Drummond, \textit{A Life for a Life}, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{17}"Oddfellow's Hall Meeting," \textit{Edinburgh Evening Dispatch}, (February, 1891).
impression during his speech."\textsuperscript{18} In a careful examination of Drummond's Lowell Lectures, Kennicott discovered that, "They were surprisingly free of personal experiences. It would normally be assumed that a man of Drummond's varied background would incorporate more personal experience into his lectures, but only one instance was discovered where he relied on past experience to win belief."\textsuperscript{19} Regarding Drummond's ethos, Kennicott concluded:

Quoting widely from many authorities in several languages, Drummond communicated mental alertness, intelligence, and knowledge to his listeners. He also seemed to communicate such desirable personal characteristics as fairness, justice, sympathy, and understanding as he attempted to sway the curious crowds.\textsuperscript{20}

J. W. Mankin, in his thesis based upon three of Drummond's popular addresses, found that Drummond relied to some extent on demonstration of the breadth of his education and intellect but that he did so implicitly and never mentioned his background outright. According to Mankin, Drummond used four types of ethical appeal: (1) the purity of his motives, (2) his own image as an authority on the subject,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18}Patrick Kennicott, "A Study of the Persuasive Techniques of Henry Drummond in his Ascent of Man Lectures" (Unpublished M. S. Thesis, Florida State University, 1965), p. 145.
\item \textsuperscript{19}Ibid., p. 142.
\item \textsuperscript{20}Ibid., p. 141.
\end{itemize}
(3) complimenting the audience, and (4) identifying with the audience by telling them he had shared identical experiences with them.  

These appeals infrequently appear in Drummond's rhetoric, however, and an examination of a broad range of Drummond's addresses and lectures produced few personal references by the orator to himself or to his background. Despite the lack of overt references, however, the nature of Drummond's message, his terminology, and manner of presentation were such that his listeners would have quickly perceived him as an intelligent man. Also, his sincerity, his warm personality, and an occasional compliment to the audience satisfied his hearers that he was a man of good will. Henry Drummond's ethical appeal, therefore, stemmed mainly from his antecedent ethos and from his intrinsic ethos portrayed by his message and personality.

**Drummond's Style**

British literature in the sixteenth century was characterized by an excessive preoccupation with the canon of style. Writers such as Leonard Cox, Richard Sherry, and Henry Peacham advocated unlimited ornamentation of language by tropes and figures with little concern for the intended meaning of the discourse. As a reaction against this abuse of style in communication, Hugh Blair and George Campbell, two

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Scottish rhetoricians, introduced the doctrine of perspicuity into British rhetorical theory in the late eighteenth century. "Perspicuity," wrote Blair, "is the fundamental quality of style, a quality so essential in every kind of writing, that for the want of it, nothing can atone." At the University of Edinburgh a half century later, Drummond was undoubtedly influenced by the rhetorical theories of Blair and Campbell. On page nine of *Natural Law*, Drummond quoted nine lines from Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*. Drummond's theory of style was strikingly similar to these early advocates of perspicuity. Drummond once said, "A nineteenth century article should be written at least three times; once in simplicity, once in profundity, and once to make the profundity appear simplicity!" In his article on the proper use of adjectives, Drummond advocated simple words whenever possible.

Simplicity was one of the major characteristics of Drummond's unique style. *The Bailie*, a British literary magazine, said, "Nature has endowed him with the first quality of a teacher -- clearness."

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One editor wrote:

Judged as a writer, he has command of a vigorous, nervous, flexible style. His words are simple, he loves monosyllables more than polysyllables, and Saxon more than Latin.26

Another feature of Drummond's distinctive style was his exquisite choice of words—especially adjectives. Simpson wrote:

Drummond was fastidious about phrasing and expression. In particular he would insist on the careful selection of adjectives, a part of speech which he considered to be especially determinative of the care that a writer puts into his work.27

This quality, however, was not accidental. It was the result of careful and deliberate polishing and revising. According to Nicoll:

He wrote brightly and swiftly, and would have made an excellent journalist. But everything he published was elaborated with the most scrupulous care. I have never seen manuscripts so carefully revisited as his.28

A first-hand examination of his manuscripts confirmed the above judgment. Drummond's first step in the composition of a lecture

26 Henry Altemus, in the introduction to Drummond, Addresses, with Biographical Sketch by Henry Altemus (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1894), p. 8.


designed for oral presentation was to write out the manuscript in long hand on 8 1/2 inch by 11 inch lined notebook paper. A black ink fountain pen was used in the first draft. Extensive revisions were made in pencil in nearly every sentence of the first penned draft. Often, sentences were altered a second and third time with penciled lines drawn through the previous revision. Each lecture consisted of a packet of fifteen to thirty pages folded vertically in the center with the title written on the front page. Most of the pages were written on one side only. Lectures intended for subsequent publication were then neatly typewritten and carefully edited in ink with frequent changes in words and phrases.

The typical handwritten lecture appeared to have been revised from two to three times. Twenty classroom lectures were examined along with two lengthy lectures which had been presented to an unidentified religious club entitled, "The Naturalness of Revelation."

Of particular interest was Drummond's introductory lecture to his science class, the first paragraph of which is included below with his revisions indicated. This brief specimen shows the care with which Drummond revised even the manuscripts of his classroom lectures.

Gentlemen: I have not thought it wise
necessary to offer to you today
or becoming in my circumstances to

like
attempt anything in the shape of a for-

mal introduction to the work of this
class. Before, however, entering upon
the more systematic study of Science,

I am anxious very shortly and somewhat
I will take the liberty of trying to
desultarily to try
express to you the sort of idea our
church has has in giving a place to
Science in her theological curriculum.29

Drummond was also known for his rich use of vivid illustrations
to illuminate the meaning. He once described a sermon as "Ten minutes
introduction, ten minutes illustration, and ten minutes application."30
This characteristic of his style was also noted by Henry Altemus:

He has a wealth of illustrations to draw upon--illustrations that are worthy of the name and
do illustrate, do cast a flood of light upon
his meaning. Yet these illustrations are of
the homeliest sort. They are drawn from life
more than from books. They are not stock
figures of speech. They are the fruit of long
and minute observation; they indicate a brain
that is ever active to seize the multiple
analogies presented by the world around us.31

In his analysis of Drummond's preaching, Dr. Malcomb McIver remarked
that "Drummond used illustrations profusely." One sermon had twenty-six

29Drummond, the first paragraph of his introductory lecture to his
science class at the Free Church College in Glasgow. This manuscript
is in the family collection held by Mrs. Pearson of Kilmaurs, Scotland.

30Glasgow Evening Times (March 12, 1897).

31Henry Altemus, in the introduction to Drummond, Addresses, pp. 8-9.
Illustrations; none had fewer than seven. Examples of Drummond's use of illustrations are as follows:

In a report describing a great shipwreck, the message read, 'A large ship was seen coming to shore last night. We endeavored to give every assistance through the speaking trumpet but 400 bodies were washed ashore this morning.' That shows the futility of attempting to save men by speech.

There used to be a children's book which bore the fascinating title of "The Chance World." It described a world in which everything happened by chance. The sun might rise or it might not; or it might appear at any hour, or the moon might come up instead. When children were born they might have one head or a dozen heads, and those heads might not be on their shoulders—but arranged about the limbs... In this chance world cause and effect were abolished. Law was annihilated. And the result to the inhabitants of such a world could only be that reason would be impossible. It would be a lunatic world with a population of lunatics.

In the Galerie des Beaux Arts in Paris there stands a famous statue. It was the last work of a great genius, who, like many a genius, was very poor and lived in a garret, which served as studio and sleeping-room alike. When the statue was all but finished, one midnight a sudden frost fell upon Paris. The sculptor lay awake in the fireless room and thought of the still moist clay, thought how the water would freeze in the pores and destroy in an hour the dream of his life. So the


34 Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, p. 39.
old man rose from his couch and heaped the bedclothes reverently round his work. In the morning when the neighbors entered the room the sculptor was dead. But the statue lived.35

Closely related to his use of illustrations and probably most typical of Drummond's style was his abundant use of analogies. This is discussed in the section "persuasive techniques" since most scholars consider the analogy a type of argument rather than a purely stylistic phenomenon. In addition to illustrations, Drummond frequently used quotations and poems to enforce his meaning and enhance his style. In his scientific writings he quoted from a wide variety of sources, but in his devotional message, a high frequency is noticeable from Ruskin, Carlyle, Goethe, and the Bible.

Another distinguishing feature of Drummond's style was his frequent use of rhetorical questions. It was not uncommon for Drummond to begin a message with a rhetorical question and include a long series of rhetorical questions in his discourse. Illustrations of both are given below:

Everyone has asked himself the great question of antiquity as in the modern world: What is the summun bonum—the supreme good?36

Then you reduce religion to a common friendship?


A common friendship—Who talks of a common friendship? There is no such thing in the world. On earth no word is more sublime.37

What can be the matter with this singular book? Why is it science to Haeckel one minute and error the next? Why are Haeckel and Mr. Huxley not agreed if it is science? Why are Haeckel and Mr. Gladstone agreed if it is religion? If Mr. Huxley does not agree with Haeckel, why does he not agree with Mr. Gladstone?38

Henry Drummond's style was richly epigrammatic. At least two books of epigrams have been published entitled, **Brilliants From Henry Drummond** and **Beautiful Thoughts From Henry Drummond**. In nearly every Drummond message, quotations can be extracted which express succinctly some universal truth or axiom.

The infallible receipt for Happiness is to do good.

He who seeks to serve two masters misses the benediction of both.

Life is full of opportunities for learning love. Every man and woman every day has a thousand of them. The world is not a playground; it is a schoolroom; and its great lesson that we are always to learn is the lesson of love in all its parts.39

37Drummond, "The First Experiment," **The Changed Life**, p. 44.


39Henry Drummond, **Brilliants from Henry Drummond** (Boston: The Cassino Art Company, 1892), pages not numbered.
The foregoing analysis seeks to highlight the distinguishing features of Henry Drummond's written and oral style. All of these qualities contributed to a delightfully readable and highly persuasive style. The *British Weekly* rendered the following judgments on the style of Henry Drummond:

He had very unusual endowments as an orator and writer. No one we have ever listened to impressed us quite in the same way. His words were the effortless utterance of a man with a message—a man who could clothe his thoughts in the simplest and at the same time the most shining vesture. Perhaps his main characteristic both as a speaker and writer was his brilliant and untiring freshness...

As a stylist, he occupied a high and singular position. What he wrote had the polish and the exquisite fitness of phrase which belong to a great literary artist. He was never turgid and never obscure. He had grasped with firmness the primal law that epithets must not be introduced for ornament, but only to give a real and pregnant meaning to the sentence...

He had so trained himself that his expression from the platform and from the press was equally consummate.40

Other authors and critics have pronounced similar praise:

*The Ascent of Man* is poetry rather than prose.41

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40 "Professor Drummond; The Memorial Number," *British Weekly*, Vol. XXI (March 18, 1897), 385.

It is difficult to think of such a man as an artist, but an artist he was in two respects—his mastery of the expository style in writing and his consummate art in addressing... a cultured audience upon a religious subject.42

**Drummond's Invention**

Henry Drummond read widely and continuously. Although the acclaim and reception of his major works is evidence of the fact that he was to some degree an original thinker, still he was influenced by a wide variety of sources including newspapers and magazines. The articles and sermons that he deemed useful were methodically clipped and preserved in a scrapbook which reflects possible origins of many of his sermons and lectures. An examination of Drummond's personal scrapbook of clippings revealed three broad categories of interest: science, religion, and a combination of the two.43 A miscellaneous category would be necessary to include the remainder of the materials. Most of these clippings were taken from newspapers and journals. A sample of the scientific clippings is given below:

"Evolution" Wallace
"Darwin's Life" Spectator
"The New Astronomy"
"Mimicry in Butterflies" Spectator
"The Missing Eye"


43Drummond's personal scrapbook is in the family collection held by Mrs. Pearson of Kilmaurs, Scotland.
Among the religious articles in his scrapbook were the following:

"The True Teaching of the Bible" Henry Ward Beecher
"Christianity" a London Correspondent
"A Chinese Confession of Faith"
"Authority" a sermon by Rev. Marcus Dods
"The Gospel According to Ruskin" Ruskin
"Modern Methods in Theology" Rev. Edwin Hatch
"The Christian and Mohammedan Faiths" Fortnightly Review
"Harper's Letters on Old Testament Criticism"

The religion-science articles included:

"Religion and Science" Professor Stokes
"Attitude of Scientific Men Towards Revelation" Dr. Gladstone
"Science and Miracles" Professor A. Dubois
"The Church and Skepticism" Dr. Marcus Dods

The miscellaneous category included such interesting titles as:

"The Cost of Progress" Henter
"On Boys"
"Address on Books" H. D. Melbourne

One significant clipping was found entitled "How to become an Orator" from the Pall Mall Gazette. This article featured hints from the "best public speakers of the day." Among the speakers included were John Bright and Professor Huxley. Bright maintained "every speaker should do what is best for him," whereas Huxley advocated that every speaker should "write out his speech." This article indicates Drummond's awareness of the importance of rhetorical theory to his career and the value he placed upon the advice of the eminent orators of his age. The articles contained in this scrapbook definitely reflect the great issues which shaped Drummond's rhetorical career. The dates
and titles of many of these articles justify the inference that Drummond's reading influenced the development of his rhetoric of reconciliation and his popular devotional messages.

As explained in the previous chapter, the substance of Natural Law in the Spiritual World originated in sermons which he preached at the Possilpark church, which in turn were generated by his lectures on natural law at the Free Church College. The substance of the Ascent of Man is traceable from the feedback he received from his lecture tours and from the reviews and criticism of Natural Law.

An examination of the small New Testament Drummond used throughout much of his active career gives additional insight into his inventive process. This "Pearl Reference Testament," printed by William Collins, Sons, and Company, Glasgow, was a four by six inch Testament with a blank page for notes inserted between every page of text. These interleaf pages were filled with handwritten notes of three kinds: introduction to the New Testament books, sermon outlines, and quotations and illustrations. At the beginning of each book he wrote a one-page introduction, including notes about the authorship, purpose, compilation, and time of writing. These notes were obviously used for public teaching and personal study. The Testament contained many sermon notes and outlines, some of which were later expanded into full length sermons and published. These notes and outlines were apparently used in actual speaking occasions and often included the dates and places where the sermon was used such as "Possil 7th, June, 1882." A typical
one page sermon outline, entitled "The Sower: Three Causes of the Failure of Religion," written on the interleaf opposite Matthew, Chapter thirteen, is given as follows:

I. Uninterested hearers-(causes—long custom, dull preaching, listening without acting)
   origin of spiritual knowledge not the understanding but obedience
   a thoroughfare through our mind—great traffic
   other things, like birds, pick up the seeds as fast as they are sown

II. Shallow people
   a film of religion over the worldly life
   two characteristics: (1) impulsiveness "straightway" work from feeling not conviction
   (2) emotion "joy" experience deepens men

III. Preoccupied people
   a worse cause—a deep sick soil given up to thorns—a good nature, barren, the waste of life
   here, then, is a courteous assent to religious truth—an interest in it—the stalk is there but not the fruit "riches" "cares" the former a substitute, the latter an obstacle
   the characteristics of a good crop is not the density of the vegetation but that the vegetation is all of one kind

44Drummond's annotated New Testament is in the possession of Dr. Malcolm McIver, Richmond, Virginia.
The typical outline contained three main headings with subordinate ideas. Other titles include, "Paul's Conversion," "Learning to Walk," "To Find Out God's Will," and "He Showed Us a Great City." Opposite the text of I Corinthians, Chapter thirteen, the structure of his most famous sermon, "The Greatest Thing in the World," is written as follows:

1. Patience--Love passive
2. Kindness--Love active
3. Generosity--Love competitive
4. Humility--Love hiding
5. Courtesy--Love in society
6. Unselfishness--Love denying
7. Good Temper--Love restraining
8. Guilelessness--Love believing
9. Sincerity--Love learning

It would seem from these notes that Drummond did on occasion speak extemporaneously from handwritten outlines. His scientific lectures, however, were presented from a carefully written manuscript both in the classroom and at special occasions such as the Lowell Institute in Boston. Most of the sermons in the Testament date from Drummond's ministry at Possilpark, Glasgow.

The third kind of notes found in his pocket testament included a wealth of quotations and illustrations taken from a variety of sources. Apparently, while reading or listening to a lecture, he would copy any quotations or illustrations which he felt were interesting or possibly useful to his own preaching. With the illustration he often noted the author or source. Examples are as follows:

Wilberforce was so absorbed in the suppression of slave trade that a pious lady ventured to admonish him, 'I fear Sir, that you are neglecting your own soul!' 'Really' he replied, 'I forgot I had one!'

It is not more light that is wanted but a clearer eye.

The man is more important than his services.

I expect to pass through this world but once. Any good thing, therefore, that I can do or any kindness I can show let me do it now. Let me not defer nor neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again.46

From this evidence, some inferences can be made concerning the process by which his mind manufactured a sermon. According to Dr. McIver in his analysis of Drummond's preaching:

His greatest homiletical weakness lay in the fact that he was not an expository preacher.

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Instead of developing text, he tended to string together certain favorite themes or to speak from the surface of a text... He developed a message from a text without any reference to its context.47

This indictment of Drummond's inventive process is at the same time perhaps the secret to his creative powers as an orator. While reading a text, an idea would suddenly explode in his mind. Then he would write the idea, partition it into a skeleton with three or four sub-topics, and supply the flesh from his storehouse of ideas and illustrative materials. He gave little thought to the relation of the speech idea to the context from whence it sprang. His major concern was the impact the idea would have upon the minds of his audience. Whereas a few of his addresses were textual in nature, the majority of them were essentially departures from the original text with a devotional message that bore little relation to it. This conclusion was supported by Simpson in the following description:

The ordinary man, in his preparation of a religious discourse, will consult at least one standard commentary to get at the original meaning of the selected text,—the meaning that was in the speaker's mind when he first uttered the thought. Drummond never did this. He prepared his addresses like Moody, selecting some scriptual thought that impressed him, without any reference to the context, and gradually building up his own thoughts around it. He amazed his student friends with some of his

Drummond's Persuasive Techniques

Professor Drummond used several basic persuasive techniques to gain the adherence of his audience. In describing his argumentative techniques, the terminology of Chaim Perelman has been used. In his excellent *Treatise on Argumentation*, the Belgian rhetorician approached the study of argumentation by a descriptive analysis rather than the formal or structural analysis characteristic of the classical tradition.

The technique used most frequently in *Natural Law*, *Ascent of Man*, and Drummond's sermons and devotional essays, was the argument from analogy. Kennicott reached a similar conclusion in the final chapter of his thesis. "Both arguments from example and analogy were used extensively in the *Ascent of Man*." Mankin's thesis also supported this judgment with the statement, "Drummond relied heavily on figurative analogy." Mankin, however, from his analysis of three selected sermons,

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concluded that Drummond argued from authority, example, and cause to effect more than from analogy.51

Perelman and other scholars of argumentation concur that the argument from analogy is the weakest method of proof. Perelman wrote that analogy has generally been viewed with distrust when used as a means of proof due to its weak and uncertain character.52 Drummond, however, was fully cognizant of this limitation and acknowledged the problem in his introduction to *Natural Law:*

That the validity of analogy generally has been seriously questioned one must frankly own. Doubtless there is much difficulty and even liability to gross error in attempting to establish analogy in specific cases. The value of the likeness appears differently to different minds, and in discussing an individual instance questions of relevancy will invariably crop up. Of course, in the language of John Stuart Mill, 'when the analogy can be proved, the argument founded upon it cannot be resisted.' But so great is the difficulty of proof that many are compelled to attach the most inferior weight to analogy as a method of reasoning . . . Other authorities on the other hand, such as Sir William Hamilton, admit analogy to a primary place in logic and regard it as the very basis of induction.53

The chief reason for the above explanation was Drummond's use of the

analogies he drew between the natural and spiritual worlds. Although he advocated that the two worlds were identical rather than analogous, this position did not free him from responsibility for the analogies used elsewhere in his lectures and sermons.

Examples of Drummond's use of analogy can be seen from his two most famous rhetorical works, "The Greatest Thing in the World" and Natural Law:

If a man does not exercise his arm he develops no biceps muscle; if a man does not exercise his soul, he acquires no muscle in his soul, no strength of character, no vigor of moral fiber, nor beauty of spiritual growth . . .

Put a piece of iron in the presence of a magnetized body, and that piece of iron for a time becomes magnetized. It is charged with an attractive force in the mere presence of the original force, and as long as you leave the two side by side, they are both magnets alike. Remain side by side with Him who loved us and gave Himself for us, and you too will become a center of power, a permanently attractive force; and like Him you will draw all men unto you, like Him you will be drawn unto all men . . .

As the branch ascends, and the bud bursts, and the fruit reddens under the cooperation of influences from the outside air, so man arises to the higher stature under invisible pressures from without.54

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There are certain burrowing animals—the mole for instance—which have taken to spending their lives beneath the surface of the ground. And Nature has taken her revenge upon them in a thoroughly natural way—she has closed up their eyes. If they mean to live in darkness, she argues, eyes are obviously a superfluous function. By neglecting them these animals made it clear they do not want them. And as one of Nature's fixed principles is that nothing shall exist in vain, the eyes are presently taken away, or reduced to a rudimentary state. There are fishes also which have had to pay the same terrible forfeit for having made their abode in dark caverns where eyes can never be required. And in exactly the same way the spiritual eye must die and lose its power by purely natural law if the soul choose to walk in darkness rather than in light.55

Another technique frequently used by Drummond was the argument from example. Perelman defined an example as a phenomenon introduced into discourse which serves as the starting point of a generalization.56 The following is an illustration of Drummond's use of the argument from example:

What is meant by a change in his environment may be understood from an example, which will at the same time define more clearly the intimacy of the relation between environment and organism. Let us take the case of a civil-servant whose environment is a district in India. It is a region subject to occasional and prolonged droughts resulting in periodical famines. When such a period of scarcity arises, he proceeds immediately to adjust

55Drummond, Natural Law, p. 110.
56Perelman, The New Rhetoric, p. 350
himself to this external change. Having the power of locomotion, he may remove himself to a more fertile district, or, possessing the means of purchase, he may add to his old environment by importation the "external relations" necessary to continued life. But if from any cause he fails to adjust himself to the altered circumstances, his body is thrown out of correspondence with his environment, his "internal relations" are no longer adjusted to his "external relations," and his life must cease.57

In the words of Perelman, "it is in terms of an audience that an argumentation develops."58 Considering the relatively complex concepts which Drummond attempted to communicate to audiences of limited sophistication, it was most appropriate, therefore, that he relied heavily upon arguments from analogy and example.

A third technique used extensively in Drummond's rhetoric was the argument from authority. According to Mankin's study, Drummond appealed to authority more than any other type of argument and that he appealed most frequently to the authority of the Bible, God, Christ, science, and literature.59

One unusual technique which Drummond used frequently in his rhetoric was the argument from transitivity. Perelman wrote:

57Drummond, Natural Law, p. 148.
Transitivity is a formal property of certain relations which makes it possible to infer that because a relation holds between a and b and between b and c, it therefore holds between a and c; the relations of equality, superiority, inclusion, and ancestry are transitive.  

The most obvious example of this technique which was cited earlier in the study is the following conclusion to the *Ascent of Man*:


As in the rhetoric of many public figures, examples of various techniques can be identified. In addition to those mentioned, Drummond occasionally used arguments from sign, from cause to effect, from ends and means, from comparison, and from definition.

Although these techniques were seldom expressed in syllogistic form, he occasionally used the syllogism in perfect Aristotelian form as shown in the following deduction:

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61Drummond, *Ascent of Man*, p. 342
The perverted doctrine of Atonement, which tends to beget the parasitic habit, may be defined in a single sentence—it is very much because it can be defined in a single sentence that it is a perversion. Let us state it in a concrete form. It is put to the individual in the following syllogism: 'You believe Christ died for sinners; you are a sinner; therefore, Christ died for you and hence you are saved by it.'

From an analysis of Drummond's emotional appeals, the writer concurs with Kennicott's conclusion that "Drummond avoided the use of extravagant emotion." The most frequently used appeal with some emotional force was the appeal to the wants and values of the audience. Examples of this appeal are as follows:

But to those who are feeling their way to a Christian life, haunted now by a sense of instability in the foundations of their faith, now brought to bay by specific doubt at one point raising, as all doubt does, the question for the whole, I would hold up a light which has often been kind to me.

Never before was it known and felt with the same solemn certainty that man, within bounds which none can pass, must be his own maker of the world. For the first time in history . . . multitudes of the wisest and the noblest in every land take home to themselves, and unceasingly concern themselves with the problem

62 Drummond, **Natural Law**, pp. 330-331.


64 Drummond, **Natural Law**, p. xxiii.
of the evolution of mankind . . . Who is to help these practical evolutionists--who is to help them in their tremendous task? There is the will--where is the wisdom? . . . Where but in Nature herself.65

There are reverent minds who ceaselessly scan the fields of nature and the books of science in search of gaps--gaps which they will fill up with God. As if God lived in gaps! . . . What needs altering in such finely jealous souls is at once their view of nature and of God. Nature is God's writing, and can only tell the truth; God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all.66

From these examples can be seen Drummond's method of demonstrating that his proposals would better satisfy the existing needs of listeners than they were then being satisfied. A large part of Drummond's appeals affirmed that his propositions were wholly consistent with the existing values of his audience--that is, in demonstrating that accepting evolution did not mean denying the existence of a personal creator.

When emotion was employed in Drummond's rhetoric, it was usually expressed through vivid description and narration of natural phenomena. Occasionally Drummond would associate his proposals with traditional emotional concepts such as the home, love, motherhood, etc., but no instances were discovered where he used overt emotions such as fear, revulsion, or sympathy in his rhetoric.

65Drummond, Ascent of Man, p. 39.

66Ibid., p. 333.
Drummond's Delivery

A complete reconstruction of the speech delivery of a historical figure is rarely possible. Several of Drummond's distinctive qualities are apparent, however, in eye witness accounts.

We know, for example, that Drummond was self conscious about his delivery. George Smith records an early diary in which Drummond reflected upon his first public appearances as a student in the little mission church in Edinburgh. The following are excerpts from that diary:

The first time I ever faced an audience, sensations not remarkable. When my turn came I trembled on standing up--considerably all through. Tremor in voice. I should think not perceived; mind kept perfectly clear and cool. Voice seemed not my own, but a new voice. Have no possible idea how it sounded . . . Address--what shall I say? I think it must have been very poor, particularly as to the delivery. Was not the least nervous, but did not know exactly where to look. People listened attentive-ly--very. One woman put me out rather by laughing, I suppose at the crudities of my attempt. It certainly was crude.67

Out of these crude beginnings grew an orator who was to address the world in his lifetime--whose distinctive message and personality impressed auditors from America to Australia.

67Drummond, excerpt from a student diary quoted in Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 56.
One influential element in every speaker's delivery is his appearance. The evidence indicates that Drummond's appearance may have been more influential than usual. Every eye witness has commented on his personal attractiveness. Simpson wrote:

The erect, military figure, the frank, handsome face, eagle-eyed, but with certain winsome sympathetic lines about the mouth, the dignity of his bearing, would all have compelled you to ask anywhere who he was. To the outward eye there was no flaw; on the contrary, you were conscious of an air of personal distinction that made it impossible to confound him with another . . . His style in dress and speech was faultless, and yet it was not that.68

Several commented on the impressiveness of his clothes. According to one author, "He had a sapphire blue velvet waistcoat like the body of heaven in its clearness."69 John Watson wrote:

Like a picture of the first order among ordinary portraits he unconsciously put his neighbors at a disadvantage. One did not realize how commonplace and colorless other men were till they stood side by side with Drummond. Upon a platform of evangelists or sitting among divinity students in a dingy classroom, or cabined in the wooden respectability of an ecclesiastical court, or standing in a crowd of passengers at a railway station, he suggested golden embroidery upon hodden gray. It was as

68Simpson, Henry Drummond, p. 147.

if the prince of one's imagination had dropped in among the common folk. He reduced us all to the peasantry. 70

Perhaps Drummond's manner of dress was not always to his advantage. Watson further explained, "One may be so well dressed, so good looking, so well mannered, so spiritually refined, that men with soiled clothes and women cleaning the house may realize their low estate, and miss that free-masonry which at once by a hundred signs unites them in five minutes with a plainer man." 71 Another eye witness wrote, "He was admittedly a tall, well-built, handsome man—almost a king among men—and no one who has looked into those eyes can ever hold any other opinion than that they were attractive. He was rather particularly well and neatly dressed." 72

One particular feature of his appearance, mentioned by every witness, was his eyes. One writer speaks of Drummond's "piercing eyes." 73 Watson commented:

The distinctive and commanding feature of his face was his eye. No photograph could do it

70John Watson, in the introduction to Drummond, The Ideal Life, p. 27.
71Ibid., p. 32.
72Mr. George Newman, quoted in Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 354.
73Colinton, Glenflora, "Memories of Henry Drummond for his Mother" (an unpublished memorial essay written from Midlothian, Scotland, August 17, 1897).
justice, and very often photographs have done it injustice, by giving the idea of staringness. His eye was not bold or fierce; it was tender and merciful. But it had a power and hold which were little else than irresistible and almost supernatural. When you talked with Drummond, he did not look at you and out of the window alternately, as is the usual manner; he never moved his eyes, and gradually their penetrating gaze seemed to reach and encompass your soul. It was as Plato imagined it would be in the judgment; one soul was in contact with another—nothing between. No man could be double, or base, or mean, or impure before that eye.74

Dr. Small, an old friend of Drummond's, interviewed by Dr. McIver in the late 1950's, reminisced:

There is one meeting I shall never forget. It was the high light of my experience at the University. I was twenty years old at the time... The flash of the eyes, that was his secret. His eyes were set close together and fairly shone. An intense light seemed to radiate from them.75

When Drummond was traveling in Africa, the natives called him by a name which signified "he who looks or gazes," probably because of the keenness of his eyes.76 D. M. Ross suggested, "In view of what has been so often and so justly said of the magnetic impressiveness of his

74Drummond, The Ideal Life, p. 28.
76Kennedy, Henry Drummond, p. 39.
platform speaking, it is worth while recalling that in his under-
graduate years he was a successful mesmerist."77 From these and
other comments concerning the uniqueness of his eyes, one concludes
that his gaze produced a hypnotic effect which was felt and observed
by many of his listeners.

Drummond's voice was apparently soft and his delivery un-
accompanied by gestures or movement. According to the Boston Globe:

He is a writer and thinker, not an orator. His pleasing and well modulated voice is too
weak to fill even Huntington Hall, and the closest attention was necessary even to follow
him. He speaks without gestures, slowly, im-
pressively . . . His English is without
accent and it would be impossible to tell from
it whether he hailed from Glasgow or Oshkosh.78

T. Cannan Newall, a former student of Drummond's wrote:

He spoke with great composure and felicity
of expression, and with a simple, quiet manner,
but with a tone that riveted enduring attention,
and invariably made an impression. In his
religious addresses he had the somewhat un-
common combination of evangelist fervor and
refined presentation of Christianity, a type
that the time greatly needed.79

77D. M. Ross, "Professor Drummond as I Knew Him," The Temple

78Boston Daily Globe, April 5, 1893, p. 12.

79T. Cannan Newall, Memoirs of Professor Henry Drummond (Glasgow:
John J. Roe, 1898), p. 27.
George Newman recalled:

He spoke with evident earnestness, but with marked control, if not reserve. His whole bearing was calm and collected. There was no gestures. Nor was there a suggestion of the 'preacher'—natural voice, natural demeanor, natural and dignified from the beginning to the end.80

An unidentified student published a similar impression:

His speaking was superb in its quiet mastery of the audience. Its chief work was intensity rather than force. It was not eloquence of the common sort but wonderfully impressive. It had all the effect of the highest oratory, with an almost studied avoidance of oratory. There was something magnetic in his very presence.81

As mentioned earlier, Drummond seemingly possessed that rare capacity to project a sincere and magnetic personality just by his appearance and general demeanor. Several witnesses attested to this fact:

I have no hesitation in saying that in some respects he was the best speaker I ever heard. There was not a particle of what is usually denominated oratory; for this he was far too much in earnest. It was quiet, simple, without

80George Newman, quoted in Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 354.
81"Professor Henry Drummond," The Woman at Home, Vol. I (June, 1897), pp. 742-743.
art, yet it was the perfection of art; for there was in it an indescribable charm, which never failed to hold the audience spell-bound from the first words to the last. 82

There was a unique impressiveness in his platform speaking; there were beauty of thought and diction charm of diction in his addresses, but the truest secret of his power as a speaker lay in the thousand subtle influences radiating forth from the personality of the speaker. 83

He was not one with the divinity student so that his audiences would listen to him as one of themselves . . . the man's personality was a power in itself. 84

It was the judgment of the writer upon an investigation of Drummond's lecture manuscripts and sermon notes that he always spoke from notes of some kind. This judgment, however, was not supported by two eye witnesses who recently testified concerning his Edinburgh lectures to students. In an interview with Malcolm McIver, Dr. Taylor stated that Drummond did not use notes in his lectures. 85 Dr. Rae, thinking back sixty-five years, said, "He stood there behind a small table in the Oddfellows' Hall. The Bible was in his left hand.

84 J. Maitland Stroud, "Some Early Reminiscences of Professor Drummond," The Independent, Vol. 49 (April 22, 1897), 498.
He did not use notes. He spoke in a conversational tone and his personality entered into it."86 It is possible that Drummond's delivery was so natural that he did not appear to have used notes or that their memories had faded over the half-century since they had heard Drummond speak and did not recall his delivery with complete accuracy. If, however, though unlikely, all these judgments are true, then Drummond was a highly versatile and inconsistent speaker using complete manuscripts in the classroom, outlines in the pulpit, and no notes in Edinburgh's Oddfellows' Hall.

From the evidence examined in this section, therefore, it is possible to conclude that Drummond was meticulous in his habits of dress and characteristically made a good first impression with his audience because of a pleasing appearance. There was something distinctive about his eyes and his vocal volume and physical animation were subdued. Although much that was written about Drummond after his death was laudatory and exaggerated, it appears impossible to escape the impression that Henry Drummond was a man of outstanding character who reflected a personality worthy of an audience's respect and attention.

CHAPTER VI

DRUMMOND'S AUDIENCES

Do you mean, have I a pile of addresses which I take one by one and rip them off? No! A man has a message.

--Henry Drummond

Drummond's Listening Audiences

From the Great Rocky Mountains of America to the jungles of Central Africa, Henry Drummond had a distinct influence of men and women "of every rank of life and of almost every nation under the sun."1 Few men have ever experienced such a wide range of human life. In 1879, on his excursion to the Rockies, Drummond communicated with Indians, soldiers, and miners. In Boulder, Colorado, he was compelled to preach at a gold miner's funeral. Drummond described his impressions as follows:

I found I was expected to make an 'oration' as they called it, and as the chapel was crammed to the door I had one of the best audiences I have ever seen in my life. The diggers are a very rough lot--kindly, brave, but wild and lawless--and I suppose few of them had ever been in that chapel before . . . They listened with profound attention.2

2Ibid., p. 169

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Drummond had ample opportunity to address the middle-class religious audiences of Scotland, England, and Ireland during Moody's campaign from 1873 to 1875. He had preached to the slums of Edinburgh during his student ministry and to the industrial classes of Glasgow during his ministry at Possilpark. In Africa, Drummond had many opportunities to address the natives at the various mission posts. Describing one of these experiences, Drummond wrote:

We spoke through an interpreter. Unfortunately, the service was brought to rather an abrupt conclusion. I had just finished speaking when a tremendous shriek rose from the crowd, and the congregation dispersed in a panic in every direction. A huge snake had fallen from the tree right into the thick of them. A bombshell could not have done its work faster, but no one was hurt, and the beast disappeared like magic beneath some logs.3

In the New Hebrides, a string of coral islands east of Queensland, Drummond came face to face with cannibals and poisoned arrows. In Southeast Asia, he addressed crowds in Saigon and Singapore; further north and east he spoke to multitudes at Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Tokyo.4

At the other extreme, Drummond was also popular among cultured audiences. On two different occasions, he addressed the socially elite

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3Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 201.
of London in the ballroom of the Grosvenor House, the residence of
the Duke of Westminster at Hyde Park. During his second series of
lectures in 1888, the great ballroom was crowded to the point of suf­
focation, and many had to hear him from adjacent corridors. A re­
porter from the Pall Mall Gazette wrote:

The great square room was densely crowded
by an interested and representative gather­
ing—politicians, clergymen, authors, artists,
critics, soldiers, and barristers, with a large
sprinkling of smart young men, whose appearance
would scarcely have suggested a vivid interest
in serious concerns.5

Drummond also addressed a crowd at the residence of the Speaker of the
House of Commons and associated with many of the dignitaries of English
society such as Lord and Lady Aberdeen and William E. Gladstone.
According to one critic, Henry Drummond was more effective with the
elite and educated audiences than with any other class of society.
Donald Carswell wrote of "his consummate art in addressing what is
called a cultured audience upon a religious subject . . . In the latter
he stands alone. No one has even attempted to imitate him."6
According to J. Y. Simpson, "Reciprocally, all kinds of men were
interested in Drummond. There was not a single class of society that

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5Pall Mall Gazette, June 11, 1888, quoted in Smith, Life of
Henry Drummond, p. 301.

6Donald Carswell, Brother Scots (London: Constable and Company
Ltd., 1927), p. 51
he failed to influence. On at least one occasion he was chosen as arbiter in a strike.  

Another audience which comprised a significant part of Drummond's career was the young generation. He took a great interest in the religious training of boys aged seven to seventeen; in 1883 he was instrumental in establishing the Boy's Brigade, which grew into a national organization. Drummond addressed Brigade chapters on numerous occasions and pleaded their cause from the public platform and the press.

Drummond, himself, felt that his greatest success was with audiences of university students throughout America and Europe. In his tours of colleges and universities, he addressed administrators, faculty, and students. His Lowell Lectures in Boston included the elite of New England society. The *New England Magazine* reported:

To Professor Drummond, as Lowell lecturer, was accorded a welcome and a hearing seldom paralleled, and never surpassed in the history of this famous lectureship ... For everyone that secured a ticket of admission there were ten turned disappointedly away ... It was a representative Boston audience, not only in the sense that it included a large proportion of the professional cultivated classes, but it was also an assemblage of the best elements of the rank and file of our population--students, school teachers, and the thoughtful, intelligent men and women of our churches of all denominations.

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In the case of most of them the religious rather than the scientific interest was dominant.9

As the featured speaker at the opening of the second year of the University of Chicago, Drummond's audience was composed largely of university personnel. According to The Daily Inter Ocean,

The hall was crowded and large numbers were turned away. So great was the rush that the speaker and President Harper (U. of C.) were unable to gain entrance at the opening time . . . The platform was occupied by members of the faculty and ministers, while the large audience was composed of teachers, literatures, professional men, business men, and World's Fair visitors from all parts of the country attracted by the great reputation of the speaker in religious and scientific circles.10

At Dartmouth, Amherst, Harvard, and Princeton, student interest was high and the audiences were large. Drummond's university audiences, however, were not assembled entirely by chance. The mission to Yale, for example, was carefully planned by the students of the university who attended the Northfield Conference and illustrates the methods Drummond used during his American tour to attract the greatest possible audiences. He first obtained a list of Yale students who were known as leaders on the campus. These included men who were either

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10The Daily Inter Ocean (Chicago), October 2, 1893, p. 2.
prominent in scholarship or outstanding in athletics. He then summoned each man personally, told him of his need for leaders in his work among the students, and asked if he was willing to cooperate in an effort to influence the students for Christ. From the beginning he was able to enlist a large majority of the leading men in Yale.11 Through the influence of these student leaders as well as his own reputation, Drummond was assured a sizeable student audience.

For ten years Henry Drummond addressed weekly meetings of medical students from the University of Edinburgh at the Oddfellows Hall on the edge of the campus. In Drummond, the students found a religious teacher "utterly free from conventionalism" and "loyal to the intellectual methods of the age."12 His popularity among Edinburgh student audiences was evidenced by the hundreds of men who filled the hall every Sunday night. According to one newspaper reporter, "There was not room to stick a pin in the floor."13 In 1893, Drummond was honored by the following cartoon which appeared in the university student newspaper:


H. W. Oldham, an early historian of the Christian student movement, wrote:

To Drummond's work and Drummond's mission and to men influenced by them, the student movement in the present day is largely indebted.15

14The Student, February 22, 1893, p. 256

Alexander Macalister, writing in *The Bookman*, observed, "He has been called by Academy of last week 'The greatest leader of young men the century has seen.' This is scarcely the language of exaggeration."16

All but one of Drummond's published works grew out of his addresses before live audiences. James Kennedy concluded:

Henry Drummond was writing constantly, but most of his 'pen time' was given to a reworking and polishing of the material he had presented to live audiences. He was before all an evangelist rather than a writer, and it is in the form of his addresses, at once as an interpreter of the Bible and of human life, that his most permanent literary work was done. Tropical Africa was the only 'book,' as such, which he ever attempted. All the rest of his publications were made up of talks and addresses.17

The most unique feature of Drummond's evangelism was that he addressed hundreds of men and women from all levels of society who would never have attended a conventional church service. *The Bookman* recognized this fact and concluded, "More significant still is the fact that Professor Drummond draws a great proportion of his audience from classes uninfluenced by other preachers."18

Although this analysis of the wide variation of Drummond's audiences would seem to indicate that Drummond was a highly versatile orator eager

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18 "Professor Drummond," *The Bookman*, June, 1892.
to address any kind of audience, the following evidence indicates that he was at times unusually particular about the composition of an audience. According to The British Monthly:

He laid great stress all his life upon the fitness of the preacher for this or that particular class of audience. He once refused an invitation to address a congregation of business men on the plea that he did not 'know the species.'

T. Hunter Boyd recalled, "Once a minister called to ask him to speak at the anniversary meeting of a city mission in Glasgow. 'You have mistaken your man,' he said, 'I can't beat the big drum.'"

Another aspect of Drummond's audiences which varied greatly was size. His audiences ranged from the overflowing thousand seat Huntington Hall in Boston to the single interlocutor who lingered to discuss a personal problem in the inquiry room following a religious address. Many who knew Drummond best concurred that his greatest effort as a communicator was achieved in these interpersonal sessions. G. A. Smith wrote that men and women of all levels of society "brought him their mental and physical troubles," and that Drummond's "best work was

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20 T. Hunter Boyd, "Recollections of the Late Professor Henry Drummond," (an unpublished memoir written for Drummond's mother. This Manuscript is in the Drummond family collection held by Mrs. Pearson of Kilmaurs, Scotland).
done, so to speak, in the confessional."^ It was in the area of interpersonal communication that Drummond penned his most elaborate rhetorical theory, charging that the greatest fault of organized religion was the lack of personal evangelism. Although his audiences ranged from large to small, Drummond's personal philosophy prevented him from slighting the smaller audience. A friend wrote:

Drummond said in response to Grossmith's 'A Society Clown' that he knew full well the temptation to shrink the best for a small congregation. He had experienced it in the Possilpark mission days, but said he, 'a man owes a duty to himself, to maintain his personal standard, as well as to his congregation.22

Drummond's Reading Audiences

Although the word "audience" in its strictest sense denotes auditors in a speech situation, the term has recently received wide usage with reference to the receivers of any rhetorical communication—spoken, written, or visual. In the following analysis, "audience" is spoken of in the general sense.

From a literary standpoint, Henry Drummond is not to be regarded as a scientist but as a popular religious writer. Macalister wrote concerning his scientific work:

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22T. Hunter Boyd, "Recollections of the Late Professor Henry Drummond."
Judged by the standard of the value of the research embodied in these works (Tropical Africa, Natural Law, and Ascent of Man), the scientific results of his life work are small... It does show that he was capable of carrying on original research.23

An early article on Professor Drummond concluded:

Henry Drummond claims attention in these pages not as a religious teacher, but as a popular writer—perhaps the most popular of all living writers... At present there are not many of the younger men among teachers of Christianity who have caught the public ear. Of these the vogue of Professor Drummond's is by far the greatest.24

In his eulogy at the funeral of Henry Drummond, Rev. Marcus Dods made the following statement about Drummond's reading audience:

Probably there is no man of our time, be he statesman, poet, novelist, whose words have been more widely read, or read with intenser eagerness and with greater spiritual profit. Perhaps no man of this generation was endowed with so distinctive an individuality and exercised so unique an influence as Henry Drummond.25

23 Alexander Macalister, "Henry Drummond," The Bookman, April, 1897, pages were not available in the issues used.

24 "Professor Drummond," The Bookman, June, 1892.

25 Rev. Marcus Dods, "The Late Professor Henry Drummond," The Student, Vol XI (March 18, 1897), 299.
Simpson speaks of a "strange paradox, this man, who was neither scholar nor ecclesiastic, orator nor skilled debater, reached a wider constituency than almost any other religious teacher of his time." 26 In 1899, David Brewer, author of World's Best Orations, made the following judgment about Drummond's best known address:

Professor Drummond's address, 'The Greatest Thing in the World,' has probably been circulated more extensively than any other address of the nineteenth century, and its place as one of the great classics of the language is already insured.27

According to Simpson, this one sermon in booklet form reached a circulation of 350,000 in Drummond's lifetime.28 Seventy-five years later, it continues to be a best seller.

**Nineteenth Century and Modern Audiences**

The impact of Drummond's rhetoric upon his contemporaries was assessed by The British Monthly in 1902 as follows:

Could there be one called 'Biographies of Famous Influences,' the widely diffused power

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of Henry Drummond's life would at once entitle it to be included. In our day there has been a distinctly discernible stream which may be called the Drummond influence. He went about influencing. In that is summed up his story. To influence was his vocation in life. . . No man ever mastered the art of influencing more consummately. 29

Drummond's influence on the religious population of his native land was considerable. D. M. Ross wrote:

Professor Drummond is a unique figure in the religious life of Scotland. He is not a pulpit preacher like Dr. Whyte; not a theological thinker like Principal Cairns or Professor Flint; he is not an ecclesiastical leader like Dr. Rainy, or a poet like Dr. Walter Smith. Yet, already in his youth he is by far the best known man in any of the Scottish churches. 30

Henry Drummond also exercised a significant influence upon his own religious sect, the Free Church of Scotland. According to the British Weekly, "When Drummond was born the Free Church was losing mental power and popularity . . . The brilliant literary and theological renaissance of the Free Church is largely due to Drummond and to a few of his contemporaries. 31 Drummond's total influence upon his century was


30D. M. Ross, "Professor Drummond," The Modern Church, November 5, 1891.

expressed by Ross in these words:

If the influence of a teacher is to be measured by the number of lives that have been touched by his spoken and written word, few if any teachers of the last quarter century have been more influential than Henry Drummond.32

Evidence of that influence was apparent at Drummond's funeral in Stirling on March 11, 1897, and by the many memorials which were erected around the world. The large church on castle hill was filled at the funeral and the galleries overflowed with mourners. Representatives were present from all the audiences Drummond had influenced: students from Glasgow and Edinburgh, the Boy's Brigade, British nobility, ministers, educators, statesmen, and commoners.33 Three telegrams from North America were read at the service—from Princeton University; from the Honorable W. E. Dodge, Mayor of New York City; and from Lord Aberdeen, Governor General of Canada.34 Identical services were held in Canada, China, and at Princeton University.35 Memorials including a drinking fountain, busts, and plaques were dedicated to his memory throughout the


33Kennedy, Henry Drummond, pp. 59-60.

34"Professor Drummond: The Memorial Number," British Weekly, Vol. XXI (March 18, 1897), 388.

35Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 503.
Drummond's rhetoric of reconciliation was more relevant to the nineteenth-century audience. Chaim Perelman, in The New Rhetoric, introduces the concept of "the universal audience" into rhetorical theory. According to Perelman,

Argumentation aimed exclusively at a particular audience has the drawback that the speaker, by the very fact of adapting to the views of his listeners might rely on arguments that are foreign or even directly opposed to what is acceptable to persons other than those he is presently addressing.  

Perelman's universal audience is the speaker's conception of all reasonable men and he advises the speaker to design his message with this audience in mind. In Natural Law and Ascent of Man, Drummond was essentially addressing his universal audience. Whether preaching to working men of Possilpark, lecturing at Boston's Huntington Hall, or rewriting his manuscripts for publication, his rationale and appeals remained the same. Perelman explained, "Everyone constitutes the universal audience from what he knows of his fellowmen in such a way as to transcend the few oppositions he is aware of. Each individual, each culture, has thus its own conception of the universal audience."  

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36Kennedy, Henry Drummond, pp. 61-62.


38Ibid., p. 33.
that what men have regarded as "true and objectively valid" has varied at different times in history. Accordingly, Drummond's conception of the universal audience was limited to nineteenth-century man and what he regarded as true and valid lost its appeal within a half century after his death. Kennedy recognized this fact in the following statement:

Neither Drummond's science nor his theology, both mainly intuitive and poetical, fits perfectly the needs of this generation. Both Natural Law in the Spiritual World, published in 1883 (the most widely read religious book in the world in his day), and the Ascent of Man, published in 1894, 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.39

If Drummond's rhetoric of reconciliation lost its appeal with the passing of time, another area of his rhetoric remains fresh and relevant in our generation—his devotional messages. Every great sermon has a timeless quality that the years cannot erase. As Kennedy put it, "Drummond's vital and practical grasp of the spirit of the living Christ" makes him important for the modern reader.40 In these classic messages, Drummond's conception of the universal audience was not only valid in his age but across every generation.

40Ibid.
CHAPTER VII

DRUMMOND'S CONCEPTION OF RHETORIC

The greatness of the human mind, after all, is due to the tongue, the material instrument of reason, and to language, the outward expression of the inner life.

--Henry Drummond

To identify Henry Drummond as a rhetorician would be misleading. Rhetoricians such as George Campbell and Hugh Blair developed rhetorical theory and the dictionary defines "theory" as "a systematic view of a subject."\(^1\) Although Drummond never compiled a systematic view of rhetoric, he, like every successful rhetor, did have a distinctive rationale of effective communication. A knowledge of Drummond's conception of rhetoric is essential for a complete understanding of his speaking career. This chapter is based upon primary materials consisting of an essay and three basic lectures written by Drummond relative to rhetorical communication.

The Evolution of Language

At the Lowell Institute in Boston, Professor Drummond first

delivered a lecture entitled, "The Evolution of Language," which subsequently became Chapter V in his book, *Ascent of Man*. In this chapter, Drummond discussed the origins of spoken and written communication. His thesis is stated in the opening sentence: "If evolution is the method of creation, the faculty of speech was no sudden gift." He refuted the alternative theory that Adam and Eve received speech through "immediate inspiration" by explaining that scientific research was slowly displacing the "older view of the origin of speech." He maintained, however, that God still had a role in the evolution of speech for "to make speech and fit it into a man, after all is said, is less miraculous than to fit a man to make speech." According to Drummond, man first cooperated with his fellow men for mutual protection and developed a sign system similar to the animal kingdom. "Gesture-language" was the first stage of language; "intonation" was the second; and "word making" was the third stage. "From being able to say what he knew, man went on to write what he knew." After the writing stage, the telegraph and telephone evolved and Drummond predicted that even more effective communication techniques would be developed in the future; for example, "mental telepathy."²

Drummond's view of the role of gestures in speech communication was significant.

The survival: both of gesture and intonation in modern adult speech, and especially the unconsciousness of their use, illustrate how indelibly these primitive forms of language are imbedded in the human race. There are doubtless exceptions, but it is probably the rule that gestures are mainly called in to supplement expression when the subject-matter of discourse does not belong to the highest ranges of thought, or the speaker to the loftiest type of oratory. The higher levels of thought were reached when the purer forms of spoken language had become the vehicle of expression; and, as has often been noticed, when a speaker soars into a very lofty region, or allows his mind to grapple intensely and absorbingly with an exalted theme, he becomes more and more motionless, and only resumes the gesture-language when he descends to commoner levels. It is not only that a fine speaker has a greater command of words and is able to dispense with auxiliaries—as a master of style can dispense with the use of italics—but that, at all events, in the case of abstract thought, it is untranslatable into gesture-speech. Gestures are suggestions and reminders of things seen and heard. They are nearly all attached to objects or to moods, and rival words only when used of everyday things.  

Apparently Drummond felt that the gesture was the first stage of language development and was therefore inappropriate for the communication of lofty ideas. Perhaps it is no mere coincidence that Henry Drummond, as previously mentioned, used little or no physical gestures in his public speaking. Since he believed his subject matter was of the loftiest nature, he probably felt that his delivery of such abstract

thoughts would not be enhanced by the use of gestures. It is also possible from his lecture that Drummond's view of the "ideal orator" was a speaker with a great enough vocabulary and such an exalted theme that he was above the crudities of body language.

The Usage of Language

Henry Drummond's unpublished essay on the proper use of adjectives was written when he was eighteen years of age and a student at the University of Edinburgh. This composition is significant for the correspondence of its basic principles to Drummond's subsequent rhetorical style. He began by denouncing the use of slang and charged that "our language is losing its solid, classic grandeur and becoming enfeebled and diluted with a wretched levity." He went on to speak of "an internal enemy, a more subtle because less apparent danger, the indiscriminate use of adjectives." According to Drummond,

Adjectives have become cosmopolitan. Immensity, minuteness, rotundity, profundity, astronomy, gastronomy, emotions, monkeys, feelings, frying-pans, mountains, mouse-traps, trees, toothpicks, sunsets, and sewing machines are all qualified in turn by exactly the same set of adjectives. . . . Appropriateness of meaning seems utterly lost sight of, and all are used promiscuously, apparently with but one object, to add strength to an otherwise insipid observation. In short, the prevailing opinion and province of an adjective seems to be 'A big word, having no special significance of its own, employed to give force and liveliness to
a sentence consisting otherwise of plain, common-sense words.4

Drummond further warns that this problem is infectious and "runs through a community like an epidemic." The epidemic seemed to affect ladies and professional men most. He complained, "Commonplace people are deluded by the habit. They mistake the half-dozen really good thoughts which every fool possesses for the revelation of the hidden glory of a great mind. But so far from serving any utilitarian purpose, the habit... really makes a sentence less impressive than if simple words had been used." Drummond warned that we all are braggarts and must resist the temptation to say a strong thing to be impressive. The paper then illustrated from a variety of sources the simplicity of the greatest literature. As the reader will recall, the choice of adjectives remained an obsession with Drummond throughout his career and his own unique style, which ultimately gained more renown than his message, was characterized by impressive simplicity.

The Rhetoric of "Spiritual Diagnosis"

Henry Drummond was born into an era of general evangelistic decline. The churches of Scotland—even the newly organized Free Church—were content with theological discussion and the ritual of worship. The weekly church services were stagnant and superficial. Troubled souls

attended and departed these services with their sinful and fettered lives unaffected. The organized church seemed unconcerned about its mission in the world—the salvation of the lost; and those who needed it most were isolated from the power of the gospel of Christ. Drummond realized that mere pulpit rhetoric was not sufficient and that a more personal mode of communication was needed. He deplored "the crude and slipshod treatment of one of the most sacred subjects in the religious life." Out of his scientific background sprang a potential solution to the dilemma—a type of spiritual laboratory where troubled persons could be dealt with individually like a physician with his patient. Drummond reasoned that if one in physical pain should consult a doctor, certainly one with a sense of guilt should consult a minister.

The lecture on "Spiritual Diagnosis" was first delivered before the New College Theological Society in November, 1877. At the time, Drummond was twenty-two years of age and was caught up in the exhuberance of his new theory. The methods he advocated had not yet been tested and aroused little attention beyond his immediate audience. He began with the thesis, "The study of the soul in health and disease ought to be as much an object of scientific study and training as the health and diseases of the body." Next, Drummond stated a hypothesis.

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which has recently been supported by communication research, that "Every atom in the universe can act on every other atom, but only through the atom next to it. And if a man would act upon every other man, he can do so best by acting, one at a time, upon those beside him."

Drummond began with Christ's personal ministry as an example of "spiritual diagnosis." He further explained:

We know well enough how to move the masses, how to draw a crowd around us . . . how to flash and storm in passion, how to work in the appeal at the right moment, how to play upon all the figures of rhetoric in succession, and how to throw in a calm when no one expects but every one wants it. Everyone knows this or can know it easily, but to draw souls one by one and take from them the secret of their lives, to talk them clear out of themselves, to read them off like a page of print, to pervade them with your own spiritual essence and make them transparent; this is the spiritual diagnosis which is so difficult to acquire and so hard to practice.

According to Drummond, a human being was made up of body, mind, and soul. Only two of these elements had been examined scientifically; a spiritual psychology was needed to tell us of the unseen realities of the soul. Then, he gave the qualifications of a spiritual diagnostician:


7Drummond, quoted in Smith, Life of Henry Drummond, p. 54.
"He should be thoroughly acquainted with the principles of conversion; he should know every phase of the human soul, in health and disease, in the fullness of joy and the blackness of despair; the scheme of redemption, as we are accustomed to call it, should be ever clearly defined in his consciousness." Drummond admits that such knowledge is not easily attained. He explained, "The study of the soul . . . is a difficult study. It is difficult because the soul . . . is an infinitely large subject--an infinitely deep and mysterious subject.

Drummond realized that every person is made up of several persons--his ideal, his concept of himself, his real self, and his image as held by others. The real task, Drummond said, is to get the person to see his real self as God sees him.8

Drummond warned against the misuse of this skill such as a minister acting from pride or desire for reputation. He urged all clergymen to step down from their ivory tower and be:

A man that knows men in the street, at their work, human nature in its shirt-sleeves--who makes bargains with deacons instead of talking over texts with them, and a man who has found out that there are plenty of praying rogues and swearing saints in the world.

Drummond concluded by explaining the serious need for such an interpersonal evangelism. He said, "the amount of spiritual longing in the

8Drummond, "Spiritual Diagnosis," 1873, in Kennedy, Henry Drummond, p. 228.
world at the present moment is absolutely incredible," and "if any
man develop this faculty of reading others: . . . he will never be with­
out practice." Drummond felt that his rhetoric of spiritual diagnosis
was a question of vital importance and "opened up a field for life­
long study and effort."9

In this essay, Drummond challenged the religious world with a
fresh method of influencing men for Christ. He soon seized an opportu­


city to apply his theory in the inquiry rooms of the Great Mission
headed by Dwight Moody. Moody had begun using the inquiry room techni­
quique two years before his mission to Great Britain. Just before Chicago
was destroyed by flames in 1871, Moody had dismissed an audience of
people telling them to go home and think about their relationship to
Christ. He never met them again. He regarded this as one of the
greatest mistakes of his life and from that time on he laid great
stress on the after-meeting which followed each evangelistic address.
In the inquiry rooms he tried to bring individuals to an immediate
decision as to the great issues he had just brought before them.
Moody explained:

Personal dealing is of the most vital importance.
No one can tell how many souls have been lost
through lack of following up the preaching of
the gospel by personal work. It is deplorable

9Drummond, "Spiritual Diagnosis," 1873, in Kennedy, Henry
Drummond, pp. 224-231.
how few church members are qualified to deal with inquirers. And yet that is the very work in which they ought to aid the pastor most efficiently. People are usually not converted under the preaching of a minister. It is in the inquiry meeting that they are most likely to be brought to Christ.10

It was first in these face to face encounters in Moody's inquiry room--later in private talks almost everywhere--that Henry Drummond applied and perfected his art of spiritual diagnosis. According to James Kennedy, Drummond's first step was to win a man's confidence by establishing a good rapport with him. Then, as the man began to pour out his heart, Drummond would probe as a surgeon to find the real problem or the infection that separated him from God. Next, he would strive to bring the man to a point of conviction--a realization of his miserable state and the desire to turn to Christ. The final step was conversion, the total acceptance of Christ and the Christian life. "The success of Drummond in leading men to make this decision depended in large measure on his ability to translate the basic facts of Christian faith into simple language--into the man's own language." Drummond's approach was free from religious cliches and pat answers. "Christ was real to Drummond and he made him real to others."11

11Kennedy, Henry Drummond, p. 237.
Drummond realized that the hardest task of all was maintaining a man's loyalty to Christ after the first burst of enthusiasm had faded. On one occasion, he challenged a group of new converts with these words:

I cannot guarantee that the stars will shine brighter when you leave this hall tonight, or than when you wake tomorrow a new world will open before you. But I do guarantee that Christ will keep that which is committed to him. He will keep his promise, and you will find something real and dependable to rely on and to lead you away from documental evidence to him who speaks in your hearts at this moment. Gentlemen, he will be your leader, he will be your guide, he will be your highest ideal. He has asked you for your life, and he will make you, just as you are, at this moment his—entirely his.12

The inquiry room technique, under Moody, was an attempt to follow up the rhetoric of the public evangelist with the intimacy of personal evangelism. The rationale for Drummond's theory of personal evangelism was presented in a sermon delivered at the Students' Conference at Northfield in 1893, entitled, "A Life for a Life." Drummond explained, "In saving men it is very often a life for a life—you have to give your life to the man whom you are trying to better. The least act a man can do for his brother-man is to talk about Christianity." To illustrate this principle, Drummond gave the following analogy:

12Drummond, quoted in Kennedy, Henry Drummond, p. 238.
I had an egg for breakfast. I saw that it was an egg—shell and all. I had an egg for dinner today but it was in the pudding and it didn't look in the least like an egg, but it did me just as much good as the egg I had for breakfast which I could see... In talking to a man, if you must win him that way--talk in the man's own language if you can.13

Since Drummond's day, the value of personal counseling and psychotherapy has been universally recognized in the fields of education, medicine, psychology, and religion. Audience follow-ups are used widely today in evangelistic efforts from the crusades of Billy Graham to the revival meetings of local churches. Inquiry cards, such as the one below stemming from the Moody-Drummond technique, are common:

FOR AN AFTER-SERMON INQUIRY

(Those who wish to pursue further any part of the sermon, concerning clarification, personal problems, implications, techniques, and the like.)

Name ________________________________
Address __________________________________
Telephone Number _______________________
Would you like to see the Pastor
(state the most convenient time for you)
Day __________ Hour ____________
Place ________________________________

Note: The Pastor will call Sunday evening to

After the Moody campaign, Drummond continued to make use of the inquiry room technique in his university tours. Following his public address he invited his audiences to meet with him afterward if they had problems or desired to serve Christ actively in their own community. On the last night of Drummond's visit to Harvard, ninety students remained for the after-meeting and agreed to carry out a plan for reaching others with the gospel of Christ. They decided to organize evangelistic meetings in Boston, a few miles away, to win those who did not come under any religious influence. As a result of Drummond's influence, the Globe Theater was rented and religious meetings were conducted in Boston by the Harvard students.15

At Northfield, Massachusetts, when Drummond was asked about his after-meeting technique, he replied:

We say the night is early, and there will be a half-hour or an hour of free talk, and that the men are invited to gather in knots all over the room and just talk over these things a little. Three or four men have their eye generally on a man, and they get into conversation with him. The hall is kept open an hour or so, and by the end of that time a good deal has been done.

14Kennedy, Henry Drummond, p. 239.

There is a great deal more done on the street. As a man goes away from the meeting somebody walks with him to his lodgings. That is how our after-session works.

Drummond also made good use of the inquiry room technique at the Edinburgh Oddfellows Hall meetings. Ralph Connor, an Edinburgh student, described one of these after-meetings as follows:

When his address was over he stood looking at us out of those marvelous eyes of his with a kind of yearning look, and then in the frankest ... manner, he invited any man who would like to have a little private conversation with him on the matter to step into the side room. By some strange tact of his own, he gave us the feeling that it would be a perfectly natural ... and manly thing for anyone to go and speak to him about that Friend. Leaving this invitation with the meeting Drummond passed into a side room. The singing went on and here and there over the hall and from the gallery men got up and passed through the door through which Drummond had disappeared.

Those who were waiting to see Drummond usually engaged in conversation with other students until their turn in the small side room. When Drummond found the conversation needed to be prolonged, he made a date for seeing the man later in the evening or the next day. Often he would make a special trip back from Glasgow the following Saturday.

16Drummond, quoted in Kennedy, Henry Drummond, p. 240.
17Ralph Connor, quoted in Kennedy, Henry Drummond, p. 240.
During his ten years of campus evangelism at the University of Edinburgh, thousands of students came under the influence of his spiritual diagnosis.\textsuperscript{18}

\textbf{The Rhetoric of the New Evangelism}

Twenty years after his address on "Spiritual Diagnosis," Drummond prepared another paper based upon his own experiences as an evangelist entitled, "The New Evangelism." This lecture was first presented to the Free Church Theological Society in Glasgow. By "evangelism" Drummond meant, "the methods of presenting Christian truth to men's minds in any form." By "new evangelism" he meant, "the particular substance or form of evangel which is adapted to the present state of men's minds."\textsuperscript{19} The "new evangelism" is the gospel for the current age.

Drummond began by contrasting the theology of his parents' generation with the new evangelism needed in his generation. He claimed that the old theology was so preoccupied with reason and logical analysis of the scriptures that it missed the spiritual impact of a text. Drummond advocated a new faculty in apprehending spiritual truth—the imagination. He wrote:

\textsuperscript{18}Kennedy, \textit{Henry Drummond}, p. 241.

\textsuperscript{19}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 174.
The purpose of revelation is to exhibit the mind of God . . . the vehicle is words . . . What words? Words which are windows and not prisons. Words of the intellect cannot hold God—the finite cannot hold the infinite. But an image can. So God has made it possible for us by giving us an external world to make image-words.20

Drummond used the parables of Christ to illustrate the importance of imagination and the inadequacy of pure reason. Imagination, according to Drummond, has two important qualities—largeness and universality. First, the message of Christ is "limitless and infinite." "There is a sense of depth about Christ's words which is the sure test of their truth." The other feature of imagination is its universality. "All men cannot reason, but all men can see. In the rudest savage and in the youngest child, the imagination is strong." Next, he discussed two obstacles to the new evangelism.

We have a gospel in the new evangelism which for a hundred years the world has been waiting for. We have a gospel which those who even faintly see it thank God that they live, and live to preach it. But I am not quite done yet. What will be, what are, the main hindrances to the acceptance of the new evangelism? They are mainly two—(1) unspirituality and (2) laziness.21

Finally, Drummond warned against applying the new evangelism too rapidly. The older generation, he explained, is slow to change, but

21Ibid., p. 178.
"to the many who are waiting for the dawn, and these are many, our evangel may perhaps bring some light and fulfill gladness and liberty." 22

Drummond's treatment of the faculty of imagination might reflect the rhetorical philosophy of George Campbell in which imagination was regarded as an important factor in moving a person's will.23

From the foregoing examination of Henry Drummond's works on language and evangelism a distinctive conception of rhetoric can be formulated. Drummond believed that man's ability to communicate with his fellow men was the product of a complex evolutionary process. This process consisted first of gestures, then intonation, and finally the use of words as symbols in oral and written discourse. He further believed that sophisticated subject matter required the purest of presentation and that the primitive stages of gesture and intonation could be eliminated. Drummond also insisted upon simplicity as an essential quality of effective communication. Stylistic simplicity was achieved by a careful selection of adjectives and the avoidance of ornamentation.

Drummond further maintained that the pulpit rhetoric of his day was highly ineffective in reaching the individual auditor and that a rhetoric of scientific evangelism was needed so that the soul could be treated on a personal basis. This notion attracted Drummond to


23George Campbell, The Philosophy of Rhetoric (London: W. Strahan, 1776), Book I, Chapter I.
Moody's inquiry room where inquirers could be analyzed privately by a qualified minister-clinician. Finally, Drummond believed that the purely intellectual approach to Christian evangelism of his day stifled the real spirit of Christ and that audiences must be moved to see the Savior and his message through their imagination rather than pure reason. Drummond felt that the faculty of imagination made the Christian experience more meaningful and held the key to an effective evangelical rhetoric.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

This study consists of an analysis of the rhetorical career of Henry Drummond, including the salient aspects of his training, the issues with which he dealt, his public addresses, his conception of rhetoric, and his influence upon the world. Drummond's rhetoric of reconciliation, considered by the writer to be the greatest effort of his life, was given special emphasis. The underlying critical model which guided the development of the study was the dramatistic pentad of Kenneth Burke from his Grammar of Motives described in the introductory chapter. When applied to the rhetorical career of Henry Drummond, the Burkeian act was the reconciliation of science and religion; the agent was Henry Drummond, Professor of Theology and Natural Science; the agency was Drummond's rhetoric of reconciliation which took the form of public lectures, sermons, pamphlets, journal articles, and two major books; the scene was the widespread ferment and dissonance which had developed between the academic and religious worlds following Darwin's Origin of Species; Drummond's purpose was to relieve the conflict by demonstrating that the evolutionary process was God's method of creating and perfecting both natural and spiritual
life. In addition to the act of reconciliation, Drummond's rhetorical career also included numerous sermons, essays, and familiar devotional works through which he continues to communicate to today's world. Some of these works, though totally unrelated to reconciliation, were included in the analysis whenever possible.

The underlying hypothesis of this study was that Henry Drummond's life-long affinity for natural science uniquely influenced his rhetorical career. The product of an affluent Scottish middle class family, Drummond's parents had prepared him for a career as an ordained minister in the Free Church of Scotland. From his youth, however, Henry Drummond had always been obsessed with the study of science. Influenced by his uncle, a geologist of some reputation in Scotland, Drummond was fascinated by rocks, fossils, and growing things. Furthermore, his fierce Scottish pride and adventurous spirit longed for something better than the dreary life of a professional parson. While at the university and divinity school, and throughout his life, Drummond remained a puzzle to his family. His spasmodic education was filled with interruptions such as a summer in Germany and Moody's Great Campaign. After he entered New College in Edinburgh, he continued to study science and geology at the university instead of pursuing the theological curriculum. Consequently, he never met the requirements for a degree at either institution. His brief ministerial charge at Possilpark never completely satisfied him. Nor was he content merely to lecture on natural science at the Free Church
College. He eagerly accepted a geological expedition to the Rocky Mountains and to Central Africa, but stubbornly refused the attractive political opportunities offered by Gladstone. Henry Drummond was painfully distressed by the estrangement that had occurred between the two subjects nearest to his heart. He was indignant at the rhetoric of Huxley and Spencer as well as with the narrow-minded theologians who clung tenaciously to their ecclesiastical tradition. Drummond's response to the raging conflict was first evident in his weekly lectures to working men at the Possilpark church. Then he took his lectures to the publisher in order to reach a greater audience and his career as a reconciler of science and religion was launched.

His devout religious training and his devotion to natural science made his destiny virtually inevitable. A red haired Scotsman with a passion for adventure was not about to observe the confrontation from the sidelines. He had already demonstrated his skill as a communicator during the Great Campaign and he applied these evangelistic skills to the reconciliation of science and religion. His affinity for natural science not only led him into his role as a reconciler but also uniquely qualified him for that role. Why did the educated classes turn out by the hundreds to hear Henry Drummond speak on evolution and religion? No other minister of his time received such an enthusiastic response--especially among university audiences. They believed Professor Drummond knew something about
evolution and would not insult their intelligence. Young men were
intrigued by his novel methods of scientific evangelism, whereby
he dealt with each inquirer on a personal basis. The influence of
science upon Henry Drummond's career is evident from every chapter
of this study. His devotion to science permeated his education, his
rhetorical methods, his message, and his philosophy of rhetoric.

The first research question asked in Chapter I was: In what
ways did Drummond's scientific background influence his rhetorical
theory and practice? The answers to this question are found in
Chapters V and VII. First, Drummond's adherence to the doctrine
of organic evolution required that he treat language as the product
of the evolutionary process. He viewed physical gestures as the
first stage of language development, intonation as the second stage,
and word making as the third. Consequently, he believed that the
more sophisticated a speaker was, the fewer gestures and inton­
ation he needed to communicate his message. Drummond's view of the
ideal orator was a speaker with an exalted theme and a lecture
style delivery. A second influence of Drummond's scientific back­
ground upon his rhetoric was his doctrine of "spiritual diagnosis."
Recognizing the ineffectiveness of mere pulpit rhetoric, Drummond
proposed a practice in which a trained clinician would treat individual
souls in personal conferences analogous to the practice of medicine.
This philosophy stemmed from his knowledge of the scientific method
and medical science. As the scientific method begins with the
particular case, Drummond believed that the spiritual teacher should begin with the particular soul to be effective. Drummond, from his student days at the University of Edinburgh, was intrigued by the science of medicine and was somewhat knowledgeable in the field. Another way in which Drummond's scientific background influenced his rhetoric was the ethical appeal of his scientific title. Drummond lived at the dawn of the scientific age and his appeal as a Professor of Natural Science attracted an audience much different from that of the common evangelist. Finally, Drummond's scientific background influenced his method of delivery. He made little use of emotional appeal and his delivery seldom rose above the level of a classroom science lecture.

The second question of the study asked: What elements of his training contributed most to his effectiveness as a rhetor? First, in Chapter II, it was seen that his skills as an oral reader were recognized early in his training at the grammar school in Stirling. By the time he was fifteen, Drummond had won several prizes in oral reading and composition. Not until he reached the university, however, did he gain his first experiences at public speaking. His active membership in the Philomathic, a debating society conducted by the students, was probably the greatest single influence upon his development as a communicator. The society debated questions of historical, literary, economic, and academic significance. In 1870, Drummond's reputation as a debater won him the office of President
of the Philomathic. Another experience which contributed greatly to his effectiveness as a rhetor was the Great Campaign. During this campaign, which lasted for two years, Drummond was Dwight Moody's chief assistant and was given abundant opportunities to speak to the crowds and compose his own addresses. Although he profited from the speaking experience, he never assumed the dynamic evangelistic style of the American preachers. He also served as editor of many of Moody's published sermons during the campaign. Certainly, Drummond's training in the classics, logic, Latin, grammar, and composition would have contributed to his effectiveness as a speaker and writer. Also, the pulpit rhetoric he heard as a youth from Stirling to Edinburgh, would have influenced to some degree the development of his own communication skills.

The third question of the study concerned Drummond's role in the reconciliation of science and religion. His role was thoroughly examined in Chapters III and IV. He was active in the controversy at first through journal articles and sermons; later, through public lectures and two successful books. *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, published in 1883, was immediately successful. In this book, Drummond was the first to attempt to reconcile science and religion by advocating the identity of natural and spiritual laws—a position which received both praise and intense criticism from British writers. Drummond's second book, *Ascent of Man*, traced the evolution of man from his earliest beginnings and contended that evolution and religion
worked by the same process and had the same author. His second book provoked an even greater attack from many scientists and clergymen, but it was largely welcomed by the academic community and the upper social classes. The name, Henry Drummond, was heralded in many countries as the reconciler of religion and science. Also, the evidence is abundant from Drummond's works that he viewed his own role as that of a reconciler of the scientific and religious worlds. Although he was not the first to suggest such a reconciliation, he was the first to gain such widespread popular support for his position among educated men throughout the world.

The fourth research question asked: what were the unique characteristics of his rhetoric? This question was answered in the fifth chapter of this study. First, it was found that Drummond's ethical appeal stemmed mainly from his reputation based upon his written works and upon his image as a sincere man of sterling character. He used few explicit ethical appeals in his addresses. Secondly, his richly epigrammatic style was noted for its simplicity and its use of illustrations and rhetorical questions. Drummond specialized in the use of adjectives. His major addresses were noted for their beauty and literary quality, which was the result of careful and deliberate polishing. Thirdly, an analysis of his inventive process failed to discover anything that was particularly unique about Drummond's speech preparation. He always kept a scrapbook of articles, sermons, and illustrations which he used as illustrative
material for his own addresses. *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* originated from sermons which he preached at the Possilpark church and from his classroom science lectures given at the Free Church College. *Ascent of Man* was largely an extension of the ideas he introduced in his first book. As a preacher, he drew his speech ideas from the scriptures with little concern about the context of the idea. This practice was contrary to the homiletical theory of the day. He would partition an idea into three or four subtopics and support them by the use of vivid illustrations, examples, and analogies. The persuasive technique Drummond used most frequently was the argument from analogy. He also characteristically argued from example, from authority, and from transitivity. Drummond's rhetoric was generally devoid of extravagant emotional appeal. Finally, his delivery was distinctive because of his personal attractiveness, his fashionable dress, and his piercing eyes. Witnesses agreed that his voice lacked volume and his delivery was unaccompanied by physical gestures or movement. Drummond's delivery did not vary from the college classroom to the public platform.

Question six asked the extent of Drummond's influence upon his time. It was seen in chapter VI that Drummond's influence reached far beyond his immediate audiences. It cannot be limited, therefore, to the crowds that flocked to hear him speak. *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, alone, sold more than 130,000 copies in his lifetime. The circulation of his devotional works is beyond count. One-half
million copies of "The Greatest Thing in the World" existed in various forms at the time of Drummond's death. His influence upon his time, however, cannot be accurately measured by the circulation figures of his works because much of his influence was personal and acquaintances claim that his influence was "much greater than anything he wrote."¹

This study has demonstrated that Henry Drummond's rhetoric had an impact upon his world. Kennedy, in the Foreword of his biography wrote:

*A young professor of natural science in Free Church College, Glasgow, Scotland, who was trained for the ministry, on whom the theologians frowned and whom the scientists ignored, changed the spiritual climate of his half-century.*²

The extent to which Drummond changed the religious climate of his day is difficult to determine. For many, he restored the integrity of the Christian faith. For others, he at least lessened the intensity of their dissonance making the age of science somewhat more tolerable. It is true that the theory of evolution had gained wide public acceptance by the end of the nineteenth century, but whether Drummond influenced the conversion of popular opinion to evolution or was only


a reflection of that conversion is impossible to conclude.

Although he was not the originator of the idea of reconciliation by the fusion of evolution and Genesis, he was its outstanding spokesman from 1883 until his death in 1897. There was a time when his name was a household word in Eastern United States and Britain. W. Robertson Nicoll claimed an even wider influence:

Professor Drummond had the widest vogue from Norway to Germany. There was a time when scarcely a week passed in Germany without the publication of a book or pamphlet in which his views were canvassed. In Scandinavia, perhaps, no other living Englishman was so widely known. In America, his books had an extraordinary circulation. This influence reached all classes.\(^3\)

His message of reconciliation was his greatest source of influence in his own age, although his influence upon the Boys Brigade, the student Christian movement, and Christian evangelism was also significant.

The historical effects of his reconciliatory rhetoric, however, are small. The ambition of reconciling the religious and scientific worlds was never completely realized and the conflict between fundamentalists and scientific antagonists has continued throughout the twentieth century.

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\(^3\)W. Robertson Nicoll, in the introduction to Drummond; The
If Drummond's influence, however, had been limited to his own lifetime, he would not be a suitable candidate for a place in the history of great public address. The masterpieces of public address have one characteristic in common—they all share a universality which transcends the conditions in which they were first given. Beyond the thrust of his brief career, this study has attempted to demonstrate that there is such a timeless quality in the devotional works of Henry Drummond.

In the writer's opinion, the present study has made an original contribution to the history of public address. As the reader will recall from the review of the literature, Henry Drummond has been the subject of considerable scholarly research in the disciplines of rhetoric, theology, and history. Doctoral dissertations now exist in each of these branches of knowledge and all of these researchers utilized the same primary Drummond manuscripts. It is the writer's judgment, therefore, that further research of a biographical nature might be redundant. However, the rhetorical critic could profitably approach the rhetoric of Henry Drummond from a different perspective. Also, scholars in other disciplines such as philosophy or psychology would find valuable research possibilities in the career of Henry Drummond.

Several possible avenues for further research were discovered in the present study. First, a study of the rhetoric of the evolution-religion confrontation would be a challenging and significant
contribution to the history of public address. The brief analysis of this controversy in Chapter II brought a number of prominent rhetorical figures from both camps to the writer's attention such as Charles Darwin, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, Thomas Huxley, William Gladstone, Professor Haeckel, Herbert Spencer, Bishop Temple, Louis Agassiz, Asa Gray, and Henry Ward Beecher. An analysis of the strategies and arguments of these and other spokesmen of the controversy would make an interesting study. The evolutionary rhetoricians might also be approached from the perspective of a movement study.

A second possibility for future research is the comparative study involving the rhetoric of Drummond and other noted evangelists such as Dwight L. Moody, Henry Ward Beecher, Billy Sunday, or Billy Graham. Such a study might compare the sermon style or evangelistic methods of these rhetorical figures. It would also be interesting to compare the rhetorical aspects of the careers of Drummond and Charles Darwin or Thomas Huxley.

Another potential avenue for future research is a rhetorical analysis of the Free Church movement in Scotland. The movement, led by Dr. Thomas Chalmers, culminated in 1843 as four-hundred Presbyterian ministers walked out of the Assembly, rejected the establishment, and built a new religious structure in Scotland. This great split in the church of Scotland lasted nearly a century and reached the floor of Parliament on several occasions.
The fourth suggestion for future research is a systematic analysis of that rhetoric which attempts to reconcile two divergent views. A survey of the research literature in the field of rhetorical communication revealed relatively little attention devoted to the rhetoric of reconciliation. Huber Ellingworth has studied Civil War reconciliation orators in the North from 1866 to 1900, but his study is essentially a rhetorical analysis of political orators, and he does not suggest a critical methodology for the study of reconciliatory rhetoric. Other noted orators of reconciliation such as Edmund Burke, Henry Grady, and Abraham Lincoln have received extensive study as political speakers, but to the writer's knowledge, no critical methodology has been developed unique to the rhetoric of reconciliation such as in the case of the rhetoric of movements or the rhetoric of vindication. Perhaps political reconciliation is totally different from the reconciliation of science and religion, but the writer believes that a general paradigm could be developed to aid the critic in the analysis of speech designed to reconcile opposing positions. Based upon the present study, the writer would


theorize that a model of successful reconciliatory rhetoric would require a source who had considerable rapport with both sides and a message which appealed to both sides. The source would be a person of strong ethical character, perceived as honest, intelligent, and competent in both of the estranged fields. According to this criterion, Edmund Burke was in a better position to achieve reconciliation than was Abraham Lincoln. Burke, in 1775, was both a representative of the American states and a respected member of the British Parliament. Lincoln, as president of the Union, was recognized by the Northern states and distrusted by the South.

In a reconciliatory situation, it would seem that a substantial number of people from each of the dissonant elements must desire a solution to the conflict. Dissonance is a state of mental or physical discomfort and where it exists, people long for a method of reduction. In Drummond's time, the Western world longed for a resolution of the unhappy conflict and actively sought information that might reduce their dissonance. A similar situation existed in 1775, since both Britain and America stood to benefit economically from a peaceful settlement of their differences.

According to Wallace Fatheringham, ultimate persuasion is usually accomplished by a sequence of efforts rather than by a one-shot effort.7

7Wallace C. Fatheringham, Perspectives on Persuasion (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1966), p. 34. (Fatheringham believed persuasive efforts were largely instrumental. "A consummatory effect is one that is valued as an end in itself . . . An instrumental effect, in contrast, is viewed by the communicator as a means to some end not yet achieved . . . In persuasion, message effects are dominantly valued, not as ends in themselves, but for their instrumentality," p. 41).
Based upon this view of persuasion the attempt to reconcile would seem to require a campaign approach over a period of months or years. The message would also consist of a variety of forms of communication. Henry Drummond devoted the last fifteen years of his life to the task of reconciliation and communicated his ideas through books, pamphlets, journal and newspaper articles, sermons, and public lectures.

For the greatest success, it would seem that the source should direct his appeals toward the particular segment of his audience best qualified to effect the desired reconciliation. Burke's target audience was the British Parliament. Likewise, Drummond's target audience was the intellectual segment of society—particularly the academic and professional classes who had the greatest influence upon nineteenth-century thought.

The strategy of the reconciler might resemble the approach used by Henry Drummond (Chapter IV): (1) recognition of dissonant views, (2) diagnosis of the cause of dissonance, (3) appealing to a common principle, and (4) pleading for reconciliation based upon the alleged commonality.

Based upon this study, the communication flow in a successful reconciliatory situation would be bilateral. Drummond was alert and responsive to the feedback received during his campaign for reconciliation. The "inquiry room" procedure was modified to provide listeners the opportunity of conversing privately with the speaker.
Drummond was also responsive to his journal and newspaper critics and often answered them in person and by letter. He frequently referred to his critics in his lectures.

A rhetorical model of successful reconciliation, therefore, might include the following elements:

1. a source perceived as credible by both sides
2. a situation in which both sides desire a solution
3. a message characterized by a persuasive campaign consisting of a variety of communication forms
4. an influential target audience
5. a strategy which relates both conflicting positions to a common principle
6. a bilateral communication flow

A comparative analysis of prominent reconciliatory orators based upon the seven characteristics given above would make an interesting study. Obviously, some speakers are more successful than others and achieve different degrees of reconciliation. If the model is valid, therefore, the more successful reconcilers should conform more closely to the conditions given in the model.

The writer believes that this study makes several contributions to the disciplines of rhetoric and public address. First, it might serve as a beginning for a rhetorical theory of reconciliation. The
model suggested here needs to be tested by rhetorical research and modified or expanded to provide a critical instrument applicable to all speech situations that seek to reconcile opposing forces. A second contribution of this study is that it provides an index to nineteenth-century man—"his values and goals, his hopes and fears, his aspirations and negations, to what he considers expedient or inapplicable." The writer has attempted to show the relation of public address to social and intellectual history. Finally, Henry Drummond was an orator who rose to meet a crisis in nineteenth-century society. Through his rhetoric, he achieved world wide influence and renown. The writer has attempted in this study to justify Henry Drummond as a significant figure in that rich heritage which is the history of public address.

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APPENDIX:

AN ANNOTATED INDEX OF DRUMMOND'S PUBLISHED ADDRESSES

The following index of Henry Drummond's addresses is in alphabetical order. Titles beginning with the article "the" were alphabetized according to the next word in the title.

1. "A Complete Life"--a sermon in which Drummond discusses the three elements that make life complete: work, love, and God. Stones Rolled Away (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1900).


3. "A Talk on Books"--in this address, Drummond deals with the importance of books and reviews the books that are meaningful to him. He urges his audience to "fall in love with books." Addresses (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1894).

4. "Address Before Communion"--an address delivered to a student religious service at the University of Edinburgh, 1890. In this address, Drummond urges the students to dedicate their lives to the cause of Christ and thereby fill their lives with joy and peace. Smith, Life of Henry Drummond (N. Y.: Doubleday and McClure Co., 1898).

5. "The Alchemy of Influence"--in this sermon, Drummond deals with the positive power of influence and advocates that Christians live so as to both influence and be influenced by other Christians. The Changed Life (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1898).

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6. "An Appeal to the Outsider"—(see "Life on the Top Floor")


9. "Baxter's Second Innings"—a sermon consisting of an analogy between a cricket match and the game of life (the bowler is temptation; the three wickets are truth, honor, and purity, etc.). *Baxter's Second Innings* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1890).


12. "The City Without a Church"—a sermon based upon Revelation 21:22. Christians are urged to evangelize the cities so that Christ's influence will be felt throughout the city instead of within the churches. *The City Without a Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1893).

13. "Clairvoyance"—a sermon based upon II Corinthians 4:18 in which Drummond shows how we can learn of the unseen by observing the seen. He urges all men to develop the quality of spiritual sight. *The Ideal Life* (N. Y.: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1897).

15. "Conformity to Type"—a lecture in the "Natural Law" series in which Drummond explains that each living thing conforms to the type of its parents and that type is an inherited feature. Natural Law in the Spiritual World (N. Y.: A. L. Burt, Pub., 1898).


17. "The Dawn of the Mind"—a lecture in which Drummond discusses the problem of the origin of the human mind and examines the mind of a child, the mind of lower animals, the tools of early man, and the mind of a savage. Natural Law in the Spiritual World (N. Y.: A. L. Burt, Pub., 1898).

18. "Dealing with Doubt"—in this sermon, Drummond claims that the best way to deal with doubt is to study the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. Addresses (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1894).


20. "Degeneration"—a lecture in the "Natural Law" series in which Drummond explains the cause of physical and spiritual degeneration which is neglect. Natural Law in the Spiritual World (N. Y.: A. L. Burt, Pub., 1898).

22. "Effects Require Causes"—the second sermon in the "Pax Vobiscum" series based upon the text "learn of me and ye shall find rest." Drummond claims rest is an effect that comes from knowing Christ. Pax Vobiscum (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1898).

23. "The Elder Brother"—(see "Ill Temper")

24. "Environment"—a lecture in the "Natural Law" series in which Drummond discusses the importance of environment in both the natural and spiritual worlds. Natural Law in the Spiritual World (N. Y.: A. L. Burt, Pub., 1898).


26. "Evolution and Christianity"—an address delivered at Oddfellows Hall to the students of the University of Edinburgh, 1890, in which Drummond advocates Christian love as "the greatest evolutionary force in the world." Smith, Life of Henry Drummond (N. Y.: Doubleday and McClure Co., 1898).

27. "Evolution and Religion"—an address delivered at the University of Edinburgh, 1890. In this address, Drummond illustrates evolution in nature and history and then urges the students to acquire the highest life where the body is subordinate to the spirit. Smith, Life of Henry Drummond (N. Y.: Doubleday and McClure Co., 1898).


31. "The Evolution of a Mother"--a lecture in the "Ascent of Man" series in which Drummond discusses the qualities of motherhood which he considers the crowning glory of evolution. *Ascent of Man* (N. Y.: James Pott and Co. Pub., 1894).


33. "The First Experiment"--a sermon in which Drummond proposes that the greatest experiment in one's life is to abide in Christ that Christ may abide in him. *The Changed Life* (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1898).

35. "Going to the Father"--a sermon based upon John 14:12. In this sermon, Drummond shows how these words explain life, sustain life, and complete life. The Ideal Life (N. Y.: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1897).


37. "The Greatest Thing in the World"--Drummond's classic sermon on the attributes of love based upon I Corinthians 13. This work has been published in numerous forms including greeting cards, tracts, and anthologies. The Greatest Thing in the World (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1894).

38. "Growth"--a lecture in the "Natural Law" series in which Drummond discusses two features of growth common to both the natural and spiritual worlds, spontaneousness and mysteriousness. Natural Law in the Spiritual World (N. Y.: A. L. Burt, Pub., 1898).


40. "How To Know the Will of God"--a sermon in which Drummond explains how to know the will of God through the instruments of reason, experience, circumstance, the advice of others, and obedience. The Ideal Life (N. Y.: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1898).


43. "Ill Temper"—a sermon, also known as "The Elder Brother," based on Luke 15. In this sermon Drummond describes the sin of the prodigal son's brother and the consequences of the sin of ill temper, the most-damaging kind of sin. *The Ideal Life* (N. Y.: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1898).

44. "Involution"—the final lecture of the "Ascent of Man" series in which Drummond demonstrates that natural evolution and spiritual evolution are but one great process with the same author, end, and spirit. *Ascent of Man* (N. Y.: James Pott and Co. Pub., 1894).

45. "The Kingdom of God and Your Part In It"—a sermon in which Drummond appeals to every idle Christian to survey the field and find a place to work. *Stones Rolled Away* (N. Y. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1900).

46. "Lessons from the Angelus"—a sermon based upon the painting, "Millet Angelus," which pictured a potato field, a country lad, a girl, and a village church. From these Drummond draws three lessons: work, love, God. *A Life for a Life* (N. Y.: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1897).

47. "Life on the Top Floor"—also called, "An Appeal to the Outsider." In this sermon, Drummond compares the three levels of life—animal, savage, and human—and urges men to live the highest life possible by accepting Christ. *Stones Rolled Away* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1900).


50. "Marvel Not"--a sermon based upon John 3:7 in which Drummond divides the new birth into three areas: marvel not as if it were unintelligible, marvel not as if it were impossible, marvel not as if it were unnecessary. The Ideal Life (N. Y.: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1897).


53. "Mortification"--a lecture in the "Natural Law" series in which Drummond explains how the killing of the physical self is analogous to the killing of the carnal nature that the spiritual might prevail. Natural Law in the Spiritual World (N. Y.: A. L. Burt, Pub., 1898).


55. "The New Nature"--an address delivered to students at the University of Edinburgh in which Drummond explains how to evolve from the savage into a spiritual life with the help of Christ. Smith, Life of Henry Drummond (N. Y.: Doubleday and McClure Co., 1898).

56. "The New Theology and its Application"--(see "The Method of the New Theology and its Application")

58. "The Outsider"—(see "Life On the Top Floor")


60. "Pax Vobiscum"—the introductory sermon in a series dealing with the true rest that every Christian should enjoy. *Pax Vobiscum* (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1898).

61. "Peace Be With You"—(see "Pax Vobiscum")


63. "The Perfected Life"—(see "The Greatest Need in the World")


67. "The Relation of the Will of God to Sanctification"--a sermon based upon three texts (I Thessalonians 4:3; I Peter 1:15-16; Hebrews 10:9-10). In this sermon, Drummond analyzes the meaning of sanctification or true holiness and suggests the life of Christ as a pattern. *The Ideal Life* (N. Y.: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1897).

68. "The Scaffolding Left In the Body"--a lecture in the "Ascent of Man" series in which Drummond examines the human body and the similarity of many of its features to the features of his evolutionary ancestors. *Ascent of Man* (N. Y.: James Pott and Co. Pub., 1894).


70. "Sin"--an address delivered to the students of the University of Edinburgh dealing with the consequences of sin in the lives of young men. Drummond warns that sin leaves a permanent stain on a person's life. *Smith, Life of Henry Drummond* (N. Y.: Doubleday and McClure Co., 1898).


72. "Stones Rolled Away"--a lecture first delivered at Harvard University, 1893, in which Drummond discusses and refutes the common excuses given by those who refuse Christianity such as dull sermons, the difficulty of the Bible, and dislike for certain doctrines. *Stones Rolled Away* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1900).

74. "The Struggle For the Life of Others"—a lecture in *Ascent of Man* in which Drummond discusses altruism which he considers to be the ultimate product of the evolutionary process. *Ascent of Man* (N. Y.: James Pott and Co. Pub., 1894).

75. "The Study of the Bible"—in this lecture, Drummond explains several important facts about the Bible that must be realized before it can be studied effectively. *Addresses* (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1894).


77. "Temptation"—an address delivered to the students of the University of Edinburgh, 1890, in which Drummond urges the students not to despair when tempted but to walk in the Spirit. *Smith, Life of Henry Drummond* (N. Y.: Doubleday and McClure Co., 1898).


79. "Three Elements of a Complete Life"—(see "A Complete Life")


81. "The Three Facts of Salvation"—a sermon designed to supplement "The Three Facts of Sin" based upon Psalms 103: 3-4 in which Drummond shows God's power to forgive, to heal, and to redeem man from sin. *The Ideal Life* (N. Y.: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1897).
82. "The Three Facts of Sin"—a sermon based upon Psalms 103: 3-4 in which Drummond analyzes the three facts of sin: the guilt of sin, the stain of sin, and the power of sin. *The Ideal Life* (N. Y.: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1897).

83. "What Is A Christian?"—in this sermon, Drummond answers the question with the explanation, a Christian is a person whose ideal is Christ and who elevates the lives of others. *Addresses* (N. Y.: Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1894).


86. "What Is Your Life?"—a sermon based upon James 4:4 in which Drummond examines some extreme views of life and then proposes the following answers to the question: life is a little thing, a short thing, an irrevocable thing, and an uncertain thing. *The Ideal Life* (N. Y.: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1897).

87. "What Yokes Are For"—this sermon is the third in the "Pax Vobiscum" series based upon the idea that yokes are not to add burdens but to make them lighter. *Pax Vobiscum* (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus, 1898).

88. "Why Christ Must Depart"—a sermon given before communion based upon John 26:7. Drummond maintains that Christ departed to prepare a place for us, so we could see him better, that we might walk by faith, and that the comforter would come. *The Ideal Life* (N. Y.: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1897).
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C. Unpublished Manuscripts

The writer consulted the following materials in the Drummond family collection—a large trunk held by Mrs. J. W. Pearson, grand-niece of Henry Drummond, at Kilmaurs, Scotland in Ayrshire.

Drummond, Henry. A miscellaneous scrapbook containing articles, sermons, and various newspaper items relating mostly to the fields of religion and science.

. A school notebook from classes at the University of Edinburgh containing lecture notes in Logic, Palaeontology, Greek, and Latin.

. A two part manuscript of an unpublished address entitled, "The Naturalness of Revelation."

. Manuscripts of twenty-six lectures delivered to his science class at the Free Church College, Glasgow.

. Manuscript of an address on the Rocky Mountains based upon his experiences during the expedition.

. The original diary of his African expedition beginning July 30, 1883. The diary contains a day to day record with frequent drawings of ant hills, insects, fish, and mountains.

. and others. A collection of approximately two hundred letters written by or to Henry Drummond during the period 1866-1896. The majority of these consisted of correspondence between Drummond and his mother and his brother, James.

A scrapbook containing reviews of Ascent of Man.

A scrapbook containing reviews of Natural Law in the Spiritual World.

A scrapbook containing newspaper and journal articles dealing with Henry Drummond during his career.

A scrapbook containing post-mortem notices and tributes from over one hundred newspapers.

Boyd, Hunter. "Recollections of Henry Drummond For His Mother." Unpublished memoir written by a former student in Drummond's science class.

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